MAPPING LIBERATION THROUGH SONG: THE IMPACT OF ANTI-APARTHEID POPULAR MUSIC AND PROTEST/LIBERATION SONGS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE DIASPORA, 1950-1994

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List of Abbreviations/Acronyms

ANC – African National Congress

ANCWL – African National Congress Women's League

BCM – Black Consciousness Movement

DIP – Department of Information and Publicity

FEDSAW – Federation of South African Women

FOSATU – Federation of South African Trade Unions

FrAC – Franchise Action Council

FRELIMO – Mozambique Liberation Front

GHREC – General/Human Research Ethics Committee

MK – Umkhonto we Sizwe

MPLA – The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

NGK – Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk

NP – National Party

PAB – Publications Appeal Board

PAC – Pan Africanist Congress

RTD – Radio Tanzania Dar-es-Salaam

SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACP – South African Communist Party

SAIC – South African Indian Congress

SASO – South African Student's Organization

SWAPO – South West Africa People's Organization

UDF – United Democratic Front

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USA – United States of America

ZANU – Zimbabwe African National Union

ZAPU – Zimbabwe African People's Union

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Abstract

This study aims to analyse the role that popular music and protest/liberation songs played in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, spanning across the era of apartheid rule from 1948 until 1994. This study discusses multiple aspects of popular music opposing apartheid, and non-commercial music as drivers for liberation. Consequently, this study will provide a multi-dimensional view of the mechanisms promoting protest songs, the artists that opposed apartheid through song, State censorship as a response to resistance, and the role of the international community. From the inception of apartheid, the liberation struggle was fought on various fronts. This study contends that the influence of liberation/protest music on the anti-apartheid struggle was a forerunner in cultural resistance, both locally and in the diaspora.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The apartheid system was implemented in South Africa in 1948 under the National Party (NP) Government. The NP introduced a number of legislations in order to enforce the apartheid policy. This institutionalised racial discrimination and segregation was met with resistance from the Black population (the term 'Black' inclusive of Africans, Coloureds and Indians), as well as members of other population groups. Opposition to apartheid manifested in a variety of ways, including non-violent and violent protests, using mediums of culture like music and art to conscientise people, forms of mass media like radio to propagate anti-apartheid sentiments and various other methods of resistance. Music as a form of cultural resistance, played a large role in the movement against apartheid in South Africa, as well as within the international community. The impact of popular music and liberation/protest songs opposing apartheid was a fundamental part of the liberation struggle.[1] This included raising awareness about the atrocities of racial segregation, creating international solidarity against apartheid, promoting liberation propaganda and to a certain extent presenting an alternative vision of culture in a future democratic South Africa. This study attempts to discuss such factors with reference to popular music and liberation/protest songs in South Africa and the diaspora between 1950 and 1994.

It is important to note that the lyrical content and tone of this music reflected the atmosphere that it was composed in. The anti-apartheid music of the 1950s, soon after apartheid had begun,explicitly addressed peoples' grievances over pass laws and forced relocation. Different effortsto achieve liberation were employed both locally and internationally with the DefianceCampaign launched in 1952 by the African National Congress (ANC), the South African IndianCongress (SAIC) and Franchise Action Council (FrAC) which specifically aimed to repeal sixunjust apartheid laws. In 1954, the women's anti-pass campaign was launched under the leadership of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) to peacefully protest the pass laws that required women

[1] T.R. Genovese, *Get Up, Stand Up: The Role of Music as a Driver for Political Change in Apartheid SouthAfrica.* (Unpublished MS: School of Anthropology, The University of Arizona, 2013), pp. 4-5.

to carry passes.[2] The arts became an integral part in integrating the anti-apartheid message into everyday society. Music became an outlet for oppressed people to express their dissatisfaction with the racist and discriminatory government in the country. Millions of people across the country shared anti-apartheid sentiments and the arts became a reflection of everyday struggles of non-white South Africans. With the traction of international figures and artists, the anti-apartheid movement became more overt and saw the solidarity of the international community. The international community became more conscientised about the struggle of black South Africans under the apartheid regime. With the escalation of discrimination of non-white South Africans under apartheid laws and restrictions, the anti-apartheid movement required a more aggressive approach, compared to the passive resistance in the earlier portion of the 20th century. Music, which is often referred to as a universal language, played an important role in advocating for the dismantling of the apartheid regime.[3] The evolution of anti-apartheid music created a shared experience for oppressed peoples across theglobe. As the liberation movement expanded beyond the borders of South Africa, so did the message of freedom. International artists showed their support by refusing to perform in South Africa and became allies to South African artists who introduced an anti-apartheid message into their music.

1.2 Background and rationale

It is argued in this study that the anti-apartheid music and protest started in the early 1950s, some few years after the coming into power of the NP. Music was an instrumental part in expressing the disdain for the apartheid system and reflected the key issues that South Africans were facing during a particular era.[4] During the 1950s, the music reflected the condemnation of the Group Areas Act and Bantu Resettlement Act which forced thousands of black and coloured South Africans to relocate. Residents from Sophiatown were forcefully removed and relocated to Meadowlands and Soweto. This was an example of the escalation of the oppressive and discriminatory apartheid regime. Forced removals became a regular occurrence in black and coloured settlements across the country and sparked immense outrage from those who were dispossessed. Musicians of colour were not exempt from the struggles of ordinary citizens

[2] J. C. Wells, "Why Women Rebel: A Comparative Study of South African Women's Resistance in Bloemfontein (1913) and Johannesburg (1958)". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10(1), 1983, p. 58.
[3] G. Olwage, "Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Era", in *Composing Apartheid: Music For and Against Apartheid,* 2008, p. 36.
[4] L. Allen, "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity during the 1950s", *Ethnomusicology,* 47(2), 2003, p. 234.

and used their platforms to promote the dismantling of the apartheid system and to highlight the sentiments of millions of South Africans who suffered under the racist regime in the country. For example, in 1956, Strike Vilakazi wrote a song called "Meadowlands" to illustrate the heartache that residents felt, being forcefully removed from Sophiatown. The song was largely popularised and covered by several South African artists like Nancy Jacobs and Her Sisters and Dolly Rathebe. Although the song did not directly speak to the political situation in the country during the time, it carried a nuanced message where "audiences were left with the challenge of deciphering its deeper meanings".[5] Although it was a wildly jazz and upbeat song, it resonated with many black and coloured South Africans who were forcefully removed and received a lot of commercial success. Songs, like the compositions of Vuyisile Mini which were not commercially successful, were equally influential in contributing to the resistance to apartheid. The diversification of the music industry in the 1950s provided a space for a plethora of artists to use their platform to promote liberation, both commercially and noncommercially.[6]

Following the Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960, anti-apartheid music intensified as the liberation movement took on a more militarised approach. This was followed by the massive arrests and later exile of various political leaders, as well as musicians who publicly supported the liberation movement. The political turmoil surrounding the violence of the Sharpeville Massacre and the protests that followed, engulfed the country in a state disillusionment and fear. Anti-apartheid music became more downbeat and the lyrical content sombre, while increasing harassment and censorship by the government forced artists to use subtle and 'hidden meanings' in their lyrics. The media coverage of the Sharpeville Massacre drew the attention of the international community to the ills of apartheid. Mediums of spreading anti-apartheid messages became just as important as liberation songs in the 1960s. The establishment of Radio Bantu and Radio Freedom in the 1960s changed the dynamics of mechanisms of propaganda. Songs like *Thina Sizwe* and *Senzeni na* were popularised by freedom fighters and black anti-apartheid activists following the Sharpeville Massacre to highlight the country's mournful sentiments about the lives lost.

Liberation music and protest music and protests also allowed people to circumvent the more stringent restrictions on other forms of expression. Sometimes the militant nature of this music played a significant role in advancing a more militant role of resistance inside and outside the country.

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[5] A. le-Roux-Kemp. "Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song". *Law and Humanities*, 8 (2), 2014, p. 253.
[6] V. Msila, "Reliving South African Apartheid History in a Classroom: Using Vuyisile Mini's Protest Song's", *Creative Education,* 4(12B), 2013, p. 52.

The mid-1970s with the Soweto uprising, anti-apartheid music was taken into greater heights with songs such as *Soweto Blues* written by Hugh Masekela and performed by Miriam Makeba encouraging a more direct challenge to the apartheid government. Similarly, in 1974, Abdullah Ibrahim wrote *Mannenberg,* a song titled after the Cape Flats settlement of Mannenberg, where coloureds who were forcefully removed were resettled against their will. Often communities forcefully removed from their homes were relocated in overcrowded and crime ridden slums. During this era, the music reflected the feelings of despair and sadness, but also reflected the readiness for violent revolt for systemic change. As political violence and resistance campaigns escalated, the State responded with more forceful censorship laws. The aim was to further suppress liberation material in the country. The banning of materials that were deemed radical and anti-state became more prominent.[7]

The study contends that throughout the apartheid period in South Africa, the ANC used different methods of resistance to challenge the apartheid regime. Anti-apartheid music became one of the political 'weapons' in doing so. Conversely, the apartheid regime was also destined in crushing all oppositions. On one hand inside the country, the regime tried with limited success to embark on mass arrest of artists who promoted the anti-apartheid music. On the other hand, the musicians sympathetic to the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other political organizations' anti-apartheid course continued with the anti-apartheid music outside the borders of the country. This strategy, allowed banned organizations to denounce apartheid at an international level, hence, it received global solidarity.

Anti-apartheid music within South Africa faced significant censorship from the apartheid regime, both directly and via the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Michael Drewett notes:

> Many musicians opposed this system through their music and support of antiapartheid political cause. In response, the Nationalist government attempted to minimize the impact of musicians bypreventing controversial music from being heard and by repressing the musicians themselves. Notwithstanding the government's attempt to maintain its hegemony, musicians fought back in a multitude of ways.[8]

As mentioned above, musicians opposing the government faced threats, harassment, and arrests. Musicians from other countries also participated in the resistance to apartheid, both by releasing music critical of the South African government, and by participating in a cultural boycott of South

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[7] C. Hamm, "'The Constant Companion of Man': Separate Development, Radio Bantu, And Music", *Popular Music,* 10(2), May 1991, p. 153.
[8] M. Drewett, "Music in the struggle to end apartheid: South Africa", *Policy Pop*, 2003, p. 153.

Africa. Examples included the song *Biko* by Peter Gabriel, *Sun City* by Artists United Against Apartheid and a concert in honor of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday in 1988 in Wembley, England. Prominent South African musicians such as Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela, forced into exile, also released music critical of apartheid, and this music had a significant impact on Western popular culture, contributing to the moral outrage over apartheid.

The above explanation was an indication that local artists in exile during the 1960s, 1970's and 1980's interacted and collaborated with international artists and became crucial in spreading the anti-apartheid message beyond the South African borders. This was instrumental in amassing support and pressuring the government into dismantling the apartheid regime. The consequences of international solidarity to end discrimination in South Africa had both economic and socio-political implications for the country, particularly with disinvestments and sanctions against the apartheid government by international bodies and corporations.

The collaboration between localand international artists promoting an anti-apartheid message turned the liberation movement in South Africa into a global movement which could no longer be ignored by the international community. Similarly, struggle songs that depicted the feelings of oppression and often violent events that took place in the country were sung in the ANC as well as in the PAC military camps.Therefore, exile became safe havens in southern Africa and spread across the continent and into other parts of the world, again reinforcing support for liberation activists who entered these military training camps to combat the apartheid government on all fronts.[9]

Peaceful andpassive resistance were no longer sufficient to meet the demands of the oppressed and therefore these training camps, which were banned in South Africa, were necessary to arm and equip thoseon the front lines. The interaction between South African and southern African liberation movements in these training camps, where experiences in exile were shared, promoted the sentiments of Pan-Africanism, the plight for the end of imperialist regimes and the suffering of black people through songs and anthems that supported the message of liberation.

The post-1976 period elicited resistance from artists all over the world. Artists like Bob Marley and the Wailers used their platform to voice their anger and outrage at the events that took place in Southern Africa and liberation movements of oppressed people across the globe, and the dominoeffect that it had on the student movement across the country and in the diaspora. In 1976, Bob Marley and the Wailers sampled the speech that His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie 1 of Ethiopia made before the United Nations General Assembly 1963. The song entitled War

[9] S. R. Davis, "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 35(2), June 2009, p. 351

stated that *"…and until the ignoble and unhappy regimes, that hold our brothers in Angola, in Mozambique, South Africa, sub-human bondage, have been toppled, utterly destroyed…well, everywhere is war…me say war*".[10]

Encouraging the end to imperialist regimes, while simultaneously encouraging oppressed Africans to arm themselves and fight for freedom, *War* became a Pan-Africanist anthem for oppressed peoples on the African continent and a warning to racist regimes at the prospect of war for liberation.

The famous *Soweto Blues* written and performed by Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba was released in 1977 and became a staple in reflecting on the events of 1976. *Soweto Blues* highlighted many of the complexities that contributed to the Soweto Uprising and the consequences thereof. The song begins with recounting the issuing of the removal of Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu (among other vernacular languages) from the school curriculum. As the song progresses and the tempo intensifies, so does the account of the events that took place in 1976. *Soweto Blues* accounts for the multi-layered socio-political and economic factors that played a part in the youth uprising. It addresses the absence of men in the townships who were often laboring in the inner cities where non-whites were not permitted to live, far from their homes and families in informal settlements and locations. It then addresses the violence that erupted in Orlando when police opened fire on school children who were peacefully protesting an oppressive schooling system, forcing them to receive their education in Afrikaans. It also poses the question to the listener *Benikhupi na?*, which translates to "Where were you"? This can be interpreted as a critique to South Africans who were complicit in promoting the violent and oppressive apartheid regime, and those who stood by and did nothing about the atrocities of the violent killing of children.

Other artists, such as *Juluka Band,* comprised of Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu used the socio-political climate in the 1970s performing together as an interracial duo (Clegg being white and English Mchunu being a black and Zulu man). The duo, who's multi-racial band later expanded, performed in both Zulu and English. Clegg later split from the group and later founded the group *Savuka* which continued the same genre and message through their music as his earlier group.[11]

With the rising violence and unrest from the mid-1970, the apartheid regime responded by implementing the Total Onslaught Strategy. This aimed at suppressing uprisings and boycotts in

[10] Bob Marley and The Wailers song entitled *War* on the album *Rastaman Vibrations*, 1976.
[11] Johnny Clegg. Juluka Iyajuluka: Interview with Johnny Clegg in 1983. https://jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.int19830000.038.362.1101, 2.06. 2020.

townships and minimising resistance. Musicians who overtly opposed the apartheid regime found were subject to censorship and intimidation by the police. Artists like Clegg and Mchunu, formally known as *Juluka Band,* were often subject to police raids and disturbances at their performances. It became increasingly challenging for artists who overtly produced and performed music with an anti- apartheid message to perform publicly and release music without the risk of censorship or scrutinyby the South African Police. As a result, many artists like Jonas Gwangwa, Makeba andothers chose to go into exile to escape the intimidation and prosecution they received for promoting anti-apartheid sentiments in their music. In the latter period of the 1970s, the apartheid government instituted various mechanisms of censorship. In 1976, the Publications Act was implemented. The Publications Actwas a vital instrument for direct censorship, including sound recordings. This Act led to the Directorate of Publications and the establishment of the Publications Appeal Board (PAB), whichwas government appointed.[12] This made it even more difficult for musicians who condemned apartheid to do so through their music.

With many liberation leaders either imprisoned or in exile following the political violence in the 1960s and 1970s, the ruling party aimed to crumble the liberation movements further by banning the political organizations under the Internal Security Act of 1982.[13] The several State of Emergencies declared in the 1980s further enforced the police state in South Africa. The 1980s saw a trend of releasing songs collectively performed by a multitude of musicians in aid of humanitarian causes. For example, USA for Africa's *We Are the World* aimed at raising money for, and awareness of, famine relief in Africa. In 1986 the apartheid regime decided to exploit this trend. A propaganda song entitled *Together We'll Build a Brighter Future* involved a cross-section of South African musicians promoting peace and multiracial harmony in South Africa, despite ongoing police brutality and the erosion of freedom which came with the state of emergency. The apartheid regime offered musicians large sums of money to participate, but, in an instance of left-wing censorship, most top musicians refused. The severity of the cultural struggle was emphasised when arsonists burned down the house of Steve Kekana, who participated in the recording, as he was perceived as a sell-out.[14]

In 1986, the emergency regulations 'made it an offence for any person to make, write, record, disseminate, display, utter or even pass(es) a 'subversive statement'.[15] The State of Emergencies and the emergency regulations allowed the state to ban materials independent of the PAB, which

[12] M. Drewett, "Music in the struggle to end apartheid: South Africa", p. 154.
[13] *Ibid*.
[14] *Ibid*., p. 160.
[15] *Ibid.*

rarely banned music. During the 1980s and 1990s, with a country on the brink of civil war, liberation music became a multi-cultural outlet in the plight for an end to political violence, for social justice and equal and fair elections. Afrikaans groups established the *Voëlvry* music movement. The goal of *Voëlvry* was to criticize and challenge the apartheid government using Afrikaans music that satirised the political and social climate in the country. Liberation/protest music became a collaborative movement locally and internationally against apartheid.

1.3 Research problem

Solidarity against the apartheid regime in South Africa echoed across the globe. Various European, African and Western Countries entered the fray in attempts to side with South Africa's liberation movements. For example, liberation movements of African peoples across the world particularly those in the USA during the 1950s and 1960s; the independence of High Commission Authorities who were Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) all contributed to the pressures to dismantle the apartheid regime in South Africa. The Pan-African Movement linked diasporic clusters that were experiencing similar segregation and oppression. In the USA, those who were fighting for equality in their own country, simultaneously advocated for the end to systemic racial discrimination in South Africa under the apartheid regime. Similarly, on the African continent, many countries were fighting for independence from colonial rule while simultaneously advocating for democracy in South Africa.

The arts have played an important role in South African history and equally played an important role in the contestation of racial, gender and socio-economic inequalities in the country. Protest art has been fundamental in reflecting the struggles of the day and the feelings of the people during a particular period. Social and political protests took form in different genres. In mass of literature pertaining to the apartheid era in South Africa, there are few studies done on the impactof anti-apartheid music spanning across the liberation movement in the country, and how that translated into international solidarity as well. The study attempts to investigate how anti- apartheid music was used as a 'weapon' to challenge the ills of the apartheid regime during the period under discussion.

In anticipation to address the above, the following questions constitute the core focus of the role anti-apartheid music and musicians played in this regard:

a) What was the nature of protest songs at the inception of apartheid, and how did they evolve with the liberation movement from 1950-1994?

b) How can this study consolidate a fragmented account of liberation music during the apartheid era, and pay attention to the evolution of anti-apartheid music as the liberation movement intensified?
c) To what extent did the role of music that promoted an anti-apartheid message spread across the globe and create international solidarity against apartheid?
d) What were the mechanisms used to promote liberation/protest music?
e) Who were the popular music composers, locally and internationally, who participated in the anti-apartheid music movement?
f) What was the role of less popular musicians and liberation songs in the promotion of protest music?
g) How did the apartheid government and apartheid sympathisers respond to protest music that called for an end to systematic discrimination?

1.4 Aims and objectives

The primary aim of this research project is to conduct an in-depth study that holistically approaches theextent to which anti-apartheid music formed part of the anti-apartheid movement. Furthermore, the study aims at addressing both the literary and academic gaps that alludes how music as protest action affected anti-apartheid musicians inside South Africa and those in the diaspora. Based on the above, the study strives to highlight how music played an essential role in creating international solidarity against the apartheid regime, and how local and international artists used it to convey the message of liberation.

Furthermore, the study aims to consolidate a comprehensive narrative that spans over four decades of ethnomusicology in South Africa during the apartheid era. Thus, investigating the role and influence of protest/liberation songs becomes important in understanding the whole question of the country's liberation struggle. In this study, the researcher attempts to map how music that spread the anti-apartheid message evolved as the violence and resistance to oppression intensified. This study also attempts to give a holistic view of how music contributed to protest action during the apartheid era.

Additionally, the study analyses key contributors within the liberation struggle that used music as a means of mirroring the feelings of those oppressed by the apartheid regime, as well as how that message was received and responded to. The role of music to strengthen internationalsolidarity with artists abroad supporting local artists, collaborating and creating music that held a strong message demanding the dismantling of the apartheid system is also evaluated to unpack

the reach that anti-apartheid driven music had. Due to the limited and often fragmented sources dedicated to the impact of anti-apartheid music, the study fills some of the historical and literary gaps and provide a contribution to the liberation studies historiography.

1.5 Research design and methodology

This study's point of departure is that there exists little academic documentation from historians on the role of anti-apartheid music throughout the liberation movement, that are consolidated in a single study. Michael Drewett in *Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa*[16] provides insight into the height of state censorship in the 1970s, and the mechanisms to suppress liberation songs. Drewett's section entitled *Mechanisms of Music Censorship* compartmentalises various modes of censorship, including state-imposed legislation, the SABC regulations and self-censorship. These elements are analysed to show state response to liberation songs and anti-apartheid popular music, as well as the harassment and abuse those artists who produced liberation music faced.

For the basis of this study, qualitative research methodology is employed. This study is literature based (desktop study) and will therefore not make use of human subjects/participants for interviews. Literary sources will be sufficient when collecting and analysing non-numerical data. Using archival sources and other secondary sources, such as books, book chapters, and published peer reviewed journal articles, this study will map the influence that music had on the anti-apartheid campaign, both in South Africa and the diaspora. The National Archives were consulted to gather archival material for this study. The use of national government records will be essential in understanding both ends of the pro-apartheid and anti-apartheid sentiments, including *Annual Reports* from the SABC. Furthermore, this study makes use of the compositions of artists, such as Vuyisile Mini, Miriam Makeba, Dorothy Masuka and Harry Belafonte who were at the forefront of the liberation movement, as well as artists who chose anonymity and remained in the background, to evaluate the evolution of liberation songs and popular music in opposing apartheid.

The use of national government records was essential in understanding both ends of pro-apartheid and anti-apartheid sentiments. As the anti-apartheid movement progressed, the government's policies of containment and suppression escalated. In 1982, the Internal Security and Protection Information Acts were implemented. Government records as part and parcel of archival material

[16] Drewett, p. 153.

proved to be important in highlighting what this entailed for censorship, and how that impacted on musicians and music as a medium of protest action. Archival materials were also instrumental in analysing government mandates to the SABC and other broadcasting platforms that prohibited the broadcasting the works of certain musicians or artists. Despite debates surrounding the reliability of the colonial or post-colonial archive, this study believes that it would be useful in giving a holistic perspective on how both sides of the apartheid spectrum responded and were influenced by anti-apartheid music.

Aside from exploring the sphere of music as protest action, this study inclusively looks at landmarking events between the 1950 and 1994 that were mapped through a musical experience. For this reason, several books, articles, and journals that address periodically significant eventswill be used for background purposes and context. This study remains a historiographic research project and thus properly contextualises events during the four active decades of the apartheid and apartheid movements in South Africa and uses a variety of sources to contextualise the complexities of the apartheid era such as *Apartheid: The History of Apartheid: Race vs Reason – South Africa 1948-1994* by Michael Morris.[17]

This study will be mapping the impact that music had on the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. As such, *Composing Apartheid* edited by Grant Olwage is one of the few sources and the first of its kind that maps the entirety of the musical experience during the liberation struggle. This book contains a collection of essays that are about music for and against the apartheid system. It will be useful in forming a comparative study for this research project. Journal articles such as *In Township Tonight* by David Coplan,[18] *Singing Against Apartheid* by Shirley Gilbert[19] and *Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid* by Drewett were used to consolidate and strengthen a comprehensive study on this era in music.

Being that this study is on music as a form of protest art, music produced and released during this era will be used for data collections. Any form of audio recordings, visual recordings and lyrical content will be used to give an honest analysis of the era of anti-apartheid music. The musical historiography of artists and their body of work will also be used in analysing the extent to which they used their influence to spread the anti-apartheid message. Being that this study is a desktop

[17] M. Morris, *Apartheid: The History of Apartheid: Race vs Reason – South Africa 1948-1994*, 2012.
[18] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*, 2007.
[19] S. Gilbert, "Singing Against Apartheid: ANC Cultural Groups and the International Anti-Apartheid Struggle", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 33(2), June 2007.

study and due to the current global pandemic and safety precautions, no interviews will be conducted as a means to collect data.

1.6 Literature Review

This study argues that there is little academically documented from historians of the role of the anti-apartheid music in the liberation course of South Africa. As mentioned before, it attempts to dissect how musicians used their platform to challenge the apartheid regime and its apartheid policy intentionally and sometimes unintentionally. The issue of anti-apartheid music has beena focus of some scholars in attempts to understand the impact this had on the broader historiography of the liberation struggle. However, very little attempt has been made to interrogatethe value of anti-apartheid popular music and protest/liberation songs during the diasporic years of the liberation struggle, and the impact thereof locally. Without doubt, one agrees that protest culture and symbolism as exposed by anti-apartheid music became an integral part of protest action during the apartheid era.

Both locally and internationally, artists used their platforms to condemn the atrocities under the apartheid regime, showed solidarity for the plight of liberation and made bold statements that publicly challenged the racist government. For example, in exile the ANC introduced a number of initiatives such as the establishment of the *Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble* and the *Amandla Cultural Ensemble* and these became a hub for musicians, poets and storytellers to narrate life under the apartheid system. *Mayibuye* travelled across Europe spreading the anti-apartheid message. The *Amandla Cultural Ensemble* operated mainly in Africa, and it is often credited with its origins in the World Black Festival of Arts and Culture held in Nigeria in 1977.[20] In order to curtail the influence and spread of the anti-apartheid music, the NP's Total Onslaught policy included amongst others,attempts to suppress the anti-apartheid movement by declaring a series of state of emergencies andemploying various censorship mechanisms to silence the ANC.

The works of Shirley Gilbert in *Singing Against Apartheid: ANC Cultural Groups and the International Anti-Apartheid Struggle* is useful in analysing how resistance campaigns by political parties in exile were used to encourage artistic expression and to promote an anti-apartheid message abroad. The *Amandla Cultural Ensemble*, which was compiled of ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) youths studying abroad and in Angola, participated in the 1978 International Festival of Youth and Students in Havana, Cuba.[21] The *Amandla* group became instrumental as a

[20] Gilbert, p. 422.
[21] *Ibid.*

permanent affiliate of the ANC's four pillar strategy, specifically in mobilising international solidarity against the apartheid regime in South Africa. The group travelled and participated in events across the continent and elsewhere in the world. The contact the group made with foreigners and the message it promoted through its catalogue, informed and conscientized those who did not know about apartheid in South Africa and illuminated the systemic discrimination it inflicted on non-whites in the country. Similarly, the *Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble* traveling and performing in Europe incorporated current events from South Africa and integrated struggle songs, often in other languages like Afrikaans when in Amsterdam or translating vernacular struggle songs when in England, to actively spread the anti-apartheid message.

It is evident through Gilbert's work that resistance activity in exile was a vital part of making the international community aware of the atrocities of the apartheid regime in South Africa. *Mayibuye* was often known for making references to Dutch traders, businessmen and politicians who were known supporters of the apartheid regime.[22] Thus, singing the words of Breyten Breytenbach in Afrikaans to publicly call out Dutch apartheid apologists. This sparked awareness amongst audiences and prompted collaborations with other liberation groups including ZAPU (Zimbabwe), MPLA (Angola) and FRELIMO (Mozambique).[23] These groups were key players in not just raising awareness and strengthening anti-apartheid allies abroad, they often contributed financially to the ANC's political activities. The work of activists in exile, particularly in the artistic sphere, ensured that the liberation message remained relevant and relatable. These efforts proved just as important as the work of popular musicians locally and internationally who used their platform to help dismantle the apartheid regime.

In *The Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*, David Coplan dedicated a chapter entitled *Sophiatown: culture and community, 1940-1960* to highlight what wasknown as the 'Sophiatown Renaissance'. In this chapter, Coplan compared it to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, which explored the creolization and culture, music, art and literature that erupted from one of South Africa's most beloved township.[24] Sophiatown had a distinct connection between political issues and popular music. During the era of African Jazz and she-been queens in the 1950s, Sophiatown housed a new class of black female performers that broke the mould and challenged the apartheid regime's stereotypes of what black women should be. These stereotypes promoted the idea of black women in urban spaces, who were largely constrained by the socio-political

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[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid,* p. 429.
[24] D. Coplan, "In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre", pp. 171-172.

factors mitigating their presence in the urban environment. They were viewed as subservient and having less agency to that of their black male counterparts. Black women in townships were often resigned to concepts of "cultural respectability", which was often the presumed role of women in rural spaces.[25] Many of the female musicians from Sophiatown promoted a sense of black pride and defied European standards of beauty and artistry. Furthermore,they promoted and created music that included political rhetoric and multi-vocal lyrics that couldbe denied if challenged by censorship regulations.[26]

Coplan's nuanced telling of these songbirds that defied normative models of gender roles and artistry begs the inquisition that many similar groups/individuals used music as a form of protest art in unconventional ways. These musicians found innovative ways to transform their lyrics and use mainstream sounds to carry across the message of liberation. These idiosyncratic individual groups managed to, whether overtly or covertly, challenge the apartheid regime inways that were non-conformist to that of major political parties and individuals. This disrupts the image of a linear resistance campaign. In doing so, without disregarding the influence of major political parties and musicians that were associated with them during the anti-apartheid movement, this study aims to give attention to the pockets of individuals/groups that contributed to the liberation struggle through music outside the sphere of popular music, musicians, or political parties.

