FATİH UNIVERSITY

Institute of Social Sciences

APARTHEID, POLITICS, AND WHITE DISSIDENT WRITERS IN SOUTH AFRICA: JOHN M. COETZEE AND ANDRE P. BRINK

A dissertation submitted

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Comparative Literature

by Derya EMİR

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Istanbul – 2014

Photographer: United Nations Photo, Johannesburg, 1982.

To my parents Fevzi and Sariye DEMİR,

my husband Emin EMİR,

and

my daughter Çağla, my son Gökdeniz

APPROVAL

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Institute: Institute of Social Sciences

Department: Comparative Literature

Thesis Subject: Apartheid, Politics, and White Dissident Writers in South Africa: John M. Coetzee and André P. Brink

Thesis Date: May 2014

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ABSTRACT

Derya EMİR **May, 2014**

APARTHEID, POLITICS, AND WHITE DISSIDENT WRITERS IN SOUTH AFRICA: JOHN M. COETZEE AND ANDRE P. BRINK

By focusing on postcolonial theory and criticism, this study presents a comparative analysis of the selected novels of John M. Coetzee and André P. Brink. Racial discrimination, repressions, inequalities, and torture were the determining features of successive apartheid governments in South Africa between the years 1948 and 1990. Brink and Coetzee are the most celebrated white South African authors who have reached wide acclaim in both local and international literary milieu. South African literature suffered greatly under colonialism, censorship, and apartheid. In this respect, as dissident South African authors, both writers engaged themselves in narrating the cruelties, inequalities, racial discrimination, and colonialism that swept the country for years.

Both Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* and Brink's *A Dry White Season* are similar in regard to colonizer-colonized interactions, the protagonists' in-betweenness in this binary, torture, violence, otherness, and oppression of the silenced people under an autocratic power. Since both novels describe the torture, violence, and brutality of the apartheid régime and state power, they both urge readers to make a comparative analysis between the two novels. Both Coetzee and Brink's protagonists are white and the agents of the oppressive system. However, both the magistrate and Ben Du Toit reject and resist the oppression, torture, and violence of the autocratic régime. Accordingly, the magistrate in *Waiting for the Barbarians* is cursed, degraded, and labeled by the men of the empire and Ben Du Toit is exposed to the same kinds of humiliations and torture by his family and colleagues as well as by members of the Special Branch.

In *A Dry White Season*, Ben Du Toit is a white Afrikaner history teacher who teaches the construction of the great history of Afrikaner nationalism, which is surrounded

by mythology. But once he decides to investigate the truth lying behind the death of his old neighbors Ngubenes and other black characters, he assumes responsibility and begins to oppose the falsifying ideology of the apartheid system. Because of his resentment against the system, Ben is condemned, alienated, and isolated by his family, his colleagues, and society. Moreover, he experiences torture and humiliation that is similar to what the blacks experience and he is eventually killed under suspicious circumstances in a hit-and-run car accident, most probably organized by the Special Branch.

In Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the narrator/ protagonist of the novel is a nameless frontier magistrate. The geographical setting and the historical time of the novel are not definitely stated by the author. The magistrate spends his days in the town in peace by accomplishing his daily routines such as sleeping, collecting tithes, taxes, fishing, and reading the wooden slips in a mirror. The novel opens with the arrival in the town of Colonel Joll with a band of soldiers from the Third Bureau to investigate rumors about a potential barbarian uprising. Although the magistrate is an agent of the empire, throughout the novel he continues to deny the potential threat and the material existence of the alleged barbarians to Colonel Joll and his men. The issues of torture, violence, arbitrary arrest, illegal imprisonment, and ill-treatment permeate throughout the novel. With the realization of the real nature of events, the magistrate begins to declare his opposition to the régime of the empire. Consequently, he experiences the same torture and violence to which the innocent prisoners have been subjected and he is discredited and marginalized by the men of the empire.

Key words: colonialism, post-colonialism, colonizer, colonized, torture, oppression, violence, empire, apartheid, anti-apartheid, South Africa, other/self, inequality, victimization, truth, resistance, racism, John M. Coetzee, André P. Brink.

ÖZET

Derya EMİR **Mayıs, 2014**

GÜNEY AFRİKA'DA IRKÇILIK, POLİTİKA VE MUHALİF YAZARLAR: JOHN M. COETZEE VE ANDRE P. BRINK

Bu çalışmada, sömürgecilik sonrası kuram ve söylem ışığında John M. Coetzee'nin *Barbarları Beklerken* ve André P. Brink'in *Kuru Beyaz Bir Mevsim* romanları karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmektedir. Irk ayrımcılığı, baskı, eşitsizlik ve benzeri olaylar Güney Afrika'da art arda gelen ırkçı hükümetlerin uyguladığı belirleyici unsurlardır. Her iki yazar hem kendi ülkelerinde hem de yurtdışında tanınmış Güney Afrikalı beyaz yazarlardır. Coetzee ve Brink pek çok eserinde ayrımcılığa dayanan ırkçı rejimin, yıllarca Güney Afrikalı siyahî insanlara uyguladığı eşitsizliklere, haksızlıklara, zulüm, işkence ve ırk ayrımcılıklarına değinmişlerdir.

Coetzee'nin *Barbarları Beklerken* ve Brink'in *Kuru Beyaz Bir Mevsim* romanları, baskıcı bir sistem tarafından insanların işkence, zulüm, ötekileştirme, sömüren sömürülen ilişkisi, ana karakterin bu iki karşıtlığın arasında kalması ve bunun gibi pek çok konuyu ele almaları bakımından benzerlik göstermektedir. Her iki romanın başkahramanları baskıcı sistemin birer parçasıdır, ancak her iki karakter mensup oldukları baskıcı sistem tarafından susturulmuş ve baskı altına alınmış insanlara uygulanan zulüm, baskı ve işkencelere başkaldırmışlardır.

Brink'in *Kuru Beyaz Bir Mevsim* adlı eserinde Afrikaner kökenli beyaz bir öğretmen olan Ben Du Toit, derslerinde efsaneleştirilmiş olan kendi ırkının nasıl oluşturulduğunu anlatır. Ancak uzun zamandır tanıdığı Ngubene ailesine ve diğer siyahî karakterlere rejimin uyguladığı haksızlığı fark etmesiyle ırkçı rejiminin yasalarını, güvenirliliğini, eşit olmayan baskıcı politikasını sorgulamaya başlar. Bu tutumu dolayısıyla ailesi, iş arkadaşları ve sosyal çevresi tarafından dışlanır, aynı zulüm ve işkencelere maruz kalır. Sonunda beyaz polis güçleri tarafından tertip edilen bir araba kazasında hayatını kaybeder.

Coetzee'nin *Barbarları Beklerken* adlı eserinde ise, olayları anlatan kişi adı belirtilmemiş bir kasabada yaşayan isimsiz bir sulh yargıcıdır. Olayın geçtiği yer ve zaman belirtilmemiştir. Yargıç tüm zamanını kasabada barış içinde, uyumak, vergi toplamak, balık avlamak ve gözgüsüyle tahta tabletleri çözmeye çalışmakla geçirir. Olaylar, barbarların planladığı saldırı söylentisini duyan imparatorluğun, yargıcın bulunduğu kasabaya Albay Joll ve bir grup askeri göndermesiyle başlar. Eserde, işkence, zulüm, keyfi tutuklamalar ve yasa dışı mahkûmiyetler gibi konular ele alınmıştır. Kasabaya geldiği andan itibaren, Albay Joll tüm tutuklulara uyguladığı zalim ve işkenceci sorgulamalarıyla, kendi çarpıtılmış doğrusunu bulmaya çalışır. Joll ve askerlerinin yaptığı haksız uygulamaların farkına varan yargıç, Joll ve adamlarına karşı çıkar ve imparatorluğun askerleri tarafından aynı şiddete maruz kalır, saygınlığını yitirir ve ötekileştirilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: sömürgecilik, postkolonyalizm, sömürgeci, sömürülen, işkence, baskı, şiddet, imparatorluk, ırkçılık, ırkçılık karşıtı, Güney Afrika, ötekileştirme, eşitsizlik, mahkûmiyet, gerçek, direniş, John M. Coetzee, André P. Brink.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 3: WHITE PROSE IN SOUTH AFRICA: JOHN MAXWELL COETZEE AND ANDRE PHILIPPUS BRINK

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been made possible through the reassurance, support, and friendship of many people who have helped and encouraged me throughout the entire process.

First and foremost, I would like to express specific gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Mohamed BAKARI who guided me with unfailing patience and open-mindness. I am greatly indebted to him for innumerable suggestions and corrections. My supreme debt is to his scholarly wisdom, without which this work could not have been brought into being. Working under his provision has been an extremely informative academic experience.

Sincere thanks to my lecturers Asst. Prof. Agnes E. BRANDABBUR, Prof. Dr. Barry Charles THARAUD, and Asst. Prof. Kimberly Anne BROOKS-LEWIS, Asst. Prof. Özlem ÖZEN, and Asst. Prof. Sezai COŞKUN, who provided important support for their valuable comments and encouragement.

My warmest thanks are also due to my dear friend and office mate, Dr. H. Elif DİLER, who shouldered the burden of correcting my grammatical mistakes. I would also like to thank Asst. Prof. Petru GOLBAN and Asst. Prof. Tatiana GOLBAN for their endless help, support, and lifelong friendship.

Of course, I also express my heartfelt gratitude to my husband Emin EMİR, my children, and my mother for their endless support, love, patience, and sacrifice, despite the thousands of hours spent researching and writing this dissertation.

INTRODUCTION

Considered a direct outcome or an outpost of imperialism, colonialism is a type of domination by which governing groups employ their supreme power and domination over marginalized groups through the medium of exploitation, degradation, and torture. As forms of conquest, both colonialism and imperialism aim at territorial expansion by the implementation of power and force.

For centuries, white colonial identity and imperial powers exploited and violated colonized peoples economically and culturally in order to construct their idea of unity and consciousness. Western nations rationalized their conquests and colonization through a variety of reasons and motivations such as missionary activities, pseudo-scientific discourses, and desires for wealth and resources. Moreover, racism and racist attitudes were inseparable parts of European imperialist and colonialist policies, especially during the last part of the nineteenth century. During the Victorian Period, the superiority of the "British race" in contrast to other races (colored men) started to be expressed by the British imperialists and colonizers much more constantly. The impact of pseudo-scientific discourses, which were enhanced by the British scholars and eugenicists in the late nineteenth century, was also clearly felt in the legitimization and justification of Western colonialism and imperialism.

Before the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), "European powers occupied, exploited, and colonized Africa in a variety of ways – through settlement, exploration, establishment of commercial posts, missionary settlements and occupation of strategic areas, [but] following the conference, influence by means of treaty became the most important method of effecting the paper partition of the continent."[1] Regarded as "The Dark Continent" by European colonizers and explorers, the African continent was exploited economically and used by Western voyagers and adventurers as a center for the slave trade for years. This study

[1] A. Adu Boahen, ed., *General History of Africa: Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935*, Vol. VII (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 16.

presents the literary implications of the impact of colonialism, apartheid, and racial discrimination on South Africa. In this respect, J.M. Coetzee and André Brink, well-known South African authors, are approached comparatively with regard to certain thematic and narrative aspects of their novels.

The first chapter of the study presents the definition and development of European colonialism and imperialism. Western colonialism and imperialism, in the modern sense, began with the "Great Age of Discovery," which started in the early fifteenth century and continued in the early seventeenth century. The first wave of European exploration was initiated by the Portuguese explorers, and then the Spanish conquistadores and colonizers explored maritime routes from Africa to India and East Asia. They were finally followed by the English, Dutch, and French colonizers and imperialists. Accordingly, the Era of Explorations motivated many Western nations to discover other lands and to gain knowledge about peoples whom they knew very little about. The chapter also deals with the Victorian scientific racism which was the product of the British eugenicists in the late nineteenth century. Due to the discourse of eugenicists, the black race was represented as backward and uncivilized without any technology, history, and culture. Under the guise of bringing civilization, technology, and religion to the unenlightened, "scientific racism" was used by the European imperialists to legitimize colonization and oppression.

The World Wars are also important for the acceleration of Western colonization of the putative backward races. Both wars had devastating effects on colonized peoples all over the world. The dominant forces and countries imposed their dehumanizing acts, violence, oppression, and genocidal practices upon the indigenous peoples in the colonies. However, following the end of World War I, some anti-colonial groups and activists attempted to denounce the hegemony and oppression of colonialism in order to reformulate and recreate black consciousness and identity in the countries which were once colonized. In this respect, the Negritude Movement was one of the important counter movements. By critiquing

Western colonialism, many black artists and authors produced literature which valorizes the beauty of black race and heritage. They also aimed to re-create national unity and a self-governing society independent of Western domination and hegemony. Like the First World War, the Second World War influenced all Europe, as well as the Pacific, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Omer Bartov states that "the Great War's new fields of glory were the breeding ground of fascism and Nazism, of human degradation and extermination, and from them sprang the storm troops of dictatorships and the demagogues of racial purity and exclusion."[2] The Nazi government and its genocidal policy towards the Jews were significant during the Second World War. During the Second World War, the extermination and expulsion of the Jews by the Nazi government "had its roots in eugenics, a sociobiological theory that gained currency in the United States and Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries."[3] Hitler's main goal to create a pure "Aryan race" was associated with the pseudo-scientific discourse of the British eugenicists in the late nineteenth century. In this respect, with the influence of the British eugenics movement, Hitler's target was to achieve a pure "Aryan race" which led to the isolation of all Jews.

The first chapter also discusses information about postcolonial theory and criticism. After the culmination of the Second World War, many anti-colonial intellectuals and groups from former colonies attempted to protest against European hegemony and colonialism. In the field of postcolonial theory and criticism, the works of many leading theorists and critics such as Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Frantz Fanon, Aijaz Ahmad, and Stephen Slemon are influential. They produced many novels, treatises, essays, and histories that denounce, contest, and critique European aggression and domination.

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[2]Omer Bartov, *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity* (New York: Oxford UP, 2000), 12.
[3]William F. Meinecke, A. Zapruder, and T. Kaiser, *Nazi Ideology and the Holocaust* (Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), 76.

The second chapter of the study focuses on colonialism and the apartheid régime with particular interest in South Africa. South Africa was colonized successively by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonizers and explorers. The conquest of the Portuguese voyagers was not permanent in the land; however, the Dutch and British colonizers and their political and cultural ambitions determined the history of South Africa. Although apartheid literally means segregation and separateness, the apartheid régime was generally introduced by the officials of the Afrikaner National Party as a positive, nondiscriminatory, and humane policy. When the Afrikaner National Party came to power in 1948, the apartheid régime was assumed as an official policy for the governance of the people in the land. It created race disequilibrium and disparity among the races in the country. Within the country, the apartheid government enacted legislation that caused the social and political disenfranchisement of black people in every sphere. Due to the acts, the people were classified along racial lines and the majority of the black inhabitants of the land suffered, were abused, and humiliated by the white minority rule. The effects of the genocidal policy of Nazism, European colonialism, the function of Afrikaner *Broederbond*, and the role of the Dutch Reformed Church were regarded as essential factors in the promotion of Afrikaner nationalism and establishment of the institutionalized apartheid régime in South Africa.

In such a chaotic and turbulent period, many anti-apartheid groups, activists, and intellectuals attempted to denounce and protest the pass laws but were met with censorship, imprisonment, and exile. During this period, not only the activists and leaders but also black and white writers were banned and deprived of freedom of expression and speech. The draconian acts and legislation led to massive resistance and opposition within the country. During the political transition of South Africa to a more democratic state, the history of the country was determined by two defining and iconic events which captured both the minds and hearts of the people. The first event was the Sharpeville massacre (21 March 1960), which was held after the pass laws that were enacted against the native black Africans. The

second was the Soweto uprising (16 June 1976), which was a protest against The Bantu Education Act and forceful implementation of Afrikaans and English as the media of instruction in schools.

During the apartheid period, the authorship, freedom of speech and writing were hampered due to the legislation of the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 and Publications Act of 1974. Both John M. Coetzee and André P. Brink were victims of censorship legislations. Although none of Coetzee's writings were banned or censored, Brink's *Looking on Darkness* (1974) was the first Afrikaans novel to be banned in South Africa.

The last part of the study focuses on the comparative analysis of Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* and Brink's *A Dry White Season*. As colleagues at the University of Cape Town, Brink and Coetzee are among the most celebrated white South African authors who have received wide acclaim both locally and internationally. Both of them are white Afrikaner authors who have witnessed all the cruelties and abuses of the apartheid government. As white dissident authors, they felt compelled to give voice to the traumatic and fragmented history of the oppressed people during the apartheid and post-apartheid years that were defined by the inequality, racial discrimination, and colonialism that swept the country for years. Since both novels narrate the torture, violence, and brutality of the apartheid régime and state power, they urge readers to make a comparative analysis between the two novels. The interrogation and the indictment of the oppressed people are touched and articulated in similar ways in both novels.

The thesis scrutinizes the history of South Africa, presented as an enigmatic and unenlightened "Dark Continent" within the context of the construction of apartheid policy and its impacts on South Africa's black majority. By focusing on the selected novels of two South African novelists, the thesis aims to explore how the construction of white nationalism in South Africa and its autocratic supremacy are reversed and re-narrated by the two white

dissident writers – John M. Coetzee and André P. Brink in the context of postcolonial discourse. Although the two novelists are preoccupied with almost the same issues, the literary narrative forms and the style of representations of the events and characters signify diversity in their novels. While Coetzee uses allegorical language and deconstructionist techniques to reflect the abused and humiliated positions of the oppressed people, Brink's portrayal of events reveals the South African reality overtly. In this respect, I will explore the exigencies of the two white novelists' responsibilities and their artistic responses to the issues pervading during the apartheid/ post-apartheid years. Both novelists, explicitly or implicitly, dissect history and fiction to demonstrate the evil that poisons the society, and they unveil the crimes and oppression to express the enigmatic position of the oppressed people during the apartheid years in South Africa.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY OF COLONIALISM AND POSTCOLONIALISM

Roman Colonization

> When the missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible and we had the land. They said, "let us close our eyes and pray." When we opened them, we had the Bible, and they had the land. (Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya)

As a cultural and historical phenomenon, colonialism is a process during which dominant groups employ their supreme power and domination over colonized peoples through the medium of exploitation, degradation, and torture. Having its roots in ancient civilizations – the Greeks and the Romans – the practice of colonialism "is not restricted to a specific time or place."[4] From antiquity to the present, the imperial nations have exerted great efforts to colonize other lands without any break. The origin of the concept goes back to the Romans, who used the term for "the settlement of one group of people in another land" by providing the natives of the conquered land the opportunity to keep their citizenship. Ania Loomba, a leading postcolonialist theorist, defines colonialism by quoting the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

> […] a settlement in a new country […] a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up.[5]

As seen in the quotation above, colonialism refers to the desire of forming a community of the "colonizer," who disregards the native inhabitants whose land the colonizer considers a "new country." According to Loomba, "this definition […] avoids any

[4]Margaret Kohn, "Colonialism," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed., Edward N. Zalta (Summer 2012 Edition), accessed 29 June 2012 http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/colonialism/.
[5]Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/ Post-colonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 1.

reference to people other than the colonisers, people who might already have been living in those places where colonies were established."[6] By disregarding the existence of the original settlers in the native land, which is the usual aim of colonialism, the act of settling is made legal or admissible by and for the colonized. From ancient times till the present, colonialism has variable names and purposes, such as "to settle," "to inhabit," "to guard," "to civilize," or "to help."

Elleke Boehmer notes that "colonialism involves the consolidation of imperial power, and is manifested in the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands, often by force."[7] So, associated with the occupation of a foreign land, colonialism reflects the colonizer's desire to acquire power and riches, and to appropriate enslave and plunder. It also reflects the exploitation and degradation of the culture, language, and traditions of the native peoples in colonized countries. In this respect, colonialism" referred to all aggressive foreign policies pursued for economic advantages, not simply the acquisition of colonies."[8]

Jurgen Osterhammel states that colonialism is "a system of domination, […] it has multifarious forms and is a phenomenon of colossal vagueness."[9] He makes a distinction among the terms "colonization," "colony," and "colonialism." He indicates that "colonization designates a process of territorial acquisition, 'colony' a particular type of sociopolitical organization, and 'colonialism' a system of domination."[10] Further, he explains that colonialism is

> a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental

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[6]Loomba, 1.
[7]Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* **(**Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.
[8]Norman Etherington, "Theories of Imperialism in Southern Africa Revisited," *African Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 324 (July 1982): 386, accessed 26 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/721581.
[9]Jurgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, trans., Shelley Frisch (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Pub., 2005), 4.
[10]Osterhammel, 4.

> decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule.[11]

The close relationship between colonialism and imperialism has been suggested by many theorists and scholars. Linda Smith notes that "colonialism became imperialism's outpost, the fort and the port of imperial outreach."[12] Existing in almost all periods of world history, the concepts colonialism and imperialism "are […] interconnected and what is generally agreed upon is that colonialism is […] one expression of imperialism."[13] According to Kohn, colonialism and imperialism are inseparable:

> it is hard to distinguish [colonialism] from imperialism. Frequently the two concepts are treated as synonyms. Like colonialism, imperialism also involves political and economic control over a dependent territory. […] Colonialism and imperialism were forms of conquest that were expected to benefit Europe economically and strategically.[14]

John McLeod states that colonialism is "only one form of practice which results from the ideology of imperialism, and specifically concerns the settlement of one group of people in a new location. Imperialism is not strictly concerned with the settlement of different places in order to work."[15]

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[11]Osterhammel, 16-17.
[12]Linda T. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books Ltd. and Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999), 24.
[13]Smith, 22.
[14]Margaret Kohn, "Colonialism," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed., Edward N. Zalta (Summer 2012 Edition), accessed 29 June 2012 http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/colonialism/.
[15]John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Manchester, New York: Manchester UP, 2000), 8.

Originating from the Roman word *colonia*, the term colonialism means "'farm' or 'settlement,'"[16] and originating from the Latin word *imperium*, the term imperialism "means command, authority, rulership or more loosely, power."[17] Although "imperialism" and "colonialism" are used interchangeably, Loomba remarks on the distinction between the terms. She states that colonization is considered "the takeover of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation, and imperialism as a global system."[18] In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said considers colonialism an outcome of imperialism; he notes that "imperialism means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; colonialism, which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory."[19] According to Michael Doyle, "Empire is a formal or informal relationship in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social or cultural dependence. Imperialism is the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire."[20]

In *Decolonizing the Mind*, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o likens imperialism to a "cultural bomb." He stresses the terrible effects of imperialism on cultures and native languages. He notes that the cultural bomb, that is, imperialism has the capacity

> to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them to see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance

[16]Loomba, 1.
[17]Alejandro Colas, *Empire* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 5-6.
[18]Loomba, 6.
[19]Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage Books, 1994), 8.
[20]Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1986), 45.

> themselves from the wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves.[21]

Many European empires assumed the policy of expansion by the use of power and force, and the common policy that all empires enforced was the territorial expansion from a relatively small territory toward a larger one. Ashcroft *et al*. observe that "colonialism itself was a radically diasporic movement, involving the temporary or permanent dispersion and settlement of millions of Europeans over the entire world."[22] Empires have no fixed boundaries and borders because their borders are perpetually extended by the rulers through the invasion and colonization of other lands. In "Towards the Origin of Empire," Otsuki states that imperialism is a long-term phenomenon and means "to rule until the end […] of history. In the sense that the Empire tries to transcend history and make the existing order a permanent fixture."[23] In a similar vein, Negri and Hardt indicate that the term empire "establishes no territorial center of power and does not rely on fixed boundaries or barriers. It is a *decentered and deterritorializing* apparatus of rule [and it] exhausts historical time, suspends history, and summons the past and future within its own ethical order. In other words, Empire presents its order as permanent, eternal, and necessary."[24]

For centuries, white colonial identity and imperial powers exploited and violated colonized peoples economically and culturally in order to construct a so-called national unity and consciousness. Europe rationalized its colonization through a variety of reasons and motivations, such as missionary activities, pseudo-scientific discourses, and desire for wealth and resources. By creating pseudo-scientific discourses, European colonizers and racists disregarded the traditions, values, language, and culture of colonized peoples and replaced

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[21]Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2004), 3.
[22]Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 69.
[23]Yasuhiro Otsuki, "Towards the Origin of 'Empire': A Perspective on the Study of the Byzantine State," *Mediterranean World*, Vol. 18 (July 2006): 189.
[24]Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2000), xii-11.

them with their own values. As Frantz Fanon puts it in *Black Skin, White Masks*, "for the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white. Long ago the black man admitted the unarguable superiority of the white man and all his efforts have aimed at achieving a white existence."[25]

European colonialism aimed at achieving economic profit, reward, and riches in order to sustain economic growth and political superiority over the colonized peoples of the occupied lands. During the Age of Discovery, on 15 October 1492 the Italian conquistador, Columbus, reported in his diary; "I do not want to stop, but to proceed further to visit many islands and to discover gold."[26] According to Smith, "the imperial imagination enabled European nations to imagine the possibility that new worlds, new wealth and new possessions existed that could be discovered and controlled. This imagination was realized through the promotion of science, economic expansion, and political practice."[27] Accordingly, wealth, richness, and profit were first and foremost for the European explorers during the history of colonialism and imperialism. In *Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present*, Dennis Judd asserts that "there is no question that the existence of the Empire brought profit and wealth [...] and no one can doubt that the desire for profitable trade, plunder and enrichment was the primary force that led to the establishment of the imperial structure."[28]

The roots of colonialism and imperialism go back hundreds of years and have affected almost every region and culture in the world in one way or another. David Chioni Moore

[25]Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. C.L. Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 178.
[26]Columbus, quoted in Marc Ferro, *Colonization: A Global History* (London: Routledge, 1997), 5.
[27]Smith, 24.
[28]Denis Judd, *Empire: The British Imperial Experience, from 1765 to the Present* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), 3.

asserts that "it is no doubt true that there is, on this planet, not a single square meter of inhabited land that has not been, at one time or another, colonized and then postcolonial."[29]

Considered the precursor of modern colonialism and imperialism, the Roman Empire "was one of the most successful and enduring empires in world history."[30] Ashcroft *et al*. indicate that "the significant feature of imperialism then is that, while as a term used to describe the late nineteenth-century policy of European expansion, it is quite recent, its historical roots run deep, extending back to Roman times"[31]. Similarly, Richard Hingley asserts that "the Roman past has been used to help to define the images of imperialism that the British have found to be useful in their own imperial activities."[32]

In recent years, there have been ongoing debates among the scholars of ancient history about the expansion policy assumed by the Romans during its period of territorial expansionism. While some scholars and professionals on ancient history espouse more positive perspective by identifying Roman expansionism with "defensive imperialism," some others draw attention to the link between the Roman imperialism and Western imperialism. Hingley opines that "the evolution of a modern understanding of Roman imperialism involved a series of separate discourses, which at times are easily distinguished, at other times intertwined. Critical and positive interpretations of Roman imperialism co-exist throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[33]

Regarded as one of the largest empires of the world in the nineteenth century, the achievements and successes of the British Empire have been closely linked to its precursor, the Roman Empire. Many late Victorian and Edwardian critics and intellectuals, including Sir

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[29]David C. Moore, "Is the Post in Postcolonial the Post in Post-Soviet? Notes Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique," *PMLA*, Vol. 116, No. 1 (January 2001): 112, accessed 11 February 2011, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/463645.
[30]David J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2011), 3.
[31]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts*, 123.
[32]Richard Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archeology* (London: Routledge, 2000), 5.
[33]Hingley, 26.

Charles P. Lucas (*Greater Rome and Greater Britain*), the Earl of Cromer (*Ancient and Modern Imperialism*), and John Adam Cramb (*Reflections on the Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain*) established historical connections between the two civilizations – the Roman Empire and the British Empire. These critics and intellectuals "drew upon the image of the Roman Empire as a relevant historical reference for the current British generation."[34] In *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, the Earl of Cromer draws parallels and differences between the Roman Empire and the British Empire. He indicates that both the Romans and the British held the same policies in the occupation of other lands:

> from conquest to conquest each step in advance was in ancient, as it has been in modern, times accompanied by misgivings, and was often taken with a reluctance which was by no means feigned; that Rome, equally with the modern expansive Powers, more especially Great Britain and Russia, was impelled onwards by the imperious and irresistible necessity of acquiring defensible frontiers.[35]

The conquest of Britain by the Roman Empire around AD 43 "drew the classical Romans into the orbit of English domestic history."[36] Accordingly, "some writers in the late Victorian and Edwardian England forged a close historical link between Rome and Britain, projecting Britain as the direct heir to Rome."[37] By identifying Roman expansionism with "Roman defensive imperialism," the close relationship between Roman imperialism and Western imperialism has been argued by some scholars. Eric Adler defines "Roman defensive imperialism" as follows:

> […] in the 19th century up until the 1970s, many scholars of ancient history believed in a model of Roman expansion commonly deemed

[34]Hingley, 25.
[35]Evelyn Baring, The Earl of Cromer, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1910), 19.
[36]Hingley, 5.
[37]Hingley, 11.

> "defensive imperialism." According to this […] school of thought, the Romans eventually controlled an enormous dominion largely without intending to do so. That is to say, faced with a variety of threats and unpleasant circumstances, the Romans reluctantly entered a great number of conflicts, ultimately becoming the possessors of a huge empire.[38]

In this respect, according to "the tenets of defensive imperialism, the Romans for the large majority of their history, […] did not intend to amass an enormous empire, but reluctantly expanded as a result of the threats and vicissitudes they faced."[39] Accordingly, the Romans "did not have a consciously aggressive policy towards the rest of their world; theirs wars tended to happen either because of their fear of threats to their security, or the security of their boundaries, or in defense of their allies' interests. They were not therefore conscious imperialists."[40]

Many postcolonial critics and anti-British scholars have tended to disregard "Roman defensive imperialism" because they have believed that this approach would lead to the justification of "Rome's expansion due to an implicit need to vindicate modern Western imperialism."[41] By quoting from W.S. Hanson, Eric Adler states that

> debate about the nature of Roman imperialism has a long history. Attempts have been made to justify, even explain away, Rome's acquisition of an empire by the introduction of concepts such as Accidental or Defensive Imperialism, or by denying the existence of any deliberate policy of expansion or collective intent on the part of the Roman state to build an empire. Such apologist approaches are now less

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[38]Eric Adler, "Late Victorian and Edwardian Views of Rome and the Nature of Defensive Imperialism," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (June 2008): 188.
[39]Eric Adler, "Views of Rome and the Nature of 'Defensive Imperialism,'" *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (December 2008): 588.
[40]J.A. North, "The Development of Roman Imperialism," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 71 (1981): 1, accessed 17 October 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/299492.
[41]Adler, "Late Victorian," 190.

> fashionable, and the existence of a persistent ideology which favoured the expansion of Roman territorial control is argued more widely.[42]

Associated with Western domination and hegemony, the process of colonialism and imperialism in the modern sense, initiated with the "Great Age of Discovery," which started in the early fifteenth century and continued in the early seventeenth century during which Europeans were engaged in intensive exploration of the world. In *Colonization: A Global History*, Marc Ferro states that "the Arabs believe that European expansion began with the Crusades, the first expression of 'imperialism.' The Western tradition, by contrast, views the Crusades as an attempt to reconquer the Holy Land from Islam which had seized a Christian country."[43]

Thus, initiated by the desire of geographical expansion and exploration in the fifteenth century, the practices of colonialism and imperialism were perpetuated by the pseudoscientific studies of the Westerners, which gained impetus in the late nineteenth century. Mario Aguilar notes that "during colonialism, a complex science of ordering territories and peoples was developed. Such ordering included Western education as a system of ordering minds, bodies, and souls according to the models used in Europe."[44] Edward Said points out that "scientific geography soon gave way to 'commercial geography,' as the connection between national pride in scientific and civilizational achievement and the fairly rudimentary profit motive was urged, to be channeled into support for colonial acquisition."[45] According to Ashis Nandy, Western colonialism created huge disparity between the West and non-West peoples:

> [colonialism] haunts us with the prospect of a fully homogenized, technologically controlled, absolutely hierarchized world defined by

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[42]Adler, "Late Victorian," 190.
[43]Ferro, 3.
[44]Mario I. Aguilar, "Postcolonial African Theology in Kabasele Lumbala," *Theological Studies* 63 (June 2002): 303.
[45]Said, *Orientalism*, 218.

> polarities like the modern and the primitive, the secular and the non-secular, the scientific and the unscientific, the expert and the layman, the normal and the abnormal, the developed and the underdeveloped, the vanguard and the led, the liberated and the savable.[46]

The European explorers and colonizers conquered, dominated, and exploited other lands under the name of bringing civilization to the so-called less civilized peoples, so colonization and imperialism were justified and legitimized by them. Nandy claims that colonialism did not only capture bodies but also minds:

> colonialism colonizes minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within the colonized societies to alter their cultural priorities once for all. In the process, it helps generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds.[47]

The colonizers became respected and privileged individuals in the conquered lands. In *The Colonizer and The Colonized*, Albert Memmi explains the situation of the European colonizer on a global scale; "he [the colonizer] is received as a privileged person by the institutions, customs and people. From the time he lands or is born (in the colony), he finds himself in a factual position which is common to all Europeans living in a colony, a position which turns him into a colonizer."[48]

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[46]Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1983), 10.
[47]Nandy, 11.
[48]Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans., Howard Greenfeld (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 17.

The Age of Great Explorations and Colonization

Portuguese and Spanish Explorations

In the "Era of Great Discoveries," what brought the French, English, and other colonizers together was the consciousness of belonging to Europe, which was associated with advanced science and technology that enabled them to subjugate the indigenous cultures and peoples. These new industrial powers gathered around the same goals such as "religious zeal, love for adventure, thirst for wealth, revenge by conquest."[49] Without realizing that the natives of the conquered lands are people no different from their own, Western explorers and colonizers have regarded colonized peoples as inferior and "simply absences of qualities – animals, not humans."[50] Thus, during the Era of Great Discoveries, exploration by European colonizers was turned into the exploitation and violation of the native lands, its indigenous peoples, and cultures.

The Great Age of Exploration motivated many conquistadores and colonizers' desire for obtaining new lands, gold, silver, and different kinds of spices. Through the passage from the old and self-sufficient Medieval Era to the more sophisticated Modern Era, the Era of Great Discoveries saw the expansion of cities along with trade and the appearance of many colonies. While the medieval period "had been marked by an inward, spiritual focus, the leaders of the Renaissance began to search outward for their inspiration."[51] With the rapid developments in geography, astronomy, maritime commerce, and inventions during the Renaissance, the desire to learn more about other lands and cultures increased. New inventions, such as ships called "caravels," advances in cartography, and the invention of the printing press provided many explorers and colonizers the means to reach other lands rapidly and to transport the food and other supplies back to their own lands. Enzo Traverso, who describes the influence of Western technology that was used as a means of suppressing the

[49]Ferro, 6.
[50]Memmi, xxvi.
[51]Joe Sitko, "The Great Age of Exploration (1400–1550)," AGC/ United Learning (1998): 22, accessed 2 February 2011, http://school.discoveryeducation.com/teachersguides/ pdf.

natives, states that "the world of machines, trains, and industrial production could not be fully understood by citizens of industrializing nations unless set in opposition to the living portrait of a primitive, savage dark age."[52] Thus, Europeans used advanced technology to civilize the so-called savage races of the world.

During the Great Age of Exploration, many Western explorers had a knowledge of the existence of different kinds of spices – pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger, and cloves – gold, and silver in India and the Far East. Thus, their immediate goal was to obtain them by finding a direct route to those places. Accordingly, the Great Age of Exploration was initiated in order to gain knowledge about external lands, to obtain new products and new markets for trade wares, and to bring Christianity to heathen places. Memmi suggests that "the colonial situation manufactures colonizers as it manufactures colonies"[53] so that colonialism cannot be thought of without its colonies, which "comes from the Latin word *colonus*, meaning farmer."[54]

Initiated nearly in the fifteenth century, overseas territorial expansion was part of European history. The first wave of explorations was initiated by the Portuguese explorers and then Spanish conquistadores and colonizers explored maritime routes from Africa to India and East Asia, and finally they were soon followed by the English, Dutch, and French colonizers and imperialists. Accordingly, the Era of Exploration motivated many Western nations to discover other lands and to gain knowledge about peoples whom they knew very little. Neil Schlager asserts that during the period "there were five major colonial powers: England, Spain, France, Portugal, and Holland. Each of these nations had a different motivation for establishing overseas colonies, and each treated her colonies differently."[55]

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[52]Enzo Traverso, *The Origins of Nazi Violence* (New York: New York Press, 2003), 47.
[53]Memmi, xxv.
[54]Tatah Mentan, *The State in Africa: An Analysis of Impacts of Historical Trajectories of Global Capitalist Expansion and Domination in the Continent* (Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, 2010), 141.
[55]Neil Schlager and Josh Lauer, eds., *Science and Its Times: Understanding the Social Significance of Scientific Discovery*, Vol. 3 (Detroit, New York: Gale, 2000), 3.

These explorers and colonizers set forth to discover a new world, appropriately called the New World.

The Portuguese colonizers initiated their conquests as early as the fifteenth century. The famous declaration, "*E se mais mundo houvera*, lá *chegara* – if the earth had been bigger, we would still have gone round it,"[56] signifies the earnest desires of the Portuguese sailors and voyagers in their conquests and colonization of other lands. Both on the land and sea, the Portuguese explorers and colonizers, from Vasco da Gama to Serpa Pinto, "went to the furthest limits and to the heart of the planet under the name of bringing civilization."[57] With its desire to search for other lands and to dominate the sea trade, Portugal acquired the first of its overseas colonies by conquering "the north Moroccan port city of Ceuta in 1415."[58] The Portuguese sailors set out to search for new trade routes and to become the major importers of luxuries obtained from the East. The idea that stimulated and motivated the Portuguese conquistadores first and foremost was not only to control sea trade but to colonize new territories by force. Thus, the practices and domination of Portugal in the conquered lands

> […] included slavery and colonization. The slave trade that the Portuguese initiated in Africa grew quickly. One thousand slaves had already been brought to Portuguese territory by 1448, and the Portuguese continued to deal in slaves for two centuries. […] Trading centers from Angola to India to China were established at the point of a gun. Though the Portuguese were generally not as thorough-going as the Spanish conquistadors, they did establish patterns of violence and distrust that

[56]Ferro, 24.
[57]Ferro, 24.
[58]Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, Vol. 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 191.

persist today in Portuguese former colonies, such as East Timor and Angola.[59]

In *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1415-1825)*, Boxer expresses the diversity of motivations for the Portuguese explorers during their voyages of discovery and colonization: "i) crusading zeal against the Muslims; ii) the desire for Guinea gold; iii) the quest for Prester John; iv) the search for Oriental spices."[60]

For the Portuguese explorers, "the possibilities for expansion and trade were revealed when Henry the Navigator went on a crusade that seized the city of Ceuta in 1415. This trading center was filled with shops, precious metals, jewels, and spices."[61] Accordingly, between the years 1425 and 1457, "the most celebrated figure in Portuguese maritime development was the Infante Dom Henrique,"[62] an eager and skillful sailor. The Infante Dom Henrique, "often cited as the trailblazer of European discoveries,"[63] was "hungry for new knowledge, and Portugal's adventures in exploration really began with his leadership and his financial backing of a center for exploration in Sagres [where] better maps were drawn, navigational instruments were adopted, and a new kind of ship, the caravel, was developed. Quick, lightweight, and able to sail windward, the caravel become the key vehicle for discovery."[64] Along with his highly trained sailors and newly developed vessels, Henry the Navigator sailed down to the African coasts in order to transport commodities and products back to Portugal.

Fascinated by the idea of obtaining the wealth of India, the Portuguese explorers went further East to India. They "had a program of exploration that was systematic, objective,

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[59]Schlager and Lauer, 9.
[60]Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1415-1825)* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 63.
[61]Schlager and Lauer, 7.
[62]Payne, 194.
[63]George R. Schwarz, "The History and Development of Caravels," (MA thesis, Texas A&M University, May 2008), 25, accessed 12 July 2012, http://nautarch.tamu.edu/academic/alum.html.
[64]Schlager and Lauer, 8.

cumulative, patient, and determined."[65] After the final departure of the Portuguese colonizers from India, the conditions of the natives were described by the Portuguese historians and writers as "burly, uncouth, scornful of women, unable to understand the refinements of art and culture, sensitive only to the language of force [...]. But what is amazing is that, in enumerating these defects, the Indians left out the only one which the Portuguese admitted to – cupidity."[66] Thus, Portugal, with its systematic progresses and skillful voyagers,

> initiated the Age of Discovery. The Portuguese brought knowledge as well as wealth. They dispelled superstition and changed the political balance within Europe. […] Portugal's success encouraged others, most notably the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Spanish, to engage in exploration and colonization.[67]

Following the Portuguese colonizers, the second wave of expansion and exploration was initiated by the Spanish conquistadores, who attempted to "built a colonial empire that turned Spain into one of the great European powers."[68] Unlike its predecessors, the Spanish colonizers and explorers founded their empire on conquests and colonization rather than just sea trade. The Spanish conquistadores and colonizers legitimized their practices of colonization in the conquered lands "in terms of a religious mission to bring Christianity to the native peoples."[69] In the conquered lands, the native populations were treated mercilessly by the governors, and the Spanish government remained indifferent to the traditions and custom of the natives. The colonies of Spain "were perhaps most dramatically influenced by Spanish practices. […] They were settled largely by men who came to the New World

[65]Schlager and Lauer, 9.
[66]Ferro, 26.
[67]Schlager and Lauer, 9.
[68]Schlager and Lauer, 3.
[69]Margaret Kohn, "Colonialism," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed., Edward N. Zalta (Summer 2012 Edition), accessed 29 June 2012 http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/colonialism/.

simply to conquer, convert, or become rich."[70] During the colonization of India, the Spanish conquistadores and colonizers insisted that the enslavement and domination of the natives were the only ways to teach them civilization and introduce them to Catholicism. Thus, for the Spanish, "conversion to Christianity became identified with the duty to civilize, for civilization could not be other than Christian."[71] Accordingly, the aims and goals of the Spanish conquistadors in the New World could be summarized by the existence of "three Gs – Gospel, Glory, and Gold. Of these, only gold is, strictly speaking, an economic objective, and it was intended to serve the first two."[72] The Spanish colonizers' struggle for the conversion of the native population was a primary focus for European explorers and colonizers. Dare Arowolo explains the importance of the Christian missionaries in Africa:

> The impact of Christianity […] has been the most important single factor in the process of Westernization in Africa. Western education, involving literacy and the mastery of a European language, became the condition for entry into the modern sector. For most of the colonial period, education was in the hands of the Christian missions, who sought not only to convert Africans but also to inculcate Western values.[73]

Ferro remarks on the first encounter between the Spanish colonizers and the native Indians which was reported by Christopher Columbus during his voyages to the conquered land. He quotes one of the first impressions of Columbus concerning the Indian inhabitants in the land:

> This king and all his subjects went naked, just as their mother had given birth to them; so did their women without any feeling of embarrassment. They all look like the inhabitants of the Canaries, they are neither white

[70]Schlager and Lauer, 3.
[71]Ferro, 11.
[72]Abdul A. Islahi, "The Emergence of Mercantilism as a Reaction against Muslim power: Some of the Evidences from History," *Review of Islamic Economics*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2008): 142.
[73]Dare Arowolo, "The Effects of Western Civilisation and Culture on Africa," *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2010): 10.

> nor black [...]. They give all that they own in return for any trifle offered to them, to the point that they take in exchange even fragments of a bowl or of broken glass [...]. For whatever one gives them, and without ever saying that it is too little, they will immediately give in exchange all that they own.[74]

The endeavors and voyages of Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), an Italian-born Spanish explorer, were of significance, for "his voyages opened the New World to colonization and trade."[75] Born at Genoa as the son of a family of wool combers, Columbus embarked his voyages at the age of 14.[76] His famous four voyages across the Atlantic Ocean can be regarded as the establishment of the Spanish colonization of the New World. Asselin Charles states that Columbus's "journals and letters are the first examples of modern Western colonialist discourse as interpretation of the historic encounter between Europeans and non-European peoples. In the writings of Columbus we find the images, attitudes, and beliefs associated with colonialism."[77]

For Columbus, "wealth was important first and foremost because it meant the recognition of his role as a discoverer."[78] Actually, his own accounts in his diaries prove that during his voyages in the conquered lands, the idea of obtaining gold was pervasive: "gold, is a wonderful thing! Whoever possesses it is master of everything he desires. With gold, one can even get souls into paradise."[79] Jamaica Kincaid has considered Columbus's love for adventure and thirst for wealth from a postcolonial perspective. Kincaid's definition of Columbus is of significance, for it represents a different (anti-imperialist) perspective:

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[74]Columbus, quoted in Ferro, 30.
[75]Schlager and Lauer, 19.
[76]Charles L.G. Anderson, *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro* (Washington: The Sudwarth Company Press, 1911), 29.
[77]Asselin Charles, "Colonial Discourse since Christopher Columbus," *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (November 1995): 138, accessed 12 October 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784839.
[78]Columbus, quoted in Ferro, 5.
[79]Islahi, 142.

> There was Christopher Columbus, an unlikable man, an unpleasant man, a liar (and so, of course, a thief) surrounded by maps and schemes and plans, and there was the reality on the other side of that width, that depth, that darkness. He became obsessed, he became filled with desire, the hatred came later, love was never a part of it.[80]

Although the Spanish explorers and colonizers achieved successes and triumphs in establishing overseas colonies, their achievements were short-lived due to the failure in their treatment of the possessions that were gained in the New World. The success and failure of Spanish colonization during the Age of Discovery are stated thus:

> Spanish fleets returned from the New World with holds full of gold, silver, and precious gemstones while Spanish priests traveled the world to convert and save the souls of the native populations. However, Spain's time of dominance was to be relatively short-lived; only two centuries later, Spain's European power was in decline, and a century after that, virtually all her colonies were in open revolt.[81]

During the Age of Discovery, "imports of silk from China, cotton cloth from India, and spices, which referred to dyes and perfumes as well as condiments such as pepper, cloves, nutmeg, mace, cinnamon, and ginger"[82] were acquired from the East by means of overseas explorations and voyages. Thus, by the mid-sixteenth century, many European nations became wealthy and well-endowed due to the products that their colonies manufactured, such as silver, sugar, gold, cotton, etc. In the same century, "most of the newly discovered parts of the world had been colonized by Spain and Portugal according to the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Under this treaty, worked out in 1494, the pope awarded all the newly discovered lands to the west of a certain line to Spain, while all those

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[80]Jamaica Kincaid, "On Seeing England for the First Time," *Transition*, Vol. 51 (1991): 37, accessed 3 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/29350076.
[81]Schlager and Lauer, 3-4.
[82]Schlager and Lauer, 12.

to the east went to Portugal."[83] Accordingly, due to the establishment of new trade routes and many colonies, Western imperialism and domination "scattered the revolutionary seeds of Western civilization in haphazard fashion over the surface of the globe and started them on the first phases of their growth."[84]

British Explorations and Colonization

> And so everywhere they went they turned it into England; and everybody they met they turned English. But no place could ever really be England, and nobody who did not look exactly like them would ever be English. (Jamaica Kincaid *A Small Place*, 1988)

In the Era of Great Discoveries, another wave of exploration was carried out by Britain, which had been small, relatively homogeneous, and was only concerned with commerce up to the end of the 16th century. The British Empire became the largest empire in world history and the origins of British colonization trace back to the twelfth century when the British attempted to conquer Ireland in 1169. Through the process of British expansion and colonization, traders, soldiers, explorers, colonists, missionaries, scientists, novelists, and convicts played active roles in the formation of the British Empire in world history. In *The Routledge Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, John McLeod introduces the history of all the great European empires in the world and he notes that the expansion of British Empire

> cannot be attributed to any one cause: successive British governments, companies and individual colonists participated in the empire for profit, for national prestige, to escape conditions in their home countries and occasionally from an idealistic desire to share with the rest of the world the benefits of British civilization. Their interventions, and their

[83]Sitko, 30.
[84]Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1960), 20.

interactions with colonized people, shaped the course of the world's history.[85]

Melvin Page asserts that the formation of the British Empire can be divided into two phases; "an early or first empire ending in the aftermath of the American Revolution, followed by the somewhat different experiences of a second empire."[86]

In the Era of Great Discoveries, Portuguese and Spanish explorers and colonizers were the pioneers of overseas exploration and global colonization. Then, the British colonizers and voyagers attempted to establish overseas colonies and trade networks in the Americas and Asia. Schlager indicates that, unlike its predecessors, the English "were not interested in discovery for its own sake, but sought the opportunities for trade that were opened up by new markets and new routes to existing markets."[87] The first colonial attempts in North America were financed and commissioned by the "commercial and financial dealers of London, with the encouragement of the English government."[88] In 1497, Henry VII of England financed John Cabot (1450-1499), who set out in the North Atlantic to search for new routes to Asia. The voyages and endeavors of John Cabot, an Italian explorer sailing for England, to North America was important because "with the establishment of its North American colonies, England began profiting from tobacco, timber, fish, and other goods. At the same time, British sea power was in the ascendancy, and England began to project this power throughout the world."[89]

However, during the last half of the eighteenth century, colonies in Northern America came together to reject the domination and colonization of Britain. The American Revolution "began in 1775, and the Declaration of Independence was signed a year later; Britain finally

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[85]Ma´Ire Ni´ Fhlathu´In, "The British Empire," in John McLeod, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 21.
[86]Melvin E. Page and Penny M. Sonnenburg, *Colonialism: An International Social, Cultural, and Political Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2003), 75.
[87]Schlager and Lauer, 12.
[88]Fhlathu´In, 23.
[89]Schlager and Lauer, 35.

recognized the United States of America in 1783."[90] The first phase of British imperialism "came to an end, although it certainly continued at least until the United States succeeded in defending its independence in the War of 1812 and particularly with the British defeat at the Battle of New Orleans in 1814."[91] Although "the British retained their Canadian and West Indian colonies, the Atlantic empire was drawing to an end. The second phase of British imperial expansion would take place in other areas of the world."[92]

The voyages of the English explorers "were strongly influenced by the crown's diplomatic policies toward other European powers, and those policies increasingly recognized the importance of trade."[93] Under the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), the explorations to find out new oversea routes and to explore the New World gained impetus. At that time, Walter Raleigh (1552-1618), a favorite explorer of Queen Elizabeth, was regarded as the chief advocate of British colonization. Raleigh states that "whoever rules the waves rules commerce; whoever rules commerce rules the wealth of the world, and consequently the world itself."[94] Between the years 1584 and 1589, Raleigh was sent to a number of voyages to search and explore remote and heathen places and he was involved in the early English colonization of the Americas. In 1585, Queen Elizabeth I "knighted him, and he rapidly grew wealthy and influential as the result of gifts of monopolies, properties, and positions from the Queen. One of these grants was the right to establish a colony on land claimed by the English in the area of present-day North Carolina and Virginia."[95] During the period 1584-1589, Raleigh attempted to establish a colony near Roanoke Island, which was regarded as the first English colony in the New World. After the death of childless Queen Elizabeth in 1603, James IV of Scotland inherited the throne. During his reign, "the first

[90]Fhlathu´In, 24.
[91]Page and Sonnenburg, 78.
[92]Fhlathu´In, 24.
[93]Schlager and Lauer, 13.
[94]Ferro, 47.
[95]Schlager and Lauer, 92.

successful British colony was Jamestown, founded in 1607."[96] In the following years, the ceaseless British exploration and colonization of the Americas and India continued. During the English exploration and colonization in the Americas and India, colonial struggles occurred between England and its main European competitors, primarily France and Spain. The victories of the Seven Years' War "constituted the first major turning-point which altered its relationship with the colonies."[97]

During the Victorian Period (1837-1901), the economy of the country shifted from agricultural to industrial, and Britain became the largest and richest country in the world. Patrick Brantlinger states that "the Royal Geographical Society, founded in 1830, sponsored numerous voyages and exploring expeditions that by 1900 had resulted in the nearly total mapping of the world. Geography was undoubtedly the 'imperial science.'"[98]

After her coronation at the age of 18, Queen Victoria (1819-1901) gave her name to the period which lasted 63 years, the longest reigning monarch in British history. During her reign, Britain reached its peak economically and colonized nearly a quarter of the Earth. According to Ferro, the excessive desire of the British with regard to territorial expansion and colonization was primarily to bring civilization to the uncivilized inhabitants in the conquered lands. He states that "the Englishman was engaged in bringing his superior know-how and his science to other 'inferior' populations. The 'white man's burden' was to civilize the world. The British were torch-bearers."[99] During the great time of British colonization of the world, Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), "the British colonial secretary in the Conservative cabinet of Lord Salisbury,"[100] delivered several speeches in the Parliament and before the local political groups. The following speech, given to the Imperial Institute on 11

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[96]James B. Alcock, "History of The British Empire and Commonwealth," 4, accessed 3 July 2012, http://web.usal.es/anafra/Empire-Commonwealth-History.pdf.
[97]Ferro, 12.
[98]Patrick Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2009), 3.
[99]Ferro, 20.
[100]Carl C. Hodge, "Primary Documents," in Carl C. Hodge, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Age of Imperialism: 1800-1914*, Vol. 2: L-Z (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 798.

November 1895, supports the imperialist ventures of Britain in Africa. Chamberlain glorified the superiority of the British nation thus:

> I believe in this race, the greatest governing race the world has ever seen; in this Anglo-Saxon race, so proud, so tenacious, self-confident and determined, this race which neither climate nor change can degenerate, which will infallibly be the predominant force of future history and universal civilization.[101]

As an ardent spokesman of British imperialism in the late nineteenth century, Chamberlain "argued that the welfare of Britain depended upon the preservation and extension of the empire, for colonies fostered trade and served as a source of raw materials."[102] The British believed that since "they had superior weaponry and were therefore more technologically advanced than the Africans, […] they had a right to colonize and exploit the resources of the Africans in the name of promoting civilization."[103] In a speech delivered on 10 June 1896, Chamberlain explained the excessive desire for economic profit: "the Empire, to parody a celebrated expression, is commerce. It was created by commerce, it is founded on commerce, and it could not exist a day without commerce […]. The fact is history teaches us that no nation has ever achieved real greatness without the aid of commerce […]."[104]

After Vasco da Gama, the first European explorer and voyager who built a direct trade network between India and Europe in 1497, Britain established a rapid expansion and colonization through a great part of India in the nineteenth century. This period of British colonialism and imperialism "gave impetus to further colonial expansion, moving out of

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[101]Joseph Chamberlain, quoted in Ferro, 20.
[102]M. Perry, M. Berg, and J. Krukones, *Sources of European History since 1900* (Boston, MA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2009), 22.
[103]John O. Ukawuilulu, "Africa: British Colonies," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 23.
[104]Chamberlain, quoted in Perry *et al*., *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society*, Vol. 2, 9th edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Co., 2009), 642.

Australia to New Zealand and eastward into Southeast Asia."[105] In the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain was the most powerful and dominant European nation, which colonized nearly a quarter of the world.

Apart from India, Australia, Egypt, New Zealand, and China, Africa became one of the victims of British colonial ambition and zeal. The process of colonization was a prolonged and an effective event in Africa. In 1880, Britain's "West African possessions were expanded and a great north-south corridor of British rule was created up the east side of Africa ultimately connecting the Cape of Good Hope with Egypt under the guidance of Cecil Rhodes."[106] Adu Boahen explains the partition of the African continent by the powerful European colonizers and imperialists in the nineteenth century:

> Never in the history of Africa did so many changes occur and with such speed as they did between 1880 and 1935. [...] By 1914, with the sole exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, the whole of Africa had been partitioned and occupied by imperial power of France, Britain, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, Spain and Italy and colonialism had been installed. In other words, then, during the period of 1880 to 1935, Africa did face a very serious challenge, the challenge of colonialism.[107]

The Berlin Conference, held between 15 November 1884 and 26 February 1885 among the European powers, helped and encouraged "the paper partition of Africa [which was] followed by military conquest and occupation."[108] During the period, Britain's military occupation and imperialism was bloody and effective throughout the African continent. Brantlinger remarks that during the peak of imperialism, "jingoism emerged, the 'Scramble for Africa' began, the 'Anglo-Saxon race' was trumpeted as superior to all other races, and

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[105]Page and Sonnenburg, 78.
[106]Alcock, 18.
[107]A. Adu Boahen, ed., *General History of Africa: Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935*, Vol. VII (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 1.
[108]Boahen, 15-16.

the British Empire was celebrated as the triumphant production and possession of that race."[109] During the period of British colonialism and exploitation of Africa, Cecil Rhodes's excessive zeal and ambition for gold and land were of significance. Rhodes, as a fervent colonialist, despised and humiliated the natives of Africa. He stated that "we cannot abandon Africa to the Pygmies while a superior race is multiplying itself. [...] These natives are fated to fall under our domination [...]. The native must be treated like a child and denied electoral franchise just as he is not allowed to take alcohol."[110]

Elected as the representative of the Cape in 1890, Rhodes established the British South African Company (BSAC) in 1889 in order to obtain the gold and diamond mines in the land. Called the "Napoleon of Cape" by his admirers and supporters, Rhodes "was an ardent British imperialist, and the anti-British government in the Transvaal was, for him, an obstacle to be removed as well as a threat to the interests of the gold-mining industry."[111] Rhodes was the eponym of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and the land "was occupied with promoting white settlement in the area north of Transvaal."[112] Burning with the desire of obtaining the diamond and gold mines in South Africa, Rhodes attempted to establish a railway connecting The Cape to Cairo, ending in failure. He was an enthusiast of British imperialism and made every effort to promote it. For Rhodes, "it was power, not money that was important. In his schemes and dealings, money was only the means to the end, never the end itself".[113] Together with the Boers in the South Africa, Rhodes attempted to establish the South African Federation under the British Government and dominated the majority of black peoples in the country. However,

> [Rhodes'] very successes had disturbed and irritated the Dutch of the Cape and the Boer leaders, especially President Kruger [...]. Since

[109]Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature*, 5.
[110]Cecil Rhodes, quoted in Ferro, 82.
[111]Page and Sonnenburg, 499.
[112]Page and Sonnenburg, 499.
[113]Gunn-Graffy.

