

**MUSIC AND DISCOURSE ARCHAEOLOGY: CRITICAL STUDIES OF GDR
'ROTE LIEDER' AND AFRIKAANS 'VOLK- EN VADERLANDSLIEDERE'
AS BASED ON A MODEL OF INTERACTING PHILOSOPHICAL SUB-
THEORIES**

BY

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I think it only makes sense to seek out and identify structures of authority, hierarchy, and domination in every aspect of life, and to challenge them; unless a justification for them can be given, they are illegitimate, and should be dismantled, to increase the scope of human freedom.

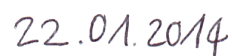
Noam Chomsky (Language and Politics. 2004. Oakland, USA: AK Press, p. 775)

DECLARATION

I, Charla Helena Schutte, hereby declare that this thesis submitted for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor in the Faculty of Humanities, Department of Music at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work, conducted under the supervision of Prof. M. Viljoen and Prof. P.J. Visagie. It has never been submitted to any other university in order to qualify for a degree. In addition, I hereby cede copyright of this thesis to the University of the Free State.



Charla Helena Schutte



Date

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I would like to thank my parents for their loving support and the sacrifices they made so their children could also enjoy the privilege of receiving tertiary education.

Finally I would like to thank my husband for transcribing all songs in this thesis amidst an extremely busy schedule, tolerating my sometimes foul moods and having no choice but to act as a sounding board throughout this whole study.

Charla Schutte

22 January 2014

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background/Rationale

The initial impetus for this study resulted from working in the Thuringia State Music Archive (Thüringisches Landesmusikarchiv) located in the School of Music (Hochschule für Musik) in Weimar, Germany during the period 2006-2007. For one of my first assignments, a stack of fifteen boxes was given to me with the task to sort, organise and archive a disparaging amount of GDR songs collected from many, but not all, GDR districts (Bezirke) in the then East Germany. These songs were sung in schools, by youth organisations and at national and international political events. Needless to say, this daunting task kept me busy for quite some time and after about eight months of reading, playing and sorting through countless communist-based “rote Lieder”¹ describing the glory and honour of the worker (Arbeiter), I came out of the project with a ‘soft spot’ for communism. This left me considering the question of how such a seemingly ‘humane’ system could have such far-reaching social, economic and political implications – implications of a highly ideological nature. On paper the songs all appeared to be reasonable and ‘in favour’ of the working class. Generally, they sketched a free and peaceful world with higher ideals that could only be reached through hard work and, most importantly, through working together.

Although I came from a Calvinist background, which had imprinted on me that communism was completely unacceptable, my exposure to the “rote Lieder” during those eight months certainly stirred my interest in the place that these songs occupied in the hearts of the people who sung them during Communist reign in East Germany. The sheer volume of the songs, as well as the impact of the texts suggested to me that, as ‘political’ songs, their power should not be underestimated. This led me also to reflect critically on my own South African background and on the songs that I had also sung during my childhood and youth in the apartheid era. It occurred to me that, if one could feel ‘indoctrinated’ by GDR folk songs after only a few months of ‘communist exposure’, how much more could one not be influenced by the well-known and cherished Afrikaans folk songs that formed part of the cultural ‘staple diet’ of the apartheid school system within I myself had been educated?

The Soviet Union came to govern East Germany from October 1949. In South Africa, the National

1 The colour red is closely associated with communism; thus, “rote Lieder” is a colloquial description of communist songs.

Party, founded in 1914, came into power in 1948. The wall that divided West and East Germany fell in 1989 (most of the wall was physically taken down during 1990) and in 1990 Nelson Mandela was freed from prison, a first step taken towards finally leading the way to a democratic country following elections in 1994. Because of this overlapping of historic events in both the GDR and South Africa, a focus on the assumptions underlying both GDR ‘red songs’ (rote Lieder) and Afrikaans folk songs seemed to present itself as a viable opportunity for exploring the topic of indoctrination through music in both countries. Simultaneously, it would open up possibilities for an ideology-critical analysis of such songs, as well as for some comparison between the two sets of songs although my project was not conceptualised, in the first place, as a comparative study.

The GDR “rote Lieder” were published in songbooks used especially by youths belonging to organisations like the Young Pioneers (Jungpioniere), the Thälmann Pioneers (Thälmann-Pioniere) and the Free German Youth (Freie Deutsche Jugend), although the use of the songs was widespread among children and adults alike. In this way, the GDR government managed to gain support for the communist regime and a successful endeavour was initiated to circulate ideologically loaded folk songs amongst the GDR citizens.

In South Africa, the first FAK songbook was published in 1937, becoming the cornerstone of patriotism for many (white) South Africans. Similar to the GDR, these songs were sung especially by the youth in schools and belonging to youth organisations like the Voortrekker movement,² etc. The governments of both the GDR and South Africa never formally discussed (to my knowledge) the implementation of ideologically driven songs to indoctrinate people, but this does not mean that they did not understand the value and effectiveness of using music and song text to sway large groups of people and actively used these to convey political ideas. An ideology-critical analysis of a selection of folk songs taken from the GDR and FAK songbooks could therefore uncover underlying ideological structures, which may have had (and may still have) a profound but possibly also distorted effect on the singers of these songs, defined by the socio-historical circumstances they find themselves in. In view of the strong cultural ‘turn’ that has characterised music scholarship over the past two decades, and the need to reflect on the historico-political legacies of both countries, it is my aim in this study to explore a topic critically that has not been introduced in musicological scholarship before.

2 'Die Voortrekkers' is a youth movement founded in 1931. The main aim is to develop and build Christian Afrikaner culture.

The exploration of language-oriented analyses of song is not new and over the last few decades several authors, for example Eero Tarasti³ and Raymond Monelle⁴ with their research on the semiotics of music, contributed to this topic with comprehensive writings offering compelling views on musical meaning. Tarasti's semiotic theory of music is built on information from the history of Western music (especially the Classical and Romantic eras) and investigates music as a sign and the appearance of music as a situation, reflecting the realities around it; Monelle focuses mainly on music as text and the interpretation of narrative and genre. Although my thesis also encompasses the field of semiotics, it is distinctly different to the work of the above-mentioned scholars in that my research involves musically 'uncomplicated' folk songs and takes on a unique *ideology-critical* approach, focusing mainly on the *verbal texts* of the songs, and not, as in the case of Tarasti's and Monelle's research, on the parameters of the music 'itself'. In pursuance of my critical approach, I deem the writings of John Thompson very valuable as a starting point, especially since the author strongly disapproves of the viewpoint that ideology as such can ever be perceived as 'neutral' and should be limited to only the political aspect of society.⁵ In his book *Ideology and modern culture*,⁶ Thompson describes a methodological framework with a depth-hermeneutical approach consisting of three phases (socio-historical analysis, formal or discursive analysis, and interpretation/reinterpretation) focusing on the power of social domination.

It is interesting to note also that, internationally, the so-called 'new' musicology and/or critical musicology has mostly limited itself to 'pure politics' when dealing with music analysis on the ideology-critical level, thus failing to analyse music 'itself' in ideologically more diversified and intellectually sophisticated ways. One notable exception is Rose Subotnik's⁷ fine work on the role of ideology in the study of Western Music, which represents amongst others an outstanding demonstration of Adorno's dialectical philosophy – although her analyses mostly do not involve detailed musical readings. Of importance is also the questioning of methods of traditional music analysis embedded within their own ideological theoretical/philosophical frameworks, of which Cook & Everist perhaps produced the most thorough early example.⁸ In terms of musical 'close-

3 Tarasti, E. 2002. *Signs of music: a guide to musical semiotics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

4 Monelle, R. 1992. *Linguistics and semiotics in music*. Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Monelle, R. 2000. *The sense of music: semiotic essays*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

5 See Thompson, J. 1981. *Critical hermeneutics*. New York: Cambridge University Press & Thompson, J. 1984. *Studies in the theory of ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

6 Thompson, J. 1990. *Ideology and modern culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

7 Subotnik, R. 1991. *Developing variations: Style and ideology in Western music*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Subotnik, R. 1983. The role of ideology in the study of Western music. *The Journal of Musicology*, 2(1):1-12.

8 Cook, N & Everist, M. 1999. *Rethinking music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

readings’; however, Jean-Francois Lyotard’s interpretation of a musical text in *A few words to sing*⁹ renders a fine syntactic and semantic analysis which, indeed, stands out as a rare example of an ideology-critical reading of music in its detailed attention to distortive meaning-making. Many ‘new’ musicologists – notably Susan McClary¹⁰ – have claimed to engage with music from an ideology-critical vantage point; however, the biases and limitations of her (almost infamous) analyses are by now well-known and well-discussed within the broader musicological community.¹¹

In South Africa, an important research contribution was made in the field of musicology with regard to critical theory in a dedicated edition of *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* (IRASM).¹² Of particular interest was a collective sense of music’s power as a moral and ‘hierarchical’ force – or as a force that could break down the ideological divides manifest in social divisions. Relevant to my own project in particular is the contribution by the South African philosopher Johann Visagie¹³ in this volume in the form of a theoretical framework called Discourse Archaeology (DA) and its significance for musicology, proposing a thorough analysis of discourse that critically examines specific asymmetries of power as manifested in ideological culture. DA was established over the course of several years and influenced by authors such as the Dutch theologian Arnold van Ruler¹⁴, Paul Ricoeur¹⁵ (symbol, model, narrative), Bob Goudzwaard¹⁶, Michael Foucault¹⁷, Umberto Eco’s¹⁸ work on semiotics, John Thompson’s ideology analysis model¹⁹, Noam

9 Lyotard, J-F. 1998. “A Few Words to Sing”. *Music/Ideology: Resisting the aesthetic*. A. Krims (ed). Amsterdam: Overseas Publishers Association.

10 McClary, S. 2000. *Conventional wisdom: The content of musical form*. Berkeley: University of California Press; McClary, S. 1991. *Feminine endings: Music, gender and sexuality*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

11 Nicholas Cook offers a particularly valuable critique in his article “Theorising Musical Meaning”, *Music Theory Spectrum* 23(2):170-195; Viljoen formulates critical perspectives on the same topic that also includes a discussion of examples of South African ‘new’ musicology in “Questions of Musical Meaning: An Ideology-Critical Approach”. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 35(1):3-28, 2004.

12 *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 36(1), June 2005.

13 Visagie, J. 2005. Applying critical tools to critical theory: with some remarks on the implications for musicology, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 36(1):11-36.

14 Van Ruler, A.A. 1972. *Het leven een feest*. Nijkerk (Neth.): G.F. Callenbach;

Van Ruler, A.A. 1973. *Over de psalmen gesproken*. Nijkerk (Neth.): G.F. Callenbach.

15 Ricoeur, P. 1985. *Time and narrative*. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press;

Ricoeur, P. 1992. *Oneself as another*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press;

Ricoeur, P. 1998. *Critique and conviction*. New York: Columbia University Press.

16 Goudzwaard, B. 1981. *Genoodzaakt goed te wezen*. Kampen (Neth.): J.H. Kok.

17 Foucault, M. 2000. *Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984*, Vol 1: Ethics (ed. P. Rabinow). London: Penguin Books;

Foucault, M. 2005. *The hermeneutics of the subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982* (ed. F. Gros, trans. G.Burchell). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

18 Eco, U. 1984. *Semiotics and the philosophy of language*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

19 Thompson, J.B. 1990. *Ideology and modern culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press;

Thompson, J.B. 1995. *The media and modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chomsky's²⁰ publications on linguistics and the ground motives²¹ of Herman Dooyeweerd. Some of the sub-theories found under DA are referred to by De Villiers Human in her article²² concerning somatic metaphors and, more extensively, Viljoen²³ applies Visagie's Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM) with special emphasis on ideology critique and metaphor analysis.

Visagie first refers to Thompson's depth hermeneutics framework in a 1996 article²⁴ and describes ITM as a kind of expansion on Thompson's framework while at the same time stressing that crucial differences between the two frameworks exist. In spite of excellent available sources, I could not find any research pertaining to an in-depth ideology-critical analysis of political folk songs or folk songs used in a political environment to express ideological beliefs. After an extensive study of further publications by Visagie,²⁵ Johnson,²⁶ Lakoff,²⁷ Turner²⁸ and Viljoen,²⁹ I decided to undertake this ideology-critical study in order to offer an intensive analysis of the deep-rooted ideological beliefs hidden in what is generally believed to be 'innocent' folk songs; thereby addressing a topic that has not yet been explored through an interdisciplinary approach before, combining in my study the principles of philosophy and musicology.

1.2 Objectives and research problem

As explained in my introduction above, the purpose of this research is to investigate the texts as

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- 20 Chomsky, N. 1976. *Reflections on language*. London: Fontana;
Chomsky, N. 1988. *Language and problems of knowledge*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
Chomsky, N. 2000. *The architecture of language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 21 Dooyeweerd, H. 1979. *Roots of Western culture: pagan, secular and Christian options*. Toronto: Wedge Publishing Company.
- 22 De Villiers Human, S. 2005. Visual art literature and music, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 36(1):179-197.
- 23 Viljoen, M. 2005. Ideology and interpretation: A figurative semiotics of musical discourse, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 36(1):83-99; Viljoen, M, 2012. Is interdisciplinarity enough? Critical remarks on some New Musicological strategies from the perspective of the thought of Christopher Norris. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 43(1): 71-94.
- 24 Visagie, J. 1996. Power, meaning and culture: John Thompson's Depth Hermeneutics and the Ideological Topography of Modernity, *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 15(2):73-83.
- 25 Visagie, J. 1996. A theory of macromotives, *Koers*, 6(2):129-151.
Visagie, P.J. 1990. The sub-theories of archaeological discourse analysis: Theory I: Developing a semiological hermeneutics for archival discourse. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State. (Unpublished course manual.)
Visagie, J. 2007. Discourse archaeology, anthropology, spirituality. A post-humanist critique. Unpublished Manuscript. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State.
- 26 Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. 2003. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- 27 Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. 1989. *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- 28 Turner, M. 1996. *The literary mind: the origins of thought and language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 29 Viljoen, M. 2005. Johannes Kerkerrel en post-apartheid Afrikaner identiteit. *Literator*, 26(3):61-80.
Viljoen, M. 2011. Die banale as (rap-) identiteit: Jack Parow se "cooler as ekke". *LitNet Akademies*, 8(2).

symbolic expressions in GDR folk songs as well as folk songs sung during South Africa's apartheid regime. The focus is on a selection of worker and battle songs (Arbeiter- und Kampflieder) (more commonly known as "rote Lieder") and songs from the Nation and Fatherland (Volk en Vaderland) section of the FAK songbook. Subsequently, an investigation will be undertaken into the role and influence of foreign folk songs published in the GDR songbooks and post-apartheid interpretations of 'old' FAK songs will also be critically analysed, since the latter songs offer interesting 'commentary' on the original songs as conceived in a different socio-political context. In both countries the selected songs played (and are still playing) an important role in the shaping of ideological beliefs. For this purpose, songs were newly composed, adopted from other countries, or taken from previous regimes or earlier times and reintroduced whilst being gradually accepted as representative of a specific political era.

The research problem to be investigated concerns the following question:

To what extent are ideological modes of operation operative in GDR folk songs as well as in FAK "Volk- en Vaderland" folk songs by:

- distorting reality by misrepresenting the conditions of a particular set of socio-historical circumstances;
- expressing the interests of those in power;
- mobilising meaning so as to establish and perpetuate relationships of domination; and
- concealing relationships of domination.

1.3 Research methodology

I have based my thesis on the theoretical framework for ideology analysis as presented by John Thompson and four different sub-theories selected from Johann Visagie's Discourse Archaeology.

Thompson proposes an analytical framework in which a text can be analysed according to several phases, focusing on ideologised power. He suggests a depth-hermeneutical, multi-level approach, which can be used to analyse not only symbolic forms, but also ideology and mass communication. The first phase can be described as a socio-historical analysis – reconstructing social and historical conditions surrounding a text or discourse. The second phase is a formal or discursive analysis of a

text and the third phase involves a process of interpretation and reinterpretation. Thompson's model can be enhanced with aspects of other models as well as integrated into other, more comprehensive interpretative approaches.

One of the advantages of Discourse Archaeology is the flexibility with which the sub-theories can be combined with or incorporated into other models. Visagie built on Thompson's approach with one of his models known as Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM). Some similarities can be found between the two models, but Visagie's model asks for a thorough analysis of discourse by critically examining specific asymmetries of power as manifested in ideological culture. ITM is an extensive analysis of ideological culture comprising a complex of dominating discourses. These discourses display an autonomised norm, value or practice described by Visagie as a hypernorm, which dominates other norms, values, or practices and takes precedence in the lives of groups or individuals.

The second Discourse Archaeology model I chose for my research is the Macro-motive Theory. Here we have a collection of 'super ideologies' representing man's highest respect and ideals, regardless of time or culture. In order to identify a macro-motive, one should ask who or what has a similar aura and power to that of a God in order to determine if a power or force can be labelled as a macro-motive, and it very quickly becomes clear that not many things can qualify as having a godlike status. With Macro Theory, one aims to analyse discourse by identifying a set of basic, sometimes hidden, concepts considered as important by people and societies. These macros have influenced people during all historical periods and should be understood within the context of our current lifetime. The list of macro-motives is Nature (N), Knowledge (K), Power (M1), Culture (M2), History (M3), Personhood (P), Society (S) and Humanity (H).

Figurative Semiotics Theory's main concern is that of 'metaphors'. Influenced by the work of Lakoff, Johnson and Turner, Visagie developed this theory to observe the functionality of semiological themes present in an archival discourse and to point out inherent ideological constructions. The term 'metaphor' should be seen as a general label for the individual semiological themes within the semiological field and a distinction between these themes is not as important as identifying the figurative expressions present in ideological discourse. As with Macro-motive Theory, formulas are used to assist with the analyses. An important feature of Figurative Semiotics Theory is the identification of 'root metaphors', for example fighting, journeying, working, loving,

playing, etc., and corresponds with archetypal figures such as the worker, the traveller, the child and the lover, etc.

The last sub-theory I selected for my research is Postural Theory. Two basic questions form the basis for this theory: ‘What are we?’ and ‘What must we do?’. Postural Theory answers these questions with the proposal to observe postural *actions* such as going to work but also taking time to rest, relax and to reflect on problems and on our own lives. Visagie created a ‘wheel of existence’ with dark postures such as meaninglessness, suffering and guilt, and with light postures such as letting go/giving up, humility, compassion, joy, justice, love, peace, hope and ecstatic transcendence. Very important is the posture of taking care, whether morally or ethically. A final layer on the wheel of existence represents both the dark and light postures and themes like success, power, fullness, perfection and glory, all opposites of postural failure, can be experienced in combination with the dark and light postures. This means that we can experience dark or light postures as failures or successes.

The above-mentioned models enable me to approach GDR and FAK folk songs from an ideology-critical viewpoint but, very importantly also allow me to reach an extraordinary depth of analysis and thoroughness with the possibility to amalgamate the different models with one another.

1.4 Research design

I have chosen the option of a collection of five articles for this thesis (instead of the more traditional ‘thesis’ option) because of several advantages. This alternative provides me with:

- a clear overview of my goals and methods for the individual articles from the very beginning;
- a gradual overall progression of the research due to careful and substantial planning in the initial stages, especially needed because of the nature of my project;
- a much-needed sense of completion since I do not reside in South Africa and therefore do not have access to the typical academic environment provided by the university;
- a very ‘direct’ confrontation with the unfolding of my research question; and
- the possibility to have the articles reviewed and published internationally.

My research is thus presented here by way of the following five interrelated articles:

Article 1: “Lieder sind Brüder der Revolution”: An ideology-critical approach to the use of song as a vehicle for propaganda

A literature review, describing the theoretical frameworks of John Thompson and Johann Visagie, is the point of departure for the preliminary analysis of a number of “rote Lieder” and Afrikaans “Volk- en Vaderland” songs sung in the GDR and South Africa, respectively. The initial application of the above-mentioned frameworks will form the basis for further investigations with the aid of other models as developed by Visagie to explore the symbolic manifestation of indoctrination from an ideology-critical viewpoint.

Article 2: Foreign folk songs as a display of solidarity with socialist Germany

The small but notable presence of foreign folk songs in the GDR gives rise to an in-depth ideology analysis of musical texts from other socialist countries. Songs sung (not only) at events such as the annual “Festival des politischen Liedes” (Festival of Political Song) in Berlin were regarded as socio-political commentary on current events and the symbolic forms found in these songs will serve as an example of the interrelation of meaning and power found in GDR songs.

Article 3: Music as symbol: the role of GDR “rote Lieder” and FAK songs

This article explores the profound effect of song on society in the GDR and in apartheid South Africa. The “rote Lieder” were used to express and enhance solidarity and to imprint certain beliefs and ideas on society. On a less official level, but not to be underestimated, the FAK songbook found its way into countless Afrikaner homes, churches, organisations and schools, and became unanimous with Afrikaner culture and nationalism. By combining Johann Visagie’s Figurative Semiotics Theory and critical musicology, the underlying and sometimes hidden ideological deep structures found in political folk songs reveal the undeniable ideological beliefs concealed within these songs.

Article 4: Postures of protest: The reinterpretation of FAK folk songs as expressions of (a new) nationalism and nostalgia

The origin of a number of songs used in South Africa can be traced back to apartheid or even to the period before apartheid emerged. Although these songs were affiliated with specific historical events, they were reintroduced in a different political milieu and gradually accepted as representing a changed political climate in South Africa. Familiarity and association played a notable role in establishing rapport with the changing environment and the aim of this article is to determine the importance and influence of these reinterpreted songs.

Article 5: “Uit die chaos van die eeue”: an ideology-critical, multi-model analysis of an iconic Afrikaans “volkslied”

Once again focusing on the apartheid regime, the final article of this research project features a well-known Afrikaans folk song representing a period in South Africa in which Afrikaners desperately tried to establish an own culture superior to that of the British and consequently also other South African cultures. This song is used to demonstrate the interlacing of four independent models developed by Johann Visagie – as applied in my previous four articles in this thesis – in order to expose a wide range of ideological layers, only becoming visible when subjected to a well-designed and thorough ideology-critical tool.

1.5 Significance of the study

In view of the focus on so-called ‘new’ or cultural musicology that has dominated music scholarship for the past two decades, this thesis focuses on a topic that has special relevance for a hermeneutics of musical meaning in which the musical text is situated critically within two very different socio-cultural contexts of implication. While I do not engage with any form of detailed analysis of musical parameters in this study, I do not consider Discourse Archaeology’s general suitability to mediate a thoroughgoing musical analysis to be a shortcoming because of the fact that the musical format of the songs under investigation does not lend itself to detailed musical analysis. Rather, it displays conformist, stereotyped musical forms. In this regard, Adorno maintains that popular music as a mass art is highly standardised, using the same rhythms and structures with the intention to reach as many consumers as possible, therefore displaying the socio-economic

conditions that helped formed it and creating “an endless repetition of the cycle of consumption, boredom, alienation, and fresh distraction through consumption”.³⁰ Keeping the aforementioned in mind, this does not mean that the ‘stripped-down’ musical characteristics of the songs in this thesis render them ideologically ‘neutral’ or ‘innocent’, as I will conclude later on in this study. On the contrary, an important finding of my research that it is indeed the very simplicity of the folk songs that so uniquely contributes to the effortless transferral of their ideology-political content.

As a whole, this study represents the first large-scale exploration of the topic of music and indoctrination as studied by way of discourse analysis. It is my hope that, as such, it will contribute towards a deeper understanding of intricately interwoven discourses of intrinsic and extrinsic meaning that are ‘highlighted’ or ‘hidden’ by the most specific political texts and contexts that are described and analysed in the articles to follow.

30 Gracyk, T. 2008. The aesthetics of popular music. [O] available: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/music-po/> [Accessed 20 April 2014].

“Lieder sind Brüder der Revolution”: An ideology-critical approach to the use of song as a vehicle for propaganda

Plato teaches that, in order to take the spiritual temperature of an individual or society, one must ‘mark the music.’

A. Bloom 1987:72

1. Introduction

Indoctrination through music is a well-known phenomenon that has been used for centuries as a strategy to influence society and instil certain beliefs and attitudes in people. The idea of ‘moulding minds’ through (active) manipulation can be traced back to ancient philosophies. One of the most influential ancient Greek philosophers, Plato (in Watson Scharffenberger 2004:95), recognized the immense impact of music: “Musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace, and making the soul of him who is rightly educated graceful, or of him who is ill-educated ungraceful.” These observations are applicable even in a modern, globalised society where the artful use of songs and hymns may result in indoctrination that takes place not through any appeal to reason, but through the evocation of powerful emotions.¹ As Neumann (2008) contends, “One cannot underestimate the role of music as a device for the desensitizing and conditioning of modern society. There is nothing new in the concept that music has the power to adjust and channel the collective consciousness of massive groups of people.”

Extensive research over the last few decades² confirms music as a propagandist method used “to promote ideology and to achieve organizational cohesion” (Denisoff 1969:428). Mazzola (2003:3169) states that “propaganda music...serves to evoke political forces and canalizes streams of (sub)consciousness to the targets of propaganda.” Music plays a critical role in influencing people’s actions: “Politische Propaganda soll den Antrieb und letztlich die Handlungen der

1 Formulating the concept of indoctrination proved to be quite problematic. Within the context of my topic, I present the following explanation of the term which touches on a number of important aspects which will be brought to the fore in my analysis: “Philosophically, it leads us quickly into questions about how we ought to treat people (ethics) and the status of knowledge claims (epistemology). It also spills over into areas such as philosophy of science, philosophy of religion, and even metaphysics. Educationally, it opens up discussion of the rights of children and parents, the possibility of ‘natural’ education, and the part that society is entitled to play in determining the curriculum of the school. More specifically, it bears directly on the problems associated with moral, religious, and political education” (Snook 1972:1).

2 Cf. Hung, C. 1985. *Going to the People*. Harvard University Press: USA; Mangan, J.A. (ed.). 1990. *Making Imperial Mentalities*. Manchester University Press: New York; Nothnagle, A.L. 1990. *Building the East German Myth*. University of Michigan Press: USA; Honigsheim, P. 1989. *Sociologists and Music*. Transaction Publishers: New Jersey; Lee, S.J. 1998. *Hitler and Nazi Germany*. Routledge: London.

Menschen beeinflussen im Sinne der Realisierung eines von außen gesetzten Ziels. Musik kann die Erreichung dieses Ziels unterstützen” (Riggenbach 2000:36).³

Already at this stage of my argument, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the ideology-critical approach presented in my analysis interprets ‘the political’ as one type of ‘formation’ of ideological discourse in which a given norm or value assumes a conceptual status with which it dominates other values or norms. While I shall elaborate on this concept in more detail at a later point in this article, let it suffice for now to say that the conceptual or discursive power afforded such values or norms may ‘colonize’ – more or less in the sense of Habermas (1987:355) as he speaks of the systemic colonization of the lifeworld – other institutional norms that are unique to various spheres of the lifeworld, and are arguably, the internal guiding norms of such spheres. Argued from the vantage point of indoctrination, it means that songs which mask politically manipulative content present us with types of thematization or topicalization that, although experienced subliminally, may powerfully influence the value systems operative in the lifeworlds of groups or individuals.

Within the context of my topic, one such formation of conceptual or discursive power is to be found in the construct of ethno-nationalism of which the state-controlled generation and dissemination of propaganda in Nazi Germany is a prime example. Founded in September 1933, the Reichskulturkammer⁴ (RKK) was intended to enforce political conformity in all areas of cultural life. This institution consisted of several chambers⁵, one of which was the Reichsmusikkammer.⁶ It repressed music (including songs) that was not in line with the National Socialist ideology and furthered music that conformed to the Nazi view of Germany and its citizens (Steinweis, 1993): “Die Nationalsozialisten liefern ein erschreckendes Beispiel dafür, daß die politisch bildende Kraft von Musik sehr groß ist. Mittels einfache Lieder, aber auch durch niveauvolle Instrumentalmusik, über die Musikerziehung, bis hin zu einem groß angelegten Konzertwesen können Menschen mit Musik gelenkt und beeinflußt werden” (Thurner 1995:230).⁷ Similar practices were employed in

3 Political propaganda should influence people’s impetus as well as their actions in order to serve an extrinsic goal. Music can support the achievement of this goal. This translation, as well as all other translations of original German and Afrikaans texts presented in this article, is my own.

4 Culture Chamber of the Reich.

5 The Kulturkammer was divided into chambers for film, music, theatre, the visual arts, literature, radio and the press (Hinkel, 1937).

6 Music Chamber of the Reich.

7 The National Socialists provide us with a frightening example of the immense political power of music. According to its guiding principles, people can be controlled and influenced through music by means of simple songs, but also through sophisticated forms of instrumental music; through music education and through an elaborate concert culture.

Soviet Russia, Communist China (Perris, 1985), during the American Revolution and in Korea, to name but a few examples. After National Socialism, people were once again exposed to propaganda in the German Democratic Republic (GDR): “two systems close in time and rooted in the same history and culture, yet widely varying in ideology” (Bytwerk 2004:2). By taking advantage of the vulnerable state that most found themselves in, people were simply ‘transported’ from one ideology to the next. After the Soviet Union took control of East Germany and formed the GDR in October 1949, several mass organisations were formed by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), including youth organisations such as the “Jungpioniere” (Young Pioneers), the “Thälmann-Pioniere” (Thälmann Pioneers) and the “Freie Deutsche Jugend” (Free German Youth). Unofficially, a process of spreading socialist ideology to all levels of society was initiated (Weber 2006:35-36), and society was introduced to songs of an ideological nature, encouraging belief in the communist system.

In a different and perhaps unimportant milieu, until the end of apartheid in 1990, an Afrikaner ideology of racial segregation wove itself into the fabric of the South African society. In South Africa the National Party was founded in 1914 and took complete power in 1948, securing Afrikaner rule by reducing political opposition. After years of struggling to publish a songbook that could be deemed the Afrikaner’s own, the first “Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge” (hereafter FAK) songbook was published in 1937 (one year before the symbolic commemoration of the Great Trek), and many South Africans considered it to be a most significant milestone in the rise of Afrikaner culture. This songbook quickly gained popularity and could be found in almost every Afrikaner home; hence fulfilling the wishes of the FAK editorial staff to publish a collection of songs which would promote patriotism and a sense of belonging (Van der Merwe et al. 1937). Similar to the GDR, these songs were sung especially by the youth in schools and youth organisations such as ‘Die Voortrekkers’.⁸

Though indoctrination through these seemingly innocent songs was unofficial, as in the case of the ‘rote Lieder’⁹, it is the objective of this article to present an ideology-critical analysis of both groups of songs. In doing so, I would like to uncover ‘ideological modes of operation’ (cf. Thompson, 1990:60) which are operative under the surface of the song texts and which concern strategies of symbolic construction that reflect the complexity of the ideological world in which the songs were created and used. In this regard, I shall attempt to determine to what extent the said ideological

8 ‘Die Voortrekkers’ is a youth movement founded in 1931. The main aim is to develop and build Christian Afrikaner culture.

9 A seemingly unofficial term used to describe socialist songs.

modes of operation (cf. Thompson 1990:7) are operative in two specific case studies as taken from the GDR songs and the FAK “Volks- en Vaderlandsliedere”. In both countries these collections played an important role in the shaping of ideological beliefs. In order to ascertain the extent of their importance and influence, I shall attempt to establish the ways in which the reality, within which these texts operated, was distorted by misrepresenting the conditions of a particular set of socio-historical circumstances. My aims are to discover if, and how, meaning is mobilised in order to establish and perpetuate relationships of domination. I will do this by indicating the way ideological modes of operation could be linked with strategies of symbolic construction (Thompson 1990:59), how autonomized values hold power over other values in society, and whether concealed relationships of domination exist in the selected songs.

In order to answer the abovementioned questions, I will base the research in this article on the theoretical framework for ideology analysis as presented by John B. Thompson (1990) and the topographical analysis of ideological culture as proposed by Johann Visagie (1996). Both authors propose an analytical model by way of which texts may be analyzed according to several phases, all of which focus on symbolic manifestations of ideologized power.