Drewett provides important insight on how the apartheid regime responded to the growing anti-apartheid movement, especially through music. He illuminates steps the regime took to ensurethe censorship and control over the music industry during the apartheid era. When coupled with Coplan's work, one can see that musicians found loopholes in their music to evade censorship. An example of how musicians evaded scrutiny and censorship from apartheid suppression were the female musicians of Sophiatown who used multi-vocality in their lyrics to remain ambiguous to the political rhetoric in their songs. Drewett's work is thus essential in this study to provide both perspectives of the liberation struggle when concerning music in protest, as well as being used as a measuring tool to establish how artists responded to censorship when proposing political rhetoric in their music. Additionally, his work will be used in evaluating who the government specifically targeted with the intent of silencing.

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[25] *Ibid,* 174.
[26] *Ibid.*

Amongst others, the works of scholars, such as Lara Allen and Sekibakiba Lekgoathi[27] are used to prompt an inquiry in this study on the fragmented history of anti-apartheid liberation songs and literary gaps in documented works. Neo Lekgotla Laga Ramoupi is a foremost scholar about liberation music and cultural resistance on Robben Island, inspired by Sobukwean ideology and PAC contributions to the liberation movement.[28] The intention of thisstudy is to broaden the scope of liberation songs in South Africa, by not confining liberation/protest music to a particular space or affiliation. This study intends to, like Ramoupi and other scholars, evaluate the impact of liberation music as a form of cultural resistance. In order to cover some of the literary gaps, it offers a bridge between the evolving decades of the anti-apartheid liberation movement, and evaluate the multi-dimensionality of liberation music as cultural resistance. For each decade under the apartheid government, it provides insight into the various mechanisms, artists and responses encompassed in liberation/protest songs. Furthermore, it looks at both popular and commercial music spreadingthe anti-apartheid messages, the less commercial artists and the struggle songs that were equally impactful.

The above-mentioned collections of work form the foundation of this study. The works of Coplan, Ramoupi and Drewett are essential in establishing the gaps in the literature and on how to consolidate them in one cohesive project. The work of these scholars highlights the multi-dimensionality of music as a protest tool during the apartheid regime. These pieces of literature on music spreading an anti-apartheid message provide a timeline across the four decades since the inception of the apartheid system and map the movement, albeit separately. Through the above, the historiography of the evolution of trends in the liberation struggle are addressed and mapped parallel to the influence of cultural protest through music.

1.7 Value of the study

In this study, the researcher acknowledges that aspects of liberation studies were conducted by many scholars. Thus, this study relies on some published and unpublished works. However,

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[27] L. Allen, "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity during the 1950s", *Ethnomusicology,* 47(2), 2003, p. 234; L. Allen, "Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period", in G. Olwage (ed), *Composing Apartheid*: *Music For and Against Apartheid*, p. 80; S.P. Lekgoathi, "You are listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation: Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership", 1960-1994, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35(3), 2009, pp. 575-594; S.P. Lekgoathi, "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in South Africa, 1963-1991, *Journal of African Media Studies*, 2(2), 2010, p. 139.

[28] N.L L Ramoupi, "Cultural Resistance on Robben Island: Songs of Struggle and Liberation in Southern Africa", in W. Worger, C. Ambler & N. Achebe (eds) *A Companion to African History*, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2019, p. 462.

little has been documented on the role of anti-apartheid music holistically across all four decades of the apartheid era. Therefore, it is within this context that this study is undertaken. The study will show that there are various factors justifying the relevance and importance of this study, particularly of interrogating this topic from within the broader historiography of the liberation struggle. The factors for and against the use of anti-apartheid music as 'weapons' for liberation will be thoroughly analysed. The role played by anti-apartheid musicians, particularly from the ANC's circles in South Africa and globally, is somewhat a 'neglected' terrain. Therefore, it is envisaged that this study will stimulate academic debate on the historical value of the anti-apartheid music as promoted locally and internationally.

This study discusses multiple aspects of popular music opposing apartheid, and non-commercial music as drivers for liberation. Consequently, it provides a multi-dimensional view of the mechanisms promoting protest songs, the artists that opposed apartheid through song, State censorship as a response to resistance, and the role of the international community.

1.8 Ethical considerations

As mentioned before, the study does not make use of humans as subjects to gain information via interviews as justification for any ethical clearance. As a desktop study, the work of various scholars is acknowledged throughout. The researcher understands that the sources used contain their own biases and takes cognisance to remain objective and not misinterpret the intention of the said sources. Ultimately, the research will be underpinned by the guidelines and objectives stipulated by the General/Human Research Ethics Committee (GHREC). Plagiarism is guarded against, and the Chicago method of referencing is used, providing both in-text references and a source list.

1.9 Limitations of the study

Due to the outbreak of Covid-19 as a global pandemic, academic institutions were not categorized as essential services/organizations and therefore shut down. Access to literature, particularly books, archival material and journals that contain information from the time period in question were thus inaccessible. Due to this, I had limited the number of resources at this study's disposal and have slowed down the research process on this study. Internet sources have been useful but have had a limited reach, specifically to books and other sources protected by copyright laws to protect the intellectual property of authors. The hope for this study is that once the travel bans and closing of higher learning institutions and National Archive

repositories are reopened, there will be no limitations of the amount of research materials at this study's disposal.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the foundation on which this study will be built. The background and rationale provided an outline for the period under discussion and highlighted some of the key elements of liberation/protest music, and its evolution during the apartheid era. As mentioned in the aims and objectives, the research study's points of departure and an analysis of the contributors and influences of liberation/protest songs were outlined and discussed. Finally, this chapter discussed the value of this study as a holistic research project, as well as the limitations found whilst conducting a research project during the Covid-19 global pandemic. The structure and aim of this study were thus laid out throughout.

CHAPTER TWO:
THE RISE OF POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS MUSIC IN THE 1950s

2.1. Introduction

The election of the National Party (NP) government by white voters in 1948 marked the beginning of an era of forceful and decisive legislation, focused on preserving white supremacy and ensuring that Black/African citizens were precluded of the same rights and privileges that their white counterparts relished. With the legalisation of apartheid and the first wave of early apartheid legislation in the 1950s beginning with the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, it was clear from the official sanctioning of racial classification and the relocation to zones based on race, that no one would be exempt from racial segregation, regardless of class or stature.[1] The liberation struggle therefore belonged to all South African citizens who experienced racism and socio-economic inequality. Thus, mainstream political dynamics in the 1950s produced the climate for the introduction of political rhetoric into song, particularly anti-apartheid rhetoric, by one means or another.

2.2. The nature of political and liberation music in the 1950s

According to HC Groenewald and S Makopo, the history of political song is not exactly conterminous with the history of Black political movements.[2] Therefore, political song and historical black political movements such as, the ANC's liberation movement are not necessarily coextensive, but the former is reliant on the latter for context, on which the medium thrives. Political song/music is largely dependent on political movements like the liberation struggle against apartheid and the anti-apartheid discourse for this medium of music to succeed. Political song can thus not thrive without being directly linked to the context of a particular political movement. Although black political consciousness was prevalent in South Africa long before the 1950s, the ANC formalised political consciousness through the medium of liberation songs. The use of liberation music intensified with the entrenchment of the apartheid regime and so too the political force of subversive music evolved. The new-found defiant assertiveness of the liberation movement prompted a transition from oral tradition and song that reflected circumstances and history; to songs that were intensely embedded in the political context. This

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[1]T.R. Genovese, *Get Up, Stand Up: The Role of Music as a Driver for Political Change in Apartheid South Africa.* (Unpublished MS: School of Anthropology, The University of Arizona, 2013), pp. 4-5.

[2] H.C. Groenewald & S. Makopo, "The Political Song: Tradition and Innovation for Liberation", in E. Sienaert, M. Lewis & N. Bell (eds), *Oral tradition and Innovation: New Wine in Old Bottles?*, 1991, p. 78.

was primarily a direct result of the rise of the apartheid regime in the 1950s. The formalisation of its segregationist policies by the NP regime prompted social and political resistance, creating a shared desire for equality nationally and internationally, which was often enunciated through political songs. As a result, the 1950s era produced a new genre of subversive music, which was used as a tool to transmit political rhetoric and engage in anti- apartheid discourse.

The anti-apartheid fight took place on all fronts and in all spheres of South African society. The participation and mobilisation of all domains in the South African society were necessary to dismantle the segregationist regime that aimed to divide black and white citizens socially, politically, and economically. The arts became integral in combatting the racist regime. Oral traditions had always played a vital role in African social history, being essential in translating shared experiences when literacy and printed press were inaccessible to most of the population. As noted by JC Scott: "Oral traditions, due simply to their means of transmission, offer a kind of seclusion, control, and even anonymity that make them ideal vehicles for culturalresistance."[3]

Song and poetry were interwoven in the transferal of oral traditions. Music that reflected the circumstances of black Africans was not absent prior to the apartheid era. Just as South Africans participated in protest action against racist policies prior to the 1950s, songs that carried their message of distress over racial segregation, the disenfranchisement of Africans and economic disparity was an important part of the plight for equality. For example, during the early era of anti-pass campaigns in the Orange River Free State, in 1913 women marched against the law that forced them to carry urban residential passes, offered themselves up for arrest and burned their passes in the presence of authorities while chanting and singing phrases like "Votes for Women!."[4] Phrases of this nature were often sung at gatherings and used as tools to vocalise the singers' grievances and pleas to authorities, putting demands for equality into a collective message through song. The implementation of the apartheid regime and apartheid legislature in the 1950s prompted a new wave of protest music and political consciousness, specifically geared towards spreading anti-apartheid rhetoric through the singing of liberation songs.

The terms liberation music/political song/protest music/freedom songs will be used interchangeably throughout this chapter, as all of them relate to music that promoted an anti-

[3] J.C. Scott. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, 1990, p. 160.
[4] *Tsala ea Batho*, 14.06.1913.

apartheid message or called for equality and liberation, or sometimes criticised the liberation movement. In the context of this chapter on subversive music in the 1950s, protest music will be explored in the context of popular music, as radio broadcasting was introduced across the country in the 1950s, which greatly diversified the music industry. Prior to this period, it should be noted that the record industry was largely controlled by a white British monopoly. It was evident that the record industry in South Africa had clear intentions to produce music by black artists for black audiences, using white capital, leading to an ethnically conscious industry.[5] Just as in the case of the production of "black" music, white Afrikaners were also ethnicised by the record industry in the country. With regards to the emergence of Afrikaner ethnicity by the mid-20th century through the reproduction of Afrikaans music, Grant Olwage argues that this cultural phenomenon implicitly influenced notions of ethnicity and fortified the conceptualization of apartheid ideology.[6] Essentially, Olwage contends that the cultural phenomenon of Afrikaner ethnic identity reinforced through the production of music for white Afrikaners, influenced concepts of racial, economic, and social separateness.

This supports the hypothesis that culture - and in this study specifically that the reproduction of culture - and lived experiences communicated through music have a strong influence on racial consciousness and politics. The emergence of popular music in the country greatly influenced the rise of subversive music. New music styles were commercialised and thus popularised. These included styles like the "pennywhistle jive" and "street music with jazz underpinnings and a distinctive, skiffle-like beat. It evolved from the *marabi* sound and catapulted South African music to international prominence".[7] The emergence of these new genres was greatly influential in the reproduction and commercialisation of liberation songs. The medium of liberation songs evolved and converged with the evolution of popular music in the 1950s.

Liberation music historically adapted with the times and social or political movements. As musical genres and styles evolved, so too did the reproduction and performance of liberation songs. Two elements remained constant, however - the intention to combat a regime/institution/ideology/individual, and the intention to persuade the audience to accept the message being conveyed. Songs like *Udumo Lwamaphoyisa* (A Strong Police Force) were sung

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[5] G. Olwage, "Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Era", in G. Olwage (ed), *Composing Apartheid: Music For and Against Apartheid,* p. 36.
[6] *Ibid* 39.
[7] L. Collision, "A Brief Guide to South African Music" <https://theculturetrip.com/africa/south-africa/articles/a-brief-guide-to-south-african-music/> 20.09.2016.

when the police were near, warning of potential raids and police harassment.[8] These messages include messages of self-liberation and black consciousness and at times served as a warning of danger or police harassment. Political songs often had both characteristics. Liberation songs were multi-functional in contesting the apartheid regime, and persuading listeners of the necessity of revolution. The ANC's defiance campaigns in the 1950s shifted away from the elitism of the earlier decades, and towards grassroots movements and the political consciousness of the masses in townships. Grassroots movements did not thrive on black intellectualism, but rather on the shared lived experiences of the masses. As such, having to reach a largely non-traditionally literate demographic, the ANC had to employ non-traditional mediums of political rhetoric to increase their support base in townships. The use of recordings of music was thus commercially viable.[9] These non-traditional mediums, like songs or poetry for example, were not limited to the use of liberation songs and music but played a vital role in reaching a larger audience largely deprived of the luxury of literacy. Vocal jive lyrics in the 1950s generally used few lyrics that were repetitive with the intention of making it catchy and easy for the listener to sing along. As a result, vocalists had to maximise their ability to persuade the listener by layering the significance of their lyrics in a few lines. An example of this tactic is *Meadowlands* by Strike Vilakazi. He repeats the phase 'Meadowlands' throughout - that is the title of the song - making it easy to remember the lyrics. Along with the introduction of political rhetoric into lyrics, this became a powerful political tool, leaving the listener to decipher the meaning of the obvious message and the veiled one.

The diversification of the record industry in South Africa was incredibly complex and often crossed racial boundaries. The production and consumption of music in the country did not remain entirely racially or ethnically homogenous. As such, it is important to note that music during the apartheid era that might not have overtly condemned or implicitly supported the regime was inclined to elude the state's intention to maintain a racially separate society by crossing racial and ethnic boundaries, and should be acknowledged for its contribution in gently negating notions of apartness. Artists were not selective with their audiences. Artists like Dolly Rathebe and Miriam Makeba created music intended for all races and genders to listen to. They often recorded and collaborated with artists, both locally and internationally, ofdifferent races, genders and socio-economic backgrounds. Lara Allen notes that the 1950s wasa decade in which it was possible to self-determine identity, before apartheid prescribed – ethnic/racial

[8] T. Genovese, *Get Up, Stand Up,* p. 5.
[9] L. Allen, "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity during the 1950s", *Ethnomusicology,* 47(2),2003, p. 234.

identities were imprinted on South African society.[10] Allen explores this idea through the lens of the white *kwela* audience in the mid-1950s, a genre of music particular to the black popular music industry in South Africa. *Kwela* was a derivative of the "penny-whistle jive" and American swing, and garnered an unprecedented white Afrikaner audience in the country.[11] This genre originated from the township culture of free-hold locations like Sophiatown and largely reflected the hybridity of ethnic groups, musicians and intellectuals who lived together prior to the imposition of laws that dictated segregated communities. This genre of music that crossed racial and ethnic boundaries undermined the core principle of totalsegregation that the apartheid system strove towards. Although it did not explicitly criticise theapartheid regime, and not all Afrikaners shared in the idea of non-racialized music, it is important to note the significance of *kwela's* ability to cross racial barriers in the 1950s.

These pockets of multi-racial exchanges defied the state's segregation policies, and the evolving music culture in South Africa facilitated such exchanges. The non-racialized message of protest songs was reflective of the struggle of many of the citizens in South Africa. All who sought equality and justice could relate to protest songs about the liberation movement in the 1950s. A newspaper in 1958 published a picture of a white woman doing the*kwela* at a multi-racial gathering at the home of Advocate Joe Slovo with the caption: "Mrs Sonia Bunting 'does the *kwela*' …."[12] This newspaper entry appeared after the announcementof the re-indictment of more than sixty trialists at the 1956-1961 Treason Trial. The gathering was broken up by police on the grounds of illegal alcohol consumption. Interracial interactions were frowned upon by the apartheid regime and the Security police would raid gatherings where black and white people were "mixing". Illicit beer gatherings were often raided by the security police in non-white townships and residential areas, and this became the grounds on which many other disruptions of gatherings that defied apartheid segregation rules were justified. This became increasingly more prominent with the rise of music genres like *kwela*, and local artists' collaborations with international artists on "LPs", which were a new form of long-playing record storage medium. The production and distribution of this new form of recording and storage medium was primarily targeted at white audiences and consumers, so was the 1957 release of *Something New from Africa* by Tony Scot who was an American clarinettist and a local band led by Ben Nkosi called "Solven Whistlers", who played

[10] L. Allen, "Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period", in G. Olwage (ed) *Composing Apartheid: Music For and Against Apartheid,* p. 80.
[11] *Ibid,* p. 79.
[12] *Golden City Post*, 19.10.1958.

pennywhistle music was unique.[13] The success of this unprecedented collaboration was accompanied by the rise and success of local artists who not only sang about the socio-political and economic situations in the country to upbeat jazz, but used music as a propaganda tool to spread a political message. With the hybridisation of the music industry and the divergent artists that arose from it, the 1950s created an environment for artists of various races, genders, and socio-economic backgrounds to flourish.

2.3. Artists of the 1950s

Dorothy Masuka

Figure 1.1: Dorothy Masuka, c. 1952 Photograph by Jurgen Schadeberg.

Dorothy Masuka was arguably one of the most influential female musicians in South African history. Born in Southern Rhodesia (modern day Zimbabwe) on the 3 September 1935, Masuka moved to South Africa in 1947 where she attended school at St Thomas Convent School in Johannesburg.[14] It was here that Masuka's musical talent was first spotted, and she was signed to Troubadour Records. By the mid 1950's Masuka had become one of the country's best-selling artists, with an extensive catalogue. Masuka was multi-lingual and often sang and recorded music in different African languages like Shona and Ndebele from her native country of Zimbabwe. She was a proud African Nationalist and used her platform to advocate the liberation of oppressed Africans, not only in South Africa but across the continent. Masuka travelled across the continent, performing liberation songs in countries like Malawi and Tanzania, singing in different African languages with artists like Miriam Makeba who were in

[13] Allen, "Kwela's White Audiences", p. 79.
[14] Allen, "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity", p. 230.

exile too. When authorities got word of her whereabouts, the ANC would move her across borders to avoid captivity.[15] During the early stages of the apartheid system, many artists like Strike Vilakazi and Vuyisile Mini employed multivocality in their songs. Some artists chose to use concealed messages and metaphors in their lyrics to criticise the apartheid regime, but Masuka was bold about her pan-Africanist stance and her songs often reflected the socio-political issues that affected the masses in townships.[16] In 1957, she recorded and released the hit song *Zono-Zam* during the ANC's anti-pass campaign.

It's so hard in this world:

Lord, help us to be free

The lyrics of the song highlight the frustration that black South Africans felt at being forced to carry several documents and at how their movement was restricted. She proved to be so much more than a jazz artist. Masuka showed how radical she was when she recorded and released a song entitled *Dr Malan*, named after the South African Prime Minister Daniel François Malan. The song criticised the NP Government and the Prime Minister himself. Masuka belted out *uDr. Malan Unomthetho Onzim* (Dr Malan's Government is harsh) at the time. Due to the fragmented nature of the music industry during the 1950s and the concomitant destruction of master copies of many of her songs, exact records of the date of release and publication of songs like *'uDr. Malan* have been wiped from public record. No South African artist, particularly a young black female had dared to publicly call out the apartheid government, much less to call out a Prime Minister in office. Despite how brazen Masuka's record was, it was largely successful and before it was banned, was played on the African re-diffusion service.[17] Supporters of Masuka's music were outraged at her exile, and the ANC were directly involved in helping her avoid the authorities and smuggled her into other countries to continue her work. The NP regime regularly responded to such forms of music by either intimidating artists or by seizing and destroying the master copies of their records. This was the case with Masuka's hit song *uDr Malan.* Record officials at Troubadour Records claimed that the song was a praise anthem when the Security police demanded the master copies.[18]

At about the same time that *uDr Malan* was released, Masuka recorded and released a song called *Chief Luthuli.* This song was an ode to the then ANC president, Albert Luthuli. During

[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Allen, "Commerce, Politics, Musical Hybridity", p. 236.
[18] *Ibid,* 236.

the apartheid era artists produced and released songs in support of freedom fighters and revolutionaries who inspired and drove the liberation movements, not only in South Africa but across the African continent. This was the case with Masuka's 1960 hit *Lumumba,* whichwas banned, and the original masters of which were seized and destroyed. *Lumumba* questioned the assassination of Congolese Prime Minister and pan-African father Patrice Lumumba, which greatly angered the Security police. No copies of the record can now be found.[19] Following this incident, Masuka left the country and spent the next 31 years in exile,being moved by the ANC to London, and eventually moving back to the continent and settling in Zambia and Zimbabwe until her exile was lifted in 1992. The apartheid regime declared her *persona non grata* and repeatedly denied her re-entry into the country. Many South African artists either went into self-imposed exile, or were forced into exile by the regime. These included artists like Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim.

Along with young black female artists like Nancy Jacobs, Mabel Mafuya, Dolly Rathebe, Miriam Makeba and an array of other women, Masuka opened up the record industry in South Africa during the 1950s to the new culture of a progressive and politically consciousfemale demographic. Troubadour Records played an influential role in the production of music in the 1950s, specifically in the production and release of music by black female artists. The record company encouraged artist to sing songs that reflected everyday experiences and about the socio-political climate in the country.

Artists of Troubadour Records who performed and released music that criticised the apartheid regime or were deemed inappropriate, like Masuka's songs, were subject to police harassment in the form of intimidatory raids, and their master copies were seized and destroyed. Mabel Mafuya, an artist of Troubadour Records, achieved great success and record sales with her song *Regina Brooks Khumalo lo Harry Mekela* or *Regina,* which commented on a black policeman and white woman's interracial relationship that was declared to be not in violation of the Immorality Act of 1957 when the white woman was declared culturally black in a controversial court ruling.[20] The record sold thousands of copies on the day of its release, despite its poignant message. Although music that reflected the events of the 1950s did so against the backdrop of upbeat pennywhistle jive and jazz instruments, the messages that liberation songs in the 1950s carried mirrored the socio-political issues that non-white South Africans endured because of

[19] G. Ansell, "Dorothy Masuku: Africa has lost a singer, composer and a hero of the struggle", <https://theconversation.com/dorothy-masuku-africa-has-lost-a-singer-composer-and-a-hero-of-the-struggle-112425> 25.02.2019.
[20] Allen, "Commerce, Politics, Musical Hybridity", p. 234.

a racist regime. Songs like *Regina* and *Zono-Zam* highlighted the hardships that the black majority suffered because of the inequalities perpetuated by the apartheid regime in the 1950s. Although it highlighted a particular story and event, *Regina* was synonymous with the struggles that many interracial couples and families faced because of The Immorality Act of1957, and the related legislation. The right to self-determination and freedom of choice was a luxury that not all South Africans enjoyed. Troubadour also released several songs about bus boycotts sung and performed by Mafuya between 1956-1957. Nancy Jacobs, who vocalized the famous hit *Meadowlands* by Strike Vilakazi about forced removals in Sophiatown, commented on the controversial political and social events of the 1950s. The subject matter of these songs, despite their political rhetoric and the commentary on life under apartheid, garnered mass support, and staggering record sales as recorded.

Strike Vilakazi

During the 1950s, black and coloured communities across the country were subjected to forced removals and relocation to townships/locations. Forced removals occurred prior to the institution of apartheid legislation, but the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954 prompted mass forced removals in service of a racially segregated South Africa. Sophiatown is one of South Africa's most famous examples of forced removals. The 237 acres of land were bought by Herbert Tobiansky in 1897 and named after his wife "Sophia". By 1910 Sophiatown had evolved into a multi-racial community with a growing black middle class.[21]

Sophiatown's rapid expansion towards the City, which was primarily a white residential and business area, became increasingly problematic for authorities. The multi-racial and multi-cultural dynamics in Sophiatown were a threat to the emerging apartheid regime and its pursuit of a racially segregated country. Under the Group Areas Act, the freehold location of Sophiatown was to be torn down and its residents forcefully removed and relocated to racially demarcated areas. The black residents were to be relocated to Meadowlands and parts of Soweto (South Western African Township). The forced removal and destruction of Sophiatown became the topic of many songs in the 1950s and beyond. One of the most popular songs of the 1950s was *Meadowlands* by Strike Vilakazi. Vilakazi was one of Troubadour Records' most prominent talent scouts, and one of South's Africa's most affluent musicians during the 1950s. From 1952, he ran the black division of Troubadour's Records called True Tone

[21] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* (2nd Edition), p. 170.

Records, and he did so for the two decades that followed.[22] Vilakazi was not only a talent scout but also a brilliant composer, producer, and musician. He is also credited for his contribution to and influence in developing *Mbaqanga,* a traditionally Zulu style of music.[23] In 1955, Vilakazi composed *Meadowlands,* which was sung by *Nancy Jacobs and Her Sisters.*[24]

Verse 1:

Otla utlwa makgowa a re, (You'll hear the whites say:)

A re yeng ko Meadowlands (Let's move to Meadowlands;)

Meadowlands Meadowlands, (*Meadowlands*

Meadowlands,)*Meadowlands sithandwa sam*

(Meadowlands, my love.) Verse 2:

Otlwa utlwa batsotsi ba re, (You'll hear the tsotsis say)

Ons dak nie ons pola hier (We're not moving, we're staying here)

Pola hier pola hier, (Stay here, stay here,)

Pola hier sithandwa sam (Stay here, my love.)

Ot-la ut - lwa mak- go - wa a re, a re yeng ko Mea - dow- lands.
Ot-la ut - lwa mak- go wa a re, a re yeng ko Mead-dow- lands
Mea-dow- lands, Mea-dow- lands, Mea-dow- lands
si- thand - wa sam; Mea-dow- lands, Mea-dow- lands,
Mea-dow- lands si- thand - wa sam.

Figure 1.2: *Meadowlands* lyric sheet, c. 1956 by Wrasse Records.

Meadowlands garnered a lot of local popularity for its catchy tune and the use of SeSotho, Zulu and tsotsitaal (slang that makes use of English, Afrikaans, Zulu, SeSotho and Tswana). The apartheid regime viewed the song as an anthem in support of the forced removals and relocation

[22] S. Broughton, M. Ellingham & J. Lusk, *The Rough Guide to World Music: Africa & Middle East,* p. 354.
[23] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa,* p. 79.
[24]Wrasse Records, "South African Urban Music *Meadowlands*– Strike Vilakazi (1956), <www.wrasserecords.com> *s.a.*

to Meadowlands. According to Coplan, "black record buyers, however, thought the opposite, and *Meadowlands* became a protest anthem against the Sophiatown removals."[25] This assessment of *Meadowlands* is accurate. The lyrics of the song relate to the diverse population of Sophiatown that was forced out. The lyrics "*ons pola hier"* is indicative of the resistance to relocating from Sophiatown. The lyrics of the second verse "*ons pola hier"* were painted on buildings in Sophiatown as a message of resistance to the forced removals, emphasising residents' unwillingness to move.[26] *Meadowlands* also became a song frequently performed by other artists over the years, giving their own renditions of the popular song. Masuka did a version of the song for the movie *Sophiatown.* Masuka's rendition of the song was authentic to the original version by Vilakazi. Artists spreading an anti-apartheid government message in their songs often used ambiguity in their lyrics in the form of vernacular or slang phrases to avoid harassment from the Security police, and to retain air-time for their music. In the decades that followed, many other artists covered and released songs about the destructionof and forced removals from Sophiatown. Makeba and the Skylarks released *Let's Pack and Go* and *Sophiatown Is Gone, and* the Sun Valley Sisters' *Bye Bye Sophiatown* is another example of how black residents in Johannesburg felt about the imposition of the Group AreasAct.

Vuyisile Mini

Vuyisile Mini[27] is arguably one of South Africa's most famous freedom song writers to date. Born in 1920 to a dockworker in Mhlanhlane, Tsomo in the Eastern Cape, Mini's father was an active participant in labour union struggles and the depredations in black communities. Mini was thus inspired at an early age to take part in protest action against the forced removal of Africans from Korsten to KwaZakhele, the bus fare boycotts, and the rent increase protests.[28] Mini's early political consciousness in his young teens laid the foundation of his political affiliation with the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and more importantly his protest songs. Mini joined the ANC in 1951, and hence forth began his political activities. In 1956, Mini was one of the trialists in the famous Treason Trial, which took place from 1956-1961. He was

[25] Coplan, *In Township Tonight!* p. 176.
[26] Wrasse Records. "South African Urban Music *Meadowlands*– Strike Vilakazi (1956)" www.wrasserecords.com, 21.09.2021.
[27] Vuyisile Mini was a composer and musician who used his skills as an artist to draw people to the ANC's anti-apartheid cause. Mini composed many freedom songs and was a high-ranking officer in the ANC's military wing.
[28] V. Msila, "Reliving South African Apartheid History in a Classroom: Using Vuyisile Mini's Protest Song's". *Creative Education,* 4(12B), 2013, p. 52.

charged with sabotage and the murder of a Security police informer. During the trial, Mini wrote the famous song *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* [29]

> *Nans' indod' emnyama we Verwoerd!* (Here comes the black man Verwoerd!)
>
> *Nans' indod' emnyama we Verwoerd!* (Here comes the black man Verwoerd!)
>
> *Bhasobha nans' indod' emnyama we Verwoerd!* (Watch out for the black man Verwoerd!)
>
> *Bhasobha nans' indod' emnyama we Verwoerd!* (Watch out for the black man Verwoerd!)

