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THE LIBERATION SONG, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THOSE USED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY AND THE PAN AFRICANIST
CONGRESS.

by

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*submitted in accordance with the
requirements for the degree:*

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SOLI DEO GLORIA

I dedicate this thesis to my father, Adv. F.W.A. Gray, who instilled in me a culture of learning. His Christian values and inner strength always have been and will continue to be a source of inspiration to me right throughout my life.

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CHAPTER 1

FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study brings into focus the profound sociological, economic and political concerns of black South Africans during the *apartheid* era, as expressed in their liberation and protest songs. It is an apolitical study which is not reflective of any ideological stance held by the researcher. It was approached as an academic exercise and not from the viewpoint of a participant in the liberation struggle.

This chapter will highlight the topic and scope of the study by discussing the following:

- rationale for the study
- research problem
- specific aims
- research methodology
- limitations of the study
- terminology
- related studies, and
- research conviction.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The last decades of this century have been marked by the birth and growth of new socio-political dispensations. In the South African context, the black liberation struggle was paramount and in this conflict one of the transformatory forces which manifested itself was the extensive use of liberation or protest songs. These songs played a vital role in the rise of black nationalism and the subsequent establishment of a new South African society. It is a well-known fact that liberation or protest songs mobilised, influenced and guided the black masses. The concept of the liberation song is, however, nothing new and it is closely linked to the birth and growth of most nations.

Against this background, the research problem of the study was defined.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem underlying this project is the mechanism of documentation. This study will indicate that many nations have documented their liberation songs as part of their heritage. This has not been done in South Africa and the problem that will therefore be addressed in this study is to collect, transcribe and classify black liberation songs and place them within their correct historical and socio-political context.

To initiate this, careful consideration was given to the more specific aims underlying the study.

1.4 SPECIFIC AIMS

The most important aims of the study are to:

- give an overview of world liberation songs
- give an overview of South African liberation songs within the South African historical context, and
- collect, transcribe and classify a collection of black liberation songs in South Africa.

In order to realise these aims certain research methods were employed.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology was conducted on five fronts simultaneously:

- a study of relevant literature and sound resources
- historical research
- audiovisual research
- fieldwork and interviews, and
- the collection, transcription and classification of relevant data.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

During this study ten main problems were encountered which led to research limitations.

Firstly, there is a dearth of scholarly literature about black South African liberation songs and very little substantial research in this field has been published to date. It was thus necessary to obtain the greater part of the information reflected in this study through interviews and from recordings. Such interviews were not always very informative as most people were very wary of the researcher's credentials. Most of the time the hostility did not stem from racialism but from genuine fear in a volatile political climate. Even people doing translations for the researcher issued warnings about possessing songs of this nature.

A second serious impediment was the high level of violence in the townships which prevented fieldwork being done there. Informants interviewed at protest rallies, marches and meetings between 1994 and 1996 requested to remain anonymous. In these circumstances the researcher was of the opinion that data from video recordings from the Mayibuye centre at the University of the Western Cape were the most valuable alternative primary source.

A third problem was the establishment of reliable historical data for a song. Historical evidence requires checking before evaluations can be made and as histories dealing with the black struggle are frequently presented from one ideological viewpoint, it is often difficult to place a song in proper perspective without preconception. A factor compounding this problem is that the topic of liberation and protest music is usually to be found in umbrella studies of a sociological or historical nature which contain undetailed references. It was thus necessary to rely heavily on data obtained from informants and especially video coverage.

A fourth problem encountered was that the identity of the creators of the song and their points of origin are all lost in the obscurity of the past. Informants are not usually articulate with regard to transcriptions, and the researcher, being western-trained, had to resist the natural temptation to superimpose her own ideas of what the music might represent - ideas which often have no place in the culture being researched.

The method of transcription was also problematic. To solve this it was decided that, instead of using one of the available indigenous transcription methods, a simple conventional procedure would be used, based on western music notation to optimise the use of the song selection. This resulted in the overall problem of integrating African folk music with inevitable westernisation, in such a way as to permit traditional African culture to remain vital and alive. Even within these confines the researcher has no illusions of definitiveness.

A sixth problem area was one of orthography. In this regard it must be pointed out that there are many different spellings found in the words of these songs; on record labels, on audio-cassettes, in tonic sol-fa scores and other documentation. For the sake of documentary accuracy it was decided to leave these sources in the original form. It would have been an impossible task for the researcher, who is not conversant with African languages, to standardise the different forms of African orthography which have been in use from the time of the first liberation songs at the beginning of the century.

The seventh problem could be identified only after in-depth research had been conducted. At the outset of the study it was decided that since the three liberation movements, the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, functioned separately during the liberation struggle, it would make interesting research to collect and compare liberation songs sung by these parties. As this study progressed it was, however, realised that people in these three main liberation movements, as well as splinter factions, all had common ground in the songs which they sang. It became virtually impossible to make claims that certain songs were sung only by certain parties. Very soon it became clear that these songs also had to be placed in a socio-political and historical matrix to make them meaningful. These circumstances were problematic in the sense that the study became much more extensive than initially envisaged.

As has been mentioned, in the absence of scholarly literary data it was imperative to turn to videos, audio-cassettes and people themselves, which often resulted in conflicting data. In order to verify some of the claims made in and by the above resources, the researcher had to make use of information cited on record, audio-cassette and compact disc covers. This created an eighth research problem as information cited on these sources is often inaccurate. While these sources may not be considered to be high-profile scientific sources, it must be kept in mind that owing to the dearth of data concerning this subject, it was necessary to use every source available. The information was

thus cited without correcting possibly erroneous claims. All citations of references from the above-mentioned sources appear in the Bibliography under the name of the person who wrote the synopsis.

A ninth research problem is that a great deal of video material has not been catalogued - full details regarding the origination are not always available. Despite this shortcoming, the researcher decided to make use of these videos as they contained essential material for the thesis.

Newspaper provided the tenth research problem. Some articles contain the author's name, while others contain no reference to the author. Reference to newspaper articles in the Bibliography will thus be presented in two **different ways**:

- where the name of the author is known, the article will be referred to under the author's name in the Bibliography, and
- where the author's name is unknown, the article will be referred to under the newspaper's name in the Bibliography.

The researcher was of the opinion that notwithstanding the above limitations, the study theme has sufficient merit as it is within the parameters of the aims as set out in 1.4. Unless researched, valuable material will be lost forever as the data will either die with the exponents or be modified by succeeding generations who are unable to identify with the conditions surrounding the liberation struggle.

1.7 TERMINOLOGY

To ensure that the scientific dialogue proceeds fluently in this research report, all significant terms will be explained in the text or in footnotes. Four factors can be singled out for closer scrutiny:

- The term **videography** is used to categorise video sources because of a lack of a more suitable word in English.
- When a quotation is in American English the term *sic* will not be used to indicate spelling differences between UK English, used in this text, and American English. This is done in order to optimise the flow of the text.
- The words **black**, **white** and **coloured** have no racist connotations in this study, but are used solely to identify these three prominent culture groups in the South African socio-political situation.

- As far as possible all the bars in the transcriptions were numbered. It was, however, not always possible.

1.8 RELATED STUDIES

No study has up to date been found relating to the structure, aims and conceptualisation of this research. The following studies, however, concentrate on certain aspects pertaining to the research:

Allen, L.V. 1993.

Pennywhistle Kwela: A musical historical and socio-political analysis.

MMus thesis. Natal University.

Bothma, E. 1986.

Die bydrae van die musiekkomitee van die FAK tot die bevordering van musiek in Suid-Afrika met spesifieke verwysing na die volksmusiek van die Afrikaanssprekendes.

MMus - verhandeling. Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat.

Msomi, J.E.B. 1975.

Ethnomusicology and the different types of Zulu Music.

MSc thesis. Syracuse University.

Mthethwa, B. 1979.

Zulu Folksongs: History, Nature and Classroom Potential.

BMus research study. Natal University.

Pewa, E.S. 1984.

"The Chorus". A Re-Africanisation of Hymn Singing in Schools and Churches.

BA Hons research study. Natal University.

Sithole, E.M. 1968.

Zulu Music as a reflection of Social Change.

MA thesis. Wesleyan University.

Smit, B. 1992.

Afrikaans Alternative Popular Music 1986 - 1990 : An Analysis of the Music of Bernoldus Niemand and Johannes Kerkorrel.

BMus research study. Natal University.

Stewart, D.L. 1994.

Songs of the Rural Zulu Women: Finding a voice in a transitional society.

MA thesis. Natal University.

Touyz, B.M. 1979.

White Politics and the Garment Workers' Union: 1930 - 1953.

MA thesis. Cape Town University.

Turner, N.S. 1990.

Elements of Satire in Zulu Oral Traditions.

MA thesis. Natal University.

van Schalkwyk, Anastasia. 1994.

The Voice of Protest: Urban Black Women, Song and Resistance, in the 1980s.

MMus thesis. Natal University.

Witz, Leslie. 1984.

Servant of the Workers: Solly Sachs and the Garment Workers' Union, 1928 - 1952.

MA thesis. Witwatersrand University.

1.9 RESEARCH CONVICTION

The aim of the study has not been to reiterate the difficult conditions that have been faced in this country but rather to examine the folk sources without which it is impossible to understand the history and culture of black South Africans. The conviction was reached that it is essential that systematically classified collections of South African liberation songs be made available for study. They can then take a legitimate place as a comparative study of folklore. This thesis does not make explicit a delineation of South African liberation music but it tries to provide a solid and useful

basis for discussion of the question of its definition. The transcriptions in this thesis must not be taken as absolutely definitive because while collecting songs it was realised that the words and tunes are sung with some variation from area to area.

The researcher hopes that the results will be of benefit to students in the fields of ethnomusicology and music education. Furthermore the conviction is held that this research is important for illuminating the nature of black South African liberation songs and to make these songs relevant within a historical context.

This work is, however, intended to be a preliminary research and makes no claims to be a comprehensive study. Further research extends well beyond the domain of Masters thesis and will have to remain the area for future study.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF WORLD LIBERATION SONGS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Music is not merely a form of entertainment. This becomes apparent when the power of liberation music as a mass medium manifests itself for purposes other than entertainment. To what extent liberation music influences people is not possible to say, but by its very nature, it is able to reach more people than many other media and can be seen as a reflection of the atmosphere of its society.

Liberation music is not unique to a particular country or century. For as long as inequality between people exists, those who feel oppressed will find strength and inspiration in music. For centuries people have stored their anger in song and music has accompanied their battles for freedom. The struggle against oppression of any kind clearly provides the perfect climate for the production of liberation and protest music. This statement is corroborated by Willie Peacock (in Carawan & Carawan, 1990:240), who says that *"Through song and dance a people are able to share their burden, triumph, sadness and gladness of heart. They sing songs about the common oppressor or exploiter ... songs can be used to draw people together and unite them in one common aim, goal and purpose"*.

The tactics and situations of liberation singers throughout the world change over the ages but the goals remain the same: better working and living conditions without discrimination for the ordinary man.

Generally speaking liberation songs fulfil the prime requirement of a people's song mainly because:

- they are easy to sing
- they convey a feeling of solidarity which emanates from a situation of the common experience of oppression, and
- the words of the songs form a powerful critique of key socio-political issues pertaining to the oppressed.

More specific, however, are the presence of two fundamental aspects in liberation music, namely:

- the element of **catharsis**¹, and
- its use as an **instrument of power**.

These two aspects will now be discussed in greater detail.

2.2 UNDERLYING ASPECTS OF LIBERATION MUSIC

2.2.1 CATHARSIS

The use of verbal art where, through innuendo and metaphor, peoples utilize their songs as outlets for emotional release i.e. catharsis, is a common feature of most liberation music.

Levine (1977) speaks of this element of cathartic release through song when he describes the experience of a Dutch traveller in 17th century Africa, who related a ceremony of eight days which he had twice witnessed on the Gold Coast. People were allowed to sing of all the faults, scandals and villainies of their superiors without punishment. Another similar ceremony was described by an English anthropologist, R.S. Rattray (in Levine, 1977:8) who, 200 years later, witnessed the same type of annual eight-day ceremony where the Ashanti people freely chanted their normally repressed feelings in the following song, without fear of reprisal:

*All is well to-day
We know that a Brong man eats rats,
But we never knew that one of royal blood eats rats.
But to-day we have seen our master, Ansah, eating rats.
To-day all is well and we may say so, say so, say so.
At other times we may not say so, say so, say so.*

¹

Catharsis (n.) "purgation; outlet to emotion afforded by drama", *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current Use: 1964.*

The underlying element of catharsis is clearly manifested in the words of the previous song and also emphasized by Bobby McFerrin (in Ellison, 1989:106), who sees music as a “*very potent and healing force*”².

In many cases the liberation ideology is unable to be expressed without reprisals and this is where the songs present a unique avenue for cathartic release. This fact clearly manifested itself during the *apartheid* era in South Africa where frustrations built up by the black masses could be expressed only in liberation songs, as all other vehicles of political expression had been banned. In this respect the songs served as an especially potent catharsis. It may be assumed that the black masses must have been aware of the fact that the majority of whites in South Africa, seen by the blacks as the oppressors, could not understand the black languages. Frustrations could thus be expressed without the whites understanding the words which were aimed at them. Liberation music rather than politics provided the real voice of black South Africa until 1992, because there were no other channels open to protest.

Elaine Brown’s statement (in Ellison, 1989:85), that political statements can be “*more radical in songs than in speeches without being labelled dangerous*”, is a further foundation for the theory that the singing of liberation songs can be seen as cathartic release.

The element of cathartic release is explained by Kunene, who sees the singing of liberation songs as “*an act of self-emancipation to be able to confront your oppressor face to face and tell him in uncensored language what you think of him ... the accusatory ‘you’ is hurled like a barbed spear at the white oppressor*” (1986:46). Kunene’s statement pertaining to South African liberation songs will be seen as being symptomatic of world liberation songs.

2.2.2 MUSIC AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POWER

A study of relevant literature indicates that music, and more specifically song, has the potential to:

- energise and empower
- manipulate emotionally, and
- create unity.

²

Also refer to de Lerma (1973:147) where an example is cited of Congolese plantation workers singing about their grievances and threatening resignation.

2.2.2.1 Music Energises and Empowers

With regard to the **energising and empowerment** potential, researchers (Pratt, 1990:38; Ellison, 1989:102) argue that music which empowers releases human energies as well as inviting investment of affective powers. By being empowered one is "*energized rather than depressed; one might sense the possibility of enormous and positive changes, rather than being overwhelmed by the immensity of what only apparently cannot be accomplished*" (Pratt, 1990:38). Ellison supports this statement when he says that music can start revolutions in the hearts and minds of people everywhere and that "*Music is a weapon in the armoury of revolutionary change*" (1989:102).

A concrete example of the belief in the power of liberation music is the Little Red Song Book published by the Wobblies (Refer to 2.3.4), the American singing trade union movement of the early twentieth century. The outside cover of the book carried the slogan "*IWW³ Songs - to Fan the Flames of Discontent*" (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:16) This book and the underlying messages in the different songs were used as a medium through which to organise and influence the workers.

2.2.2.2 Music Manipulates Emotionally

Liberation songs not only empower the performer, but there is also a belief that the listeners become emotionally manipulated. In this regard, Mondak states that "*Although rhetorical in nature, protest lyrics are creative expressions designed to elicit an emotional response rather than being polemics for cognitive examination. They do not call for intellectual processing from the auditors to whom they are directed; the treatment of topics, and the topics themselves, appeal to the emotions*" (1988:27). This statement will be verified by the fact that certain music which was seen as liberation music was banned in some countries; while in other instances, music was used for political propaganda, with the intent to influence the listener.

Concerning the potential of music to manipulate emotionally, a concrete example can be traced to the American South, where members of the Ku Klux Klan⁴, alarmed at the prospect of their youth being influenced by "Negro" records, put up posters everywhere warning people of the dangers of

³ IWW: Industrial Workers of the World.

⁴ Ku Klux Klan: American Right Wing Organisation where members have to be white, Gentile and Protestant. The members of the organisation encourage racial and religious intolerance.

this type of music and exerted pressure to force stations to stop playing rock on the air (Larson, 1972:89). Later references in this study also give examples of singers of liberation songs being imprisoned in South Africa, confirming that these songs were seen as threatening and possibly able to manipulate the listener emotionally.

The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union are countries where the organized use of music for propaganda to the populace was prevalent. Later references will show how all music in these countries had to echo the Party ideologies. The German fascist, Adolf Hitler, also used music as propaganda by ordering performances of the works of Richard Wagner, whose operas reflect the ideology of the superiority of the German race, an ideology which Hitler endorsed.

2.2.2.3 Music Creates Unity

The potential of liberation music to create unity amongst people manifests itself very clearly worldwide (Mondak, 1988; Perris, 1985; Vail & White, 1991). Van Schalkwyk corroborates this concerning black South Africans, who, she says, "*did not only feel a sense of emotional relief in performance, but they gained a notion of collective identity*" (1994:6). Steve Biko⁵ also addresses this aspect of unity through song, when speaking of the so-called "Negro spirituals," sung by black slaves in the United States "*in suffering they derived sustenance out of a feeling of togetherness*" (1978:57).

The above-mentioned aspects were all clearly stressed by Steve Biko (1978), concerning the significance of singing for black South Africans under the *apartheid* regime: "*Any suffering we experienced was made more real by song and rhythm*" (1978:57). This leads to "*[a] culture of defiance, self-assertion and group pride and solidarity. This is a culture that emanates from a situation of common experience of oppression ... and is responsible for the restoration of our faith in ourselves and offers a hope in the direction we are taking from here*" (1978:60).

Different genres of liberation music will now be considered in some countries other than South Africa. In all of this music, cathartic and power aspects are apparent.

5

Steve Biko:

Black South African activist who died while in detention. More information to be found in Chapter 4.

2.3 DIFFERENT GENRES OF LIBERATION MUSIC

It is interesting to learn about these songs as so many parallels can be drawn between the historical aspects of South African liberation songs and those of other countries. Songs emanating from the following periods will be addressed:

- Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century Popular Struggles
- Revolutionary and Democratic Movements in Europe and Britain, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries
- Progressive and Imperialist Europe and Britain, 1871 to 1914
- Fight Against Exploitation in America - Industrial, and
- World War 1 and its Aftermath in Europe.

2.3.1 FOURTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURY POPULAR STRUGGLES

The Plague, commonly called "The Black Death", which in 1348 killed off a third of the population of England, gave the downtrodden serf labourers an opportunity of improving their lot. They were able to exploit the shortage of labour resulting from the devastation of the Plague as a means to bargain for better wages and living conditions. The Feudal nobility retaliated through Parliament in 1350 by passing the Statute of Labourers which bound workmen and servants to their masters under penalty of imprisonment. The labourers thus formed themselves into an organisation called The Great Society "*which gave their spontaneous militancy the strength of unity*" (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:17). Consequently in 1381 there was the Peasants' Revolt, where the downtrodden rose in armed revolt against among other things, the imposition of higher taxes. The song *The Cutty Wren*, dates from this period.

The Cutty Wren

The musical score for "The Cutty Wren" is written on two staves in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The melody is simple and folk-like. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score is divided into ten numbered measures. The lyrics are: "Oh, where are you go - ing?" said Mil - der to Mal - der, "Oh, we may not tell you," said Fest - le to Fosc. "We're off to the woods," said

John the Red Nose,
*We're off to the
woods,
said John the Red Nose.

This musical score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of six measures, numbered 11 through 16. The melody is written on a single staff. Measure 11: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter). Measure 12: D5 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter). Measure 13: G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter). Measure 14: C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (quarter). Measure 15: F#3 (quarter), E3 (quarter), D3 (quarter), C3 (quarter). Measure 16: B2 (quarter), A2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F#2 (quarter).

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:175-176.

According to Fowke & Glazer (1973), the symbolism of the song grew out of the old pagan custom of hunting the wren. In many legends, the wren, known as the "King of the Birds", is pictured as a tyrant. The wren thus became a symbol of baronial property, and this song was sung by the peasants planning to seize and redistribute the land among the poor. Another song dating from this period is *The Rocks of Bawn* which is also a lament by the oppressed peasant class.

The Rocks of Bawn

Come all you loy - al he - roes wher - ev - er that you be, Don't
hire with an - y mas - ter till you know what your work will be. For
you must rise up ear - ly from the clear day - light till dawn, I'm a -
fraid you won't be a - ble for to plough the rocks of bawn.

This musical score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of sixteen measures, numbered 1 through 16. The melody is written on a single staff. Measure 1: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter). Measure 2: D5 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter). Measure 3: G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter). Measure 4: C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (quarter). Measure 5: F#3 (quarter), E3 (quarter), D3 (quarter), C3 (quarter). Measure 6: B2 (quarter), A2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F#2 (quarter). Measure 7: E3 (quarter), D3 (quarter), C3 (quarter), B2 (quarter). Measure 8: A2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F#2 (quarter), E2 (quarter). Measure 9: D2 (quarter), C2 (quarter), B1 (quarter), A1 (quarter). Measure 10: G1 (quarter), F#1 (quarter), E1 (quarter), D1 (quarter). Measure 11: C2 (quarter), B1 (quarter), A1 (quarter), G1 (quarter). Measure 12: F#1 (quarter), E1 (quarter), D1 (quarter), C2 (quarter). Measure 13: B1 (quarter), A1 (quarter), G1 (quarter), F#1 (quarter). Measure 14: E1 (quarter), D1 (quarter), C2 (quarter), B1 (quarter). Measure 15: A1 (quarter), G1 (quarter), F#1 (quarter), E1 (quarter). Measure 16: D1 (quarter), C2 (quarter), B1 (quarter), A1 (quarter).

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:53.

Fowke & Glazer discuss a German folk song, which they say dates back to the Peasants' War of 1524-26 when the oppressed peasants revolted against exploitation by the nobles. This song, *Die*

Gedanken sind Frei, "continued to be sung by later freedom movements in Germany and was widely sung in the schools of pre-Hitler Germany" (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:178-9).

Die Gedanken Sind Frei

Die Ge - dan - ken sind frei, my thoughts free - ly flo - wer, Die Ge - dan - ken sind
 frei, my thoughts give me po - wer, No scho - lar can map them, no
 hun - ter can trap them, No man can de - ny: Die Ge - dan - ken sind
 frei. No man can de - ny, Die Ge - dan - ken sind frei!

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:178.

3.2 REVOLUTIONARY AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND BRITAIN, SEVENTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES

The main movements that will be referred to are:

- the French Revolution (1789 - 1799), and
- the Industrial Revolution and the Growth of Trade Unions in Britain.

3.2.1 French Revolution (1789 -1799)

During this Revolution the French National Anthem, which according to Fowke & Glazer (1973) is the international song of revolt, was composed. Ironically this song, the *Chant de Guerre pour l'Armée du Rhin* (1792), was not conceived as an expression of rebellion as its composer, Joseph Roget de Lisle, was a young French captain who was completely loyal to his king and wrote the song as an expression of his patriotism (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:185). The song was, however, received with such enthusiasm that it was sung *en route* to Paris by a group of volunteers from

Marseilles and taken up by the frenzied Paris mob when they stormed the Tuilleries. It was given the name *La Marseillaise* by the Marseilles volunteers.

La Marseillaise

Sol - diers of France the morn is break - ing the day of glo - ry dawns at
 last! See the ty - rant's ban - ner shak - ing as it base - ly streams in the
 blast. As it base - ly streams in the blast the field of bat - tle lies be -
 fore you fiend foe - men ad - vance in their pride, Con - fu - sions spread - ing far and
 wide while for aid your chil - dren im - plore you to arms and hence a -
 way To arms this glo - rious day, march on march
 on brave sons of France to fame and vic - to ry

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:56.

In 1795 it was declared the official national anthem of France and it became the symbol of the Revolution, of the "Rights of Man", of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity": characteristics which are analogous with many liberation struggles, including the South Africa liberation struggle, throughout the world (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:185).

2.3.2.2 Industrial Revolution and the Growth of Trade Unions in Britain

The development of industrial machinery and the growth of factories in Britain in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was called the Industrial Revolution. This saw the rise of a strong bourgeoisie as well as the evolution of a whole body of craft workers and farm labourers into a new class of industrial workers, who drew up petitions from 1837 for more rights. Many of the leaders of this industrial class were imprisoned for protesting. *The Song of the Lower Classes* echoes the feeling of desperation which the workers felt (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:63).

Song of the Lower Class

1 We plough and sow we're so ve - ry ve - ry low that we delve in the dir - ty

2

3

4 clay till we bless the plain with the gol - den grain and the

5

6

7 vale with the fra - grant hay our place we know we're so

8

9

10 ve - ry ve - ry low 'tis down at the land - lord's feet we're

11

12

13 not too low the grain to grow but too low the bread to

14

15

16 eat we're not too low the grain to grow but too

17

18

19 low the bread to eat we're not too low the

20

21

22 grain to grow but too low the bread to eat.

23

24

McDonnell (ed.), 1979:63.

As early as 1729 the British Parliament had passed laws called the Anti-Combination Acts, which effectively prevented the formation of Trade Unions. In 1824, however, the Combination Acts were repealed and an expansion of Trade Union organisation and activity followed. In 1844 the Trade Unions organised a strike in Durham. A song written during this strike is *The Coal-owner and the Pitman's Wife*, written by a collier, William Hornsby (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:67).

The Coal-owner and the Pitman's Wife

A dia - logue I'll tell you as true as my life. be - tween a coal - own - er and a poor pit - man's wife. As she was a - walk - ing a - long the high - way she met a coal - own - er and this she did say, der - ry down, down down der - ry down.

The musical score is written on a single treble clef staff in 8/8 time. It consists of three lines of music. The first line contains measures 1, 2, and 3. The second line contains measures 4, 5, and 6. The third line contains measures 7, 8, 9, and 10. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:63.

Another strike lasting five months was organised on the north-east coast of England in 1871 and ended in success for the workers. The song *The Strike* was written during this work stoppage by Joe Wilson (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:70).

The Strike

Come me can - ny Tync - si - ders and lis - ten to a song that I'm cer - tain you'll like and I'll whis - per a word kind and chee - ring to the ma - ny poor fel - lows on strike. Let them

The musical score is written on a single treble clef staff in 8/8 time. It consists of three lines of music. The first line contains measures 1 and 2. The second line contains measures 3, 4, and 5. The third line contains measures 6, 7, and 8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

keep up their hearts as they have done. There's a day for the true and the
brave, and the time would come yet when the mas - ters will find
out a me - chan - ic's no slave.

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:70.

According to McDonnell (1986), Frederick Engels in his study Conditions of the Working Class in England, gives a harrowing account of the exploitation of the use of women and children for industrial labour in wealthy nineteenth century Britain. Exploitation of child labour in the mines is the subject of the song *Fourpence a day*.

Fourpence a Day

The ore is wai - ting in the turs the snow's up - on the fell
Can - ny folk are sleep - ing yet but lead is rect to sell Come my lit - tle wash - er lad
Come let's a - way. We're bound down to slav - er - y for four pence a day

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:71.

2.3.3 PROGRESSIVE AND IMPERIALIST EUROPE AND BRITAIN, 1871 TO 1914

Reference will be made here to the:

- industrial workers in France
- industrial workers in Britain, and
- industrial workers in Ireland.

2.3.3.1 Industrial Workers in France

In France the working class struck a dramatic blow for its freedom when on 18 March 1871, after the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War, the workers of Paris seized the Hotel de Ville, ran up a red flag and issued a manifesto where they stated that they, the proletarians of Paris, would be taking matters into their own hands as the ruling class had failed. They proclaimed the General Council of the Commune in Paris on 26 March 1871, which was crushed by government forces. The words of the song *The Internationale* were written by a Communard, Eugene Pottier, who escaped the savage reprisals and fled to London.

Internationale

1 A- rise ye starvings from your slum- bers A- rise ye crim- i- nals of want, for

2 3 4

5 rea- son in re-volt now thun- ders and at last ends the age of cant. Now a- way with all su- per-

6 7 8 9

10 sti- tions ser- vile mass- es a- rise! A- rise we'll change forth- with the old con- di- tions and

11 12 13 14

15 spurn the dust to win the prize Then- com- rades come ral- ly and the last fight let us face. The

16 Chorus 17 18 19 20

21 In- ter- na- tion- al - U- nites the hu- man race Then com- rades come ral- ly and the

22 23 24 25 26

27 last fight let us face. The In- ter- na- tion- al U- nites the hu- man race

28 29 30 31 32

Ironically the tune to this song, a song inciting political strife, was itself the subject of another kind of strife: an eighteen year lawsuit between Pierre Degeyter and his brother, Adolphe, as to the authorship of the melody. Pierre finally prevailed. McDonnell (1986) points out that *The Internationale* has come to be regarded as the anthem of all progressive humanity, with its call for fraternal bonds between all suffering peoples and classes. There have been many translations of this song and the Congo-Brazzaville took it as its national anthem (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:21). It also became the official anthem of the Soviet Union from 1937 to 1944 and was sung in South Africa by members of the Garment Workers' Union.

2.3.3.2 Industrial Workers in Britain

Jim Connell of the Social Democratic Federation in Britain wrote *The Red Flag* in 1889.

The Red Flag

The peo- ple's flag is deep- est red. It shroud-ed oft our mar- tyred dead. And
ere their limbs grew stiff and cold. Their hearts' blood dyed its ev- 'ry fold Then
raise the scar- let stan- dard high with- in its shade we'll live or die tho'
cow- ards flinch and trai- tors sneer. We'll keep the red flag fly- ing here.

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:66.

This song has for years been the battle hymn of the British Socialist movement and is sung at the close of every British Labour Party Conference (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:21). Connell told his friends that he was inspired to write this song by, among other things, the Paris Commune and the heroism of the Russian nihilists. He said that the only tune that would suit *The Red Flag* was *The White Cockade* which he hummed while writing the words. He was very annoyed

when A.S. Headingly took it on himself to change the tune to *Tannenbaum*, an old German Roman Catholic Christmas Carol (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:22). This tune is the one popularly used. The Communists adopted the song as the banner of the working classes, as did the democratic socialists of Europe and the socialist parties in the U.S.A. (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:191). This song was also sung by the Garment Workers' Union in South Africa.

2.3.3.3 Industrial Workers in Ireland

On 21 August 1913, forty men in Ireland were sacked because they were members of the newly formed and rapidly growing ITGWU (Irish Transport and General Workers Union). This event triggered off the greatest labour struggle in the history of Ireland (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:13). The ITGWU called out their men in protest and demanded higher wages. The strike was met with police violence and on 3 September 1913 Dublin employers met and agreed to lock out any employees who refused to sign a pledge which, amongst other things, prohibited them from belonging to the ITGWU. Tremendous solidarity was shown by the workers and the employers failed to crush the working class (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:38-39). The song *Dublin City* relates the conditions at that time and tells of the police brutality.

Dublin City

1 In Du - blin Ci - ty in nine - teen thir - teen the boss was boss and th'em-ploy'd a

2

3

4 slave, the wo - man work'd and the child was hun - gry when Lar - kin

5

6

7 came like a tow - 'ring wave, the work - er cring'd when the boss - man

8

9

10 thun - der'd and se - ven - ty hours was his week - ly chore, he ask'd for

11

12

13 lit - tle and less was grant - ed lest giv - en lit - tle he'd ask for more.

14

15

16

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:86.

2.3.4 FIGHT AGAINST EXPLOITATION IN AMERICA - INDUSTRIAL

Fowke & Glazer (1973) state that the majority of American work and protest music sprang from the Trade Union movement which can roughly be divided into three periods, namely:

- the early songs (before 1900)
- the Wobbly songs (early 1900 - 1920s), and
- modern songs.

Only the first two will be dealt with here.

2.3.4.1 Early Songs (before 1900)

One of the early songs which has survived is *The Eight Hour Day*, set to the tune of *The British Grenadiers*, which was an agitation for an eight hour working day (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:26).

The Eight Hour Day

The musical score for 'The Eight Hour Day' is presented in four staves of music. Each staff contains a line of lyrics with numbered boxes (1-16) above the notes. The lyrics are: 'We're brave and gal-lant mi-ner boys who work down un-der-ground. For cou-rage and good na-ture no fi-ner can be found. We work both late and ear-ly, and get but lit-tle pay To sup-port our wives and chil-dren in free A-mer-i-kay.'

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:26.

2.3.4.2 Wobbly Songs

In 1905, the organisation called Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), soon nicknamed the "Wobblies", was brought into being. The first great outpouring of political songs in twentieth century United States came from the Wobblies. Dunson (1965) states that two musical traditions went into the songs of the Wobblies, namely:

- Methodist-Baptist revival music as employed by evangelists and the Salvation Army, and
- the songs which readily lent themselves to the IWW radicalism.

From 1911 to 1961, thirty editions of the Western Wobbly song book, The Little Red Song Book appeared with songs which had no original tunes, but which relied on melodies well known to IWW members. Their subjects reflected class war at its sharpest; they told of Wobbly martyrs killed by company guards; and they gave instructions for strike struggles (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:16).

One of the most famous working-class songs by an IWW member, Ralph Chaplin, was *Solidarity Forever*⁶, written in 1915 to the tune of the American Civil War song *John Brown's Body*.

Solidarity Forever

When the union's in-spi-ra-tion through the wor-ker's blood shall run. There can
 be no pow-er great-er a-ny-where be-neath the sun. Yet what
 force on earth is weak-er than the fee-ble strength of one but the
 un-ion makes us strong. Sol-i-da-ri-ty for-
 ev-er, Sol-i-da-ri-ty for-ev-er.

Measures 1-12 are indicated by numbered boxes above the staff. Measure 9 is labeled "CHORUS".

⁶ References to the singing of this song in South Africa by Trade Union members will be found in 4.4.9.

13 Sol - i - da - ri - ty for - ev - er, For the

15 un - ion makes us strong

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:76.

According to Fowke & Glazer (1973), this song is the most popular union song on the North American continent and has become the anthem of the American labour movement. They point out that Chaplin wrote six verses, only three of which are sung today as the others are outmoded and do not relate to present-day union members.

Fowke & Glazer (1973) give other examples of well-known Wobbly songs, all with the same theme: militant songs which addressed working conditions. They include *The Commonwealth of Toil*, *We shall not be moved* and *We will overcome* (refer to 2.4.2).

The Commonwealth of Toil

1 In the gloom of mighty ci - ties, midst the roar of whir - ling

4 wheels, we are toil - ing on like chat - tel slaves of old

8 And our mas - ters hope to keep us e - ver thus be - neath their

12 heels, and to coin our ve - ry life - blood in - to gold

16 **CHORUS** 17 But we have a glow - ing dream of how fair the world will

20 seem, when each man can live his life se - cure and free;

21

22

23

24 When the earth is owned by la - bor and there's joy and peace for

25

26

27

28 all In the Com - mon - wealth of Toil that is to be.

29

30

31

32

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:14-15.

We Shall Not Be Moved

1 The u - nion is be - hind us; we shall not be moved. The

2

3 u - nion is be - hind us, we shall not be moved. Just like a

4

5 tree that's plant - ed by the wa - ter, We shall not be

6

7

8 moved. **CHORUS** We shall not be, we shall not be moved,

9

10

11 We shall not be, we shall not be moved Just like a

12

13 tree that's plant - ed by the wa - ter, We shall not be moved.

14

15

16

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:38-39.

In the East, where the IWW strength was in textile industries, opposition to World War I resulted in the arrest of hundreds of leaders and the end of the IWW as an active force in

American labour. Even after the organisation was no longer functioning, the songs continued to be sung by ex-Wobblies. Dunson (1965) points out that no other movement was so immersed in singing as the IWW, until the Civil Rights freedom movement of the 1960s.

An example of a later union song is *The Song of the Guaranteed Wage* dating from the 1950s strikes when workers began demanding guaranteed wages which could provide greater security for them.

The Song of the Guaranteed Wage

The musical score is written on a single treble clef staff in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: "I'll tell you the story of Jo - na - thon Tweed, who had a good wife and four chil - dren to feed. His wa - ges bought food and a place they could bunk, But du - ring a lay - off, poor John - ny was sunk. Yes sunk." The score includes measure numbers 1, 5, 9, and 13. There are two endings for the final phrase: "1. Yes sunk." and "2. Yes sunk.".

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:162.

Many of these songs express similar sentiments to those expressed by Labour Unions in South Africa.

2.3.5 WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH IN EUROPE

2.3.5.1 Struggle Against Fascism

The 1920s and 1930s saw the growth and establishment in government of powerful fascist parties in various European countries such as Spain, Italy and Germany. Many communists and socialists were imprisoned, especially in Germany, after the seizure of power by Adolf Hitler in 1933.

According to McDonnell (1979), the song *The Peat-Bog Soldiers*, was written by an unnamed prisoner in the Borgermoor Camp near the Dutch Frontier.

The Peat Bog Soldiers

The musical score is written in G major and 2/4 time. It consists of five staves of music. The first four staves contain the main body of the song, and the fifth staff contains the chorus. Each measure is numbered from 1 to 26. The lyrics are printed below the notes.

1 Far and wide as the eye can wan- der heath and
2
3
4
5
6 bog are ev- 'ry - where not a bird sings
7
8
9
10
11 out to cheer us oaks are stand- ing gaunt and bare
12
13
14
15
16
17 **CHORUS** We are the peat - bog sol - diers we're
18
19
20
21
22 march- ing with our spades to the bog
23
24
25
26

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:95.

Its German name is *Die Moorsoldaten* and it gives an account of thirteen months of imprisonment in a concentration camp. From the time it was written the song enjoyed a steady rise in popularity among anti-fascists and during the Spanish Civil War it was a favourite marching song of the International Brigade (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:193).

In Germany, the perception that music influences people was so strong that the Nazis laid down rules for the performing and composing of music which was free from any Jewish and Negro jazz influences. Perris explains how musicians were admonished to use the major key, to sing words "*expressing joy in life rather than Jewish gloomy lyrics ... and to use brisk tempos which do not exceed an allegro, commensurate with the Aryan sense of discipline and moderation*" (1985:56). Certain instruments were also banned and the plucking of strings was also prohibited "*since it is damaging to the instrument and detrimental to Aryan musicality*" (Perris, 1985:56). There was also an arbitrary ban on Jewish musicians and music in Germany.

In the Volkischer Beobachter of 13 October 1935, the German nation was informed that "nigger jazz" was to be totally banned from German radio. All radio channels were ordered to play a jazz parody so that everyone would know what would no longer be tolerated on German radio stations. The same jazz melody was then to be arranged in the German dance music style so that the nation could hear the difference and be aware of banned "nigger jazz".

The German composer, Richard Wagner (1813-1883), was compelled to flee Germany for his participation in the 1848 rebellion. His banishment from his homeland was revoked in 1861 and from that point on he put aside his enthusiasm for democracy and political change. Later he published his attitudes on race, religion and German nationalism, and these are reflected in his music, which is based not only on the musical sound but on the message of the potential of the German people. Perris (1985) points out that he did not, however, hold out his arms to all his compatriots, because he rejected those who were Jewish, and some Roman Catholics (the Semite-Latin church). Hitler showed his admiration of Wagner's works and ideology by ordering performances of his music.

Bandiera Rossa is an anti-fascist Italian song written before the Spanish Civil War.

Bandiera Rossa

The peo - ple on the march the road are tread - ing that leads to

free - dom that leads to free - dom the hour of strug - gle's here our cour - age

need - ing our ban - ner lead - ing to vic - to - ry.

CHORUS

Raise then the scar - let flag tri - umph - ant - ly Raise then the scar - let flag tri -

umph - ant - ly Raise then the scar - let flag tri - umph - ant - ly We

fight for peace and pro - gress and our lib - er - ty, op - pression shall cease

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:96.

However, many volunteers from other countries brought it home with them from that war and it is sung today in many languages all over the world (McDonnell, 1979:96).

It is, however, necessary to study American black folk music as well, as there is a distinct correlation between American and South African liberation and protest songs. This section will be considered separately, as the history of the slaves and their fight for freedom reflects a similar historical struggle to that of South African blacks and is thus especially relevant to this study.

2.4 BLACK FOLK MUSIC IN AMERICA

Two aspects of black American folk music will be addressed, namely:

- songs of the slaves, and
- songs of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

2.4.1 SONGS OF THE SLAVES

The songs sung by slaves date from the time of slavery in the American colonies during the seventeenth century. The slaves came from Africa and brought with them the African singing tradition, contributing music and song of great beauty and power to western culture.

Nettl gives a definition of Afro-American music as *"that which black Americans regard as peculiarly their own; music which has traces of African origin, but more important it symbolizes the totality of black culture"* (1976:89).

Nettl (1976) infers that traits highly developed in Africa are carried over into American Negro music; while the less developed African musical traits tend to disappear, giving way to European counterparts. For the purpose of this study the African features of slave music will be addressed as they correspond with the style of South African liberation music.

American slaves came from essentially Western African societies with varying musical practices. There was limited knowledge of the music of these countries but one characteristic which stood out clearly was the fact that song was the most characteristic music of West Africans and that there were songs for all occasions (Nettl, 1976:90). Much of West African singing, which shares many similarities with black South African music, is performed antiphonally, known as the call-and-response style. The individual phrases in this antiphony tend to be short, but are often augmented by variations or improvisation. Musical structures are based, usually, on repetition of these short phrases. By Western standards the melodic patterns are relatively simple while rhythm, perhaps the most distinctive feature of African music, is, by Western standards, extremely complex. Syncopation is common, *"often resulting in patterns called 'hot rhythm', a feature retained in the West Indies as well as in some North American Negro folk styles"* (Nettl, 1976:91).

Southern (1971) says that Frederick Douglass and Solomon Northup were the most articulate of the ex-slaves who tried to explain the meaning of the slave songs, and in his autobiography Douglass states that slaves sang most when they were unhappy. Among others there were songs of social comment, sorrow songs, satirical songs, work songs, anti-pass songs and songs to do with the abolition of slavery. *"Slave songs in general were imbued with multiple elements of resistance and the very musical patterns of their spirituals were a symptom of the refusal of black men and women to abandon their African cultural heritage"* (Ellison, 1989:106).

Some of these types of song will be discussed, namely:

- Work songs
- Anti-pass songs
- War songs
- Abolitionist songs
- Songs of the American Civil War (1861 - 1865), and
- White Spirituals.

2.4.1.1 Work Songs

Southern (1971) states that for the slave, music was one of the chief avenues of escape from a life that held little dignity and meaning. The slaveholders, realising the power of music, encouraged its use, not only as a means of increasing the work output of the slaves, but more important, as a means of preventing depression and suicidal impulses.

Among the best known of these songs were those sung in the cotton plantations. There seems to be a common perception that song can make hard labour light and many of the work songs in South Africa and among the slaves had the dual purpose of alleviating the monotony of work as well as being songs of protest. Steve Biko echoes these sentiments when he says "*at work the binding rhythm makes everybody brush off the burden and hence Africans can continue for hours on end because of this added energy*" (1978:57).

The content of work songs came to have a critical and oppositional character and "*collective forms of oppositional consciousness grew under the very eyes of the overseer*" (Pratt, 1990:13).

2.4.1.2 Anti-pass Songs

The Patrol System in the South was especially organized to enforce the Black Codes. Composed of local whites, patrols had the authority to challenge slaves caught without passes and to break up unlawful gatherings of Negroes. The Negroes had to get passes to go to the city, a situation similar to that which caused confrontation between black South Africans and the *apartheid* regime during the 20th century. Needless to say many liberation and protest songs sprang from this situation.

2.4.1.3 War Songs

By the end of the American War of Independence (1775-1783) there were more than 186 000 black men inducted into the army as "United States Colored Troops". One of the first acts of the white commanding officers of Negro regiments was to procure instruments and music instructors for the formation of bands (Southern, 1971:227). Black servicemen's singing of folk songs frequently drew the attention of commanding officers. Although some songs were especially written for the soldiers,

the black soldiers seemed to prefer their own texts. Southern gives the example of the text of *Battle Hymn of the Republic* written for the black soldiers and to be sung to the tune *John Brown's Body*, which was not as popular as their own texts sung to this tune. The tune of *John Brown's Body* was used for marching songs, camp songs, social songs, and even religious songs. Here is a version of this song which was written by black soldiers who were in actual fact slaves:

We are done with hoeing cotton (Repeat)

We are colored Yankee soldiers, as sure as you are born

When Massa hears us shouting, he will think 'tis Gabriel's horn,

As we go marching on.

(Southern, 1971:228).

John Brown's Body came to be the unofficial theme song of black soldiers.

John Brown's Body

1 John Brown's bo - dy lies a - mould' - ring in the grave, 2 3 John Brown's bo - dy lies a -

4 mould' - ring in the grave, 5 John Brown's bo - dy lies a - mould' - ring in the grave. But his

7 8 9 CHORUS soul goes march - ing on. Glo - ry, glo - ry, hal - le -

10 lu - jah! 11 Glo - ry, glo - ry, hal - le - lu - jah!

12 13 14 15 16 Glo - ry, glo - ry, hal - le - lu - jah! His soul goes march - ing on!

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:170-1.

2.4.1.4 Abolitionist Songs

Over the years the slaves had developed a sizeable repertoire of songs about the day when freedom should come. *Go down, Moses* is a good example of such a song.

Go Down Moses

When Is-rael was in E-gypt's land, Let my peo-ple
 go! Op-pressed so hard they could not stand,
 Let my peo-ple go! Go down,
 Mo-ses, 'Way down in E-gypt's land
 Tell old Pha-roah To let my peo-ple go!

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:168.

According to Fowke & Glazer (1973) the slaves saw the trials and tribulations of the children of Israel in the pattern of their own bondage. They could thus do full justice to the great Bible story of liberation, where Moses stood up to Pharaoh and said: "Let my people go". The song was also sung by Negro regiments in the American Civil War (1859-1865) (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:169).

As early as 1766 the slaves themselves began to agitate for their freedom in the courts and legislative assemblies and this indirectly led to the anti-slavery movements which became very militant. At a typical anti-slavery meeting the lecture platform was shared by speakers and singers or a song leader. Southern (1971) states that songs were an indispensable part of the programme, being used to "put fire" into the meetings.

In 1849 William Wells Brown published some of the most popular anti-slavery songs in a collection, The Anti-Slavery Harp. Only song texts were included but there are references to suitable tunes. Since the words of these songs were all-important, "*it was essential that only well-known tunes be used, so that audiences would give all their attention to the texts*" (Southern, 1971:128). One of the songs appearing in this book is *Run to Jesus*.

Run to Jesus

The musical score for 'Run to Jesus' is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of four staves of music with lyrics underneath. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The lyrics are: 'Run to Je - sus, shun the dan - ger I'. The second staff has a measure rest of 3 measures, followed by a first ending bracket (1.) and a second ending bracket (2.). The lyrics are: 'don't ex-pect to stay much long - er here, run to long - er here he will'. The third staff has a measure rest of 6 measures. The lyrics are: 'be our dear-est friend and will help us in the end I'. The fourth staff has a measure rest of 8 measures. The lyrics are: 'don't ex-pect to stay much long - er here.'

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:77.

One of the earliest activities of the abolitionists was the Underground Railroad, an organisation existing for the sole purpose of helping fugitive slaves to escape. Songs played a significant role in the activities of the Underground Railroad, as most of the songs had a veiled meaning, e.g. the purpose of one song was to alert the slaves that a "conductor" was on the way. The ex-slave Harriet Tubman (1820 - 1913) was one such conductor who made innumerable trips back into the south to help others to escape. She used a special song to disclose her presence to the slaves:

*Dark and thorny is de pathway
Where de pilgrim makes his ways
But beyond dis vale of sorrow
Lie de fields of endless days.*

(Southern, 1971:129).

When the slaves heard this song they would make preparations for leaving because they understood from the song that the abolitionists were near. Southern (1971) gives examples of other songs used in the same context: *Steal Away to Jesus*; *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot*; *I Hear from Heaven To-Day*; *Good News, de Chariot's Coming*; *Oh, Sinner, You'd Better Get Ready* and *De Gospel Train*. These texts served as alerting songs, but there were also songs that served as songs containing cryptic directions ("maps"), the best known of which was *Follow the Drinkin' Gourd*.

Follow the Drinkin' Gourd

1 Fol- low the drink - in' gourd! 3 Fol- low the

4 drink- in' gourd. 5 For the old man is a- wait- in' for to

6 car- ry you to free- dom If you fol- low the drink - in'

8 gourd. 9 When the sun comes back and the first quail calls,

11 Fol- low the drin- in' gourd. 13 For the old man is a- wait- in' for to

14 car- ry you to free- dom if you fol- low the drink - in' 16 gourd.

Southern, 1971:131.

An interesting song was:

*Deep river, my home is over Jordan,
Deep river, Lawd, I wan' to cross
over into camp ground.*

(*Deep river*, Johnson & Johnson, 1989:100-101).

Ellison (1989) speaks of this song as a song of defiance. The phrase “my home is over Jordan” actually represents the north (home) and the Ohio River (Jordan). The phrase “that promised land where all is peace” refers to the freedom of the north. It was an uplifting spiritual which unlike its present status of being sung in a minor key was often sung in a major key. According to Ellison (1989) the use of a major key was significant because its sound was more positive and thus it raised the hope and aspiration of the slaves that one day they would be freed.

Fowke & Glazer (1973) state that during the years prior to the Civil War, both white and black men began to sing of the day when slavery would be abolished. The leaders of the Abolitionist movement set up anti-slavery singing circles and wrote special songs for them, generally set to the tunes of old hymns. A good example of such a song is *The Abolitionist Hymn*, sung to the tune of *Old Hundredth*.

The Abolitionist Hymn

The image shows a musical score for 'The Abolitionist Hymn' in G major, 4/4 time. The melody is written on a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics are: 'We ask not that the slave should lie As lies his mas- ter, at his ease, Be- neath a sil- ken ca- no- py. Or in the shade of bloom- ing trees.' The score is divided into eight numbered measures (1-8). Measures 1, 2, 3, and 4 are on the first line, and measures 5, 6, 7, and 8 are on the second line. The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some measures containing rests. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:167.

See Chapters 3 and 4 for South African liberation songs set to the tune of hymns.

2.4.1.5 Songs of the American Civil War (1861 to 1865)

According to Hamm, “the Civil War was one of the most deeply felt episodes in American history and it left a heritage of music that reflects those feelings in the most vivid way” (Songs of the Civil War, 1978: Record cover).

The black people did not accept slavery with submission. Many escaped north from the southern states. When Frederick Douglas, editor of the newspaper, The Northern Star, issued a call to people to take arms to win their freedom and smash slavery in the southern states there was a great

response from black Americans (McDonnell (ed.), 1986:32). The spiritual *Oh! Freedom* is proof of the slave's hatred of bondage.

Oh! Freedom

The musical score for 'Oh! Freedom' is presented in four staves of music. Each staff contains a line of lyrics with numbered boxes (1-16) above the notes. The lyrics are: 'No more moan- ing, no more moan- ing, No more moan- ing, Lord, for me And be- fore I'd be a slave, I'd be bu- ried in my grave, And go home to my Lord and be free.'