> diamond and gold had transformed life in the Transvaal, the number of foreigners, the Uitlanders, had increased and caused conflicts with the Boers. The Uitlandres became a sort of Trojan horse in Johannesburg, as soon as one of the brothers of Cecil, Frankie Rhodes, the administrator of Goldfiels, became one of the leaders. Driven by impatience to see Kruger surrender to their wishes, the two Rhodes brothers and Jameson hatched a coup which proved to be a disastrous failure.[114]

Another imperialist writer and thinker of the Victorian era, who buttressed Britain's imperial ambition and greed for land, was John Ruskin (1819-1900). Ruskin delivered a lecture at Oxford University in 1870. In a similar vein with Cecil Rhodes, Ruskin stated that Britain

> must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men; – seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea, and that, though they live off a distant plot of ground, they are no more to consider themselves therefore disfranchised from their native land, than the sailors of her fleets do, because they float off distant waves.[115]

Racism and racist attitudes were inseparable parts of European imperialist and colonialist policies, especially during the latter part of the nineteenth century. During the Victorian Period, the superiority of "British race" in contrast to other races (colored man) started to be expressed by the British imperialists and colonizers much more constantly. In the second half of the nineteenth century, "the term 'British Race' was heard ever more frequently in consonance with a conviction that the inhabitants of the British Isles had

[114]Ferro, 83.
[115]John Ruskin, quoted in Fhlathu´In, 27.

achieved the apogee of human existence and were uniquely endowed by the Creator with qualities and attributes lacking in other lesser human beings."[116] Cecil Rhodes' words corroborated the superiority of the British race in the world; "as I walked, I looked up at the sky and down at the earth, and I said to myself this should be British. And it came to me in that fine, exhilarating air that the British were the best race to rule the world."[117]

Sir Charles P. Lucas, one of the late Victorian writers and critics, also discussed the issue of color and race in *Greater Rome and Greater Britain*. By comparing the British Imperialism to the Roman Imperialism, Lucas clearly states that "in modern times a special colored race 'the Negro race' was marked out for slavery in the overseas possessions of European nations."[118] He expresses that the governors of Britain approached the natives of the conquered lands with some prejudices because they are colored, that is, they are not superior white Englishmen. Furthermore, he explains that

> The white man may be, and usually is, prejudiced against the coloured man, because he himself is white, while the other is coloured; and the prejudice is probably mutual. But the white man, or at any rate the Englishman, also finds more rational ground for discrimination, in that the qualities, character, and upbringing of most coloured men are not those which are in demand for a ruling race [...].[119]

Lucas considers the natives dangerous competitors for the market economy and for the unity of the Empire. For him, "the lines of class largely coincide with the lines of race, so far as the lines of race coincide with the lines of colour. Race affinity prefers the white man to the coloured man [...]. He is a coloured man, not a white man, and a more dangerous

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[116]Rhodes, quoted in Robert A. Huttenback, "The British Empire as a 'White Man's Country': Racial Attitudes and Immigration Legislation in the Colonies of White Settlement," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (November 1973): 109, accessed 5 July 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/175372.
[117]Huttenback, 110.
[118]Sir Charles P. Lucas, *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 98.
[119]Lucas, 99.

competitor in the wage market than a white labourer."[120] On the other hand, Frantz Fanon highlights the brutal face of colonialism and its influence on the colonized peoples; "the well-being and progress of Europe have been built up with the sweat and dead bodies of Negroes, Arabs [and] Indians."[121] With regard to the racist and the capitalist desire of the West, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o suggests that

> imperialism was far too easily seen in terms of the skin pigmentation of the colonizer. It is not surprising of course that such an equation should have been made since racism and the tight caste system in colonialism had ensured that social rewards and punishments were carefully structured on the mystique of colour. *Labour* was not just *labour* but *black labour: capital* was not just *capital* but *white-owned capital.* Exploitation and its necessary consequence, oppression, were black.[122]

Victorian Scientific Racism and Colonialism

> Until the lions produce their own historians, the story of the hunt will glorify only the hunter. (Chinua Achebe, *Home and Exile*)

Mostly associated with skin color and physical features, terms such as "racial superiority," "natural selection," "hereditary genius," and "survival of the fittest" were well-known recursive concepts, and they had great impact on the perpetuation of European colonialism and imperialism towards the so-called backward races in the late nineteenth century. Generally, race determined class hierarchy for ages, and the scientific studies in the fields of biology, taxonomy, anthropology, and nature in the last decades of the nineteenth century led to conflicts between the superior and inferior races of the world in which colored people

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[120]Lucas, 107.
[121]Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth,* trans., Constance Farrington, preface by Jean-Paul Sartre (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 76.
[122]Thiong'o, "Writing Against Neo-colonialism," in Kirsten Holst Petersen, ed., *Criticism and Ideology, Second African Writers' Conference*, Stockholm 1986, Uppsala, Scandinavian Ins. of African Studies (1988): 94.

were mostly damaged, disappeared, or vanished. In *The Descent of Men* (1871), Charles Darwin writes "when civilised nations come into contact with barbarians, the struggle is short, except where a deadly climate gives its aid to the native race."[123]

The term racism, in the modern sense, refers to the inequality among the various races of the world and "this inequality legitimates domination of so-called 'inferior' races by those deemed 'superior.'"[124] Since the inherent human differences and different skin colors were associated with the pseudoscientific studies by the scientists of the nineteenth century, slavery was justified and colored peoples were doomed to deadly labors for hundreds of years. Although the ancient empires sheltered various peoples from different colors, slavery did not flourish as a result of the skin color of the indigenous people in the colonized lands. During ancient times, the most important criteria that determined the status of slaves were the ability to speak Greek, moral values, dignity or boldness. Sumerians, Greeks, and Romans created slave-based economies, but "these slaves were not marked by their outward physical appearance – in fact, their physiognomy was very much like that of their owners. Greek and Roman slaves had to wear collars or distinctive dress to differentiate themselves from other members of society."[125] Although slavery and racial matters were prefigured in various forms and took different shapes from ancient to modern times, "racial categorization of human beings was a European invention."[126] In other words, the concept of race "was a product of the rise of scientific biological taxonomy, which is the formal clustering of

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[123]Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1871), 229.
[124]Alain de Benoist, "What is Racism?" *Telos*, Vol. 1999, No. 114 (Winter): 13, accessed 20 November 2012, URL: http://www.alaindebenoist.com/pdf/what_is_racism.pdf.
[125]John Hartwell Moore, ed., Introduction to *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism* Vol. I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), xii.
[126]Howard Winant, "Race and Race Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 172, accessed 18 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/223441.

animals analytically into groups, along with a parallel dissolution of large groups of animals into their constituent smaller groups."[127]

Many scholars draw attention to the link between racism and the influence of Darwin's theory of evolution. According to Ashcroft *et al*., Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest had a great influence in the progression and development of European imperialism. He states that "the idea of the 'evolution of mankind' and the survival of the fittest 'race,' in the crude application of Social Darwinism, went hand in hand with the doctrines of imperialism that evolved at the end of the nineteenth century."[128] In a similar vein, John Cell suggests that "servitude and the Darwinian struggle for existence both became more acceptable to conscience when victims could be identified as victims. Virtually essential for the creation and survival of 'white man's countries in regions that were already inhabited, racism had been a fundamental component in the evolution of both societies."[129]

Dealing with the link between Social Darwinism and European imperialism in *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*, Gertrude Himmelfarb emphasizes that

> Social Darwinism has often been understood in this sense: as a philosophy exalting competition, power and violence over convention, ethics, and religion. Thus it has become a portmanteau of nationalism, imperialism, militarism, and dictatorship, of the cults of the hero, the superman, and the master race.[130]

Benjamin Kidd (1858-1916) was one of the late-Victorian social theorists who adopted Darwinist principles in his studies and "saw English political, economic, and cultural control of 'inferior' races as not only necessary to England's political and economic

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[127]Jonathan Marks, "Scientific Racism, History of," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. III: S-Z (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 1.
[128]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts*, 41.
[129]John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982), 4.
[130]Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and The Darwinian Revolution* (Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1967), 416.

survival, but also important for bringing civilization to the unenlightened."[131] Justifying Britain's territorial expansionism and colonialism under the guise of "struggle for existence," Benjamin Kidd supported the inevitable disappearance or destruction of "weaker races" in *Social Evolution* (1894):

> The Anglo-Saxon has exterminated the less developed peoples with which he has come into competition [...] through the operation of laws not less deadly [than war] and even more certain in their result. The weaker races disappear before the stronger through the effects of mere contact [...]. The Anglo-Saxon, driven by forces inherent in his own civilisation, comes to develop the natural resources of the land, and the consequences appear to be inevitable. The same history is repeating itself in South Africa. In the words [of] a leading colonist of that country, the natives must go; or they must work as laboriously to develop the land as we are prepared to do.[132]

The issue of racism and the situation of the Negro race were heavy-hearted for the colored peoples in the African continent. Brantlinger observes that "the impact of the great Victorian explorers and the merger of racist and evolutionary doctrines in the social sciences had combined to give the British public a widely shared view of Africa that demanded imperialization on moral, religious, and scientific grounds."[133] For the Europeans, especially for the British, the gap between the so-called uncivilized people and the civilized ones was immense or even unbridgeable. The British "tended to see Africa as a center of evil, a part of the world possessed by a demonic darkness or barbarism, represented above all by slavery

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[131]Rutledge M. Dennis, "Social Darwinism, Scientific Racism, and the Metaphysics of Race," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (Summer 1995): 245, accessed 25 July 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2967206.

[132]Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 46.

[133]Patrick Brantlinger, "Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Autumn 1985): 167, accessed 23 July 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 1343467.

and cannibalism, which it was their duty to exorcise."[134] The eighteenth and nineteenth century explorations and voyages provided opportunities for the emergence of racial matters. According to O'Flaherty and Shapiro, "the primary sources of knowledge, the 'empirical' data, were the accounts of travelers, missionaries, merchants, and other explorers who recorded what they had seen."[135] Thus, the formation of racial categories of men has been initiated with "The Great Age of Explorations" during which the European "explorers usually portrayed [Africans] as amusing or dangerous obstacles or as objects of curiosity, while missionaries usually portrayed Africans as weak, pitiable, inferior mortals who needed to be shown the light."[136]

The growing interest in the federation of South Africa under the British Empire was irrevocable for many late Victorian administrators, and the mentality that the lower race should be governed or ought to be civilized by the progressive races engaged many statesmen such as Joseph Chamberlain, who delivered a speech entitled "The True Conception of Empire" to the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute on 31 March 1879. He suggested that "you cannot have omelets without breaking eggs; you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force."[137]

With regard to the justification of the slave trade along with colonial ideology, Chamberlain's mentality obviously reflected Britain's attitude toward colored people: "the Negro was not fully human, or was such a degenerated form of humanity that slavery was a desirable condition for him."[138] Another fervent spokesman who supported the superiority of

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[134]Brantlinger, "Victorians and Africans," 175.
[135]B. O'Flaherty and J.S. Shapiro, Columbia University, Department of Economics, "Apes, Essences, and Races: What Natural Scientists Believed about Human Variation, 1700-1900," Discussion Paper (No. 0102-24 March 2002): 5.
[136]Brantlinger, "Victorians and Africans," 176.
[137]Chamberlain, quoted in Hodge, 798.
[138]Chamberlain, quoted in Wondem A. Degu, *The State, the Crisis of State Institutions and Refugee Migration in the Horn of Africa: The Cases of Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia* (Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 2007), 162.

the British race over the Negro race was Cecil Rhodes. In a speech, entitled "Confession of Faith" (1877), the 23-year-old Cecil Rhodes proclaimed that

> I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race […]. I contend that every acre added to our territory means in the future birth to some more of the English race who otherwise would not be brought into existence […]. Africa is still lying ready for us it is our duty to take it. It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory and we should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes that more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race more of the best the most human, most honourable race the world possesses.[139]

In *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, scientific racism is defined as the "act of justifying inequalities between natural groups of people by recourse to science."[140] By presenting a brief colonial history of Africa by the British colonizers, Obioma states that

> the advent of British colonization of Africa coincided with the era of scientific racism as represented by social Darwinism (survival of the fittest). The British believed that because they had superior weaponry and were therefore more technologically advanced than the Africans, that they had a right to colonize and exploit the resources of the Africans in the name of promoting civilization.[141]

In "What is racism?" the French academic Benoist discusses the issue of racism broadly by pointing out the differences between "racialism" and "racist ideology." Benoist presents various definitions of "racism" as well as the definition of UNESCO's 1978 'Declaration on Race,' which declares that racism is "any theory claiming the intrinsic

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[139]Rhodes, quoted in Brett Bowden, *The Empire of Civilization: The Evolution of an Imperial Idea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 149.
[140]Marks, "Scientific Racism, History of," 1.
[141]Ukawuilulu, 28.

superiority or inferiority of racial or ethnic groups which would give to some the right to dominate or even eliminate others, presumed inferior, or basing value judgments on racial differences."[142] In "Race and Race Theory," Howard Winant presents the issues of race and racism as sociological phenomena and defines race as "a concept that signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies."[143]

During the nineteenth century, the rapid advancements and progressions in the fields of technology and science gathered many European scientists and biologists around the same goal and lent them a "halo."[144] Carol M. Taylor notes that "in no area were scientists of this period more unified, and thus more influential, than in the area of race theory. Their primary unifying agent was the Darwinian theory of evolution."[145] Therefore, classification of men and categorizing them into groups were the practices of European anthropologists, biologists, scientists, naturalists, and missionaries who tried to find out a formula in order to distinguish one (civilized) race from the other (inferior) race. The image of the subjugated people has always been associated with negative terms and references within the pseudo-scientific discourses of the West. Aimé Cesairé explains the dehumanizing status of colonized peoples under Western subjugation: "they sold us like beasts and counted our teeth […] and they examined our genitals, felt the gloss and the roughness of our skin, pawed us, weighed us, and put around our neck like tamed animals the strap of servitude and of nickname."[146]

The issue of racism has been fiercely addressed by Frantz Fanon, a professional psychiatrist and a leading critic. Through his works, Fanon investigated the psychological

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[142]Benoist, 13.
[143]Winant, 172.
[144]Carol M. Taylor, "W.E.B. DuBois's Challenge to Scientific Racism," *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (June 1981): 450, accessed 18 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784074.
[145]Taylor, 451.
[146]Aimé Césaire, quoted in Abiola Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 1965): 500, accessed 2 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/159175.

effects of colonialism and racism on the natives and their culture. Fanon suggests that racism is a systematized oppression of the people in the occupied lands:

> Racism […] is only one element of a vaster whole: that of the systematized oppression of a people […]. Exploitation, tortures, raids, racism, collective liquidations, rational oppression take turns at different levels in order literally to make of the native an object in the hands of the occupying nation. […] Racism is never a super-added element discovered by chance in the course of the investigation of the cultural data of a group. […] Racism [is] the shameless exploitation of one group of men by another which has reached a higher stage of technical development. […] [Racism is] the occupying power legitimizing its domination by scientific arguments, the "inferior race" being denied on the basis of race.[147]

In the eighteenth century, the works of many biologists, physicians, naturalists, physiologists, and anthropologists such as Carl von Linnaeus (*Systema naturae* [1735]), Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (*On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* [1775]), Count Arthur de Gobineau (*Essaisur l'iné galité des races humaines* [1854]), and Samuel George Morton (*Crania Americana* [1839]) provided the fixed biases on the racial differences among the different races of the world and enabled the maintenance of the exploitive implications of colonialism, slavery, and imperialism. Brantlinger claims that "from the late 1700s on, an enormous literature has been devoted to the 'doom' of primitive races caused by 'fatal impact' with white, Western civilization."[148]

In "From Social Darwinism to Current Theories of Modernization," professor Ali A. Mazrui states that the classification of creatures on earth according to their status from the

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[147]Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, trans., Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 33-40.
[148]Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2003), 1.

noblest toward the lowest "goes back to the ancient idea that God had so organized the world that the universe and creation were arranged in a 'Great Chain of Being' – that all creatures could be classified and fitted into a hierarchy extending 'from man down to the smallest reptile.'"[149] Accordingly, beginning from ancient times, "The Great Chain of Being" was used as a starting point in order to figure out the place of the colored man in the hierarchal order of the universe. In this hierarchal order, the sole purpose of the existence of the lower ones was to serve the higher races and species.

For decades, a similar hierarchical order was adopted by the European scientists and authors of the nineteenth century to prove the superiority of the "white" over the "colored man". Ashcroft *et al*. suggest that the issue of racism is closely linked to European colonialism because

> the division of human society in this way is inextricable from the need of colonialist powers to establish dominance over subject peoples and hence justify the imperial enterprise. Race thinking and colonialism are imbued with the same impetus to draw a binary distinction between "civilized" and "primitive" and the same necessity for the hierarchization of human types.[150]

Ranking, categorizing, and classification of races from the lowest to highest by the evolutionists and eugenicists in order to legitimize the colonial power and imperialism in the conquered lands were commonly accepted and practiced after the 1850s. Although it was conceptualized at different times by different theorists, "the power of 'The Great Chain of Being' to dehumanize non-Europeans by linking them to lower forms of life proceeded

[149]Ali A. Mazrui, "From Social Darwinism to Current Theories of Modernization: A Tradition of Analysis," *World Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (October 1968): 70, accessed 25 July 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009746.
[150]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts*, 181.

largely […] by the emergence of Darwinism."[151] John S. Haller indicates that the Swedish botanist physician Carl von Linnaeus (1707-1778), who was regarded as the father of taxonomy, pioneered the classification of human beings by including the criterion of color and established a basis for the nineteenth century racism. Haller expresses that Linnaeus's *Systema naturae* (1735) was regarded as the first modern taxonomic study of man in the history and his study classified human beings mainly into four distinct races (the American, the European, the Asiatic, and the African):

> *Homo Americanus* as reddish, choleric, obstinate, contented, and regulated by customs; *Homo Europaeus* as white, fickle, sanguine, blue eyed, gentle, and governed by laws; *Homo Asiaticus* as sallow, grave, dignified, avaricious, and ruled by opinions; and *Homo Afer* as black, phlegmatic, cunning, lazy, lustful, careless, and governed by caprice.[152]

In the eighteenth century, the practices of the linear ranking of life forms by means of "The Great Chain of Being" were replaced by Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859). The issues such as "survival of the fittest," "natural selection," "racial purity," and "heredity genius" were the buttressing policies and practices of European countries, especially of England, Germany, and the United States.

Charles Darwin, the English biologist and naturalist, and his *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, published on 24 November 1859, initiated many debates on the issue of racial superiority or inferiority of races of the world. Although Darwin's theory and ideas on animals and species were almost never associated with the cultural or social concerns for human beings, Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* (1871) became a kind of new inspiration to give direction to the theorists of race. Dennis Rutledge claims that the

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[151]Jonathan Marks, "The Great Chain of Being," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. II: G-R (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 71.
[152]Carl Von Linnaeus, quoted in John S. Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 4.

"philosophical and political foundation of ideas, associated with racial superiority and inferiority, were first given scientific legitimacy and credence with the publication of Charles Darwin's revolutionary book, *The Origin of Species*."[153] Gregory Claeys states that "in the mid- 1860s, Darwin himself became in effect a Social Darwinist, and came increasingly to hope that the optimal outcome of human natural selection would be the triumph of 'the intellectual and moral' races over the 'lower and more degraded ones.'"[154] While some theorists tended to disassociate Darwin's theory of evolution from human evolution, Gloria Mc Connaughey claims that "Darwin himself believed that his biology was applicable to man and to civilization."[155] Furthermore, she notes that

> To the Anglo-Saxon imperialist, or to the rising capitalist produced by the industrial revolution, natural selection meant the survival of the fittest competitor. This survival value was given ethical connotations; those men who reached the top of the industrial ladder, and those nations which wielded the biggest sticks were therefore best by virtue of having been naturally selected.[156]

As seen in the quotation above, as the consequence of economic and political advancement of European colonial countries in the late nineteenth-century, Social Darwinism became a supported and accepted practice. Therefore, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, due to the impact of Social Darwinism "Darwin's ideas reinforced the 19th century racist ideas."[157] Tanya Faberson claims that Social Darwinism is "a paradigm based on cultural evolution that was embraced by social theorists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [...] and a major tenet of Social Darwinism is that

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[153]Rutledge, 243.
[154]Gregory Claeys, "The 'Survival of the Fittest' and the Origins of Social Darwinism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (April 2000): 237, accessed 9 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3654026.
[155]Gloria Mc Connaughey, "Darwin and Social Darwinism," *Osiris* 9 (1950): 402, accessed 18 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/301854.
[156]Mc Connaughey, 397.
[157]Benoist, 25.

the lower, or more 'primitive' and immoral cultures, are never as evolved as the more 'civilized' and moral cultures."[158]

The racist ideas that considered black peoples underdeveloped, savage, inferior, and those who were in the need of the assistance of the Europeans in order to achieve high spirit of civilization were legitimized and reinforced by many scientific studies, held by European biologists, anthropologists, and eugenicists. Ashcroft states that "Darwin's contribution was to provide the theory of race with a mechanism of change in the idea of natural selection, and consequently to offer the possibility for planned racial development (eugenics) – a central tenet of the school of thought that came to be known as Social Darwinism."[159]

Under the influence of Social Darwinism, the issue of racism became an instrument for capitalist ideologies, which "was born out of the socioeconomic relations of capitalist imperialism, and it resulted in the ordering of exploitative relations of production along racial lines."[160] The British colonizers achieved economic and political superiority over the conquered lands, and the late-Victorian scientists espoused scientific explanations in order to rationalize and legitimize colonialism and imperialism. Särkkä states that "the notion that England was the leader of humanity is a key Victorian conviction. This conviction is said to be the paramount element in British Imperialism, a belief that England is the chosen nation, not by accident but because she deserves to be."[161] Thus, Social Darwinism was the product of such expansionistic and imperialistic desire of the West, especially that of the British in the late-Victorian period.

In the late nineteenth century, Darwinism became a kind of social theory which theorized that some races, such as blacks and coloreds, were inferior to others and this theory

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[158]Tanya A. Faberson, "Racial Purity (U.S.) 1900-1910," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. II: G-R (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 468.
[159]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts*, 183.
[160]Alice Littlefield, "Exploitation," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 450.
[161]Timo Särkkä, "Hobson's Imperialism: A Study in late-Victorian Thought," (PhD Diss., University of Jyväskylä, Finland, 2009), 23, accessed 21 March 2012. http://www.academia.edu/4124581/978-951-39-4935-8.

was assumed by many Europeans in various guises in their practices of colonization. Claeys claims that,

> In *The Origin*, Darwin had used the term race very loosely, to denote species in general. Although the language of race in the *Descent* is overlaid almost exactly on an earlier, familiar language of savagery and civility, which was itself central to the existing justification of imperial expansion, Darwin here presumes that the "civilised races [...] encroach on and replace" the savage, with the "lower races" being displaced through the accumulation of capital and the growth of the arts.[162]

Traverso indicates that "the metamorphoses of modern racism are largely indissociable from the process of colonization in Asia and Africa,"[163] and during the late nineteenth century, the belief that "the Blacks were the least developed, and the Caucasians were the highest, most evolved race"[164] was at the core of racism or racist attitudes of Europeans in the conquered lands. By considering the impact of Darwinism on the American intellectuals and society, Richard Hofstadter proposes that

> Although Darwinism was not the primary source of the belligerent ideology and dogmatic racism of the late nineteenth century, it did become a new instrument in the hands of the theorists of race and struggle. [...] In the decades after 1885, Anglo-Saxonism, belligerent or pacific, was the dominant abstract rationale of American imperialism [...].The Darwinist mood sustained the belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority which obsessed many American thinkers in the latter half of

[162]Claeys, 237.
[163]Traverso, 47.
[164]Jerry Bergman, "Evolution and the Origins of the Biological Race Theory," *Journal of Creation*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (August 1993):158.

> the nineteenth century. The measure of world domination already achieved by the "race" seemed to prove it the fittest.[165]

The superiority of the "white" race over the "colored" people was elevated on a high level with the publications of many European scientists and biologists, primarily Francis Galton, Karl Pearson, Herbert Spencer, George William Hunter, and Alfred Russell Wallace.

Francis Galton (1822–1911), Darwin's cousin, was the first scientist who applied Darwin's theories to the field of sociology. Influenced by Charles Darwin's evolutionary works, Galton, the British explorer, cartographer, and statistician, determined the ranks among races in which the Negro race was regarded as two grades below the Anglo-Saxon race. By ranking the nations and races, Galton "graded men on a scale of genius from 'A' to 'G,' with 'G' being the highest grade."[166] In his ranking, Galton stated that "the average intellectual standard of the negro race is some two grades below our own […]. It is seldom that we hear of a white traveller meeting a black chief whom he feels to be the better man."[167]

In 1883, Galton coined the term "eugenics," which he defined as "the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop to the utmost advantage."[168] The word "eugenic" consists of a combination of two Greek words; "*eu*, meaning good or well and *gen*, meaning birth, seed or born."[169] Regarded as the father of the Eugenic Movement, Francis Galton argued that "individual characteristics were determined solely by heredity."[170] Due to the foundation of the Eugenics

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[165]Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 172-73.
[166]Carolyn F. Lobban, "Francis Galton," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 2.
[167]Taylor, 452.
[168]Francis Galton, "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (July 1904): 1, accessed 19 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2762125.
[169]Evelyn B. Kelly, ed., "What is Eugenics?" in *Encyclopedia of Human Genetics and Disease* (Santa Barbara, CA.: Greenwood, 2013), 240.
[170]Galton, quoted in Taylor, 452.

Education Society in England in 1907, England was regarded as the birth place of the modern eugenics in the world.

According to Frank Besag, the theorists of evolution or eugenics "were not interested in the similarities between the races and nationalities because these similarities would have disproved their racist beliefs."[171] In his discussions, based on his own observations through the trips to Africa, Galton proposes that "the number among the negroes of those, whom we should call half-witted men, is very large. Every book alluding to negro servants in America is full of instances. [He] was [himself] much impressed by this fact during [his] travels in Africa."[172] In *Hereditary Genius* (1869), he compared races, especially "the negro race with the Anglo-Saxon."[173] As a Victorian explorer, he spent some years in Africa and he claimed that "the mistakes the Negroes made in their own matters […] were so childishly stupid and simpleton-like as frequently made [him] ashamed of [his] own species."[174]

Karl Pearson (1857-1936) is another British eugenicist who was inspired by the populist ideas and studies of Galton with regard to the hereditary genius. Reformulating the natural selection of the fittest stock, Pearson delivered a speech on 19 November 1901, entitled "National Life from the Standpoint of Science". According to Pearson, for the survival of the physically and mentally fittest race in order to reach a high state of civilization, the struggle of Anglo-Saxon race against the "Kaffir" race ought to be made because Kaffirs' "intertribal struggles have not yet produced a civilization in the least comparable with the Aryan. Educate and nurture them as you will, I do not believe that you will succeed in modifying the stock."[175] By considering the struggle of black people in a

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[171]Frank P. Besag, "Social Darwinism, Race, and Research," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January-February 1981): 61, accessed 18 September 2012. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1163643.
[172]Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), 338.
[173]Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, 338.
[174]Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, 339.
[175]Pearson, quoted in Karl Pearson, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1905), 21.

changing environment as unconscious, useless, and blind, Pearson approved the white man's struggle "more and more conscious, carefully directed attempt […] to fit itself to a continuously changing environment."[176] In his speech, Pearson proclaimed his racist ideology with regard to the blacks in South Africa thus:

> We shall never have a healthy social state in South Africa until the white man replaces the dark in the fields and the mines, and the Kaffir is pushed back towards the equator. The nation organized for the struggle must be a homogeneous whole, not a mixture of superior and inferior races. For this reason every new land we colonize with white men is a source of strength.[177]

According to Dennis Rutledge both Kidd and Pearson were

> territorial expansionists who viewed European, and especially English, colonialism, imperialism, and other efforts to control the natural resources and people of distant continents as natural components of the Darwinist principles entailed in the struggle for existence, survival, and supremacy. […] Kidd and Pearson saw English political, economic, and cultural control of "inferior" races as not only necessary to England's political and economic survival, but also important for bringing civilization to the unenlightened.[178]

In 1831, Charles Darwin set out on his voyage in His Majesty's Ship (HMS) *Beagle*. His voyage memoirs were later published under the title of *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839), in which his assertion about the difference between the simple native inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego and European men was quite confusing. He wrote that "I could not have believed how wide was the difference between savage and civilized man; it is greater than between a

[176]Pearson, 37.
[177]Pearson, 50.
[178]Rutledge, 245.

wild and domesticated animal […]. Viewing such a man, one can hardly make oneself believe that they are fellow creatures and inhabitants of the same world."[179]

Therefore, due to the rapid economic, technological, and political expansion of Europe, Darwinism or Social Darwinism was used as scientific explanation in order to justify the triumph of the "civilized" man over the "inferior" races. Eugenicists such as F. Galton, H. Spencer, K. Pearson, and B. Kidd developed racist explanations and descriptions "which would result in the disappearance both of 'inferior races' and inferior strata within dominant races."[180] All of the studies made on the fields of biology, sociology, physics, physiology, and anthropology aimed at reaching two goals; "first, they confirmed White superiority; and second, they strengthened the idea that Blacks should be excluded from the core culture of European society."[181]

On the other hand, in 1911, many government administrators and speakers from many different countries gathered "at the University of London July 26 to July 29."[182] The Congress was held by the participation of more than fifty representatives from different countries. It was the First Universal Races Congress which "was a major demonstration of liberal thought and the promotion of 'monogenism' – the idea that there was 'only one species of man living on earth today.'"[183]

World Wars and Colonialism

The First World War (1914-1918)

The closing years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the two great world wars; the First World War (1914-18) and the Second World

[179]Charles Darwin, quoted in Bergman, 160.
[180]Claeys, 240.
[181]Rutledge, 247.
[182]Ulysses G. Weatherly, "The First Universal Races Congress," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (November 1911): 315, accessed 22 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2763167.
[183]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts*, 185.

War (1939-1945). Before World War I, in the age of high imperialism, the great powers of the world seemed prosperous and in tranquility. However, this pseudo tranquility in domestic and alien policies harbored many international rivalries, jealousies, and competitions for territorial expansion among the European powers.

There were many reasons for the outbreak of the First World War; however, France's defeat in Franco-Prussia war and Germany's newly gained economic and political position among other colonial powers prepared the base for the outbreak of the War. At that time, Germany was on the way of becoming a great industrial country in order to find a place among the world powers. Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941), a strong advocate of German expansion and imperialism and the last German emperor, wanted a unified and strong German navy and army, which would challenge to those of France, Great Britain, Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal. Britain had already many colonies and dominions all over the world, and the situation of other powerful European nations was not much less than that of Britain. Before the war, Germany already began to develop economically and politically and spent great efforts to build a strong army in order to confront with those of the British on the high seas. Klaus J. Bade explains that the German colonial venture

> in Africa and the Pacific was formed primarily in 1884/1885 [and] this period was preceded by massive colonial agitation, initiated in 1879 by Friedrich Fabri, [who] was often called 'father of the German colonial movement' because of his famous pamphlet *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* (*Does Germany Need Colonies?*)[184]

In *Does German Need Colonies?* (1879), Fabri proclaimed that the Germans "had been granted a powerful world position by divine prophecy."[185] During the time when the British, Spanish, French, and the Russian colonizers doubled their populations and

[184]Klaus J. Bade, "Culture, Cash, and Christianity: The German Colonial Experience and The Case Of The Rhenish Mission in New Guinea," *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (July 1987): 54.
[185]Friedrich Fabri, quoted in Arne Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism: 1856-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 32.

territories, many of German elites began to question: "Shouldn't Germany also be a queen among the nations, ruling widely over endless territories, like the English, the Americans, the Russians?"[186]

During the German colonization of Africa, especially in Southwest Africa, the British Empire, with its global size and its long-standing experience, became the most important role model for both Germany and other imperial powers. Compared to Germany, which was a new colonizer nation in Africa, Britain was an experienced colonizer that had already possessed several colonies in Africa for years. Lindner asserts that "German publicists, colonial enthusiasts, [and] also administrators in the colonies […] defined and outlined Germany's identity as colonizer using a transnational view on the British counterpart. The power and magnitude of the British Empire and the geographical position of the British and German colonies were the reason for such an orientation."[187] For the German colonizers, the adoption of the same standpoint like Britain in the colonial policy had pros and cons. The embracement of British colonialism as a role-model by the Germans made the country "oscillated between two poles – an admiration for the British as experienced colonizers and a criticism of British colonial policy – in order to define more clearly Germany's own concepts of colonization."[188] Therefore, some critics who considered British colonialism from German perspective embraced the idea that the German colonizers "had been much better colonizers than the British, who had taken over most of the German colonies after World War I."[189] Accordingly, the German colonizers wanted to be better colonizers than the British colonizers in Africa but they assumed more rigid, cruel, military, and tyrannical policy than other European collaborators.

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[186]Perras, 33.
[187]Ulrike Lindner, "German Colonialism and the British Neighbor in Africa Before 1914: Self-Definitions, Lines of Demarcation, and Cooperation," in V. Langbehn and M. Salama, eds., *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany* (New York: Columbia UP, 2011), 255.
[188]Lindner, 256.
[189]Lindner, 255.

Meanwhile, Britain had never loosened control in the continent and "constantly monitored its colonial neighbors in Africa and did not lose sight of Germany, its most important rival in Europe."[190] During the German colonization of Africa, especially in German Southwest Africa and German East Africa, the rigid, brutal, and harsh management of native people were strictly criticized by the British and other colonial powers in the land. Although the German and British colonial settlers collaborated with each other to impose the white European superiority over the indigenous native people, the wrong policy of the German colonial administration was being criticized occasionally by the British colonial powers. Lindner indicates that the British colonizers "were critical of German militarism, of overregulation and rigid administration in the colonies [and] the cruelty of German conduct remained a major point of criticism in the British press."[191] So, the cruel handling of indigenous people, "especially in German Southwest Africa – was used in the Versailles Treaty as a major justification for depriving Germany of its colonies."[192] In the British discourse, the tyrannical rule of the German colonizers was presented as follows:

> The German is apt to be harsh, overbearing and cruel to natives, partly as a result of military discipline at home, which in the Colonies often leads him to be tyrannical to his subordinates whether black or white. The system of bureaucracy, taxation, rules, regulations for muzzling dogs and extinguishing lights at a certain time has unhappily been introduced with full force into the Colonies.[193]

Lindner indicates that the deficient and incompetent policy of the German colonial administration, "which had not managed to introduce a reasonable handling of the indigenous population, was indicted as triggering the outbreak of the First World War."[194] In

[190]Lindner, 257.
[191]Lindner, 257-58.
[192]Lindner, 258.
[193]Lindner, 257-58.
[194]Lindner, 258.

this respect, the German colonial empire, "founded with pomp and ceremony in 1884/1885, came to an abrupt end during World War I."[195] The country was defeated in World War I and the Treaty of Versailles "forced the Reich to give up all overseas territories, [and] put an early end to German colonial history."[196]

Germany's imperial role in the colonized countries among other world powers was short-lived because the First World War put an end to the excessive desire of Germany in terms of its overseas colonies and possessions. When the First World War was finally over, many treatises were signed by the allied victors of the war, one of which was the "Treaty of Versailles" (28 June 1919), signed between Germany and the victors of the war. Established in Paris Peace Conference (January 1919), by the proposal of the US President Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations was established after the First World War as a part of the "Versailles Treaty." The task of the League of Nations, established mostly by the allied victor countries and associated powers, was to maintain worldwide peace. The League of Nations issued many articles by the attendance of many presidents of different countries, primarily of Britain, France, United States, and Italy in order to govern and establish long-term prospects for the peace and security of nations in the world.[197] Regarding the security and well-being of colonized peoples in the colonies, the Article 22 of the Covenant of the League was stated thus:

> To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous condition of the modern world there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of

[195]Bade, 53.
[196]Bade, 56.
[197]Ben N. Azikiwe, "Ethics of Colonial Imperialism," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (July 1931): 287-308, accessed 26 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2713923.

> such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.[198]

Germany and her allies were not invited to the Treaty of Versailles and also "they were not allowed any share in the formulation of the new peace. Their function would be simply receive and accept the treaties presented to them. The treatises were worked out by the five great powers (the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan). The basic decisions were made behind closed doors."[199] According to the articles of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was held responsible for the beginning of war and blamed for giving too many casualties. She was forced to pay massive war reparations and to "sign a blank check of unknown and certainly immense."[200] The worst case for Germany was that she lost its colonies in Africa and the Pacific, and they were distributed among the winners of the war. Finally, in the "Treaty of Versailles,"

> allies took the position that Germans were not to be trusted to promote the welfare of less developed peoples, all Germany's overseas possessions were to be given to the League to be distributed at the League's pleasure as 'mandated' territories. Germany was refused the manufacture and possession of all poison gas, tanks, and other offensive weapons. No import nor export of munitions or arms was allowed. Germany was forbidden any military air force.[201]

In the Treaty, "the allies choose […] to penalize Germany not only she was defeated militarily […] but because she had committed a frightful crime against humanity."[202] The "War Guilt Clause" was one of the heavy sanctions imposed upon Germany in the Treaty. The Clause reads as follows: "the Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany

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[198]Azikiwe, 292.
[199]Marshall Dill, *Germany: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), 273.
[200]Dill, 273.
[201]Dill, 272.
[202]Dill, 273.

accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."[203]

In fact, the First World War was the struggle of the Great Powers of the world so as to acquire the hegemony and domination of the world and its sources for lucrative operations. Consequently, when the First World War ended in 1918 with heavy sanctions and harsh terms, imposed especially upon Germany, the allied victorious countries and "Britain acquired other territories in the Middle East, administered under a League of Nations mandate. These included the new state of Iraq (an amalgamation of three Mesopotamian provinces) and Palestine, envisaged as a homeland for Jewish people."[204]

The Second World War (1939-1945) and Holocaust

> A people that fails to preserve the purity of its racial blood thereby destroys the unity of the soul of the nation in all its manifestations. (Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf*)

After the end of the First World War, the world was diverged by some opposing political groups and movements such as communism, fascism, and Nazism. Erupted in September 1939, when Germany attempted to invade Poland, the Second World War became one of the bloodiest battles that the whole world experienced. It was also one of the defining events in the twentieth century which involved almost every nation in the world. Omer Bartov states that "the Great War's new fields of glory were the breeding ground of fascism and Nazism, of human degradation and extermination, and from them sprang the storm troops of dictatorships and the demagogues of racial purity and exclusion."[205] The war influenced all

[203]Dill, 273.
[204]Fhlathu´In, 28.
[205]Bartov, *Mirrors of Destruction*, 12.

Europe, the Pacific, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Omer Bartov states that the Second World War

> was the scene of destruction on an unprecedented scale: from Leningrad to Stalingrad, Warsaw to Auschwitz, Nanjing to Okinawa, Rotterdam and Coventry to Dresden and Hiroshima, the world was seized by a paroxysm of self-obliteration that no single mind could grasp nor could the wildest fantasies encompass.[206]

There were many reasons for the outbreak of the Second World War. The Treaty of Versailles, which ended the First World War, and the economic crisis that engulfed all over the world were regarded as important events that triggered the outbreak of World War II. At the end of World War I, harsh terms, massive war reparation bills, and various military and economic restrictions were imposed upon Germany, and this had made the country crippled and humiliated among other nations of the world. Appeared in 1929, the Great Depression led many right-wing parties to launch on the stage in many parts of the world. Being as a prominent extreme right-wing leader in Germany, Adolf Hitler and his ideology of Nazism were soon supported by a small but powerful circle in Germany. Adolf Hitler, "a decorated First World War veteran and failed artist from Vienna, assumed the task of resurrecting Germany and imposing its hegemony on all Europe."[207]

In the early of 1930s, Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), the leader of the National Socialist German Workers Party (commonly known as the Nazi Party), terminated the membership of the League of Nations in order to reconstruct the sense of pride and power within the country. After the death of the German president Hindenburg in 1934, Hitler took over the roles of the Chancellor and President of Germany. So, the Nazi Party "seized total control of

[206]Bartov, *Mirrors of Destruction*, 30.
[207]Adam Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2010), 236.

the German state, abolishing its federalist structure, dismantling democratic government and outlawing political parties and trade unions."[208]

Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*) (1925), penned during his five years' of his imprisonment, mainly includes "a series of struggles of opposites: light against darkness, health against sickness, the visible against invisible, form against formlessness in the arts and thought, culture against decadence, and Aryan against Jew."[209] Once installed in power, Hitler and his Nazi Party began to implement the essential ideology of Nazism on the ground of politics. Throughout the history, the Nazi régime was recalled by holocaust, *Dolchstosslegende* (stab-in-the-back myth), anti-Semitism, gestapo, and Nazi concentration camps. As a strong believer of 'stab-in-the-back myth' and the superior position of "Aryan race," Hitler began to infuse anti-Semitic propagandas into the country. Like the British eugenicists, who glorified Anglo-Saxon race, Hitler espoused the idea that the "Aryan race" was the master race that would rule the whole world.

Under the influence of the British Eugenic Movement, Hitler's target was to achieve a pure "Aryan race" which caused to "the isolation of all Jews for eventual expulsion and extermination."[210] For Hitler and his cohorts, "the Jews were the main focus of exclusionary laws based upon state-authored racism. […] For the Nazis, the Jews were the group that caused fear and anomie."[211] Raul Hilberg, states that

> the expulsion and exclusion policy was adopted by the Nazis and remained the goal of all anti-Jewish activity until 1941. That year marks a turning point in anti-Jewish history. In 1941, the Nazis found themselves

[208]Jones, 236.
[209]Stephen C. Feinstein, "Holocaust," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. II: G-R (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 104.
[210]Jones, 238.
[211]Feinstein, 105.

> in the midst of a total war. Several million Jews were incarcerated in ghettos.[212]

Racism and Galton's "Eugenic movement" had great impact on the formation of the concepts such as "racial purity" and "racial hygiene" (*Rassenhygiene*) in Germany. Like the British eugenicists, "who believed that the human race could be improved by controlled breeding and, conversely, that it could be harmed if those who were considered hereditarily impaired were permitted to reproduce,"[213] the Nazi scientists and theorists constructed the "idea of the Aryan along racial lines as having white skin, blond hair, blue eyes, and a right to rule because of natural selection, the Jews were constructed in an opposite light."[214]

Ian Kershaw points out the relation between World War II and Hitler's policy. He notes that "war and genocide – or perhaps better: world war and murder of the Jews – automatically evoke direct association with Hitler."[215] Derived from "the Greek *holokaustos*, meaning a burnt offering, as used in a religious sacrifice,"[216] Holocaust was identified with Hitler and his Nazi policy in order to ensure the purity and biological well-being of Aryan race. The consequence of the deliberate practices of Hitler's Nazi policy on the extermination of the Jews in Germany is indicated thus:

> Between 1933 and 1945, Germany's government, led by Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist (Nazi) party, carried out a deliberate, calculated attack on European Jewry. Basing their actions on racist beliefs that Germans were a superior people and on an antisemitic ideology, and using World War II as a primary means to achieve their goals, the Nazis targeted Jews as the main enemy, killing six million Jewish men, women,

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[212]Raul Hilberg, "The destruction of the European Jews: precedents," in Omer Bartov ed., *The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation, Aftermath* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 25.
[213]William F. Meinecke, A. Zapruder, and T. Kaiser, *Nazi Ideology and the Holocaust* (Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), 75.
[214]Feinstein, 104.
[215]Ian Kershaw, "Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (April, 2004): 242, accessed 31 October 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3180723.
[216]Feinstein, 103.

> and children by the time the war ended in 1945. This act of genocide is now known as the Holocaust.[217]

Just a few months after his coming to power, Hitler and his cohorts passed many laws, directed to and affected all the Jews in Europe. One of the important laws that was enacted by the Nazi government was the "Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring," issued on 14 July 1933. The implementation of this law, which was inspired by the ideological rhetoric of eugenicists, not only caused to the persecution of the Jews but the elimination of Roma gypsies, homosexuals, weak, patient, and eugenically deleterious people as well. The abovementioned law "categorically stated that people with certain congenital (present at birth) conditions were by definition hereditarily diseased and must be sterilized, although no scientific data proved that all of those ailments were inherited or transmitted across generations."[218] Hitler's anti-Jewish policy, which was introduced for the sake of achieving the purification of "Aryan race," is explained by Jones as follows:

> Communists (depicted as closely linked to Jewry) and other political opponents, handicapped and senile Germans, homosexuals, Roma (Gypsies), Polish intellectuals, vagrants, and other "asocial" elements all occupied the attention of the Nazi authorities during this period, and were the victims of "notorious achievements in human destruction" exceeding the persecution of the Jews until 1941.[219]

The "euthanasia program," commonly called Aktion T-4, was handled by SS doctors to achieve a pure Aryan race and it started in 1939. The so-called mercy killings, euphemism for euthanasia, were supported by Hitler and his cohorts, who "stigmatized the mentally and physically ill by introducing the terms such as 'useless eaters' and 'life unworthy of life.'"[220] The implementation of T-4 euthanasia program would "relieve the state and the German

[217]Meinecke, Zapruder, and Kaiser, 3.
[218]Meinecke, Zapruder, and Kaiser, 76.
[219]Jones, 238.
[220]Meinecke, Zapruder, and Kaiser, 81.

people of carrying the load of 'racially valueless' people. By 1941 the Nazis had euthanized over 70,000 hospitalized people under this program."[221] Within the framework of this program,

> the children were the first to be selected for euthanasia, followed by the mentally ill and eventually those working in concentration camps and as slave laborers who could no longer work due to injury, starvation, or illness. Racial hygiene, which began as a theory of improving the genetic stock of a nation, had evolved into wanton murder and, ultimately, genocide.[222]

In this respect, the T-4 Euthanasia Program was regarded as the "forerunner of genocide of Jews"[223] by the historians and theorists, and it included "gassing operations [in which] an estimated 100,000 patients were killed. Others were killed through starvation or injections of phenol directly into the heart."[224]

The Nuremberg Laws, which were passed on 14 November 1935, "stripped Jews of citizenship and gave legal shape to the Nazis' race-based theories: intermarriage or sexual intercourse between non- Jews and Jews was prohibited."[225] With the implementation of the Nuremberg Laws by the Nazi government,

> the civil rights of Jews were cancelled, their voting rights were abolished, and those Jewish civil servants who were still working were retired (this process of removal began in April 1933). On December 21, 1935, the

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[221]John P. Jackson and Nadine M. Weidman, "The Origins of Scientific Racism," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 50 (Winter 2005-2006): 78, accessed 1 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25073379.
[222]Gretchen E. Schafft, "Rassenhygiene," in John Hartwell Moore ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. III: S-Z (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 488.
[223]Jones, 241.
[224]Feinstein, 107.
[225]Jones, 236.

> "Second Supplemental Decree" led to the dismissal of all professors, teachers, physicians, lawyers, and notaries who were state employees.[226]

The anti-Jewish policy of Nazi Germany was proclaimed explicitly by Hitler's speech, delivered on 30 January 1939 before the Reichstag in Berlin, Germany. Declaring his intentions about the extermination program palpably and his outrage towards the Jews of the world, Hitler proclaimed to the European world:

> It is a shameful spectacle to see how the whole democratic world is oozing sympathy for the poor tormented Jewish people […]. German culture, as its name alone shows, is German and not Jewish. Today I will be once more a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevizing of the earth and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.[227]

Regarding Jews as aliens and dangerous viruses that should be purged from the bloodstream of Germany, Hitler declared in February 1942 that "tracking down the Jewish virus is one of the greatest revolutions ever achieved in the world. The battle that we are waging is of the same nature as that waged in the last century by Pasteur and Koch. How many diseases originate in the Jewish virus! We shall regain our health only by eliminating the Jew."[228] With regard to the destructive effects of the Holocaust, Bartov indicates that "if World War I had replaced the old notion of chivalry with the sustained industrial killing of

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[226]Feinstein, 105.
[227]Adolf Hitler, quoted in Roderick Stackelberg and Sally A. Winkle, eds., *The Nazi Germany Sourcebook: An Anthology of Texts* (London: Routledge, 2002), 229.
[228]Hitler, quoted in Richard A. Koenigsberg, *Nations Have the Right to Kill: Hitler, the Holocaust and War* (New York: Library of Social Science, 2009), 4.

nameless soldiers, Nazi Germany invented the glorification of systematic industrial killing of civilians."[229]

The Wannsee Conference, held on 20 January 1942, was regarded as the beginning of the extermination program of Jews by the Nazi Party in Germany. The Conference was attended by "15 high-ranking Nazi party, SS, and German government officials gathered at a villa in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee to discuss and coordinate the implementation of the Final Solution."[230] The leading bureaucrats and Nazi officials in the Wannsee Conference

> envisioned that the Final Solution would ultimately involve 11 million European Jews from Ireland to the Urals and from Scandinavia to Spain – in short, every Jew in Europe. More than half of the conference participants held doctoral degrees. No one protested the plan or the decision to implement it.[231]

In the Conference, Reinhard Heydrich, one of Hitler's high-ranked SS officials, declared to the members that he was in charge of the Jewish question. Reinhard "became the effective leader of early plans to implement the Final Solution. He and his subordinate, Adolf Eichmann, controlled the bureaucratic apparatus to implement this policy."[232] Final Solution was "merely the last and most extreme manifestation of a long European tradition of anti-Jewish sentiments, combined since the second part of the nineteenth century with the emergence of modern political anti-Semitism and scientific racism."[233]

Supported by the periodicals, laws, broadcasting, and literary discourse, the segregation and the expulsion of the Jews from public life was a calculated activity. The repulsion of Jews by the Nazi government in the country began with the exclusion of Jews from the public life and all the governmental activities. On 15 September 1941, the Jews in

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[229]Bartov, *Mirrors of Destruction*, 29.
[230]Meinecke, Zapruder, and Kaiser, 142.
[231]Meinecke, Zapruder, and Kaiser, 142.
[232]Feinstein, 110.
[233]Omer Bartov, ed., Introduction to *The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation, Aftermath* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 1.

Germany were forced to carry a yellow star which marked them as Jews when they appeared in public life. Thus daily life for Jews was made extraordinarily harsh and bitter. The expulsion of Jews from the professional and economic life resulted in the extermination and persecution of Jews in concentration, internment camps, and ghettos. In order to determine the ethical identification of Jews and seclude them from the pure 'Aryan race,' Jewish men were forced "to take the middle name 'Israel' and women the middle name 'Sara.'"[234] The following quotation well depicts the discriminatory attitudes of Nazism and the exclusions of Jews from the public and economic life:

> Jews had to leave certain city quarters and streets; they were prohibited from visiting public places or using public transportation, communication, or services. Gentiles were forbidden to associate with Jews or to provide them with any assistance. Jewish food rations were reduced, and Jews were banned from shopping during most of the day and from buying many commodities. The authorities expelled Jewish children from schools and forbade the hiring of private teachers.[235]

Herschel Grynszpan, a Jewish teenager, shot a German diplomat in Paris, on 7 November 1938. This wanton event was called *Kristallnacht* (The Night of Broken Glass) for the broken glasses of the store windows of Jewish shops, houses, and synagogues littered the streets of German cities. This event was the first German nationwide outburst against the Jews.[236] *Kristallnacht* "represented a critical fork in the path toward genocide that solidified collectivity's perceptions of Jews as 'others,' *deserving* of their fate."[237] The violence organized by the Nazi government against the Jewish people found no public objection and opposition; it was perceived as a legitimated action:

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[234]Feinstein, 106.
[235]Feinstein, 105.
[236]Feinstein, 106.
[237]Lisa Parisi, "The Victim Myth: Self-Delusion and Categorization in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and Early Postwar German Society," *School of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies*, Issue 1 (2011): 13.

> The elites did not utter a word. The working class did not utter a word. The bourgeoisie shook their heads in dismay and said nothing. And thus it was not the Nazis alone who crossed the line, but their compatriots too. The pogrom of 9 November 1938 was the end of the beginning; the 10th of November was the beginning of the end.[238]

The concept of genocide, frequently recalled as the mass murder of the world's Jewish population during the Second World War, was coined by a Polish Jewish lawyer Raphael Lemkin in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944), in which he presents the definition and historiography of Nazism and genocide. He states that the word is the combination of "the ancient Greek word '*genos*' (race, tribe) and the Latin '*cide*' (killing) [and] by genocide we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group."[239] Lemkin explains that

> genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. […]. Genocide has two phases: one, the destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor.[240]

Traverso draws attention to the similarities between European colonialism and the practices of Nazi Party. He states that "deportation, dehumanization, and racial extermination as undertaken by Hitler's Germany are in line with earlier ideas that were

[238]Parisi, 13.
[239]Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (New Jersey: Lawbook Exchange Ltd., 2005), 79.
[240]Lemkin, 79.

firmly anchored in the history of Western Imperialism."[241] By considering the links between Western imperialism and Nazism, he states that

> The imperialists occupied territories in order to pillage them, to seize their raw materials, conquer new markets, and "extend civilization," and to that end they needed to postulate the rationale of the Europeans' superiority over those colonized and if necessary to subject the latter to a policy of extermination. Nazism subscribed to the same logic, but the central and primary goal of its expansionism was to extend German domination on the basis of biological and racist claims.[242]

Like Traverso, Jürgen Zimmerer points to the analogy between the policy of settler colonizers in Africa and Nazi expansionism. In his essay, he emphasizes that "like Nazi expansionism, settler colonies rest on the control, exploitation, and settlement of huge territories by a new population next to an indigenous one. In both cases, this was not to involve a partnership of equals but the subjugation, on occasion even the extermination, of the original inhabitants."[243] By considering the effects of colonialism on the materialization of genocidal practices of Nazism, Zimmerer argues that "colonialism assumes such an important place in the development of genocidal thought because through it, notions of 'discovery,' conquest, annexation, and settlement were positively coded, popularized, and held up as a model."[244]

The gradual development of the genocide was regarded by Zimmerer as an outcome of the white colonial settlers in the conquered lands. Zimmerer asserts that, in the formation and development of the genocidal thought, the function of Western colonialism is of importance

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[241]Traverso, 73.
[242]Traverso, 73-74.
[243]Jürgen Zimmerer, "Annihilation in Africa: The Race War in German Southwest Africa (1904-1908) and its Significance for a Global History of Genocide," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, No. 37 (Fall 2005): 54.
[244]Zimmerer, 56.

because it urged the "notions of discovery, conquest, annexation, and settlement"[245] as positive practices in the minds of the colonizers and imperialists. Furthermore, he notes that

> the dream of the promised land, of the white settler colony, of the unpopulated tabula rasa that was to be developed anew according to one's understanding of civilization, or the identification of one's own life with a godly, historical, or civilizing mission, could create the readiness to commit mass murder if necessary. […] In the history of colonization, genocidal massacres first occurred on a local level. Examples of the butchering of men, women, and children by bands of settlers and local militias can be readily found in the settler colonies. These local murders were quickly transformed into punitive expeditions. Over time, army and police units were established for this purpose. A heightened form of these campaigns of annihilation was genocidal war of conquest and pacification.[246]

The extermination of the Jews in the world during the Nazi régime between 1933 and 1945 has been regarded as an unprecedented event in world history. However, many historians, professionalized on the Holocaust, regarded the Herero and Nama (the territory named Namibia today) war from 1904 to 1907 as a precursor to Nazi Holocaust. During the German colonization of Southwest Africa, "the relations between Africans and whites were increasingly determined by a climate of violence. At the same time, many individual German authorities pushed for an energetic, i.e. brutal approach to the Herero and a more rapid expropriation of their land."[247] In the German South-West Africa, Herero and Nama war

[245]Zimmerer, 56.
[246]Zimmerer, 55.
[247]Zimmerer, 52.

which took place a generation before the Nazi Holocaust "became a war of annihilation and genocide."[248]

During the Herero and Nama war, the military genocidal policy of the war was conducted by the German general Lothar von Trotha, whom Zimmerer regards as a "race warrior."[249] Trotha's repulsion towards the natives in the German South-West Africa resulted in total destruction and annihilation of over eighty percent of Herero and Nama people in 1904. In one of his speeches, Trotha says that "the exercise of violence with crass terrorism and even with gruesomeness was and is [his] policy. […] [He]destroy[s] the African tribes with streams of blood and streams of money."[250] Zimmerer indicates that Trotha's

> ideology of race war distinguished the war in German South-West Africa from the other colonial conflicts of the era. Race war meant a war of annihilation: Women and children were seen as legitimate targets, too. Race war is war without limits, a life-or death struggle against an "absolute enemy".[251]

Similarly, Mahmood Mamdani points out the link between the Herero war and the practices of European colonialism. He regards "the extermination of Herero people as the first genocide of the twentieth century."[252] Like Zimmerer, he refers to the crucial role of General Lothar von Trotha in the destruction and annihilation of many Herero people in the German South-West Africa from 1904 to 1907 and he deems Trotha to a "monster from the lunatic fringe of the German officer corps."[253] He took an active role during the war and delivered many speeches that reflected his brutal and merciless manners towards the natives of the land. Mamdani quotes one of Trotha's speeches as follows:

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[248]Zimmerer, 52.
[249]Zimmerer, 53.
[250]Trotha von Lothar, quoted in Mahmood Mamdani, "A Brief History of Genocide," *Transition*, 87 (2001): 31, accessed 17 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3137437.
[251]Zimmerer, 52.
[252]Mamdani, "A Brief History of Genocide," 31.
[253]Mamdani, "A Brief History of Genocide," 31.

> I believe that the nation as such should be annihilated, or, if this was not possible by tactical measures, have to be expelled from the country by operative means and further detailed treatment. The constant movement of our troops will enable us to find the small groups of the nation who have moved back westwards and destroy them gradually. […] My intimate knowledge of many central African tribes (Bantu and others) has everywhere convinced me of the necessity that the Negro does not respect treaties but only brute force.[254]

In *When Victims Become Killers*, Mamdani draws an analogy between the Rwandan genocide (1994) and Nazi Holocaust: "Rwandan genocide needs to be thought through within the logic of colonialism."[255] Furthermore, he explains that

> The horror of colonialism led two types of genocidal impulses. The first was the genocide of the native by the settler. […] The second was the native impulse to eliminate the settler. Whereas the former was obviously despicable, the latter was not. […] Because it was derivative of the settler violence, the natives' violence appeared less of an outright aggression and more a self-defense in the face of continuing aggression. Faced with the violent denial of his humanity by the settler, the native's violence began as a counter to violence.[256]

As seen in the quotation above, Mamdani suggests that the native violence was rightful and condign because it "was the violence of yesterday's victims who have turned around and decided to cast aside their victimhood and become masters of their own lives."[257]

Frantz Fanon, the Martinique-born political activist and an important theorist of the twentieth century, emphasizes the necessity of the native violence in order to achieve

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[254]Lothar, quoted in Mamdani, "A Brief History of Genocide," 29.
[255]Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2001), 9.
[256]Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers,* 9-10.
[257]Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers,* 13.

freedom. Fanon took part in the course of political resistance to French colonialism and domination during the Algerian revolution and he was deeply distressed by the notions of colonialism and imperialism. For him, "colonialism is violence in its natural state and will only yield when confronted with greater violence."[258] As a trained psychiatrist, Fanon was mostly preoccupied with the psychological effects of European colonialism and imperialism on colonized peoples. He emphasized the importance of violence for the natives in the process of achieving individuality and liberty as a right to self-determination. He claims that "the colonized man finds his freedom in and through violence."[259] Fanon's first sentences in *The Wretched of the Earth* are as follows:

> National liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people, commonwealth: whatever may be the headings used or the new formulas introduced, decolonization is always a violent phenomenon. […] Decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain "species" of men by another "species" of men.[260]

As seen in the quotation above, Fanon emphasizes the necessity of the violent approach during the process of decolonization. He believes in the importance of the native's violence because it is a reactive one in the way of constructing a national unity, identity, and freedom. Fanon took an active part in the Algerian uprising against the French colonialism, and "in the struggle for total liberation, he advocated the use of any means, including violence, to achieve that objective."[261] He proposed the role of native violence in order to construct human dignity, freedom and self-esteem. He notes that "at the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect. […] Illuminated by

[258]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 61.
[259]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 86.
[260]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 35.
[261]Thomas K. Ranuga, "Frantz Fanon and Black Consciousness in Azania (South Africa)," *Phylon*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (1986): 189, accessed 13 November 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/274985.

violence, the consciousness of the people rebels against any pacification."[262] He believes that for the natives, decolonization is necessary in order to regain their dignity and self-esteem. He asserts that

> If we wish to describe [decolonization] precisely […]: "The last shall be first and the first last." Decolonization is the putting into practice of this sentence. […] The naked truth of decolonization evokes for us the searing bullets and bloodstained knives which emanate from it. For if the last shall be first, this will only come to pass after a murderous and decisive struggle between the two protagonists. That affirmed intention to place the last at the head of things, and to make them climb at a pace (too quickly, some say) the well-known steps which characterize an organized society, can only triumph if we use all means to turn the scale, including, of course, that of violence.[263]

During the period between 1914 and 1945, the powerful countries in the world massively engaged in two world wars – the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945). Both wars had devastating effects on colonized peoples, who were living almost in every nation. The dominant forces and countries imposed their dehumanizing acts, violence, oppression, and genocidal practices upon the so called 'inferior' and indigenous people in the colonies. Abiola Irele, an important Nigerian academic, indicates that "the cultural and political ascendancy of the white man over the black man, combined with the active denigration of the black man, has thus had the effect of vitiating the latter's self-esteem, with profound psycho-logical consequences, which involve shame and self-hatred."[264] Assuming the God-like position, European colonizers attempted to categorize, construct, and shape colonized peoples by adopting Kipling's notorious slogan

[262]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 94.
[263]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 37.
[264]Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," 501.