Like Dorothy Masuka's *uDr Malan*, Mini's *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* was a direct challenge to the apartheid politician and Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. Mini's song served as a warning to the Prime Minister that he had to be cautious of the radicalism that was emerging amongst the black men of the country, as well as a call to black men to revolt against the regime represented by Verwoerd. *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* had a clear overt message, but carried a deeper underlying message as well. The song served as a warning not only to Verwoerd as the Prime Minister, but to the entire apartheid regime. Mini knew of the ANC's underground operations and was thus aware that the militarisation of the organisation was taking place, and of the coming arms struggle. The song could be viewed as a juxtaposition of the oppressed majority represented by *'indod' emnyama* (the African population) and the oppressor who was represented by Hendrik Verwoerd. Mini's rendition of the song forebodes an imminent conflict between most of the population and the apartheid state, insinuating that the regime should prepare for a possible revolution. Like to Masuka's *uDr Malan,* Mini expresses his criticism for the ruling NP with a direct warning, and there is also anuanced message in his lyrics. The confrontational nature of the song reflects that radicalization of the political groups at the time and the willingness to directly confront and oppose the apartheid regime. It simultaneously hinted at the underground missions that Mini was personally involved in as the Political Commissar of the Eastern Cape Command of the MK.[30]

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[29] K. Mtshali & G. Hlongwane, "Contextualizing South Africa's Freedom Songs: A Critical Appropriation of Lee Hirsch's *Amandla!*: *A Revolution in Four Part Harmony*. *Journal of Black Studies,* 1(22), 2014, p. 9.

[30] N. Lekgotla laga Ramoupi, "They Died Singing: A Historical Perspective in the Liberation of South Africa", *The Journal for Progressive Thought,* 29(1), 2011, p. 41.

He received direct orders from the High Command and was responsible for ensuring that the Regional Command, which contained the largest number of MK units and stretched across the Eastern Cape from the Transkei to Knysna, remained in alignment with the mandate of the ANC. Mini remained a devoted comrade, and on his arrest refused to give any information pertaining to the liberation struggle, upholding the *Isifungo*[31] until his execution. He understood the influence and importance of integrating music in the liberation movement. He used his position in the ANC to promote liberation music as a form of protest. At gatherings, Mini would encourage that liberation songs be part of proceedings. Mini's audience was with mass of ANC supporters, and his protest songs became an important part of ANC gatherings. He was ahead of his time in using song to organise and unite the liberation movement. He understood how liberation songs could be used to unite not only ANC supporters but all who strove for the dismantling of the apartheid regime. His songs mirrored the liberation struggle and reflected the everyday struggles that non-whites across the country endured under the apartheid regime. He was known as the "organiser of the unorganised".[32] He had the ability tounite masses of ANC supporters at gatherings and meetings with liberation songs and chants. It was recalled by prisoners who were incarcerated with Mini that he sang freedom songs on his way to the gallows. A prisoner who was present at the time of Mini and his comrades' execution recalled that:

> Once again, the excruciatingly beautiful music floated through the barred windows, echoing round the brick exercise yard, losing itself in the vast prison yards. And then, unexpectedly, the voice of Vuyisile Mini came roaring down the hushed passages. Evidently, standing on a stool, with his face reaching up to a barred vent in his cell, his unmistakable bass voice was enunciating his final message in Xhosa to the world he was leaving. In a voice charged with emotion but stubbornly defiant he spoke of the struggle waged by the African National Congress and of his absolute conviction of the victory to come. And then it was Khayingo's turn, followed by Mkhaba, as they too defied all prison rules to shout out their validations. [33]

[31] An oath that members of the ANC military wing (MK) took. They pledged to never give information to the Security police, regardless of the methods of torture or intimidation used. When you were captured, you went down alone.

[32] Genovese, p. 6.

Although he wrote the song *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!*, he never formally recorded it. In 1965 Miriam Makeba recorded an album with Harry Belafonte, a Jamaican-American artist and political activist, titled *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba*. Along with an array of other freedom songs on the album, which will be explored further in Chapter 3, *Beware Verwoerd! (Ndodemnyama)* featured on the album. Long after the death of Mini and the assassination of Verwoerd, the song was sung throughout the liberation movement. Mini was a martyr to liberation. He was executed as a freedom fighter and gave his life for the cause, and the song remained relevant throughout the years of the liberation movement, even after Mini's passing. With the inauguration of each apartheid president that followed the last Prime Minister Verwoerd, the lyrics were amended to address the president of the time. *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* became synonymous with the anti-apartheid movement and a timeless classic. Mini wrote another song while in captivity during the Treason Trial in the 1950s, called *Thath' Umthwalo Bhuti Sigoduke.* Despite it not being an overtly politically conscious song, it was widely sung in the decade that followed, specifically in the period afterthe Sharpeville massacre by political prisoners and activists who were in exile. This song emphasised Mini's desire to go home and highlighted his exhaustion with the drawn-out trial.*Thath' Umthwalo Bhuti Sigoduke* also spoke of "home" as a heavenly place. Refusing to giveup his comrades, Mini knew that a death sentence was imminent.

> *Thath' Umthwalo Bhuti Sigoduke* (Take Up Your Things Brother, Let's Go)
>
> *Balindile oMama noBaba 'ekhaya'* (They are waiting, our mothers and fathers at home)[34]

Arguably one of the ANC's worst omissions was its failure to formally write down and record freedom songs. Failing to document or audio record freedom songs often resulted in the loss of said songs. Mini not only wrote a commercially successful song, *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* famously recorded by Makeba, but he was also a composer of many songsthat became synonymous with liberation movement and were traditionally sung at ANC

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[33] *Sechaba* 9.09.1969, p. 11.

[34] N.L.L. Ramoupi, "They Died Singing: A Historical Perspective in the Liberation of South Africa", *The Thinker*, 29, 2011, p. 42.

gatherings. His fewer formal compositions proved to be the most powerful. The liberation songs composed by Mini that were not covered by famous artists or recorded, had a great impact on the liberation struggle. The songs that Mini composed that were not as commercially successful as *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* were the songs that were sung at ANC gatherings, rallies, and protest actions. Mini was known as the voice of the ANC. He carried the "gospel of the Congress" and his songs bridged the gap between racial and national boundaries.[35] Regardless of his affiliation with the ANC, Mini's freedom songs were sung by liberation activists from different political parties, and by masses of South African's who did not share the same cultural or racial backgrounds. Mini's songs became an integral part of political gatherings of the liberation movement throughout the apartheid years. The failure to officially record the freedom songs means that in time many of them were lost, and those that survived were passed down in oral form only. These freedom songs had many of the characteristics of vocal-jive music in the 1950s. They were short and had repetitive vernacular lyrics to make it easier to sing them. The informal nature of these songs, however, made them less accessible to commercial audiences such as those who listened to the radio or those who purchased records.

Their lack of formal recording and instrumentation made these freedom songs less accessible across language and racial divides. They did, however, play a crucial part in the anti-apartheid movement. Protest action in the form of boycotts, *toyi-toyi* and political gatherings, both underground and overt, were synonymous with these freedom songs. They united masses of people in unison, all articulating the same message through song. These freedom songs became so powerful that the Security police hesitated to arrest political leaders at events where this kind of choralism took place.[36] The mass solidarity at gatherings where songs were sung in unison were intimidating. Daring to arrest leaders or disrupting such gatherings would surely be met by resistance or even violent outbreaks. During the ANC's Defiance Campaign in 1952, Mini composed *Mayihambe Ie vangeli*.

> *Mayihambe Ie vangeli* (Let this Gospel be spread)
>
> *Mayigqib' ilizwe lonke* (And be known throughout the world)

He also composed another song, again serving as a warning to Verwoerd. Even though Mini was incarcerated, he never denounced the struggle and continued to criticise the apartheid regime and its leaders in song. Mini warned Verwoerd about the collective power of Africans

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[35] Khumalo of the ANC, "A Poem of Vengeance". *Spotlight of South Africa,* 1964, p. 16.
[36] *Ibid*, p.16.

when they unite. He faithfully believed in the envisaged possible revolt against the apartheid regime and boldly vocalized his beliefs.

> *'Izakunyathel' i Afrika* (Africa will trample you underfoot)
>
> *Verwoerd shoo* (Verwoerd)
>
> *Uza kwenzakala'* (Beware you shall die)

Lastly, Mini composed a song that was a forewarning of the eruption of violence between the oppressed and the oppressor. The song was called *Siza kubadubula ngembai-mbai*, the lyrics of which emphasised the willingness of those who opposed apartheid to take up arms. It is evident that Mini's devoted membership of the ANC's military wing meant that he knew that violent encounters between the apartheid regime and the liberation forces was imminent. His lyrical content did not shy away from the radicalism that the MK employed regarding sabotage tactics and the underground struggle. It can be argued that Mini's compositions aboutthe armed struggle hinted at the ANC's (and other political parties like the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party's) acquisition of weapons and sufficient firepower to challenge the regime. He was radicalised by the increasing oppression taking place under the apartheid regime and the suffering that black South Africans endured because of institutionalised racism. Passive diplomacy by the politicians had proved to be ineffective in achieving results and it was clear that the apartheid system would not be dismantled without force. See the lyrics:

> *'Siza kubadubula ngembai-mbai,* (We shall shoot the oppressors with cannon)
>
> *Bazakubaleka,* (They are going to flee before we shoot)
>
> *Dubula ngembai-mbai!'* (shoot with cannon!)

He also participated in writing a short calypso in English about the struggles of the people in Cuba and Zanzibar. The Cold War between the United States of America (USA) and the Soviet Union was intensifying in the 1950s. The apartheid regime was an ally of the USA and assumed an anti-communist stance.[37] In return, the USA did not want to interfere in South Africa's domestic policies, provided the regime kept the communist threat at bay. The ANC's Pan-Africanist core and support for decolonisation on the African continent in the late 1950s was

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[37] P. Rich, "United States Containment Policy, South Africa and the Apartheid Dilemma", *Review of International Studies,* 14(2), 1988, p. 180.

not absent in from freedom songs of the time. As in Masuka's *Lumumba,* Mini encouraged the liberation movement to seize the country the way revolutionary Fidel Castro had seized Cuba in 1959, by staging a coup and ascended to power as the President. See the lyrics:

Take the Country the Castro/

Zanzibar Way

Mini became increasingly radical in his compositions, encouraging the idea of a coup or revolution. The ANC was inspired by liberation movements across the globe and identified with the necessity for forceful regime change, which had occurred in other nations like Algeria and Ghana. This was reflected in many of the liberation songs that were produced in the 1950s. It had become evident that peaceful protests were not going to be successful in achieving national change, and therefore more radical means would be required.

Aside from Mini's compositions in the 1950s, there were other freedom songs that reflected the socio-political climate of the country. However, the authors of these compositions are unknown, but they were popular across the country. During the ANC's Defiance Campaign in 1952, activists who were arrested were singing:

Imithetho ka Malani isiphethe nzima (Malan's laws are a burden to us)

Mayibuy' i Afrika (Come back Africa)

When Chief Albert Luthuli became the President of the ANC in 1952, people sang:

Malan O tshohiIe Ie 'muso oa hae (Malan has taken fright with his

government/regime)*Luthuli phakisa onke' mmuso* (Make haste Luthuli and take over

the government)

During the 1956 women's march against pass laws, the famous *Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo* was sung. The song originated from the women's movement's disdain for the pass laws that increasingly oppressed black and coloured women. In 1913 the Orange Free State Native and Coloured Women's Association organized protests forced removals and pass campaigns in the Orange River Colony Free State, and in 1918 Charlotte Maxeke founded the Bantu Women's League with the abolition of pass laws at its core. The composer of the song is unknown, but women who attended the march simultaneously broke out in unison outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria, singing the lyrics that served as a warning to the apartheid government. The women's movement demanded change and the lyrics of the song reflected their willingness to induce change by forceful means, if necessary. Black and coloured women

in South Africa were required to carry residential passes as far back as the late 19th century in the Orange River Colony Free State.[38] Following the announcement by the apartheid government in 1955 that required women that lived in urban townships to buy new entry permits each month, women across the country decided to sign a petition called "The Demand of the Women of South Africa for the Withdrawal of Passes for Women and the Repeal of the Pass Laws".[39] In this document, the women of South Africa demanded that the pass laws be repealed which brought them immense strife. At the march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, women were recorded singing:

> *Hey Strydom,* (Hey Strydom/Strijdom)
>
> *Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo* (You strike a woman, you strike a rock)
>
> *uza kufa'* (You will be crushed)
>
> *Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo* (You strike a woman, you strike a rock)
>
> *uza kufa'* (You will be crushed)

This freedom song directly referred to the Prime Minister, Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom. He wasPrime Minister from 1954 to 1958. The song reflected how fed-up African women were with theabuse they were enduring under the apartheid regime, and in the 1950s with the restrictive passlaws. The pass laws clearly distinguished white and black women in the working environment and aimed to ensure that the white minority remained in positions of favour.[40] Black women had to carry urban residential passes but were not permitted to live in white cities where the job opportunities were. This placed them at a larger disadvantage by restricting their movementand limiting their job opportunities. The unification of the multi-racial group of women that participated in the peaceful march was significant. Women in South Africa during the 1950s were taking a more active political role regarding protests and formal political organisationunder the auspices of the lobby group, the Federation of South African Women under the leadership of Lilian Ngoyi and the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL). The ANCWL and Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) were not the first of their kind.

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[38] C. Wells, "Why Women Rebel: A Comparative Study of South African Women's Resistance in Bloemfontein (1913) and Johannesburg (1958)", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10(1), 1983, p. 62.
[39] P.E. Brooks, *Boycotts, Buses, and Passes: Black Women's Resistance in the US South and South Africa*, p. 225.
[40] Wells, "Why Women Rebel …", p. 62.

2.4. Conclusion

The implementation of the apartheid system and the further entrenchment of institutionalised racism in the 1950s gave rise to a decade of politically oriented and subversive liberation music. The mobilisation of the masses under the ANC's nationwide campaigns in opposition to the apartheid regime prompted the use of liberation music as an integral part of protest action. The protest music of the 1950s was centered on lyrics that protested forced removals in Sophiatown, the relocation to Meadowlands, and the pass laws that repressed women's freedom of movement. The focal goal of liberation songs was to reflect the hardships that non-white citizens endured under the racist regime in the country, and to serve as a sounding board for liberation efforts. Artists who often doubled as liberation activists used their platforms and their art to promote anti-apartheid sentiments, both overtly and covertly. The diversification of the music industry in the 1950s proved a vital tool in producing a music culture that allowed artists from all different backgrounds, ethnicities, and genders to participate. This ran counter to the apartness that the NP government was trying to enforce through the mechanism of apartheid. As already said, artists produced music that audiences could relate to, regardless oftheir creed or nationality. The message of liberation in songs like *Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo* crossed racial boundaries and carried a message all women could identify with, andarguably men too.

The fact that the lyrics of a song may be open to multiple layers of interpretation made it possible for artists to draw a clear distinction between political song and the apartheid discourse. Protest music more plainly reflected the atrocities of the shared black experience during the apartheid era. As such, protest music was and still is today more successful in expressing the anti-apartheid message, as it was composed in and about communities that had direct experience of the events referenced in the songs.[41] There is no desire in liberation music to mask its political nature. At apartheid's inception, black recording artists largely influenced the political consciousness of the masses of oppressed people in townships, many of whom did not enjoy the privileges of literacy or black intellectualism. Subversive lyrics they listened to connect the struggles of the imagined community in the country and sang the news of the day. Rooted in the context of racial segregation, disenfranchisement, land dispossession and an array of racist legislation, protest music honestly conveyed the message of liberation and equality.

[41] Groenewald & Makopo, p. 78.

During the 1950s, protest music evolved in sync with the liberation movement. As the liberation movement intensified, so did the protest music. The apartheid system became progressively more oppressive during the 1950s, and as a result, the message conveyed in the liberation songs intensified and radicalised. Artists like Dorothy Masuka and Vuyisile Mini demonstrated the urgency of the need to dismantle the apartheid system, and through songs like *uDr. Malan* and *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* brazenly challenged and criticised the NP. These songs served both as tools to remind listeners of the cruelty of the apartheid regime and stir their rage, and simultaneously to serve as a warning to those in positions of power who fueled the fires of racism and segregation. Other artists in the 1950s elected to use more discrete ways of criticising the apartheid regime by using metaphors and multiple layers of meaning in their lyrics. Strike Vilakazi managed to achieve multi-vocality through his composition of *Meadowlands. Meadowlands* addressed the issue of forced removals during the1950s and the dispossession of black communities, but simultaneously provided an upbeat jazz melody which made it fun to dance to and catchy words which made it easy to sing along. *Meadowlands* did not overtly criticise the NP, but managed to embody a message that reflected the community's dissatisfaction with being forcefully removed, and their willingness to protestwith lyrics like *"Ons Pola Hier".* The 1950s produced an array of artists and musical compositions that used the medium of protest songs to promote an end to segregation and to draw attention to the atrocities of the apartheid regime. The 1950s gave rise to political consciousness through music and reinforced the significance of the role of protest music in opposition to the apartheid regime.

CHAPTER 3

RADIO BANTU, RADIO FREEDOM AND THE WORKS OF MAKEBA AND MASEKELA IN EXILE IN THE 1960s

3.1. Introduction

The 1960s marked an important turning point in the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa. In 1960, both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) launched their respective campaigns in challenging pass laws. The radicalization of the local anti-apartheid movement was greatly exhibited through the nature of protest songs during the period under discussion. This chapter evaluates the nature of the music industry in the 1960s, the escalation of protest songs locally and internationally. This is done also through investigating the life in exile of many musicians in the 1960s.

This chapter focusses on three influential factors that contributed to the distribution and production of anti-apartheid music and rhetoric in the 1960s. I argue in this chapter that the mediums of distributions of liberation songs and anti-apartheid sentiments are just as important as liberations songs themselves. Firstly, the focus of this chapter is on the emergence of diversified radio broadcasting as a medium both for and against the apartheid regime. As will be shown in this chapter, in the 1960s radio broadcasts transcended beyond an entertainment and informative platform and was weaponised by both the state and the liberation movements. Radio was used as a mechanism for state propaganda and oppression, whilst simultaneously being used by the liberation movement to consolidate its constituents while operating in exile.

Secondly, this chapter will evaluate artists in exile during the 1960s. As liberation movements were exiled and banned, many artists who as members of the liberation movements locally had vocally expressed their anti-apartheid beliefs were either forced into exile by the state or went into self-imposed exile to avoid harassment. Lastly, to provide context to the findingsof this chapter, I focused on Miriam Makeba, particularly during her time in exile, and on howshe contributed to the anti-apartheid movement through her music and her social and political activism in the 1960s. To justify the above, a scrutiny of Makeba's collaborative album with American artist Harry Belafonte, *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba* is undertaken. Though many musicians contributed to the liberation movement and protest music whilst in exile, Makeba and Belafonte produced an album that focused primarily on recording and distributing

songs with strong anti-apartheid sentiments. Despite openly criticising the segregationist regime in South Africa, *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba* gained both local and international popularity. The collaboration between Makeba and Belafonte was indicative of the international solidarity that local artists often experienced whilst in exile. Similarly, musicians like Hugh Masekela, Abdullah Ibrahim and Jonas Gwangwa were embraced by the international community and were offered refuge in exile. Their contributions to liberation music in exile played an important role in conscientising the international community about the harsh conditions in apartheid South Africa. This chapter will evaluate the influence of well-known artists in exile, but not neglect the less famous musicians that produced anti-apartheid music during this era, such as the unknown artists that contributed to *This Land is Mine: South African Freedom Songs*. The influence of artists who chose to endure the hardships of the apartheid regime in South Africa is as significant as those who chose or were forced into exile.

3.2. Radio Bantu and Radio Freedom in the 1960s

Radio broadcasting in South Africa began in the 1920s, and in the 1930s the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was established/formed. In 1958, under the leadership of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the Policy of Separate Development was adopted by the NationalParty (NP) government. This Separate Development aimed to further entrench ideals on racial segregation in the country, in all facets of South African society. Under the Separate Development initiative, the country would be divided into the "white Republic of South Africa and ten black 'tribal' National States".[1] This had a substantial influence on the music industry in the 1960s, particularly regarding state radio and censorship.

Towards the end of 1959, Albert Hertzog was appointed to the position of Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, and Piet Meyer as chairperson of the Board of Governors of the SABC. Hertzog and Meyer were influential members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. Meyer had been serving as chairperson for over a decade. This was a clear indication of the government's plan to mold state radio in the image of its segregationist policies. This was confirmed in the SABC's *Annual Report* of 1959:

> It is obvious that broadcasting, the constant companion of man in modern times in all his activities, molds his intellect and his way of life. [We] must, in these times, be on guard to ensure that all [we] do complies with Christian ideals. Broadcasting can render a service to the whole community by expressing the unique South African way of life, both in its unity and great diversity. [2]

[1] C. Hamm, "'The Constant Companion of Man': Separate Development, Radio Bantu, And Music", *Popular Music,* 10(2), May 1991, p. 153.

Following the Sharpeville Massacre on 21st March 1960, the SABC led by the Broederbond activistswas committed to promoting state policy and the strategy of Separate Development. It was decreed by the Board of Governors that the intention of the broadcasting service would be notto undermine the safety and the interests of the country or promote revolutionary intentions inside or outside the country.[3] This prompted the beginning of organised state censorship of broadcasting services in the country. Media outlets like the SABC would be used to propagate only state approved content, particularly with the intention of promoting the survival and bounteous heritage of the White People of the Republic of South Africa.[4] This policy extended to the music that was permitted air-time on the SABC radio stations, both in the Republic and in the Bantustans. Content that promoted radical ideologies of social, political and economic equality was censored to avoid inciting uprisings. Liberation songs that criticised the apartheid government were banned by the SABC, and artists that were associated with liberation movements were prohibited from receiving air-time on SABC radio stations.

Through the mechanism of Separate Development, the SABC devised separate approaches for black and white listeners. A cultural dichotomy was assumed to exist between the black and white groups in the country, and as such it was deemed necessary to implement different strategies to ensure state policy and ideology was propagated. In 1960 a revised version of the Broadcasting Act was implemented. The existing Act, beyond the English and Afrikaans services, catered only for the existing isiXhosa and IsiZulu radio services. The revised Act was charged with expanding the radio services in isiXhosa and isiZulu, and establishing radio services in Northern and Southern Sesotho, Tshivenda, Setswana and Xitsonga languages in the Bantustans. Along with the revised Act, a Bantu Programme Control Board was established by the Governor-General. The Control Board was responsible for circulating these services in rural and urban areas where the languages were spoken and subsequently increased the control that the SABC's Board of Governors had over the affairs of Radio Bantu.[5] As mentioned

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[2] *Annual Report, South African Broadcasting Corporation* (Johannesburg), 1959, p. 4.
[3] *Annual Report, South African Broadcasting Corporation* (Johannesburg), 1961, p. 6.
[4] *Ibid,* p. 9.
[5] Hamm "The Constant Companion of Man" p. 156

before, Piet Meyer was appointed as chairperson of the Control Board. Radio Bantu was launched in the same year as his appointment. In 1966, the SABC *Annual Report* stated that:

> It was the approval and loan facilities of the State that enabled the SABC to tackle the huge FMscheme by which good radio reception became possible for the majority of the population, and by which the technical equipment could be created to provide the Bantu population groupswith radio services.[6]

The State spared no expense to implement the "Verwoerd-era" policy of Separate Development by ensuring that Afrikaner nationalism remained at the helm of state affairs, particularly maintaining segregationist ideologies. This was evident with Frequency Modulation, more commonly known as FM radio transmission, coupled with the innovation of portable transistor radio sets in the mid-1960s. These became influential tools in advertising state products and targeting black listeners. There were many reasons why this was possible, but the chief factor that made state control of radio transmissions possible, was the ability of FM transmitters to broadcast over a limited yet precise range. FM radio transmission made it possible for the SABC to broadcast programmes that catered for each of the South African languages, within the designated Bantustans. Radio Bantu would enable the NP to ensure that not just racial segregation was promoted through the SABC, but ethnic segregation too. This mechanism was used to justify ethnic and economic segregation on the premise of the apartheid state's "imagination of the different 'nations' within the country",[7] to ensure that South Africans listened primarily to locally sourced programmes, and to restrict foreign influences like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The introduction of short-wave transistors, which were more affordable than other units and were locally manufactured from 1963, meant that listeners who owned such units, could only tune into state programmes, like Radio Bantu. Consequently, the SABC was successful in limiting the influence of foreign radio broadcasts that contradicted local state propaganda.[8]

The state's assumptions on ethnic homogeneity however, disregarded radio listeners ability to interpret the information they received. The state's policy of Separate Development largely ignored the agency that listeners possessed, if listeners would mindlessly accept any content broadcast, provided it was in their native language. The range of music that was played on supposed "ethnic radio stations was not entirely autonomously controlled by the SABC, but partly dictated by a large demographic of listeners such as migrant labourers for example, who

[6] *Annual Report, South African Broadcasting Corporation* (Johannesburg), 1966, p. 3.

[7] S. Lekgoathi, 'You Are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation': Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960-1994", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 35(3), September 2009, p. 576.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 579.

preferred a particular genre of music like “neo-traditional” music.[9] Listener groups such as migrant labourers engaged mostly with “neo-traditional” music, and therefore radio stations more frequently played the genre of music desired by the said group. As a result,listeners played a small but important role in determining what they listened to. Radio Bantu had inadvertently redefined itself since its inception. Instead of becoming a completely state controlled mechanism for NP propaganda, listeners preferences were taken into consideration, although on a small scale.

The music industry in South Africa had evolved and further diversified during the 1960s. The pennywhistle/ jive/ kwela music was still a prominent feature on the music scene, but it was Jazz and Rock ‘n’ Roll that dominated the music circuits in the 1960s. Rock ‘n’ Roll was a popular music genre that originated from American gospel, jazz, and blues in the 1940s and 1950s. This multi-racial genre of music was deemed immoral by the apartheid government, and was thought threatening because of its appeal to multiple ethnic groups, thus contradictingthe mechanism of Separate Development that the regime vigorously tried to enforce.[10] By the mid-1960s a SABC survey showed that about 45% of white youths elected to listen to a Mozambican radio station called “LM”, which predominantly played British and American rock ‘n’ roll and pop music.[11] White youths preferred “LM” over local radio stations like Radio Springbok.

Aside from the significance of the content produced by Radio Bantu, an important factor to consider is the role of radio announcers and producers in the production of broadcasts. Lekgoathi highlights an interesting perspective on the role of radio announcers on Radio Lebowa, the Northern Sotho radio station. He evaluates the position of radio announcers and the roles they played, with their audiences and the white hegemony. Segregationist policies were largely enforced, and a clear Colour-Bar was evident in Radio Bantu. Management positions were reserved for whites, who were the highest wage earners, followed by black male employees, who were highly unlikely to be promoted beyond middle-management positions.[12]

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[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Hamm, “The Constant Companion of Man” p. 155.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] Lekgoathi “You Are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation”, p. 584.

This made it increasingly difficult for radio announcers to promote liberatory music or rhetoric on white controlled radio stations. The inequity within the workspace at Radio Bantu awarded little to no freedom at all for announcers to broadcast or produce content reflecting the liberation struggle. Segregation was further worsened by the fact that female employees were primarily employed on a part-time basis and were lower wage earners than their male counterparts. Black employees were subject to unequal and often hostile working environments, and as a result, had to adopt a subservient position to stay employed. Black radio announcers endured blatant racism from their white superiors, and the prevailing segregationist policies that dictated separate facilities like bathrooms, recording studios and even staff amenities.

Black announcers were often further humiliated by having to refer to their white superiors as "Morena", which is a SeSotho word for "King" or "Baas" (Master).[13] Radio presenters served both as heroes for their role in announcing in local languages those communities were proud, and as devils' advocates for promoting state political rhetoric. Announcers had little to no say about the content produced on radio shows, and as such had to contend with Afrikaans music's receiving equal playtime as English - and African language music. Being mediators between the apartheid state and local listeners sometimes proved to be a dangerous role, particularly regarding political leaders and activists that disagreed with announcers' shows, the information they propagated and their role as "co-conspirators". Listeners who were more politically conscious became cautious of the content and suspicious of announcers, whereas the less politically conscious listeners were more inclined to listen without resistance. The assumption cannot be made that all listeners were politically conscious. Some tuned in merely for entertainment purposes. I contend that listeners chose to interact with content that suited their social and political needs at the time.

According to Lekgoathi, early announcers of Radio Bantu's North Sotho radio station, namely Stanley Mtshali and Stanley Nkosi, defied the mandate given by white radio station managers. Mtshali and Nkosi played a popular African song called *Hlanganani Mawethu* on air. "The song called for Africans to unite, thus directly turning the state's ethnic separatism on its head".[14] Content that inspired revolt against state policy greatly disturbed the white authorities. The Control Board deliberatively took the approach of employing on Radio Bantu only presenters that would "mindlessly" repeat instructions from above. There is no evidence of

[13] *Ibid.*
[14]*Ibid,* p. 581.

what happened to Mtshali and Nkosi after the incident, but it can be deduced from oral testimonies conducted by Lekgoathi that their offense was punished by dismissal.