Thompson (1990:281) suggests a depth-hermeneutical, multi-level critical approach in which the first phase can be described as a socio-historical analysis – reconstructing social and historical conditions surrounding a text or discourse. The second phase is a formal or discursive analysis of a text, while the third phase involves a process of interpretation which “proceeds by *synthesis*, by the creative construction of possible meaning” (Thompson 1990:289). Thompson emphasizes that the process of interpretation and reinterpretation introduced in this last phase is “necessarily risky, conflict-laden, open to dispute” (Thompson 1990:290). From my perspective, Thompson’s depth-hermeneutical approach may be seen as a broad methodology into which some aspects of other methods or models could be incorporated – or that this model, in itself, could form part of other, more encompassing interpretative approaches.

It is therefore interesting to note that the South African philosopher Johann Visagie (1996) combined Thompson’s approach with his own model known as Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM). ITM can be described as an in-depth analysis of ‘ideological culture’ – those aspects of Western culture consisting of interconnected dominating discourses. Although some similarities can be found between the two models, Visagie’s model enables a thorough analysis of *conceptual types of domination*: a so-called ideological hypernorm infiltrating our very conceptions

of cultural lifeworlds and institutions. For Visagie (1996), the hypernorm is any autonomized norm, value or practice that dominates other norms, values or practices and, as such, takes precedence in the lives of groups or individuals.

By analysing GDR and FAK songs from an ideology-critical viewpoint, as described above, I intend to investigate the interrelations of meaning and power in musical texts by exposing the ways in which meaning is constructed and communicated through symbolic forms and which serve to establish and sustain relations of domination (cf. Thompson 1990:56). Within such a theoretical frame of reference, a model of ideology theory will be tested that distinguishes between ideology in the sense of symbolically mediated relations of dominations as such, and ideology in the sense of hyper-normatively constructed cultural discourses (e.g. ethno-nationalistic) as distinct from, though often connected to, direct reactions of social domination. Before an initial application of the abovementioned frameworks, an introduction to a number of relevant approaches to ideology critique will be offered, after which a more detailed outline of the two frameworks will be presented.

2. Ideology analysis: the frameworks of John Thompson and Johann Visagie

When considering the critique of ideology, the leading work of John Thompson (1984) still provides an important point of departure for a thorough study of this widely debated topic in order to evaluate more recent conceptualisations of the topic. Thompson rejects all neutral conceptions of ideology (1990:53) and he critiques the work of M. Seliger (1976), A. Gouldner (1976) and P. Hirst (1979) on the concept of ideology as having no ‘critical edge’; therefore, lacking in the establishment of any credible link between ideology and the critique of domination (Thompson 1984:146).

Although T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer contributed significantly to the discussion of the (importance) of mass communication in modern culture and the effect it has on the analysis of ideology, Thompson (1990:108) argues that Adorno and Horkheimer’s view is too restrictive, especially when considering the ‘social cement theory’¹⁰ and their assumption that individuals have lost the ability to think critically (making them easily susceptible to indoctrination) and are merely functional parts in the well-oiled machine of modern society. Another contemporary thinker whose

¹⁰ Thompson explains the ‘social cement theory of ideology’ as presuming “that ideology works like a kind of social cement, binding individuals to a social order which oppresses them” (Thompson 1990:91).

proposals are challenged by Thompson, is J. Habermas (Thompson 1990:109ff). Considered by some authors to be one of the most influential living philosophers, Habermas's written work covers a broad range of topics, including social-political theory, aesthetics, language, epistemology and philosophy of religion. Partly influenced by Marx, Habermas believes that a critique of ideology should be located in social theory (Joseph 2004:70). Although Thompson agrees with Habermas on some aspects of his social theory, he states that Habermas's analysis ultimately fails to adequately address the problem of ideology and the critique of ideology. Thompson maintains that "not only does his (Habermas) notion of communicative rationality remain abstract, largely unrelated to the specific issues which confront the conduct of critique, but also his account of social rationalization is linked to a theory of evolution which is as sweeping as it is unsubstantiated. Moreover, the problem of ideology and the critique of ideology, far from being the focal point of Habermas's current concerns, seems to have faded away into the background of his work" (Thompson 1984:14).

Another approach is Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics and critical theory which Thompson presents together with an analysis of Habermas's work in his book *Critical Hermeneutics* (1981). Thompson is not convinced of both Habermas and Ricoeur's reliance on a linguistic model with regard to focussing on the themes of the conceptualisation of action, the methodology of interpretation and the theory of reference and truth (1981:215). In Ricoeur's understanding of action as a text, Thompson (1981:125-127) finds a theory of language that is unsuccessful in establishing specific criteria required to arbitrate between conflicting truth claims when interpreting human action. To an extent, Habermas offers such criteria in his theory of the ideal speech situation¹¹, but in so doing, becomes too limiting (Thompson 1981:169). Thompson (1981:203) maintains that a theory of action, which is not developed in accordance with a linguistic exemplar, is required and suggests a theory that situates action within a wider context of social institutions and structural conditions. By thematising the social institutions and structural conditions into a general framework for the analysis of power, ideology and history, Thompson (1981:144-146) claims that his theory is more adequate in accounting for human action than one which is limited to a linguistic model.

Thompson therefore developed a methodological framework called 'depth hermeneutics', which can be used to analyse not only symbolic forms, but also ideology and mass communication. He admits that many approaches and methods are used to analyse culture, ideology and mass communication, but argues that depth hermeneutics qualifies as a *general* methodological framework in which the different methods can be positioned together. Within this framework the

¹¹ Today Habermas no longer emphasizes the ideal speech situation in his writings.

values and limitations of the different methods of analysis can be identified and, at the same time, the systematic interrelation of the different approaches can be displayed (Thompson 1990:273). Thompson (1990:279) initiates his discussion of depth hermeneutics with the following observation:

In so far as the object of our investigations is a pre-interpreted domain, the depth-hermeneutical approach must acknowledge and take account of the ways in which symbolic forms are interpreted by the subjects who comprise the subject-object domain. In other words, *the hermeneutics of everyday life is the primordial and unavoidable starting point of the depth-hermeneutical approach*. Hence the depth-hermeneutical approach must be based, so far as possible, upon an elucidation of the ways in which symbolic forms are interpreted and understood by the individuals who produce and receive them in the course of their everyday lives.

According to Thompson, the depth-hermeneutical approach must be built on an ethnographic moment: the way individuals interpret and understand symbolic forms which are produced and received in their personal life. Should this interpretation and understanding be dismissed, a basic hermeneutical aspect of socio-historical inquiry will be overlooked. But more than this, Thompson (1990:280) suggests moving “beyond the interpretation of doxa”¹² and engaging in “kinds of analysis which fall within the methodological framework of depth hermeneutics”.

Thompson’s approach is divided into three phases: socio-historical analysis, formal or discursive analysis, and interpretation/re-interpretation. The first phase entails reproducing the social and historical circumstances of the production, circulation and reception of symbolic forms: “Symbolic forms do not subsist in a vacuum: they are produced, transmitted and received in specific social and historical conditions” (Thompson 1990:281). In this regard, Thompson differentiates between four basic features of social contexts, each of which involves its own level of analysis. The first context in which symbolic forms are produced and received, *spatio-temporal settings*, can be described as the milieu in which a person creates and acquires symbolic forms. These symbolic forms can generally be found within specific *fields of interaction* where a person pursues strategies, depending on available resources and links to other people in the field. *Social institutions* are located within fields of interaction, but they can also build fields of interaction. As Thompson (1990:161) states, “To analyze social institutions is to reconstruct the clusters of rules, resources and relations which constitute them, to trace their development through time and to examine the practices and attitudes of the individuals who act for them and within them.” The term *social structure* refers to typical imbalances and differences found in social institutions and fields of interaction. The fifth context

12 Doxa can be defined as that which is taken for granted in any particular society.

can be described as *technical media of inscription and transmission*, the way symbolic forms are transmitted and produced between individuals.

The second phase is a *formal or discursive analysis*. Symbolic forms are contextualized products used to convey certain expressions. This calls for an analysis mainly dealing with the internal organization of symbolic forms. However, Thompson (1990:285) warns that this type of analysis can become an abstract exercise when conducted in isolation from socio-historical analysis. As in the case of socio-historical analysis, several types of analysis can be identified. The first is called a *semiotic analysis* which “generally involves a methodological abstraction from the socio-historical conditions of the production and reception of symbolic forms. It focuses on the symbolic forms themselves and seeks to analyse their internal structural features, their constitutive elements and interrelations, and to connect these to the systems and codes of which they are part” (Thompson 1990:285). Semiotic analysis has some limitations, but fulfils an important part in the process of a more extensive interpretative procedure (Thompson 1990:142). The second analysis can be described as *conversation analysis*, which involves the examination of linguistic interaction in its natural environment and to emphasize the systematic features of linguistic interaction. Once again, Thompson (1990:287) finds the general application of conversation analysis somewhat limited, since it is “rarely conjoined with a satisfactory account of the socio-historical conditions of linguistic interaction”. *Syntactic analysis* is used to study discourse with regard to practical grammar evident in everyday conversation. Nominalization and passivization, modality, the use of pronouns and the use of gender are but a few grammatical aspects used to emphasize the way in which meaning is constructed in everyday discourse. By analysing the *narrative structure* of discourse, one can uncover the different narrative devices and the role they play in the telling of a story. The fifth and last type of discursive analysis is that of *argumentative analysis*. Because of its ability to identify patterns of illation in a discourse, this type of analysis is especially useful when contemplating political speech which is frequently presented in the form of an argument (Thompson 1990:145).

Phase three of Thompson’s depth-hermeneutical approach is called *interpretation/re-interpretation*. This phase builds upon the first two phases, the socio-historical analysis and the discursive analysis, but also differs from them by assuming a new process called *synthesis* – the creative construction of possible meaning (Thompson 1990:289). Symbolic forms are constructions which generally refer to some or other aspect and it is this ‘referential aspect’ that is significant in the process of interpretation. This process of interpretation, supported by the first two phases, is also a process of

re-interpretation. Already interpreted by subjects in the socio-historical world, symbolic forms can acquire a new, re-interpreted meaning, different from the meaning created by subjects in the socio-historical world. This can result in disagreement among analysts, as well as between an interpretation suggested by the depth-hermeneutical approach and the way in which symbolic forms are interpreted in the socio-historical world (Thompson 1990:290).

As an expansion of Thompson's methodological framework of depth hermeneutics Johann Visagie (1996a:74) proposes an approach to ideology theory called the Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM). In some aspects Visagie's approach is similar to Thompson's theory, but there are critical differences between the two frameworks. ITM may be described as an extensive analysis of 'ideological culture', which Visagie describes as "an aspect of industrial-advanced Western societies that comprises a complex of dominating discourses" (Visagie 1996a:74). These discourses can be described as displaying an autonomized norm, value or practice (described by Visagie as a *hypernorm*) which, as has already been alluded to above, 'colonizes' other institutional norms, values or practices that are unique to various spheres of the lifeworld¹³ by controlling the way they are understood or realized. Habermas's "colonisation of the lifeworld" is very similar to ITM's concept of hypernormative domination, but Thompson does not recognize this kind of analysis as a very sharp critique. Even though Habermas (cf. 1984 & 1987) does not speak of ideology critique, he works with two "steering power" hypernormative penetrations where political administrative power and economic systemic imperatives act hypernormatively on the lifeworld.

According to Visagie, the three goals of ITM are to link the concept of ideology to the functioning of interrelated dominating discourses, to establish an extensive overview and typological ordering thereof, and to analyse the systemic interrelations that exist between the elements of this discursive universe. ITM aims to establish a topography of ideological discourses, demonstrating how the formations generating these discourses are socio-culturally positioned and interconnected (Visagie 1996a:75). This topography can be divided into three diverse cultural spheres: social culture, theoretical culture and aesthetic culture. The aim of ITM is to describe formations that are a fundamental part of ideological culture – these formations are the starting point of dominating discourses which focus on hypernormative values and practices, for example, the politization of culture where "the political" colonizes the intrinsic norms of "the cultural". In other words, a genuine norm or value such as affection for one's own culture is subverted by political beliefs. This

¹³ The idea of the "colonisation of the lifeworld" is used by Habermas in his social theory (Habermas 1987:355ff, 391ff) to describe the way communication can be systematically distorted.

does not mean that there is not some societal coherence between the political and the cultural, etc., but that it is a coherence in which the normative uniqueness of societal spheres must be shielded against ideological penetration. When analysing a hypernorm, the focus should be on how other norms are deprived of their own autonomy and authority.

The analysis of the social topographical sphere commences by differentiating between different layers of ideological culture in society, gradually progressing from macro to micro levels. Other levels that comprise groups of formations, which are classified according to the different functions they perform in the whole of ideological culture, can be found in between the ultimate macro and micro levels. On the macro level one can find formations that stamp ideological culture according to its overall structure and direction. The macro parameter can be defined as the steering powers of ideological modernity, for example, science, technology, economic, political and administrative power. On a lower level, formations that serve to support or express operations of the abovementioned steering powers can be found. On still lower levels, Visagie (1996a:75) categorizes formations that serve to integrate individuals into society in a specific manner such as “selfism” (the culture of narcissism) and personal achievement; also “political” formations such as liberalism, statism and ethno-nationalism; formations in which the ideological aspects of the social movements come to expression and, furthermore, a group of institutions such as state, family and medical care that serve a special kind of protective power network where the care and protection of individual health (bodily and mental) and other forms of security become the pervasive goal of individuals and the institutions which are focused on helping individuals reach this goal. Situated on the ultimate micro level are formations which operate according to their appeal to the individual in his or her most private circumstances (Visagie 1996a:75), the so-called ‘pastoral havens, consisting of formations that constitute ‘existential’ shelters of meaningfulness for individuals, each with their own autonomized goal such as romantic love, personal material possessions, the adventure of shopping and buying, also more ‘elevated’ shelters such as music or high morality. These formations are shaped to provide the individual with a concrete answer in his or her search for personal meaning.

In order to obtain a clearer overview and understanding of the abovementioned frameworks, the similarities and differences between the two frameworks as noted by Visagie (1996a:76) are summarized below.

Both authors understand ideology in a negative rather than neutral sense and concur that the concept

of ideology should not be restricted to the political aspect of society. The phenomenon of ideology should be seen in the context of relations between power and discourse and should be studied by means of a multi-level theoretical framework which permits the interaction of socio-cultural perspectives with discursive analysis. The study of ideology should consist of a “theoretically precise articulation of structural relations” as well as an “imaginative deployment of uninhibited, intuitive-speculative reflection” (Visagie 1996a:82).

Visagie’s concept of the hypernorm can be described as being more in line with the neo-Marxism of Horkheimer and Adorno than the traditional Marxist focus on social relations of domination, which Thompson only wants to expand, reckoning with more denominators than just class. Thompson seeks to specifically investigate the function of language or symbolic forms in this kind of domination. Visagie recognizes the validity of all these actions – even introducing macro-micro distinctions for the social sphere Thompson aims to focus on – but he argues that the work of ideology should be approached in a top-down way, which may be described metaphorically as a “sail boat” model, where the “sail” entails conceptual or discursive relations of dominations (representing Visagie), which in most cases have direct relevance for, and impact on, the social dynamics played out in the “hull” of the boat (representing Thompson).

Whereas Thompson’s depth-hermeneutical approach is a multi-level framework designed to integrate different theories and methodologies, ITM is designed to provide an extensive explanation of the forces comprising Western ideological culture, as well as incorporating and linking elements of other analyses. Thompson focuses on the power of social domination, but ITM refers to ideology and power as hypernormative values holding power over other values in society. ITM analyses ideological power structures within 'society', considering the different societal spheres such as art, philosophy and science, where each sphere exhibits unique kinds of autonomization or absolutization, whereas Thompson considers ideological power only within a narrow socio-cultural context (Visagie 1996a:76). Although there is a structural resemblance to Thompson’s three-phased model, ITM’s three-phased model actually consists of three different analytical dimensions.

Over a number of years two other models on different disciplinary levels (conceptual semantics and a figurative semiotics) were added to Visagie’s conceptual apparatus, and the whole enterprise has come to be known as Discourse Archaeology (DA).¹⁴ According to Visagie (1996a:79), the aim of

¹⁴ In Visagie’s approach, the theme of the everyday world is not a part of the Discourse Archaeology subtheory of ITM – it is treated in a separate sub-theory devoted to epistemic distinctions. But it is a requirement of the DA framework that sub-theories in this framework can and should interact.

“figurative semiotics” is to find a basic semiotic structure which would be common to “figures” such as images, symbols, signs, metaphors and models and to analyse the rules or regularities that determine the functioning of these figures as they would apply to, for example, ITM. The way this theory connects with ITM is, structurally speaking, similar to the depth-hermeneutical approach and corresponds to a certain extent with the third phase of Thompson’s analysis concerning the role of figurative devices at the level of interpretation. The ultimate and most influential difference between Thompson’s view of ideology and ITM is that ITM, in the end, has its topography of ideological culture attached to a foundational sphere that accommodates the social world of relations of domination (between groups), on which Thompson focuses exclusively. The assumption is that there are intricate interconnections between the topographical sphere and this ‘foundational’ social sphere.

The integration of the two abovementioned models makes for a very thorough ideology-critical analysis of musical texts. Thompson’s model serves as a depth-hermeneutical interpretative base of which the strong point is its thoroughly socio-historical orientation, although he may be criticized for his preoccupation with power relations as generated by *group domination* alone. However, it is exactly with respect to this hiatus that ITM offers the critical apparatus through which an analysis of the ideological implications of *discourse domination* is enabled. For in terms of my argument thus far, it may already be clear that my critical reading of political songs in this article calls for an interpretative framework which will mediate the identification of specific ideological mechanisms in such songs; thus, exposing relations of domination through which certain beliefs and attitudes may be instilled. From this follows that the ‘innocent’ concept of patriotism can easily be (ab)used to transfer distorted ideological beliefs to an unsuspecting society. My reading of two songs which follows below will attempt to illustrate how this can be achieved.

4. Applying depth hermeneutics and ITM: The case study of “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit” and “Handhaaf en Bou”

Having given an overview of the depth-hermeneutics model and ITM, I shall now attempt to show how the combined methodological framework of depth hermeneutics and the analysis of discourse domination can be applied and enhanced by integrating Thompson’s model with ITM in order to analyse and interpret symbolic forms as ideologically operative in everyday life. For this analysis, I would first like to present a song which has appeared in the FAK songbook as well as in several

songbooks printed in the GDR. This song appealed to us because it had been used consistently for more than a hundred years to serve a wide range of different political interests – a fact which immediately leads us into the first phase of the depth-hermeneutical approach, namely that of a socio-historical analysis. Originally a Russian patriotic student song (“Medlenno dvizhetsya vremya”/Time is moving slowly) dating back to the 1850s, the meaning of the song was already altered when a young revolutionist, Leonid P. Radin, wrote a new text (“Smelo, tovarišči, v nogu”/Forward, Comrades, march in step) to the melody in 1897 while serving time in the Tagansk prison in Moscow (Mende 2009:491). The ‘new’ song was sung for the first time by political prisoners (including Radin) while being transported to Siberia. Twenty years later, the German conductor Hermann Scherchen became acquainted with the song while imprisoned during the October Revolution in 1917. He wrote a German adaptation of the lyrics (“Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit”)¹⁵ and introduced it to Germany after the First World War, performing the song with different choirs in and around Berlin:

Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit

Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit,
 Brüder, zum Lichte empor.
 Hell, aus dem dunklen Vergangenen
 leuchtet die Zukunft hervor!
 Hell, aus dem dunklen Vergangenen
 leuchtet die Zukunft hervor!

Seht, wie der Zug von Millionen
 endlos aus Nächtigem quillt;
 bis eurer Sehnsucht Verlangen
 Himmel und Nacht überschwillt!
 bis eurer Sehnsucht Verlangen
 Himmel und Nacht überschwillt!

Brüder, in eins nun die Hände,
 Brüder, das Sterben verlacht.
 Ewig der Sklaverei Ende,
 heilig die letzte Schlacht.
 Ewig der Sklaverei Ende,
 heilig die letzte Schlacht.

Brechet das Joch der Tyrannen,
 die euch so grausam gequält:
 schwenket die blutroten Fahnen
 über die Arbeiterwelt.
 schwenket die blutroten Fahnen
 über die Arbeiterwelt.

¹⁵ While the Russian version consisted of seven verses, the German translation only included three verses. In the time of the Weimar Republic, the fourth verse was added and commonly sung by members of the worker’s movement.

Brothers, to the sun and to freedom

Brothers, to the sun and to freedom!
Brothers, upwards to the light!
From the past's darkness is beaming,
ever the future so bright
From the past's darkness is beaming,
ever the future so bright.

See now the stream of the millions
endlessly gushing to the light
'till our hearts deepest willing
wells over heaven and night
'till our hearts deepest willing
wells over heaven and night.

Brothers, united we're standing,
laughing at death, side by side,
slav'ry forever is ending,
Holy the final fight!
Slav'ry forever is ending,
Holy the final fight!

Break down the tyrannic powers,
shake off their cruel torment!
Red flags are waving from towers,
now under worker's command!
Red flags are waving from towers,
now under worker's command!

Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit



2. Seht, wie der Zug von Millionen
endlos aus Nächtigem quillt,
| : bis eurer Sehnsucht Verlangen
Himmel und Nacht überschwillt! :|

3. Brüder, in eins nun die Hände,
Brüder, das Sterben verlacht!
| : Ewig der Sklaverei ein Ende,
heilig die letzte Schlacht! :|

Russisches Revolutionslied Worte: Leonid P. Radin, 1897
Deutsche Nachdichtung: Hermann Scherchen, 1918
Weise: mündlich überliefert

Figure 1: “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit” (Bimberg 1977:18)¹⁶

16 © With kind permission of the publisher Friedrich Hofmeister in Leipzig.

Regular performances of this song¹⁷ increased its popularity in Germany and it featured permanently in social democratic and communistic song books (Kutschke 2007:66). A fifth verse was added and sung by communists:

Brüder, ergreift die Gewehre,
auf zur entscheidenden Schlacht!
Dem Kommunisten die Ehre,
ihm sei in Zukunft die Macht.¹⁸

The melody also became well known in Austria, and during the Nazi period different versions were used. One version consisted of the ‘original’ German text (“Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit”), but with the fourth verse slightly modified, asking people to wave the Nazi flag over the worker state:

Brecht das Joch der Tyrannen,
die euch so endlos gequält!
Schwenkt die Hakenkreuzfahne
über dem Arbeiterstaat.

The song was rewritten in 1927 (Hartung 2001:186), given a new title (“Brüder, in Zechen und Gruben”) and more ‘appropriate’ verses¹⁹ were added:

Brüder in Zechen und Gruben

Brüder in Zechen und Gruben,
Brüder ihr hinter dem Pflug,
aus den Fabriken und Stuben
folgt unseres Banners Zug.
aus den Fabriken und Stuben
folgt unseres Banners Zug.

Börsengauner und Schieber
knechten das Vaterland;
wir wollen ehrlich verdienen,
fleißig mit schaffender Hand,
wir wollen ehrlich verdienen,
fleißig mit schaffender Hand,

Hitler ist unser Führer,
ihn lohnt nicht goldner Sold,
der von den jüdischen Thronen

17 Yet another text based on the same melody, the “Rotgardistenmarsch”, was written by Max Barthel.

18 Brothers, take up the arms, forward to a crucial fight! All honour to the Communists, they are the power of the future.

19 It was common practice during the Nazi period to change the texts of popular *Arbeiter* songs; therefore, making a relatively smooth transition to a new political system.

vor seine Füße rollt.
der von den jüdischen Thronen
vor seine Füße rollt.

Einst komt der Tag der Rache,
einmal, da werden wir frei;
schaffendes Deutschland erwache,
brich deine Ketten entzwei.
schaffendes Deutschland erwache,
brich deine Ketten entzwei.

Dann laßt das Banner fliegen,
daß unsere Feinde es seh'n,
immer werden wir siegen,
wenn wir zusammensteh'n
immer werden wir siegen,
wenn wir zusammensteh'n

Hitler treu ergeben,
treu bis in den Tod.
Hitler wird uns führen
einst aus dieser Not.
Hitler wird uns führen
einst aus dieser Not.

Brothers in coal mines and pits

Brothers in coal mines and pits
brothers behind the plough,
from the factories and rooms,
follow our banner in procession.

Stock exchange crooks and traffickers
oppress the fatherland;
We want to make an honest living,
diligently with our productive hands.

Hitler is our leader,
He's not interested in payment in gold
rolling before his feet
from Jewish thrones.

Once the day of revenge will come,
someday, we will be free;
hard-working Germany, awake,
break your chains apart.

Then let our banner fly,
Let our enemies see it,
we will always prevail,
if we stand together.

Stay true to Hitler,

be loyal until death.
Hitler will lead us
away from this hardship.

After the Second World War, the SPD political party used the song, with the lyrics changed to the original version once again²⁰, as its party hymn; therefore, securing its place in almost all GDR songbooks. In South Africa, this song made its appearance for the first time in 1937, albeit with an Afrikaans text (“Handhaaf en Bou”/“Maintain and Build”)²¹ written by B.A. de Wet.

Included in all subsequent FAK songbook editions, some of the verses have been removed and texts changed between 1961 and 1986. I find it quite surprising that, in spite of the considerable controversy surrounding this song in Germany even today²², the FAK still refers to the Nazi “Brüder in Zechen und Gruben” version and not to the politically ‘safer’ “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit”. One can only speculate that this is a small but significant remnant of identifying with the ideologies of Nazi German nationalism. For the 1986 version of the FAK, “Handhaaf en Bou” was moved from the “Met Dapper en Stapper” (On Foot) section to the “Volk en Vaderland” (Nation and Fatherland) section. Originally, the “Met Dapper en Stapper” section was aimed at the Voortrekker movement, but this section has been eliminated from the 1986 edition of the FAK songbook and the songs integrated elsewhere.

For the second phase of analysis of Thompson’s depth-hermeneutical approach (Thompson 1990:284ff), I have decided to focus on the 1961 edition of the FAK songbook in which the song “Handhaaf en Bou” still appears, since this version (fig. 2) was used over the longest period of time and therefore would have been sung by most white South Africans during the apartheid era. I shall, however, compare this version with the version as it appeared in 1986 in order to highlight changes made to the lyrics. Some references will also be made to the German versions of this song. In my discursive analysis the aim is to study linguistic constructions with the objective of illustrating their role in the operation of ideology (cf. Thompson 1984:136). In order to analyse the structural features of symbolic forms as found in “Handhaaf en Bou”, I shall combine a *syntactic analysis* as described by Thompson (1990:287) with his proposed modes of operation of ideology to demonstrate these features as examples of specific symbolic construction and to link them to specific modes of operation of ideology. Then I will progress to Thompson’s interpretational phase

20 Between 1946 and 1989 different versions of this song were printed in songbooks with some verses added or omitted.

21 “Handhaaf en Bou” is also the official motto of the FAK.

22 According to the Land Office of Criminal Investigation in Hesse (2001), the singing or playing of this song, in all its versions, with or without text, in any language, is a criminal offence which will lead to prosecution.

combined with Visagie's (1996a:79) figurative semiotics of ideological discourse.

First, let us consider the five verses of "Handhaaf en Bou":

Handhaaf en Bou

Sing van ons land in die Suide
Onder die Suiderkruis,
Sing van ons volk, sing luide,
Sing van ons taal en ons tuis.
Sing van ons volk, sing luide,
Sing van ons taal en ons tuis.

Land van die Voortrekkerhelde,
Woonplaas van Boer en Brit,
Land met jou groot ruime velde
Bied plek aan swart en aan wit.
Land met jou groot ruime velde
Bied plek aan swart en aan wit.

Elk eer die taal van sy Moeder.
Roem die eer van sy Volk.
Almal loof God, onse Hoeder.
Laat elk sy liefde vertolk.
Almal loof God, onse Hoeder,
Laat elk sy liefde vertolk.

Skep uit die volksverlede
Al wat goed is en rein:
Hoeksteen vir bouwerk van hede,
Voedsel vir siel en vir brein
Hoeksteen vir bouwerk van hede,
Voedsel vir siel en vir brein.

Wyl ons 'n roemryk verlede
Trou steeds in ere hou,
Hoor ons die strydkreet van hede:
"Opsaal! Handhaaf en bou!"
Hoor ons die strydkreet van hede:
"Opsaal! Handhaaf en bou!"

Maintain and build

Sing about our country in the south
under the Southern Cross,
Sing about our nation, sing loud,
Sing about our language and our home.
Sing about our nation, sing loud,
Sing about our language and our home.

Country of the Voortrekker heroes,

dwelling of Boer and Brit,
Land with your vast spaces
offers space to black and white.
Land with your vast spaces
offers space to black and white.

Each honours his mother tongue,
praises the glory of his nation.
All praise God, our Protector.
Let everyone convey his love.
All praise God, our Protector.
Let everyone interpret his love.

Create from the nation's past
everything that is good and pure:
Cornerstone of the present foundation,
food for the soul and brain
Cornerstone of the present foundation,
food for the soul and brain.

While we are honouring
a glorious past,
we hear the battle cry of today:
"Saddle up! Maintain and build!"
we hear the battle cry of today:
"Saddle up! Maintain and build!"

188.

HANDHAAF EN BOU

(„Brüder in Zeehen und Gruben“)

B. A. DE WET

HANS BAYER

1. Sing van onsland in die Sui - de On - der die Sui - der - kruis,
 2. Land van die Voor - trek - ker - hel - de, Woon - plaas van Boer en Brit,
 3. Elk eer die taal van sy Moe - der. Roem die eer van sy Volk.
 4. Skep uit die volks - ver - le - de Al wat goed is en rein:
 5. Wyl ons 'n roem - ryk ver - le - de Trou steeds in e - re hou,

1. Sing van ons volk, sing lui - de, Sing van ons taal en ons tuis.
 2. Land met jou groot rui - me vel - de Bied plekaan swart en aan wit.
 3. Al - mal loof God, on - se Hoe - der. Laat elk sy lief - de ver - tolk.
 4. Hoek - steen vir bou - werk van he - de, Voed - sel vir siel en vir brein
 5. Hoor ons die stryd - kreet van he - de: „Op - saal! Hand - haaf en bou!”

1. Sing van ons volk, sing lui - de, Sing van ons taal en ons tuis.
 2. Land met jou groot rui - me vel - de, Bied plekaan swart en aan wit.
 3. Al - mal loof God, on - se Hoe - der, Laat elk sy lief - de ver - tolk.
 4. Hoek - steen vir bou - werk van he - de, Voed - sel vir siel en vir brein.
 5. Hoor ons diestryd - kreet van he - de: „Op - saal! Hand - haaf en bou!”

Figure 2: Handhaaf en Bou (De Villiers 1968:262)²³

Evoking emotions of pride and patriotism, the title²⁴ of this song alone succeeds in constructing sentiments representing nationalist unity reminiscent of the Afrikaner's political past. This metaphorical phrase represents a time in history in which the ruling white Afrikaner (male) was still

23 With kind permission of the FAK.

24 Used as a motto by many Afrikaans schools, this phrase can be found in several other well-known Afrikaans songs. In 1930 a new movement called the "Handhawersbond" was founded (Moodie 1975:147ff) with the slogan "Opsaal!" ("Saddle up!"), which can also be found in this song.

sure of his identity and where his primary duty was to promote the white Afrikaner by means of apartheid. It represents political retention and a particular ‘possessiveness’, whereas the ‘order’ to saddle up refers to preparing for battle. “Handhaaf en bou” as well as the slogan “Opsaal!” are also indicative of a *symbolization of unity*, reaffirming a collective identity (cf. Thompson 1990:64) representing the Afrikaner *Boer*.