"the white man's burden." Dramatic events such as the Great Depression, holocaust, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and ideologies such as Nazism and fascism were those that marked the period.

Black Identity and Consciousness: The Negritude Movement

> The White will never be negro
> for beauty is negro
> and negro is wisdom
> for endurance is negro
> and negro is courage
> for patience is negro
> and negro is irony
> for charm is negro
> and negro is magic
> for joy is negro
> for peace is negro
> for life is negro. (Léon Damas, *Black Label*, 1956)

During the high time of imperialism and colonialism, the West saw Africa as a country solely composed of a torrid region with a fiery heat that disallowed its people to make any history, technology, morality, culture, or religion. This idea was occasionally challenged by some anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist groups and movements. Between the two world wars, many intellectuals and writers from former colonies – Africa, India, Asia, and Latin America – began to disprove the social injustice, domination, aggression, and inequalities that European colonization forced upon them for years. Thus, as opposed to the dehumanizing attitudes of colonial oppression, colonized peoples organized and began resistance movements in order to declare their freedom, self-esteem, and individuality. By

organizing some local native resistances and revolts against the settler-violence, colonized peoples in the former colonies tried to achieve independence and freedom from the bondage of colonialism and imperialism. Colonial oppression and subjugation was so much colossal for the native people that "[colonized peoples] [had] to go through the whole process of relearning to be human."[265] Nichols observes that during the period after the Second World War,

> the colonial status of many of these peoples was formally ended, in many cases through wars of national liberation, in some cases through negotiation and legal settlement. If the period extending from 1492 to 1914 was predominately one of formalized colonialism, the period from 1914 to the 1970s might be said to be one of formalized decolonization.[266]

Like the local resistance and conflicts against the settler violence, many anti-colonial intellectuals, critics, theorists, and authors all over the world produced many novels, treatises, essays, histories that denounce, contest, and accuse European aggression and domination.

For the African and people of African descent, many politico-cultural movements emerged in order to reformulate and recreate the black consciousness and identity which had been represented as childlike and as those who were unable to be a member of the civilized world. In a global scale, anti-colonial movements began its evolution with the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and went forward with the Negritude Movement of the 1930s, and the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. As a response to the alienated

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[265]Messay Kebede, "The Rehabilitation of Violence and the Violence of Rehabilitation: Fanon and Colonialism," *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 5 (May 2001): 540, accessed 1 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2668075.

[266]Robert Nichols, "Postcolonial Studies and the Discourse of Foucault: Survey of a Field of Problematization," *Foucault Studies*, No. 9 (September 2010): 113.

and subordinated positions of the blacks in the world, many African and Francophone intellectuals emphasized the uniqueness of black identity, culture, and history.

Dismas Masolo explains that black people had been degraded and alienated and were turned into subordinated people by Western colonialism and domination for years. The dehumanizing attitudes of Europe ruined and destroyed "his authentic existence and expression. And, *négritude*, as a movement aiming at overcoming the ills of this phenomenon of slavery, was therefore no longer only a state, nor a mere existential attitude, but a becoming, a making."[267] During the early years of the twentieth century, Paris became an epicenter for the black Francophone intellectuals who were drawn there for various reasons. The city also hosted the first Pan-African Conference in 1919, which was organized and chaired by W.E.B. DuBois. Then, several Pan-African Congresses

> were held in this period largely under the leadership of Du Bois in Paris (1919), London and Brussels (1921), London and Lisbon (1923), and New York City (1927). Participants were drawn largely from the Caribbean, American, and European diaspora rather than from Africa itself, and the conferences focused on gradual self-government and interracialism rather than on African independence.[268]

Born among the black intellectuals, writers, musicians, and artists in Paris, the Negritude Movement was an important counter movement to political and cultural enforcement of Western colonialism. Moreover, it was "a symbolic progression from subordination to independence, from alienation, through revolt, to self-affirmation."[269] Steeves suggests that *négritude* is "a way of life; a style; an instrument for liberation; a quality producing an effect, such as emotion or humour; an attitude, such as negation,

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[267]Dismas A. Masolo, *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994), 27.
[268]Diane Brook Napier, "Pan-Africanism," in John Hartwell Moore ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. II: G-R (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 400.
[269]Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," 499.

rejection, or self-affirmation; a race; a skin-colour; a *summum bonum*."[270] The Negritude Movement emphasized mainly the "glorification of the African past and a nostalgia for the imaginary beauty and harmony of traditional African society"[271] in order to valorize the African heritage and to revive the consciousness of black people, disassociated from European political and cultural domination.

Emerged between the two World Wars, the Negritude Movement was an important black consciousness movement of the 1930s and 1940s that aimed to break the yoke of colonialism and to re-construct of black identity. It was initiated mainly by anti-colonial black Francophone writers and poets from different parts of the world. It was regarded as one of the most important attempts to reformulate and recreate black consciousness and identity in the colonized countries. They expressed racial pride, heritage, and nationalist affirmation of black people in opposition to European colonialism. Their ideas were mainly based on the recreation of the uniqueness of black identity in the world and the dismantling of all the negative images of black people who were constructed by the Westerns in the long history of colonialism and imperialism. Thus, the Negritude Movement "developed into a vindication and an exaltation of cultural institutions which were different from those of the west; it was thus a conscious attitude of pluralism. The corollary was a rejection of assimilation and a claim to cultural autonomy and initiative."[272] In this respect, Tomaz Carlos Flores expresses that

> Negritude was […] a search for a collective identity, a racial identity […] that was felt to be necessary in the modern world for the self-affirmation of a group of people, people who until then had been made to experience

[270]Edna L. Steeves, "Negritude and the Noble Savage," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 1973): 92, accessed 17 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/159874.
[271]Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," 509.
[272]Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," 515.

and had been taught that 'they had thought nothing, built nothing, painted nothing, sang nothing'; in sum, that they were nothing.[273]

Inspired by the Harlem Renaissance – flourished after the First World War – the Negritude Movement became a kind of celebration and glorification of the black identity, his heritage, and it reaffirmed his culture which had been derogated and nearly destroyed by the Westerners. W.E.B. DuBois, a strong advocate of black people in the Harlem Renaissance in the USA, was "the first to analyze with clarity the ambiguous social position of the Negro in the U.S.A […]. Du Bois began to develop the racial ethos which informed his political activities as the founder and moving spirit of Pan-Africanism."[274] The celebration of the black beauty and its uniqueness were emphasized by W.E:B. BuBois who proclaims that; "I am a Negro […]. And I glorify in the name! I am proud of the black blood that flows in my veins."[275]

Although the Negritude Movement flourished before the Second World War, the black intellectuals gave great impetus to their colossal body of literature during the period after the war. Despite the fact that the term, "blackness," was coined by Aimé Cesairé first, it was Etienne Léro (1910-1939) who articulated it firstly from the West Indies. His major work, *Légitime Défense* (1932), included Marxist and surrealist implications and dictated the intellectual and cultural liberation for black people. Surrealism, associated with André Breton, was espoused by many intellectuals of *négritude* in order to refute the negative associations of black people imposed them by colonialism and to legitimize the essence and spirit of the Negritude Movement. *Légitime Défense* was important for its function was to

[273]Tomaz Carlos Flores Jacques, "Philosophy in Black: African Philosophy as a Negritude," *Sartre Studies International*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 2011): 4, accessed 11 December 2012, DOI: 10.3167/ssi.2011.170101.
[274]Irele, Abiola. "Negritude or Black Cultural Nationalism," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (October 1965): 333, accessed 1 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/159547.
[275]W.E.B. DuBois, quoted in Francis L. Broderick, *W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1959), 8.

unite the black soul along with African history, culture, and identity. Senghor expresses the impact and importance of *Légitime Défense* thus:

> It had a far reaching audience beyond the West Indies to Africa itself. It presented completely and coherently all the ideas which would grow into the French-speaking black cultural renaissance: a critique of rationalism, the need to regain an original personality, the rejection of an art subservient to European standards, revolt against colonial capitalism.[276]

Masolo says that African philosophy "is historically associated with two related happenings: Western discourse on Africa and the African response to it."[277] Accordingly, *négritude* is a counter movement and one of the well-known of all African literary and cultural movements, emerged by the efforts of three poets from Africa and West Indies. Aimé Césaire from Martinique, Léon Damas from French Guyana, and Léopold S. Senghor from Senegal were regarded as the founding fathers of the movement. Their journal, *L'Etudiant noir* [The Black Student], published in 1934, was of great importance because it gave voice to black people in the arena of Western discourse by emphasizing the commonalities among black people around the world.

As a leading black activist of *négritude*, Léon Gontrand Damas (1912-1978), from French Guyana, is one of the chief advocates of the Negritude Movement. His collection of poems, *Pigments* (1937), criticized and condemned European colonialism, primarily the French colonization and domination. In *Pigments*, the topics such as the creation of self-identity, articulation of blackness, and detestation of discriminatory attitudes of colonialism were criticized fervently by using repetitive style. Damas' irritation results from the alienated position of the colonized in a totally unfamiliar society, culture, and language. For black people, surviving in the white man's country became identified with the differences which

[276]Léopold S. Senghor, quoted in Georgie B. Latimer, "The Negritude Poets and Their Critics: A Literary Assessment and Implications for Education," (PhD Diss., The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1978), 13.
[277]Masolo, 1.

were evoked by the memory of his African heritage. In "Solde" (Sell Out), appeared in *Pigments*, he voiced the alienated position of black people in the white man's country:

> I feel ridiculous
>
> in their shoes
>
> their dinner jackets
>
> their starched shirts
>
> and detachable collars
>
> their monocles and
>
> their bowler hats
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I feel ridiculous
>
> an accomplice among them
>
> a pimp among them
>
> a murderer among them
>
> My hands horribly red
>
> with the blood of their
>
> civ-il-i-za-tion.[278]

Damas' *Pigments* was considered to be the first poetry-collection which gave inspiration to other activists, associated with the Negritude Movement. However, it was burned and "banned two years later by the French government who feared an uprising in the colonies."[279] The Second World War interrupted his poetry but in 1947 he wrote his first anthology of poetry *Latitudes françaises: Poètes d'expression française, 1900- 1945*. In his anthology Damas stated that:

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[278]Léon G. Damas, quoted in Ellen C. Kennedy, trans., *The Negritude Poets: An Anthology of Translations from the French* (New York: Viking Press, 1975), 50.

[279]Nagueyalti Warren, "Pan-African Cultural Movements: From Baraka to Karenga," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 75, No. 1-2 (Winter-Spring 1990): 20, accessed 26 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717686.

> a new period had begun, one in which submission and inhibition no longer had a place, one in which the oppressed had a responsibility to become self-conscious, to become aware of his or her rights and duties as a writer, novelist, storyteller, essayist, or poet. The resultant poetry would be suffused with certain themes: Poverty, illiteracy, the exploitation of man by man, the social and political racism that the black or yellow man suffers, forced labour, inequalities, lies, resignation, swindling, prejudice, smugness, complacency, cowardice, resignation, crimes committed in the names of liberty, equality, fraternity, there's the theme of this indigenous poetry of French expression.[280]

By severing their ties with the West and its established boundaries, black peoples embarked on self-differentiation and self-affirmation. Aimé Cesairé (1913-2008) was another fervent advocate of *négritude*, which "was not officially codified until 1939 by Aimé Césaire in his poem *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (*Notebook of A Return to My Native Land*)."[281] Césaire, from Martinique, is one of the preeminent poet, critic, writer, and creator of the Negritude Movement. In his controversial essay, *Discourse on Colonialism* (1950), he harshly and vigorously criticizes and condemns Western colonialism and domination. Césaire, together with Damas and Senghor, "focused on a desire to redefine the black experience through a rejection of Western ideology of black inferiority."[282] His *négritude* aimed to restore the true meaning of being blackness and emphasized the sense of dignity of black people as a riposte to the canons of the West. He explained the aim of *négritude* as follows:

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[280]Damas, quoted in Belinda E. Jack, *Negritude and Literary Criticism: The History and Theory of "Negro-African" Literature in French* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 63.
[281]Anthony James Ratcliff, "Liberation at the End of a Pen: Writing Pan-African Politics of Cultural Struggle," (PhD Diss., University of Massachusetts-Amherst, 2009), 89, accessed 21 December 2012, http://scholarworks.umass.edu/open_access_dissertations.
[282]Elizabeth Hackshaw, "Remembering Césaire," in Anna Walcott-Hardy, ed., *Uwitoday*, (25 May 2008): 6, accessed 22 December 2012, http://sta.uwi.edu/uwitoday/archive/may_2008/default.asp.

> It must not be forgotten that the word *négritude* was, at first, a riposte. The world negre had been thrown at us as an insult, and we picked it up and turned it into a positive concept. […]. We thought that it was an injustice to say that Africa had done nothing that Africa did not count in the evolution of the world, that Africa had not invented anything of value. It was also an immense injustice, and an enormous error, to think that nothing of value could ever come out of Africa. Our faith in Africa did not result in a sort of philosophy of the ghetto, and this cult of, this respect for, the African past did not lead us to a museum philosophy.[283]

In his long autobiographical poem, *Return to My Native Land*, which includes 1325 lines, Césaire defines the derogated and devastated position of blacks by Western colonialism. He proclaimed that colonialism turned his own being into a lifeless object. Published two years later than Damas' *Pigments*, in *Return to My Native Land,* Césaire "employed poetic strategies that freed the poem from traditional constraints, liberating both form and content. The poem ends on a celebratory note emphasizing the notion of fraternity and the benediction of creation."[284] Acoording to Masolo, Césaire's repetitive use of the two words – "negritude and return" – in the poem aims to:

> conceptualize the dignity, the personhood or humanity, of black people. […] Closely related to the concept of négritude, the idea of "return" gives the dignity, the personhood or humanity, of black people its historicity, it turns it into a consciousness or awareness, into a state (of mind) which is subject to manipulations of history, of power relations. It is this idea of

[283]Bennetta Jules-Rosette, "Jean-Paul Sartre and the philosophy of négritude: Race, self, and society," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (June 2007): 267, accessed 10 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20730796.
[284]Hackshaw, 6.

"return" which opens the way to the definition of négritude as a historical commitment, as a movement.[285]

By using the repetitive words of "not" and "neither" in *Return to My Native Land*, Césaire makes his poetry become much more effective and powerful. By describing the portrait of the negro, using with the negative word "not," he indicates the reconstruction of black identity through the deconstruction of the established Western-myth of black people. His poetic style implies a kind of detestation and refutation of colonialism that has regarded the colored man as insensitive, sub-human, and lifeless objects for years. So, in his poem, he redefines the portrait of the black man by using the negative word "not":

My Négritude is not a stone, its deafness hurled
against clamour of the day,
My Négritude is not a speck of dead water on
the dead eye of the earth,
My Négritude is neither a tower nor a cathedral.
It thrusts into the red flesh of the soil, it thrusts into
the warm flesh of the sky, it digs under
the opaque dejection of its rightful patience.[286]

According to Césaire, the aim of the Negritude Movement was not to resuscitate a lifeless society but to create "a new society […] with the help of all […] the enslaved brothers, a society rich with all the powerful means of modern production and warm with all the ancient fraternity."[287] For Masolo, the word 'return' in the poem refers to the "regaining of a conceptual space in which culture is both field and process – first of alienation and

[285]Masolo, 1-2.
[286]Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," 510.
[287]Aimé Césaire, quoted in Abiola Irele, "A Defence of Negritude: A Propos of Black Orpheus by Jean Paul Sartre," *Transition* 50 (October 1975-March 1976): 41, accessed 3 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2934991.

domination, but now, most importantly, of rebellion and self-refinding."[288] Although its first publication received little attention from the European audience, his *Cahier* (1947), which was reissued after the Second World War with an introduction of André Breton, gained much more popularity and acclaim.

Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001), from Senegal, is another architect and chief advocate of the Negritude Movement. Senghor, the first president of Senegal, defined negritude as "the common denominator of all Negro-Africans, regardless of their ethnic background, their religion, or their country."[289] Senghor's concept of *négritude* "antedates his formal concern with African Socialism, but is connected with it intimately through its early emphasis on the primacy of Africa and later expression of African cultural values."[290] Beginning from his education in Paris till his 20 years of presidency, he collaborated with many Afro-American and Caribbean intellectuals, writers, poets, and theoreticians who became his companions in the formation of Negritude Movement. He also contributed to the publication of black journals such as "Légitime Défense" and "L'Etudiant noir" which were regarded as the beginning of the black cultural and literary movement. According to him, "negritude is the ensemble of the cultural values of the black world, as these express themselves in the life, the institutions and the works of black people."[291] Senghor states that the direction of negritude

> has changed from the struggle against colonial and cultural oppression to the inauguration of a new humanism. In the philanthropist sense of the term, this new humanism, as a system of thought and action concerned

[288]Masolo, 1-2.
[289]Walter A. E. Skurnik, "Leopold Sedar Senghor and African Socialism," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (October 1965): 351, accessed 11 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/159548.
[290]Skurnik, 349.
[291]Senghor, Léopold S., quoted in Jacques, 5.

> with the human race as a whole, heralds the liberation of the Negro from the shackles of racism and colonialism.[292]

Irele indicates that Senghor "points to creative works to demonstrate the presence of a unique African sensibility which animates them, and insists above all on the privileged position of rhythm in African artistic expression."[293] In his oeuvres, Senghor celebrated the beauty and harmony of cultural and traditional values of black people as opposed to those of the Westerns. He joined French army and took part active role in the Second World War and was taken as a prisoner in Nazi prison camps. In the aftermath of the Second World War, he published *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française* (*Anthology of the New Negro and Malagasy Poetry in French*) in 1948. His *Anthologie* was

> a landmark book of Négritude in which he presents the new black poets to the reading public. Although other anthologies had been published before, none had been so clearly defined in terms of the goals of black poets as Senghor's. Its impact was phenomenal, thanks to the preface "Black Orpheus" written for it by Jean Paul Sartre.[294]

Jean-Paul Sartre's *Orphée Noir* (*Black Orpheus*), which appeared first as a preface in Senghor's anthology of the African and Malagasy poets, gave rise to new controversy in the conception of *négritude*. His *Orphée Noir* "was subsequently published in 1949 in the *Presence Africainé* journal and later translated into English by Samuel W. Allen and published as a book (*Black Orpheus*) by the Presence Africainé publishing house in 1976."[295]

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[292]Senghor, quoted in Azzedine Haddaour, "Sartre and Fanon on Negritude and Political Participation," *Sartre Studies International*, Vol. 11, No. 1-2 (2005): 287.
[293]Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," 519.
[294]Kandioura Dramé, "Léopold S. Senghor: Introductory Notes," *Callaloo*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Winter 1990): 12, accessed 15 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2931590.
[295]Jules-Rosette, 270.

Sartre is an important French philosopher and political activist and he was regarded as "one of the ideological founders of the philosophy of négritude because he addressed the dual processes of racial and colonial oppression."[296] Jules-Rosette states that Sartre's

> strategic collaborations with black intellectuals were both instrumental and mutually beneficial. These collaborations were complex, and their traces may be documented across several layers of Sartre's work. […] Much of his thought was devoted to problems of alienation, marginalization, and violence in modern society. […] Sartre attempted to confront the causes and consequences of fascism, anti-Semitism, racism, and social inequality both directly through his political activism and more broadly in his phenomenological and dialectical writings.[297]

Sartre's critical essay, *Black Orpheus*, "delineates the audience for black francophone poetry, defines poetry as a type of politically engaged – or revolutionary – writing, and develops a dialectic of negritude."[298] His philosophical ideas regarding négritude in *Orphée Noir* and reference to négritude as anti-racist racism "raised questions about the nature and scope of Negro-African literature which have shaped the criticism's development and which remain important touchstones in literary-critical discussion."[299] It prepared the base for the writers and philosophers to take a critical stand for the Negritude Movement and led the way for the emergence of the anti-negritude movement of the late 1960s.

Tomaz Carlos Flores points out that "Negritude poetry is described by Sartre as 'orphic' because it involves a search for, a return to, the depths of the black African soul. The situation of the black, subject to colonialism and racism, imposes upon her/him the

[296]Jules-Rosette, 265.
[297]Jules-Rosette, 265-66.
[298]Jules-Rosette, 269-70.
[299]Jack, 57.

necessity of conquering anew her/ his existential unity as a black person."[300] Sartre explains the reason why he has chosen the title of the essay as *Black Orpheus* thus:

> I shall call this poetry "Orphic" because the [black man's] tireless descent into himself makes me think of Orpheus going to claim Eurydice from Pluto […] it is by letting himself fall into trances, by rolling on the ground like a possessed man tormented by himself, by singing his angers, his regrets, or his hates, by exhibiting his wounds, his life torn short, by becoming most lyrical, that the black poet is most certain of creating a great collective poetry.[301]

The total sum of poetry and literature, produced by négritude poets and writers, included anti-colonial, anti-white, anti-racist, or anti-Western implications, due to the encounters and conflicts between the blacks and the whites. Carlos Flores indicates that "Negritude, may be described as the emergence of a 'distinctive consciousness,' of a black collective identity, positioned in relationship to the rest of the world. [So], negritude writers would elaborate a *machine de guerre* of diverse strategies to condemn colonialism, to picture and convey a certain idea of Africa, of its culture, of its place in black consciousness, and of its significance for the future."[302] In *Black Orpheus*, Sartre expresses that black poetry has become the expression of freedom for all black people in the world "because, through his artistic creation, [the black poet] is able to construct a new meaning for blackness, a new meaning that cleanses blackness of the negative connotations given to it by the white world."[303]

In *Black Orpheus*, there are some topics that Sartre has applauded as well as there are notions that he has criticized and created controversies in the perception of the Negritude

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[300]Jacques, 7.
[301]Sartre, quoted in Marina P. Banchetti-Robino, "Black Orpheus and Aesthetic Historicism**:** On Vico and Negritude," *Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2011): 126, accessed 20 December 2012, DOI: 10.5195/jffp.2011.495.
[302]Jacques, 4.
[303]Sartre, quoted in Banchetti-Robino, 127.

Movement. One of the matters that he criticized the Negritude Movement is the question of language, used as a mean to express the black consciousness and black identity. According to him, the adoption of colonizer's language, used to express the identity and uniqueness of black heritage, "creates a distance between what is meant and what is said […] one has to consider that this distance, the split that makes the words forever strange and unfamiliar."[304] Sartre explains that "the apostles of the new negritude are constrained to edit their gospel in French."[305]

Discussing the significance of the Negritude Movement and its poetry for its innovation and revolution in the circles of French literary world, Sartre presented the dialectic of negritude in *Orphée Noir*. His dialectic of negritude, one of the crucial sections that has often been quoted and attracted attention, in the essay is as follows:

> Negritude appears as the weak stage of a dialectical progression: the theoretical and practical affirmation of white supremacy is the thesis; the position of negritude as antithetical value is the moment of the negativity. But this negative moment is not sufficient in itself and the blacks who employ it well know it; they know that it serves to prepare the way for the synthesis or the realization of the human society without racism. Thus negritude is dedicated to its own destruction, it is passage and not objective, means and not the ultimate goal.[306]

As seen in the quotation above, Sartre regards the Negritude movement as an aimless movement that has no end or goal in itself. His dialectic of negritude "posits white supremacy as the thesis and negritude as its antithesis. The synthesis is a classless society

[304]Souleymane Bachir Diagne, "Africanity as an Open Question," in *Identity and Beyond: Rethinking Africanity*, Discussion Paper 12, Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (2001): 20, accessed 5 October 2012, http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:248958/FULLTEXT01.pdf.
[305]Sartre, quoted in Diagne, 20.
[306]Sartre, quoted in Haddaour, 291.

without racism."[307] His interpretation was criticized fiercely and rejected by Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952). Fanon presents his criticism in the following passage:

> To state reality is a wearing task. But, when one has taken it into one's head to try to express existence, one runs the risk of finding only the nonexistent. […] At the very moment when I was trying to grasp my own being, Sartre, who remained The Other, gave me a name and thus shattered my last illusion. […] In all truth, in all truth I tell you, my shoulders slipped out of the framework of the world, my feet could no longer feel the touch of the ground. Without a Negro past, without a Negro future, it was impossible for me to live my Negrohood. Not yet white, no longer wholly black, I was damned. Jean-Paul Sartre had forgotten that the Negro suffers in his body quite differently from the white man.[308]

Frantz Fanon, one of the ardent students of Aimé Césaire, is a strong supporter of the Negritude Movement. He asserts in *Black Skin, White Masks* that

> *Orphée Noir* is a date in the intellectualization of the *experience* of being black. And Sartre's mistake was not only to seek the source of the source but in a certain sense to block that source […].
>
> And so it is not I who make a meaning for myself, but it is the meaning that was already there, pre-existing, waiting for me. It is not out of my bad nigger's misery, my bad nigger's teeth, my bad nigger's hunger that I will shape a torch with which to burn down the world, but it is the torch that was already there, waiting for that turn of history. In terms of consciousness, the black consciousness is held out as an absolute density, as filled with itself, a stage preceding any invasion, any abolition of the

[307]Haddaour, 291.
[308]Fanon, *Black Skin*, 105-6.

> ego by desire. Jean-Paul Sartre, in this work, has destroyed black zeal. In opposition to historical becoming, there had always been the unforeseeable. I needed to lose myself completely in negritude. One day, perhaps, in the depths of that unhappy romanticism […].[309]

Although Sartre was criticized by Fanon, he was also admired by many theorists for his efforts to understand and analyze the importance of solidarity of oppressed people in the colonial thinking. Robert J. Young says that, in *The Invention of Africa*, V.N. Mudimbe describes Sartre as

> "an African Philosopher," […] because it was Sartre who recognized the complexity of African epistemological roots. Sartre was one of the few European intellectuals to recognize in Senghor, Fanon, Memmi and others that, together with the anti-colonial movements, the pursuit of political liberation had been accompanied by the development of new forms of knowledge, a counter-modernity set against that of the West.[310]

In conclusion, the Negritude Movement provided an attempt for black people in order to regain the well-deserved place in the world history. The aim of the Negritude Movement was to "unite all the oppressed black people in the world to struggle against the colonial domination and oppression."[311] It is a quest for the commonalities of African heritage and to reconstruct the black personality in order to stand up to the cultural internalization and appropriation of European countries. Many intellectuals endeavored to resist "the West's imperial designs and affirmed the collective rights of non-Western peoples to equality and economic, political, and cultural self-determination."[312]

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[309]Fanon, *Black Skin*, 102-3.
[310]Robert J. Young, "Sartre: the African Philosopher," preface to Jean-Paul Sartre, *Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism* trans. A. Haddour, S. Brewer & T. McWilliams (London and New York: Routledge, 2001): xvii.
[311]Zhaoguo Ding, "On Resistance in Anti-Colonial Marxist Writings," *Canadian Social Science*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2011): 40, accessed 25 December 2012, URL: www.cscanada.org.
[312]Charles, 149.

Ding Zhaoguo points out that "Negritude as the product of the colonial encounters between the black Africans and the European whites comes into being as a strategic construction of native identity to resist the colonialist ideology."[313] The Negritude Movement was presented by poetry, produced mainly by many anti-colonial black Francophone writers from different parts of the world since its appearance in the 1930s. The movement received appreciations as well as criticism:

> Certain Nigerian and Ghanaian writers and a few American Negro writers have criticized negritude for what seems to them its insularity, contending that the black writer who stresses his blackness is separating himself from his brother writers in a multi-racial world. Ezekiel Mphahlele has been especially critical of the exponents of negritude. […] Wole Soyinka once amusingly said: "I don't think a tiger has to go around proclaiming his tigritude." In general, French-speaking Africans have supported negritude; some English-speaking Africans have opposed it.[314]

However, Irele states that "it would be a mistake; however, to dismiss the movement as a futile and sectarian obsession with self-a kind of black narcissism. In the larger context of Negro experience, it represents the ultimate and most stable point of self-awareness. Although its expression has sometimes been exaggerated, it has always had an intellectual content."[315] So, as Flores indicates "Negritude was […] a search for a collective identity, a racial identity […] that was felt to be necessary in the modern world for the self-affirmation of a group of people, people who […] had been made to experience and had been taught that 'they had thought nothing, built nothing, painted nothing, sang nothing'; in sum, that they were nothing."[316]

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[313]Ding, 41.
[314]Steeves, 92.
[315]Irele, "Negritude–Literature and Ideology," 522.
[316]Jacques, 4.

Post-colonialism and Postcolonial Theory

> Postcoloniality is a condition requiring a cure, and the passage to that cure involves a return to buried memories of colonial trauma. (Rukmini Bhaya Nair, *Lying on the Postcolonial Couch: The Idea of Indifference*)

After the culmination of the Second World War in 1945, many European countries weakened and lost their supreme authority in the field of commercial or financial leadership. Accordingly, as Stang indicates, the late twentieth century witnessed "the breakdown of Western empires and the entry of non-Western states into the international states system."[317] In this respect, many formerly colonized countries or nations achieved freedom and independence in order to reconstruct national unity and self-governing society. India, which was seen as the "jewel in the British crown," was the first dominion to seek independence from Britain in 1947. Sudan was the next country that "gained its independence in 1956. In 1957 Ghana (formerly Gold Coast) became the first black country in Africa to regain its independence from Britain. Ghana was followed by Nigeria and Somalia in 1960."[318]

Peter Childs and Patrick Williams state that the period after colonialism witnessed "the dismantling of structures of colonial control, beginning in earnest in the late 1950s and reaching its high point in the 1960s, constituted a remarkable historical moment, as country after country gained independence from the colonizing powers."[319] Historically, the period after the Second World War has been called the post-colonial period by many writers, theorists, and critics. Gyan Prakash, professor of History, asserts that "postcolonial exists as an aftermath, as an after – after being worked over by colonialism."[320] Nichols sates that "if the period extending from 1492 to 1914 was predominately one of formalized colonialism,

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[317]David Strang, "From Dependency to Sovereignty: An Event History Analysis of Decolonization 1870-1987," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 55, No. 6 (December 1990): 846, accessed 22 November 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095750.
[318]Ukawuilulu, 26.
[319]Peter Childs and Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* (Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall-Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1997), 1.
[320]Gyan Prakash, "Postcolonial Criticism and Indian Historiography," *Social Text*, Vol. 31, No. 32 (1992): 8, accessed 22 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/466216.

the period from 1914 to the 1970s might be said to be one of formalized decolonization."[321] Accordingly, the period after the Second World War witnessed the period of decolonization, which "is the process of revealing and dismantling of colonialist power in all its forms."[322] During the period, nationalistic aspirations flourished and emerged in order to create a national unity and unique culture, free from the legacies of Western colonialism and imperialism.

According to Henry Schwarz, "postcolonial studies describes the movements for national liberation that ended Europe's political domination of the globe, with 1947 an epochal date signaling the emergence of South Asia, 'the jewel in the crown' of the British Empire, as an independent region."[323] Bill Ashcroft *et al*. state that post-colonialism "deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies. As originally used by historians after the Second World War […] 'post-colonial' had a clearly chronological meaning, designating the post-independence period."[324] Loomba notes that "postcolonialism not just as coming literally after colonialism and signifying its demise, but more flexibly as the contestation of colonial domination and legacies of colonialism."[325] Stating that postcolonialism has various definitions, Slemon claims that

> for me the concept proves most useful not when it is used synonymously with a post-independence historical period in once-colonized nations but rather when it locates a specifically anti- or *post-colonial discursive* purchase in culture, one which begins in the moment that colonial power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its Others and which continues

[321]Nichols, 114.
[322]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts,* 63.
[323]Henry Schwarz, "Mission Impossible: Introducing Postcolonial Studies in the US Academy," in Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2005), 1.
[324]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts,*186.
[325]Loomba, 12.

> as an often occulted tradition into the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations.[326]

In *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft *et al*. explains the term's hyphenated form as follows:

> Employed by historians and political scientists after World War II, post-colonialism […] had a clearly chronological meaning, simply designating the post-independence period. By the late 1970s the term had been used by a few literary critics to characterize the various cultural effects of colonization […]. In recent times the hyphen in "post-colonial" has come to represent an increasingly diverging set of assumptions, emphases, strategies and practices in reading and writing. The use of the hyphen seemed […] to put an emphasis on the discursive and material effects of the historical "fact" of colonialism, resisting an increasingly indiscriminate attention to cultural difference and marginality of all kinds. Some recent usage of the term "postcolonialism" seems to have left the material fact of colonization and its effect out altogether. The spelling of the term "post-colonial" has become more of an issue for those who use the hyphenated form, because the hyphen is a statement about the particularity, the historically and culturally grounded nature of the experience it represents.[327]

Mishra and Hodge define the term as "a neologism that grew out of older elements to capture a seemingly unique moment in world history, a configuration of experiences and

[326]Stephen Slemon, "Modernism's Last Post," *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1989): 6.
[327]Ashcroft *et al*., *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 197-8.

insights, hopes and dreams arising from a hitherto silenced part of the world."[328] According to Robert J. Young, the roots of postcolonialism "lie in the historical resistance to colonial occupation and imperial control, the success of which then enabled a radical challenge to the political and conceptual structures of the systems on which such domination had been based."[329] Arif Dirlik gives several meanings of the term postcolonialism and presents its three main meanings. He asserts that postcolonialism can be used:

> (a) as a literal description of conditions in formerly colonial societies, in which case the term has concrete referents, as in postcolonial societies or postcolonial intellectuals; (b) as a description of a global condition after the period of colonialism, in which case the usage is somewhat more abstract and less concrete in reference, comparable in its vagueness to the earlier term Third World, for which it is intended as a substitute; and (c) as a description of a discourse […] that is informed by the epistemological and psychic orientations that are products of those conditions.[330]

Accordingly, in the broadest sense, described as the rejection, critique, and analysis of the long history of Western imperialism and colonialism, postcolonialism "has not only become a major field of research in its own right, it has found its way into central debates in almost all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences: English, Comparative Literature, History, Political Studies, Sociology, Anthropology, and so on."[331] Entered on the stage following World War II, as an umbrella term, postcolonialism has been used to refer to a

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[328]Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge, "What Was Postcolonialism?" *Critical and Historical Essays*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Summer 2005): 378, accessed 29 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20057902.

[329]Robert J. Young, quoted in Narasingha P. Sil, "Postcolonialism and Postcoloniality: A Premortem Prognosis," *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Winter 2008): 22.

[330]Arif Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Winter 1994): 332, accessed 30 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343914.

[331]Nichols, 111.

body of disciplines, such as history, literature, sociology, cultural studies, and anthropology. In this respect, postcolonialism is used to denote "a certain kind of interdisciplinary political, theoretical and historical academic work that sets out to serve as a transnational forum for studies grounded in the historical context of colonialism, as well as in the political context of contemporary problems of globalization."[332]

During colonization, native people in their own lands were enslaved, assimilated, and even exposed to genocidal practices; they were also forced to give up their own religions, customs, cultures, and languages. The developed nations conquered and expanded their territories under the guise of bringing civilization to less civilized nations because "natives are congenitally incapable of overcoming their backwardness, or for a long period they were […] regarded by their colonial masters as being incompetent to manage their own affairs."[333] In this respect, postcolonialism is associated with the abandonment of all the negative and unequal connotations that were imposed upon black people in the formerly colonized countries by European colonizers and with the rejection of the negative impacts on the native people, who have been exposed to brutal and violent treatment for years.

Beginning in the fifteenth century till 1950s, European exploitation, oppression, and colonization frustrated, annihilated, decimated, and crippled colonized peoples economically, culturally, militarily, and socially. By pointing out the pervasive character of Western colonialism and imperialism in the world, Loomba states that "by the 1930s, colonies and ex-colonies covered 84.6 per cent of the land surface of the globe. Only parts of Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Tibet, China, Siam and Japan had never been under formal European government."[334] Thus, "colonialism […] is the principle that the right of the stronger, the right of conquest, puts the conquered wholly at the disposal of the

[332]Robert J.C. Young, "Ideologies of the Postcolonial," in *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1998): 1.
[333]Boehmer, 13.
[334]Loomba, 3.

conqueror."[335] Boehmer notes how the British promoted the legacy of imperialism in the nineteenth century thus:

> At the time of high imperialism in the late nineteenth century, most British imperialists cherished an unambiguously heroic image of themselves as conquerors and civilizers of the world. […] In the view of the British imperial nation, its history made up a tale of firsts, bests, and absolute beginnings. Where the British established a cross, a city, or a colony, they proclaimed the start of a new history. Other histories, by definition, were declared of lesser significance or, in certain situations, non-existent.[336]

For Westerners, colonization was associated with high a spirit of civilization and development, and the legitimization of European colonialism were perpetuated by the idea of bringing modernity and civilization to the native people, who were regarded as uncivilized, inferior, and in need of protection and domination. So, "in relation to Europe's modernity, the East came to signify stasis, timelessness, backwardness."[337] Es'kia Mphahlele, a notable South African writer and critic, describes the way Western colonization was justified and legitimized in South Africa in the name of bringing civilization to the land. He explains the despairing situation of the indigenous people by the emergence of colonialism in South Africa:

> Western culture only followed after the harbingers of Western civilization had carved out routes for it: the explorers, the traders, the missionaries, prepared the way, consciously or not. Where African religions were passive, Christianity came out to proselytize. Where our way of life generally centered on the mere urge to be, Western civilization was by its

[335]Rupert Emerson, "Colonialism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January 1969): 13, accessed 5 December 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/259788.
[336]Boehmer, 24.
[337]Boehmer, 186.

> very nature self-perpetuating and had to explore diverse ways of releasing itself. Where Western civilization grappled mostly with things, our way of life put a premium on human relations. Our religions centered on ancestral spirits and the worships of them on a family rather than an organized community basis such as we see in Christian churchgoing practice. From all this, it is reasonable to conclude that Western civilization and culture would, by their very nature, still have released their aggressive energy and made inroads into Africa. It is reasonable to assume, because of the methods of attack this civilization uses – high powered advertising, rapid communications, including literature, mass media – it is inherently a colonizing civilization.[338]

According to Aimé Césaire, "between *colonization* and *civilization* there is an infinite distance."[339] First published in 1950, Cesairé's *Discours sur le colonialism* (*Discourse on Colonialism*) emphasizes the crucial facts and matters with regard to the dangers and threats of European colonization. Césaire refuses "the dishonest equations *Christianity* = *civilization*, *paganism* = *savagery*, from which there could not but ensue abominable colonialist and racist consequences, whose victims were to be the Indians, the yellow peoples, and the Negroes."[340] He claims that "a civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a decadent civilization."[341] He affirms that the relationship between the colonizer and colonized includes atrocities and cruelties, and he continues that "wherever there are colonizers and colonized face to face, [he] see[s] force, brutality, cruelty, sadism, conflict, and, in a parody of education."[342] For him, there is no human contact but an unequal relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, including the degradation and

[338]Es'kia Mphahlele, *Voices in the Whirlwind and Other Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 170-1.
[339]Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans., Joan Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 34.
[340]Césaire, 33.
[341]Césaire, 31.
[342]Césaire, 42.

submission of the latter and in this unequal relation "there is room only for forced labor, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded masses."[343]

Cesairé's essay provides a scathing criticism of Western colonization. According to him, colonization is "a bridgehead in a campaign to civilize barbarism, from which there may emerge at any moment the negation of civilization, pure and simple."[344] In his fiery critique of Western colonialism, he points out the significant roles of the European colonial adventurers, explorers, and merchants during the age of colonization and declares that colonization is

> neither evangelization, nor a philanthropic enterprise, nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease, and tyranny, […] but the decisive actors here are the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the ship owner, the gold digger and the merchant, appetite and force, and behind them, the baleful projected shadow of a form of civilization which, at a certain point in its history, finds itself obliged, for internal reasons, to extend to a world scale the competition of its antagonistic economies.[345]

In his essay, Cesairé also points out the double-sided dangers of colonialism, which he calls "the boomerang effect of colonialism."[346] He exemplifies the double-sided effects of colonization with Hitler's (as a white oppressor) Nazism and the persecution of the Jews. He states that white colonizers

> hide the truth from themselves, that it is barbarism, but the supreme barbarism, the crowning barbarism that sums up all the daily barbarisms; that it is Nazism […] the steps taken by Hitler and Hitlerism and to reveal

[343]Césaire, 42.
[344]Césaire, 40.
[345]Césaire, 32.
[346]Césaire, 40.

> to the very distinguished, very humanistic, very Christian bourgeois of the twentieth century […]. [Hitler's genocide is] *the crime against man*, it is not *the humiliation of man as such*, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man.[347]

As seen in the above quotation, Cesairé indicates that colonization did not only brutalize and humiliate the colonized but the colonizer as well. He implies that both the oppressor and the oppressed are melted in the same pot, that is, they are equally damaged, repressed, colonized, and suffered during the act of colonization.

Although the colonies achieved political freedom officially in the aftermath of the Second World War, the colonial experience and implications continued to appear in the former colonies. Ashcroft observes that "post-colonialism first emerged […] in the cultural discourse of formerly colonized peoples, peoples whose work was and is inextricably grounded in the experience of colonization. That post-colonial discourse which has developed the greatest transformative energy stems from a grounding in the material and historical experience of colonialism."[348] Thus, postcolonialism does not refer to a new world which is totally free from the references of colonialism because "some scholars assert that postcoloniality […] had begun with colonization rather than after decolonization."[349] Accordingly, as opposed to the dictates and enforcements of Western colonialism and imperialism, many anti-colonial intellectuals, critics, theorists, and authors all over the world produced many novels, treatises, essays, histories that denounce, contest, and accuse European aggression and domination. As suggested by Leela Gandhi, postcolonialism "is a disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past."[350]

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[347]Césaire, 36.
[348]Ashcroft, *et al*., *The Empire Writes Back***,** 196.
[349]Sil, 22.
[350]Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia UP, 1998), 4.

Thus, with the emergence of the post-colonial period, the works and ideas of many anti-colonial theorists, critics, and intellectuals formed a body of discourse, called postcolonial theory and criticism. In their colossal body of works, they have espoused a critical and analytical point of view in order to define or formulate a reversed story/ history of colonialism. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon proclaims the necessity of commonality of colonized peoples under the sole aim:

> Comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies which draw their inspiration from her. Humanity is waiting for something other from us than such an imitation, which would be almost an obscene caricature. […] If we wish to live up to our peoples' expectations, we must seek the response elsewhere than in Europe.[351]

By assuming a common argument, mostly associated with the criticism, analysis, appraisal, and deconstruction of the outcomes of Western colonialism, in their studies, a group of academicians, theorists, and intellectuals formed a new field of academic study, emerged in the 1970s. Henry Schwarz indicates that

> postcolonial studies […] is the radical philosophy that interrogates both the past history and ongoing legacies of European colonialism in order to undo them. Thus, it is not merely a theory of knowledge but a 'theoretical practice,' a transformation of knowledge from static disciplinary competence to activist intervention.[352]

Although there is heterogeneity among the post-colonialist theorists and writers in their approach to analysis and criticism of colonialism, they all espouse a common point in their rejection of the injustices, inequalities, and discriminations, created by the Western colonizers for years.

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[351]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 315.
[352]Schwarz, 4.

The theorists and practitioners such as Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Frantz Fanon, Aijaz Ahmad, and Stephen Slemon are regarded as the pioneers of postcolonial theory and postcolonial criticism. All these theorists and their "texts were often not about non-Western forms of life at all. Rather, their primary objective was to, 'provincialize,' 'de-naturalize' or 'de-transcendentalize' Western forms of knowledge and the universalist pretentions that came with them."[353] Postcolonial writers and theorists "underline the central role that the criticism of colonial history should play in their attempts to problematize Western grand narratives, and believe that Postcolonialism can be thought of as an assessment of history itself."[354] Postcolonial theory and criticism are primarily preoccupied with issues such as "migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, gender, place, and responses to the influential master discourses of imperial Europe."[355] They also deal with the power relations and binary oppositions between the colonizer/ colonized, self/ other, the West/ the East, white/ black, oppressor/ oppressed, violator/ violated, and so on.

Edward Said, Gayatri C. Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha are the distinguished theorists and intellectuals, whom "Robert Young describes as 'the Holy Trinity' [and] who have achieved the greatest eminence in their fields."[356] Jenny Sharpe states that "since postcolonial studies is not housed in a single discipline or program, it is difficult to pinpoint its exact emergence as an academic field. A single 'event' that can be identified as initiating the field is the 1978 publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism.*"[357] Similarly, Schwarz highlights that Said's *Orientalism* "proved a marvelous opening salvo to the critical

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[353]Nichols, 115.
[354]Nadeem Jahangir Bhat and Imran Ahmad, "Postcolonialism: A Counter Discourse," *Indian Streams Research Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (March 2012): 2.
[355]Ashcroft, *et al*., eds., *The Post-colonial Studies*: *Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2.
[356]Bart Moore-Gilbert, "Spivak and Bhabha," in Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 451.
[357]Jenny Sharpe, "Postcolonial Studies in the House of US Multiculturalism," in Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 112.

academic study of contemporary non-Western societies, […]. It brought literary criticism into the world of power and politics, illustrating how innocent purveyors of culture were historically complicit with European imperialism."[358] By approving the contribution of Said's publication, Loomba indicates that "Said's use of culture and knowledge to interrogate colonial power inaugurated colonial discourse studies."[359]

Defined as the representation and depiction of the East by the West, "Orientalism" is

> Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient. [It is an] enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.[360]

Said explains the emergence of the term, "Orient" or "Orientalism" in the Western discourse as follows:

> within the umbrella of Western hegemony over the Orient during the period from the end of the eighteenth century, there emerged a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe.[361]

Edward Said's *Orientalism* "draws upon a variety of Foucauldian paradigms. In particular, Foucault's notion of a discourse, as elaborated in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and in *Discipline and Punish*."[362] Ato Quayson notes that

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[358]Schwarz, 12.
[359]Loomba, 46.
[360]Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3.
[361]Said, *Orientalism*, 7.
[362]Gandhi, 24.

> drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, Said's main thesis was that the Western academic discipline of Orientalism was strictly speaking a means by which the Orient was produced as a figment of the Western imagination for consumption in the West and also as a means of subserving the ultimate project of imperial domination.[363]

Based his views on Foucault's ideas and insights, put forward in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) and in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Said draws the analogy between knowledge and power. Similarly, Foucault asserts that

> we should admit that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.[364]

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault mentions the disciplinary space that constrains the individual in order to determine his/ her presence and absence in the society:

> Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed. […] Its aim was to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits. It was a procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing, mastering, and using.[365]

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[363]Ato Quayson, "Postcolonialism and Postmodernism," in Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 94.
[364]Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, trans., Alan Sheridan (London: Vintage Books, 1979), 27.
[365]Foucault, 143.

With regard to the control of populations by means of scientific surveillance and discipline, Foucault highlights that,

> Discipline makes possible the operation of a relational power that sustains itself by its own mechanism and […] substitutes the uninterrupted play of calculated gazes. Thanks to the techniques of surveillance, the "physics" of power, the hold over the body, operate according to the laws of optics and mechanics, according to a whole play of spaces, lines, screens, beams, degrees and without recourse, in principle at least, to excess, force or violence.[366]

Said mentions that knowledge is an important vehicle for the transformation and reductions of colonized people in order to construct the identity as an "object of study, stamped with an otherness […]. This 'object' of study will be, as is customary, passive, non - participating, entered with a 'historical' subjectivity, above all, non-active, non-autonomous, non-sovereign with regard to itself."[367] Like Said, Foucault indicates that power has the capacity to create fixed biases and features that determine the status of an individual in the society. Foucault states that

> the examination as the fixing, at once ritual and "scientific," of individual differences, as the pinning down of each individual in his own particularity […] clearly indicates the appearance of a new modality of power in which each individual receives as his status his own individuality, and in which he is linked by his status to the features, the measurements, the gaps, the "marks" that characterize him and make him a "case."[368]

[366]Foucault, 177.
[367]Said, *Orientalism*, 97.
[368]Foucault, 192.

By pointing out the seductive nature of knowledge, Said states that "if the knowledge of Orientalism has any meaning, it is in being a reminder of the seductive degradation of knowledge, of any knowledge, anywhere, at any time."[369] As Loomba suggested that, in *Orientalism*, Said's aim "is to show how 'knowledge' about non-Europeans was part of the process of retaining power over them."[370] Said suggests that West's canonical literary and artistic texts are responsible for the extension of knowledge and thus the creation of domination and control over the non-Western people and their culture. Furthermore, he emphasizes that

> such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it.[371]

Said remarks the link between the system of knowledge and strategies of domination and control. He also throws light on the unequal relationship between the East and the West, and he uses Antonio Gramsci's concept of "hegemony." He considers that "the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony."[372] So, he claims that having the knowledge of the "Other" is a part of the project of dominating it. Furthermore, he explains that

> Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant. The object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to scrutiny; this object is a "fact" which, if it develops, changes; or otherwise transforms itself in the way that civilizations frequently do,

[369]Said, *Orientalism*, 328.
[370]Loomba, 44.
[371]Said, *Orientalism*, 94.
[372]Said, *Orientalism*, 5.

> nevertheless is fundamentally, even ontologically stable. To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it.[373]

Said scrutinizes the discourses and scientific works that were produced by the Western scientists, authors, and politicians in order to create false images, dreams, fantasies, and assumptions about the East. He claims that pure and innocent of knowledge hardly exist in the colonial context/ discourse because knowledge is generally tainted by the act of power which has been sustained and maintained by the Western domination and hegemony. Thus, as suggested by Said, the Western discourses about the East were not based on factual or real observations but rather based on deceitful ideas and notions that perpetuated the domination, exploitation, and hegemony of the colonized land and its peoples.

Loomba remarks that Said "argues that representations of the 'Orient' in European literary texts, travelogues and other writings contributed to the creation of a dichotomy between Europe and its 'others,' a dichotomy that was central to the creation of European culture as well as to the maintenance and extension of European hegemony over other lands."[374] In relation to the dichotomy and the divisive relationship between the East and the West, Said points out that "Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them'). This vision in a sense created and then served the two worlds thus conceived. Orientals lived in their world, 'we' lived in ours."[375] He suggests that European discourses and writings constructed the representations of Eastern people with references to negative or derogatory terms, so "the Orient was reconstructed, reassembled, crafted, in short, *born* out of the Orientalists' efforts."[376]

Said harshly opposes any kind of polarization and representation of stereotypical images of East in the colonialist discourse, which have been associated with negative and

[373]Said, *Orientalism*, 32.
[374]Loomba, 44.
[375]Said, *Orientalism*, 43.
[376]Said, *Orientalism*, 87.

humiliating implications in western discourses. He counters the colonial agenda of the West and argues that the West is incorrect and unseemly in the interpretation and representation of the Eastern people. He suggests that the dichotomy, created by the West is not objective, and their fixed biases are based on their "traditional Orientalist ability to reconstruct and reformulate the Orient."[377] He notes that the representation of the Eastern people in European literary texts is based on European non-factual evidences and realities, so, all these

> representations are embedded first in the language and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of the representer. […] Then we must be prepared to accept the fact that a representation is *eo ipso* implicated, intertwined, embedded, interwoven with a great many other things besides the 'truth', which is itself a representation.[378]

Loomba opines that in *Orientalism*, "Said argued that knowledge of the East could never be innocent or 'objective' because it was produced by human beings who were necessarily embedded in colonial history and relationship."[379] Said epitomizes the dichotomy between the West and the East, which has been indoctrinated by the West for years:

> the West, which is rational, developed, humane, superior, and the Orient, which is aberrant, undeveloped inferior. […] the Orient is at bottom something either to be feared (the Yellow Peril, the Mongol hordes, the brown dominions) or to be controlled (by pacification, research and development, outright occupation whenever possible).[380]

Leela Gandhi suggests that "*Orientalism* is the first book in which Said relentlessly unmasks the ideological disguises of imperialism."[381] In *Orientalism*, he attempts to rescue the images and perceptions of colonized peoples from classifications, stereotypes, and cliché

[377]Said, *Orientalism*, 282.
[378]Said, *Orientalism*, 272.
[379]Loomba, 44.
[380]Said, *Orientalism*, 300-1.
[381]Gandhi, 67.

representations, constituted by the hegemonic power structures. He opines that Europeans produced such a distorted and misleading image and representation of East that it created a reductionist, depreciative, and generic idea, which was hardly eradicated by colonized peoples. Accordingly, Said summarizes that Orientalism can be "regarded as a manner of regularized (or Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient. The Orient is taught, researched, administered, and pronounced upon in certain discrete ways."[382] Contributed greatly to the growth of postcolonial theory and criticism, *Orientalism* is "considered to be the hallmark text of postcolonial studies as a field, and in some ways it can be read as a manifesto of the new influence wielded within the US."[383] Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) also provides and creates new visions and insights to the postcolonial theory and criticism in which "he explored how canonical European art was both complicit in and contested colonial attitudes, and he explored the resistance endeavours of the once-colonized world."[384]

Another prominent contributor to postcolonial theory and criticism is Frantz Fanon, who actively took part in the course of political resistance to French colonialism and domination during the Algerian revolution. Fanon, the Martinique-born psychiatrist, allied himself with the Algerian national liberation movement and he "was greatly preoccupied with and deeply distressed by one major legacy of colonialism and imperialism, the paralyzing inferiority complex of blacks and their abject idolization of whites as their role models."[385] In his works, Fanon was mostly associated with the psychological effects of European colonialism and imperialism on colonized peoples and he emphasized the function of violence in the process of achieving individuality, liberty as a right to self-determination. In 1952, Fanon wrote his first major work, *Black Skin, White Masks*, in which he

[382]Said, *Orientalism*, 202.
[383]Schwarz, 11.
[384]McLeod, *The Routledge Companion*, 226.
[385]Ranuga, 182.

investigated and scrutinized the psychological defects and damages of colonialism on colonized peoples. In his foreword to *Black Skin, White Masks* Ziauddin Sardar states that this work "examines how colonialism is internalized by the colonized, how an inferiority complex is inculcated, and how, through the mechanism of racism, black people end up emulating their oppressors."[386] Sardar adds that "by the time Fanon wrote *Black Skin, White Masks*, he had already fought for the French resistance in the Caribbean and against the Germans in France. He had lived in a racist society and felt its dark side; he spoke with knowledge and experience."[387]

Fanon played a major role in FNL (National Liberation Front) during the Algerian Revolution and he remarked the necessity of freedom as a pre-requisite for the construction of personal and national identity. He says that "the Negro knows nothing of the cost of freedom, for he has not fought for it. From time to time he has fought for Liberty and Justice, but these were always white liberty and white justice; that is, values secreted by his masters."[388] In *Black Skin, White Masks*, he emphasizes the significant role of freedom that was crippled and even destroyed by colonialism and racism. He suggests that the urgent task for the black man is to say "No to degradation of man. No to exploitation of man. No to the butchery of what is most human in man: freedom. And, above all, *no* to those who attempt to build a definition of him."[389] Like Said, Fanon highlights the non-dialectical division between the black and white man and he claims that "Good-Evil, Beauty-Ugliness, White-Black: such are the characteristic pairings of the phenomenon that […] we shall call 'manicheism delirium.'"[390] He fiercely criticizes the unbridgeable relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and expresses that "[He] [is] white: that is to say that [he] possess[es] beauty and virtue, which have never been black. [He] [is] the color of the

[386]Ziauddin Sardar, foreword to *Black Skin, White Masks* by Frantz Fanon (London: Pluto Press, 2008), x.
[387]Sardar, xviii.
[388]Fanon, *Black Skin*, 172.
[389]Fanon, *Black Skin*, 173.
[390]Fanon, *Black Skin*, 141.

daylight. […] If [he] [is] black, it is not the result of a curse, but it is because, having offered [his] skin, [he] ha[s] been able to absorb all the cosmic *effl uvia.* [He] [is] truly a ray of sunlight under the earth."[391]

Fanon was a former student of Aimé Césaire, thus; both the Negritude Movement and Aimé Césaire had great influence on Fanon's insights and his works. Embracing the collective black identity and the uniqueness of the black soul in the way to reconstructing black self-esteem and dignity, he contends that black struggle "emerged from a life and-death struggle, an individual as well as a collective struggle, concerned with the survival of the body as well as the survival of the soul. The struggle is concerned as much with freedom from colonialism as with liberation from the suffocating embrace of Europe."[392] He believes that "whiteness" becomes a symbol and the eradication of this symbol could only be achieved through national struggle. He proclaims that the colonizer inflicts both physical and psychological violence upon the colonized and it creates the inferiority complex. He adds that this neurosis does not cease but increases since "he [the colonized] lives in a society that makes his inferiority complex possible, in a society that derives its stability from the perpetuation of this complex, in a society that proclaims the superiority of one race."[393]

In his Preface to 1986 Edition of *Black Skin, White Masks*, Homi K. Bhabha praises Fanon's criticism of colonial mentality and states that "remembering Fanon […] is such a memory of the history of race and racism, colonialism and the question of cultural identity that Fanon reveals with greater profundity and poetry than any other writer."[394] The ultimate goal for Fanon is to "create a 'new man' from the ashes of the old world's destruction, and through the healing powers of violent uprising."[395]

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[391]Fanon, *Black Skin*, 31.
[392]Sardar, xii.
[393]Fanon, *Black Skin*, 74.
[394]Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche and the Colonial Condition," in *Black Skin, White Masks* by Frantz Fanon (London: Pluto Press, 2008), xxxv.
[395]Erin L. McCoy, "Frantz Fanon's Call to Anti-Colonial Violence," *Proquest* (October 2011): 8, accessed 18 December 2012, http://www.csa.com/discoveryguides/fanon/review.pdf.

Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), published a short period before his death, was also a significant work in which he criticizes and protests the white supremacy and colonialism. In this work, he remarks that "colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it."[396] He claims the necessity of the anti-colonial violence against the legacies of colonialism and states that "at the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect."[397] According to him collective native violence is compulsory because "the colonized man finds his freedom in and through violence."[398] As seen in the quotation, Fanon emphasizes the urgency of native violence in order to eradicate the white supremacy and achieve total national liberation.

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon goes beyond the borders of Manichaeism and claims the creation of new humanity. He claims that to put an end to colonialism requires the disappearance of both the colonizer and the colonized. Thus, since the disappearance of colonialism does not restore the colonized and provide him to regain his former condition and dignity, a new man, a new humanity will appear. He explains that

> The struggle for freedom does not give back to the national culture its former value and shapes; this struggle which aims at a fundamentally different set of relations between men cannot leave intact either the form or the content of the people's culture. After the conflict there is not only the disappearance of colonialism but also the disappearance of the colonized man. This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others. It is prefigured in the

[396]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 210.
[397]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 94.
[398]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 86.