Aside from Radio Bantu, it is important to note the influence of radio broadcasts from political parties and organisations as a means of communication during the decades in exile. Radio in exile started in the 1950s, but Radio Freedom, otherwise known as Freedom Radio or ANC Radio, officially aired for the first time in 1963.[15] It became influential in the politicisation of those who were politically conscious. For example, in April of 1963 Walter Sisulu defied his house arrest banning in Johannesburg and travelled to Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia to join the rest of the ANC high command and other fugitives of the South African Communist Party (SACP).[16] Following the formation of MK, the sabotage attacks across the country were meant to cause economic destabilisation and a revolution of sorts. When Mandela and other high-ranking members of the military wing were captured by security police, a sense of disillusionment loomed over the movement. In an attempt to assure allies that the momentum of the movement would not be lost, and that leadership was not absent as a lifeline, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada took to the airwaves in Freedom Radio's inaugural address in June 1963.

Recorded by Dennis Goldberg at Rivonia, Sisulu and Kathrada each made a statement: "Sons and Daughters of Africa, I speak to you from somewhere in South Africa", encouraging listeners to believe that the liberation movement had not died and that the ANC had not abandoned them. Kathrada urged the Indian community to join the struggle and pledged that he would remain in the country until the demands for liberation had been met. Despite Kathrada's call to mobilise the Indian community, state repression and separate development fractured the South African Indian Congress' (SAIC) political activities in the early 1960's. SAIC had members among the Treason Trial defendants and in Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). Despite not being banned, the SAIC was used by the NP government as an advisory committee on separate development policy to promote participation between the Indian Community and government.[17] He called upon "workers and peasants; teachers and students; Ministers of

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[15] S. R. Davis, "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 35(2), June 2009, p. 351. See also S. Davis, "The ANC: From Freedom Radio to Radio Freedom", in H. Sapire and C. Saunders, *Southern African Liberation Struggles: New Local, Regional and GlobalPerspectives*, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2013), pp. 117-141.

[16] R. Bernstein, *Memory Against Forgetting: Memoir of a Time in South African Politics 1938-1964,* p. 252.[17]V. Padayachee, "Struggle, Collaboration and Democracy: The 'Indian Community' in South Africa, 1860-1999", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(7), 1999, pp. 393-394.

Religion and all Churches" to "unite and struggle".[18] They informed listeners of the conditions of those who had been detained and the nature of the underground operations being undertaken. Sisulu warned of the coming storm and stated that "In the face of violence, men who fight for their freedom have to meet violence with violence". [19] The call for violence was reflective of the ANC's transition to a militarised approach to liberation. The passive resistance of the 1950s had proved unsuccessful in combatting apartheid and had resulted in an escalationof apartheid repression.

No plans had been made beforehand to distribute recordings or determined how many people they would reach. A few weeks after the recordings were made, Goldberg and two of his colleagues, Cyril Jones and Ivan Schermbrucker travelled to Parktown in Johannesburg to covertly broadcast the recordings to an undetermined number of listeners. Jones had rented a car and Goldberg connected a "custom-built aluminum aerial, spray-painted black to avoid detection by police searchlights",[20] to a tape recorder and pressed play to broadcast Sisulu's address, which had been recorded on the 16 June 1963. Sisulu stated that:

> Many of our leaders of the African National Congress have gone underground. This is to keep the organisation in action; to preserve the leadership; to keep the freedom fight going. Never has the country, and our people, needed leadership as they do now, in this hour of crisis… In the face of violence, men struggling for freedom have had to meet violence with violence. How can it be otherwise in South Africa? Changes must come. Changes for the better, but not without sacrifice. Your sacrifice, my sacrifice. We face tremendous odds. We know that. But our unity, our determination, our sacrifice, our organisation, are our weapons. We must succeed! We will succeed! *Amandla!*[21]

The number of listeners was unknown, and despite all the precautions taken by Goldberg and his colleagues, two weeks after Goldberg, Jones and Schermbrucker sent out the broadcast the police raided Lilliesleaf Farm, arresting several leaders, and thus weakening the ANC and the SACP. The leaders were to be tried and sentenced in what would be known as the Rivonia

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[18] S. Lekgoathi, "The ANC's Freedom radio, its audience and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa,1963-1991", *Journal of African Media Studies,* 2(2), August 2010, p. 552.
[19] Davis "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile …" pp. 351-352.
[20] Bernstein *Memory Against Forgetting:* pp. 252-253.
[21] W.M. Sisulu, 'Document 72. Broadcast on ANC Radio, 26 June 1963', in T. Karis and G.M. Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge*, Volume 3, 1977, pp. 759–760. Also see http://www.anc.org.za/4604, 23.09.2021.

Trail.[22] The Radio Freedom recordings were labelled as treasonous and seditious by prosecutor Percy Yutar. They were also used as evidence of the ANC's conspiracy to overthrow the regime, submitted under the title 'Eye for an Eye' broadcasts.[23] Members of the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) who were tried in the Rivonia Trail were sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. Remaining members of the organizations who evaded arrest faced extreme prejudice and harassment, forcing them further underground or into exile. It was clear that any dreams of broadcasting Radio Freedom from within South African borders had been dashed.

The ANC's newly established mission in exile was put into action by Oliver Tambo, Moses Kotane and Tennyson Makiwane, while the mass of the high command was imprisoned in South Africa. Chief Albert Luthuli however, remained President General of the ANC while confined to his farm in Natal until his death in 1967. Radio broadcasting had become an integral part of liberation movements, not just in South Africa but also in other anti-colonial movements in Southern Africa. The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in South West Africa (modern day Namibia) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in Rhodesia (modern day Zimbabwe) used radio broadcasting as a mechanism to protest against oppressive regimes, exchange information and create awareness.[24] It became a necessity to use radio to influence donors, get the better of their rivals, and connect with the people they claimed to lead, even if the intended audience didn't execute what they heard over the airwaves.[25] Liberation movements in exile had to integrate radio broadcasting into their political strategies. Politically active members of the liberation movement who were not in exile, were under constant surveillance and gatherings were declared illegal. Those that were in exile, had no other means to address the masses all the once. Therefore, radio became the most lucrative means of communicating with supporters of the liberation struggle.

Following the Rivonia arrests in 1963, it took the ANC a few years to get set up and broadcast in exile. By 1967, broadcasts began to air out of Lusaka but under the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), essentially revamping Radio Freedom into "The Voice of Freedom". By 1969, "The Voice of Freedom" was broadcasting to Southern Africa three times

[22] Lekgoathi, "The ANC's Freedom radio, its audience and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, 1963-1991", p. 555.
[23] *Ibid*
[24] *Ibid,* p. 556.
[25] *Ibid*

a week from the Tanzanian Government radio facilities, Radio Tanzania, Dar es Salaam (RTD).[26] The ANC had used RTD facilities earlier in the 1960s, issuing press releases through RDT staff. "The Voice of Freedom" however, was a more formalised version of the ANC's radio broadcasting initiative, featuring representatives of the organisation and other movements such as the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), SWAPO, ZANU and ZAPU. Unlike Freedom Radio, the "Voice of Freedom" was not clandestine. It operated from a known location and representatives from the different organisations openly identified themselves.

3.3. Exile artists in the 1960s

During the 1960s several local artists who supported the liberation struggle either through their music or affiliations with political organisations were forced into exile, or chose self-imposed exile to avoid harassment by the authorities. As mentioned, the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre intensified apartheid in the country and consequently artist suppression intensified as well. Joseph Molifi, a member of the jazz band the *Sharpetown Swingsters* explained that "the band has been unable to perform any shows because of the unrest since they are unable to (get together) easily, and simply because they are too scared to move about the township".[27] Following the Sharpeville massacre, the government instituted a state of emergency and prohibited gatherings, particularly gatherings amongst people of colour. Concerts and other musical gatherings were included.[28] In order to understand what transpired in the 1960s with regards to liberation music, it is important to tap into one of the celebrated jazz icons in South Africa, Hugh Masekela.

Several of South Africa's most influential jazz musicians elected to choose a life in exile, as opposed to living under the tyranny of state censorship and artist suppression. South African jazz icon Hugh Ramapolo Masekela was born in Witbank, in a township called Kwa-Guqa in April 1939. While he was growing up Masekela was surrounded by anti-apartheid activism but commented that he never intended to use music as a tool for protest action.[29] During his formative years, Masekela was exposed to an array of musical genres. His grandmother, Johanna Bowers, who raised him for the most part, owned a shebeen which miners and migrant workers frequented. Masekela recounts how they would sing about their circumstances and the

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[26] Davis, "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile" p. 360.
[27] A. Schumann, "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa", *Stichproben – Vienna Journal of African Studies*, 8(14), 2008, p. 25.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] K. J. Borek, Hugh Masekela: The Horn of Freedom", *Confluence*, 23(1), 2017, p. 141.

troubles they endured. He recounts in his autobiography, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela*:

> But even without records, music surrounded us, especially on the weekends. The drinkers and miners would arrive at the shebeen and sing sad folk and traditional songs like "Ngeke ngiye Kwa Zulu Kwa Fel' u Baba" (I'll never go back to Zululand. That's where my father was killed); "Languta Tsotsi, u ta ku tekela mali Tsotsi" (Watch out for the city slicker, the pickpocket and the mugger. They're all out to take your money); "Matsidiso, ngwana Rakgadi,ha e sale, u tsamaya, ua re siya re le bodutu, Wa re u ya Gauteng" (Matsidiso, my aunt's child,ever since you left us lonely and sad, saying you are off to Johannesburg, you promised to write to us but we never heard from you); and "Ndemka Kudala ekhaya, Ndi Khumbul' iKhaya Lam"(I've been gone so long from home, my heart cries out with longing for the home where I wasborn).[30]

Masekela described his grandmother as a God-fearing and zealous woman. She refused to play records in her house and considered them blasphemous. Masekela attributed his "first obsession with music" to his uncle Lincoln Putugwana or uncle Putu as he referred to him.[31] Uncle Putu's gramophone collection fascinated Masekela. He would spend hours listening to records, and by the time he was three would be singing along with them and uncle Putu. Masekela accredits uncle Putu as being his greatest singing influence, He admits to often imitating. During his time in Payneville, Masekela displayed a natural talent for music and singing. His natural talent prompted his parents to sign him up for piano lessons with a local tutor. Masekela's love of music extended into his high school years.

In 1952 he began his schooling at St Peter's Secondary School, a boarding school run by missionaries in Rosettenville. At St Peter's, Masekela joined the boys' choir and was introduced to Father Trevor Huddleston, who would become his mentor and good friend. In 1953, Masekela watched the film *Young Man with a Horn*, starring Kirk Douglas as a trumpeter and committed to becoming a trumpeter himself.[32] Father Huddleston arranged for Masekela to get a trumpet of his own and organised lessons for him at the school. Soon after, Masekela joined a jazz band under the supervision of Father Huddleston and was accompaniedby four other boys in the band. Masekela's cousin, Jonas Gwangwa, was a trombonist in the band.[33] In 1956 following Father Huddleston's visit to the USA, Masekela was gifted a used horn from Loius Armstrong. During his teen years he performed with a series of bands including the St Peter's jazz band called the *Huddleston Jazz Band, The Merry Makers* and Alfred Herbert's

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[30] Masekela & Cheers, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela,* p. 7.
[31] *Ibid,* p. 6.
[32] *Ibid,* pp. 48-50.
[33] *Ibid,* pp. 51-51.

African Jazz and *Variety* Show.

In 1958 Masekela joined the cast of *King Kong*, along with Makeba, Masuka and his cousin Jonas Gwangwa.[34] After *King Kong* ended in 1959, Masekela co-founded the Jazz Epistles band with pianist Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim), trombonist Gwangwa and saxophonist Kippie Moeketsi. The escalating racial oppression in South Africa weighed heavy on Masekela. He feared that his musical career would not progress if he remained in the country. As a result, Masekela applied for a passport, in the hope of leaving South Africa. Sharing his sentiments, other artists also feared that the growing state repression would be detrimental to their musical careers. At this time Masekela stated that "work was drying up all over the country, even in Johannesburg, the entertainment mecca of South Africa."[35]

In 1959 the Jazz Epistles moved to Cape Town where the music scene seemed more promising. In January 1960, the Epistles moved back to Johannesburg in anticipation of a nationwide tour. Following the Sharpeville Massacre, the nationwide tour was cancelled due to the political climate and the state of emergency which banned gatherings. After a late-night study session, Masekela slept over at the home of Monty and Myrtle Berman, who were well-known anti-apartheid activists. That night Special Branch Police stormed the residence and arrested Monty Berman. Masekela's presence at the Berman residence was unexpected and led to the policeman questioning him profusely and demanding his pass details. He went home to lie low and evade any attention. Following the incident, a *Golden City Post* reporternamed Lewis Nkosi wrote a Sunday column on Masekela's being found in the Monty Berman'sliving room at the time of Berman's arrest. Masekela feared that the Special Branch police would come looking for him, and that his chances of possibly leaving the country would be lost.[36]

In May 1960, Masekela met with Ian Bernhardt at Dorkay House.[37] Funds had been acquired for Masekela to leave for London, England in the days that followed. His mother had somehow

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[34] Borek, "Hugh Masekela: The Horn of Freedom", p. 143.
[35] Hugh & Cheers, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journal of Hugh Masekela*, p. 94.
[36] *Ibid*, pp. 98-100.
[37] Dorkay House, situated in Eloff Street in downtown Johannesburg, served at the headquarters for the Union of South African Artists. The Union was a coalition of black South African artists formed in response to the suppression of black musicians and artists. Through fund raising efforts, facilitated by Father Huddleston and Ian Bernhardt, Union artists were able to acquire a lease for Dorkay House. The space functioned as a rehearsal space, a haven for black artists and a creative space where artists were free from apartheid repression.

managed to get a passport for him, and in May 1960, Masekela got on a flight to London, beginning his career in self-imposed exile.[38] On his live album in 1967, Masekela performed a song called *Coincidence.* He comments that the song was his "first really angry song", and that it was influenced by the Vietnam war, the Civil Rights Movement, and the apartheid struggle in South Africa.[39] A verse in the song goes as follows:

What a coincidence
Boy, what a coincidence
Oh, everybody's talkin' bout love
Wherever I go these days, I swear
Boy, what a coincidence
That everybody finally wants to be known
To be comin' on so groovy
All around my head
I hear the laughter of the cannons
As the soldiers are dying
And a million children burning from the fires of hating
Cause the world ain't ready yet for all the babies on the way
Boy, what a coincidence

Under the guise of a smooth jazz melody and beat, it can be argued that the lyrics questioned the hypocrisy of society during an era of racial injustice and social inequality. Masekela satirises systematic racism and political violence by calling it a "coincidence". In *Still Grazing*, Masekela refers to the song as an "anti-war lament".[40] The song was an expression of grief and sorrow about the war, and arguably reflected his sentiments about the racial war that was happening in South Africa.

In 1969, Masekela released his most politically themed album entitled *Masekela*. Recorded and released whilst living in the USA, he commented on the political and social circumstances in South Africa through songs like *Mace and Grenades* and *Gold.* In *Mace and Grenades*,

[38] Masekela & Cheers, pp. 101-102.
[39] S. Williams, "Hugh Masekela: The Politics of South Africa's Famed Trumpeter", https://www.udiscovermusic.com/stories/hugh-masekela-politics-feature/ 4.04.2021.
[40] Masekela & Cheers, pp. 150-152.

Masekela comments on the incarceration of political prisoners as well as the political violence that erupted in South Africa in the 1960s. The lyrics of the song go as follows:

Mace and grenades, tear gas and napalm bombs
Bazookas and machine guns going off all around me

I'm in jail here
Fallout shelters cannot hide me from radiation smiles
45's on my neck, fires on my butt
Looks like its safer to be in jail

I'm in jail out here
Walls [bars] all around me, warden to protect me
From your mace
Mace and grenades

I'm in jail out there
I'm in jail out there
x2
Mace and grenades
[Feels so nice now]
[Looks like it's safer to be in jail]

In the song titled *Gold* Masekela sings about the mining of gold in South Africa from the perspective of a migrant labourer. The labourer in the song questions who the gold belongs to and what it will be used for. This is reflective of the mining industry in South Africa that was established on the land of native communities dispossessed not only of land but also of natural minerals and resources, and how colonial encroachment entrapped expropriated communities into the cheap labour force.

Ndiyekeleni (let me be)
Ndiyekeleni weMaxhosa (let me be)
Ndiyekeleni ndiyekeleni ndifele' aph emgodini Hintsa (let me die in the hole Hintsa)
Ndimbiseni igilide engasoyami (let me dig this gold which is not mine)

Ndimbiseni igilide engasoyamiapha emgodini ho Hintsa (let me dig this gold which is not mine in this hole Hintsa)

Andazi ukuthi igolide leli liqondephi (I don't know where this gold is going)

Andazi ukuthi igolide leli liqondephi na (I don't know where this gold is doing)

Andazi ukuthi igolide leli liqondephi nom iqonde (I don't know where this gold is doing)

Andazi ukuthi igolide leli liqondephi nomi iqondephi ho ngqika (I don't know where this gold is going or it's doing ho Ngqika)

Ngeyakabani na legolide (who's gold is this man)

Ngeyakabani na legolide (who's gold is this)

Ngeyakabani na legolide engisebenzela kangaka (who's gold is this that I work for with all my blood man)

Iyelele bare mataba abutse (beautiful stones) x2

Iyelele bare mataba abutse baabitsa bari kidi demand Bapedi (beautiful stones they call them diamonds the Pedi's)

Naa kidi kiadibona tlase haditshaba (what am I doing here under the mountains) x2

Naa kidi kiadibona tlase haditshaba sha Kimberly (what am I doing here under Kimberly's mountains batlokwa he)

Kitluketsi Pulukwane fats la (I'v left Pulukwane such a beautiful place)

Kitluketsi Pulukwane (I'v left Pulukwane such a beautiful place Sikukune)

Songs like *Riot* and *Sobukwe* were complete instrumental songs. They were reflective of Masekela's disapproval of both USA's and South Africa's administration's policies. *Sobukwe*, which was titled after political activist Robert Sobukwe, was a lament for political activists, both in South Africa and in the USA. *Riot* was reflective of the liberation movement's resistance campaigns and uprisings. Titling a song with the name of a political activist and a mechanism of resistance was a metaphor for Masekela's discontent with racist governments. "The dark texture, thumping piano chords, blaring horns, and scathing, anti-racist, anti-war lyrics gave the album a very radical and militant texture."[41]

One iconic liberation musician that made her mark both locally and internationally was Makeba. She is arguably one of the most famous and influential artists and anti-apartheid activists in 20th century South African history. Makeba was born on the 4 March 1932 in the Township of Prospect, near Johannesburg. Makeba's mother was a Swazi traditional healer, who often worked as a domestic worker, and her father was a Xhosa and worked as a clerk for Shell Oil. Her father passed away when she was five years old, after which she went to live

[41] Masekela & Cheers, p. 160.

with her grandmother in Riverside, Pretoria. Makeba had an affinity for music from a young age. She sang in a school choir and in church and performed a solo item during the Royal Visit in 1947.[42] During the 1950s, Makeba lived in Sophiatown township, where she was exposed to a diverse culture of music, and an eclectic collection of artists, including her mentor Dorothy Masuka. During this period, Makeba began to climb the ranks of the music industry. She started out as a backup singer for the *Manhattan Brothers* and the *Cuban Brothers* in the early 1950s, and later joined the all-female group called the *Skylarks* as the lead singer.

She did a few theatre productions, but it wasn't until she featured in the 1959 anti- apartheid film, *Come Back, Africa* that she was catapulted into international stardom. The politically driven film by white American film maker Lionel Rogosin, titled after the famous ANC struggle song, featured a fictional narrative set-in apartheid South Africa, following the story of a young black man moving from his rural home to urban Sophiatown in Johannesburg.[43] The story grappled with social and political strife for black people under the apartheid regime and was banned for its depiction of racial segregation in the country. However, Rogosin managed to smuggle the film out of the country, where it amassed great international recognition and praise. Although Makeba did not feature as a main character in the movie, her mere four-minute appearance gave her international recognition. Even though her role was minimal and screen time short, her performance was impactful. Makeba's role asa *Shebeen Queen* performer not only resonated with film makers, but was instrumental in connecting the black working-class to the narrative. The story, as well as her feature, reflected cosmopolitan black identity in a racial and economically segregated society. She accompanied Rogosin to the 21st Venice Film Festival where she was dubbed the "Star of Venice" by *DrumMagazine*.[44] In the film, Makeba performs the song *Into Yam*, a song she sang many times throughout her musical career.

Aside from *Come Back, Africa*, Makeba also featured in the musical *King Kong*. The musical was known for its iconic collaboration between black and white South Africans in apartheid-torn South Africa. The musical featured a stellar cast of local artists and opened at the University of the Witwatersrand Great Hall to cater to a multi-racial audience. The musical travelled across the country and was booked for a London production in 1961. Following her

[42] N. Negrete, "Biography of Miriam Makeba by Narcy Negrete" <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/biography-miriam-makeba-narcy-negrete>, 13.01.2017.
[43] R. Feldstein, "Screening Antiapartheid: Miriam Makeba, "Come Back, Africa," and the Transnational Circulation of Black Culture and Politics", *Feminist Studies,* 39(1), 2013, p. 12.
[44] *Drum,* October 1959, p. 65.

success in *Come Back, Africa*, Makeba performed all over Europe and caught the attention of American musician Harry Belafonte while performing in London. She travelled to the USA with Belafonte in 1959 and began her international career abroad. In 1960, Makeba's passport was revoked, and she was banned from re-entering South Africa. Due to the banning order, she was also prevented from attending her mother's funeral and mourning the deaths of her family members who were killed during the Sharpeville Massacre. Like many other musicians including Masuka, Makeba had to live in exile, unable to return to her country of birth.

Makeba was known for her activism during the apartheid period in South Africa, which she reflected in her work and lifestyle. She stressed the importance of an "'African' professional identity"[45] and continued to produce songs in African languages like Zulu, Xhosa, and Swahili, regardless of her global fame. She was recognised for her natural aesthetic, wearing her hair in a short afro, and draping herself in African printed robes. Makeba took pride in her African heritage and expressed her pan-Africanist ideologies in her rejection of European standards of beauty. The 1960s was a crucial era of emancipation from oppressive regimes and marked a rise in African-consciousness both on the African continent and in the diaspora. Makeba entered USA at the time of the convergence of the Sharpeville Massacre and the first USA civil rights sit-ins.[46] Makeba's exposure to an African-American political consciousness in the USA and the shift in the armed struggle in South Africa radicalised and prompted her address before the United Nations General Assembly in 1963:

> I ask you and all the leaders of the world, would you act differently, would you keep silent anddo nothing if you were in our place? Would you not resist if you were allowed no rights in yourown country because the colour of your skin is different from that of the rulers, and if you werepunished for even asking for equality. I appeal to you, and to all the countries of the world to do everything you can to stop the coming tragedy. I appeal to you to save the lives of our leaders, to empty the prisons of all those who should never have been there.[47]

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[45] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*, (2nd Edition), p. 231.
[46] Feldstein, p. 29.
[47] V. Vitorino, "Miriam Makeba, UN, 1963 (South African Apartheid)", *YouTube,* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uWP5mBJ4HWs 28.11.2007.

Figure 2.1: Miriam Makeba during her UN General Assembly adress, c. 1963 Photograph by Teddy Chen.

Her citizenship was revoked by the South African apartheid government, and she was rendered a stateless person and branded a “communist” by many American authorities. While in the USA she participated in many civil rights and Black Power campaigns, as well as anti-apartheid and Black Consciousness rallies and fund-raising events. Although she was exiled from South Africa, Makeba found comfort in the company of other South African musicians who were in exile too. In 1964 Makeba appeared before the UN General Assembly again, this time addressing the decolonisation committee to plea for the release of female political prisoners in South Africa. The ANC felt that her influence as an international figure could garner the support necessary to challenge the oppressive regime in South Africa, and thus requested that she speak on their behalf.

In 1965 Makeba released a joint album with mentor Belafonte. The album titled *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba* was wildly popular and won the duo a Grammy Award in the category of *Best Folk Recording*. The collaborative album featured an array of songs that highlighted political, gender and racial issues, in various languages. *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba* included songs that criticised racial injustices and spoke directly to the apartheid system in South Africa. Makeba recorded the well-known *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* (Beware of a Black Man Verwoerd!) by Vuyisile Mini. Featuring the controversial song on a commercial album in vernacular elevated the songs message on an international platform. She maintained that even though she was in exile, “emotionally, mentally and otherwise, I was always home”.[48] All twelve songs featured in the album were sung in African languages such as Xhosa, Zulu and Swahili.

[48] L. Miller & M. Makeba, “Miriam Makeba”, *BOMB*, (27), September 2000, p. 82.

Aside from *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* the album also featured songs like *Mabayeke* (Give Us Our Land) sung by Belafonte. *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba* was particularly significant because Belafonte co-signed the anti-segregation and anti-racism message of many of the South African protest songs. The collaborative album by a black South African female and a well-known international artist signified a collaboration between the international community and the liberation movement in South Africa. The lyrics of *Mabayeke* spoke to the plea of the marginalised, dispossessed black community in the country. Belafonte sings the classic Xhosa song, the lyrics of which go as follows:

Thina sizwe (thina sizwe esimnyama) – We are a nation (we are a black nation)
Sikakhalela (sikhalela izwe lethu) – We Cry (we cry for our country)
Elathathwa (elathathwa ngabamhlophe) – Taken (taken by the whites)
Elathathwa (elathathwa ngabamhlophe) – Taken (taken by the whites)

Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)
Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)
Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)
Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)

Abantwana (abantwana be Africa) – Children (African children)
Bakhalela (bakhalela izwe labo) – The are crying (crying for their country)
Elathathwa (elathathwa ngabamhlophe) – Taken (taken by the whites)
Elathathwa (elathathwa ngabamhlophe) – Taken (taken by the whites)

Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)
Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)
Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)
Mabayeka (mabaye' umhlaba wethu) – Let them return (let them return our land)

Belafonte's singing of this classic anthem raised international awareness of the economic and social injustices under the apartheid regime. *Mabayeke* was a plea to the apartheid regime to return the land, most of which was reserved for the white minority, leaving Africans to live in overcrowded and underfunded Bantustans.

The album also features *Mbayi, Mbayi* (Cannon) sung by Makeba:

Bazobaleka sobadubula wemama – They will run away and shoot my mother
Bazobaleka wemama bazobaleka mama – They will run away mama, they will run away mama

Bazobaleka sobadubula wemama – They will run away mama, they will run away mama

Bazobaleka wemama bazobaleka mama – They will run away mama, they will run away mama

Sizobadubula ngembayimbayi (bazobaleka) - We'll shoot them (they'll run away)

Dubula ngembayimbayi - Shoot with a rifle

Sizobadubula ngembayimbayi (bazobaleka) – We'll shoot them (they'll run away)

Dubula ngembayimbayi – Shoot with a rifle

OVerwoerd(dubula) – oVerwoerd (shoot)

Sibabonile (dubula) – We saw them (shoot)

Sebebaleka we (dubula ngembayimbayi)(sesbahlulile) – They are running away (shoot with a rifle)(we have defeated them)

OVerwoerd(dubula) – oVerwoerd (shoot)

Sibabonile (dubula) – We saw them (shoot)

Sebebaleka we (dubula ngembayimbayi)(sesbahlulile) - They are running away (shoot with a rifle)(we have defeated them)

Thina sizobadubula (iyo dubula ngembayimbayi) – We will all shoot them (shoot with a rifle)

Thina sizobadubula (iyo dubula ngembayimbayi) – We will all shoot them (shoot with a rifle)

Tata uMandela (dubula)

Ubabonile (dubula)

Sebebaleka we (dubula ngembayimbayi)(sesbahlulile)

Tata usobukwe (dubula)

Ubabonile (dubula)

Sebebaleka we (dubula ngembayimbayi)(sesbahlulile)

The lyrics of *Mbayi Mbayi* speak about the violence that had broken out because of apartheid oppression in South Africa. Makeba's rendition of the classic song reflected the political violence of the 1960s, including the Sharpeville Massacre. It was also a reflection of the emerging armed struggle in the country. With the banning of the liberation movements and the arrest and exile of many political leaders, the liberation had moved underground, and with the acquisition and military training in training camps outside the country became a necessity. Like Vuyisile Mini's compositions, *Mbayi Mbayi* is a forewarning of the pending violence between the apartheid regime and those who opposed it. In the song, Makeba calls out the then South African Prime Minister Verwoerd. Like Masuka and Mini in their songs, Makeba calls out the Prime Minister by name, directing her opposition to the NP government blatantly.