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:164.

It later became the marching song of Negro regiments in the Civil War. This song was again sung by Joan Baez during the 1960s (Joan Baez Live in Italy, 1969: Record).

There were many songs which dealt with the emotions of individuals caught up in the events and tragedies of war. Many of the songs were sung in private homes, at political rallies, political gatherings and mass meetings. Though most of the soldiers sang from memory or by ear, many carried "songsters", which were pocket collections of favourite lyrics. Among the Southern troops there were Hopkins's New Orleans 5 Cent Song-Book and The Soldier Boy's Songster. Union soldiers⁷ carried The Camp Fire Songster and War Songs for Freedom.

Hamm (1988) speaks about the curious phenomenon, where soldiers from enemy camps fraternized between battles, and this extended to music. They would sing and make music together and the next morning they would slaughter each other by the thousands.

⁷

The Southern States fought to preserve slavery while the Northern States opposed Southern slavery. The soldiers from the Northern States were called Unionists.

An example of one such song is *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*, which is simple enough for group singing:

*We're tenting tonight on the old Camp ground,
Give us a song to cheer
Our weary hearts, a song of home
And friends we love so dear.*

CHORUS:

*Many are the hearts that are weary tonight,
Wishing for the war to cease,
Many are the hearts looking for the right
To see the dawn of peace.
Tenting tonight, tenting tonight,
Tenting on the old Camp ground.*

(Excerpt from Songs of Civil War, 1978: Record).

The well-known song *Yankee Doodle* was also an example of a song which opposing sides sang together.

The year 1865 brought an end to enslavement of four million blacks. In keeping with his traditions, the ex-slave sang about his experiences - his new freedom, his new occupations, the strange ways of the city, current events, and his feeling of rootlessness and loneliness. Fowke & Glazer (1973) state that *No more Auction Block for me* is an anthem of liberation and dates from this period.

No More Auction Block for Me

The image shows two staves of musical notation for the song 'No More Auction Block for Me'. The first staff contains measures 1 through 4, and the second staff contains measures 5 through 8. The lyrics are written below the notes. Measure 1: 'No more auc-'; Measure 2: 'tion block for me,'; Measure 3: 'no more,'; Measure 4: 'no more,'; Measure 5: 'No more auc-'; Measure 6: 'tion block for me,'; Measure 7: 'Ma-ny thou-sand'; Measure 8: 'gone'.

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:173.

2.4.1.6 White Spirituals

Interestingly enough Negro spirituals were once thought to be completely original creations of the slaves, but they have now been shown to be closely related to the folk hymns of the Southern whites. Nettl (1976) points out that George Pullen Jackson (1874-1953) discovered most of these White spirituals published in shape-note hymn books of the early nineteenth century. Among the examples Jackson found was the black spiritual *Down by the Riverside* which is derived from the White spiritual *We'll wait Till Jesus Comes* (Nettl, 1976:94). Alan Lomax (The Gospel Ship, 1977: Record cover) speaks about the old forms which were prevalent among Baptist whites in the Southern Mountains "like lining spirituals in which the preacher sings the first line and the congregation follows" (Lomax, 1977:1). Lomax (1977) agrees with Jackson, who says that the white revival spirituals were the work of white congregations and the parallels between them and the better-known Negro spirituals were the result of blacks borrowing from whites. An example of one of these white spirituals is *Why must I wear this shroud?* There is a clear element of protest against life in general as death was part of the everyday experience of these people in the seventeenth century. The call-and-response style, called lining, is evident:

Leader: *And must I wear this shroud?*
Congregation: *And must I wear this shroud?*
Leader: *Time will rob you of your bloom.*
Congregation: *Time will rob you if your bloom.*
Leader: *Death will drag you to your tomb.*
Congregation: *Death will drag you to your tomb.*
Leader: *Then you'll cry, "I want to be"*
Congregation: *Then you'll cry, "I want to be"*
Leader: *"Happy in Eternity".*
Congregation: *"Happy in Eternity".*

(Excerpt from The Gospel Ship, 1977: Record).

Nettl observes that while it is true that there are similarities between the spirituals of the whites and blacks, there are many other elements which occur in the black spirituals which are not shown in the printed music, as black spiritual singers incorporate techniques which mark these

songs as typically African-American. It is thus the way in which they are performed that makes them a distinctive black expression. Negro spirituals are mostly sung polyphonically and in call-and-response style, which reflects African rather than European taste. Syncopation and other features of rhythmic interest in the spirituals can probably all be traced to the African traditions the blacks brought with them to the New World. "*These elements have survived despite the centuries-long acculturation of Negroes to Western civilisation and are also to be found in black non-religious songs eg. ballads, work songs, and blues*" (Nettl, 1976:95).

The black spirituals are manifestations of an oral subculture "*through which a minority could render its suffering*" (Pratt, 1990:85). In the opinion of St. Louis Bluesman, Henry Townsend (in Pratt, 1990:85), these types of song serve a cathartic function as "*they takes [sic] the song as an explanation for themselves - they believe this song is expressing their feelings instead of the one singin' it*". This music thus provides psychological release through substitute imagery and meets the needs of the audience who can identify with the sentiments expressed by the performers.

As the American black population moved toward the celebration of its one hundred years of freedom there was a general feeling that little progress had been made with regard to the integration of black Americans into the mainstream of American life. After World War I there was a renewed interest in the Negro problem as the black population made known its discontentment. A general feeling of unrest, defiance, impatience, and even bitterness swept over black communities.

This discontent led to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

2.4.2 SONGS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 1950s AND 1960s

World War II created a climate for change and a growing militancy among American blacks. Pressure groups pressed for full equality of the blacks and black organisations and closed ranks to fight for a common cause. McDonnell (1986) gives the example of the song *In Contempt*, published in 1950, which shows the bitterness fostered by discrimination. Many Negro Spirituals also emerged again during the 1950s and 1960s.

In Contempt

Build high, build wide your pris - on wall, that there be room e - nough for all who
 hold you in con - tempt, build wide that all the bad be locked in - side.

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:49.

For much of the 1950s and 1960s the Civil Rights struggle for integration epitomised the height of many black aspirations and marked the beginning of a period of great turmoil and violence for Americans. In the South especially, people marched or sat in at lunch counters to win equal access to transportation, social facilities and education. Many Civil Rights marchers' songs emphasized the desirability of integrating into the system. Spirituals and soul were also used to express the aspirations of black Americans. Traditional spirituals were adapted to be more applicable to the times eg. the following song was sung to the tune of *John Brown's Body*, the well-known Negro Spiritual.

I'm so glad segregation got to go (3)
Singing glory hallelujah
I'm so glad
I'm so glad integration is on its way (3)
Singing glory hallelujah
I'm so glad.

(Ellison, 1989:59 - 60).

Slave songs like *Go Tell It on The Mountain*, *We'll Never Turn Back*, *Walk with Me Lord*, *Been in the Storm So Long* and *Freedom Train* were all "spirituals being used a second time round to stir up a spirit of resistance" (Ellison, 1989:49).

They also fervently sang an old spiritual in march time, *Many Thousand Gone*, paraphrased to suit the new occasion. This song showed the unity of spirit and mind of black Americans "who vowed not to become destined to the status of semi-slavery in 1960 as they had in 1619" (Roach, 1985:129).

Ellison (1989) states that the Negro spirituals are far more revolutionary than most people, until recently, have imagined. He gives the example of the extreme demands made by Louisiana slaves in some extraordinary revolutionary songs: they sang not only of becoming free but also of guillotining or hanging their oppressive masters and overseers. "Close examination shows just how subversive the spirituals were, and it is not surprising that so many were used as freedom songs by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s" (Ellison, 1989:49).

At the marches and rallies demanding full civil rights for black Americans, many songs defying the limits set on freedom of speech and movement were sung. The most famous is *We shall overcome*, which became the anthem of protesters throughout the world, changing to suit the situation.

We Shall Overcome

The musical score for 'We Shall Overcome' is presented in four staves of music. Each staff begins with a measure number in a box: 1, 2, 3, 4 on the first staff; 5, 6, 7, 8 on the second; 9, 10, 11, 12 on the third; and 13, 14, 15 on the fourth. The lyrics are written below the notes. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is simple and repetitive, with a strong emphasis on the words 'overcome' and 'some-day'.

We shall o - ver - come, we shall o - ver - come.
We shall o - ver - come some - day oh,
deep in my heart I do be - lieve
we shall o - ver - come some - day

Carawan & Carawan, 1990:15.

According to Fuld (1973) the origin of the song is uncertain but he does make mention of the fact that it is very similar to the Negro spiritual *I'll Overcome Someday*. Carawan & Carawan, speak of *We shall overcome* as the anthem of the Civil Rights Movement that "was originally a gospel song which came out of the Negro church, known variously as 'I'll Be All Right' or 'I will overcome'" (1990:103).

I'll Be All Right

1 I'll be all right, 2 well I'll be all right, 3 well I'll be all right, 4 well I'll be all right, 5 right some day, 6 All of my troubles will be o-ver 7 And 8 I'll be free at last. 9 Well, I'll be all right some day. 10 11 12 13 14 15

Carawan & Carawan, 1990:238.

According to Fuld (1973) and Carawan & Carawan (1990) the song was first sung with the plural pronoun *We will overcome* during a five and a half month strike by Food and Tobacco Workers of 1945.

We Will Overcome

1 We will o-ver-come, 2 we will o-ver-come, 3 we will o-ver-come some day. 4 Oh, 5 down in my heart 6 I do be-lieve 7 We will o-ver-come some day. 8

Fowke & Glazer, 1973:33.

Fuld (1973) states that this song was also sung in South Africa on 1 April 1965, by John Harris, the Johannesburg station bomber, just before he was hanged. The song was subsequently banned in South Africa. "Ironically this song, *We shall overcome*, has its own history, passing from Negro singers to white and back again to Negro" (Shelton, 1963:21). He gives the revised version which was issued in America in July 1963, crediting new words and music arrangement to four white singers who popularised the song across the South. The four singers allocated their royalties to the freedom movement.

This song is a good example of a song which entered the oral tradition and underwent great changes. It has been called *The Marseillaise* of the integration movement. It was taught to students at the Folk School in Tennessee and folk singers Carawan and Hamilton played a major role in teaching this song and other integration songs to Negro students in the early days of the sit-ins of 1960 and 1961 (Carawan & Carawan, 1990:103).

Southern speaks about the song *Before I'd be a slave* which was associated with Negro slavery and appeared again during the 1960s.

Before I'd Be A Slave

The musical score is written on a single treble clef staff in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of 15 numbered measures. The lyrics are: "Be - fore I'd be a slave, I'd be bu-ried in my grave, And go home to my Lord and be saved O what preach- in! O, what preach- in' o- ver me, o- ver me!". The score includes first endings (measures 1-3), a second ending (measures 4-7) marked "Fine", and a third ending (measures 8-11) marked "D.S. al Fine".

Southern, 1971:238.

She says that during the sixties it became "a musical standard-bearer for those in search of equal opportunity to achieve the good things in life" (1971:239).

During the Civil Rights struggle many people were imprisoned. Carawan & Carawan (1990) give the example of *Everybody Sing Freedom*, which was sung in the Nashville jails.

Everybody Sing Freedom

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a 4/4 time signature. It consists of nine numbered measures, each with a corresponding vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are: 'Free - dom, Ev- 'ry- bod- y sing, Free - a dom, Free - dom, Free - dom, Ev- 'ry bod- y sing'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and a melody of eighth and quarter notes.

Carawan & Carawan, 1990:24.

"This song is an adaptation of the old spiritual 'Amen'" (Carawan & Carawan, 1990:24). Several parodies, set to familiar tunes were sung during this time. Carawan & Carawan (1990) give the example of songs based on the music to *Yankee Doodle*, *On Top of Old Smokey* and *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. It will be seen that this phenomenon, of changing the words of well-known songs, also manifests itself in the songs of the South African liberation struggle.

Not all the songs sung during the 1950s and 1960s were adaptations of Negro Spirituals. A song that grew from the Civil Rights Movement, describing some of the humiliating discrimination suffered by black Americans in their own country, is called *If you miss me at the back of the bus*.

If You Miss Me At the Back of the Bus

1 If you miss me at the back of the bus, you can't find me no-
 2 where. Oh! Come on o- ver to the front of the bus,
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7 I'll be ri- ding up there, I'll be ri- ding up there Oh!
 8
 9
 10
 11 Come on o- ver to the front of the bus, I'll be ri- ding up there,
 12
 13
 14

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:100

From 1 February 1960, there were sit-in demonstrations in over three hundred cities in America. They involved mainly Negro students accompanied by small numbers of white sympathisers. *The Ballad of the Student Sit-Ins*, is an example of such a song (Carawan & Carawan, 1990:40).

Ballad of the Student Sit-ins

1 The time was nine-teen six- ty, the place the U. S. A., that Feb- ru- a- ry first be- came a
 2
 3
 4 his- try mak- ing day, from Greens- bo- ro a- cross the land the news spread far and wide that
 5
 6
 7 CHORUS
 8 qui- et- ly and brave- ly youth took a gi- ant stride. Heed the call A-
 9
 10 mer- i- cans all, side by e- qual side, Bro- ther, sit in
 11
 12
 13
 14 dig- ni- ty, sis- ter sit in pride.
 15
 16

Carawan & Carawan, 1990:40.

Martin Luther King Jr had emerged as the leader of the Civil Rights movement as a result of the Montgomery bus boycott. He had organized marches throughout the South to bring integration closer, and he helped students begin their onslaught on lunch counters and voter registration with the founding of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. When he was shot in April 1968 every major city in America exploded into flames. King's famous catch-phrase, "I have a dream" inspired many musicians to compose songs with this title.

The direct confrontations with society ultimately led to the breakdown of some of the barriers of segregation during the 1960s.

In the performing arts liberation and protest music was also composed as a direct response to conditions of those who were considered to be the oppressed.

2.5 LIBERATION AND PROTEST MUSIC IN THE PERFORMING ARTS

The performing arts were used as a tool by:

- governments to influence its people, and
- composers for the expression of injustice in society.

2.5.1 GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE

There were two countries where the performing arts were exclusively used as propaganda by the government to further their own cause, namely the:

- Soviet Union, and
- People's Republic of China.

The governments of these two countries influenced their practitioners of the arts to form great national congresses to promulgate sanctioned cultural goals and policy. Both these countries accepted the need for a nationalist framework to carry out their revolutions.

2.5.1.1 Soviet Union

In keeping with government wishes, the Union of Soviet Composers was established for musicians and all were intimidated by the inherent danger of failing to echo the Party ideologies. According to Perris (1985), if composers wanted their music performed, it had to be simple and conspicuously melodic and somehow had to describe the happy life (or supposition of it) in New Russia. The tragic effect of this restriction on Russian music resulted in the fact that by 1936, Russia's "*musical language had retrogressed to that of the nineteenth century*" (Perris, 1985:75).

The fact that music has often been used as a tool for propaganda in the Soviet Union is a clear indication that the Soviet Government saw music as a powerful weapon and even turned to music to make an alien ideology survive. According to Perris (1972), the biennial meeting of the International Society for Music Education met in Tunis, Tunisia, where the Russian composer Dmitry Kabalevsky, Honorary President of this Society, presented a paper entitled "The Glinka Tradition". Perris (1984) says that this paper was clearly an attempt to show the outside world that Russia - represented by Russian composers - was always sympathetic toward the cultures of the rest of the globe. Glinka, the father of Russian music who had composed two Spanish overtures was found to have "*assimilated the music of foreign nations*" (Perris, 1985:84). Other examples are *The Dance of the Persian Women* in Mussorgsky's *Khovanshina*; Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade* and his Polish Opera, *Pan Voyevoda*; Glazunov's *Finnish Fantasia* and *Karelian Legend*; Vasilenko's *Cycle of Oriental Scores*, and his *Hindu Suite*. To demonstrate that the USSR shared the concerns of the new African states, there were three African pieces: *Africa Fights On*, a symphonic poem by Vasif Adigezalov; *African Sketches* by Julius Juzeliunas and *Mahagoni*, an oratorio by Marger Zarins on the subject of Patrice Lumumba's struggle for the liberation of the Congo (Perris, 1985:84-85).

Perris (1985) states that in 1976 he witnessed a strong performance of Puccini's opera, *Tosca*, at the Bolshoi Opera. The libretto of this opera is loaded with anti-establishment commentary; the terrorist tactics of unscrupulous police; the capture and execution of a freedom fighter and the torture of his friend. Perris finds it interesting that this work was allowed to be performed and sees it as an attempt by the Soviets "*to portray a false element of tolerance to the outside world, while Soviet domestic policies displayed little tolerance*" (1985:86).

This lack of tolerance in the Soviet system clearly exhibited itself in the fact that all artists were employees of the state, and prompt, unconditional response to state directives was obligatory. Many musicians who found it impossible to compose and play within these constraints emigrated, and these musicians formed the Soviet Émigré Orchestra in 1979.

The perceived power of music clearly manifested itself in the 1960s when a California civic group accused Soviet Russia of utilizing American folk music gatherings - hootenannies - "*to brainwash and subvert, in a seemingly innocuous but actually covert and deceptive manner, vast segments of young people's groups*" (Perris, 1985:202). In 1963 the United States House of Representatives requested that a Committee investigate "*Communist subversive involvement in the Folk Music field, that the continued, effective misuse of this media ... may not be further used as an unidentified tool of Communist Psychological or Cybernetic Warfare to ensnare and capture youthful minds in the United States as it has so successfully and effectively captivated them abroad*" (Perris, 1985:202).

2.5.1.2 People's Republic of China

In 1956 Mao addressed the musicians and composers of the People's Republic of China and stressed a need for national music. He also stated that appropriate foreign musical instruments and foreign principles could be applied, but they had to reflect Chinese national characteristics. "*The arts are inseparable from the customs, feelings and even the language of the people, from the history of the nation*" (Perris, 1985:101).

The power of music clearly manifested itself when, around 1940, the Chinese Liberation forces initiated the organized use of music for propaganda by broadcasting revolutionary songs and choruses to the populace over a 300-watt transmitter. Perris (1985) states that a revolutionary song was composed with the text of Mao's early instructions on conduct for the Red Army, *The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention*. By means of this song the Chinese Communists were determined to show the people on the farms and in the villages that the soldiers of the Red Army were not like the brutal, pillaging troops of the past. The text of the song dates from 1928 and 1929, but as late as 1971 Mao was still urging the troops to sing this song as well as *The Internationale*. Mao (in Perris, 1985:99) stated that "*An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy*".

The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention

1

Rev - o - lu - tion'ry ar - my men must know,
 Sec - ond, don't take a sin - gle needle or thread,
 Dis - pline's Three Rules we must car - ry through,
 Sec - ond, pay fair - ly for what we buy,

2

3

Dis - pline's Three Rules, Eight Points for At - ten - tion:
 Peo - ple and wel - come us;
 Eight Points for At - ten - tion we must bear in mind:
 Buy fair, sell fair, and be reas - na - ble;

4

5

6

7

8

March in step, to win vic - to - ry;
 Strive to light - en peo - ple's bur - dens.
 Re - spect the peo - ple don't be ar - ro - gant;
 Ev - ry sin - gle thing that we bor - row,

Perris, 1985:100.

Perris (1985) maintains that further proof of the Chinese government's perception of the power of music can be seen by the fact that during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966 - 1976) they achieved almost total control of revolutionary music to the extent that only eight works, in one form or another, were heard in public for nearly ten years. The government was not prepared to expose its people to music, in case it portrayed a different ideology from their own. "Perhaps at no time in the history of music, Eastern or Western, has a society endured such an extreme censorship of the performing arts" (Perris, 1985:88-89).

2.5.2 COMPOSERS' EXPRESSION OF INJUSTICE

Composers used the various for the expression of injustices in society, namely:

- Opera
- Musicals and Operettas

- ❑ Modern entertainers with protest and liberation as a theme
- ❑ Reggae as Liberation music
- ❑ Rap as Liberation music
- ❑ Groups performing for the South African liberation struggle, and
- ❑ Folk and protest songs.

2.5.2.1 Opera

The propaganda power of the musical stage can for example be seen in the operas of Beethoven, Wagner, Mozart, Smetana and others. Opera has always been a very good medium for depicting various emotions. In the early seventeenth century opera houses, the closely held civil and economic power of the state bound the composer and librettist to the artistic taste of the ruler. The monarchical system began, however, to crumble from the shocks of the French (Ref. 2.3.2.1) and American revolutions⁸ and the continuing debate for democracy among intellectuals. The literature, drama and theatre of the time in turn began to reveal disguised critiques of the social and political *status quo*: Mozart's opera **Marriage of Figaro**, Beethoven's **Fidelio** and Puccini's **Tosca** are excellent examples of enduring works of musical propaganda.

Another opera with a propaganda thrust is **La Musette di Portici** or **Masaniello**, composed by Daniel Auber in 1830. Perris states that there is no evidence to suggest that the composer "*was a secret republican who with his opera implanted a virulent germ of revolt in the Belgians in 1830, but it is more plausible that he knew that he had a good idea and succeeded in making an opera out of it*" (Perris, 1985:165). The consequence of the performance of **La Musette** was an exceptional patriotic surge of emotion which fuelled political action, as it was at the Brussels performance of this opera that a rebellion broke out which resulted in the freedom of Belgium (1830), bound until that time to Holland (Perris, 1985:165).

8

American Revolution (1775 -1783). This was a war of independence fought between Great Britain and its 13 colonies that lay along the Atlantic Ocean in North America. In 1783 Britain and the United States signed the Treaty of Paris, which recognised the independence of the U.S.A.

Another opera based on the same theme as the one by Auber i.e. the overthrow of a foreign tyrant by a courageous man of the people was **William Tell** (1829) by Gioacchino Rossini. This work is based on one of Friedrich Schiller's plays of protest, the story of the Swiss patriot, William Tell. Perris (1985) states that Rossini was aware of the popularity of political causes in the 1820s and thus based his opera on this theme. Schiller wrote about political, religious, or social oppression, either of a people or of an individual. Giuseppe Verdi was so inspired by Schiller's works that he too turned four of them into operas. These subjects revealed his passionate support of Italian independence from Austria. His plots expose tyrants and tyrannies over individuals and upon whole nations, eg. **Rigoletto** and **Aida**. Perris states that Verdi, always close to the political realities of Europe, became a national hero "*because the Italians saw his works as metaphors for the revolution they wanted*" (1985:166).

2.5.2.2 Musicals and Operettas

William Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan proved with witty and delightful satires such as **The Mikado**, **Colanthe**, **H.M.S. Pinafore**, **Trial by Jury** and others that the music need not be profound to succeed as social criticism. Operettas at the turn of the century were not necessarily serious works eg. **Die Fledermaus** by Johann Strauss Jr, but they succeeded in exposing the foibles of the rich and mighty. Perris (1985) gives further examples of carefree comedies and good-natured satires in the 1930s with similar sentiments to **Die Fledermaus**, namely, **No, no, Nanette** (Vincent Youmans), **Girl Crazy** (George Gershwin), and **Roberta** (Jerome Kern).

Perris (1985) mentions the team of Ira and George Gershwin who with George Kaufmann also composed political operettas. The first was **Strike Up the Band**, in 1927, which shot barbs at war, big business, international politics and the ego of the American millionaire. The Gershwin satire **Of Thee I Sing** made fun of the absurdities in a presidential election.

A political musical **The Cradle Will Rock** (Marc Blitzstein) in 1937 so "*boldly attacked the sacred cows of American life that it was banned before it opened*" (Perris, 1985:173). The plot concerned a proposed strike against a steel industry boss, Mr Mister, whose power in the community was so crushing that he was able to intimidate the doctors, professors, ministers, artists, editors and gangsters - everyone except the factory workers themselves - to bring pressure to bear against the

employees' wish to strike. When the subject of the play leaked out at the dress rehearsal, it brought cries of indignation down upon the government sponsors. The next day, which was the day of the première, the play was banned. The audience was furious and later when the commotion faded it officially opened in the Windsor Theatre. It was a significant landmark in American protest music, both as to subject matter and in the determination to fight censorship (Perris, 1985:174).

Pins and Needles by Harold Rome, staged on Broadway in 1937, was written for the International Ladies' Garment Union. It was clearly intended as propaganda for the trade union movement, and the roles were played entirely by union members.

Fiddler on the Roof, based on Sholem Aleichem's tales of the disintegration and persecution of the Russian Jewish culture, can also be seen as a musical of protest.

A musical which addressed the Negro problem was **Showboat** in which the song *Ol' Man River* was sung for the first time, a song which crystallized the despair of the black labourer and the futility of his status. Gershwin's **Porgy and Bess** of 1935 viewed American life totally from the position of the poor Southern black.

Kurt Weill, a refugee from Nazi Germany, arrived in America in 1935, where he set Maxwell Anderson's play **Lost in the Stars** to music. This work is based on Alan Paton's novel of *apartheid* in South Africa, **Cry the Beloved Country**. It was clearly a social statement on the American stage in 1949, black characters played blacks and whites played whites.

A work which is charged with sheer emotion and where the verbal message was more important than the orchestral form is Beethoven's **Ninth Symphony**. He clearly did not want the audience to miss the meaning and that is why he composed the Choral Fantasy as an integral part of this symphony. Perris (1985) sees this symphony as a protest against war and conquest, against the division of humanity into the strong and the weak, a condemnation of those with rights and those with none, at the same time it is a rejection of despair.

2.5.2.3 Modern Entertainers with Protest and Liberation As A Theme

It would be impossible to consider all modern music which has liberation as its theme. For the purpose of this study generally and this chapter specifically, modern works concerning South Africa and the frustrations of the black man, by musicians other than South Africans, will be considered. The outrage felt by the rest of the world towards the *apartheid* system, was compounded by a need to support the black resistance that gained strength after *apartheid* became the official policy of the South African government in 1948.

Even in modern music, written primarily for entertainment, musicians and composers were clearly determined to use music as a weapon to fight *apartheid*. It is debatable whether the causes they sang about benefited financially from their efforts or made a transforming impact on any of the problems addressed. The main positive effect, however, must have been to rouse public consciousness to what the performers saw as injustice in South Africa (Coplan, 1985; Andersson, 1981).

Successful black singers and musicians did not confine their concern to their own countries. They frequently linked exploitation of their own people with that of repressed groups throughout the world. A good example is Mutabaruka, who in *Check It* says "if South Africa is not free neither can I or anyone else be free" (Ellison, 1989:39). African solidarity with the freedom fight in South Africa is shown by Sonny Okosun with his powerful *Fire in Soweto*. (Black Star liner Reggae from Africa, 1977: Record). In *Papa's Land* (Papa's Land, 1977: Record), Okosun sings in aggressive Afro-pop "we want to know who owns the land ... so we can rule from Cape Town to Cairo". Both *Fire in Soweto* and *Papa's Land* were banned in South Africa in the late seventies. Liberation (1984: Record) by Sonny Okosun features several politically orientated tracks such as *Tell Them*, *Liberation*, and *Amen*, some of which are quite militant.

Ellison (1989) states that Lesotho was also opposed to the South African government and a black band from this country, called Sankomota produced a stirring thoughtful, action-inducing album that was recorded in the mobile Shifty Studio. "Its complex set of musical patterns ranges from traditional South African rhythms and polyrhythms to a beat that borders on reggae, and its lyrics

are equally eclectic" (Ellison, 1989:97). In their album, Vukani, the most frequently recurring words are freedom for black South Africans. Ironically, in 1996, most of the members of Sankomoto were killed in a road accident in the Orange Free State in South Africa, the very country they had been trying to assist through their music.

The 1960s were a time of more protest against racial oppression world-wide than during any other period. There were marches and rallies and public protest by singing became a daily occurrence. Perris (1985) points out that the radical change in much of the pop and rock music of the sixties, namely to be a social message as well as entertainment, is unarguable. This can be seen in the music of Bob Dylan who became the spokesman for the younger generation in the 1960s in America. Perris (1985) states that the Beatles, Simon and Garfunkel, Johnny Cash and others became the mouthpieces for millions of under-thirties, who felt threatened by the hazards of life, e.g. nuclear war. With many of these rock bands the amplified sound of the music coupled with frenetic movement detracted from the subject matter. It will be seen that during the sixties in South Africa there were also many protest and liberation songs sung. The message of these songs was of the utmost importance, and was completely different from that of the pop liberation songs, where "the passionate, amplified music was the message, much more than the words sung" (Perris, 1985:183).

Pratt (1990) points out that Marvin Gaye's What's Goin' On Album (1970: Record) found more cause than ever to complain about poverty as advances in civil rights had brought no concomitant gains in economic status or work opportunities for black people. Lonnie Hill's *Hard Times* from his album of ten records, You Got me Running (1970), uses music to encourage people to question the existing social order and systems of government that either condoned or were built on exploitation and oppression of black people. Another attack on *apartheid* came from *Rock This House*, written and sung by Nona Hendryx, who demanded an end to a world that can allow millions of hungry people to die, "one where the good life is still exclusive" (The Heat, 1985: Record). Gill Heron too saw links in the racism that plagues black lives in *From South Africa to South Carolina*. Other songs of hers that followed were her rousing calls for support for black brothers in *Johannesburg*: "they need to know we're on their side" (Ellison, 1989:24). Another urgent call to action came from Sweet Honey in the Rock, singing a powerful a cappella song for

the freedom of black South Africans. In their song *We All Every One of Us* the "deaths of Steve Biko and many black children are mourned and the imminent arrival of real freedom is heralded" (Ellison, 1989:24).

Ellison (1989) considers Special AKA's *Free Nelson Mandela* to be one of the most brilliant records to come out of England in the 1980s. This song has been sung live all around the world as an accusation of what is considered to be South Africa's blatant disregard for justice. Another politically motivated black and white band, Latin Quarter, had a hit in 1985 with *Radio Active* in which a heavy bass line echoed the lyrics that called the South African government a monster and urged a socialist movement to assume power (Ellison, 1989:98).

2.5.2.4 Reggae as Liberation Music

Since originating in Africa in late seventies, reggae has grown to become a powerful symbol of black liberation throughout the world "and may turn (out) to be one of the most important vehicles of pan-African political and cultural expression in the coming decades" (Cover Black Star Liner Reggae from Africa, 1977: Record).

Ivory Coast musician Alpha Blondy uses reggae as his musical medium, and his lyrics declare that "apartheid is Nazism" and he calls on America to "break the neck" of the iniquitous system. Blondy adds, "black and white we are all the same and no one should be able to behave like Hitler in 1985" (Ellison, 1989:97).

A famous Jamaican Rasta reggae star was Bob Marley, whose powerful songs of rebellion and protest won him worldwide recognition and adulation. Ellison considers Bob Marley to be a musician who sees music "as a sword wielded in the cause of justice and a weapon that is powerful enough to produce a real transformation in politics and patterns of living" (1989:148).

British bands too have continued to use reggae as a positive force for change. Ellison says one of the most intelligent and compelling calls for freedom came from Amazulu in the early 1980s. This British-based reggae band of five women and one man used to summon people to seek freedom at

all levels: freedom for women and men, for blacks and whites, freedom from war, from inequality and oppression. Ellison states that it is a band to be watched and listened to as they appeal strongly to the brain and the heart "*and the strength of their complex appeal for freedom cannot lightly be denied*" (1989:110).

2.5.2.5 Rap as Liberation Music

Some of the most powerfully politicised lyrics have emerged from rap. Afrikaa Bambataa, born in Jamaica, calls himself the Zulu ambassador from the Bronx. He uses electronic funk and rap to create disco music with distinct political implications. Ellison (1989) also speaks about The Watts Prophets bitter political Rappin' Black in a White World which he considers to be a brilliant evocation of the frustrations of black life.

Peter Tosh in *Equal Rights* insisted in 1977 that people must "*fight, fight, fight against apartheid*" (Ellison 1989:112). Ellison points out that by 1986 *apartheid* was being attacked on countless records by rap performers eg. Junior Murvin's *Apartheid* ; Johnny Osborne's *Wipe out apartheid* and Mighty Sparrow's incendiary calypso, *Invade South Africa*.

2.5.2.6 Groups Performing for the South African Liberation Struggle

At Toronto's annual West Indian carnival or Caribana in 1985, a steel band, Afropan, that had frequently won the main carnival contest decided to show their support for black South Africa by assuming the garb of prisoners and playing appropriate music. They made the statement, "*It is youth here supporting youth in South Africa. We want to make a political statement rather than just going down the road having a good time*" (Ellison, 1989:98).

The idea of music as a medium for effective protest was clearly alive in Toronto as can be seen by the fact that The Black Music Association, condemned all those artists who had performed in Sun City and staged protests in front of the South African Embassy in Toronto. Ellison (1989) points out that as a direct result of these protests there was a flood of anti-*apartheid* records, including those by vocal calypso star, Jason with Free South Africa.

Controversial Australian rave band Midnight Oil played in Durban on 24 October 1994. This band caused a controversy in 1988 when they donated a percentage of royalties from their hit album Diesel and Dust to the then banned African National Congress. This album, containing the hit songs *Beds are Burning*, and *Throw Down the Weapon*, sold more than 60 000 copies in South Africa alone (Diesel and Dust, 1988: Record). The group, who are strongly anti-*apartheid*, conveyed meaningful messages in their music. At first they refused to allow their records to be released in South Africa, but when they were informed that they could help the anti-*apartheid* struggle with money raised in South Africa, all members agreed to go ahead with the tour (Daily News, Tonight, 23 September 1994:1).

Mondak (1988) speaks about the well-developed arguments in *Ain't going to play in Sun City* (Sun City, 1985: Record). This song was recorded by Artists United Against *Apartheid*, a collection of some fifty performers representing every genre of popular music. They tried to expose Sun City as an artificial showcase for white visitors placed in the middle of the poverty-stricken homeland of Bophuthatswana. A rare tape of Mandela speaking, made in 1961, was found in London and placed on the track, so that all those people who venerated him but had never heard his voice would at last hear him speak on a recording (Ellison, 1989:101). "*The music is fired by a sense of disgust at the atrocities perpetrated in South Africa by the white ruling elite*" (Ellison, 1989:101). As part of a broad educational campaign, Sun City was explicitly intended to provoke an intellectual reaction from listeners. Ellison states that the record and video are widely used in America as an educational tool. Schools study the song and South African racism by means of an educational pack, in which teachers are provided with information and coherent ideas to help them explain the reality and the song. All the singers keep repeating that none of them will play at Sun City. "*The actual strength of the song's arguments cannot be pinpointed in an objective and accurate manner and it is unclear whether the song was able to prompt a positive audience reaction*" (Mondak 1988:29). Despite this, the song was used as a weapon to fight *apartheid*.

The following example given is an excerpt from the lyrics of *Ain't going to play in Sun City*:

Relocation to phony homelands

Separation of families I can't understand

*23 million can't vote because they're black
We're stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back
Our government tells us we're doing all we can
Constructive Engagement is Ronald Reagan's plan
Meanwhile people are dying and giving up hope
This quiet diplomacy ain't nothing but a joke.*

(American C 4 TV29, [s.a.]: Video).

There were other concerts where groups of musicians performed to protest against black oppression. In Britain the Rock against Racism movement, which began in 1976, brought together a number of groups to play at a concert in Victoria Park, London, in 1977. Ellison (1989) says the success of the concert lay in the merging of music and politics, providing a model for new forms of involvement for musicians in political causes that would emerge repeatedly in a variety of ways over the next dozen or so years.

Artists United Against *Apartheid* and the Human Rights Now! tour of Bruce Springsteen, Sting, Tracy Chapman, Peter Gabriel and others in 1988 are further examples of concerts which brought together a number of groups. As many of the songs sung on those tours could apply to the South African situation a few will be mentioned. Stevie Wonder's *Living for the City* composed in the early 1970s, denounces poverty and states the impossibility of finding a job when black people are discriminated against by employers as well as by society at large. More direct was Stevie Wonder's criticism of *apartheid*, *It's Wrong*. Ellison (1989) says that in some of the most provoking lyrics he has written, Wonder condemned the atrocity of the South African system as equatable with slavery, and too evil for even the devil to approve. He had no doubt that "*freedom is coming and the whole world is with us*" (Ellison, 1989:100). He backed his words with action when he organized anti-*apartheid* concerts and was arrested in 1985 for demonstrating outside the South African Embassy in Washington.

2.5.2.7 Folk and Protest Songs

During the sixties there was a revival of folk music in which the message came over clearly. In America Joan Baez was one of the younger generation of politically conscious singers who programmed standard folk songs along with new and contemporary laments and protests, such as *We shall overcome* (Joan Baez Songbook 1964: Sheet Music).

Perris (1985) speaks about large folk concerts such as the festivals in Monterey, California in 1963 and Woodstock, New York in 1969, where enormous gatherings of youth were bonded in imitation of a devoted, caring family for a few days. "*The Woodstock event was, in its way, a gigantic rally against what many youths saw as the relentless corruption of the nation's ethical standards*" (Perris, 1985:183). Pratt says Woodstock "*offered the possibility of a new kind of community*" (1990:37).

It is impossible to deal with all examples of liberation and protest music sung by performers. It is clear, however, that socio-political conditions influenced many composers and the performing arts became a reflection of society.

2.6 CONCLUSION

Liberation songs clearly symbolise the rebellious culture of communities which were shaped by sociopolitical conditions affecting them. These songs can thus be seen as a way of articulating the artistes' own anger and despair and those of people in similar circumstances. Songs central to liberation struggles lead to political enlightenment and moral support from the masses, thus making *[t]he singing history of protest and liberation music, a testament to man's enduring will to make his world a better place to live in*" (Fowke & Glazer, 1973:10). While this statement is true, a very important aspect of liberation songs must be addressed, namely that the songs cannot be considered in isolation as they mark the milestones of a country's history and are meaningless unless they are set in their proper historical perspective. This statement is corroborated by Blacking, who states that: *Music-making is not simply an exercise in the organisation of sound; it is a symbolic expression of social and cultural organisation, which reflects the values and the past and present ways of life of the human beings who create it*" (1971:186). Liberation songs are thus historical documents sung

in response to a particular experience in a country and are unique to the specific country for which they were composed and performed.

The next two chapters address the liberation songs sung in South Africa with special focus on the historical aspects accompanying the songs. South African history until 1994 saw a polarisation of black and white inhabitants and liberation songs reflect the differing problems and needs of these societies. On the one hand they can be seen as a reflection of the struggle by the whites against British rule and exploitation, and on the other they can be seen as a testament to the black man's struggle against *apartheid*. Each song contains a powerful critique of a key issue in the liberation struggle and the lyrics sketch the conditions which inspired the singers, thus helping to set the songs in their proper historical perspective. The songs are thus historical records of popular consciousness of South African blacks and whites.

In South Africa there has been little blending of the indigenous and non-indigenous music as there is not the same possibility of acculturation between black and white South Africans as there is between the English and white Afrikaner cultures. This is mainly due to the different sociopolitical conditions which existed between whites and blacks in South Africa. A clear reflection of this is that white groups eventually came to share such common ground as political equality and the franchise, conditions which were not accorded to the blacks. The polarisation between black and white in South Africa also resulted in a lack of understanding between the two groups. This problem was compounded by the fact that neither culture understood the other's language or history. Later references in this study indicate how the singing of liberation songs by black South Africans alienated them even further from the whites and the *apartheid* government.

At the roots of South African liberation songs are:

- the Dutch folk song which came to South Africa with the coming of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and
- the important stream of African culture from the black inhabitants of South Africa.

South African black and white liberation songs will thus be dealt with separately. Chapter three will deal with the Dutch and Afrikaans folk songs, with special reference to protest and liberation songs, while chapter four will deal with South African black protest and liberation songs.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF THE DUTCH AND AFRIKAANS LIBERATION SONG IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It can be surmised that with the coming of the French Huguenots and the British settlers to South Africa, songs from these countries were added to the amalgam, but they remained the folk songs of the countries of origin. The Dutch folk songs were, however, modified to suit South African conditions, and with the recognition of Afrikaans as a language, many true Afrikaans folk songs appeared. It is among these folk songs that Afrikaans liberation and protest songs are found. This is of special interest to this study as the concerns regarding the collection of black protest and liberation songs reflect similar problems to those which will be traced here.

3.2 OBSTACLES PERTAINING TO AFRIKAANS FOLK SONGS

Two obstacles face people interested in Afrikaans folk songs, namely:

- the problem of extinction of the Afrikaans folk songs, and
- obstacles encountered in the collection of Afrikaans folk songs.

3.2.1 THE PROBLEM OF EXTINCTION OF THE AFRIKAANS FOLK SONG

In Chapter 1 of this study it was stated that folk music, with special reference to liberation and protest songs, should not be lost to posterity as the songs are part and parcel of a nation and are significant historical documents. It was pointed out that it is imperative that this data be collected before time has distanced researchers too far from the sources. The same sentiments were echoed by concerned Afrikaners with regard to Afrikaans folk music.

The poem by C.P. Hoogenhout *Sing in onze Taal!*, written in 1907, embodies the fear of the extinction of Afrikaans and encourages people to sing in Afrikaans:

Sit tog die 'Song Books'

Nou wat op sy;

Laat dit gerust maar

Effenjies bly;

Sing ons maar liewers

(Sonder te praal)

Hartelike liedjes

In onze taal.

(Hoogenhout, 1975:31).

Similar concerns were expressed in 1939 with regard to the Afrikaanse *Volkslied* in the minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Taal, Lettere en Kuns* held on 2 December 1939 in Bloemfontein (Bouws, 1958:9). Some of the issues discussed were that:

- there was an urgent need to collect and transcribe Afrikaans folk songs before modern dance and film music took their place
- it should be recognised that these songs are of the greatest musical-historical importance
- they should be transcribed while there were still people who could accurately sing the songs and who knew the words
- the songs more clearly than any other art forms portray the lives of a people accurately
- the transcriber of these songs should have a good understanding of music as it was necessary that not only the melody but also the rhythm be transcribed, and
- the situation was considered very serious, as many folk songs would soon be forgotten. To remedy the situation it was suggested that these songs be heard by the people again. This would only be possible if the radio were urgently requested to broadcast them and if they could be transcribed and printed in a manuscript collection of *Afrikaanse Volksliedere*.

(Bouws, 1958:9-10)

At a *Volksmusiekkongres* in Stellenbosch in 1957, Dr B. Kok of the University of the Orange Free State, stated that the authentic folk music of a people originated before the radio and gramophone records had influenced their music. With the advent of modern technology people had stopped improvising folk songs and become passive listeners instead of musicmakers, considering folk music to be inferior (Bothma, 1986:112). At the Congress, suggestions were offered to remedy this situation. Philip Mclachlan wanted schoolchildren to be made aware of their folk music: "Die skoolmusiek moet trag om ons jongmense in lewendige, wakker, entoesiastiese kontak te bring met die volksmusiek self. Hulle moet 'n aktiewe, liefdevolle beleving van die musiek ondergaan en besielende musikale ervarings opdoen" (Bothma, 1986:115). Jan Bouws spoke about the fact that the lyrics of many of these songs, sung before 1940, had been written down but the melodies had not been transcribed. This led to research being done on Afrikaans folk music by Dr Gawie Cillie, Willem van Warmelo and Cromwell Everson (Bothma, 1986:111).

Bouws (1958) speaks about memoirs of the Great Trek, in which people often wrote about the secular and religious folk music sung by the Voortrekkers. It was, however, too late to transcribe these songs by the time the above-mentioned people began their research, as most of the people who took part in the Great Trek were no longer alive and the tunes of the songs had been forgotten. The fact that so few original melodies were used in the 1937 edition of the *FAK Volksangbundel vir Suid-Afrika (FAK-sangbundel)*, can be seen as further proof of the fact that most of the tunes of the original Afrikaans folk songs are extinct.

Dr I.D. du Plessis in the Preface to Warmelo's book *Afrikaanse Liederwysies* (1948) expressed his concern that Afrikaans folk music was being lost to later generations mainly owing to the fact that only a few elderly people could still remember and sing the songs. I.D. du Plessis' prediction that the songs would be extinct in a few years' time were sentiments echoed by many others as well (Bouws, 1958:26).

Bouws (1958) also mentions the fact that many South African folk songs are now defunct because their subjects are no longer relevant. He says the folk song which has the greatest chance of survival is the love song, because love never becomes irrelevant.

OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED IN THE COLLECTION OF AFRIKAANS FOLK SONGS

According to Bouws (1958), it appears that at the turn of the century the words of many folk songs had been written down but his lament was that most of the performers did not have sufficient knowledge of music theory to write down the melody with the words. It was thought that many of these songs dated as far back as 1870, the date of the *Eerste Afrikaanse Taalbeweging*. Though the melodies stayed the same, the words changed as the situations changed.

Bouws (1958) points out that the Dutchman, Hendrik Muller, was probably the first person to have had a few South African folk songs published. In 1888, in a monthly newspaper, *De Gids*, he wrote about his trip in the Transvaal Republic and transcribed the melodies of some of the songs he had heard there. At the same time he wrote an easy piano accompaniment for the songs. In South Africa these transcriptions were isolated and it is regrettable that South Africa did not compare with other European countries at the end of the 19th century, where there was great interest in the systematic collection and transcription of folk songs (Bouws, 1958:28-30).

The Afrikaner music culture which emerged during the early years represented pure folk art in the sense that it was representative of a pre-industrialised people, and was bound up in the processes of everyday life. The folk songs reflect patriotism, nationalism, involvement with nature, and humour, and illuminate the routines of day-to-day life. *"They differ from general Western folk songs in their shorter length and in the compactness of their phrase arrangement. This suggests that they evolved from a direct, pragmatic way of thinking"* (RGN Navorsingsbulletin 1994. Vol. 2:2).

Bouws (1969) mentions the words of a work song which Frederick Staal from Robertson wrote down after hearing a certain Kaatjie Afrika sing it in about 1910. Staal wrote down only the words and Bouws (1969) states that if Afrika herself wrote the song it can be considered a rare Afrikaans protest song:

*My arme man loop langs die straat,
Langs die straat en sy diens verlaat.
Wie gee vir die weeskinders brood?
Wie gee vir die weeskinders brood?*

(Bouws, 1969:14).

In the 1920s a few academic dissertations dealing with the Afrikaans folk song generated a renewed interest in this direction. In December 1929 the *FAK (Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuur)* came into being. It consisted of many committees and sub-committees, one of which was the Music Commission, which had as its main task the promotion of Afrikaans singing and music. One of its most important tasks was the compilation of a book containing Afrikaans folk music. The Commission was told that it had to be a worthy successor to Dr N. Mansevelt's *Hollandse-Afrikaanse Liederbundel* (1907) and Miss Joan van Niekerk's *Groot Afrikaanse-Hollandse Liederbundel* (1927) (Bothma, 1986:68). Bothma states that about 28 songs from the above-mentioned books were incorporated into the *FAK-sangbundel*, along with almost 270 other songs, when the first edition appeared in 1937.

With the publication of the *FAK-sangbundel* some of the Afrikaans folk songs were saved for posterity. There was, however, a great deal of criticism of this collection as it was pointed out that only 17% of the songs in the book were true Afrikaans folk songs, as most tunes had been taken from the repertoire of other countries and given Afrikaans words (Bouws, 1958:21-22). This situation arose owing to the fact that there were virtually no transcribed Afrikaans folk songs at the time and this necessitated cross-cultural borrowing. An interesting example of an Afrikaans folk song in the *FAK-sangbundel* which has used a tune from elsewhere is *O, Boereplaas* which is sung to the tune of *Der Tannenbaum*, a tune also used for the song *The Red Flag*, as discussed in Chapter 2. *O, Boereplaas* is a patriotic song which is not sung with the same militancy as *The Red Flag*, and it may be hypothesised that Afrikaans patriots could not have known that this tune was also used for a socialist song.

O, Boereplaas

O boe - re - plaas, ge - boor - te - grond! Jou het ek lief bo al - les. Al
dwaal ek heel die wê - reld rond, Waar so ge - luk - kig, so ge - sond? O
boe - re - plaas, ge - boor - te - grond! Jou het ek lief bo al - les.

FAK-sangbundel, 1961:45-46.

The Red Flag

The peo- ple's flag is deep- est red. It shroud-ed oft our mar- tyred dead. And
 ere their limbs grew stiff and cold. Their hearts' blood dyed its ev- 'ry fold Then
 raise the scar- let stan- dard high with- in its shade we'll live or die tho'
 cow- ards flinch and trai- tors sneer. We'll keep the red flag fly- ing here.

McDonnell (ed.), 1986:66.

In the section called *Volk en Vaderland*, the following are examples of songs with Afrikaans words to tunes from other countries:

- Die Afrikaanse Leeu*, to the tune of *De Vlaamsche Leeuw* (FAK-sangbundel, 1938:16)
- Ons Burgers is getrou*, to the tune of an American folk song (FAK-sangbundel, 1938:28-29)
- Sarie Marais*, to the tune of *Ellie Rhee* (FAK-sangbundel, 1938:32-33), and
- Vryheidslied*, to the tune of an old Netherlands hymn (FAK-sangbundel, 1938:39).

All the songs appearing in the *Volk en Vaderland* section may be classified as protest, liberation or patriotic songs pertaining to mainly Afrikaans South Africans. The last verse of *Sarie Marais* clearly reflects this element of protest:

*Die Kakies*⁹ is mos net soos 'n krokodillepes,
 Hulle sleep jou altyd water toe.
 Hulle gooi jou op 'n skip vir 'n lange, lange 'trip',
 Die josie weet waarnatoe.

(FAK-sangbundel, 1938:32).

9

Kakies: British Soldiers.

Interestingly enough in the 1979 edition of the FAK, *Sarie Marais* is no longer classified as protest music. The *Kakies* were no longer a factor in South African history and *Sarie Marais* falls under the section *Liefde-Skeiding en Verlange*, and no longer under *Volk en Vaderland* as in the 1938 edition. The last verse in the 1979 edition reads as follows:

*Verlossing het gekom en die huistoe gaan was daar,
Terug na die ou Transvaal
My liefwelingspersoon sal seker ook daar wees
Om my met 'n kus te beloon.*

(*FAK-sangbundel*, 1979:236).

This is a good example of how folk music and liberation songs change when their words are no longer relevant.

Bouws (1958) mentions that Willem van Warmelo, who came to South Africa just before the Second World War, also became interested in South African folk music after having been involved in the collection of Spanish folk music, prior to his visit to South Africa. In a comparatively short space of time he collected 45 Afrikaans folk songs which were broadcast on 25 June 1941.

At the *Volksmusiekkongres* in Stellenbosch in 1957, the popularity of the Afrikaans folk song was noted by the fact that 50 000 copies of the *FAK-sangbundel* had been sold since its first edition had appeared in 1937. In a paper delivered at this Congress, Dr Con de Villiers of Stellenbosch University spoke about the renewed interest in Western folk music worldwide and the fact that people no longer spoke disparagingly about it. Dr de Villiers said that ideally recordings should be made of Afrikaans folk songs, or alternatively that the songs should be transcribed with words and accompaniment so that they would not be lost to posterity (Bothma, 1986:110-111). It was proposed that suitable people should be found who could collect and transcribe Afrikaans folk music and this mammoth task was allocated to Dirkie de Villiers, who, with the assistance of others, put forward a list of 180 South African folk songs to be recorded (Bothma 1986:121-125). On 31 May 1961, Republic Day, 400 songs appeared in a revised edition of the *FAK-sangbundel*.