> objectives and methods of the conflict. A struggle which mobilizes all classes of the people and which expresses their aims and their impatience, which is not afraid to count almost exclusively on the people's support, will of necessity triumph.[399]

As seen in the quotation above, Fanon considered that the creation of this new humanity can only be achieved through the act of complete violence, an act that would free the natives from the yoke of colonialism. He remarks that violence, which has been used by the settler colonizers for domination, should be used this time by the native peoples in order to reconstruct and regain African solidarity. He asserts that "the violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms […], the customs of dress and external life, that same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history in his own person."[400]

Since colonized peoples are grasped by the destructive forces of colonization, they are forced to forget the meaning of freedom in their own lands. While the white men are associated with all the positive and creative implications, the colonized natives are represented with all the negative and deprecating ones. So, Fanon calls for colonized peoples to regain the African solidarity in order to dismantle and remove the legacies and containments of colonialism, and he reminds that black people should learn to accept their blackness and to be proud of it. He concludes that "let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth."[401]

Fanon is one of the important anti-colonial critics who has been engaged intensely with the dangers and destruction of colonialism and racism on native people on a global

[399]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 245-46.
[400]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 40.
[401]Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, 313.

scale. His revolutionary discourses on liberation of African people and his criticism of European racism are collected in *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays* (1964). As a black activist, "Fanon was to choose to practice in Algeria, an outstandingly colonialist country, to live and fight among other colonized people like himself."[402] Thus, he was frustrated by the enforcements of colonialism and suffered much from racism and its effects on the exploited natives. In *Toward the African Revolution*, he opines that "if culture is the combination of motor and mental behavior patterns arising from the encounter of man with nature and with his fellow-man, it can be said that racism is indeed a cultural element. There are thus cultures with racism and cultures without racism."[403] Accordingly, it is the oppressor who is responsible for the creation of racism in a culture, which is made up of a common set of beliefs, values, and customs. The racist attitudes and the institutions of colonial system badly damaged the culture of the native people who are enslaved, exploited, and weakened. Consequently, he opines that "this culture, once living and open to the future, becomes closed, fixed in the colonial status, caught in the yoke of oppression."[404] Racism, for him "is only one element of a vaster whole: that of the systematized oppression of a people."[405] He stresses that racism is neither a constant phenomenon nor an "accidental discovery"[406] but it is a dynamic and conscious practice. He points out that "racism bloats and disfigures the face of the culture that practices it. Literature, the plastic arts, songs for shop girls, proverbs, habits, patterns, whether they set out to attack it or to vulgarize it, restore racism."[407] He zealously advocates the process of national liberation of native people through revolutionary and spontaneous violence:

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[402]François Maspero, editorial note to *Toward the African Revolution* by Frantz Fanon, trans., Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964), viii.
[403]Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 32.
[404]Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 34.
[405]Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 33.
[406]Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 37.
[407]Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 37.

> The logical end […] is the total liberation of the national territory. In order to achieve this liberation, the inferiorized man brings all his resources into play, all his acquisitions, the old and the new, his own and those of the occupant. The struggle is at once total, absolute. But then race prejudice is hardly found to appear.[408]

Schwarz observes that Fanon's "untimely death at the age of 36 cut short this engagement, but his legacy continued to influence discussions around race and class that pervaded leftist organizations in the industrialized countries during the wave of decolonizations in the 1960s."[409] Ashcroft proposes that Fanon's theories and approach "brought together the concept of alienation and of psychological marginalization from phenomenological and existential theory, and a Marxist awareness of the historical and political forces within which the ideologies which were instrumental in imposing this alienation came into being."[410]

In the field of postcolonial discourse and theory, another important theorist and critic is Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, who articulated her criticism of First World colonialism by her celebrious question of "Can the subaltern speak?", also the title of her 1988 article. Gail Ching-Liang Low states that "Spivak's work is immensely influential in the field of colonial historiography, feminist studies, cultural studies, and postcolonial studies and her writing has always sought to bring together the insights of poststructuralism, deconstruction, Marxism, psychoanalysis and feminism in active collision."[411] Spivak's, an Indian postcolonial feminist critic, philosophy and concepts are generally included under "Subaltern Studies," a term that "has been adapted to post-colonial studies from the work of the Subaltern Studies group of historians, who aimed to promote a systematic discussion of subaltern themes in

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[408]Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 43.
[409]Schwarz, 12.
[410]Ashcroft, *et al*., *The Empire Writes Back***,** 123.
[411]Gail Ching-Liang Low, "Introduction: The Difficulty of Difference," in Julian Wolfreys, ed., *Literary Theories: A Reader and Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1999), 465.

South Asian Studies."[412] The term "'subaltern' itself […] goes back to the writings of Gramsci"[413] who used the word in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, written between 1929 and 1935. David Ludden explains that

> The Great War provoked popular accounts of subaltern life in published memoirs and diaries; and soon after the Russian Revolution, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) began to weave ideas about subaltern identity into theories of class struggle. Gramsci was not influential in the English-reading world, however, […] by 1982, Gramsci's ideas were in wide circulation. […] Subaltern Studies deployed some of Gramsci's ideas at a critical juncture in historical studies.[414]

Spivak expresses her ideas about the term "Subaltern" as follows:

> I like the word "subaltern" for one reason. It is truly situational. "Subaltern" began as a description of a certain rank in the military. The word was used under censorship by Gramsci: he called Marxism "monism," and was obliged to call the proletarian "subaltern." That word, used under duress, has been transformed into the description of everything that doesn't fall under strict class analysis. I like that, because it has no theoretical rigor.[415]

Leela Ghandi states that "by 'subaltern' Spivak meant the oppressed subject, […] or more generally those 'of inferior rank,' and her question followed on the work begun in the early 1980s by a collective of intellectuals now known as the Subaltern Studies group."[416]

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[412]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts*, 216.
[413]Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Subaltern Studies and Postcolonial Historiography," *Nepantla: Views from South*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2000): 14.
[414]David Ludden, "Introduction: A Brief History of Subalternity," in David Ludden, ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies: Critical history, contested meaning, and the globalisation of South Asia* (London: Anthem Press, 2001), 4-5.
[415]Spivak, quoted in Stephen Morton, *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*: *Routledge Critical Thinkers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 46.
[416]Gandhi, 1.

Spivak is one of the acclaimed contemporary literary theorists who voiced the degraded and subjugated positions of the marginalized people on the arena of literary theory and criticism. Gandhi states that she "first gained admission to the literary-critical pantheon through her celebrated translation of Derrida's *Of Grammatology* in 1977. And much of her subsequent work has been preoccupied with the task of dialogue and negotiation with and between Derrida and Foucault."[417] Robert J. Young praises Spivak's wide range of approaches and insights in her preoccupation with different fields of study:

> There are plenty of academics in this world, but amongst them there is no one quite like Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. She stands alone, unique. […] Spivak has challenged the accepted, the assumed, the expected. […] she has contested the ways in which dominant power groups in many different fields represent the world, and assert *their* world, *their* perspectives, as the visible embodiment of humanity in general. Spivak is also very well known for the ways in which she has inflected metropolitan feminism with an awareness of its responsibilities towards the emancipatory struggles of other women outside the restricted homogeneous radar screen of metropolitan concerns. […] Idiosyncratic, breaker of rules, focused on the dynamics of pedagogy at the local level, Spivak has been at the forefront not of the institutional study of marginalisation, but of the intrusion of a radically different politics and epistemology into the academy itself.[418]

According to Morton, Spivak's main theories and approaches in contemporary literary theory "encompass a range of theoretical interests, including Marxism, feminism,

[417]Gandhi, 25.
[418]Robert J. Young, "Introduction to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's 2001 Oxford Amnesty Lecture 'Righting Wrongs,'" (Oxford University Press, 2003): 1-2.

deconstruction, postcolonial theory and cutting-edge work on globalization."[419] Her criticism of Western hegemony and the position of the marginalized subaltern peoples in hegemony are explained by her in her essay entitled *Can the subaltern speak?* in which she "has testified to the fact that there is no space from where the subaltern (sexed) subject can speak."[420] Her essay is "critical and challenging reading of a conversation between Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, who forcefully raised […] questions by mounting deconstructive and philosophical objections to any straightforward program of 'letting the subaltern speak.'"[421]

In her essay, Spivak provides impressive criticism and analysis of the First World intellectuals' attempts to speak for the repressed and marginalized people. Her criticism is mostly based on the approaches and insights of Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, influential Western thinkers and intellectuals, who question the legacies of Western imperialism and colonialism. According to her, the problem with such intellectuals [Foucault and Deleuze] is that "they efface their role as intellectuals in representing the disempowered groups they describe. She compares this effacement to a masquerade in which the intellectual as an 'absent nonrepresenter' [...] lets the oppressed speak for themselves."[422] She explains "how the benevolent, radical western intellectual can paradoxically silence the subaltern by claiming to represent and speak for their experience."[423]

Spivak states that "according to Foucault and Deleuze (in the First World, under the standardization and regimentation of socialized capital, though they do not seem to recognize this) the oppressed, if given chance […], and on the way to solidarity through alliance

[419]Morton, 1.
[420]Benita Parry, "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse," in Ashcroft *et al*., eds., *The Post-colonial Studies*: *Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), 36.
[421]Chakrabarty, 24.
[422]Morton, 57.
[423]Morton, 56.

politics, *can speak and know their conditions.*"[424] On the contrary, for Spivak, the answer to the same question resides in her essay which includes negative implications; "the subaltern cannot speak."[425] In her essay, she questions the possibility of the subaltern to articulate their silenced voices under the Western imperialism and states that "in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow."[426]

The marginalized condition of 'female other' is another important issue in Spivak's essay. Chandra T. Mohanty, in "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse," states that

> third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (sexually constrained) and being "third world" (ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized, etc.). This […] is in contrast to the (implicit) self-representation of Western women as educated, modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions.[427]

Similarly, Spivak indicates that the oppression of black woman in the patriarchal society and "the track of sexual difference is doubly effaced. The question is not of female participation in insurgency, […]. It is, rather, that, both as object of colonialist historiography and as subject of insurgency, the ideological construction of gender keeps the male dominant."[428] She suggests that "between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of woman disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the 'third-world

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[424]Gayatri C. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1994), 78.
[425]Spivak, 104.
[426]Spivak, 83.
[427]Chandra T. Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse," in Ashcroft *et al*., eds., *The Post-colonial Studies*: *Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), 337.
[428]Spivak, 82-83.

woman' caught between tradition and modernization."[429] Similarly, Mohanty explains that like the distorted and misleading Western representation of colonized people, the subaltern "women is an always-already constituted group, one which has been labelled 'powerless,' 'exploited,' 'sexually harassed,' etc., by feminist scientific, economic, legal and sociological discourses."[430]

In her essay, Spivak exemplifies the doubly oppressed position of black woman with the case of native Hindu woman (sati) and the tradition of widow sacrifice. She explains that the prohibition of this ancient Hindu tradition by the British colonizers in the late nineteenth century did not aim of rescuing the degraded position of subaltern women. Under the guise of civilization, British colonialism comes to the point that, as she states, "white men are saving brown women from brown men."[431] Morton suggests that "by representing *sati* as a barbaric practice, the British were thus able to justify imperialism as a civilising mission, in which white British colonial administrators believed that they were rescuing Indian women from the reprehensible practices of a traditional Hindu patriarchal society."[432] Thus, Spivak proclaims that the prohibition of the sati tradition destroys the freedom of choice of subaltern woman and she becomes doubly oppressed and silenced by both Hindu patriarchal society and Western colonialism. According to Spivak, for the subaltern woman, who is oppressed between the domination of patriarchal society and the unjustified rules of imperialism, "there is no space from which the sexed subaltern subject can speak."[433]

[429]Spivak, 102.
[430]Mohanty, 262.
[431]Spivak, 92.
[432]Morton, 89.
[433]Spivak, 103.

CHAPTER 2

COLONIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY: APARTHEID AND POLITICS

The Rise of Afrikanerdom, Afrikaner Nationalism, and The Apartheid Regime in South Africa

> The history of the Afrikaner reveals a determination and a definiteness of purpose which make one feel that Afrikanerdom is not the work of man but a creation of God. We have a Divine right to be Afrikaners. Our history is the highest work of art of the Architect of the centuries. (Dr. Daniel François Malan)

Although the African continent was occupied, exploited, and colonized by many European explorers and slave traders before the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), the formal colonization and partition of the continent among the European powers and colonizers began with the Conference. Regarded as "The Dark Continent" by European colonizers and explorers, Africa was exploited economically and used by the Western voyagers and travelers as a center of slave trade. Its people were subjected to many cruel and degrading practices of Western colonialism and imperialism. During the colonization of the continent,

> the Europeans implemented various political, economic, and social policies that enabled them to maintain or extend their authority and control over different territories in Africa. The colonization of Africa also indicates the colonial masters' exploitation of African colonies, especially the resources, to strengthen and enrich the economies of Western nations.[434]

During the high time of imperialism, the most powerful imperialist force in the continent was the British Empire. In contrast to the colonial practices of other European

[434]Joy A. Alemazung, "Post-Colonial Colonialism: An Analysis of International Factors and Actors Marring African Socio-Economic and Political Development," *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 10 (September 2010): 63.

colonizer countries, Britain's colonization and hegemony in Africa were rather bloody and effective. The nineteenth century was regarded as the high time of imperialism during which England extended over Asia, Africa, and the Pacific and it was also the period in which the "Scramble for Africa" started. Besides, it was also the century in which the consolidation of colonialism in Africa was accomplished by Britain. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the First World War marked

> a turning-point in African history, not as dramatic as the Second World War, but nevertheless important in many areas. One of its most important legacies was the re-ordering of the map of Africa roughly as it is today. Germany was eliminated as a colonial power, and replaced by France and Britain in the Cameron and Togo, by the Union of South Africa in South West Africa and by Britain and Belgium in German East Africa, the latter gaining the small but densely populated provinces of Ruanda and Urundi (now Rwanda and Burundi).[435]

Similarly, Brantlinger indicates the superiority of the British on a global scale. He states that during the period, "jingoism emerged, the 'scramble for Africa' began, the 'Anglo-Saxon race' was trumpeted as superior to all other races, and the British Empire was celebrated as the triumphant production and possession of that race."[436] In "European Exploration and Africa's Self-Discovery," Ali A. Mazrui suggests the various causes and motivations for European explorations of Africa. He categorizes the motives under three headings:

> There was *evangelical exploration*, pursued by either secular or religious missionaries, and inspired by such goals as the spread of civilisation, the suppression of the slave trade, or the propagation of a new creed. Then there was *scientific exploration*, often sponsored by learned societies and

[435]Boahen, 132.
[436]Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature*, 5.

> inspired by the scientific ideal of pushing the curtain of darkness further and further back. And, thirdly, there was *exploitative exploration*, undertaken often for reasons of commerce, of exploring new markets or possible new sources of raw materials.[437]

As seen in the quotation above, Europe justified its colonization of Africa through a variety of reasons and motivations. Missionary activities, pseudo-scientific discourses, and desire for wealth prompted European colonizers to establish several colonies in Africa. Although "the British, the French, the Portuguese, and the Belgians may not have articulated their role in Africa in the same terms, […] they nonetheless felt the same way when they embarked on their imperial adventure in Africa. It was their 'manifest destiny' to take over Africa."[438] Racism and racist attitudes were inseparable parts of European imperialist and colonialist policies in Africa. Since the native peoples were thought as backward, savage, and in the need of protection to reach the high level of civilization, colonialism and imperialism were justified and rationalized in Africa. With the help of Darwinist ideas and insights, the superiority of "white race" in contrast to other races (colored man) started to be articulated by the British imperialists and colonizers in the late nineteenth century.

The preoccupation with skin color and with other physical qualities of black men to legitimize colonialism and imperialism were of significance in South African history. Compared to other colonized countries in Africa, the implementation of racism, discrimination, and exploitation in South Africa was unprecedented because apartheid was employed to the majority of blacks systematically and institutionally by the colonizer countries. Samuelson Freddie indicates that "the total colonization of South Africa was fundamental in the creation of a racist South Africa régime, and in fact, if it were not for

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[437]Mazrui, "European Exploration and Africa's Self-Discovery," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 1969): 663, accessed 25 June 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 2009746.

[438]Vincent B. Khapoya, *The African Experience: An Introduction*, 4th edition (Oakland State University: Pearson, 2012), 106.

Britain, the colonial racist situation in South Africa would not have been there."[439] Similarly, Ayo Kehinde indicates that "until 1990, South Africa was the site of one of the most cruel and barbaric racist régimes in the history of mankind."[440] The superiority of the "white race" in contrast to "the black men" was perpetuated by the implementation of concrete and material violence and torture in South Africa. Nigel Worden states that "this kind of white supremacism took strong root in South Africa […] it developed into systematic and legalized discrimination shaping the economic, social and political structure of the whole country in a more pervasive way than elsewhere."[441]

Susan VanZanten Gallagher remarks that "South Africa is the land that has deeded to the world the social reality designated by the term apartheid."[442] The link between racism and apartheid in South Africa was inseparable because "the term apartheid acquired very widespread resonance, and it became commonly used […] to designate a variety of situations in which racial discrimination was institutionalized by law."[443] Derived from the Afrikaans word, apartheid "means apartness or separateness"[444] between the races, and it has been used primarily during the period in South Africa from 1948, when the Afrikaner National Party (NP) came into power, until 1994.

As suggested by Nigel Worden, "the National Party retained control of government from 1948 until 1994, and the history of South Africa in the second half of the twentieth century was dominated by apartheid and resistance it evoked."[445] Racial discrimination, repression, and inequality were the determining features of apartheid in South Africa.

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[439]Khunou Samuelson Freddie, "History, Law and Traditional Leadership: The Political Face of the Union of South Africa," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 1, No. 15 (Special Issue, October 2011): 245.
[440]Ayo Kehinde, "Andre Brink's *The Wall of the Plague* and the Alter-Native Literary Tradition in South Africa," *SKASE Journal of Literary Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2010): 20.
[441]Nigel Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Apartheid, Democracy*, 5th edition (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Ltd. 2012), 73.
[442]Susan Van Zanten Gallagher, *A Story of South Africa: J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1991), 1.
[443]Ashcroft, *et al*., *Key Concepts*, 18.
[444]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 1.
[445]Worden, 104.

Between the years 1948 and 1990, the National Party "moved rapidly to consolidate its control of the state institutions in order to advance the interests of the Afrikaners, Afrikaans-speaking whites of predominantly Dutch descent, over those of other groups within the South African population."[446] Worden adds that "the cornerstone of apartheid was the division of all South Africans by race."[447] In "Racism's Last Word," Jacques Derrida indicates that during the apartheid régime "daily suffering, oppression, poverty, violence, torture were inflicted by an arrogant white minority […] on the mass of the black population."[448] He highlights that "one must not forget that, although racial segregation didn't wait for the name apartheid to come along, that name became order's watchword and won its title in the political code of South Africa only at the end of the Second World War."[449]

As an official policy of the Afrikaner government, apartheid régime created huge disparity and discriminations between the whites and non-whites in South Africa and it restrained and prevented the social and economic development of South Africa's black majority in the country. Christopher Merrett explains that "apartheid was based on division and exploitation and an authoritarianism that involved the law, administrative process, and brute force."[450] Thus, "South African apartheid was a system developed to protect the supremacy of Afrikaans-speaking whites and to repress non-white groups through a policy of almost complete separation."[451]

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[446]D.S.K. Culhane, "No Easy Talk: South Africa and the Suppression of Political Speech," *Fordham International Law Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1993): 899.
[447]Worden, 104.
[448]Jacques Derrida, "Racism's Last Word," trans., Peggy Kamuf, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 12 (Autumn 1985): 293.
[449]Derrida, 291.
[450]Christopher Merrett, "A tale of two paradoxes: Media censorship in South Africa, pre-liberation and post-apartheid," *Critical Arts*, Vol. 15, No. 1-2 (29 August 2007): 51, accessed 22 March 2013, DOI: 10.1080/02560240185310071.
[451]Elizabeth Lee Jemison, "The Nazi Influence in the Formation of Apartheid in South Africa," *The Concord Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2003-2004): 75, accessed 24 March 2013, http://www.tcr.org/tcr/essays/EPrize_Apartheid.pdf.

The history of the Afrikaners in South Africa began with the Dutch settlers (first called the Boers and later called the Afrikaners) who settled in the land to provide water supplies and fresh foods in 1652. Worden explains that the construction of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa "is a topic surrounded by mythology. Like all nationalist movements, it has created its own symbolism and its own history stressing the unified experience of the Afrikaner *volk*."[452] The German term "*volk*," which stands for "people" or "nation," was first coined by the German theologian and philosopher "Johann Gottfried von Herder in order to describe the cultural heritage of the common people in any particular area."[453] Jemison explains that the German term "*volk*" was adopted by the Afrikaners "to glorify the *Voortrekkers* who traveled deeper into Africa, conquered native tribes, and established the Boer Republics; they were the paragons of Afrikaner idealism."[454] Dubow opines that "Afrikaner sympathy for the German cause translated into a marked receptiveness towards Nazi ideology and the concept of a totalitarian *volks*-republic."[455]

Although South Africa was the land that some European voyagers and explorers used as stopovers to provide water supplies and to acquire fresh foods, "no permanent European settlement was made until 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck and about 90 other persons set up a provisioning station for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) at Table Bay on the Cape of Good Hope."[456] Accordingly, "the first European settlement in southern Africa, apart from Portuguese garrisons and trading posts in Angola and Mozambique, was the Dutch station set up at Cape Town in 1652, a stopover point on the route to India."[457] When the Dutch

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[452]Worden, 96.
[453]Jemison, 79.
[454]Jemison, 79.
[455]Saul Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race,'" *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1992): 216, accessed 18 September 2012, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/182999.
[456]"South Africa," *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th Edition 2013, accessed 17 March 2013, Ebschost.
[457]William Minter, *King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 4.

arrived at Cape Town, the land "was inhabited only and sparsely by Hottentos and Bushmen."[458]

Brian Bunting suggests that the "Afrikaners generally trace the birth of their nation back to 1652, when the Dutch East India Company sent Jan van Riebeeck with a party of its servants to establish an outpost at the Cape."[459] Jan van Riebeeck, the Dutch colonial administrator, was "an iconic figure for white settlers in South Africa, who were known as *Trekboers* – from the Dutch *boer*, meaning 'farmer,' and *trek*, meaning 'to pull.' They were also known simply as Boers or Afrikaners."[460] Then, the Dutch began to establish colonies and "it was not until five years after van Riebeeck landed that permission was first given to some of the company's servants to set up as independent colonists."[461] The Boers, speaking Dutch, are proto Afrikaners in South Africa. Iris Berger explains the first arrival of Van Riebeeck at Cape and his first contact with the Khoisan people, who were the earliest tribes in the land:

> Soon after Van Riebeeck arrived, a twelve-year-old Khoekhoe girl named Krotoa came to live with his family. Initially a servant, once she had learned to speak Dutch fluently she became a valued interpreter between the two cultures. Renamed Eva, she provided Van Riebeeck with valuable inside information about Khoekhoe politics and plans, contributing to the cross-cultural communication that enabled the Dutch to acquire livestock in exchange for tobacco, copper, beads, and drink. This period of peaceful exchange lasted only briefly.[462]

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[458]Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, *A History of Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1899), 69.
[459]Brian P. Bunting, *The rise of the South African Reich* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), 9.
[460]John D. Brewer, "South African Racial Formations," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. III: S-Z (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 86.
[461]Bunting, 9.
[462]Iris Berger, *South Africa in World History* (New York: Oxford UP, 2009), 22.

The beginnings of the Dutch colonization and the roots of the apartheid régime in South Africa is indicated by Meskell and Weiss, quoted from the speech of President Thabo Mbeki; "Jan van Riebeeck planted a hedge of almond and thorn bush […] to ensure the safety of the white European settlers by keeping the menacing black African hordes of primitive pagans at bay."[463] Bunting expresses the situation of the first Dutch colonizers in the land as follows:

> For 100 years after the landing of van Riebeeck, the colonists evolved their way of life in isolation. Often living on the level of bare subsistence, little different from that of the indigenous inhabitants, they developed powers of self-sufficiency and an independence of outlook which was contradicted only by their status as slave-owners. Their lives were on the whole a grim, unending struggle to survive in the face of a multitude of human and natural obstacles. The Bible was the fountain of their faith.[464]

Following the Dutch colonization, South Africa was exposed to colonization of the British in the 1800s, when the British started to expand economically and technologically in the way of becoming the world power. Britain established Cape colony in 1806 and the country attempted to extend its colonial practices in order to preserve the empire's sea trade routes through Asia. The main purpose that the British colonizers assumed in their compelling entry into Africa was "the white man's burden." Khapoya expresses that British colonization was carried out in the name of bringing civilization to the native peoples, so "the British have always boasted that they went into Africa not to create black Britons, but rather to share their skills, their values, and their culture with a hope that someday African

[463]L. Meskell and L. Weiss, "Coetzee on South Africa's Past: Remembering in the Time of Forgetting," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 108, No. 1 (2006): 88.
[464]Bunting, 10.

people would be able to run their own communities using the tools learned and acquired from the British."[465]

When the British colonizers and explorers arrived in the land, the Boers resented to British colonial rule and they were forced to migrate into the interiors of South Africa, which were "called the Orange Free State and Transvaal."[466] Having established a colony in Cape Town in the 1800s, the British colonizers expanded its territories with the desire to colonize other regions. With the arrival of British colonizers in South Africa, the power balance between the Dutch colonizers and native inhabitants was changed. The British colonizers were influential both on the Africans and the Dutch colonizers, so the Boers escaped "the restrictions of British rule […] to obtain new land, [and] about 12,000 Boers left the Cape between 1835 and 1843 in what is known as the Great Trek."[467] Bunting indicates that "the famous Great Trek of the 1830s had many causes, but not the least of them was Dutch hatred of British rule and racial policies."[468] Accordingly, Bunting adds that

> The Dutch desire to be rid of British rule was not merely the manifestation of a spirit of national independence. It was also prompted by the wish to continue to own slaves, to be able to discriminate between White and non-White, to re-establish the patriarchal relationship between master and servant which had existed from the time of van Riebeeck and which now looked like being destroyed forever.[469]

As seen in the quotation above, the Dutch antagonism towards the British rule was resulted from the desire to continue its ruler ship and imperialistic desires on the native peoples. Gallagher expresses that the Boers hold the Great Trek because the Boers were "repressed and dominated by the British who began to rule the Cape at the beginning of the

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[465]Khapoya, 117.
[466]Brewer, 86.
[467]"South Africa," *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th Edition 2013, accessed 17 March 2013, Ebschost.
[468]Bunting, 10.
[469]Bunting, 10.

nineteenth century, [so] thousands of Afrikaners banded together in small groups to make the Great Trek into the interior, seeking freedom to establish their own way of life."[470] The pioneers in this trek were called *Voortrekkers* and the journey of the *Voortrekkers* "who escaped British rule into the interior would become an important focal point of Afrikaner nationalism, and the single most important event in Afrikaner history and mythology."[471] *Voortrekkers*, including Afrikaner farmers and their families, left the eastern region of Cape colony and settled into the inlands what is known as South Africa. With the *Voortrekkers*' venture in to the interiors of the land, they established "Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The constitution of the latter bears the date 1854, and of the former 1858."[472]

With regard to the venture of the *Voortrekkers* in to the interiors of the land, Jennifer Nelson claims that "it was during The Great Trek that the Afrikaners came to believe that they were a 'chosen race' and that it was their 'manifest destiny' to populate the areas north of the Orange River."[473] According to the Afrikaner myth of history, the ventures and resoluteness of the *Voortrekkers* in the Great Trek and their victory in the battle of Blood River on 16 December 1838 were the signs that "the Afrikaner nation is the elect nation of God."[474] Gallagher points out that "the Battle of Blood River resulted in an overwhelmingly victory, killing three thousand Zulus. Thus, the annual Day of the Covenant is still celebrated in South Africa every December 16 with great reverence; it is the key date in the Afrikaner calendar, the focal point of the whole of the sacred history."[475]

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[470]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 28.
[471]Sheilagh I. O'Brien, "The Construction of a 'Bitter Hedge': Narrative, Nationalism, and the Construction of Afrikaner Identity in the Voortrekker Monument," *Crossroads Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2013): 29.
[472]David A. Lane, "The Negro in British South Africa," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (July 1921): 298, accessed 22 January 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2713755.
[473]Jennifer Nelson, "The Role the Dutch Reformed Church Played in the Rise and Fall of Apartheid," *Journal of Hate Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2002-2003): 64.
[474]Nico Vorster, "Christian Theology and Racist Ideology: A Case Study of Nazi Theology and Apartheid Theology," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, Vol. 7, No. 19 (Spring 2008): 152.
[475]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 29.

Before the victory in the Battle of Blood River, which was fought between the *Voortrekkers* and the Zulu peoples, the *Voortrekkers*

> vowed that if God granted them victory, they would annually commemorate this day as a Sunday. In the apartheid era, from 1948 onwards, the symbol of the Day of the Covenant was used to emphasize the belief in the special calling of the whites in South Africa on behalf of the Christendom and on the necessity to protect the privileged position of whites.[476]

During their ventures into the interiors of South Africa, the *Voortrekkers* embarked a "'barbarous' black continent, the inhabitants of which are the accursed sons of Ham. Africa was a 'black morass' which would swallow up the unwary. Yet, out of this darkness God was about to bring forth something wonderful: the Boer nation, a 'new type,' developed from a miraculous intermingling of (white) blood."[477] In *Ebony* magazine, it is stated that "most Afrikaners are members of the Dutch Reformed Church, […]. God, they believe, made the black man to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is written in the Bible, they contend, that God cursed the black man, i.e., the descendants of Ham."[478] Concerning the construction of the mythological legitimization of Afrikaner colonialism, Gallagher acknowledges that

> taking the traditional Christian idea of history as a progression of events controlled and directed by God to establish his eternal kingdom, Afrikaners, in a distorted development of Calvinistic notion of election, have come to believe that they are a chosen people, especially selected by God to establish his kingdom in the modern world.[479]

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[476]Vorster, 152.
[477]Dubow, 218.
[478]Johnson, 29.
[479]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 30.

The day of Covenant, also known as the Day of The Vow, was of significance to the construction of master narratives and the mythological legitimization of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa. However, the Great Trek did not bring tranquility to the Boers in their conflict with the British imperialists. The mines of gold and diamond had provided prosperity to the Boers but by the end of the nineteenth century, British colonizers discovered the presence of diamond and gold in inlands and attempted to obtain "diamonds resources at Kimberley in 1867 and gold resources on the Witwatersrand in 1886."[480] This eventually led to Boer Wars between the British and the Boers. The discovery of gold and diamond in Kimberly and Witwatersrand "helped the assumption that Britain had to maintain predominance in southern Africa."[481] It was also the time of high imperialism that the Scramble for Africa had been started by Britain. As a result of the discovery of gold and diamond reserves in South Africa:

> capitals, adventurers, and entrepreneurs poured into the country from abroad and made their way to the diamond diggings and the goldfields. The railway line snaked north. Britain strengthened her military and political position on the flanks of the republics, and Rhodes began his machinations which culminated in the Jameson Raid of 1895.[482]

British colonizers were unwilling to leave the gold and diamond mines neither to the native tribes nor to the Boers. The war was inevitable for both sides. British colonizers were eager and determined to obtain wealth in South Africa; on the other hand, the Dutch did want to lose the control of the land and their independence to the British colonizers and conquerors. Thus, "in the 1870s both Africans and Boers were seen as potential threats to

[480]Bunting, 11.
[481]Minter, 8.
[482]Bunting, 11.

British security and Britain annexed the diamond area in 1871, merging it with the Cape Colony ten years later."[483] Thus, for the Dutch colonizers,

> everything for which they had lived and struggled was endangered – their freedom, their language, their possessions, their racial supremacy, their very existence as an independent people with their God-given right to manage their affairs and their chattels as they pleased. […] They threw themselves into the struggle, feeling themselves ready to die rather than submit.[484]

The British Empire waged two wars against the Boers – the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881) and the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) – in order to obtain the diamond and gold mines in Kimberly and Witwatersrand. During the Anglo-Boer Wars "the British suppressed and mistreated Afrikaners [and] created voluntary concentration camps during the second Boer War where many women and children came for protection, yet conditions in these camps were such that 26,000 Afrikaners died of disease and starvation."[485] Bunting suggests that the Boer War was "widely considered throughout the civilized world to be amongst the worst – perhaps because the victims of aggression had white skins, not black; perhaps because, for once, the cause of the victims could be widely propagated abroad by their sympathizers and supporters."[486] Due to a poorly organized army and the lack of necessary war equipment, the Boers were defeated by the British army. So, demoralized by the defeat, "the Afrikaner nation, bruised and bleeding, rallied its strength to meet the danger which still faced it – that its language and culture would be submerged by those of the conqueror."[487] Gallagher expresses that the second Anglo Boer War:

[483]Minter, 9.
[484]Bunting, 12.
[485]Jemison, 76.
[486]Bunting, 1.
[487]Bunting, 14.

> resulted in a British victory and subsequent attempt to denationalize the Afrikaners and promote the English language and culture. Outraged by the inhumane treatment Boer women and children had received in British concentration camps and incensed by attempts to assimilate them to British ways, the Afrikaners stubbornly held out for their own cultural identity and gradually won political control away from the British during the early part of the twentieth century.[488]

In this respect, as suggested by Saul Dubow "the traumatic experience of the Boer War is generally regarded as having provided the vital stimulus for the development of Afrikaner nationalism as a mass movement."[489] Following the signing of the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging (1902), which ended the Anglo-Boer War, "the British imperial government in London withdrew Britain's political power from South Africa and gave all power to white minorities (English and Afrikaans),"[490] which could provide the future establishment of the Afrikaner National Party in South Africa.

The independence from the British domination and rule came to South Africa with "the emergence of the independent white-ruled Union of South Africa in 1910."[491] Thus, the Union of South Africa was established by the alliance of the Afrikaner and British governments, including "the provinces of Transvaal, Orange Free State, the Cape, and Natal."[492]

With the establishment of the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910, "effective political power in the region's most economically advanced country passed to the hands of

[488]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 29.
[489]Dubow, 210.
[490]Freddie, 245.
[491]Minter, 13.
[492]Brewer, 86.

leaders of the local white communities,"[493] and this excluded the participation of black leaders and governors in the social and political affairs. Minter states that

> The imperial troops and British settlers as well as Boer commandoes fought wars of conquest against the 'Kaffirs,' and defended the principle that the right to rule was reserved for whites. Missionary paternalism and British imperialist convictions reinforced this assumption and justified the dispossession of Africans from their land.[494]

During the Union of South Africa, the Afrikaner Louis Botha became the first Prime Minister and Jan Christian Smuts became the Minister of Defense. Both of them believed in segregation, and "racial segregation became official policy throughout the Union and laid the foundation for apartheid."[495] The establishment of the Union of South Africa and the implementation of several acts revealed the government's clear segregationist policy that created clear separateness and racial disequilibrium between South Africa's black majority and the white minority in all spheres of social and political life.

Beginning from the establishment of the Union in 1910 until the first democratic elections in 1994, the government enacted several acts and legislation that deprived the majority of native Africans of active participation in political and social life. On 19 June 1913, Louis Botha enacted the Natives' Land Act which prohibited the native black peoples to buy, rent, or use freely the lands that were outside designated reserves. Iris observes that "although Africans comprised more than 67 percent of the country's population at the time, under this law they were denied the right to own land in all but 7.5 percent of its territory."[496] By means of this act, the participations of black people in their own lands, in terms of their spatial and social relationships, were also constrained and controlled. Until the establishment

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[493]Minter, 14.
[494]Minter, 20.
[495]Sara Pienaar, ed., *Understanding Apartheid: Learner's Book* (Cape Town: Oxford UP Southern Africa, 2006), 24.
[496]Berger, 87.

of the Afrikaner National Party in 1948, two important Acts – the Natives' Land Act and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 – were of importance to the introduction of racial segregation and apartheid in South Africa. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act "called for the clearance of the slums, gave municipal authorities powers to establish separate locations for Africans throughout the country, usually at the edges of towns."[497] Freddie asserts that the Natives' Land Act "had far reaching consequences for black communities in the sense that it made provision that all black people living on farms either had to leave the farms surrendering them to white farmers or live on the farms not as co-cultivators but as farm laborers working for white farmers."[498]

For the creation of segregation and apartheid in South Africa, Minter suggests that "in spite of differences over detail, tone, or language between Boer and Briton, segregation was a cooperative venture between the leaders of both camps. […] The climate of white opinion and the racial balance of power are revealed by the fact that this Act was seen by some whites as *protective* of African interests."[499] With the enactment of several acts, the segregation and inequalities between the whites and the blacks were felt in every field, including schools, busses, offices, stations, churches, etc. Lane exemplifies the social disfranchising of South Africa's black majority under the apartheid government as follows:

> The peculiar colour-prejudice of South Africa […] finds expression everywhere – in the streets, in the public buildings, in the public conveyances, in the press, nay, in the church itself. Thus, if a black man were to try to get into a hotel, let his education be what it will, he would be refused admission; but supposing he did manage to enter somehow, if he appeared at table, all the whites would leave it. […] All over South

[497]Pienaar, 25.
[498]Freddie, 250.
[499]Minter, 26-27.

> Africa whites will not mix with blacks in railway compartments, tramcars or post-carts.
>
> Bantu children and European children are provided with separate schools. On that lavatory you see written "Gentlemen," and there only white men may go. On that other lavatory you see written "Amadoda" (men), and this is meant for black men. One would expect that the distinction would not go the length of the church, but it does so with sober earnestness.[500]

As seen in the quotation above, the segregationist policy of apartheid was felt by black people in social life as well as in political life. They were prevented to benefit from the same buses, airports, hospitals, and even schools that the privileged whites used. The enactment of the Natives' Land Act in 1913 and its harsh implementations on native people created great instability and confusion among the native peoples in South Africa. Meanwhile, native African intellectuals protested the political and social disenfranchisement of native African people and demanded equal rights and freedom for the majority of black people in South Africa. Established in 1913, the South African National Native Congress (SANNC) was an important institutional resistance that aimed to protest the inequalities and discriminations, created by the apartheid policy. The intellectuals and the leaders of the SANNC rejected the political and social disenfranchisement of native African people and demanded equal rights and freedom for the majority of black people in South Africa. Thus, the leaders "decided to go to England to appeal against the 1913 Land Act but were told by the British government that it was a domestic affair that had to be addressed and solved by the people who created it."[501] Freddie states that "it was during this period of the Union that the pleas and petitions of the SANNC fell on the deaf ears for most of the time. Delegation after delegation told the

[500]Lane, 304-5.
[501]Freddie, 251.

story of disappointments and failure after another whether in dealing with Britain or the South African government."[502]

Then, the leaders, who were rebuffed by the British government decided to assemble "a native meeting […] at Johannesburg on July 25, 1913, under the auspices of the South African Native Congress."[503] The SAANC assumed nonviolent civil resistance against apartheid and the segregationist policy of the Afrikaner government. The Congress "became the symbol of black unity and gave black people a sense of nationhood that survived the most determined application of the policy of divide and rule."[504] Sol Plaatje, the founder member and also the first general secretary of the SANNC, states that

> The Congress was attended by Natives from as far south as East London and King Williamstown, and from as far north as the Zoutpansbergen in Northern Transvaal, and also from Natal, Zululand, and from Bechuanaland; in fact from nearer and distant centres in all parts of the country they had gathered to discuss the situation arising from the serious conditions created by the Natives' Land Act.[505]

The South African National Native Congress (SANNC) changed its name to African National Congress (ANC) in 1923, and the ANC began to function in order to respond to the injustices and segregationist practices applied by the non-black government against native African people. After the First World War, Mahatma Gandhi's philosophical and strategic ideas, "which originated in South Africa in 1906 where Gandhi was a lawyer working for an

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[502]Freddie, 251.
[503]Solomon T. Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa: before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion* (July 1988): 171, [e-text Alan R. Light], accessed 11 March 2013, www.sahistory.org.za/NativeLifeinSouthAfrica.pdf.
[504]Freddie, 247.
[505]Plaatje, 171.

Indian trading firm,"[506] established a "model of nonviolent civil disobedience and had a profound impact on antiracist movement participants around the world."[507]

In the second half of the twentieth century, many anti-apartheid organizations and leaders initiated anti-apartheid struggles in order to erase or dismantle the policy of apartheid and its racial discrimination in South Africa. Many anti-apartheid movements and groups were emerged and challenged "threats to the continued political and economic domination of the country. It is for this reason that the white rulers of the Union of South Africa and their successive governments employed a variety of measures to eradicate it."[508]

During the 1960s, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), pioneered by Steve Bantu Biko (1946-1977), was one of the important anti-apartheid movements. Biko was one of the important black leaders who stood up to the racial discrimination and the illegal policies of the apartheid government in South Africa. He forged the construction of black nationalism among the black South African people. In his collection of essays, *I Write What I Like* (1978), Steve Biko asserts that

> Above all, we black people should all the time keep in mind that South Africa is our country and that all of it belongs to us. The arrogance that makes white people travel all the way from Holland to come and balkanize our country and shift us around has to be destroyed. Our kindness has been misused and our hospitality turned against us. Whereas whites were mere guests to us on their arrival in this country they have now pushed us out to a 13% corner of the land and are acting as bad hosts in the rest of the country. This we must put right.[509]

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[506]Lester R. Kurtz, "The Anti-Apartheid Struggle in South Africa (1912-1992)," *International Center on Nonviolent Conflict* (June 2010): 1.
[507]Brett C. Stockdill, "Antiracist Social Movements," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 107.
[508]Freddie, 248.
[509]Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* Aelred Stubbs ed., (London: Bowerdean Press, 1978), 86.

Biko was mercilessly killed under the police custody under the apartheid régime in 1977. After his tragic death, "the government instituted a nationwide crackdown. Seventeen Black Consciousness organizations were banned; forty-seven black leaders were arrested and held in detention."[510] Steve Biko's death in detention created internal and international tension and caused anxiety about the brutal practices of security forces employed to the detainees in prisons. Geoffrey Wheatcroft quotes Jimmy Kruger's – the Minister of Justice between the years 1974 and 1979 – paradoxical words on the occasion of Biko's murder; "It leaves me cold," and later added, "every man has a democratic right to die."[511]

Another important black intellectual, who has been later awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize, "was Rolihlahla (Nelson) Mandela (1918-2013), who, after serving more than twenty-seven years of a sentence of life imprisonment (1962-1990), was released to become the first president of South Africa after its radical transition in 1994 to become a nonracist state."[512]

During the apartheid years, the government enacted several laws that deprived the colored people in their homelands while it presented privileges and autonomy to the white supremacy. As suggested by Freddie that "both the Afrikaner and the British leaders generally agreed with each other in passing laws for the whole Union, which reduced or eliminated rights and opportunities for black people and their traditional leaders."[513] Thus, all the anti-apartheid movements and groups were either banned or arrested by the security branch of the Afrikaner National Party. The result was the fragmented people without any political leaders who would stand up for their rights in the social and political matters.

In 1948, Dr. Daniel François Malan established his conservative Afrikaner-dominated National Party (1948-1954) which assumed "the policy of apartheid in the Afrikaner

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[510]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 24.
[511]Jimmy Kruger, quoted in Geoffrey Wheatcroft, "'A Talk with André Brink,' a profile of André Brink," *The New York Times Book Review*, (13 June 1982): 14, Rpt. in *Literature Resource Center*, accessed 8 February 2011, URL: http: //go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?&id=GALE%7CH1420009117.
[512]Johan D. van der Vyver, "Apartheid," in Dinah L. Shelton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*, Vol. I: A-H (New York: Macmillan, 2005), 51.
[513]Freddie, 246.

National party platform for the first time. Apartheid therefore formally began with the 1948 election."[514] Although apartheid literally means segregation and separateness, the apartheid régime was generally introduced by the officials of the Afrikaner National Party as a positive, nondiscriminatory, and humane policy in order to solve the compelling problems in South Africa. But, such a conviction did not correspond to what they had articulated and practiced. In this respect, the apartheid régime, which was enhanced by the Afrikaner government to maintain a segregationist policy, created a paradoxical condition for the blacks in South Africa. Hermann Giliomee indicates that

> in January 1944, D. F. Malan, speaking as Leader of the Opposition, became the first person to employ [apartheid] in the South African parliament. A few months later [Malan] elaborated, "I do not use the term 'segregation,' because it has been interpreted as a fencing off (*afhok*), but rather 'apartheid,' which will give the various races the opportunity of uplifting themselves on the basis of what is their own."[515]

The National Party's implementation of the apartheid régime and its legitimation were indicated by The National Party's Color Policy Statement:

> there is the policy of separation (apartheid) which has grown from the experience of established European population of the country, […]. Its aim is the maintenance and protection of the European population of the country as a pure white race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities, with prospects of developing into self-supporting communities within their own areas, and

[514]Tameshnie Deane, "Affirmative Action: A Comparative Study," (PhD Diss., University of South Africa, 2005), 15, accessed 11 July 2013, http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/2012/00front.pdf.

[515]Hermann Giliomee, "The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929-1948," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (June 2003): 374, accessed 21 February 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 3557368.

> the stimulation of national-pride, self-respect, and mutual respect among the various races of the country.
>
> The party believes that a definite policy of separation (apartheid) between the White races and the non-White racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation also in the case of the non-White racial groups, is the only basis on which the character and future of each race can be protected and safeguarded and on which each race can be guided so as to develop his own national character, aptitude and calling.[516]

As seen in the quotation above, the National Party's policy of apartheid was introduced as secure and protective policy which would allow each individual to develop his national character, traditions, and customs. However, under Daniel F. Malan's National Party, many discriminatory acts and laws which seemed to give protection to the positions and rights of native Africans were implemented. Although the government proposed that the acts were enacted for the Africans' best interest, they were actually enacted in order to secure the sovereignty of the white minority. Some of the so-called protective acts, implemented during the Afrikaner National Party, were thus:

1. *The Prohibition of Mixed-Marriages Act* (1950), which made interracial marriage a criminal act;
2. *The Population Registration Act* (1949), which required registration and racial classification of all persons above sixteen years of age;
3. *The Suppression of Communism Act* (1950), which associated anti-apartheid activities with communism;

[516]General Assembly Official Records (GAOR): Eighth Session, Supp. No. 16, "Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, 29 March 1948," (New York: 1952): 139-140, accessed 23 March 2013, URL: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1948apartheid1.html.

> 4. *The Group Areas Act* (1950), which allowed the government to determine the areas in which people of different races and nationalities could reside and own property;
>
> 5. *The Bantu Education Act* (1953), which brought mission schools under government control and circumscribed the education of Africans.[517]

Many critics and scholars commonly pointed out the effects of the genocidal policy of Nazism, pseudo-scientific study of eugenicists, the function of Afrikaner *Broederbond*, and the role of the Dutch Reformed Church in the establishment of the institutionalized apartheid régime and the creation of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa.[518] Bunting draws attention to the analogy between the National Party's divisive acts and Nazi government's Nuremberg Laws and states that "the innermost Nationalist cadres, however, drank deep at the fountain of Nazism and found in the Nuremberg laws confirmation and rationalization of the racist doctrines which they had traditionally espoused in South Africa."[519] Similarly, Anthony Löwstedt states that "apartheid is *nothing but* a combination of genocide and colonialism [apartheid] is theoretically located *between* colonialism and genocide."[520] According to him, apartheid

> was never chiefly a matter of prejudice and cultural or religious differences, but, a great deal more importantly, concrete and material violence and exploitation. Apartheid takes place on the ground at least as much as it does in people's minds. […] Apartheid was never merely a

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[517]Francis Njubi Nesbitt, "Anti-Apartheid Movement," in John Hartwell Moore ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 100.

[518]See Gilbert, "Jews and the Racial State: Legacies of the Holocaust in Apartheid South Africa: 1945-60"; Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'"; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Bibliography of a People*; Kriel, "Culture and power: the rise of Afrikaner nationalism revisited"; Rakometsi, "The Transformation of Black School Education in South Africa, 1950-1994: A Historical Perspective"; Jemison, "The Nazi Influence in the Formation of Apartheid in South Africa," and Bunting, *The rise of the South African Reich.*

[519]Bunting, 120.

[520]Anthony Löwstedt, *Apartheid Ancient, Past, and Present: Systematic and Gross Human Rights Violations in Graeco-Roman Egypt, South Africa, and Israel/Palestine*, 6th edition (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Phänomenologie und kritische Anthropologie, 2010), 32.

> state of war between different peoples either, but also a matter of invasion, oppression, theft, intimidation, and exploitative economic and social relationships. In other words, it does not only consist of endlessly spinning cycles of retaliatory violence; it has discernible, and indeed easily identifiable, beginnings, and it is essentially much more than mere violence.[521]

By pointing out the profound impact of Nazism which assumed the idea of pure "Aryan race" for the construction of Afrikaner nationalism, Jemison suggests that "Nazi influence in shaping the ideology of Afrikaners was not the primary cause of Afrikaner belief in the superiority of whites over blacks, but Nazism was largely responsible for encouraging the idea that Afrikaners were superior to any other groups of whites."[522] She draws attention to the analogy between Nazism and the apartheid régime and suggests that the adoption of the German term *volk*, affinity towards Germans, and hatred for the old enemy – Britain – were the reasons for the construction of apartheid, similar to the Nazism, in South Africa. She expresses that

> The Afrikaner white population developed the apartheid system in 1948 in part as an outgrowth of the ideology of Nazi Germany, an ideology the Afrikaners readily accepted because of the affinity they felt towards Germans, and because they feared being dominated by the English minority who had previously controlled the country. […] Many Afrikaners were of German as well as Dutch ancestry and shared a common bond with Germans. Most Afrikaner students who traveled to Europe to pursue their post-graduate studies at a large university […] in

[521]Löwstedt, 7.
[522]Jemison, 80.

> Holland or Germany [and] several future leaders of the apartheid era encountered Nazism while studying in Germany.[523]

Similarly, in "Jews and the Racial State: Legacies of the Holocaust in Apartheid South Africa, 1945-60," Gilbert makes a close connection between the racist policy of the Afrikaner National Party and the anti-semiticism. She highlights that once the repressive laws were implemented by the Afrikaner government "anti-racist activists inside South Africa had drawn on the Nazi analogy […] to clarify the nature of the system they were opposing."[524] She also adds that "Afrikaner nationalist politics were indeed influenced by ideas derived from Europe, particularly Nazi Germany, in the 1930s and 1940s."[525] Gilbert also strengthens her idea by affirming that "apartheid radicalized and further institutionalized racism and segregation, and its links with Nazism certainly rendered the analogy even more potent after 1948 [so] the blacks in South Africa experienced the same restrictions and humiliations as European Jews."[526] As seen in the quotation, the link between Nazism and the institutionalized system of apartheid were based on the racist ideology that attempted to exclude the so-called inferior races from their country. While Nazism aimed to cleanse the Jews from Germany in order to attain pure Aryan race, the apartheid government assumed racist policy in order to create racial separateness and inequality between South Africa's black majority and the white minority. Similarly, Dubow states that "from the I930s a distinct sub-tradition of explicitly racist thought can be discerned within Afrikaner nationalist ideology. This tradition was to a significant extent associated with, and encouraged by, Nazi ideas of race superiority."[527] In his essay, Nelson Mandela points out the similarity between the government of Hitler and Afrikaner government

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[523]Jemison, 79-80.
[524]Shirli Gilbert, "Jews and the Racial State: Legacies of the Holocaust in Apartheid South Africa, 1945-60," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Spring-Summer 2010): 34, accessed 10 March 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/jewisocistud.16.3.32.
[525]Gilbert, 36.
[526]Gilbert, 39-40.
[527]Dubow, 226.

> The Nationalist Government have frequently denied that they are a fascist Government inspired by the theories of the National-Socialist Party of Hitlerite Germany. Yet the declaration they make, the laws they pass and the entire policy they pursue clearly confirm this point. It is interesting to compare – the colonial policy of the Hitlerite Government as outlined by the leading German theoretician on the subject Dr. Gunther Hecht […]. In this country the Government preaches the policy of *baasskap* which is based upon the supremacy in all matters of the whites over the non-whites. Under this policy fundamental human rights are denied to the non-whites. They are subjected to extremely stringent regulations both in regard to their movement within the country as well as in regard to overseas travel.[528]

In a similar vein, Bunting remarks the ideological connection between Nazism in Germany and the Afrikanerdom in South Africa. He explains that

> During the thirties many Nationalist Party leaders and wide sections of the Afrikaner people came strongly under the influence of the Nazi movement which dominated Germany from 1933. There were many reasons for this. Germany was the traditional enemy of Britain, and whoever opposed Britain appeared a friend of the Nationalists. Many Nationalists, moreover, believed that the opportunity to re-establish their lost republic would come with the defeat of the British Empire in the international arena. The more belligerent Hitler became, the further hopes rose that the day of Afrikanerdom was about to dawn. This opportunistic

[528]Nelson Mandela, "Bantu Education Goes to University," in D. Tloome, ed., *Liberation: A Journal of Democratic Discussion*, No. 25 (June 1957): 7.

> attitude towards Germany paved the way for the gradual acceptance of many of the basic principles of Nazism itself.[529]

According to Aletta J. Norval, apartheid is akin to both Nazism and European colonialism. She asserts that

> apartheid has historically […] akin to both Nazism, a racism of extermination and colonial domination, a racism of oppression. The former aimed at purifying the social body of a stain or of the danger of inferior races, while the latter aimed at hierarchizing and partitioning society. Nazism combined extermination and deportation, and colonial racisms have practised both forced labour, ethnic separation and systematic massacre of populations. In a similar fashion, apartheid engaged both in systematic economic exploitation and in equally systematic repression.[530]

In the 1930s, the role of Afrikaner *Broederbond* (League of Afrikaner Brothers) was also important in the construction of the Afrikaner nationalism, racism and separateness between the whites and non-whites in South Africa. *Broederbond* was "a secret society which has gradually come to assume a dominant position in the affairs of the *volk*."[531] It was "the earliest conservative Afrikaner groups which closely aligned itself with Nazi Germany, and which was influential in the founding of apartheid in 1948."[532] Established in Johannesburg "*Broederbond* was formed in 1918 and maintained an open existence until 1924, when it went underground and its affairs became largely a matter for conjecture in the early twentieth century."[533] Mariana Kriel remarks that

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[529]Bunting, 56.
[530]Aletta J. Norval, *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse* (New York: Verso, 1996), 109.
[531]Bunting, 43.
[532]Jemison, 85.
[533]Bunting, 43.

> between 1948 and 1994 virtually all power in the country was in the hands of *Broederbonders*, who once a month, secretly met in their cells to debate a new piece of nationalist writing. In the morning they returned to work. As politicians, they translated Afrikaner nationalism into apartheid policy and as lawyers and civil servants they implemented that policy.[534]

The formation process and the creeds of the Afrikaner *Broederbond*'s members are expressed by Du Toit as follows:

> In May 1918 a group of fourteen white men in Johannesburg formed an organization they called 'Jong Suid-Afrika.' On June 5, this loose organization was recast as the Afrikaner *Broederbond* (AB), which aimed to bring together Afrikaners and to serve their interests. The constitution of the AB made it clear that only Afrikaners – in fact only 'super-Afrikaners' – would be invited to join the group. In time, membership implied religious conservatism, linguistic priority, and racial prejudice.[535]

Kriel points out the *Broederbond*'s determining role in the political development of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa:

> The Bond's contribution to the consolidation and dissemination of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism – both in its anti-imperial and its white racist manifestations – was significant. […] Bond members also formed art associations and library committees – all, of course, to promote Afrikaner art, culture and literature. Last but not least, branches were expected to arrange and support *volk* festivals to commemorate highlights

[534]Mariana Kriel, "Culture and power: the rise of Afrikaner nationalism revisited," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2010): 409-410.
[535]Brian M. du Toit, "Afrikaner Broederbond," in John Hartwell Moore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Vol. I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 65.

in Afrikaner history such as the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, the Battle of Blood River and the birthday of Paul Kruger.[536]

Consequently, many critics claim that members of the *Broederbond* were directly responsible for the establishment of Afrikaner nationalist consciousness and the racist policy of the apartheid government. Rakometsi indicates that "the members of *Broederbond* were selected to ensure representivity of all sectors of Afrikaner activity. Members were to be mission-conscious Afrikaners who desired to represent and serve the best interest of Afrikaners. The names of such members, as well as all proceedings of the *Broederbond* were strictly confidential."[537]

Many critics also point out the function of the theological tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church, which was thought to be important in the promotion of apartheid ideology and Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa. Kriel states that "apartheid theory owed much to the theological tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church that had contributed to the ideals of Afrikaner nationalism developed by the *Broederbond* and its affiliated bodies."[538] Similarly, Dubow asserts that "the origins of apartheid have sometimes been linked to developments within the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) during the nineteenth century."[539] So, the Afrikaners of the nineteenth century "regarded themselves as a people assembled, called and elected by God to serve Him in a continent of darkness and barbarianism,"[540] and they possessed the doctrine of the elected people of God, a chosen people. Vorster draws attention to the parallelism between the struggles of Israelites and Afrikaners in achieving the Promised Land. He states that

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[536]Kriel, 409-10.
[537]Mafu Solomon Rakometsi, "The Transformation of Black School Education in South Africa, 1950-1994: A Historical Perspective," (PhD Diss., University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, 2008), 25, accessed 25 September 2012, www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/RakometsiMS.pdf
[538]Rakometsi, 25.
[539]Dubow, 212.
[540]Vorster, 146.

> As the Israelites were liberated from bondage to the Egyptians, the Afrikaners were liberated by God from the bondage of the British. As the Israelites were led into the desert by God in search of the Promised Land, the Afrikaners were guided by God in the Great Trek to find its own promised land. As God made a covenant with Israel at Sinai, He made a covenant with the Afrikaners at Blood River. The battles that the Afrikaners fought were not seen as black-white conflicts, but rather conflicts between believers and non-believers.[541]

J.D. Du Toit (Totius), who was the first important Afrikaner theologian of the Dutch Reformed Church, proposed "the notion of God as 'Hammabdil' – the Great Divider."[542] He propounded the myth of tower of Babel and espoused the idea that "not only did God separate light and dark, heaven and earth, man and woman, He also ordained the separation of one nation from the other."[543] According to Dubow, Du Toit's assumption was of great significance for the construction of Afrikaner nationalism and adoption of the concept of "*volk*" because it exposed to "the idea that black is a symbol of degeneracy, baseness and evil, a sign of danger and repulsion, while whiteness is synonymous with being Christian."[544] Dubow acknowledges that two major conclusions can be drawn from the ideas of Du Toit:

> first, what God has joined together, man must not separate. This is the core of our plea for the unity of the people (*volkseenheid*). Second, we should not bring together that which God has separated. In pluriformity the counsel of God is realized. The higher unity lies in Christ and is spiritual in character. Thus, there can be no equalizing (gelykstelling) and no miscegenation (verbastering).[545]

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[541]Vorster, 146.
[542]Dubow, 217.
[543]Dubow, 217.
[544]Vorster, 149.
[545]Dubow, 218.

Lastly, the effects of the genocidal policy of Nazism, European colonialism, the function of Afrikaner *Broederbond*, and the function of the Dutch Reformed Church were regarded essential factors in the promotion of Afrikaner nationalism and establishment of the institutionalized apartheid régime in South Africa. Although racism, segregation and racial inequalities existed in various colonized countries in the world, it "was the systematic, official and legal character of apartheid which made South Africa unique."[546] Due to the legislation of the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), many leading anti-apartheid intellectuals and activists were detained, imprisoned or banned. The repressive legislation and acts – the Group Areas Act, Reservation of Separate Amenities, Bantu Education Act, and Suppression of Communism Act – which were legalized during the Afrikaner National Party created huge inequalities and discriminations between the white and non-white peoples in South Africa. Due to the implementation of the acts, the majority of native blacks were forced to live in reserves that were the reminiscent of Nazi concentration camps. The geographical division and segregation of black people were systematized in all spheres of social and public life. Thus, by means of the prescribed laws, the compelling circumstances were put into effect for non-white peoples in the country. The government prescribed

> whom one could marry, where one could reside and own property, what schools and universities one would be allowed to attend, and which jobs were reserved for one. The sick had to be conveyed in racially exclusive ambulances, could receive blood transfusions only from donors of their own racial groups, and could qualify for treatment only in racially defined hospitals. The state even regulated, with race as the prime criterion, who would be allowed to attend church services in some regions, and where one could be buried.[547]

[546]Deane, 7.
[547]Vyver, 51.