It is clear that many of the songs in the album were in one way or another driven by the socio-political climate in South Africa. Not only does Makeba address the political violence and dispossession of Africans, but she also addresses the imprisonment of political leaders and activists. Political prisoners often endured torture and abuse while in prison, especially by the Security Police, to extract information on the operation of the armed struggle. Makeba addresses the imprisonment of political leaders like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, who were arrested in the Rivonia Trial between 1963 and 1964. *KwaNongqongqo* was a prison in East London where many political prisoners were sent, and was the inspiration for her song *Nongqongqo (To Those We Love)*. The song became popular. In 1973 it was sung by Letta Mbulu in the American romantic film directed by Sydney Poitier called *A Warm December*. Although the film was not politically driven, it was important for black creatives to include elements of political rhetoric that not only affected the black community in the diaspora but also highlighted the racial struggles in Africa. Some of the song's lyrics are as follows:

Bahleli bonke etilongweni – They are all sitting in prison
Bahleli bonke kwaNongqongqo – They are all sitting in *Nongqongqo*
X2

Hee hee hee halala
Hee hee hee halala

Nangu! Nangu! nanku Sobukwe – Here he is, here he is, here is Sobukwe
Nangu! Nangu! etilongweni – Here he is, here he is, in prison
X2

In the song *Khawuleza* (*Hurry, Mama, Hurry!)* Makeba's introduction to the song explains its meaning and origins, thus:

> *Khawuleza* is a South African song. It comes from the townships, locations, reservations, whichever, near the cities of South Africa. Where all the black South Africans live. The children shout from the streetsas they see police cars coming to raid their homes for one thing or another. They say "Khawuleza Mama!" Which simply means "Hurry Mama!

Please, please don't let them catch you!"

Just like the warning call, *Udumo Lwamaphoyisa* (A Strong Police Force), *Khawuleza* was a common song sung when a police contingent was nearby. Black women in locations/townships who didn't work in cities often generated their own income by brewing beer. "Illicit" beer brewing was a lucrative business in urban locations and became the target of many police raids, thus leading to police harassment. *Khawuleza* was sung to warn shebeen owners and beer brewers when there was a police presence in the vicinity. Makeba's mother used to brew beer and was arrested and detained by police, a common occurrence.

Despite Makeba's musical success in America, her involvement in the Civil Rights Movement and her status as an immigrant placed her under intense investigation by the American government. Her marriage to Black Panther leader Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Turé) in 1968 also put her under more scrutiny.[49] Soon after, Makeba was banned from America and her visa was denied after she returned from a trip to the Bahamas. Makeba and Carmichael moved to Guinea, where they were offered citizenship by President Ahmed Sékou Touré. Makeba continued her political activism in Guinea, where she remained in exile from 1969.[50] She had a large and diverse audience of black and white South Africans, black and white Americans, Europeans, sub-Saharan Africans, dignitaries, political leaders and activists.[51] She became affectionately known as "Mama Africa", became a Pan-Africanist icon and a music legend. Yet, despite her talent and influence, Makeba was exiled from her homeland to mute her criticism of the oppressive regime that plagued South African society. This was a fatethat many South African artists endured because of their protest action through music and artistry. She endured a three-decade exile for her anti-apartheid sentiments and was declared a "terrorist/communist". She used her platform and fame to raise awareness of the atrocities that were being committed in South Africa by the apartheid regime, even though she had to operate in exile.

This Land is Mine:

In 1965, a compilation album was released in South Africa, entitled *This Land is Mine: South African Freedom Songs*. Initially composed during the 1950s, the album was intended as an

[49] A. Carter-Enyi, "Decolonizing the Mind Through Song: From Makeba to the Afropolitan present", *Performance Research,* 24(1), January 2019, p. 61.
[50] Miller & Makeba, "Miriam Makeba …", p. 93.
[51] Carter-Enyi, p. 63.

accompaniment to the South African Liberation Movement. *This Land is Mine* is a compilation of fifteen liberation songs, in various South African languages. The individual contributors to the album are undocumented, but the album was composed and released as a tribute to fallen and incarcerated political activists. Arguably one of the most influential collections of liberation songs in the 1960s, very little is documented about the composition, contributors, and release of this pivotal album. The songs on the album are:

Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika (Lord Bless Africa) / *Amandla, Awethu* (Strength is Ours) - (medley)

Sikhalela Izwe Lakithi (We Protest for Our Land)

U Sobukwe Ufuna Amajoni (Sobukwe Wants Freedom Fighters)

Umboso Ka Verwoerd (Verwoerd's Regime)

Shosholoza Mandela (Go Underground Mandela)

Ithemba Edinalo Inkululeko (The Trust I Have is in Freedom)

Imayini Yase Coalbrook (Coalbrook Mine)

Mayibuye Afrika (Come Back Africa)

E Tanganika (In Tanganika)

Izakunyatheli Afrika Verwoerd (Africa is Going to Trample on You, Verwoerd)

Dubula Nge Mbaymbayi (Shoot with Cannons)

Thinantsha (We are the Youth)

Thina Sizwe (We the Africans)

Oh Tanganyikas

Ibande Nge Lami (The Belt is Mine)

All the songs on *This Land is Mine* were reflective of the multi-faceted struggle for liberation in South Africa during the apartheid era. Although the album did not gain international popularity and was not extensively documented, it plays an important role in the history of the anti-apartheid struggle through liberation music. Rarely were liberation music/songs combined in one body of work. This album is classified as a liberation album and contains liberation songs that weren’t previously recorded.

3.4. Conclusion

The 1960s in South Africa saw the emergence of radio broadcasting as a means of propagating political rhetoric. The apartheid regime and its Separate Development Policy aimed at using radio broadcasting as a means of controlling the political rhetoric in the country, and to an extent, of brainwashing listeners into blindly accepting pro-apartheid propaganda. Radio Bantu aimed to infiltrate South African homes by means of appealing to the diverse language groups in the country, and by virtue of entrenching cultural separateness based on language. Radio Bantu was controlled by extreme censorship that limited the content that African listeners were exposed to. The apartheid regime's white run mechanism of propaganda, however, failed to account for the ability of Africans to bypass state control. Radio producers and announcers managed to use language, which the apartheid state aimed to weaponise, as a means of concealing political rhetoric and they were able to communicate concealed messagesto the public, which were otherwise not state approved. IsiZulu dramas and radio announcers from Radio Lebowa proved that political consciousness and anti-apartheid sentiments could be surreptitiously conveyed even through the medium of highly censored and constricted SABC. Although the management of Radio Bantu was not entirely successful in maintaining complete control over its content and production, it did manage to incur a relative amount of control of the medium.

Simultaneously, the 1960s also saw the emergence of the ANC's radio broadcasting mechanism. Although short-lived within the borders of the country, Radio Freedom offered an alternative means for the underground liberation struggle to connect with the international and local community from its position in exile. Renamed and revamped as "The Voice of Freedom", the ANC's radio broadcasting provided a platform for other liberation organisations to broadcast essential information to donors, allies, and members who were in the homeland, about their activities. This mechanism was successful in attempting to consolidate members who were scattered under the same strategy and direction of the movement. Whilst operating in exile, the radio broadcasts attempted to minimise censorship they encountered in the country, but were not absolved from the state's attempts to suppress broadcasts that were labelled seditious and treasonous.

Unlike Hamm who evaluates the success of the SABC's initiative to maintain cultural separateness based on language, Lekgoathi provides an alternative argument to this, and looks at how South Africans monopolised Radio Bantu. In attempting to divide South African society

airing various radio programmes in African languages empowered African communities, and subversion became an emblem of inclusion. It is evident that language was used as a mechanism to carry hidden messages that only listeners in the community would be inclined to understand. Despite state censorship and the efforts of separate development, Radio Bantu found innovative ways to hide messages in the thicket of language, using metaphors and folk tales to engage in political rhetoric.

Just like ‘The Voice of Freedom’, many artists had to operate in exile. Makeba managed to use her voice as a mechanism of protest and maintained her anti-apartheid sentiments despite being in exile. She was seen as a major threat to the apartheid regime for her international influence and the support she gained. As a young black South African female, she produced an internationally acclaimed album which focused primarily on criticising the apartheid regime and raising awareness about the atrocities that black South Africans were enduring. Despite its being sung entirely in African languages, Makeba’s collaboration with Belafonte only increased her fan base and the reach of their album *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba.* Instead of distancing herself from the liberation movement when she was rendered without citizenship, she used her connections in the international community to raise awareness and gather support for the liberation movement.

CHAPTER 4

STATE CENSORSHIP, ANTI-APARTHEID SONGS AND ANC CULTURAL GROUPS IN THE 1970s

4.1. Introduction

The social unrest and disempowerment of black people during the 1950s and 1960s escalated to the 1970s in South Africa. As the liberation movement against apartheid became more organised and gained global support, the National Party (NP) regime doubled down on suppression and containment tactics. During this pivotal decade in Southern African history, various local and international factors contributed to the political, social, and cultural climate within South Africa. Decolonisation discourse and anti-colonial ideologies on the African continent and in the diaspora became more prevalent during the 1970s and consequently trickled into the anti-apartheid struggle. The Black Power Movement in the United States of America (USA) and the decolonisation movement on the African continent contributed to the change in political consciousness within South Africa. The NP regime found it more difficult to defend apartheid to the international community, and experienced external pressure to dismantle the apartheid regime.[1] Internally, South Africa experienced a shift in political consciousness and the approach to the liberation struggle. Passive resistance was ineffective in affecting mass systemic change to the apartheid system. Political consciousness shifted to a radical approach, calling for systemic change by force.

The Black Power Movement in the USA inspired the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) inSouth Africa and independent trade unions, like the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), became influential in black worker activism during the 1970s. The BCM was led by Steve Biko and driven by the student movement and student organisations like the South African Student's Organization (SASO). The BCM was rooted in ideologies of unity in the shared black experience of South Africans, and the psychological emancipation from the oppression of apartheid prior to economic and legal emancipation.[2]

Growing resistance to apartheid in the country was met with growing suppression tactics by the NP regime. As the anti-apartheid struggle evolved in the 1970s, so too did music as a form

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[1] C. Gurney, "The 1970s: The Anti-Apartheid Movement's Difficult Decade", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35(2), June 2009, p. 471.

[2] S. Biko, "White Racism and Black Consciousness," in A. Stubbs (ed.), *I Write What I Like: Selected Writings*, 1978, p. 71.

of protest action. Many musicians and artists remained in exile during this period, and those that remained in the country were either banned[3] or experienced harassment from the state. The NP regime moved towards more repressive codified censorship laws to further muzzle any anti-apartheid rhetoric, including music in the country. This chapter will firstly discuss the codified censorship laws of the 1970s, with particular attention paid to the Publications Act of 1974 and how this Act became a springboard for censorship laws in the 1980s. Within the country, artists Roger Lucey and *Juluka* (comprised of Sipho Mchunu and Johnny Clegg) were privy to state censorship and internal censorship by the SABC. Lucey was a white artist who openly challenged apartheid thinking. *Juluka* were a threat to the Separate Development Policy by performing as a racially mixed duo, to multi-racial audiences.

Secondly, this chapter evaluates how the political violence of the 1970s impacted on anti-apartheid protest music, by both local and international artists. Following the violence enacted on unarmed students during 1976 Soweto youth uprising, the news reverberated across the globe and many international artists condemned the apartheid regime through their music. Local and international artists participated in producing and releasing music with a strong anti-apartheid message. Local artists like Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Abdullah Ibrahim, and many others continued to record and release music that carried strong anti-apartheid sentiments in exile. International artists like Bob Marley and The Wailers, Peter Tosh and Sonny Okosun used their music to voice their outrage and disdain for the apartheid system in South Africa.

Lastly, this chapter looks at the ANC's *Mayibuye* cultural group that operated outside the country. During the 1970s, cultural activism became a greater priority to the liberation struggle. The ANC realised that cultural activity could be an asset in garnering support for the liberation movement. Cultural groups employed performance art like music and poetry to raise awareness of apartheid. The ANC cultural music group touring in parts of Europe became known as the 'cultural arm' of the ANC in exile. The inclusion of the activities of this Cultural Ensemble during the 1970s are important to highlight the activism of artists who were exiled, whilst simultaneously avoiding State censorship. Being unable to perform their repertoire in South Africa, the *Mayibuye* cultural group's performances played an important role in political activism through music in the 1970s.

[3] Individuals that were banned by the government were unable to speak in public and were banned from publishing any material. Quoting or distributing their work was considered illegal, and was a punishable offense by law. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 allowed for the government to not only ban organisations that were deemed a threat, but to ban individuals as well.

4.2. Censorship

Not only did cultural struggle play a part in local
changes, but musicians attempting to overcome censorship in other parts of the
world can learn important lessons from the South African experience – **Michael Drewitt**[4]

As mentioned in chapters two and three of this dissertation, the apartheid regime used various mechanisms of censorship to suppress and control musical recordings that promoted an anti-apartheid message. The banning of individuals or organisations under the apartheid regime were accompanied by an array of restrictions. For musicians, these included: travel restrictions; being banned from public appearances; being arrested for performing material thatwas deemed 'anti-state'; having your citizenship revoked and often even having master copiesof your music seized and destroyed by Security Police. A case in point was that of Masuka's master copies of her song *Lumumba* were seized and destroyed in the 1950s, and Makeba's citizenship was revoked in the 1960s. Despite being in exile, either self-imposed or by force, both Masuka and Makeba continued to make anti-apartheid music.

Censorship became an important tool in suppressing any material or individuals that opposed apartheid. The apartheid government used codified censorship as a mechanism to legally ban any anti-apartheid music. The consequence of codified censorship had legal repercussions to any individual that broke what had become law in the country. Codified censorship justified taking criminal action against anyone who produced material that was critical of the apartheid regime. In 1963, the Publications and Entertainment Act was passed. The Act allowed for the banning of anything considered "undesirable" by the state. Publications were deemed "undesirable" based on the following criteria:

a) is indecent or obscene or is offensive or harmful to public morals;
b) is blasphemous or is offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic;
c) brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt;
d) is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic;
e) is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order.
f) discloses with reference to any judicial proceedings:
   i. any matter which is indecent or obscene or is offensive or harmful to public morals;
   ii. any indecent or obscene medical, surgical, or physiological details the disclosure of whichis likely to be offensive or harmful to public morals.[5]

[4] M. Drewitt, "Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa" in *Policing Pop*, 2003, p. 153.
[5] C. E. Jansen van Rensburg, *Institutional Manifestations of Music Censorship and Surveillance in Apartheid South Africa with Specific Reference to the SABC from 1974 to 1996*, (M.A. Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2013), p. 56.

Artists/musicians that were politically inclined rarely met the above-mentioned criteria and were consequently labelled as ‘undesirable’.

The Publications Control Board was the central control body of the Act and decided if certain material was appropriate for public distribution and did not display obscenity or anti-state sentiments.[6] The Act was primarily framed around banning materials that promoted “communistic” works, further reinforced by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The right to appeal decisions made by the Publications and Entertainment Act lied with the Appellate Division which would theoretically have kept the Control Board in check. The Act mainly focused on controlling and censoring publications (newspapers, magazines, books, etc.) and radio broadcasting that disagreed with state ideology. As the liberation movement evolved and intensified during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the apartheid government elected to replace The Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963 with the Publications Act of 1974.

The Publications Act of 1974 was a more comprehensive form of codified censorship in South Africa. It covered more than just the censorship of publications. The Control Board was replaced by a government appointed Directorate of Publications (hereafter referred to as the Directorate), and the appeal division was replaced by the government approved and elected Publications Appeal Board (PAB).[7] The Directorate of Publications responded to submissions and complaints by the police, the public and by the customs division. The Directorate was charged with approving or disapproving the banning of materials. Under the PublicationsAct of 1974, materials like sound recordings, films, and performances to name a few, were included. This greatly engorged state bureaucracy and state censorship. The Directorate answered only to parliament and was required to justify the restriction of materials by publishing their findings in the Government Gazette.[8] P.D. McDonald wrote: “The veil of transparency did little to disguise the fact that the primary purpose of the new Act was to make the censorship system a more effective instrument of repression”.[9]

The Directorate and the PAB were wholly white run and administered, but the new Act made provisions for Coloured and Indian representatives to advise committees on materials that pertained to their respective communities. Black South Africans remained completely excluded

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[6] C. E. Merrett, “Political Censorship in South Africa: Aims and Consequences”, https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/DC/remar82.3/remar82.3.pdf 14.07.2012.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Jansen van Rensburg, *Institutional Manifestations of Music Censorship and Surveillance in Apartheid South Africa with Specific Reference to the SABC from 1974 to 1996*, p. 61.
[9] P.D. McDonald, *The Literature Police: Apartheid Censorship and Its Cultural Consequences*, 2009, p. 60.

from any form of representation, which further entrenched apartheid policies of separate development.[10] The period between 1975 and 1980 is considered to have been the most repressive era in South African censorship history. The number of submissions to the Directorate increased by 50%. During 1978, 50% of submissions were made by the police force, who took a direct role in enforcing censorship, as well as customs who made up 32% of submissions.[11] The Directorate had the power to enter premises and seize material under the suspicion of promoting or distributing undesirable materials. Police had greater cause to harass individuals, especially musicians. Many artists during the 1970s and 1980s endured intimidation from police, often leading to eventual censorship and banning. The Publications Act of 1974 became the central apparatus for censorship in the country. It gave the security police a direct link to civil censorship. For example:

> …the police or the security department … they were shrewd those people. You see under the Internal Security Act; you could ban something, or you could charge somebody. But proof of evidence and some of the things were automatically censored. If charged in a court of law you had to submit proof, you had to submit evidence, the proof. They didn'twant to do that because that wasn't always the easy way to follow. So, they always wanted to make use of us because the Publications Act did not require proof of evidence.If something was found to be undesirable by a committee, they could not be charged to submit evidence in a court of law. That was final and that was legally binding. So, they often tried to offload things on us ...'[12]

The Act greatly contributed to state repression tactics, and was successful in banning materials that threatened apartheid ideology. Despite being the central apparatus for state censorship, the number of music banned by the Directorate was significantly low. This was in part because the Directorate only responded to complaints received, and rarely went out to look for songs to ban.[13] The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) became the central mechanism for the censorship for music production and distribution in the country. The national broadcaster undoubtably served the interests of the government and the preservation of separate development. The conception of Radio Bantu in the 1960s was indicative of the SABC's

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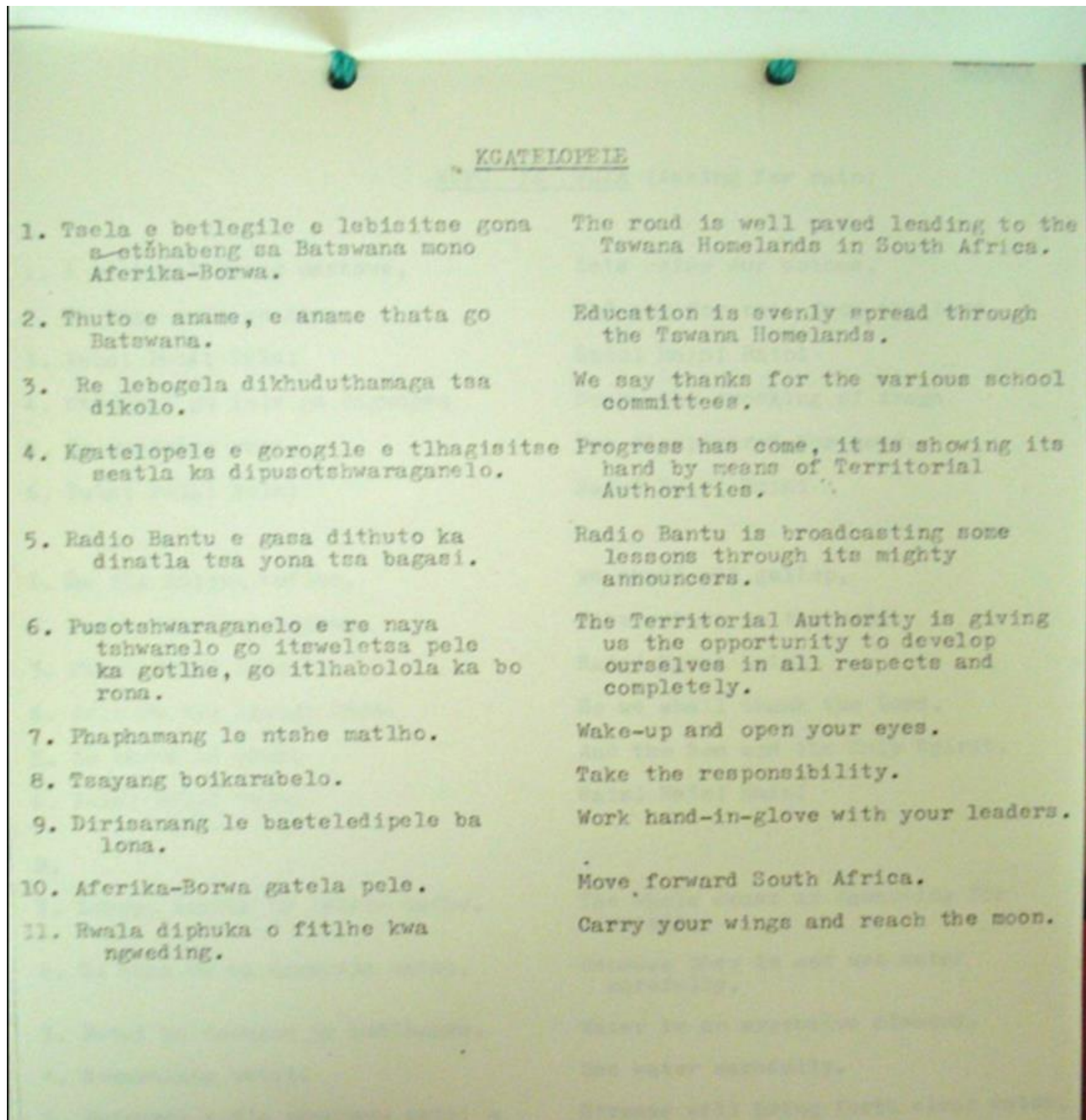
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid*, p. 61.
[12] C. Abraham, Personal Correspondence with Michael Drewett, *Unpublished transcript*, 14 July 1998, Hermanus.
[13] Drewitt, "Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid", p. 154.

mandate to prevent the dissemination of recordings that were deemed offensive, overtly sexual and promoted revolutionary ideals. The SABC committee, which was similar to the Directorate and the PAB, had regular "recording meetings" to analyse the lyrical content of all the music that was submitted for air-time.[14] Music that was submitted for airplay were required to submit a sheet with the lyrics ahead of time.

Below shows a lyric sheet from a collection of songs from 1971 by so-called 'Bantu Composers'. The song was entitled *Kgatelopele*, which translates to "Progress" in Setswana, but could also be indicative of the region in which it was composed. The lyrics of the song are translated on the right side of the document, assumably to ensure that the lyrical content was suitable for broadcasting by non-Tswana speaking announcers of DJs. The song encourages ideas of separate education, support of the Territorial Authority that supposedly brought about progress, and emphasises the importance of Radio Bantu as a broadcaster. Songs like this were more acceptable for radio play time, and received preferential airplay compared to other vernacular songs during this time. Not all radio stations promoted Separate Development ideologies in the Bantustans. The independent TBVC States (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) had some autonomy with regards to radio broadcasting within their borders. South Africa's first independent radio station Capital Radio was launched in the Transkei on the 6 December 1979.[15] The 'so-called' independence of Transkei allowed Capital Radio to play music that was banned and censored by the apartheid regime. Capital Radio did not subscribe to the same internal censorship that the SABC practiced. The radio station played music that was banned by Radio Bantu, aired uncensored news broadcasts, and hosted a multi-racial cast of deejays and announcers.

[14] *Ibid,* p. 155.
[15] Drewitt, p. 155.



KGATELOPELE

1. Tsela e betlegile e lebisitse gona a-etšhabeng sa Batswana mono Aferika-Borwa.	The road is well paved leading to the Tswana Homelands in South Africa.
2. Thuto e aname, e aname thata go Batswana.	Education is evenly spread through the Tswana Homelands.
3. Re lebogela dikhuduthamaga tsa dikolo.	We say thanks for the various school committees.
4. Kgatelopele e gorogile e tlhagisitse seatla ka dipusotshwaraganelo.	Progress has come, it is showing its hand by means of Territorial Authorities.
5. Radio Bantu e gasa dithuto ka dinatla tsa yona tsa bagasi.	Radio Bantu is broadcasting some lessons through its mighty announcers.
6. Pusotshwaraganelo e re naya tshwanelo go itsweletsa pele ka gotlhe, go itlhabolola ka bo rona.	The Territorial Authority is giving us the opportunity to develop ourselves in all respects and completely.
7. Phaphamang le ntshe matlho.	Wake-up and open your eyes.
8. Tsayang boikarabelo.	Take the responsibility.
9. Dirisanang le baeteledipele ba lona.	Work hand-in-glove with your leaders.
10. Aferika-Borwa gatela pele.	Move forward South Africa.
11. Rwala diphuka o fitlhe kwa ngweding.	Carry your wings and reach the moon.

Figure 3.1: SABC lyric sheet (Tswana), c. 1971. Photograph by Stephanus Muller[16]

The SABC committee decided if music was appropriate to be broadcasted. If songs were prohibited from receiving radio play time, they would be labelled “AVOID” and were rejected from future airplay. On occasion, the original vinyl would be destroyed or scratched so it would be physically impossible to play the record. Unlike the Directorate, the SABC did not directly ban songs or artists. The SABC was not a legal apparatus for banning materials like the Directorate, and therefore did not pursue banning and censorship in the same way. In the case of an artist being blackballed by the SABC, their entire repertoire would often also be restricted from radio play. In accordance with state policy, the SABC would refuse to play music by artists that challenged NP conservative Christian ideology. In the late 1960s, British artist John

[16] Jansen van Rensburg, p. 95.

Lennon claimed in an article that the Beatles band was "more popular than Jesus Christ".[17] The SABC prohibited the dissemination of the entire Beatles repertoire of songs until the Beatles were disbanded in the 1970. It was determined that the band was not a threat to Christian values if they were no longer together. However, John Lennon's music remained banned in South Africa. With regards to South African artists, particularly those in exile, it can be assumed that the musical repertoires of artists like Makeba and Masuka were banned for similar reasons. In 1970, American musician Sixto Rodriguez's song *Sugar Man* was banned because 'sugar man' was a reference to a drug dealer and the song alluded to a drug dependency. It was also argued that some of the lyrics of the song were interpreted as a call for freedom by black South Africans.[18]

Sugar man, won't you hurry
Cause I'm tired of these scenes
For a blue coin won't you bring back
All those colours to my dreams

Although the SABC varied in comparison to formal state censorship mechanisms, it was the most effect method of music censorship in the country. With the introduction of television in the 1970s, the SABC extended its policies of separate development and apartheid preservation in South African broadcasting media. Although the Directorate was not as extensive in censoring music as the SABC, it continued its mandate to ban undesirable music when submissions were made and deemed necessary to prohibit. The SABC and the Directorate of Publications banned musicians that produced music that was deemed undesirable, regardless of their race or gender. As mentioned, music was classified as 'undesirable' if it was considered obscene, offensive to religious or sexual sensibilities, and if it was overtly critical of the regime or the Republic. White musicians under apartheid that created 'deviant' music received equally harsh censorship from the SABC and formal state censorship mechanisms, and harassment from authorities. During the 1970s, this was the case with solo artist Roger Lucey. To better understand this, Lucey's musical journey is discussed.

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[17] Drewitt, p. 155.
[18] R. Book, "The Music Times", https://www.musictimes.com/articles/33322/20150326/stevie-wonder-5-artists-banned-apartheid-south-africa-beatles-pink-floyd-rodriguez.htm 26.03.2015.

Roger Lucey

Roger Lucey is a South African musician, journalist, and writer. He was born and raised during the mid-1950s in Durban. As a white youth growing up, he was influenced and politically conscientized by his Zulu friend Jabula Makatini.[19] He frequently visited the black townships with his friend, Makatini, where he was exposed to a different way of living to what he experienced living in white South Africa. He recounted that his experiences in the townships were vastly different to the picture that state propaganda painted of township life and of black South Africans. He developed a dual-consciousness that highlighted the contrasting truths of apartheid ideology and the actual lived experiences of black South Africans. His exposure to township life, and his interaction with black people outside of his predominantly white environment influenced his racial and political consciousness. Lucey's political consciousness prompted him to write anti-apartheid songs during the 1970s and 1980s, and consequently made him a target for state harassment and censorship.[20] In 1979, he recorded and released his solo album called *The Road is Much Longer*. The album had a strong political and anti-apartheid theme. On the album, he recorded a song titled *Thabane*. The lyrics of the song state:

Son I hope you'll never feel

The sickness now destroying

Your land ...

I hope for you that we've paid our dues

By the time you reach your moving years

The song was titled after his son's name, Thabane. In the song, Lucey is addressing his son about the ills of apartheid, and his hope for freedom.[21] In another son titled *Lungile Tabalaza*, Lucey questions the death of a young man in police custody. During the apartheid era, black people who were detained by police often died under questionable circumstances. The song details the events as follows:

Whatever happened in that office

God and the cops will only know

'Cause the law has ways of keeping quiet

So that nothing at all will show

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[19] M. Drewett, "'Stop this Filth': The Censorship of Roger Lucey in apartheid South Africa", *South African Music Studies*, (25) 2007, p. 54.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid*, p. 55.