In 1970, at an *FAK* congress, Mr Anton Hartman suggested that the *FAK-sangbundel* should again be revised to accommodate new trends. There was clearly a process of assimilation and

renewal with regard to the compilation of the book. According to Hartman "*the Afrikaner's music was a revelation of the Afrikaner identity*" (Bothma 1986:137).

Interestingly, Bothma (1986) argues that in spite of the FAK's efforts, the Afrikaners are not recognised as a singing cultural group; a large number of works which are found in the FAK-*angbundel* differ completely from spoken Afrikaans, and this results in a weak link between the word accent and the musical accent. She suggests more attention should be paid to this in future "*as this could then encourage spontaneous singing*" (Bothma, 1986:311). In this respect there is a major difference between indigenous and non-indigenous South African music, as the indigenous languages fit in so well with the music.

The history of the Afrikaner will now be traced through some of their protest and liberation songs.

3.3 THE HISTORY OF THE AFRIKANERS AS REFLECTED IN THEIR LIBERATION SONGS

The following will be traced:

- songs sung during and after the Great Trek, and
- songs sung during the period of the early Afrikaner Trade Unionism.

3.3.1 SONGS SUNG DURING AND AFTER THE GREAT TREK

Bouws (1969) was inspired by two French authors, Pierre Barbier and France Vernillat, who in 1959 collected seven centuries of French folk songs. In 1965 they managed to publish eight books with hundreds of songs which reflect French history through song from 1200 until 1918 (Bouws, 1969:47).

Bouws, similarly, attempts to follow the history of Afrikaans whites in South Africa through song in his book *Die Volkslied, Deel van Ons Erfenis*. The first song of relevance which he found was a protest song sung during the Great Trek¹⁰, *Het Lot van Suid-Afrika*.

¹⁰

The Great Trek was an organised and pre-arranged emigration by the Voortrekkers from 1834-1843.

As with practically all early folk music only words of the song were printed in *De Mediator* of 2 January 1838:

*O Afrika! gij magt wel weenen!
Want uw' heilzon is verdwenen;
Ziet! - een duistre nacht verschijnt
En uw' vrede en rust verdwijnt.*

(Bouws, 1969:49).

Bouws (1969) reminds the reader that though the words of the songs reflect the history of South Africa, there were no genuine South African folk songs as most of the tunes were borrowed from other countries eg. the song *A.J.W. Pretorius, Kommandant Generaal der Transvaal Boeren*, was sung in 1852 to the tune of a song supposedly composed by Queen Hortense of Holland, the mother of Napoleon.

This song told of Pretorius, who had no fear during the Great Trek, and who was prepared to seek freedom at any cost:

*Ek wil den moed bezingen
Eens helds, van dezen eeuw,
Dien niets ooit kan bedwingen,
Geen Tijger, Wolf of Leeuw!
Maar die in woeste streken
De dierb're vrijheid zocht
En zonder bloed of wreken
Zoo veelreeds heeft gewrocht.*

(Bouws, 1969:50).

Another song with a borrowed melody was sung for Marthinus Wessel Pretorius who became President of the Orange Free State in 1860. This song was sung to the tune of *God save the Queen*:

*Hoog Ed'le President
Gun, dat ons zangtalent
Tot u zich wendt!*

(Bouws, 1969:51).

Bouws (1969) considers the first genuine *Afrikaanse Volkslied* as the liberation song sung in three voices in 1860 during the struggle for mastery of the interior between Basuto, Boer and Briton:

*Wie leen vrij, wij leven blij
Op Overvaalschen grond;
Bevrijd van vreemde heerschappij,
Zijn wij door eendracht groot en vrij,
Hier duldt de grond geen dwinglandij,
Waar vrijheid jaren stond.*

(Bouws, 1969:53).

Another Afrikaans protest song was one against the possible settlement of prisoners in South Africa. This was composed some time before 1850:

*Op! op! Burgers! Kapenaren!
Op! op! het is thans uw tijd!
Niets kan uw ywer evenaren
In dezen eed'len stryd.*

The chorus: *Geene bandieten in dit ons vaderland!* was sung to *Rule Britannia* (Bouws, 1969:52).

Bouws (1969) speaks about an Afrikaans liberation song sung around 1865, *Lied van die Vrystaatse Basoetoe-Oorlog*, which he says is like a patchwork blanket because the first two bars are to the tune of *Brautjungfernlid* from Weber's opera *Der Freischütz*, followed by a few bars of *Vanaand aan die volkies koring sny*. The chorus reminds him of the song *Die Alabama* as well as a well-known Dutch soldiers' song:

*Jan Brand is president
En Masoes is op sy end
En hy sal so langer niet meer duren.
Stryd dan, broeders, vir die laaste maal,
Eer wy gaan na die kant van Masoes se land.*

Masoes is op die perd

En Jan Brand is aan die stert, ens.

(Bouws, 1969:53).

The songs about President Brand's visit to Queen Victoria to discuss the annexation of the diamond fields in 1871 are clearly examples of folk songs which highlight the history of a country. At the same time these songs can be seen as liberation songs in the sense that they complain about a situation in a country and offer encouragement to solve the problem. An example of such a song is *Als Zal Reg Kom* (1876) which has eight verses, the tune of which is however unknown (Bouws, 1969:54). Another song dealing with this event was *Geselsery van Oom Jan en Tante Victoria, afgeluister door Piet Ondervelder* (1876) in 9 verses, with the chorus to the tune of *Wait for the Wagon*.

Bouws (1969) gives the words of yet another song about this visit:

Oom Jannie het Eng'land toe gegaan,

omdat hy wou gaan kla het

Dat Barkley, Southey en lang Jan

hom al te veel gepla het.

KOOR:

O, wag 'n bietjie, ja, wag 'n bietjie

Wag maar 'n bietjie en dan kom alles reg!

Hy sê: Victoria!

Hul 't ons land met al sy diamante

Maar sommer van ons afgevat,

sowaar my liewe Tante!

As ek hul sê: dit is nie reg

dat hulle van ons land en steentjies

Ons wou beroof - dan word hul kwaad en sê:

loop na die eendjies

*Dan gee 'k jou veertig duisend pond
om die diefstal te bedekke
En wil jy dit nie vat, ou Jan,
dan kan jy sommer trekke.*

*Toe werd Oom Jan so opgeruim
oor sy land en diamante.
Hy spring daar op en soen
so maar sy liewe oue Tante!*

(Bouws, [s.a.]:76-77).

According to Bouws ([s.a.]:72), the words were considered to be so important that catchy well-known tunes were used which would not detract from the words.

Bouws (1969) says that after Brand's visit to London, Piet Ondervelder wrote another song in 1872, *Alles is nou reg*, where he speaks about Queen Victoria's agreement in the sixth verse:

*Jij moet, neef Jan, ver ons maar gee
Die Diamante grond
En jij, Carnarvon, moet HOM gee
Net Neëntig Duizend Pond.*

In the last verse you hear of the love that the Free State people had for their fatherland and for their President:

*Ons Vrijstaters die is een volk
Die lief is ver ons land
En regte lief is ons ook ver
Ons President Brand*

(Bouws, 1969:55).

The First Transvaal War of Independence in 1877 attracted the attention of many writers. According to Bouws (1969) the newspaper *Di Patriot* ran a competition for poems and other compositions to do with the war. Jan Orrelis (J.S. de Villiers) wrote tunes for some of the

poems and one, with a text by Ds. S.J. du Toit, became the official *Transvaalse Volkslied*. It was later given the name *Die Vierkleur van Transvaal*.

Die Vierkleur van Transvaal

Met la - ge lis haal Al - bi - on Ons vlag ver - raad - lik neer, En
doet toc net al wat hul kon, Dat ons hul vlag moes eer: "Ons
sou dan al - les daar - by wen, 'n te - le - graaf en spoor, As
ons die rooi - vlag wil er - ken", Maar dit wou ons nie, hoor!

FAK-sangbundel, 1938:19.

Transvaalse Volkslied

Kent gij dat volk vol hel - den - moed En toch zo lang ge - knecht? Het heeft ge -
of - ferd goed en bloed Voor vry - heid en voor recht. Komt,
bur - gers! laat de vlag - gen wapp' - ren, Ons lij - den is voor - bij; Roemt
in de ze - ge on - zer dapp' - ren: Dat vrij - e volk zijn wij! Dat vrij - e
volk, Dat vrij - e volk, Dat vrij - e vrij - e volk zijn wij!

FAK-sangbundel, 1961:18.

The Second Transvaal War (1880) saw the composition of more protest and liberation songs. Bouws (1969) quotes the words of one with the sad chorus:

Arme vrouw en kinderen

Stuurt men naar de moordenaarskampen henen.

(Bouws, 1969:57).

In the 1938 edition of the *FAK-sangbundel*, *De Strijdzang*, with words by W. Tolsma, is found. No music is given but there is the stipulation that the song should be sung to the tune of *Die Wacht am Rhein*. No date is given, but from the words it may be deduced that this song was also composed during one of the Transvaal Wars of Independence.

Die Rynse Wag (Die Wacht am Rhein)

Die nood - klok roep met lui - der klem, Soos don - der - weer en
bran - der stem! Die Ryn, die Ryn, die Duit - se Ryn, O wie be - waak die Duit - se
Ryn? O Va - der - land, laat vrees ver - dwyn, O Va - der - land laat vrees ver - dwyn,
Ons har - te trou be - waak, be - waak die Ryn.
Ons har - te trou be - waak, be - waak die Ryn.

FAK-sangbundel, 1938:18.

It is a liberation song consisting of four verses, two verses of which are mentioned here.

Komt, Burgers, komt op naar de Vaal!

Transvaalse dapp'ren grijpt het staal

En keert de vijand uit uw land,

Voor hij uw huis en hof verbrandt.

Wilt gij geen vrije mannen zijn? (2)

Wij willen vrije, vrije mannen zijn. (2)

Komt, Burgers, allen vat uw roer!

Is er nog een Transvaalse Boer,

Die weig'ren durft, wat plicht gebiedt.

En't deigend landsgevaar niet ziet?

Wilt gij geen vrije mannen zijn? (2)

Wij willen vrije, vrije mannen zijn.

(FAK-sangbundel, 1938:18).

Sentimental songs were sung about prisoners of war. One such song, *Blauw Bergen*, remained popular for many years:

Ziet gij daar die blauwe bergen,

Waar onz' vriendin zijn verkocht?

(Bouws, 1969:56).

All of these songs have, however, become extinct as time has progressed and their subjects have become irrelevant.

3.2 SONGS SUNG DURING THE PERIOD OF THE EARLY AFRIKANER TRADE UNIONISM

The angry confrontations between workers and the state find echoes today in clashes between black labour, capitalism and the South African Government. These confrontations are always accompanied by the singing of liberation songs. According to researchers (Sachs, 1957; Witz, 1984) this is not only a black worker phenomenon, as strikes accompanied by singing were very much a part of the labour history of the Afrikaner during the years of 1911-1914, 1918-1922 and 1928-1932.

On 4 July 1913, later called Black Friday, a strike was organised by predominantly Afrikaans white workers, and a demonstration was held on Market Square in Johannesburg. Masses of workers marched onto the square and a German workers' band played the *Marseillaise* (Song of the French Revolution). After the meeting had started the police pronounced its prohibition and in the

subsequent clash between workers and police many protestors were killed. A red flag was draped over the dead and the 'people's song', *The Red Flag*¹¹, was sung (Callinicos, 1987:98).

Pike gives the words of *The Red Flag*, which he says was the "official anthem of socialists and communists in early South Africa" (1985:75):

*The people's flag is deepest red
It shrouded oft our martyred dead;
And 'ere their limbs grow stiff and cold
Their hearts' blood dyed its ev'ry fold.*

CHORUS:

*Then raise the scarlet standard high,
Within its shade we'll live and die;
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer
We'll keep the red flag flying here.*

*It well recalls the triumphs past;
It brings the hope of peace at last -
The banner bright, the symbol plain
Of human right and human gain.*

*With heads uncovered swear we all
To bear it onward till we fall.
Come dungeon dark or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn.*

(Pike, 1985:75).

Hostilities between workers and state increased and the climate was thus right for the success of the Russian Revolution to excite the imagination of workers in South Africa, who saw themselves as oppressed and exploited people (Pike, 1985:90). In 1917, mainly white Afrikaans South Africans gathered on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall to celebrate the victory of

¹¹

Refer to 2.3.3.2, where the tune of this song is given. For further reference, refer to 4.5.4.

the Russian Bolsheviks, later known as communists. In 1921 the South African Communist Party was formed. Callinicos (1987) states that initially the South African Communist Party believed that the white working class would eventually carry out the revolution that Marx promised because it was the most organised section of the working class. In the 1922 strike, labelled the 'Red Revolt' by the press, the white workers were, however, hostile to black workers. The white workers' slogan, *Workers of the world unite for a white South Africa*, was contrary to communist ideals and at their third congress in 1924, the South African Communist Party decided to concentrate on black workers in trade unions (Callinicos, 1987:106).

According to Callinicos (1987), between the 1920s and 1930s there were three kinds of unions in South Africa, namely the:

- Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU)
- whites only unions eg. mines, railways and iron and steel unions, and
- industrial trade unions developing along racially parallel lines.

The Garment Workers' Union, consisting of predominantly Afrikaner women, belonged to the third category and according to Webster (1978) they were the strongest union to emerge from this period. This Union is of special interest to this study as a number of Afrikaans socialist liberation songs were sung by its members.

The proletarianism of Afrikaner women began, as with the Afrikaner people as a whole, as a consequence of the economic devastation of the rural areas during the Anglo-Boer War. "*This marked the entry of the Afrikaners into both the public and the political life of South Africa*" (Pike, 1985:42). At the forefront of this movement were young Afrikaner women whose families were no longer able to support them. Blacks from the overpopulated and exhausted tribal territories also began flocking to the towns. The white worker at this time had a virtual monopoly on skilled labour while the blacks did the unskilled work. The poor whites arriving in the towns were, however, unskilled and therefore had to compete with blacks in the unskilled labour market. Webster (1978) points out that, unskilled and newly arrived in the milieu, young Afrikaner women faced crude exploitation and wages close to that of migrant black workers. Ironically, many of the conditions and situations faced by these mainly Afrikaner white workers were reminiscent of the conditions faced by the blacks during the *apartheid* years.

It was under these conditions that the Garment Workers' Union was established. In 1922 there was a strike by members of this Union, as well as coal miners from the Mine Workers Union, for better working conditions. After the strike many trade unionists were arrested. Violence and strikes erupted across the Reef and Pike speaks about the fact that some police and blacks sang *The Red Flag* with the strikers, indicating that they sympathised with them (Pike, 1985:126). On 11 March 1922 Smuts declared Martial Law "and thousands of troops assisted by aircraft and cannons rushed to the aid of the police" (Pike, 1985:126).

In 1924 Smuts, sensing that his ruthlessness in the 1922 strikes had antagonised the people and striving to regain some of his former popularity, granted an amnesty to all the strikers who were in prison. About fifteen to twenty thousand people assembled inside and outside the Johannesburg Town Hall to welcome the released workers, who gave speeches. They explained how some of their comrades from the Mine Workers' Union, had gone to the gallows singing the *Red Flag*, which they said should serve as an inspiration to all the workers (Sachs, 1957:4). Smuts' amnesty did not gain any favour with the electorate and the opposition, in the form of the Labour Party and the Nationalists, formed a Pact Government, which defeated the Smuts Government in the 1924 elections (Pike, 1985:143).

When Solly Sachs took over as chairman of the Garment Workers' Union in November 1928 he proposed a more militant policy for the union (Witz 1984:49). Callinicos (1987) states that between 1928 and 1932 the Garment Workers' Union had over a hundred work stoppages, bringing the clothing industry to a standstill. According to Witz (1987), on many days all the strikers, armed with banners and singing *The Red Flag*, marched up to the factory and held meetings outside the premises. It must be pointed out that the majority of the members and the executive of this Union were Afrikaner women. Many Afrikaner women taking part in the strike were arrested, a situation which black people in South Africa, who saw the Afrikaner as the oppressor during the *apartheid* years, would see as almost inconceivable. The result of the strikes was that the Union won higher wages, better working conditions and shorter hours for its members.

The fact that the workers sang while working can be seen in the personal memoirs of a worker, Anna Sophia Swanepoel, who points out that the workers found work monotonous and strenuous and to break the monotony they would start singing. When one of the other employers complained about the singing the Chairman of the Council said there was no ground for complaint and that in his factory he encouraged the workers to sing as it meant higher production (Webster, 1978:204).

According to Witz (1984) the Garment Workers' Union of the 1930s and 1940s was frequently cited as a precursor of the independent trade union movement of the 1970s and 1980s, and it has been widely asserted that the later unions would do well to follow the example set by the Garment Workers' Union in its structure and politics.

Witz (1984) states that to accomplish better salaries and working conditions, representatives from various trade unions met and formed a Trade Union Council of Action. The zenith of its endeavours was its campaign against the policy of the Wage Board and the highlight of this campaign was the Rally for a Living Wage held in the Johannesburg City Hall on 22 February 1940. The meeting opened with the singing in Afrikaans of *The Internationale*. Proceedings were closed by a singing of the *Red Flag* and *Die Afrikaanse Volkslied* (Witz, 1984:219).

Another incidence of singing of *The Internationale* is given by Pike. He gives an account of a communist propaganda show in the Cape Town City Hall in June 1942, where "*various Russian agents were present and the singing of The Internationale was heard*" (Pike, 1985:236).

Webster (1978) points out that trade union sympathies of the large mass of Afrikaner workers had always posed a threat to the development of Afrikaner Nationalism and it was in fact only after a sustained attack on key trade unions that the Nationalists were able to gain the electoral victory of 1948. They were, however, never successful in gaining the support of the women of the Garment Workers' Union, who remained committed to trade unionism. Hester Cornelius, one of the Afrikaner workers said (in Webster, 1978:196) "*It was the union with its courageous, able leaders which set us free from the hell of starvation wages and slum squalor. The Nationalists never helped us. On the contrary, they have always tried to break our union*".

A shortage of labour had arisen in the garment industry and employers were enticing workers to their factories with offers of higher wages, a move supported by the Garment Workers' Union and opposed by the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers Association. At a special meeting of the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers Association a motion was proposed to call a lock-out of members of the Garment Workers' Union. The solidarity of the members of this Union was demonstrated when on the first day of the lockout 6 000 garment workers marched to the factory of the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers Association singing songs which poked fun at the owners, to traditional English and Afrikaans tunes (Witz, 1984:222-233).

The following words were sung to the tune of *Suikerbossie*:

*Garment Workers let us fight
And put our bosses all to flight
The bosses are already feeble
So let us give them all the needle*

*Clothing bosses you look out
It'll never pay to lock us out
For tens of thousands are we strong
And your prison sentence might be long.*

(Witz, 1984:233).

Touyz (1979) points out that the initial attack on the trade union movement was orchestrated by the *Nasionale Raad van Trustees* established in 1936. It was decided to try to organise exclusively Afrikaans unions that would ultimately lead to political power where loyalty had to be first and foremost to the *volk*. The *Nasionale Raad van Trustees (Raad)* decided upon the Garment Workers' Union as one of its prime targets, not only because of the directly political implications, but also because the Garment Workers' Union was threatening the ideology of Nationalism that the *Raad* was attempting to perpetuate (Witz 1984:267). The person whom the *Raad* assigned to the task of infiltrating the Garment Workers' Union was D.B.H. Grobbelaar, a man who was involved in various Afrikaner cultural organisations. He wrote to Sachs saying that he was making a mockery of Afrikaner national traditions and accusing Sachs of being a Jewish Communist. Sachs challenged Grobbelaar to a debate to see whom the workers supported, Sachs or Grobbelaar. According to Witz (1984), the Garment Workers' Union began preparing themselves for the debate and a Union Guard was formed to defend the Union from the Nationalist assault. This Guard had its own song composed by Johanna Cornelius:

*Pasop dis ons wat Brandwag staan, dis K.W. Uniewag
Ons ken vir jou, o vyand jou,
Ons waak en bly getrou
Ons ken gevare van vandag, kamerade staan op wag,
Ons swoeg tesaam ons veg tesaam,
Staan reg, saluut! "Eendrag".*

(Witz, 1984:270).

The debate between Sachs and Grobbelaar took place on 9 March 1939, after which a referendum was held as to who should be secretary of the Garment Workers' Union; 2 000 voted for Sachs and 15 for Grobbelaar (Witz, 1984:271).

Sachs (1957) suggests that in the middle of the "*thirties when the Nationalists had adopted Nazi philosophy, they began to employ Nazi techniques in dealing with their opponents. In the Nationalist press, in parliament, from the pulpits of the Dutch Reformed Churches, even at meetings of the Afrikaans Cultural Societies, we were vilified and slandered*" (1957:x).

In 1948 the *Herenigde Nasionale Party* emerged victorious in the general elections. The power of the state was now fully turned against the Garment Workers' Union and among the measures taken to pressurise the Union in May 1952 was the banning of Solly Sachs under the Suppression of Communism Amendment Act. On 24 May 1952 a crowd of 20 000 gathered at the Johannesburg City Hall steps to protest the banning of Sachs (Sachs, 1957:128). Almost all the people at this gathering were white. This is quite significant because since the 1960s virtually all strike action and marches have been by South African black communities and Trade Unions. The main reason for this was that the coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948 saw progressive identification with the Afrikaner people and the institution of the *apartheid* policy. As a result of this policy the whites did not have to compete with blacks for work and there was no longer need for strikes by white workers.

According to Pike (1985), Solly Sachs left South Africa on 30 January 1953 for England where he became involved in fund-raising for Defence and Aid, an organisation whose main aim was to give financial aid to South African liberation movements.

There were, however, many other white South Africans who sympathised with the blacks. This manifested itself clearly in the songs sung by some Afrikaners, who spoke disparagingly of the *apartheid* Government in their songs, and who clearly empathised with the black liberation movements.

3.4 AFRIKANERS SYMPATHISE WITH THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE

An interesting phenomenon will be discussed here, namely Afrikaans protest and liberation songs which emanated from:

- white Afrikaner students question racial discrimination, and
- alternative Afrikaner performers and composers.

What made these songs remarkable was the fact that generally the Afrikaner was perceived by the black man as the oppressor and these songs clearly express empathy for the black struggle.

3.4.1 WHITE AFRIKANER STUDENTS QUESTION RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In 1989, the students of Stellenbosch University, a traditional Afrikaner institution, were clearly symptomatic of the racial re-appraisal of Afrikanerdom amongst the Afrikaner youth. Hamilton (1993) gives the example of the song, *Studente sal nooit verloor*, written just before the first protest march in 1989 against racially segregated residences at Stellenbosch University. This song, which is an adaptation of a Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) song, was sung during the march around the campus (Hamilton, 1993:23).

This action was followed by a ban on protest meetings of any form on the campus. The mood of resistance among the students continued and "*the uforia (sic) was something unknown on Afrikaner campuses (sic), as young students appeared with red arm bands between hundreds of marching workers in orange overalls*" (Burgess, 1994:45). Traditional old Afrikaans folk songs were sung with new words and a secret tour was organised to visit the banned African National Congress in Lusaka. The reaction from University authorities was the banning of the NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) and the Black Students' Organisation, while activist students were threatened with expulsion unless they agreed to stop their activities (Burgess, 1994:45). Nothing could, however, stop the students, and many protest meetings and marches were organised resulting in clashes between the police and students on the campus.

Protest and liberation songs arose in response to the situation, like the following songs:

P.W. WOU GAAN OPSIT

(Op die wysie van die 'A froggie went a-courtin'.)

*P.W. wou gaan opsit by Elize in die vlei, aham (3)
maar 'n groot genoeg kar kon hy nêrens kry, aham (3)
Hy sê toe die army om 'n Casspir te stuur, aham (3)
maar dit verbrand in 'n township vuur, aham (3)
Hulle bly by die huis en kyk Netwerk, aham (3)
maar P.W. se ding wil net nie werk, aham (3)
Elize sê, pappie gee 'n bietjie meer, aham (3)
Nee, sê P.W., my kop is seer, aham (3)
Hulle gaan maar slaap met 'n koppie tee, aham (3)
Maar dis ook fokop want die bed gee mee, aham (3)*

(Baie stadig)

*Hier is 'n les wat die volk moet leer, aham (3)
Heul met die army en jy naai nooit weer, Ratatam (3)*

AS EK MOEG WORD VIR DIE FOKOP VAN P.W.

(Op die wysie van Wandellied)

*As ek moeg word vir die fokop van P.W.
en gatvol raak vir Vlok
Dan roep ons al die kamerade op om nou die kak te stop
En ons marsjeer deur Suid-Afrika
en ons marsjeer na Lusaka
En sing 'n vryheidslied. (2)*

*Die revolusie word nie gebeeldsaai dis werklik lewendig
John Vorster-plein tot Pollsmoor ons leiers word vermoor.
En ons marsjeer deur Suid-Afrika*

En ons marsjeer na Lusaka

En sing ons vryheidslied. Aluta Continua.

DIE AK'S DIE KLAP

(Op die wysie van Die Treklied.)

Die AK's die klap en die boere kom saam

al agter die rooispan aan

Ons harte's nie swaar al is die skeiding ook daar
van die plaas waar ons tuiste staan.

Trek oor Zambezi, trek in die land.

Moenie die breek aandraai.

Hot agter, haar agter, klim op die wa.

Bevryding is om die draai.

Met jou aan die sy, kameraad van my.

Dan vrees ons geen gevaar.

Die wildernis in om vryheid te win.

Daar word ons drome waar.

Trek oor Zambezi, trek in die land.

Moenie die breek aandraai.

Hot agter haar agter, klim op die wa.

Luta Continua!

(Burgess, 1994:46-47).

In 1989 the Stellenbosch students left for Lusaka to meet the African Nationalist Congress, despite widespread criticism. The fact that while in Lusaka they sang the song lampooning President Botha as well as other Afrikaans freedom songs clearly offended conservative students (The Sunday Star, 9 April 1989:18). Mark Behr, the only member of NUSAS ever to have been elected to the Stellenbosch University Students' Representative Council, was especially criticised. Behr, however, defended his position by saying that the students sang many songs about Winnie Mandela, Hendrik Schoeman and other political leaders as well, and that the song

for about four years and had to do with the fact that the Nationalist Party reform policy had come to a standstill (Die Burger, 5 April 1989:2). Behr's reply to criticism of his singing was that the person who criticises his singing is a racist as the FAK-sangbundel is filled with freedom songs which are much more militant than the ones sung by them (Rapport, 9 April 1989:2).

It is significant that these Stellenbosch students did not come from backgrounds where they had suffered discrimination and yet they took part in the struggle in an indirect way. They undoubtedly sympathised with the freedom struggle and the explanation given by one of the students who accompanied the group to Lusaka was: "*Ons was nie honger of onderdruk nie; ons wou ons sanity behou*" (Burgess, 1994:48). These students clearly became the conscience of many students on the campus.

Songs emanating from this period indicate that students chose musical parody to produce an imitation which mocked the original. Songs were, however, also specially composed to express disapproval of discrimination by a group of Afrikaans musicians who became known as the Afrikaans Alternative musicians.

3.4.2 ALTERNATIVE AFRIKANER PERFORMERS AND COMPOSERS

Afrikaans Alternative music became an avenue through which the Afrikaner could employ, among other musical genres, rock 'n roll to express criticism of the *apartheid* Government. Smit (1992) gives possible reasons for the rediscovery of rock 'n roll by the teenage fans of Afrikaans Alternative music as the fact that:

- the South African Afrikaans situation of an emerging youth-orientated awareness and social identity paralleled the teenage rock 'n roll phenomenon of the United States of America in the 1950s: "*Racial segregation in a conservative social structure was a common theme in the USA of the 1950s and SA in the 1960s*" (Smit, 1992:65), and
- rock 'n roll was seen as a particularly dangerous threat to the Afrikaans culture and more significantly was seen by the Nationalist Government as a symbol of British culture and the antithesis of Afrikaner values. "*It certainly does lend*

itself, by means of its youthful rebellious connotations, adequately to Afrikaner youth protest" (Smit, 1992:67).

The musicians who sang Afrikaans Alternative music got together in 1987 at the Black Sun in Berea, Johannesburg, where they gave concerts called Boere-Blues. Here André Letoit (who later adopted the pseudonym Koos Kombuis) and Ralph Rabie (who later adopted the pseudonym Johannes Kerkorrel), among others, gave concerts for a young Afrikaner counter-culture in music which attained moderate international recognition. Also appearing at these concerts were the Gereformeerde Blues Band with their debut album Eet Kreef. As Smit says, "*Cultural rebellion is the explicit agenda of the Gereformeerde Blues Band*" (1992:63). The new consciousness among young Afrikaners produced songs which use distasteful satire which was clearly meant to shock. The lyrics are so important that they are often half-sung, half-declamatory, to make more impact.

Most of the works by these performers can be seen in the light of parodic satirisation of Afrikaner white middle class. This was clearly demonstrated by a production at the Grahamstown National Arts Festival that received top honours, Piekniek by Dingaan (The Weekly Mail, 15-21 July 1988:27). This work was a workshop production by Johannes Kerkorrel and Koos Kombuis and conveyed repressed anger and recollected fury. "*Young Afrikaners have taken off their kappies and weldskoene to dance a new dance to a neo-African beat. This group of young Afrikaners is clearly not happy with the greed, political tyranny and military violence that is being ascribed to the Afrikaner and they mock at the Afrikaans jet-set with their materialistic obsessions*" (The Weekly Mail, 15-21 July 1988:27). Special mention was made of Kerkorrel's poignant performance of Hillbrow which contained some anti-military songs. "*Piekniek by Dingaan is a humanitarian cry, a call for an end to all the madness around us*" (The Weekly Mail, 15-21 July 1988:27).

Another article on the Grahamstown National Arts Festival (Insig, 4 August 1988:5), points out that practically all the Afrikaans productions at the Grahamstown Festival that year surprised with their critical look at South African society. The author of the article stated that it appeared to be Afrikaners who were questioning the Government of the day and that it was interesting to note that an attack had been launched upon policies from within the Afrikaner establishment. Another article dealing with this Festival stated that "*here laid bare for all to witness was the anger, the bitterness*

and the shame of Verwoerd's grown children - deprived of their human dignity, they are anarchistic as hell" (The Weekly Mail, 15-21 July 1988:27).

The rock 'n roll rebellion translated into Afrikaans with remarkable success. Works by Gereformeerde Blues Band, André Letoit and Bernoldus Niemand were collected on the Shifty compilation album, Voëlvry "*[a]nd their move from obscurity to public notoriety seems thoroughly to have unsettled the captains of Afrikaner volks-kultuur*" (The Weekly Mail, 31 March-6 April 1989:25). Speaking about the Afrikaans Alternative group, Gereformeerde Blues Band, Rathbone states that though the band members "*stress the importance of rock 'n roll in their approach to the cultural torpor in Afrikaans music, it is ultimately the message which is more important ... they see rock 'n roll as more of an attitude, rather than a definitive musical genre*" (The Weekly Mail, 31 March-6 April 1989:25). This opinion is corroborated in the The Weekly Mail, 26 May-1 June 1989:28.

It is significant that by 1990 these musicians had arranged the first South African rock festival, Houtstock, which was attended by 20 000 musicians. A national tour called the Voëlvry Tour arranged by Alternative Afrikaans musicians, was attended by 85 000 people, a clear indication that the message they brought home with their singing was heard by many. "*Afrikaner youth was ignited by the emergence of this music movement*" (Smit, 1992:2). Chapman made an interesting observation in an article when he stated that "*Not all the Boere go for this Boere-punk*" (The Weekly Mail, 14-20 April 1989:24). He pointed out that this counter-culture in Afrikaans music was very popular among the English but not among all Afrikaners, as can be seen by the fact that the Voëlvry Tour was banned at traditional Afrikaans Universities such as Potchefstroom, Stellenbosch and the Orange Free State. At Stellenbosch University, however, thousands of students mobilised to protest the banning of the performance on their campus by musicians of the Voëlvry Tour. Opprobrium had also been heaped on the Voëlvryers by dignitaries of the N.G. Kerk, the SABC had banned most of the songs on the Voëlvry album, all but three numbers on the Gereformeerde Blues Band album, Eet Kreef! and most of Bernoldus Niemand's album (The Weekly Mail, 26 May-1 June 1989).

Bernoldus Niemand, who also took part in the Voëlvry tour, named his backing group on the tour Die Swart Gevaar, which was symptomatic of the phrases used by the then South African Prime

Minister, P.W. Botha. Most of Niemand's works are satirical of the role the South African male is expected to play and contain parodies of the *volkslied*. *Hou my vas*, which mocks the South African military system, is one of his songs. He says that military service is not his choice, but his duty. He sings *Ek speel oorlog met my beste dae* on his album Wie is Bernoldus Niemand? Bernoldus Niemand. Smit says, "The song is a biting satirical song which is reflective of complacent male Afrikaner acquiescence to compulsory military service" (1992:32). *Die Boksborg Bommer* on the same record portrays the violence of Afrikaner male life in a satirical fashion. Most of his songs seem to portray this type of theme. Smit (1992) sees Niemand as focusing, in a very critical way, on conformity which is the foundation on which Afrikaans male gender construction is built. He says this conformity "promotes an acquiescent consciousness, a state of ideological unconsciousness" (Smit, 1992:39).

There are many other examples of Afrikaans Alternative music which were clearly anti-establishment. *Jong Dames Dinamiek (Maak My Siek)* by Randy Rambo en die Rough Riders on their record Die Saai Lewe is a good example of musical satire about the wealthy:

JONG DAMES DINAMIEK (MAAK MY SIEK)

*Ons huis is massief en ons kar baie blink
Ons swembad is groot en die tuinjong so flink
Die dahlias blom mooi en die kinders is soet
Hulle hou ons naam hoog as hulle oom dominee hoflik groet*

*En ons eet en ons drink en ons werk en ons bid
En ons slaap en ons swem en ons teel en ons sit
Ek sal ons meid regeer en haar hiet en gebied
Ek is voorsitter van Jong Dames Dinamiek
Laai die kinders af by die sport en gaan koer in die boetiek
Ek het klas ek het styl ek's ryk, ek's chic
By Vroue Landbou-unie en by Dames Aktueel
Bring ek ook my deel en ons hou ons volk so heel*

*My man is die bestuurder van Santambank
Hy's 'n diaken en daarvoor kan ek die Here dank
Hy's ryk hy't mag hy't krag hy't geld
En ons sal dit beskerm met trots en geweld
Hy is penningmeester van die potjiekosklub
In sy tee gooi ek altyd net suurlemoensap
Hy's ook vooraanstaande in die Broederbond
In die Burgermag skrik hy vir geen bom se lont
Hy glo in die roepstem van die Rapportryers
Soggens eet hy pap en roosterbrood, spek en eiers....*

(Vrye Weekblad, 6-12 March 1992:14).

Other numbers on this same record, including the *Kwêla for Nelson Mandela* and *Elegie vir 'n and wat brand* show empathy for the black struggle.

Sit dit Af by Kerkorrel on the record Eet Kreef has the following words:

*... op my TV screen
Dit was 'n nare gesig
dit was P.W. se gesig
en langs hom staan oom Pik
wel ek dog ek gaan verstik...*

(Excerpt from *Sit dit af*, Eet Kreef: Record).

This is clearly a satire about the then South African Prime Minister, P.W. Botha and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha. In *Donker Donker Land*, on the same record, Kerkorrel sings about violence. He is almost sarcastic in the lyrics of this song:

*In ons huisie teen die heuwels
agter tralies skuil ons teen alle ewels
en ver sien ons die rook trek
die lokasies is aan die brand*

*En die soldate kom al aangemarsjeer
en elkeen dra 'n gelaaide geweer
daar's n bom in elke supermark
en die klank van glas wat breek
en iets moet breek*

(Excerpt from *Donker Donker Land*, Eet Kreef: Record).

Another satire from Eet Kreef is *BMW*, with lyrics by Dagga Dirk-Uys, Kerkorrel and Kombuis. The music is by Kerkorrel:

Ons ry 'n BMW

Ons gaan elke jaar oorsee

Ons stem vir die PFP, die KP, die NP

alles met 'n P, net nie die ANC, nee!

(Excerpt from *BMW*, Eet Kreef: Record)

Another political satire is Johannes Kerkorrel's composition on the political views of the Right Wing leader Eugene Terreblanche. From the performance it can be seen that the lyrics were very important in this music and the statements the musicians make are meant to shock the listener politically (Johannes Kerkorrel, 1994: Video). The Afrikaans used by many of these musicians often borders on the banal, an aspect which was seldom found in the South African black protest and liberation songs.

Kerkorrel speaks about the dilemma facing Afrikaans Alternative musicians: "*Once you stand up in public and dare to criticise then you are out there in no-man's land. They reject you completely. Because we are Afrikaans we are rejected by the blacks because there is a natural prejudice against you. because what you say can't be true because you come from this background*" (Johannes Kerkorrel 1994: Video).

A tape by Kerkorrel, Urgent Release/Silent Night features speeches by W. Sisulu and A. Kathrada at a welcome-back rally for them after the unbanning of the African National Congress

In 1989. Among other musical pieces on the tape Kerkorrel sings *Silent Night*, which may be considered distasteful, as he sings a political satire based on a Christian event. The section on black liberation songs also contains examples of hymns where the words have been adapted so that the hymn becomes a liberation song.

Koos Kombuis dedicated his debut album Niemandsland to the memory of Steve Biko, the black political activist who died in detention, and to André Letoit, Kombuis's real name. This record is clearly anti-establishment as can be seen by some of the statements he makes on the cover of the record: "*Ek hoop dat hierdie LP dinge kan regmaak. In hierdie LP wil ek swartmense laat hoor hoe nice Afrikaans kan klink. Met hierdie LP wil ek vir die witmense sê om nie so in-gat te wees nie. Die swartmense kan gladnie verstaan hoekom die witmense so paranoïes (bang) vir hulle is nie. En die witmense dink swartmense gooi almal net bomme. Hierdie storie moet nou end kry. Vandag die witmense is so boring! Hulle doen net shoppieng (sic) en hulle het heeltemal vergeet van hulle eie struggle, lank gelede! Want toe het hulle ook hulle eie helde gehad; helde wat bereid was, om Koos Biko, hulle lewens te gee vir hulle volk*" (Niemandslan, 1989: Record cover). All the lyrics on the record are anti-establishment. Mainstream recording companies were not interested in Alternative Musicians and they thus had to make use of Shifty Records, a small company funded mainly by overseas anti-apartheid organisations.

There is an element of protest in some of Anton Goosen's numbers, especially the five songs based around the theme of District 6, the Coloured area in the Cape from which inhabitants were forced to move. The five songs are *Jantjie*, *Waterblommetjies*, *Hanoverstraat*, *Atlantis* and *Antjie Somers*. Goosen is, through these songs, trying to portray the emotions of the people of District 6 and the fact that the Cape Coloured culture had been destroyed by the forced removal of these people. *Atlantis* was written about the place, some 39km outside Cape Town, to which victims of the Group Areas Act were relocated. *Antjie Somers* is a dreaded tokoloshe-type figure, but Goosen refers to the mythological figure of Antjie Somers as *geel bulldozer*, the yellow bulldozer used to demolish people's houses in District 6.

Goosen also wrote about Soweto in *Mpanzaville* on an album for the singer Laurike Rauch, a song which is about Soweto and the events of 16 June 1976. Anton Goosen "*wants to be seen as a protest poet who identifies strongly with Breyten Breytenbach and Bob Dylan*" (Andersson,

1981:150). Goosen felt the full force of SABC and SATV ire when, in an interview on SATV's "Good Morning South Africa", he criticised these two institutions for their involvement in Afrikaans music. This led to a six month ban on all his music by these two institutions (Vrye Weekblad, 6-12 Maart 1992:14).

Another white South African who had his works banned for showing empathy with those involved in the *apartheid* struggle was David Kramer. In 1986 he teamed up with Taliep Pietersen to write *District Six - the Musical*. He had two follow-up musicals to *District Six*, namely *Fairyland*, and *Crooners*, all to do with the emotion and sentiment surrounding the demolition of District Six. The reason many of these musicians chose to compose their songs in Afrikaans was perhaps summed up by David Kramer, who says, (in Vrye Weekblad, 6-12 Maart 1992:18): "*If you really start to think about South African folk music, the question arises about whether we have folk roots. That is what made me write in Afrikaans in the first place. The only reason was to explore the political tampering with the history and cultural traditions, which all lead back to the Malay slaves. So to me the whole folk tradition and Afrikaans as a language starts here in Cape Town with District Six as a melting pot*".

Of his own compositions, David Kramer says (in Vrye Weekblad, 6-12 Maart 1992:18): "*[T]hese works were composed because, there is a new question for me - to try and connect to a cultural history, to try and repair some of the damage that has been inflicted by apartheid. I have a great need to understand that side of my history - a side that was in a way denied to me*" are in a sense a reflection of the opinions of most Afrikaans liberation singers and composers after the 1950s.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter mirrored the experiences of white South Africans through their songs, while the next chapter uses black liberation songs to give an insight into the lives of black South Africans. Conditions which inspired the liberation songs of these two polarised societies often reflect similarities. This was clearly demonstrated at a concert arranged by the songstress, Jennifer Ferguson, in 1993, which attempted to bridge seemingly gaping differences between white and black South Africans. This concert held at Johannesburg's Yard of Ale was called the "South Africa Love Workshop". Ferguson asked Sibongile Khumalo, the well-known Zulu contralto performer,

to sing *My Sarie Marais*, "despite the fact that she has an ardent commitment to black South African identity" (Vinassa, 1993:50). According to Ferguson (in Vinassa, 1993:50) "there was a very excited reaction from the audience who clapped and sang along and who clearly found this song and others to be an unexpectedly powerful cathartic experience for the participants and audience". Sibongile Khumalo observed (in Vinassa, 1993:50) that "[o]nce I was familiar with the origin of the song, I became aware of the similarities of the black experience, to the emotions expressed by the songwriter of *My Sarie Marais*, about his oppression at the hands of the English. He was fighting for his motherland. History has been so distorted that these things come as a revelation".

A major difference, however, between the songs of black and white South Africans is the fact that contrary to the liberation music of white South Africans, music rather than politics provided the real voice of black South Africans until the early 1990s, because there were no other channels open to protest.

CHAPTER 4

LIBERATION AND PROTEST SONGS AMONG BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The liberation and protest songs which evolved among black South Africans resulted mainly from three characteristics of the people involved, namely:

- the black culture is a patriarchal (man-centred) society
- songs used as a communicating phenomenon in all situations, and
- solidarity and unity experienced by the participating crowd.

The study will focus on each of these aspects.

1.1.1 THE BLACK CULTURE IS A PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

According to Steve Biko, one of the most fundamental aspects of the black culture is the importance attached to man. He states that the black culture is a man-centred society where the people have the capacity to talk to each other, not for the sake of arriving at a particular conclusion but merely to enjoy communication for its own sake: "*Nothing dramatises the eagerness of the African to communicate with each other more than their love for song and dance*" (Biko, 1978:56).

1.1.2 SONGS USED AS A COMMUNICATING PHENOMENON

The abolition of *apartheid* was essentially a product of the black community and black liberation songs played a distinctive role in its eradication through the cathartic, empowering and educative aspects referred to in Chapter 2. This is mainly due to the fact that music, in the African culture, features in all emotional states and it is used as a vehicle through which people learn about life and, among other things, recount current and historical events. "*To the African, music and rhythm are*

not luxuries but part and parcel of their way of communication. Any suffering we experienced was made more real by song and rhythm" (Biko, 1978:57).

Communication between people taking part in the liberation struggle is facilitated by the fact that most liberation songs are a manifestation of an oral subculture, which has the advantage of enabling groups to carry out a spontaneous response to a situation. Many tunes are used over and over with new words to suit a new situation. This sentiment was echoed by the well-known South African singer, Miriam Makeba, when she stated: "*In our struggle, songs are not simply entertainment for us. They are the way we communicate. The press, radio and TV are all censored by the Government. We cannot believe what they say. So we make up songs to tell us about events. Let something happen and the next day a song will be written about it*" (Sangoma, 1988: Record cover).

The songs can thus be seen as a barometer of the mood of the people in times of tribulation and can reflect a rejection of the dominant sociopolitical and economic systems.

4.1.3 SOLIDARITY AND UNITY AS EXPERIENCED BY THE PARTICIPATING CROWD

The participating crowd of black South Africans singing liberation songs is a confluence of different groupings of individuals, all experiencing a sense of solidarity and unity owing to the feeling of oppression dictated by sociopolitical conditions created by the *apartheid* regime. Ethnicity, class and political affiliations are generally transcended as issues of common concern are articulated in the liberation songs. Sherman reiterates this statement when she says that on the trains the workers *do not sing factory-based songs but songs which express the desire for political freedom and at COSATU¹² events, you will hear the same songs which you would hear at a UDF¹³ rally* " (1989:83). Excerpts from videos used in this study verify this fact and it is virtually impossible to say that specific songs were sung only by certain parties or unions. This unity experienced through song was explained by Thabo Mbeki¹⁴ in an interview on British Television: "*It doesn't matter what*

¹² COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Unions

¹³ UDF : United Democratic Front

¹⁴ Executive Deputy President of South Africa since 1994.

form the struggle takes, whether it is a mass political struggle or workers' songs expressing exploitation; everywhere culture becomes a very central and a very important element in this act of asserting that we are human. People are singing at the thought of liberation" (Song of the Spear, 1986: Video).

An article, *Resistance art* in R.S.A. Policy Review, (Anon., 1989:56) distinguishes between two kinds of South African black liberation songs, namely:

- *People's art*, and
- *Resistance art*.

(Anon., 1989:56).

For the purpose of this study it was decided to use the same classification as this article suggests, as it is particularly relevant to the South African black liberation songs. The songs will thus be categorised under either *People's art* or *Resistance art*, after these two designations have been explained. More attention will, however, be paid to *People's art*, as the focus of the study falls on those songs which were sung by the masses in the liberation struggle.

1.2 LIBERATION SONGS AS PEOPLE'S ART AND RESISTANCE ART

1.2.1 PEOPLE'S ART

Liberation songs falling into this category serve a propaganda function where artistic value is of minor importance. They are thus the liberation songs sung by the masses where the message takes priority over musical expression.

Liberation songs composed before the 1950s will also, for the purpose of this study, be considered to be *People's art* despite the fact that most of these songs were authentic choral works which had to be taught by the composer or a choir master. The reason for categorising these works as *People's art* lies in the fact that they were not only composed in response to a sociopolitical situation, but also adopted and sung by political parties. They are thus also liberation songs which serve a propaganda function and as such contribute to the undermining of existing values, and aim

at advancing a culture of resistance and at the instigation of dissatisfaction, unrest and ultimately revolution" (Anon., 1989:57).

1.2.2 RESISTANCE ART

Resistance art is categorised as liberation music, composed and performed by an artist or artists, where the musical expression takes priority over the message. They are considered to be works which were composed and performed by people who identified with the black liberation struggle by virtue of the fact that they were directly affected by the sociopolitical situation in South Africa. Their works became the voice of the community around which they composed and performed because they themselves were part of that very community.

Resistance art cannot, however be sung spontaneously by the masses because music where the artistic value is emphasised has to be learnt before it can be performed. Such works are also too long and detailed to be adopted by political parties and unions. Works falling under *Resistance art* were also not always heard by the masses, as many of these works were censored in South Africa and some of the composers and performers were living in exile. The words of such works are also often much more radical than works composed in South Africa, as the composers were not bound by the strictures of a political ideology (Coplan, 1985; Ellison, 1989; Perris, 1985; Pratt, 1990).

As the sentiments expressed in songs falling under *Resistance art* are the subjective views of the composer, the accuracy and effectiveness of the ideological message is more questionable than in most of the songs falling under *People's art* which was mostly a spontaneous response to a sociopolitical situation.

Despite the fact that some Afrikaans liberation songs were used as an instrument of propaganda to emphasise alleged shortcomings in the *apartheid* Government policy and to propagate an alternative dispensation for South Africa, the composers and performers were not part of the community for which the works were intended by virtue of their cultural background and the fact that *apartheid* did not affect them directly. For the purpose of this study, these compositions were not regarded as *Resistance art*.

Categories of *People's art* will be discussed first, followed by categories of *Resistance art*.

4.3 PEOPLE'S ART - CATEGORIES

A short summary will be provided of the main categories of liberation songs according to style, as the style modifications are a clear reflection of the mood of the people in changing sociopolitical conditions. These categories demonstrate the fact that originally liberation and protest music in South Africa courted no political confrontation; it spoke of the drama of black life, its triumphs and defeats, survival, its culture, the police terror and legislated restrictions to which it was subjected. As sociopolitical conditions deteriorated the liberation struggle gained momentum and the songs became more militant. In order to reflect the change in mood of the songs they will be discussed as:

- songs sung from 1900 until 1950, and
- songs sung after 1950.

4.3.1 SONGS SUNG FROM 1900 UNTIL 1950

The liberation songs sung until the 1950s reflected the Christian conviction of non-militancy. This was mainly due to the fact that up until 1949 black politicians consisted mainly of the elite, who were products of English-medium mission schools. The Christian environment in which they were educated influenced their political views. The styles of the songs, however changed, mainly due to deteriorating socio-economic conditions. As the main composer of liberation songs during this period was a Zulu, Reuban Tholakele Caluza, and most of these songs are in Zulu, it was decided to concentrate on these compositions within the Zulu milieu.

The Ohlange Institute, a private college outside Durban, provided education to many early black politicians and musicians, making it a fertile environment for the composition of liberation songs. Good examples of these early politicians and musicians are:

- John Dube, the first President of the SANNK (South African National Native Council) and founder of the Ohlange Institute in 1901
- Caluza, a student who became a staff member on completion of his studies in 1915. He was also the leader of the Ohlange Choir, and
- Lingard D. Bopela, a future ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union) activist.

This Institute also conducted regular countrywide choir tours, a very unusual occurrence for black performance groups. As this choir had liberation songs in its repertoire, there is reason to surmise that these Zulu liberation songs were heard widely and also influenced people throughout the country. Erlmann states that not only did the choirs help to keep the Ohlange Institute financially afloat; “they also provided cultural models able to satisfy the needs of the entire spectrum of black society by expressing an overarching black identity” (Erlmann¹⁵, 1991:122). The influence of this choir can thus not be underestimated and the fact that brilliant musicians and politicians were educated at the Institute and also taught there goes a long way to answering Jessica Sherman’s questions: “Why are most Liberation songs in Zulu or Xhosa? Is the Nguni culture more orientated towards singing than Sotho culture? Is it because the Nguni people resisted longer than any other groups and this tradition of war songs and chants became ingrained?” (Sherman, 1989:87).