A similar collective identity can be found in the titles of both German versions of this song: the use of “Brüder” suggests a feeling of being included in a group, working towards or fighting for the same political ideals of freedom and conquer (“Freiheit” and “siegen”) and, as in the case of “Brüder in Zechen und Gruben”, acknowledging and encouraging the ‘brothers’ working in coal mines, pits, etc. The word “Brüder” is a recurring theme throughout the song “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit”, stressing the importance for the masses (“Seht wie der Zug von Millionen endlos aus Nächtigem quillt...”) to finally break away from imposed slavery (“Ewig der Sklaverei Ende”). This seemingly innocent idea of ‘summoning the brotherhood’ becomes a highly charged ideological phrase with “Sonne” and “Freiheit” reinforcing this hypernormative ideal. As one of the steering powers of ITM, “Freiheit” is also very powerful in that it is virtually synonymous with rights, justice and democracy. However, against the background of both Nazi Germany and the GDR, the word has taken on a purely rhetorical meaning. ‘Brothers’ is a creating of the most intense intimacy and loyalty to family and this metaphor is indeed abstracted from the lifeworld of the family, making it ideologically even more powerful. Ironically, this brotherhood may call upon people to actually leave behind family and family views. Not to be overlooked is the patriarchal ideology that possibly excludes ‘sisters’ from the brotherhood. Interestingly, from the three terms in the title “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit”, the light metaphor dominates the other two because the Supreme Thing (overarching ideal) is always bathed in light, which guides the brothers on the way to freedom. It also implies that the present (politically) oppressed situation is dark; therefore, creating an instinctive urge to move towards the light.

The use of the possessive pronoun “our” in the first verse of “Handhaaf en Bou”²⁵ suggests the existence of a nation with one common language, in a country belonging exclusively to this one nation. The absence of a subject focuses the attention of the individual on the recurring possessive pronoun and as a result strengthens the ideological messages of *unification* and *eternalization* (Thompson 1990:64, 66) portrayed in this verse. In terms of ITM, “ons” indicates the “Volk” (nation) and it becomes clear that the metaphor “land” (country) is a component of the state (which

25 “ons land” (our country), “ons volk” (our nation), “ons taal” (our language) and “ons tuis” (our homeland)

includes the government, people and territory/soil) and state ideology. The whole phenomenon of “taal” (language) is hypernormalized by “volk”, for example, the fanatic insistence on speaking Afrikaans, whatever the situation, assuming a hypernormative status for activists, with a “taaltrots” (language pride) that were, then, governed by “Volkstrots” (national pride).

In contrast to the general statement made in the first verse, the second verse gives a more detailed description of South Africa as a country which, in spite of a troubled past, is willing to accommodate the British and the blacks. Perhaps *rationalization* (cf. Thompson 1990:61) is at work here: the white Afrikaner ‘earned’ the right of ownership by fighting for this country (referring in the first line to the “Voortrekkerhelde” (heroes of the Afrikaner nation); therefore, the rule of the white Afrikaner minority is justified and even strengthened by the generousness of allowing “Boer en Brit” and “swart en wit” (black and white) to live here. In the 1986 edition of the FAK songbook, the phrase “Bied plek aan swart en aan wit” (offers space to black and white) has been replaced by the phrase “tuiste van swart en van wit” (home of black and white) (Kok 1986:19). From a post-apartheid perspective this could be (positively) interpreted as a move from *offering* blacks and whites a country to live in to *confirming* South Africa to be the dwelling place of blacks and whites. Although the cultural typecasts “swart en wit” (black and white) and “Boer en Brit” broadly represent the diversity of cultural groups found in South Africa, the clear antithesis between the phrases cannot be ignored. Combined with the image of vast spaces (“groot ruime velde”), an almost utopian world is created and as a result the white Afrikaner’s conscience (in terms of the country’s political reality) is silenced.

At this point I would like to refer to the second verse of “Handhaaf en Bou” appearing in a songbook (Bosman 1971:148) of the Voortrekker movement in South Africa:

Land van die Voortrekkerhelde,
Woonplek van Boer is dit,
Land met jou groot ruime velde,
Hier stap ons saam in gelid.
Land met jou groot ruime velde,
Hier stap ons saam in gelid.

Country of the Voortrekker heroes,
dwelling of the Boer it is,
Land with your vast spaces
Here we walk in step.
Land with your vast spaces
Here we walk in step.

When comparing this verse with the 1961 FAK version, it is clear that even stronger ideological forces are at work here. In a very direct manner it is suggested that South Africa is home to the Boer and no-one else and it comes as no surprise to find the phrase “bied plek aan swart en aan wit” (offers space to black and white) substituted with “Hier stap ons saam in gelid” (here we walk in step). Considering the fact that the version used in the 1971 Voortrekker songbook was probably taken from the 1961 FAK songbook and edited, I consider this a regression to a state of renewed political domination, manifested in the use of *fragmentation* (Thompson 1990:65) to maintain and sustain relations of domination. On a symbolic level a sense of unity is reinforced by strong links between “Hier stap ons saam in gelid” (here we walk in step) and the impression of a cultural youth organization that marches – in this case referring to the Voortrekker movement’s then military customs of drilling and parading – a suggestive kind of militarization aimed at the youth of the “Volk”. This serves as a reminder of the ever-present militarism during the Nazi period and ultimately in the communist GDR.

Fragmentation is furthermore evident in both “Brüder in Zechen und Gruben” and “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit”. In the first-mentioned, crooks and tricksters (“Börsengauner und Schieber”) are portrayed as the enemy (“unsere Feinde”): individuals who could be “capable of mounting an effective challenge to dominant groups” (Thompson 1990:65), a strategy of *expurgation of the other* and the nation is asked to unite in order to save Germany from the enemy (anyone who opposes the party, especially the Jews). The political party leading the German “Volk” to freedom is personified by Hitler (“Hitler ist unser Führer”), who, in effect, is the ‘servant’ of the German people (the “Volk”) who were expected to be absolutely loyal to the party. In “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit” the darkness of the past (“...dunklen Vergangenen...”), slavery (“Sklaverei”) and tyrannic powers (“Joch der Tyrannen”) are identified as a possible threat which should be resisted. By highlighting the fact that millions of people (“Zug von Millionen”) are joining the cause (here one cannot help but think of herd behaviour), people are easily influenced to join this ever-growing resistance against the ideological image of the enemy presented in this song. By depicting the final fight as “heilig” (holy), religion is used to justify the uprising against the enemy.

The beginning of the third verse “Elk eer die taal van sy Moeder” (each honours his mother tongue) and “Roem die eer van sy Volk” (praise the glory of his nation) implies that each is free to speak his own mother language and is proud of his own nation. The phrases “Almal loof God, onse Hoeder” (all praise God, our Protector) and “Laat elk sy liefde vertolk” (let everyone convey his love), however, puts a limitation on this so-called freedom – these phrases are depicted as a principle

followed by everyone; thus, pointing to *universalization* as described by Thompson (1990:61). Let us contemplate the first two lines of the third verse in the Voortrekker songbook:

Elk eer die taal van sy Moeder,
Elk roem en eer ons Volk.

Each honours his mother tongue,
praises the glory of our nation.

By only changing the possessive pronoun “sy” (his/her) to “ons” (our), a potentially explosive situation is created: instead of being proud of one’s own nation, everyone praises and respects the Afrikaner nation. The hypernormative value of the “Volk” concept has intensified, bringing to the fore the white Afrikaner “volk” as the ideal nation. One could even assume that some freedom is given to honour one’s own mother tongue, but ultimately the honour should go to the white Afrikaner nation. Not to be overlooked is the use of capital letters with “Moeder” (mother) and “Volk” (nation), somehow equating it with “Hoeder” (protector) in both the FAK-Sangbundel and the Voortrekker songbook versions, highlighting the ideological importance of the three metaphors in this verse.

An appeal is made in the fourth verse to create something ‘good and pure’ of the (white) Afrikaner history and to use this as a cornerstone to build upon for the present. By using the imperative mood, the individual is implored to actively participate in building up the nation, emphasizing the fact that history would also provide food for thought and nourishment for the soul. The strong, metaphor-based nostalgic thread in this verse (preceded by the earlier mention of “Voortrekkerhelde”) becomes an ideological vision that can inspire and direct people to mould the present on past successes in order to (also) conquer the future. Ethics, morality and education become the ideological focus – hypernormalized by the “volksverlede” (the nation’s past). The Afrikaner is encouraged to focus on everything pure stemming from the nation’s past, ensuring through education that the past will not be forgotten. At this point it is interesting to note that specifically the third and fourth verses were omitted in the 1986 edition of the FAK songbook.

Once again, the message to continue the good work of the past is repeated in the last verse, with a renewed urge to saddle up and maintain and build. The exclamations “Opsaal!” and “Handhaaf en Bou!” are culturally loaded expressions stemming from the nation’s ‘glorious’ past; thus, ensuring a continuous process of symbolic unification. These exclamations, however, are presented in a much

more subdued manner in the 1986 FAK songbook:

Laat ons ons roemryk verlede
altd in ere hou
en in die stryd van die hede
saamstaan en handhaaf en bou!
En in die stryd van die hede
saamstaan en handhaaf en bou!

Let us always honour
our glorious past,
and stand together, maintain and build
in today's struggle!
and stand together, maintain and build
in today's struggle!

The more aggressive “strydkreet” (battle cry) in the 1961 version has been replaced by the word “stryd” (struggle), suppressing the idea of a battle to be fought, but still acknowledging the ever-present struggle for the survival of the white Afrikaner. By transforming the two culturally strong slogans “Opsaal!” and “Handhaaf en Bou!” into “saamstaan en handhaaf en bou!” (stand together, maintain and build), the verse loses some of its ideological strength, although the message of unity still dominates. Objectively, the past is never completely glorious (“roemryke verlede”), but the metaphors identified in previous verses make it easy to believe in the purity of the Afrikaner “volk”. Ironically, it turns out for South Africans and Germany that ideology critique can be taken as recommending that the guilty past is not to be forgotten. This song can be compared to propagandistic songs used in the GDR (Fechner, 2004):

Lieder propagandistischen Inhalts sind entweder Lobeshymnen auf die sozialistische oder kommunistische Ideologie, oder aber sie verfolgen ein moralisierendes oder Gemeinschaft stiftendes Konzept. Dabei ist festzustellen, dass in diesen Liedern *keine explizite Nennung eines Feindes* vorkommt. Der eigene politische Standpunkt wird zwar propagiert, andere Gesinnungen werden dabei nicht *expressis verbis*, sondern allenfalls *implizit* angegriffen.²⁶

Although simple and stereotypical in nature – or perhaps for that very fact – the music of “Handhaaf en Bou” should not be ignored. The 1961 FAK songbook version (see fig. 2) is written in B flat major with a 4/4 time signature. A basic harmonic progression of I-IV-V-I is used in combination with dotted-note rhythm patterns accompanied in the bass with a chord on every second beat, accentuating the march-like military character of the song. The use of only two

²⁶ Songs with propagandistic content can either be classified as a hymn of praise to the socialistic or communistic ideology or as pursuing a moralistic or unifying ideal. In addition, it was ascertained that the enemy is not mentioned in any of these songs. The own political viewpoint is propagandized and, at the same time, other viewpoints are implicitly attacked.

dynamics, *forte* and *fortissimo*, contributes to the overall character of the music, symbolizing strength and self-confidence. The octaves in the last four bars complement the repetition of the last line of each verse, bringing the song to a dramatic and intense close. “Handhaaf en Bou” is a song that speaks of optimism and patriotism. The lyrics and melody are easy to memorize since they contains much repetition, which makes it a very effective if not powerful carrier of ideological beliefs.

Through ITM, several metaphors can be identified throughout the text of “Handhaaf en Bou”: ‘national pride’, ‘struggle’, ‘honour’ and ‘victory’. However, the one key metaphor in this text seems to be that of ‘national pride’. The text, probably written before 1937, served as a reminder of the immediate history²⁷ of the white Afrikaner at the time; therefore, strengthening feelings of a newfound patriotism among white South Africans. From an ideology-critical viewpoint the ‘national pride’ metaphor takes on a hypernormative stance because of its ideological use, repressing other values present in the text. I believe that the literal referrals to the beauty of South Africa, an own language (in this case Afrikaans), the importance of religion and the upkeep of the white Afrikaner’s ‘proud’ history only intensifies the focus on ‘national pride; therefore, automatically pushing any other root metaphors to the background. This song (and others), as harmless as it may have been in 1937, evolved together with the subsequent political development up to the beginning of apartheid in South Africa, fuelling an unhealthy attitude towards those who were increasingly seen to be the enemy. Especially in a post-apartheid South Africa, this song could create a distorted image of the past, recalling autonomized values which can result in ideologized power.

Returning at this point to the questions posed in the introduction to this article, it may be concluded that Thompson’s (1990:7) ideological modes of operation are clearly operative in the two songs selected for discussion, as well as in their subsequent versions as presented above. My analysis demonstrated that these songs contain visible examples of what Thompson terms the *symbolization of unity* (Thompson 1990:64), *unification* and *eternalization* (Thompson 1990:64, 66), *rationalization* (Thompson 1990:61), *universalization* (Thompson 1990:61), and *fragmentation* (Thompson 1990:65).

From the standpoint of Visagie’s ITM, it may therefore be reiterated that these modes of operation are by no means innocent rhetorical strategies, but that they, as propagandist methods of

²⁷ The Anglo-Boer War and the subsequent annexation to the British Empire.

indoctrination, serve ideologies operative within specific socio-political contexts instead. As Goudzwaard, van der Vennen & van Heemst (2007:36) contend:

Modern ideologies, which are always dynamic social projects, are rationally preconceived and constructed, piece by piece; they are systematically thought through, right down to the chilling calculation of efficient means. They are radical in their totalitarian scope and depth. And they try to instrumentalize everything available, leaving no stone unturned, beginning with values. Indeed, in its rationalization, radicalization, and instrumentalization, modern ideology always seeks to radically retool the entire spectrum of currently held values, such as good and evil, right and wrong, truth and untruth. Ideology involves the “conversion of all values” (*die Umwertung aller Werte*), in the words of the great nineteenth-century philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche; this conversion legitimates in advance the systematic indoctrination of entire populations into a new way of thinking and acting.

The hypernormalizing of ethnicity (or group-cultural variations on this theme) leads to one of a political group of ideologies on the ITM landscape labelled ethno-nationalism. However, from the beginning, ITM also referred to possible projections of such hypernormativity, to intercultural collectives, e.g. Europe. On this much more general level, the ideology (still) at stake, may be termed culturalism. The concept of Eurocentrism indicates that Europe certainly knows all about the culturalistic hypernormalization of legal and moral principles (an abstract construct with very concrete consequences, such as the historical birth of South Africa). The same kind of culturalism is evident in Afrocentrism – born of a justified resistance against the notorious colonial culturalism.

In my explication of Thompson’s (1990:108) views on the concept of ideology, I referred to his critique on Adorno and Horkheimer’s ‘social cement theory’, which presupposes that individuals involuntarily fall prey to the machinery of propaganda without the ability to resist critically. While this point may be readily conceded, Thompson does not acknowledge the fact that, for Adorno, music, while often functioning ideologically, may also function redemptively. Bowman (1998:312) enumerates this in stating that music, for Adorno, “... may function as an instrument of propaganda or as a bearer of truth (if only by resisting propaganda). Music can serve the status quo, but it can also resist it.” It should, however, be remarked that from Adorno’s (cf. 1978:128ff) standpoint, music that caters to a communal sense of togetherness is ideological in principle, since it harbours such strong potential to obscure people’s awareness of individuality, of difference, and of particularity, “creating an all-is-well state of mind which facilitates a kind of collective brainwashing, an uncritical consciousness totally determined by outside forces” (Bowman 1998:305-306).

Perhaps the most prominent feature of my analysis of the two songs discussed in this article is the

comparable constructions of collective identities which, ultimately, point to the expurgation of the other. In terms of Visagie's ITM, the forging of organizational cohesion on this ideological level may be interpreted in terms of power manifesting as an effect of autonomization. This 'ultimate value' is one of four motives (nature, knowledge, power and personhood) which inspire and motivate individuals and civilizations (Visagie 1996b:129). Power is a unique force that even dominates the macro motives of knowledge and nature, consequently determining the course of events in individual and cultural history (Visagie 1996b:140). In ITM's so-called landscape of discourses, we eventually find the *nation* on a macro level of the landscape, idolized in such a way as to invalidate other norms, "depriving them of their own relative autonomy and authority" (Visagie 1996a:75) and forcing them to be controlled in diverse measures by the idolized power.

A current debate in Germany is the question as to whether a non-ideologically conceivable collective, the political-economic entity 'Europe', is indeed an already differentiating tree with the potential to bear, in the near future, many and varied fruits for its 'citizens', but that in, for example, Germany this growth is being stilled by the us-them kind of thinking that becomes so pertinent in underground, surfacing or full-blown ethno-nationalism. At the same time, non-white culturalism in South Africa wants to retain words of a political song, calling for the killing of (now) fellow-citizens – a contentious debate that can only reinforce and deepen the already existing ethnic divides.

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Foreign folk songs as a display of solidarity with socialist Germany

*“...übt die Worte, sie sind nicht schwer:
Drushba heißt Freundschaft, Towarisch Genosse,
Mir ist der Frieden, Pobjeda der Sieg...”¹
SEID BEREIT! 1977:178*

1. Introduction

In accordance with other culturally-oriented fields of study, research in musicology shifted towards a focus on globalization in recent years. With this development the construct of nationalism has been moved aside in favour of a more universal outlook: “One consequence ... has been that conceptualizations of the national (of nationalisms, nation-states, national mythologizing narratives and other manifestations of national or nationalist ideologies) have been somewhat sidelined or second-leagued in a world increasingly dominated by the processes of globalization, deterritorialization, transmigration and forms of cultural hybridity. However, despite the premature announcements of its demise, the nation, we suggest, remains a crucial but ambivalent category for understanding how cultural texts and practices function in the construction of personal and collective identities” (Biddle and Knights 2007: 1).

As I have argued elsewhere, music plays a fundamental role in the ideological discourse of nationalism. Martin Stokes (1997: 3) describes the musical event as something that “evokes and organises collective memories and present experience of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity. The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary. They also organise hierarchies of a moral and political order”. My research on the role of foreign folk songs in the German Democratic Republic as presented in this article necessitates a similar focus on nationalism and the function of music within this regard - an active, symbolic representation of a specific, politically and historically delineated 'place'. Subsequently, one also has to contemplate the position individualism holds in a (nationalistic) society. Martin (1995: 5) states that “whatever our individual desires, urges and abilities may be, we are none the less shaped in the image of our societies”. In a nation-state like the GDR which strove towards a cultural and political homogeneity, certain types of music were

¹ Practice the words, it is not difficult: “Drushba” is friendship, “Towarisch” is comrade, “Mir” is peace and “Pobjeda” is victory. This translation as well as all other translations of texts other than English in this article are my own.

promoted as being representative of society as a whole, thus creating tension between individuals and groups, “for while relationships between national identity and music are always socially constructed, it does not follow that all people in a particular society will respond in the same way to the proffered symbolic meanings of music that is deemed 'national'” (O'Flynn 2007:24).

Although the main focus of this article is primarily an analysis of the texts of songs, the added ideological and 'value-laden' content of the musical parameters of these songs, as has been demonstrated in related recent, post-modern musicological writings concerning meaning in music cannot be side-lined in this article. Thus in order to acknowledge these songs as carrying powerful references to dominant social orders and power structures both in terms of their lyrics as well as their structural-musical content, in my analyses as presented below I will differentiate between two levels of musicological inquiry: surface structure and deep structure. In the context of this article, this implies the following: A surface structure analysis indicates musical elements found in the foreign folk songs whereas a deep structure analysis looks at the ideological 'landscape' surrounding the historical origin of these songs. Although none of the songs discussed in this article originated in the GDR, they were nevertheless integrated into a national songbook and became part of a supposedly homogeneous repertoire imposed by the government. O'Flynn (2007:26-27) maintains that the music(s) associated with national identity should be considered from a national as well as a global point of view. Thus the interpretation of, for example, a GDR foreign folk song is determined by the social milieu it is performed in and the individual perception thereof. Nevertheless, the songs carry 'layers' of cultural and ideological content as 'passed on' into a different set of socio-political contexts and discourses. Thus, while the metaphorical content of the original text presupposes a specific ideological configuration, and, as will become evident later in my argument, as specific reference to certain 'macro-motives',² on the other hand its cultural 'passing on' results in the construction of new meaning within an alternative narrative framing.

The argument concerning musical meaning and its relationship with society/social structures is a matter of considerable complexity that still generates intensive debate (Cf. Viljoen 2012 and Kramer 2006). Instead of focusing on formulating *what* musical meaning represents, in this article it is my intention to contribute to this critical forum in focussing on *how* it is linked to specific social contexts. To achieve this, I will follow a sociologically-oriented musicological approach and focus on a *social construction* of meaning as proposed by Peter Martin (1995) which conforms with the philosophical approach of Johann Visagie as described at a later point in this article, and which will

² See below under section 2.

form the overarching critical framework for my argument.

Martin (1995:157) attests to the fact that meaning as a 'social construction' indicates that a song should not be analysed as a closed or 'abstract' entity; rather, the focus should be on how and why it is understood in a certain way, and why it has a particular effect on people. Secondly, it cannot be assumed that all of us are “passive recipients of non-conceptual messages” (Martin 1995:157). We are not necessarily 'influenced' by music on an unconscious level over which we have no control – rather, it could be argued that we interact with music contextually. Ultimately, the critical task of the analyst should be to focus on the manner in which different interpretations of music are produced and the ensuing societal effects it may have – therefore disregarding the viewpoint that a specific interpretation of a piece of music is conclusive (Martin 1995:158). As a final observation, Martin (1995:166) stresses that we should move away from the idea that music is a general expression of social values and a presentation of social structures, and rather investigate the social contexts in which music is created, performed and heard. This amounts to the fact that, while fully acknowledging the semiotic potential of music as symbolic form of expression, a framework is needed for situating or critically interpreting the musical text within the socio-cultural habitat in which it is both conceived and received; that is, within the various configurations and structures of power that generate and shape the kind of emergent meaning which Martin’s exposition implies. As will become evident in my discussion below, I believe that the deployment of Visagie’s interpretative framework in tandem, as it were, with Martin’s delineation of musical meaning, will provide for an apposite analysis of the topic under investigation in this article.

Returning to the political context of the German Democratic Republic, at this point it may be remarked that, as a socialist state, it had many political allies in the form of other Communist countries between 1955 and 1991. The Warsaw Pact saw eight countries (the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Romania and the Soviet Union) come together in response to the inclusion of the Federal Republic of Germany in NATO (Pötzsch 2009:119-121; Croan 1979:354). As an endeavour initiated by the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact was signed on 14 May 1955. The main functions of the Warsaw Pact were the securing of peace and the commitment to offer joint military support should one of the member countries be attacked (Bock 2010:14). Through this treaty the Soviet Union essentially controlled the military units of all member countries, especially in the German Democratic Republic (Mastny 2005: 6), thus ensuring loyalty to communism and ultimately the

Soviet Union. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by troops of the Soviet Union and three other Warsaw Pact countries during the 'Prague Spring' sparked a row of criticism from many countries, with Albania withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact shortly after the invasion in 1968. Outside the Warsaw Pact, the GDR also built relations with several other countries, among others Cuba, Vietnam, Chile, Italy, North Korea, as well as a number of African countries (Jacobsen, Leptin, Scheuner, Schulz, 1979).

The abovementioned involvement with socialist countries as well as countries which sympathised with the GDR (proletarian internationalism) could explain the noticeable presence of foreign folk songs in the "Freie Deutsche Jugend" (Free German Youth) songbooks published between 1946 and 1990. I believe that the combination of (German) folk songs, politically inspired (German) songs as well as foreign folk songs as found in most "Freie Deutsche Jugend" songbooks, contributed to the GDR government's systematic indoctrination of GDR citizens, aiding the implementation of state policies and consequently securing a new sense of nationalism which, although not called by its name, was fundamentally present in the GDR.

One such example is the 1985 FDJ ("Freie Deutsche Jugend") songbook, published to mark the twelfth (and last) "Parlament der FDJ" (FDJ parliament³) which took place in May 1985 in Berlin. It also coincided with the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the German nation from National Socialism and the end of the Second World War. The 1985 songbook consists of 120 songs of which 41 songs are foreign folk songs. The songs are either printed in the original language (sometimes with German verses) or translated into German with a few verses added in the original language. The collection of foreign folk songs includes Russian, Spanish, English, Italian, Portuguese and Finish songs.⁴ I have singled out the 1985 songbook for this article because of the abovementioned historic celebrations surrounding the publication of this songbook. Concurrently, this songbook was published in a time in which the GDR slowly but surely went into a downward spiral leading to the dissolution of this socialist state in 1989.

In a separate study (Schutte 2012) I have undertaken an ideology-critical analysis of GDR songs as

³ The FDJ Parliament was the highest body of the FDJ youth organisation and met every four years. It was not known at the time that the twelfth FDJ Parliament sitting would be the last of its kind. On 9 October 1989, Eberhard Aurich and two colleagues finally took the risk of informing Erick Honegger about the true state of the FDJ youth organisation, but it was already too late (Mählert 2001:62).

⁴ After extensive research, nothing could be found concerning the methods and/or processes involved in selecting the songs for FDJ songbooks. Available documents only contain records of meetings held to confirm songbook concepts, lists of songs as well as details pertaining to the publishing of these songbooks.

well as songs sung during apartheid in South Africa by applying John B. Thompson's theoretical framework for ideology analysis and P.J. Visagie's topographical analysis of ideological culture, focussing on the interrelations of meaning and power in musical texts. Visagie's ITM model (Ideological Topography of Modernity) forms part of a set of tools called Discourse Archaeology (DA), a philosophical theory of discourse describing the fundamental structures of reality.

In this article I will delve even deeper into the analytical possibilities of ITM by employing another tool grouped under DA called 'Macro Theory', a selection of ultimate values (from now on referred to as macro-motives) with ideological powers, representative of humanity's highest ideals and most impressive encounters with reality. After a suitably comprehensive discussion of 'Macro Theory' and other related approaches, I will select a number of foreign folk songs from the 1985 FDJ songbook to demonstrate the emergence of macro-motives through ideological formations and the impact they have on individuals, societies and cultures.

2. What are macro-motives?

Over centuries, people and societies of different cultural origins were captivated by a variety of themes. Some of these themes achieved an elevated fascination and became 'super-ideologies'. Goudzwaard (1984:14) states that “Christians and non-Christians alike ... have allowed various forces, means and powers in our society ... to rule over us as gods”. In order to identify these 'gods' or macro-motives, Visagie (personal communication, 15 November 2011)⁵ suggests asking oneself who or what has a similar aura and power to that of a god. Quite logically, one will then find that not many things can assume an almost godlike status. This distinction of importance, power and uniqueness survived over centuries, continents and cultures by acting as a marker of those parts of reality that humans tend to experience as the most awesome.

The famous French philosopher-historian Michel Foucault, during successive phases of his career studied three themes that correspond to three elements in Macro Theory. They are Knowledge, Power, and the Self. The latter is designated in said theory as Personhood. Also the theory adds to these three elements those of Nature, Society and Humanity. The theory holds that these three macro-motives have the same explanatory weight and lie at the same investigative depth, as does the themes Foucault pursued.

⁵ henceforth PC

As can be seen from the above, Macro Theory is a very useful 'language' that can be used to 'translate' discourse by exposing certain ground concepts and thus providing us with clear insights concerning the importance of certain macro-motives to people and/or societies which we otherwise would not have been aware of. Thus one of the aims of this study is to determine whether macro-motives feature in *all* of the selected GDR songs in diverse combinations, and to search for a possible overall generalisation, because then we can speak of an *analysis with predictive power*.

3. Macro Theory

Following this brief clarification regarding macro-motives, I will now explicate Macro Theory as developed by Johann Visagie. Macro Theory is one of many theories grouped under a metaphilosophical framework called Discourse Archaeology (DA).

Visagie works with a set of macro-motives composed of Nature (N), Knowledge (K)⁶, Power (M1), Culture (M2), History (M3), Personhood (P) where P1 is the structure of human persons, P2 the unique personhood of an individual with a unique life history and P3 the ideal of persons to change themselves, Society (S) and Humanity (H). Some brief explanatory remarks are in order here. First, regarding the formal abbreviations: they feature here because they are necessary for the kind of formal analysis that Macro Theory often engages in. Secondly, it will be noted that Power is not rendered as P, and the reason simply is that Personhood is labelled in this way. So a synonym is chosen: mastery or might, hence the M. Thirdly, a striking feature of Macro Theory is that it distinguishes various modes in which some motives can function – as is the case with M and P (and N as will be seen below). There are no such formal distinctions in Foucault's model. Of interest here is the fact that only P3 actually covers the 'Self' and its 'care' for itself, that Foucault had in mind. So in a sense Macro Theory implies not only that Foucault contended with too few super themes (though he thought his set was exhaustive at this depth), but also that his third and final theme is too reductionist in intended scope (PC, 21 June 2012).

Macro-motives can be described as main components of reality with one very important characteristic: a special aura of godlike prominence, power, unprecedented potential, greatness and uniqueness. This distinctive quality grants an exceptional status to macro-motives which cannot be found in the rest of reality as we know it. Even in religious societies macro-motives competed with God or were seen as His most impressive creations because of the ability to replace or operate as a

⁶ The possibilities of K1 or K2, N1 or N2 also exist – 1 represents science and 2 represents aesthetics.

type of divinity. Part of the magnitude of Nature, for example, can be revealed through science (N1) and aesthetics (N2) and thus the effect of the overwhelming presence of macro-motives sweeps through societies and cultures, thought and behaviour.

Essentially, a kind of competition develops in the minds of people concerning the different macro-motives. For example in primitive societies there is a general fear of Nature (N2). Later in history there is the realization that something else can tame Nature (N), namely Power (M1) (in the sense of human force acting on Nature). However, at some stage there is this realization that it is Knowledge (K) that actually surpasses pure Power as an ideal (compare the Knowledge ideal of the classical Greek thinkers). But with the appearance of Socrates, there is already a shift away from the anonymity of N, and M, as well as K: to the magnificence of subjectivity, of the *personal*. Visagie (PC, 21 June 2012) remarks that Foucault was well-aware of the Socratic turning point in the history of the Self, and that he analysed the Personal Self in relation to impersonal Knowledge versus Knowledge of the Self directed toward itself). But even before Socrates there was also a macro logic which reckoned with the Power of collective Personhood: in other words, Society (S). Staying within our historical frame of reference, a good example is the Greek social ideal manifested in the polis, the much admired city-states of ancient Greek culture. Within this kind of macro logic, there remains the super-collective that even transcends the Social as such: Humanity (H). I end these introductory remarks by pointing out that the macros of the present theory are not interpreted as an exhaustive listing (PC, 23 November 2011). But the kind of macro logic sketched above *is* definite for the theory.

In terms of Ideology Theory (Schutte 2012) we can accept that the above-mentioned macro-motives in different combinations, affected people from all times and still do – within the historical-cultural context of a specific time. This implies that we need to understand macro-motives in the context of our own cultural Steering Powers, for example, we would experience the vastness of N through modern techno-science; the might of M through international politics; K through the awesome scope of the University's collective disciplines, P3 through the huge influence of New Age culture, and so on.

Since these all-powerful phenomena are just as overwhelming today as they were in the past, I will examine the way these macro-motives envelop peoples, cultures and societies and attempt to uncover the forms in which they are concealed. In this regard, music is a particularly productive milieu for investigating asymmetrical manifestations of power, reflecting miniature microcosms in

specific social-historical contexts. As Denzin (1969:1036-7) finds, popular songs (of whatever nature) provide a particularly viable interactive conduit for the construction of social meaning that harbours not only benign intended and imputed meanings, but also those that fall within the category of political battles (and thus of indoctrination). Given the subject of this article, the main focus of my analysis will be on the Society macro-motive, including the tension between individual Personhood (P2) and Society. Both macro-motives are impressive in their ability to rescue but also in their destructive power, depending on how people choose to interpret and serve these macro-motives. Accordingly, Martin (1995:166) contends that we should concentrate on an empirical sociology of music and move away from “the belief that it somehow expresses general social values or represents social structures”. A society as such does not exist, it is composed of individuals who do not necessarily have the same interests and are therefore competing to achieve dominance. This struggle results in a 'society' representing the interests of the strongest and can therefore not be representative of all social forms or groups values. Therefore the true aim is to study the circumstances in which music is developed and realized, and how it is perceived by people in particular social surroundings.