John Cell expresses that the heroic struggle of Afrikaners, beginning from the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck until the establishment of the National Party, "was […] a succession of powerfully formative experiences. None of them, perhaps, was inevitable. But each made the outcome of the next more predictable. As Afrikaner nationalism gained impetus, so South Africa's Native Policy became ever more extreme. Segregation was thus the logical conclusion of the Afrikaner people's peculiar history."[548]

Anti-Apartheid Struggle and The Post-Apartheid Period in South Africa

> The season for violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived. (F. W. De Klerk [State President's parliamentary address] 2 February 1990)
>
> To be free is not merely to cast off one's chains but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. (Nelson Mandela, June 1999)

The draconian acts and legislation, which were implemented to the majority of blacks by the Afrikaner government, led to the massive resistance and opposition within the country. Therefore, "violent confrontation between the South African authorities and groups of persons, protesting the atrocities, inherent in the policy of apartheid became part of everyday life in the black townships."[549] During the political transition of South Africa to a more democratic state, the history of the country was determined by two defining and iconic events that captured both the minds and hearts of the people. The first event was the Sharpeville massacre (21 March 1960), which was held after the pass laws that were enacted against the native black Africans. The second was the Soweto uprising (16 June 1976), which was a protest against The Bantu Education Act and forceful implementation of Afrikaans and English as media of instruction in schools.

[548]Cell, 6.
[549]Vyver, 49.

Since apartheid limited, segregated, and classified the majority of black people with the enactment of many pass laws, many anti-apartheid intellectuals and leaders, who rejected the status quo in the country, organized anti-apartheid meetings. The Sharpeville massacre, organized for the non-violent protestation of pass laws, was one of the central events that took place in March 1960 in Sharpeville. Sharpeville massacre was an important event in the history of South Africa and had far reaching effects both internally and globally. The anti-pass campaign, organized by members of the PAC, was a key mobilizing force behind the Sharpeville massacre. Members of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAN) "organized protests against the pass laws, with 21 March set as the date for rallies around the country."[550]

On 21 March 1960 a group of protestors gathered in front of the police station in Sharpeville, and "a few crowd members had weapons, mainly sticks and knobkerries, club like weapons made from saplings with roots on their ends. There was some antagonism toward the police, but at the same time there were elements of a carnival, 'happy-go-lucky' atmosphere. There was no plan to attack the police station."[551] Brian Martin defines the initial demonstration of the massacre and the beginning of the turmoil among the protestors as follows:

> At 1.30 pm, a drunk in the crowd named Geelbooi produced a small caliber pistol. A friend tried to stop him and two shots were fired into the air. At the same time, a key police official named Spengler stumbled. Some in the crowd leaned forward. A constable helped Spengler to his feet. A few pebbles were thrown from the crowd and one hit the constable. The constable heard 'shot' or 'short' and fired. Spengler deflected the constable's shot, but it was too late.[552]

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[550]Brian Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 9.
[551]Martin, 11.
[552]Martin, 12.

Although the demonstration included non-violent and peaceful slogans, "the Sharpeville events involved massive use of force against an unarmed and nonthreatening crowd. The police's heavy use of firearms was seen as totally unjustified."[553] In *Ebony* magazine, the violence of the massacre was expressed thus:

> Sharpeville was an eloquent response to the degradation of the pass laws. Prodded by the militant Pan-African Congress, 20,000 Africans gathered in front of the Sharpeville police station. The frightened policemen prepared for war. Jet airplanes and Saracen tanks were called into action. And then, as the police and demonstrators faced each other, a shot rang out. When the rat-tat-tat of the machine guns died down, some 72 lay dead.[554]

Due to the massive use of police force in the massacre, "sixty-nine people are killed and 186 wounded at Sharpeville"[555] and "some 1,600 persons, including about 100 whites, were arrested. Clubs, *sjamboks* (whips made of rubber and leather strips) were brought into play."[556] In *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*, Martin expresses the condition of Sharpeville before the massacre:

> There were about 35,000 residents, of whom some 20,000 were children. It was like a large anonymous suburb, stable and without a militant reputation. Nevertheless, Sharpeville residents were affected by the unrest sweeping the country. For many decades, white rule in South Africa had been met by resistance, including mass opposition to pass laws from the early decades of the twentieth century. The African

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[553]Martin, 14.
[554]John H. Johnson, ed., "South Africa: The Handwritings on the Wall," *Ebony*, Vol. 15, No. 9 (July 1960): 32.
[555]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 3 (29 October 1998): 14, accessed 29 March 2013, URL: www.justice.gov.za/trc/report /finalreport/ Volume3. pdf.
[556]Johnson, 30.

> National Congress was the primary vehicle for black opposition to apartheid.[557]

Tom Lodge's *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences* presents the accounts and reports of those who either witnessed or survived the massacre. Lodge quotes one of the survivors as in the following:

> In the early morning everyone got lifted from their beds by PAC people and was summoned to come outside and join the march. It was meant to protest against the pass laws. We were told to leave our passes at home, and turn ourselves in at the police station. It was to be a peaceful protest, absolutely no violence. They specifically emphasized on that.[558]

The following account, quoted from Lodge, belongs to one of the survivors in the massacre. It introduces the survivor's involvement just before the massacre. Frederick Batkani reminisces about the massacre as follows:

> At Sunday night we gathered at the football ground. All the men were there. Women were not allowed. It was the middle of the night, around midnight, when the police came. They said: "What are you doing here?" The leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress answered: "We're here to talk about the bad rules of the passes." That wasn't the right answer, because moments later the officers started to hit us with whips. We ran away, some of us badly hurt. There were also shots. I don't know if they were aimed at the people or not. It was dark, I couldn't see.[559]

Following the uprising, a high level of government repression was employed and "the South African government declared the first State of Emergency, further restricting the rights

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[557]Martin, 9-10.
[558]Tom Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences* (Oxford, NY: Oxford UP, 2011), 2.
[559]Lodge, 1.

of Africans and banning the PAC and ANC."[560] With the declaration of the first State of Emergency (24 March-31 August), strict regulations and legislation were put into effect in relation to the social and political matters. During the period, there was extreme social exclusion, poverty, and unemployment of native South Africans. The banning of members of the PAC and the ANC had far reaching effects in both the country and abroad. Following the uprising, the collective anti-apartheid protests did not stop but progressed as underground actions. Marshall indicates that

> both the ANC and the PAC were forced to operate underground; both parties established headquarters in London and in various African countries; and both parties launched an armed wing in 1961: MK and Poqo (We go it alone) respectively. While the former confined violence to acts of sabotage, the latter was unequivocally engaging in terrorist activities and assassinations, often attracting more radical activists.[561]

However, the government anticipated that both the ANC and the PAC posed serious threats to the continuing policy and régime and it enacted series of laws, including the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960, the General Law Amendment Act (Sabotage Act) in 1962, and Ninety-Day Detention Law on 1 May 1963. The Unlawful Organizations Act "enabled the State President to declare […] anybody, organization, group, or association of persons, institution, society, or movement, an unlawful organization. [And it] was promptly used to ban the PAC and ANC following the Sharpeville Massacre."[562] Cell explains the profound restraints of the government in regard to the anti-apartheid organizations as follows:

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[560]David Hostetter, "An International Alliance of People of All Nations against Racism: Nonviolence and Solidarity in the Antiapartheid Activism of the American Committee on Africa, 1952-1965," *Peace & Change*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (April 2007): 144.
[561]Sabine Marschall, "Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa," *South African Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (October 2008): 110, accessed 25 May 2012, DOI: 10.1080/02582470802287745.
[562]Culhane, 929.

> Under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, all effective African political organizations (including the Pan African Congress, the African National Congress, and most recently the black consciousness movement) have been banned as statutory Communists, their leaders placed under house arrest, incarcerated, or worse. Until the mid-1960s, at least, apartheid steadily became more thorough, more efficient, and more severe.[563]

During the state of emergency, the security units of the government were given limitless power to make arbitrary arrests and detention and to inflict torture upon anybody who would possibly constitute a threat to the national unity of the country. Although state-sanctioned violence and ill-treatment of the prisoners were denied officially by the government, torture, arbitrary arrests, and illegal imprisonments have been inseparable realities during the State of Emergency.

Both the Sabotage Act and the Ninety-Day Detention Law provided for the detention of "people without charge or trial in solitary confinement for successive periods of ninety days."[564] So the consequence of such an authoritarian policy "was broad discretionary state power to preclude the political activity of individuals opposed to the South African régime."[565] However, the ANC and its military wing *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) continued its underground activities despite the severe and strict military rules and pressures, conducted by the Security Police of the government. Meanwhile, there were ceaseless pressures and inspection, and "in July 1963, the police raided a house in Rivonia, a suburb on the outskirts of Johannesburg, and, using the newly enacted ninety-days detention law, detained seventeen persons found on the premises. Eleven of those detainees were subsequently brought to trial

[563]Cell, 9-10.
[564]Leslie and Neville Rubin, *This is Apartheid* (London: Christian Action, 1965), 3.
[565]Culhane, 930.

on charges of sabotage."[566] Following the Rivonia raid, the intellectuals and members of both the ANC and the newly founded PAC were banned and were sent to prisons. Known as Rivonia trial, which began on 9 October 1963, was a hindrance for both the ANC and PAC's anti-apartheid struggle:

> The state argued that the ANC was dominated by Communists, had planned a campaign of guerrilla warfare and, after its banning, had decided to embark on a policy of destruction and violence. In June 1964, seven of the accused, namely, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Dennis Goldberg, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were sentenced to life imprisonment.[567]

Nelson Mandela, together with other members of the ANC, was subjected to twenty years of imprisonment at Robben Island, Pollsmoore Prison. Darrell Irwin expresses that "suffering was evident for Nelson Mandela living apart from his wife Winnie for twenty seven years and, because of prison regulations, not meeting his daughter Zeni until she was sixteen or his daughter Zindzi until she was fifteen."[568] Nelson Mandela's four-hour speech, delivered on 20 April 1964 at the opening of Rivonia Trial, had great impact in the international circles. In the court, he clearly expressed that

> The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of white supremacy. White supremacy implies black inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve white supremacy entrenches this notion. […] Hundreds and thousands of Africans are thrown into jail each year under pass laws. […] During my lifetime I have dedicated

[566]Vyver, 52.
[567]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 3, 545.
[568]Darrell D. Irwin, "Awards for suffering: the Nobel Peace Prize recipients of South Africa," *Contemporary Justice Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (24 April 2009): 158, accessed 25 June 2013, DOI: 10.1080/102825809028765144.

> myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.[569]

Lorna L. Zukas declares that Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie Mandela, was also harassed and arrested. He expresses that Winnie Mandela,

> was blamed for the Soweto uprising by the white South African government. To support the children, she founded the Black Parents Association. […] In the aftermath of Soweto, Winnie Mandela was arrested with a dozen other women as political detainees. From 1962 to 1975, she was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and twice charged with contravening her banning order. In 1970, she was acquitted of wrongdoing but had been held in solitary confinement for 17 months under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Throughout the 1970s, Winnie Mandela continued to ignore banning orders and to speak out against apartheid.[570]

As a response to the governments' legislation and enforcement in relation to the Sharpeville massacre, several intellectuals and scholars attempted to resist the omnipotent position of the white government. Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), including the young intellectuals and activists such as Steve Biko, Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Kwame Nkrumah, and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, was also one of the important anti-racist and anti-

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[569]Nelson Mandela, "Rivonia Trial Speech," accessed 20 June 2013, http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ ftrials/mandela/ mandelaspeech.html.

[570]Lorna Lueker Zukas, "Anti-Apartheid Movement," in Anderson & Herr eds., *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2007), 116, accessed 1 July 2013, DOI: 10.4135/9781412956215.

apartheid movements in the world. It was the formation of the South African Student Organization (SASO) in 1968, which gave inspiration and rise to the formation of Black Consciousness movement. The anti-apartheid struggles and contestations of both the SASO and the BCM "filled a void left by the banning of the ANC and PAC."[571] Mangcu suggests that "instead of defining blackness as a matter of skin pigmentation, the movement defined blackness in terms of identification with the black liberation struggle."[572] The intellectuals and activists, involved in the BCM

> were preoccupied with and greatly distressed by the legacy of oppression, the inferiority complex of black people, and their continued tendency to idolize whites as their role models. In their writings, these authors aimed primarily at organizing the physically and psychologically oppressed people of their respective societies, to rise up and retrieve their self-identity and "true humanity" and thus resume their rightful place as respected members of society.[573]

Brewer states that "violent repression, deaths in detention and prison, and indiscriminate harassment and victimization against blacks became the marks of policing. The tragic death of Steve Biko (1946–1977) […] in 1977 was only one of very many deaths."[574] Steve Biko was considered a danger to the apartheid system and was murdered by the South African police while in custody in September 1977.[575] The years following the state of emergency were tedious, chaotic, and repressive for the anti-apartheid intellectuals and leaders.

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[571]Zukas, 116.
[572]Xolela Mangcu, "Stephen Bantu Biko," in John Hartwell Moore ed., *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Volume I: A-F (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008), 169.
[573]Mphikeleli Matthew Mnguni, "The Role of Black Consciousness in the Experience of Being Black in South Africa: The Shaping of the Identity of Two Members of AZAPO," (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2000), 10, accessed 21 December 2012, www.eprints.ru.ac.za/MNGUNI-MA-TR00-81.pdf
[574]Brewer, 88.
[575]Zukas, 116.

However, all the repression, incarcerations, and banning of the black leaders did not stop the anti-apartheid struggles. The Soweto uprising (16th of June 1976) was another massive resistance movement, which was organized against the marginalizing position of indigenous languages of native people and the imposition of Afrikaans and English as the languages of instruction at schools. With the enactment of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, oppositions and confrontations began to extend across the country which led to the Soweto uprising in 1976. It was "one of the best known events in the struggle against apartheid. Many students, influenced by Steven Biko, would no longer accommodate to the injustices of the South African educational system."[576]

The name Soweto is an acronym, which was "given in 1963 to the collection of townships to the southwest of Johannesburg. It's an abbreviation of SOuth WEstern TOwnships."[577] Soweto uprising was a protest of Afrikaans, which was enforced as a medium of education at schools. The Afrikaner *Broederbond* launched several campaigns to consolidate Afrikaans in all spheres of social and public life. Sifiso Ndlovu indicates that *Broederbond* "recognized African schools as strategic sites where Afrikaner hegemony could be implanted by using Afrikaans as a medium of instruction."[578] He adds that "in circular 3/70/71, *Broeders* were urged to 'establish Afrikaans as a second language among as many Bantu as possible'. The following year, circular 3/71/72 encouraged *Broeders* to donate books to African schools and the subsequent positive response was commended."[579]

Thus, together with the clandestine strategies of Afrikaner *Broederbond*, the enactment of the Bantu Education Act helped the "enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African schools during the early 1970s [and] in 1976 the Secretary for Bantu Education instructed some higher primary and junior secondary schools to implement

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[576]A. Francis and V. Marchese, "Apartheid South Africa and the Soweto Rebellion," *Social Science Docket*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July 2006): 60.
[577]"Soweto", available from http://africanhistory.about.com/od/glossarys/g/def-Soweto.html.
[578]Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, "The Soweto Uprising," in Bernard Magubane, ed., *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Vol. 2 [1970-1980] (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2006), 325.
[579]Ndlovu, 326.

Afrikaans as a medium of instruction."[580] According to the act, the "African pupils were required to adapt to learning in two 'foreign' languages within two years; first English in 1975 and then Afrikaans in 1976."[581] As a result of the unbearable education strategies and the forceful implementations of Afrikaans and English at schools, the Soweto uprising erupted on 16 June1976. Black students within schools and universities in Soweto tried to "mobilise parents, workers and other members of communities. In the early 1970s, the ideological and political debate began to translate into organized political action, directed against education as an instrument of white domination."[582] Nieftagodien expresses that:

> Initially the revolt took the form of solidarity marches with the students of Soweto but quickly transformed into more generalised struggles against Bantu education and apartheid. There were many similarities in the form and political content of the uprising in different townships: they were mainly student-led; symbols of apartheid, especially beer halls, became the primary targets; police repression was severe, which resulted in large numbers of casualties.[583]

Like the demonstrators in the Sharpeville massacre, "the student action committee plan was to stage a peaceful march – with students from all over Soweto congregating at Orlando Stadium and then proceeding to the regional offices of the Department of Bantu Education to deliver a memorandum reflecting student grievances."[584] Elize van As expresses that

> The protest was intended to be peaceful but when Colonel Kleingeld drew his gun and fired a shot, chaos broke out. Students started screaming and shouting and when the police set their dogs on the

[580]Ndlovu, 326-27.
[581]Ndlovu, 327.
[582]Rakometsi, 172.
[583]Noor Nieftagodien, "Alexandra and Kathorus," in Bernard Magubane, ed., *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Vol. 2 [1970-1980] (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2006), 351.
[584]Ndlovu, 341.

> children, they responded by stoning the dogs to death. The police then began to shoot directly at the children and one of the first students to be shot dead was 13 year-old Hector Pieterson, who became the symbol of the Soweto uprising. Riots also broke out in the black townships of other cities in South Africa. From 1976 onwards, black resistance grew, eventually leading to the downfall of Apartheid.[585]

During the uprising, Hector Pieterson, "a 13-year-old student at a higher primary school in White City and the symbol of the Soweto uprising, was among the first students to be shot dead by the police at the gate of Orlando West High School."[586] Nieftagodien indicates that the uprising had far-reaching consequences and "everyone appeared to be shell-shocked by the intensity of the violence […], especially the severity of police reaction to the demonstrations."[587]

Because of the defining role of the youth in the uprising, and the significance of the event in the destruction of the apartheid régime in South Africa, 16th of June "became known variously as Soweto Day or Student Day, and after the passing by Parliament of the Holiday Act 36 of 1994, June 16 was made a public holiday and was officially known as Youth Day."[588]

The process of liberation from a pandemonium to a more democratic state, during which the principles of equity, candor, peace, and fairness were restored, was an important achievement in the history of South Africa. Nelson Mandela, who significantly contributed to the construction of social justice in South Africa, was one of the great black leaders, who stood up to the atrocities of apartheid régime. The struggle for the achievement of liberation in South Africa was quite important for the "new South Africa emerged from one of the most

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[585]Elize Van As, "From the Archives: Youth Day: 16 June," in *Forum of Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA)*, Vol. 17 (June 2012):11.
[586]Ndlovu, 344.
[587]Nieftagodien, 355.
[588]Van as, 11.

racially divisive societies on earth and became synonymous with some of the most ruthless and inhuman laws to subjugate non-whites and to reduce them to second class citizens or the underdogs."[589]

Although the damages and traumas of the apartheid régime and its segregationist policy on native people could not be easily dismissed or dismantled, the first democratic elections in South Africa, held in 1994, provided the country the opportunity to achieve a democratic and peaceful government. After the resignation of Pieter W. Botha in 1989, Frederik Willem de Klerk (1936 -) and his National Party came into power in 1990. It was also the year in which the apartheid régime was officially dismantled. After the dismantling of the institutionalized enforcement of apartheid régime, F. W. de Klerk "began a process of reform that culminated in the release of Nelson Mandela, the removal of the ban of the ANC, and the development of a new constitution ending white minority rule."[590] Following the release of Nelson Mandela, the first multi-racial democratic "elections were held in 1994, and the ANC won an overwhelming majority. Mandela became the first black president of South Africa; he was magnanimous in victory. He appointed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help bring closure to the bitterness of all parties."[591]

Nelson Mandela "did much to foster what he called 'the rainbow nation'"[592] and he "promoted a South Africa where all the races and ethnic groups would enjoy equal benefits of their country."[593] Under the administration of the new government, Mandela and his ANC government assumed positive and all-embracing policy in order to heal the pains and wounds of the past. The establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1995, chaired by the venerable Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was a pivotal point in the history of

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[589]Logan Athiemoolam, "South Africa's Peaceful Transition to Democracy: Nine Years of Peace in A Troubled World" (paper presented at Peace as a Global Language Conference II, Seisen University, Tokyo, 27th-28th September 2003): 14.
[590]Brewer, 88.
[591]Ukawuilulu, 26.
[592]Nicholas J. Cull, D. Culbert, and D. Welch eds., *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2003). p. 11
[593]Ukawuilulu, 28.

South Africa. Awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, the role of the archbishop Desmond Tutu in the TRC was remarkable because he contributed to offer solutions for the apartheid problems in South Africa. The TRC was set up by means of "the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995 on 15 December 1995 […], by setting up of its head office in Cape Town as well three offices in Gauteng, The Eastern Cape and Kwazulu-Natal."[594]

The TRC was established in order to unveil the truths and to investigate the past history of violations, and it aimed at peaceful democratic situation in the country. The role and function of the Commission was important in order to achieve a national unity in the country and to construct a negotiated settlement. Thus, "the TRC's primary concern is to foster social healing that reconciles the divisions in South African society and allows it to carry on as a unified state."[595] In the first Volume of TRC, it has been stated that "apartheid, as a system of enforced racial discrimination and separation, was a crime against humanity. The recognition of apartheid as a crime against humanity remains a fundamental starting point for reconciliation in South Africa."[596]

Although the workings of the TRC had been criticized by some quarters, it was an affirmative step for the negotiation process during which both the perpetrators and the victims were brought together "in the hope of achieving a community-building process of truth-finding, understanding and forgiveness."[597] Troy Urquhart states that "the justice that the TRC seeks for South Africa does not attempt to heal the victim at the expense of the perpetrator. Rather, the TRC's goal is to heal the perpetrator alongside the victim, to make

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[594]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Volume 1, 301.

[595]Troy Urquhart, "Truth, reconciliation, and the restoration of the state: Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*," *Twentieth Century Literature*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Spring 2006): 3, accessed 13 June 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20479751.

[596]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 1, 94.

[597]Rosemarie Buikema, "Literature and the Production of Ambiguous Memory: Confession and double thoughts in Coetzee's *Disgrace*," *European Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (August 2006): 188, accessed 20 July 2013, DOI: 10.1080/13825570600753501.

the perpetrator a viable part of a new South African society that values both the victim and the perpetrator equally."[598] The procedures of the TRC, during which both the perpetrators and the victims were brought together to tell their stories, prepared a base and initiating point for the narratives of the writers in South Africa. Many critics of the TRC have commonly argued that the "untold stories, lies and deceits are being brought to light in an effort to reformulate and reconsider the apartheid years, which were marked by censorship, propaganda and suppression of dissident ideas."[599]

Authorship and Institutionalized Censorship in Apartheid South Africa

> Je permets que tu parles, mais j'exige que tu te taises. – I allow you to speak, but I order you to stay silent.[600] (Victor Hugo, *Napoléon le Petit* [1852])

When the Afrikaner National Party (NP) came into power in 1948, "the long-standing segregation and domination of Blacks was increasingly legitimated, codified, and enforced. The laws defining this racism were subsumed under the term apartheid."[601] In such a confused and turmoil context, where injustices, inequalities, and the huge socio-political discrepancies were rampant, literature and resistance discourses as forms of protestation were important vehicles to express and represent the silenced voices of the South Africans. In the country, where the majority of South African people were silenced by the oppressive apartheid system, literature provided them a kind of vehicle in their struggles to change the status quo and to document the corruption of the apartheid system. Accordingly, literature and discourses of resistance, which were produced by both black and Afrikaner dissident

[598]Urquhart, 2.
[599]Sue Kossew, "Reinventing history; reimagining the novel: The politics of reading André Brink's *Imaginings of Sand*," *Journal of Literary Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1-2 (06 July 2007): 114, accessed 1 December 2012, DOI: 10.1080/02564719708530164.
[600]Victor Hugo, quoted in Jan F. Beekman, "Censorship in South Africa," *Critical Arts*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1980): 42.
[601]David L. Krantz, "Politics and Photography in Apartheid South Africa," *History of Photography*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Winter 2008): 290-91.

authors in South Africa, became important vehicles for the representation of oppression and its traumatic results.

During the long liberation struggle under the despotic régime of apartheid, issues such as racial disequilibrium, colonialism, torture, violence, and censorship were narrated from different perspectives both by black and white dissident authors, scholars, and poets. Accordingly, the narration and representation of the recurrent problems, including violation, systematic social deprivation, and degradation of the blacks, were presented by means of different literary narrative forms, such as realism, magical realism, deconstruction, surrealism, and Marxism. In this respect, literature enabled the anti-apartheid writers to articulate their ideas and insights as well as to criticize the repressive system which did not tolerate any questioning. Several works and publications, produced by both black and white dissident writers, had great impact on the formation of liberation movement of black peoples and black consciousness.

However, censorship, which was a tool used by the apartheid government to perpetuate the status quo as well as to set back the anti-apartheid organizations and writers, was an inseparable part of the apartheid régime in South Africa. Merrett remarks that "apartheid is based on repression and censorship is a vital cog in that system, using information and thought control to stifle healthy doubt, questioning and cynicism."[602] Due to the legislation of the Publications and Entertainments Act (1963), the government censored, imprisoned or exiled many leading authors, intellectuals and it banned or confiscated their publications. In 1963, the Publications and Entertainments Act

> established the Publications Control Board (the PCB), a government agency charged with reviewing all publications and public entertainments. Distribution or possession of any document deemed "undesirable" by the PCB was a criminal offense. Section 5 of the

[602]Christopher Merrett, "Political Censorship in South Africa: Aims and Consequences," *Reality*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (March 1982): 4.

> Publications and Entertainments Act provided that a document was undesirable if it was blasphemous or offensive to the religious feelings of a section of the inhabitants of the Republic; if it was indecent, obscene, or offensive or harmful to public morals; or if it was harmful to relations between sections of the inhabitants of the Republic and prejudicial to the safety of the state, the peace or good order. The language and criteria for determining the undesirability of a publication or object were retained by the Publications Act.[603]

So, the aim of the Commission of Publication Board in South Africa was "to use the powers of the state to seize control of the public sphere at a time when extra-parliamentary protest against the emergent apartheid order was still open and strong."[604] Any written text, which was considered undesirable or harmful, was prohibited or banned by the providence of the Publications Control Board. Culhane remarks that "according to the Publications Act, publication or distribution of any document (not including newspapers published by publishers who are members of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa) could be prohibited if the document was deemed 'undesirable'".[605] The board imposed highly strict rules and controls on the printed texts, and only by the providence of the Board, the type of the printed texts might be registered "for newspapers are newspapers only for as long as the Board chooses to consider them such. The board may register newspapers as magazines and magazines as newspapers whenever it considers it necessary to do so."[606]

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications, released in 1957, presents the aims and principles of the Commission of Publication Board as follows:

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[603]Culhane, 907-8.
[604]Peter D. McDonald, *The Literature Police: Apartheid Censorship and Its Cultural Consequences* (New York: Oxford UP, 2009), 22.
[605]Culhane, 908.
[606]Ronald M. Segal, "The Final Stroke," in Ronald M. Segal ed., *Africa South*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (January-March 1958): 5.

> As the torch-bearer in the vanguard of Western civilization in South Africa, the European must be and remain the leader, the guiding light, in the spiritual and cultural field, otherwise he will inevitably go under. The undesirable book can and must be drastically combated because it is obviously a spiritual poison.[607]

After coming to power, the Afrikaner National Party used the censorship legislation in order to consolidate its autocratic position, and it was "part of the grand design of apartheid and the 'total onslaught' myth which will not tolerate any questioning of the status quo"[608]. In this respect, the apartheid régime caused both detention and imprisonment of many anti-apartheid leaders, who struggled for the freedom of equal and inalienable rights in political and social issues. It also led to the banning and driving into exile of many authors and intellectuals. With the implementation of apartheid legislation, including the Publications and Entertainments Act (1963) and the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), artists and intellectuals suffered severely and they were strictly exposed to censorship, imprisonment, exile, bans, and confiscation of their printed texts. Merrett acknowledges that the draconian effects of the acts constrained "the quoting of banned persons as well as the publications of those banned persons and listed organizations. Up to 31 December 1978, 1358 original banning orders had been served with enormous repercussions on the availability of literature."[609]

In *The Muzzled Muse: Literature and Censorship in South Africa*, Margreet de Lange investigates the apparatus of censorship on particular interest in South Africa, beginning from the first legislation of the first censorship law in 1963 until the declaration of the States of Emergency in 1985. According to Lange, in South Africa "censorship is not only the

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[607]"Report of the Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications, 1957," quoted in Segal, 2.
[608]Merrett, "Political Censorship in South Africa," 4.
[609]Merrett, "Political Censorship in South Africa," 3.

control of publications, films, theatre and forms of art: it is the offspring of political control."[610] Furthermore, she explains that

> A country that is pre-eminently suited for the study of the intricate relationship between literature and censorship is South Africa. That the South African authorities under apartheid had divided the population along racial lines in groups whose members had different rights within the system makes it possible to study the effect of censorship from different angles. Also, in South Africa, as far as publications were concerned, there was no pre-publication censorship. The system was based on the evaluation of books after publication. […] The control of publications was one way to protect the status quo.[611]

Following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the government declared the State of Emergency in 1960 which led to the implementation of strict regulations and legislation, including the apparatus of censorship. So, it was in the period when censorship and banning became more systematized and institutionalized. By the enactment of the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963, several works of many leading writers were exposed to severe setback, and many artists were forced to leave their own country. According to Alet Kruger, although the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 (No 26) was enacted with the aims

> of protecting South Africans against harmful and offensive material published outside the country, of strengthening "white" Christian morals and values, and of repressing any potentially subversive material published inside the country, [it] was used to prevent thousands of books coming into the country […], to ban overseas productions […], and works by leading African and coloured (mixed-race) authors. However,

[610]Margreet de Lange, *The Muzzled Muse: Literature and Censorship in South Africa* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1997), xi.
[611]de Lange, 2-3.

> this Act soon became a political instrument as it was used to ban undesirable organisations such as the African National Congress (the present ruling party) and the South African Communist Party, and also to ban persons who were office-bearers, members or supporters of an organization which was deemed undesirable.[612]

Gallagher remarks the profound impact of censorship on the productions of creative writers and she states that due to the legislation of censorship "forty-six authors were banned on April 1, 1966, including Es'kia Mphahlele, Mazisi Kunene, Lewis Nkosi, and Bloke Modisane, who all left the country. Other notable exiles include Dennis Brutus, Alex La Guma, Peter Abrahams, Nat Nakasa, Arthur Nortje, Bessie Head, Can Themba, and Alfred Hutchinson."[613] She also notes that "the banning was first instituted as part of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, which gave the Minister of Justice the right to limit the freedom of movement and speech of any person deemed to be furthering the goals of communism."[614] With regard to the driving into the exile of many notable writers in South Africa, J.M. Coetzee and André P. Brink state that "history froze when they departed: they can no longer be said to give voice to contemporary South Africa."[615]

Deprived of their creative abilities and imaginations because of the oppressive legislation and banning, the writers and their productive literature "had split apart: a severely curtailed local production, on the one hand, and a literature of exile on the other hand."[616] Censorship and banning had many psychological damages upon the writers, and as a result of the exile, imprisonment, and banning, many leading authors "some stop writing; others

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[612]Alet Kruger, "Translation, Self-translation and Apartheid-imposed Conflict," *Journal of Language and Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2012): 277.
[613]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 33.
[614]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 32.
[615]A. Brink and J.M. Coetzee, eds., *A Land Apart: A Contemporary South African Reader* (New York, NY: Viking, 1987), 8.
[616]Dorothy Driver, "Modern South African literature in English: A Reader's Guide to Some Recent Critical and Bibliographic Resources," *World Literature Today*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Winter 1996): 100, accessed 18 May 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40151862.

cannot live. Themba, Nakasa, and Nortje all committed suicide. Mphahlele found himself unable to write and felt increasingly guilty about his exile; in 1978 he returned to South Africa."[617]

One of the prominent South African writers in exile, who was exposed to the brutal restrictions of censorship, is Es'kia Mphahlele. He explains the double standards of censorship legislation in South Africa and notes that "South Africa is a country where there is no freedom of assembly, association, or movement. White judges frequently administer the same laws differently for blacks and whites, and there are laws that apply to blacks and not to whites."[618]

In South Africa, not only did censorship prevent the black writers and artists but it also obstructed several prominent white South African authors such as John M. Coetzee, André P. Brink, Nadine Gordimer, Breyten Breytenbach, and Alan Paton. Nadine Gordimer, an easily recognizable author and the Nobel Prize (1991) winner from South Africa, is one of the victims and also a severe opponent of the censorship system in apartheid South Africa. In "New Forms of Strategy – No Change of Heart," Gordimer outspokenly states that "I am one who has always believed and still believes we shall never be rid of censorship until we are rid of apartheid."[619] She wrote during the emergency years of the 1980s and Derek Barker opines that "from the start of her writing career and throughout apartheid, Gordimer's writing and political position has been resoundingly critical of the apartheid régime and against racism in any of its many manifestations, though particularly of course the institutionalized racism that was apartheid."[620] Identifying the censorship with "an octopus of thought surveillance,"[621] she claims that "censorship is the arm of mind-control and as

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[617]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 34.
[618]Mphahlele, *Voices in the Whirlwind*, 199.
[619]Nadine Gordimer, "New Forms of Strategy – No Change of Heart," *Critical Arts*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1980): 27.
[620]Derek A. Barker, "Crossing lines: the novels of Nadine Gordimer with a particular focus on *Occasion for Loving* and *The pickup*," *Literator*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (December 2007): 92.
[621]Gordimer, quoted in Merrett, "Political Censorship in South Africa," 3.

necessary to maintain a racist régime as that other arm of internal repression, the secret police."[622] Rob Nixon notes that the insights of the BCM were of significance to Gordimer and *Burger's Daughter* "takes its bearings from that momentous action, which, to a significant extent, was infused by black consciousness."[623] Nixon states that "Gordimer has forged her considerable oeuvre out of circumstances that combined privilege and embattlement. […] The state banned several of her novels (most notoriously *Burger's Daughter*), while during the heyday of black consciousness in the 1970s."[624] Nixon explains that Gordimer is

> an activist in the culture of resistance, and an articulate opponent of censorship, detention without trial, […] an assiduous organizer of writers across the racial divide. […] Her nine novels, more than two hundred short stories, and numerous essays of political and literary commentary thus offer a uniquely imaginative record of the high era of apartheid. This record gains depth from Gordimer's acute sensitivity to the history of her times.[625]

Positioning himself against censorship, J.M. Coetzee emphasizes that "writing does not flourish under censorship."[626] Although Coetzee's novels "did not fall foul of the apartheid censorship machine, censorship has actually been a preoccupation for him."[627] He continued his writings under the black shadow of the Publications Appeal Board (1980-90), chaired by J. C. W. van Rooyen in South Africa. In his scholarly work, *Giving Offense: Essays on Censorship,* he investigates the history of censorship in South Africa and explains that:

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[622]Gordimer, 28.
[623]Rob Nixon, "Nadine Gordimer," *British Writers: Supplement* 2 (1992): 13.
[624]Nixon, 1.
[625]Nixon, 1.
[626]J.M. Coetzee, *Giving Offense: Essays on Censorship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 11.
[627]Dominic Head, *The Cambridge Introduction to J.M. Coetzee* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 34.

> From the early 1960s until about 1980s, the Republic of South Africa operated one of the most comprehensive censorship systems in the world. Not only books, magazines, films, and plays, but T-shirts, key-rings, dolls, toys, and shop-signs – anything in fact, bearing a message that might be "undesirable" – had to pass the scrutiny of the censorship bureaucracy before it could be made public.[628]

Coetzee's work presents the impact of censorship on specific authors like Mandelstam, Solzhenitsyn, Brink, and Breytenbach. In *Giving Offense*, he highlights the impact of censorship in South Africa and notes that "the history of censorship and the history of authorship – even of literature itself, as a set of practices – are intimately bound together."[629] In the first part of his work, he explains that,

> The institution of censorship puts power into the hands of persons with a judgmental, bureaucratic cast of mind that is bad for the cultural and even the spiritual life of the community. The point was made long ago by John Milton. If we are to have proper, professional censors, says Milton, they need to be persons "above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious." […] That is to say, the people we get as censors are the people we least need.[630]

Coetzee remarks that the impact of the censorship was felt by the writers so greatly that it diffused the inner life of a writer like paranoia. He expresses that "the hey-day of South African censorship, seen its consequences not only on the careers of fellow-writers but on the totality of public discourse, and felt within myself some of its more secret and

[628]Coetzee, *Giving Offense*, 34.
[629]Coetzee, *Giving Offense*, 42.
[630]Coetzee, *Giving Offense*, 10.

shameful effects."[631] In *Giving Offense*, he draws attention to the analogy between censorship and intrusive reader and describes the intimacy between the two as follows:

> working under censorship is like being intimate with someone who does not love you, with whom you want no intimacy, but who forces himself upon you. The censor is an intrusive reader, a reader who forces his way into the intimacy of the writing transaction, forces out the figure of the beloved or courted reader, reads your words in a disapproving and censorious fashion.[632]

In a similar vein, André P. Brink attacked and opposed "the bite of censorship"[633] in South Africa. Irritated by the policies of the apartheid régime, Brink, in "Censorship and the Author," draws attention to the important role of the writer as a source of knowledge and information and laments that censorship becomes an obstacle in performing this duty:

> the writer fulfills the need of society to know, to find out what is hidden, and to record that discovery. It is a paradoxical need, since society as a body might prefer to be left in peace and not to know too much, since it is so much easier to accept the status quo than to be forced to change and adapt to new realities. But if the writer should fail in his duty, or if he should be restrained from exercising his function, society would eventually stagnate into total inertia, and die.[634]

Unlike Coetzee, Brink is among the victims of banning and the machine of censorship under the apartheid government. His *Kennis van die Aand* (1973), later translated as *Looking on Darkness* (1974), was the first banned novel written in Afrikaans. As one of the most important Afrikaner dissident writers, Brink in *Looking on Darkness* deals with "every possible taboo in this politically complex country [such as] the Immorality Act, petty

[631]Coetzee, *Giving Offense*, 37.
[632]Coetzee, *Giving Offense*, 38.
[633]Kruger, 277.
[634]André P. Brink, "Censorship and the Author," *Critical Arts*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1980): 18.

apartheid, revolutionary violence, black power, censorship, detention, murder and torture."[635] In an interview with Elnadi and Rifaat, he states that *Looking on Darkness* "was also the first book in which [he] openly criticized the country's political system. [He] questioned the laws on racial segregation and the ban on marriage between blacks and whites. It was the first novel in Afrikaans to be banned."[636] With regard to the censorship in South Africa, Brink expresses that

> censorship in South Africa cannot be seen in isolation, but as part of an overall authoritarian strategy which also expresses itself in such divergent forms as detention without trial, arbitrary bannings, the awesome web of secret activities of the Security Police, the Group Areas Act, State Security, normally a means to an end, has become an absolute end in itself, precluding the search for truth and liberty.[637]

Kruger suggests that in the racial and political turmoil, created both by the régime and censorship, many black authors and white dissident writers, in their narration, portrayed the chaotic events which swept the country:

> The situations of exile and treason, gave graphic descriptions of scenes of sabotage, detention, torture and death, and had overt links to documentary data and autobiographical detail. Many of the situations, plots and character actions in such novels blatantly contravened legislation on treason, prohibiting inter- racial sex and preventing people of different races from living in the same area.[638]

The censorship system created a repressive and disenabling environment for the writers in South Africa, and the enslavement of censorship pushed many creative writings

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[635]Kruger, 278.
[636]Brink, "Interview: André Brink Talks to Baghat Elnadi and Aadel Rifaat," in Elnadi and Rifaat eds., *The Unesco Courier* (September 1993): 6.
[637]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 18.
[638]Kruger, 277.

"either into silence or superficiality – with fatal consequences especially for Afrikaans literature."[639] Gallagher expresses that "the South African world is one in which history, language, and authority have all been co-opted to serve the cause of oppression."[640] Merrett concludes that

> censorship is one of the oldest tricks of the totalitarian trade, designed to counter the immense power of the written word and turn it to the advantage of the régime. Control of literature is an integral and cynical part of the apartheid system, even though some of the results may be counterproductive. […] It is a direct challenge to civil rights in general and academic freedom in particular.[641]

[639]Mphahlele, *Voices in the Whirlwind*, 203.
[640]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 34.24
[641]Merrett, "Political Censorship in South Africa," 6.

CHAPTER 3

WHITE PROSE IN SOUTH AFRICA: J.M. COETZEE AND A.P. BRINK

White Prose in South Africa: J.M. Coetzee

> Why does one choose the side of justice when it is not in one's material interest to do so? The Magistrate [of Waiting for the Barbarians] gives the rather Platonic answer: because we are born with the idea of justice [...]. Why should I be interested in the truth about myself when the truth may not be in my interest? [...] I continue to give a Platonic answer: because we are born with the idea of truth. (J.M. Coetzee, *Doubling the Point*)

In the disruptive and chaotic South African literary context, "black writers […] were largely denied access to higher education and were thus excluded from current literary debates, while their writing, which was often censored, has been dismissed by some recent critics as rudimentary in style and essentialist in content."[642] Similarly, in his Jerusalem Prize Acceptance Speech, delivered in 1987, J.M. Coetzee depicted the condition of South African literature as follows:

> a literature in bondage, […] yearnings for a nameless liberation. It is […] unnaturally preoccupied with power and the torsions of power, unable to move from elementary relations of contestation, domination, and subjugation to the vast and complex human world. It is […] literature you would expect people to write from a prison.[643]

South African literature suffered much under colonialism, censorship, and apartheid and became in Coetzee's word, a bondage literature. In this respect, the backdrop of the

[642]Jane Poyner, ed., "Introduction" to *J.M. Coetzee and the Idea of the Public Intellectual* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 8.
[643]Coetzee, quoted in David Attwell, ed., *Doubling the Point: Essays and Interviews* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard UP, 1992), 98.

highly charged socio-politic events and the works of several authors "acquired a peculiar importance in shaping international understandings of the nature of apartheid."[644]

In their fictional writings, both the black and white dissident authors felt themselves compelled to give voice to the traumatic and fragmented history of the oppressed people during the apartheid and post-apartheid years, which were defined by the cruelties, inequalities, racial discrimination, and colonialism that crippled the country for years. In this respect, the "responsibilities felt by oppositional South African writers, black and white, were the driving force behind the movement for committed literature, a site of contest."[645] With regard to South African literature, Michael Chapman states that during the apartheid years, the fictional modes of literary representations were mostly in the realist tradition:

> in the 1970s and 80s South African literature and its criticism, operating within the binaries of apartheid/ liberation politics, reflected the urgency of the times in literary forms of realism […]. While criticism fought a political war of authority: the realist text had substantial content and therefore conveyed political truth, […] whereas the symbolist text reduced content to formal device, distanced itself from events, and in consequence was guilty of social irresponsibility.[646]

Gallagher indicates that during the apartheid years, many South African authors endeavored to produce several types of fiction:

> Some have written realistic novels in the liberal tradition centering on personal identity and relationships. Novelists such as Alan Paton, André Brink, and Jack Cope focus on the need for personal awareness and reconciliation. Since the 1960s, others – such as Alex La Guma, Harry

[644]Clive Barnett, "Constructions of Apartheid in the International Reception of the Novels of J.M. Coetzee," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (June 1999): 288.
[645]Poyner, *Idea of the Public Intellectual*, 9.
[646]Michael Chapman, "The Case of Coetzee: South African Literary Criticism, 1990 to Today," *Journal of Literary Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (June 2010): 105.

> Bloom, and Mtutuzeli Matshoba – have turned from the individual to consider issues of social struggle and the state's response. Both routes are types of realism, which seems to be the dominant genre of South African fiction.[647]

As stated by Gallagher, realism is one of the most experimented modes of writing because "realism, with its traditional concentration on the actual conditions of life, with its dedication to verisimilitude and its rejection of idealization, might appear appropriate"[648] for anti-apartheid authors. On the other hand, realist fiction was reversed by some contemporary South African writers who mainly adopted experimental and unconventional literature to respond and challenge the issues and events that pervaded during the apartheid/ post-apartheid years.

By considering Coetzee as one of the distinguished writers of South Africa, Gallagher suggests that Coetzee endeavored "to subvert national myths of history, as well as to create alternative narratives, stories to hold up against the nightmare of South African history."[649] In "Constructions of Apartheid in the International Reception of the Novels of J.M. Coetzee," Clive Barnett notes that "the work of white writers such as Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, André P. Brink, Breyten Breytenbach and J.M. Coetzee, came to hold a central place in defining an international canon of respectable, morally robust, and liberal oppositional literature."[650]

The first South African author who was awarded the Booker Prize twice, for his novels *Life & Times of Michael K* (1983) and *Disgrace* (1999), J(ohn) M(axwell) Coetzee (1940-) is "regarded as being in the foremost rank of contemporary writers of fiction."[651]

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[647]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 44.
[648]Anna Izabela Cichoń, "Violence and Complicity in J.M. Coetzee's Works," *Werkwinkel*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2010): 45.
[649]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, x.
[650]Barnett, 288.
[651]David Attwell, ed. Editor's note to *Doubling the Point: Essays and Interviews* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard UP, 1992), 1.

Coetzee's oeuvre has brought him fame and prominence not only in South Africa but also in the international literary arena. Coetzee is the recipient of numerous prestigious literary awards, which Jane Poyner lists:

> South Africa's prestigious CNA Literary Award for *In the Heart of the Country* (1977); the CNA, the James Tait Black Prize and the Geoffrey Faber Memorial Award for *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980); the CNA and the Prix Étranger Femina in 1985 for *Life & Times of Michael K* (1983); the Jerusalem Prize in 1987 for *Foe* (1986); the Sunday Express Award for *Age of Iron* (1990); the Irish Times International Fiction Prize in 1995 for *The Master of Petersburg* and, in addition to the Booker, the Commonwealth Writers Prize (Overall Winner) in 2000 for *Disgrace*. *Slow Man* (2005) was shortlisted for the Commonwealth Writers Prize (African Region) and the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award and his most recent novel, *Diary of a Bad Year* (2007).[652]

Awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2003, Coetzee's literary career includes a body of novels, each of which occupies a prominent place both in South African literature and abroad. He wrote several critical works, journal articles, interviews, and translations. His novels interrogate the issues and themes, which are "pertinent to the (post)colonial and apartheid situations: colonial discourse, the other, racial segregation, censorship, banning and exile, police brutality and torture, South African liberalism and revolutionary activism, the place of women, the relationship of South Africa's peoples to the land."[653] In *Doubling the Point: Essays and Interviews* (1992), a collection of interviews and essays on literature, Coetzee expresses the experience of writing:

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[652]Jane Poyner, *J.M. Coetzee and the Paradox of Postcolonial Authorship* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 1.
[653]Poyner, *Paradox of Postcolonial Authorship*, 1.

> The experience of writing a novel is, above all, lengthy. The novel becomes less a *thing* than a *place* where one goes every day for several hours a day for years on end. What happens in that place has less and less discernible relation to the daily life one lives […]. Other forces, another dynamic, take over. I don't want to sound silly, to talk of possession or the Muse, nor on the other hand do I want to be drearily reductionist and talk of a bag called the unconscious into which you dip when you can't think of what to say next.[654]

With regard to all the fictional works of Coetzee, David Attwell observes that what characterizes the fiction of Coetzee is that it is "a form of postcoloniality felt on the bone, it brings its metropolitan heritage into a charged and complex relationship with the historical crisis in which it finds itself."[655]

Born in Cape Town, South Africa in June 1940, Coetzee "grew up in the Karoo, the vast desert and semi-desert area of the Cape province."[656] Dick Penner's book-length study of Coetzee, *Countries of the Mind: The Fiction of J.M. Coetzee*, presents an account of the author's life and scrutinizes his oeuvres in detail. He explains that

> Coetzee is descended from Afrikaners who settled in South Africa in the seventeenth century. His grandparents […] were Afrikaner farmers. His father Zacharias Coetzee, […] was an attorney: his mother, Vera Wehmeyer Coetzee, was a school teacher: his brother is a journalist. […] Coetzee grew up speaking English at home, Afrikaans with other relatives. He attended various English-language schools and graduated

[654]Coetzee, "Interview: Kafka," in Attwell, ed., *Doubling the Point*, 205.
[655]Attwell, *Doubling the Point*, 3.
[656]Dominic Head, *J.M. Coetzee*: Cambridge Studies in African and Caribbean Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1.

> from St. Joseph's College, Rondebosch, Cape Province, a Roman Catholic boys' school, in 1956.[657]

With the publication of his first novel, *Dusklands* (1974), "Coetzee has attained a worldwide reputation as one of the most respected novelists writing in English."[658] Chapman states that the author can be regarded as a "leitmotif in the field of South African literary criticism. Just as a leitmotif in a literary work suggests patterns of significance, the case of Coetzee suggests patterns of significance in the literary-critical domain."[659]

As a notable South African author, Coetzee has a multifaceted career: he is an academic, critic, essayist, and a translator. Having graduated from St. Joseph's College in 1956, he attended the University of Cape Town where he received his B.A. degree in English and Mathematics (1960). Then, he worked as a computer programmer in London during which he completed his M.A. thesis on the novelist Ford Madox Ford (1963). In 1965, Coetzee

> returned to academia; he moved to USA, to the University of Texas at Austin, on a Fulbright exchange programme, here he produced his doctoral dissertation on the style of Samuel Beckett's English fiction, completed in 1969. He taught at the State University of New York at Buffalo from 1968 to 1971, during which period he worked on his first novel *Dusklands*.[660]

Then, Coetzee "returned to Cape Town and became Professor of General Literature at his alma mater in 1983, and then Distinguished Professor of Literature from 1999 to 2001."[661] After the publication of his eighth novel, *Disgrace* (1999), which narrates the story of a divorced university professor who loses his job at the university because of a sexual

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[657]Allen Richard Penner, *Countries of the Mind: The Fiction of J.M. Coetzee* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 2.
[658]Penner, xiii.
[659]Chapman, 104.
[660]Head, *The Cambridge Introduction*, 2.
[661]Head, *The Cambridge Introduction*, 1-2.

relationship with a black student, the author was exposed to severe criticism and accusations. In 2002, he moved to Australia "to take up an honory research fellowship at the University of Adelaide."[662] Concerning Coetzee's moving to Australia, Attwell contends that "he has moved from a part of the world where conquest and settlement have almost totally failed, to one where they have more or less achieved their purpose."[663]

Apart from his academic career, Coetzee's creative works occupy an immense importance both in local and international milieu. Julian Gitzen explains that, in his body of works, the author

> treats race relations and the conflicts that arise when territorial or cultural boundaries are crossed. […] The themes of his novels are universal rather than provincial; and his fictional characters might, and indeed do, dwell in a multitude of locales. Repeatedly his novels focus upon the processes by which history is made and recorded, emphasizing how history is registered in human consciousness through the medium of language. He reminds us that without words history, whether individual or collective, cannot be publicly recorded and little can be known either of those who make history or, paradoxically, of those who are excluded from it.[664]

Penner indicates that Coetzee's fictions, departed from the standard categories of social realist fiction, "maintain their significance apart from a South African context, because of their artistry and because they transform urgent societal concerns into more enduring questions regarding colonialism and the relationships of mastery and servitude between cultures and individuals."[665]

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[662]Head, *The Cambridge Introduction*, 1-2.
[663]Attwell, "Coetzee's Postcolonial Diaspora," *Twentieth-Century Literature*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Spring 2011): 10.
[664]Julian Gitzen, "The voice of history in the novels of J.M. Coetzee," *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Fall 1993): 3.
[665]Penner, xiii.

In his novels, Coetzee's elusive and implicit engagements with the themes of colonialism and apartheid have gained both appreciation and criticism by many scholars, essayists and critics. The author's "rejection of realist devices such as linear-plot, well-rounded characters, clear settings and close endings, are all part of his postmodernist approach to his narrative material, [so by creating self-reflexive narratives], Coetzee provide the fact that no version of the world could any longer be considered wholly faithful and truthful."[666] His handling of postmodern and deconstructionist approaches in his novels gave way to the analyses of his oeuvres in a variety of ways, including allegorical, historical, meta-fictional, poststructuralist, and deconstructive interpretations. Many critics and authors presented insightful readings, full-length documentary books, and a body of sophisticated literary criticism about J.M. Coetzee and his oeuvre.

Waiting for the Barbarians: Allegory, History, Torture, Truth, and Empire

> And some who have just returned from the border say
> there are no barbarians any longer.
> And now, what's going to happen to us without barbarians?
> They were, those people, a kind of solution. (C.P. Cavafy, "Waiting for the Barbarians" [1904])

Published in 1980, *Waiting for the Barbarians* is Coetzee's third novel. With regard to the novel, Penner "felt a profound admiration for that novel's resonant prose, mythic setting, empathetic characters, and most of all, for its ethical vision."[667] In a similar vein, Atwell opines that the novel "is a pivotal work in the development of Coetzee's oeuvre."[668] The

[666]Michela Canepari-Labib, *Old Myths-Modern Empires: Power, Language and Identity in J.M. Coetzee's Work* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005), 15-16.
[667]Penner, xiv.
[668]Attwell, *J.M. Coetzee: South Africa and the Politics of Writing* (Berkeley and Cape Town: University of California Press, 1993), 70.

novel has the same title with the Greek Alexandrian poet Constantine Cavafy's poem *Περιμένοντας τους Βαρβάρους* (*Waiting for the Barbarians*), written in 1904.

The novel presents the story of the imaginative barbarians who are supposed to attack a frontier, which is included in the borders of the empire, the location of which is not specified by the author. The novel is a "strongly allegorical text in which Coetzee begins to analyze, albeit indirectly, the contemporary South African situation, denouncing the rhetoric of torture that in those years seemed to dominate the policy of injustice and discrimination."[669] The empire sends two merciless officers, Colonel Joll and Mandel, in order to protect the frontier from the probable attacks of the invisible barbarians. The events are narrated through the voice of an unnamed magistrate, who is the representative of the Empire in the town. The novel presents the magistrate's/ protagonist's "search for understanding of the disruption that has occurred in his normally ordered life-style following the Empire's declaration of a state of exception."[670] Although the novel is waiting for the arrival of an organized barbarian army, the barbarians cannot materialize their existence in the frontier. Concerning the invisibility of the barbarians in the novel, Olsen comments,

> The reader hears how the barbarians flooded a field, how they raped a young girl, how traders have been attacked and plundered by them, how a party of census officials turned up in shallow graves, and so forth […], but he sees them only once, very briefly, […] when the magistrate returns the blind girl to them in the mountains. Otherwise, the barbarians remain only a gap that the Empire fills with its own panic.[671]

The nameless narrator/ protagonist, the magistrate, begins the novel by saying that "I am a country magistrate, a responsible official in the service of the Empire, serving out my

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[669]Canepari-Labib, 24.
[670]Stef Craps, "J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarian* and the Ethics of Testimony," *English Studies*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (February 2007): 61, accessed 25 June 2013, DOI: 10.1080/ 00138380601042758.
[671]Lance Olsen, "The Presence of Absence: Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*," *Ariel*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (April 1985): 49.

days on this lazy frontier, waiting to retire"[672] and ends by stating that "like much else nowadays, I leave it feeling stupid, like a man who lost his way long ago but presses on along a road that may lead nowhere."[673] The encounter between the so-called barbarians and the forces of empire occurs not in the heart of the empire but in an unspecified time and place. Until the imperial officers from the capital are sent to the frontier, the magistrate is the only authority who has been accomplishing his daily routines such as sleeping, collecting tithes, taxes, fishing, and reading wooden slips in a mirror.

The word "waiting" in the title of the novel somehow implies obscurity and it "points to the lack of something that will not show itself, an unfulfilled desire, deferredness of meaning, the inability to know fully, jammed completion, frustrated longing, unknown ends, uncertain futures, (im)possibility, foreboding, dread, blocked hope, absence."[674] Lance Olsen analyses the novel from the perspective of postmodernism and argues that at the core of the novel there are absences/ gaps/ blanks which must be filled by the reader during the process of reading. He adds that Coetzee's novel is just like literary texts whose gaps/ blanks should be "supplemented to produce signs which provoke the reader to a kind of rewriting."[675] So, in the novel, the barbarians, like a literary text, "remain only a gap that the Empire fills with its own panic. […] The magistrate and the others try piecing together clues about what the barbarians are like, who they are, what they want, but meaning continually is deferred."[676]

The novel opens with the arrival of Colonel Joll with a band of soldiers from the Third Bureau to declare superiority over the unseen barbarians. Although the magistrate is an agent of the empire, throughout the novel, he continuously denies the potential threat and the material existence of the alleged barbarians to Colonel Joll and his men; "'We are at peace

[672]J.M. Coetzee, *Waiting for the Barbarians* (London: Vintage Books, 2004), 8.
[673]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 170.
[674]Olsen, 49.
[675]Olsen, 49.
[676]Olsen, 50.

here,' I say, 'we have no enemies.'"[677] On the other hand, the Colonel and his militia insistently verbalize the existence of a well-organized barbarian army that is supposed to pose a serious threat to the unity of the Empire. In this respect, Colonel Joll's "practices of inquisition and torture can be seen as an attempt to coerce the natives into assuming the identity of 'barbarian' and 'enemy' that the Empire requires of them in order to assert its existence."[678] In the novel, Colonel Joll, Mandel, and their militia are the counterparts of the officials of the Special Branch in apartheid South Africa. Like members of the Security Police, Joll and his soldiers assume the task of eliciting the truth about the victims in order to validate the false assumptions, dreams, and fantasies about the "Other."

The first sentence of the novel, "I have never seen anything,"[679] may refer to the magistrate's assertiveness that he has never seen any barbarian unrest, crime, and anxiety in the frontier so far. As the narrative continues, it becomes clear that the thing that he has never seen, in fact, is "two little discs of glass" of Colonel Joll, which are described as "dark [and] opaque from the outside."[680] Accordingly, one of the distinctive characteristics of Colonel Joll which first raised the attention of the magistrate is the "two little discs" – the sunglasses, which signify the technological developments of the civilized nations. The sunglasses of Joll refer to the technological advancement of the new empire in contrast to the natives along the border together with the old magistrate who are oblivious to such advancements. By pointing out the contours of his eyes, Colonel Joll implies that the sunglasses also prevent the eye-wrinkles that are the signs of an aging or declining entity. Accordingly, the improvement of the new Empire is represented by Colonel Joll and his soldiers, "who believe in fresh starts"[681] in order to pursue the empire's superiority and dominance over its colonies. Barbara Eckstein indicates that, in the novel,

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[677]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 85.
[678]Craps, 62.
[679]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 1.
[680]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 1.
[681]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 26.

> the supermen are Joll and his lieutenant Mandel. Joll wears sunglasses, a technological advance unknown to the magistrate and representative of the new Empire whose men can see or not see without being seen. The glasses also protect his skin from wrinkles, making it ageless. Neat, efficient, clearheaded, ageless, supported by scientific technology, and unfettered by conscience, Joll is a superhuman.[682]

Thus, the discrepancy between the renewed vision of empire, represented by Colonel Joll, and the humdrum of the frontier, represented by the magistrate, creates a dichotomy from the beginning of the novel. Olsen indicates that Joll's dark and opaque sunglasses imply "the absence of humanism, his spiritual blindness [and also] the partial sight, partial blindness, distorted vision, the fact that in every act of perception there is a gap that cannot be filled."[683]

In the novel, the sunglasses create a psychic disturbance in the magistrate who says that "I try to subdue my irritation at his cryptic silences, at the paltry theatrical mystery of dark shields hiding healthy eyes."[684] Like the dark prisons, which are out of sight in South Africa, the sunglasses of Joll censor or hide the colonialist and imperialist vision of the Empire. The magistrate chafes because he thinks that the dark glasses obstruct Colonel Joll's gaze and lead him unable to see the objective truth and perceive the events. There is a discrepancy between the gaze of Colonel Joll, which is obstructed by the dark and opaque sunglasses, and the magistrate who is fully aware of the true nature of events and the innocence of natives in the frontier.

Before Joll's interrogation of a boy and an old man, his sunglasses come to dialogue again. The magistrate says that "'he [the boy] has probably never seen anything like it before.' I gesture. 'I mean the eyeglasses. He [the boy] must think you are a blind man.' But

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[682]Barbara Eckstein, "The Body, the Word, and the State: J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*," *A Forum of Fiction*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Winter 1989): 191.
[683]Olsen, 54.
[684]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 4.