At about three o'clock that same afternoon

Lungile fell five floors

Lay dead below on the street outside

They quickly rushed his body behind closed doors

Some men take a hard line

And for that they get the rope

And some men fall from windows

Others slip on bars of soap

Whether innocent or guilty

Lungile died just the same

Lucey's explicit confrontation of the apartheid regime in his songs proved problematic for the State. Although he was not linked to a political party or anti-apartheid organisation, he was considered politicised musician. Security police officer Paul Erasmus was tasked with surveilling and silencing him. Erasmus employed various methods of harassment and surveillance tactics to suppress Lucey.[22] Erasmus kept track of Lucey's appearances and his publicity, as shown in figure 2 below.[23]

Datum ontvang Date received	Verwysingsnommer Reference number	Van waar ontvang From where received	Nature of enquiry	Datum S.A.P. 67 ingedien Date S.A.P. 67 submitted	Datum en wyse van afhandeling Date and manner of disposal
79-06-25	WA/UP13/A/U4/12	LOCAL	"FORTYPERCENTERS" MEETING - COMMITTEE IN EDENVALE	67 ON	79-06-26
79-06-25	WA/UP1/A/4544	LOCAL	ROGER LUCEY - REPORT IN RAND DAILY MAIL.	67 ON	79-06-26
79-06-25	WA/UP13/A/U4/12	LOCAL	G BARAGWANATH LETTER IN "THE STAR" 79-06-25	67 ON	79-06-26
79-06-26	WA/UP13/A/U4/12	LOCAL	"FORTYPERCENTERS" FILES RECEIVED FROM SOURCE.	67 ON	79-07-03
79-06-28	WA/UP1/A/4544	LOCAL	ROGER LUCEY SHOW AT HIS MAJESTY'S THEATRE	67 ON	79-07-17
79-06-30	WA/UP12/A/U6(23)	LOCAL	YOUTH FOR PEACE MEETING. AT 13th STREET PAGEVIEW.	67 ON	79-07-10

Figure 3.2: Record kept of Roger Lucey's Movements, c. 1979 by Paul Erasmus.

[22] *Ibid*, p. 58.
[23] *Ibid*, p. 57.

The South African police played a bigger role in enforcing censorship and suppression tactics on musicians during the 1970s and 1980s. Erasmus recounts how police would intercept Lucey's private mail, bug his telephones, raid his home and confiscate materials, and even show up at his public appearances.[24] On one occasion in 1979, Erasmus and other police officers dispersed teargas into the air-conditioning at a Lucey performance at Mangles nightclub in Johannesburg.[25] The intention behind creating an incident at Lucey's performance was to sabotage his future performances. This form of intimidation intended to serve as a warning for potential venues where Lucey could perform, as well as Lucey and his record label. Erasmus documented Lucey's movements and transcribed the lyrics to Lucey's albums. All the information that Erasmus documented, was forwarded to the Directorate of Publications.

Even though the Directorate only formally banned a small number of albums under the Publications Act of 1974, it still carried dire consequences. In the case of Lucey, his album *The Road is Much Longer* was banned for possession. The Directorate banned publications based on either possession or distribution. This meant that it was illegal to possess a copy of album, and was punishable with a fine of up to R10 000 or serving time in prison.[26] Accordingto the Directorate, *The Road is Much Longer* was banned for the following reasons:

> The song *Crossroads* with the theme that the authorities 'don't give a damn about families' andthat the homes of 20 000 people will be bulldozed builds up a climate against the authorities. The song *Lungile Tabalaza* takes this further and is extremely dangerous to the state. It contains serious accusations against the police. It creates the impression of violence and torture where the Police force people to speak. This led to the death of Tabalaza, although it is stated in the words of the song that some say it was murder and others that it was suicide. It is, however, a song which definitely cannot be approved. The song *You Only Need Say Nothing* is equally dangerous in that the Police are again shown in a very bad light. A climate of grievance and protest is built up, and especially as the words are accompanied with the beat of African rhythmto enhance the impact of the words, the song can incite people towards insurgency and violence which can be dangerous for the safety of the state. The song *Thabane* contains a reference to

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[24] Jansen van Rensburg, *Institutional Manifestations of Music Censorship and Surveillance in Apartheid South Africa with Specific Reference to the SABC from 1974 to 1996,* p. 63.
[25] Drewitt, "'Stop this Filth': The Censorship of Roger Lucey in apartheid South Africa", p. 58.
[26] *Ibid*, p. 60.

> Steve Biko and his death as 'one of many'. On the basis of all this the committee is of the opinion that the record should be banned and that its possession would also be prohibited.[27]

Lucey is the perfect example of how a variety of censorship mechanisms were used to suppress his anti-apartheid music. Lucey was formally banned by the central mechanism of censorship through the Directorate of Publications, he experienced artist suppression from the Security Police and the SABC refused to play any of his music on the radio. Under the direction of Erasmus, the police ran interference in all sectors of Lucey's music production.[28] His record company and management were harassed, sabotage tactics were used on venues where Lucey performed, and police ran interference where Lucey's album was recorded and pressed.

Juluka

Jonathan 'Johnny' Clegg was born in England in 1953 and raised in Southern Africa. Sipho Mchunu was born in the small town of Kranskop in 1951 and relocated to Johannesburg during his youth in search of job appointments.[29] The unlikely pair, a White anthropology professor and a Zulu migrant labourer formed an unconventional *maskanda*[30] musical duo. Clegg and Mchunu met and became friends in Johannesburg, after which Mchunu introduced Clegg to traditional music and taught him the vibrant dance styles they famously performed on stage. Mchunu and Clegg formed *Juluka*[31] band and began to perform on the streets and underground venues where multi-racial bands could safely perform together. It was illegal for black and white artists to publicly perform together during the apartheid era.

Similar to Lucey, *Juluka* experienced harassment by police and artist suppression through censorship. The band threatened apartheid policies of racial segregation and separate development. The bi-racial group performed together for multi-racial audiences and encouraged integration. The band combined *maskanda* music with Western folk and rock elements, and had a large fanbase among both black and white audiences. Singing in Zulu and performing traditional dances on stage, Clegg was fondly named "The White Zulu".[32] *Juluka*

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[27] Directorate of Publications 1982, Letter to Roger Lucey 28.10.82.
[28] *Ibid*, p. 62.
[29] R. Graham, "For South African Johnny Clegg, music is a road to racial harmony", *The Boston Globe*, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/living/articles/2004/07/08/for_south_african_johnny_clegg_music_is_a_road_to_racial_harmony/08.07.2004.
[30] *Maskanda/maskandi* music is a form of traditional Zulu folk music. Traditionally, the genre was performed by Zulu men, often depicting the struggles of life as a migrant labourer and to convey social issues. Acoustic instruments were commonly during performances, by later evolved into using instruments like the electric guitar.
[31] *Juluka* is a Zulu word that translates to "sweat".
[32] V. Gorlinski, "Johnny Clegg", https://www.britannica.com/biography/Johnny-Clegg, 12.06.2021.

commonly wrote their songs in metaphors, concealing the true message and leaving it open for interpretation by the listener. In October of 1979, *Juluka* released their debut album entitled *Universal Men*. The overall narrative of the album tells the story of migrant labourers, both in South Africa and elsewhere in the world, who were caught between city life where they search and find work, and their homes in the rural country side. The first song on the album was titled *Sky People*. *Sky People* is reference to the AmaZulu, and the song journey's the life story of a single man.

Where did the time, time, time go?
My old eyes can hardly see the green fields leaving me behind
I worked for the earth and turned the clay
With a strong heart and steady hand
Seasons wheeled across the sky
I turned around and found that I was old

As the song progresses, the man recounts his youth working the land, and how he has aged. He speaks of his ancestors who passed before him, and his hopes for the future for freedom of divide.[33]

I dream of my coloured cattle in the hills
Of shields in fields of yellow and brown
The drums of Zambezi speak
They roll across the great divide
and my future has been
Written in the sky
Smiling spear with teeth of white
Give me strength to face the night
Ancient song, bless my life
Sing me through to see the morning light

The album was released a few months before Zimbabwe gained her independence from British colonial rule in 1980. Clegg recalls how "I wanted to use the lines 'The drums of Zimbabwe speak/They roll across the great divide' but everyone was convinced that would lead to the

[33] R. Pithouse, "Johnny Clegg in retrospect: it all began with Juluka", https://mg.co.za/article/2019-07-19-00-johnny-clegg-in-retrospect-it-all-began-with-juluka/ 19.07.2019

album being banned so we changed it to 'The drums of Zambezi speak.'"[34] On the second and title single on the album, 'Universal Men', Clegg and Mchunu narrate the hardships that black migrant labourers endured under the apartheid regime. In the second verse of the song, it states:

Well they could not read

And they could not write, and they could not spell their names

But they took this world in both hands and they changed it all the same

And from whence they came and where they went nobody knows or cares

Cast adrift between two worlds, they could still be heard to say

Juluka included social and political messages concealed in folk tale and metaphors throughout the album. The album addresses racial, social, and economic issues in the country, particularly the disparaging difference between the black working class and the white ruling class. Other songs on the album reports on various issues like prostitution, mitigating life in migrant hostels and longings for home, like *Uthando Luphelile* and *Deliwe*.[35] Clegg and Mchunu sang in both English and Zulu. The bi-racial and bilingual group posed a threat to apartheid and Radio Bantu ideologies of separate development. As a result, the SABC refused to play any of *Juluka*'s music. The sentiments at Radio Bantu were that Clegg was an insult to the Zulu and their culture.[36] Erasmus was tasked with monitoring Clegg and Mchunu, employing the same methods 'surveillance' that he used with Lucey.[37] This included police harassment at shows, particularly when they were declared 'illegal gatherings', and personal harassment and arrests.

Although they were banned by the Radio Bantu, *Juluka*'s song *Africa* on *Universal Men* was Capital Radio's first-ever number 1 single.[38] "Clegg describes it as a cryptic song that refers to the strong rural belief that good is limited while evil is pervasive, and so the good suffer while the bad prosper."[39]

The lyrics of the song are as follows:

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[34] M. Drewitt, "Aesopian Strategies of Textual Resistance in the Struggle to Overcome the Censorship of Popular Music in Apartheid South Africa", *Critical Studies*, 2003, p. 195.

[35] Pithouse "Johnny Clegg in retrospect: it all began with Juluka" , https://mg.co.za/article/2019-07-19-00-johnny-clegg-in-retrospect-it-all-began-with-juluka/ 19.07.2019

[36] A. Schumann, "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa", *Stichproben,* 8(14), 2008, p. 27.

[37] Drewitt, "'Stop this Filth': The Censorship of Roger Lucey in apartheid South Africa" p. 57.

[38] Pithouse "Johnny Clegg in retrospect: it all began with Juluka" , https://mg.co.za/article/2019-07-19-00-johnny-clegg-in-retrospect-it-all-began-with-juluka/ 19.07.2019

[39] *Ibid.*

[Chorus]

Afrika kukhala abangcwele (In Africa, the innocent are always weeping)

EAfrika kukhala abangcwele wema (In Africa, the innocent are always weeping)

Afrika kukhala abangcwele (In Africa, the innocent are always weeping)

EAfrika kukhala abangcwele wema (In Africa, the innocent are always weeping)

Hlala Hlala

He was born in the African dawn and orphaned to the land

So gentle in the eye he was as any woman's child

As he grew people told him, son, don't you trust anyone

You learn how to trust a stone

This is not gentle and then it breaks those

Who never learned how to be alone

And so he walked in the fashion of his lands

Until at last he cried out

Can anybody hear me, hear me, hear the song in my heart

There's a song to be sung that can heal these broken men

Let us sing and we'll walk through the dark

Hand in hand, hand in hand

Juluka's debut album, *Universal Men* was a commercial success in South Africa, and abroad. Despite being banned by the SABC and enduring Erasmus' surveillance and harassment, the album sold thousands of copies, and was certified gold. *Universal Men* propelled *Juluka* to compose more militant and politically conscious music and participate in the cultural boycotts during the 1980s, more of which will be discussed in the next chapter. Despite not being overtly critical of the apartheid regime, *Juluka* crossed racial and cultural barriers that challenged apartheid beliefs of segregation. The band integrated Zulu and Western culture and language in their songs. *Juluka* performed for multi-racial crowds in the same venue, and encouraged racial and cultural integration. Despite being the targets of state censorship, the band managed to generate relatability with black and white audiences alike.

Figure 4.2: Juluka Band in London, c. 1983 Photography by Fin Costello/Redferns

4.3. Anti-apartheid Music in the 1970s

During the era of state censorship and political violence in the 1970s, various local and international artists expressed their disdain for the apartheid regime through their music. It was during this period that South Africa was transitioning into a period of increased state oppression and violent uprising. Ideologies of decolonisation and Black Consciousness influenced youth movements across the country. Following the Soweto Youth Uprising on the 16 June 1976, where police opened fire on unarmed youths, global outrage inspired a wave of anti-apartheid music. Musicians became sounding boards that reflected what black South Africans endured under the tyranny of apartheid. Underneath is a narration of the contribution individual artists and groups made through politically inclined music.

Bob Marley and The Wailers

Jamaican reggae artists Bob Marley and The Wailers composed revolutionary music that became the anthems for liberation movements on the African continent and the diaspora. In 1976, Bob Marley and The Wailers released their album *Rastaman Vibration*. Robert Palmer reviewed the album for *Rolling Stone* magazine shortly after its release, and described the Albums performance as “a dual role as spokesman for the Third World's disadvantaged and

avatar of a highly commercial brand of popular music".[40] On the album, the song *War* samples a speech that H.I.M Haile Selassie I made to the United Nations (UNs) in 1963. The song forebodes the outbreak of political violence on the African continent, and simultaneously served as a warning to oppressive regimes of the consequences of not dismantling segregationist systems.

And until the ignoble and unhappy regimes that hold our brothers in Angola

In Mozambique, South Africa

Sub-human bondage have been toppled, utterly destroyed

Well, everywhere is war

Me say war

In another song titled *Crazy Baldhead*, the song mocks white repressive governments by referring to them as 'crazy baldheads', and calling to *Chase those crazy baldheads out of town*. Furthermore, the songs state:

Build your penitentiary, we build your schools

So, brainwash education, trying to make us your fools

Hate is your reward for our love

Yelling at us of your God above

The album was released a few months before the Soweto uprising, but the lyrics of *Crazy Baldhead* address issues of inferior education systems that aimed to further oppress and brainwash black people. *Johnny Was* spoke to the consequence of political violence, and eerily predicted the events that took place during the Soweto uprising months later.

Woman hold her head and cry

'Cause her son had been shot down in the street and died

From a stray bullet

Bob Marley and The Wailers were banned in South Africa. Possession of their LP's were punishable with jail time or a hefty fine. ANC comrade David Ndaba accounted that "…any music with a message is banned in South Africa. In 1976, I was arrested in my dormitory at the University of Natal for having a Bob Marley record."[41] Bob Marley and The Wailers songs became 'anthems' for the anti-apartheid cause. The songs resonated with the hardships that black people endured under the apartheid regime. They spoke directly to racial and economic

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[40]R. Palmer, "Bob Marley – Rastaman Vibration". *Rolling Stone*, https://www.rollingstone.com/artists/bobmarley/albums/album/215654/review/5941619/rastaman_vibration, 17.06.1976

[41] C. Connelly, "Apartheid Rock", https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/apartheid-rock-108260/ 10.06.1982.

oppression under apartheid, while simultaneously encouraging ideas of revolution and freedom from oppression. Except Bob Marley, Peter Tosh was one of the household names in South Africa with revolutionary songs.

Peter Tosh

In 1977, Jamaican artist Peter Tosh released an album entitled *Equal Rights*. The album collectively advocates for the liberation of black people across the world. Tosh titles a song on the album *Apartheid*. The lyrics explicitly criticise the apartheid regime in South Africa, and encourage the fight against it. Tosh calls out the apartheid regime for exploiting the natural resources and labour force of Africans. He criticised colonial powers, namely Britain for colonial encroachment, and for supporting the apartheid regime in the country. Furthermore, criticises the inequalities that black people endure under apartheid, including land dispossession, economic inequality, and human rights violations.

You in a me land - quite illegal.

You're in a me land - a dig out me gold.

In a me land - digging out my pearls.

In a me land - digging out me diamonds.

We are go fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

We got to fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

You're in a me land - you build up your 'partment.

You're in a me land - you build up your regimes.

You're in a me land - only talk 'bout justice.

You're in a me land - handing down injustice.

We gonna fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

Brothers got to fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

You're in a me land - you no build no school for black children.

You're in a me land - no hospital for black people.

You're in a me land - you build your prison.

You're in a me land - you build their camp.

We got to fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

We gonna fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

Africa's for black man – Remember.

There certain place in Africa – Black man get no recognition.

So we have to fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid

Black man got to fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid

You cross the boarder - you shoot off the children

Cross the boarder - shoot down women

Cross the boarder - you take your might

Cross the boarder - to be beat for right

We got to fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

We gonna fight, fight, fight, fight 'gainst apartheid.

As for majority rule - majority rule, yeah

Who need majority - that couldn't rule, yeah

You break off - break off from Britain.

You're quite illegal - right where you are.

You get your forces - from colonial powers.

Taking my diamonds - financing your ballistic missiles.

Sonny Okosun

Born in Enugu Nigeria, Sonny Okosun was a forerunner in contemporary Nigerian music. Okosun fused traditional West African music with contemporary reggae and pop/rock. He used his platform as a musician to cast light on the racial and economic issues on the African continent. He advocated for a united Africa and black pride in his music, instead of radical broadsides.[42] In 1978, Okosun released an album titled *Fire in Soweto.* The title track *Fire in Soweto* addresses the political violence in South Africa during the Soweto Uprising, as well as the riots in Mozambique, Angola and South West Africa. Okosun called out South African Prime Minister B.J. Vorster on the song, and criticised the injustices black people faced under his rule. The song became a popular anthem for the liberation movement and anti-apartheid popular music.

Fire in Soweto

Burning all my people

Now there's fire in Angola

A burning all my people

Riot in Mozambique

Affecting all my people

Fighting in Namibia

Crushing all my people

A shooting in Soweto

(Hey) A killing all my people

A rebel in Zimbabwe

Victimizing all my people

I look at them a burning

My people are crying

I look at them a shooting

My people are dying

I look at them a robbing

My people are sighing

Tell me where you're going to go

When Vorster come

Tell me where you're going to hide

When the Vorster go

I say where you're going to run

When the law come down

I say what you're going to do

When you follow the truth

The color of God

Neither black nor white

We did nothing

Nothing that we owe you

We need something

Will you leave us alone

We have risen

Freedom is our goal (Freedom is our goal)

Freedom is our goal (Freedom is our goal)

Freedom is our goal (Freedom is our goal)

Africa is our home (Freedom is our goal)

Freedom is our goal (Freedom is our goal)

Free to leave us alone (Freedom is our goal)

Freedom is our hope (Freedom is our goal)

[42] S. Oti, *Highlife Music in West Africa*: *Down Memory Lane*, 2009, p. 29

Exiled Artists

South African musicians that were in exile during the 1970s continued to produce and release music that reflected anti-apartheid sentiments. At the time of the Soweto Uprising, Makeba was still living in exile in Guinea with her husband Kwame Ture. Makeba had been labelled a militant extremist by the American government and was placed under FBI surveillance.[43] Unable to return to South Africa, and exiled from America too, Makeba performed across Africa, advocating for the liberation struggle. Following the march in Soweto, Makeba was outraged at the violence enacted on students. In 1977, she performed the song titled *Soweto Blues*, composed, and written by Hugh Masekela as a tribute. The song is reflective of the events of June 16, 1976.

The children got a letter from the master

It said no more Xhosa, Sotho, no more Zulu

Refusing to comply they sent an answer

That's when the policemen came to the rescue

Well children were flying, bullets, dying

Oh the mothers screaming and crying

The fathers were working in the cities

The evening news brought out all the publicity

Just a little atrocity

Deep in the city

Benikuphi na madoda?

Xa bedubula abantwana

Benikuphi na?

Abantwana xa bejikijela ezizimbokodo

Benikuphi na?

There was a full moon on the golden city

Knocking at the door was the man without pity

Accusing everyone of conspiracy

Tightening the curfew charging people withwalking

Hmm the border is where he was waiting

Waiting for the children

Frightened and running

A handful got away but all the others

Are in the jail without any publicity

Just a little atrocity

Deep in the city

In the song, Makeba addresses the 1974 decree by the apartheid regime that made Afrikaans the medium of instruction in black schools. The song recounts that violence that broke out in Orlando, the mass arrests that followed, and questions complexities of the socio-economic factors that contributed to the uprising. Makeba questions where the men were with the lyrics *Benikuphi na madoda? / Xa bedubula abantwana* (Where were the men? / When they were shooting the children). This reflected the absence of men in the townships, who often migrated to the big cities in search of work. A consequence of living segregated from white cities; men

[43] L. Miller and M. Makeba, "Miriam Makeba", *BOMB*, (27), September 2000, p. 93.

left their families behind. Makeba alludes to children being unprotected from police brutality in the townships. With the lyrics *Abantwana xa bejikijela ezizimbokodo* (The children were throwing rocks), Makeba parallels how police opened live ammunition on children who could only defend themselves with rocks. *Soweto Blue* highlighted the melancholy that the country faced after 1976, and served as a tribute to the fallen and injured youth who participated in the march.[44]

The political violence during the 1970s played an important role in the production and release of anti-apartheid songs. The outbreak of violence was a consequence of state oppression, and an array of apartheid policies that disadvantaged black South Africans. During the 1970s, migrant labour systems on the mines were a great source of suffering and oppression for Africans. As sung by Juluka and Makeba, migrant labour systems on the mines exploited the black labour force by entrenching African men and women in cheap labour systems that were manipulated by colonial and apartheid authorities.[45]

In 1974, Hugh Masekela released his famous song entitled *Stimela* (The Coal Train). While in exile, Masekela felt homesick and depressed at the atrocities that continued under the apartheid regime. *Stimela* was first written in 1971, but only recorded in 1974 for his album *I Am Not Afraid*.[46] In the song, Masekela highlights the injustices of migrant labour systems, and pays tribute to the men from all over Africa whose labour built white monopoly capital. The song is remnant of the coal trains that transported men from parts of Southern Africa and within South Africa to the gold mines of Johannesburg. The original recording of the song is entirely in isiZulu. In a later version of the song, Masekela begins the song with an English intro, the lyrics recounting the train that would travel *from all the hinterlands of Southern and Central Africa / This train carries young and old, African men.*

Stimela sihamba ngamalahle (The train travels on coal)

Sivel' eDalagubhayi (We are from Dalagubhayi)

Sangilahla kwaGuqa (He dropped me off at Guqa)

Bathi sizomba amalahle (Sizomba amalahle) (They say we will dig coal (We will dig coal))

Stimela sihamba ngamalahle (The train travels on coal)

Sivel' eDalagubhayi (We are from Dalagubhayi)

Sangilahla kwaGuqa (He dropped me off at Guqa)

Bathi sizomba amalahle (Sizomba amalahle) (They

[44] H. Abdurraqib, "LOST NOTES: Hugh Masekela & Miriam Makeba", https://www.kcrw.com/culture/shows/lost-notes/hugh-masekela-miriam-makeba , 24.09.2020
[45] C. Vosloo, "Extreme Apartheid: The South African System of Migrant Labour and Its Hostels", *Image & Text*, (24), 2020, p. 2.
[46] C. Leonard, "Political Songs: Hugh Masekela's Stimela", https://www.newframe.com/political-songs-hugh-masekelas-stimela/ , 5.10.2018.

say we will dig coal (We will dig coal))

Iyohhh stimela

Iyohhh stimela

Sind' inyul' enkomponi (stimela) (Send me to the company (train))

Stimela!

Stimela!

Sihleli njengezinja, siyelele mame (We sit like dogs, we lie down, ma'am)

Emigodini mama (Bathi stimela) (Pits mom (They say stimela))

Sikhalel' izihlobo zethu (Masibuyeleni! eDalagubhayi) (Crying for our relatives (Let's go back! Dalagubhayi))

Sikhalel' izingane zethu wololo! (We cry for our children!)

(Masibuyeleni! eDalagubhayi) (Let's go back! Dalagubhayi)

Sikhalel' abazali wethu, mama oh! (We cry for our parents, mother oh!)

(Masibuyeleni! eDalagubhayi) (Let's go back! Dalagubhayi)

Sikhalel' abafazi bethu! (We cry for our wives!)

Yelele yelele yelele yelele yelele

Yelele yelele yelele yelele yelele (Masibuyeleni! eDalagubhayi) (Let's go back! Dalagubhayi)

South African pianist Abdullah Ibrahim chose self-imposed exile during the 1960s and 1970s. Ibrahim frequently visited his home in South Africa during this period, but chose a career in Europe and America, to escape apartheid. In 1974, Ibrahim and a collection of musicians recorded *Mannenberg Is Where Its Happening* in Bloem Street, Cape Town.[47] *Mannenberg* became wildly popular and sold more copies in South Africa than any other jazz record in 1974 and 1975. An ode to the township of Mannenberg in Cape Town, the composition by Ibrahim changed the landscape of South African Jazz fusion. During the height of racial and political conflict in the 1980s, the original version of the song was reworked, to a slower and poignant tempo. *Mannenberg* the second act became commonly known as the "unofficial national anthem" of South Africa, to the credit of Basil Coetzee and Robbie Jansen who recorded with Ibrahim in 1974, who played it at rallies, marches, and concerts.[48] The song became a monument to countless dispossessed South Africans, and for the many townships that were representations of a segregationist regime.

Ibrahim rarely accompanied his musical compositions with lyrics. However, in 1977, *Anthem for a New Nation* included the lyrics:

Fight for liberation

Be the new nation

Join the revolution

[47] J. E. Mason, ""Mannenberg": Notes on the Making of an Icon and Anthem", *African Studies Quarterly*, 9(4), 2007, p. 25.
[48] *Ibid*, p. 26.

Now[49]

4.4. ANC Cultural Groups

Cultural resistance formed an important part in combating apartheid during South Africa's most repressive years. Cultural activities in exile greatly contributed to politically conscientizing the international community and raising awareness for the liberation movement.During the 1970s, the ANC realised the importance of integrating cultural activity into the liberation movement, to raise funds; consolidate relationships with allies in the diaspora, like the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM); and to encourage international solidarity. In 1974, ANC activist Barry Feinberg staged *Poets to the People* in the Mermaid Theatre in London. *Poets to the People* performed a collection of South African freedom poems.[50] The dramatic reading of freedom poems was an enormous success.

> This was partly due to the high-profile nature of the production, which included well-known British theatre personalities like director Peter Coe and actors Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Janet Suzman, Joss Ackland and Edward Bond. The production also included an eight-member 'freedom choir', a makeshift group of South African singers who, though not particularly politicised, were willing to lend their voices to the cause.[51]

Feinberg's fellow political activist Ronnie Kasrils realised the importance of using culture to forward the liberation movement and elected to establish a more permanent ensemble. They named the group the *Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble,* after the South African motto *Mayibuye iAfrika* (Let Africa Return). The group consisted of various performers, including poets, actors, and musicians. The groups musical performances consisted primarily of liberation songs that were reflective of what was happening in South Africa during that period, songs like *Thina Sizwe* (We the African People) and *Dubula ngembayimbayi* (We will shoot them with cannons).[52] *Mayibuye* adapted performances to include news on what was happening in South Africa in real time. For example, after the 1976 uprising, Umkhonto weSizwe's calls to arms

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[49] M. Drewitt, *An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music Within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s*, (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 2004), p. 221.
[50] S. Gilbert, "Singing Against Apartheid: ANC Cultural Groups and the International Anti-Apartheid Struggle", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33(2), 2007, p. 424.
[51] *Ibid,* p. 425.
[52] *Ibid*, p. 426.

through the freedom song *Abantu Bakith'* was incorporated into the performance.[53] The song states:

Abantu bakithi bahluphekile (Our people are suffering)

Vukani madoda silwelwe ilizwe lethu elathathwa (Wake up men and fight for our land that was taken from us)

Siqale ngoSmith, sigcine ngoVorster, baphele bonke (We will begin with Smith, and end with Vorster)

Vukani madoda silwelwe ilizwe lethu elathathwa (Wake up men and fight for our land that was taken from us)

Siphons' igraned', sishaya ibhazuk', (We will throw in a grenade, we will hit with a bazooka,)

bulala amabhunu baphele bonke (Kill the Boers until they are finished)

Vukani madoda silwelwe ilizwe lethu elathathwa (Wake up men and fight for our land that was taken from us)

The Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble gave almost 200 performances throughout Europe during its approximately five years of activity. Through its numerous live, television and radio performances, as well as a record released in the Netherlands in 1978, the group secured a reputation as the cultural voice of the ANC.[54]

4.5. Conclusion

During the 1970s, a new wave of anti-apartheid music emerged in response to the rising unrest in South Africa. The intensification of apartheid and the regime's Total Onslaught Strategy elicited explicit cultural resistance through music locally and internationally. To preserve state bureaucracy, the apartheid regime strengthened state censorship mechanisms with the Publications Act of 1974, along with police involvement in enforcing censorship laws. The SABC employed internal censorship on Radio Bantu by banning artists and their music from receiving any radio play time. Artists that were privy to censorship and banning, enduredpolice harassment and sabotage tactics. Artists like Lucey and *Juluka* band were subject to internal artist suppression.