In order to understand the Society macro-motive within the context of the period after the Second World War in East-Germany, I proceed on the assumption that, at the time, it was believed that the focus should be on the social solidarity of people - a new politics for a traumatized post-war nation. This socialist ideal should be interpreted as a socialist (in the political sense) interpretation of the Society macro because of the impossible dreams and expectations connected to this ideal, creating an imbalance of macro-motives. We know that historically political Socialism arose as a counter-ideal to a political Liberalism which bowed before (not Society as such but) individual Personhood: to be served and preserved at all costs. It is important to note that the Socialism at issue here is the classic one revolving around social class-conflict. Thus we are not here concerned with, say, the German National Socialism of the Hitler era. In Macro Theory's sister-theory, Ideology Theory, the latter socialism is analysed as something different, namely the idolization of the concept of “Volk” which is about internal unity, not internal difference. My aim is to draw attention to the macro-motive imbalance in a few selected GDR foreign folk songs as well as demonstrating how a macro-motive profile can help to illustrate the unapparent differences between songs.

4. Macro-motives in GDR foreign folk song texts

An analysis of macro-motives in (song) texts requires unearthing deep-structures or macro

interactions functioning below the surface. In the case of Visagie's Discourse Archaeology, philosophical deep-structures can be explained as a complex of connected structures underlying a multitude of corresponding 'surface' structures (PC, 15 November 2011). Given the political understanding of Socialism during the GDR time – a kind of prosperity people could and should expect from a redeeming Society – it is clear how significant a role the Social macro-motive plays in such a setup.

Let us consider for a moment the post-war situation in East Germany. The general belief in the then climate probably was in a social solidarity of traumatized post-war citizens. Perhaps politicians and leaders were right to believe this at the time, but it is clear that this socialistic ideal can already be interpreted as a macro-motive since there was this collective dream and expectation of renewal and material redemption that rested completely on the appearance of a Free Society as the matrix of collective well-being. This model was overtly anti-religious but its thrust carried the same kind of scope and depth and fervour as that of a religion. A geographically contextualised world view driven by the macro dynamics of history was beginning to play itself out. And according to Macro Theory, the first thing that would happen, is that the centrality here of the Society motive would begin to establish its dominance in its most immediate context, namely the surrounding motives. We can expect that this prominence of the Social would overrule other components like Knowledge, Nature, etc. Tension also exists between Society as a macro-motive and Individual Personhood (S-P2): both macro-motives are extremely impressive concerning their power to save *and* to destruct, depending on how people interpret and idolize the two macro-motives. My aim is to find manifestations of this macro imbalance in a selection of GDR songs.

At this point I would like to emphasize that Macro Theory is a hermeneutical model in which macro-motives, in this specific case, can be active on five different levels of interpretation: on the first level one finds the *Zeitgeist*. This includes the political, social, cultural and spiritual atmosphere etc. within a society and/or era. The second level pertains to the way the *Zeitgeist* is mentally perceived by composers or songwriters. On a third level we look at what the composer put on paper, because of the difference, in principle, between what is present in the mind of the composer, and what becomes apparent on paper. The next level focuses on the macro-motivational scenario in the analyst's head. Discourse cannot be analysed completely objectively because of a natural tendency of the analyst toward one or more macro-motives. Here, Macro Theory takes an Adornian stance: this critical theory similarly has to profess the impossibility of a perfectly balanced critique, which the theory may picture, but which the theorist can never literally *access*

and *apply*. Finally, this impotence is echoed in the mind of the reader of the analysis. As a final comment before progressing to the macro-motive analysis, it should be understood that my analysis of song texts does not claim to be a *complete* interpretation - I only highlight *one aspect*, albeit very profound, of the songs.

I will now examine six songs taken from the 1985 FDJ songbook by analysing and exposing the underlying 'deep-structure' as made clear by Macro Theory. The songs were chosen based on their immediate recognition value and general importance as indicated by a substantial group of musicians and non-musicians who grew up in the GDR. Three songs are written in English (If I had a hammer, The winds are singing freedom, We shall overcome) and three in Spanish (Avanti Popolo, Guantanamera, Venceremos, whereas one Spanish song (Avanti Popolo) contains lyrics in German as well as in English. It is important to note that the macro structures discussed below are not only used to describe that which is revealed through Macro Theory, but also *that which potentially can be*.

4.1 If I had a hammer

If I had a hammer

The musical score is written on four staves in G major (one sharp) and common time. The lyrics are: 'If I had a hammer, I'd hammer in the morning I'd hammer in the evening all o-ver this land; I'd hammer out dan-ger, I'd hammer out a war-ning I'd hammer out a love bet-ween All our bro-thers All o-ver this land!' The melody is simple and rhythmic, with a mix of quarter and eighth notes.

If I had a bell, I'd ring it in the morning,
I'd ring it in the evening all over this land;
I'd ring out danger, I'd ring out a warning,
I'd ring out a love between
All our brothers
All over this land!

If I had a song, I'd sing it in the morning,
I'd sing it in the evening all over this land;
I'd sing out danger, I'd sing out a warning,
I'd sing out a love between
All our brothers
All over this land!

Now I've got a hammer and I've got a bell,
And I've a song to sing all over this world;
It's the hammer of justice, it's the bell of freedom,
And it's the song of love between
All our brothers
All over this world!

Written by Lee Hays and Pete Seeger (a member of the Communist Party in the USA) in 1949, this song was sung in support of party leaders of the Communist Party of the United States tried under the Smith Act⁷ and was later used for many different political causes worldwide, including the labour movement, Civil Rights movement and protests against the US intervention in Vietnam and Korea. It is interesting to note that the song was composed according to an old gospel song pattern of changing only one word in every verse (Winkler 2009:57) which, in my opinion, adds to the effectiveness of this song. Against the background of the labour movement, one could imagine that the symbolic use of work tools in this song made this song extremely accessible to a big group of people. The word hammer hints at the symbols representing communism (hammer and sickle) – an equivalent to the Marxian worker ideal. Whereas the first two verses ask for action (perhaps towards equal opportunity), the third verse addresses the need for a song, imploring people to use their voices to unite and take a stand. The last verse is an affirmation: they do have the hammer, the bell and a song to sing, and justice, freedom and love between brothers will conquer all.

But let us return to the GDR and the 'new' situation this song finds itself in, especially as seen from a Macro Theory perspective. Originally sung in response to the US intervention in Korea (Bogadtke 1985:102), this song is one of four English foreign folk songs included in the songbook. It is clear that this song, and other foreign folk songs, were included as symbols of solidarity with other communist countries and/or causes, which deemed it acceptable to sing within the context of the GDR. Macro-theoretically speaking, the hammer is the equivalent of the worker as a culturalist, arising over its binary twin called Nature (N). A model focused on Society (S) emerges to which the socialist worker contributes a Cultural (M2) basis, condensed and concentrated into the M2-metonym, *work*:

S(M2)⁸

Included *within* this structure are P2 persons with their unique dreams, talents and needs for individual freedom. This song accommodates them as well as their needs, but only in the most general context of 'brothers' as provided by the above macro structure. The aesthetic progression of hammer---->bell---->song demonstrates 'the cultural' as becoming more 'cultured': within the macro deep-structure it conveys the emerging value of the *substance* of a (struggling) *society*. However,

⁷ The Smith Act prohibited people from endorsing an overthrow of the United States government, with a special focus on communism.

⁸ The brackets in this formula indicate the *inclusion* of a Cultural basis (M2) within Society.

the brotherly love and solidarity possible in S(M2) is confronted and threatened by the *other* face of Culture, namely Power (M1) whereby the S-ideal is supposed to maintain itself – in the end also against the civilians of this very society who are then *overpowered*:

S(M1)

Another structure emanating from this song concerns a society in which the individual's freedom and well-being is compromised. Whilst only a relatively small percentage of people in the GDR understood the texts of the foreign folk songs, the songs were nonetheless still propagated and sung. Thus we have a power-ruled society, S(M1), where the development of P2 is overrun by a socialist vision in which the (communist) party's interests are more important than the individual:

S(M1(state)) ---->P2⁹

Finally, we have a macro structure that exhibits a balance between society and the individual. It does not formally implicate the State as such, because it is clear that there has to be *some* form of a power structure or hierarchy in society. However, it is not necessarily linked to the institution of the state as we know it – even in the West:

S(M1)<---->P2¹⁰

This song is driven by a deeply-distorted belief in a form of society that seemingly makes every effort to advance justice, freedom and love between 'brothers' – not only in one country, but 'all over the world', as indicated in the lyrics. It may well be that after the Second World War, some individuals and communities hoped, and perhaps even expected communism to bring about an impressive change in society.

A few decades earlier, in August 1966¹¹, on the western side of the Berlin Wall, the RIAS¹² radio station played 'If I had a hammer' as an introductory song on a radio broadcast aimed at the SED¹³

⁹ An arrow to the right indicates the domination of the 'right side' of the arrow by the 'left side' of the arrow.

¹⁰ The arrows pointing to the left and to the right indicate balance.

¹¹ 13 August 1966 was the fifth anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall.

¹² Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor (Broadcasting in the American Sector) was a radio and television station situated in the American Sector of Berlin.

¹³ Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (The Socialist Unity Party of Germany) or, more commonly known as the East German Communist Party.

party in East Germany. The intent was clear as to what they wanted to 'break down' with the hammer. By administering “anarchistic ideas in an anti-communistic manner”, RIAS managed to very effectively attack the SED party (Stahl 2009:18ff). The same song, depending on which side of the Berlin Wall it is used, can therefore also be interpreted against the background of a different kind of justice, freedom and love: a kind of 'human' socialism with a state that looks after its citizens on its own territory.

4.2 The winds are singing freedom

The winds are singing freedom

The winds are sing - ing free - dom, they sing it ev - ery - where, they
sing it on the moun - tain - side, and in the ci - ty square. They sing
of a new day daw - ning_ when our peop - le shall be free. Come and
join our song of free - dom, let it sing from sea to sea!

In the battered streets of Belfast
you can hear the people cry
for justice long denied them and
their cry will reach the sky.
But the winds of change are blowing
bringing hope from dark despair.
A new day is dawning,
you can feel it in the air.

Too long our people suffered
in the misery and their tears
and foreign rulers used our land
for about eight hundred years.
It's a long road has no turning,
and I know that soon there'll be
a day of justice dawning
when our people shall be free.

There's a time laid out for laughing
and a time laid out to weep.
There's a time laid out for sowing
and a time laid out to reap.
There's a time to love your brother,
there's a time for hate to cease.
If you sow the seeds of justice,
you can reap the fruits of peace.

Unfortunately not much could be found concerning the origin of 'The winds are singing freedom' other than that the song (written in 1974) appeared on a Tommy Makem¹⁴ album, '4 Green Fields', in 1975. One reason for the lack of information could be the following extract from a newspaper called 'The Irish Echo' (Murphy, 2011):

Perhaps the most striking thing about Tommy Makem is his lack of pretension. The man who is almost universally acclaimed as the elder statesman of Irish folk music is surprisingly humble when it comes to discussing his accomplishments. "I've written some songs that were garbage altogether," he said. "Everybody has. It's rare to get good ones. . . . I guess there are a few I'm proud of. "One of the songs Makem takes pride in is "The Winds Are Singing Freedom." "I wrote it a long time ago, and I had never sung it in public," said Makem. "In fact, I had pretty much forgotten the words. "Then, five or six years back, I was in Ireland and I stopped in to see [singer] Tommy Sands." Sands told his friend that there was something he had to see. He popped a tape with highlights of the Sands Family's European concert tour into the VCR, and forwarded to the part recorded in East Germany. "The Sands Family had finished their set, and were back to do the encore. And the song they did for the encore was 'The Winds Are Singing Freedom,' " recalled Makem. "The whole audience -- and this was anywhere from 10,000 to 12,000 people -- stood up and held hands, and they all sang the song. I could feel the hairs standing up on the back of my neck. And then Tommy Sands told me that words to the song were printed in schoolbooks in East Germany. And remember -- this was before the wall came down." He let out a bark of laughter. "I thought a lot more of the song after seeing that," he said. "And I thought, I'd better go and learn the words."

When reading the last seven lines of the above excerpt, a question arises as to the interpretation of the audience's reaction. This song was printed in the FDJ songbook, which indicates its 'socialistic value' for the GDR government, but the above event suggests something else - a shared longing for a life of freedom beyond the wall. Written in a completely different social context, this song has later been adopted by East-Germans, voicing their hope for change.

Let us for a moment consider the song within the context of its original intend and use: endorsing communism as a superior alternative to the previous regime. Society (the working class) is reminded of brotherly love, justice and peace, but most importantly, freedom. A macro structure similar to a structure of the previous song emerges and we find a society lured by a promise that communism is the answer to freedom. And yet again, the individual's interests are non-essential:

S(M1(communism)) ---->P2

Also present in this song is the age-old struggle between S and M1(P1) (Power to the privileged

¹⁴ Spelled *Maken* in the 1985 FDJ songbook (1985:178).

class), hauntingly portrayed by the wind that blows or 'sings' everywhere – in the mountains and in city squares – a freedom not easily acquired by any society:

$$S<---->N(\text{wind})$$

As mentioned earlier, Macro Theory structures also highlight that which potentially can be. Thus, we find in this song a society which has already found freedom or stands on the brink of a new dawn with a dream of a Free Society, with a perfect balance between Society and Individual Personhood:

$$S<---->P2$$

This balance can be detected in words like 'laughing' and 'weep', 'sowing' and 'reap' – all indicating a society pursuing the 'seeds of justice' and the 'fruits of peace'. The above formula also generates an image of a similar balance in a successful society: Freedom corresponds with P and S as *freedom of a society* and *freedom of persons* because of its position towards N, K and the different manifestations of M1 (in the shape of ITM Steering Powers like Science, Technology, Economy, etc.) :

$$\text{Freedom (P2, S)}<---->\text{Steering Powers (N1, M1, K1)}^{15}$$

A macro-symbolic chain (PC, 1 September 3012) emerges in this song through N-symbols, i.e. 'sky', 'sea', 'wind', 'day', 'air' and 'sow/reap'. The composer of this song has something important to convey and it seems as if this individual is drawn by the grandeur of Nature (N2) and accordingly refers to the liberalizing rhythm of Nature. Even the 'city square' could be indicative of a possible S-chain as a logical gathering point for the ideals of 'justice' and 'peace'. I purport that such chains should be incorporated into the technical part of Macro Theory - the macro theorist should always be aware of the emanation of possible chains contributing to the unique macro profile of a song.

¹⁵ The '1' indicates a *controllable* N and a *scientific* K and M in its most brutal form.

4.3 We shall overcome

We Shall Overcome

We shall o-ver-co-me, we shall o-ver-come
some day! For deep in my
heart I do believe, we shall
o-ver-come some day!

We'll walk hand in hand,
we'll walk hand in hand,
we'll walk hand in hand some day.

For deep in my heart
I do believe:
We shall overcome some day.

We shall live in peace,
we shall live in peace,
we shall live in peace some day.

For deep in my heart
I do believe:
We shall overcome some day.

We are not afraid,
we are not afraid,
we are not afraid today.

For deep in my heart
I do believe:
We shall overcome some day.

'We shall overcome' has a long history of use but is probably most famously known as the unofficial anthem of the African American Civil Rights movement. What started as a simple hymn, escalated into a song used by several movements all over the world as a protest song. Two years before Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. quoted the words in his last sermon in 1968, Robert Kennedy sang the song in South Africa in support of breaking down discrimination (Lyman 2002:28). Since then the song

has appeared in many different languages and was sung by several anti-Communist and pro-democracy movements. The song, as it is known today, is an adaptation by Zilphia Horton, Frank Hamilton¹⁶, Guy Carawan and Pete Seeger from a hymn written in 1901 by Charles Tindley (Darden 2004:160ff.). It apparently found its way into the FDJ songbook because of the GDR's support of the African American minority group struggle in the USA (thus consonant with Communist principles), but was later repeatedly sung as part of the demonstrations leading up to the eventual resolving of the GDR.

A recipe for success in protest songs is the almost endless repetition of key phrases. Apart from making the song easy to sing and to memorise, it is also a method of indoctrinating groups of people because of the chant-like effect of the song. 'We shall overcome' is no exception: apart from the repetitive 'we shall overcome some day', there are only small changes in each verse to reflect a particular issue or motive. This song reveals a progression that becomes increasingly stronger, starting with 'we'll walk hand in hand', proceeding to 'we shall live in peace' and finally 'we are not afraid'.

Something I found quite interesting was the different moments in history connected to this song. In the USA we find a *minority* group in Society rising up against the ruling powers that be in Society and fighting for their rights. In terms of Macro Theory's formulas, I will express this historical situation as below, with the initial symbols indicating an empowered society which idolizes its *own culture*, and the final symbol a constituent group-society, here on the receiving end of culture-as-power-domination:

$$S(M2(M1))--//-->s^{17}$$

Also formalised here, is the fact that the repressing (part of) society lording it over another group (social part), is the majority group. With the structure of Apartheid domination, which also started with glorifying a specific culture, the opposite obtains:

$$s(M2(M1))--//-->S$$

At first the song under discussion appears to be a bit bland in terms of macro semantics with

¹⁶ Perhaps irrelevant, but nonetheless unacceptable, I would like to point out the mistakes found in the FDJ songbook version of this song: "For *depp* in my heart *J* do believe" and "Frank *Chamilton*" (FDJ Liederbuch 1985:209-210).

¹⁷ The broken dotted line is a display of 'tension' resulting in 'domination' (the arrow).

seemingly very little to say until one realises that a Macro Theory analysis does in fact reveal something that musicological analysis would otherwise miss: this song 'chooses' to address the Social reality in terms of Person reality. In other words, the socio-political dynamics is broken down to personal or rather inter-personal dynamics. That this should happen is by no means a necessity (PC, 2 September 2012). The repressed group, for example, may view themselves as a supra-individual kind of organism (S/s(N)) or first and foremost as part of the human species itself (H), or just as part of an eternal power struggle (M).

In this song we find the 'approaching' society viewed as already on the move and it boils down to the traits we bestow on the bearers of P2-individuality (PC, 2 September 2012). There is not only *the people*, there are *these people*. It is *they* who have beliefs; who desire peace; who extend their hands to one another with hope and courage:

S/s (P2 . .)¹⁸

As a last observation, I would like to advocate the inclusion of my use of 'S' and 's' (matrix or member society) in the formal structure of Macro Theory. Although it is still unclear whether or not this S-split could implicate other macro motives, it certainly should be considered in future analyses.

¹⁸ The dots always indicate 'plural'. Otherwise the formula could imply that Society is metaphorically seen as a Super-Person.

4.4 Avanti popolo (Bandiera rossa)

Avanti popolo

(Bandiera rossa)

A - van - ti po - po - lo _____ al - la ris - cos - sa, _____ ban - die - ra
ros - sa, _____ ban - die - ra ros - sa. _____ A - van - ti
po - po - lo _____ al - la ris - cos - sa, _____ ban - die - ra ros - sa _____ tri - on - fe -
ra. Ban - die - ra ros - sa tri - on - fe - ra,
ban - die - ra ros - sa tri - on - fe - ra,
ban - die - ra ros - sa tri - on - fe - ra. Ev - vi - va co - mu - nis - mo e li - ber - ta!

Steht auf, ihr Arbeiter, steht auf, Genossen:

Die rote Fahne weht siegentschlossen.

Steht auf, ihr Arbeiter! Steht auf, Genossen!

Die rote Fahne erkämpft die Macht.

Die rote Fahne erkämpft die Macht.

Vorwärts, Kommunisten, zur Freiheitsschlacht!

Arise you workers, fling to the breezes

the scarlet banner, the scarlet banner.

Arise you workers, fling to the breezes

the scarlet banner triumphantly.

Wave scarlet banner triumphantly,

for communism and liberty.

!Avancemos! !A la revuelta!

Bandera roja, roja bandera.

!Avancemos Que en la revuelta

la roja enseña triunfará.

La roja enseña triunfará.

!Viva el Comunismo y la Libertad!

Avanti popolo

Forward people, to the revolt,
the red flag, the red flag.

Forward people to the revolt,
the red flag will triumph.
the red flag will triumph,
the red flag will triumph,

Long live communism and liberty!

Stand up, workers, stand up, comrades:
The red flag is blowing decidedly towards triumph.

Stand up, workers! Stand up, comrades!
The red flag earns the power.
The red flag earns the power.
Forward, comrades, to the battle of freedom!

Arise you workers, fling to the breezes
the scarlet banner, the scarlet banner.

Arise you workers, fling to the breezes
the scarlet banner triumphantly.

Wave scarlet banner triumphantly,
for communism and liberty.

Let us go forward! To the revolt!

The red flag, the red flag.

Let us go forward because in the revolt
the red flag will teach triumph.

The red flag will teach triumph.
Long live communism and liberty!

This prominent Italian labour movement song first made its appearance in German song books in the 1920's. The FDJ Songbook version is a multi-language rendition of the original lyrics written by Carlo Tuzzi in 1908 (Baliani 2012:49) and the melody is taken from two Lombardy folk songs. Velizar Sadovski (2011:60ff.) writes that the song has its origin long before the Communist tradition and the original final phrase had nothing to do with communism: “Evviva la Repubblica e la Libertà!” (Long live the republic and freedom!). Since the middle 1800's many (political) versions were used but the song finally achieved the status of the most sung hymn of the Italian Communist Party.

My first comment about this song concerns the multi-language version as seen in the FDJ songbook. When singing a song in different languages, one might have the feeling of being part of something greater than one's own culture and immediate surroundings (in this case the GDR). One

may or may not understand the languages used in this song, but more importantly, everyone in this international community (where one's own culture is of secondary value but a *communist* culture imperative) is fighting for the same (communist) ideals and can identify with one another through ideological statism:

$$S(M1)---->M2$$

The 'scarlet banner' plays a powerful, if not historic, role in “Avanti popolo”: it is the main focus in this song (being the most repeated phrase) and workers are demanded to take up the flag for communism and liberty. The red flag has a deeply historical connection for the workers and the use of 'communism' and 'liberty' in the same phrase effectively conjoins two complete opposites to form a connotation strong enough to help a society believe and not challenge the power of the State. A not so distant neighbour of Macro Theory, Figurative Semiotics¹⁹, interacts easily with Macro Theory because of the symbolic object featuring in this song. The former manifests itself through metaphors, signs, etc. and uses an 'open box' as its main formal symbol of analysis²⁰ in which the object at issue is encased, like 'flag':

$$\begin{array}{c} S(M1)---->P2 \dots \\ | \\ \text{flag} \end{array}$$

A key ingredient present throughout the four languages used in this song is 'action'. A summons to the *workers*: 'forward', 'stand up', 'arise', 'fling', 'wave', etc. Sweeping them up in a very convincing way to prepare themselves for the battle of freedom and to take control. The *workers* are seen here as people filled with Power who dominate Nature:

$$P2 \dots (M1)---->N1$$

However, included within this structure, we find that those workers also represent an *approaching* Society [P2 . .(S)]. This ideal finally advances from 'noble work' on Nature to a sinister domination of People:

$$S---->P2 \dots$$

¹⁹ Figurative Semiotics can be found in the 'Cognitive Faculty' of Discourse Archaeology.

²⁰ Macro Theory does not include metaphors in its technical vocabulary and therefore has no 'open boxes'. But the different technical signs used in inter-theoretical DA analyses assist in differentiating between the different levels present in one and the same analysis.

4.5 Guantanamera

Guantanamera

Guan - ta - na - mer - ra, gua - ji - ra Guan - ta - na - me - ra,
Guan - ta - na - me - ra, gua - ji - ra
Guan-ta-na me - ra. Yo soy un hom-bre sin-ce-ro del don-de
cres - ce la pal - ma, yo soy un
hom-bre sin-ce-ro del don-de cres - ce la pal- ma. Yan-tes de
mo-rir me quie - ro e - char mis ver - sos del al - ma.

Mi verso es de un verde claro
y de un carmin encendido,
mi verso es de un verde claro
y de un carmin encendido,
mi verso es un ciervo herido
que busca en el monte amparo.

Chorus: Guantanamera...

Con los pobres de la tierra
quiero yo mi suerte echar,
con los pobres de la tierra
quiero yo mi suerte echar,
el arroyo de la sierra me complace más que el mar.

Chorus: Guantanamera...

Guantanamera

Guantanamera, girl from Guantanamera²¹,
Guantanamera, girl from Guantanamera,
I am an honest man from where the palm tree grows,
I am an honest man from where the palm tree grows,
And before I die I want to share my verses of my soul.

My verse is light green
and flaming red,
My verse is light green
and flaming red,
my verse is a wounded deer
who seeks refuge on the mountain

Chorus: Guantanamera...

With the poor of the earth
I want to try my luck,
with the poor of the earth
I want to try my luck,
The mountain stream
gives me more pleasure than the sea.

Chorus: Guantanamera...

Pete Seeger must have made quite an impression in the GDR, because once again the FDJ “Zentralrat” (Central Council) credits him for making a song (in this case “Guantanamera”) famous. The structure and rhythmic scheme of this song made it remarkably adaptable to serve different purposes through the years, especially protest songs. The melody, also known as a “Guajira” melody, is attributed to the singer Joseíto Fernández who used this structure together with constantly changing lyrics in his daily radio broadcasts for eighteen years (Allatson 2002:159). Countless versions of this song are still available today, which makes it difficult to trace the original. The above lyrics (excluding the chorus) are based on a poem (“Versos Sencillos”) by José Martí²² and it was indeed Pete Seeger who included the song in a performance in Carnegie Hall on 8 June 1963 and made it into an international protest song (Stroh 2009:109).

Originally, this song had no *international* political significance until Pete Seeger started to include it

²¹ This can also be translated as the *peasant* girl from Guantanamera. I have translated the lyrics to the best of my ability but even so it is not easy to transfer that which the poet originally intended, to another language.

²² José Martí was a well-known Cuban poet and independence fighter and the Guantanamera version with his poem as lyrics became one of the most important patriotic songs in Cuba. Martí was no communist, but wanted to see Cuba change into an independent, democratic country.

in his performances. This is an excellent example of a song whose real meaning lies in the political circumstances in which it was sung and not so much in the interpretation of the text (although the 'roots' of the song and its place in Cuban politics made it suitable for publishing in the FDJ songbook). Together with songs like “Venceremos”, “Bandiera rossa” etc., this song became a symbol of solidarity to the FDJ youth (Jäkel 2005:319), linking them to their international counterparts:

s(P2 . .)<---->s

The writer associates himself with the poor of the earth and hopes to succeed with their help: Martí wanted to start a revolution in order to gain independence from Spain (a 'noble' cause), but because of Pete Seeger and the utilization of this song in the GDR, the song can also be interpreted with a communist ideology in mind. A kind of sincerity, innocence and openness seem to be associated with Nature throughout this song. The 'poor of the earth', the workers, form a society as 'honest' as Nature and therefore victory will come to those committed to the communist cause:

S<---->N2

Two more, slightly different, formulas can be derived from this song. The first formula illustrates the individual 'speaking' in this song, focussing on words such as 'honest', 'death', 'verses' and 'soul'. Nature features as well and the formula takes the shape of:

P2(M2(song(N2)))

But now the people and their suffering are mentioned - a radical, yet minimal change. We arrive at a formula headed by an anonymous domination of society, leaving us with a very economic and austere lyrical simplicity:

---->s(P2(M2(song(N2)))

To add to the above analysis, I would like to remark that we can differentiate between two levels of analysis in terms of my use and application of Macro Theory. First of all, it is necessary to accurately *identify* the macro elements involved. Secondly, one needs to find a suitable *pattern* in which the macro elements can be arranged to best fit the formula. However, I must point out that

macro analysts may very well differ in the way they present the final formula. I will elaborate on this matter towards the end of this article.

4.6 Venceremos

Venceremos

Als dem Leib der ge-schun-de nen Hei mat sich die Kla-ge des Vol-kes ent rang, warf die
 Desde el hon-do cri - sol de la patria se le - ran - ta el cla-mor po-pu - lar, ya se

Son - ne sich ü - ber die Ber - ge und ganz Chi - le brach auf im Ge sang. Mit dem
 a - nuncia la neu - va alba - ra - da to - do Chi - le co - mience a can - tar. Re - cor

Mu - te des küh - nen So - da - ten, der un - sterb lich blieb, Fiel er auch früh, stel - len
 dando al sol - da - do va - lien - te cuyo e - jem - plo hi - ciera in - mor - tal en - fren

wir uns dem Tod selbst ent - ge - gen, denn die Hei - mat ver - ra - ten wir nie. Ven - ce -
 te - mos pri - me - ro la muer - te, trai - cio - nar a la pa - tria, ja - más! Ven - ce -

re - mos, ven - ce - re - mos, schlägt die Volk aus den Ket - ten, schlägt los! Ven - ce -
 re - mos, ven - ce - re - mos, mil ca - de - nas ha - brá que rom - per. Ven - ce -

re - mos, ven - ce - re - mos, aus dem E - lend be - freit, sind wir
 re - mos, ven - ce - re - mos, la mi - se - ria sa - bre - mos ven -

groß. Ven - ce - re - mos, aus dem E - len be - freit, sind wir groß.
 cer. Ven - ce - re - mos, la mi - se - ria sa - bre - mos ven - cer.

Campe-sinos, solda-dos y obreros,
 la mu-je-r de la pa-tria tam-bien
 Es-tu-dian-tes, em-plea-dos, mi-ne-ros,
 cum-pli-re-mos con nues-tro de-ber.
 Sem-brare-mos las tie-rras de glo-ria,
 so-cia-li-s-ta se-rá el por-ve-nir,
 to-dos jun-tos se-re-mos la his-to-ria;
 a cum-plir, a cum-plir, a cum-plir!

Chorus: Venceremos, venceremos!...

Wir sind Arbeiter, Bauern, Soldaten,
 für das Vaterland stehn auch die Frau'n.
 Wir sind Bergeleute oder studieren,
 unsre Heimat kann fest auf uns baun.
 Sozialistisch wird unsere Zukunft,
 die Geschichte kommt endlich voran,
 nützt die Saat der chilenischen Erde,
 jedermann, jedermann, jedermann!

Chorus: Venceremos, venceremos!...

We shall triumph

From the deep crucible of the homeland
the people's cry rises.

A new dawn has already risen
the whole of Chile starts to sing.
Remembering the brave soldier
whose example has made him immortal
We first face death,
never betraying the homeland!

We shall triumph, we shall triumph,
a thousand chains will be broken.
We shall triumph, we shall triumph,
we will know how to overcome misery.
We shall triumph, we will know how to overcome misery.

Farmers, soldiers and workers,
the woman of the homeland as well
Students, employees and miners,
we will do our duty.
We will sow the land of glory,
socialism will be the future,
together we will make (be) history!

Chorus: We shall triumph, we shall triumph!...

The final song in this selection was written by Claudio Iturra and Sergio Ortega and was used as the theme song²³ for Salvador Allende's presidential campaign in Chile at the beginning of the 1970's, thus causing a rapid increase in popularity among the voters (Bodiford 2007:33ff.). A few years later the GDR government condemned the 1973 military coup, withdrew its diplomats and took in thousands of refugees. This would explain the inclusion of "Venceremos" in the FDJ songbook.

Once again, solidarity with international comrades is emphasized through this song. What makes it slightly different from the previous song, is the inclusion of two German verses, roughly translated but keeping true to the Spanish version. It is possible that this song could have had more success among the FDJ youth because of the German translation provided.

In this song we are looking at a repressed society, a unit consisting of nature and people, thus a

²³ A different text written by Victor Jara was used for the campaign.

country and a nation:

---->S(N2/P2 . .)