The categories according to style until 1950 are:

- imusic*
- iRagtime*, and
- isiZulu*.

3.1.1 **Imusic**

For Zulu speakers up until the turn of the century, the prevailing category of music that symbolized the identification with English values was *imusic*. Erlmann (1991) states that it was the least politically overt musical category and as such, was essentially grounded in European and American music. In *imusic*, Erlmann (1991) tells about the distortion of normal speech rhythm and prosody in Xhosa and Zulu that had been tolerated in the choir music (*makwaya*) of the mission-educated elite. He says that “these converts had accepted the supposed superiority of the symbols of Western civilisation such as four-part choral hymnody over autochthonous forms of cultural expression such as Zulu prosody” (Erlmann, 1991:123).

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For many of the points made in the discussion of early liberation songs, the researcher is indebted to articles and a book by V. Erlmann. This author is one of the only researchers who gives an in-depth account of these songs.

As socio-economic conditions for the blacks deteriorated, Reuban Caluza felt that *imusic* "lacked the qualities that were needed to satisfactorily express the growing resistance to declining black autonomy and deteriorating class privileges" (Erlmann, 1991:60). He began to look at ragtime songs which he felt were more compatible with Zulu speech patterns. These ragtime songs were called *iRagtime* in Zulu and were an example of an Afro-American cultural model. Erlmann (1991) states that this model, as a tool for criticism of oppression, was much more acceptable than *imusic*, which lacked the ethnic components that rural Africans could readily identify with and use in expressing widespread anticolonial sentiments.

3.1.2 IRagtime

By the turn of the century Afro-American ideas of self-advancement and "embryonic African nationalism had become powerful alternatives to colonial ideology and major forces in the intellectual climate of Natal's amakholwa¹⁶ communities. It is the role of defense against white exclusivism and racism that accounts for the early impact of Afro-American music and minstrelsy on the evolution of black music in South Africa, particularly in Natal" (Erlmann, 1991:60).

Black South Africans had first gained experience of Afro-American culture and ragtime through the visits of Orpheus McAdoo and his Jubilee Singers between 1891 and 1898. They were the first representation in South Africa of black life and living conditions in the United States and amakholwa audiences throughout Natal celebrated the descendants of former slaves as their 'music heroes'" (Erlmann, 1991:61). Erlmann states that admiration for Afro-American values was especially high at Ohlange Institute, where Caluza studied. It is thus not surprising that his liberation and protest music shifted from the *imusic* category to *iRagtime*.

3.1.3 IsiZulu

At the turn of the century the amakholwa found their position increasingly undermined by war, drought and rinderpest and finally by the Native Land Act. They came to the insight that they would need to seek a larger constituency to help protect the gains they had made so far, if not to expand them. And this meant forging links with the wider African community" (Erlmann, 1991:71).

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Amakholwa: Large landowners who had mostly been exposed to mission education

Previously *amakholwa* and traditional peasantry each belonged to mutually exclusive classes with their own diametrically opposed cultures. With the growing contact between these two classes the *amakholwa*, who had mainly been exposed to *imusic*, came into contact with the traditional musical genres which constituted *isiZulu*. It thus became clear that the rural and urban black masses began drawing on precolonial cultural practices to define and make more secure their situation under the new economic order.

The dilemma facing the *amakholwa* was that they had been exposed mainly to *imusic*, and they had had very little contact with traditional culture, "*The missionaries*," an *Ilanga* correspondent complained, "*had naturally discouraged and tabooed traditional culture, but failed to put anything in the place of the heathen songs of the Natives*" (*Ilanga Lase Natal*, June 23 1922:5).

Erlmann (1991) states that on a more general level, the postwar period saw a more sustained effort by the state to influence black political thinking by a restoration of Zulu tribal authorities and a strengthening of ethnic consciousness. In the hands of the state, Zulu history, the Zulu monarchy, and symbols of Zulu ethnicity became a crucial part of the strategy of social control: "*The foundation of Inkatha in 1922-24, an organisation aimed at gaining state recognition for the Zulu monarchy, was an important component of this strategy*" (Erlmann, 1991:74). The resurgence of Zulu ethnicity found expression in the performance of the *isiZulu* category of music which can be seen as a traditional performance idiom for the expression of Zulu ethnic identity, in opposition to what was perceived as the racism of Natal's white settlers. In 1932 Mark Radebe (in Erlmann, 1991:76), a leading musical ideologue and Johannesburg music critic, also argued that a genuine traditional musical idiom had to be "*based on the only real Bantu music, namely, its folk music*".

This resurgence in ethnic pride is demonstrated by the fact that Caluza, who in the 1930s was studying at Hampton Institute in Virginia, United States of America, wrote "*I am now studying at Hampton Institute with a view to returning to South Africa to collect and preserve African folk-songs for posterity*" (Cunard, 1934:415). This is verified by the fact that three Zulu Folk songs in Caluza's own handwriting were printed in the Negro Anthology made by Nancy Cunard 1931 - 1933 (1934).

Three Zulu Songs

1. A Lullabye - (Primitive)

Handwritten musical notation for a lullaby. The melody is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The lyrics are: "O - wa ! O - wa ! Iula mtwa na u nyoko ka li manga u libe le gi ngoma O - wa".

" This is one of the many Zulu lullabies whose origin is unknown. It is sung by all Zulu girls. The words mean :

Sleep little baby, don't cry,
 Mother did not plough her fields,
 Instead she stayed at home and
 Brooded over her selfish ways.

2. Work Song (Primitive)

Handwritten musical notation for a work song. The melody is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The lyrics are: "Kwela kwela wetu Kwela kwela wetu. Iwala, Iwala e'chanda Iwala ova e'chanda".

" This song is sung when the men are carrying a heavy load. Here is the meaning :

Climb fellow-man, climb fellow-man,
 Carry it, carry it on the head,
 Carry it, carry it on the head.

3. Bringing to life an unconscious chicken

Handwritten musical notation for a song about a chicken. The melody is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The lyrics are: "Za nggoza ma nggoza an bulavenge bonu be siki siya dhlala kus nti wena u su fa za nggoza ma nggoza".

" When a Zulu child throws a stone at a chicken and hits it in such a way that it falls unconscious, he stands over it and sings this song till it becomes conscious again. The words mean :

Little chicken, little chicken,
 I did not intend to kill you,
 I was only playing, but now
 You are dying little chicken, little chicken.

This revived interest in traditional music led to the composition of many traditional liberation songs just before and especially after the 1950s. *IsiZulu* thus led to a black identity “in opposition to the virulent racism of Natal’s white settlers” (Erlmann 1991:71).

It must, however, be pointed out that these categories were not always mutually exclusive and that the different styles appeared sporadically throughout the liberation struggle.

1.3.2 SONGS SUNG AFTER 1950

As was pointed out earlier in the *isiZulu* category, which arose during the 1930s, there was a resurgence of ethnic pride. It was, however, only after the 1950s that authentic African musical elements became entrenched in the liberation songs indicating a rejection of white domination.

Three main categories which surfaced after the 1950s will be discussed, namely:

- songs with traditional African musical elements
- toyi-toyi*, and
- the liberation chant or slogan.

1.3.2.1 Songs with Traditional African Musical Elements

From the 1950s liberation songs became part of the oral tradition, in the sense that they were longer compositions which had to be taught, as had generally been the situation in the years preceding the 1950s. The advantage of the oral mode is manifested in the ability of groups to carry out spontaneous and improvised singing in response to any situation and “[t]his African and black cultural tradition thus constitutes a negation of the entire European tradition rooted in a pattern of structure and regularity” (Pratt, 1990:86).

In order to find a framework within which these oral liberation songs from after the 1950s could fit, it was necessary to research the meaning of folk music, since “[m]ost definitions treat oral tradition as fundamental to folk music, if not its most salient feature” (Bohlman, 1988:14). Despite the fact that Bohlman (1988) gives examples of considerable criticism of the most fundamental concepts of folk music, it was decided, for the purpose of this study, to recognise black South

African liberation songs after the 1950s as a new subgenre of South African black folk music. This conclusion was reached mainly owing to Bohlman's view that folk songs have to take the urban context into consideration and "*place great importance on investigating folk music in new settings - cities, the mass media, popular genres - and on accepting folk music as the product of new cultural processes, especially modernisation and urbanization*" (Bohlman, 1988:xix). This definition of folk music suits the black liberation songs of the 1950s, where owing to urbanisation of the black worker, many liberation songs were performed within an urban context while stressing cultural roots from traditional backgrounds, as well as musical elements. Erlmann endorses this statement when he states that black folk music in South Africa "*is the product of a culturally and politically conscious reworking of 'traditional' performance styles by the black intelligentsia under the conditions of the urban ghetto*" (1991:72).

It was after the 1950s that the liberation struggle intensified and the songs encouraged this intensification mainly through the oral mode of singing. This statement is validated by Sidran who states that: "*The oral tradition encourages a greater degree of emotional, and perhaps even physical, involvement in the environment, which in turn allows for a more developed sense of community as well as a heightened collective awareness and even collective unconsciousness*" (1981:2-3).

Another factor which facilitated the intensification of the struggle was that the oral tradition allowed for political groups to assemble on an *ad hoc* basis to complain, recount and educate its members through song, while using extant melodies with words to suit the situation. This can be attributed to the fact that the oral tradition fosters both creativity and the stability of folk music.

This study does not deal with the analysis of these songs but it is interesting to mention a few traditional folk characteristics which are prevalent in these songs, namely:

- In African musical practice, the areas of tolerance of pitch variation for particular steps of the scale are much larger than those of traditions that base their music on a fixed pitch.

- Most of the songs are in the call and response form “*which allows for both innovative and conservative procedures at the same time; the extemporization of verses to suit the specific occasion and the retention of traditional words in the refrains; the participation of the soloist in the verses and of the group in singing the refrains; improvisation or embellishment upon the solo melody and reinforcement of the traditional tune in the refrains*” (Southern, 1971:16).
- Rhythm is the most profound feature of African folk music. Rhythm is also more complex than Western rhythm, mainly because the songs have a multiple entry principle. Andrew Tracey, (in Andersson, 1981:13) is of the opinion that “*African music is built on rhythmic relationships and that is the first thing a performer learns. It doesn't matter if you don't hit all the right notes, as long as you know when to come in and how you fit in*”.
- Movement is an integral part of music.
- Traditional wedding, work and children's songs were also adapted to become liberation songs, as were hymns.
- Despite the fact that urbanisation must have introduced black liberation singers to Western musical styles their song style with its functionality, its antiphony, its group nature, its improvisational character, its potent performance using bodily movement and expression, remains close to their rural links.

3.2.2 Toyi-toyi

As the liberation struggle became more militant the *toyi-toyi* was introduced into the performances. There are many different versions of the origin of the *toyi-toyi* and this could lead to interesting research. This study will not, however, become involved in the theories regarding its origin, as the main focus of this research is liberation songs. It is, however, interesting to mention the view of Dali Tambo¹⁷, who in an interview on British television said: “*The toyi-toyi is part of the tradition of black South Africans and has been for centuries, before the whites got to South Africa. It has changed form over the years. Today it is very politicised but it is very deeply cultural ... [T]he*

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Dali Tambo: SABC-TV presenter of 'People of the South'.

... motion, the energy that is expanded brings people together, it brings that feeling of community ... it brings out the courage in the people taking part in the toyi-toyi ... it is a cultural form of expression and somehow intimidates the policemen ... it is used as a weapon against apartheid. It can be used in celebration situations as well eg. weddings and also at funerals" (ANC Choir, [s.a.]: Video).

1.3.2.3 Liberation Chant or Slogan

Chanted slogans have always been used in South Africa to give inspiration to those involved in one way or another in resistance against the state. The chant is a spoken declamation where pitch movement is conditioned by the words. The chant became very popular during the 1980s and often replaced the singing of the old liberation songs.

People in liberation movements from all over South Africa sing the same freedom songs. As a result they access the same information, and communicate in the same performance mode. This led to sloganeering of popular songs and poems. *"When these slogans are cited, previous memories of the song text are also raised for the performer. As such the song is concerned with human experience and emotions, while the slogan reinforces this experience without having to perform the original text in its entirety"* (van Schalkwyk, 1994:131).

Slogans and chants are also considered in this study as they were very important in the liberation struggle. This was verified by Thabo Mbeki when he stated: *"In the war culture of the African people the chant is very important. Traditional African armies do not have the traditional march of a British army. The traditional form of marching is the chant both as an expression of rebellion, an affirmation of their identity and as an instrument to weld themselves together into an army. In mass demonstrations in South Africa there are thousands of people who are moving in unison using the chant in the sense that they are a brass band. It gives the people the morale and the strength to move long distances, to move in an uninterrupted way giving them the strength to face an armed enemy"* (Singing the Changes, 1989: Video).

4.4 RESISTANCE ART - CATEGORIES

Resistance art cannot be divided into categories similar to *People's art* as there were so many performances of *Resistance art* in different genres right throughout the liberation struggle. This study is concerned with *People's art*, but owing to the importance of *Resistance art* in the struggle it will be discussed briefly.

With the declaration of states of emergency in South Africa, *Resistance art* increasingly served as an alternative means of communication to convey messages that could not be conveyed through other channels of communication because of the emergency regulations. Accordingly, it was used as an instrument to make South Africans aware of and to criticise alleged shortcomings in Government policy. In the opinion of the South African black author Don Mattera "*Once a Government removes from people the right to fight publicly and bans them through States of Emergency, what is there left for us to do but to turn to our poetry, turn to our culture, turn to our art in order to mobilise our masses?*" (Singing the Changes, 1989: Video).

Needless to say, *Resistance art* became a circumstance of great concern to the *apartheid* Government. This was illustrated in 1988 when Mr Stoffel Botha, the then Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, voiced grave concern about *Resistance art*. He emphasised that the South African Government was not opposed to art as such "*but to resistance art that deals with alleged social and political injustice, emotionally incites audiences and cultivates a spirit of resistance and revolt*" (Anon., 1989:60). He stated that *Resistance art* wanted "*to attack those interests the law strives to protect, namely the morality, religion and dignity of citizens, relations between sections of inhabitants and the security of the state*" (Anon., 1989:60).

There were many similarities between the concerns expressed in both *Resistance art* and *People's art*, with the result that both elicited Government criticism. The masses, singing liberation songs which fall under *People's art*, were often imprisoned for singing, while Mr Botha also criticised *Resistance art* with its 'biting satires' in which attacks were launched on "*personalities and specific aspects of the establishment. The purpose is obviously to make the viewer critical of the existing order and to cultivate a spirit of general discontent and even revolt*" (Anon., 1989:62). Botha also voiced his concern about the increase in recitals and evenings of song where "*poems and other*

works from banned publications of so-called national artists are performed. The recitals are alternated with the singing of freedom songs, that often serve as a catalyst for emotionally explosive situations" (Anon., 1989:62).

With regard to *Resistance art*, the South African Government became more and more determined to remove even the freedom to sing or play jazz of a subversive nature. Many of the more harassed musicians felt they had no option but to leave their country and fight the system from outside. Among those who fled initially to the United States of America were Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) who had all become dangerous "because they were regarded as local heroes who were dedicated to giving substantial support to the swelling revolutionary impulse" (Ellison, 1989:93).

Jazz clearly suffered under *apartheid* as the cream of the talent left *en masse* and the ensuing era of political confrontation saw a society increasingly polarised. According to Ellison "[b]lanket measures like the State of Emergency and the Cultural Boycott, each with different reasoning behind them, stifled the economic growth of jazz" (1989:93). The isolation from world markets resulted in a shrunken local industry not large enough to keep it alive throughout the *apartheid* era.

Both *People's art* and *Resistance art* thus contain a powerful critique of a key issue in the liberation struggle and the lyrics sketch the conditions which inspired the singers, thus helping to set the songs in their proper historical perspective. It is therefore impossible to divorce these songs from the history of the black man, who has shaped that distinctive body of music called the South African Black Liberation songs. The singing history of the masses, *People's art*, will be dealt with in 4.5 as this is the main thrust of this study. When *Resistance art* compositions are briefly discussed under 4.6 the historical subjects reflected in some of these works will be understood.

4.5 THE HISTORY OF BLACK RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LIBERATION SONGS AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE LIBERATION PROCESS

4.5.1 INTRODUCTION

The fact that sociopolitical aspects are actively implicated in the essence of all freedom songs manifests itself clearly when a study is made of the conditions which inspired the singing of these songs. The effect of white Government policy on blacks between 1910 and 1994 was one of the main reasons for the creation of liberation songs (Erlmann 1991; Groenewald & Makopo 1991; Kivnick 1990). Different black political parties were also established in order to form a voice to counter rising white discrimination (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994).

Although this study revolves around liberation songs sung by the ANC (African National Congress), the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) and the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party), the songs sung by other parties and labour unions cannot be ignored. The main reason for this is that with the banning of the ANC and PAC, members in South Africa joined other parties or labour unions whose struggles were not fundamentally different from those of the exiled parties. Similarly many SACP (South African Communist Party), PAC and the IFP members had previously belonged to the ANC, taking with them songs originally sung by the ANC. It is also impossible to ignore the songs sung by women during the struggle as women of all parties expressed their suffering through liberation songs which transcended cultural, party and class barriers (Community News Take 1: Women's Rights, 1992: Video).

Black liberation songs will thus be considered within the broader context of South African history so that they may be placed in their proper historical perspective. As the singing history of black South Africa unfolds, it will become clear why all parties participating in the struggle sang the same liberation songs and why the demarcation of liberation songs for different parties becomes an impossibility. The focus will fall on:

- the establishment of the SANNK (South African Native National Congress)
- general circumstances affecting all blacks

- the establishment of the South African Communist Party (SACP)
- new challenges for the African National Congress (ANC)
- the establishment of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)
- organisations in exile
- internal black politics after 1960 - within the broader South African context
- the establishment of black labour unions, and
- the role of women in the struggle and the songs they sang.

1.5.2 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SANNC (SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE NATIONAL CONGRESS)

In 1912 the SANNC, which changed its name in 1923 to the ANC (African National Congress), was the first nationwide umbrella black South African political organisation (Odendaal, 1984:27). According to Odendaal (1984), the reason for its establishment was developments affecting the black population immediately prior to this date. At the time of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) the majority of the literate blacks pinned their hopes on Britain, hoping that a British victory would improve their position. In this respect they were disillusioned, as Britain neglected their interests, which resulted in a political upsurge of regional and local black organisations. These organisations became more active politically; for example, when a colour bar was built into the South African Act of 1909 (Davenport, 1987; Odendaal, 1984; Walshe, 1987), a black delegation went to Britain to protest against this. Their mission was unsuccessful.

In Natal, Bambatha's Rebellion of 1906, instigated by Chief Bambatha against white domination and the poll tax, was a typical example of increased political resistance. Clashes between these people and authorities led to many deaths. Bambatha was beheaded and the authorities paraded their trophy across the land (*Ulibambe Lingashoni* Episode 1, 1993: Video). According to Roux (1948), this rebellion was the turning point in the black man's struggle in South Africa as it heightened the political awareness of all blacks and signified a new struggle: that for national liberty. Needless to say, the Bambatha rebellion inspired many freedom fighters (*Ulibambe*

Lingashoni Episode 1, 1993: Video). Songs sung during the 1980s, by a group of BTR Sarmcol¹⁸ Workers' Co-operative members, called Bambatha's Children, corroborate this statement. Later references to these Sarmcol workers show how their singing of liberation songs led to clashes with security police.

Events such as those mentioned led to the establishment of the SANNC. On 8 January 1912, several hundred members of the black elite met in Bloemfontein, where they decided to form a nationwide body. De Beer (1990) states that after the singing of Tiyo Soga's Xhosa hymn *Fulfil Thy Promise, God of Truth*, the conference unanimously resolved to form the SANNC (1990:6). This body regarded itself as an organised pressure group, which would use peaceful means to try to improve the situation of the blacks (de Beer, 1990:6).

It consisted of a mainly black elite who were products of English-medium mission schools. This Christian environment influenced their political views. According to Walshe, this small but influential group of political leaders continued to live and think in committed Christian terms, looking upon their faith "*as a social cohesive which transcended tribalism and offered an ultimate goal of inter-racial harmony based on the brotherhood of man*" (1987:158). The SANNC's intended strategy was clearly explained by its first president, John Dube, who stated (in Motlhabi, 1985:39) that "*the Africans are approaching the Government, not with assegais but respectfully as loyal subjects, with the intention of airing grievances and removing the obstacles of poverty, prejudice and discriminatory legislation*". This approach was clearly reflected in the protest songs, explained under *imusic* in 4.3.1.1.

The imposition of the Natives' Land Act of 1913 was the first problem which the SANNC had to deal with. This Act laid down the basic guidelines for land division in South Africa, and the blacks were left with about 13 percent of the country's total area (Davenport, 1987:259). The SANNC reacted sharply and launched a nationwide campaign against the Act. They also sent a deputation to Britain to protest but their pleas were ignored. When the First World War broke out in 1914 the deputation had to return home without having accomplished anything (de Beer 1990:8).

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BTR:
Sarmcol:

British Tyre and Rubber.
South African Rubber and Manufacturing Co. Ltd.

Callinicos (1987) gives the translation of a song composed by Reuban Tholakele Caluza, a student and later a teacher at Ohlange School in Natal from 1909. The song *Si Lu Sapo* or *i Land Act*¹⁹ was a direct response to the Land Act:

*We are the children of Africa
We cry for our land
Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho
Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho unite
We are mad over the Land Act
A terrible law that allows sojourners
To deny us our land
Crying that we the people
Should pay to get our land back
We cry for the children of our fathers
Who roam around the world without a home
Even in the land of our forefathers.*

(Callinicos, 1987:112).

This song also reflects the ideals of the SANNC which “*had developed a concern to check tribal antipathies and to establish an organisation through which the growth of an African nation could be encouraged and assured*” (Walshe 1987:34). The call for Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho to unite indicates Caluza’s concern in this respect.

Erlmann (1991) states that Caluza was not a politically minded man and thus he never joined the SANNC as he did not perceive the articulation of popular protest as a form of organised political response. He was, however, very sensitive to injustice and his *Silusapho Lwase Afrika* (the song was later published as *Si Lu Sapo* or *i Land Act* - Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets No. 1C) was adopted as the official anthem of the SANNC in 1913 and was followed in quick succession by a further set of songs promoting the Congress and calling for national unity: *Vulindhlela Mtaka Dube*

19

Only translations of songs will be given so that their historical significance can be fully understood. These songs with African words are transcribed in Chapter 5. In the case of songs where words were found but the tune is unknown, both the original words and the translation will be given.

(Pave the Way Dube), *Bashuka Ndabazini* (What is Congress Saying) and *Yekan'Umona Nenzondo* (Don't be Jealous).

As was typical of many of the protest songs, the words of the song *Silusapho Lwase Afrika* were changed to suit the situation. An article in *Bantu World* (6 October 1934) speaks about this song and says that the words not only deal with the harsh provisions of the Land Act but also with the delegation sent to England to complain about the Act. The original song does not contain this verse and no trace has been found of these words, so it can only be surmised that it was added later. These songs were all composed in the *imusic* style.

According to Erlmann (1991) it was around 1915 that Caluza's works indicated a shift away from the style of those who were perceived as the oppressor, towards a style that blacks could identify with and in this way express anticolonial sentiments more forcefully. He chose *iRagtime*, mainly due to the growing interest in syncopated music among the masses. The first indication that Caluza was moving away from *imusic* was heard in the ragtime piano solo which Caluza plays to introduce the solemn *Vulindhlela Mtaka Dube* (Caluza's Double Quartet 1930: Compact Disc). According to Erlmann, it was in this song that Caluza demonstrated "*the compatibility of the hymnodic, nationalistic idiom with iRagtime*" (1991:126).

The first protest song, which the researcher could find where the composer merged ragtime with topical lyrics was *Ixeghwana* (Old Man) or *Ricksha Song*, composed in 1917. The translation of the song, composed by Caluza, reads as follows:

*I saw an old grey-bearded man,
who had covered himself with a blanket,
and his feet were white, too.
My ricksha with big horns
and white legs,
jumping around and looking for passengers.
"Oh ricksha Sir, boss, miss.
I you take (fanakalo) round the town".*

(Erlmann 1991:125).

According to Erlmann (1991), ricksha pullers had long been one of the strongest and most militant sectors of Durban's working class. Performances of this song were very popular among the ricksha pullers "and during one of the strikes of Durban's ricksha men, Caluza's song even surfaced as a protest song" (Erlmann 1991:125). The fact that this song was adopted by the ricksha pullers proved that they identified with it. Erlmann also gives two reasons that this song became so popular among all strata of the black population:

- It formulated a critique of those members of the black community who had "sacrificed their cultural roots for the benefit of only a fleeting acceptance in white society, and who by speaking *funakalo*²⁰, had accepted the ultimate form of white racism, the contempt for the most sacred of all Zulu traditions - the language" (Erlmann 1991:125).
- It was the first composition by a black South African composer that "merged topical lyrics in the vernacular with ragtime, the most polished form of musical entertainment of the time" (Erlmann 1991:125).

During the First World War (1914-1918) the SANNC kept a low profile, hoping that the situation of the blacks would improve after the war. This is explained by Motlhabi when he says that "the SANNC's strategy or *modus operandi*, appearing in the early constitution which was adopted in 1919, shows also that the early ANC was not interested in the immediate representation of Africans in the Government of the country ... (and) the support of sympathetic Whites in the quest for change was also considered desirable" (1985:39). Conditions for blacks, however, deteriorated and after the war a severe drought ravaged the kraals in South Africa and thousands of blacks streamed into the cities in search of work.

Many songs were composed lamenting the migrant labour system²¹. *Sa ni bona* by Caluza, describes a family's search for a young migrant labourer in Johannesburg and their appeal for him to return to his crying children at home. Another popular song by Caluza, *uBunghca*, can be seen as a lament of the situation of the migrant labourer in Johannesburg during the 1920s.

²⁰ *Funakalo*: pidgin words originating in the mining industry.

²¹ Workers from rural areas who were forced to leave their homes in order to seek work in urban areas were called migrant labourers.

A translation of the end of the song reads:

Their women at home are crying and suffering.

It is sad, gentlemen.

How is Johannesburg?

How is the liquor in Johannesburg?

They are being arrested

for concoctions brewed in their homes.

That is the price of forgetting one's relations.

(Erlmann, 1991:130).

ngoduso, composed in 1915, also laments the dangers of labour migration:

We yearn for our brother

who was arrested in Johannesburg.

He called himself a clever man.

He was arrested because of jealousy

of rival groups in Johannesburg.

They put liquor in his room and called the police.

They got to his house at night and beat him up,

and drove away saying he is a bandit who sells liquor.

He left his fiancé at home.

He left his fiancé sad at home.

He meant to work for her.

He started thinking about his fiancé and his home.

When they arrested him and

took him to jail at Marshall Square

He was handcuffed by the detectives.

That is the price for forgetting your fiancé at home.

(Erlmann, 1991:127-128).

The liquor issue, as may be deduced from this song, was a very sensitive one to black South Africans who from the time of the First World War until the 1930s were not allowed to consume liquor. This law resulted in many arrests. A song describing the nocturnal police raids on illegal liquor brewers was *Kwati be lele* by Caluza. The translation reads:

*The detectives got into the house
whilst they were sleeping.*

This happened in Johannesburg.

*When they opened their eyes,
the whole house was full of detectives
looking for liquor.*

*They were arrested and the women were shouting
and waking everybody up.*

They said that they must hide the liquor:

“They (police) are here from Marshall Square.

*Hide the quediviki (‘kill-the-weekend’),
the isikilimiqiki (‘kill-me-quick’).*

Arrest him, baas, he is selling gologo (‘grog liquor’).”

(Caluza’s Double Quartet 1930: Compact Disc cover).

All these songs are proper choral works which could not be sung spontaneously by the masses unless they were taught to them. It must be assumed that they were sung by the Ohlange Institute Choir on their tours, as Caluza, the composer, was also the choirmaster at Ohlange and Dube, the founder of Ohlange Institute in 1901, the first president of the SANNC. As the subjects were very topical, black audiences could identify with the songs which expressed their own feelings of protest at the sociopolitical conditions facing black South Africans. The tours were almost unique, in that countrywide tours by black performance groups were unusual;urfew regulations restricting concerts and passes required by blacks travelling outside their own provinces were major obstacles to ventures of this nature. Erlmann (1991) says that applications for passes had to be accompanied by promises to avoid centres where concerts could provoke racial conflict. Despite such assurances, whites often considered these concerts to be threatening and this resulted in numerous clashes between whites and blacks. One such clash almost cost

Caluza his life (Erlmann, 1991:122). Nevertheless the choir performed throughout South Africa and it can be surmised that the songs and the sentiments expressed in them became the voice of black South Africa.

Although the above-mentioned songs are liberation songs, they do not reveal the militancy felt and reflected in the later liberation songs. The policy of the SANNC was also still devoid of militancy, but as the black urban population's prospects steadily deteriorated, dissatisfaction mounted. Callinicos (1987) speaks about boycotts on the East Rand against high prices in the mine stores and the rising cost of living, as well as the united black action from all classes against the hated pass system. "It soon became evident that for the first time since the awakening of black political consciousness, a militant spirit was evident among both the educated elite and the unbanished, unschooled labourers" (De Beer, 1990:11).

The 1919 strike against the restrictive pass laws which had come into existence in 1913 was the first public protest organised by the SANNC. Gathering in their thousands behind the central pass office in Johannesburg the demonstrators sang *God save the Queen* and raised cheers to the British Crown (Holland, 1989:44). Rioting broke out when police baton-charged the crowd and 700 demonstrators were taken to prison. The demonstration unfortunately did not lead to a change in pass laws. Roux (1966) makes mention of the fact that crowds swarmed outside the magistrates' courts where the trials of those arrested were taking place, singing *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*, composed by Enoch Sontonga, and demanding the release of the prisoners. According to Skota [s.a.] and Walshe (1971) (quoted by Erlmann 1991), this song was popularised by the SANNC and Caluza's *Silusapho Lwase Afrika* was eventually replaced in 1919 by *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* as the official anthem of the SANNC.

According to Jabavu (1987) *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* was composed in 1897 and first publicly sung in 1899 at the ordination of the Rev. Mboweni, a Shangaan Methodist Minister. Only the first stanza was originally composed by Sontonga, but S.E.K. Mqhayi wrote the lyrics for seven additional stanzas. This version of *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* was published in 1929 in the Presbyterian Xhosa Hymn Book, *IncwadiyamaCulo aseRhabe kunye neNgoma* (Lovedale Press) (Jabavu, 1987:155). As the original manuscripts were lost it can be surmised that *Nkosi* was transcribed after an oral

endition of the song. It is clearly composed in the *makwaya* tradition and can be placed in the *music* category.

An analysis of the period of unrest after World War I, shows a growing awareness of the strength of organised resistance. It also shows that thousands of blacks were beginning to fight issues in the towns, and see themselves as part of the towns. The town-based consciousness was growing more rapidly on the Rand, where a huge black population was massed together in one industrial centre. It is significant that the leadership of the SANNC shifted in June 1917 to the Rand. Johannesburg also published the Congress newspaper, *Abantu-Batho*, which was read by the growing numbers of literate blacks on the Rand. The fact that the Christian ideology still permeated Congress philosophy and thus the liberation songs is demonstrated by the fact that "*Abanthu-Batho*, while attacking the silence of European Christians in the face of the 'gross violation of Christian principles' by recent legislation, still fell back on the Christian norm" (Walshe, 1987:159).

In 1919 the SANNC sent another delegation to Britain to complain about land and franchise issues, but this delegation was also unsuccessful. Grobler states (in de Beer 1990:10): "*A realisation was born that the blacks were on their own in what they considered to be a just struggle against social domination. They never again attempted to persuade Britain to intervene in South Africa*". As a predominantly middle-class organisation, the SANNC found it difficult to get a hearing among the more radical movements launched by the black working class. The SANNC had been acting within the framework of the law and this made them out of step with the militant forms of unrest of the proletariat'.

At the 1923 annual congress of the SANNC, the name was changed to the African National Congress (ANC)²². According to Parsons (1994), the SANNC had been weakened by the resignation from office of both John Dube and Pixley Seme²³ in 1917. According to Kotzé & Greyling from 1930 "*the influence of the ANC declined, mainly due to the ineffectiveness of the organisation, conflict between factions, leadership disputes, and the failure of representations to the Government*

²² According to Parsons "the word African was preferred to native, which had been cheapened by colonialism to mean a person deprived of legal rights" (1994:246).

²³ A founder member of the SANNC

to remove the grievances of the blacks" (1994:48). As there was very little political activity of the ANC for almost twenty years after 1923 it is necessary to follow the paths of members who had decided to switch their allegiance to other parties or trade unions. Ex-SANNC/ANC members took with them liberation songs when they joined other parties. As music and singing are such essential components of African culture it is inconceivable that they would suddenly have stopped singing. The singing history continued mainly under the banners of the SACP, the ANC and the trade unions.

There were, however, many general circumstances which distanced blacks from the white Government as the whole black population was subjected to the same discrimination and their songs would have been a united voice against discrimination.

4.5.3 GENERAL CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING ALL BLACKS

These circumstances led to a politically conscious society, intent on counteracting discrimination. Avenues were sought to express growing discontent and thus more parties were created.

It is highly unlikely that discontent would have been proffered by one party only to legislation affecting all blacks. A few of these general circumstances and the liberation songs sung to express discontent will be mentioned, namely:

- dipping in Durban
- the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924
- the Government-controlled beer halls
- the Slums Clearance Act of 1933
- the Group Areas Act of 1950
- the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and
- the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959.

4.5.3.1 Dipping in Durban

Caluza's song *Idipu e Tekwini*²⁴ (Dipping in Durban), composed in 1923, focuses on one of the most dehumanising aspects which black work seekers in Durban had to face (Caluza's Double Quartet 1930: Compact disc). In November 1923, Durban's white City Administrators introduced a new dispensation that requested all black work seekers to undergo 'deverminisation' in 'dipping tanks', allegedly for the sake of public hygiene:

What are you people in Durban saying about dipping?

What is chasing people away from Durban?

You fellow countrymen, long live the black nation.

Talk on our behalf, Mafukuzela! (John Dube)

We thank you, Mr Mathibela and Mr Bhulose

for co-operating with Mafukuzela.

(Caluza's Double Quartet 1930: Compact disc cover).

4.5.3.2 Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924

According to Davenport (1987), the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 added to the hardships faced by blacks. This Act threatened the positions held by black professionals. Caluza's song *Si xotshwa msebenzini* (We are being expelled from work) in *iRagtime style* clearly reflects this:

A serious problem is facing the black nation.

Whites are expelling us from work.

They only employ whites.

*We have been working for them for many years,
without any problems.*

*But now blacks are excluded from work
in Durban and Johannesburg.*

Most are idling, because they have nothing to do.

But we have to pay rent.

(Erlmann, 1991:133).

This *iRagtime* style was clearly meant to indicate hostility towards the white oppressors.

4.5.3.3 Government-controlled beer halls

During the 1920s there was growing discontent against Government-controlled beer halls. According to Erlmann (1991), the fortitude of black urban politics and the threat it posed to white hegemony were apparent in the outbreak of the Durban riots in June 1929 when thousands of harbour workers decided to mount a systematic boycott of Durban's beer halls. The campaign was smashed by an unprecedented use of police force that left eight people dead. In the wake of the riots, Mark Radebe's elite group African Male Voice Choir recorded *Namhla Siyahlushwa* (Today we are troubled) (Columbia AE 37), "*one of the popular protest songs that emerged after the riots*" (Erlmann, 1991:84).

Whatever shall we do?

Today we are troubled.

We are made to pay money that does not help us.

Our paymasters strive for honours,

while we do not know where to go.

Our precious Makhalempongo²⁵ died.

He died with his men, son of Bulose!

They fought against the Special and Registration passes.

We don't know what to do with ourselves.

Where shall we go?

(Tracey, 1948:11).

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The name of one of the people who died in the riots

Erlmann (1991) states that the words of this song capture more of the grassroots militancy and disenchantment with a hostile leadership than its hymn-like, staid tune would seem to indicate. This procedure is "typical of much of South Africa's black political song and represents a deliberate attempt at blending a rather varied set of symbols through the use of communicative channels with different messages" (Erlmann, 1991:85). This song still falls under the *imusic* category.

4.5.3.4 Slums Clearance Act of 1933

The Government, disturbed by all the blacks coming into Johannesburg and the fact that slums, with both white and black inhabitants, were mushrooming, bought a farm in 1930 on which to build a new native township²⁶. Many blacks living in slums refused to leave and the Government thus passed the Slums Clearance Act in 1933. In 1936 the slums were destroyed and over 12 000 were relocated to the first phase of Soweto, Orlando East. The blacks were highly dissatisfied as there were too few houses for them and there was great cost involved in getting to work in Johannesburg (Soweto: A history. Part 1, 1994: Video).

4.5.3.5 Group Areas Act of 1950

The Group Areas Act of 1950 heralded the forced removals of many black communities and was the subject of many liberation songs. To add to black dissatisfaction Sophiatown, close to Johannesburg city centre, was also rezoned as a white area and the black inhabitants had to leave despite the fact that there was no space in Orlando East and squatting there was mushrooming. Mass protests by Sophiatown residents were ignored by Government who moved the black population to Meadowlands, where there were already long queues of people waiting to find place to stay (Soweto: A history. Part 1, 1994: Video). *Meadowlands*, sung by Nancy Jacobs, was composed as a direct response to this situation. This was a liberation song sung as *Resistance art*, but its popularity among black and white was such that it made people aware of the dilemma facing the residents of Sophiatown, and it is thus mentioned under *People's art*:

*Oda utlwa makgowa are
Are yeng ko Meadowlands*

²⁶

This farm expanded to become Soweto in 1963.

*Otla utlwa botsotsi bare
Ons dak nie ons pola hier.*

*You'll hear the whites say
Let's move to Meadowlands
You'll hear the tsotsis say
We're not moving, we're staying here.*

(New Nation, 2-8 July 1987:10).

This song is also a good example of a song becoming popular among the whites, most of whom were unaware that it was in fact a protest song, mainly because they did not understand the language. Between 1955-1957, 58 000 people were moved from Sophiatown.

The year 1964 also saw the forced removal of the inhabitants of Cato Manor, called Umkhubane in Zulu. (The Story of Umkhubane - Cato Manor: Whose Land? Whose Memory?, 1994: Video). Mass riots and conflicts marked the forced removals. One of the inhabitants interviewed on The Story of Umkhubane - Cato Manor: Whose Land? Whose Memory?, 1994: Video) who had been part of the removals in 1964, sings a song that was sung during this time:

Marching forward ANC (Repeat a number of times).

The woman singing the song is a Zulu yet she sings in English. No explanation could be found for this, but as there were many Indians and Zulus living in Cato Manor at that time, the songs could possibly have been sung in English so that all could participate in the singing. An interesting interview with Lawrence "Satchmo" Meko, veteran tap dancer, composer and saxophonist (19 November 1994) revealed that he had composed and sung songs to do with Cato Manor as he was living there during the forced removals. Meko told the researcher that during the early 1960s he had sung and composed songs complaining about the pass laws and forced removals at Cato Manor, as well as a hate song against the Bantu Affairs officer who was in charge of the forced removals. All efforts to buy this tape were unsuccessful but on the video The Story of Umkhubane - Cato Manor: Whose Land? Whose Memory? (1994) the Bantu Affairs officer speaks about a hate song composed against him. Meko could not verify whether this officer was referring to his song.

Another song to do with resettlement was:

A hi na poni ha!
A hi nga poni
Swa ku tshama emalayeni
Ebunu vavanunooo...
Hi ri va tele ku karhatoo...
A hi nga poni va ka hinoo...

We shall not be safe
to stay in settlement areas.
The Boers have come to trouble us.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:103).

5.3.6 Bantu Education Act of 1953

In 1953, the Bantu Education Act caused great unhappiness and teachers and pupils boycotted schools and tried to organise independent institutions. This resulted in more arrests and bannings. Another song, *Thina silulutsha* (We are the youth), aimed at the then Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, echoes the mood of these young people:

We are the youth.
We can't be killed.
We can never be killed by Verwoerd

We can never be killed by Verwoerd,
We are still young
We are still young.

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

5.3.7 Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959

In 1959 the Bantu Self-Government Act provided for the separating of eight Bantu Homelands orbantustans from white South Africa as self-governing states. This involved the physical relocation

of whole communities from one place to another as a given community was declared part of a Bantustan rather than South Africa. These homelands were another reason for great discontent among black South Africans. A song emanating from this period was aimed at Dr C.N. Phatudi, former Chief Minister of the Lebowa homeland and at Chief Manyane Mangope of Bophutatswana. According to Groenewald & Makopo (1991) this song is clearly contemptuous of the homeland leaders and the theme of the song has to do with Phatudi's 'rain-making' machine which he had acquired from the Far East and which was a very controversial issue:

*Phatudi yena,
Nka mmofella
Motsheneng wa pula.
Mangope yena
Nka mmofella,
Seropeng sa kgogo.*

*As for Phatudi,
I'll tie him
To the rain-machine,
As for Mangope,
I'll tie him,
To a drumstick.*

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:86).

According to Nyberg (1984), a song sung by women and children outside Cape Town, who were resisting deportation to the Transkei homeland, was *Akanamandla* (He has no power):

*He has no power
Halleluya
He has no power
Satan's had it!*

He has been cheated

Halleluya

He has been cheated

Satan's had it!

He flees far from us

Halleluya

He flees far from us

Satan's had it!

(Nyberg, 1984:21).

Needless to say, conditions such as those mentioned led to the mushrooming of new political organisations through which discontent could be addressed.

3.5.4 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP)

The SACP was formed in Cape Town in 1921 and "*the meeting closed as the cheering crowd rose to their feet and sang The Red Flag*"²⁷ (Pike, 1985:110). During its early years it mainly organised white workers and in 1922 organised the white miners strike. The strike mushroomed and "*gangs threatened and intimidated scabs; some police and Bantu alike sang The Red Flag. Soon looting, arson and even murder began to occur. Anarchy ruled!*" (Pike, 1985:126). Martial law was declared and the communist revolution was eventually crushed.

In 1924 the SACP decided to focus on black workers when white workers voted for a racist government. This decision was a "*decisive turning point in the history of the SACP*" (Pike, 1987:142). Soon the majority of the party was black and during the 1920s many ANC members moved closer to the SACP eg. Josiah Gumede who had been elected chairman of the ANC in 1927. As there was always a close working alliance between the ANC and SACP, it is necessary to investigate the songs sung by this party.

²⁷

See 3.3.2 for the words of this song

According to Roux (1966) the SACP took for its anthem *Mayibuye iAfrika* (Let Africa return) which was sung to the tune of *Clementine*, an American traditional song copyrighted in 1884 (Fuld 1973:174). Roux (1966) gives the example of the incident where passes were being burnt by SACP members on 20 February 1930. Fourteen members of the SACP were arrested and “as they marched through the streets they sang *Mayibuye* and gave three cheers for the Communist Party” (Roux 1966:250). The translation of this song reads as follows:

Come back Africa (3)

Let there be no more pass laws

Let us get freedom.

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

Mayibuye, also became popular among Coloured farm workers, probably SACP members, and was translated into Afrikaans in the late 1920s:-

Ons bruin mense, seuns van slawe

Vra ons eie land terug

Wat gesteel is van ons vaders

Toe hul in die donker sug

Gee dit t’rug nou (2)

Weg met al die slawerny!

Pirow kan ons nie ophou nie:

Afrika sal vryheid kry.

(Roux, 1966:232).

The Pirow spoken of in the song refers to Oswald Pirow, the Minister of Justice and Police during the 1920s, who was determined to stamp out black liberation struggles. Parsons (1994) tells of Pirow himself leading police raids on blacks in Durban in 1929, where tear gas was used against crowds for the first time in South Africa.

That similar liberation songs were sung by all political parties is demonstrated by the fact that *Mayibuye iAfrica* was also sung by exiles from different parties in Tanganyika in 1965 (This Land is Mine, 1965: Record). This is also corroborated by Pike in his statement that in the 1980s this song "is still used today by various rebels, radicals, political fighters, ignoramuses, communists and special interest groups both in South Africa and overseas" (1987:171).

In the early 1930s the SACP went into decline, showing the first signs of revitalisation when it started working with the ANC in the 1940s, helping them in the anti-pass campaign. Communist influence was felt throughout South Africa during this time and the areas most affected were the trade unions (Pike, 1987:265). According to Pike, the SACP and the ANC announced their plans for holding 'Freedom Day' demonstrations for blacks across the nation. Despite the Government's prohibition of these plans, the communists went ahead with the demonstrations. The Nationalist Government became concerned about SACP influence and Communism in general in South Africa and in 1950 passed the Suppression of Communism Act whereby the SACP was banned (Motlhabi, 1985:29).

1.5.5 NEW CHALLENGES FOR THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)

As has been stated, at the SANNC's 1923 annual congress it was decided to change the name of the organisation to the ANC. It was also decided to send a delegation to Jan Smuts, the then Prime Minister of South Africa, to demand an end to segregation. Smuts, like the British Government previously, refused to take heed of their demands. The ANC was thus completely disillusioned and this led to virtual inactivity for almost 20 years.

Despite this decline, the ANC survived as a basically moderate body seeking to obtain a foothold for blacks in South Africa. It appears that their disillusionment over the nature of White legislation from 1910 to 1939 did not destroy their belief that justice would eventually be done. Kivnich (1990) points out that most of the early ANC leaders were educated in mission schools and their pacifist approach was mainly due to the influence of Christian ideology. According to Motlhabi, it was only in the early 1940s that the ANC's "timid, apologetic form of approach began changing slightly" (1985:39). This was mainly due to the socio-economic and political change which

accompanied the Second World War (1939-1945). The manufacturing industry in South Africa had expanded tremendously and with it came a corresponding increase in the labour force, giving more bargaining power to the semi-skilled black workers owing to their numerical preponderance. The result was that *"the mood of the black political organisations was far more purposeful after 1945 than it had been before 1940"* (Davenport, 1987:345).

After 1940 Dr A.B. Xuma (President-general of the ANC from 1940-1949) set about injecting new life into the ANC by making concerted efforts to get more support from the masses (Davenport, 1987 :345). There seemed to be a growing conviction that overt political confrontation was the only way in which blacks could hope to reform the South African social and political order. This viewpoint was clearly supported by a new generation of ANC members who constituted a major pressure group within the ANC itself. This group, the CYL (Congress Youth League), began *"to revise drastically the earlier approach of the ANC and to jettison completely its defeatist and apologetic tactics"* (Motlhabi, 1985:41). Among the leaders were Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe²⁸. Many examples of liberation songs containing the names of these people, eg. *Baba Mandela, Papa Sisulu, Sikokhele Tambo and Mandela Wethu* etc. are transcribed in Chapter 5. Often the names of other leaders were superimposed for different verses.

The CYL propagated an exclusively black consciousness and aimed for a programme of action which promoted confrontation with the Government by means of boycotts, strike action and passive resistance (Motlhabi, 1985:44). Their first plan of action was a reorganisation in the leadership and in 1949 they succeeded in getting James Moroka elected as president of the ANC in place of Xuma, who according to Pike *"was forced out of the ANC by the communist element"* (1985:241).

Walshe states that in 1949 the CYL authorised an official ANC sign - the clenched right hand with the thumb pointing to the right shoulder. *"This was to be a symbol for Africa and a sign of Unity, Determination and Resolution, which, with the congress flag and the Anthems Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica and Mayibuye iAfrika became the outward signs of a renewed search for self-confidence"* (Walshe 1987 :291). The singing of *Mayibuye iAfrica* here is once again a demonstration of the fact that the same songs were sung by different parties. As was pointed out previously, this song was

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Founder of the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1959.

adopted by the SACP as its anthem in the 1920s. Zulu lecturers at the Durban College of Education assured the researcher that they had never been Communists but they had sung and heard this song many times. Their political affiliations were not questioned by the researcher owing to the sensitivity of the political situation in Natal (Interview, 18 September 1996:Durban).

Motlhabi states that all the policy changes within the ANC remained on the level of theory throughout the 1940s and "*their practical implications were not given expression until the beginning of the following decade*" (1985:42). It was thus from this time that there was a distinct change in the type of liberation songs sung (see 4.3.2). This was mainly due to the fact that when the National Party under Malan gained control in 1948 and implemented its policy of *apartheid*, further discriminatory legislation against the blacks was introduced. A vast power base for political action emerged amongst the blacks which developed into mass mobilisation and militant resistance. According to Walshe (1987) the thirty-eight years from 1910 to 1948 had produced a total of 49 discriminatory acts based on colour. "*Under the Nationalist Government in the twelve year period from 1948 to 1960, an additional 53 such measures were to appear on the statute book and up to 1970, 98 additional measures were passed*" (Walshe, 1987:267).

A song which clearly reflects the discontent felt at all Malan's laws was *Imithetho ka Malani*:

*Malan's laws
are a burden to us,
come back Africa.*

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

During the years after 1948 many leaders of the ANC again moved closer to the Communist Party as they had done during the 1920s (Pike, 1985:265). The Suppression of Communism Act was instituted in 1950 by Mr C.R. Swart, the then Minister of Justice. According to Pike (1985) this Act precipitated riots and the first political bannings.

Up until the the early 1950s singing at ANC rallies was still very controlled and very different from the spontaneous singing of the later 1950s and onwards. The New Nation (2-8 July 1987) speaks about the choirmaster, Dan Poho, of the People's Choir (ANC choir), who led the singing at these rallies. Generally most liberation songs up until the 1950s "*took the form of petitioning*

the ruling classes and pleading with them to attend to the grievances of the African" (This Land is Mine, 1965: Record Cover).

As the Liberation struggle increased in fervour, so did the tone of these songs. It was during the early 1950s that a new type of liberation song was born which reflected the mood of militancy which began to surface when the blacks realised that their requests were not being considered. According to Hooper "[t]he songs which were born in the 1950s, when the era of positive, militant and revolutionary action came to the forefront as the only correct method of resistance, these freedom songs expressed this fighting attitude of mind" (This Land is Mine, 1965: Record cover). The tunes, however, belie this militarism as they are slow, tuneful songs relating to topical issues, which must be considered to be true African folk music as there are so many traditional ethnic musical elements present in the music.

From this time on it is never made clear who composed the liberation songs. When occasionally the name of a composer is mentioned, it is difficult to ascertain exactly which songs he/she composed. During the 1950s the name of Vuyisile Mini as a composer of liberation songs is mentioned (This Land is Mine, 1965: Record cover). In an interview on British television, Dali Tambo also speaks about the fact that the composer of liberation songs, Vuyisile Mini, was executed by the South African *apartheid* Government (ANC Choir, [s.a.]: Video). Mini, Secretary of the Dock Workers' Union of Port Elizabeth, was executed on 6 November 1964 on charges of sabotage amidst an avalanche of world-wide protest. According to Hooper (1965), a song definitely attributed to the pen of Mini was *Izakunyathel' iAfrica*, composed in prison 1956 while awaiting trial on charges of high treason. It was aimed at Hendrik Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs (soon renamed Bantu Affairs) in the 1950s and already the brain behind the Government's Grand *Apartheid* or Bantustan policy. The translation reads as follows:

Africa is going to trample on you, Verwoerd.