As discussed in chapter three of this dissertation, artists often chose a life in exile to avoid state repression. Although they were prohibited from returning to the country, artists like Masekela and Makeba continued their anti-apartheid efforts whilst in exile. The migrant labour movement and the political violence of 1976 evoked strong anti-apartheid sentiments in both artists within the country, and in the diaspora. Reggae artists in the diaspora became a sounding board for the Pan-Africanist movement, and for the liberation struggle. Artists like Peter Tosh

[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid*, p. 429.

and Sonny Okosun were vocal and explicit about their disdain for the apartheid regime. Their anti-apartheid songs became anthems for the liberation struggle, encouraged ideas of revolt, and solidifying solidarity from the international community against apartheid.

It was evident that international solidarity would be a great ally in the fight against apartheid. In London during the mid-1970s, the *Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble* became known as the cultural arm of the ANC. Although the ensemble only operated for approximately five years, the group was enormously successful in politically and socially conscientising the European community on the apartheid regime that governed South Africa. *Mayibuye*'s use of freedom songs during their performances reflected the sentiments of the liberation struggle, as well as the real-life experiences of those oppressed by apartheid. *Mayibuye*'s success solidified the importance of using culture and music as a form of resistance, particularly in the 1970s. The liberation movement through song prompted the cultural boycotts of the 1980s, which were instrumental in tipping the scales of the liberation movement.

CHAPTER 5

VOËLVRY, CULTURAL BOYCOTTS AND THE DAWN OF DEMOCRACY (1980-1994)

5.1. Introduction

The 1980s were a crucial period in South African history because of the political tension within the country. The social and political climate remained relatively unchanged from the mid-1970s into the 1980s. The State's Total Onslaught policy attempted to suppress the unrest that followed the Soweto Youth Uprising, and the National Party (NP) regime introduced a series of "reforms" with the intention of reducing internal resistance, appeasing white South Africans, and lessening international criticism of the apartheid regime. One of the State reforms introduced was allowing musicians of different races to perform together in public.[1] The so-called "reforms" were a farce to appease growing tensions, but the apartheid regime continued to pressure and restrict politicised musicians. State censorship measures continued to ban artists during the 1980s and police harassment and control escalated with the imposition of successive States of Emergency. To further fragment resistance against apartheid, the Nationalist regime implemented the Tricameral Parliament in 1983, which gave unequal political rights toIndians and Coloureds. Consequently, this led to the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which led the boycott against the Tricameral Parliament. The UDF became the unofficial apparatus for the African National Congress's (ANC) internal operations.[2]

The implementation of the Tricameral Parliament triggered a new wave of internal insurrection. The 1980s and early 1990s saw an era of direct confrontation between the apartheid regime and anti-apartheid social movements and community groups. The UDF was an umbrella body that collaborated with numerous political organisations to lead protest action. Protest songs/music played an important role in overtly criticising the apartheid regime during this era. The political strategy against the apartheid system in the 1980s was to render the country "ungovernable" to strong-arm the regime into concessions. This was reflected in the anti-apartheid music that was produced during this era. The radicalisation of liberation music prompted the State to respond with harsher censorship and repression of artists.

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[1] M. Drewett, *An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music Within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s*, (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 2004), p. 19.
[2] T. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern* History, 1987, p. 464

This chapter will discuss State censorship mechanisms during the 1980s and early 1990s. Growing protest action and civil unrest resulted in multiple States of Emergency and an increase in State suppression tactics. During this era artists chose direct confrontation as a form of protest and criticism of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The SABC, the Directorate of Publications and by extension the apartheid regime itself continued to ban music that was considered "undesirable" and contested apartheid political rhetoric. Deemed as a threat to national security, artists, and the music they produced that challenged apartheid discourse were subjected to State censorship, harassment, and surveillance by the Security Police. Firstly, this chapter will discuss the continued censorship and banning of artists and their music during the period under discussion. As the liberation struggle intensified, artist became bolder in confronting the apartheid regime through their music. Artists during this era confronted issues of police brutality. Thus, the song *Biko* by Peter Gabriel demanded the release of political prisoners, as did *Free Nelson Mandela* by Special AKA and *Gimme Hope Jo'anna* by Eddie Grant, all of which were banned by the State's mechanism of censorship. International artists were subjected to similar suppression. For example, in 1985 USA musician Stevie Wonder dedicated his award for his hit song *I Just Called to Say I love You* to Nelson Mandela, which subsequently led to the banning of his music in South Africa.

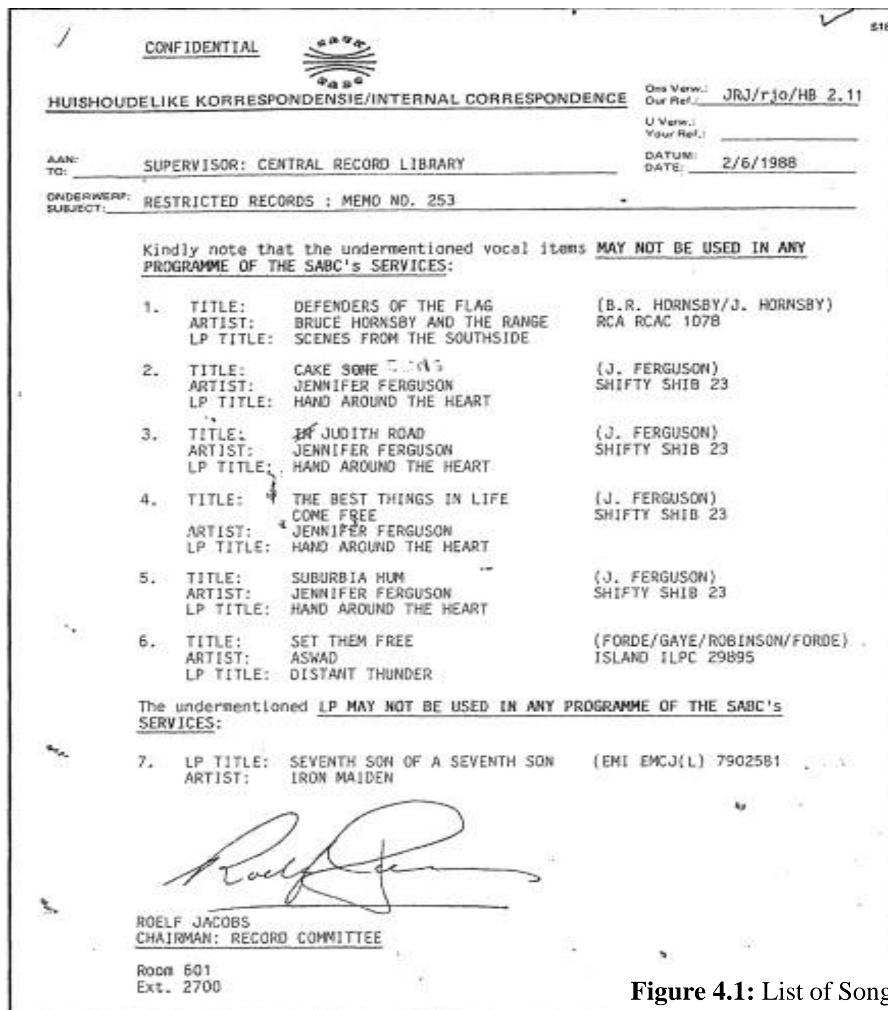
Secondly, this chapter explores the genre of *Voëlvry* music as a form of anti-apartheid protest music. This genre of music developed in the 1980s in South Africa, and was composed mainly by white Afrikaans artists seeking social, racial and political reform. *Voëlvry* later developed into a social movement that aimed to influence Afrikaner youths, redefine Afrikaner identity and criticise the apartheid regime. Under the guidance of Shifty Mobile Recording Studio, the movement challenged racial ideologies and the policy of separate development. This chapter will be discussing the artists that were at the forefront of the *Voëlvry* movement, the music that they made and the influence that it had on the anti-apartheid struggle during the 1980s and early 1990s.

Lastly, the chapter will briefly discuss some of the prominent anti-apartheid songs of the 1980s and 1990s. The cultural boycott of the apartheid regime encouraged both local and international artists to participate and use their music in protest racial segregation. The main aim ofthe cultural boycott of South Africa was to apply pressure to the apartheid regime and force racial reform. This chapter will look at the influence of the cultural boycott, the production of *Artists United Against Apartheid*, the anti-apartheid album *Sun City* and the influence it had on the liberation struggle through song.

5.2. Censorship (1980-1994)

As explained in Chapter 4, arguably the greatest mechanism for suppressing politically active musicians and their music in apartheid South Africa was censorship. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and other forms of State censorship banned and silenced musicians by blackballing their music and preventing it from being distributed and played in the country. At the height of the political tensions during the 1980s and the early 1990s, the apartheid regime continued to use extreme censorship, including surveilling and intimidating artists by the security police. The Publications Act of 1974, as mentioned in the previous chapter of this dissertation, remained the central mechanism for censorship in the 1980s. To conceal the political messages in their songs, musicians used metaphors and word playto avoid censorship and police harassment. The Act was further enforced by the Internal Security Act 74 and the Protection of Information Act 84 of 1982 (which replaced the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and various other acts).[3]

[3] Drewett, p. 98.



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Ons Verw.: Our Ref.: JRJ/rjo/HB 2.11

U Verw.: Your Ref.:

AAN: TO: SUPERVISOR: CENTRAL RECORD LIBRARY

DATUM: DATE: 2/6/1988

ONDERWERP: SUBJECT: RESTRICTED RECORDS : MEMO NO. 253

Kindly note that the undermentioned vocal items MAY NOT BE USED IN ANY PROGRAMME OF THE SABC's SERVICES:

1. TITLE: DEFENDERS OF THE FLAG (B.R. HORNSBY/J. HORNSBY)
   ARTIST: BRUCE HORNSBY AND THE RANGE RCA RCAC 1078
   LP TITLE: SCENES FROM THE SOUTHSIDE

2. TITLE: CAKE SONG (J. FERGUSON)
   ARTIST: JENNIFER FERGUSON SHIFTY SHIB 23
   LP TITLE: HAND AROUND THE HEART

3. TITLE: 14 JUDITH ROAD (J. FERGUSON)
   ARTIST: JENNIFER FERGUSON SHIFTY SHIB 23
   LP TITLE: HAND AROUND THE HEART

4. TITLE: THE BEST THINGS IN LIFE COME FREE (J. FERGUSON)
   ARTIST: JENNIFER FERGUSON SHIFTY SHIB 23
   LP TITLE: HAND AROUND THE HEART

5. TITLE: SUBURBIA HUM (J. FERGUSON)
   ARTIST: JENNIFER FERGUSON SHIFTY SHIB 23
   LP TITLE: HAND AROUND THE HEART

6. TITLE: SET THEM FREE (FORDE/GAYE/ROBINSON/FORDE)
   ARTIST: ASWAD ISLAND ILPC 29895
   LP TITLE: DISTANT THUNDER

The undermentioned LP MAY NOT BE USED IN ANY PROGRAMME OF THE SABC's SERVICES:

7. LP TITLE: SEVENTH SON OF A SEVENTH SON (EMI EMCJ(L) 7902581
   ARTIST: IRON MAIDEN

ROELF JACOBS
CHAIRMAN: RECORD COMMITTEE

Room 601
Ext. 2700

Figure 4.1: List of Songs banned, c. June 1988

As mentioned in the previous chapter of this dissertation, the Directorate of Publications banned so-called “undesirable” publications based on a criterion that condemned anti-apartheid rhetoric and materials that were “indecent or obscene or … offensive or harmful to public morals”.[4] The concern for morality in the publication and distribution of music was often lobbied by religious groups in South Africa. Religious organisations played a small but integral part in petitioning the banning of music that was deemed “religiously offensive”. According to Drewett, “The involvement of these groups took a variety of forms: bringing music to the attention of the Directorate; lobbying through petitions and sometimes a flood of letters; directly advising the Directorate; and in some instances, thanking the Directorate for their decisions.”[5] In 1987 English musician George Michael’s hit single *I Want Your Sex* was banned after a group from the conservative Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), or Dutch

[4] C. E. Jansen van Rensburg, *Institutional Manifestations of Music Censorship and Surveillance in Apartheid South Africa with Specific Reference to the SABC from 1974 to 1996*, (M.A. Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2013), p. 56.

[5] Drewett, p. 89.

Reformed Church petitioned to have it removed from radio and television broadcasting. The song was not political and made no reference to the liberation struggle. According to a letter submitted by a certain Van Heerden, the petition went as follows:

> The Kerkraad (Church Board) had requested that I submit an objection to the pop singer GeorgeMichael's song, 'I want your sex'. It is shocking to hear such songs. It is used to influence our young people, the pride of our country, in such a way that it corrupts their morals. Our Country needs good citizens, and the Communists cannot handle this. They only want to bring us to a fall. We rely on you to put and [sic] end to such songs and to prohibit it from being broadcast on the television and radio.[6]

It was not only Christian religious groups that made use of the State censorship apparatus to ban recordings. In 1980 the Muslim Judicial Council lobbied for the banning of Abdullah Ibrahim's song titled *Ishmael* from his 1979 album *Africa: Tears and Laughter*. The president of the Muslim Judicial Council, Sheikh Najaar stated that:

> At a Supreme Council meeting of the Muslim Judicial Council held last night (26 November 1980), the following resolution was unanimously adopted: This Council being the authoritative body of the Muslims, hereby request the Directorate of Publications to ban the record ... because, a) It seriously offends Islamic sensitivities and is an attempt to commercialise the Holy Quran (Islamic book of law) in that the record has as one of its cuts 2verses of the Holy Quran, viz. The Fatiha and Ayatul Khursi, being sung to jazz music. b) It will create ill-feelings amongst the Muslim community as this sacrilegious act lowers the dignity of our faith.[7]

It was the decision of the Directorate, and members of the Muslim Judicial Council appointed to advise the Directorate, to ban Ibrahim's entire album for defiling the sacred prayer by accompanying it with music which encouraged dancing, and for offending Muslim religious sentiments.[8] Similarly, in 1980 Pink Floyd's *Another Brick in The Wall Part 2* was submitted for banning by a member of the NGK student branch. The lyrics of the song say:

> *We don't need no education*
> *We don't need no thought control*
> *No dark sarcasm in the classroom*
> *Teacher, leave them kids alone*

[6] *Directorate of Publications*, File on George Michael's "I Want Your Sex", P87/07/166; P87/08/160, 1987. Also see Drewett, p. 97.

[7] *Directorate of Publications*, File on Abdullah Ibrahim's *Africa: Tears and Laughter*, P80/12/11, 1980. Also see Drewett, p. 93.

[8] *Ibid.*

Hey, teacher, leave them kids alone

All in all it's just another brick in the wall
All in all you're just another brick in the wall

The reason for requesting it to be banned was that it supposedly cultivated an environment of communism and encouraged insurrection amongst students.[9] The song and the album *The Wall* were banned by the Directorate on the basis that it was "undesirable insofar as they amount to a protest song against education and school discipline, at a time when there is so much student and pupil unrest and protest against the education system for coloureds and blacks".[10] Religious groups used the State's censorship mechanism to forward their own agendas, including political agendas. The willingness of certain religious leaders and organisations to collaborate with and advise the Directorate on banning materials that deviated from State propaganda was indicative of how particular religious bodies enabled oppressive apartheid policy for their own purposes. Below, some of the individual artists subjected to censorship are discussed.

Yvonne Chaka Chaka

South African musician and humanitarian, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, was subject to aggressive censorship by the SABC during the 1980s. Dubbed the "Princess of Africa", the Soweto born pop singer often sang about the racial and economic inequalities during the height of apartheid.[11] Several of her songs were banned by the SABC, including *Africa Cries* and *Nabahamba Bazobuya*. The song *Nabahamba Bazobuya* commented on political activists that were in exile and their returning when the "storm", which was a metaphor for apartheid, was over. These songs, along with others in her repertoire, were blackballed by the SABC. In 1987, in collaboration with Chicco Twala, Chaka Chaka wrote a song for political activist Winnie Mandela. In order to avoid censorship and the song's being banned, Chaka Chaka renamed the song from *I'm Winnie Mandela* to *I'm Winning My Dear Love*. In a similar manner Twala composed a song titled *We Miss You Mandela, Where Are You?*, but changed it to *We Miss You Manelo*. Chaka Chaka gives examples of how she avoided censorship during the 1980s:

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[9] *Directorate of Publications*, File on Pink Floyd's "Another Brick in the Wall" and *The Wall*, P80/4/49, 1980.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] M. Mojapelo, *Beyond Memory: Recording the History, Moments and Memories of South African Music*, 2008, p. 98.

> When we wrote music, we had to go to the SABC with a sheet and write the words to all the lyrics and actually explain what we were singing about in these words. I was never in trouble much because I made sure I changed the words. When we did live shows in the townships at the venues available for us Black people, we would sing the songs and tell the people what thesong really said. So, I constantly say that the regime thought they were smart, but we were actually smarter because we were the creative people. [12]

The tune *I'm Winning My Dear Love* was a pop sensation. Disguised as a love song, it was a tribute to Winnie Mandela. Chaka Chaka's fast tempo lyrics mimic the phrase "I'm Winnie, Winnie, Mandela". Although constructed as a love song, the song is interpreted as a tribute of support to the political activist and ANC veteran. The word-play went undetected by the authorities and it was wildly successful on radio.

I'm winning winning, my dear love
I'm winning winning, winning winning
I'm winning winning, my dear love
I'm winning winning, winning winning
Respect he's given me, I honour him
He shows that he really cares for me
We spend a lot of time, in each other's arms
Made up my mind that he will be my man
Cause I'm winning winning, my dear love

Chaka Chaka recorded many politically themed songs during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1987 she released her debut album titled *Thank You Mr. D.J.* The album featured songs like *I'm Winning My Dear Love*, *From Me to You* and *I'm Suffering*. The lyrics of *From Me to You* can be interpreted as a plea to the NP government to dismantle the apartheid regime and put an end to racial segregation in the country. It goes as follows:

I have come to see this so little love from me
It's so hard to find someone who's kind
Now it's time to share to one another show some care
We all need some understanding to survive
Join me everybody to find the love we need

[12] K. Long, "Humanitarian and singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka talks women's rights, Nelson Mandela", https://nuvo.newsnirvana.com/music/humanitarian-and-singer-yvonne-chaka-chaka-talks-womens-rights-nelson-mandela/article_ab3058bc-ed42-5af8-961e-cf89d2713dd3.html, 12.09.2021.

This is from me to you
All we have to do
Is live together in our world
And find the love we all once knew
This is from me to you
All we have to do
Is live together in our world
In true harmony

The time has come for me
To sing this special plea
For love and peace,
I beg you please
Now is time to share to one another show some care
We all need some understanding to survive
Join me everybody to find the love we need

Lucky Dube

Like Chaka Chaka, Eastern Transvaal (modern day Mpumalanga) born reggae artist Lucky Dube was subject to apartheid censorship. In 1984 Dube released a reggae album *Rastas Never Dies* that was banned in 1985 for its anti-apartheid lyrics.[13] On the song *War and Crime*, Dube speaks about the racial discrimination, tribalism, and political violence in apartheid South Africa. The song goes as follows:

Black man says it' s the white
man! White man say it' s the
black manIndians say it' s the
coloreds Coloreds say it' s
everyone
When it started, we were not
there we know where we come
from
But we don' t know where we' re going
So why don' t we

[13] Mojapelo, pp. 157-158.

Bury down apartheid
Fight down war and crime
Racial discrimination
Tribal discrimination

Dube was known for his energetic and passionate live performances, both locally and internationally. Like Peter Tosh, Dube fused reggae music with Pan-Africanist ideologies of black pride and liberation. He understood that his radical lyrics were threatening to the apartheid regime and segregationist ideology. Despite this, he continued to use his songs to promote the liberation struggle. In 1987 he released *Slave*, a reggae album with a single titled *Slave*. The song narrates a struggle with alcoholism and how he is a slave to liquor. For many South Africans, the lyrics of the song translated as being a "slave" to racial and economic segregation. The hidden message in the song was about being trapped in the apartheid system and how destructive it was. Some of the lyrics from *Slave* read as follows:

Now I'm a slave, a slave
I'm a slave, I'm a liquor slave
I'm a slave, a slave, slave
I'm a slave, just a liquor slave

I have lost my dignity I had before, trying to please everybody
Some say to me, yo yo, I look better when I'm drunk
Some say, no, no, no, I look bad you know
Sometimes I cry, I cry but my crying never helps me none

Dube recounted how the word play on 'slave' was interpreted during live performances. He stated that "I spoke there about someone who was a liquor slave. When we did live shows, people were singing the song as 'legal slave.' […] People always had an ear for these subtle messages".[14] Live performances became a means to perform lyrics that were not State approved.

Admitting the political turmoil and social unrest, the NP regime implemented several States of Emergency to regain control. In 1985 a partial State of Emergency was declared in certain parts of the country. A year later a national State of Emergency was declared.[15] The imposition of emergency regulations enforced an extreme form of censorship. Emergency Regulations included several restricted freedom of movement and expression, particularly in townships and

[14] A. Schumann, "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa", *Stichproben – Vienna Journal of African Studies,* 8(14), 2008, p. 27.

black urban areas, a set curfew, and police authority to declare events and gatherings illegal without justification.[16] Under the revised Internal Security Act 74, the regimehad the power to detain individuals indefinitely for interrogation, they could ban publications and organisations, and they could restrict the movement of individuals or groups. The implementation of the States of Emergency, which were usually reserved for times of war, "did, indeed, herald the introduction of unprecedented controls, particularly on the freedom ofexpression."[17]

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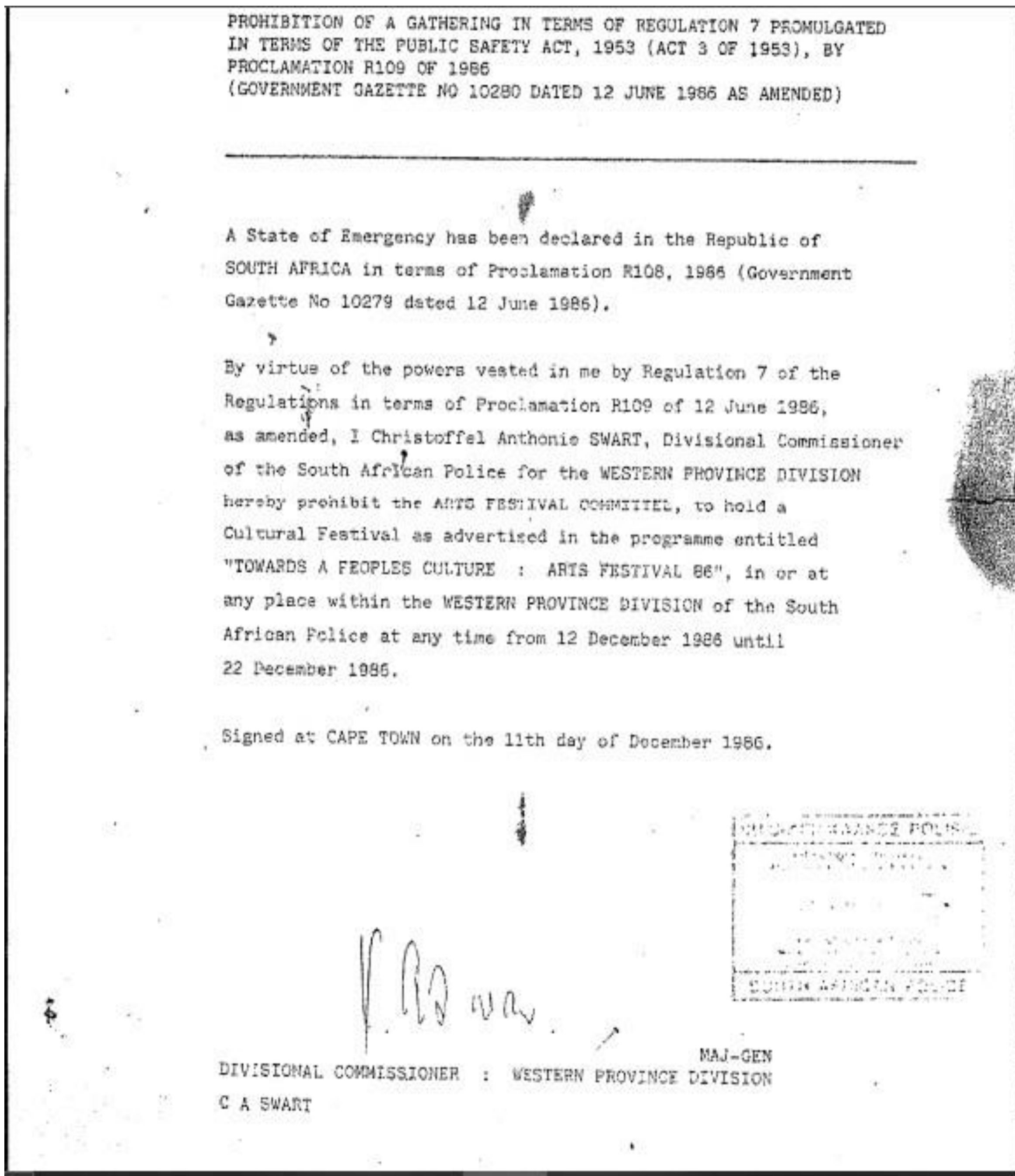
[15] G. Marcus, "The Gagging Writs", *Reality*, 19(3), 1987, p. 8.
[16] South African History Online, "State of Emergency – 1985", https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/state-emergency-1985, 05.07.2021.
[17] Marcus, p. 8.

Figure 4.2: Prohibition of the Cultural Festival "TOWARDS A PEOPLE'S CULTURE: ARTS FESTIVAL 86", c. December 1989.



PROHIBITION OF A GATHERING IN TERMS OF REGULATION 7 PROMULGATED IN TERMS OF THE PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953 (ACT 3 OF 1953), BY PROCLAMATION R109 OF 1986
(GOVERNMENT GAZETTE NO 10280 DATED 12 JUNE 1986 AS AMENDED)

A State of Emergency has been declared in the Republic of SOUTH AFRICA in terms of Proclamation R108, 1986 (Government Gazette No 10279 dated 12 June 1986).

By virtue of the powers vested in me by Regulation 7 of the Regulations in terms of Proclamation R109 of 12 June 1986, as amended, I Christoffel Anthonie SWART, Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the WESTERN PROVINCE DIVISION hereby prohibit the ARTS FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, to hold a Cultural Festival as advertised in the programme entitled "TOWARDS A PEOPLES CULTURE : ARTS FESTIVAL 86", in or at any place within the WESTERN PROVINCE DIVISION of the South African Police at any time from 12 December 1986 until 22 December 1986.

Signed at CAPE TOWN on the 11th day of December 1986.

MAJ-GEN
DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER : WESTERN PROVINCE DIVISION
C A SWART

Emergency Regulation restrictions extended to music productions and gatherings like festivals, concerts and even funerals. Public gatherings during the States of Emergency were heavily regulated and curtailed. In order to move between areas and host concerts or festivals, it was necessary to acquire a permit from the regional police captain. The enforcement of permits ensured that the regime could maintain control over the movement of individuals and served

as a form of surveillance. Police and the regime were able to monitor who requested to move between which areas and the purpose thereof, thus making it easier to intervene or stop gatherings that were seen as a threat. On a local level police had the authority to grant or reject permits for gatherings or concerts at their personal discretion.[18] This process severely restricted musicians and was often described as arbitrary and frustrating to negotiate. Figure 4.2 above shows the prohibition of a cultural festival set to be held in December of 1986. During the period of this State of Emergency, the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Western Province Division, Christoffel Anthonie Swart, prohibits the cultural festival “Towards A People’s Culture: Arts Festival 86”, for the period between 12 December and 22 December 1986. Live performances were often declared illegal, and artists were banned from performing or hosting. In 1989 the South African Musician’s Alliance launched and planned to have a non-racial “Human Rainbow Concert” celebration.[19] The concert was banned, and the assumption can be made that the banning was due to the multi- racial and progressive nature of the concert.

Any kind of gathering, including recording sessions or meetings to plan events, could be declared illegal and banned by police. Politically active musicians and artists that were under police surveillance were targets of extreme censorship. It was increasingly difficult for artists like the *Juluka* band, for example, to acquire permits to perform together in public, to move between white and black designated living areas, and to rehearse together.[20] Disputes over the validity of permits or the legality of gatherings often turned violent and ended in arrests and detention. Clegg recounts how police would shut down concerts or live performances with teargas and police dogs to disperse crowds.[21] This would discourage artists from performing at certain venues or in certain areas for fear of police intimidation. It was difficult for musicians that were labelled as political or radical to arrange performances, and near impossible to acquire the proper documentation to do so legally. National emergency regulations and security legislature could be amended on local level. This meant that towns or municipalities could ban musicians even if they were permitted to perform in other areas.[22] Local town councils could prohibit multi-racial bands of musicians or crowds from occupying a single venue. In 1980

[18] Drewitt, *An Analysis of Censorship of Popular Music Within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s*, p. 100.
[19] *Ibid,* p. 102.
[20] *Ibid*, p. 103.
[21] R. Graham, "For South African Johnny Clegg, music is a road to racial harmony", *The Boston Globe*, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/living/articles/2004/07/08/for_south_african_johnny_clegg_music_is_a_road_to_racial_harmony/08.07.2004.
[22] G. Marcus, p. 8

musician Johnathan Handley was banned by the Springs Town Council from hosting the "Power of Youth" multi-racial concert with a racially mixed crowd in Springs. After the chairperson of the council stated that the concert could proceed only if the crowd was comprised of white people only, Handley cancelled the concert and responded as follows:

> I have no intention of entering into some political wrangle with the Springs Town Council – ifthey don't want me to hold a multiracial concert then so be it. But I'll be damned if I'm going to embarrass the Black performers by asking them to perform in front of a wholly White audience.[23]

Censorship was an important tool in upholding racial and cultural segregation during apartheid. The extreme measures that the apartheid regime took to silence and restrict musicians that criticised or deviated from apartheid ideology was indicative of the influence that politically conscious music had on the liberation struggle. Restricting the operations and gatherings of musicians during the 1980s and early 1990s became just as important as censoring music that promoted anti-apartheid rhetoric. Drewett argues that the effect of the State censorship operated in two ways: firstly, by broadening the criteria to encompass subject matter that was not only politically driven but that included music that countered Christian values (on which apartheid hegemony was supposedly built), inclusive of communist and egalitarian discourse; secondly, by involuntarily mobilising and involving artists that were not directly linked to the liberation struggle, or protest music.[24] I agree with this assertion and should like to include that liberation music significantly influenced the political landscape and liberation struggle in South Africa and in the diaspora, and also that State mechanisms of censorship failed to account the ingenuity that musicians employed to participate in anti-apartheid discourse through song.