Through Macro Theory a tragic entanglement between Good and Evil unfolds itself. The promise of a socialist future can only be fulfilled when everyone gives everything (including their lives) for the homeland, so they can dominate the enemy and conquer and 'control' history:

S(M2(P2 . .))---->M3

Resistance manifests itself through this song, present in the culture (M2) of the people. This opposition is presented by a personal power or a person's power – in this case represented by the soldier:

P2(M1)---->

Blinded by one possible outcome only, the society can see nothing but success and power. Losing in any form is not an option, even death is seen as a contribution to the envisioned 'land of glory'. Ultimately, this society will not necessarily share in the triumph but will have to adhere to the State, a destructive process in which the power of the State has to be accepted:

M1(state)---->S

The archaeological analysis of song texts or discourse leads to the exposure of macro-motives on a certain depth level – they are objectively present in discourse and the question remains why macro-motives have never been noticed or addressed in musical and musicological expression. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that *ideological* frames specifically do not *allow* these things to become visible. John Thompson's depth-hermeneutical framework (Schutte & Visagie, 2012) does serve its purpose, but only up to a certain point (of depth), on the other hand, Macro Theory allows us to 'translate' in-depth questions with simple macro formulas and bring to the fore certain (hidden) macro's considered important by people and societies. Something I have touched upon earlier in this article is the fact that a formula can be presented in more than one way. A notion that we find in generative linguistics might be useful here: that apparently differing syntactic formalisms might not indicate substantive theoretical differences, but simply be what Chomsky calls “notational variants”

(Matthews 1993:220).

This study engages specific subtexts of lyrics, but in a more radical way than that is usually meant by this term in musicology. A formal approach (similar to that of John Thompson's socio-historical analysis) was used while considering the *individuality* of each song. But more importantly, this article evolved into a paradigm study on an emerging umbrella field which can be described as *macro structures in song*. I would like to suggest that, in the specific genre of songs discussed in this article, the *macro language* essentially consists of a strong focus on the roles of M1, P2 and M2 in relation to S (or s), paving the way for further research in what can be called a 'universal grammar of songs'.

As I have mentioned in the beginning of this article, my study would be incomplete without a specific reference to the link between macro language and the musical dimension of these protest songs, even though the songs themselves are musically-speaking quite 'plain'. In the same way *macro structures* find expression in the language or specific 'dialect' of protest songs, a musical analysis could also conceal/reveal 'global' characteristics present in the *musical structure* – while simultaneously 'hiding' or 'highlighting' idiosyncratic content on a 'micro' level of meaning making.²⁴ In a macro context, a surface structure analysis of the songs uncovers several universal characteristics: the songs are short in length and straightforward which makes it easy to sing and to memorise. The limited melodic contours, rhythmic repetitions as well as the repetitive figures provide a notable persuasive power to the seemingly structurally simple songs.

A musical analysis however also allows us to interpret songs on a micro level where each song has its own metaphorical 'landscape' with varied geographical influences. Mitchell (2008:101ff.) explicates that landscapes can acquire diverse meanings because of the “various “users” of landscape”, but in the end the question of power will be crucial in determining the way meaning is controlled.

Except for the song 'Guantanamo', all the songs have a 'hymn' structure, and in some cases this structure can be traced back to nineteenth century hymns or even earlier. Despite the American context in which 'We shall overcome' has been sung, this song corresponds with an English hymn ('Christ is the world's light') found in the hymn book 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' (1983:439). In

²⁴ Lakoff and Johnson (2003:10-13) refer to a “conduit metaphor” which can either conceal or expose meaning in linguistic expressions.

turn, the melody of this hymn dates from 1681 in France (“Christe sanctorum”). Although 'We shall overcome' had a sacred (and nonviolent) origin, it morphed into a defiant, almost military adaptation with 'We shall overrun' and even 'We shall overthrow' (Spencer 1990:96ff.).

'If I had a hammer' follows an American gospel song structure with its verse and chorus repetition and pentatonic flavour. It has already 'propelled' through many ideological landscapes²⁵ in the past, and today it is cited on the Wikileaks website as the “WikiLeaks song”²⁶. The unmistakable reference to 'Belfast' and 'our land' and the character of the song firmly establishes 'The winds are singing freedom' in the Irish 'landscape', yet its political importance is pacified by the banjo teacher who calls it the “Irish pub song of the day” and describes the song as “very short, sweet, fun, to the point...it's a great song”.²⁷ Even the Spanish songs have some connections with other landscapes. “Avanti Popolo” has an almost identical melodic connection with the rastafarian song 'By the rivers of Babylon' and some reference can be made to a South African hymn called “Langs die heuweltoppe kom daar 'n blye, skone môregloed” (Along the hilltops comes a joyful, fine morning glow). The melody of “Guantanamo” was used in the 1998 animation film 'Antz' as a militaristic dance melody for the worker ants²⁸ and the German punk band “Toten Hosen” adopted the phrase “Venceremos – wir werden siegen” as the title for a song they composed after touring Cuba in 2001.²⁹

It is therefore clear that the above-mentioned songs all originate from specific 'landscapes' which imply that they musically contain references that function as a 'cultural layering' of meaning. Taken from diverse geographical landscapes and given a new role, as it were, in a differently constructed ideological landscape, in this new context they actively form part of a specific, homogenized identity. O'Flynn (2007:37) elucidates that “music-national identifications are discursive constructs, articulated through properties of music and the social contexts in which it is sounded or heard, the mediating influence of national and non-national agencies, and the sets of values with which individuals or groups experience music”. Accordingly, the foreign folk songs discussed in this article became part of the GDR's attempt to create a national identity. However, the distinct, inherent affinity with 'past' landscapes in these songs creates an interminable link with a global identity which is then (ideologically) 're-interpreted' in the new 'landscape'.

²⁵ See discussion under 4.1.

²⁶ http://wikileaks.org/wiki/Inspirational_Material [Accessed 20 November 2012]

²⁷ <http://banjomania.net/2012/03/19/irish-pub-song-of-the-day-the-winds-are-singing-freedom-frailing-banjo-lesson/> [Accessed 20 November 2012]

²⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DcbmuVgs1Ks> [Accessed 20 November 2012]

²⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRxOOS1dmbo> [Accessed 20 November 2012]

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Music as symbol: the role of GDR 'rote Lieder' and FAK songs

Dat die nuwe Sangbundel suiwere, gesonde genot in Afrikanerhuise en op Afrikanerbyeenkomste sal bring; dat hy Afrikaners sal saamsnoer en van 'n mooi, gemeenskaplike kultuurbesit sal bewus hou; dat hy tot in lengte van dae van 'n positiewe kultuurbydrae van Suid-Afrika sal getuig ...¹

H.B. Thom 1961:5

1. Introduction

A similar sentiment as uttered by H.B. Thom in 1961 was expressed by Konrad Wolf in 1982 when he wrote that “wir müssen erreichen, daß das politische Lied unter den neuen Bedingungen unseres Kampfes ... einen Platz im Alltag findet, genau den Nerv der Leute, ihre Emotionen trifft und ans Bewußtsein appelliert. Das politische Lied ist eine Stafette, die die Generationen verbindet” (1982: 6).² Both remarks advocate the indispensable inclusion of certain collections or types of songs in everyday life in the GDR³ and apartheid South Africa, therefore expressing and enhancing solidarity as was required from the various authorities involved. Naturally, through several paths of indoctrination, these songs have become symbols of the respective ideologies they represented – the GDR songs encouraged a socialist ideology and the FAK songs became, and are, unanimous with Afrikaner culture and nationalism. While the FAK songs had a tremendous 'following' by many white South Africans who *truly believed* in the Afrikaner cause as a result of years of nationalistic propaganda⁴, the situation in the GDR was markedly different: the initial enthusiasm subsided long before the end of the GDR's existence and official gatherings of all kinds were more often than not marked by forced, listless singing (Krüger 2007:2ff.). The GDR government, however, continued to promote the apparent success of political song festivals in the media, even though secret surveys indicated otherwise.

Most political songs display certain characteristics in their general and musical structure that can contribute to an increased potential of people (whether they be musically gifted or not) to retain

¹ That the new songbook can provide pure, healthy pleasure in Afrikaner homes and at Afrikaner gatherings; that it will unite Afrikaners and make them aware of a beautiful, mutual cultural property; that it will forever bear witness to a positive cultural contribution of South Africa ... (This translation, as well as all other translations of original German and Afrikaans texts presented in this article, unless indicated otherwise, is my own.)

² Under the new conditions of our battle ... we should succeed in finding a place for political song in everyday life, to hit a nerve, to stir peoples' emotions and to appeal to their senses. Political song is a courier that connects generations.

³ German Democratic Republic

⁴ Afrikaner churches further cemented this belief by promoting the political philosophy of apartheid as being biblically justified (Sonnenborn 2010:49). Also see Segerlund (2010:52ff.) and De Gruchy & De Gruchy (2005:31ff.).

both text and melody, such as repetitive texts, simple wording, 'shorter' songs, simple rhythmical structures and (sometimes well-known) melodies. Ruehl (2013) describes American protest songs as being so successful because of the 'folk song style' – a style that is well-known to everyone and has only one line change in a verse – the repetitiveness of the songs makes them easy to memorise. According to Joe Hill⁵ (as cited by Reagon in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:59), a song could have more influence than a political flyer:

A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read but once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over; and I maintain that if a person can put a few cold common sense facts in a song, and dress them up in a cloak of humor to take the dryness off of them he will succeed in reaching a great number of workers who are too unintelligent or too indifferent to read a pamphlet or an editorial on economic science.

However, aside from these more 'obvious' reasons attributed to the songs' effectiveness, deeper layers exist to be explored and dissected in order to provide new insights into the undeniable power play concealed within these songs.

A natural and integral part of any discourse – or, in this case, (political) song texts – is the presence and use of figurative expressions or metaphors⁶ which, when examined on a more intricate level, can disclose an underlying ideological deep structure that is not always visible to the user of the text. For this purpose, the philosopher Johann Visagie (1990) has developed a semiological hermeneutics for archival discourse called Figurative Semiotics Theory. Elsewhere (Schutte and Visagie, 2012; Schutte 2012) I have applied his Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM)⁷ and Macro-motive⁸ theories, which can be described as *socio-cultural instruments*, whereas Visagie's Figurative Semiotics Theory functions as a *cognitive analytical instrument*. This concurs with the viewpoint of Lakoff and Johnson (2003:6) that “human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical” and sometimes almost invisible (Lakoff & Turner 1989:xi):

Metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically, with so little effort that we hardly notice it. It is omnipresent: metaphor suffuses our thoughts, no matter what we are thinking about.

⁵ Joe Hill was a Swedish-American labour activist and popular songwriter in the USA.

⁶ Please note that I do not use the term 'metaphor' as a technical description, but rather as a very general description of semiological themes such as symbol, sign, image, metaphor, model, etc.

⁷ ITM is an extensive analysis of 'ideological culture' aiming to link ideology to interrelated dominating discourses, establishing an overview and typological ordering of these discourses, and analysing systemic interrelations existing between elements of this discursive universe.

⁸ Macro Theory is a hermeneutic model consisting of a group of macro-motives called Nature, Knowledge, Power, Culture, History, Personhood, Society and Humanity. These main components of reality share one essential characteristic of having a unique and almost godlike aura, power and unprecedented potential, affecting peoples, societies and cultures of all times.

Figurative Semiotics Theory is one of the main philosophical tools grouped under Visagie's Discourse Archaeology and can interact effortlessly with, for example, neighbouring theories like Key Theory, ITM and Macro-motive Theory. In my analyses I shall refer to ITM as well as Macro-motive Theory because of the strong, intertwined presence of metaphors throughout the topography of ideological discourse. As evident from my previous writings, Visagie's models allow for a remarkably flexible interaction between ideology critique and critical musicology. I shall once again employ this adaptability to illustrate the systemic-theoretical revelation of 'metaphors', found both in music and political song text, within the context of a type of critical theory (ITM and Macro-motive Theory).

Returning to my initial reference to the role of political songs in South Africa and the GDR, the main focus in this article includes, amongst others, a selection of songs which can probably be described as representing one of the most formidable and distinct affirmations of national identity in any given country. Forming part of a wide array of national symbols such as flags, heroes, monuments, national slogans and oaths, national anthems aim to create an unconditional sense of unity and patriotism among a country's citizens. The lyrics typically describe the beauty of the country, historical events and a vision for the future whereas the music is frequently characterised by march-like tempi reminiscent of war and battlefields.

The previous South African national anthem, “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” (The Call of South Africa), was used during apartheid from 1957 until 1994. For most white South Africans it represented the epitome of Afrikaner nationalism and freedom, whereas the non-white, majority group of citizens condemned the anthem for exactly the same reason. In the GDR, political difficulties created by the lyrics of “Auferstanden aus Ruinen” (Risen from Ruins) were resolved by simply removing and banning the use of the lyrics of the national anthem.

Given the complications already presented by a quick first glance at the songs' immediate political histories, a critical figurative semiotics will prove to be effective in accessing the (hidden) ideological contents of the songs. Although Muller (2001) and Lüdemann (2003) have already explored “Die Stem” to a certain level, a deep-structure philosophical analysis will be offered in this article. Two other songs to be brought into consideration in this discussion are the current, much questioned German national anthem with its past uses as well as its South African melodic (and partly textual) equivalent, “Afrikaners, Landgenote” (Afrikaners, Compatriots). The final stage of

this article will include a reference to a set of two very popular songs found in the 1961 *FAK* songbook: the “Vlaglied” (The Flag Song) was composed for the previous South African flag and was frequently sung at official flag-hoisting ceremonies (especially by members of the Voortrekkers)⁹ and “Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika” (The Song of Young South Africa) was at some point regarded as the unofficial anthem of the AWB¹⁰ movement (Pauw 2006:10).

It is my intention to contribute to the ongoing dialogue between critical musicology and its adjacent interdisciplinary fields by bringing together semiological hermeneutics and musical discourse in an attempt to provide a new perspective on the manifestation of ideological power within the context of political song texts. The ensuing outline of Visagie's Figurative Semiotics Theory will be followed by an extensive analysis of the above-mentioned songs.

2. Figurative Semiotics Theory

We now move on to a brief exploration of Figurative Semiotics Theory. An explanation of the positioning of this theory within Discourse Archaeology (DA) is needed to provide some orientation to the reader. Figurative Semiotics Theory is located in the 'cognitive faculty' of the university-like model of Visagie's meta-philosophical framework called Discourse Archaeology. Neighbouring theories include Postural Theory, Key Theory, Ideology Theory (ITM) and Macro-motive Theory. Divided into five different faculties and 20 departments, Discourse Archaeology follows a pluralistic approach to philosophical discourse.

The fundamental objective of Figurative Semiotics Theory is to observe the functionality of semiological themes present in an archival discourse and to point out inherent ideological constructions. Visagie (1990:4ff.) roughly identifies three groups of elements¹¹ in the semiological landscape. Although the contents of the three groups are worthy of study in their own right, the exact detailed meaning or function of each semiological theme is not relevant to this specific theory, hence the earlier reference to a collective reference to the different phenomena as 'metaphors'. However, these 'metaphors' still form an important part of the basic construction underlying this philosophical semiology: stemming from Visagie's 'Key Theory', 'G I interpretations'¹², they can be

⁹ The Voortrekkers is a cultural organisation founded in South Africa in 1931.

¹⁰ The AWB is a South African far right political organisation.

¹¹ Group A: symbol, sign, icon, image, model, metaphor, etc.

Group B: style, narrative, rhetoric, allegory, myth, etc.

Group C: master tropes such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, irony

¹² The abbreviation 'G I' represents 'Governing Instance', a term taken from Key Theory in which the Governing

explained as “models of reality wherein some sector(s) of the world is held to be governed by an instance of appropriate qualities” (Visagie 1990:1). This means that we will often find Macro-motives in the 'governing position' (G I position) because of their extraordinary dominating power.¹³

Another semiological element worth mentioning is that of narrative (Visagie, J. 2012. Personal communication, 6 December).¹⁴ Thompson (1990:61ff.) asserts that narrative sometimes serves as a symbolic process through which relations of domination can be constructed and sustained when, for example, stories told by those in power only strengthen the divide between diverse social groups or individuals. Within Figurative Semiotics Theory, narrative is represented as a series of fictitious or actual events, embellished and individualised by the narrator. Similarly, parable can also serve as a type of narrative – Turner (1996:168) claims that “parable is the root of the human mind – of thinking, knowing, acting, creating, and plausibly even of speaking”.

When certain phrases or expressions found in the target discourse are compressed to a very basic format, one discovers a (perhaps previously concealed) conceptual formula, partly consisting of semiotic elements, representing the origin of the discourse (Visagie 1990:2). The semiotic element is indicated by means of a box¹⁵ $\lfloor \quad \rfloor$ whereas the formula itself consists of 'x' and 'y' in which 'x' is the Governing Instance and thus governs 'y' (the governed sector). In G I formulas, in their simplest form, there is a need to identify whatever is ultimately (held to be) in charge of things. In terms of ordinary syntax, we have a noun-verb-noun formation (the verb being the 'operator') in which a subject does something to an object (Visagie, J. 2013. PC, 7 February). As examples, consider 'God governs the world' and 'History (is the only thing that) rises above nature'. Although Figurative Semiotics Theory is built mainly on contemporary metaphor research (especially on research done by Lakoff and Johnson) in the area of cognitive science, the 'box' should be seen as an abstract concept (Visagie, J. 2013. PC, 7 February). The strength of this theory lies in the box's ability to *generalise* and thus, as my analyses will show, it is not important to differentiate between terms such as symbol, sign and analogy, because the box encompasses all of these terms.¹⁶

I would like to highlight one more aspect of Visagie's Figurative Semiotics Theory that I consider to

Instance or [X] 'operates' on [Y] in a formula Visagie uses as a 'grammar' for philosophical discourse: $[X] \rightarrow [Y] \rightarrow [Z]$.

¹³ A detailed discussion of Macro Theory can be found in Schutte, C. and Visagie, J (2012).

¹⁴ Henceforth PC

¹⁵ Figurative Semiotics Theory is also known as 'Box Theory' and this 'nickname' is often used in informal communication by and between theorists and students.

¹⁶ In order to 'read' the box, we read an X as (being) a Y. For example: Love --- /Journey/ should be read as 'Love is a journey'.

be of importance to my analyses: that of 'root metaphors'. These metaphorical figures include postures such as fighting, journeying, working, loving, playing, etc. and are “deeply typical of the human experience” (Visagie 1990:10). Although they seem to portray normal actions of everyday life, Visagie (1990:10) observes that these events can also take on a position of the utmost importance and thus function as root metaphors which correspond with archetypal figures such as the warrior, the traveller, the worker, the lover and the child. Visagie (1990:16ff.) continues by introducing several other metaphor classes such as 'Epochal Master Metaphors' (linked to the ideal of Knowledge) and 'Head Metaphors' (mother/father-metaphors, including 'Figures of Power').

The preceding outline should suffice in providing a basic understanding of semiotic analysis of archival discourse as suggested by Johann Visagie in his Figurative Semiotics Theory. In the next section of this article I shall present an array of political songs in which I explore and demonstrate the workings and application of Visagie's theory with the specific intent to highlight metaphorical content and interaction within the music itself.

3. National anthems and other patriotic endeavours

A national symbol is created with the purpose of establishing and maintaining national unity in a country. In the ideal nationalistic setup, a country's citizens would identify with national values and goals, and self-sacrifice would be an illustration of patriotism at the highest level. National anthems undeniably are symbols of this patriotic love, but why do people conform to singing these symbolic songs, “no matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes” (O'Gorman 1991:145)?

A possible explanation is given by Geisler (2008:120) when he writes that “the feelings of attachment, affinity, or solidarity we may harbor for a particular group or collective are projected onto the symbolic object ... National symbols function as stand-ins for the nation (or the state) by giving us something that is tangible, concrete, and available for sensory experience.” Additionally, I argue that the shaping of a collective identity through, in this case, a national anthem, can be enhanced even further when the composer specifically intended the song to be 'national' and the original language of the song is that of the majority or ruling group, displaying the national character and spirit of the country. Quite logically, the lyrics of both East and West Germany's national anthems were written in German, whereas the national anthem of apartheid South Africa was written originally in Afrikaans – the language of the ruling group, but not of the majority.

Let us now advance to the main focus of this article and proceed with carefully unfolding the (ideological) layers enveloping the national anthems of East Germany and apartheid South Africa. Before moving on to an analysis, I shall provide a translation¹⁷ as well as a brief background to the song in question, thus acknowledging John Thompson's depth hermeneutical approach (Schutte and Visagie, 2012) in which he makes use of a socio-historical inquiry.

Nationalhymne der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik

Johannes R. Becher
(1891 - 1958)

Hanns Eisler
(1898 - 1962)

Auf - er - stan - den aus Ru - i - nen und der Zu - kunft zu - ge wandt,
 Glück und Frie - den sei be - schie den Deutsch - land, un - serm Va - ter - land.
 9 Laßt uns plü - gen, laßt uns bau - en, lernt und schafft wie nie zu - vor,
 laß uns Dir zum Gu - ten die - nen Deutsch - land ei - nig Va - ter - land.____
 Al - le Welt sehnt sich nach Frie - den, reicht den Völ - kern eu - re Hand.____
 17 und der eig - nen Kraft ver - trau - end, steigt ein frei Ge - schlecht em - por.____
 — Al - te Not gilt es zu zwin gen, — und wir zwin - gen sie ver - eint,
 — Wenn wir Brü - der - lich uns ei - nen, — schla - gen wir des Vol - kes Feind.
 25 — Deut - sche Ju - gend, bes - tes Stre - ben uns - res Volks in dir ver - eint,
 denn es wird uns doch ge - lin - gen, dass die Son - ne schön wie
 32 Laßt das Licht des Frie - dens schei - nen, daß nie ei - ne Mut - ter
 wirst du Deutsch - lands neu - es Le - ben, und die Son - ne schön wie
 nie ü - ber Deutsch - land scheint, ü - ber Deutsch - land scheint.
 mehr ih - ren Sohn be - weint, ih - ren Sohn be - weint.
 nie ü - ber Deutsch - land scheint, ü - ber Deutsch - land scheint.

¹⁷ Instead of using 'poetic' translations, I prefer to translate songs more literally, staying as closely as possible to the original lyrics in order to give the reader, who might not have any knowledge of German or Afrikaans, the best possible access to the original lyrics. My analyses are always based on the original language and lyrics and not on the translations.

National anthem of the German Democratic Republic

Risen from the ruins
and facing the future,
let us serve you for the better,
Germany, united fatherland.
It is necessary to overcome old hardships,
and we overcome them united
because it must¹⁸ be possible,
that the sun, beautiful as never before
shines over Germany,
shines over Germany.

Happiness and peace be granted
to Germany, our fatherland.
The whole world yearns for peace,
give your hand to the nations.
If we unite in a brotherly way,
we will defeat the nation's enemy.
Let the light of peace shine
so that a mother would never have to
mourn her son,
mourn her son.

Let us plough, let us build,
learn and create like never before,
and trusting our own strength,
a free generation rises upwards.
German youth, with the best aspirations
of our nation united in you,
you will become Germany's new life.
And the sun, beautiful as never before,
shines over Germany,
shines over Germany.

Officially adopted in 1950, the national anthem of East Germany was written by Johannes Becher and the music composed by Hanns Eisler. An immense effort was made to teach the new anthem to the citizens of the GDR and it became part of everyday life, as it was diligently taught and sung in schools as well as at a broad variety of official events (Reichel 2005:46). Towards the end of the 1960s one phrase in the last verse (“Deutschland einig Vaterland”)¹⁹ created dispute as it became clear that a possible reunification with West Germany was out of the question. The ruling SED party banned the use of the lyrics without offering a formal explanation and the text was not sung or printed from the beginning of the 1970's until the collapse of the GDR regime – only an

¹⁸ In some versions the phrase reads 'it *will* be possible'.

¹⁹ Germany, united fatherland.

instrumental version was allowed.

The anthem is written in G major with a 2/4 time signature. No tempo is defined but a recording²⁰ made by the Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin (Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra) and its choir indicates a tempo of about 96 beats per minute with a more resolute tempo starting in bar 17. The first ten notes of the anthem correspond exactly with the beginning of a song called “Goodbye, Johnny”, written by Peter Kreuder in 1936.²¹ In fact, the resemblance is so striking that on a tour through East Germany during the seventies, as Peter Kreuder and his orchestra started playing “Goodbye, Johnny”, the audience, upon hearing the first tones, stood up in respect for what they believed to be the GDR national anthem (Malzahn, 2006). The melody is very simple and repetitive with only minimal rhythmic and tonal deviations. (The only) new melodic material is introduced in bar 17 with dotted rhythms and a modulation to the relative minor. Whilst the anthem's accompaniment is very lyrical in character, a sudden, strong percussive beat (bars 17-24) suggests the sound of military drums. Accordingly, the corresponding lyrics are automatically highlighted and the overcoming of hardships, the enemy's defeat as well as the responsibility laid on the German youth becomes the central objective of the anthem. Starting with a *ritardando* in bar 32, the anthem builds up to a bombastic orchestral climax with the last bars notably accentuated by timpani's and cymbals, emphasising the metaphorical ideal of the sun shining over Germany. As far as the music is concerned, Hanns Eisler undeniably succeeded in creating a harmonically simple, yet effective piece of music that could be learned by almost anyone in a short period of time.

Although the lyrics were initially²² seen as “unpolitisch, friedvoll und allgemein verständlich”²³ (Castillon 2007:7), I would like to present a semiological analysis that would prove this hymn to be ideologically loaded with political content. The first phrase of the first verse indicates a new start, but it can also suggest a country deciding to turn its back on history and removing itself from responsibility for what happened in the past (which indeed was one of the goals of the new government). The perhaps unfortunate word choice of “auferstanden” (risen) is not typical of the socialist worker tradition and rather hints at the resurrection of Christ which also serves as a reminder of the Nazis' attachment to Christianity (Steigman-Gall 2003). An archetypal metaphor sequence, 'stand – fall – rise' (Visagie, J. 2013. PC, 15 February), could signal the promise of a nation's 'rising greatness' after the war, but not without a myriad of ideological requirements from

²⁰ Retrieved 10 February 2013 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fZ6Y4B4QZfo>

²¹ Retrieved 11 February 2013 from the World Wide Web: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8N4NK_ExIY0

²² Refer to the beginning of this article concerning the change of the SED politics.

²³ Non-political, peaceful and generally comprehensible.

the new government.

The next few phrases introduce two root metaphors,²⁴ namely that of the |servant| and the |warrior|. “Laß uns Dir zum Guten dienen” (let us |serve| you for the better) indicates the citizens in service of the country, reinforced even further by “laß uns” (let us): *asking permission to serve*. East Germany²⁵ is represented in this verse by “Dir” (you) and thus the construct

Country(East Germany)---/Person/---/Servant(citizens)/

is created in which East Germany portrays a person who is served by others. The portrayal of East Germany as a person creates a more accessible image for people to relate to. As a result, the 'person' metaphor acts as a mediator between the country and its citizens. The warrior and servant root metaphors are indicated by “zwingen” (|overcome|) as people struggle or fight (together) to overcome the difficulties of the past. In the phrase “dass die Sonne schön wie nie über Deutschland scheint” (that the sun, beautiful as never before |shines| over Germany), the sun represents a positive 'aftereffect':

Freedom or peace---/Light(Sun)/

The second verse mainly involves happiness and peace in the German fatherland, but it is not quite clear who the enemy can be (Nazis?) since people are called upon to reach out together in peace to the nations. Once again the warrior root metaphor emerges and creates a juxtaposition²⁶ of peace and war. The “Licht des Friedens” (|light| of peace) will create harmony and banish war and death which is represented by an 'aesthetic' image of a mother mourning her son:

Light---/Peace/---#---War---/a mother mourning her son/

The last verse immediately conjures up an archetypal image: |plough|, |build|, |learn| and |create| establish the presence of the |worker| root metaphor. Now the future of the country rests firmly on

²⁴ Once again I would like to emphasise the fact that 'metaphor' is *exclusively* used as a technical term to describe a group of semiological phenomena. In Figurative Semiotics Theory it is deemed as unimportant to differentiate between the typical semiological themes, hence the *metaphorical use* of 'metaphor'.

²⁵ Becher's original idea (Germany, united fatherland) was indeed that of reunification, but 'united fatherland' and 'Germany' were later declared to indicate only a united country.

²⁶ Indicated by the '#'-symbol in the construct. Thus the hash also represents X (peace) as being in tension with Y (war).

the shoulders of the German youth, once again regrettably reminiscent of the importance of preparing the Nazi youth for their role of future soldiers. The State appears to be in a parent-child relationship with the German youth, but behind the façade created by words such as “risen”, “overcome”, “light of peace” and “upwards”, a life dominated by the State awaits those in its 'care'.

A last question remains to be considered, namely how the East German citizens perceived themselves regarding the new political circumstances of a divided Germany. Were they still nation-oriented? The lyrics of the national anthem, constantly referring to unification, must have been confusing to many citizens as the years went by and questions concerning the national identity arose. With the sudden ban of the national anthem's lyrics, the GDR citizens were somehow 'nudged' into accepting themselves as being part of a nation-state. Visagie (PC, 16 February 2013) suggests that the societies of two different macro worlds, that of the 'law state' and the 'power state' are at play here:

$$S((P2 \dots (M1))\text{----}>(P2 \dots))^{27}$$

which represents a democratic society (S) consisting of people (P2 . .) who are 'filled with' power (M1) and can effectively 'rule themselves' (a law state), and on the other hand the power state:

$$S(P2 \dots)\text{<----}M1(\text{state})$$

Although the lyrics of the GDR national anthem *were* originally intended to suggest the (somewhat naive) hope of a united Germany, the GDR citizens (when they were still allowed to sing the national anthem) were made to believe that they were singing about the reality of a 'law state' in which they were better off than other societies, whereas the true force behind the GDR society was the 'power state'.

²⁷ I have used this type of formula elsewhere (Schutte 2012) but would like to clarify again that the use of formulas and structures, etc. in Discourse Archaeology serve the purpose of providing clarity and precision in my analyses – something that is often lacking in post-modern types of analyses. The 'bracket formulas' (A (B) and A (B(C))) I employ here are similar to the syntactic analyses used by linguists. One should interpret it as B is 'inside' A, and C is inside B. The arrow represents domination: A rules or dominates B. The dots represent a plural aspect found in the formula.

DIE STEM VAN SUID-AFRIKA

C.J. LANGENHOVEN

M.L. DE VILLIERS

Opgewek

mf

Uit die blou van on-se he-mel, uit die diep-te van ons see, Oor ons

5 *Met nadruk*

Met nadruk

e-wi-ge ge-berg-tes waar die kran-se ant-woord gee, Deur ons vér ver-la-te

10 *tydmaat*

tydmaat

vlak-tes met die kreun van os-se wa. Ruis die stem van ons ge-lief-de, van ons

15

Geesdriftig

afn. *Ernstig*

land Suid- A - fri - ka. *f* Ons sal ant-woord op jou roep - stem, ons sal of-fer wat jy

20

aangr. Triomferend

ff

vra: Ons sal le - we, ons sal ster - we, ons vir jou, Suid-A - fri - ka.

aangroeiend

ff

In die merg van ons gebeente, in ons hart en siel en gees,
 In ons roem op ons verlede, in ons hoop op wat sal wees,
 In ons wil en werk en wandel, van ons wieg tot aan ons graf -
 Deel geen ander land ons liefde, trek geen ander trou ons af.
 Vaderland! Ons sal die adel van jou naam met ere dra:
 Waar en trou as Afrikaners – kinders van Suid-Afrika.

In die songloed van ons somer, in ons winternag se kou,
 In die lente van ons liefde, in die lanfer van ons rou,
 By die klink van huw'liksklokkies, by die kluitklap op die kis -
 Streel jou stem ons nooit verniet nie, weet jy waar jou kinders is.
 Op jou roep seg ons nooit nee nie, seg ons altyd, altyd ja:
 Om te lewe, om te sterwe – ja, ons kom, Suid-Afrika.

Op U Almag vas vertrouend het ons vadere gebou:
 Skenk ook ons die krag, o Here! Om te handhaaf en te hou
 Dat die erwe van ons vaad're vir ons kinders erwe bly:
 Knegte van die Allerhoogste, teen die hele wêreld vry.
 Soos ons vadere vertrou het, leer ook ons vertrou, o Heer:
 Met ons land en met ons nasie sal dit wel wees, God regeer.