Verwoerd! Shoot....

You are going to get hurt.

Verwoerd, watch out.

You are going to get hurt.

Watch out

CHORUS:

Africa is going to trample on you, Verwoerd.

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

The new mood of militancy was also reflected in the lyrics of the song *Dubula nge Mbaymbayi*, the translation of which reads:

We are going to shoot them, shoot them,

Shoot them with a cannon

We are going to shoot them,

We are going to shoot them

With a cannon.

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

An interesting song composed during the 1950s was *Sikhalela izwe lakithi* (We are crying for our land). This song was clearly inspired by Caluza's *Silusapho Lwase Afrika* (We are the Children of Africa), the first anthem of the ANC, composed in 1913. Caluza's work was a *makwaya* choral work in the *imusic* style while the 1950s song is one of the few choral-like songs found after 1950. The words *Sikhalela izwe Lakithi, Zulu nomXhosa, noMsuthu langanani* are found in both songs.

In 1952, the ANC requested the then Prime Minister, D.F. Malan, to improve the legal position of the blacks and when this request was refused, it launched a programme of passive resistance (Mothlabi, 1985:56-57). From June to December of 1952 the ANC, under the leadership of Albert Luthuli²⁹, instigated a Defiance Campaign where blacks walked around without their passbooks, entered public places reserved for Whites and ignored the black urban curfew. Clearly members of the ANC were prepared to face imprisonment in order to gain concessions. Up to December 1952, 8 500 blacks participating in this Campaign were taken into custody. The Defiance Campaign was nonviolent and the blacks offered no resistance to police action or arrest.

²⁹

President of the ANC from 1952 to 1960 and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Oslo, 11 December 1961.

A verse from *Sikhalela izwe lakithi* sums up the mood of the blacks:

*Hey, Verwoerd open up your jails
We are going to go in, we the volunteers.*

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

The Campaign was called off in 1953 before it could reach its planned second stage, and the ANC was left without clear plans for the future. Although this Defiance Campaign was shortlived "it brought the ANC considerable publicity and led to a dramatic increase in membership" (Parsons 1994:282). It thus became an increasingly important factor in South African politics.

In 1954 the aged Malan was replaced as Prime Minister by J.G. Strijdom, an avid supporter of the *apartheid* policy. A song composed and sung around the time of Malan's retirement and Luthuli's election was *Malan o tshohile*:

*Malan has taken fright
Make haste Luthuli
and form a new Government.*

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

Another topical song which was heard around 1954 had to do with the protracted bus boycott which led to conflict and loss of life. The buses belonged to the Carleo Organisation, an Italian concern, trading as Evaton Passenger Service. A song was composed and sung to reflect the boycott:

*Koloi tsa Motariana
Di entse moferefere;
Ba bang ba re: di a palangwa,
Ba bang ba re: ha di palangwe.*

The vehicles of the Italian

Have brought strife;

Some say: they can be boarded,

Others say: they dare not be boarded.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:85).

In 1955 the ANC, in collaboration with the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the Congress of Democrats, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) organised a mass rally at Kliptown. It was here in the presence of 3 000 delegates from all over the country that the Freedom Charter was accepted as the basis for an alternative dispensation for South Africa (Davenport, 1987:387-388). Songs also reflected this Freedom Charter. *Songena Sirubuluza* states:

We enter crawling

Oliver Tambo introduce the Freedom Charter

We are going to the colony.

(Hamilton, 1993:27).

These developments in black politics were completely unacceptable to the Nationalist Government and by the end of 1955, 42 ANC leaders had been banned and the following year saw the treason trials in which Luthuli, Sisulu and Mandela were indicted together with 156 other people. A song emanating from this period, when Mandela was still in prison, was *Imbuso ka Verwoerd*, the translation of which reads:

Verwoerd's regime will crumble

When Mandela is released.

Luthuli will rule the way

The African people wish.

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

The treason trial was "one of the longest and largest trials in the history of mankind" (Davenport, 1987:388). It continued for four years after which the accused were freed on 29

March 1961, owing to lack of evidence that they had plotted the violent overthrow of the Government (Davenport, 1987:388). Roux (1966) speaks about how the tense stillness of Orlando was shattered by the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* at the news of the acquittal. It was visions like this, where *Nkosi...* was sung by people with raised fist, which frightened whites. Because they were unable to understand the words, *Nkosi...* was for years considered by many whites to be a terrorist song aimed at the white population. This was verified by Brits, Buttner, Hall and Petrie (Interview, 24 April 1995: Durban). In a sense it can, however, be said that *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* moved away from being sung as a prayer to being a liberation song, with more militant connotations.

Verwoerd became Prime Minister on the death of J.G. Strijdom in 1958 and songs continued to be sung about him. A song which warned people against Verwoerd was *Ithemba endinalo Inkululeko* (The Trust I have is in freedom):

The trust I have is in freedom

Activists! Grab your sticks.

Watch out for Verwoerd.

etc.

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

Not only were songs with more militant lyrics composed during the 1950s but some old songs underwent changes to reflect the mood of the people. The song *Senzenina?* (Translation: What have we done?), heard throughout the liberation struggle in many versions, is typical of a song which underwent many modifications of tone and words, in order to mirror the mood of the people involved in the struggle. Video examples cited in Chapter 5, show people singing it madly and solemnly, in a militant marching tone, in Xhosa, Zulu and English, with many different words and by many different parties and unions at funerals and at marches (Refer to Chapter 5 for references to videos containing this song). It was undoubtedly the song which was heard most in research covered for this study. Van Schalkwyk states that: "*Its popularity during the 1980s was so great that it came to be written on banners, used as a slogan during marches and finally converted into a poem*" (1994:6).

Different versions of *Senzenina?* are:

What have we done?

Our sin is that we are black.

Oh UDF we love you.

Allan Boesak³⁰ we love you.

Hamilton gives the translations of other versions:

The Boers are dogs

They will die dogs

Farewell our beloved hero

Our sin is the truth

They are killing us

Let Africa return.

(Hamilton, 1993:30).

Senzenina? is a manifestation of the versatility of the liberation song sung from the 1950s. The songs were short and the ethnic components present in the songs, eg. call and response, made for easy modifications of lyrics to suit any situation.

³⁰

Patron of the United Democratic Front

Passes continued to elicit the ire of the blacks and were the subject of many songs. Malunga (in Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:103) does not give details of when this song was sung but it was clearly before the 1960s when the Rand and Cent became the South Africa currency, and could thus have been sung during the period under discussion:

Hola, hola n'wa-mbilu

Swa ndzi vava

Hola, hola n'wa-mbilu

Swa ndzi vava

Ku teka macheleni manharhu

ni nzukwa

Ndzi ya teka

Dompasi ka mulungu

Calm down heart,

it pains me to take

three shillings and five cents

to go and obtain a passbook

from a white man.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:103).

Another anti-pass song was *Mayibuye iAfrica makaphele amapasi*:

Let Africa come back

Let there be no more pass laws,

Let us get freedom.

(This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

From the late 1950s the singing became even more militant and by that time most people knew the songs and could join in enthusiastically (Nyberg, 1984:4). This new militancy is very evident in the lyrics of this Pondo song which was sung in 1959 during a Rural Resistance by

Pondo farmers against the Government. Although more powers had been given to traditional leaders, they were very angry because they had been unable to choose the leaders themselves.

You're a dog white man (2)

You have struck

those who will never die

Our spirit will become

a dangerous beast.

(Ulibambe Lingashoni Episode 3, 1993: Video).

On 31 March 1960 the ANC initiated a campaign against the pass laws. A similar campaign had been planned by the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) for 21 March 1960 (Motlhabi, 1985:92). At Sharpeville police fired on marchers, killing 69 and wounding 178 (Motlhabi, 1985:94). At Langa a similar incident occurred. The ANC and PAC were incensed and called for a day of mourning as well as a general strike which paralysed the country's economy for nearly three weeks (Motlhabi, 1985:95-96). A song emanating from this period is *Elogazi* where the lyrics are about the killings in Sharpeville and Langa (Mayibuye! sånger för ett fritt Afrika, 1983: Sheet music).

These events led to world-wide condemnation of the South African Government and a large-scale withdrawal of foreign capital from South Africa. The Government declared a state of emergency and 18000 blacks were arrested under new emergency regulations (Davenport, 1987:396). Ewan Mac Coll wrote a powerful ballad shortly after the Sharpeville massacre.

Ballad of Sharpville [sic]

From the Cape to South - West A - fri - ca, from the Trans - vaal to the sea, in
 farm and vil - lage shan - ty - town - The pass - law holds the peo - ple - down, the
 pass of - sla - - ve - ry (Do m pass!) The - pass - of sla - ve - ry.

(McDonnell, 1986:107).

This song was not sung by the black masses but is an account of the happenings at Sharpeville and is classified as *Resistance art*.

Mention was made of the PAC in connection with the campaign against pass laws. Within the ANC in the 1950s, there were members unhappy with the party who broke away to form a new party. It is necessary to follow the path of this organisation as many of the liberation songs sung by this party were also sung by the ANC.

1.5.6 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC)

On 5 April 1959 the PAC was formed under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, a lecturer in Bantu languages at Witwatersrand University, by a group of renegade ANC members. They were led by members of the so-called Africanist group and they "*felt the ANC had made too many concessions in respect of oppression, and was incapable of promoting black liberation*" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:235).

Kotzé & Greyling (1994) state that by the end of 1959 the PAC's membership of 25 000 exceeded that of the ANC mainly because "*its message was simple and easily understood*" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:236). As most of these members had been ANC members it can be understood why video coverage and other sources show similar songs being sung by both organisations (Freedom is coming. Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa for mixed choir, [s.a.]: Sheet Music; Mayibuye! sånger för ett fritt Afrika, 1983: Sheet music; PAC Conference, 1990: Video; This Land is My Home, 1965: Audio Cassette).

As has been mentioned, in 1960 the PAC played a leading part in the anti-passbook campaign and shortly afterwards "*the entire PAC leadership was sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment on the grounds of inciting violence*" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:237).

The *apartheid* Government clearly saw all these militant organisations as a security threat and on 8 March 1960 the Government introduced "*the Unlawful Organisations Bill in parliament to pave the way for the banning of the PAC and the ANC*" (Mohlhab, 1985:98).

4.5.7 ORGANISATIONS IN EXILE

Many of the members of these organisations worked together while in exile, resulting in their singing the same liberation songs against their common oppressor, the *apartheid* Government. The following organisations will be discussed, namely:

- the ANC in exile
- the PAC in exile, and
- the SACP in exile.

4.5.7.1 The ANC in exile

After being banned the ANC continued its operations underground and outside the country. According to Kotzé & Greyling, "*under the leadership of Oliver Tambo, the ANC established offices abroad which were used to mobilise international opposition to the South African Government*" (1994:53).

Despite the banning of their party 1 500 ex-ANC and PAC delegates met in Pietermaritzburg in March 1961 to discuss the party's strategy and the ANC's response to the creation of the Republic and a new constitutional dispensation. The delegates asked the Government to draw up a new Constitution for South Africa and warned that if their demands were not met they would embark on a non-cooperation strategy (Davenport, 1987:402). On 31 May 1961 the Republic of South Africa came into being. This was considered to be the final triumph of Afrikaner Nationalism over British Imperialism. The treatment meted out by the police during demonstrations against the Republic was one of the main reasons blacks wanted to change their strategy. It was at this point that a new approach to the struggle was recommended. Nelson Mandela said, "*we were being demoralised by nonviolence which was met by violence from Government*" (Ulibambe Lingashoni episode 2, 1993: Video). Despite this change in strategy, the delegates at the meeting in Pietermaritzburg decided that the ANC would not embark on an armed struggle. Walshe (1987) states that Mandela was sent to report to Luthuli on the decisions taken in Pietermaritzburg. On his return to South Africa on 5 August 1961 he was arrested for inciting workers and leaving the country illegally. He was, however, released owing to insufficient evidence.

Mandela immediately "took advantage of his freedom to find some alternative form of carrying on the struggle" (Motlhabi, 1985:66). He went underground and began actively to establish a new militant wing of the ANC, *MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe)*, meaning "Spear of the Nation" (Davenport, 1987:402).

Infiltration of *MK* cadres into the country saw sabotage attacks on power stations, railway lines, telecommunication installations and symbols of *apartheid*. B.J. Vorster, who became Minister of Justice in 1961, extended the powers of the security police to contend with the acts of sabotage. Measures such as 90 (1963) and 180 (1965) day detention without trial alienated not only black South Africans but the rest of the world (Davenport, 1987:404).

MK decided to undertake a joint military campaign with the Rhodesian liberation army ZAPU. Just prior to the campaign Chief Luthuli died and Oliver Tambo declared that the first detachment to Rhodesia would be called the Luthuli detachment. A video recording shows this *MK* regiment *toyi-toyi* while they are marching (Ulibambe Lingashoni Episode 2, 1993: Video). The Rhodesian troops were helped by South Africa and many ANC cadres were killed. On returning to South Africa in the early 1980s *MK* soldiers brought the *toyi-toyi* back with them. According to Van Schalkwyk (1994) the *toyi-toyi* initially referred to a military routine used in the Zimbabwean Peoples Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) camps in the late 1970s where both *MK* and ZIPRA soldiers were trained. Song and dance had however always been a sociopolitical commentator in the history of black people, and in this respect *toyi-toyi* was not new. "Youths simply reintroduced a traditional concept of dance and song with a sloganeering in a more popularized resistance culture than in the past" (van Schalkwyk, 1994:4). The *toyi-toyi* performance instilled fear into many a white spectator and even in 1996 the sight of a *toyi-toyi* performance always seems to be given a political connotation. This was very evident at the Durban College of Education on 10 September 1996 when students started a *toyi-toyi* performance at the news of the first Zulu student elected to the college's Students' Representative Council. Many white lecturers were convinced it was a protest and as the students moved down the passages with the *toyi-toyi* performance and the singing of praise songs containing the student's name, there was a general feeling of trepidation among white lecturers. Only after the words of the song had been explained to them and they had been told that the *toyi-toyi* could also be performed in celebrations did they venture out to listen to the students.

Bredenkamp, Richards and Van der Merwe stated that once their initial fears had been dispelled, they found the performance extremely exciting (Interview, 18 September 1996: Durban).

Many songs contain lyrics reflecting members in exile, the countries of the exiles and *MK*. One of the most popular songs about *MK* was *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto*, the translation of which reads:

*Go well, Spear of the Nation.
We, the people of MK
are prepared to kill these Boers.*

(Chris Hani, 1994: Video).

This is one of the oldest ANC songs and was sung when *MK* was founded. At the funeral of Chris Hani³¹ (1942-1993), Sam Shilowa, Assistant Secretary General of COSATU in 1993, led the singing of this song (Chris Hani, 1994: Video).

The New Nation (2-8 July 1987) speaks about the militancy of the lyrics dealing with *MK* and says that many of the songs are too militant to print. However, one example is given of a relatively mild song:

*Tshanyel'ana mabala zinja!
Nank'Umkhonto uzongena.

Sweep the floors, you dogs 'whites'.
Umkhonto is coming in.*

(New Nation, 2-8 July 1987:2).

Another song about *MK* is:

*Amabhunu ahlupha abazali ekhaya bathi ziphi izingane zenu?
Umkhonto uzobashaya ngebhazuka*

³¹

Chris Hani: *MK* cadre leader assassinated in South Africa in 1993.

Amabhunu ahlupha abazali ekhaya bathi ziphi izingane zenu?

Umkhonto uzobashaya nge-AK 47

Umkhonto uzobashaya ngebhazuka

Amabhunu ahlupha ogo ekhaya bathi baphi abantwana benu?

Umkhonto uzobashaya nge-AK 47

Umkhonto uzobashaya ngebhazuka

The Boers harass the parents at home

saying where are your children.

UMkhonto will strike them

with a bazuka and an AK47.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:101).

Traditional work, wedding and children's songs also form part of the freedom songs. Sherman gives the example of the wedding song *Tshayelan' Amabhala Zingane* (Sweep the yard, the bride is coming), which has been modified to *Sweep the fields for Umkhonto is coming* (1989:84).

Songs encouraged freedom fighters not to flee, but to stand their ground:

Aiyeee, aiyeee!

Ayabaleka magorila

Aiyee, aiyee!

Ayabaleka magorila

Amagorila kwenzenjani?

Amagorila kwenzenjani?

Gorila, gorila.

Aiyeee, aiyeee!

The guerillas (sic) are fleeing

Aiyee, aiyee!

The guerillas are fleeing.

Guerillas, what's happened?

Guerillas, what's happened?

Guerilla, Guerilla.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:86).

Another popular hymn associated with the liberation struggle is *Thuma Mina* (Send me). According to Hamilton, it was also sung in the ANC camps outside South Africa "where it took on an additional or different meaning as young comrades volunteered to go on a sortie back into South Africa" (1993:16). On South African Television, on Channel 3, the riots of the school children in Soweto on 16 June 1976 were shown and *Thuma Mina* was used as background music (16 June... Twenty Years Later, 1996: SABC3). This is further proof of the fact that this hymn was associated with the liberation struggle. The translation reads:

Send me Jesus, send me Lord

Send me Jesus....

Find me Jesus....

(Nyberg, 1984:34).

Hamilton also gives the following examples of hymns associated with the liberation struggle:

Inzima Lendlela (This road is heavy)

Uthando Lwakhe (God's Love)

Tumelo Yaka ha Nkeke ka e Lathla (My faith, I will never lose it)

Abasundu Nabamhlope (Blacks and Whites)

Tshollela Moya wa Hao, Jesu (Pour down your Spirit, Jesus)

Hamba Vangeli (Spread the Word)

Monateng Kapele (In joy we will be together).

(Hamilton 1993:15-20).

In 1963 the police arrested prominent members of *MK* near Rivonia, claiming that they had in their possession evidence that this organisation was implementing a large-scale military operation codenamed '*Mayibuye*' (restoring, giving back). Nelson Mandela conducted his own

defence, where he pointed out that the ANC needed to take more drastic action because fifty years of nonviolent resistance had merely resulted in more oppressive laws and fewer rights for blacks (Motlhabi, 1985:68). Five of the ten accused, including Mandela and Sisulu, were sentenced to life imprisonment and eventually sent to Robben Island.

The song *Tshotsholoza Mandela* is a mirror of political developments during this time and also sums up the mood of black South Africans at Mandela's arrest.

Tshotsholoza Mandela

Use the stick.

You'll hear from us when we are ready.

In went the leaders

In went the leaders all over the country.

Bundled into jails without a just cause.

He cautioned his people

Verwoerd cautioned his people in Pretoria

And said things were hot

The reason?

Mandela.

(This Land is Mine 1965: Record).

Many songs were sung about these leaders in prison on Robben Island. A song emanating from this period, was *Umbuso ka Verwoerd*:

Verwoerd's regime will crumble

When Mandela is released.

Luthuli will rule the way

African people wish.

(This Land is Mine 1965: Record).

Another song demanding the release of Mandela was:

Oliver Tambo speak to Botha

He must release Mandela.

Mandela is a hero.

Mandela will come back.

(Hamilton, 1993:34).

Here too other names were superimposed for different verses.

In 1976, after the Soweto school uprising, many young blacks left the Republic to join the ranks of the ANC and undergo military training in such places as Angola and Tanganyika (Tanzania), whereafter they would re-enter South Africa to carry out sabotage attacks. There are many songs reminiscent of these refugee days eg. *Oh Tanganyikans*, which thanks the people in Tanganyika for the help they gave political exiles (This Land is Mine, 1965: Record).

According to Walshe (1987) in 1982 the ANC had offices in 32 countries and had been able to mobilise international opposition to *apartheid*. Links with the banned South African Communist Party were strengthened. The search for liberation for the black man became stronger than ever before.

5.5.7.2 The PAC in exile

According to Motlhabi (1985), after Government had suppressed the post-Sharpeville disturbances, there was a lull in PAC quarters for about two years. In 1992 an independent offshoot of the PAC took shape in Cape Town. This was an underground movement, called *Pogo* (We go it alone) which succeeded with a minimum of leadership or formal organisation to create widespread fear amongst Whites throughout the country" (Motlhabi, 1985:99). According to Motlhabi, by 1964 nearly 2 000 members had already been sent to prison and consequently *Pogo* "all but disappeared from the South African scene" (1985:238). By the mid-1960s the PAC had ceased to be an important player in South African politics and after 1968 the military wing of the PAC became

known as the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:238). Mention is made of their slogan, 'one settler, one bullet', in 4.5.8.8.

A song which dates from this period is *U Sobukwe Ufuna Amajoni* (Sobukwe wants freedom fighters). This song, referring to the leader of the PAC, is heard together with other liberation songs on the record This Land is Mine (1965). The record was recorded in Tanganyika by young people who were all refugees from South Africa and the fact that songs from both the PAC and ANC are heard on the record is further proof that the different parties sang similar songs.

4.5.7.3 The SACP in exile

As was mentioned previously the SACP was banned in 1950 and "[s]tate action against resistance organisations in the early 1960s led to the arrest of a large percentage of the SACP's internal leadership" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:251). According to Kotzé & Greyling (1994), Joe Slovo, who played a leading role in reactivating the SACP in 1953, left the country in 1963 to organise the armed struggle from abroad. It was here that these two organisations worked closely together and Slovo, leader of the SACP, "influenced a whole generation of Umkhonto we Sizwe members and young people living in black neighbourhoods in South Africa" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:253). This is verified in this song concerning MK:

*Uphi uSlovo? USlovo usehlathini
Wenzani na? Usathambis' amajoni
Oooo one line! One line, dubulani bafan'
Wenzani na? Usathambisa amajoni*

Uphi uTambo? Etc.

*Where is Slovo? He is in the bush
What is he doing? He is training soldiers
Ooo one line! Shoot boys.*

Where is Tambo? etc.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:99)

The fact that in 1985 Slovo became the first white person to be appointed to the national executive committee of the ANC was a further indication of the close ties between the SACP and the ANC.

Under the leadership of Walter Sisulu, ANC and SACP members who had been released from Robben Island decided to visit the external wing of the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia. An article in the Sowetan (16 January 1990) describes how Jan Smuts Airport reverberated with song, ululations, whistling, and slogans when 14 leaders of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) left for Lusaka on the 15 January 1990. According to the Sowetan scores of people in the international section of the airport were taken aback when the Young Lions, teenage ANC supporters, clad in khaki uniform with the ANC colours on the lapel of their shirts, and members of the Transvaal Women's League of the ANC and other well-wishers, started singing freedom songs, accompanied by the toyi-toyi dance. "*There were shouts of Amandla and other slogans in praise of the ANC and its leadership*" (Sowetan, 16 January 1990:7). It was a historical occasion as it was to be the first meeting of the internal and external wings of the ANC.

The Beeld (19 January 1990) speaks about Hein Grosskopf who was being sought by the police from South Africa for terrorist activities and who was living in Lusaka in 1990. The report explains how he and about a thousand other exiles welcomed comrades from the struggle who had been freed in South Africa with the singing of liberation songs, clapping, and the usual *Amandla* cry. With the singing of *Nkosi Sikilel' iAfrika* about 1 200 people were singing whilst raising their fists (Beeld, 19 January 1990).

A vacuum had been created in internal black politics after the banning of the PAC and ANC and other liberation movements. New black parties had to be created through which black South Africans could express their views. The creation of internal black parties and labour unions has to be understood within the broader South African context in order to comprehend fully why there was so much internal black activity after 1960.

4.5.8 INTERNAL BLACK POLITICS AFTER 1960 - WITHIN THE BROADER SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

In order to be fully understood, the creation of these parties cannot be discussed in isolation. The policies of the white *apartheid* Government will also have to be taken into account as these policies indirectly shaped these parties and the views of black South Africans. The songs sung were also a direct response to situations affecting blacks within the country.

Hendrik Verwoerd, who was assassinated in September 1966, was succeeded by B.J. Vorster (Prime Minister: 1967-1977) and later P.W. Botha in 1978, both of whom still supported the concept of separate development, whilst making a few revisions to Verwoerd's policies.

The black man in South Africa was thus still being marginalised despite the fact that Vorster had made a few revisions to Verwoerd's *apartheid* policies. This necessitated the creation of new parties which would serve as a voice against *apartheid*. It was indirectly in response to this need that the following parties were created:

- South African Students Organisation (SASO)
- Black Peoples' Convention (BPC)
- Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
- United Democratic Front (UDF)
- Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), and
- ANC and PAC unbanned.

4.5.8.1 South African Students Organisation (SASO)

In 1969 the role played by the ANC and PAC before their exile was taken over by the predominantly black SASO with Steve Biko, a medical student at Natal University as its first chairman. Sono (1993) however points out that liberation needed an ideology and therein lay the influence of the black American. Biko thus "*sifted through the writings of many important*

American Black Consciousness leaders eg. Jesse Jackson's Black Consciousness is a humane philosophy, and crafted the doctrine of South African Black Consciousness" (Sono, 1993:34). Black consciousness became an umbrella term used to describe black consciousness ideology and the different organisations and groups centred around it. Biko "became a major exponent of the black consciousness ideology" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:108). The principles of black consciousness spread from black Universities to black schools and churches.

According to Walshe (1987), the impact of the black consciousness movement on the broad South African political spectrum, can be seen by the fact that on 26 February 1973 Steve Biko was restricted to the King Williamstown area where his actions were monitored by the security police. He was able to acquire space at St Chad's in King Williamstown for SASO where a great deal of black consciousness activity took place. Jabavu (1987) states that Biko grew in political stature and his influence permeated the liberation struggle in South Africa.

According to Sherman (1989) a song sung to a traditional warrior tune and influenced by SASO was:

*Lento andiqondi,
uVorster ulwa ngezembe,
yatsho lentwana iyo magwalandini.
Mayivele indoda,
mayivele sigoduke.*

*This thing I don't understand,
Vorster is fighting with an axe
What cowards.
Come men,
let us go home.*

(Sherman, 1989:86)

In a stick fight it is considered unacceptable to fight with an axe and "*this symbolizes the attitude of the masses to the balance of power in South Africa which was tilted in Vorster's favour*" (Sherman, 1989:86).

4.5.8.2 Black Peoples' Convention (BPC)

According to Kotzé & Greyling (1994), black consciousness also gained support outside student ranks and many organisations, including the BPC expounded this philosophy. According to Walshe (1987) the BPC, founded in 1972, was the first nationwide public political organisation among South African blacks since 1960.

In 1975, BPC and SASO leaders who were charged with inciting racial hatred and conspiring to overthrow the Government were imprisoned. Despite this setback the movement continued to be active and the black consciousness movement played a major role in the Soweto riots of 1976.

These riots had indirectly been initiated by the youth. Pratt (1990) states that until the mid-seventies, black youths had watched their elders battle in the face of *apartheid* and had witnessed their protests being strangled and choked by the regime. "*They realised that liberation would never come unless they took up the struggle and provided it with a more aggressive disposition*" (Pratt, 1990:3). Their chant chorus "*hayi hayi*" (No, no, we have had enough) was proof of this and the *older people watched and thought that the youth was starting something new - they suddenly realised the value of it and started participating with the youth*" (Pratt 1990:3).

Initially the unrest, which had started on 16 June 1976, had occurred as a result of the hostility of black teachers and pupils to the use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium in black Transvaal schools. *This incident was to set in motion a chain of disturbances throughout the country which continued spasmodically until 1980, and then returned in a different form in 1984-1985*" (Davenport, 1987:430). According to President Mandela these young people were much more militant than the ANC Youth League had been in the 1950s. Many of these young people were imprisoned and they *turned prison upside down, they defied the prison guards and were one of the most rebellious group of African youth*" (Interview Nelson Mandela, 1994: Video).

Video footage of these riots focuses on the confrontation between the police and the rioters. It is difficult to make out what songs were being sung but the mood of the rioters is very militant, songs are sung in a militant fashion and a great deal of chanting accompanies the riots (*Ulibambe Lingashoni* Episode 4, 1993: Video; *Interview Nelson Mandela*, 1994: Video).

John Qwelane speaks about how in the wintry days of 1976 “*when children did the unimaginable and tackled the apartheid monster by the horns, something of a new culture asserted itself in black neighbourhoods. The freedom song came into its own*” (*The Sunday Star*, 4 August 1991:5). He goes on to explain that putting trials and tribulations to song was nothing new but the revival of singing freedom songs was enthusiastic and accompanied by a new level of defiance which had even seasoned campaigners wondering if they had slept through the revolution. “*Such was the versatility of the ‘composers’ that many church hymns were also adapted to the words of the freedom songs, with remarkable results*” (*The Sunday Star*, 4 August 1991:5).

Somlandela, is an example of such a song:

Somlandela, somlandel’ uJesu

Somlandela, yonke indawo

Somlandela, somlandel’ uJesu

Apho ayakhona somlandela.

We will follow Jesus

To every place

Wherever he is

We will follow Him.

(Sherman 1989:84).

According to Sherman the words were changed replacing Jesu with Luthuli, but everything else remained the same (Sherman 1989:84).

Another example of a hymn being changed is *Tumelo ke thebe*:

Tumelo ke thebe

Ketsamaya le Jesu

If we are Christian

We'll go to heaven.

(Sherman 1989:84).

According to Sherman the words were changed to:

Socialism ke thebe

ketsamaya le UDF (SOSCO, SOYCO....)

Socialism, it's our freedom

I go with UDF (SOSCO, SOYCO....).

(Sherman 1989:84).

At funerals during the 1970s old songs like *Thina Sizwe* and *Thula Sizwe* were heard (Interview Nelson Mandela 1994: Video). The translation of *Thina Sizwe* reads:

We the black race.

We moan for the black race.

We moan for our land that was usurped

By the white man.

CHORUS:

Let them leave!

Let them leave our land alone.

The children

The children of Africa are moaning

For their land that was robbed

By the white man.

(Mayibuye! sånger för ett fritt Afrika, 1983:18).

The translation of *Thula Sizwe* reads:

Be silent nation, do not cry,

Our God will conquer for us

Freedom, we will get it,

Our God will conquer for us.

(Hamilton, 1993:18).

Pewa states that the religious chorus is easy to use for political songs: “[B]ecause of its folk song qualities it is easy to fit new words to an already existing musical text” (1984:30).

Conversely, secular songs, which were known as liberation songs, were sung at funerals. Hamilton (1993) gives the example of the song *Baba Mandela* which was often sung at funerals.

Father Mandela,

hey, what is really happening?

we are being killed by the Boers in South Africa.

Younger people to-day are not always aware of the fact that some of these hymns were very much part of the liberation struggle to their elders. This was evident when Zulu students at the Durban College of Education intended performing *Thula Sizwe* (Be silent nation) at a concert at this institution. One of the lecturers at the College, Mrs F.M. Khuboni, dissuaded them from this performance as in her opinion “many older Zulu people would become very emotional on hearing this hymn as they associated it with the liberation struggle” (Interview, 1 November 1995: Durban).

After the events in Soweto, the Government took strong action against the black consciousness movement and in 1977 the BPC and eighteen related organisations were banned. In the same year Steve Biko died in detention causing an international outcry and an upsurge of political violence in

South Africa. Video footage of the Biko funeral shows masses of people and groups singing different songs at the same time, making it difficult to identify the words of the songs. Tunes heard clearly however are, *Senzenina?* and *Thula Sizwe*, mentioned earlier, as well as chants, which clearly mirror the feelings of the funeral-goers (Steve Biko: The Spirit Lives on, 1992: Video).

Sherman (1989) states that many songs emanating from this period refer to Azania and to leaders such as Biko. Sources consulted do not give versions of these songs, but Mr S. Ngubane (Interview, 4 July 1996: Durban) said that many old songs were used with name replacements to suite the situations.

A contentious song from the 1970s was:

*Uyinj' emnyama
uboshwa ngetyatanga
noma sekunjani
zonke izinja
ziyobulawa.*

*You are a black dog
On (your master's) leash,
no matter what
you are going to be killed.*

(Sherman, 1989:86).

This song refers to informers in the black communities who were beaten up and it "*was taken up by hotheads in 1985/86 at the time of the necklacing of informers, but was regarded as distasteful by other comrades in various organisations*" (Sherman, 1989:86).

According to Parsons the "*South African Government restrictions placed on the Black consciousness movement in 1977 opened the way for better organised movements to recruit black South Africans*" (1994:333). Four such organisations were AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation), the IFP, the UDF and the MDM.

4.5.8.3 Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo)

Azapo was *"the most prominent organisation to carry a flag for black consciousness from the late 1970s onwards"* (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:198). According to Parsons however, it soon became clear that black workers preferred to operate through trade unions and Azapo saw *"itself promoting worker consciousness as much as black consciousness"* (1994:333).

Despite the State of Emergency in 1986, Azapo reemphasized that the existing economic and political system must be fought by every means possible. *"To this end its members worked as individuals to politicize and activate groups and communities, and use appropriate freedom songs to emphasize and give popular expression to their ideals"* (Ellison 1989:91).

4.5.8.4 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

This was the Zulu royalist movement of the 1920s *"revived in 1975 along the lines of the ruling imbokodvo party in Swaziland"* (Parsons, 1994:333). In the opinion of Natal journalists B. Robinson and T. Muil (in De Kock, 1986:86) when the inception of the IFP was announced in 1975 *"it was the black answer to the failure of Vorster's détente of the 1970s at home and, for blacks, a positive alternative to homeland Government"*. Under Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the IFP became a predominantly Zulu political organisation which, according to De Kock claimed *"the mantle of the original ANC"* (1986:1820). This can be put down to the fact that the founder of the ANC, Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme was Buthelezi's uncle and as Buthelezi says, *"I knew people like Chief Albert Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Robert Sobukwe personally, as colleagues in the liberation struggle"* (de Kock, 1986:33). During the 1950s Buthelezi was also a member of the ANC's Youth League.

As the IFP is a relatively new organisation, many of its members could have previously belonged to other political parties before its inception. It may also be concluded that these IFP members must have known most liberation songs sung until the 1970s by virtue of the fact that they either belonged to a party singing the songs or since most liberation songs are Zulu, they must have heard them being sung. It could thus be surmised that they brought this repertoire of songs with them to the IFP and as the songs propagated the liberation of the black man, they would not simply have

been discarded. It is, however, difficult to ascertain which songs are sung by the IFP as video footage is scarce and in KwaZulu-Natal where the political climate is so volatile people are reluctant to become involved in discussions which align them to one or other movement for fear of reprisals.

The researcher interviewed three young IFP members who all wished to remain anonymous (Interview, 6 September 1996: Durban). They are very involved in the IFP and work at the IFP offices in Albany House, Durban. They did know some of the old liberation songs eg. *Thula Sizwe*, *Senzenina?* and *Thina Sizwe* which they explained were sometimes sung. They also said that they often sing the song, *Shenge Wethu* (our Shenge) to the tune of *Mandela Wethu*. *Shenge* is the praise name for Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Anonymous said that he often addressed meetings and used chants to inspire the people at the meeting. All three members interviewed were adamant that traditional Zulu songs were very important and must not be confused with liberation songs. They also spoke about the IFP choirs which sing traditional Zulu songs. They explained that at the IFP Youth Congress held at Ulundi from 30 August-1 September 1996, a choir sang traditional Zulu songs. The interviewer gained the impression that these three men were very proud of their Zulu traditional songs, while very little emphasis was placed on liberation songs.

This respect for their traditional music could be explained by the fact that Buthelezi's mother, Princess Constance Magogo, sang beautiful Zulu traditional songs while accompanying herself on the *Ugubu*³² bow. She was considered to be "*a close and decisive influence on his life*" (de Kock 1986:37). The fact that Buthelezi was influenced by his mother with regard to music is verified by the fact that on the record with Zulu music recorded by Hugh Tracey, there are recordings of Buthelezi singing Zulu traditional music with the Buthelezi clan tribesmen (International Library of African Music. Zulu, 1955: Record). It can be hypothesised that Buthelezi has passed on this respect for Zulu music to the IFP members. This party is generally considered to be an ethnic organisation for Zulus, so the vast majority would be able to understand and sing Zulu traditional music. This could perhaps explain why fewer liberation songs seem to be sung by the IFP and why choirs sing traditional Zulu songs at political meetings.

32

Vertical, single string unbraced bow.

The IFP movement is not popular with all black groups because it is seen as an ethnic organisation for Zulus. Despite this fact, Buthelezi succeeded in a very short time in turning the IFP into a mass movement with 350 000 members. From 1985 onwards, conflict between the IFP and ANC reached a high level when the IFP initially opposed a stayaway as well as a consumer boycott that was called in support of Sarmcol workers who were fired in Howick (A savage war of peace, 1990: Video). Since then there has been ongoing violence between these movements.

The video A savage war of peace (1990) focuses on events on the Reef in 1990, when Buthelezi launched the IFP with hope of extending it beyond Natal and obtaining national status. Many migrant Zulu labourers reside in hostels in townships on the Reef. Conflicts arose between residents, the IFP and Security Forces and by September 1990 over 800 people had lost their lives. For the purpose of the study it is not important to become immersed in the complexities of the struggle. Footage on the above-mentioned video shows a Zulu *impi* (warriors) chanting:

You have struck Shaka

You must be crazy

You have struck a Zulu

You must be crazy.

(A savage war of peace, 1990: Video).

As most the IFP supporters taking part in rallies and marches are armed with traditional weapons the singing and marching takes on a different dimension from that of other parties as the weapons are often indirectly used as instruments to add to the rhythm of the chanting.

5.8.5 United Democratic Front (UDF)

On 23 September 1983 parliament passed the proposed new constitution with one of its salient features, the tricameral parliament³³. According to Mr Popo Molefe³⁴ “[t]he new constitution gave Coloureds and Indians limited powers in a new Tricameral Parliament seen as turning these

³³ A House of Assembly for Whites consisting of 178 members; a House of Representatives for Coloureds comprising 85 members; and a House of Delegates for Indians with 45 members.

³⁴ Now a prominent member of the ANC and Premier of the North West Province

societies into junior partners in their own oppression" (Ulibambe Lingashoni Episode 5, 1994: Video). It was especially from the UDF (United Democratic Front) that opposition was expressed to the new constitutional dispensation. Since the early 1980s the UDF had acted as an umbrella organisation for over 600 banned organizations although its base of operations was the Western Cape, where about a hundred organisations, mainly from the Coloured Communities affiliated with it. According to Cheryl Carolus³⁵, formerly an ex-executive member of the UDF: "*It was the first national movement since the banning of the organisations which brought together our people's struggles, demands and aspirations in a coherent way and united a broad range of South Africans*" (Ulibambe Lingashoni Episode 5, 1994: Video).

In 1984 there was a general election for the Tricameral Parliament, which was very poorly supported by the Indian and Coloured Communities (Naidoo, 1988:174-175). The UDF arranged demonstrations against voting and the police responded with force. Many of the songs sung by the banned movements were also sung by members of the UDF eg. *Senzenina?* (Fruits of Defiance, 1989: Video). In the Western Cape a number of UDF members were arrested and on 8 August 1984 about 140 people led by clergymen marched to parliament to demonstrate their solidarity with the restrictees. Police halted the march but there was no violence or arrests and the marchers then melted down and sang *We shall overcome* (2.4.2) and *Senzenina?* (The Weekly Mail, 11-17 August 1989:3).

The biggest organisation in the UDF, COSAS (Congress of South African Students) was eventually banned in 1985. The struggle for better education continued and in 1986 the NECC (National Education Crisis Committee) started organising for People's Education. According to Naidoo (1988) their view was that people's education works for people's power in other words, liberation comes before education and "*pupils were persuaded to return to the schools, and to use them as centres for resistance*" (Naidoo, 1988:179). This saw the intensification of black school boycotts, destruction of school property and a breakdown in education among black South Africans.

Widespread protests continued right throughout the country. The new Republic Constitution, under P.W. Botha as president came into force on 3 September 1984. Protests by civics and trade union

³⁵

Secretary-General of the ANC 1996.

members led to riots in many townships. Naidoo (1988) states that between 1984 and 1987 South Africa became ungovernable mainly due to widespread protests. Botha responded with a State of Emergency in 1984 and thousands of Civic and UDF leaders were detained without trial, among others Popo Molefi and Patrick Lekota. The situation, however, worsened and a strengthened State of Emergency was reimposed in June 1986 (Naidoo, 1988:179).

Despite the State of Emergency, Zondi (The Weekly Mail, 31 March-7 April 1988:11) speaks about the fact that liberation songs and slogans accompanying the *toyitoyi* continued to be performed on the overcrowded trains conveying blacks to their workplaces. He speaks about the song composed by Kalamazoo, which explicitly reflects the situation on the trains, *Ngena naye, phuma naye* (push in/push out) (Zondi, 1988:11). Sherman (1989) points out that at the end of 1989 over four hundred workers were arrested for singing freedom songs on the trains to and from work. The charges were for disrupting the peace. She points out "*that singing on the trains was nothing new as religious groups would dominate the trains with their rousing songs and movements*" (Sherman, 1989:82). There had never been any arrests for disturbing the peace when the songs had been religious. Sherman argues that the arrest of people singing freedom songs on the trains was "*an excuse to try and stop workers from singing songs of a political nature*" (1989:83).

5.8.6 Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)

In August 1989 a loose coalition of anti-*apartheid* organisations calling itself the Mass Democratic Movement, considered by many a regrouping of the UDF and COSATU, staged a nationwide defiance campaign opposing segregated hospitals, schools, buses, beaches and other facilities. The Movement demanded sweeping societal change in the form of dismantling the whole *apartheid* structure. Needless to say the campaign elicited considerable police violence and gained international media attention.

A song sung during this period was:

Joyina MDM, joyina MDM

'Zoshay' amabhunu

A-South Africa

Bayahlanya ePitoli

Bayahlanya ePitoli.

Join MDM, join MDM

We shall strike the Boers of South Africa

They are mad in Pretoria.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:98).

The following song speaks about police stationed at the Canada station in the Western Cape to halt advancing comrades. No date is given but it could have been sung during the defiance campaign of the 1980s to warn the community about the police presence.

Ke bale! Ke bale ko Canada

Ke bale! Ke bale ko Canada

Ba kentse ba kentse dithunya mahwafeng

Ba kentse ba kentse dithunya mahwafeng

There they are, they are at Canada

They are holding guns under their armpits.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:99).

According to Kivnick (1990) songs with political content were banned from time to time and they were also avoided by the television, radio and record industry, indicating that the *apartheid* regime considered them to be threatening. This is supported by the fact that at the trial of Albertina Sisulu and the Pietermaritzburg UDF Treason Trial, the singing of freedom songs by those on trial was referred to a number of times (Sherman, 1989:83).

5.8.7 Unbanning of the ANC and PAC

These parties had been banned since 1960 and it is necessary to follow the events which led to their unbanning. President P.W. Botha's refusal to press ahead with fundamental reforms indirectly led

to his downfall. This is verified by Kotzé & Greyling who state that "*P.W. Botha's continued personal differences with members of his party further hampered the NP campaign*" (1994:210). He was forced to resign on 14 August 1989, following "*a cabinet request earlier in the day that he should do so*" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:210).

The Daily Despatch (17 August 1989), speaks about Fort Hare students returning to lectures after staging demonstrations to mark the resignation of P.W. Botha as State President. During their demonstrations they marched around the campus singing freedom songs and carrying placards. One of the songs sung there was:

Uyabalek' uBotha

Uyabalek' uBotha

Nezinja zakhe.

Botha is fleeing

Botha is fleeing

Together with his dogs.

(Msimang, 1996: Interview).³⁶

This same song is quoted by Groenewald & Makopo (1991), but with a line added. It could have been demonstrating, once again, the versatility of the freedom song which could be changed to suit any situation, or the last line could intentionally have been omitted by the singers who found it offensive:

Uyabalek' uBotha

Uyabalek' uBotha

Nezinja zakhe.

Sizoshaya nge-A-A-A

Nge-A-A-A

Nge-A-A-A

³⁶

Mr V Msimang was a student at Fort Hare during this time.

Nge-AK

Nezinja zakhe

Botha is fleeing

Botha is fleeing

Together with his dogs.

We shall strike with the AK.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:99).

P.W. Botha was replaced by F.W. de Klerk, first as head of the National Party in February 1989 and then as President in September 1989. De Klerk was prepared to negotiate with the ANC for a new South Africa.

The year of 1989 was characterized by many freedom marches. Video footage of marches, the Durban Freedom March, Mpumalanga Freedom March and the Labour Relations Act (LRA) March show thousands of people from many different organisations participating (Freedom Marches, 1989: Video). The LRA march, although on the same video as the freedom marches, was a protest in Durban against the Labour Relations Act, which had been extensively revised in 1988 (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:269). Video footage of this march shows that it was not very different from the freedom marches (Freedom Marches, 1989: Video). Although some songs were sung, it is impossible to identify the songs as there are so many people involved and the different party groupings all sing at the same time. It is also clear that the chant and *toyitoyi* had largely replaced the singing of freedom songs by 1989 (Freedom Marches, 1989: Video).

Another video, Fruits of Defiance (1989), focuses on demonstrations in the Western Cape in 1989. A march on Parliament with demonstrators singing 'Forward we shall march to the people's Government' was blocked by police and when they could go no further the demonstrators sat down, refusing to disperse. Police eventually sprayed those demonstrating with purple dye (Fruits of Defiance, 1989: Video). The situation worsened and on 5 September 1989 over 3 million workers stayed at home. A group of twenty to thirty youngsters singing 'What have we done?' to the tune of *Senzenina?* can also be seen on this video. They were airing their views about children who had been detained in Cape Town by the riot police. On 6

September 1989 this same song was sung at the funeral of a young person killed in the riots in the Western Cape (Fruits of Defiance, 1989: Video). As most of the demonstrators shown on this video are from the Coloured population, of which the majority of the people are Afrikaans, they probably sing in English so that they can be understood by all. Whenever the song 'What have we done?' is sung in the Western Cape it has a different rhythm from the Xhosa and Zulu version of *Senzenina?* (Fruits of Defiance, 1989: Video). As has been mentioned, in 1989 the Government started releasing some ANC prisoners from Robben Island. On 2 February 1990, at the opening of Parliament, President F.W. de Klerk unbanned the PAC, ANC and the SACP and negotiations began which eventually led to the creation of a formal democracy in South Africa.

Malunga (The Weekly Mail, 9-15 February 1990) points out that despite the unbanning declaration by F.W. de Klerk there appears to have been scepticism among black South Africans and train commuters, who through committees formed to organise workers on the trains, decided that the struggle must continue. "Tambo nthekele Ak 47 lenna ke thuse chaba sa heso (*Tambo buy me an AK 47 so that I can help our people*) was chanted together with freedom songs and the toyi-toyi was performed despite the unbanning order. In the shaking coach, the word is 'keep on fighting'" (The Weekly Mail, 9-15 February 1990:8).

On 11 February 1990 Nelson Mandela was released. At all the rallies to welcome him home thousands sang, asserting their co-operative identity and pride that their long struggle for freedom had not been in vain. This song sung at Mandela's release showers him with praise:

*UNelson Mandela ubuyile
Sizohlangana simbone.*

CHORUS:

Sizohlangana simbone

*Nelson Mandela has returned
We'll meet in order to see him*

CHORUS:

We'll meet in order to see him.

(Nelson Mandela Free at Last, 1990: Video)

Exiles began returning home and in December 1990 Oliver Tambo, President of the external wing of the ANC, returned after 30 years in exile. He was to open the historic ANC National Consultative Conference which ran from 14-16 December 1990. This conference, attended by 1589 delegates from 14 internal and 31 external regions, aimed at rebuilding the ANC in South Africa (Let the people decide, 1990: Video). One of the clearest examples of a song sung at this meeting is that of predominantly women singing *Malibongwe* (Let the name of the women be praised) when a woman MK cadre member, released from prison during the conference, appeared on the podium. The enjoyment that black people gain from singing manifests itself clearly in video footage from this conference where the song *Uyabuyabu* (He has come) is sung repeatedly as different leaders appear. The rhythmic movement accompanying all singing can clearly be seen (Let the people decide, 1990: Video). From video footage of this conference it is however clear that the singing of freedom songs had virtually been replaced by the chanting of slogans and the *toyi-toyi*.

Don Qwelane states that freedom songs, "*once the binding material of popular resistance to apartheid, have faded into relative obscurity in a changing South Africa*" (The Sunday Star, 4 August 1991:5). David Brier claimed that there had been growing calls in the ANC to drop the *toyi-toyi* and sloganeering which were regarded as a relic of the liberation struggle and out of place in a ruling party. Instead of dropping it from its propaganda arsenal, the ANC had decided "*to harness the rhythmic prance to promote popular enthusiasm for its reconstruction and development programme*" (The Saturday Paper, 25 March 1995:2).

May 1990 saw the beginning of historic three day talks between the ANC and the Government. Meetings continued and led to the CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa), whose task it was to negotiate mechanisms for a transition to democracy. On 16 May 1992 negotiations reached an impasse and campaigns began all over South Africa in attempts to get the Government to concede to demands made by the ANC. On 3 and 4 August 1992 there was a two day work stoppage which culminated in the occupation of city centres throughout the

country on 5 August. Video footage of this mass action clearly demonstrates that very few liberation songs were being sung during demonstrations in the 1990s (People's Power - Interim Government Now, 1992: Video). The well-known songs *Thula Sizwe* (Be silent nation) and *Thina Sizwe* (We the Africans) were, however, still heard. The chanting of slogans and the *toyitoyi* were very evident, replacing the liberation songs (People's Power - Interim Government Now, 1992: Video). This sentiment was echoed by Qwelane (1991), who stated that the colourful liberation songs had gradually faded from memory as a new brand of demonstrator had arisen; the chanting of slogans and the *toyitoyi* had replaced the freedom song. Qwelane pointed out that though the occasional liberation song was still heard, the easing of *apartheid* measures, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, all had an impact on the liberation song: "*Composers of freedom songs are finding work harder to come by*" (The Sunday Star, 4 August 1991:5).

Video footage of a celebration in London, when news of the release of political prisoners in South Africa was received, also supports the supposition that chants and the *toyitoyi* had replaced the singing of freedom songs (London Celebration, 1990: Video).

Freedom songs are, however, mentioned in an article in the The Weekly Mail (2-8 February 1990) about the singing of freedom songs at the Pretoria Townships' Teachers' College of Education, praising the ANC leader Oliver Tambo. Students were singing these songs while boycotting classes in support of failed students who had been refused readmission (The Weekly Mail, 2-8 February 1990).

At the inauguration of President Mandela in 1994, spontaneous singing was heard. According to The Daily News (10 May 1994), the roads to the Union Buildings where the inauguration took place were jam-packed with people all singing freedom songs. Obviously these songs now had a completely different connotation.