This dissertation tracks the progression of State censorship from the period 1950 to 1990 and has clearly proved that resistance to informal and formal censorship dated back to the inception of apartheid. The willingness of musicians to combat artist suppression is evident in the case of Vuyisile Mini, who gave his life to promote liberation music, and the various musicians who elected to go or were forced into exile for the same cause. Dorothy Masuka had her master copies burned, Miriam Makeba had her passport and citizenship revoked, *Juluka* and Roger Lucey endured constant police harassment and detention all the while being censored and

[23] *Sunday Express,* 16.11.1980, p. 12.
[24] Drewett, pp. 109-110.

banned by the SABC and the PAB, yet, these artists, and many others, continued to innovate and use liberation songs/music as a form of anti-apartheid protest action.

5.3. Voëlvry

Resistance in the 1980s era in South Africa is often referred to as "the people's war", the purpose of which was to render the country ungovernable. The militant direct confrontation of the liberation struggle translated into the lyrical content of musicians. The liberation struggle belonged to more than just oppressed South Africans and was fought on all fronts. At this time an Afrikaans anti-establishment movement was formed, emerging from a fracture in Afrikaner identity. A group of predominantly young, white authors and musicians assembled to produce a new genre of Afrikaans literature and music that was anti-racist, anti-segregation, and opposed to the hegemonic Afrikaner nationalist identity.[25]

This movement was initially calledthe "Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement" but was later renamed Voë*lvry*. The name is comprised of the two Afrikaans words *Voël* (bird) and *Vry* (free), thus translating to "bird free"or "free as a bird".[26] *Voëlvry* musicians distinguished themselves from the novelist faction. Koos Kombuis, a member of the *Voëlvryers* or "Afrikanarchists" (as they were often referred to), stated that: "Our protest was not as subtle as those of the novelists; ours was an in your face, f—k you movement".[27] The genre fused punk and rock music, and was often referred to as "Boerepunk".

As already said, live performances played an important role in cultural resistance. In 1989 a nationwide *Voëlvry* tour was launched, which drew a lot of publicity and popularity to the movement. Various artists joined in order to conscientise Afrikaner youths in particular about the ills of apartheid. The genre used offensive and satirical language to poke fun at the government, political leaders and the conservative NGK. As a result, the movement and musicians that were affiliated with it were subject to police surveillance and harassment. This made it difficult for *Voëlvryers* to secure venues for the tour and performances.[28] When they were able to secure venues, the concerts usually managed to draw a full crowd. Dagga-Dirk Uys, who was an organiser of the tour, commented on the purpose of the tour by saying that:

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[25] C. Pienaar, *Voëlvry and the "Outlawed" Afrikaners: An Analysis of "The Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement" and Afrikaner Identity*, (Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012), p.6.
[26] M. Suriano, "Afrikaners is Plesierig! Voëlvry Music, Anti-apartheid Identities and Rockey Street Nightclubs in Yeoville (Johannesburg), 1980s-90s", *African Studies*, 47(3), 2015, p. 405.
[27] A. Grundlingh, "'Rocking the Boat' in South Africa? Voëlvry Music and Afrikaans Anti-Apartheid Social Protest in the 1980s", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 37(3), 2004, p. 485.
[28] *Ibid,* p. 491.

> We are bringing home a lot of those homeless people who have never been able to identify with the current state of Afrikaans culture ... what seems to be happening is that instead of Afrikaners being lumped together as one cultural mass with the same tastes a polarisation of attitudes is developing, with the far right on the one side and us on the other.[29]

Some of the most prominent *Voëlvry* artists were Koos Kombuis (Andre du Toit/Letoit), Johannes Kerkorrel (Ralph Rabie) and *Die Gereformeerde Blues Band*.[30] *Voëlvryers* typically adopted stage names that mocked Afrikaans symbols and expressions. Their dress style, stage performances and pseudonyms were reflective of the satirical and often offensive lyrical content of their music. During their cabaret in 1987, Kombuis and Kerkorrel performed a song titled *Swart September* (Black September). The song was reflective of the political violence that erupted in townships, and in particular the Vaal Uprising that took place on the 3 September 1984.[31] The lyrics were as follows:

Plant vir my 'n Namibsroos (Plant me a Namib rose)
Verafgelee¨ Welwitschia (Remote Welwitschia)
Hervestig hom in Hillbrow (Replant it in Hillbrow)
En doop hom Khayelitsha (And christen it Khayelitsha)
September is die mooiste, (September is the most beautiful,)
Mooiste maand (Beautiful month)
Viooltjies in die voorhuis (Violets in the living room)
En riots ooral die land (And riots across the land)
Die swarte sonder pas (The black without a pass)
O, die swarte sonder pas (Oh, the black without a pass)
Skuifel langs die mure (Shuffles along the wall)
Red sy eie bas (Rescues his own arse)
(...)
Die tyres het gebrand (The tyres burnt)
Daar by Manenberg se kant (There by Manenberg)
Al die volk was hoenderkop (All the people were drunk)

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[29] Suriano, "Afrikaners is Plesierig! Voëlvry Music, Anti-apartheid Identities and Rockey Street Nightclubs in Yeoville (Johannesburg), 1980s-90s", p. 419.

[30] Koos Kombuis was derived from du Toit's nickname "Koos" (which was also Afrikaans slang for chamber pot) and "Kombuis" which is a kitchen in Afrikaans (derived from the time he squatted in a drug dealer friends kitchen. Kombuis later added the initial "A" to his pseudonym for Andre, and so that his initials would spell out K.A.K. Die Gereformeerde Blues Band was a play on the Die Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk (the Dutch Reformed Church) and Johannes Kerkorrel simply translated to John Church Organ.

[31] Suriano, "Afrikaners is Plesierig! Voëlvry Music …", p. 414.

Die Casspirs vol R-4s gestop (The Casspirs loaded with R – 4s)
En die vrou by die draad (And the woman at the fence)
Het eerste die gedruis gehoor (Was the first to hear the roar)
Tjank maar, Ragel, oor jou kind (Weep,Rachel, for your child)
Die bliksems het hom doodgemoer (The bastards killed him)
(...)
Oor ons afgebrande skole (Over our burnt-down schools)
Met die kreun van honger kinders (With the groans of hungry children)
Dis die stem van al die squatters (It's the call of all the squatter)
Van ons land, Azania (Of our land, Azania)
Ons sal traangas, ons sal Treurnicht (We shall teargas, we will mourn)
Ons sal offer wat jy vra (We shall give you what you ask)
Ons sal dobbel in Sun City (We shall gamble at Sun City)
Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika (We for you South Africa)[32]

In 1989 Kerkorrel and *Die Gereformeerde Blues Band* released a song called *Donker Donker Land* (Dark, Dark Land). The eerie narration of the song describes a country ridden with poverty, drought and plagues, which is almost biblical in its desolation. A common theme in *Voëlvry* music was the use of cynical humour to question religious elements. In a similar instance, Kerkorrel and *Die Gereformeerde Blues Band* reworked the Christian hymn *What a Friend We Have in Jesus* into *What a Friend We Have in PW* (Wat 'n Vriend Het Ons in PW) to poke fun at P.W. Botha, which they did often.[33] The lyrics of *Donker Donker Land* are as follows:

Die klein wit republiek (The small white republic)
Is in 'n droë wit seisoen (Is in a dry white season)
Die bome dra nie meer vrugte nie (The trees no longer bear fruit)
Die damme is almal droog (The dams are all dried up)

Uit die vlaktes van die Noord Karoo (Across the plains of the North Karoo)
Kom 'n sprinkaanplaag (Comes a plague of locusts)
Wat uitstrek na die Noorde (It stretches out to the North)
En die mielielande knaag (And gnaws out the cornfields)

[32] *Ibid*, pp. 415-416.
[33] Drewett, p. 255.

En in die dorpe en die stede (And in the towns and cities)
Ly die mense honger (People go hungry)
Kos is skaars en al het jy werk (Food is scarce and even if you have work)
Word jou geld al minder werd (Your money has less and less worth)
En dis 'n donker donker land (And it's a dark, dark country)
Die seisoene, draai die sterre brand (The seasons change, the stars burn)
Die son word rooi ons het beland (The sun flares red and we've landed)
Aan die maan se verkeerde kant (On the wrong side of the moon)[34]

Songs like these were certainly banned by the apartheid regime. The subversive and confrontational lyrics of *Voëlvry* music was not received well by the Afrikaans hegemony or the NP. The media attention received from the tour, both positive and negative, shaped the *Voëlvry* as a social and political movement. The movement was successful in opposing apartheid and the traditional Afrikaner values that perpetuated white hegemony. The tour emphasised the importance of taking the anti-apartheid Afrikaans movement to the heartland of Afrikanerdom, and made it a priority to try and secure venues that were diverse in places like Johannesburg and Bethlehem and white rural areas like Kroonstad.[35] It is estimated that around 85000 people attended the tour across the country. Despite the censorship that the "Afrikanarchists" experienced on radio and television, the number of people that attended the tour and supported the movement was indicative of the success it had, which is best described by Johannes Kerkorrel:

> It was very important just to break through the whole bland category that people and Afrikaans youths were put in at the time. So, if they were Afrikaans, they automatically supported P. W. Botha and the state, which I knew from experience wasn't true. There were a lot of people who thought differently, and I thought that the greatest threat we posed at the time was the fact that we protested against the state and against policies of the National Party and especially the apartheid policies. And because we did it in Afrikaans that is why they reacted so violently against us. Like sending the Security Police to our gigs and sabotaging us and banning our concerts and banning the records. I thought that was because we dared to voice our opposition in Afrikaans. If it was English, it may have been tolerated because English people were supposed to be against [the policies of the National Party], but because it was Afrikaans, it was a bigger threat. [36]

[34] Lyrics translated from Afrikaans by Anneke Rautenbach, http://barricadejournal.org/vol2issue1/dark-dark-country/, *s.a.* p. 55.
[35] Drewett, pp. 256-257.

Voëlvry as a movement did not last very long, but it appealed to the disenchanted youths that were torn between liberal thinking and right-wing Afrikaner nationalism. It was successful in providing an alternative form of internal cultural resistance. One criticism that I offer about the *Voëlvry* was its lack of inclusivity of women in the movement or of an appeal to the black demographic in the country. It is noted that Afrikaner women and youths remained relatively silent in the "Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement". *Voëlvry* was dominated by male voices and failed to create space for female anti-apartheid activists and their voices in the movement. Anti-apartheid Afrikaner musician Jennifer Ferguson was quoted as commenting that the tour was "a bunch of men on stage, playing big cock rock".[37] Members of the movement focused solely on reaching Afrikaner youths and this limited the range that the movement had, and arguably stunted the growth it would have had in a post-apartheid South Africa.[38]

Cultural boycotts

Economic, sport and cultural boycotts against South Africa were a crucial part of the international anti-apartheid campaign of the 1980s and 1990s. Olive Tambo, president of the ANC, advocated at the United Nations (UN) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for economic sanctions against apartheid during the 1950s. He argued that boycotts imposed by the international community would pressure the apartheid regime into dismantling racial, social, and economic segregation in the country.[39]

In 1980 the UN passed Resolution 35/206E to approve the imposition of a cultural boycott against apartheid South Africa.[40] The Resolution appealed to musicians, writers, actors and other parts of the culture and entertainment industry to engage in the total cultural isolation of the country. The UN General Assembly dubbed 1982 as the "International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa". The cultural boycott called on musicians and other artists to avoid performing in South Africa, and to boycott spaces in the country that encouraged racial segregation and discrimination against musicians of colour. Not all musicians participated in the boycott. In the late 1980s, British musician Paul Simon along with some South African

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[36] Drewitt, pp. 257-258.
[37] C. Pienaar, *Voëlvry and the "Outlawed" Afrikaners: An Analysis of "The Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement" and Afrikaner Identity*, p. 48.
[38] A. Grundlingh, p. 496.
[39] M.C. Beaubien, "The Cultural Boycott of South Africa", *Africa Today,* 29(4), 1982, p. 6.
[40] D. Lynskey, " Nelson Mandela: the triumph of the protest song", https://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/dec/06/nelson-mandela-protest-song-special-aka, 06.12.2016.

artists broke the UNESCO resolution by recording Simon's album *Graceland* in South Africa. Simon was the source of great controversy for breaking the culturalboycott.[41]

Outraged that some international artists continued to violate the cultural boycott against South Africa, USA musician and activist Steven Van Zandt formed the *Artists United Against Apartheid* activist group. The group included musicians like Peter Gabriel, Bruce Springsteen, and Miles Davis. In 1985 the group released an anti-apartheid album titled *Sun City* in protest the fact that Sun City was a whites-only resort.[42] The album included singles like *Sun City*, *No More Apartheid* and *Let Me See Your I.D*. The lyrics of *Sun City* are:

Ahh. sun city
Sun city
South Africa
South Africa
We're rockers and rappers united and strong
We're here to talk about South Africa we don't like what's going on (tell it)
It's time for some justice it's time for the truth (speak it)
We've realised there's only one thing we can do
We gotta say
I / i
I / i
I / i
Ain't gonna play Sun City
Oh, no no no no
(...)
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
We're gonna say
Ain't gonna play Sun City
(...)
Our government tells us we're doing all we can

[41] Schumann, "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa", p. 18.
[42] M. Drewett, "Music in the struggle to end apartheid: South Africa", *Policy Pop*, 2003, p. 159.

Constructive engagement is Ronald Reagan's plan
Meanwhile people are dying and giving up hope
Well this quiet diplomacy ain't nothing but a joke
We're gonna say

The song was critical of the Sun City resort because it was perpetuating apartheid policies of racial segregation and discrimination. It also criticised USA President Ronald Reagan's foreign policy and "quiet diplomacy" towards apartheid. The song was banned by both the SABC and Capital Radio because Southern Sun (the proprietors of Sun City) partly owned both radio broadcasters.[43] It can be assumed that *No More Apartheid* was also banned by the SABC for saying on loop:

No More Apartheid!
No More Apartheid!
No More Apartheid!

Similarly, the song *Let Me See Your I.D* continued the anti-apartheid theme of the album. The song criticised racial segregation and discrimination based on skin colour, the Sun City resort and, as the title indicates, the use of identification as means to discriminate and oppress people of colour in South Africa. The lyrics of the song are:

Let me see your I.D
Let me see your I.D
Let's get down to the real nitty gritty
Talk about the crimes in Sun City
Let's get down to the real nitty gritty
And talk about the crimes in Sun City
A city of diamond, a city of gold
A city of sorrows with horrors untold
But even they should be able to tell
Sun City, a charade for hell
Quality of justice
The peoples' liberty
So for no money
I will never play Sun City

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[43] *Ibid*, p. 156.

USA
We won't pay
Ban my voice
Ban it now
Like Stevie Wonder I am speak out loud
'Cause where you live is where you stand
And you shouldn't get chased by any man
Even if they got a stick in their hand
It still don't mean they in command

The Stevie Wonder song that is referred to is *Its Wrong (Apartheid)* that was released and banned in 1985. The song says:

You know apartheid's wrong, wrong
Like slavery was wrong, wrong
Like the holocaust was wrong, wrong
Apartheid is wrong, wrong, wrong
It's wrong, wrong, wrong, wrong

The *Sun City* album was successful in uniting local and international musicians in the cause of protest and in raising awareness around apartheid. The compilation album in support of the cultural boycott in South Africa had more commercial success than *This Land is Mine: South African Freedom Songs*, but carried the same message, using the same mechanism of liberation music. Both albums are equally important in changing the landscape of cultural protestapartheid and are examples of how both commercial pop/rock music and traditional non- commercial struggle songs were effective in contesting apartheid. *Artists United Against Apartheid* inspired artists to join the cultural boycott against South Africa, and succeeded in isolating the country culturally.

5.4. Conclusion

During the height of political resistance in South Africa, music as a form of protest played an important role in pressuring the apartheid regime. During this era, when extreme censorship was used to silence politically active artists, musicians found innovative ways to spread the anti-apartheid campaign. Artists like Lucky Dube and Yvonne Chaka Chaka used hidden messages and word play in their songs to bypass censorship. Live performances became a way of performing songs that were banned by the SABC or on television. The State's imposition of

multiple States of Emergency aimed to further silence and suppress artists, but resulted in alternative movements and a more militant approach to liberation music.

The establishment of *Voëlvry* as an alternative Afrikaans anti-apartheid movement broadened the scope of liberation music locally and internationally. It established that not all Afrikaners were in favour of racial segregation and right-wing conservatism. The movement was successful in reaching predominantly male Afrikaner youths, although it failed to extend its range to female and black activists. The confrontational approach of *Voëlvry* was reflective of the need to directly challenge apartheid ideology and redefine Afrikaner anti-hegemony identity. Coupled with the cultural boycotts and international solidarity, the anti-apartheid music movement of the 1980s and early 1990s provided a cultural platform to advocate the dismantling of the apartheid regime. Despite harsh censorship, the anti-apartheid music movement encouraged a multi-racial and a multi-cultural approach to the liberation struggle and solidified the importance of using music as a form of protest action. The era of democracy in the country was ushered in by the fusion of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, composed as a Christian hymn by Enoch Sontonga in 1897 and adopted as the anthem for the ANC with *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*, which served as the South African national anthem from the 1950s.[44] The joining of the liberation struggle anthem to an anthem dedicated to a nation that had not been inclusive of all the people of the nation was symbolic of the hope that democracy would flourish in South Africa.

[44] D. Coplan and B. Jules-Rosette, "'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika': Stories of an African Anthem", in G. Olwage (ed), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid*, p. 186.

CHAPTER 6

FINALE: A CONCLUSION WITHIN A CONCLUSION

In Chapter two of this dissertation, I argued that the 1950s gave rise to a decade of politically conscious and subversive liberation music. During the ANC's national campaigns to protest unjust apartheid laws, liberation music played a significant role in protest action. The lyrics of protest songs during this era centered around issues of forced removals, particularly from Sophiatown to Meadowlands, and the repressive pass laws that governed women's freedom of movement. The protest songs from this era reflected the social and economic issues that Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans endured under the apartheid regime. The diversification of the music industry in the 1950s contributed to providing a platform for artists from different backgrounds, ethnicities, and genders to participate. This challenged NP policies of separateness and white hegemony. Artists during this time used various layers of interpretation in their lyrics to discuss racial and economic issues, as well as mobilising the masses in the liberation struggle.

Artists like Dorothy Masuka and Vuyisile Mini chose a confrontational approach to the liberation music they produced. Masuka's '*uDr. Malan Unomthetho Onzima* (Dr Malan's Government is harsh) was overtly critical of then Prime Minister D.F. Malan, which resulted in her being forced into exile and the security police seizing the master copies of the record.[1] Similarly, Mini released *Nans'indod'emnyama we Verwoerd!* as a warning to the Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Long after the death of Mini and the assassination of Verwoerd, the song was sung throughout the liberation movement.[2] Other artists chose to conceal the true meaning of their lyrics in the thicket of language and metaphors. Artists like Strike Vilakazi in *Meadowlands* used different languages and slang to hide the political rhetoric behind his song. Although 'Meadowlands' confronted issues of forced removals and the dispossession of Black communities, the song was catchy and evaded censorship. The 1950s gave rise to a politically conscious era of liberation/protest songs that contested forced removals, unjust segregation policies and pass laws.

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[1] L. Allen, "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity during the 1950s", *Ethnomusicology*, 47(2),2003, p. 236.

[2] N. Lekgotla laga Ramoupi, "They Died Singing: A Historical Perspective in the Liberation of South Africa", *The Journal for Progressive Thought*, 29(1), 2011, p. 41.

In Chapter three of this dissertation, the impact of censorship through State apparatuses like Radio Bantu and the SABC were introduced in the 1960s. In order to maintain policies of Separate Development, the National Party (NP) regime introduced Radio Bantu which aimed at using radio broadcasting as a means to control the political rhetoric in the country. Radio Bantu appealed to diverse language groups in the country, and sought to weaponize cultural diversity by further encouraging state policies of separateness. The NP regime failed to account for listeners' ability to discern the information they received. In a small but significant way, listeners played a role in determining what they listened to. The example of migrant labourers and their preference for 'neo-traditional' music was indicative of the fact that the range of music played on radio stations more frequently played the desired genre of music by said group.[3] Various dynamics including the role and positions of radio announcers and producers working within the white hegemony of Radio Bantu was discussed, and how it contributed to the distribution and censorship of liberation music.

In response to Radio Bantu, the ANC launched Radio Freedom (also known as Freedom Radio or ANC Radio) for the first time in 1963. The aim of Radio Freedom was to establish a line of communication for supporters of the liberation struggle. When it failed to successful air within the country, Radio Freedom became an important part of the liberation struggle in exile. It was used as a mechanism to protest oppressive regimes, exchange information, and create awareness.[4] By 1967, Radio Freedom had relaunched itself as 'The Voice of Freedom' and operated from a known location and representatives from their respective organizations openly identified themselves. Operations in exile during the 1960s played an important role in creating international solidarity and promoting cultural resistance against apartheid. Like Radio Freedom operating in exile, several South African musicians were forced into exile, or chose self-imposed exile to avoid harassment by authorities. Such artists included Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba. Despite being in exile, they used their voices in support of the liberation struggle through protest music. In 1965, a compilation album was released titled *This Land is Mine*. The album was composed and recorded in South Africa and hosted several liberationsongs as a tribute to fallen and incarcerated political activists. Liberation songs during this eraplayed an important role in shaping the political landscape of cultural resistance to apartheid.

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[3] S. Lekgoathi, 'You Are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation': Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960-1994", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 35(3), September 2009, p. 579.
[4] S. Lekgoathi, "The ANC's Freedom radio, its audience and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, 1963-1991", *Journal of African Media Studies,* 2(2), August 2010, p. 556.

In Chapter four of this dissertation, the enforcement of repressive codified censorship laws was implemented in response to the growing political unrest was discussed. Censorship became the regime's greatest weapon in muzzling the production and distribution of any material that contested apartheid, including liberation music. In 1974, The Publications Act was instituted as a comprehensive mechanism of censorship. A government appointed Directorate of Publications was established which responded to submissions from various government bodies and the public for the banning of materials. In collaboration with the Act and the Directorate, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) became the central mechanism for the censorship for music production and distribution in the country.[5] The Act and Directorate formally banned materials whereas the SABC committee decided if music wasappropriate to be broadcasted. If songs were prohibited from receiving radio play time, they would be labelled "AVOID" and were rejected from future airplay.

Artists in the 1970s were privy to police harassment and surveillance. Musicians that were overtly political like Roger Lucey and *Juluka* endured internal artist suppression and sabotage tactics by the Security Police. During the 1970s, a new wave of anti-apartheid music emerged in response to the rising unrest in South Africa. Despite the enforcement of the regime's Total Onslaught Strategy, liberation music and protest songs during this era intensified. Local and international artists became more vocal about their disdain for apartheid. International artists like Peter Tosh and Sonny Okosun became a sounding board for the liberation struggle and were vocal about the atrocities of the Soweto Youth Uprising and the racial segregation in the country.

The ANC during this time realised the importance of integrating cultural activity into the liberation movement, to raise funds; consolidate relationships with allies in the diaspora, like the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM); and to encourage international solidarity. The *Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble* group became known as the cultural arm of the ANC. The group was comprised of various musicians, poets and actors who performed anti-apartheid pieces. They performed in London and travelled across Europe, performing liberation songs like *Thina Sizwe* (We the African People) and *Dubula ngembayi - mbayi* (We will shoot them with cannons) in support of the anti-apartheid campaign across the globe.[6]

[5] M. Drewett, "Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa" *Policing Pop*, 2003, p. 155.
[6] S. Gilbert, "Singing Against Apartheid: ANC Cultural Groups and the International Anti-Apartheid Struggle", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33(2), 2007, p. 426.

In Chapter five, censorship was further explored. Extreme censorship was used to further suppress politically active musicians and artists. Music that was deemed 'undesirable' continued to be censored and banned. Music and artists were banned based on being religiously offensive, for containing sexually obscene lyrics and for challenging apartheid ideology. The willingness of certain religious leaders and organisations to collaborate and advise the Directorate on banning materials that deviated from State propaganda was indicativeof how particular religious bodies enabled oppressive apartheid policy for personal gain. To avoid censorship, artists like Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Lucky Dube used word play and hidden meanings in their songs.[7] Due to the political turmoil during the 1980s and early 1990s, the NP regime instituted a few States of Emergency to regain control. The aim of the States of Emergency and accompanying regulations was to enforce stricter censorship measures and to regulate the movement of artists and musicians that were politically active. Any kind of gatherings, including recording sessions or meetings to plan events could be declared illegal and banned by police. Censorship was an important tool in upholding racial and cultural segregation during apartheid.

During the 1980s, the anti-apartheid struggle was known as 'the people's war'. The liberation struggle during this period strove to pressure the NP regime into dismantling apartheid by rendering the country ungovernable. Artists blatantly confronted the apartheid government in songs, demanding liberation or threatening violent revolt. During this time, an Afrikaans anti-establishment movement called *Voëlvry* was formed from a fracture in Afrikaner identity. A group of predominantly young, white authors and musicians assembled to produce a new genre of Afrikaans literature and music that was anti-racism, segregation and opposed to hegemonic Afrikaner nationalism identity.[8] The establishment of *Voëlvry* proved that not all white Afrikaners were in favour of racial segregation. It challenged racial and political hegemony in the country and produced non-traditional liberation/protest music. Despite harsh censorship, the anti-apartheid music movement encouraged a multi-racial and a multi-cultural approach to the liberation struggle and solidified the importance of using music as a form protest action.

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[7] A. Schumann, "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa", *Stichproben – Vienna Journal of African Studies,* 8(14), 2008, p. 27.

[8] C. Pienaar, *Voëlvry and the "Outlawed" Afrikaners: An Analysis of "The Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement" and Afrikaner Identity*, (Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012), p. 6.

This study's point of departure is that there is little academic documentation from historians on the role of anti-apartheid music throughout the liberation movement, that are consolidated in a single study. To conduct a comprehensive study, this dissertation mapped the liberation struggle through the lens of protest/liberation songs spanning across the four decadesof active apartheid rule. The primary aim of this research project was to do an in-depth study that holistically approached the extent to which anti-apartheid music formed part of the anti-apartheid movement. Although this study was limited and not able to cover the entirety of protest/liberation songs during apartheid, it provided a wide-ranging view of the mechanisms, artists and organisations that made use of music as a form of cultural resistance, as well as the State's response to this form of protest action. This study discussed multiple aspects of popular music opposing apartheid, and non-commercial music as drivers for liberation. Consequently, it provided a multi-dimensional view of the mechanisms promoting protest songs, the artists that opposed apartheid through song, State censorship as a response to resistance, and the role of the international community. The purpose of this dissertation was to shed light on the importance of liberation music in reflecting the lived experiences of those who were oppressed by apartheid rule, and how protest songs were instrumental in unifying the multi-racial and multi-cultural anti-apartheid struggle. The late former President Nelson Mandela said that:

> The curious beauty of African music is that it uplifts even as it tells a sad tale. You maybe poor, you may have only a ramshackle house, you may have lost your job, but that song gives you hope.[9]

These words rang true during the apartheid era and continue to do so in post-apartheid South Africa. Liberation music played a vital role in conscientising people to the adverse effects of apartheid, and simultaneously promoted discourse on dismantling apartheid.

[9] N. Mandela, "The curious beauty of African Music…", https://www.relicsworld.com/nelson-mandela/the-curioUS-beauty-of-african-mUSic-is-that-it-uplifts-even-as-author-nelson-mandela, *s.a.*

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Ithemba Endinalo Inkululeko (The Trust I Have is in Freedom)

Izakunyatheli Afrika Verwoerd (Africa is Going to Trample on You, Verwoerd)

Mayibuye Afrika (Come Back Africa)

Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika (Lord Bless Africa) / Amandla, Awethu (Strength is Ours) - (medley)

Oh Tanganyikas

Shosholoza Mandela (Go Underground Mandela)

Sikhalela Izwe Lakithi (We Protest for Our Land)

Thina Sizwe (We the Africans)

Thinantsha (We are the Youth)

U Sobukwe Ufuna Amajoni (Sobukwe Wants Freedom Fighters)

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