The Call of South Africa

From the blue of our heaven,
from the depths of our sea,
Over our everlasting mountain ranges
Where the cliffs answer,
Through our far-off deserted plains
with the groan of ox-wagon –
The voice of our beloved rises,
of our country South Africa.
We will answer your call,
we will offer what you ask:
We will live, we will die,
we for thee, South Africa.

In the marrow of our bones,
in our heart and soul and spirit,
In the glory of our past,
in our hope of what will be,
In our will and work and conduct,
from our cradle to our grave –
No other land shares our love,
no other loyalty can turn us away.
Fatherland! We will carry your
noble name with honour:
True and faithful as Afrikaners –
children of South Africa.

In the sun glow of our summer,
in our winter night's cold,
In the spring of our love,
In the crape of our mourning
At the sound of wedding bells,
at the stonefall on the coffin –
Your voice never soothes us in vain,
you know where your children are.
When you call we never say no,
We always, always, say yes:
To live, or to die –
Yes, we come, South Africa.

Firmly trusting Your omnipotence
our fathers have built:
Grant us the strength as well, o Lord!
To maintain and to preserve –
So our fathers' heritage
remain heritage for our children:
Servants of the Almighty,
free before the whole world.
As our fathers trusted,
teach us to trust as well, o Lord:
With our land and with our nation
it will go well, God rules.

“Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” (The Call of South Africa) was used as the national anthem of South Africa from 1957 until 1994. C.J. Langenhoven, a South African author who was instrumental in securing the official use of Afrikaans in the country, wrote the text in May 1918 and the accompanying music was composed in 1921 by M.L. de Villiers, a Dutch Reformed Church minister. During the course of apartheid the anthem became the epitome of white culture for non-white South Africans, particularly because of the sensitive issue concerning the ownership of land, so fervidly described in the song as belonging to white South Africans. In 1997 “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” was merged with “Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika” (God bless Africa) to become the new official national anthem of South Africa.

Both Muller (2001:21) and Lüdemann (2003:23) refer to the similarities between the opening phrases of “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” and the French national anthem, “La Marseillaise”, which include the use of an anacrusis, a melodic climax an octave higher than the opening notes and a time signature of 4/4, typically used for march music. In general, the 1968 FAK version of “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” contains an abundance of specific indications as to the performance of the anthem. Nearly every phrase is complemented with *crescendos* and/or *decrescendos*, accented notes, *staccatos* and character indications, almost to the point of over-saturation. I find the character indication of “opgewek” (lively - which probably suggests *Allegro*) somewhat unfitting since the anthem has typically been sung in a more stately manner (*Maestoso*). Mentionable is, at least in the first verse, the careful manifestation of the lyrics in the music, for example the 'depths of our sea' is depicted by a downward movement in the accompaniment, the accented notes in bar 11 underline the 'groan of ox-wagons' and the melodic climax in bar 22 (“ons sal sterwe”/we will die) seems to put the importance of *dying* for one's country above that of *living* for one's country.

Whilst Muller (2001) elaborates exclusively on the symbolic significance of “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” (The Call of South Africa) within the context of reconciliation during the transitional years from apartheid to a democratic South Africa, Lüdemann (2003:22-25) offers an archetypal interpretation of “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika”, based on Vladimir Karbusicky's four-act mythological archetype model,²⁸ which confines him to the use of *political archetypes* only (Lambrechts & Visagie 2009:94), thus limiting the exploration of the anthem to a political perspective. Visagie (1996:76ff.) maintains that ideology (which is to be understood as a negative concept) should not be confined to the political aspect of society but will benefit from an extensive, ideology-critical analysis of ideological culture.

A striking feature present throughout the first three verses is the complete personification of the country South Africa – perhaps a subconscious means of communicating with the singers of the anthems on a more personal level. The first verse describes how the voice of our beloved calls us through (our) nature:

Country---/Person(Lover)/

The reply suggests that there will be *no hesitation* to answer when the beloved calls (“ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem”/we *will* answer your call), and those who are called upon are prepared to sacrifice whatever is asked from them, a similar unconditional love displayed by Abraham when he agreed to sacrifice Isaac. But can this love be actively returned by the country? The almost serene impression of Nature (N2) (the 'blue of our heaven', the 'depths of our sea', the 'everlasting mountain ranges' and 'far-off deserted plains') is interrupted by Culture (M2) and History (M3)²⁹ – represented by the ox-wagon. Furthermore, the ox-wagon implies a *specific* cultural group, the Afrikaner “volk” (nation), whose Culture (M2) takes on a hypernormative³⁰ status and succeeds in ousting all other groups:

/Ox-wagon/---S(people(Afrikaner(M2, M3)))

²⁸ See Karbusicky, V. 1975. *Empirische Musiksoziologie, Erscheinungsformen, Theorie und Philosophie des Bezugs 'Musik-Gesellschaft'*. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel.

²⁹ M2 is the macro-motive imprint of *History* on peoples' minds across space and time. It is closely related to the concept of *Culture* (M2) and this latter force is formidable for a deep level of the human mind, because it can stand against Nature itself. And History is the grand progress and procession of Culture(s).

³⁰ A hypernorm is an autonomised norm, value or practice which controls the way other norms, values or practices are understood or realised. For a complete description of the concept of hypernormative domination, see Schutte and Visagie (2012:115ff).

Thus we have a figurative fusion of three macro-motives: the true power of this nation (S) lies in the cultivation (M2) of the land (N2), a highly-ideologicalised trinity (PC, 24 February 2013) on the uppermost level of reverence which becomes almost indiscernible within the context of this anthem.

The affection in the first verse is intensified in the second verse with a pledge of exclusive love in body and spirit, past and future, and in life and death. The Afrikaners are true and faithful to their fatherland; they are the children of South Africa:

Country---/Person(Parent)/

In the different seasons of life and death the voice of the parent is always there to sooth, never in vain, and this parent always knows where his/her children (the Afrikaner nation) are. The total surrender evident in the third verse (“op jou roep seg ons nooit nee nie, seg ons altyd, altyd ja”/when you call we never say no, we always, always, say yes), emphasised with accented notes in bar 19¹ and bar 20¹, verges on presumptuous indoctrination which reiterates itself in the last two lines of every verse.

The final, and perhaps ideologically most 'damaging' verse, is a prayer to the Almighty, asking for the strength to maintain and preserve that (the country of South Africa) which was *given* to the nation's ancestors and to teach His servants to trust in the Lord. God rules and therefore South Africa and its *Afrikaner nation* will prosper and succeed. The singers of this anthem confess the sovereignty of God (P2, one of the most supreme macro-motives), but at the same time they also acknowledge the ultimate power of the trinity (S, M2, N2), creating an irreconcilable collision of two ultimate powers (Visagie, J. 2013. PC, 24 February). The consistent use of “ons” (us or our) in this anthem emphasises the Afrikaner nation and its national pride, once again effectively *excluding* all other cultures living in South Africa. By incorporating Christian National principles into the anthem, the Afrikaner nation is irrefutably assured that they have the right and the power to rule and control the 'enemy' – after all, the Afrikaner nation was *called* to bring the Christian light to Dark Africa.

AFRIKANERS, LANDGENOTE

Nico Hofmeyr

HAYDN
(Verw. Dirkie de Villiers)

mf

1. A fri - ka - ners, Land - ge - no - te, Wees ge - trou aan Volk en Taal!
 2. A - fri - kaan - se Moe - ders, Dog - ters, A - fri - kaan - se son en veld!
 3. Een - heid, Vry - heid, Reg en Lief - de In ons dier - baar Va - der - land,

Aan jul - sel - we, aan elk - an - der, Van die Kaap tot aan die Vaal;
 Is be - roemd deur heel die wê - reld, Staan in boek en lied ver - meld;
 Daar - voor stry ons, daar - voor ly ons Al - mal sa - me in ons land.

p

Van O - ran - je tot Sam - be - sie, In Na - tal en in Trans - vaal.
 Hul be - siel met hoop en lief - de, Ho - ër e - de - ler dan geld,
 Een - heid, Vry - heid, Reg en Lief - de Daar - voor werk ons hand aan hand

f

A - fri - ka - ners, Land - ge - no - te, Wees ge - trou aan Volk en Taal!
 A - fri - kaan - se Moe - ders, Dog - ters, A - fri - kaan - se son en veld!
 Een - heid, Vry - heid Reg en Lief - de In ons dier baar Volk en Land!

(Herhaal ad lib.)

Afrikaners, compatriots

Afrikaners, compatriots,
be true to Nation and Language!
To yourselves, to one another,
From the Cape to the Vaal;
From Oranje to Sambesie,
In Natal and in Transvaal.
Afrikaners, compatriots,
Be true to Nation and Language!
Afrikaners, compatriots,
Be true to Nation and Language!

Afrikaans Mothers, Daughters,
Afrikaans sun and fields
Are famous throughout the world,
mentioned in book and song;
They are imbued with hope and love,
Higher and more noble than money,
Afrikaans Mothers, Daughters,
Afrikaans sun and fields!
Afrikaans Mothers, Daughters,
Afrikaans sun and fields!

Unity, Freedom, Justice and Love
in our dear Fatherland,
For that we fight, for that we suffer
Everyone together in our country.
Unity, Freedom, Justice and Love
For that we work hand in hand
Unity, Freedom, Justice and Love
In our dear Nation and Fatherland!
Unity, Freedom, Justice and Love
In our dear Nation and Fatherland!

Deutsche Nationalhymne

Ei - nig - keit und Recht und Frei - heit
Da - nach laßt uns al - le stre - ben
für das deut - sche Va - ter - land!
Brü - der - lich mit Herz und Hand!
Ei - nig - keit und Recht und Frei - heit
sind des Glück - kes Un - ter - pfand.
Blüh im Glan - ze die - ses Glück - kes,
blü - he deut - sches Va - ter - land!

National Anthem of Germany

Unity and justice and freedom
for the German fatherland!
Let us all strive towards this purpose
Brotherly with heart and hand!
Unity and justice and freedom
Are the promise of happiness;
Flourish in this blessing's glory,
Flourish, German fatherland!
Flourish in this blessing's glory,
Flourish, German fatherland!³¹

³¹ Translation retrieved on 4 February 2013 from the official German Bundestag website:
http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs_e/bundestag/symbols/anthem/index.html

When listening to or playing this folk song for the first time (as a non-South African), one might immediately recognise the melody as that of Haydn or even as that of the current German national anthem. Apart from providing the lyrics, Nico Hofmeyr also composed the music for this folk song, but Haydn's melody (composed in 1797) became the preferred version. "Afrikaners, landgenote" played an important role in the revival of the Afrikaner nation in the time before a national anthem for apartheid South Africa was selected in 1957. After yet another defeat during the Second Boer War which ended in 1902, Afrikaner morale was low and no-one wanted to revive and sing the old republican anthems. However, this folk song demonstrated enough enthusiasm to satisfy the disheartened people (Theunissen 1938:17) and it was frequently sung amongst Afrikaners and at official events and ceremonies, almost functioning as an unofficial national hymn.

Theunissen (1938:30) stresses three requirements for a folk song: the text should be inspiring, the music sublime and, very importantly, the music should be simple, melodic and singable, especially outdoors! "Afrikaners, Landgenote" fits Theunissen's criteria – similar to other folk songs discussed in this article, the song has quite a simple melodic line. The first four bars are repeated and followed by new material in the next phrase (also consisting of four bars). The final (and repeated) phrase commences with a *forte*, marking the climax of the folk song as well as focusing, for the last time, the singer's attention on "Afrikaners, Landgenote" (Afrikaners, compatriots), "Afrikaanse Moeders, Dogters" (Afrikaans mothers, daughters) and "Eenheid, Vryheid, Reg en Liefde" (unity, freedom, justice and love). As to the 'outdoor use' of this folk song, Stellenbosch University students certainly demonstrated this element successfully in 1940 by singing the song in Adderley Street in Cape Town after fighting took place in the days surrounding the 'Battle of Andringa Street'.³²

The text of "Afrikaners, Landgenote" is a loose translation of the German "Deutschlandlied" (Song of Germany) written by August von Fallersleben in 1841. The complete Von Fallersleben version (three verses)³³ was used as the German national anthem from 1922 until the Second World War broke out. In 1952, West Germany accepted the complete "Deutschlandlied" as national anthem but

³² Retrieved 08 March 2013 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.beeld.com/By/Nuus/Anti-Britsheid-dra-veel-by-tot-die-Slag-van-Andringastraat-20120907>

³³ First verse: "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, Über alles in der Welt, Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze, Brüderlich zusammenhält. Von der Maas bis an die Memel, Von der Etsch bis an den Belt, Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, Über alles in der Welt!" (Germany, Germany above everything, above everything in the world, For protection and defence, it always takes a brotherly stand together. From the Maas to the Memel, From the Adige to the Belt, Germany, Germany above everything, above everything in the world!)
Second verse: "Deutsche Frauen, Deutsche Treue, Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang, Sollen in der Welt behalten, Ihren alten schönen Klang, Uns zu edler Tat begeistern, Unser ganzes Leben lang. Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue, Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang!" (German women, German loyalty, German wine and German song, Shall retain in the world, Their old beautiful sound, And inspire us to noble deeds, For our whole life. German women, German loyalty, German wine and German song!)

with only the third verse³⁴ to be used for official events, partly because of the subsequent controversy caused by the use of the first verse during Nazi rule.

The first verse of “Afrikaners, Landgenote” asks for, or rather, insists on being faithful to the nation (Afrikaners) and the language (Afrikaans). Although the notion of 'faithfulness' can be linked to the very distinct fields of both theology and ethics, South African history shows us that the ethical issue of being faithful to a language or culture was inextricably intertwined with theological-religious elements. The use of capitals in “Volk” and “Taal” immediately magnifies the importance of 'nation' and 'language' in this song. This appeal is further expanded to include faithfulness to one self and each other, stretching across the whole of South Africa, but obviously only signifying the Afrikaner people:

Nation and Language---/Ruler(s)/---/Servant(Afrikaner)/

Should one contemplate which /ruler/ could be more important or even hypernormative in this song, the next verse resolves this question with “Afrikaanse Moeders, Dogters” (Afrikaans mothers and daughters) and “Afrikaanse son en veld” (Afrikaans sun and veld). By employing the word 'Afrikaans' instead of 'Afrikaner', we tend to think of the language first, but not to be overlooked is the immense power of the Afrikaner people reverberating in the background, claiming their stake of land. Once again, 'nation' and 'language' govern the lives of individuals, who are proudly ruled by these High Ideals. Thus we have the macro-motive of Culture (which entails Afrikaans) figured in terms of majestic Nature itself, the latter even raised to nothing less than the heavenly sun (Visagie, J. 2013. PC, 12 March):

M2(Afrikaner(Afrikaans))---/N2(sun and fields)/

Whether the Afrikaans mothers and daughters were/are famous throughout the world is debatable, but certainly the South African landscape could be well known. The two female groups represent two different generations, the daughters the embodiment of the continuous growth of the Afrikaner nation with the 'higher' aim of hope and love instilled in them:

M2(Afrikaner)---/N2(growth)---/mothers and daughters//

³⁴ It was officially accepted in its present form as the national anthem of united Germany in 1991 after years of debate between several political parties to reinstate all three verses as the national anthem.

The last verse can be traced back to its German equivalent, although 'love' is incorporated as an additional 'benefit' to unity, freedom and justice in the Afrikaans folk song. But these attributes we are fighting and struggling for are very constricted – they only include *our* 'dear Nation and Fatherland' (note the use of capitals):

M2(Afrikaner)---->M2 . . (other cultures)

I would once again like to touch upon the use of capital letters in “Afrikaners, landgenote”. The capitalised words in this folk song are normally *not* capitalised in the Afrikaans language. “Landgenote” (compatriots), “Volk” (nation), “Taal” (language), “Moeders” (mothers), “Dogters” (daughters), “Eenheid” (unity), “Vryheid” (freedom), “Reg” (justice), “Liefde” (love), “Vaderland” (fatherland) and “Land” (land) were clearly very important to either the lyricist or the editors of the FAK songbook. When we organise the above-mentioned words in categories, we arrive at Nation (compatriots, mothers, daughters), Language (Afrikaans) and Fatherland (unity, freedom, justice and love) – an interesting similarity to the ideologicalised trinity found in the 'Call of South Africa' analysis.

VLAGLIED

(Nooit hoof jou kinders....)

C.J. Langenhoven

F.J. Joubert

Nooit hoof jou kin-ders wat trou is te vra: Wat be-te-ken jou vlag dan Suid-A-fri-ka? Ons

5

weet hy's die seël van ons vry-heid en reg Vir naas-te en vreem-de, vir oor-man en kneg; Die

9

pand van ons erf-nis, ge-slag op ge-slag, Om te hou vir ons kin-ders se kin-ders wat wag; Ons

13

na - sie se grond - brief van ei - en - doms land, Uit - ge -

15

gee op ge-sag van die Hoog-ste se hand. Oor ons hoof sal ons hys, in ons

18

hart sal ons dra, Die vlag van ons ei - e Suid A - fri - ka.

The Flag Song

Your faithful children never need to ask:
 What does your flag then mean, South Africa?
 We know he is the seal of our freedom and right
 For neighbour and stranger, for master and servant;
 The pledge of our heritage, from generation to generation,
 To keep for our children's children who are waiting;
 Our nation's land ownership letter,
 Issued on authority by the hand of the Highest.
 We will hoist above our heads, carry in our hearts,
 The flag of our own South Africa.

The music for the “Vlaglied” (Flag song) with its full-chorded, dense-sounding accompaniment was composed by F.J. Joubert. The lyrics used are taken from a three-verse poem called “Ons eie vlag” (Our own flag) written by C.J. Langenhoven during 1926 as the Union government ordered a committee to design a flag which would be superior to the Union Jack. The “Vlaglied” was sung by a children's choir at the inauguration of the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961 and, with the exception of the 'Call of South Africa', is probably one of the most-sung folk songs in the “Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere” (folk and fatherland songs) section of the *FAK* songbook. The rather limited tonal range of the first half of the folk song, repetitive phrases and dotted rhythms contribute to making this folk song a simple, yet satisfying experience. The 4/4 signature is reinforced by the strong, simple quadruple rhythmic pattern in the bass line, reminiscent of march music. Perhaps the *fermatas*, in bars 12 and 16 respectively, indicate a well-earned rest for the singers as well as a chance to prepare for the ensuing phrases, which contain relatively little breathing time for the amateur singer. The progressive harmonic build-up towards the musical climax in bar 19 enhances the majestic lyrics of this folk song.

Once more, South Africa is personified in the first two lines of this verse as a parent with faithful

or *obedient* children:

Country---/Person(Parent)/

However, the loving relationship that should exist between a parent and child is severely distorted. The parent's love comes with a condition: the children never need to ask what the flag means, in fact, *they should not ask*, because when they do consider it, they might just uncover the *truth*. Nonetheless, should someone attempt to contemplate this grave question, the lyrics triumphantly feed the singers the necessary information as to what exactly the flag symbolises: we *know* the flag is a seal of the *Afrikaner* freedom and right, thus excluding everyone else's freedom and rights.

M2(Afrikaner)---/Flag(Freedom and Right)/

It is, of course, easy to sing about the utopian ideal of freedom and right for neighbour, stranger, master and servant, but against the background of apartheid, the proposed equal rights are well removed from reality. The sharp contrast between neighbour and stranger, and master and servant become even more striking under the 'fictional' unity of the /flag/ (Visagie, J. 2013. PC, 18 March). Does the servant's loyalty extend to the master's flag?

The assumption is clear: we expect our children's children to share in our heritage. In fact, the author is so certain of his case, that he describes unborn generations as waiting to take possession of their heritage. Any lawful process of 'acquiring' the country is overthrown by the Highest's authority.³⁵ God's power (M1) reigns over that of Society:

M1---/Highest(P1(God))--->S(M1)

By hoisting the flag above their heads, the Afrikaner nation *look up* to the flag and *respect* it, and by carrying the flag in their hearts, an intense love for the flag is expressed. The complete ownership of the country of South Africa is suggested by the 'dual possessiveness' illustrated by “ons” (our) and “eie” (own) South Africa. Although the Afrikaner people declare themselves as being free, they are servants to an unseen Supremacy which frees them from being servants to anyone else, except for nation and country. This Highest Authority allows them to *relinquish* the servant task of the State towards the people of the country: serving the Law which is personified by *Justitia*, a

³⁵ The 'Highest' is an example of what Lakoff and Johnson (2003:14ff.) call *orientational metaphors*, which are based on physical and cultural experiences, for example, up-down, in-out, on-off, etc. In this case, the 'Highest' indicates the 'up'-position of “having control or force”.

blindfolded woman with a sword and balance scales, because Justice should not differentiate between groups and individuality (Visagie, J. 2013. PC, 18 March).

This folk song originates from a socio-historical period (1926-1927) in which the Afrikaner government of South Africa attempted to design a new national flag for the Union. The devotion and respect so evidently displayed in the song signify the fact that this new flag was of the utmost importance to the Afrikaner nation. However, the Afrikaner nation's (historically understandable) passion to become a 'united nation', unequivocally lead to the *undoing* of a nation and one can never truthfully claim, especially considering apartheid, that this flag represented neighbour and stranger, master and servant.

DIE LIED VAN JONG SUID-AFRIKA

EITEMAL

H. GUTSCHE
(Verw. Dirkie de Villiers)

En hoor jy die mag-ti-ge dreu-ning? Oor die veld kom dit wyd ge - sweef,
Die lied van 'n volk se ont-wa-king Wat har-te laat sid-der en_ beef,

Van Kaap-land tot bo in die Noor - de, Rys da - we-rend luid die ak-koor - de: Dit

9
is die LIED van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka, Dit is die LIED van Jong Suid-A - fri -

2

14

ka, Dit is die LIED van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka.

(dit is die LIED)

8^{vb}

Die klop van ons ossewawiele
 Het die eeue se rus verstoer,
 Die klop van ons ossewawiele
 Het die eeue se rus verstoer,
 Die diere het stil staan en luister,
 Die bome het bewend gefluister
 Dit is die KOMS van Jong Suid-Afrika,
 Dit is die KOMS van Jong Suid-Afrika,
 Dit is die KOMS van Jong Suid-Afrika.

Waar glorie van songloed die berge
 Oor hul fronsende voorhoof streef,
 Waar winde oor golwende vlaktes
 met grassaad kerjakkert en speel,
 Die land wat ons vaders gekoop het,
 Met bloed tot ons eie gedoop het:
 Dit is die LAND van Jong Suid-Afrika,
 Dit is die LAND van Jong Suid-Afrika,
 Dit is die LAND van Jong Suid-Afrika.

Die golwende veld is ons woning,
 En ons dak is die hemel blou;
 Die Vryheid alleen is ons koning,
 Sy wagwoord is "Handhaaf en Bou".
 Die stryd wat ons vaders begin het,
 Sal woed tot ons sterf of gewin het.
 Dit is die EED van Jong Suid-Afrika,
 Dit is die EED van Jong Suid-Afrika,
 Dit is die EED van Jong Suid-Afrika.

The song of Young South Africa

And do you hear the mighty roar?
It comes across the field, soaring widely,
The song of a nation's awakening
Letting hearts shudder and tremble,
From the Cape to far in the North,
Chords rise thunderously loud:
It is the SONG of Young South Africa,
It is the SONG of Young South Africa,
It is the SONG of Young South Africa.

The knocking of our ox-wagon wheels
Disturbed the rest of the ages,
The sound of our muzzles' shots,
Was heard by ravines and cliffs
The animals stood still and listened,
The trees whispered, trembling:
It is the COMING of Young South Africa,
It is the COMING of Young South Africa,
It is the COMING of Young South Africa.

Where sun glow gloriously strokes the mountains
Across their frowning foreheads,
Where rustling winds across the plains
frolic and play with grass seeds,
The land our fathers have bought,
Baptised with blood as our own:
It is the COUNTRY of Young South Africa,
It is the COUNTRY of Young South Africa,
It is the COUNTRY of Young South Africa.

The billowing field is our home,
And the blue sky is our roof;
Freedom alone is our king,
His motto is 'Maintain and build'.
The fight our fathers began,
Shall rage until we die or win.
This is the VOW of Young South Africa,
This is the VOW of Young South Africa,
This is the VOW of Young South Africa.

In stark contrast with “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” (The Call of South Africa), “Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika” (The Song of Young South Africa), written by Eitemal³⁶ and composed by Dr Hugo Gutsche, contains no musical terms or any other related indications as to the performance of this folk song. Even in post-apartheid South Africa, this folk song is sung by some, if not all, right-

³⁶ Eitemal is the *nom de plume* for W. Erlank, a South African writer.

winged political parties, which testifies to the profound importance attached to this song during apartheid.

Lüdemann (2003:28) rightly describes this folk song as displaying the characteristics of a German folk song as well as that of a march with its 4/4 time signature and dotted rhythms, urging the music forward. Also, this song does not disappoint when it comes to fulfilling the criteria for folk songs: repetitive melodic phrases as well as uncomplicated lyrics. The music of the first four bars create a strong, rhythmic atmosphere strengthened by the use of broken chords in the accompaniment, whereas the next four bars seem to acquire a more lyrical feel, partly because of the use of sustained notes in the bass. Befitting the lyrics, the last four bars once again change to a more lively character.

The first verse commences with a broken chord melody, simultaneously adding tension to the phrase “En hoor jy die magtige dreuning” (And do you hear the mighty roar?). Rather odd is the use of the word “sweef” (soar) to describe the approaching roar – perhaps a hasty literary slip by the author? This *song* of a nation's awakening creates fear in people's hearts across the country. Who are these people who (should) fear this song? The Afrikaner nation or the non-white population?

Nature acknowledges the *coming* of the young South Africa in the second verse: ravines and cliffs heard the sound of shots, animals stood still and listened, and trees trembled and whispered. The Afrikaner nation's account of history in which the sound of the Voortrekker ox wagon wheels disturbed the rest of the ages and the Afrikaners explored the 'unexplored'.

Nature---/Person/

The personification of Nature continues in the third verse with the sun stroking the mountains across their frowning foreheads and winds frolicking and playing with grass seeds. This imaginative, almost idyllic description of the South African nature is interrupted by a reminder of *who* bought the *country* (“ons vaders”/our fathers) and *how* it was bought (“met bloed”/with blood). The Afrikaner nation 'conquered' the land (N2) and made it their own (country):

M2(Afrikaner)---->N2

Quite impressive is the power that something as 'small' as a nation has over something as powerful as Nature in the above-mentioned construct! The last verse introduces an idyllic depiction of

freedom with Nature as a home with the *only* king of the Afrikaner nation being Freedom itself:

M2(Afrikaner(Freedom))---/N2(field and sky)/

Yet freedom is hard work and one has to 'maintain and build' in order to 'enjoy' this freedom. A *pledge* is made for the fighting to continue until we, the nation, die or win. In this verse God is not mentioned and Freedom takes His place as king:

M1(Freedom)---->M1(God)

Let us observe the four words which are emphasized in this song by means of capital letters: “LIED” (song), “KOMS” (coming/arrival), “LAND” (country) and “EED” (pledge). It seems as if one could condense the above-mentioned words and their corresponding verses into 'warning', 'action', 'reality' and 'future'. The coming of the Afrikaner nation is announced by means of a song, a warning. A country is claimed (action) and it becomes clear who should fear this song (reality). The future and freedom belong to the Afrikaner nation.

With this article I have attempted to illustrate the immense (and sometimes underestimated) influence that political songs can have on a nation. I have argued that precisely those songs perceived as being harmless can mask the most damaging content because of certain musical and textual characteristics. A persuasive force behind the propagation of such songs is, of course, the ruling government. The GDR government was quite successful in establishing a new national anthem as well as other political folk songs, and in apartheid South Africa the FAK songbook was a direct result of the Afrikaner Broederbond's³⁷ attempt to achieve “Afrikaner unity, supporting the Afrikaner's love for his language, traditions and history ...” (Pelzer 1980:14). I maintain that Visagie's Figurative Semiotics Theory with its ability to interact with critical musicology allows us to approach political song texts within the context of a philosophical systematic framework, exposing ideological content in nationalistic songs that have not previously been analysed by means of the critical methods applied in this article. Although Figurative Semiotics Theory lacks the possibility to generate an in-depth analysis of the musical dimensions of folk songs, its intensive analysis of the lyrics are suggestive of a more critical approach towards the ways in which the

³⁷ The Afrikaner Broederbond (Afrikaner Brotherhood) was formed in 1918 after the Anglo Boer War and functioned as a secret organisation until 1993 in order to promote the Afrikaner culture in South Africa. In 1928 the Brotherhood established the FAK, the 'public front' of the Afrikaner Brotherhood and “an umbrella body designed to provide 'central organisation' and 'clear direction' to all Afrikaner cultural organisations” (Pelzer 1980:119-120).

meanings generated by verbal text and musical parameters 'meet' within the highly ideologised context of the topic investigated here. However, the strength of this theory lies in its elegance and practical application in pursuance of the unique deep-structure meanings found in musical discourse, because ultimately, the intention of its application is to discover why political folk songs have the ability to /move/ us, and why the persuasive powers of these songs may construct ideological versions of national identity by manipulating collective as well as individual perceptions of such identity, and even control the moral and social consciousness embedded within such versions of identity.

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Postures of protest: The reinterpretation of FAK folk songs as expressions of (a new) nationalism and nostalgia

Taal- en kultuurgemeenskappe word dikwels deur twee uiteenlopende kragte gekenmerk: Enersyds is daar sekere dinge in gemeenskappe wat oor tyd heen vas bly staan, soos hulle tradisies. Andersyds word gemeenskappe dikwels gekenmerk deur die poging om die oorgelewerde tradisies te hervertolk en ook nuwe dinge te skep. Om 'n lewende gemeenskap te wees, moet albei kragte, sowel die tradisies as die nuwe skepping, aanwesig wees. Die merkwaardige is dat dit vandag in die Afrikaanssprekende taalgemeenskap gebeur. Albei kragte is daarin aanwesig.¹

D. Goosen 2012:3

1. Introduction

During the last few decades, South Africans went through some rather turbulent times trying to re-establish (their own) identities in the period leading to and following the first democratic elections held in 1994. Even though people were gradually introduced to the prospect of majority rule in South Africa, the accompanying assurances of checks and balances did little to ease the minds of notably white South Africans. A large-scale change was definitely expected, but the uncertainty of how it all would actually transpire evoked a wide spectrum of emotions. For some it was a logical transition to shift from apartheid to democracy, whereas others expected a complete economic meltdown, which in many South African households led to pre-election stockpiling. After the celebrations surrounding the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as first black president of South Africa, reality set in and a myriad of social and political transformations ensued. The country essentially changed overnight and, as Badsha (2003:131) states,

people are still struggling to understand and deal with the effects of this rapid transformation and to understand how and to what extent it has changed people's identities and ways of living, as well as struggling with the very real economic and political changes that they are experiencing.

These changes influenced every South African, regardless of ethnic grouping, and people

¹ "Language and cultural communities are often distinguished by two diverse powers: On the one hand, there are certain things in communities which stand firm over time, like their traditions. On the other hand, communities are often characterized by the attempt to reinterpret surviving traditions and to create new things. To be a living community, both powers, traditions and new creations, should be present. Remarkably, this happens in the Afrikaans language community. There, both powers are present."

entertained certain hopes and expectations that were partly met, but as the presidency continued to change hands and more changes occurred, it became increasingly difficult to hold on to the dream of a new South Africa. An immense effort was needed, both on a personal and professional level, to adapt to the difficult and sometimes arduous circumstances.

However remarkable the change from apartheid to democracy was, forging a new path of healing and growth requires persistent reconciliation, which includes redefining sociocultural and political roles in the not-so-new-anymore South Africa. Rhoda Kadalie (as cited in Nuttall & Michael 2000:110), writes that “South Africans are schizophrenic about their identity, having been forced into racial population groups legally and politically for the greater part of their lives.” Especially white South Africans had to and still have to reconsider their position in this transformed country. As previously privileged they “need to make sense of their new positioning – to explain what it means to be white in the new South Africa, to shape their intentionality toward other South Africans, the African continent, their heritage, their future” (Steyn 2001:86).