Slogans have been referred to regularly and although this study concentrates on the singing of freedom songs it is essential to refer to the slogans used as it is sometimes very difficult to decide when the singing of a freedom song has become sloganeering.

4.5.8.8 Slogans or chants

John Malungana (in Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:100-103) gives texts of what he considers to be songs which were collected in the Ritavi area of Gazankulu. The researcher of this study, however, considers Malungana's examples to be slogans, once again proving how close the songs and slogans are:

Kill the Boer

Hi

The farmer

Hi

Kill the puppet

Hi

Bangibiza upikinini

(They call me pikinin (sic))

Hi

Ekhishini

(In the kitchen)

Hi

Bangibiza uJack

(They call me Jack)

Hi

Engadini

(In the garden)

Hi

etc.

(Groenewald & Makopo, 1991:100-103)

These are just a few lines of the slogan Malungana quotes. It nevertheless proves that a slogan like this can be modified in many ways to suit any situation.

Another of the most significant community chants was *Azikwelwa* (We refuse to ride). According to Andersson (1981) it was first used by the people of Alexandra in August 1943 during the bus boycott. For nine days 15 000 people trudged nine miles to work, after the bus company raised its fare from 4d a journey to 5d, until the bus company gave in. *Azikwelwa* also

became the cry of the bus boycotters in Alexandra in 1957, when the people walked to and from Johannesburg for four months, and in Cape Town in 1980 (Andersson, 1981:32).

An interesting article in Sowetan (28 April 1993) speaks about the words of a chant, 'Kill the Boer, the farmer' which brought ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba into trouble. The author of the article, Mathatha Tsedu, explains that the chants have formed the foundations of freedom songs which have been sung for generations and the only reason why this chant has caused such a controversy is that "*Mokaba committed the ultimate sin by singing a freedom song in English and being understood by whites*" (Sowetan, 28 April 1993:8). This slogan was heard in English in Khayelitsha in 1993 and the white community demanded that Mokaba be investigated. He, however, was unrepentant and used the same chant at a rally in Soshanguve a month later. M. Tsedu states that liberation songs sung by the ANC, PAC and BCM cadres are songs of war and they talk of the hardships of the black majority at the hands of the white minority (Sowetan, 28 April 1993:8). Most of these songs, in black languages, blame the white minority for their problems and so the whites never got to know what was being said as so few know a black language. The SABC "*has for a long time ignored mass meetings of black organisations, and when they did cover such meetings, they censored the singing, thus sheltering the whites from the singing*" (Sowetan, 28 April 1993:8).

Examples of songs which have action against whites as a subject are *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* (Go well Mkhonto we Sizwe), which will be discussed later, *Umama uyajabula umang shay'ibhunu* (Mother gets happy when I beat a Boer) and *Shaya Mabhunu, Hoyaho yaho Mkhonto we Sizwe* (Beat the Boers *Mkhonto we Sizwe*). According to Tsedu (Sowetan, 28 April 1993) these songs and chants were also sung by white members of the ANC, one being Gill Marcus, the present Deputy Minister of Finance. Marcus says she "*never felt threatened by the songs because they were a mere expression of the mood of the time but never an order to kill*" (Sowetan, 28 April 1993:8).

The PAC had a similar slogan to 'Kill the Boer', namely, 'One settler, one bullet'. According to the article in Sowetan (28 April 1993), after the Mokaba issue the ANC had decided to review its slogans while the PAC said they would not apologise for their slogans and songs. In 1996, however, the PAC decided to change its attitude towards this slogan. In the Sunday Tribune (14 April 1996:6) the former secretary general of the PAC, Joe Mkhwanazi, was quoted as saying that

the former PAC slogan 'One settler, one bullet' had been banned from the party. This slogan has over the years alienated the PAC from the whites and appears to have been too radical for many black South Africans as the party has a very small following. At their annual congress in Bloemfontein in April 1996 great dissatisfaction was expressed about the leadership and the fact that the party had no clear policy (Sunday Tribune, 14 April 1996:18).

A very popular chant used by the ANC is *Amandla Ngawethu* (Power is ours). It is interesting to hear this chant sung, not chanted, at a PAC meeting, proving once again that the parties sang and chanted similar songs (PAC Conference, 1990: Video). This is the only example that the researcher could find of a chant sung to a tune. It is nevertheless an indication of how close chants and sloganeering are to singing.

In a study of the singing of liberation songs it is essential that songs sung by labour unions should also be studied as most labour unions also had party affiliations. This was verified by Cyril Rhamaphosa, general secretary of NUM (National Union Of Mineworkers) from 1982 - 1991, when he stated that "*The struggle of workers cannot be separated from the wider political struggle for liberation in this country*" (May Day, 1987: Video). Vail & White also state that trade unions used freedom songs in resisting different structures of power and "*as society changed so too did the content and the tone of the freedom songs change*" (1991:13). Black Labour will thus be considered so that the creation and singing of freedom songs within this context can be understood.

5.9 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BLACK LABOUR UNIONS

The first black labour movement in South Africa, the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union), led by Clements Kadalie was founded in Cape Town early in 1919 (Pike, 1985:144) This organisation was among the most serious forces to challenge exploitation and oppression of black workers (Davenport, 1987:263). According to De Beer (1990) the advent of the ICU had a vital influence on the ANC and at one stage it became bigger and more influential among blacks than the ANC. The reason for this is that the "*ANC presumably failed to recognise that black economic grievances were inextricably linked to political demands*" (de Beer, 1990:13). Ballantine (1991) states that the ICU frequently organised large meetings and rallies where *The Red Flag* would be

sung. Another example of a song sung by ICU members contains no references to the tune. Time has, unfortunately, distanced researchers from sources who could sing the song:

*You young man of Kadalie,
You have come to unite
Flocks that spurn each other,
Shangaans, coloureds,
Son of the black man
In the land of our ancestors
From Pondoland.*

(Callinicos, 1987:115).

Despite its large membership the ICU was not widely supported and this prevented it from forming "*the nucleus of a formidable labour movement*" (Davenport, 1987:263). To exacerbate matters, Kadalie soon clashed with A.W.G. Champion, the second strongest leader of the ICU and Natal provincial secretary. This resulted in Champion declaring the Natal branch, *ICU yase Natal*, to be independent of Kadalie (Erlmann, 1991:58). Many other local branches declared their independence and this led to the total disintegration of the ICU. Callinicos (1987) gives as one of the reasons for the collapse of the ICU the fact that the working class had not yet been fully mobilized.

Despite the fact that by 1930 *ICU yase Natal* had ceased to exist as a political force of any importance in Durban's black popular resistance, "*for more than a decade after 1930 the union club played an important role in the construction of a politically conscious, popular cultural alliance in Durban*" (Erlmann, 1991:87). Champion wished ICU concerts to be indistinguishable from those of whites; as a result ICU songs were hymn based songs. Erlmann says that "*in a dehumanising environment largely lacking in venues for legal entertainment, the ICU's cultural events fostered cohesion, afforded collective enjoyment and reaffirmed blacks' right to shape the world for themselves*" (1991:87). Examples of ICU hymn-singing were *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*, Mazisa's *Vukani Mawethu* (Awake My People), *The Red Flag* and other hymn-based songs (Erlmann 1991:88). The imitation of white hymn singing was evident in the weekly fund-raising concerts featuring organ playing by well-dressed officials (Bradford, 1987:142).

After the collapse of the ICU, the SACP began organising trade unions among black workers. Black trade unionism reached its peak during the Second World War. This was mainly due to the fact that as a result of many whites joining the armed forces there was a shortage of manpower and black labour became essential in order to prevent the disruption of wartime production. The situation improved the bargaining power of black workers and the black trade unions found themselves in a stronger position than before the war.

This led, in 1942, to the formation of the CNETU (Council of Non-European Trade Unions), which consisted "*of several smaller organisations and was riddled with communist thought*" (Pike, 1985:162). Strike action for better pay and working conditions increased. In 1950 workers stayed away on May Day when they protested against low wages and Government restrictions on the SACP. According to Walshe (1987) black workers in Cape Town marched up Adderley Street, shouting "*Down with apartheid! Down with passes! We want freedom! on May Day*".

In 1950 Parliament passed the Suppression of Communism act which was also directed primarily at the trade unions (Pike, 1985:265).

Despite restrictions placed on trade union activity by the Government, SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) was founded in 1955 as an umbrella trade union organisation which "*became a heated pipeline for vicious propaganda, (and) agitation of the workers*" (Pike, 1985:303). According to Motlhabi SACTU "*comprised the widest form of cooperation that the ANC ever had with other organizations since it was formed*" (1985:59). This is proof that songs sung by trade unions should be considered as most of the members belonged to political parties and sang the songs their parties sang. After the ANC was banned, the Government also curtailed SACTU's activities, and it was forced to continue its activities abroad (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:268).

The New Nation (2-8 July 1987) speaks about a Xhosa song composed for SACTU in the 1950s: "Nkqo sithi nkqo ... *Knock, knock, we are the workers, here in Africa. Unite workers, we are taking our land.*"

Inflation and the widening gap between white and black salaries resulted in great discontent amongst black workers. Militant worker action in 1973, together with the Soweto riots of 1976, saw

"dramatically increased political awareness among black workers" (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:268). In reaction to the 1973 strikes the Government passed the Bantu Labour Relations Act which was indirectly a move to suppress forcibly the growing trade union movement. Despite these stringent measures by the Government the trade unions were not totally suppressed. Government fears of trade union action in 1979 resulted in the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry. The result was a major shift in policy and trade unions were legally recognised for the first time in South African history (Kotzé & Greyling, 1994:268).

Many new trade unions were established eg. FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions) in 1979, which had ten affiliated trade unions. Video footage of a FOSATU Congress in 1979 shows delegates singing the song *Solidarity Forever* (Building a future, 1979: Video). This song is a union song popular with industrial workers all over the world. The words were composed by a union organiser, Ralph Chaplin, during the 1915 coal miners' strike in the state of Virginia, U.S.A. (Callinicos 1987:150).

Solidarity Forever

When the union's in- spi- ra- tion through the wor- ker's blood shall run. There can
be no pow- er great- er a- ny- where be- neath the sun. Yet what
force on earth is weak- er than the fee- ble strength of one but the
un- ion makes us strong. Sol- i- da- ri- ty for-
ev- er, Sol- i- da- ri- ty for- ev- er.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 CHORUS 10 11 12

Musical notation for two staves. The first staff contains measures 13 and 14, with lyrics "Sol - i - da - ri - ty for - ev - er, For the". The second staff contains measures 15 and 16, with lyrics "un - ion makes us strong".

(McDonnell (ed.), 1986:76).

The Citizen (10 July 1985) carries an article about problems between the police and MAWU (Metal and Allied Workers' Union) concerning the singing of freedom songs. According to the article a videotape which depicted workers singing unlawful freedom songs, one of which is titled *Hit the Boers*, was at the centre of a legal battle between Security Police and MAWU. The video taped for MAWU contained among other things footage of about 150 Sarmcol workers from Howick singing freedom songs with references to Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela. The video was seized by the Security Police and MAWU instituted a Supreme Court action against the Minister of Law and Order and the Security Police contesting their right to seize the video. Representatives of the Security Police agreed in the Durban Supreme Court to allow MAWU officials to make a copy of the tape, excluding sections where freedom songs were sung, pending the outcome of MAWU's action (The Citizen, 10 July 1985:4). Clearly liberation songs were considered a danger to state security.

Sarmcol Workers sang many songs to express their discontent at the treatment they had received from their employers. They called themselves Bambatha's Children and an audio cassette is available with original and traditional material, arranged and performed by these Sarmcol workers. Mention was made earlier (4.5.2), of Chief Bambatha's rebellion of 1906 which was one of the first instances of political rebellion in this century in South Africa. The Sarmcol workers obviously called themselves Bambatha's Children in memory of the 1906 rebellion (Bambatha's Children, 1989: Audio Cassette).

Here are translations of a few of the songs from Bambatha's Children (1989: Audio Cassette) sung by the Sarmcol workers. The songs are transcribed in Chapter 5:

THINA BANTU BASE MPOPHOMENI

We people of Mpophomeni
We don't agree with the bosses
We joined MAWU. We joined MAWU
We the members of MAWU
Will never pay rent
We will never pay rent
Even when they beat us up
Even when they shoot us
We are as one. We are as one.
We remain as one.

We boycotted white shops
Because of our struggle

We will never give our money
To white shop owners.

The following song is the one on the seized MAWU video, which has references to Tambo and Mandela:

SITHWELE KANZIMA KULOMHLABA

We are carrying a heavy load in this world
Thambo, we are carrying a heavy load in this world
Thambo, the workers are carrying a heavy load
Please come back Mandela
Please come back Mayekiso
Thambo, we are carrying a heavy burden.

Them bani bazali speaks about the day the blacks are free from *apartheid*:

Have trust parents
Trust the workers for
Freedom day is near
When we organise and mobilise the workers
Freedom day is near.

The emergence of the COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) in the 1980s formed the base for mass resistance. The fact that union members sang the same songs as political parties is verified by an article in the Business Day about COSATU members singing on the way to a trial by train; "*the workers sang freedom songs in praise of their unions, the ANC, SWAPO³⁷ and others*" (9 August 1989:2).

According to COSATU spokesman, Ariel Mabalane, "*the singing of freedom songs and the toyi-toyi by black commuters on suburban trains began spontaneously as early as 1985*" (The Citizen, 10 August 1989:1). This article states that 6 June 1989 saw the first alleged harrasment of singers by police, after which COSATU sat down to debate the matter. After discussions, it was decided to continue with the singing despite police harrasment mainly because "*the workers sing to popularise their campaign and to express their feelings as the repressed and exploited*" (The Citizen, 10 August 1989:1). As many as 460 people had been arrested between June and August 1989 for allegedly disturbing the peace, but "*ironically neither passengers nor railway officials had complained about the singing*" (The Citizen, 10 August 1989:1).

A traditional wedding song utilised for liberation singing is *Zungoyiki*. This was originally a song telling the bride not to be afraid but according to Sherman during the early 1980s in East London it was transformed into a workers' song "*to give courage to striking workers*" (1989:85).

On the 7 August 1989 COSATU called on Reef employers to grant time off to workers to attend the trial of 47 union members in Kempton Park who had been arrested for singing. "*COSATU had*

³⁷

South West African People's Organisation.

condemned the arrests as a violation of freedom of expression and of association and it said that its regional executive had decided to urge union members to attend in large numbers and to continue singing in a spirit of defiance" (Business Day, 9 August 1989:2). Despite the singing and stamping, each coach was led by elected delegates who saw to it that discipline was maintained and as the train approached Germiston station where a group was waiting to board they greeted each other with the cries of *Qina msebenzi, qina!* (Be strong workers, be strong) (The Weekly Mail, 11 August 1989:2). As soon as they arrived at Kempton Park station they stopped singing according to instructions and moved *en masse* to the court along quiet roads so as not to disrupt normal activities in Kempton Park. "They were, however, confronted by a contingent of security forces, and dispersed with sjamboks and squirts" (The Weekly Mail, 11 August 1989:2). Business Day (11 August 1989) also reported how hundreds of COSATU members who attended the trial were scattered by police using sjamboks. Twenty members of the crowd were arrested and others suffered sjambok injuries. "COSATU condemned the attack as brutal, cowardly and unprovoked" (Business Day, 11 August 1989:2). According to the New Nation of 11 August 1989, COSATU considered legal action against the police following attacks on an estimated 300 workers who had travelled to Kempton Park to attend the trial of 27 of their comrades arrested for singing on trains.

An article in the Sunday Times (13 August 1989) asked what sort of place this country had become when the police were wasting time arresting union members for singing freedom songs on the trains. Such action they maintained, "created precisely the kind of conditions that make conformists despair and radicals rejoice" (Sunday Times, 13 August 1989:2). The question was asked as to what the headline would look like abroad: "Singing is illegal in South Africa" and the suggestion was made that the then Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok should rather advise his men to divert their energies to combating the crime wave (Sunday Times, 13 August 1989:2).

The Sowetan, Business Day and Beeld (26 September 1989) speak about 139 people scheduled to appear in the Pretoria Magistrates' Court on charges of singing freedom songs. After having paid fines for admission of guilt, 25 were rearrested after a crowd began chanting and singing freedom songs in the court complex. They were arrested for contravening the Internal Security Act because it was illegal to sing freedom songs.

Further evidence of this new militancy among union members was seen when Eastern Cape Pharmaceuticals dismissed about 70 protesting employees for singing freedom songs at work (Eastern Province Herald, 8 October 1991). The reason for their dismissal was evidently the fact that the workers were protesting against the dismissal of three hundred workers and a shop steward (The New Nation, 31 October 1991).

In 1985 COSATU demanded May Day (1 May, celebrated worldwide as Workers Day), as a paid public holiday. The Government did not agree, but workers defied the order and stayed away. In 1987, however, the Government backed down and made the first Friday in May 'Workers Day'. Workers called this day 'Botha's Day' as they were dissatisfied, wanting to celebrate 'Workers Day' on 1 May. In 1989 workers, however, won an important victory as May Day is now a paid public holiday (Parsons, 1994:105).

The fact that trade unions continued to campaign for workers' rights, whilst becoming involved in political activities manifests itself in the founding in 1986 by the IFP of UWUSA (United Workers Union of South Africa) to rival COSATU which was aligned to the UDF and after its unbanning, to the ANC (Marks & Trapido, 1988:41).

Hamilton (1993) gives an example of a hymn, *Hlanganani maKrestu* (Christians unite) which was altered to become a song sung by unions as well as political parties. The hymn is altered to become *Manyanani Basebenzi* (Workers unite). The song, transcribed in Chapter 5, sees the response altered to *iCOSATU*, *iUDF* or *iANC* etc. to suit the situation.

Before closing the section on *People's art* it is important that the songs of the women be discussed, as for many years they were not given a platform where they could express their oppression. Songs thus became an essential outlet to women's expression against exploitation. A song sung by women workers in a Johannesburg shopping centre verifies this when they sing *Umzabalazo* (We are the women). The words mean that if the women do not sing in the struggle, their voices will not be heard anywhere else (Struggle of Women Workers, [s.a.]: Video).

Video footage of women's marches and rallies clearly indicate that women of all political parties took part in many demonstrations, irrespective of what party they belonged to (Community News

Take 1: Women's Rights, 1992; Struggle of Women Workers, [s.a.]; Women Workers, 1986; You have struck a rock, [s.a.]: Videos).

4.5.10 THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE AND THE SONGS THEY SANG

In 1913 the Orange Free State issued the first passes to women, which they refused to carry. The authorities were powerless to deal with the situation and many women were arrested. Eventually passes for women were withdrawn mainly because, Charlotte Maxeke, founder of the women's section of the SANNC, "*had conducted a moderately successful campaign against the carrying of passes by African women in the Orange Free State*" (Davenport, 1987:262).

In an effort to curtail the influx of black women into the cities, the carrying of passes from January 1956 became compulsory. FEDSAW (Federation of South African Women) organised a march of 20 000 women to Union buildings in Pretoria on 9 August 1956, to protest against the decision (Davenport, 1987:262). The white activist Helen Joseph also spoke about all the freedom songs they sang on the trains on the way to Pretoria (You have struck a rock, [s.a.]: Video). The women carried thousands of petitions to the then Prime Minister, J.G. Strijdom, but he was not there and the 20 000 women stood outside the offices and sang (You have struck a rock, [s.a.]: Video). Andersson (1981) states that these women sang *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* and the Zulu warrior's song with new words. The words of the original song were:

*Wathinta amadoda,
Wathinta indlu yenyosi.*

*If you touch me,
you touch a bee-hive.*

(You have struck a rock, [s.a.]: Video).

The words of the women's song were changed in Zulu to mean:

*Strijdom, you have struck a rock
once you have touched a woman;*

*you have dislodged a boulder,
you will be crushed.*

(You have struck a rock, [s.a.]: Video).

After this display of solidarity by the women a campaign spread to all over South Africa, where women publicly burnt their passes. As they were led off to be arrested, they sang songs like:

*Behold us joyful the women of Africa.
In the presence of our baas
The great one who conquers Lefurutse
With his knobkierie and his assegai and his gun.*

(Andersson, 1981:32).

According to Andersson (1981) this song was sung at one of the major displays of resistance in Zeerust. So many women had been imprisoned that the courts could not accommodate them all and they had to have mass trials in the corridors of the prison and in the cells (You have struck a rock, [s.a.]: Video). An article in the New Nation (2-8 July 1987) mentions the song *Malibongwe* (Let the name of the women be praised. Our leaders are in jail.), sung about the members of FEDSAW who were on trial at this time. This song was heard right throughout the struggle and mention was made of women singing *Malibongwe* at the ANC National Consultative Conference on the 14-16 December 1990, when a woman MK cadre member appeared on the stage (4.5.8.7).

Andersson (1981) states that on August 9 every year those women are still remembered in a *Women's Day Song*:

*Remember all our women in the jails
Remember all our women in the campaigns
Remember all our women over many fighting years
Remember all our women for their triumphs
and for their tears.*

Van Schalkwyk (1994) quotes the following *Women's Day Song*:

Fight for an Africa

where women are not slaves

Fight for an Africa

where women do not waste their lives

South Africa in fact

is on its way

to celebrate its freedom

and to honour women's day.

No references could, however, be found to the tune of this song or where it was sung.

FEDSAW called for 1959 to be the year for the biggest campaign against passes and also encouraged the men to take part. Despite arrests the women were feeling stronger and more united and for seven years prevented the Government from making the passes mandatory. They thus decided to extend their protests to other areas; inferior education, bad pay, forced resettlements and Government-sponsored beer halls.

In June 1959 there was a mass demonstration against beer halls which women wanted their men to stop patronising as they felt that men were spending all their money there instead of supporting their families. Video footage of such a demonstration at Cato Manor shows women being shot at by police at the beer halls after they were given five minutes to disperse (Struggle of Women Workers, s.a.]: Video).

Men were encouraged by the effectiveness of the women's resistance and at the ANC Conference in September 1959 there was a banner which said *Makabongwe Amakosikazi* (Let the women be thanked). Men also decided to join the anti-pass campaign. (Ulibambe Lingashoni, Episode :1993).

FEDSAW weakened owing to arrests and bannings during the anti-pass campaign and in 1963 it became mandatory for women to carry passes. Since the 1960s there had been little national co-

ordination of women's organisations. Video footage of the funeral of Lilian Ngoyi in 1980 shows people singing *Sono sethu ubumnyama* (Our sin is that we are black) to the tune of *Senzenina?* (You have struck a rock, [s.a.]: Video). Ngoyi was President of FEDSAW at the time of the 1960 pass boycotts and had been placed under banning orders from that time until her death.

In the 1980s and 1990s, however, there was a revival of women's organisations eg. the ANC Women's League. In January 1990 women from South Africa met their ANC comrades at the Malibongwe Conference in Amsterdam. A song with the words *Ingwe mabalabal' iUWO* emerged in Cape Town. It refers to the tiger having many colours and symbolises the fact that the United Women's Organisation (UWO) was set up as a non-racial organisation with branches in the black, coloured and white areas (Sherman 1989:86).

On 12 August 1990, 10 000 women and men celebrated the relaunch of the ANC Women's League at Currie's Fountain in Durban. Adelaide Tambo (wife of Oliver Tambo) spoke at this meeting and there the well-known song *Senzenina?* (What have we done) was sung (ANC Women's Re-launch, 1992: Video).

On 28 March 1992 the Women's Charter Alliance of Southern Natal held a public procession in Durban to publicise the Women's Charter and demonstrate for women's rights in a new South Africa. The Charter Alliance of Southern Natal was one of several regional initiatives to unite women in a campaign for a Charter of Women's Rights. At a national level the campaign was coordinated by the Women's National Coalition which included women from the ANC, COSATU, Democratic Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, Nationalist Party and other women's associations. At the Durban procession it is interesting to see women from all parties singing *Nkosi...* together (Community News Take 1: Women's Rights, 1992: Video). Another song sung during this gathering in Durban was *Sono sethu yinyaniso* (Our sin is the truth), sung to the tune of *Senzenina?*

As can be seen by the many songs sung during the liberation struggle, liberation songs not only played a vital part in the liberation of black South Africans but they also help people to gain an insight into the history of South Africa as the lyrics of the songs map out the experiences of the blacks in the liberation struggle.

Despite the fact that this study concentrates on *People's art* it is necessary to mention *Resistance art*, which also played an important role in the liberation struggle in the sense that this music made audiences aware of the struggle. All the artists discussed under *Resistance art* belonged to the society they were singing about and they could thus easily identify with the liberation struggle. All protests were voiced in song.

4.6 RESISTANCE ART

4.6.1 INTRODUCTION

The fact that sociopolitical aspects are actively implicated in the essence of all South African *People's art* as well as *Resistance Art* manifests itself clearly when conditions which inspired the singing of these songs are understood. The importance of *Resistance Art* was stressed by Thabo Mbeki, when he stated that "*the enemy sees that when the people regain their sense of identity in music and in dance, in that is a message that welds them together and they become a force to be reckoned with*" (Singing the Changes in South Africa, [s.a.]: Video).

The period after 1960 also saw an unprecedented protest campaign in all parts of the world against South Africa's domestic policy. In due course this attack from without came to take a central place in South African politics. It was during this time that *Resistance Art* was employed to express opposition to *apartheid* and to inform the world of the situation in South Africa. This resulted in support from many overseas countries and artists for the liberation struggle.

South African *Resistance Art* enjoyed considerable support abroad, mainly as a result of the enormous interest of the international community in South Africa's domestic affairs. Examples of protest productions which were highly acclaimed abroad are Mbongeni Ngema's *Woza Albert*, *Sinamali*, (We won't pay the rent) and *Sarafina*; Percy Mtwa's *Sophiatown* and *Bopha*; Athol Fugard's *Master Harold and the Boys* and *The Road to Mecca*, and *Somewhere on the Border* by Anthony Ackerman (Anon., 1989:60).

Of all the opportunities for musical propaganda, in the hands of a master, the musical stage may be the most persuasive and most advantageous for repeated hearings" (Perris 1985:178). The South

African Government must have shared this view as performances by black South Africans were clearly seen as threatening and linked to the liberation struggle. All black performers had to obtain special passes to travel and perform and were confronted with many difficulties. This resulted in 1954 in Father Trevor Huddleston's³⁸ appeal for a cultural boycott against South Africa not to play to segregated audiences. In an interview Huddleston said that "*his aim was to get back at the white audiences*" (Huddleston Interview C4 TV, [s.a.]: Video) .

Clearly in the face of growing urban unrest, whites perceived new forms of urban black culture as a potential threat to their hegemony. Although the music of South African black performers cannot be seen in the same light as the liberation music sung by the masses, it is necessary that mention should be made of this music as it portrays in many ways the life of the black person in South Africa. Kivnick (1990) also points out that the sounds we hear from among, L.B. MAM, Johnny Clegg and Savuka, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and M. Ngema's *Sarafina*, among others, have sounds that are "*driving and exciting, conveying a determination, a hopefulness, and an ultimate indestructibility that infuse popular music with new life*" (1990:5).

The music of black South Africa performers is truly the sound of black South Africa, as dance and song is used to respond to the social, political and economic forces which confronted the black man in South Africa.

Only a few entertainers who used *Resistance Art* to express their displeasure with the South African Government will be discussed. This is mainly due to the fact that there are so many that this could be a study on its own. As this is not the main focus of the study only a few were selected. All the different genres of *Resistance Art* make for very interesting research, only two of which will be selected because they are closest to liberation songs, namely:

- Groups, and
- Soloists.

4.6.2 GROUPS

The following groups were chosen, not for their merit, but for what they expressed, namely a link to the liberation songs expressed under *People's art*. The groups are:

- Amandla group
- ANC choir
- K-Team (Kelloggs' workers)
- Tsakana drama group and LKB group, and
- Adams College groups.

4.6.2.1 Amandla Group

Amandla was a recording of a collection of songs and theatre sketches performed by the group Amandla, an ensemble of the cultural branch of the ANC. The group was not exiled but they gave most of their concerts overseas where they could freely attack the existing order in South Africa. Their songs attack what they perceive as injustices prevalent in South Africa. Oliver Tambo was one of the founder members of the group and Barbara Masakela, Deputy Head of Culture of the ANC before 1994, explained that "*the ANC feels that what Amandla are presenting represents the alternative culture to the apartheid culture*" (Amandla Cultural Ensemble group ANC, [s.a.]: Video).

Jonas Gwangwa, musical director and supervisor of Amandla, based in Botswana from 1975 until 1985, explained as the reason for the existence of the group the fact that "*[p]opular music also had a rôle to play in the liberation struggle and was rooted in the everyday need for oppressed people to bring joy and some dignity into their lives*" (The Weekly Mail, March 18-24 1988:25).

A concert by *Amandla* at the Natal Playhouse in 1994 highlighted the plight of the group, who had returned to South Africa after performing overseas for many years. During the *apartheid* era they had apparently not had any financial concerns as their performances were very popular overseas where people were eager to support and listen to a group criticising the South African regime. According to Santana, musical director of the group in 1994, in the post-*apartheid* period back in South Africa they were experiencing a financial crisis. The concert at the Natal Playhouse, which

was also attended by the researcher, was accompanied by appeals for financial backing. It appears that with the new dispensation in South Africa the group's popularity had waned as they could no longer sing about liberation for the black South African (Natal Payhouse, 16 September 1994). During 1995-1996 the group has given occasional performances in Durban.

4.6.2.2 ANC Choir

Interestingly enough, Dali Tambo, son of Oliver Tambo a founder member of Amandla, was one of the founder members of the ANC choir. The musical director of the ANC Choir, Ndonda Khuze, stated that the choir was formed because "*it is in the tradition of the ANC to uphold the cultural activity of the people*" (ANC Choir, [s.a.]: Video). This choir performed regularly overseas singing many liberation songs (ANC Choir, [s.a.]: Video). They performed at the inauguration of President Mandela in 1994 and are still regularly heard in South Africa.

4.6.2.3 K-Team (Kellogg's workers)

The composition and performance of songs which express the experiences and views of workers were important elements in contemporary worker culture. In 1984 the workers at Kellogg's in Springs formed a choir which came to be known as the K-Team. Chris Dhlamini, composer of many of the songs sung by the choir, was detained during the 1980s for taking part in an uprising. The value of *Resistance Art* manifests itself clearly when he states that the K-Team "*composed a song which referred to my detention, and that of others, as a way of reminding the people of our fate. This ensured that no one in detention from our factory and community was forgotten despite the clampdown on information by the State*" (Dhlamini, 1989:48). The impact of the K-Team, which drew its members from workers at Kellogg's, from the unemployed and from the youth in the Springs community, was so great that workers in other factories and communities began to follow their example. They began performing at general union meetings and rallies of FOSATU and were also invited to perform at the launch of COSATU in 1986.

Dhlamini states that: "*All our music is composed by taking into account the prevailing social and political situation and it aims to unify and mobilize the people into action*" (Dhlamini, 1989:48).

4.6.2.4 Tsakane Drama Group and LKB group

Other groups which emerged on the East Rand during the 1980s were the Tsakane Drama Group, the LKB group from Boksburg and many others. *"They view their cultural work not only as a means of recreation but also as a way of expressing the interests and aspirations of the working class and their communities. In this sense their music is a form of cultural resistance since it gives voice to the political and economic struggles of the oppressed"* (Dhlamini, 1989:48).

4.6.2.5 Adams College Groups

In 1936 Caluza returned to South Africa to assume the leadership of the Adams College in Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Conditions in South Africa were, however, different from those which prevailed when he had left. The country had seen much more segregationist legislation, and in 1935 the Hertzog Government had abolished the Cape franchise. The economic depression had severely hit the black population, and with the Native Land Amendment Act of 1936 the political and administrative proto-structures of the homelands had been put into place. Caluza's Edendale had exploded into a commuter suburb of some 5 000 inhabitants whose conditions, in the words of one official report of 1938, were deplorable in the extreme. It is within this context that Caluza's work at the School of Music at Adams College between 1936 and 1946 and the last decades of his life must be seen (Erlmann 1991:87).

Adams was a private College under the tutelage of the American Board of Missions and it was decided that the school would record, develop and adapt Bantu folk music. *"It was stressed that African cultural practices were no longer inherently inferior to European civilization but simply different"* (Erlmann 1991:149). Erlmann states that at Adams, Caluza set out to remodel the syllabus along the lines of Hampton with two black folk traditions, traditional Zulu music and Negro spirituals.

At the same time there emerged in every major urban centre in the country, an entirely new and much more comprehensive subculture whose one and only point of reference was America. Younger musicians emulated American models and joined the South Africa jazz bands whilst others attempted to broaden their popularity with older listeners by adapting older material. Erlmann

(1991) gives the example of John Mavimbela and his Johannesburg based Rhythm Kings who performed a jazz arrangement of songs by Caluza eg. *Ematawini, Influenza, Insizwa Ezimbili*, and *Umantindane* on a live broadcast in 1935. An article in Bantu World (21 September 1935) states that at this live broadcast the announcer said "*The ordinary everyday common pieces of Caluza which we know so well and sing almost at random any day, were given such a rich colour and harmonic loveliness that was as pleasing as it was novel. Jazz rhythm has come back to Africa where it belongs*" (Bantu World, 21 September 1935:5).

Another elite band of the time, the Jazz Revellers teamed up with the Albert Mixed Quintette in a recording of Caluza's, *Izintsizwa Ezimbili* and *Woza Mfowetu*: "*In the final analysis, however, such refurbishing of Caluza's songs could be no more than a superficial adaptation; in substance, with regard to style, images, and lyrics, Caluza's songs were the popular music of the immediate postwar era and the 1920s*" (Erlmann 1991:153).

In 1987 a cultural official of the UDF stated in 1987 that "*there has been a dramatic re-awakening. People have at last realised the usefulness of art as a (political) weapon*". In its constitution the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) referred to "*the critical role of literature and other arts as instruments in the struggle for liberation*" (Anon., 1989:57).

The South African Government became more and more determined to remove even the freedom to sing or play jazz of a subversive nature, and many of the more harassed musicians felt they had no option but to leave their country and fight the system from outside. Jazz thus suffered under *apartheid* as the cream of the talent left *en masse* and the ensuing era of political confrontation South Africa saw a society increasingly polarised. Blanket measures like the State of Emergency and the Cultural Boycott, each with different reasoning behind them, stifled the economic growth of jazz. The isolation from world markets resulted in a shrunken local industry not large enough to keep it alive.

6.2.6 Soloists

Among musicians who fled initially to the U.S.A. were Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) (Refer to 4.4). "*They had all become dangerous because they*

were regarded as local heroes who were dedicated to giving substantial support to the swelling revolutionary impulse" (Ellison 1989:93). De Kock speaks about Makeba as "Mama Africa: The artist who made exile her profession and oppression her theme" (The Weekly Mail, 18 - March 24 1988:22-23).

Qwelane (4 August 1991) considers Ms Makeba's best song in the freedom category to be *Big, big gun*, which court records showed as being cited in evidence during many political trials (The Sunday Star, 4 August 1991:5). According to the article this song was first sung during the early 1960s, "when just about every political leader of note was either banned, imprisoned, or in exile" (The Sunday Star, 4 August 1991:5). The translation of this song is given as:

We'll shoot them with the big, big gun (2)
There's Mandela, he sees them, they're fleeing;
There's Sobukwe, he sees them, they're fleeing;
There's Sisulu, he sees them, they're fleeing;
We'll shoot them with the big, big gun.

(The Sunday Star, 4 August 1991:5).

Qwelane (4 August 1991) says that despite Makeba being a megastar across the world, the SABC never aired her songs, but they were broadcast on Radio Bophuthatswana until someone in authority complained. Qwelane, speaking about the revival of the freedom-song during the mid-1970s, says that "top of the shelf was the revered 'Mama Afrika' herself, better known as Miriam Makeba" (The Sunday Star, 4 August 1991:5). Makeba was still in self-imposed exile in America at this time and her songs were sung for recording or performance purposes, thus they were not freedom songs sung by the masses in South Africa. However, she sang old time favourite freedom songs sung by her people in South Africa, proving that she was still in contact with conditions facing the blacks in South Africa.

In exile she sang *Verwoerd Beware!*, the translation of which is given in The Sunday Star (4 August 1991).

Here's the black man, Verwoerd,

Here's the black man

Pasop, Verwoerd, here's the black man.

Miriam Makeba insisted that she was not a political singer: she just told the truth about the situation in South Africa. According to Ellison (1989) anyone who tells the truth also advocates complete change and removal of oppression and in South Africa that was perceived as revolutionary. *"Her resonating voice soars and bends as she sings of change and release from oppression in English as well as her native Xhosa"* (Ellison 1989:93).

An interesting statement was made about Makeba, by the IFP members interviewed by the researcher. *"She spoke for all blacks in South Africa, but the ANC used her for their own ends and she came to be considered an ANC member speaking for the ANC"* (Anon., 6 September 1996: interview). The impression was gained by the researcher that Makeba's perceived role as an ANC activist was resented by these IFP officials.

Makeba released 24 albums whilst in exile, all of which were banned in South Africa until the early 1990s. In January 1981 thousands of South African fans crossed the border to hear her performing with Hugh Masekela in Lesotho.

In 1987 Makeba and Masekela appeared with Paul Simon on his Graceland tour. A storm of controversy surrounded the record which preceded the tour. The record broke the sanctions ban on Western artists working in South Africa. The artists involved did gain publicity and some of the profits, but it was undoubtedly the career and pocket of Paul Simon that benefited most. The previously unsullied reputations of these performers became *"tainted with opprobrium, and to many, including the ANC, it seemed that they had hampered rather than enhanced, the cause of freedom in South Africa"* (Ellison 1989:93).

Despite sounds and lyrics that in South Africa would doubtless have been considered criminally political, Hugh Masekela has avoided such a fate by remaining in exile from his homeland, *"[y]ears of living in America and playing with American musicians have in no way defused his anger about the humiliation and bare subsistence that are common for black people in South Africa"* (Ellison

1989:38). He played in London's Crystal Palace Bowl in aid of freeing Nelson Mandela and acquired a permanent base in Botswana. Ellison (1989) states that while Masekela still fought political oppression with his own music, his later albums, such as *Techno-Bush*, provided opportunities for South Africa youth to escape oppression and explore their own talents in his mobile studio.

Masekela's record Tomorrow (WIC 5095) takes on the inequitable South Africa regime eg. *Bring him back home* is a plea for the release of Mandela. *Mayibuye* and *London Fog* are nostalgic numbers expressing a longing to return to his homeland. *Everybody's Standing up* contains a warning as it says *Look out Botha everybody's standing up and fighting for freedom* (Tomorrow: WIC 5095). He played in many anti-apartheid benefits both in the U.S.A. and England.

According to Masekela: "*Music is the key. We sing about everything in South Africa, there's nothing we don't sing about ... And when we sing the Boere listen. It's the only time they listen*" (Andersson, 1981:121).

Andersson (1981) speaks about Jessica Sherman who considers her songs to be a form of communication realising her sense of responsibility to the community for which they are composed. Her songs are documentaries, recording events in South Africa, and focusing on resistance. "*She says she is trying to find a function for music beyond its usual commercial value*" (Andersson, 1981:175). This example of one of her lyrics, clearly reflects her message against Bantu Education:

*The kids are on the streets
again from the so-called Coloured schools.
They want a decent education, they say,
theirs is for fools.
The state says it's agitators
but we all know the truth.
You don't need instigators
when the grievances are real.*

CHORUS:

*Gutter education doesn't educate
Gutter education frustrates. (2)*

*It all started in '54
with the Bantu Education Act.
Separate schools for separate groups,
gutter education for the blacks.
Unregistered education,
forbidden since those days,
so they turned to culture-clubs,
learning history in a different way. etc.*

(Andersson 1981:174).

Many of these South African soloists have been criticised for the form and idiom of their compositions. Andersson gives the example of Jessica Sherman who has been criticised for using an American folk idiom for her protest music, while Roger Lucey has been criticised "for leaping about stage like a mountain goat while singing about deaths in detention" (Andersson, 1981:144).

Lucey was a Rock and Roll Singer who, according to Andersson was "arguably South Africa's most political commercial songwriter" (1981:144). His lyrics draw directly from events around him eg. 'Spies Eyes' is about a police spy, Craig Williamson, who infiltrated student circles while *Lungile Thabalaza* is about a political detainee who died mysteriously in prison. Lucey's *The Boys are in Town* raises the question of compulsory military service for white youth and is especially written for Paul van Wyk who left South Africa to avoid military service. *Crossroads* is about a squatter camp (Andersson, 1981:144-145). His record, Forces Favourites (L4SHIFT10 [s.a.]) with, among others, Jennifer Ferguson, is in support of the End Conscription Campaign. His number dealing with conscription and men who die in the army is *Spaces Tell Stories* and that of Jennifer Ferguson on the same subject *Suburban Hum*. Other artists who perform on this record are: Mapantsula, Aeroplanes and The Softies.

Abdullah Ibrahim, originally known as Dollar Brand, played jazz in his native South Africa before his self-imposed exile in the U.S.A. He made clear and informed anti-*apartheid* statements in his music. *Soweto*, *Mandela* and *The River* are anthems to the spirit of resistance that is guiding black South Africans to seek equality and justice: "It seems perfectly natural to him that music should accompany and spur on the struggle since the whole of Africa moves in time to music" (Andersson, 1981:93).

Ellison (1989) speaks of one of the most talented of South African exiles, Chris MacGregor, as an unassuming white South African who speaks with confident expectation of liberation as a spiritual and physical human right. He can be heard not only with his mainly black band, The Brotherhood of Breath, but also on District 6's 1987 album To be Free and live with bands such as Dudu Pukwana's Zila, whose ethos and music are directed towards freedom for both expatriates and those still living under *apartheid* (Ellison 1989:44).

Andersson (1981) speaks about Margaret Singana who he says was treated badly by the SABC in 1978 as, despite being nominated as the best female vocalist in the country by the entire record industry, she did not win the coveted Sarie Award. Singana toured extensively in South Africa and had chart successes in Britain and Belgium. She was also the first black artist to get a permit to perform to whites in Bloemfontein and the first black artist to appear in a cabaret performance in a prominent Windhoek hotel in the old SWA. After her success in *Ipi Tombi* (B. Egnos & G. Lakier's African Musical), conditions improved for her as the songs from the show became very popular with whites, thus forcing the SABC to recognise the songs and turn them into hits. Andersson (1981) states that the change in attitude on the part of the SABC was part of the Government's Total Strategy policy, whereby they were encouraging the black middle-class, who had a stake in the system, to act as a buffer group. For whatever reason she was promoted by the SABC, the precedent of giving her white rights on the radio and TV made things much easier for her natural successors.

A typical example of a resistance composer who remained in South Africa was the activist poet Mzwakhe Mbuli. In January 1988 he was detained without trial for six months and without a pen or paper he 'wrote' poetry and an album of songs (The Weekly Mail, 29 July-4 August 1988). Mbuli stated (in Hadland, The Weekly Mail, 29 July-4 August 1988:25) that "*the mind is a powerful*

psychological organ and I discovered that I could do it, I could do these things without pen or paper". He composed these songs and poems while in solitary confinement and he says his background in oral tradition helped him to compose and remember. His recordings on IZIGI (Footsteps) "will always symbolise a movement of people from one place to another just like a journey from incarceration to emancipation" (IZIGI, 1994: LACCP EV). This audio cassette was released in 1994 after *apartheid* had been dismantled and contains numbers such as *Izigi*, *Reconcile*, *Freedom is Victory* and *Shosholoza*.

Mbuli performed at the Cultural Festival of COSATU just after being released from jail (COSATU, 1989: Video). He became part of a new culture of liberation performers whose aim is to reach audiences "who have had little or no involvement with the arts with a new culture that is opposed to *apartheid*" (COSATU, 1989: Video). The result was that the workers started producing plays about their working conditions. This new culture had as their motto 'Our culture our strength'.

Coplan (1985) says that musicians are among those who have given the struggle for black self-determination an indispensable cultural vitality. He stresses the importance of the music as well as the lyrics in building and retaining a sense of cultural pride and autonomy. No song with subversive lyrics could be played on the radio, but political, socially relevant, authentic township music continued to be produced. Anti-*apartheid* bands like The Minerals got records like *Sweet Soweto* popularized by the record shops and word-of-mouth recommendation. Bands like Malombo Jazz Men that used radically political, poetic chanting and actively supported the black consciousness movement were "always torn by the need to support the revolutionary impulse and the knowledge that publicly doing so would result in restraint by Government" (Ellison 1989:150).

6.3 CONCLUSION

It thus took a monumental struggle on the part of black South Africans to transform their status in South African society, and to gain a place for the voices of the victims of violence of the *apartheid* system. The abolishment of *apartheid* was essentially a product of the black community although whites played a role in it.

In order to be truly meaning meaningful, however, the reconstruction of South African society will still have to meet the challenges embodied in the protest and liberation songs of black and white South Africans.

CHAPTER 5

THE TRANSCRIPTION AND CATEGORISATION OF A COLLECTION OF BLACK LIBERATION SONGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 mapped out the history of the black South African liberation movement through the liberation songs. The songs were viewed as a response to a particular experience in South African history and indicated how the changes in style which the songs underwent mirrored the liberation struggle.

It is, however, essential that these songs also be transcribed and systematically classified for future reference and preservation for posterity. The focus of this chapter will thus be on the transcription and the classification of some black liberation songs into the different categories mentioned in Chapter 4. This method precedes a detailed stylistic analysis and aesthetic evaluation. Situational aspects, as part of the historical context, are important parameters in understanding the song but do not fall within the confines of this chapter as they were addressed in Chapter 4.

The two avenues which will be utilised to show that the songs were distinctive not only in content but in structure and sound as well are:

- Transcription, and**
- Categorisation.**

5.2 TRANSCRIPTION

The songs must be salvaged in some or other way to be preserved for posterity and while the researcher is of the opinion that only in performance can the true essence of black liberation songs be captured, the value of transcriptions must not be underestimated. Not only is this the principal method of recording songs but it also offers people who were not part of the liberation struggle the opportunity of hearing the tunes of the songs which played such a vital role in the abolishment of

apartheid. Transcription must not be considered to be a substitute for the oral mode, but where the oral mode is no longer available because time has distanced researchers from the original, transcription is of immeasurable value.

The researcher agrees with Ndlovu (1991) who states that African music can best be described by performance but disagrees with his viewpoint that African music must be transcribed according to African terms and according to African criteria. Should Ndlovu's suggestions be heeded, these songs would remain the property of black South Africa and scholars in African music. To make the songs accessible to most people a notation had to be used which is universally understood and herein lay a major problem, as no single notation can accurately portray the complexity of African music.

The transcriber decided to opt for a notation with which she was familiar and this is Western notation. A descriptive, as opposed to prescriptive transcription, was also chosen as it is problematic enough for a Westerner to transcribe African music without having to prescribe how the songs ought or ought not to be performed. Any person singing traditional black music from a Western score must, however, be aware of the fact that many performance attributes which are so much part of the songs, cannot be defined in Western notation and that the transcriptions are mere introductions to the understanding of these works.

Two aspects pertaining to the transcription of these liberation songs will be discussed, namely:

- Notational problems, and
- Method of transcription.

2.1 NOTATIONAL PROBLEMS

The liberation songs sung until the 1950s were easy to transcribe in Western notation, as they were essentially grounded in European and American music. Deteriorating socio-economic conditions, however, saw black South Africans begin articulating their opposition in more traditional genres. These later songs were in the oral mode, stressing cultural roots from traditional backgrounds, which brought with it many problems for transcription. When playing these songs it must thus be

remembered that the Western notation used cannot accurately portray the following aspects of traditional black music, namely:

- Pitch
- Rhythm
- Scales, and
- Harmony.

5.2.1.1 Pitch

One of the distinct traits of African singing is wandering from pitch, which to the Western ear often sounds slightly off-key. This pitch wavering, resembling vibrato or trills, cannot be captured in orthodox notation. Pitch is thus only roughly notated in these transcriptions. For analytical purposes an attempt should be made to increase accuracy by means of symbols, as the fluctuating from pitch is a complexity that should not be ignored in an analysis.

5.2.1.2 Rhythm

Rhythm is the most basic characteristic of African music and is dictated by the flow of words. Although duple and triple rhythms are discernible, actual beats within transcribed measures are not restricted to strong or weak beats as in Western music, but rather to word emphasis. It is thus quite true that rhythmic complexities of traditional African music cannot be transcribed with the usual Western time signatures: *"When notating music the basic tenet is to put it in bars, and bars become conditioners and become prescriptive in that at a particular point in time the performer will have to behave in a prescriptive way as it happens in classical music"* (Ndlovu, 1991:134). This is true, but bar lines and time signatures are the frame of reference within which music is universally understood and this is why the researcher considered it advantageous to notate traditional music in Western way and in this way make the music accessible to all cultures.

It must also be remembered that in the notation of the rhythm of traditional black music, there will always be a margin of error. This is due to the fact that the cross rhythms and the duration of notes

which are not as strict as in Western cadential or sectional endings, cannot be delineated precisely in Western notation.

The metric complexities of African music are thus not compositionally planned for the manuscript in Western terms but if the complex rhythms can only be captured in an oral rendition of the songs, the songs will become extinct. On the other hand, should a complex rhythmic notation be used to accurately portray the complexities of this rhythm, the songs would remain the property of the scholar who would have to study the method of notation before a song could be reproduced. Western notation is thus used which can lay down the basic pulse as prerequisite for the reproduction and preservation of a tune. It remains to be seen whether any notation, no matter how complex, can accurately denote the performance of the songs.

5.2.1.3 Scales

Western and African scales differ considerably, adding to the difficulties involved in transcriptions of African music by a Westerner, who usually uses the diatonic major and minor keys as a frame of reference.

5.2.1.4 Harmony

While transcribing, the basic principle the researcher followed was that of transcribing the melody first and then the bass lines. This made it very easy to fall into the trap of transcribing Western harmonies. Western concepts of harmonic progression and strict rules of tonal centres are not evident in African music. There are also only a few transcriptions of liberation songs available. These transcriptions are done mostly by Westerners and there are clearly differing ideas of harmonies. Transcriptions of songs sung by Western choirs are also not authentic as these performers are not always familiar with African harmonies.

For the purpose of this study, some of these transcriptions by Westerners are used because they are valuable sources but transcriptions done by the researcher are only of songs on video and audio recordings where liberation songs were sung by the masses who were part of the liberation struggle.

5.2.2 METHOD OF TRANSCRIPTION

According to Hofmeyer “any involvement with oral literature ... forces scholars ... to make journeys to meet informants, to speak to them ... and to try to understand something of the world in which they live” (1993:181). This was not always possible as the identity of the creators of the song and their point of origin are lost in the obscurity of the past. The volatile political climate in South Africa, especially KwaZulu Natal, found informants reluctant to divulge too much information for fear of reprisals.