Joll does not smile back."[685] Although Joll's sole task is "to find out the truth,"[686] the dark and opaque sunglasses that Joll wears during the interrogation prevent him from seeing the real nature of the truth. Accordingly, the spiritual blindness of the Colonel enables him to elicit the only truth that the Empire tries to find. From the beginning of the novel, the magistrate always tries to see the eyes of Joll because the clear eyes without sunglasses represent "windows of his soul"[687] for the magistrate.

The novel includes several dichotomies between the colonizer and the colonized, torturer and tortured, violator and violated, self and other, and so forth. The first dichotomy occurs when the magistrate and the Colonel talk about hunting. During the conversation, the magistrate talks about hunting geese, ducks, and fish which are trapped in order to survive; on the contrary, Joll likes hunting or killing wild animals, such as deer, pigs, bears, and a huge antelope. There is a discrepancy between the kinds of animals that they love hunting: the magistrate prefers domestic animals for food or meat in order to survive; while the Colonel kills wild animals that imply "less than meat, food for life; they are an objective, quantitative measure of superior power."[688]

The magistrate, as an agent of the empire, serves for the empire in the town, but he becomes an adversary for his moral changes in his personality during the course of the brutal applications of Joll and his militia. Kossew observes that Coetzee's novel

> explores the moral, political, and personal dilemma facing a colonizer, the magistrate, who himself becomes labeled as 'other' and as 'the enemy within' because of his resistance to the fixity of the imperial discourse

[685]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 3.
[686]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 3.
[687]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 137.
[688]Eckstein, 191.

> and practices, as shown in his crossing the boundary drawn between the Empire and the barbarian others.[689]

Regarding the novel in *Doubling the Point*, Coetzee states that "in 1980, [he] published a novel (*Waiting for the Barbarians)* about the impact of the torture chamber on the life of a man of conscience."[690] The man of conscience, as suggested by Coetzee, is the old magistrate who is also exposed to the brutal face of torture and violence by his fellows from the empire. Although the scenes of torture are not overtly described in the novel, the remarks of the brutal torturer are visible on the bodies of the tortured people. In an essay entitled "Into the Dark Chamber" in *Doubling the Point*, Coetzee explores the issue of torture in relation to the South African writers' "attraction to it and the problems it poses as a subject for literary representation."[691] Coetzee states that

> Torture has exerted a dark fascination on many other South African writers. […] Relations in the torture room provide a metaphor, bare and extreme, for relations between authoritarianism and its victims. In the torture room unlimited force is exerted upon the physical being of an individual in a twilight of legal illegality.[692]

According to Coetzee, the torture room "becomes like the bed-chamber of the pornographer's fantasy, where, insulated from moral or physical restraint, one human being is free to exercise his imagination to the limits in the performance of vileness upon the body of another person."[693] Then, he draws an analogy between the torture chamber and the writer's imagination, stating that "the novelist is a person who, camped before a closed door, facing an insufferable ban, creates, in place of the scene he is forbidden to see, a

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[689]Sue Kossew, *Pen and Power*: *A Post-Colonial Reading of J.M. Coetzee and André Brink*, (Amsterdam, Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 1996), 86.
[690]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber: The Writer and the South African State," in Attwell, ed., *Doubling the Point*, 363.
[691]Rosemary Jane Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration in White South African Writing: André Brink, Breyten Breytenbach, and J.M. Coetzee* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio UP, 1996), 122.
[692]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 363.
[693]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 364.

representation of that scene, and a story of the actors in it and how they come to be there."[694] Accordingly, the dark torture chamber of the writer provides him to exercise his limitless imagination and "creates the preconditions for the novel to set about its work of representation."[695] In this respect, "the torture room is not only a metaphor for the relationship between authority and its victims; it is also a metaphor for the act of fiction-making."[696]

Coetzee was often criticized by his contemporaries for his reluctance to represent explicitly the realities of South Africa under apartheid and colonialism. As Gallagher observes, "by setting his novel in an unnamed country at an unnamed time, by terming the two parties the Empire and the barbarians, and by simplifying the technology and weapons of the people, Coetzee creates an allegorical landscape that […] undoubtedly points to South Africa today."[697] Penner asserts that Coetzee's "fictions maintain their significance apart from a South African context, because of their artistry and because they transform urgent societal concerns into more enduring questions regarding colonialism and the relationships of mastery and servitude between cultures and individuals."[698] According to Moses, Coetzee's evasiveness and reluctance to represent the contemporary South African events in his fiction "stems not merely from political discretion or postmodern literary proclivities, but more deeply from his commitment to explore disturbing questions that cannot be answered by the outcome of current political developments in South Africa."[699] Refused to be included in any definite political involvement, Coetzee states that

> What I am now resisting is the attempt to swallow my novels into a political discourse. Because I'm not prepared to concede that the one kind

[694]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 364.
[695]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 364.
[696]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 122.
[697]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 125.
[698]Penner, xiii.
[699]M. Valdez Moses, "Mark of empire: writing, history, and torture in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*," *Kenyon Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 1993): 116.

> of discourses is large or more primary than the other […] my allegiances lie with the discourse of the novels and not with the discourses of politics.[700]

Most critics and scholars have generally argued that J.M. Coetzee severs his fiction from the definite and overt political/ historical implications and chooses to write in an allegorical mode in order to define the events and the marginalized characters, suffering from the brutality of colonialism and apartheid. As Sam Durrant puts it, "Coetzee's novels […] relentlessly force us to confront the brute, indigestible materiality of the suffering engendered by apartheid."[701] Many critics analyzed and interpreted Coetzee's novels in terms of allegorical narration. Rebecca Saunders states that allegory is "a kind of language in which a text's literal meaning is foreign to its proper meaning […]. Allegory is an exiled language: it does not belong to the meaning closest to it, does not speak the local tongue, does not have the same customs as everyday language."[702]

In relation to the allegorical mode and implicit allusions in Coetzee's novels, Gallagher is of the view that "Coetzee's unusual combination of allegory, often thought to be a precise technique [which] represents in part his solution to the moral issues of how a novelist should treat torture in fiction. […] Coetzee also points out to the moral vacuum that allows torture to exist in the contemporary world."[703] By severing his fiction from the definite historical settings and clear political paradoxes, the author "has confounded his detractors by writing allegorical tales that reflect upon the metaphysical ground and philosophical landscape in which the present historical controversies and political disputes of

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[700]Coetzee, quoted in Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 23.
[701]Sam Durrant, *Postcolonial Narrative and the Work of Mourning: J.M. Coetzee, Wilson Harris, and Toni Morrison* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 50.
[702]Rebecca Saunders, "The Agony and the Allegory: The Concept of the Foreign, the Language of Apartheid, and the Fiction of J.M. Coetzee," *Cultural Critique* 47 (Winter 2001): 223-24.
[703]Gallagher, "Torture and the Novel: J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*," *Contemporary Literature*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (June 1988): 278.

his country are rooted."[704] According to Kossew, "through his employment of an allegorical form, which undercuts clarity and correspondence, [Coetzee] invites active reader-responses and mobilizing reader-awareness."[705]

Head acknowledges that "throughout his oeuvre, Coetzee has repeatedly used an ambivalent form of allegory."[706] In a similar vein, Jane Poyner claims that *Waiting for the Barbarians* "self-consciously invites allegorical readings, not only here but in the representations of Empire and torture, in the girl and Joll as blank texts, in the Magistrate's attempts to write a history of the settlement, in the dream sequences."[707] According to Stephen Slemon, Coetzee's choice of allegory in the novel comes from "allegory's tendency to dehistoricize, to construct a vantage point *outside* history, permits Coetzee to avoid acknowledging his novel's grounding in South African racial paranoia."[708] He adds that the novel "is actually engaged in subverting this association between allegory and imperialism and in reappropriating allegory to a politics of resistance. Coetzee's tactic in this novel is to portray imperial allegorical thinking in the thematic level of his novel and to juxtapose it with the allegorical mode in which the novel itself is written."[709]

According to Gallagher, the novels of Coetzee do not contain realistic implications, experiences, and references as they are lived in actual life. She claims that "Coetzee believes that realistic depictions of torture in fiction assist the state in terrorizing and paralyzing people by showing its oppressive methods in detail."[710] Furthermore, she explains that the author's

> fictional mode is difficult to label. […] Coetzee's rejection of realism and embrace of a self-referential and open text is a rejection of the oppressive

[704]Moses, 115.
[705]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 22.
[706]Head, *The Cambridge Introduction to J.M. Coetzee*, 30.
[707]Poyner, *Paradox of Postcolonial Authorship*, 57.
[708]Slemon, "Post-Colonial Allegory and the Transformation of History," *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1988): 163.
[709]Slemon, "Post-Colonial Allegory," 163.
[710]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 121.

> discourse, manipulative myths, and corrupt language of South Africa. […] His allegories vividly suggest the various ways that language and discourse in South Africa have been socially and historically constructed.[711]

Fredric Jameson's essay "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism" presents the functions of allegory in Western and non-Western literary canons. He claims that "what all third-world cultural productions seem to have in common and what distinguishes them radically from analogous cultural forms in the first world [is that] all third-world texts are necessarily, […] allegorical, [and] they are to be read as what I will call national allegories."[712]

So, most critics have commonly emphasized Coetzee's elusive and implicit engagements with the themes of colonialism and apartheid and asserted that *Waiting for the Barbarians* is "structured as an allegory."[713] However, Cichoń asserts that "the historical conditions in South Africa have imposed a duty on artists to document oppression and to commemorate its victims."[714] In this respect, although the author has been criticized for his implicit references and indefinite descriptions in the novel, he "has always tried, although indirectly, to denounce injustice, to unmask fears and express uncertainties about South Africa, giving voice to those social, political and racial elements that in the South Africa apartheid era were for a long time silenced and deprived of any form of expression."[715]

Torture and interrogation were significant in apartheid South Africa during the State of Emergency. Jolly notes that "torture is the final means used by the Empire in the process of interrogation to 'bring the Empire home' to those whom it considers as yet-to-be-

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[711]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 45-47.
[712]Fredric Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," *Social Text* 15 (Autumn 1986): 69, accessed 24 March 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/466493.
[713]Saunders, 223.
[714]Cichoń, 45.
[715]Canepari-Labib, 23.

converted renegades."[716] According to Gallagher, in the novel the issues of torture, pain, truth, and suffering of the body are central themes and are used recurrently in order to expose "how torture and other South African myths function in the creation of Others."[717]

One of the first scenes of torture is narrated in the beginning of the novel when Colonel Joll and his men interrogate an old man and a boy who are caught mistakenly by the imperial powers. The method, used during the interrogation of a boy and an old man by Joll, is the same that members of the security police employ against detainees during the State of Emergency in South Africa. In this respect, during the years of political repression, torture was used primarily by the security police in the interrogation of inmates in order to extract information or to elicit the "truth." As Craps puts it, "the only truth that he [Joll] extracts from the barbarians is the one he has projected onto them."[718] Before the ordeal begins, Joll describes his method like an expert torturer. The magistrate tells Joll,

> 'what a responsibility for the interrogator! How do you ever know when a man has told you the truth?' 'There is a certain tone,' Joll says. 'A certain tone enters the voice of a man who is telling the truth. Training and experience teach us to recognize that tone.' 'The tone of truth! Can you pick up this tone in everyday speech? Can you hear whether I am telling the truth?'
>
> 'No, you misunderstand me. I am speaking only of a special situation now, I am speaking of a situation in which I am probing for the truth, in which I have to exert pressure to find it.
>
> First I get lies, you see – this is what happens – first lies, then pressure, then more lies, then more pressure, then the break, then more pressure,

[716]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 147.
[717]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 118.
[718]Craps, 62.

> then the truth. That is how you get the truth. "Pain is truth; all else is subject to doubt."[719]

Following the completion of Joll's ordeal, the magistrate enters into Joll's dark chamber with hesitation and observes that the tortured and deformed body of the old man is lying dead beside his grandson. He notices that the old man's "grey beard is caked with blood. The lips are crushed and drawn back, the teeth are broken. One eye is rolled back, the other eye-socket is a bloody hole. […] The guard bunches the opening together. It falls open. 'They say that he hit his head on the wall.'"[720] Then, the magistrate orders the guards to remove the corpse of the old man and returns to the trembling child who is covering his face with his puffy and purple hands. Once again the magistrate explains to the boy the supreme goal of Joll, who is an expert in finding the absolute truth to which the empire aspires. As a military interrogator of the empire, Joll assumes the task of finding the truth through his interrogations. The magistrate, consciously or unconsciously, entreats the boy:

> 'Listen: you must tell the officer the truth. That is all he wants to hear from you the truth. Once he is sure you are telling the truth he will not hurt you. But you must tell him everything you know. You must answer every question he asks you truthfully. If there is pain, do not lose heart.'[721]

Although the magistrate is a member of the empire, he lives peacefully with the natives in the town until the soldiers of the empire arrive. With the arrival of Joll and his soldiers, the tortures and violence of the so-called barbarians become apparent and he realizes the brutal face of the new empire. The magistrate says, "I was the lie that Empire tells itself when times are easy, he [Joll] the truth that Empire tells when harsh winds

[719]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 5.
[720]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 7.
[721]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 7.

blow."[722] Jolly explains that "Coetzee's Empire depends upon the operation of the imperialist manichean opposition, whereby it can identify itself as just(ified) by identifying the 'barbarians' as the enemy."[723] Throughout the novel, Colonel Joll bears the idea that the truth only comes with pain that would penetrate into the "Other." Craps indicates that

> Colonel Joll's practices of inquisition and torture can be seen as an attempt to coerce the natives into assuming the identity of "barbarian" and "enemy" that the Empire requires of them in order to assert its existence. While Joll purports to be concerned with discovering "the truth," the prisoners' guilt is a foregone conclusion for him. Through torture, he inscribes this preordained "truth" on their bodies.[724]

As indicated by Craps, the Colonel's brutal interrogations to elicit the truth is a kind of imposition both to construct the identity of the victims as "barbarian enemy" and to affirm the supremacy of the empire over them.

Through his interrogation of the prisoners, Joll desires to elicit the truth that he wishes to hear in order to re-narrate his own story. In *The Body in Pain*, E. Scarry states that "torture contains a language, specific human words and sounds, it is itself a language."[725] By means of torture, which is a language that comes from the suffering body of the victim, the torturer can reconstruct his own narrative by analyzing and decoding the suffering body. In this respect, by the employment of physical torture, combined with pain and suffering, the victim is forced to forget his own truth and begins to tell his torturer the truth which the colonizer/ torturer desires to obtain. In other words, the painful body of the victimized is transformed into a kind of text that enables the torturer to reconstruct the narrative that the colonizer needs in order to re-narrate its supreme history/ story.

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[722]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 148.
[723]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 124.
[724]Craps, 62.
[725]Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and the Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), 28.

Furthermore, Scarry points out that "torture consists of a primary physical act, the infliction of pain, and a primary verbal act, the interrogation."[726] The ability of the torturer in eliciting the factual truth is based on the manner of interrogation; it functions by the application of either verbal or physical violence. She also states that during the process of interrogation "the goal of the torturer is to make the one, the body, emphatically and crushingly present by destroying it, and to make the other, the voice, absent by destroying it."[727] In this respect, the torture has the ability to destroy both the body and its voice that would express the body's aims, rights, desires, needs, dreams, and so forth.

Although the incidents of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners were not approved officially by the apartheid government, torture accompanied by illegal imprisonment was one of the crimes against humanity during the apartheid years. The United Nations' Convention against Torture (CAT), adopted in 1984, defined torture clearly in order to take measures to prohibit torture. The definition of torture is expressed by CAT in Article 1 as follows:

> any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purpose as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed, or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by, or at the instigation of, or with the consent or acquiescence of, a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include

[726]Scarry, 27.
[727]Scarry, 49.

> pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in, or incidental to lawful sanctions.[728]

From many hearings and accounts of the victims of torture, the report of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) on gross human rights violations has clearly confirmed that torture and its numerous victims were the direct result of police security. During the States of Emergency in South Africa, the South African Police (SAP) of the apartheid government were given extensive power for detention, torture, and other forms of ill-treatment of people without trial. The report signifies that the primary agent responsible for the acts of violence was the Security Branch of the SAP of the apartheid government. With regard to the employment of torture by the Security Branch, the commission explains that

> The commission finds that the use of torture in the form of the infliction of severe physical and/ or mental pain and suffering for the purposes of punishment, intimidation and the extracting of information and/ or confessions, was practiced systematically […] by the security branch of the SAP. […] Torture was used by the security branch at all levels, junior and senior, and in all parts of the country; despite […] the widespread and systematic use of torture by the South African security forces, little effective action was taken by the state to prohibit or even limit its use […]. The commission concludes that the use of torture was condoned by the South African government as official practice.[729]

As indicated above, the application of torture and violence against the detainees was allowed by the apartheid government. Between the years 1948 and 1990, the repressive pass laws, racial discrimination, and unequal political and social rights between the minority

[728]Henrik Marcussen, ed., "United Nations' Definition of Torture," *Torture*: *Journal on Rehabilitation of Torture Victims and Prevention of Torture*, Vol. 15, No. 2-3 (2005): 4.
[729]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 2, 220.

whites and majority black people frustrated the blacks. Moreover, any rightful response to these compulsive enforcements was met with imprisonment, detention, censorship, or torture. During the years, any non-violent demonstrations such as Sharpeville (1960), Soweto (1976) were met with the violence and brutality of the SAP. Moreover, members of the anti-apartheid political organizations, including the ANC and PAC, were also banned and imprisoned under the Sabotage Act (1962) and the Suppression of Communism Act of (1950). During the detention of many political leaders, the security police of the government were given limitless powers to arrest and torture anybody who might possibly pose a threat to national security. Regarding the ill-treatment of political detainees during the state of emergency, Bunting writes that many black activists and leaders were

> subjected to mental torture in the form of solitary confinement, with only half an hour a day for exercise, day after day, week after week, denied any writing material or books except the Bible; deprived of all human contact. Left alone in their cells […] they have been subjected to interrogation by the Special Branch at irregular intervals. If they refuse to answer questions, or do not answer to the satisfaction of the police, they are left alone again, sometimes for weeks on end. Many detainees have been kept […] in cells at police stations, and denied a change of clothing or facilities for washing the clothes they had. Some prisoners have been kept in cells where the lights remain burning day and night. In other cells the walls have been painted black.[730]

The report of the TRC signifies that the "pass law offenders were sent to prison, not because they were criminals, but because they did not meet the administrative requirements of a racist, apartheid law."[731] The report also indicates that during the interrogation and

[730]Bunting, 228.
[731]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 4, 200.

torture of the victims, the position of the Security Police was assured because the government empowered them to do their right duty. The report states that

> There can be little doubt that the security police regard their ability to torture detainees with total impunity as the cornerstone of the detention system. It put the detainee at complete mercy for the purpose of extracting information, statements and confessions, often regardless of whether true or not […]. Sometimes, torture is used on detainees before they have even been asked their first question in order to soften them up.[732]

During the State of Emergency, the number of detainees exposed to the brutal treatment of the Security Police was high. One of the striking examples with regard to the application of torture to the black political leaders was the case of Steve Biko, who "died in police custody in Pretoria on 12 September 1977. He was detained by the Security Branch in Port Elizabeth [and] was subjected to interrogation, during which he sustained serious brain injuries."[733] Regarding the brutal practices of the security forces, the murder of Steve Biko in detention created internal and international tension and anxiety in the country. Gallagher writes that "the public controversy over Biko's death epitomized the broader issue of state-condoned brutalization, torture and murder."[734] At the inquest of Biko, "the security police claimed that Biko had 'become violent' during interrogation and had to be 'subdued' by the interrogation team, in the course of which he hit his head against the wall."[735] However, the report of TRC indicates that Biko was found on the floor of the cell "as naked, lying on a mat and manacled to a metal grille, [and] his post mortem examination showed brain damage

[732]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 2, 201.
[733]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 2, 211.
[734]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 115.
[735]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 2, 212.

and necrosis, extensive head trauma, disseminated intra-vascular coagulation, renal failure and various external injuries."[736] So, Steve Biko's killing while in custody was documented by government officials in order to cover up his murder.

The TRC's report appeared in Volume 4 presents that the post mortem reports prepared by the officials of the apartheid government, including falsified implications. The postmortem reports of victims murdered in detention were prepared collaboratively by "police, lawyers, forensic experts, district surgeons and other health professionals and magistrates and judges."[737] These reports, prepared to make plausible explanations to the press, included some senseless excuses for the deaths of victims under police custody during interrogation. The excuses were listed by the report of the TRC as follows:

> slipping on a bar of soap, dying of an epileptic seizure where no prior history of epilepsy existed, having a heart attack without a history of heart disease, choking on food or suffocating or committing suicide. In addition, doctors were known to give expert advice on the mental health of deceased prisoners, or to conclude that someone had committed suicide because of mental instability, without ever having met the person involved.[738]

As seen in the quotation above, the unrealistic official explanations and reports repeated almost similar reasons, and they were deliberately prepared by the government officers to be presented in court during inquests. Accordingly, due to the false evidence prepared by government officials, the government managed to conceal the so-called fortuitous deaths of the detainees from the media and public.

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[736]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 4, 112.
[737]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 4, 128.
[738]Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa," Vol. 4, 129.

In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, a similar report is documented by the Empire's officials after the murder of an old man, who is interrogated brutally by Joll and his men. The brief postmortem report of the old man is presented to the magistrate and it recalls the frivolous explanations of the apartheid government presented at inquests. The magistrate avers that

> The report he makes to me in my capacity as magistrate is brief. During the course of the interrogation contradictions became apparent in the prisoner's testimony. Confronted with these contradictions, the prisoner became enraged and attacked the investigating officer. A scuffle ensued during which the prisoner fell heavily against the wall. Efforts to revive him were unsuccessful. For the sake of completeness, as required by the letter of the law, I summon the guard and ask him to make a statement. He recites, and I take down his words: "The prisoner became uncontrollable and attacked the visiting officer. I was called in to help subdue him. By the time I came in the struggle had ended. The prisoner was unconscious and bleeding from the nose."[739]

In a similar vein, Christopher Van Wyk's poem, "In Detention," is an ironic and sarcastic description of the senseless and frivolous postmortem reports on the victims. In their collaborative work, *A Land Apart*, Coetzee and Brink include Van Wyk's poem, "In Detention." Coetzee states that Van Wyk's poem "is not a poem about death but a parody of the barely serious stock of explanations that Security Police keep on hand for the media."[740] In the poem, Van Wyk ironically recounts that the victim dies of falling from the ninth floor, hanging himself, and slipping on a piece of soap. In a way, the poem is the ratification of the similar events occurring in apartheid South Africa: "behind the so-called suicides [and]

[739]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 6.
[740]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 363.

accidental deaths and unlikely inquest findings, lie the realities of fear, exhaustion, pain, cruelty."[741]

In the poem, Van Wyk repeats the three most common explanations that appeared in the post mortem examinations of the victims in the official documents. In the poem, ridiculous excuses are used interchangeably by the poet in order to highlight the desperate situations of the victims. Van Wyk presents the examples that are repeated frequently in the post mortem reports of the black victim as follows:

> He fell from the ninth floor
>
> He hanged himself
>
> He slipped on a piece of soap while washing
>
> He hanged himself
>
> He slipped on a piece of soap while washing
>
> He fell from the ninth floor
>
> He hanged himself while washing
>
> He slipped from the ninth floor
>
> He hung from the ninth floor
>
> He slipped on the ninth floor while washing
>
> He fell from a piece of soap while slipping
>
> He hung from the ninth floor
>
> He washed from the ninth floor while slipping
>
> He hung from a piece of soap while washing.[742]

Although the poem ironically states that the victim dies frequently of slipping on a piece of soap while washing, the report on bad prison conditions of South Africa proves that "inmates complained that the quantity of soap was insufficient for frequent washes, and of

[741]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 362.
[742]Christopher Van Wyk, "In Detention," quoted in Brink and Coetzee, eds., *A Land Apart*, 50.

poor quality."[743] Accordingly, in the context of insufficient water and soap, it is ironic that the death of prisoners resulted from slipping on a piece of soap. In the speech, delivered on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the death of Steve Biko in 2007, President Mbeki reported Steve Biko's words, verbalized to his torturers during his detention; "I ask for water to wash myself with and also soap, a washing cloth and a comb. I want to be allowed to buy food. I live on bread only here. Is it compulsory for me to be naked? I am naked since I came here."[744] Although the whites of the apartheid government considered themselves "the torch-bearer in the vanguard of Western civilization in South Africa,"[745] the newly constructed prisons and bad conditions reflected exactly the opposite. Concerning the censorship system and the poor prison conditions in South Africa, Coetzee ironically states that "prisons, those black flowers of civilized society burgeon all over the face of South Africa."[746]

Similarly, in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the poor conditions of the prisons are narrated in the course of the magistrate's imprisonment, during which his basic physical needs are disregarded and he is dehumanized. When he is in prison, he asks the boy regarding the noises that he hears outside the walls of his prison. Then, he learns that the soldiers of the empire "are tearing down the houses built against the south wall of the barracks [in order to] extend the barracks and build proper cells."[747] Recalling Coetzee's account, presented above, the magistrate states, "Ah yes," I say: "time for the black flower of civilization to bloom."[748]

In "Into the Dark Chamber," Coetzee presents the ignorant and illegal applications of the apartheid government in the distant districts that are out of sight. During the repressive

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[743]Cynthia Brown, ed., *Africa Watch: Prison conditions in South Africa* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994), 18.
[744]Biko, quoted in Thabo Mbeki, "Memorial Lecture delivered on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the death of Stephen Bantu Biko," accessed 12 July 2013, http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2007/07091314151001.html.
[745]Segal, 2.
[746]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 361.
[747]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 86.
[748]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 86.

policy of apartheid, several arbitrary detentions, ill-treatment, and imprisonments were employed to anti-apartheid prisoners. However, these unfair applications and treatments were censured and hidden from the external media. In the essay, Coetzee explores the vices and unfair practices of the apartheid government toward black prisoners and their bad conditions in prison. Coetzee stresses that

> The response of South Africa's legislators to what disturbs them is usually to order it out of sight. If people are starving, let them starve far away in the bush, where their thin bodies will not be a reproach. If they have no work, if they migrate to the cities, let there be roadblocks, let there be curfews, let there be laws against vagrancy, begging and squatting, and let offenders be locked away so that no one has to see or hear them. If the black townships are in flames, let cameras be banned from them.[749]

During the State of Emergency in South Africa, the integrity and indivisible unity of the empire was of crucial importance and the government employed a variety of measures to eradicate any unrest or uprising which could pose a threat against the integrity of it. In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the magistrate explains that Colonel Joll arrived at the frontier for "he is under the emergency powers, that is enough."[750] Therefore, Joll, an experienced soldier of the State of Emergency, is sent to the town in order to investigate rumors about a potential uprising that would disrupt the integrity of the empire.

In the novel, the magistrate tries to prevent the applications of the new Empire and asserts, "I never wished to be drawn into this. […] I did not mean to get embroiled in this."[751] He also generally disapproves Joll's method of truth seeking; he compares himself to "a mother comforting a child between his father's spells of wrath. It has not escaped me that an

[749]Coetzee, "Into the Dark Chamber," 361.
[750]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 1.
[751]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 8.

interrogator can wear two masks, speak with two voices, one harsh, one seductive."[752] So, with regard to torture, the magistrate likens himself to an interrogator who is wearing two masks: the caring mask belongs to him and the malevolent mask belongs to Joll. The uncertain and indefinite historical and political setting of the novel is also reflected in the personality of the magistrate, who functions both as the oppressor and the oppressed: an oppressor, he performs his duties in the town according to the rules of the empire; but his conflicting ideas, with regard to the new vision of empire, force him to distance himself from the empire. At the end of the novel, he feels "stupid, like a man who lost his way long ago but presses on along a road that may lead nowhere."[753] Accordingly, Valdez suggests that "although the magistrate regards his behavior as benevolent, paternal, and humane, his solicitous attention to the Other cannot be separated from the sinister apparatus of torture that the Empire employs."[754]

Colonel Joll and his men are not satisfied with the number of victims that they keep under control, and they decide to go on an expedition to find the invisible barbarians. Since the Colonel is a foreigner in the vast deserts of the town, the magistrate tries to dissuade Joll and his men from going on the dangerous journey and warns them about the possible threats:

> I try to dissuade him. […] You cannot rely on the soldiers to help you, they are only peasant conscripts, most of them have not been more than five miles from the settlement. The barbarians you are chasing will smell you coming and vanish into the desert while you are still a day's march away. […] I earnestly advise you not to go. […] those maps are based on little but hearsay, Colonel. I have patched them together from travellers'

[752]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 7.
[753]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 170.
[754]Moses, 121.

> accounts over a period of ten or twenty years. I have never set foot myself where you plan to go. I am simply warning you.[755]

However, as a firm colonizer and a new mapmaker, the Colonel disregards the magistrate's warnings and insists on going on his military expedition to find more barbarians. Four days later, a group of prisoners, whom Joll and his men consider barbarians, are sent to the frontier for interrogation. Although the magistrate is able to recognize that these prisoners are river people and "aboriginal, older even than the nomads,"[756] he cannot persuade Joll and his militia. The magistrate is aware that "the fishing people could not […] help him in his inquiries [but for the Colonel] 'Prisoners are prisoners.'"[757]

There is a discrepancy between the practices of the new empire and the old one: "the new men of Empire are the ones who believe in fresh starts, new chapters, clean pages; I struggle on with the old story."[758] Although the magistrate seems benevolent and compassionate toward the natives in the town, he clearly expresses his disgust at the new prisoners' crude social, sexual, and eating habits and their lack of hygiene. The new prisoners of Joll are sent to the frontier before his arrival and are kept inside the yard, surrounded by walls, and they are banned from venturing into the fortress of the empire:

> "Let them stay in the yard," I tell their guards. "It will be inconvenient for us […]. Keep the gate closed." I spend hours watching them from the upstairs window […]. I watch the women picking lice, combing and plaiting each other's long black hair. I do not want a race of beggars on my hands. For a few days the fisherfolk are a diversion, with their strange gabbling, their vast appetites, their animal shamelessness, their volatile tempers. […] Then, all together, we lose sympathy with them. The filth,

[755]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 12-13.
[756]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 19.
[757]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 23.
[758]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 26.

> the smell, the noise of their quarrelling and coughing become too much.[759]

The rules of the new empire conflict with those of his own, and the magistrate envisions an easy solution to the problem of the new prisoners. Despite his good intentions and benevolence towards the native inhabitants, the magistrate is a man of contradictions. Watching the bad conditions of the prisoners inside the yard, he thinks about erasing all the victims from the face of the earth in order to put an end to their suffering and to open a clean page, in which suffering does not exist. The dehumanized positions of the prisoners, kept in the barracks, and their ill treatment evoke Nazi concentration camps: the magistrate's idea of mass murder of the prisoners recalls the extermination of the Jews under the Nazi régime during World War II:

> It would be best if this obscure chapter in the history of the world were terminated at once, if these ugly people were obliterated from the face of the earth and we swore to make a new start, to run an empire in which there would be no more injustice, no more pain. It would cost little to march them out into the desert (having put a meal in them first, perhaps, to make the march possible), to have them dig, with their last strength, a pit large enough for all of them to lie in (or even to dig it for them!), and, leaving them buried there forever and forever, to come back to the walled town full of new intentions, new resolutions.[760]

Although the magistrate is aware of the fact that the prisoners "are river people"[761] who do not pose any threat to the unity of the empire, he remains indifferent and passive to their living conditions in the barracks. He ignores hearing the sounds of the prisoners and

[759]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 19-20.
[760]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 26.
[761]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 19.

"flee[s] for refuge to the farthest corner of [his] apartment."[762] When Joll begins the interrogation of the prisoners, the magistrate prefers sitting in his room "with the windows shut, in the stifling warmth of a windless evening, trying to read, straining [his] ears to hear or not to hear sounds of violence."[763] During the interrogation of the prisoners, he prefers sleeping "like a dead man [and spends his days] away from the empire of pain."[764] On the other hand, as the narrative continues, he lives a kind of self-realization and opposes the violence and brutality of the empire. He tells Joll that "if you listen carefully, with a sympathetic ear, you can hear [the voice of the abused] echoing forever within the second sphere."[765]

Despite his sympathy toward the prisoners, his ambivalence and complicated feelings lead him to accept passively the atrocities of the new Empire. He keeps his silence and does not intervene in the brutal torture that Joll and Mandel overuse:

> I ought to go back to my cell. As a gesture it will have no effect, it will not even be noticed. Nevertheless, for my own sake, as a gesture to myself alone, I ought to return to the cool dark and lock the door and bend the key and stop my ears to the noise of patriotic bloodlust and close my lips and never speak again. […] I cannot save the prisoners, therefore let me save myself.[766]

In the second part of the novel, the magistrate meets a barbarian girl who is tortured and partially blinded under the vicious hands of Colonel Joll and his militia. She is another victim of Colonel Joll's tortures. The magistrate meets the barbarian girl while she is begging on the streets:

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[762]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 21.
[763]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 23.
[764]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 24.
[765]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 123.
[766]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 114.

> She kneels in the shade of the barracks wall a few yards from the gate, muffled in a coat too large for her, a fur cap open before her on the ground. She has the straight black eyebrows, the glossy black hair of the barbarians. […] Twice more during the day I pass her. Each time she gives me a strange regard, staring straight ahead of her until I am near, then very slowly turning her head away from me. The second time I drop a coin into the cap.[767]

Although Coetzee does not directly state how she has been victimized and lamed at the cruel hands of Joll, the marks of the torture and her disabled body prove that torture exists in the empire. After the interrogation, the barbarian girl is left crippled, helpless, and half-blind, carrying the scars of torture with her injured and broken ankles. She is wearing boots that are "too large for her. Inside them her feet are swaddled, shapeless [and when she] stands, she must stand on the outer edges of her feet. Her ankles are large, puffy, shapeless, the skin scarred purple."[768]

The magistrate offers to help her and finds her a place to live. When they are in the room, the magistrate attempts to learn the story of her torture:

> "Show me your feet," I say in the new thick voice that seems to be mine.
>
> "Show me what they have done to your feet."
>
> "Did they do it to you?"
>
> "Yes."
>
> "What did they do?"
>
> She shrugs and is silent.

[767]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 27.
[768]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 29-31.

> "What did they do to you?" I murmur. My tongue is slow, I sway on my feet with exhaustion. "Why don't you want to tell me?" She shakes her head.[769]

Through the close relation between the magistrate and the girl, he is considerate and insightful. However, his attempts to contextualize the tortured body of the girl and to find the truth about her past lead the magistrate to think: "the distance between myself and her torturers, I realize, is negligible; I shudder."[770] Like Colonel Joll, who tortured innocent people to construct his own history, the magistrate ceaselessly tries to learn the story of her torture to re-narrate her story.

During the close relationship between the magistrate and the girl, he ritually washes and oils the broken and disfigured feet of the barbarian girl every night: "first comes the ritual of the washing, […]. I wash her feet, […], her legs, her buttocks. […] She raises her arms while I wash her armpits. I wash her belly, her breasts. I push her hair aside and wash her neck, her throat. She is patient."[771] Through the foot washing and massaging, the magistrate examines the body of the girl in detail and repeatedly asks questions about the untold story of torture, but the girl remains silent and mute. So, both Joll and the magistrate, as agents of the oppressor empire, search for the truth, but their attempts remain inconclusive because neither could find an entry to the body of the barbarian girl. Cichoń indicates that "his ritual of washing is a celebration of the massacred body, the body in pain."[772] Rosemary Jolly suggests that

> both Joll and the magistrate […] turn the "girl" into a text from which they believe the truth will originate, Joll through implanting the marks of torture upon her and reading the result as proof of her guilt, and the

[769]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 29-34.
[770]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 29.
[771]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 32.
[772]Cichoń, 58.

magistrate by attempting to possess the truth behind torture by reading the "script" that Joll has "written" on her body.[773]

The ritual of washing and massaging of the barbarian girl arouse the curiosity of the magistrate. He wonders if Joll washes his hands or changes his clothes after the brutal interrogation of the victims; "whether [Joll] has a private ritual of purification, carried out behind closed doors, to enable him to return and break bread with other men. Does he wash his hands very carefully, perhaps, or change all his clothes?"[774] Similarly, when the innocent fisherfolk are sent to the frontier by Joll for interrogation, the magistrate is disgusted by the new prisoners' crude social and sexual habits and their lack of hygiene, and he wants "everything cleaned up! Soap and water! [He] want[s] everything as it was before."[775] In this respect, despite his resentment towards the policies of the empire, the magistrate uses water and soap to erase the guilt and evidences of torture that Joll has employed on the innocent victims. Accordingly, the magistrate resorts to the ritual of body and foot washing of the barbarian girl in order to erase the filthy guilt and evidences of torture and to provide a sense of purification. According to Cichoń, one of the central themes in Coetzee's novels is his "permanent theme of complicity of those who are not directly involved in the actual crimes but who, on various levels, have their share in oppression and who must cope with their sense of guilt and shame."[776]

During the ritual of foot washing, the magistrate is unable to feel any sexual pleasure toward the barbarian girl. When he lies next to her in bed, his acts are monotonous and mechanical without including any real sense of sexual satisfaction. He loses himself while washing her feet and body: "I lose myself in the rhythm of what I am doing. I lose awareness of the girl herself. There is a space of time which is blank to me: perhaps I am not even

[773]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 127-28.
[774]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 13.
[775]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 26.
[776]Cichoń, 47.

present."[777] Although there is an intimate relation between them, the magistrate's pseudo-sexual attempts and his efforts to get to know the story of the girl are a complete.

Accordingly, "the act of washing feet appears as an act of hospitality. The magistrate as though wants to build an emotional and moral bond with the girl, a bond that would go beyond the actual act."[778] Jolly acknowledges that "the magistrate's fascination for the 'barbarian girl' stems from her body as the site of torture, rather than any desire for the girl. He worships the surface of her body, the skin, the site of interaction between the torturer and the tortured."[779] During the magistrate's "actions and intentions, there is insincerity he does not want to admit even to himself, namely, that he is driven by egoistic motifs and by his pervert curiosity about the Other – a woman, a barbarian, a victim."[780] Durrant suggests that "his ritualistic washing of her body indicates an inability to work through his failure to put her body back together, an inability to absolve himself of having allowed the torture to take place in the first place. Like Lady Macbeth, he is unable to wash away the marks of his complicity."[781]

Wenzel observes that "the magistrate exerts intellectual and physical energy trying to read the hieroglyphic inscription of force on the body of the girl, but she does not provide him with any satisfactory answers."[782] So, the magistrate's yearning to learn the story of the girl fails because "by not allowing her tortured body to be translated into language, [the barbarian girl] prevents the othering that the magistrate's categorizations would impose in transforming her story into his own."[783]

In the words of the magistrate: "she lies on the bed and [he] rub[s] her body with almond oil. [He] close[s] [his] eyes and lose[s] [himself] in the rhythm of the rubbing […].

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[777]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 30.
[778]Cichoń, 58.
[779]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 127.
[780]Cichoń, 58.
[781]Durrant, 44.
[782]Jennifer Wenzel, "Keys to the Labyrinth: Writing, Torture, and Coetzee's Barbarian Girl," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 66.
[783]Jennifer Wenzel, 66.

[He] feel[s] no desire to enter this stocky little body glistening by now in the firelight. It is a week since words have passed between [them]. [He] feed[s] her, shelter[s] her, use[s] her body, if that is what [he is] doing, in this foreign way."[784] Accordingly, for the magistrate, the body of the girl is like a foreign land to him; he is unable to invade her to find the truth. Unable to cross the borders of the foreign land, the magistrate's attempts for both learning the story and having intercourse results in complete frustration. So, he cannot retain his superiority over the foreign land that is over the body of the barbarian girl. As Gallagher puts it, "the magistrate's sexual and linguistic failures demonstrate his lack of authority. He can neither read the text of his world nor create a text that precisely conveys his experiences."[785]

The idea of having sex with the girl leads the magistrate to "think of acid in milk, ashes in honey, chalk in bread."[786] He cannot feel any sexual desire toward her and also cannot imagine the face of the girl when he is away from her: "I experience no excitement during this most collaborative act we have yet undertaken. It brings me no closer to her and seems to affect her as little. I search her face the next morning: it is blank."[787] Lying in bed and embracing another woman, the magistrate tries to imagine the face of the girl but he cannot remember her face:

> Occupied in these suave pleasures, I cannot imagine what ever drew me to that alien body. The girl in my arms flutters, pants, […]. Smiling with joy, sliding into a languorous half-sleep, it occurs to me that I cannot even recall the other one's face. "She is incomplete!" I say to myself. […] I have a vision of her closed eyes and closed face filming over with skin. Blank, like a fist beneath a black wig, the face grows out of the throat and out of the blank body beneath it, without aperture, without entry.[788]

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[784]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 30.
[785]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 122.
[786]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 36.
[787]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 47.
[788]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 45.

Although the magistrate treats the "barbarians" more benevolently than Joll, his mind is full of blurred imaginations and complicated thoughts. Like Colonel Joll, who is blind to see the real barbarians, the magistrate is also "blind to her condition because he uses the girl and treats her as an object of his fantasy. He aestheticizes and fetishizes her disfigured body to elevate his sense of guilt and shame and to get absolution."[789] When he is away from her, the girl's face remains a blank space in his imagination. The barbarian girl as a victim does not evoke any sense of the oppressor – the magistrate:

> the magistrate finds the girl's body impenetrable, unwilling to yield its secrets, and as such he experiences it as wholly other, unknowable, to the point that he cannot even remember what the girl looks like when he is away from her. It is this sense of otherness that allows torturers to ignore the pain of their victims; the magistrate seeks to eliminate his sense of the girl's otherness and to understand the pain of her torture as he verbally and physically probes the girl in an effort to read the signs of torture written on her body.[790]

Since the magistrate cannot remember the girl as she was once, he thinks of her as incomplete and defective. Although he remembers other prisoners in the torture room, even the girl's father beside her, the magistrate cannot imagine the face of the girl. He remembers every details of the scene when the fisher folk are brought to the barracks, but he fails to imagine the face of the girl: "I can remember the bony hands of the man who died; I believe I can even, with an effort, recompose his face. But beside him, where the girl should be, there is a space, a blankness."[791] Gallagher states that "throughout the novel, when the magistrate searches for meaning, he confronts blankness. When he tries to remember the

[789]Cichoń, 58.
[790]Jennifer Wenzel, 65.
[791]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 50.

barbarian woman as a prisoner, he sees only a space, a blankness."[792] His inability to visualize the face of the barbarian girl in his memory is linked to the blindness and ignorance of the white oppressor towards the "Other."

Regarding the methods of torture, which are employed on the body of the barbarian girl, Joll and the magistrate differ. While Joll tortures her body physically, by imposing pain, the magistrate's method of probing the truth includes foot washing and massaging her body. Gallagher suggests that "in the magistrate's desire to know the woman – to know what happened in the torture chamber, to uncover her deepest and most hidden feelings, to engrave himself on her – Coetzee suggests the voyeuristic aspect of discourse on torture."[793] Burning with the desire to decode her, the magistrate says that "it has been growing more and more clear to [him] that until the marks on this girl's body are deciphered and understood [he] cannot let go of her."[794] So, the body of the girl is conceived as a text that will be decoded or deciphered by the oppressor in order to penetrate "the Other." In terms of the employment of torture, "both Joll and the magistrate violate the girl by treating her body as a means to a truth that lies beyond it."[795] Jolly notes that "the narrator tries to understand the barbarians: where they come from, what they are, what they think of the Empire. His fascination for the blind barbarian girl stems from this curiosity: he treats her body as a surface, a map of a surface, a text."[796]

With regard to the relationship between the magistrate and the barbarian girl, Gallagher points out that the magistrate "continually asks her about her experience of being tortured, probing for every last detail. He stands in the room in which the torture took place

[792]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 122.
[793]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 128.
[794]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 33.
[795]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 128.
[796]Jolly, "Territorial Metaphor in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*," *Ariel*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (April 1989): 72.

and tries to imagine the act."[797] In this sense, the magistrate attempts to decode the suffering body of the barbarian girl in order to find out the secrets of Joll's torture chamber.

On the other hand, the magistrate's consistent attempts to learn the story of torture may stem from his desire to disassociate himself from the empire's real torturers. Trapped between two opposing poles – the colonizer and the colonized – the magistrate necessarily relieves himself from the brutal servants of the empire who use force and torture all the time. Craps asserts that "considering his behaviour to be benevolent and humane, the Magistrate initially insists on his distance from Joll and the activities of the Third Bureau."[798] At last, his insistent efforts to get an answer find the correspondence in the eyes of the girl; "with a shift of horror I behold the answer that has been waiting all the time offer itself to me in the image of a face masked by two black glassy insect eyes from which there comes no reciprocal gaze but only my doubled image cast back at me. I shake my head in a fury of disbelief. /No! No! No! / I cry to myself."[799] The magistrate's repetitive negative phrase is a kind of refusal of his situation, in which he is captured. Moreover, he "denounces the Empire's denial of the prisoners' humanity and denaturalizes or defamiliarizes the distinctions and categories upon which the Empire is founded."[800] He consciously or unconsciously recognizes his incompetency in deciphering the body of the girl. By experiencing a kind of double consciousness and ambiguity, the magistrate consciously separates himself from the torturers of empire to which he belongs:

> it is I who am seducing myself, out of vanity, into these meanings and correspondences. […] I search for secrets and answers, no matter how bizarre, like an old woman reading tea-leaves. There is nothing to link me with torturers, people who sit waiting like beetles in dark cellars. […] I must assert my distance from Colonel Joll! I will not suffer for his

[797]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 127.
[798]Craps, 62.
[799]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 47.
[800]Craps, 63.

> crimes! I must assert my distance from Colonel Joll! I will not suffer for his crimes![801]

The girl's unwillingness to tell the story of torture to which she is subjected and the blurred face or blankness in the imagination of the magistrate, lead him to think himself unproductive: "man who does not know what to do with the woman in his bed should not know what to write."[802] Although they lie close to each other in the same bed, for the magistrate, the body of the girl is "closed, ponderous, [and] beyond comprehension."[803] So, the girl's suffering body becomes a kind of authority or power on that the colonizer-magistrate cannot penetrate. Coetzee states that "the body with its pain becomes a counter to the endless trials of doubt. […] In South Africa it is not possible to deny the authority of suffering and therefore the body. […] It is not that one grants the authority of the suffering body: the suffering body takes this authority: that is its power. […] Its power is undeniable."[804] As Durrant puts it "if the Magistrate's consciousness is radically opened up to the fact of the barbarian girl's existence, her consciousness nevertheless remains closed off, inaccessible."[805]

Although she materially exists next to him, she remains a gap and an incomplete image which causes complete loss in his narration of the barbarian girl. She does not let herself to be decoded or represented by the colonizers and imperial powers. When she finally decides to explain what happened in the torture room, the magistrate

> gazes at her, touches her face, examines her burnt eyes. He wants to know more – about her pain, her suffering, her feelings towards the oppressors. He desires to learn what he has been denied to see when the torture room was closed to him. But the girl […] refuses to re-tell and re-

[801]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 47.
[802]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 63.
[803]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 45.
[804]Coetzee, "Interview: Autobiography and Confession," in Attwell, ed., *Doubling the Point*, 248.
[805]Durrant, 45.

> count her experience; she names the tortures but does not describe them. With her broken ankles and blinded eyes, she does not need words to confirm her experience.[806]

As seen in the quotation above, she continually remains silent and does not allow him to learn the details of her experience of torture. Therefore, "the failure of the magistrate's interpretive endeavours with regard to the barbarian girl reveals the colonial other's resistance to the Empire's self-affirmatory endeavour to impose an identity upon him or her."[807]

As the time passes, the magistrate's thought becomes more complicated and he decides to return the barbarian girl to her tribe. By crossing the literal borders of the empire, the journey to the desert is full of dangers for him. When they finally arrive in the desert, the magistrate is still unable to define the girl from his own perspective. Her image in his eye remains that of a stranger, complex and unknown to him:

> I see only too clearly what I see: a stocky girl with a broad mouth and hair cut in a fringe across her forehead staring over my shoulder into the sky; a stranger; a visitor from strange parts now on her way home after a less than happy visit. "Goodbye," I say. "Goodbye," she says.[808]

One of the favorite hobbies of the magistrate is collecting wooden slips that are found buried two miles away from the walls of the town. He found them through his archeological excavations. According to Olsen, the magistrate "is not just a country magistrate serving out his days on this lazy frontier. He is an archaeologist, anthropologist, a digger for 'meaning,' a detective, an explorer, a scientist, searching those ruins that lie under the dunes around the settlement."[809] Similar to his attempts to decipher the barbarian girl's torture story, the magistrate spends his days collecting them and reading their meanings in order to find out

[806]Cichoń, 58.
[807]Craps, 63.
[808]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 79.
[809]Olsen, 52.

some knowledge or truth about the history of the ancient tribe that once lived in the land. Although he has failed to read the suffering body of the barbarian girl, the magistrate insistently searches the meanings of the wooden slips, the characters of which have become almost illegible due to the sand and the sun's effect. Urquhart points out that "while the magistrate seems to recognize his inability to comprehend the victims of Empire, he later pretends to read the wooden slips in order to pit himself against Joll and thereby justify his own position."[810] In the beginning of the novel the magistrate recounts his interest in the wooden slips:

> I also found a cache of wooden slips on which are painted characters in a script I have not seen the like of. We have found slips like these before, scattered like clothes pegs in the ruins, but most so bleached by the action of sand that the writing has been illegible. The characters on the new slips are as clear as the day they were written. Now, in the hope of deciphering the script, I have set about collecting all the slips I can […].[811]

Yearning to read and decipher the characters on the wooden tiles, the magistrate laboriously investigates the tiles, which are found near the town: "after I had first counted them and made this discovery I cleared the floor of my office and laid them out, first in one great square, then in sixteen smaller squares, then in other combinations, […] a map of the land of the barbarians in olden times, or a representation of a lost pantheon."[812] His methods of reading the script on the wooden poplar slips include variety of ways: he sometimes reads them "in a mirror, or tracing one on top of another, or conflating half of one with half of another."[813] Although he realizes that the slips "form an allegory [and] can be read in many orders [and] in many ways,"[814] he tirelessly spends hours and days to find out the meanings

[810]Urquhart, 7.
[811]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 15.
[812]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 17.
[813]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 17.
[814]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 123.

that they imply. He interprets them "as a domestic journal, [or] as a plan of war, [or] as a history of the last years of the Empire – the old Empire."[815] Nevertheless, as a servant of a colonizer country, his reading and interpreting of the poplar slips can be regarded as the representation of the colonized by the colonizer. Searching for meaning in the name of a colonizer, the magistrate is trapped and lost in the absence of the presence.

According to Sue Kossew, "[the magistrate's] reading stresses the unreliability of interpretive acts of reading. […] The potentially different readings, each dependent on the degree of blindness or insight of the reader/ listener, raise the question of signification in narrative."[816] By considering the magistrate's insistent interpretations of the slips, Urquhart indicates that "certainly the wooden slips might have contained meaning in the language of their original writer, but all who spoke that language are dead, permanently silenced by Empire, just as those who have been most oppressed by the system of apartheid in South Africa have been permanently silenced."[817] By deciphering the past history of the native people, written on the slips, he attempts to re-narrate their history. Attwell acknowledges that "the Magistrate is himself an antiquarian who struggles with the idea of writing a history of settlement and who spends much time in the ruins of a former barbarian town in his corner of the Empire's western provinces":[818]

> The Magistrate's problem, his inability to achieve an image of continuity from the archaeological remains of the barbarians and their forebears, is addressed in general terms in Foucault's introduction to *The Archeology of Knowledge.* […]. The poplar slips, which the Magistrate tries to read by arranging them in different combinations and patterns, foreground this new, enigmatic status of the resources of historical knowledge.[819]

[815]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 123.
[816]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 94.
[817]Urquhart, 9.
[818]Attwell, *Politics of Writing*, 76.
[819]Attwell, *Politics of Writing*, 77.

In *Orientalism*, Edward Said points out the close relationship between systems of knowledge and strategies of domination and control. He argues that knowledge becomes dangerous and is tainted when it connects with power. In this respect, as stated by Attwell, the magistrate's attempts to read the script on the wooden slips can be regarded as his ambition to enforce control and power over the colonized peoples by acquiring historical knowledge about them.

However, his insistent efforts to translate the wooden slips and to learn the torture of the barbarian girl lead him to a humiliating position and results in the employment of the same torture to which the innocent prisoners have been subjected. Due to his determinations to interpret the slips, the magistrate is accused by Joll of collaborating with the barbarian enemy. Joll and the representatives of the Bureau find the slips in the magistrate's room while he is away from the town. The magistrate is blamed for being a traitor by the empire. By reason of Joll's colonial fixity, he is inclined to believe that the magistrate uses the scripts to communicate with the barbarian enemy; thus, Joll is "a misreader, a false reader, a believer in the metaphysics of presence."[820] Joll is suspicious that the wooden slips are carrying secret messages and it is the magistrate who uses the slips to collaborate with the enemy. He forces the magistrate to read the message written on them and states that "a reasonable inference is that the wooden slips contain messages passed between yourself and other parties, we do not know when. It remains for you to explain what the messages say and who the other parties were."[821]

Joll is an expert in interrogation of the victims to elicit the truth, so he demands the magistrate to read the messages on the slips. Joll's method of interrogation includes obtaining the absolute truth that the colonizer/ torturer desires to achieve in order to re-narrate his own story. However, as an unskilled interpreter, the magistrate does not "know

[820]Olsen, 53.
[821]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 120-21.

whether to read from right to left or from left to right."[822] At the same time, he is aware of the fact that he has to translate the slips in order to minimize the effects of torture and affliction that Joll and his militia will impose upon him. By touching his fingers on the line of characters, he begins to translate the slips:

> "He sends greetings to his daughter," I say. I hear with surprise the thick nasal voice that is now mine. My finger runs along the line of characters from right to left. "Whom he says he has not seen for a long time. He hopes she is happy and thriving. He hopes the lambing season has been good. He has a gift for her, he says, which he will keep till he sees her again. He sends his love. It is not easy to read his signature. It could be simply 'Your father' or it could be something else, a name."[823]

Although the magistrate states the fact that the signs form an allegory and are illegible to read, his attempts to translate the signs can also be regarded as an attempt to represent or re-narrate the story of the voiceless people from a colonizer perspective. In this regard, Moses states that

> Although the discovery of these obscure characters would suggest […] that the barbarians formerly possessed and subsequently lost the technology of writing, the magistrate insists upon understanding his own archaeological and interpretive pursuits as validating a decisive historical distinction between his own advanced imperial civilization and the more primitive culture of those stateless barbarians.[824]

Through his interpretative attempts, the magistrate creates the story of the subaltern people, or speaks in the name of the Other whose experiences are unknown to him. Urquhart indicates that the magistrate's "searching for meaning in something, […] leads him to realize

[822]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 121.
[823]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 121.
[824]Moses, 117.

how confined he is by the Empire – by its language, its subject positions, its meanings – but this realization does not allow him to escape those confines."[825] Since the native inhabitants have been silenced and destroyed by the empire, they have had no choice to tell their own history. Urquhart also acknowledges that

> When the Magistrate speaks for the writer of the slips, the experiences he narrates are his own. […] He cannot narrate the experience of the other, and he cannot restore the dignity of the other. This scene thus reveals the problem that underlies restorative justice: it is the Magistrate, the speaking agent of the state – and not the silenced victim – whose dignity is restored.[826]

Having entrusted the girl to his family, the magistrate returns to town and finds that another man is sitting at his own desk. Since his journey to the desert is not officially allowed, his journey to return the girl to her people can be regarded as his renouncing "the sanctuary of the Empire's borders [so he becomes] simply an intruder in a group to which he no longer belongs."[827] So, he is "charged of treason and imprisoned in the torture chamber. Awaiting his trial he thinks of himself as a victim of the empire, not much different than other detainees."[828] On the other hand, he is relieved since he thinks that "I wanted to do what was right, I wanted to make reparation: I will not deny this decent impulse; however, mixed with more questionable motives: there must always be a place for penance and reparation."[829]

So, the magistrate believes that he will do penance at the torturous hands of the Colonel because of his intimate relation with the barbarian girl and the rejection of the rules of the empire. As soon as he returns to the outpost, the position of the magistrate becomes

[825]Urquhart, 13.
[826]Urquhart, 9.
[827]Canepari-Labib, 151.
[828]Cichoń, 59.
[829]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 88.

reversed; now he becomes a victim at the torturous hands of Joll and Mandel. His former position as an outpost magistrate is reduced when he is taken into custody by the men of the empire. Like the innocent prisoners, the magistrate also experiences the brutal torture of the empire which he is a part of. Losing his privileged position in the town, the magistrate's position is now, not "One Just Man" but a simple imprisoner. Losing all his privileged positions as an administrator in the town, Joll tells him:

> But let me ask you: do you believe that that is how your fellow-citizens see you after the ridiculous spectacle you created on the square the other day? Believe me, to people in this town you are not the One Just Man, you are simply a clown, a madman. You are dirty, you stink, they can smell you a mile away.[830]

By reducing him to a simple and helpless physical being, the men of the Bureau inflict on the magistrate the same pain and torture that they employed on the boy, the old man, and the barbarian girl. The magistrate, "alas, is confused and defeated. Neither his incipient critique of the Empire nor his outrage at his treatment and at the merciless torture of barbarian captives are permitted to develop into a fully articulated rejection of the Empire's legitimacy."[831] By coming to a kind of self-realization, for the magistrate, the following days in the town are full of shame and agony. He describes his desperate position as follows:

> It cost me agonies of shame the first time I had to come out of my den and stand naked before these idlers or jerk my body about for their amusement. Now I am past shame. My mind is turned wholly to the menace of the moment when my knees turn to water or my heart grips me like a crab and I have to stand still […].[832]

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[830]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 124.
[831]Robert Spencer, "J.M. Coetzee and Colonial Violence," *Interventions*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2008): 183, accessed 25 May 2013, DOI: 10.1080/13698010802145085.
[832]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 128.

During his imprisonment and torture, the magistrate's moral development and self-recognition begin to emerge, and he realizes that it is not the indigenous people who are considered enemy but the men of the empire. Gallagher observes that "even though his torture and imprisonment have physically reduced him to the level of an animal, these experiences also have elevated his moral awareness."[833] The moral changes occur gradually in his personality: "I am aware of the source of my elation: my alliance with the guardians of the Empire is over, I have set myself in opposition, the bond is broken, I am a free man."[834] In this respect, the magistrate begins to comprehend the significance of the events by visualizing the images of the tortured victims at the hands of Joll. He is not afraid of death but afraid of dying as an ignorant and stupid individual:

> "You are living in a dream!" I say to myself: I pronounce the words aloud, stare at them, try to grasp their significance: "You must wake up!" Deliberately I bring to mind images of innocents I have known: the boy lying naked in the lamplight with his hands pressed to his groins, the barbarian prisoners squatting in the dust, shading their eyes, waiting for whatever is to come next. Why should it be inconceivable that the behemoth that trampled them will trample me too? I truly believe I am not afraid of death. What I shrink from, I believe, is the shame of dying as stupid and befuddled as I am."[835]

With the conception of the real nature of the events, he begins to declare his opposition to the régime of the Empire. His self-recognition, resistance, and criticism of political ideology of the Empire are stated clearly to Joll: "You are the enemy, Colonel! […] You are the enemy, you have made the war, and you have given them all the martyrs they need – starting not now but a year ago when you committed your first filthy barbarities

[833]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 130.
[834]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 85.
[835]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 103.

here!"[836] Jolly claims that the magistrate's attempt to differentiate between the torturer and the tortured is "the point where he identifies Joll as enemy, pointing out to him that he is the threat and not the barbarians."[837]

Deprived of his social status and rank in the town, the magistrate "feels terribly isolated, both physically and mentally. […] It is during his imprisonment that he experiences a solitude he has never known before."[838] He realizes that "how tiny I have allowed them to make my world, how I daily become more like a beast or a simple machine […]. If I was the object of an injustice, a minor injustice, when they locked me in here, I am now no more than a pile of blood, bone and meat that is unhappy."[839] Robbed of all his ideologies, decisions, and principles, the magistrate is forced to live on the margins and he becomes a simple creature composed solely of blood, bone, and meat, which causes him to think of himself as no different from animals: "I, the old clown who lost his last vestige of authority, […] live like a starved beast at the back door, kept alive perhaps only as evidence of the animal that skulks within every barbarian-lover."[840]

The tormentors of the magistrate shift their attention from the suffering body/ flesh to the soul. Foucault claims that "if the penality in its most severe forms no longer addresses itself to the body, [then] it must be the soul"[841] which will be exposed to the torture of the oppressor. According to Foucault,

> it would be wrong to say that the soul is an illusion, or an ideological effect. On the contrary, it exists, it has a reality, it is produced permanently around, on, within the body by the functioning of a power that is exercised on those punished […]. The soul is born […] out of methods of punishment, supervision and constraint. This real,

[836]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 125.
[837]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 133.
[838]Canepari-Labib, 30.
[839]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 93.
[840]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 136.
[841]Foucault, 16.