Almost twenty years later, this is still an ongoing process. The quest to find and accept a new identity has not been brought to a close and amidst the already trying process of transformation unofficial racism persists, “even though members of different races live alongside each other in schools, universities, workplaces and shopping malls, we still live lives apart. We are often disconnected, suspicious and threatened by each other. Our lives are profoundly unsettled by race” (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:22). Essentially, any substantive progress in post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by an unavoidable and necessary dismantling and re-establishing of identities; however, at the same time, it is hindered by deep-rooted socio-political and cultural issues. Acknowledging the complexity of this challenge, Steenkamp (2011:20) affirms, “[I]dentity formation in post-apartheid South Africa is a multifaceted, entangled process influenced not only by a traumatic history of racial segregation and oppression, but also by increased exposure to globalizing supranational factors.” Needless to say, citizens caught in the middle of such turbulence most likely experience a sense of insecurity as well as a considerable increase in dissatisfaction, which may lead to the need to make their feelings and views known by engaging in protest with like-minded others.

Protesting in all its forms is known and practised worldwide, with a history going back many centuries. Music, especially protest songs, frequently constitutes an integral part of this action. Well-known examples include the civil resistance of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and

1960s with the song ‘We shall overcome’ at the centre of the movement (Lynskey 2012:63); the Vietnam war (1955-1975) spawned songs like ‘Bring them home’ (Pete Seeger) and Joe McDonald’s ‘Fixin’-to-Die’ (Lynskey 2012:111ff.), to name but a few. Faisal Al Yafai (2011) describes the series of protest songs released in countries like Tunisia, Egypt and Syria after the commencement of the Arab spring in 2010 as songs that, although musically and geographically diverse, are linked by the same sentiments: “They are direct and decisive, full of expectation. They demand action.” At an Occupy Wall Street March in October 2011 ‘We shall overcome’ was sung again (Talbot 2011), demonstrating its durability and continued appeal as a protest song applicable to different socio-political contexts.

However, not all of the above-mentioned songs were originally intended as protest songs. While some songs in their original form simply acquired a reputation as a protest song through socio-political circumstances or other grounds, others were rewritten or slightly adapted from the original, or newly composed with the intention to serve solely as protest music. Furthermore, protest songs are not associated with a specific musical genre; in fact, these songs can be sourced from classical music, folk songs, spirituals, labour songs, hymns, popular songs and rock. Although not all protest songs are examples of musical mastery, part of their ‘success’ can be attributed to the structure of the songs – simple, repetitive phrases with a strong vocal line, making it easy for a group or audience to sing along. As to a definition of protest songs, in this article it is posited that protest songs (insofar as they are perceived as such) typically consist of social and political commentary and/or criticism, reflecting the personal emotions, opinions and beliefs of the songwriter and/or singer while resonating with the listener on a deeply personal level. Moreover, the collective singing of protest songs creates a feeling of belonging to a group, of “belonging to a larger community ... and empowers activists to believe that they can ultimately affect change” (Brooks 2010:65). The power of protest songs cannot be proven, nor can their ability to prompt major change be evaluated. As Friedman (2013:xvii) remarks, protests songs have become an integral part of our society and “the far more lasting significance of the musical canon of protest music is what it reveals about the human condition in the modern world of mass mobilization, mass politics, and mass media.”

In South Africa, protest songs played an important role during the years of struggle against apartheid,² often forming part of (non-violent) demonstrations, rallies and meetings, etc. to highlight

² Protest songs sung during apartheid also play an important role in post-apartheid South Africa – new songs have been created, but old songs are still sung with lyrics changed to suit peoples’ needs.

pressing socio-political problems. Numerous songs were banned by the apartheid government and several musicians felt a compelling need to leave South Africa, creating tension between those who stayed behind and the exiled musicians who received more attention internationally and were thus believed to have been the “key revolutionaries in the struggle” (Byerly 2008:263). However, Vershbow (2010:4) maintains that the different groups of musicians active in the music landscape during apartheid played an equally important role in securing the “eventual triumph” of the resistance. Included in this group were also white South African musicians who became increasingly dissatisfied with apartheid and the subsequent effect it had on the South African society as a whole. The search for a new Afrikaner identity already started as ‘early’ as 1989 with the Voëlvry movement. The members rebelled against the policies of the apartheid government and its affiliated Afrikaner nationalism while promoting Afrikaans as an acceptable language to express strong emotions (Du Preez 2006:6):

Voëlvry helped liberate Afrikaans from the clammy paws of the Broeders³ and other greyshoed ooms⁴ of Afrikaner nationalism, the kultuurkoeke,⁵ the dominees⁶ and Bles Bridges.⁷ Afrikaans suddenly became sexy. Voëlvry was the Boere-Woodstock. It was a significant movement in every social, political, cultural and musical sense of the word.

This period of intense and disruptive music making in the form of protest songs had a much bigger impact than the artists had expected. In a 1996 interview with Ingrid Byerly (2010:120), Johannes Kerkerrel remarked that,

[W]e never really set out to end apartheid through music. We were arrogant, but not that arrogant. We were mostly just angry. But also having a lot of fun. Really, we were trying to expose the craziness of the world our parents had created for us, and somehow it had this enormous effect. People took us far more seriously than we took ourselves.

Even so, the collective musical undertakings of this time most likely prepared the way for the emergence of a young, dynamic generation of artists who, similar to Voëlvry, are not afraid to speak their minds in Afrikaans or any other language they feel comfortable with and criticise the current government and any other social issues deemed unacceptable. Bosman (2004:28) indicates that some of the Voëlvry artists parodied FAK songs in their own music at a time during the eighties in which the FAK organisation became increasingly unpopular and the FAK “vaderlandsliedere” (fatherland songs) were sung less and less frequently.

³ A reference to the Afrikaner Broederbond.

⁴ uncle

⁵ conservative culturalists

⁶ church minister

⁷ Bles Bridges was a South African singer.

The years before and after the first democratic elections in 1994 were characterized by (noticeably white) musicians' attempts to unite 'black and white' through popular music. While some endeavours were significant and successful, others failed because of "many white popular musicians and audiences whose connection to South Africa in the post-apartheid era is at best mythical, tentative or confused, and at worst self-serving or non-existent" (Ballantine 2004:112). After just a few short years, the general optimism felt by many South Africans made way for disappointment and criticism, becoming especially apparent in protest song lyrics.

Forming part of the vast array of popular song genres in post-apartheid South Africa, the FAK songbook made a quiet comeback when Johannes Kerkorrel recorded an FAK folk song ("Al lê die berge nog so blou" (Even though the mountains still lie so blue) in 1996 (Bosman 2004:45). From 2001 onwards, more and more artists turned to the FAK songbook for inspiration. In current-day South Africa, a rather interesting collection of 'recycled' FAK songs has been disseminated within the public domain: folk songs that have been re-recorded, either in original version, or with slightly changed/new lyrics and/or melodies, and melodic/lyric elements of FAK folk songs incorporated into newly composed songs. Content wise, these 'new' songs touch upon a variety of topics, including love, satire, social commentary and (political) protest.

Although the original FAK folk songs were contextually bound to specific historical events or periods, they are reintroduced, albeit often in a different format, in a post-apartheid milieu, representative of a changed political climate in South Africa. The familiarity and association provided by the FAK folk songs/elements contribute to establishing rapport with the changing environment, thus allowing, for example, concern, frustration and protest to be effectively communicated to the listener.

These songs do not only convey the artists' opinions or attitudes, but from an ideology-critical point of departure this article aims to uncover what I believe to be an underlying philosophical deep structure, indicative of fundamental values and priorities that can be highlighted by testing the songs against ethically existential components of this philosophical deep structure called 'postures'. These ethical postures concern the basic questions of 'What are we?' and 'What must we do?', and by asking these questions, new meanings will emerge from the song texts, opening up postural stances which might go unnoticed in the context of a less rigorous analysis. The above-mentioned questions about human existence pertain to a theoretical framework developed by the South African

philosopher Johann Visagie, which forms part of a bigger model called Discourse Archaeology (DA), and which I shall use as the overarching interpretative point of departure for my analysis. This DA model consists of several interacting sub-theories that are used to reach and analyse the deeper strata of discourse, enabling the analyst to examine wide-ranging fields, “all of them having to do with questions of origin and ground, root and centre, on the level of praxis as well as theory” (Visagie 2007:2).

With this article, I will thus demonstrate how Postural Theory can assist in providing some answers to the questions posed above to reveal deeper insight and understanding of these songs against the background of the current political climate in South African than has hitherto been achieved in existing ideology-critical musicological studies engaging with Afrikaans popular music. Visagie's theory has been employed to analyse Afrikaans protest songs in the recent past: Viljoen (2005 and 2011) has applied one of his models, but only as a substrate in complement with other theories. Lambrechts & Visagie (2009) connect Vladimir Karbusicky's rather limited structuralist framework with two concepts found in Visagie's ideology-critical theory, namely that of the hypernorm and critical figurative semiotics. Lambrechts & Viljoen (2010) combine metaphor analysis and ideology critique found in Visagie's Critical Theory in order to do ideology-critical analyses of Afrikaner freedom songs. While their analyses highlight important dimensions of the songs with which they engage, the intention of this article is to adopt a more rigorous deep-structured approach of Postural Theory, which can only benefit the interdisciplinary complexity of the topic as presented in this article. By referring back to the postural dynamics present in the original FAK folk songs or elements used in the 'new' songs, the ideology-critical reading presented in this article attempts to unveil the extent to which 'new' Afrikaners reinvented themselves in order to understand the roles they are to assume in post-apartheid South Africa.

Following an introduction to Visagie's Postural Theory, a selection of 'new' FAK songs or songs with fragments or elements thereof will be presented and discussed. The songs were produced and recorded between 1988 and 2007, making this analysis a relevant and valuable addition to existing inter-disciplinary studies such as those cited above. The members of the Voëlvry movement were the first to use the FAK songbook in an apartheid milieu as inspiration for newly composed songs; therefore, I will refer to those songs at the beginning of my analyses, although they only used fragments of the original FAK folk songs. This will be followed by an analysis of post-apartheid songs, which also exclusively refer to FAK folk songs or contain melodies/fragments thereof, thus aiming to demonstrate the cardinal role of the 'past' in *both* the apartheid and post-apartheid artists'

interpretations of, and their ability to come to terms with, the socio-political environment of the respective eras.

2. Postural Theory

Similar to Figurative Semiotics Theory,⁸ Postural Theory⁹ proves to be quite accessible in that it deals with postures that are experienced by us on a daily basis. Not only do the postures apply to individuals, but they also transcend time, place, religion, societies, cultures and philosophies. As mentioned earlier, the two questions of ‘What are we?’ and ‘What must we do?’ are central to the most basic characteristics of the human condition. Postural Theory provides us with a ‘postural wheel of existence’ containing prevailing measures for being human, and for living meaningfully and ethically (Visagie 2007:12).

The first group of postures on this wheel is the ‘dark side’ postures: experiencing *meaninglessness*, *suffering*, and *guilt*, all normative conditions that we should permit ourselves to experience from time to time. On the ‘light side’, Postural Theory responds to the above-mentioned questions by proposing that, apart from experiencing the actual postures, we have postural *actions* to observe – we should go to *work*, but at the same time we need the time to *rest* and *relax*. Likewise, a complementary posture to the last-mentioned postural actions requires us to *withdraw* and *reflect* on the problems and meaning of reality and of our own lives (Visagie 2007:12). A further, open-ended posture includes some general normative values such as *letting go* of (or *giving up*) things when necessary, *humility*, *compassion*, *joy*, *justice*, *love*, *peace*, *hope* and *ecstatic transcendence*, but the focal point of these light postures is the concept of *taking care* (ethically and morally): of nature, culture, oneself as well as others. Visagie (2007:14) also defines a grey side on the wheel of life, which can be described as small, but irritating occurrences forming the *frustrating* part of everyday life, located somewhere between light and dark, hindering our efforts to achieve diverse goals.

A final layer found at the ‘centre’ of the wheel (with spokes pointing to both the dark and light postures) represents postural themes such as *success*, *power*, *fullness*, *perfection* and *glory* – all opposites of postural *failure* (Visagie 2007:13). Thus, a general experience of postural life would

⁸ For a detailed introduction and application, see Schutte, C. 2013. Music as symbol: the role of GDR ‘rote Lieder’ and FAK songs. In: Schutte, C. Music and Discourse Archaeology: Critical Studies of GDR ‘rote Lieder’ and Afrikaans “Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere” as based on a model of interacting philosophical sub-theories. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State. (unpublished PhD dissertation.)

⁹ Postural Theory is grouped under the ‘Ethics and Belief faculty’ of Johann Visagie’s Discourse Archaeology.

include experiencing the different postures (light and dark) as failures or successes. However, Visagie (2007:22) states that “although the model of the wheel of life has its dark side and its light side (as well as its grey side), there is obviously a predisposition on human beings to continually try and move from the former to the latter side”. That is to say, this natural inclination to survive is surpassed by our will to experience and thrive on love, joy and hope, etc. As a final observation, it should be noted that postures might act as clusters, stand in opposition or work together in partnerships. Further insights into Postural Theory will become apparent in the subsequent discussion and analyses of FAK-inspired protest songs.

3. Postures in protest songs

The selection of apartheid and post-apartheid protest songs are based on and/or influenced by eight different songs found in the 1968¹⁰ version of the FAK songbook. The songs originate from different sections of the songbook, namely “Volk en Vaderland” (Nation and Fatherland), “Lewenswel en Lewenswee” (Life’s weal and woe), “Liefdeslag en Liefdesleed” (The laughter and grief of love), “Pieknieklidjies” (Picnic songs) and “Meerstemmig verwerkte volksliedjies” (Harmonically arranged folk songs).

Before we consider the first song, I would already like to make the reader aware of the strong presence of the contemplation posture in *all* of the ‘new’ FAK songs. The songs are a result of reflection: the artists chose not to write ‘frivolous’ songs about ‘ordinary’ matters such as work or love or sport (which incidentally form part of the threefold answer to the below-mentioned questions). Instead, they decided to answer the primal postural questions of ‘Who am I?’ and ‘What am I to do?’ by *contemplating* their current life situation within the complex socio-political South African context.

It must have been quite daring at the time for the Voëlvry musicians to integrate FAK songs into their own compositions, but the criticism, satire and protest resulting from the careful re-arrangement of FAK lyrics and music are too poignant to ignore, as is also the case in the post-apartheid protest songs. As a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism, the FAK songbook constituted the light posture of *taking care* (in this case of one’s own [culture]) during apartheid, and this naturally resulted in the emergence of the dark side of this posture of *not taking care* of others. Despite

¹⁰ Although all the songs appear in later editions of the FAK songbook, I prefer to use the 1968 version of the FAK songbook because it was published during a time in which apartheid flourished.

numerous adapted editions, the stigma surrounding the FAK songbook remains even today and this article will therefore investigate the subversive role of FAK citations in apartheid and post-apartheid protest songs by way of an application of Visagie's postural theory.

The period leading up to the first Voëlvry tour concert in 1989 was a time of rebellion. Young, white South Africans started breaking away from their conservative Afrikaner background in search of something different, "away from the suffocating myth of a chosen people in a la-la land of braaivleis, rugby and sunny skies ... across the Rubicon on a Boere Blues Great Trek to a brighter future. And it rocked" (Hopkins 2006:14). The eighties were marked by extreme political turmoil: violent protests, police brutality and the declaration of a state of emergency by President P.W. Botha in 1985. By the end of the decade, South Africa was "on the verge of complete chaos" (Sonnenborn 2010:74 ff.). Criticism and resistance against the apartheid government increased drastically and as Ballantine (1989:309) describes, "the state found itself having to contain a pre-revolutionary uprising". In the midst of these events, the Voëlvry musicians initiated their own 'musical uprising' to denounce apartheid policies and enforce critical thinking.

In order to investigate the ways in which these sentiments were expressed in Afrikaans protest songs of the period, I will now introduce three songs taken from the Voëlvry movement in which FAK folk songs were integrated, either melodically or lyrically. Each song will be preceded by a brief discussion of the 'original' FAK folk song that served as inspiration for the song in question.

Although many different speculations exist, the origin of the first verse of the FAK version of the song "Siembamba" remains unclear, especially when trying to decipher the lyrics, but it is generally accepted as being a kind of nursery rhyme or lullaby. The author of "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" (The Call of South Africa), C.J. Langenhoven, provided the song with five more verses:

Siembamba, mama se kindjie,
Siembamba, mama se kindjie
Draai sy nek om, gooi hom in die sloot,
Trap op sy kop dan is hy dood.

Siembamba, mother's little child,
Siembamba, mother's little child
twist his neck and throw him in the ditch
Step on his head and then he will be dead

Siembamba, ek is 'n baba,
Siembamba, ek is 'n baba
Pas my veilig op in die nood,
Sus my liefies op die skoot.

Siembamba, I am a baby,
Siembamba, I am a baby
Look after me in trouble,
Soothe me lovingly on the lap.

Siembamba, ek is 'n seuntjie,

Siembamba, I am a young boy,

Siembamba, ek is 'n seuntjie
Maar jy sal sien ek is net nou groot,
Slaan maar die orige kêrels dood.

Siembamba, I am a young boy
But you will see that I will be grown up soon,
Beat the rest of the boyfriends to death.

Siembamba, ek is 'n jonkman,
Siembamba, ek is 'n jonkman
Tel my nou maar af van die skoot,
Ek slaan self die kêrels dood.

Siembamba, I am a young man,
Siembamba, I am a young man
Take me away from the lap now
I myself will beat the boyfriends to death.

Siembamba, ek is getroud nou,
Siembamba, ek is getroud nou
Maar sy dink ek is nog op die skoot,
Wil nie glo nie ek is groot.

Siembamba, I am now married,
Siembamba, I am now married
But she thinks I am still on the lap,
Does not want to believe that I am grown up

Siembamba, almal baba's,
Siembamba, almal baba's,
Al die mans is danig groot
Almal baba's tot hul dood.

Siembamba, everyone is babies,
Siembamba, everyone is babies
All the men are apparently grown-up
Everyone babies until they die.

Clearly, C.J. Langenhoven intended this song as a 'non-political' satire, using his wit to mock the men of his time by way of a depiction, which is, of course, a gross generalisation. Despite being entertaining, the song is suggestive of an ideologically slanted 'truth' behind the lyrics. Based on how little we know about the origin of this song, I would not like to make assumptions about the first verse from the vantage point of Postural Theory, but I would like to suggest that the rest of the verses display elements of *play* with a hint of *contemplation* in response to this satire.

The song "Siembamba"¹¹ was recorded during a live performance in 1989¹² and appears on the CD, *Voëlvry, die toer*, released as a compilation in 2002. Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel co-wrote this version of 'Siembamba' and managed to maintain the same 'atmosphere of innocence' of the original song by using a broken-chord figure and simple piano accompaniment:

Siembamba, baba is 'n junky
Siembamba, baba is 'n junky
Want pappa naai escorts
En mamma lê dronk
en baba gooi 'n handvol pille in sy mond

Siembamba, baby is a junky
Siembamba, baby is a junky
because daddy fucks escorts
and mommy lies drunk
and baby throws a handful of pills in his mouth

(Hierdie liedjie is geskryf deur my woonstelmaat en daarvoor is hy gefire uit die staatsdiens¹³)¹⁴

¹¹ This song was also adapted in 1989 to criticise the decision of the University of Stellenbosch to ban a Voëlvry performance on the campus (Hopkins 2006:183).

¹² Unfortunately, the exact date is not known.

¹³ This song was written by my flatmate and for this, he was fired from the civil service.

¹⁴ Although this is not part of the lyrics, it can be heard on the recording. I feel it is important to include because it emphasises the risk involved for the singers at the time.

Siembamba, Siphoo gooi klippe
Siembamba, Siphoo gooi klippe
slaan hom met 'n knuppel
rol hom in die sloot
laat hom op seep gly dan is hy dood¹⁵

Siembamba, Siphoo throws stones
Siembamba, Siphoo throws stones
hit him with a club
roll him into the ditch
let him slip on soap and then he will be dead

Siembamba, vergeet van 'n toekoms
Siembamba, vergeet van jou hoekoms
bly in jou suburb, lees jou koerant
en voor jy weet is die fokken plek aan die brand

Siembamba, forget about a future
Siembamba, forget about your why's
stay in your suburb, read your newspaper
and before you know it, the fucking place is burning

Siembamba, Rozanne¹⁶ skryf gedigte
Siembamba, Rozanne skryf gedigte
Vat haar pen af, stuur haar na haar moer toe
Sê vir oupa daarvan dan kry hy kreef

Siembamba, Ruzanne writes poems
Siembamba, Ruzanne writes poems
Take away her pen, tell her to sod off
Tell grandfather about it and he will get lobster

The impact created by this song can be contributed to the fact that the *original* FAK version is a well-known and cherished lullaby among white South Africans. Yet in its revised version, we are confronted by two politically 'leftist' artists who wanted to let the world know about the *suffering* and pain experienced in apartheid South Africa. Certainly not oblivious to the cultural value of this song, Kombuis and Kerkorrel intended to shock with abandon with their less-than-rosy description of an 'untainted world' that also forms part of the realities of white South Africa, a characteristic present in many of their songs. Engelbrecht (2002) writes, "in die musiek is die valsheid en pretensie van die Afrikaanse kultuur ontmasker" (the falseness and pretence of the Afrikaans culture is unmasked in the music).

In the first verse, they touch upon social issues that were not discussed openly at the time, creating a stark contrast between the innocence of the lullaby and certain realities. In the same vein they sing about the stone-throwing violence of black people (represented by 'Siphoo') and the ensuing punishment ("slaan hom met 'n knuppel" [hit him with a club]) and even death. The phrase "Rol hom in die sloot" (roll him into the ditch) accentuates the extremely low regard held for non-whites in South Africa and the many 'accidental deaths' or 'death in detention' so common during apartheid is reflected in "laat hom op seep gly dan is hy dood" (let him slip on soap and then he will be dead). The white South Africans are criticised for their ignorance ("vergeet van jou hoekoms" [forget about your why's]) and refusal to acknowledge ("bly in jou suburb" [stay in your suburb]) the critical situation in the country which saw serious political violence in the 1980s. The song ends

¹⁵ This phrase refers to the cause of death given by the police after a political detainee died in detention during apartheid (<http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/1967-terrorist-act-no-83-1967>).

¹⁶ Rozanne Botha is a singer and the daughter of former State President P.W. Botha. She had a weekly column in *Beeld* and *Die Burger*, two South African newspapers.

with a satire aimed at the then State President's daughter, Rozanne Botha, and her poems¹⁷, much criticised not because of political content (to the disappointment of many her poems contained no political content), but because of poor quality (Hambidge 1991).

Some similarities exist between the mother who *takes care* of her child and expresses her *love* by singing 'Siembamba' to rock a baby to sleep, and the 'Siembamba' of Kombuis and Kerkorrel. Just like the mother singing to her child, Kombuis and Kerkorrel *contemplated* the existence of fellow (non-white) South Africans, revealing the light posture of *taking care of others*, and even taking risks with the potential of being harmed by their own cultural group. The posture of *taking care* seems to be quite problematic here: the moment someone does not behave according to what the own cultural group prescribes he/she is cast out. Helped on by the irony created with the song's contrasting accompaniment, the *absence of taking care of others* is highlighted and the severity of the political crisis becomes even clearer. In two CD reviews, Botes (2002) describes the Voëlvry musicians as "'n eerlike spieël vir 'n verkragte, wettelose, vervolgende, moordende, skynheilige, sterwende land'" (an honest mirror of a raping, lawless, persecuting, murdering, hypocritical, dying country). By contrast, Pompies (2002) calls Siembamba a 'tour de force' with the audience demonstrating solidarity and compassion – a kind of impact the original song cannot claim. Whether the audience really understood the irony and satire of the songs remains doubtful – the tour manager, Dirk Uys, was of the opinion that a mere forty percent of concertgoers grasped the significance of the music and lyrics (Grundlingh 2004:504).

Two other songs that were partly influenced by the FAK songbook are "Blond en blou" (Blonde and blue) and "Swart September" (black September), both written by Koos Kombuis¹⁸ and released in 1988 on LP (Niemandland and beyond) and again in 1994 on CD. The first-mentioned song was inspired by a song called "Dis al" (That's all), written by Jan Celliers and composed by J. Joubert (1968:295). The lyrics of the original FAK song are simple and contain a minimalistic, but compelling narrative about an Anglo Boer War exile returning home, only to find desolation and the loss of a loved one:

Dis die blond, dis die blou,
dis die veld, dis die lug;
En 'n voël draai bowe in eensame vlug
Dis al.

It's the blonde, it's the blue,
it's the field, it's the air;
And a bird turns in the air during a lonely flight
That's all.

¹⁷ Botha, R. 1988. *Libra*. Pretoria: Joan Lötter Publikasies.

¹⁸ This album was released under the name 'Koos Kombuis' who was previously known as André Letoit (Hopkins 2006:220-221).

Dis 'n balling gekom oor die oseaan,
Dis 'n graf in die gras,
Dis 'n vallende traan
Dis al.

It's an exile who came across the ocean,
It's a grave in the grass,
It's a falling tear
That's all.

Dis die blond, dis die blou,
dis die veld, dis die lug;
En 'n voël draai bowe in eensame vlug
Dis al.

It's the blonde, it's the blue,
it's the field, it's the air;
And a bird turns in the air during a lonely flight
That's all.

The accompaniment provided for this song in the FAK songbook is very rich and dramatic in comparison to the relatively simple lyrics: full chords and very specific indications pertaining to the performance of the piece (including tempi and dynamics). Intricate harmonic changes in the first verse as well as a more serious tone brought about by introducing a minor key in the second verse contributes to the overall solemnity, hence substantiating the *contemplation* posture suggested by the music.

Koos Kombuis composed new music for his political parody on the original FAK version, only adapting the first verse of the above-mentioned song to fit his needs, using the same 'rhythmic structure' throughout:

Dis die blond
Dis die blou
Dis die veld
Dis die lug
En 'n bomwerper draai bo
in eensame vlug
Dis al

It's the blond¹⁹
It's the blue
It's the land
It's the sky
And the bomber turns above
In lonely flight
That's all

Dis die spieël
In die water
Dis die groot
Staatsteater
Delarey en De Wet
word hoe later hoe kwater
Gaan mal

It's the reflection
In the water
It is the great
State Theatre
Delarey and De Wet
Have become agrier
Go crazy

Dis die lug
Dis die veld
Dis 'n nasie
Se held
Dis kokkerotte en vrot

It's the air
It's the land
It's a nation's
Hero
It's cockroaches and decay

¹⁹ The lyrics and translation were taken from Hopkins (2006:194-195), but may deviate from the recording.

in die boere se geld
Rot en kaal

Dis Tutu
Dis Boesak
Dis 'n wit volk
Wat afkak
Maar Genis suig sy pyp
By die koöperasie se afdak
Hang bal

Dis tussenverkiesings
Male sonder tal
Dis die spanning wat styg
En die rand wat nog val
Dis lokasies vol bloed
Oral in die Transvaal
O, hel

Daar's water
Daar's goud
'n Boerevolk
So benoud
Van die ZAR deur
Die kolonie se boud
Tot Natal

Dis ontug
En meng
Nog 'n speelvak
Verleng
Trane en blydschap
In ou Bethlehem-
stad

Dis die blond
Dis die swart
Dis 'n weduwee
Se smart
Dis Paul Kruger wat nog kla
oor die pyn in sy hart
En sy gal

Dis die land
Dis die see
Dis die Zoeloes
teen die AWB
Nog 'n oorlog kry end
Nog 'n veld monument
Dis al

in the Boers' money
Rotten and worthless

It's Tutu
It's Boesak
It's the white people
Who struggle
But Genis smokes his pipe
On the cooperative's verandah
Hang loose

It's by-elections
Time after time
It's tension that rises
And the currency that falls
It's townships full of blood
Everywhere in the Transvaal
Oh, hell

There's water
There's gold
A people's
Anxiety
From the ZAR
Through the colony's rump
To Natal

There's immorality
And mixing
Another run
Extended
Tears and joy
In old Bethlehem
town

It's the blond
It's the black
It's a widow's
Grief
It's Paul Kruger who still complains
About the pain in his heart
And his bile

It's the country
It's the sea
It's the Zulus
Against the AWB
Another war ends
Another field monument
That's all

Dis die blond
Dis die blou
Dis die veld
Dis die lug
En 'n bomwerper draai bo
in eensame vlug
dis al
dis al

It's the blond
It's the blue
It's the land
It's the sky
And the bomber turns above
In lonely flight
That's all
That's all

Dis die blond
Dis die blou
Dis die veld
Dis die lug
En 'n bomwerper draai bo
in eensame vlug
dis al
dis al

It's the blond
It's the blue
It's the land
It's the sky
And the bomber turns above
In lonely flight
That's all
That's all

The song starts with a striking recitation of the first two verses accompanied only by drums playing repeated rhythm patterns. The general beat of the song creates a kind of urgency, pressing the music forward, suggestive of a musical 'riot', probably also intended to get pulses running and involve the listener. Already in the first verse, Kombuis refers to the ever-present national military power ("bomwerper" [bomber]) which served to keep everyone 'under constraint' and finishes the verse with a sarcastic "dis al" (that's all) (also repeated in the last two verses). At the end of the second verse guitars join in with the phrase "gaan mal" (go crazy) and the song ends in a crescendo of drums, cymbals and guitars.

The disregard of the nationalist government becomes apparent in the fourth verse with the prominent church leaders Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak fighting apartheid with their stirring sermons whereas the apartheid government does nothing ("Genis²⁰ suig sy pyp ... hang bal" [Genis smokes his pipe ... hang loose]). Violence in townships across South Africa ("lokasies vol bloed" [townships full of blood]) as well as the very often militant opposition of the right-wing political party (AWB) against political reform in South Africa ("die Zoeloes teen die AWB" [the Zulus against the AWB]) are referred to as only a few examples of the violent landscape of the eighties. Along with the political decline came economic instability with white South African farmers receiving fewer subsidies from the government ("kokkerotte en vrot in die boere se geld" [cockroaches and decay in the Boers' money]) as a direct result of international sanctions and disinvestments. Throughout the song the slow demise of apartheid South Africa is very noticeable

²⁰ Genis is a character, seemingly always aggrieved, in an Afrikaans comedy drama shown on South African TV between 1982 and 1987 called "Koöperasiestories" (Co-op storie).

with phrases such as “’n wit volk wat afkak” (the white people who struggle), “spanning wat styg” (tension that rises), “die rand wat nog val” (the currency that falls), “Boerevolk so benoud” (people's anxiety) and “weduwee se smart” (a widow’s grief).

Irony is used to the point of perfection throughout the song, creating a biting contrast to the original FAK version with each verse containing a juxtapositioning of light postures and dark postures. With his political commentary, Kombuis *attacks* the *meaninglessness* and *suffering* in apartheid South Africa with this song, possibly with the hope of making people at least feel *guilty* about the current situation, which would be a small step in the direction of *humility*. Shaun de Waal (1990) praises Kombuis’s “brilliant lyrics” and he later comments that “only LeToit could get away with a rhyme as outrageous as ‘dis Tutu, dis Boesak, dis ’n wit volk wat afkak’, which he does in a funky number that should do the rounds at parties ...”. It most certainly was not the original aim of the artist to make a ‘party hit’ out of a protest song, and it once again brings up the question of if and how well protest songs were really understood.

My interest in the song called “Swart September” (Black September) is mainly focused on the very last verses which Koos Kombuis constructed on the lyrics of “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika”. For the sake of accuracy, the complete song is given below with a brief sketch of the political content before moving on to the last three verses:

Plant vir my ’n Namibsroos
verafgelee Welwitschia
hervestig hom in Hillbrow
En doop hom Khayelitsha

Plant me a Namib rose²¹
Remote Welwitschia
Replant it in Hillbrow
And christen it Khayelitsha

September is die mooiste,
mooïste maand
Viooltjies in die voorhuis
En riots oral oor die land

September is the most beautiful,
beautiful month
Violets in the living room
And riots across the land

Die swarte sonder pas
O, die swarte sonder pas
Skuifel langs die mure
Red sy eie bas

The black without a pass
Oh, the black without a pass
Shuffles along the wall
Rescues his own arse

Die aand was dit vrolik
om die vure;
Gatiep was olik
By die bure

This evening was lovely
round the fires;
Gatiep was sick
At the neighbours

²¹ The lyrics and translation were taken from Hopkins (2006:132-133), but may deviate strongly from the recording.