Despite these constraints an attempt was made to follow Ndlovu’s advice and for the sake of authenticity it was decided to transcribe as many songs as possible from actual video and audio recordings of rallies, meetings, marches and funerals as these sources offer additional insights into the music. The sounds of the songs on video and audio recordings were matched on a keyboard played by the researcher, for the transcriptions. This was a time-consuming process but was the only way in which an independent observer could, from the score, actually gain a credible insight into the music.

Even within these confines the researcher has no illusions of the definitiveness of the transcriptions. This was compounded by the fact that being Western trained, musically, the transcriber was always tempted to superimpose her ideas of what the music might represent on the true sound of the song. These ideas often have no place in the culture being researched. The value of these video and audio recordings is thus vitally important for authentic transcriptions but should be used in conjunction with scores for the accurate reconstruction and understanding of the songs.

For the sake of the historical significance of the songs, English was chosen as the *lingua franca* in Chapter 4, so that the songs could be made accessible to all cultures. Translation is not, however, an absolute process and something of the original will not be conveyed as the Translation is never able to communicate the effect that the performance has on listener and performer. In the transcriptions, however, the language of the song was utilised as it was recorded. The Translations given are not direct Translations as such Translations do not always make sense and the aim of the transcription is not to sing the song in English.

As was mentioned in Chapter 4, liberation songs are to be considered as a subgenre of South African folk music for the purpose of this study. Such music, handed down in an oral tradition, has variations which are not codified but invented by the singer or singers. It is impossible to transcribe all the variations from area to area with the differing lyrics which were adapted to new situations. In Chapter 4 many examples were given of the different words used for the same song within a historical context.

The transcriptions should thus be viewed as representing a bare skeleton of what is being sung as different singers, especially those who sing the Call sections, often subtly vary the tune, delay or anticipate the beat, or add their own vocal decorations. In the Response sections the singers are continually improvising new harmony parts. In an analytical study of these songs some of these variations should be considered. Ideally, these transcriptions should be used in conjunction with video and audio material from which the songs were transcribed, so that the true essence of the performance can be captured.

5.3 CATEGORISATION

It was necessary to devise a categorisation system by means of which is determined which elements lend themselves to meaningful comparability. In this respect the researcher responded to two primary motivations, namely:

- historical categorisation, and**
- stylistic categorisation.**

5.3.1 HISTORICAL CATEGORISATION

Chapter 4 sought to define the interrelation of songs motivated by historical considerations. The lyrics were thus explained within a historical context. The researcher did not, however, rely on textual subject matter alone but on the style of the songs as well as structural similarities in the songs.

5.3.2 STYLISTIC CATEGORISATION

In this Chapter the transcriptions will be classified according to the different main style genres explained in Chapter 4. As the style changes were linked to history, it was necessary to explain the different styles in Chapter 4 and they will thus not be explained again in this chapter.

5.4 TRANSCRIPTION AND CATEGORISATION OF LIBERATION SONGS

The selection of songs will be presented in a fixed procedure, namely:

- transcription
- translation, and
- unique features.

The songs will be placed under the following categories, namely:

- imusic*
- iRagtime*, and
- Black Folk Music.

5.4.1 IMUSIC

As explained in Chapter 4 this category of music symbolized the identification with English values.

The following transcriptions fall into this category:

- Si Lu Sapo or I Land Act*
- Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika*
- Bashuka Ndabazini*
- Yekan' Umona Nenzondo*
- Vulindhlela Mtaka Dube, and*
- Sanibona.*

5.4.1.1 Si Lu Sapo or i Land Act

1 2 3 4
Si lu sa po lwa se A - fri - ka si ka le la i - zwe la ki ti

5 6 7 8
Mzu lu no mXo sa no Msutu hla-nga na ni Mzu - lu no mXo - sa no Msu tu hla-nga na ni -

Si

9 10 11 12
S'ka la nge Land Act Um te 'o mu bi o wa we la lwa a ma nxu sa,

S'ka la nge Land Act

ya ka la nga lo mte to o wa we le - lwa ma nxu sa

13 14 15 16
u ku ka le la ti na - lu hla nga u ku ba si i te ngi li zwe

e yo ka le la ti - na u ku ba si te ngi li zwe

17 18 19 20
S'ka le li nga nw za o ba ba c zi mi ha - mbi m'e zwe ni

Si ka le li nga - ne c zi mi ha - mbi me zwe ni

21 22 23 24 25
zi nge na nda wo yo ku hla la c li zwe ni lo ko - ko be tu

zenge na nda wo c zwe - ni la o - ko - ko be tu

Composer: Reuben Tholakele Caluza.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

esiZULU ākad' enziwa i-Double Quartet li ka Caluza. Zonophone Recording Z4298, HMV GU11. 29 September 1930: London. (Remastered for Compact Disc in 1992 by Vernon, P. & Crump, C. as; Caluza's Double Quartet 1930, France: Heritage).

Translation:

We are the children of Africa

We cry for our land

Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho

Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho unite

We are mad over the Land Act

A terrible law that allows sojourners

To deny us our land

Crying that we the people

Should pay to get our land back

We cry for the children of our fathers

Who roam around the world without a home

Even in the land of our forefathers

Unique features:

This song was composed by Caluza at the age of seventeen while he was a student at the Ohlange Institute near Durban. It was later published as *Si Lu Sapo* or *I Land Act*, Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 1C: 193?.³⁹ On the Zonophone recording of 1930 it is called *Umteto we Land Act*. It was also

³⁹

The Sol-fa leaflets mentioned in this study all give the date as 193?. This indicates that they were printed in Sol-fa during the 1930s.

the anthem of the SANNC (later ANC) in 1913, before it was replaced by *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* in 1919. (Erlmann, 1991:119; Walshe, 1971:204).

The Zulu spoken introduction of this recording is by Caluza himself. Typical of many of the protest songs, the words of the song *Silusapho Lwase Afrika* were changed to suit the situation. An article in *Bantu World* (6 October 1934) speaks about this song and says that not only do the words deal with the harsh provisions of the Land Act but also with the delegation sent to England to complain about the Act. The original song does not contain this verse and no trace has been found of these words, so it can only be surmised that it was added later.

Silusapho Lwase Afrika is clearly a hymn-like composition. According to Blacking (in Erlmann, 1991:121): "the appropriation of the triads and cadences of hymn tunes expressed the new relationships and values of urban groups, who expected fuller participation in the social and political life of the community into which they had been drawn economically." Despite the hymn-like style of the song the political aspect, freedom and justice for the black South Africans, is conclusively addressed.

1.1.2 Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika

The musical score for 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika' is presented in a four-part setting. The first part consists of two staves of music with lyrics: 'Nko-si, si-ke-le - I i A - fri - ka Ma-lu-pa-ka-m'u pon - do lwa - yo'. The second part also consists of two staves of music with lyrics: 'Yi - va i - mi-tan - da - zo ye - tu U - si - si - ke - le - le.' The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines, and is divided into eight numbered measures (1-8) across the two parts.

9 10 11 12

U - si - si - ke - le - le. Yi - hla Mo - ya

Yi - hla Mo - ya

13 14 15 16 17

Yi - hla Mo - ya Yi - hla Mo - ya O yi ngcwe - le.

Yi - hla Mo - ya

Composer: Enoch Sontonga.

Transcription: Unknown person.

Transcription from:

There are so many versions of this song that the researcher decided to use the transcribed version published as Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 17. This transcription gives the date as 193?, indicating that it was transcribed in the 1930s. This was the oldest transcription found and contains the original words written by Sontonga. It was thus decided to use this transcription for the sake of authenticity.

Translation:

*Lord, bless Africa
May her horn rise high up;
Hear Thou our prayers
And bless us.*

CHORUS:

Descend, O Spirit

Descend, O Holy Spirit.

Bless our chiefs;

May they remember their Creator,

Fear Him and revere Him,

That He may bless them.

Unique features:

As the original manuscripts were lost it can be surmised that *Nkosi...* was transcribed after an oral rendition of the song. It is clearly composed in the *makwaya* (choral music) tradition and would thus fall under *imusic*. The composer of this song, Sontonga, was a teacher at one of the Methodist Mission Schools in Nancefield. According to Jabavu (1987), he had a gift for song and constantly composed pieces, words and music for the entertainment of his pupils around the time of the Anglo-Boer War (1889-1902). Sontonga died before his ambition to have his songs printed could be realised and since many choir conductors borrowed the manuscripts, they were eventually lost. Jabavu (1987) states that *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*, was composed in 1897 and first publicly sung in 1899 at the ordination of the Rev. Mboweni, a Shangaan Methodist Minister.

Only the first two stanzas were originally composed by Sontonga while the Xhosa National poet, Samuel Mqhayi, wrote the words of seven additional stanzas published in *Umteteli wa-Bantu*, 11 June 1927 (Jabavu 1987:155). This version of *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* was published in 1929 in the Presbyterian Xhosa Hymn Book, *Incwadiyama Culo aseRhabe kunye neNgoma* (Jabavu 1987:155).

Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika was adopted by the ANC as its national anthem in 1919. It thus had the additional symbolic meaning of the struggle for democracy in South Africa and was often sung with raised, clenched fist. Since democracy it has been modified so that part of the hymn, together with part of *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*, composed by M.L. de Villiers, is the new South African National Anthem.

Jabavu (1987) gives the words for *Nkosi Sikelel'iZimbabwe*, *Nkosi Sikelel' iZambia* and *Nkosi Sikelel'iTanzania*. Clearly the tune was so popular that these countries have adapted the words to become their National Anthems as well.

5.4.1.3 Bashuka Ndabazini

1 2 3 4

Ba shu ka nda ba zi ni ba ka kon gress ba zam' u ku si zu Ma fu - ku ze la

5 6 7 8

o - wel' u - lwardhle - wa- ya pe she - ya U qo - nde - ni ngo ku we - la - kwa ke

9 10 11 12

u qo - nd' uku ku hu me la ti na. U - yo bi - k'iz ka lo ze ndh'e mnya ma

Musical staff 13: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Measures 13, 14, and 15 are numbered in boxes above the staff.

Si te-li-swa i ma l i ma li ya ma ka nda I ma li ya ma pa si

Musical staff 14: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the melody from staff 13.

Musical staff 15: Bass clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the bass line from staff 13.

Si te li ma li ya ma - ka nda ya ma pa

Musical staff 16: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Measures 16, 17, and 18 are numbered in boxes above the staff.

si ko ke la ne zi ndhlu si ko ke fa ma di pu si ko ke la ne zi nja

Musical staff 17: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the melody from staff 16.

Musical staff 18: Bass clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the bass line from staff 16.

si ne ye zi ndhlu a ma di pu ne ye zi

Musical staff 19: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Measures 19, 20, and 21 are numbered in boxes above the staff.

na ma so nd'e zi nqo la se mu kwa ne zwe le tu A si namu ku lu me li

Musical staff 20: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the melody from staff 19.

Musical staff 21: Bass clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the bass line from staff 19.

nja e zi nqo la ne zwe le tu. E Pa la

Musical staff 22: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Measures 22, 23, and 24 are numbered in boxes above the staff.

e Pa la men de ni. Si fun' onsundu wa-ki ti a zo s'ku lu me la

Musical staff 23: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the melody from staff 22.

Musical staff 24: Bass clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 8/8 time signature. Continuation of the bass line from staff 22.

me nde ni. S'fu na o.- zo s'ku lu - me la si

Si zo kwen ze nja ni na ti na ba se A fri ka? A si hla nga ne nja lo

zo kwe nze nja ni e A - fri ka a si be

si fa ne no se men de Si ku fi se l'o kuh le we- na Ma- fu ku- ze la

nje ngo se me nde Se le we na fu ku ze

u ze u si bu ze le nge m'i te to e nzi ma

la u bu ze nga yo e - nzi - ma.

Composer: R.T. Caluza.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 4C: 193?.

Translation:

What is Congress negotiating about?

They are trying to help Mafukuzela (Dube)

Who went overseas.

What is his aim for going overseas

He aims to negotiate for us

To present black men's grievances

We are made to pay poll tax,

Carry references books (dompass)

Pay rent for houses

Pay for cattle dipping

Pay for dogs

Pay for the car wheels

And we have been deprived of our land.

We do not have a representative in Parliament

We want a black man to negotiate on our own behalf

What are we going to do as Africans?

Let us stick together like cement

We wish you well Mafukuzela

Please ask about the demanding laws for us.

Unique features:

This was also one of the songs Caluza composed promoting the SANNC and calling for national unity. The *imusic* tradition exhibited here is proof of the problems faced by black composers who had been mission educated and considered to be the middle-class elite. Western missionaries expected that they display the Western attributes which their mission education suggested and this was a major problem to composers like Caluza: "*Barred from being different and at the same time suspected of wanting to be 'black Englishmen', black South African cultural innovators were indeed*

negotiating a difficult path that rarely met with approval from their white mentors" (Erlmann 1991:120).

According to an article, *Olwesihlanu (Ilanga Lase Natal, 9 June 1911)*, the missionaries were of the opinion that choral music contained an assurance of civilised advancement. This song is clearly in the style of a choral work and would thus have satisfied white missionaries.

5.4.1.4 Yekan' u mona, Nenzondo, Namagqubu

The musical score is written in G major and 6/8 time. It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system contains measures 1 through 6, and the second system contains measures 7 through 11. The vocal line is on the top staff of each system, with lyrics written below it. The piano accompaniment is on the bottom three staves of each system. Measure numbers 1 through 11 are indicated in small boxes above the vocal line.

1 Ba - nsu ndu ba se A - fri - ka si ya ne lu le ka I ko - n'i - n'c - bu - la - li - si - zwe sa -

2

3

4

5

6

7 ki - t'e - si - mnya - ma. I zwe la ki - ti li ya fa Li bu la wa a ma ggu

8

9

10

11

Musical notation for measures 12-16, including vocal line and piano accompaniment.

bu li bu la wa na u mo na no ku ba ng'i zi ku ndhla. A ba ki -

Musical notation for measures 17-21, including vocal line and piano accompaniment.

ti a ba - nsu ndu a ba ka bi mo ya mu - nyc ba ku ye k'u ku za - ba -

Musical notation for measures 22-26, including vocal line and piano accompaniment.

na ba hla nga - ne ngo ta ndo. Ye ka n'u mo na ka nyc ne nzo ndo a ku pe

Ye ka n'u mo na ka nyc ne nzo ndo pe

27 28 29 30 31

li - nhle bo na ma gqu bu, o ku bu la la u hla nga lwe tu, o ku se nza si nga pu me le

li nhle bo na ma gqu b'o ku bu la la lu hla ngu hla nga lwe fo ku se nza si nga pu

32 33 34 35

li Bha so bha msheshengwa n'o zshay nce kwa na We n'o ha mb'u ce la nga'a ma ti

me le li. Bha so - bha we na oz' shay' nce kwa na, ham b'u ce la nga'a

36 37 38 39 40

ye. Bha so bh'u su se le pa nsi we na. I la nga se li pu mi le nza nsi.

ma ti ye bha so bhu su se le pa nsi we na i la nga li pu m'e nza nsi.

Composer: R.T. Caluza.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 4C: 193?.

Translation:

Don't be jealous

Black men of Africa

Something is killing the black nation

Our nation is dying because of grudges and jealousy

Our African people don't have the spirit

They must not quarrel with each other

And rather be united by love

Leave jealousy and hatred

Diminish eavesdropping and grudges

This is killing our race

And prevents us from succeeding

Beware you subordinates

Who are begging for us

Beware that you are not left out

This is the dawn of a new era

The sun has risen.

Unique features:

Caluza's native village, *Siyamu*, is often referred to as *Kwa-Caluza* and forms part of Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg. It is at present torn by strife between political parties. This song reveals that early black nationalist movements were also beset by disunity.

5.4.1.5 Vul'indhlela, Mnta ka Dube or Vulindhlela Mtaka Dube

1 2 3 4

Vu li- ndhle- la mta ka Du- be ka de si se bu mn yame- ni I

Musical notation for measures 1-4, including vocal line and piano accompaniment.

5 6 7 8 9

Ma fu ku- ze la

zi zwe zi mnyama zi ding' u ku-ka- nya ma u- zi kan- yi- se we- na - fu- ku- ze la

Musical notation for measures 5-9, including vocal line and piano accompaniment.

10 11 12 13 14 15

Pa- pa ma ni zi- zwe c zimnya ma ni fu- ndi s'a ba

Musical notation for measures 10-15, including vocal line and piano accompaniment.

16 17 18 19 20 21

ntwa- na be nu a ku pc l'u mo- na na ma gqu bu

Musical notation for measures 16-21, including vocal line and piano accompaniment.

22 23 24 25 26

Ma ni la - nde l'a ba ho - li - ba - ki ni O ma - me

27 28 29 30 31

ka nyc - na o ba ba ba yi - mi ha - mb'i

32 33 34 35 36 37

ni'c li - zwe ni Se be ha mb'e - be zi Shu - te - ka nje

38 39 40 41 42 43 44

be xo - shwa nge nxa - ye nda - ba ye land act Sa hlu - pe ka

Composer: R.T. Caluza.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

esiZULU ākad' enziwa i-Double Quartet li ka Caluza. Zonophone Recording Z4280, HMV
GU5. London: 30 September 1930. (Remastered for Compact Disc in 1992 by Vernon, P.
& Crump, C. as: Caluza's Double Quartet 1930, France: Heritage).

Translation:

Pave the way, Mr Dube

We have been in darkness

The black nation needs light

Give them light Mafukuzela

Wake up black nation

You must teach your children

End jealousy and hatred

Follow your own leaders

Mothers and fathers are homeless

In their own country

They have been chased from their homes

Because of the Land Act

We are suffering.

Unique features:

This song was recorded in 1930 as *Vul'indhlela, Mnta ka Dube* and was later published as *Vulindhlela Mtaka Dube*, Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 2C. (193?). It is of special interest because it indicates the start of a move away from choral music to *iRagtime*. The recording features a ragtime piano introduction by Caluza which is in sharp contrast to the hymn-like first section in *music*. From measure 10, the rhythm suggests syncopation. This piece thus reflects the ambivalent

situation faced by black South African composers: On the one hand they composed *imusic* because it represented black aspirations for participation in modern South Africa and on the other hand there was *iRagtime* which demonstrated black popular opposition.

Vul'indhlela, Mnta ka Dube is a praise song composed for Dr John Dube who founded the Ohlange Institute in 1901 and who was also the first president of the SANNC. Caluza's ragtime introduction reflects the view that "rather than thought of as derogatory and racially biased, syncopated music was seen by many South African blacks as an expression of racial pride" (Erlmann 1991:126). Dube was known to be a serious man and this ragtime introduction may not have been too well received by him. This is reflected in an article *Ikwaya Yas' Ohlange Iya Egoli (Ulanga Lase Natal, 14 December 1917)*, in which Dube urges the Zulu Union Choir to forget *iRagtime* and to sing pure music, *imusic*. Dube's views did not, however, deter Caluza who started composing whole songs to be sung in the *iRagtime* mould.

Despite the fact that Caluza composed *Vulindhlela Mtaka Dube, Bashuka Ndabazini, Yekan' Umona Nenzondo*, all promoting the SANNC, he never joined this party. According to Caluza's granddaughter Faith Caluza (interviewed by Erlmann at Edendale, 10 February 1983), the reason for this was that "he was a very moralistic man and person of conservative instinct who was very sensitive to all injustice". His songs are thus "a blend of moderate nationalism with a moral, Christian viewpoint" (Erlmann 1991:119). *Imusic* was also not considered to be a politically overt category.

5.4.1.6 Sanibona

The musical score for 'Sanibona' is presented in four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, written in a 4/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It features a melody with five numbered measures (1-5) and the lyrics: "Sa ni bo na zi nsi zwa zi ki ti sa ku bo - na we Bhu ti no si si e ni hla la". The second staff is a piano accompaniment for the right hand, and the third and fourth staves are for the left hand, with an 8-measure rest indicated at the beginning of the third staff.

6 7 8 9 10

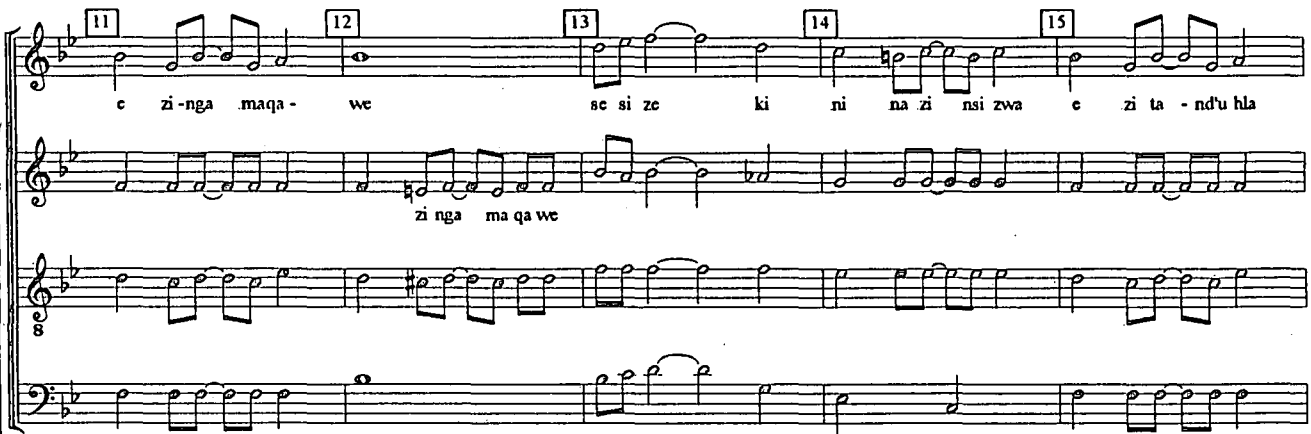
ku lc li lo mbuso c ni bu sa nga zo zo - nk'i zi nto se si ze ki - ni - na zi nsi zwa



11 12 13 14 15

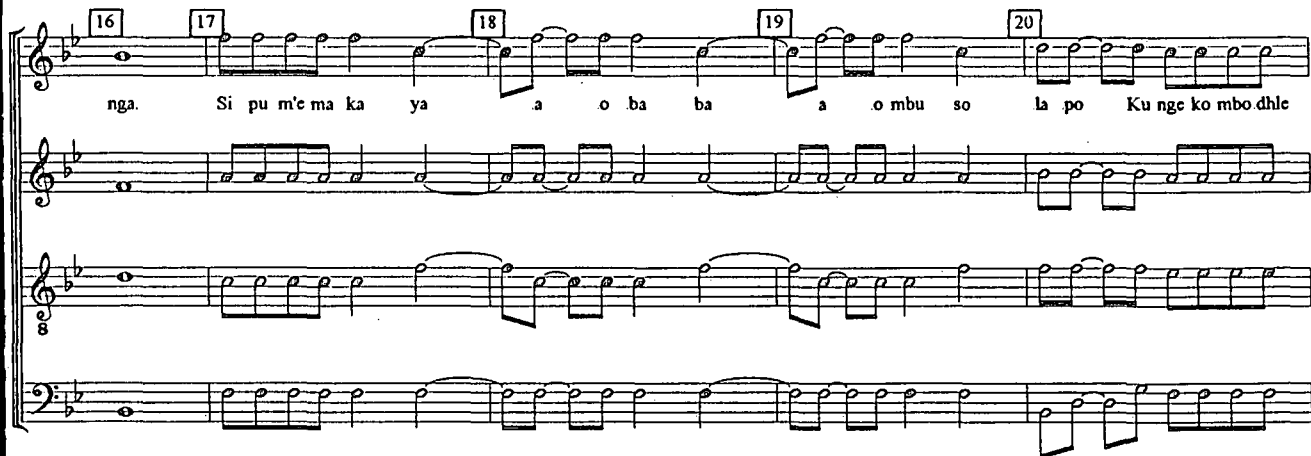
c zi - nga maqa - we se si ze ki ni na zi nsi zwa e zi ta - nd'u hla

zi nga ma qa we



16 17 18 19 20

nga. Si pu m'e ma ka ya a o ba ba a o mbu so la po Ku nge ko mbo.dhle



21 22 23 24 25

la Ni bo ku mbula c - ma ka - ya la po ku ko n'a ba za li be nu.

ku mbu la ni a - ba - za - li

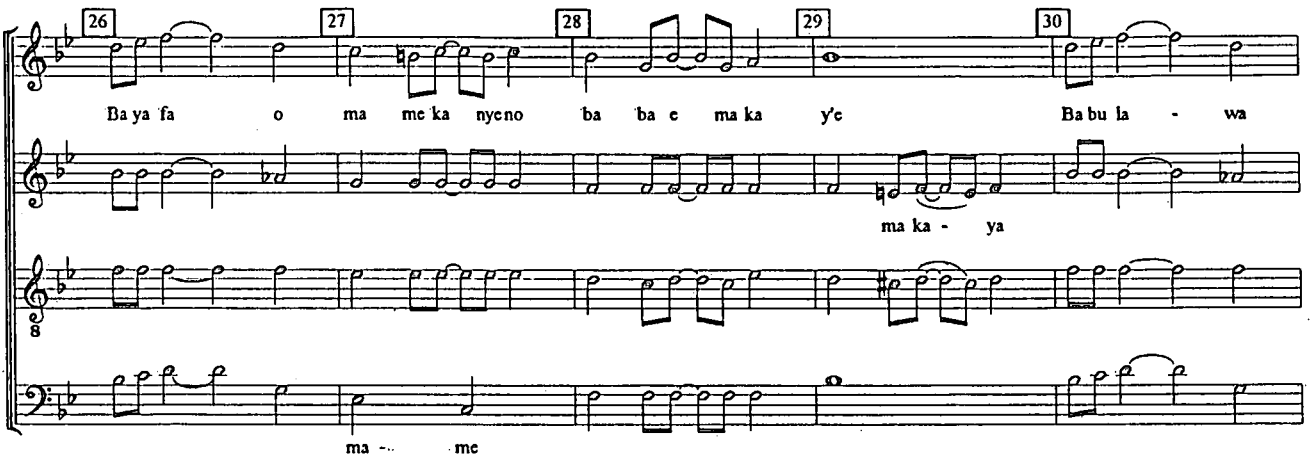


26 27 28 29 30

Ba ya fa o ma me ka nyeno ba ba e ma ka y'e Ba bu la - wa

ma ka - ya

ma - - me



31 32 33 34 35

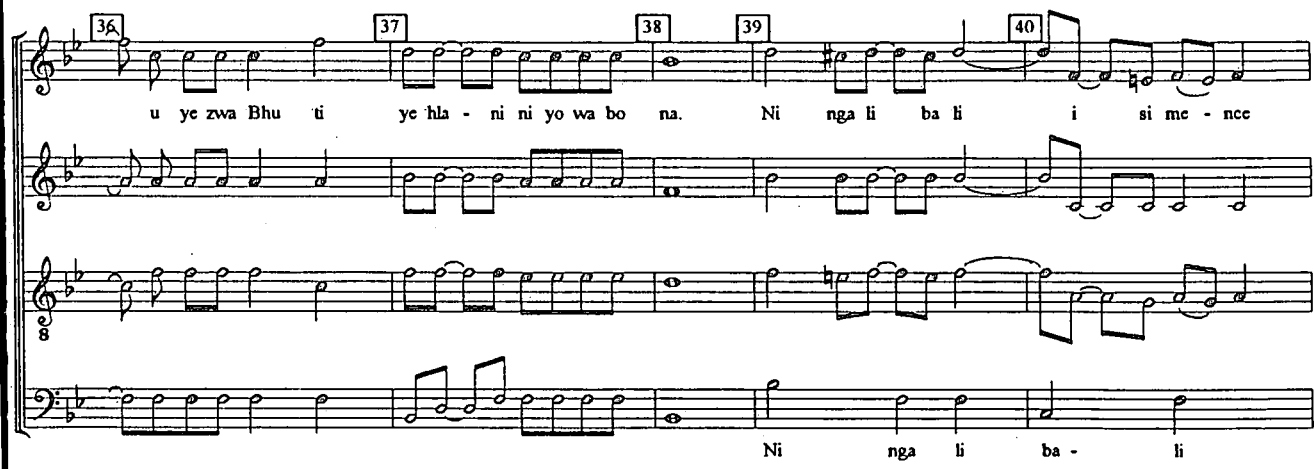
yi ndhla la ka nye ne mi ku - hla ne ku k'wa ma - qi ki za e Na ta li



36 37 38 39 40

u ye zwa Bhu ti ye hla - ni ni yo wa bo na. Ni nga li ba li i si me - nce

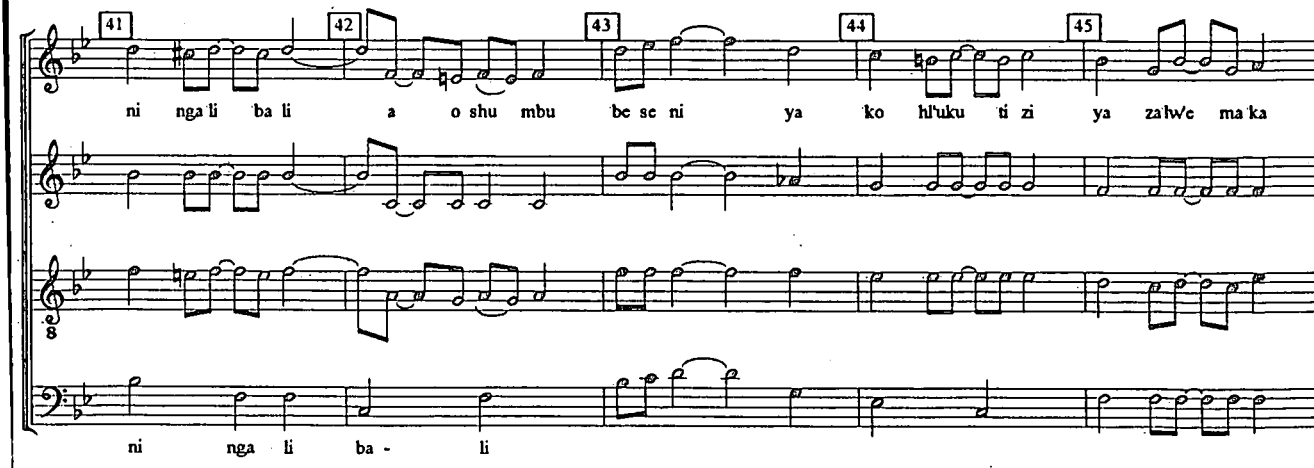
Ni nga li ba - li



41 42 43 44 45

ni nga li ba li a o shu mbu be se ni ya ko h'luku ti zi ya zahwe ma ka

ni nga li ba - li



ya Bc-sc ni ya ko h'u ku ti zi ya za h'we ma ka ya.
ye ma ka - - ya.

Measures 46-50: This system contains five measures of music. The vocal line (top staff) has lyrics: 'ya Bc-sc ni ya ko h'u ku ti zi ya za h'we ma ka ya.' The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand treble clef staff and a left-hand bass clef staff. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is 4/4.

o ti nxauzi bo na u fe nje na u bamb'umlo mo ku ogwa 'fa m-nze si swi ni

Measures 51-55: This system contains five measures of music. The vocal line (top staff) has lyrics: 'o ti nxauzi bo na u fe nje na u bamb'umlo mo ku ogwa 'fa m-nze si swi ni'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same instrumental parts as the previous system.

o ti nxauzi bo na u fe nje na u manga le u ti wo hel wo hel

Measures 56-60: This system contains five measures of music. The vocal line (top staff) has lyrics: 'o ti nxauzi bo na u fe nje na u manga le u ti wo hel wo hel'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same instrumental parts.

Composer: R.T. Caluza.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 5C: 193?.⁴⁰

⁴⁰

The Sol-fa leaflet of this song does not give the words for the Bass part in measures 44-48.

Translation:

Hello fellow gentlemen

Hello brothers and sisters

Who sit in this domain

Where there is so much to enjoy

We are coming to you here gentlemen

Who are heroes

We are coming to you from our father's home

Where there is no liquor

You must remember your home of your parents

Who are now dying

Your mother and father at home

They are dying of hunger and cold

At Maqikiza in Natal

Do you hear brother

Come down and see.

Don't forget, don't forget

That you were born in the home.

Unique features:

This is a song lamenting the migrant labour system. It is hymn-like with quite a few syncopated rhythms, placing it in the same mould as *Vul'indhlela, Mnta ka Dube*. There is some chromaticism found in the piece perhaps indicating the choral composer's struggle to write in a traditional vein using traditional pentatonic and hexatonic scales whilst integrating this with western scales, which western hymnody required.

Chapter 4 explained how deteriorating socio-economic conditions for the blacks saw the search for a new music idiom which could express black nationalist sentiments and anti-white opposition.

Syncopated music based on ragtime became this idiom. Durban audiences had gained experience of this Afro-American cultural genre through the visits of Orpheus McAdoo and the Jubilee Singers at the end of the 19th century. Erlmann (1991) states that admiration for Afro-American values ran particularly high at the Ohlange Institute where Caluza wrote his early works. Caluza thus also composed many works in the *iRagtime* category.

5.4.2 IRAGTIME

Audiences throughout Natal celebrated these Afro-American “*descendants of former slaves as their ‘music heroes’ ... mission school graduates formed minstrel troupes modeled on McAdoo’s company*” (Erlmann 1991:61). Erlmann states that the syncopated melodies of *iRagtime* songs were also more suited to Zulu speech patterns. He points out that the “*distortion of normal speech rhythm and prosody in Xhosa and Zulu had been tolerated by mission-educated elite ... who had accepted the supposed superiority of the symbols of Western civilisation such as four-part choral hymnody over autochthonous forms of cultural expression such as Zulu prosody*” (1991:123).

iRagtime was thus the start of the construction of a black community through the medium of song by identification with Afro-American syncopation. The following transcriptions fall into this category:

- Ingoduso*
- U Bhungca (ama Oxford bags), and*
- Ixegwana or Rickshaw song.*

5.4.2.1 Ingoduso

The musical score for 'Ingoduso' is presented in four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, written in a 4/4 time signature with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The melody is syncopated, with five measures marked by numbered boxes (1-5) above the notes. The lyrics are written below the vocal line: "Si ka le - 'l' umta ka ba - ba a - bam - bo - pa le - n'c Go - li. 'Wae zi bi za ngo ku". The second staff is a piano accompaniment in the right hand, featuring a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The third staff is a piano accompaniment in the left hand, featuring a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment in the bass line, featuring a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

ti u ngu Mqa - fi - qa - fi ye - na wa - bo - shwa zim ban gi za - se Rauti - ni.

This system contains measures 6 through 10. It features a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment in the right hand, and a bass line in the left hand. The key signature has three flats, and the time signature is 8/8.

Rauti - ni Rauti - ni Zam fake' utsh wal' end hli ni ya - ke za se zi - ya

This system contains measures 11 through 15. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment from the previous system.

ko mbi ze - le a ba - se - shi no no ngqa - yi Bam fi ke - fe' b'su k'u mta ka ba - ba, bam -

This system contains measures 16 through 20. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment.

sha ya nge zi ndu - ku. Ba ti hamba mfana Uy' si ge - bengu u te ngi - sango - tshwa -

This system contains measures 21 through 25. It concludes the vocal line and piano accompaniment on this page.

26 27 28 29 30

la Washi ya i- ngo du - so wa shi ya i- ngo du - so i-

la. Washi ya i- ngo du - so wa shi ya i- ngo du - so i-

31 32 33 34 35

ngo du - so i go yi - fe - ka - ya. Way'qo nde um - se be - nzi wayqo

ngo du - so i go yi - fe - ka - ya. Way'qo nde um - se be - nzi

36 37 38 39 40

nde um - so be - nzi c se be - nze - fi ngo du - s'c - ka - ya.

way'qo nde um - se be - nzi.

41 42 43 44 45

Wo boshwa zi- mbangi za - se Rauti - ni Rauti - ni Rauti - ni za mfa- ke l'u'tshwa l'endhli ni

46 47 48 49 50

ya - ke za se zi ya ko mbi ze - la a ba - se shi no ngqa ya wa - qa l'u

51 52 53 54 55

ku kumbu la i - ngo du - so ya ke ka nye na ba ku bo. La - po be mta ta be mqondi

56 57 58 59 60

s'e - ndhli n'e mnya ma ya se Mar - shall Square Za mu xa ka za mu xa ka

61 62 63 64 65

i zi - nsi zwa za ba - se - shi za - mu bamba za mu bamba nge bha - ntsha na

za ka da la - wa ne. Za mu ba mba nge bha ntsha na za mu qo ndi sa pa ka t'e je

66 67 68 69 70
za mbo - pa Washi ya i - ngo du - so Washi ya i - ngo du - so i -
zambo - pa Washi ya Washi ya
71 72 73 74 75
ngo du - so i go yi - le ka ya Nanko ke u - mu vu - zo na nko
Na nko ke
76 77 78 79 80
ke u - mu vu - zo wo ku ko - hwa yi ngo du - s'c - ka - ya
nanko ke

Composer: R.T. Caluza

Transcription: A. Gray

Transcription from:

esiZULU akad' enziwa i-Double Quartet li ka Caluza. Zonophone Recording Z4276, MV GU1. 5 September 1930: London. (Remastered for Compact Disc in 1992 by Vernon, P. & Crump, C. as; Caluza's Double Quartet 1930, France: Heritage).

Translation:

*We yearn for our brother
who was arrested in Johannesburg.
He called himself a clever man.
He was arrested because of jealousy
of rival groups in Johannesburg.
They put liquor in his room
and called the police.
They got to his house at night and beat him up,
and drove away saying he is a bandit who sells liquor.
He left his fiancé at home.
He left his fiancé sad at home.
He meant to work for her.
He started thinking about his
fiancé and his home.
When they arrested him and
took him to jail at Marshall Square
He was handcuffed by the detectives.
That is the price for forgetting
your fiancé
at home.*

Unique features:

This is one of Caluza's earliest songs in the ragtime category. It was composed around 1915 and comments the dangers of labour migration. Erlmann states that in quick succession over a period of

ten years, until the mid-1920s, Caluza composed a series of songs reflecting the precarious position of Durban's "black intelligentsia caught between a self-conscious urbanism and rural nostalgia, and hemmed in between white hegemony and black popular opposition" (1991:127). The song was published as *Ingoduso*, Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 2C. (193?).

5.4.2.2 U Bungca (ama Oxford bags)

Ni - yo - zi bo - n'i - nto - mb'e - zpa - mbi - li

Nxani va ka - she - la e Te - kwi - ni. zi nge na. zi pu m'e - ma

ne zi nto - mb'e zi pa mbi li niyo bo - n'i zi nsi zwa, e zi pa - mbi -

wo te - la.

Bo - n'i zi - nsi zwa, i nsi zw'e - zpa - mbi -

li. Zi nge n'e - wo - te - la li ka T. D. zi - ti wo za la we - ta. Ku -

li, zi nge n'e - wo - te - la i ho te la li ka T. D. zi - ti wo - za la we - ta. Ku ko - na

19 20 21 22 23 24

ko - na ku - dhla ku - ni? a ku - ba - le - k'u we - ta u ku dh'o - ku ko - na. Zi - ti

k'dhla ku - ni a ku - ba - l'e ku we - ta u - ku - dhla.

25 26 27 28 29 30

le ri - si - tshu - lu, le - ri la - yi - si, le - ta no loz' bhi - fu, nom'i -

Le - ri - si - tshu - lu, le - ta ne - la - yi - si, le - ta no lo - zi bhi - fu

31 32 33 34 35

nya - ma ye - si kla - bhu. Zi - za ngez' gu - bhu im - si - ko ya - se

yes' kla - bhu zi - za nge zi gu - bhu im - si - ko ya se Me ri -

36 37 38 39 40

Me - ri - ka, a ba - nye be fa - k'i si - ta - li ya na beha - mba be bhu - ngca za.

ka a - ba - nyc. be ha - mba be bhu - ngca za be qhe - nya be

41 42 43 44 45

Bhu - ngca njengo - mko - lwa na bhu - ngca nge si ta - li - ya na ma nje be za nga - ma

ti nje ngo mko lwa - ne be fa k'i - si - ta - li - ya - na. za nga - ma

46 47 48 49 50

Oxford bags, bafa - ke ka - nyc na ma dou ble breast coat ba fa k'i zi gqo - k'e zi - yi zi mbe nge za ma

51 52 53 54 55 56

ka - wa za ma ka - wa zya ki - ndi - nto - mbi. Zya ki - ndi - nto - mbi

zi ya - ki - nda i - nto - mbi zi - ya ki - nda

57 58 59 60 61

zi dh'a ma si li - k'a vu - za yo, na ma bha ntsh'a ki - ndi - we. Bhu ngca nje ngo

zi qhc - nya zi - ti nje ngo mko lwa -

62 63 64 65 66

mko - lwa na bhu ngca ne zi nsi - zwa. Kuko - n'i - zi nto - mbez' pa mbi - li. Kuko -

na zi ha - mba ne zi nsi - zwa.

67 68 69 70 71

na nez' fa - na no da de nje, ne zi - nsi - zwa zi nja sa y'e - ma ka - ya i - mi hu qa ne mi

72 73 74 75 76

go - vu. Zi - ba - nji - we, Sam - se - n'i

Zi - ba - nji - we,

n'i - nsi - zwa.

77 78 79 80 81

I - ya ba gwi - ny'i May - ville. Ba - ya ka - la

I ya ba gwi -

gwi - nya

82 83 84 85 86 87 88
 ba ya la - mb'o ma - m'e ka - ya. Ye - k'u si - zi o - lu ku - lu hwe zi - nsi - zwa.

y'e - ka - ya

89 90 91 92 93 94
 Ku - nja - ni na e Go - li Si - nja - ni

Ku nja - ni na Si nja - ni - na

na ni le - Go - li

95 96 97 98 99 100
 n'i - si - qa ta Ba ba nje - lw'i s'qa - ta - ne si - go - mfa - na.

le Go - li ka - nyc ne - si gom - fa - na.

101 102 103 104
 Yi - wo lo - wu mvu - zo wo - ku - bh'u - ngu - ka.

Composer: R.T. Caluza.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

esiZULU ākad' enziwa i-Double Quartet li ka Caluza. Zonophone Recording Z4276, HMV
GU1. 7 October 1930: London, (Remastered for Compact Disc in 1992 by Vernon, P. &
Crump, C. as; Caluza's Double Quartet 1930, France: Heritage).

Translation:

*When visiting Durban,
You will see beautiful girls,
entering hotels.
Elegant ladies.
You will see elegant young men.
They enter T.D.'s hotel
and call the waiter , and ask him
"What kind of food do you have
Or they ask the waiter to bring the menu.
Then they will say: "Bring stew and rice".
"Bring roast beef or mutton".
They are dressed in American style.
Some will come dressed in Italian style, with trousers,
the legs tied like a red-billed hornbill
as in Italian trousers.
Some come with their Oxford Bags
and wear a double-breasted coat,
big brimmed hats,
short ladies dresses,
expensive silks, short coats.
They are fashionable girls,
and also ones just like you and me.
And young men who no more go back to their homes.*

Old crooks and hobos.

They are trapped in Samseni.

Mayville is the only place for them.

Their women at home are crying and suffering.

It is sad gentlemen.

How is Johannesburg?

How is the liquor in Johannesburg?

They are being arrested for concoctions

brewed in their homes.

That is the price of forgetting one's relations.

Unique Features:

This song was recorded in 1930 as *u Bungca* and was later published as *U bhungca (Ama Oxford bags)* Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets. No. 2C. (193?). This song also lamented the migrant labour system and the crying and suffering of the women left behind.