> noncorporal soul is not a substance; it is the element in which are articulated the effects of a certain type of power and the reference of a certain type of knowledge, the machinery by which the power relations give rise to a possible corpus of knowledge, and knowledge extends and reinforces the effects of this power.[842]

As seen in the quotation above, the incorporeal part of the human body (the soul) emerged as a result of the imposition of torture, punishment, and restriction on the flesh of the individual. This imposition produces a type of knowledge, and it strengthens the effects of this power. By putting aside the suffering body of the magistrate, Joll and Mandel find a way to enter the soul of the magistrate to affirm their own prejudices and preconceived ideas: "[his tormentor] deals with my soul: every day he folds the flesh aside and exposes my soul to the light; he has probably seen many souls in the course of his working life; but the care of souls seems to have left no more mark on him than the care of hearts leaves on the surgeon."[843] By stripping of the magistrate's physical existence, the violators turn the magistrate into the "Other" in the eye of the colonizer. So, his social position and respect have been destroyed by the oppressors – Joll and Mandel – through the perpetration of the most violent torture and pain. In this respect, alienated from his own body through torture, the magistrate learns what it means to live in a suffering body:

> But my torturers were not interested in degrees of pain. They were interested only in demonstrating to me what it meant to live in a body, as a body, a body which can entertain notions of justice only as long as it is whole and well, which very soon forgets them when its head is gripped and a pipe is pushed down its gullet and pints of salt water are poured into it till it coughs and retches and flails and voids itself. They did not come to force the story out of me of what I had said to the barbarians and

[842]Foucault, 29-30.
[843]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 129.

> what the barbarians had said to me. So I had no chance to throw the high-sounding words I had ready in their faces.[844]

The magistrate's torture and public humiliation by the men of the empire is not limited to bodily suffering. They employ such an unbearable power that it destroys his individuality in the eye of the colonizer. The magistrate is forced to wear a woman's smock in public in order to emphasize the loss of his dignity and power. The magistrate, who has been a representative of a patriarchal authority so far in the town, is belittled and humiliated by Mandel and Joll. His humanity, already degraded by torture, is even more debased by forcing him to wear women's clothing. In the eye of the colonizers, such decrease in his authority indicates his incompleteness and ignominious position in the town:

> Then one day they throw open the door and I step out to face not two men but a squad standing to attention. "Here," says Mandel, and hands me a woman's calico smock. "Put it on."[…] I slip the smock over my head. […] "The time has come, Magistrate," Mandel whispers in my ear. "Do your best to behave like a man." […] They march me out of the yard. […] I know this is only a trick, a new way of passing the afternoon for men bored with the old torments. Nevertheless my bowels turn to water. […] Thinking of him [Joll], I have said the words/ torture torturer/ to myself, but they are strange words, and the more I repeat them the more strange they grow, till they lie like stones on my tongue.[845]

Throughout the novel, although nobody has ever seen the barbarians, the empire believes in the definite existence of the barbarians. On the other hand, the magistrate is doubtful about the existence of the so-called barbarians; "show me a barbarian army and I will believe."[846] Although he does not believe in the existence of the barbarian enemy, his

[844]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 126.
[845]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 128.
[846]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 9.

insistent search for the perception of the objective truth with regard to his translation of the wooden slips and learning the barbarian girl's torture combines the magistrate and the empire on the same ground. In other words, his attempts to read the barbarian girl's story, his desire to read the scripts on the slips, are in the similar lines with the empire's oppressive applications. Due to his fixation and preconceived ideas, he suffers and desperately; "if she had told me then, if I had understood her, if I had been in a position to understand her, if I had believed her, if I had been in a position to believe her, I might have saved myself from a year of confused and futile gestures of expiation."[847]

But after being cursed, degraded, and labeled by the men of the empire, the magistrate's torture is not over. It is at its highest when he is derisively hanged and suspended by his neck and wrists to a tree in the town's square; "as my feet leave the ground I feel a terrible tearing in my shoulders […]. From my throat comes the first mournful dry bellow, […]. I bellow again and again, there is nothing I can do to stop it, the noise comes out of a body that knows itself damaged perhaps beyond repair and roars its fright."[848] Although the magistrate keeps his silence during the torture, his suffering body speaks instead of him. When he is exposed to the "torture and violence […] at the hands of the Empire, he truly understands the relativity of the word 'truth' and what it means to be colonized."[849]

As a man of justice and a "defender of the rule of law,"[850] the magistrate is responsible for the duties that are assigned to him by the Empire. According to Urquhart, "what the Magistrate achieves is not reparation but penance, not justice but justification of his own complicity in the atrocities of Empire. He wants to believe he is motivated by a desire to serve justice but does not acknowledge the desire to expunge his own guilt."[851] Despite his

[847]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 148.
[848]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 132.
[849]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 90.
[850]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 118.
[851]Urquhart, 6.

subservient duty to the empire, he occasionally questions the fragility of justice and civilization represented by the Empire and its servants. By coming to self-awareness and self-knowledge, he occasionally states the fragility of justice and civilization of the empire. He likens empire to a jackal wearing sheep's clothing. In this respect, like a mediator between the oppressor empire and the innocent prisoners, he makes apologies; "here I am patching up relations between the men of the future and the men of the past, returning, with apologies, a body we have sucked dry – a go-between, a jackal of Empire in sheep's clothing!"[852]

While he is still a victim at the hands of empire, Warrant Officer Mandel brings a group of prisoners, most probably the innocent fisherfolk, to the public square in order to prove the power of the Empire as well as the existence of the myth of barbarians. The conditions of the prisoners and their horrible treatment are nothing less than the taming of the beasts. They are brought to the yard kneeling naked and are bound to each other with loops on their hands and chains on their cheeks. On the naked backs of the prisoners, Colonel Joll inscribes the word ENEMY with a stick of charcoal.

The inscription of the word ENEMY on the naked backs of the prisoners can be regarded as labeling without questioning. This is the usual practices of the prejudiced empires and the colonizers of the world. The fixed attitudes of Joll and Mandel toward the prisoners can be associated with the classification and categorizing of European anthropologists, biologists, and scientists, who tried to find out a formula in order to distinguish one (civilized) race from another (inferior) race. Concerning the inscription of the word ENEMY on the naked backs of the prisoners, Valdez indicates that

> while limited linguistic exchange does take place across the borders of Empire, and although individual acts of imperfect translation occur, the Empire directs its efforts first and foremost towards writing and reading

[852]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 79.

> its own script. Accordingly, the barbarian Other generally appears in the novel as a blank slip onto which the Empire engraves itself; that is, the Empire gives itself form by writing on its subjects.[853]

After the completion of the labeling process of the prisoners, the horrible torture of Joll and Mandel does not stop; Joll orders his henchmen to flog the prisoners until "the black charcoal and ochre dust begin to run with sweat and blood. The game […] is to beat them till their backs are washed clean."[854] Thus, the labeling of the 'Other' via the inscription of the Empire is resulted with the erasure of it by the blood and suffering of the colonized. Meanwhile, the magistrate protests the degraded and inhumane positions of the innocent prisoners and shouts by holding up his hands to the crowd:

> "No! No! No!" When I turn to Colonel Joll he is standing not five paces from me, his arms folded. I point a finger at him. "You!" I shout. […]. "You are depraving these people!"
>
> "Look!" I shout. I point to the four prisoners who lie docilely on the earth, their lips to the pole, their hands clasped to their faces like monkeys' paws, oblivious of the hammer, ignorant of what is going on behind them, relieved that the offending mark has been beaten from their backs, hoping that the punishment is at an end. […]. "Look!" I shout.
>
> "We are the great miracle of creation! But from some blows this miraculous body cannot repair itself! How!" Words fail me. "Look at these men!" I recommence. "*Men!*" Those in the crowd who can crane to look at the prisoners, even at the flies that begin to settle on their bleeding welts.[855]

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[853]Moses, 120.
[854]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 115.
[855]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 116-17.

During his opposition against the torture carried out by Joll and Mandel, his fingers as well as his language are hammered by the colonizing authority. His conviction for justice is eliminated and destroyed by torture and pain. In this respect, where there is ill-treatment and torture, justice becomes silent, even the representative of justice becomes impotent. Eckstein observes that

> a leader of the Third Bureau – a Gestapo-like policing army with broad "discretionary powers" – Joll ignores evidence of the cultural differences among the indigenous peoples and instead uses torture to generate "evidence" against them, thus reducing them to bodies in pain and "proving" they are indeed barbarians, i.e., secretive, violent, unsophisticated people who threaten the security of the colonial fort community, the outpost of civilization. […] Torture is an inversion of justice.[856]

Concerning the meaning and importance of justice, the self-recrimination of the magistrate appears clearly:

> Would I have dared to face the crowd to demand justice for these ridiculous barbarian prisoners with their backsides in the air? Justice: once that word is uttered, where will it all end? Easier to shout No! Easier to be beaten and made a martyr. Easier to lay my head on a block than to defend the cause of justice for the barbarians: for where can that argument lead but to laying down our arms and opening the gates of the town to the people whose land we have raped? The old magistrate, defender of the rule of law, enemy in his own way of the State, assaulted

[856]Eckstein, 185-86.

> and imprisoned, impregnably virtuous, is not without his own twinges of doubt.[857]

At the end of the novel, the well-equipped and powerful army of the empire, which hopes to win a victory over the illiterate and primitive barbarians, is forced to leave the town. Unlike the native folk, accustomed to the conditions of the desert, the dominant army of the empire cannot resist anymore and withdraws from the town hastily. Gallagher observes that "the hardy and disciplined barbarians survive the rigors of the desert with ease, while the soldiers of the Empire are destroyed by their physical and mental weakness."[858] When the army retreats from the town hastily, one of the soldiers of the empire tells the magistrate that

> "We froze in the mountains! We starved in the desert! Why did no one tell us it would be like that? We were not beaten--they led us out into the desert and then they vanished!"
>
> "Who led you?"
>
> "They – the barbarians! They lured us on and on, we could never catch them. They picked off the stragglers, they cut our horses loose in the night, they would not stand up to us!"[859]

Although the novel is about "waiting" for the invisible barbarians, "the nomadic herdsmen and to a more limited degree the aboriginal fisherfolk who populate the novel remain enigmatic examples of 'the Other.'"[860] Except for Joll and Mandel, all of the subjugated characters in the novel are nameless and are treated barbarously and inhumane. The magistrate with his conflicting ideas and his ambivalent character stays at the frontier, waiting for the non-existent barbarians. André Brink asserts that the "invention of the Barbarians as enemies has become indispensable for the perpetuation of blind Power which draws everything into its vortex. […] The Apocalypse resides […] in the private agony of

[857]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 118.
[858]Gallagher, *J.M. Coetzee's Fiction in Context*, 129.
[859]Coetzee, *Waiting*, 161.
[860]Moses, 120.

the magistrate who sees all the terms and signs and codes of his world turned inside out – as well as turned against himself."[861]

Despite the indefinite and blunt setting of the novel, "the expressions such as emergency powers, prisoners must be held in incommunicado, the explanations given of the prisoners' deaths, the absence of official records of individuals' imprisonments, the titles and various institutions of Empire such as third Bureau, or the role of the magistrate"[862] are associated with the history of South Africa during the apartheid years. With its allegorical style and implicit descriptions, the novel in general interrogates the universal condition of human suffering under the brutality of colonialism and apartheid anywhere in the universe.

A White Dissident South African Writer: André P. Brink

> Only by dreaming and writing the impossible can life be made possible once again. (André P. Brink)

Like John M. Coetzee, André Philippus Brink is a prominent contemporary writer from South Africa. Both authors wrote during the turbulent and chaotic years of the apartheid régime in South Africa and have been preoccupied with almost similar issues in their oeuvres, such as apartheid, oppression, racism, and imperialism. Kossew observes that "in terms of form and themes, Brink's novels have all been firmly based within a South African context and, despite the use of changes in narrative perspective, are closer to the realist than the postmodernist model."[863] Brink's novels have been translated into "30 languages, including Serbo-Croatian, Japanese, Xhosa and Vietnamese."[864] He has acquired wide

[861]Brink, "Writing against Big Brother: Notes on Apocalyptic Fiction in South Africa," *World Literature Today*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Spring 1984): 194, accessed 20 June 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40139944.
[862]Canepari-Labib, 24.
[863]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 30.
[864]André P. Brink, "It's the road you travel that counts," in *NWU & U, North-West University Alumni*, 4.2 (2012): 18-19, accessed 7 June 2013, www.nwu.ac.za/webfm_send/59950.

acclaim both locally and internationally and "his oeuvre includes novels, plays, translations, academic essays, travel writing and works of non-fiction."[865]

In *The Dictionary of Literary Biography*: *South African Writers*, Ron Ayling notes that Brink's "own contributions to South African literature, in English and Afrikaans alike, have been immense: as creative artist and as translator, […] as satirist, literary critic, theorist, and cultural commentator, [Brink] has consistently been a prolific and forceful presence."[866] Brink is a winner of several international prizes. He has received the Afrikaans literature's highest award, the Hertzog Prize, both in drama (2000) and in fiction (2001). He has reached the pinnacle of literary achievements with numerous prizes and awards. He won the

> Commonwealth Writers Regional Award for Best Book in 2003. He was made a Commander of the Order of Arts and Letters, and was awarded the Legion of Honour by the French government. In 1992, he was awarded the Monismanien Human Rights Award by the University of Uppsala for making known the injustice of Apartheid to the wider world.[867]

As the winner of South Africa's most prestigious prize, the CNA Award, three times, Brink's novels *An Instant in the Wind* (1976) and *Rumours of Rain* (1978) have been shortlisted for the Booker Prize twice.

Born on 29 May 1935, in Vrede – a small village in South Africa – Brink's "mother was a schoolteacher and his father a magistrate, from whom he imbibed a sense of justice."[868] In one of his interviews, Brink says that "from the age of about ten, I would often

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[865]Lelanie de Roubaix, "Where boundaries blur: André Brink as writer, bilingual writer, translator and self-translator," *Research Seminar in Translation Studies* (2011): 2, accessed 17 July 2013, http://www.kuleuven.be/cetra/papers/papers.html.
[866]Ronald Ayling, "André (Philippus) Brink," in Paul A. Scanlon, ed., *South African Writers*, Vol. 225 (Detroit: Gale Group, 2000), accessed 11 October 2012, URL:http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?&id=GALE%7CH1200009384.
[867]Kehinde, 22.
[868]The Presidency, "The order of Ikhamanga in Silver," (27 September 2006): 32, accessed 25 May 2013, http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/orders/092705/part4b.

slink in at the back of the court and listen to cases my father was trying. It left an indelible mark."[869] Considering his relations with his father, in an interview held with Elnadi and Rifaat in 1993, Brink expresses that:

> Our relationship was very ambiguous. On the one hand we had very strong family feelings, but as far as politics was concerned, a gulf had opened up between us. We had several fierce arguments before we realized that we had no common ground, politically speaking. So we took a calm, rational decision not to talk about politics any more.[870]

As the fourth child of Daniel and Aletta Brink, Brink's creative talent was motivated by "his parents' appreciation for Shakespeare and Dickens […]. He published his first poem in a children's magazine at the age of nine. When he was 12 years old, his father typed out his first 300-page manuscript of a novel."[871] In an interview, Brink says "I grew up in a very conservative Afrikaner family. My father was a magistrate, one of those grey eminences who are the powers behind the throne in South Africa because they implement the official policies."[872]

Completing high school education in Lydenburg, a town in Transvaal, Brink attended Potchefstroom University and graduated in 1959. After taking his M.A. degree both in Afrikaans and English, Brink went to Paris and for two years he continued his postgraduate education at the Sorbonne in Comparative Literature. During his stay in Paris, he was shocked by the tragedy of the Sharpeville massacre, which occurred on the 21 March 1960. Brink has been a sensitive and devoted writer about the problems of his country, and the impact of the massacre was influential in his decision to denounce the corrosive effects of apartheid and colonialism in his writings. In an interview Brink states "Sharpeville was the

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[869]Nicholas Wroe, "Out of the Laager," *The Guardian* (14 August 2004): 12-15, accessed 2 June 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/aug/14/fiction.politics.
[870]Brink, "André Brink Talks to Baghat Elnadi and Aadel Rifaat," 5.
[871]The Presidency, 32.
[872]Brink, "André Brink Talks to Baghat Elnadi and Aadel Rifaat," 4.

shock that forced me to see what was happening in my country, with the clarity that distance can provide."[873] During his visit in Paris, Brink was influenced by the philosophical and intellectual ideas of Albert Camus. Concerning the influence of Camus:

> For almost ten years, Albert Camus and the literary and philosophical ideas I'd encountered in Paris were the main influence on my writing. In a way I used them to avoid exploring my own roots – roots of which I was a little ashamed, to be honest. I wanted to focus my attention on Europe, which for me was the peak of civilization. So during that time my writing was existentialist in style and mood. It was only when I went to live in Paris a second time that I realized that I needed to go further and accept my African origins.[874]

Brink has been a key figure in the *Sestigers*, an Afrikaans literary movement of the sixties in South Africa. In 1961, he returned to his country from Paris and began teaching at "Rhodes University in Grahamstown and endeavored to expose himself to the condition of black South Africans under apartheid."[875] During the sixties, Brink joined the *Sestigers* and became a fervent member. The *Sestigers* was "a direct challenge to the tradition of Afrikanerdom."[876] It was also a literary movement "whose very experimental work aimed to question every kind of authority – political, religious and moral."[877] The movement included a group of Afrikaner poets and novelists, such as Breyten Breytenbach, Jan Rabie, Ingrid Jonker, and Etienne Leroux. André Brink "was a prominent member of this group who could be regarded as the exponents of the modernist tradition in South Africa."[878] Bill Nasson

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[873]Brink, "André Brink Talks to Baghat Elnadi and Aadel Rifaat," 4.
[874]Brink, "André Brink Talks to Baghat Elnadi and Aadel Rifaat," 4.
[875]The Presidency. 32.
[876]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 5.
[877]John F. Baker, "André Brink: In Tune with His Times," *Publisher's Weekly*, 243.8 (25 November 1996): 50-51, Rpt. in *Contemporary Literary Criticism*, ed., Deborah A. Schmitt Vol. 106, accessed 11 June 2013, URL: http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?&id=GALE%7CH1100002105.
[878]Marita Wenzel, "Crossing spatial and temporal boundaries: Three women in search of a future," *Literator*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (November 2000): 24.

observes that "this eclectic body of Afrikaans culture identified with a world that was secular, modern, racially mixed and sexually free. In writings, which adopted experimental European literary techniques, *Sestigers* explored controversial subject matter, which challenged conventional apartheid stereotypes of Afrikaners and their history."[879] By considering the impact of existentialism on members of the *Sestigers*, Richard Peck observes that "existentialism maintains an extraordinary grip over white South African dissident writers. A generation of Afrikaans writers, the *Sestigers*, was influenced by the existentialists and particularly by Camus."[880]

Due to the oppressive system of the Afrikaner government between the years 1948 and 1990, the blacks in South Africa were exposed to huge disparity and discrimination in terms of their social and economic development. Brink has always been cognizant of the problems of his country and "has been one of the most dogged Afrikaner critics of the apartheid system."[881] Regarded as a "dissident Afrikaans writer,"[882] Brink, in his writings, has engaged persistently and fearlessly with the abuses of apartheid, racism, and imperialism. The subject matter in Brink's novels, such as "sexual intercourse, and particularly of interracial sexual relationships, and his portrayals of interracial violence, especially that involving police brutality, have received condemnation by a significant number of readers within South Africa."[883]

Although his literary narrative forms have reflected diversity "from the nouveau roman in the 1950s to magic realism and diverse postmodern techniques in the 1990s,"[884] Brink has constantly engaged in social and political inequalities and chaotic conditions in

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[879]Bill Nasson, "Apartheid South Africa in 1968: Not quite business as usual," in Nora Farik, ed., *1968 Revisited: 40 Years of Protest Movements* (Brussels: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2008), 44.
[880]Richard Peck, "Condemned to Choose, But What? Existentialism in Selected Works by Fugard, Brink, and Gordimer," *Research in African Literatures*, 23.3 (Autumn 1992): 67 accessed 7 July 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3820056.
[881]Wroe, 12-15.
[882]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 5.
[883]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 18.
[884]Ayling.

South Africa, created by the apartheid ideology. Brink indicates that "in South Africa all novels, whether so intended by the author or not, are 'political' – because in that country, even as it moves out of the dark night of apartheid toward something new, every action, and utterance, and thought, every book and play and poem and song, carries a political load."[885] Moreover, he indicates that politics has interfered with private and public spheres so much that it "permeates and informs every choice and every action of civic and even of private life."[886]

Brink's creed for the socio-political events and conditions in South Africa has enabled him to be involved in *littérature engagée*. Through his portrayal of the characters and events in his writings, Brink has portrayed an active resistance to the repressive authority of the apartheid régime. Meintjes observes that the novels of Brink "would become *littérature engagée,* committed to exploring and exploiting the South African political situation specifically to comment on its neocoloniality in a way which directly attempts to change it."[887] In his interviews and non-fictional writings, Brink has been constantly preoccupied with matters regarding his own country, and he emphasized the necessity of assuming political responsibility of an author. In "South African Writers Talking," Brink, in response to the chairman's query about the task of the engagée writer, replied that

> traditionally it would mean a commitment to the socio-political causes of the day. I think in South Africa it would mean a commitment to the cause of liberation. […] In all situations but in a particular way in South Africa, the writer would be committed to […] truth and […] to liberty […]. In a country which has become infamous for its cover-ups, in a country which tries to celebrate the lie at the expense of truth, I think in trying to

[885]Brink, "Literature as Cultural Opposition," in Brink, *Reinventing a Continent: Writing and Politics in South Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Zoland Books, 1998), 187.
[886]Brink, "Literature as Cultural Opposition," 186.
[887]Godfrey Meintjes, "Postcolonial imaginings: An exploration of postcolonial tendencies in André Brink's prose oeuvre," *Journal of Literary Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (06 July 2007): 169.

> persevere and to bring to light this one bit of truth […] lies the experience of being engage, being committed.[888]

Brink strongly believes in the writer's active involvement to uncover the lies that authority presides over. By embracing social and political commitment in his works, Brink has been much involved in the political and social problems in South Africa created by the apartheid government. His endeavor has not only been to depict the cruelties of the apartheid ideology but also to offer solutions for a more liberated society. In an essay entitled "After Soweto" in *Mapmakers: Writing in a State of Siege*, he clearly explains the role and responsibility of a writer in South Africa:

> The first is, quite simply, to keep the people informed in a country dominated by official lies and distortions and, alarmingly, by an increasing silence among […] people who […] do not want to know […] what is happening. The writer's second responsibility, much more important than the first […] is to explore and expose the roots of the human condition as it is lived in South Africa.[889]

By believing the fact that the writer should accept responsibility for the creation of a new society, Brink emphasizes the necessity of freedom of speech and expression in order to uncover the realities of apartheid ideology. He asserts that

> the writer is the medium through which truth and liberty are allowed to fuse. […] When the conspiracy of lies surrounding me demands of me to silence the one word of truth given to me, *that word becomes the one word I wish to utter above all others:* and at the same time it is the word

[888]Brink, "South African Writers Talking: Nadine Gordimer, Es'kia Mphahlele, André Brink," *English in Africa*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (September 1979): 16-17 accessed 10 July 2013, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40238457.
[889]Brink, quoted in Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 25.

> my metaphysical situation, my historical situation, and my own craft demand of me to utter.[890]

Furthermore, in "South African Writers Talking" Brink remarks that fiction written by anti-apartheid authors in South Africa should address and refer to political matters:

> In the kind of environment that obtains in South Africa, politics is not something which can be abstracted from 'real life' as an ideology, a system, a theory, a philosophical 'position,' but is, instead, a presence in the most ordinary and the most private moves across the chessboard of daily life: the food you eat and where you buy it, your means of transport, the suburb or township in which you live, the work you do, the school your children attend, the person you love and marry, the friends you associate with, *everything* has a political implication.[891]

In 1967, Brink went to Paris for the second time with the intention of settling permanently because he "felt that living in Paris would be in a sense marvelous [and] could live perfectly happily there."[892] But the student uprisings in Paris and especially the Soweto uprising in June 1976 in his homeland compelled him to come back and assume responsibility. By realizing the fact that it was his duty to be involved in the matters of his own country, he returned to South Africa. Brink, at the time, said that "it's much too easy in a sense to stay out and write from a distance of 10, 000 km, and criticize every single word one writes. There was a feeling of being redundant in the marvelous French society in which I found myself."[893] Thus, his awareness of and responsibility toward his national audience

[890]Brink, "Commitment (1): Writers as Mapmakers," *Index on Censorship*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (1978): 26, accessed 11 June 2013, DOI: 10.1080/03064227808532854.
[891]Brink, "Literature as Cultural Opposition," 187.
[892]Brink, "South African Writers Talking," 20.
[893]Brink, "South African Writers Talking," 20.

"brought a rediscovery in me of the role of the individual and society and it was then that I felt I had to come back to my country, and through my writing to explore my own roots."[894]

Brink has been one of the fiercest critics of the censorship mechanism in South Africa. When the Afrikaner National Party gained power in South Africa (1948), the government began to enact legislation to implement the policy of apartheid and to perpetuate the status quo. Not only did the legislation create political and social turmoil but it also attempted to prevent a common ideology of resistance against apartheid. In this respect, on the grounds of the legislation of the Publications and Entertainments Act (1963), the government censored, imprisoned, or exiled many leading authors and intellectuals and it also banned or confiscated their publications. During the period, by creating a repressive and disenabling environment for the writers in South Africa, censorship hampered many major writers and intellectuals who struggled for the freedom of speech and writing. Es'kia Mphahlele, who was exiled due to the censorship legislation, observes that the enslavement of censorship pushed many creative writers "either into silence or superficiality – with fatal consequences especially for Afrikaans literature."[895] According to Merrett, "censorship is a tool to be used by the authoritarian against those seen to be dangerously unorthodox and to prevent the communication of their ideas, whether from within the country or without, to those pondering the social, political, and economic ordering of society."[896]

Brink consistently spoke out against the menaces of apartheid and he suffered under the provisions of censorship laws. In *Giving Offense*, Coetzee acknowledges that "the 1960s and 1970s saw the development of a comprehensive censorship apparatus in South Africa. In the forefront of opposition to censorship stood the novelist André P. Brink."[897] Regarding the

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[894]Brink, "We can only manage the world once it has been storified," interview with Cathy Maree, in Zélia Roelofse-Campbell, ed., *Unisa Latin American Report*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January-June 1999): 43.
[895]Mphahlele, *Voices in the Whirlwind*, 203.
[896]Christopher Merrett, *State Censorship and the Academic Process in South Africa*, Graduate School of Library and Information Science (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008), 5, accessed 20 February 2013, http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13587491.
[897]Coetzee, *Giving Offense*, 204.

corrosive effects of censorship, Brink explains that "when a white and particularly an Afrikaner writer shows signs of protest and dissent, […] official organs and publications are used to chastise, berate and hopefully destroy the writer's credibility. He is termed an 'outcast' and 'an enemy of the people'; and his work is banned; in addition he is denied access to government-controlled media like radio and TV."[898] Between the years 1950 and 1990, censorship legislation were so pervasive in South Africa that censor was ubiquitous by the enactment of "one hundred laws, inhibited the flow of information."[899] In relation to the restraints and threats that the censorship has imposed on the creativity of the authors, Brink explains that

> in the seventies censorship had been a real menace to creativity, […]. Censorship created a stifling climate of fear in which the security police had their hands full keeping writers under surveillance. I was personally subjected to interrogations, house searches, the confiscation of books, manuscripts, notes, even of typewriters; attempts were made to sabotage my car and to set my house on fire, and there were endless threats to kill members of my family or myself.[900]

The pervasive nature of censorship in South Africa has been provided by the enactment of several laws and "for decades South Africa suffered under the Publications Acts that granted the government censorship powers over the published material."[901] In his non-fictional essays and books, Brink continually focuses on the repression of censorship in South African political history. For him, "censorship has been […] a deadening thing in South Africa, one wasted so much time fighting against it, trying to alter the system, trying to make it easier for certain books to get through, that finally one is forced to come up

[898]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 23-24.
[899]Merrett, "A tale of two paradoxes," 50.
[900]Brink, "Literature as Cultural Opposition," 192.
[901]Merrett, "A tale of two paradoxes," 59.

against the question, Is it worth it? Is it worth wasting one's creative energies by fighting this censorship system or should one just go on writing?"[902]

Brink's "*Kennis van die aand* (1973) was the first Afrikaans novel to be banned in South Africa and in 1974 the English version, *Looking on Darkness*, was also banned."[903] Ronald states that "with the apartheid government's increased resort to censorship, Brink faced the danger of being silenced in his native land as a creative writer in Afrikaans."[904] By considering the ban of *Looking on Darkness*, Brink explains that

> When I wrote *Looking on Darkness* in the early 1970s, tracing the fatal relationship between a 'coloured' actor and a young white woman, it became the first Afrikaans novel to be banned in South Africa; and apart from 'threatening the security of the state' and 'blasphemy' the main reason advanced for the ban was 'pornography.'[905]

Brink is a talented and creative writer both in Afrikaans and in English. His body of works includes novels, translations, critical essays, and many philosophical works that have made him famous in South Africa and abroad. He had written in Afrikaans language until *Kennis van die aand* was banned. His decision to switch from writing in Afrikaans to English "came about largely as a result of the fact that his next novel, *Kennis van die Aand* (1973) *Looking on Darkness*, was banned in South Africa thereby cutting him off from his only readership, the Afrikaans-speakers with South Africa."[906] In one of his interviews, held by Ewald Mengel, Brink explains the reason why he has changed the language of his novels from Afrikaans to English:

> […] initially I wrote only in Afrikaans until the novel *Looking on Darkness* was banned, and there was this discovery that suddenly I was a

[902]Brink, "South African Writers Talking," 1-2.
[903]Meintjes, 169.
[904]Ayling.
[905]Brink, "In Search of a New Language," in Aadel Rifaat ed., *The Unesco Courier* (April 1993): 10.
[906]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 29.

> non-person; suddenly as a writer I did not exist because I could write only in my tiny little language in this remote corner of the earth. So, in order to survive as a writer I had to find an audience, and the only obvious solution was to start writing in English, knowing that then at least, if something was banned in Afrikaans, I could publish abroad and some copies would filter back into the country.[907]

In relation to the adoption of Afrikaans in his novels, Kossew suggests that Brink's "choice of Afrikaans as his first language has implied a 'writing back' to his own Afrikaner people, the white readers within South Africa."[908]

By identifying the hardships of censorship for the dissident South African authors with the authors in the West, Brink contends that while European writers

> can use any words; they can describe any experience; and they are free to do so and free to publish it, [the South African writer, hampered by the censorship] finds himself […] in a state of siege, where writers experience themselves as an oppressed group, as group which is threatened particularly by state action, state intervention, state suppression and oppression.[909]

In "Censorship and the Author," Brink fiercely criticizes and condemns the enforcement of censorship and its malicious effects on literature and the creativity of the writers. According to Brink, censorship is a "part and parcel of the institutionalised violence employed by the State to keep itself in control."[910] This institutionalized violence that the government employed via censorship legislation also included the informal and physical menaces and

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[907]Brink, "Articulating the Inarticulate," in Ewald Mengel *et al*., eds. *Trauma, Memory, and Narrative in South Africa: Interviews* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010): 12.
[908]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 7.
[909]Brink, "South African Writers Talking," 11.
[910]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 19.

intimidations of the authors and organizations. Through his literary career, Brink has also been exposed to the similar informal coercion and seizures. He explains that

> My phone was tapped, my mail was opened in very obvious ways, […] there were the anonymous phone calls, at all hours of the day and night, threatening to kill you and your family. Once a fire bomb was thrown at my house. There was an attempt to sabotage my car. I would be called in for interrogation, they would search my house, turning everything upside down. Once they even confiscated my typewriter, but I borrowed one from a friend, and it inspired me to work harder than ever.[911]

Merrett asserts that freedom of expression and speech in South Africa were hindered and almost eliminated by "the straightforward banning of the printed word, often with the effect of rendering individuals and corporate bodies invisible in a literary sense. This was achieved through the Publications Act of 1974 (banning specific titles) and the Internal Security Act (banning all the work of an author or organisation) and was an integral part of police state culture."[912]

After the banning of *Looking on Darkness*, Brink went back to the literary scene with his novels, *An Instant in the Wind* (1976) and *Rumours of Rain* (1978), which were both shortlisted for the Booker Prize. Brink's fifth novel *Droe wit seisoen* (*A Dry White Season)* was also banned "on September 14, 1979, by, branding its author a 'malicious writer.' Prior to its being banned, André Brink had attempted to circumvent the censors by having his book sent directly to subscribers without submitting it for review. About 3,000 copies had already been mailed before this date."[913] Consequently, *A Dry White Season* "was published

[911]Brink, quoted in Baker, 50-51.
[912]Merrett, "A tale of two paradoxes," 53.
[913]Nicholas J. Karolides, *Banned Books: Literature Suppressed on Political Grounds, Revised Edition* (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 162.

secretly by the enterprising Taurus group in Johannesburg, founded after the ban on *Kennis van die aand* in 1978."[914] Brink expresses the censor process of the novel as follows:

> This book [*A Dry White Season*] had been regarded as so dangerous, […] that the head of the Security Police announced that steps against me personally were being considered; it was also regarded as so dangerous that I was not allowed to take copies of it out of the country to Britain where it was being published.[915]

A Dry White Season is the narration of the contemporary South African situation during the apartheid period. The author directly depicts and denounces the issues of arbitrary arrest, ill-treatment, and discrimination that were in those years peculiar to the social and political history of the country. Merrett states that *A Dry White Season* is "a towering novel based on the transcripts of political and security trials."[916]

***A Dry White Season*: Reality, State Violence, Torture, and Apartheid**

> I am Ben Du Toit. I'm here. There's no one else but myself right here, today. So there must be something no one but me can do: not because it is important or effective, but because only I can do it. I have to do it. I have to do it because I happened to be Ben Du Toit; because no one else in the world is Ben Du Toit. (André P. Brink, *A Dry White Season*)

Published in 1979, one year earlier than Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980), *A Dry White Season* is André Brink's fifth novel, which presents the enigmatic events that happen to Ben Du Toit and many other black characters. Ben, an Afrikaner school teacher, tries to solve the mysterious events that take place in the subjugation and murders of black people during the State of Emergency in South Africa. For *A Dry White Season*, André Brink

[914]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 24.
[915]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 25.
[916]Merrett, "Organised forgetting in South Africa," 172.

"received both the Martin Luther King Memorial Prize in Great Britain and the Prix Médicis Étranger in France,"[917] and the novel was also adapted as a film in 1989.

Brink, as a white dissident author, strongly believes in the writer's social commitment to the history of his country. Although he has been exposed to censorship and informal intimidation, he never gave up denouncing and criticizing inequality, racial discrimination, and apartheid ideology in his novels. According to Jolly, Brink "appears to believe that his role as a South African dissident requires him to express a particular kind of political commitment in his fiction [and it] is indicated more generally in the speech he gave on accepting the Martin Luther King Memorial Prize for *A Dry White Season.*"[918] In the acceptance speech on receiving the Martin Luther King Memorial Prize, Brink says that "in *A Dry White Season* I have tried to accept that responsibility one owes to one's society and one's time."[919]

Jolly acknowledges that Brink's writing has taken "a different direction after he returned from his second visit to Paris in 1968"[920] and he began to deal with the issues and problems of his own country rather than the experimental European literary techniques. She adds that "this privileging of South Africa as both geographic and political subject is indicated in the title of *A Dry White Season.*"[921] The title of the novel is taken from the first line of Mongane Wally Serote's poem, entitled *For Don M. – Banned*. In the poem, the first two lines of which are "It is a dry white season/ Dark leaves don't last, their brief lives dry out,"[922] Serote generally describes "an arid landscape that functions as a metaphor for the

[917]Ayling.
[918]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 18.
[919]Brink, quoted in Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 98.
[920]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 21.
[921]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 21.
[922]Mongane W. Serote, *For Don M. – Banned* in Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane, ed., *Selected Poems*, (Johannesburg: Ad Donker, 1982), 52.

political conditions of South Africa."[923] By considering the allusion in the title of the novel, Kossew states that

> the drought image […] takes on ironic political significance, linking the political 'tide of change' signaled by the Soweto riots with the imagery of much-needed water after a drought. […] The word 'white' refers both to the bleached skeletons and to the idea of white supremacy in South African politics.[924]

The novel is the account of subjugation, illegal detentions, and murders of black people under the custody of the security police during and after of the Soweto uprising (1976) in South Africa. Steve Biko's death under custody was among those murders during the Soweto uprising and his "murder was a special, symbolic crime that deeply angered millions of South Africans, including whites as well as Blacks."[925] The traumatic effect of Steve Biko's death in detention was influential in the writing of *A Dry White Season*. Brink had begun writing the novel "shortly before Biko's death in 1977 and completed in 1979, [the novel] can be seen as an attempt to present in fictional form the truths about preventive detention that the government had prevented from appearing in factual form with its October 1977 bannings, detentions, and newspaper closures."[926] In relation to the impact of Steve Biko's murder in the novel, Brink states that "an interesting aspect of this novel is that it was begun almost a year before the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko in 1976. In fact the death came as such a shock to [him] that for a long time [he] couldn't go back to writing."[927] In one of his interviews, held by Ewald Mengel, Brink stated that he had already been writing the story of Ben Du Toit and the mysterious deaths of a black boy and

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[923]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 21.
[924]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 104.
[925]Katherine K. Maynard, J. Kearney, and J. Guimond, *Revenge versus Legality: Wild Justice from Balzac to Clint Eastwood and Abu Ghraib* (Abingdon, Oxon: Birkbeck Law Press. 2010), 138.
[926]Maynard, *et al*., 139.
[927]Brink, quoted in Diala, "The Political Limits of (Western) Humanism in André Brink's Early Fiction," *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Winter 2002): 445, accessed 30 August 2013, DOI:10.1080/0305707032000135888.

his son under the detention when Steve Biko was arrested and murdered in detention. Brink recounts that while he was writing the novel,

> Steve Biko was murdered by the security police. He had been arrested in the small town of Grahamstown where I lived. They had arrested him perhaps a kilometer away from where I lived. It was so traumatic, I stopped writing that book [*A Dry White Season*]. I thought this was obscene […]. I thought I could not go on writing, and it took several months and speaking to a variety of people before I was persuaded that for that very reason I could not be silent. However terrible and atrocious the experience was, I had to try to bear witness to it almost from the inside, because I felt so close to it. […] It took quite a while until I accepted what friends had told me: "That is what writing is for. You've got to tell us the story!"[928]

A Dry White Season "describes the investigation of an Afrikaner into the circumstances surrounding the deaths of a black child and his father while in custody."[929] In the novel, the protagonist, Ben Du Toit, questions the obscure events that the blacks are exposed to and his awareness is thus heightened as he gets gradually involved in the events. By disregarding the intimidation and seizures, Ben assumes responsibility to research the illegal detentions and tortures individually. Bearing a liberal conscience, he opposes the brutality of the autocratic system, but his individual opposition and quest resulted in his murder "by a member of South Africa's secret police, the Special Branch."[930] Although Ben is assassinated or metaphorically becomes dry by the oppressive system, his individual revolutionary act (white season), either constructive or destructive, will be perpetuated by

[928]Brink, "Articulating the Inarticulate," 5-6.
[929]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 18.
[930]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 22.

another revolutionist (another white season) individual. Ben explains the situation in the novel as follows:

> The single memory that has been with me all day […] is that distant summer when Pa and I were left with sheep. The drought that took everything from us, leaving us alone and scorched among the white skeletons. […] It seems to me I'm finding myself on the edge of yet another dry white season, perhaps worse than the one I knew as a child.[931]

Setting his novel within the backdrop of the Soweto riots, Brink chooses a nameless white narrator to narrate the turbulent events which are reflecting the brutality of apartheid during the 1970s and 1980s. Ben Du Toit, the protagonist of the novel, is "quiet, at peace with the world and himself; and […] innocent."[932] He is a fifty-three-year-old Afrikaner teacher who teaches History and Geography classes at a college. Contented with his wife and his three children, Ben is killed mysteriously in a hit and run accident. The mysterious death of the protagonist and the events in which he is involved are narrated by a nameless narrator who was Ben's former university roommate. The nameless writer-narrator of the novel is the one who has spent "half a lifetime devoted to writing romantic fiction."[933] Like the magistrate, who occasionally closes his eyes and ears to the sounds of torture of the victims, the anonymous narrator of the novel has some conflicting ideas in regard to his involvement in politics: "politics isn't my line. And if Ben had chosen to get involved in that way I didn't want to be drawn into it as well."[934]

Unlike the first person narration of the magistrate in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the hack writer narrates the protagonist's story from the third person point of view. The novel is preceded by a Foreword, through which the writer narrator reveals the identity of himself and his acquaintance with Ben and his family. Just before his tragic death, Ben calls his

[931]André Brink, *A Dry White Season* (London: W.H. Allen, 1979), 163.
[932]Brink, *White Season*, 16.
[933]Brink, *White Season*, 9.
[934]Brink, *White Season*, 15.

friend for a hurried meeting. Ben and his writer-narrator friend meet secretly in the back streets of Soweto to talk about the documents that will send to him. Ben asks him whether he could keep the documents:

> "All I want to know is whether I may send you some stuff to keep for me. […] Look, I'd like to tell you everything that's happened these last months. But I really have no time. Will you help me. […] Now I want to dump all my stuff on you. You may even turn it into a bloody novel if you choose. […] I want you keep my notes and journals. And to use them if necessary."
>
> "Of course, I'll keep your stuff for you."[935]

Two weeks later, following the secret meeting, Ben becomes a victim of a hit and run driver. Although the writer narrator chooses writing "fiction […] than brute indecent truth,"[936] he, yet, narrates the story of his friend by gathering the pile of papers, newspaper clippings, and photographs which are sent to him by Ben days before his murder. Just after the narrator receives the last letter sent by Ben, the narrator realizes his responsibility and necessity of immersing himself in accounting the mysterious events that have happened to Ben. Although he hesitates and has reservations for taking the risk, he is also conscious that he must complete the story of Ben. Near the end of the foreword, the writer-narrator explains his determination to assume responsibility:

> I have to immerse myself in it, the way he entered into it on that fatal day. Except that he did not know, and had no way of knowing, what was lying ahead; whereas I am held back by what I already know. What was unfinished to him is complete to me; what was life to him is a story to me; first hand becomes second hand. I must attempt to reconstruct intricate events looming behind cryptic notes; what is illegible or missing

[935]Brink, *White Season*, 13-14.
[936]Brink, *White Season*, 21.

> I must imagine. What he suggests I must expand: *He says – he thinks – he remembers – he supposes*. […] This is the burden I must take up, the risk I must run, the challenge I must accept.[937]

In the foreword, the writer-narrator explains that it is not his own style to narrate such obscene events in his authorship: "it was bad enough to get mixed up with the life stories of total strangers, but at least one remained objective, uninvolved, a more or less indifferent spectator."[938] However, he then feels the necessity and takes on the burden of documenting events as a commitment or responsibility, and he is gradually dragged into the mysterious events. Ronald observes that "by telling Ben Du Toit's story, the narrator becomes a political thing, as Brink does in his work, overtly at times and implicitly throughout."[939] So, by compiling the documentary material, including newspaper clippings, diaries, letters and photographs, which Ben has sent to him before his death, the narrator begins to report the mysterious events evolved in the novel. Jolly acknowledges that the writer-narrator's investigation and narration of documents "is not a fiction of his own making, but testimony to a shocking yet indisputable series of events."[940]

By severing his novel from definite political and historical implications, in *Waiting for the Barbarians* Coetzee chooses to write in an allegorical mode to define the events and suffering of the marginalized characters under an oppressive régime. He sets the novel at an unnamed frontier and he evades specifying the names of the characters except for Colonel Joll and Mandel. However, Brink's factual documentation provides an overt and explicit depiction of events from the novel's inception to its end. Brink portrays similar officials who are as cruel and merciless as Joll and Mandel in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Characters such as Colonel Viljoen and Captain Stolz, who are the counterparts of security units in the State of Emergency in South Africa, are no different from Joll and Mandel.

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[937]Brink, *White Season*, 33.
[938]Brink, *White Season*, 14.
[939]Ayling.
[940]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 23.

In Coetzee's novel, the magistrate recounts events through the first person narration, however, Brink's anonymous writer-narrator narrates the story of Ben Du Toit from the third person point of view. Coetzee uses linear-plot in narrating the events, while in Brink's novel the writer-narrator narrates the events through flashbacks since the inception of the events. Gordon Ngubene is a "black cleaner in the school where Ben taught History and Geography to the senior classes."[941] Jonathan Ngubene, 17-year-old son of Gordon and Emily, is a student at Ben's school and he is offered financial help by Ben for his school fees and books. Although Jonathan shows good conduct in the first year, he begins to change in the course of the second year. His "attitudes became sullen and truculent and a couple times he was openly cheeky with Ben."[942] The disobedience and apathy of Jonathan lead him to become involved in trouble. One day he is mistakenly arrested in a commotion at a beer-hall. Then, the Soweto uprising erupts in June 1979 and Jonathan is arrested in the riots and detained by the police.

Anxious and distressed by the loss of his son, Gordon asks Ben to help him in order to locate his son, Jonathan Ngubene. By assuming responsibility toward his black janitor, Ben begins to search the events that include many conflicting reports and false witnesses in order to conceal Jonathan's death. By hiring a Jewish lawyer, Dan Levinson, Ben begins to investigate Jonathan's case through the official channels; however, Ben and Gordon's exhausting efforts to find the boy are a waste of time. Weeks later, Gordon is informed that Jonathan "has died of natural causes the night before."[943]

Similar to Coetzee's novel, torture, violence, and ill-treatment of the oppressed people permeate throughout Brink's novel. In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, Coetzee does not describe the torture explicitly, while Brink's novel clearly narrates the dehumanizing nature of the torture inflicted upon the victims. The officials of the Special Branch present some

[941]Brink, *White Season*, 37.
[942]Brink, *White Season*, 39.
[943]Brink, *White Season*, 46.

frivolous reports on Jonathan's death, which reflect a society beleaguered by official lies. According to the reports of the Special Branch, Jonathan has never been in detention at all. However, a nameless nurse, who was banished from her work at the General hospital later, reports that "ten days ago a black boy of seventeen or eighteen had been admitted to a private ward. His condition seemed to be serious. His head swathed in bondages. His belly bloated. Sometimes one could hear him moaning or screaming. But none of the ordinary staff had been allowed near him."[944] Although there is clear evidence and eye-witness accounts, declaring that Jonathan was detained by the Special Branch during the riots, the officials claim that Jonathan "was shot dead on the day of those riots and as nobody came to claim the corpse, he was buried over a month ago."[945]

Frustrated by the alarming reports of the Special Branch, Gordon Ngubene "sets out to discover what has really happened to his son and where he is buried."[946] He pursues his investigations to find out the mystery behind the death of his son and comes to the conclusion that "Jonathan had not been killed on the day of riots"[947] but had been brutally killed in detention during interrogation. Although the state-sanctioned violence and ill-treatment of prisoners were denied officially by the apartheid government, torture, violence, arbitrary arrests, and illegal imprisonments were inseparable realities in South Africa during the apartheid years.

As in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, one of the most frequent issues in Brink's novel is the brutality of state violence, employed toward innocent black detainees. In both novels, the depiction of brutal interrogations and torture of detainees recall the inhumane realities of the interrogations held by the Security Police in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s. Wellington Phetla, who is detained in the same prison cell with Jonathan, is persuaded at last by Gordon to report what happened to them in the office of the Special Branch. Wellington

[944]Brink, *White Season*, 44.
[945]Brink, *White Season*, 47.
[946]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 22.
[947]Brink, *White Season*, 50.

Phetla confesses to Gordon that "the Special Branch has tried to force admission from them that they'd been ringleaders in the riots, that they'd been in touch with ANC agents, and that they'd received money from abroad."[948] Compared to Coetzee's implicit and indirect style in depicting the method of torture employed during the interrogations, Phetla's affidavit, presented to Gordon, clearly indicates the dehumanizing and brutal nature of the torture inflicted upon the detainees.

Phetla's affidavit describes the inhumane interrogations and procedures of state power. Totally depressed and discouraged from his exposure to torture and oppression, Phetla finally allows Gordon to write down the torture to which he and Jonathan were subjected:

> a) from the second day of their detention […] they'd been naked all the time,
>
> b) in this condition they were taken to a place outside the city [and] forced to crawl through barbed-wire fences,
>
> c) he and Jonathan had been interrogated […] for more than 20 hours without a break [and] forced to stand on blocks about a yard apart, with half-bricks tied to their sexual organs,
>
> d) on various occasions both he and Jonathan had been forced on their knees, whereupon bicycle tubes had been wrapped round their hands and inflated slowly, causing them to lose consciousness,
>
> e) one day […] he'd heard people shouting continuously at Jonathan […], accompanied by the sound of blows and by Jonathan's screaming and sobbing; […] the following day someone told him that Jonathan had gone to the hospital, but he'd never heard of him again.[949]

[948]Brink, *White Season*, 50.
[949]Brink, *White Season*, 50-51.

During the State of Emergency in South Africa, the government "allowed the police to detain persons they believed involved with the activities such as terrorism, sabotage, and subversion for as long as the police wished to interrogate them."[950] Any rightful response of black people to these compulsive enforcements was met with imprisonment, detention, exile, censorship, or torture. The issues of torture, violence, arbitrary arrest, illegal imprisonment, and ill-treatment permeate throughout the novel.

In both novels, the oppressed people are exposed to the exploitation of the oppressive system, and their humanity and physical beings are belittled and humiliated. In Coetzee's novel, Joll and his militia interrogate the boy, the old man, the barbarian girl, and the aboriginal fisherfolk in order to elicit the absolute truth to which the empire aspires. Similarly, in *A Dry White Season*, Phetla and Jonathan's torture and exploitation are only the first of a series of brutality and cruelty that the Security Branch employs. Other victims such as Gordon Ngubene, Stanley Makhaya, Johnson Seroke, and Ben Du Toit are also harassed, tortured, and killed by the security police.

While acquiring information concerning the murder of his son, Gordon is suddenly detained by the militia of the Special Branch. They forcefully arrest him and tell his wife that "[you] better say good-bye him. You not going to see him again."[951] With regard to the arbitrary arrest of Gordon, Ben believes that the imprisonment of Gordon is merely a mistake and he will be released soon. On the request of his janitor's wife, Emily, he visits John Vorster Square both to learn what has happened to Gordon and to clarify Gordon's innocence. He tries to persuade the officials that Gordon is not a criminal or a political activist but "an honest, decent man."[952] During his visit to John Vorster Square, Ben meets Colonel Viljoen and Captain Stolz, who are the counterparts of Colonel Joll and Mandel. Ben depicts the impression of Captain Stolz on him: "strangely dark eyes for such a pale

[950]Maynard, *et al*., 137.
[951]Brink, *White Season*, 53.
[952]Brink, *White Season*, 59.

face. The thin white line of a scar on his cheek. And all of a sudden you know. You'd better memorize the name. Captain Stolz. His presence is not fortuitous. He has a role to play; and you will see him again. You know."[953]

Despite the indefinite and blunt setting of Coetzee's novel, the name John Vorster Square in Brink's novel proves a factual documentation to present a clear setting of South Africa. Having been named after the Prime Minister B. John Vorster, the Square opened on 23 August 1968. It is a notorious city-center police station in South Africa, in which eight innocent anti-apartheid activists died under custody between the years 1971 and 1990. Regarding John Vorster Square, Gill Gifford states that

> the name John Vorster Square strikes terror in the hearts of many people. The old security branch used to operate from the 7th, 9th and 10th floors, where Ahmed Timol and other anti-apartheid activists fell out of the window or slipped on a bar of soap in the showers' or were said to have committed suicide when left unattended.[954]

As seen in this quotation, John Vorster Square is an infamous police station where many anti-apartheid activists were killed under the brutal interrogations of the SAP in South Africa. The unconvincing postmortem reports of these eight innocent victims, prepared by the government officials in order to submit to people and the media, were immortalized by Christopher Van Wyk's poem, "In Detention" (1979).

Captain Stolz is the strong advocate of the system and he assumes the similar racist policy that the Afrikaner National Party adopted in South Africa between 1948 and 1990. Like Colonel Joll, who is an expert in finding the absolute truth with the applications of brutal torture, Captain Stolz is an expert in telling lies in favor of protection and maintenance of the apartheid system. Like the Afrikaner government officials who generally introduced

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[953]Brink, *White Season*, 60.
[954]Gill Gifford, "Vorster bust removed from police station at start of major revamp," *The Star* in South Africa, (23 September 1997), accessed 5 September 2013, http://www.ahmedtimol.co.za/TheStar.pdf.

apartheid ideology as a positive, nondiscriminatory, and humane policy, Captain Stolz supports the system and he does not tolerate any questioning of the status quo and the policy that the Afrikaner National Party adopted in South Africa between 1948 and 1990. During the conversation with Ben, Colonel Viljoen advocates the pseudo-positive, nondiscriminatory, and humane policy of the Afrikaner government sustained toward the black majority: "that's what I failed to understand. Look everything the Government's doing for them [black people] and all they can think of in return is to burn down and destroy whatever that can lay their hands on […]. No white child would behave like that."[955] Like Captain Stolz and Colonel Viljoen, Ben's father-in-law, who is a rich farmer and loyal to the National Party, is a firm supporter of the system. Like his daughter, Susan, he disapproves of Ben's efforts to clarify the obscure event that has happened to Gordon. The conversation between Ben's father-in-law and Ben evidently indicates the racist ideology of apartheid system and the perception of the blacks as the 'Other' in their own countries by the minority of whites:

> "Are you blaming me for trying to help those people?"
>
> "No, no, of course not. But no member of our family has ever been seen in public with a kaffir woman before, Ben."
>
> "Does that mean you're prepared to sit back and allow an injustice to be done?"
>
> "Injustice?" His face grew purple. "Where is the injustice? I don't see it."
>
> "What happened to Jonathan Ngubene? And how did Gordon die? Why are they doing their best to hush it up?"
>
> "Ben, Ben, how can you side with the enemies of your people? It's you who started talking about injustice. You, a man who teaches history

[955]Brink, *White Season*, 62.

> at school. You ought to be ashamed of yourself, man. Now that we have at last come to power in our own land."
>
> "Now we're free to do others what they used to do us?"
>
> "What are you talking about, Ben?"
>
> "What would you do if you were a black man in this country today, father?"
>
> "Don't you realize what the government is doing for the blacks? One of these days the whole bloody of them will be free and independent in their own countries."[956]

Thus, the whites perceive the blacks as enemies. Ben's father-in-law creates the dichotomy between the black and the white by validating a decisive historical distinction between the mythological construction of Afrikaner nationalism and the more primitive history of the blacks. By implying the glorious history of the Afrikaners in achieving victory in the land, he considers the blacks' struggle in achieving freedom and equality "unjust." Diala acknowledges that "André Brink's fiction, like the work of Fanon, Sartre, Said and Young, is ostensibly aimed at interrogating the concept of the human which excludes the colonized Other."[957]

In both novels, the protagonists experience moral awareness and they begin to question the power relations in their society. With the conception of the real nature of the events, the magistrate begins to declare his antagonism to the Empire's régime. His self-recognition, resistance, and criticism of political ideology of the Empire heighten, and he opposes the violence and brutality of Joll and his militia. Similarly, Ben's self-realization and self-knowledge of the "Other" occurs when he explains to Stanley Makhaya after his first visit to Soweto; "I don't think I ever really knew before. Or if I did, it didn't seem to directly concern me. It was like the dark side of the moon. Even if one acknowledged its

[956]Brink, *White Season*, 210-12.
[957]Diala, "The Political Limits of (Western) Humanism," 427.

existence, it wasn't really necessary to live with it. […] Now people have landed there."[958] Ben's metaphoric implication to indicate the dichotomy between dark/ light, self/ other, white/ black reflects the ignorance and blindness of white people toward the suffering and pain of the invisible black people during the apartheid years in South Africa. The relationship with the dark side of the moon (blacks in South Africa) is recognized by the Afrikaner Ben's journey to the town of Soweto where Gordon and his family reside. Sue Kossew indicates that "the use of this light/ dark imagery to portray the irreversible effect of knowledge of the Other is strikingly similar to that used by Coetzee in *Waiting for the Barbarians.*"[959]

In the novel, the treatment by the Special Branch is generally associated with repression, torture, and ill treatment of the black victims. During the State of Emergency, in regard to the suspicious deaths of victims under custody, the Special Branch generally claimed that "the prisoners died after falling and hitting their heads on desks or walls; they fall downsteps, or they committed suicide by hanging themselves or jumping out of the windows."[960] Throughout the novel, the Special Branch is presented as being a fearful organization that gathers information about people who are considered potential threats to the security and unity of the state. Special Branch is supported by the government on the ground that they are doing their right duty, they are authorized to make arbitrary arrests on the basis of information they have gathered. Ronald asserts that throughout the novel, "depicted as a massive totalitarian state with an elaborate apparatus of paid or terrorized informers and a highly organized system of torture and intimidation, both within and outside the prisons, South Africa is revealed to Du Toit as a self-perpetuating terror machine."[961]

Both the magistrate and Ben experience conflicting ideas and ambiguity. Although they are the members of the oppressive system, they attempt to separate themselves from the

[958]Brink, *White Season*, 96.
[959]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 101.
[960]Maynard, *et al*., 137.
[961]Ayling.

torture and brutality of this system. Through their close relations with the oppressed people, they attempt to erase the filthy guilt and evidences of torture to provide a sense of purification. Through his close relation with the barbarian girl, the magistrate endeavors to understand her suffering while Ben assumes responsibility to unveil the crimes and illegal detentions of his black friends. During his investigations, Ben meets Stanley Makhaya, a black Zulu taxi driver, who offers to help Ben in the case of Gordon. With regard to the grand mission of the Special Branch, Stanley tells Ben that "when a man gets picked up by the Special Branch you just start talking about him in the past tense, that's all."[962] In the novel, Brink focuses on the uncontrolled power and the inevitable consequences of such power on the lives of South Africa's black majority. Ben constantly regards Gordon's internment as a mistake and believes that he will be released when his innocence is proved. On the other hand, Ben is informed by Emily that one of the detainees, who was released later, declared that "Gordon was unable to walk or speak properly, his face was discoloured and swollen, one ear was deaf, his right arm in a sling."[963] About two weeks later, one night Ben hears the announcement on the radio: "a detainee in terms of the Terrorism Act, one Gordon Ngubene, had been found dead in his cell. According to the spokesman of the Security Police, the man had apparently committed suicide by hanging himself with strips torn from his blanket."[964]

The discourse of the Special Branch in relation to Gordon's murder is the same with his son. Like Jonathan, Gordon is persecuted and killed at the hands of the Security Police, who deny the murder by preparing frivolous postmortem reports in order to ratify Gordon's murder as a natural death. During the apartheid years in South Africa, due to false evidence prepared by government officials, the government managed to conceal so-called fortuitous deaths of detainees from the media and public. The detention of Jonathan, Gordon, and many

[962]Brink, *White Season*, 54.
[963]Brink, *White Season*, 67.
[964]Brink, *White Season*, 76.

other black characters evokes the implementation of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and the Terrorism Act of 1967 in South Africa. They were enacted to ban or prevent anti-apartheid organizations that were supposed to pose serious threats to the apartheid government. Accordingly, the Special Branch regards Gordon's efforts to clarify the murder of his son as a kind of potential terrorist attempt and arrests him, but it is unfortunate that during the custody he committed suicide.