5.4.2.3 Ixegwana or Rickshaw Song

The musical score is written in 2/4 time and consists of nine numbered measures. It features a vocal line with lyrics in Zulu and English, and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are as follows:

1 Nga- bon'i xegwa- na 2 3 li- mbet'i ngutsha na 4 5 li- mhlope li te

8 Wol nga- bon'i xegwa na li- mbet'i ngu bo

6 qwa i ka- nda ka- nyene zinya- wo. 7 8 9 Nga- bon'i xeg wa

zinyawo ka- nye ne zinyawo

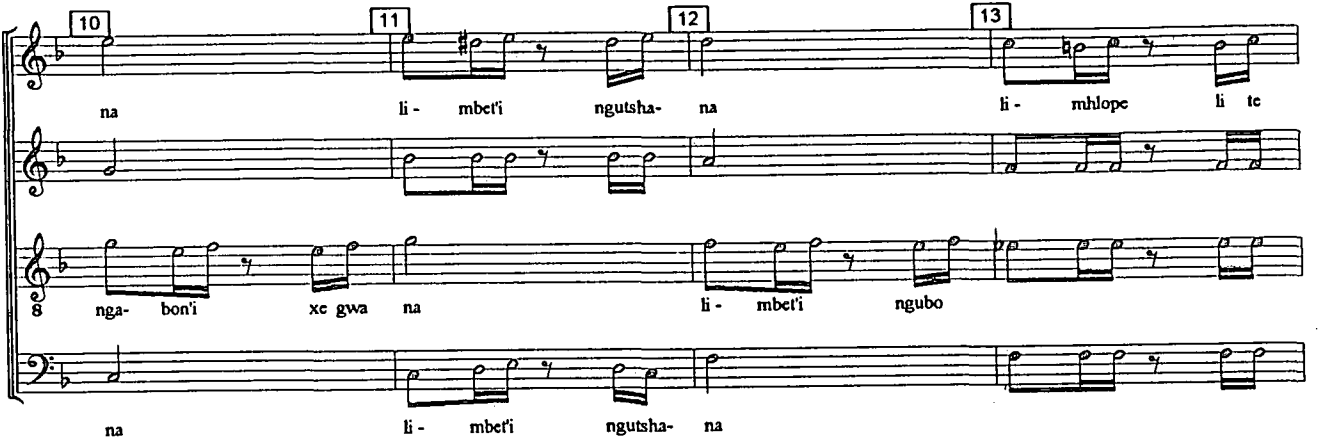
8 Wol

Nga- bon'i xeg wa-

10 na li - mbe'ri ngutsha- na li - mhlope li te

8 nga- bon'i xc gwa na li - mbe'ri ngubo

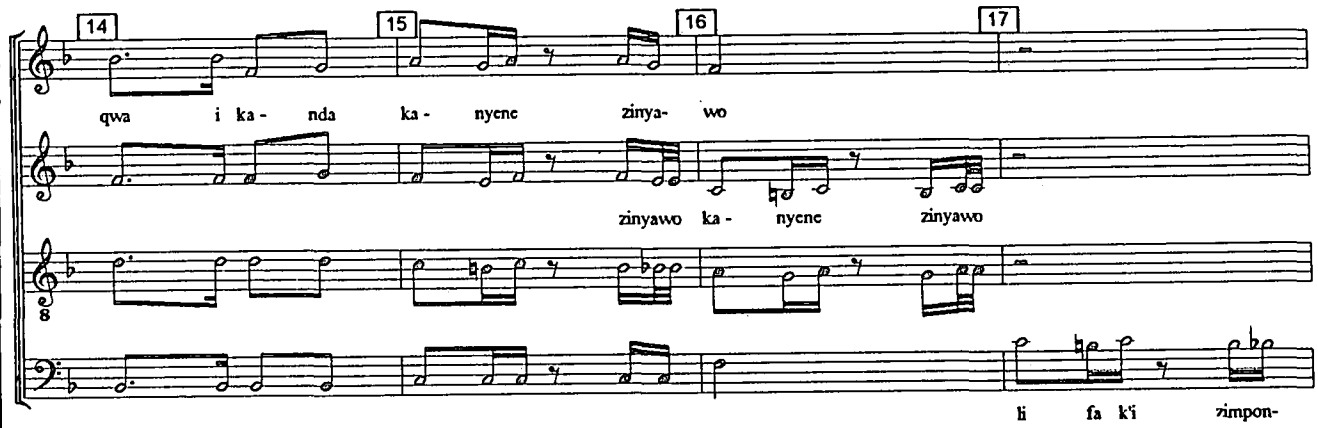
na li - mbe'ri ngutsha- na



14 qwa i ka - nda ka - nyenc zinya- wo

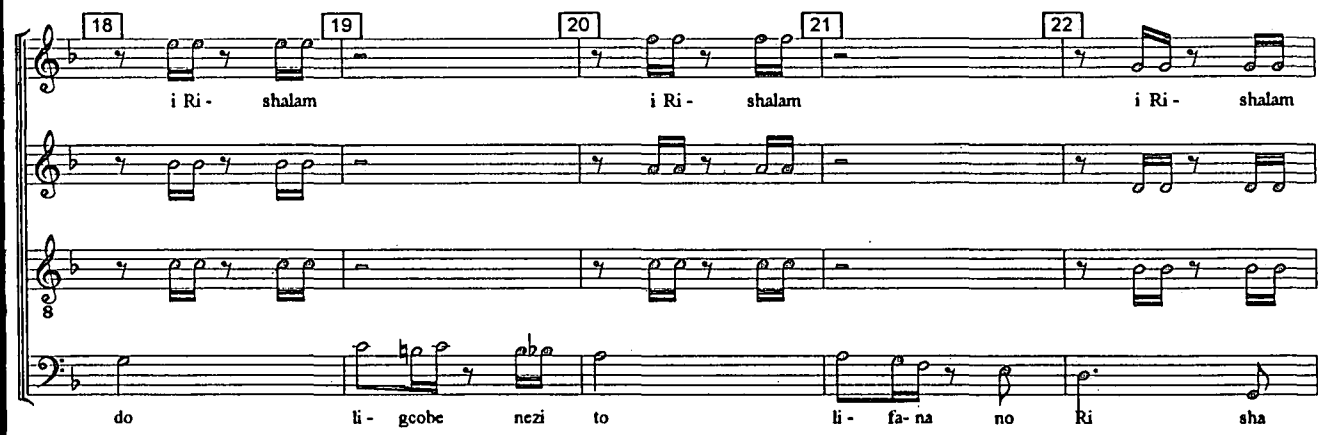
zinyawo ka - nyenc zinyawo

li fa ki zimpon-



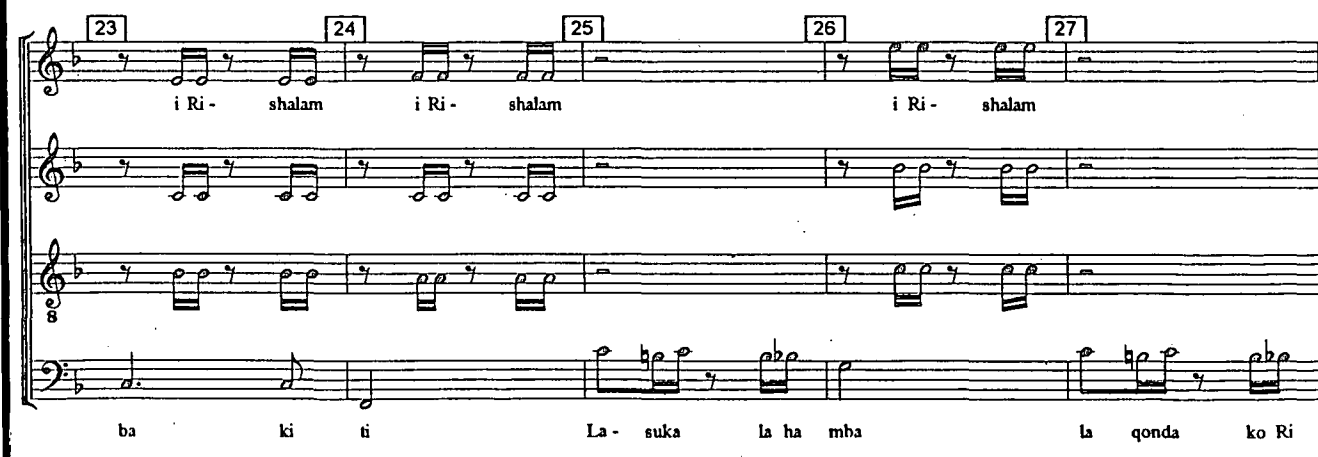
18 i Ri - shalam 19 i Ri - shalam 20 i Ri - shalam 21 i Ri - shalam 22 i Ri - shalam

do li - gcobe nezi to li - fa- na no Ri sha



23 i Ri - shalam 24 i Ri - shalam 25 i Ri - shalam 26 i Ri - shalam 27 i Ri - shalam

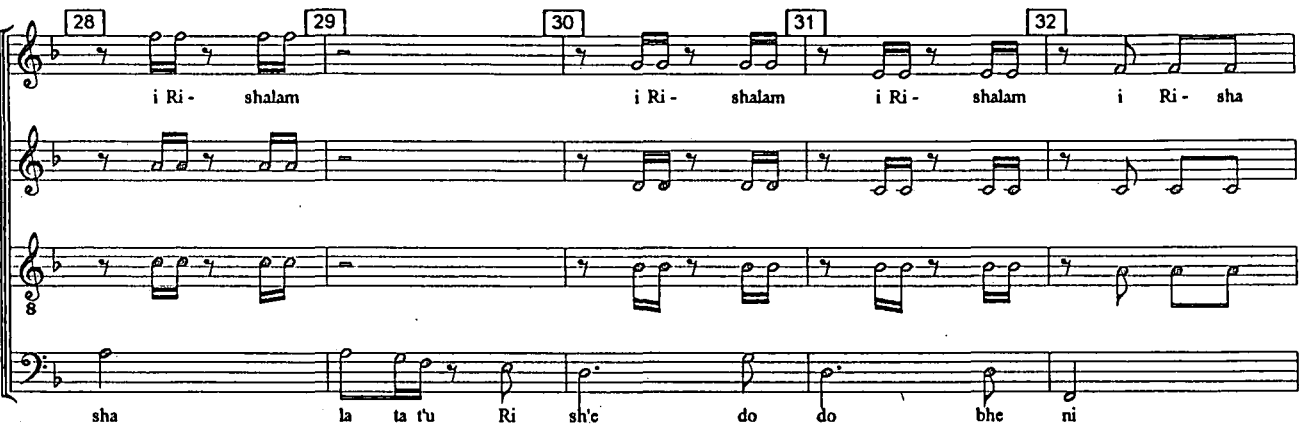
ba ki ti La - suka la ha mba la qonda ko Ri



28 29 30 31 32

i Ri - shalam i Ri - shalam i Ri - shalam i Ri - sha

sha la ta t'u Ri sh'e do do bhe ni



33 *Fin.* 34 35 36 37

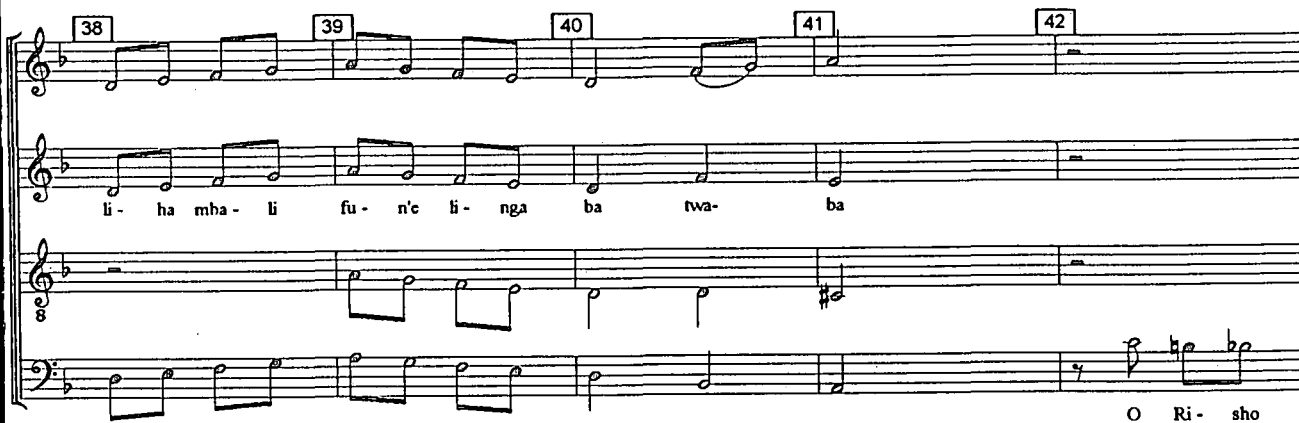
lam' Nga - li bo - na li - gxu ma - em gwa - qwe - ni



38 39 40 41 42

li - ha mba - li fu - n'e li - nga ba twa - ba

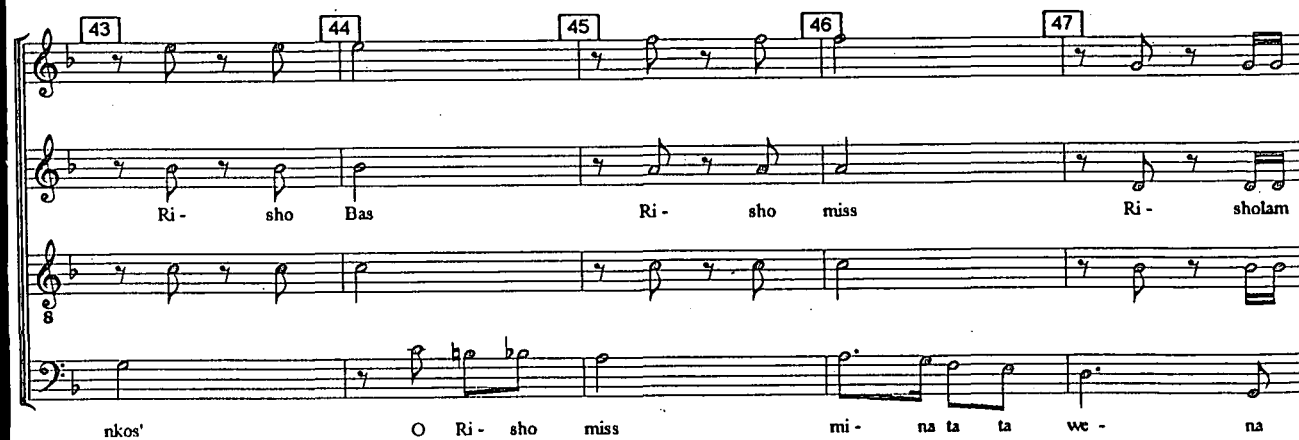
O Ri - sho



43 44 45 46 47

Ri - sho Bas Ri - sho miss Ri - sholam

nkos' O Ri - sho miss mi - na ta ta we - na



Musical score for 'Round the town'. The score consists of four staves: vocal line, piano accompaniment, and two additional staves. The lyrics are in Zulu and English. The score is numbered 48 to 58. The lyrics are: 'Round the town O Ri - sho nkos' O Ri - sho Ri - sho lam i Ri - sho - lam Ri - sho bas' Ri - sho miss Ri - sholam Ri - sholam nge ri - sho - lam miss mi - na ta ra we na round the town'. The score ends with 'D.C. al Fine'.

Composer: R.T. Caluza.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

esiZULU akad' enziwa i-Double Quartet li ka Caluza. Zonophone Recording Z4280, HMV GU5. London. 7 October 1930. (Remastered for Compact Disc in 1992 by Vernon, P. & Crump, C. as; *Caluza's Double Quartet 1930*, France: Heritage).

Translation:

*I saw an old grey-bearded man,
who had covered himself with a blanket,
and his feet were white, too.
My rickshaw with big horns
and white legs,
jumping around and looking for passengers.*

“Oh rickshaw Sir, boss, miss.

I you take (fanakalo) round the town.”

Unique features:

This song was recorded as *Ixegwana or Rickshaw Song* in 1930 and was later published under the same name, Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet. No. 2C. (193?). A great deal was said about this song in Chapter 4. It was a topical song about one of the strongest and most militant sectors in the working class. There was also mention of the fact that this song was sung as a protest song during one of the strikes of the rickshaw men in Durban (Erlmann, 1991:125). It must, however, be pointed out that such long songs were difficult to be remembered by the masses unless they were taught to them.

This was a very different situation to the songs sung after the 1950s which were all in the oral mode. Chapter 4 explains how the songs were sung by a choir with a conductor at ANC meetings up until the 1950s. As socio-economic conditions for the blacks deteriorated, so a new type of liberation song arose: Black Folk Music.

5.4.3 BLACK FOLK MUSIC

Situational aspects, as part of the broader historical context, are very important parameters in understanding the liberation songs after the 1950s. Chapter 4 gives a detailed explanation as to why black liberation songs after the 1950s will be called a subgenre of South African black folk music. These songs were the product of the reworking of precolonial cultural practices by black South Africans to give themselves an identity in opposition to an order which they found was becoming more and more hostile towards them.

Chapter 4 explains how the resurgence of Zulu ethnicity found expression in the performance of the *isiZulu* category of music, which can be seen as a traditional performance-idiom for the expression of Zulu ethnic identity in opposition to what was perceived as the racism of Natal's white settlers. This resurgence of ethnic pride saw the entrenchment of authentic African musical elements in the liberation songs, indicating a rejection of white domination. Most of the music is repetitive and

cyclical and the rhythmic patterns of the music invite the body to move. Movement cannot be notated thus the ideal would be to use these transcriptions in conjunction with video recordings in order to obtain the true essence of the songs.

The composers of the songs after 1950 are mostly unknown but the name of Vuyisile Mini is mentioned (4.5.5), although it is unclear as to which songs he is said to have composed. As most of the unique features pertaining to this category have been discussed in 5.2 only outstanding features will be dealt with.

For the purpose of this study songs belonging to this category will be classified under:

- Hymns
- Call and Response songs, and
- Songs sung in unison.

5.4.3.1 Hymns

Pewa (1984) gives various reasons for the employment of hymns at political meetings. He says that politicians, always looking for means of unifying people and convincing them about a certain point of view, will always employ collective mediums that will give masses the same identity. This medium he considers to be the hymn. Another reason why hymns are utilised for politics is "*the ability of church music to reassure the singers of their projection for the future*" (Pewa, 1984:29).

These hymns are used for political purposes and are not hymnlike as is the case of some of the *imusic* songs. In Chapter 4 the adaptation of the words of some of these hymns to reflect political demands, were explained.

The following hymns were selected:

- Senzenina?*
- Thina Sizwe*
- Siph' Amandla*

Translation:

What have we done?

See Chapter 4 for different lyrics of the hymn in a political sense.

Unique features:

Pewa (1983) gives three different hymns all sung to this tune: *Vuka Jonah sithandaze*, *Thath' Umthwalo Sigoduke* and *Senzenina?* He however says that *Senzenina?* is usually only sung for political purposes (Pewa, 1983:49-53).

This transcription was done of the song sung at a gathering at Currie's Fountain, Durban (1992) for the re-launch of the ANC Women's League. Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Walter Sisulu, sings the Call. She also sings the Response with the other singers, but when she reaches Bars 3, 5 and 7 she leaves the response she is singing, unfinished and enters with the Call. There is distinct overlapping, thus preventing her from finishing the response in those bars.

This song was often sung in the Western Cape in English by the Coloured Community (Fruits of Defiance, 1989: Video). The rhythms also differ from area to area. Another example of this song with completely different words was sung at UDF rally's. (United Democratic Front. South West Cape Launch and West Cape Launch, 1983: Video). *Senzenina?* is thus a manifestation of the versatility of the liberation song sung from the 1950s. The songs were short and the ethnic components present in the songs eg. Call and Response, made for easy modifications of lyrics to suite any situation.

5.4.3.1.2 Thina Sizwe

The musical score is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of three staves: a vocal line for the Call, a vocal line for the Response, and a bass line. The Call part starts with a first ending bracket and a repeat sign. The lyrics for the Call are: Thi - na si - zwe Si - kha - le - la. Ba - ka - the - na.

The Response part has lyrics: Thi - na si - zwe e - si - ntsu - ndu. A - ba - ntwana i - A - fri - ka.

6

E - la - tha - thwa.
E - la - tha - thwa.

Si - kha - le - la i - zwe le - thu.
Ba - ka - the - na i - zwe le - thu.

10

Ma - ba - ye - ke.
Ma - ye - bu - ye.

E - la - tha - thwa nga - ba - mhlo - pe.

14

Ma - ba - ye - k' u - mhla - ba - we - thu.
Ma - ye - bu - ye i - A - fri - ka.

Ma - ba - ye - ke. A - ba ntw a - na.
Thi - na si - zwe.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Cry Freedom (1986): Video

Translation:

We the black race.

We moan for the black race.

We moan for our land that was usurped

By the white man.

CHORUS:

Let them leave!

Let them leave our land alone.

The children

The children of Africa are moaning

For their land that was robbed

By the white man.

Unique features:

This song was transcribed from an excerpt in the video showing the funeral of Steve Biko. Video footage of funerals of activists show that this hymn and *Senzenina?*, were sung more than other songs.

5.4.3.1.3 Siph' Amandla

The musical score for 'Siph' Amandla' is presented in two systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The key signature is two flats (Bb and Eb), and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system contains measures 1 through 4, and the second system contains measures 5 through 8. Measure numbers 1 through 8 are indicated by small boxes above the notes in the vocal line. The lyrics for the first system are: 'Siph' a - man - dla Nko - si. Wo - kung - e - sa - bi. Siph'. The lyrics for the second system are: 'a - man - dla Nko - si. Si - ya - wa - ding - a.'

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: Anders Nyberg.

Transcription from:

Nyberg, A. 1984. (Collected and Edited). Freedom is coming. Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa for mixed choir.

Translation:

O God give us power

To rip down prisons

O God give us power

To lift the people

O God give us power

And make us fearless

O God give us power

Because we need it

Unique features:

This is a hymn where the words have been adapted to suit the liberation struggle eg. 'O God give us power to rip down prisons'.

In the book, Freedom is coming. Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa for mixed choir.

[s.a.] Bishop Desmond Tutu wrote about this song being sung at the funeral of an activist involved in the Silverton Raid, an ANC operation. Tutu points to the ambiguity of this hymn, which he says was sung with clenched fists by 15 000 blacks at the funeral. They were honouring this man as a hero, whom most whites regarded as a terrorist (Freedom is coming. Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa for mixed choir, [s.a.]:18).

5.4.3.1.4 Thula Sizwe

Call:

Thu- la, thu- la siz- we Thu- la, thu- la siz- we

Response:

Thu- la siz- we, un- ga-

3

bo- ka - - - la, u- Je- ho- va wa- kho u-

6

Thu- la thu- la siz- zo- kun- qo- be - la la

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

A recording of the song sung at a funeral for a student at an institution⁴¹ in Durban. The student was killed near Port Shepstone in a clash between the IFP and ANC members. The song was recorded and transcribed by A. Gray on 27 August 1994. The transcription differs significantly from the transcription done by Hamilton (1993). As most of the people attending this funeral belonged to a certain party, the question arises as to whether Hamilton

41

Due to the volatile political situation it was decided not to mention the name of the institution or the parties concerned for fear of an institution being connected to a political party.

could have transcribed her song from a gathering by an opposing party. As these songs are passed down in the oral mode it is quite possible that changes occur, an occurrence which would never happen in the written mode.

Translation:

*Be silent nation, do not cry,
Our God will conquer for us
Freedom, we will get it,
Our God will conquer for us.*

5.4.3.1.5 Thuma Mina

Musical score for 'Thuma Mina' in 4/4 time. The score consists of two staves: a treble clef staff for the melody and a bass clef staff for the accompaniment. The melody is marked with four numbered boxes (1, 2, 3, 4) above the notes. The lyrics are written below the treble staff: 'Thu - ma mi - na Thu - ma mi - na, Thu - ma mi - na Nko - si - yam'. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: M. Hamilton.

Transcription from:

Hamilton, M. 1993. Sing Freedom:4.

Translation:

Send me Lord.

Unique features:

According to Hamilton this song was also sung in ANC camps outside South Africa, where it took on an additional or different meaning as young comrades volunteered to go on a sortie back into South Africa (1993:16).

5.4.3.1.6 Akanamandla

Call:

Response: A - ka - na - man - dla Ha - le - lu - ya A - ka - na - man - dla
 (-ne) A - ka - na - man - dla. Hal - le - lu - ya. A - ka - na -

U - Sa - tha - ne. A - U - Sa - tha - ne.

man - dla. U - Sa - tha - si - le. U - Sa - tha - ne.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: Anders Nyberg.

Transcription from:

Nyberg, A. 1984. (Collected and Edited). Freedom is coming. Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa for mixed choir.

Translation:

He has no power

Halleluya

He has no power

Satan's had it.

5.4.3.2 Call and Response

The following songs will be discussed:

- Umzabalazo*
- Siyaya ePitori*
- Bamthatha*
- Iza kunyathel' iAfrika*
- Sikokhele Tambo*
- Sesikathele thina*
- Sengathi inkosi ingabananani*
- Rolihlahla Mandela*
- Sesebacha*
- Munt' omhlope*
- Ayangqikaza*

5.4.3.2.1 Umzabalazo

1 Call: We are the wo - men

2

3 We're in the strug - gle

Response:

No wo - men, no cry

4

5 Umza - ba - la - zo

6

No wo - men no cry

Umza - ba - laz', umza - ba - la - zo -

The musical score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). It consists of two systems of three staves each (treble, vocal, and bass). The first system shows the 'Call' and 'Response' sections. The 'Call' section has three numbered measures (1, 2, 3) with lyrics 'We are the wo - men' and 'We're in the strug - gle'. The 'Response' section has two numbered measures (4, 5) with lyrics 'No wo - men, no cry'. The second system continues the 'Call' and 'Response' sections. The 'Call' section has three numbered measures (4, 5, 6) with lyrics 'Umza - ba - la - zo'. The 'Response' section has two numbered measures (4, 5) with lyrics 'No wo - men no cry' and 'Umza - ba - laz', umza - ba - la - zo -'. The bass line provides a harmonic accompaniment throughout.

Musical score for the song 'Umza-ba-la-zo'. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of three staves: a vocal line and two piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line has three measures, with the lyrics 'Umza- ba- la- zo' written below. The piano accompaniment features a four-part harmony. Measure numbers 7, 8, and 9 are indicated in boxes above the vocal staff.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Women Workers: August 1986 (1986): Video. Words used are from Hamilton (1993:27), as they were not very distinct on the video.

Translation:

We are the women

No women, no cry.

We're in the struggle

No women, no cry

Unique features:

Video footage of this song shows it being sung by men as well as women in the Western Cape and this is why the transcription has a four-part harmony in the Response section. Hamilton (1993) states that this song was sung by domestic workers in Cape Town and that the words mean, if there are no women in the struggle, their voices are not heard. This is a very good example of a Call-and-Response song as the Call is heard very clearly, never overlapping with the Response.

5.4.3.2.2 Siyaya ePitori

Call:

Response:

1 Si-ya-ya e-Pi-to-ri

2 ni

3 si-ya-ya e-Pi-

4 to-ri

5 si-ya-ya e-Pi-to

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: M. Hamilton.

Transcription from:
Hamilton, M. 1993. Sing Freedom:30.

Translation:

We're going to Pretoria

We're going to fight them head on.

Unique features:

This song is usually sung so fast that it is impossible to transcribe it from a performance. This is almost a *toyitoyi* performance with the rhythmic repetition and movement to the *siyaya, siyaya*.

5.4.3.2.3 Bamthatha

Call:

Bam-tha - tha

Response:

Bam tha - tha. Bam- be - ka c - Is- land. Wa - su- ka wa-

Bam- tha - tha

kha - la wa - thi 'a - man - dla' Bam - we

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: Anders Nyberg.

Transcription from:

Nyberg, A. 1984. (Collected and Edited). Freedom is coming. Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa for mixed choir.

Translation:

He's locked up

Sent to Robben Island

We shall never sorrow:

Power to the people

Speak out loud

Speak out, Winnie, speak out

Speak out to the people:

Freedom to our land

5.4.3.2.4 Iza kunyathel' iAfrika

Bass call: 1

I- za ku- nya-thel' i Af- ri- ka Ver-woerd shoot Ku- za- kwen-za-ka- la I- zaku-

Response:

A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka

5

nya-thel' i- A- fri- ka Ver-woerd shoot Ku- za- kwen-za-ka- la Hei Ver-woerd hei Ku-za-kwen-za-ka-

A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka

10

la Hei pa-so- pa I- za ku-nya-the- la Hei Ver-woerd hei ku-za-kwen-za-ka la hei pa-so-

A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka

15

1. 2.

pa I- za kunya thel' la I- za ku- nyathel' i- A- fri- ka

A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka A- fri- ka

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

This Land is Mine, 1965: Record. These songs are authentic liberation songs as they are not recordings of liberation songs for stage performances. The songs, recorded in Tanganyika, were sung by young people who were refugees from South Africa (Hooper 1965: Record Cover).

Translation:

Africa is going to trample on you, Verwoerd.

Verwoerd! Shoot...

You are going to get hurt.

Verwoerd, watch out.

You are going to get hurt.

Watch out

CHORUS:

Africa is going to trample on you, Verwoerd.

Unique features:

The language is forceful and direct. The use of rhyme in these songs is not essential, probably because the songs originated as improvisations and the singer extemporised the song as he went along and had no time to think of rhyme, so great was his concern for the idea he wanted to express. The repeated choral refrain in the response is very common. The Call of this song is in the bass, which is not often found.

5.4.3.2.5 Sikokhele Tambo

1 Call: 2 3 4 5 6

S'ko-khe-le mfo ka Ta - mbo

Response:

S'ko-khe-le Ta - mbo s'ko-khe-le Ta -

7 8 9 10 11 12

So-mba-b'u Vor - ster e Pi-to-li

mbo si-tha-th'iz-we lc-thu so-mfak'e-je - lc

13 14 15 16 17 18

Ta - - mbo S'ko-khe-le mfo ka Ta - -mbo

ah-la-lc kho - na ngo-b'a ka - na ngqo - n - do

19 20 21 22 23

si - tha - th'iz - we lc - thu

S'ko - khe - lc Ta - mbo si - tha - th'iz - we lc - thu

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Cultural Ensemble group of the ANC, [s.a.]: Video.

Translation:

Leader Tambo

We must take our country

We are going to catch Vorster

And put him in jail

Because he hasn't got a mind to think

We are going to catch Kruger

Because he hasn't got a mind to think.

Unique Features:

A very good example of the later political song with its explicit and forceful reference to individuals belonging to political parties and to political parties. A good example of the Call and Response genre with a rhythmical repeated Response which gives the impression of determination

5.4.3.2.6 Sesikathele thina

1 Tenor

1. 2.

Se - si kha - the la thi na se hla se - nyu ka ne mi thwalo. nyu ka ne mi, ne - mi thwa, se hla se -

Baritone

Bass

Detailed description: This is the first system of a musical score for the song 'Sesikathele thina'. It features a vocal line for Tenor and two instrumental lines for Baritone and Bass. The Tenor part begins with a first ending bracket labeled '1.' and a second ending bracket labeled '2.'. The lyrics are written below the Tenor staff. The Baritone and Bass parts are currently empty.

7

nyu ka ne mi, ne - mi thwa, se hla se - nyu ka ne mi, kwa - zen zel' se hla se - nyu ka ne mi thwalo.

Detailed description: This is the second system of the musical score. It continues the vocal line for Tenor, starting with a measure number '7' in a box. The lyrics continue below the staff. The Baritone and Bass parts remain empty.

13

1. 2.

Se - si kha - the la thi na se hla se - nyu ka ne mi thwa lo. nyu ka nemi, ne - mi thwa, se hla se -

nemithwalo

Detailed description: This system contains musical notation for measures 13 through 18. It features a treble clef staff with a key signature of two flats and a common time signature. The melody is divided into two first endings (1. and 2.) by a double bar line. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

19

nyu ka ne mi, ne - mi thwa se hla se - nyu ka nemi, kwa - zen zel' se hla se nyu ka ne mi thwalo.

nemithwalo nemithwalo

Detailed description: This system contains musical notation for measures 19 through 24. It continues the melody from the previous system. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment.

25

1. 2.

Se - si kha - the la thi na se hla se - nyu ka ne mi thwa lo. nyu ka ne mi, ne - mi thwa, se hla se -

nemithwalo

Detailed description: This system contains musical notation for measures 25 through 30. It features a treble clef staff with a key signature of two flats and a common time signature. The melody is divided into two first endings (1. and 2.) by a double bar line. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment.

31

nyu ka ne mi, ne - mi thwa, se hla se - nyu ka ne mi, kwa - zen zel' se hla se - nyu ka nemi thwalo.

nemithwalo nemithwalo

Detailed description: This system contains musical notation for measures 31 through 36. It continues the melody from the previous system. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Bambatha's Children, 1989: Audio Cassette

Translation:

*We are sick and tired of moving
to and fro with luggage
From Zenzele we have been moving
to and fro with luggage.*

Unique features:

An exceptionally long Call by a solo tenor and then the Response by Tenors and Basses. This is a very unusual Call and Response example as in the Response the tenors sing exactly the same as what the tenor Call sang, while the basses have a regular rhythmic response at the same time as the tenors sing. In the Response section from bars 13-24 the tenors sing in unison, while the basses rhythmic response is also in unison. From bars 25-36, the tenors still sing in unison but the basses give a rhythmic response in two-part harmony. This is in a different mould to most Call and Response genres.

5.4.3.2.7 Sengathi inkosi ingabananani

The musical score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and a bass line. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system (bars 1-4) shows a solo tenor call. The second system (bars 5-8) shows the response by tenors and basses. The third system (bars 9-12) continues the response. The lyrics are: Sc - nga - thi 'nko - si i - nga - ba - ni, Ma - Com - ra - des la - pho ni kho - na. Sc - nga - thi 'nko - si i - nga - ba - ni, Ma - Com - ra - des la - pho ni - kho na Sc - nga - thi 'nko - si i - nga - ba - ni Ma - Com - ra - des la - pho ni - kho - na.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Bambatha's Children, 1989: Audio Cassette.

Translation:

*God be with you
Comrades wherever you are
Do remember us
Comrades wherever you are
We will never forget you
Comrades wherever you are
Because we know the struggle you died for.*

Unique features:

This song, although very different to most Call and Response works, was classified as belonging to this genre because it starts with a Call in the one voice and is then joined by two other voices singing the same tune as the Call.

5.4.3.2.8 Rolihlahla Mandela

The musical score is written in 4/4 time and consists of nine numbered measures. Measures 1, 2, and 3 are labeled 'Call:'. Measures 4 through 9 are labeled 'Response:'. The lyrics are: 'Man- de- la, Man- de - la' (measures 1-2), 'Man- de- la says free - dom' (measures 3-4), 'Man- de- la pre- scribes for free - dom' (measures 5-6), 'Show us the way to free- dom' (measures 7-8), and 'Ro - li - hla - hla' (measures 9-10). The score includes two staves per measure, with the upper staff for the vocal line and the lower staff for the accompaniment.

10
Free- dom is in your hand

11
Ro - li- hla- hla Man- de- la, Free- dom is in - your

12

13
Now we say a - way with sla- vry

14
In our land of a - par - theid

15
hands Now we say a - way - with slave - ry

16
In our land of a - par - theid.

17 Call:
Man- de- la, Man- de- - la

Composer: Unknown
 Transcription: M. Hamilton.
 Transcription from:
 Hamilton, M. 1993. Sing Freedom:33.

Unique features:

Nelson Mandela's Xhosa name, Rolihlahla, means "one who brings trouble on himself". Most of the time the Call and Response sections overlap.

5.4.3.2.9 Sesebacha

Call:
1
Thi - na si - lu - lu - sha a - si - na ka - bu - la - wa Thi - na - bu - la - wa A - z -

Response:
Thi - na si - lu - lu - sha a - si - na ka - bu - la - wa bu - la - wa

1.
2.

6

1. 2.

- o si - bu - la - we ngu - Ve - le - vu - tha sc - se - ba - cha A - zo - se - ba - cha Se -

A - zo - se si - bu - la - we ngu - Ve - le - vu - tha sc - se - ba - cha - se - ba - cha Se -

11

1. 2. D.C.

se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha

se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha Se - se - ba - cha

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

This Land is Mine, 1965: Record.

Translation:

We are the youth
And we'll never be destroyed
by Verwoerd in our youth
In our youth
In our youth.

Unique features:

Also one of the songs where the Call and Response sections overlap many times.

5.4.3.2.10 Munt' omhlope

1 2 3 4

We - mto'mhlo - phe u - yo - zi - so - la Nga - le - n'fo - ye - nz'ku - mu - n'om - ya - ma.

5 6 7 8

We - mto'mhlo - phe u - yo - zi - so - la Nga - le - n'fo - ye - nz'ku - mu - n'om - ya - ma.

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for the first two systems of the song 'Munt' omhlope'. The first system includes measures 1 through 4, and the second system includes measures 5 through 8. Each measure is numbered in a box above the staff. The lyrics are written below the treble clef staff. The music is in 4/4 time and features a simple melody with a corresponding bass line.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Bambatha's Children, 1989: Audio Cassette.

Translation:

*You white person,
 You will regret
 What you are doing to the black person.*

Unique features:

This song has a long Call section which is repeated again with three other voices harmonising it. This is clearly a threat and seems more forceful because it is so short. It reminds one of a chant, which is short and where the message is very potent.

5.4.3.2.11 Ayangqikaza

Call: 1

Aya - ngqui - ka - za aya - ngqui - ka - za a - thi kungoo - no

Response:

A - ya - ngqui - ka - za a - ye - sa - ba - ma - gwa - la a - thi kung-

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for the 'Ayangqikaza' section. It is divided into a 'Call' section and a 'Response' section. The 'Call' section has three measures, with the first measure numbered '1'. The 'Response' section has four measures. The lyrics are written below the treble clef staff. The music is in 4/4 time and features a simple melody with a corresponding bass line. A repeat sign is present at the end of the call section.

4 kung- co- no A ya ngqui- ka- za Qi- ni se- la

co- no si- bu- ye- le- mu- va A- ya- ngqui -va Qi- ni- se-

7 Qi- ni se- la na- ni ma- qua- we se- ku- se- du- ze

la - ni na - ni ma- qua- we Se- ku- se- du- ze la- pho si- ya- kho

10 3 Qi- ni- se- la - ni Aya ngqui- ka- za

na na A- ya- ngqui- na

Composer: Unknown.
 Transcription: Unknown. Transcribed in Sweden after a performance by the ANC Cultural workers group in Stockholm, Sweden.

Transcription from:
Mayibuyel! sänger för ett fritt Afrika, 1983:34.

Translation:
*They are doubting
 The cowards are afraid of us.
 Stand strong heroes
 Our aim is very near.*

Unique features:

A song of encouragement with a regular rhythmic response in the Response section. The Call and Response sections overlap a great deal.

5.4.3.3 Songs Sung in Unison

Many of these songs have a hymnlike style and sometimes even have Western hymn cadences. The subjects are however very different to the topical songs of *imusic* and they were performed in the oral mode, making them a subgenre of Black folk music. The following songs will be discussed:

- Hamba Kahle*
- Mayibuye*
- Tanganyikans*
- Sikhalela izwe lakithi*
- Malibongwe*
- Ithemba Enindalo Inkululeko*
- Thina bantu base Mpophomeni, and*
- Vula Botha.*

5.4.3.3.1 Hamba Kahle

The musical score for 'Hamba Kahle' is presented in two systems. Each system consists of a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment line on a bass clef staff. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system covers measures 1 and 2, with the lyrics 'Ha - mba ka - hle (we)mKho - nto, we'. The second system covers measures 3, 4, 5, and 6, with the lyrics 'mKho - nto, mKho - nto we - Si - zwe. Thi - na bantu bo - mkho - nto sizi - mi -'. Measure numbers 1 through 6 are indicated in small boxes above the vocal line. The piano accompaniment features a steady, rhythmic pattern of chords.

ac - le u - ku - wa bu - la - la o - na a - ma - bhu - lu.

Composer: Unknown

Transcription: M. Hamilton.

Transcription from:

Hamilton, M. 1993. Sing Freedom:33.

Translation:

Go well, Spear of the Nation.

We the people of MK,

are prepared to kill the Boers.

According to Hamilton (1993), this is one of the ANC's oldest songs and was sung when *MK* was founded. It can be concluded that time has distanced liberation singers from the song as only one reference to the song could be found on videos consulted. This was at Chris Hani's funeral where Sam Shilowa led the singing (Chris Hani, 1994: Video). The only other time the researcher could hear it being sung was on the audio cassette, The leaders speak: Welcome home rally 29/10/89 Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada. Sisulu asked the people to sing the song and it is clear from the recording that they were uncertain of the tune. The song sung here differs significantly from Hamilton's version, but the singing is not good enough to do a transcription from it. It was decided to classify this song under unison songs as the Call is so short that it does not warrant a classification under, Call and Response.

5.4.3.3.2 Mayibuye

Ma - yi - bu - ye Ma - yi - bu - ye Ma - yi - bu - yi - Af - ri - ka Ma - ka -

phe - le a - ma - pa - si si - tho - li - nku - lu - le - ko.

Composer: Percy Montrose (1883) composed *Clementine*, an American traditional song, copyrighted in 1884 (Fuld 1973:174).

Transcription: A. Gray

Transcription from:

Music transcribed from Coloureds singing in the Western Cape (*Fruits of defiance*, 1989: Video). Words used in the transcription are those sung by exiles from different parties in Tanganyika in 1965 (*This Land is Mine*, 1965: Record).

Translation:

*Come back Africa (3)
Let there be no more pass laws
Let us get freedom.*

It became popular among Coloured farm labourers, probably SACP members, and was translated into Afrikaans in the late twenties:

*Ons bruin mense, seuns van slawe
Vra ons eie land terug*

*Wat gesteel is van ons vaders
Toe hul in die donker sug*

*Gee dit t'rug nou (2)
Weg met al die slawerny!
Pirow kan ons nie ophou nie:
Afrika sal vryheid kry.*

(Roux 1966:232).

The words of the transcription used were in Afrikaans but were not very distinct. It was thus decided to use the words from the record.

Unique features:

According to Roux (1966) the SACP took *Mayibuye iAfrika* (Let Africa return), to the tune of *Clementine*, for its anthem in the 1920s. Cillié (1994) states that *Clementine* appeared in the Globe Song Folio, from which many of the white settlers in South Africa sang at the beginning of the century. The fact that the Communist Party initially consisted mainly of whites, could thus account for the use of this tune with the words, *Mayibuye iAfrika*. Interestingly enough Cillié (1994) also gives examples of Afrikaans folk songs and hymns with lyrics to the tune *Clementine*, some dating as far back as the Anglo-Boer War (1994:8, 32 and 113).

The fact that similar liberation songs were sung by all political parties is demonstrated by the fact that this song was also sung by exiles from different parties in Tanganyika in 1965 (This Land is Mine, 1965: Record). While checking the words of the song with Zulu people it became clear that most Zulus who are middle-aged and older know the song, even though they are not very politically minded. A class of 57 Zulu students at the Durban College of Education who are in their early twenties have never heard the song; a clear indication that some songs are becoming extinct.

5.4.3.3.3 Tanganyikans

Call:

Response:
 When free - dom comes a - long, when free - dom comes a - long, we shall

5 1. 2. To Coda

leave you we shall love you for the things you've done for us. When us.

10

Um - Ta - nga - nyi - kens. Um - Ta - nga - nyi - kens.

Um - Ta - nga - nyi - kens. Um - Ta - nga - nyi -

14

kens. Here we are a - way from home. We shall leave you we shall

18 1. 2. *D.S. al Coda*

love you for the things you've done for us. us. When

22 *CODA*

Oh sweet the ro - ses Oh love - ly ro - ses

Oh sweet the ro - ses Oh love - ly ro -

26

ses. Here we are a - way from home. We shall leave you we shall

30 1. 2.

love you for the things you've done for us. We shall us.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

This Land is Mine, 1965: Record.

Unique Features:

One of the few liberation songs found in English, expressing the gratitude of South African refugees who had fled *apartheid* and found sanctuary in Tanzania. Sections of the song remind one of the early choral music composed by Caluza and then suddenly from bar 10 to 14 there is a section with syncopated rhythms. The rest of the song reminds one of an English ballad. This song was composed much later than Caluza's songs but its style is very similar to the hymn-like style of Caluza's *imusic*.

5.4.3.3.4 Sikhalela izwe lakithi

The musical score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system contains measures 1 through 3, and the second system contains measures 4 through 6. The vocal line is on the top staff of each system, with lyrics written below it. The piano accompaniment is on the three lower staves. Measure numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are indicated in small boxes above the vocal line. The lyrics are: "Si - kha - le - la I - zwe la - ki - thi Si - kha - le - la II - zwe la - ki - thi Lo - na li - zo - tha - thwa nga - ma - ga - lat - sha - ne."

The musical score consists of two systems. Each system has four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef with a '8' in a circle), and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The first system contains measures 7, 8, and 9. The second system contains measures 10, 11, and 12. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

7 Lo - na li - zo - tha - thwa nga - ma - ga - lat - sha - ne. Mzu - lu, mXo - sa,

8

9

10 Msu - thu hla - nga - na - ni. Mzu - lu, mXo - sa, Msu - thu hla - nga - na - ni.

11

12

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

This Land is Mine, 1965: Record.

Translation:

We are crying for our country (2)

Which was taken by the robbers (2)

CHORUS:

Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos unite!

Hey, Verwoerd open up your jail (2)

We'll go in; we, the volunteers (2)

Unique features:

This song composed after the 1950s reminds one of Caluza's *Si lu Sapo* or *iLand Act* composed in response to the Land Act of 1913. A section of Caluza's translation reads:

We are the children of Africa

We cry for our land

Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho

Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho unite

It is clear that the composer of *Sikhalela izwe lakithi* was inspired by *Si lu Sapo*. Not only are some of the words similar but the chorus of *Sikhalela* has exactly the same notes as Bar 1 and 2 of *Si lu Sapo*. *Sikhalela* is also one of the only later songs composed in the choral style of *imusic*. It is, however, here that the similarity ends, the lyrics of *Si lu Sapo* are typical of the early topical political songs composed before the 1950s. *Sikhalela* on the other hand is typical of the forceful political song composed after the 1950s where explicit references to political parties and individuals are found.

5.4.3.3.5 Malibongwe

Musical notation for the first four bars of the song 'Malibongwe'. The score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is on a treble clef staff, and the accompaniment is on a bass clef staff. The lyrics are: Ma - li - bo - ngwe ma - li - bo - ngwe i - nga - ma ga - ma 'nko - si ka - si ma - li - bo - ngwe.

Musical notation for the last four bars of the song 'Malibongwe'. The score continues from the previous section. The lyrics are: nga - ma ga - ma 'nko - si ka - si ma - li - bo - ngwe. Ma - li - bo - ngwe ma - li - bo - ngwe.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

Let the people decide, 1990: Video

Translation:

Let us praise the women's name

Let us praise, let us praise.

Our leaders are in jail (Added at certain times).

Unique features:

This song was heard right throughout the struggle (New Nation, 2-8 July 1987). The transcription was done of women singing *Malibongwe* at the ANC National Consultative Conference 14-16 December 1990 when a woman MK cadre appeared on the stage. The rhythmic movement accompanying all singing can clearly be seen on this video.

5.4.3.3.6 Ithemba Enindalo Inkululeko

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line in G major and 4/4 time, with lyrics: I - them - ba - them - ba En - di - na - lo In - ku - lu -. The second staff is a treble clef accompaniment. The third staff is an alto clef accompaniment. The fourth staff is a bass clef accompaniment. The music features a steady, rhythmic accompaniment with a mix of quarter and eighth notes.

The second system of the musical score also consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line in G major and 4/4 time, with lyrics: le - ko Ma - yi - bu-ye I - them - ba - them - ba En - di -. A bracket with the number '3' is placed above the first three notes of the vocal line. The second staff is a treble clef accompaniment. The third staff is an alto clef accompaniment. The fourth staff is a bass clef accompaniment. The accompaniment continues with a consistent rhythmic pattern.

6
na- lo In- ku- lu- le- ko Ma- yi- bu-ye Ma-

9
vo- lon- ti- ya ta- ta- ni nto- nga n'zo- kwen- za- ka- la

12
ngu Verwoerd ngu Verwoerd Yi- ni- na

15
Yi- ni- na yi- ni- na Mayi- bu- ye Mayi- buye I

Musical score for the song 'This Land is Mine'. It consists of four staves: a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment line, and two additional instrumental lines. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: 'them - ba, them - ba En - di - na - lo in - ku - lu - le - ko Ma - yi - buye.' The score is numbered 19 in the top left corner.

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Gray.

Transcription from:

This Land is Mine, 1965: Record.

Translation:

*I am confident of freedom
Come back Africa
Activists! Grab your sticks.
Watch out for Verwoerd.*

Unique features:

All voices sing simultaneously, harmonising the melody sung in the soprano in this transcription. The song has many syncopated rhythms, reminding one of the earlier *iRagtime* genre. *iRagtime* consisted of topical subjects which were clearly understood by people, even those who were not familiar with the circumstances surrounding the song. The songs composed after the 1950s can, however, only be understood if the performers and listeners are familiar with the situations suggested in the lyrics.

5.4.3.3.7 Thina bantu base Mpophomeni

1 2 3 4

Thi - na ba - ntu ba - se Mpo - 'me - ni A - si - vme - la - ni na - ba - qa - shi

5 6 7 8

Thi - na ba - ntu ba - se Mpo - 'me - ni A - si - vme - la - ni na - ba - qa - shi Si -

9 10 11 12

joyi - ni Mawu! Si - joyi - ni Mawu! Si - joyi - ni Mawu! na - ba - qa - shi. Si -

13 14 15 16

joyi - ni Mawu! Si - joyi - ni Mawu! Si - joyi - ni Mawu! na - ba - qa - shi!

Composer: Unknown.
 Transcription: A. Gray.
 Transcription from:
Bambatha's Children, 1989: Audio Cassette

Translation:

*We people of Mpophomeni
 We don't agree with the bosses*

We joined MAWU. We joined MAWU

We the members of MAWU

Will never pay rent

We will never pay rent

Even when they beat us up

Even when they shoot us

We are as one. We are as one.

We remain as one.

We boycotted white shops

Because of our struggle

We will never give our money

To white shop owners

Unique features:

The lyrics of this song, although composed during the 1980s, remind one of the topical subjects addressed in the songs falling under *imusic*. See Chapter 3 for political and historical connotations.

5.4.3.3.8 Vula Botha

The musical score for 'Vula Botha' is presented in two systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The first system contains measures 1 through 3, and the second system contains measures 4 through 6. Measure numbers are indicated in small boxes above the vocal line. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

1 Vu - la Bo - tha si - ya - ngqo-ngqo - za Khu - lul' u - Man - de - la

2

3

4 A - si - kho - khe - le Khu - lul' u - Man - de - la A - si - kho - khe - le

5

6

Composer: Unknown.

Transcription: A. Nyberg.

Transcription from:

Nyberg, A. 1984. (Collected and Edited). Freedom is coming. Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa for mixed choir.

Translation:

Open Botha

We are a'knocking

Release Mandela

our leader

Unique features:

Although this song was written much later it is very much in the style of the hymnlike *imusic* of Caluza's time. It also has the sequential endings found in hymns.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of these transcriptions was to illustrate the different categories of liberation songs. This was a preliminary research and makes no claims to be a comprehensive study as there are many more liberation songs which can be categorized. Further research, however, extends well beyond the domain of this study and will have to remain the sphere for future study.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study established that liberation songs were used as a cultural weapon to accelerate change in South African society. As the songs were used as a medium for seeking equality and peace as interlocking aims, an intimate knowledge of the black liberation struggle was obtained, based on the content of the songs. Research proved, however, that liberation songs were not unique to the South African black struggle, but were and are used world-wide as a fundamental human resource which plays a vital role in the survival and development of many societies.

An interesting aspect was the fact that resistance culture in South Africa was not distinctive to black South Africans. It was established that there was a distinct parallel between the black liberation songs and those sung by Dutch/Afrikaans South Africans. As liberation songs contain a powerful critique of key sociopolitical issues and the lyrics sketch the conditions which inspired the singers, this parallel was easily identified. On the one hand South African liberation songs reflected the struggle by the whites, against British rule and exploitation, and on the other they can be seen as a testament to the black man's struggle against *apartheid*. A further parallel was exhibited in the songs expressing discontent at labour-related socio-economic conditions which affected black and white South Africans at different times in South African history.

Liberation songs proved to be a potent catalyst for cementing solidarity, for empowering the masses and for catharsis. The study was thus able to communicate a sense of thought as expressed in the songs sung by people participating in liberation struggles. As the main focus of the research was the black liberation struggle, the contours of black liberation songs were established by means of two classification systems, motivated by:

- texts, which incorporated aspects of South African history, and
- melodies, which allowed for melodic categorisation of transcriptions of songs according to musical genre.

Since the aesthetic and stylistic evaluation in this study were preceded by the recording of historical facts implicated in the songs and the preservation of these melodies for posterity, it is especially with regard to these two aspects that the study attempts to, inaugurate not end, discussion and to open up new avenues of research and understanding.

Firstly, through the texts the researcher hopes to call to the attention of historians the importance of an entire body of sources, which have been largely ignored. Secondly, in order to address the concern expressed that the songs would be lost to posterity should they not be transcribed before time distanced researchers from the sources, the transcriptions in this study only often represent a bare skeleton of what is being sung. Notation has been modified to suit practical ends and to be universally understood. It is in this respect that many new avenues of research are opened. In order to make these songs truly meaningful they should be transcribed using a notation which could best portray how text, performance and tradition interrelate. A further research mechanism would then be for the music scholar to analyse these songs with regard to melody, rhythm, form and timbre which would suggest the actual musical elements of the songs. The influence of Western music on these liberation songs could thus be ascertained and the indigenous elements could be highlighted. The analysis of the songs would express and reaffirm the culturally determined values of society.

This study does not, however, pretend to be a study of all South African black liberation songs, but only of some crucial and neglected aspects of the songs. It highlights the fact that the songs were used effectively as a positive strategy to accelerate change in South African society. The songs, which are unique to South Africa, are part and parcel of the country's history and echo a collective cry of discontent; for as long as there have been and are situations and conditions in need of change, liberation songs will be heard. The songs thus fulfil the overall functions of asserting cultural unity and assisting in societal integration.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the orally transmitted liberation songs of the black liberation movements in South Africa and was primarily concerned with two major questions:

- the lyrics of the songs which mirrored sociopolitical conditions and the contours of black thought during the *apartheid* era, and
- the transcription of a selection of these songs which reflect the modifications in style these songs underwent in order to demonstrate the changes in black thought with regard to the liberation struggle.

In order to understand the creation of an expressive anti-*apartheid* culture by black South Africans the following avenues were explored.

In **Chapter 1** the foundations of the study were discussed. **Chapter 2** gives an overview of world liberation songs which illustrate that these songs were and are used world-wide as a fundamental human resource which plays a vital role in the survival and development of many societies. **Chapter 3** chronologically traced the history of white Afrikaans South African liberation songs, while **Chapter 4** conducted a similar study regarding black South African liberation songs. These Chapters were based within the body of research which is concerned with the relationship of music and its context. In an attempt to communicate and understand liberation songs by these two cultures it is essential that the historical context which generated the development of the liberation song be explored. **Chapter 4** also highlighted the fact that black liberation songs underwent many modifications in style due to changing sociopolitical conditions which faced black South Africans during the *apartheid* era. In **Chapter 5** a selection of black liberation songs was transcribed and collected and placed in the different style categories explained in **Chapter 4**.

In concluding the researcher pointed out that since the aesthetic and stylistic evaluation in this study were preceded by the recording of historical facts implicated in the songs, it is especially with regard to these two aspects that the study attempts to inaugurate not end discussion and to open up new avenues of research and understanding.

OPSOMMING

Die studie handel oor die vryheidsliedere van die vryheidsbewegings van swart Suid-Afrikaners, en wel spesifiek oor die vryheidsliedere wat mondelings oorgedra is.

Twee belangrike aspekte word behandel:

- die lirieke van die liedere wat die sosio-politiese toestande asook die denke van swart Suid-Afrikaners gedurende die apartheidsera weerspieël, en
- die transkripsie van 'n aantal van hierdie liedere ter illustrasie van die stylveranderinge wat die liedere ondergaan het weens veranderinge in die swart denke ten opsigte van die vryheidstryd.

Om die ontstaan en groei van die ekspressiewe anti-apartheidskultuur onder swart Suid-Afrikaners te verstaan, is daar op verskeie aspekte gekonsentreer.

In **Hoofstuk 1** word die struktuur van die studie omskryf. **Hoofstuk 2** gee 'n oorsig van vryheidsliedere wat wêreldwyd gesing word. Daar word aangetoon dat die sing van vryheidsliedere dwarsoor die wêreld 'n lewenskragtige rol speel in die oorlewing en ontwikkeling van baie gemeenskappe. **Hoofstuk 3** omvat 'n chronologiese studie van die geskiedenis van die vryheidsliedere van wit Afrikaanssprekende Suid-Afrikaners, terwyl **Hoofstuk 4** 'n soortgelyke studie van vryheidsliedere van swart Suid-Afrikaners binne die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedkundige konteks maak. Om die vryheidsliedere van hierdie twee kulture te begryp en te waardeer is dit noodsaaklik dat die historiese konteks waarbinne dit ontstaan het, verken moet word. **Hoofstuk 4** belig ook die stylveranderinge wat swart vryheidsliedere ondergaan het weens die veranderde sosio-politiese toestande waarbinne swart Suid-Afrikaners hulle tydens die apartheidsera bevind het. In **Hoofstuk 5** is 'n seleksie van swart vryheidsliedere getranskribeer en in verskillende stylkategorieë, soos aangetoon in **Hoofstuk 4**, geplaas.

Ten slotte wys die navorsing daarop dat die estetiese en stilistiese waardering van die vryheidsliedere voorafgegaan is deur die ondersoek na die historiese konteks soos geïmpliseer in die liedere, juis om so nuwe studievelds van navorsing en bespreking te inisieer.