The events reach a climax when Gordon is murdered by members of the Special Branch. When Ben visits the funeral home in Soweto to see Gordon's body, he firmly decides to assume the responsibility and attempts to clarify the falsifying and conflicting postmortem reports prepared by the Special Branch. While he is standing beside the coffin of Gordon, he decides to uncover the mysterious events in order to find the truth:

> The coffin stood on the floor. […] In it lay Gordon, incongruous, ludicrous in a black Sunday suit, hands crossed on his chest like the claws of a bird […]. Now he had to believe it. Now he'd seen it with his own eyes. But it remained ungraspable. He had to force himself, even as he stood there looking down into the coffin, to accept that this was indeed Gordon.[965]

By embracing social commitment in order to enact social justice, Ben decides to take responsibility to explore and investigate Gordon's case. However, as Ben's awareness toward the injustices and crimes of the political system becomes more overt, he jeopardizes his status among his family, colleagues, and society. Kossew suggests that "Ben's contact with the Other increasingly isolates him from the familiar world to which he has belonged – the protected, privileged world of white colonial authority."[966]

Nevertheless, like the magistrate who feels conflicting attitudes toward the prisoners, Ben has reservations as well as hesitations and ambiguous feelings toward the "Other." One

[965]Brink, *White Season*, 91.
[966]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 101.

evening he invites Stanley to his house in order to talk about Gordon's mysterious death. He wants to offer him a cup of coffee but for a moment he feels hesitation and cannot decide in which cups the coffee should be served; "when the kettle started boiling, he had a moment of uncertainty. Should he offer Stanley one of the new cups Susan used for guests, or an old one? […] In the end, picking two old, unmatched cups and saucers no longer in use, [he] hurried out of the kitchen."[967] A similar ambiguity and blurring idea occurs to Ben when he goes to the funeral house in Soweto to soothe Emily regarding Gordon's death. He feels "disoriented, a total foreigner to the scene, an intruder in their grief which, nevertheless, he wanted so desperately to share."[968] Although he seems considerate and interested in the "Other," he has still conflicting ideas regarding to his involvement into the case of Gordon.

Concerning the death of Gordon Ngubene, the court inquests start upon the request of the family. Dr Suliman Hassiem, who attends the autopsy of Gordon on behalf of the Ngubene family, is detained in terms of the Internal Security Act after the Gordon's case has been reported in the international press. The rightful expression of the press, including the criticism of apartheid cruelties, was also sealed off during the apartheid years. Accordingly, the attendance of Dr Suliman Hassiem, who could provide clear evidence in relation to Gordon's death, is obstructed by the oppressive state. At the inquest, the medical report on injured body of Gordon is submitted to the court by the State Pathologist Dr J. Jansen who finds that "death had been caused by the application of force to the neck, consistent with hanging."[969] Apart from the black spectators and a few journalists, the court is also attended by the Special Branch who witnessed Gordon's death. At the court, Captain Stolz declares that

> the deceased had declined to cooperate, although he had always been treated with courtesy and correctness. […] During the period of his

[967]Brink, *White Season*, 86.
[968]Brink, *White Season*, 94.
[969]Brink, *White Season*, 106.

> detention members of the investigating team had bought food for Mr Ngubene from their own pockets. […] On the morning of 24 February the deceased unexpectedly showed signs of aggression and tried to jump through an open window in Captain Stolz's office. He was acting like a mad man and had to be restrained by six members of the Special Branch […]. The next morning Mr Ngubene had been found dead in his cell.[970]

Captain Stolz's testimony recalls the postmortem report of the old man who is killed brutally by Joll in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. During Gordon's court hearings, Jan de Villiers, the family advocate, calls a young girl. She is the one who witnessed the brutality of the Special Branch during her detention. During the testimony, she recounts that

> After being subjected to interrogation by several members of the Security Police (including Capt. Stolz and Lieut Venter) […], she had been taken back to Capt. Stolz's office on the morning of 3 March. Several accusations had been brought in against her and every time she'd denied them she had been beaten with a sjambok. After some time she had fallen on the floor, where upon she had been kicked in the face and the stomach. When she spat blood she was ordered to lick it up from the floor. Then Capt. Stolz threw a large white towel over her head and started twisting the ends round her neck […]. She tried to struggle, but lost conscious. Then she heard Capt. Stolz saying "Come on, speak up. Or do you want to die like Gordon Ngubene?"[971]

During the State of Emergency, the security units of the government were given limitless powers to make arbitrary arrests and to inflict torture upon anybody who would possibly constitute a threat to the national security of the country. The girl's testimony is a clear evidence of the state-sanctioned torture and violence enhanced by the government

[970]Brink, *White Season*, 107.
[971]Brink, *White Season*, 113.

officials between the years 1948 and 1990. On the last day of the Gordon court, the counsel declared the verdict based on all the hearings of the witnesses including the magistrate, lawyers, district surgeons, and security police. Finally, the counsel concluded that

> although it was impossible to account for all the injuries on the body, no conclusive evidence had been offered to prove beyond doubt that members of the Security Police had been guilty of assault or of any other irregularity. […] Consequently he found that Gordon Ngubene had committed suicide by hanging himself on the morning of 25 February and that on the available evidence his death cannot be attributed to any act or omission amounting to a criminal offence on the part of any person.[972]

Since there is no clear evidence to conclude that the death was caused by lethal force, none of members of the Special Branch were found complicit in the torture and murder of Gordon Ngubene. According to Jolly, Brink "describes the method of torture in a matter-of-fact tone that takes advantage of a readership familiar with methods of torture and interrogation such as were used in the Biko's case and have been documented elsewhere, and who would recognise many of the violations that he takes pains to enumerate."[973]

In spite of the court's final verdict in relation to Gordon's death, Ben persistently pursues his investigation into Gordon's case. But his endeavors to find the reality result in his being labeled a traitor by the Special Branch. Like the magistrate in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, who is cursed, degraded, and labeled by the men of the empire, Ben is exposed to the same kind of humiliations and torture by both his family and members of the Special Branch. In Coetzee's novel, the magistrate lives in peace with the native folk at the frontier until Joll and his soldiers arrive at the town to investigate rumors about a potential barbarian uprising. He continuously denies the potential threat and the material existence of the alleged barbarians to Colonel Joll and his men. His opposition results in his humiliation and the

[972]Brink, *White Season*, 114.
[973]Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration*, 24.

employment of the same torture to which the innocent prisoners have been subjected. Similarly, Ben's efforts to find out the mysterious events and to clarify Gordon's name results in his condemnation as a political enemy in his family and at work. From being a respectable teacher, good-natured citizen, and a dignified father, Ben's position declines and he becomes alienated from his family and colleagues.

In Coetzee's novel, the magistrate is the representative of the Empire in the town, but he becomes a victim at the hands of the empire for which he serves. Similarly, Ben is a history teacher who teaches the construction of the great history of Afrikaner nationalism, which is surrounded by mythology. But once he decides to investigate the truth and begins to oppose the falsifying ideology of the state system, he becomes the "Other" at the hands of Captain Stolz and his militia. Like the magistrate, Ben's "self" becomes the "Other" at the hands of people whom he is a part of until then. He becomes a condemned person among his own folk and is victimized by his own society. Diala indicates that "hitherto teaching the orthodox version of South African history created by the Establishment to empower the Afrikaner hegemony, [Ben's] investigations into the true circumstances of Jonathan's and Gordon's deaths lead him to the shocking revelation that official history is a species of mythmaking, not of divine truth."[974] In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the magistrate is accused by Joll and his militia of collaborating with the barbarian enemy. Similarly, Ben is regarded as a traitor and his whole house, especially his study room, is rummaged by the men of the Special Branch. He is finally forced to resign from his position at school.

Like the magistrate, who is the servant of the empire, Ben, as an Afrikaner, is a member of the apartheid system. On the other hand, both of them suffer and are called traitors by their own people. During the apartheid years in South Africa, the mutual recognition of blacks and whites has been regarded as incongruous. On the other hand, Ben's alliance and collaboration with black characters such as Stanley, Phil Bruwer, and Melanie

[974]Diala, "History and the Inscriptions of Torture as Purgatorial Fire in André Brink's Fiction," *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Spring 2002): 70.

through his endeavors to unveil the truth somehow project an expectation in which there is still hope for mutual recognition and harmonization of the whites and the blacks:

> How dare I presume to say: He is my friend, or even, more cautiously, I think I know him? At the very most we are like two strangers meeting in the white wintry veld and sitting down together for a while to smoke a pipe before proceeding on their separate ways. No more.
>
> Alone. Alone to the very end. I. Stanley. Melanie. Everyone of us. But to have been granted the grace of meeting and touching so fleetingly; is that not the most awesome and wonderful thing one can hope for in this world?[975]

Because of his resistance and rejection of the crimes of the Special Branch, Ben is labeled as being a liberal with lofty ideals. During his investigation, Ben visits Johannesburg district surgeon, Dr Bernard Herzog, who declared in the court that Gordon's death resulted from committing suicide:

> "Listen Mr Du Toit. […] Why go to all this trouble for the sake of a bloody coon?"
>
> "Because I happened to know Gordon."
>
> The doctor smiled with almost jovial cynicism […]. "You liberals with your lofty ideals."
>
> "I'm not a liberal, Dr Herzog. I'm a very ordinary man."[976]

By being considered to be a serious challenge and threat to the unity of apartheid policy, Ben is threatened by the men of Special Branch. The events are exacerbated when his house is rummaged by Captain Stolz's militia. When he returns home, Ben finds a note on his desk that writes "it's like living in an aquarium […] your every move scrutinized by eyes watching you through glasses and water, surveying even the motion of your gills as you

[975]Brink, *White Season*, 305.
[976]Brink, *White Season*, 149.

breathe."[977] The intimidations and coercions do not stop; his car's tires are slashed, his phone is tapped, he is blackmailed, and eventually he is killed under suspicious circumstances in a hit-and-run car accident, most probably organized by the men of the Special Branch.

Like the protagonist of the novel, André Brink was also exposed to similar informal coercion and seizures. In the novel, the depiction of the events, spreading fear and terror among people, reflects his troubled life during the comprehensive years of censorship legislation and the apartheid régime in South Africa. In "Censorship and the Author," he explains the "ransacking of my house, detention at an airport to establish whether I was trying to smuggle copies of my own book out of the country, interrogation, various forms of subtle and overt intimidation, and even, at one stage, the confiscation of my typewriters."[978] The chaotic and tedious incidents, which happen to Ben and other anti-apartheid characters in the novel, are a recollection of events in South Africa during the State of Emergency. Bunting describes the events during the years of emergency in South Africa as follows:

> During the worst years of repression following the 1960 state of emergency, terrorists attacks have been launched against many of the most prominent opponents of the Nationalist régime. Homes have been attacked by gunfire and even dynamited by night, car tyres have been slashed and engines tampered with. Nazi-type slogans have been scrawled on the doors of liberal minded university lecturers, and the wives and children of activists have been threatened by anonymous callers on the telephone.[979]

The novel is the depiction of the uncontrolled ubiquitous power and its corrosive effect on the identity of the oppressed. As the novel progresses, although Ben is certain of the existence of the danger, he cannot definitely describe his enemy in his own terms: "today

[977]Brink, *White Season*, 222.
[978]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 24.
[979]Bunting, 69.

I realize that this is the worst of all; that I can no longer single out my enemy and give him a name. I can't challenge him to a duel. What is set up against me is not a man, not even a group of people, but a thing […] an invisible ubiquitous power that inspects my mail, taps my telephone and indoctrinates my colleagues."[980] In a similar vein, Brink clearly expresses that "I discovered that the real enemy wasn't apartheid, it was the abuse and misuse of power, which is the enemy, in different forms, everywhere in the world."[981]

During the apartheid years, the government enacted a series of laws that deprived the colored peoples in their homelands while giving privileges and autonomy to the white supremacy. In regard to the establishment of the institutionalized apartheid régime and the creation of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa, historians and scholars commonly point out the effects of Nazism and its racial ideology. Gilbert suggests that "Afrikaner nationalist politics were indeed influenced by ideas derived from Europe, particularly Nazi Germany, in the 1930s and 1940s."[982] According to Diala, "aimed at the flagrant disregard for the liberties of the Other and his dehumanization, apartheid, like Nazism, could only lead to a genocide in which both blacks and whites would be victims."[983]

Similarly, in the novel Phil Bruwer, Melanie's father, draws attention to the analogy between Nazism and Afrikaner nationalism. After receiving education in philosophy in Germany, Phil Bruwer, a retired professor, escapes from the Nazi holocaust and returns back to South Africa because of the unequal practices and cruel brutality of the Third Reich. Being fully aware of the close political strategy between Nazism, the concept of "Aryan race" and the Afrikaner's racist policy of apartheid, he condemns the system in the country:

> look at the mess. It's all system and no God. Sooner or later people start believing in their way of life as an absolute: immutable, fundamental, a

[980]Brink, *White Season*, 237.
[981]Baker, 50-51.
[982]Gilbert, 36.
[983]Diala, "Biblical Mythology in André Brink's Anti-Apartheid Crusade," *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Spring 2000): 39.

> preconditioned. Saw it with my own eyes in Germany in the Thirties. A whole nation running after the Idea. […] *Sieg heil, sieg heil*. I left there in thirty eight because I couldn't take it any longer. And now I see it happening in my own country, step by step. Terrifyingly predictable.[984]

Racism and racist attitudes were inseparable parts of European imperialist and colonialist policies, especially during the last part of the nineteenth century. The apartheid policy which was based on the inequalities of the white and black race in South Africa created discrimination and disparity between whites and non-whites in South Africa, and it restrained and prevented the social and economic development of the majority of blacks in the country. As Diala puts it, "the cynical exclusion of blacks from humanity, the ascription to them of a subhuman status and the creation of myths – Biblical and Darwinian – to sustain all this are at the heart of the white colonizer's strategies to place the black beyond the pale of humanism's grace."[985]

Accordingly, such fixed biases encapsulate Ben's family, his friends, and colleagues. They disapprove of Ben's attempts to uncover the crimes and social injustices that have surrounded the society. Like Colonel Joll and Mandel in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, Ben's family and friends insistently disregard the suffering of the oppressed and affirm their own prejudices and preconceived ideas. Accordingly, Ben's contact with the "Other" and his recognition of its existence lead to his estrangement from his own Afrikaner heritage, which he believed and accepted as the norm so far. His wife, his daughters, his father-in-law, and even the priest disapprove of Ben's questioning process of the recent matters and his defiance against the crimes of the Special Branch. His Afrikaner creed, which he has been bound up with so far, has been shaken by his own realization and self-recognition. He states that "from a very age one accepts, or believes, or is told, that certain things exist in a certain manner. […] Everything one used to take for granted, with so much certainty that one never

[984]Brink, *White Season*, 187.
[985]Diala, "The Political Limits of (Western) Humanism," 427.

even bothered to enquire about it, now turns out to be illusion. Your certainties are proven lies."[986]

The enactment of the Natives' Land Act in 1913 and its harsh implementations resulted in the disfranchisement and disempowerment of the native black population from their own lands in South Africa. It created great inequalities and segregation between black majority and the white minority in all spheres of social and political life. Ben painfully remembers the incongruous gap between the Afrikaners and the blacks which was created and shaped by the whites since the construction of apartheid policy that dictated how the black majority should live and behave. Through his endeavors, Ben realizes that the fixed biases of the Afrikaner government created the deep historical dichotomy between the blacks and whites. He agonizingly remembers the established traditional and moral values of the Afrikaners that enforced the black man's servitude and subhuman status to his white majesty. Ben's childhood memories reflect his confrontation with the fixed biases of his own people, which included the systematic and long-established racist notions of the privileged whites in the country:

> […] I've always taken "my own people" so much for granted that I now have to start thinking from scratch. […] My own people who survived for three centuries and who have now taken control and who are now threatened with extinction. "My people." And then there were the "the others." And the blacks. We lived in a house, they in mud huts with rocks on the roof. They took over our discarded clothes. They had to knock on the kitchen door. […] We looked after them and taught them the Gospel […]. But it remained a matter of "us" and "them." It was a good and comfortable division, it was right that people shouldn't mix […]. But suddenly […] something has changed irrevocably. I stood on my knees

[986]Brink, *White Season*, 160-61.

> beside the coffin of a friend. I spoke to a woman mourning […] that had been caused by my people.[987]

By recognition of and contact with the "Other," Ben begins to feel estrangement and antagonism toward the society and the system that were once familiar and customary to him. The established notions and standards of his own people begin to sound distant and unfamiliar to him now. His mind is full of blurred images and complicated thoughts. Kossew indicates that by questioning his own heritage, Ben "finds himself in a no-man's-land, isolated form his own Afrikaner identity and prevented by being white from gaining the full trust of black people."[988] Diala identifies Ben's fact-finding attempt with Oedipus's search for truth and indicates that "a climactic moment in Ben Du Toit's Oedipus-like the search for truth in *A Dry White Season* – is his discovery that Afrikaner humanism rooted in the distillation of racial exclusiveness is sheer misanthropy."[989] Thus, alienated from his own Afrikaner people, Ben begins to develop morally and consciously:

> Everything wholly strange. […] Your own words seem unfamiliar to you, your voice comes from far away. […] Inside you is a manner of knowing which you cannot share with anyone else […]. Something essentially different. As if you now exist in another time and another dimension. You can still see the other people, you exchange sounds, but it is all coincidence, and deception. You're *on the other side.* And how can I explain it in the words of "this side"?[990]

Ben's estrangement from his own heritage and his desire to find a place among the people who are labeled as the "Other" by his own people lead him to experience a sense of ambivalence and complicity. By being captured between the two opposing poles – the blacks and the whites – Ben cannot find a place to locate himself. Like the magistrate who

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[987]Brink, *White Season*, 162-63.
[988]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 104.
[989]Diala, "The Political Limits of (Western) Humanism," 443.
[990]Brink, *White Season*, 158.

endeavors to decipher the body of the barbarian girl and the wooden slips, Ben's efforts to decipher the suffering of the blacks do not provide him with any satisfactory feelings. Diala notes that "spurned by his white tribe as a traitor, Ben seeks community among blacks with whose aspirations he identifies."[991] Ben's endeavors to uncover the social injustices in the society and to share the suffering of the blacks in the name of the oppressed recall Spivak's essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in which she criticizes the First World intellectuals' attempts to speak for repressed and marginalized people. She claims that the colonizers or the Westerners efface their roles in representing or describing the subalterns' suffering, and she likens this effacement to a masquerade where they speak on behalf of the subaltern. Similarly, Ben, as a white Afrikaner man, cannot go beyond the demarcations that separate the whites and blacks. Although he is constantly preoccupied with Gordon's case, visits Soweto, and internalizes the suffering of blacks, he consciously realizes that he cannot eliminate the boundary that separates blacks and whites:

> I wanted to help. Right. I meant it very sincerely. But I wanted to do it on my terms. And I am white, they are black. I thought it was still possible to reach beyond our whiteness and blackness… But I grasped so little, really […]. In an ordinary world, in a natural one, I might have succeeded. But not in this deranged, divided age. I can imagine myself in their shoes, I can project myself into their suffering. But I cannot, ever, live their lives for them. […] Whether I like it or not, whether I feel like cursing my own condition or not […]. *I am white*. This is the small, final, terrifying truth of my broken world. I am white. […] Even if I'm hated, and ostracized, and persecuted, and in the end destroyed, nothing can make me black.[992]

[991]Diala, "The Political Limits of (Western) Humanism," 441.
[992]Brink, *White Season*, 304.

Like the magistrate who attempts to internalize the suffering of the victims and barbarians, Ben is constantly engaged with the possibility of restoring social justice and equality for the oppressed blacks in his society. The magistrate is a defender of justice at the town; however, he occasionally questions the fragility of justice and civilization represented by the Empire and its servants. He occasionally loses faith in the possibility of restoring justice in the society. Similarly, Ben experiences a desperate situation when he realizes the bitter fact of the incongruous relationship between whites and blacks in South Africa. He states, "What do I know about them? We talk to each other, we touch each other, yet we're strangers from different worlds. It's like people on two trains passing each other. You hear a shout, you shout back, but it's just sound, you have no idea of what the other man has said."[993] Thus, Ben metaphorically indicates that the walls of apartheid, which creates the dichotomy between blacks and whites, obstruct the voice of black suffering to whites.

The corrupting influences of the Special Branch destroy the clear-sighted and liberal Ben Du Toit. He sometimes feels a kind of impotence to stand out against the atrocities and violence to which the blacks are exposed. Diala observes that Ben's "apprehension of the infinite and awful scope of the evil of apartheid understandably leads him to the temptation to contemplate individual intervention as rather preposterous, and finally to exult in the lease of life granted him by the agents of apartheid as in divine grace."[994] Traumatized by his own brutalization by the Special Branch, Ben despairingly says to Stanley:

> "I can't go on […] there's nothing I can do any more. I'm tired. I'm numb."
>
> Stanley offers that if you opt out now, it's exactly what they wanted all along.
>
> "What can I do then?" Tell me."

[993]Brink, *White Season*, 220-21.
[994]Diala, "André Brink and the Implications of Tragedy for Apartheid South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (December 2003): 909.

> "Just keep on, don't quit. […] if you sink now, it's a plain mess. You got to man. You got to prove it."
>
> "Prove what to whom?"
>
> "To them. To yourself. To me. To every God-damned bloke who's going to die of natural causes in their hands unless you carry on […] we sticking together, you and I. We gonna survive, man. I tell you."[995]

In this quotation, Stanley's encouragement enables him to persevere in his struggles. Diala notes that "the point is that Brink recurrently represents the value of social activism merely in terms of a symbolic existential gesture of defiance. His inclination is to interpret the agonies of social commitment as a veritable path, not necessarily to political change, but to wisdom and clarity of vision."[996] Brink's novel is the personal testimony of the protagonist to the inequalities and crimes that have surrounded his society during the turbulent and chaotic years of apartheid. By presenting the protagonist's lonely preoccupation and opposition in relation to the illicit and unequal treatments of blacks, Brink proposes a revolutionary change in the society. Like Steve Biko, who struggled for the affirmation of human dignity and freedom on the way to achieve the necessary self-esteem, Ben does not evade his responsibilities but ceaselessly questions the moral values and justice in his society. Suffering from the collective guilt of the past and the horrors of the present, Ben attains self-knowledge and begins to blame himself. Through his unyielding search for truth and justice in his society, Ben sometimes loses faith and he feels hopeless and desperate. He believes that his involvement leads to the subjugation or imprisonment of his black friends, so he begins to feel guilty himself:

> I wanted to "clean up" Gordon's name, as Emily had put it. But all I've done so far is to plunge other people into the abyss. Including Gordon? It's like a nightmare, when I wake up at night, wondering in a sweat:

[995]Brink, *White Season*, 237-38.
[996]Diala, "Inscriptions of Torture as Purgatorial Fire in André Brink's Fiction," 71.

> Suppose I'd never tried to intercede for him after they'd detained him--would he have survived then? Am I the leper spreading disease to whoever comes close enough?[997]

Ben pursues his self-sacrificial struggles in order to relieve the situation of the oppressed people who are condemned to perpetual suffering by the implementations of the apartheid ideology. By the recognition of the "Other" and the internalization of their suffering, Brink's protagonist "arouses in the reader the tragic emotions of pity and fear."[998] Diala proposes that Brink's protagonist is "an ordinary, apolitical, decent Afrikaner family man. In his experiences, Brink hopes to make Afrikanerdom recognize any ideology inimical to the decent pursuits of such a man as a terror in which all and sundry are potential victims."[999] The apparatus of violence is used to silence the blacks, and is silenced cries surrounded Ben:

> In the beginning there is turmoil. Then it subsides, leaving a silence, but it is a silence of confusion and incomprehension, not true stillness but an inability to hear properly, a turbulent silence. And it is only when one ventures much more deeply into suffering, it seems to me, that one may learn to accept it as indispensable for the attainment of a truly serene silence. I have not reached it yet. But I think I am very close now. And that hope sustains me.[1000]

Stanley Makhaya, Melanie, and Phil Bruwer are delicate and sympathetic African characters, and they encourage Ben's moral awakening and self-consciousness during his search for the truth. During the court inquest of Gordon Ngubene, Ben meets a young journalist named Melanie Bruwer. Through his investigations, Melanie becomes a key figure by offering help and inspiring him in order to grasp the realities of the society. Ben

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[997]Brink, *White Season*, 236.
[998]Diala, "Implications of Tragedy," 908.
[999]Diala, "Implications of Tragedy," 908.
[1000]Brink, *White Season*, 305.

experiences "a sudden feeling of excitement, an almost boyish elation that persists as I'm writing. I know we're making progress. […]. I'm as confident of this now as I was when I speak to her, even in spite of her calm and reasonable attempts to keep everything into perspective."[1001] During his search for clues for Gordon's trial, Melanie guides and helps him. In contrast to Ben's emotional behavior, Melanie's conduct is more rational and discerning than Ben's. By cultivating his political awareness and supporting his efforts to expose injustice, Melanie becomes his mentor: "remember, you're an Afrikaner, you're one of them. In their eyes that's just about the worst kind of treason imaginable."[1002] Unlike his insensitive wife, Susan, Melanie encourages and supports his claim in achieving the truth. With the guidance of Melanie, the issue of justice is also brought into question during their conversation:

> "I'll never stop believing in justice. It's just that I've learned it's pointless to look for it in certain situations."
>
> "What's the use of a system if it no longer has any place for justice?"
>
> "You cannot hope to fight for justice unless you know injustice well. You've got to know your enemy first."[1003]

The conversation between Melanie and Ben implies the possibility of restoring justice as long as the causes can be identified and conceived. Thus, justice can only be achieved by diagnosing the disease in the system. Although he consciously diagnoses the disease in order to attain justice, his individual endeavor results in his condemnation as a political enemy in his family and at work.

Melanie is a victim of a gang-rape inflicted by a platoon of black soldiers in Mozambique. She recounts that "one night on [her] way back to the hotel, [she] was stopped by a group of drunken soldiers […]. They dragged [her] off to an empty lot and raped [her],

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[1001]Brink, *White Season*, 194-95.
[1002]Brink, *White Season*, 195.
[1003]Brink, *White Season*, 122.

the whole lot of them."[1004] Melanie's rape by the soldiers inflicted bodily pain on her, but she proposes that her soul remains untouched. Although her body suffers and is injured by her oppressors, her suffering body obstructs her oppressors' access to her soul:

> It's a horrible thing to happen to anyone. Not so much the pain […] but the breaking in to your privacy, into what is exclusively yourself. […] Did it really happen to me, or only to my body. […] It's like prisoners in a jail; I've spoken to so many of them. […] They've never really been prisoners, only their bodies were locked up. No one has touched their thoughts, their minds. Not even torture could reach so far.[1005]

Melanie's analysis of her gang-rape alludes to the incorruptibility of the soul of the oppressed. Her soul remains untouched although her body is mutilated and corrupted by torture. The event can also be identified with the doctrine of the Negritude Movement, which conceptualized the uniqueness of the black soul on the way to reconstructing the black self-esteem and dignity. Melanie's notions motive Ben to restore and regain his confidence and to accept responsibility toward black people.

Ben and Melanie experience an extra-marital relationship that results in his forced resignation and his wife's abandonment. Like the magistrate's relationship with the barbarian girl in Coetzee's novel, Ben's intimacy with Melanie is beyond sexual desire and pleasure. Through the close relation between the magistrate and the barbarian girl, the magistrate cannot perceive the girl's face when she is away from him; she remains a blank space in his imagination. Similarly, through his relation with Melanie, Ben's mind is full of blurred imaginations and complicated thoughts. Though he feels intimacy toward her, he knows that his effort to get full knowledge about her is no more than entering a narrow footpath:

[1004]Brink, *White Season*, 132.
[1005]Brink, *White Season*, 193.

> I had […] rather a painful acceptance of the obvious discovery that there were whole landscapes of her life inaccessible to me. However freely she'd confided in me about her life, however readily she'd answered my questions, it had been no more than a narrow footpath on which I'd wandered through her wilderness. […] Was there any hope of it ever being different?[1006]

The common point that binds Ben and Melanie together is the case of Gordon. Ben states that "what binds us is the mutual devotion to a task we have undertaken: to bring the truth to light, to ensure that justice be done. Beyond that nothing is allowed us, nothing is even thinkable."[1007] When a sexual encounter between Ben and Melanie happens, Ben cannot define the moment as happy and himself as a contented man but as "one of the saddest nights of my life, an ageless sadness that insinuated itself into the very heart of this new world and deepened slowly into anguish and agony."[1008] Although they lie close to each other in the same bed, Ben is unable to perceive the reality of Melanie, and he describes her as an untouchable star in the sky:

> There she was sleeping, closer to me than anyone had ever been to me, […] my disposal to love, to look at, to touch, to explore, to enter; and yet in that peaceful deep asleep more remote than any star, ungraspable, forever apart. I knew her eyes and the inside of her mouth, her nipples in rest and arousal, every limb […]. Our bodies had joined and turned and clasped, […]. But […] she was as far from me as if we'd never met. I wanted to cry.[1009]

Throughout the novel, Phil Bruwer, Melanie's father, assumes a critical stance toward the repressive apartheid system. During a conversation with Ben, Phil implicitly explains

[1006]Brink, *White Season*, 196.
[1007]Brink, *White Season*, 196.
[1008]Brink, *White Season*, 273.
[1009]Brink, *White Season*, 273-74.

that a system does not merely exist alone but comes into being by the people who are massively engaged with its construction. Like Ben, Phil is not inclined to accept the autocratic system that does not tolerate any questioning of the status quo. From a contemporary perspective, Phil takes a critical stance in order to revise the abstract system that leaves no room for oppressed people to demand equal rights and freedom. Phil explains that

> "You know, what amazes me is to wonder what sort of world this is, what sort of society […]. How does such a system come into being?"
>
> "How can we be responsible for what happened? We're rebelling against it."
>
> "There may not have been any specific thing we did. […] Perhaps it's something we didn't do. Something we neglected when there was still time to stop the rot. When we returned a blind eye just because it was our people who committed the crimes."[1010]

Due to his resistance and defiance against the crimes and injustice, he feels complete isolation and identifies himself with "a bumblebee in a bottle."[1011] Like the magistrate who experiences conflicting and ambiguous feelings with regard to the cruelties of the Empire, Ben encounters equivocal feelings and confusion. He cannot decide whether to maintain his commitment or not; "If I act, I cannot but lose. But if I do not act, it is a different kind of defeat, equally decisive and maybe worse. Because then I will not even have a conscience left."[1012]

Ben's attention to the suffering of the blacks reveals the author's full engagements with the realities of South Africa. Unlike the magistrate who insistently endeavors to decipher the signs of the slips and the tortured body of the barbarian girl, Ben's truth-seeking

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[1010]Brink, *White Season*, 291.
[1011]Brink, *White Season*, 299.
[1012]Brink, *White Season*, 304-5.

efforts are more conscious and cognizant than those of the magistrate. Although he acknowledges his limits and is aware of the dangers on the way to achieve reality, Ben does not evade his responsibly but insists on his commitment to truth:

> The end seems ineluctable: failure, defeat, loss. The only choice I have left is whether I am prepared to salvage a little honour, a little decency, a little humanity – or nothing. It seems as if a sacrifice is impossible to avoid, whatever way one looks at it. But at least one has the choice between a wholly futile sacrifice and one that might, in the long run, open up a possibility, however negligible or dubious, of something better, less sordid, and more noble for our children.[1013]

According to Ben, "suffering is the path to redemption. My own deep progress on that path offers me sustenance and inward peace and certain hope for the beatific vision."[1014] Diala suggests that through his immersion in events, Ben "rises beyond mortal fear, liberated in fact by his consciousness of the inevitability of defeat and death, resolute in his election of a path which might achieve at least some modest meaning for society."[1015]

Ben's lonely search for justice to create a politically conscious South African society is interrupted by his murder in a hit-and-run car accident. However, the narrator of the novel, who is reluctant to associate himself with political matters at the beginning of the novel, assumes a responsibility similar to Ben's, and devotes his life to bring the truth to light in order to ensure that justice has been done. In the epilogue, the nameless narrator clearly concludes that:

> Will one ever succeed in breaking the vicious circle? Or isn't that so important? Is it really just a matter of going on, purely and simply? […] Perhaps all one can really hope for, all I am entitled to, is no more than

[1013]Brink, *White Season*, 305.
[1014]Diala, "Implications of Tragedy," 911.
[1015]Diala, "Implications of Tragedy," 911.

> this: to write it down. To report what I know. So that it will not be possible for any man ever to say again: *I knew nothing about it.*[1016]

Like Coetzee, Brink wrote his novels during the turbulent times of apartheid. As South African novelists, both J.M. Coetzee and André Brink witnessed all the cruelty and abuses of the apartheid government, and they felt compelled to give voice to the traumatic history of oppressed people in their country. Brink challenged the autocratic power and its malign destructive nature which compelled the imposition of silence on the oppressed people by using the mechanisms of censorship and the security police. As an anti-apartheid writer and critic, Brink consistently spoke about the menaces of apartheid and its malicious consequences:

> Throughout the apartheid years, whole territories of silence were created by the nature of the power structures that ordered the country and defined the limits of its articulated experience. Some of these silences were deliberately *imposed*, whether by decree or by the operations of censorship and the security police; but in many cases the silences arose because the urgencies of the situation presented priorities among which certain experiences simply did not figure very highly.[1017]

Compared to the indefinite political and historical setting in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the political context surrounding *A Dry White Season* is exactly South Africa during the riots of the Soweto Uprising in 1976. In the novel, Brink narrates the persistent endeavors of a white Afrikaner protagonist who questions the ethical and moral conceptions of apartheid in South Africa. This reflects the colonial and postcolonial experience in its various forms. According to Brink "the dissident writer's crucial responsibility is significantly not merely the political liberation of blacks but the redemption of the Afrikaner

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[1016]Brink, *White Season*, 315-16.
[1017]Brink, "Reinventing a Continent (Revisiting History in the Literature of the New South Africa: A Personal Testimony)," *World Literature Today*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Winter 1996): 21.

from the ideology of apartheid."[1018] Unlike Coetzee's evasive narration in regard to realistic implications in his novel, Brink's novel is a realistic depiction of the circumstances in the early 1970s during which the horrors of state tyranny were ubiquitous in South African society. Moreover, the depiction of torture and oppression of the oppressed blacks in the novel are a realistic picture of South Africa. As Felicity Woods puts it, "until the late 1980s, André Brink's fiction represented part of the liberal realist tradition in South African literature."[1019]

Brink clearly expresses that the social injustice and cruelty perpetuated by the state authority must be questioned and exposed. Brink's "condemnation of apartheid is fundamentally inspired by his conviction that it impoverishes the humanity of the Afrikaner and denies the best in the Afrikaner himself."[1020] Brink presents the history decisively in order to clarify the political and social events in apartheid South Africa. By re-assessing the construction of Afrikaner nationalism which was identified with myth-making in the past, Ben Du Toit, as an agent of this history, examines the moral and ethical issues with the attention of an activist. Diala observes that by "inscribing dissidence at the very heart of the Afrikaner temperament and disposition, Brink privileges a history characterized by rebellion against tyranny and an affirmation of human dignity and freedom."[1021]

Despite the indefinite and blunt setting of the novel, Coetzee's novel narrates the universal condition of human suffering under the brutality of colonialism and apartheid, with its allegorical style and implicit descriptions. On the other hand, Brink's fiction overtly challenges apartheid, violence, oppression, and unequal treatment of South Africa's black majority. Both the magistrate and Ben endeavor to oppose the preconceived ideas and prejudices of the oppressive régime. Despite his sympathy toward the prisoners and the

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[1018]Diala, "Andre Brink and Malraux," *Contemporary Literature*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (June 2006): 92.
[1019]Brink, "Interview with André Brink (Cape Town, July 1999)," interview with Felicity Wood *Southern African Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (30 August 2007): 112, accessed 1 September 2013, DOI: 10.1080/10131750185310111.
[1020]Diala, "Andre Brink and Malraux," 92.
[1021]Diala, "Andre Brink and Malraux," 92.

barbarian girl, the magistrate's ambivalence and complicated feelings lead him to accept passively the atrocities of the new Empire. On the other hand, Ben's awakened consciousness explores the disequilibrium between blacks and whites that was created by the system. The novel also represents the gap between the inhuman treatment of blacks by the Special Branch in detention and the privileged position of the whites. This enables Ben's re-awakening in order to resist the state-sanctioned violence and an unjust order.

After the publication of his eighth novel, Coetzee was exposed to severe criticism by both the South African government and his colleagues. He moved to Australia in 2002. On the other hand, Brink felt he belonged more to Africa than Europe, and he manifested himself to a large extent in articulating the position and the social responsibility of the writer in South Africa. In one of his interviews, he explains that "this sense of being rooted in a place, of being shaped by a place, and of bearing responsibility towards that place simply because you come from there, has been with me from the moment I started writing."[1022]

The novel reflects Brink's dissatisfaction with matters in his own country as well as his own personal and philosophical stand against the circumstances. Brink's personal struggle to find his place in society and to offer alternative solutions to the problems of racial separation are materialized in the thoughts and attempts of his fictional protagonist, Ben. He has been much involved in political and social conditions in South Africa and by embracing social and political commitment in his works, he focuses on the continuing social and politic problems of South Africa created by the apartheid government.

In "Censorship and the Author," Brink explains that "the writer may be seen as an expression of society's need for truth and liberty."[1023] For him, truth and liberty are the crucial points that a dissident writer needs in describing the realities of his own society. Accordingly, he adds that "the writer must fulfill the need of society to know, to find out

[1022]Brink, "Articulating the Inarticulate," 9.
[1023]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 17.

what is hidden, and to record that discovery."[1024] In this respect, by pointing out the crucial responsibility of a writer, Brink represents the fidelity of the author to truths in his society. By engaging with the socio-political matters in South Africa, Brink reflects the agonies of silenced, oppressed, and marginalized people in his works.

Coetzee and Brink embrace and articulate almost the same issues and reflect the perspective of dissident voices to describe the malign effects of imperialistic vision on the victimized and oppressed people. Although Coetzee reflects the issues by using a more implicit and allegorical style, Brink depicts events and circumstances through realistic elements and depictions. By the recognition of the Other and the internalization of their suffering, both novelists challenge the fixed biases of the hegemonic powers and deep historical dichotomy which was created by apartheid between the blacks and whites. Nonetheless, both novels are similar on thematic and structural levels.

[1024]Brink, "Censorship and the Author," 18.

CONCLUSION

Colonialism is a system of domination and authority and it is generally regarded as the direct outcome or as an outpost of imperialism. Although critics draw attention to the distinction between colonialism and imperialism, they can be used interchangeably and refer to the implementation of military, economic, and political control of dominant groups over marginalized groups. As a form of conquest, imperialism aims to achieve territorial expansion by the use of power and force. The common policy of all Empires in the world was territorial expansion of one state from a relatively small territory toward a larger one. Empires have no fixed boundaries because their borders are perpetually extended by the rulers through the invasion and colonization of other lands.

From antiquity to the present, imperial nations have ceaselessly colonized other lands. As an expression of imperialism, the origin of colonialism goes back to the Romans, who used the term for "the settlement of one group of people in another land" by providing the natives of the conquered land the opportunity to keep their citizenship. Since ancient times, colonialism has variable names and purposes such as to settle, to inhabit, to guard, to civilize, or to help.

For centuries, white colonial identity and imperial powers exploited and violated colonized peoples economically and culturally in order to construct a so-called national unity and consciousness. Associated with Western domination and hegemony, the process of colonialism and imperialism in the modern sense was initiated in the "Great Age of Discovery," which started in the early fifteenth century and continued in the early seventeenth century during which Europeans were engaged in intensive exploration of the world.

In the "Era of Great Discoveries," the French, English, and other colonizers were brought together by a consciousness of belonging to Europe, which was associated with advanced science and technology that enabled them to subjugate the so-called inferior

cultures and peoples. These new industrial powers gathered around the same goals such as adventure, wealth, richness, religious fervor, and so forth. Without realizing that the natives of the conquered lands were no different from themselves, Western explorers and colonizers regarded colonized peoples as uncivilized, inferior, backward, and unenlightened. Thus, in the Era of Great Discoveries, exploration was turned into the exploitation and violation of native lands and their indigenous peoples and cultures by European colonizers and imperialists.

Initiated as early as the fifteenth century, overseas territorial expansion was a part of European history. The Great Age of Exploration motivated many conquistadores and colonizers for the desire of obtaining new lands, gold, silver, and spices. Through the passage from the old and self-sufficient Medieval Era to the more sophisticated Modern era, the Era of Great Discoveries saw the expansion of cities along with trade and the appearance of many colonies. With the rapid development of geography, astronomy, maritime commerce, and inventions during the Renaissance, the desire to learn more about other lands and cultures accelerated. New inventions, such as ships called "caravels," advances in cartography, and the invention of the printing press enabled explorers and colonizers to reach other lands rapidly and transport the food and other supplies back to their own lands.

The first wave of explorations was initiated by the Portuguese explorers, and then the Spanish conquistadores and colonizers explored maritime routes from Africa to India and East Asia, and finally they were soon followed by the English, Dutch, and French colonizers and imperialists. Accordingly, the Era of Exploration motivated many Western nations to discover other lands and to gain knowledge about foreign peoples.

Racism and racist attitudes were inseparable parts of European imperialist and colonialist policies, especially during the last part of the nineteenth century. During the Victorian Period, the superiority of the "British race" in contrast to other (colored) races was expressed by British imperialists and colonizers consistently: "the term 'British Race' was

heard ever more frequently in consonance with a conviction that the inhabitants of the British Isles had achieved the apogee of human existence and were uniquely endowed by the Creator with qualities and attributes lacking in other lesser human beings."[1025]

Mostly associated with skin color and physical features, the terms "racial superiority," "natural selection," "hereditary genius," and "survival of the fittest" were well-known recursive concepts and had great impact on the perpetuation of European colonialism and imperialism toward the so-called backward races in the nineteenth century. Generally, race determined class hierarchy for ages, and the scientific studies in the fields of biology, taxonomy, and anthropology in the last decades of nineteenth century led to unending conflicts between the superior and inferior races of the world in which colored people were mostly damaged, disappeared, or vanished. Since the inherent human differences and different skin colors were associated with the pseudoscientific studies by the scientists of the nineteenth century, slavery was justified and colored peoples were doomed to deadly labors for hundreds of years. Therefore, classification of men and categorizing them into groups were the practices of European anthropologists, biologists, scientists, naturalists, and missionaries who tried to find out a formula in order to distinguish one (civilized) race from the other (inferior) race.

Within the pseudo-scientific discourses of the West, the image of the subjugated people has always been associated with negative terms and references. Darwin's theory of evolution was influential in the creation of the discourse of racism. Social Darwinism was the product of expansionistic and imperialistic desires of the West, especially that of the British in the late-Victorian period. In this respect, in the late nineteenth century Darwinism became a kind of social theory that theorized some races – such as "blacks and coloreds" – as inferior to others and this theory was assumed by many Europeans in various guises in their practices of colonization. The superiority of the white race over the colored people was

[1025]Huttenback, 109.

elevated on a high level with the publications of many European scientists and biologists, primarily Francis Galton, Karl Pearson, Herbert Spencer, George William Hunter, and Alfred Russell Wallace.

As with colored peoples in other colonized countries, racism in colonial Africa and the situation of Negro race was endemic. The nineteenth century was the peak time of imperialism when England extended over Asia, Africa, and the Pacific, and it was also the period in which the "Scramble for Africa" started, and Besides, in which the consolidation of colonialism in Africa was accomplished by Britain. During the time, the most powerful imperialist force in the continent was the British Empire. In contrast to colonization of other European colonizer countries, Britain's colonization and hegemony in Africa was especially bloody and effective. The main purpose that the British colonizers assumed in Africa was "the white man's burden."

Although the African continent was occupied, exploited, and colonized by many European explorers and slave traders before the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), the formal colonization and partition of the continent among the European powers and colonizers began with the Conference. Regarded as "The Dark Continent" by European colonizers and explorers, Africa was exploited economically and used by Western voyagers and travelers as a center of slave trade. Its people were subjected to many cruel and degrading practices of Western colonialism and imperialism. There was a growing interest for a federation of South Africa under the British Empire was irrevocable for many late Victorian administrators, and there was a belief that the lower race should be governed and civilized by the progressive races encapsulated many statesmen like Joseph Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes, John Ruskin, and the like.

During the high time of imperialism and colonialism, the West saw Africa as a country solely composed of a torrid region with a fiery heat that disallowed its people to make any history, technology, morality, culture, or religion. This idea was occasionally

challenged by some anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist groups and movements. Between the two world wars, many intellectuals and writers from former colonies – Africa, India, Asia, and Latin America – began to disprove the social injustice, domination, aggression, and inequalities that European colonization forced upon them for years. Thus, as opposed to the dehumanizing attitudes of colonial oppression, colonized peoples organized and began resistance movements to achieve their freedom, self-esteem, and individuality. By organizing some local native resistances and revolts against settler-violence, colonized peoples tried to achieve independence and freedom from the bondage of colonialism and imperialism.

For Africans and people of African descent, many politico-cultural movements emerged in order to reformulate and recreate black consciousness and identity which had always been represented as childlike and uncivilized. On a global scale, anti-colonial movements began its evolution with the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and went forward with the Negritude Movement of the 1930s, and the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. As a response to the alienated and subordinated positions of black people in the world, many African and Francophone intellectuals emphasized the uniqueness of black identity, culture, and history.

Between the two World Wars, the Negritude Movement was an important black consciousness movement of the 1930s and 1940s that aimed to break the yoke of colonialism and to re-construct black identity. It was initiated mainly by many anti-colonial black Francophone writers and poets from the different parts of the world. It was regarded as one of the most important attempts to reformulate and recreate black consciousness and identity in the colonized countries. They expressed racial pride, heritage, and nationalist affirmation of black people in opposition to European colonialism. Their ideas were mainly based on the recreation of the uniqueness of black identity in the world and the dismantling of all the negative images of black people who were constructed by the West in the long history of colonialism and imperialism.

The Negritude Movement was born out of black intellectuals, writers, musicians, and artists in Paris and was an important counter movement to the political and cultural enforcement of Western colonialism. By severing their ties with the West and its established boundaries, black people embarked on self-differentiation and self-affirmation. Aimé Césaire from Martinique, Léon Damas from French Guyana, and Léopold S. Senghor from Senegal were regarded as the founding fathers of the movement. Their journal, *L'Etudiant noir* [The Black Student], published in 1934, was of great importance because it gave voice to black people in the arena of Western discourse by emphasizing the commonalities among black people around the world.

After the culmination of the Second World War in 1945, many European countries lost their commercial and financial leadership, and many formerly colonized countries achieved freedom and independence and set out to construct national unity and a self-governing society. India, which was seen as the "jewel in the British crown," was the first dominion to seek independence from Britain in 1947. Sudan was the next country that gained its independence in 1956. Historically, the period after World War II has been called the post-colonial period by many writers, theorists, and critics. In the broadest sense, postcolonialism is associated with the abandonment of all the negative and unequal connotations of European colonization on the colonized lands and its native people, who have been exposed to brutal and violent treatment for years.

Accordingly, as opposed to the dictates and enforcements of Western colonialism and imperialism, many anti-colonial intellectuals, critics, theorists, and authors all over the world produced many novels, treatises, essays, and histories that denounce, contest, and accuse European aggression and domination. Thus, with the emergence of the post-colonial period, the works and ideas of many anti-colonial theorists, critics, and intellectuals formed a body of discourse called postcolonial theory and criticism that espouses a critical and analytical point of view in order to define or formulate a reversed history of colonialism. Theorists and

practitioners such as Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Frantz Fanon, Aijaz Ahmad, and Stephen Slemon are regarded as the pioneers of postcolonial theory and postcolonial criticism.

This study scrutinizes the colonial history of South Africa, which had been traditionally an enigmatic and unenlightened Dark Continent within the context of apartheid policy and its impact on South Africa's black majority. The preoccupation with skin color and with other physical qualities of black men to legitimize colonialism and imperialism were of significance in the South African history. Compared to other colonized countries in Africa, the implementation of racism and discrimination in South Africa was unprecedented because apartheid was forced upon to the majority of blacks systematically and institutionally by the colonizer countries. The land was colonized successively by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonizers and explorers. The conquest of the Portuguese was not permanent in the land; however, the Dutch and British colonizers and their political and cultural ambitions determined the history of South Africa.

The history of the Afrikaners in South Africa began with the Dutch settlers (first called the Boers and later the Afrikaners) who settled in the land to provide water supplies and fresh foods in 1652. The Boers, speaking Dutch, were proto Afrikaners in South Africa. Within five years, the Boers began to set up colonies in the country. Following the Dutch colonization, South Africa was exposed to the massive colonization of the British in the 1800s when they started to expand economically and technologically on their way to become a world power. Britain established the Cape colony in 1806 as they extended their colonial practices in order to preserve the Empire's sea trade routes to Asia.

The gold and diamond mines had provided prosperity to the Boers but by the end of the nineteenth century, British colonizers discovered the diamonds and gold inland and attempted to exploit diamond resources at Kimberley and gold resources at Witwatersrand. British colonizers were unwilling to leave the gold and diamond mines to the native tribes or

to the Boers, and war was inevitable. British colonizers were eager and determined to obtain wealth in South Africa, and the Dutch strove to maintain the control of the land and their independence. The British Empire waged two wars against the Boers – the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881) and the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) – in order to obtain the diamond and gold mines in Kimberly and Witwatersrand. Due to a poorly organized army and the lack of necessary war equipment, the Boers were defeated by the British army.

Until the establishment of the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910, the history of South Africa was determined by major events such as the Boer Wars, the Battle of Blood River, and The Great Trek. With the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the Afrikaners broke the yoke of bondage from British colonialism. During the Union of South Africa, the Afrikaner Louis Botha became the first Prime Minister and Jan Christian Smuts became the Minister of Defense. Beginning from the establishment of the Union in 1910 until the first democratic elections in 1994, the government enacted acts and legislation that deprived the majority of native Africans of active participation in political and social life.

Racial discrimination, repression, inequality, and violation were the determining features of the successive apartheid governments in South Africa. Although "apartheid" literally means segregation and separateness, the apartheid régime was generally introduced by the Afrikaner National Party as a positive, nondiscriminatory, and humane policy in order to solve the compelling problems in South Africa. However, it created huge disparity and discrimination between the races in South Africa in terms of their social and economic development. During the apartheid period, the government enacted several laws which deprived the colored peoples in their homelands while giving privileges and autonomy to the whites. With the enactment of several acts, the segregation and inequalities between the whites and the blacks were felt in every field, including schools, busses, offices, stations, and churches.

Although the government proposed that the acts were enacted for the best interests of Africans, they were in fact enacted to secure the dominance of the white minority. Due to the legislation of the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), many leading anti-apartheid intellectuals and activists were detained, imprisoned, or banned. The repressive legislation and acts – such as the Group Areas Act, Reservation of Separate Amenities, Bantu Education Act, and Suppression of Communism Act – which were legalized during the Afrikaner National Party, created huge inequalities and discrimination between the white and non-white peoples in South Africa. Due to the implementation of the acts, the majority of native blacks were forced to live in reserves that were reminiscent of Nazi concentration camps. The geographical division and segregation of black people were systematized in all spheres of social and public life. Thus, the prescribed laws were put into effect for non-white peoples in the country.

The draconian acts and legislation led to massive resistance and opposition within the country. During the political transition of South Africa to a more democratic state, the history of the country was determined by two defining and iconic events which captured the minds and hearts of people. The first event was the Sharpeville massacre (21st of March 1960), which was held after the pass laws that were enacted against the native black Africans. The second was the Soweto uprising (16th of June 1976), which was a protest against The Bantu Education Act and forceful implementation of Afrikaans and English as media of instruction in schools.

Between 1948 and 1990, the repressive pass laws, racial discrimination, and unequal political and social rights between the minority whites and majority black peoples frustrated blacks, and any response to these compulsive enforcements was met with imprisonment, detention, censorship, or torture. Non-violent demonstrations such as Sharpeville (1960) and Soweto (1976) were met with the violence and brutality of the South African Police. Moreover, members of the anti-apartheid political organizations, including the ANC and

PAC, were also banned and imprisoned under the Sabotage Act (1962) and the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. During the detention of many political leaders, the security police of the government were given a limitless power to arrest and torture anybody who could possibly pose a threat to the national security of the country. A striking example of torture to black political leaders was the case of Steve Biko, who was murdered in police custody in Pretoria on 12 September 1977.

The process of liberation from pandemonium to a more democratic state in which the principles of equity, candor, peace, and fairness were restored was an important achievement for South Africa with Nelson Mandela and his ANC government. Although the damages and traumas of the apartheid régime and its segregationist policy on native people could not be easily dismissed or dismantled, the first democratic elections in South Africa, held in 1994, provided the country the opportunity to achieve a democratic and peaceful government. Under the administration of the new government, Mandela assumed a more positive and all-embracing policy in order to heal the pains and wounds of the past. Moreover, the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) by the new government in 1995, chaired by the venerable Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was a pivotal point in the history of South Africa.

Although South Africa entered a new democratic system in 1994 with the first democratic elections, the past history and its outcomes have been deeply embedded in the minds of authors and writers such as J.M. Coetzee and A.P. Brink. Being colleagues at the University of Cape Town, Brink and Coetzee are among the most celebrated white South African authors who have acquired wide acclaim both locally and internationally. South African literature suffered much under colonialism, censorship, and apartheid, and both writers narrated the cruelties, inequalities, racial discrimination, and colonialism that swept the country for years.

Both are academics and professionals in the field of literature, and both left their country for postgraduate education. Coetzee was educated in America and London while Brink was educated in France. While Brink produced his novels both in Afrikaans and English, Coetzee preferred writing in English only. Recipients of numerous prestigious literary awards, both novelists attacked the oppressive system by narrating the traumatic and fragmented history of the oppressed people throughout the apartheid and post-apartheid years.

Both Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* and Brink's *A Dry White Season* concern about torture, violence, and oppression of the silenced people under an autocratic power. Since both novels narrate the torture, violence, and brutality of the apartheid régime and state power, both urge readers to make a comparative analysis between the two. The interrogation and the indictment of the oppressed people are touched and articulated in a similar way in both novels. The choice of a white protagonist (a frontier magistrate, and Afrikaner Ben Du Toit) to express the suffering, torture, and degraded position of black peoples can be regarded as the purpose for both authors. While the magistrate recounts events through the first person narration, Brink's anonymous writer-narrator narrates Ben Du Toit's story from the third person point of view.

Although the two novelists are preoccupied with almost the same issues in their novels, the narrative forms and style of representations of the events and characters are different: Coetzee uses allegorical language and deconstructionist techniques to reflect the abused and humiliated positions of oppressed people, while Brink's novel gives a starkly realistic picture of South Africa. In Coetzee's novel, the encounter between the so-called barbarians and the forces of empire occurs not in the heart of the empire but in an unspecified time and place. Moreover, all the characters are nameless, except for Joll and Mandel. So, by severing his fiction from the definite historical settings and clear political paradoxes, Coetzee presents ahistorical and apolitical engagement with the events in the

novel. Brink, however, presents the history decisively in order to clarify the political and social events in apartheid South Africa.

Coetzee has been criticized by his colleagues for his elusive and implicit references and descriptions in the novel. On the other hand, Brink's descriptions and references are more direct, overt, and realistic. Kossew observes that "this is an important key to understanding the forms he [Coetzee] chooses for his novels (non-realist, counter-discursive, allegorical, often writing back to colonial pre-texts) in contrast to the more social-realist forms chosen by his fellow white writers like Brink and Gordimer."[1026]

In both novels, the depiction of brutal interrogations and torture of the detainees and victims recall the inhumane realities of the interrogations held by the Security Police in South Africa, enhanced in the 1970s and 1980s. Brink portrays similar officials who are as cruel and merciless as Joll and Mandel in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The characters Colonel Viljoen and Captain Stolz, who are the counterparts of security units in the State of Emergency in South Africa, are not different from Joll and Mandel.

Both Coetzee and Brink's protagonists are white and they are the agents of the oppressive system. Like the magistrate in *Waiting for the Barbarians* who is cursed, degraded, and labeled by the men of the empire, Ben Du Toit is exposed to the same kinds of humiliation and torture by his family, colleagues, and members of the Special Branch. In both novels, the protagonists are the representatives of the oppressive régime, and due to their resistance and opposition to the brutality of the autocratic system, they become victims and are considered enemies and traitors. Unlike the magistrate who insistently endeavors to decipher the signs of the slips and the tortured body of the barbarian girl, Ben's truth-seeking efforts are more conscious and cognizant than those of the magistrate. Although he acknowledges his limits and is aware of the dangers on the way of achieving the reality, Ben does not evade his responsibly but insists on his commitment for the truth consciously.

[1026]Kossew, *Pen and Power*, 28.

Nonetheless, like the magistrate, Ben's "self" becomes the "Other" at the hands of the oppressor people whom he is a part of until then.

Like the magistrate who attempts to internalize the suffering of the victims and barbarians, Ben is constantly engaged himself with the possibility of restoring of social justice and equality for the oppressed blacks in the society. In both novels, the oppressive system of the Empire and the apartheid government do not tolerate any questioning of the status quo, and they regard the oppressed peoples as potential threats to their own omnipotent positions. In Coetzee's novel the magistrate feels sympathy toward the prisoners and the barbarian girl and endeavors to share their suffering, while Ben's assumes responsibility and attempts to unveil the crimes and oppression of blacks in his society. Thus, by the recognition of the "Other" and the internalization of their suffering, both novelists challenge the preconceived biases of the hegemonic powers and deep historical dichotomy which was created by apartheid and oppressive system between the blacks and whites.

Coetzee and Brink narrate almost the same issues and reflect the perspective of dissident voices to describe the malign effects of imperialistic vision on the victimized and oppressed people. While Coetzee narrates the issues by using a more implicit and allegorical style, Brink depicts events and circumstances through realistic elements and depictions. By adopting experimental, deconstructive, and unconventional literary approaches to respond to the issues pervading the apartheid/post-apartheid years, and by reversing the mythological constructions of white nationalism, both Coetzee and Brink endeavor, explicitly and implicitly, to unveil the crimes and oppression and to express the enigmatic positions of the oppressed people during the apartheid years in South Africa. Although Coetzee states that "South Africa, mother of pain, can have meaning only to people who can find it meaningful

to ascribe their pain,"[1027] he has moved to Australia and is continuing his literary career there, while André Brink has chosen to remain South Africa: "I find that for me it was absolutely necessary to be here. And while I could see things happening and experience things happening, I had to bear witness to them."[1028]

[1027]Coetzee, "The Burden of Consciousness in Africa," in Attwell, ed., *Doubling the Point*, 117.
[1028]Brink, "Articulating the Inarticulate," 6.

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