Die tyres het gebrand
Daar by Mannenberg se kant
Al die volk was hoenderkop
Die Caspers vol R-4's gestop

The tyres burnt
There by Mannenberg
All the people were drunk
The Casspirs loaded with R-4s

En die vrou by die draad
Het eerste die gedruis gehoor
Tjank maar, Ragel, oor jou kind
Die bliksems het hom doodgemoer

And the woman at the fence
Was the first to hear the roar
Weep, Rachel, for your child
The bastards killed him

Almal weet dit, en dis so
Al klink dit ongelooflik:
Die monument op Paarlberg
Is nie argitektonies ooglik

Everyone knows it, because it is so
Even if it sounds unbelievable:
The monument on Paarl Mountain
Is an architectural eyesore

Maar sou jy haar tog liefhê,
Die ongerymde Moedertaal,
Besef jy sy's met clones
en pidgins
Landwyd op die pak

But even if you still love her,
This absurd mother tongue
You realise that with clones
and pidgins
she is on the loose across the land

Van Tafelberg tot in die
Transvaal
Loop hênsoppers weer
deesdae kaal
En is jy wit
of swart
Kak almal in die symste taal

From Table Mountain to the
Transvaal
The betrayers walk
naked again
Irrespective whether you're white
or black
We all shit in the same tongue

Uit die blou van ons gekneusdheid
uit die diepte van ons heimwee
Oor ons ver verlate homelands
Waar die tsotsies antwoord gee

From the blue of our bruises
From the depths of our nostalgia
Across our abandoned homelands
Where the tsotsis give voice

Oor ons afgebrande skole
Met die kreun van honger kinders
Dis die stem van al die squatters
Van ons land, Azania

Over our burnt-down schools
With the groans of hungry children
It's the call of all the squatters
Of our land, Azania

Ons sal traangas, ons sal treurnicht²²
Ons sal offer wat jy vra
Ons sal dobbel in Sun City
Ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika

We shall teargas, we will not mourn
We shall give you what you ask
We shall gamble at Sun City
We for you South Africa

This song,²³ described in the press as “a powerful cry against the ravages of oppression” (De Waal

²² ‘Treurnicht’ also hints at the leader of the South African Conservative Party leader, Andries Treurnicht.

²³ After performing the song at the Rand Afrikaans University, Kombuis was banned from the campus (Hopkins 2004:132).

1990), is a narration of the singer's impressions of the period of serious unrest, demonstrations and ensuing riots that started in September 1984 in South Africa. The declaration of a State of Emergency on 20 July 1985 (Kalley, Schoeman & Andor 1999:495) only aggravated things. For the next five years South Africa was rife with violence ([petrol] bombs, torture (victims often burned alive with tyres around their necks, described in slang terms as a 'necklace'), assassinations, etc.), strikes, and media censorship and banned organisations, an attempt on the government's side to gain control of the situation. In 1990, the State of Emergency was lifted by State President F.W. de Klerk.

Kombuis refers to "September is die mooiste, mooiste maand" (September is the most beautiful, beautiful month) and "viooltjies in die voorhuis" (violets in the living room). Both phrases are taken from a poem called "Oktobermaand" (the month of October) written by the South African poet C.L. Leipoldt, although Kombuis substituted the original month of 'October' with 'September'. Incidentally, Leipoldt's poem was set to music. It can be found in the 1968 FAK songbook. Another South African poet, N.P. Van Wyk Louw's poem Raka is paraphrased ("die aand was dit vrolik om die vure" [this evening was lovely round the fires], "die vrou by die draad het eerste die geruis gehoor" [the woman at the fence was the first to hear the roar]). Kombuis once again borrowed from other precious examples of Afrikaner cultural heirlooms to get his point across.

The more subdued tone of this song indicates a deeply *contemplative* state, coupled with the dark posture of *suffering* ("die swarte sonder pas skuifel langs die mure" [the black without a pass shuffles along the wall], "tyres het gebrand" [tyres burned], "Tjank maar, Ragel, oor jou kind" [Weep, Rachel, for your child], "kreun van honger kinders" [groans of hungry children]). The music reaches a climax in the ninth verse, after which it tones down again and finishes in a minor key.

As mentioned earlier, the last three verses are a cunning parody on the national anthem of apartheid South Africa, with each line beginning with the original lyrics of "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" and ending on newly written lyrics. While the original lyrics propagated the unity of a proud nation and a government that *takes care* of its people, Kombuis successfully dismantles one of the most powerful cultural symbols of the Afrikaners. He demonstrates the brokenness in the country and the division between the different ethnical groups by creating a 'new' anthem for the "homelands" and "squatters" of a new country called Azania. The original music for the national anthem with its full chords and flowing harmonic progressions represents illustrious pride, but the music of this song is reduced to *sadness* and *suffering* in the last two verses. The homelands, burnt-down schools and

hungry children is a direct result of the apartheid policy and the decay of society becomes apparent with “ons sal traangas” (we shall teargas) and “ons sal dobbel in Sun City” (we shall gamble at Sun City). The final phrase (taken directly from the then national anthem), “ons vir jou Suid-Afrika” (we for you South Africa), takes on a completely new meaning, wrought with bitterness and regret.

The lyrics show *no* sign of light postures such as *hope* and there certainly is no *peace* in teargas and burnt-down schools. The only light posture to be seen here is ‘outside’ of the song in the singer's unyielding determination to ‘spread the word’ about the unfairness of apartheid, perhaps trying to find *justice* for the wronged of South Africa. Musically speaking, ‘Niemandslan en beyond’ is called a “musikale kragtoertjie” (musical tour de force) (Ferreira 2001) and the fact that very few songs on this album were given airtime (Koos Kombuis 1994), apparently because of ‘unacceptable swear words’, shows that Kombuis certainly hit a sensitive spot with his politically incorrect lyrics. A blogger (Hopwood 2013) describes the effect of ‘Niemandslan en Beyond’ as follows, which might be exactly what Kombuis aimed to do with this album:

Niemandslan became one of the seminal albums of my life, and for some reason we *always* played it loudly in our digs when we cleaned the house on Sundays. It seemed the right album to play while sweeping out the shit.

The years after the Voëlvry movement leading to the current-day South Africa were quite eventful: The ANC was unbanned and Mandela released in 1990. After the first democratic elections in 1994 with Mandela voted as president, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was formed with a view to finding justice in the transition to a full democracy. In spite of all these and many other positive developments, the country also started suffering under rising unemployment, unsatisfactory health and public services, the HIV pandemic, violent crime, corruption, an increase of inequality and a general decline in economic growth. Against this background, a steady flow of South Africans have been leaving the country, the so-called ‘brain-drain’ effect, in search of work and other living conditions overseas (Collier, Hoeffler & Pattillo 2004:ii15-ii54). Understandably, South Africa citizens are becoming increasingly dissatisfied and frustrated with the government’s handling of the social and economic situation and this discontent is made public through ongoing demonstrations and strikes.

Discontent is also noticeable in the music of different generations of white South African musicians, including those who criticised the apartheid government and now reprove the post-apartheid regime as well. In this regard, let us consider a group of post-apartheid protest songs, composed and

recorded between 2001 and 2007, which in my opinion could be viewed as representing a *contemplative* continuation of the Voëlvry efforts of the 1980s. Once again my focus is exclusively on songs influenced in some way by the FAK songbook, displaying the strong connection some white musicians still have with their ‘past identities’.

In 2001, the South African singer Lucas Maree released a CD called *Blouberg* – a compilation of rearranged traditional Afrikaans folk songs written in a *Zeitgeist* in which more and more artists look to the past for inspiration (Grundling 2001). In an interview (Beyers 2001), Maree explains that he rewrote the FAK songs on this album for his daughters, because they do not have a cultural connection with the sentiments expressed through the original FAK songs. One of the songs he recorded is a rearranged version of “Vat jou goed en trek” (Take your things and move). The 1968 FAK version of this song is as follows:

| | |
|--|--|
| Vat jou goed en trek Ferreira, vat jou goed en trek! Agter die bos is ’n klompie perde, vat jou goed en trek! Swaar dra, al aan die een kant, swaar dra, al aan die een kant, swaar dra, al aan die een kant, vat jou goed en trek! | Take your things and move, Ferreira, take your things and move! Behind the woods are some horses, take your things and move! Heavy carrying on one side, heavy carrying on one side, heavy carrying on one side, take your things and move! ²⁴ |
|--|--|

According to Prinsloo (2004), this song was written by Mrs Annie Molony and Ada van Aardt in frustrated response to a farmer (Ferreira) who did not want to leave his farm after it had been sold to his rich neighbour (Ada van Aardt’s father). Knowing he would attend a local dance, the song was performed at the dance by Mrs Molony and an angry Ferreira finally packed his things and left the farm the next day. Thus, the original version of the song was light-hearted, partly meant as a joke, but also with the intention to *humiliate* and jolt someone into action. In terms of Postural Theory, arguably Ferreira experienced the setup not as a joke, but *suffered* through the *humiliation* of it all. *Guilt* (which finally made Ferreira leave) is generated through experiencing *humiliation* brought on by *suffering* as enforced by Ferreira’s community. The *suffering* of carrying a heavy load might also refer to a historical time in South Africa in which farmers experienced difficulties such as drought and the ensuing debt. Musically speaking, the song has a cheerful character, aided by the key of A major and a simple harmonic progression of I-IV-V, naturally befitting the postural qualities of *play*, as intended by the people making fun of Ferreira. However, the origin of this song is not widely

²⁴ This translation, as well as all other translations of Afrikaans texts presented in this article, is my own.

known and over the years, it has become just one of many ‘harmless’ traditional Afrikaans folk songs. Perhaps that is why Lukas Maree's version of this song is so striking: the ‘innocent’ intent of *playfulness* present in the original version is now replaced by a different postural quality:

Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
vat jou goed en trek ...
ja, vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira -
Jannie met die hoepelbeen
Swaar dra al aan die eenkant
Swaar dra al aan die eenkant
en swaar dra aan die eenkant
laat 'n mens in sirkels trek

Take your things and move, Ferreira,
take your things and move ...
yes, take your things and move, Ferreira -
Jannie with the bandy legs
Heavy carrying on one side
Heavy carrying on one side
and heavy carrying on one side
let you move in circles

Jy is mos gewoon aan trek,
jy doen dit al vir jare
want jy het steeds die swerwersbloed
van Diaz in jou are
en jy voel nog steeds
die winde van die oopsee in jou hare
as jy bedags moet luister
na jou baas en sy besware

You are used to moving,
you've been doing it for years
because you still have Diaz's wanderer blood
in your veins
and you sometimes still feel
the winds of the open sea in your hair
when you listen to your boss and his complaints
during the day

So, vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
vat jou goed en trek ...
ja vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira -
Jannie met die hoepelbeen
Swaar dra al aan die eenkant
Swaar dra al aan die eenkant
jy moet swaar dra aan die eenkant
want dit hou jou op jou plek

So, take your things and move, Ferreira,
take your things and move ...
yes, take your things and move, Ferreira -
Jannie with the bandy legs
Heavy carrying on one side
Heavy carrying on one side
you have to do heavy carrying on one side
because it keeps you in check

Jy wens jy kon soos Piet Retief
die wildernis weer intrek
maar die petrol is te duur
en selfs daar is nie meer plek nie.
Selfs al sou jy êrens
nog 'n stukkie paradys kon kry
is die kanse goed dat jy ook daar
met jou buurman sal baklei.

You wish you could trek into the wilderness
like Piet Retief
but petrol is too expensive
and even there no space is left
Even if you could get
a little piece of paradise somewhere
chances are that you would also fight
with your neighbour there

So vat jou goed en trek Ferreira,
vat jou goed en trek
want sodra jy klaar verkas het
is daar 'n ander in jou plek
en hy sal swaar dra al aan die eenkant
swaar dra al aan die eenkant
want swaar dra aan die eenkant
is polities so korrek

So take your things and move, Ferreira,
take your things and move
because as soon as you leave
there will be another in your place
and he will do heavy carrying on one side
heavy carrying on one side
because heavy carrying on one side
is politically correct

Miskien moet mens maar landuit,
soos Van Riebeeck en sy vrou
wat jare terug 'n nasie
langs 'n vreemde kus wou bou ...
Dalk kan ons daar in die vreemde
weer 'n keer probeer
of dalk moet ons maar bly
en kyk of ons iets leer

Maybe one should leave the country,
just like Van Riebeeck and his wife
who wanted to build a new nation
on a foreign coast ...
Perhaps we should try again
in a foreign country
or perhaps should we stay where we are
and see if we learn something

Ja, vat dan maar jou goed Ferreira,
vat jou goed en trek
jou tasse is gepak
en op vlug een een nul is plek en hy gaan
Swaar dra al aan die eenkant
Swaar dra al aan die eenkant
Swaar dra aan die eenkant
hou jou op jou plek ...

Yes, so then, take your things, Ferreira,
take your things and move
your bags are packed
and there is space on flight 110 and it will
carry heavily on one side
carry heavily on one side
carry heavily on one side
keep you in check ...

The playful musical character of this song matches that of the original folk song, with an upbeat accompaniment and apparent carefree singing by Lukas Maree. One should, however, not be fooled by the light-heartedness of the musical parameters of this song, as the lyrics point to a more serious content. The postural question of ‘What am I to do?’ comes very strongly to the fore in this song, with Maree questioning the future of the Afrikaner in South Africa. The song is introduced by an almost exact version of the original song, telling ‘Ferreira’ (in this song anyone who wishes to leave the country) to take his things and move. It is well known that many South Africans emigrated or considered emigrating after the fall of apartheid and, at first glance, it seems as if Maree is encouraging people to do the same. The chorus ends with a reminder that if you carry a heavy load on one side only, you will end up moving in circles. The newly composed material in this song integrates well with the original song in that the light, *joyous* character is upheld by employing simple harmonies to accompany the somewhat complex theme.

Already in the first verse, *suffering* becomes apparent by juxtaposing freedom with being 'locked in' in everyday life. The boss and his constant complaining form part of the grey postures – small irritations in everyday life that could hinder you from reaching your goal. The person is stuck and perhaps even moving in the ‘circle’ of stifling routine with no escape. Once again the chorus appears, clearly displaying the *suffering* posture again, reaffirming the lack of freedom and confinement of personal circumstances, all too well known in the new South Africa where many whites have become professionally subservient to black bosses. This *suffering* is ‘expected’ from you (“jy moet swaar dra aan die eenkant” [you have to do heavy carrying on the one side]) because it constrains you and keeps you from doing what you really want to do.

The second verse is an even stronger expression of the longing for freedom. Especially the use of Piet Retief's²⁵ name might evoke a very strong association and emotion with 'trekking' into the wilderness, as well as with the Voortrekker Afrikaner heritage. Once again, the grey posture limitations (expensive petrol, too crowded because of all the others who have gone there already) smother any wish of freedom and Maree shatters the last bit of hope by reminding the would-be immigrant that even the overseas 'paradise' is also rife with everyday problems. The dream of escaping to a new life stays just that – a dream, and the person has to *let go* of this impossible dream.

Yet Maree is not finished with his brazen remarks on circumstances in South Africa at the time the song was written. He adds more fuel to the fire with his assertion that people do not *take care* of each other ("want sodra jy klaar verkas het is daar 'n ander in jou plek" [as soon as you leave, there will be another in your place]). Life goes on and the circle of suffering is here to stay. Being white, suffering is mandatory, politically correct and even expected. The chorus is repeated (on the recording), thus accentuating the reality and hard truth of it all. At this point (shortly after Maree ends the chorus with 'politically correct'), a pennywhistle can be heard improvising in a *kwela* style²⁶ on the new material of the song. It is interesting to note that the basic harmonic progressions (I-I-IV-V and I-IV-V-I) also present in *kwela* music (Allen 2005:268), are used to instigate, to some extent, a cultural asymmetry between different cultures, at least on a musical level.

Finally, Maree does *contemplate giving up* and emigrating, but he is still hopeful, albeit slightly indecisive when he *lets go* of the idea of leaving ("perhaps we should stay and see if we learn something"). His final decision to stay becomes apparent in the last chorus when he tells 'Ferreira' to nonetheless take his things and leave (by plane). Despite playing the devil's advocate, Maree could not convince him to stay and he clearly *gives up* on his fellow citizens who decide to leave South Africa. The final phrases of this song are accompanied by ululations²⁷ heard in the background, bringing the song to an evidently *joyous* end. The lyrics speak of *suffering*, but the music speaks of *joy*, expressing a kind of sardonic humour – a final ironic attempt of the singer to indicate the state of affairs in the new South Africa. The song conveys a deep *caring* posture, but as I have indicated earlier, there are two different kinds of *caring* postures: the ethical and the moral.

²⁵ Piet Retief was a South African Boer who was one of the leaders of the so-called Great Trek in 1837.

²⁶ Allen (2005:268) describes *kwela* music as "the repetition of a short harmonic cycle over which a series of short melodies or motifs ... are repeated and varied."

²⁷ Ululations heard in South Africa are typically used to give praise or when hearing good news.

The former is seeking excellence and value for ‘me and my people’, whereas the latter is doing the same for other cultures. Finally, it seems as if the singer displays a gesture of *ethical care*, accordingly *not contemplating* the suffering of the others and the politically incorrectness of it all during apartheid.

“Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira” again appeared on a CD called *Volksbesit 2* in 2003,²⁸ only two years after Lukas Maree had recorded his version of this FAK folk song. The South African singer Karen Zoid, born in 1978 and thus one generation younger than Lukas Maree, has opted for a less traditional arrangement with her rock version of “Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira”:

Jy sê jy is 'n nuwe Afrikaan
Ek dink dis net 'n rede om selfvoldaan te wees
Ons koop die Star vir die Tonight
because what was wrong is still left and right

You say you are a new African
I think it is just a reason to be complacent
We buy the Star²⁹ for the Tonight
because what was wrong is still left and right

Jou leuns sal niemand ooit weer kan vang nie
Mense stel net nie meer belang nie
Elkeen fight sy eie spoke
Dis oraait ons is gebroke

Your lies will never catch anyone again
People just are not interested anymore
Each fights his own ghosts
It is ok, we are broken

Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
Jannie met die hoepelbeen, Ferreira
Agter die huis is ek, Ferreira
Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
Jannie met die hoepelbeen, Ferreira
Agter die huis is ek, Ferreira
Vat jou goed en trek Ferreira, Ferreira

Take your things and move, Ferreira
Jannie with the bandy legs, Ferreira
I am behind the house, Ferreira
Take your things and move, Ferreira
Take your things and move, Ferreira
Jannie with the bandy legs, Ferreira
I am behind the house, Ferreira
Take your things and move, Ferreira

Geen toekoms, is jy tevrede?
FAK jou verlede
Maak my siek met jou pretensie
Gevangene van konsekwensie

No future, are you happy?
FAK your past
Make me sick with your pretentiousness
prisoner of consequence

Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
Jannie met die hoepelbeen, Ferreira
Agter die huis is ek, Ferreira
Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira
Jannie met die hoepelbeen, Ferreira
Agter die huis is ek, Ferreira
Vat jou goed en trek Ferreira, Ferreira (x2)

Take your things and move, Ferreira
Jannie with the bandy legs, Ferreira
I am behind the house, Ferreira
Take your things and move, Ferreira
Take your things and move, Ferreira
Jannie with the bandy legs, Ferreira
I am behind the house, Ferreira
Take your things and move, Ferreira, Ferreira (x2)

²⁸ Even after extensive and careful research, no information could be found concerning the background and circumstances surrounding the production of this CD or the song in question.

²⁹ *The Star* is an independent daily newspaper based in Gauteng, South Africa. One of the many supplements is called ‘Tonight’.

Swaar dra, al aan die een kant (x7)
aan die een kant, aan die een kant

Heavy carrying on the one side (x7)
on the one side, on the one side

In comparison with Maree's version, this song has an almost despondent character, which is only counteracted to a certain degree by the more lively, although not cheerful, chorus. Apart from the deep-rooted *suffering* also evident in the previous versions, an aura of *contemplation* envelops the song both musically and lyrically, underlining what Zoid (2006) wrote three years later:

I love being on stage because it is my own space. You can do whatever you want. There's an immense sense of freedom that I get when I am on stage. I do things I can't do in a conversation, I can say things I can't say in a conversation; I can let things out that sometimes are difficult to say in the context of day-to-day living. We always hope that by our performances we teach people to express themselves.

Zoid certainly does not beat around the bush when, already in the first verse, she accuses some of her fellow citizens of faking the *taking care* posture ("Jy sê jy is 'n nuwe Afrikaan" [you say you are a new African]) in order to relieve or reduce their own *suffering*. This display of arrogance and pretentiousness implies that an important posture is lacking in this particular society, namely that of *humility*. Historically speaking, the *humility* posture was taken very seriously in the Afrikaner life world, but it extended only to the fervent, Calvinist belief in the sovereignty of God. The rest of the world was deemed as inconsequential in the matter of religious principles and therefore only God can be acknowledged. Zoid admits that things are not yet right in the new South Africa. She very clearly states that people should *give up* their revolt and accept that indifference ("mense stel net nie meer belang nie" [people just are not interested anymore]) is now the norm – we only *take care of ourselves* and not of others because the existence we knew is continually threatened more and more. Although the concept of *taking care* is categorised under the 'light' postures, it takes on a self-centred air of self-preservation in this song.

The third verse makes it clear that this song was specifically written for the white Afrikaans-speaking nationalists because of the mention made of the FAK songbook. Like Maree, Zoid also stays close to the original lyrics in the chorus, which are now directed not at the man named Ferreira as such, but at the politically pretentious. Staying within a rock song structure, the chorus is repeated twice after the bridge towards the end of the song, a seemingly way for Zoid to (also) musically attack and drive away those who are not willing to truly *let go* of the past and face the inevitable *suffering*, which she might *hope* will one day lead to redemption and growth. This song is an excellent example of Zoid's hope to use her music as a vehicle to convey opinions that would

challenge and even change peoples' perceptions (Grundling 2002).

The dark posture of *suffering* that seemingly intensifies throughout the above-mentioned songs emerges again in another song recorded by Lukas Maree. "Die blou berg moet ek oor" (I must cross the blue mountain) is also part of the collection on Maree's CD "Blouberg". The 'traditional' version can be found in the 1968 FAK songbook ("Liefdeslag en Liefdesleed" [Love and grief] section) and is referred to as a South African folk song, which was written up in a district called Caledon in South Africa (De Villiers 1986:115):

Die blouberg moet ek oor,
o, die blouberg moet ek oor.
Die blouberg moet ek oor,
want die liefde lê daarvoor.

I must cross the blue mountain
o, I must cross the blue mountain
I must cross the blue mountain
because love is there

As julle weer van my hoor,
as julle weer van my hoor,
as julle weer van my hoor,
is ek dalk deur die Kaffers vermoor.

If you hear from me again,
if you hear from me again,
if you hear from me again,
I might have been murdered by the Kaffirs.

Maar die blouberg moet ek oor,
o, die blouberg moet ek oor.
En as julle weer van my hoor,
o, dan is ek die blouberg oor.

But I must cross the blue mountain,
o, I must cross the blue mountain.
And if you hear from me again,
O, then I have crossed the blue mountain.

This song is known as a love song in South Africa and therefore it is to be expected that *suffering* should make an appearance here. However, the *suffering* is endured in the name of *love* and, of course, followed by *taking care* of someone else. The accompaniment in the FAK songbook changes drastically in the second verse: the new g minor key (the first and third verses are both written in G major) as well as the sudden change in dynamics indubitably mirror the *suffering* and perhaps even death as suggested in the lyrics. This verse also demonstrates the deep-rooted ideological conception of apartheid amongst white South Africans at the time and befittingly it has been removed from the 1986 edition of the FAK songbook. Once again, we look to Lukas Maree for an 'updated' 2001 version of this song where *suffering* for a lover is replaced by *suffering* for (the love of) freedom:

Die blou berg moet ek oor
ja die blou berg moet ek oor
Die blou berg moet ek oor
want die vryheid lê daar voor
Die blou berg moet ek oor

I must cross the blue mountain
yes, I must cross the blue mountain
I must cross the blue mountain
because freedom is there
I must cross the blue mountain

ja die blou berg moet ek oor
Die blou berg moet ek oor
selfs al moet ek als verloor

yes, I must cross the blue mountain
I must cross the blue mountain
even if I have to lose everything

Die hellings is maar steil
ja die hellings is maar steil
met die winde wat kom ruk
hier aan my wa se tent se seil
Die hellings is maar steil
en ek hoor my kinders huil
maar my vryheid sal ek
wragtag nie vir enigiets verruil nie

The slopes are quite steep
yes, the slopes are quite steep
with the winds that come and pull
at the canvas of my wagon's tent
The slopes are quite steep
and I hear my children cry
but I truly will not exchange my freedom
for anything else

As jy weer van my hoor,
ja, as jy weer van my hoor
Is die helfte van my mense
dalk al anderkant vermoor
As jy weer van my hoor,
ja, as jy weer van my hoor
het ek dalk nuwe redes
om die blouberg te moet oor

When you hear from me again,
Yes, when you hear from me again
the half of my people
might be murdered on the other side
When you hear from me again,
Yes, when you hear from me again
I might have new reasons
to have to cross the blue mountain

En so sal dit maar bly,
ja, want soek jy dalk na my
sal jy my in die vreemde
voor 'n nuwe blou berg kry
en so sal dit maar bly,
ja wat, so sal dit maar bly
Solank jy glo in vryheid
wat mens net op plekke kry

And so it will remain,
yes, because if you look for me
you will find me in the unknown
in front of a new blue mountain
and so it will remain,
yes, and so it will remain,
as long as you believe in freedom
you can only find in places

Die blou dam moet ek oor
ja die blou dam moet ek oor
want as ek langer bly
gaan ek alles hier verloor
Die blou dam moet ek oor
ja die blou dam moet ek oor
My skoene lyk na myne
maar dit trap my pa se spoor

I must cross the blue dam
yes, I must cross the blue dam
because if I stay longer
I will lose everything here
I must cross the blue dam
yes, I must cross the blue dam
My shoes look like they belong to me
but they tread my father's footprint

One cannot help but be struck by the incredible sadness portrayed in the atmosphere created by the music and lyrics of this song. The uncomplicated accompaniment, consisting of a guitar and especially a concertina, carries a rich meaning, which might not be recognized by non-South Africans. The concertina calls forth nostalgic memories of traditional Afrikaans folk music. It is also closely associated with the Voortrekkers and often features in traditional “boeremusiek” (Afrikaans folk music mainly played by white, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans). The singer has a very definite aim: crossing the blue mountain, thus providing an answer to the primal question of

‘What am I to do?’ Surely, one does not cross a mountain without a valid reason, and in this case, freedom is the key motivator behind his actions. He is even willing to *give up* and lose everything as long as he can cross the mountain into freedom. In 2001, Maree (2001) explained the title of this CD (*Blouberg*) as follows:

Dit kom uit die feit dat die blou berge nog altyd vir die Afrikaners ’n soort ikoon is vir dit wat gekruis moet word, omdat die vreugde of die vryheid of iets beter aan die anderkant te kry is. Dit is nog steeds waar vir die moderne Afrikaner, wat steeds op trek is omdat hy soek na iets daarbuite wat hy nie binne homself kan vind nie.³⁰

The second verse describes the journey across the blue mountain, and the *suffering* of it all becomes apparent with the steep slopes and the winds tugging at his tent. With the metaphorical reference to the wagon and the tent, Maree conjures up images of Voortrekkers camping in the wilderness while on their journey to freedom by crossing the mountains. Likewise, the crying and ensuing *suffering* of his children make him feel *guilty*, but he knows that when *suffering* ends, relief and freedom set in. He is very specific in the third verse about *his people* who might be murdered, thus giving him another reason to *give up* his current live and cross the blue mountain to freedom. It seems as if the challenges of post-apartheid South Africa are proving to be particularly demanding, so much so that a change of location seems to be the only solution.

Once he has reached the freedom he was so longing for, he will again stand at the foot of a new blue mountain, with new challenges ahead – again the same situation but in a different location. For him it is important to believe in the freedom another location offers. After a bridge, with humming voices added to the guitar and concertina accompaniment, is introduced, the last verse comes as a slight surprise when the singer decides on something more drastic than ‘just’ crossing a mountain. His yearning for freedom is so strong that he is willing to move overseas, crossing the blue dam. Whereas he initially declared himself willing to *give up* everything for freedom and move to a new location, he now is absolutely *convinced* that he will lose everything if he does not leave immediately. Although freedom as such is not a posture (you cannot urge yourself to take on such an inner mind-set as with other postures), it belongs to the political life world in which posture bearers live. History repeats itself – his father’s life history resonates within him and the longing for freedom is as strong in him as it was in his father. The implicitly suggested posture of *guilt* of the present South African political world is intertwined with the same kind of restraint or limitation his

³⁰ It comes from the fact that the blue mountains have always been a type of icon for the Afrikaners of something that needs to be crossed because joy, freedom or something better can be found on the other side. This is still true for the modern Afrikaner who is still on the move because he is looking for something out there that he cannot find inside himself.

father came to know. The postural equivalent to freedom would be the freedom of choice, to change postures, although it seems as if the singer might feel that this option is not available to him. Again, as in Maree's previous song ("Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira"), I fail to detect the acknowledgement of taking care of your own culture (*moral care*) in this song. In fact, this song shows a deficit in *Afrikaner cultural care*. He only *cares* about his own present situation and how to secure his own future – his (often ideologically influenced) nostalgic past is unattainable and thus he is willing to abandon his own culture in exchange for self-preservation. Although there is no problem with feeling nostalgic, the complication only materialises when nostalgia is seemingly interwoven with a kind of implicit worldview model that seems to imply very specific segments of people, society and culture, etc., and by positioning them opposite one another and evaluating them in terms relating to positive and negative.

A deep sense of cultural loss experienced by so many South Africans over the last few decades is also reflected in the lyrics and music of Hanru Niemand's version of the FAK folk song 'Sarie Marais'. First, the original FAK songbook version:

My Sarie Marais is so ver van my hart
Maar ek hoop om haar weer te sien
Sy het in die wyk van die Mooiriver gewoon,
Nog voor die oorlog het begin.

My Sarie Marais is so far from my heart
But I hope to see her again
She lived in the area of the Mooi river
Before the war began

O bring my terug na die ou Transvaal,
Daar waar my Sarie woon,
Daar onder in die mielies
by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais,
Daar onder in die mielies
by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais.

O bring me back to the old Transvaal,
There where my Sarie lives
By the maize
at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives,
By the maize
at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives.

Ek was so bang dat die kakies my sou vang,
En ver oor die see wegstuur;
Toe vlug ek na die kant van die Uppington se sand
Daar onder langs die Grootrivier.

I was so afraid that the khakies³¹ would catch me
and send me away far across the sea,
So I fled to the side of the Uppington sand
along the Groot river.

O bring my terug na die ou Transvaal,
Daar waar my Sarie woon,
Daar onder in die mielies
by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais,
Daar onder in die mielies

O bring me back to the old Transvaal,
There where my Sarie lives
By the maize
at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives,
By the maize

³¹ A nickname given to the English soldiers in the Boer wars.

by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais.

at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives.

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

Salvation came and it was time to go home,
back to the old Transvaal.
my dearest person would probably also be there
to reward me with a kiss.

O bring my terug na die ou Transvaal,
Daar waar my Sarie woon,
Daar onder in die mielies
by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais,
Daar onder in die mielies
by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais.

O bring me back to the old Transvaal,
There where my Sarie lives
By the maize
at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives,
By the maize
at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives.

Die Kakies is mos net soos 'n krokodille pes,
Hul sleep jou altyd water toe.
Hulle gooi jou op 'n skip vir 'n lange, lange "trip",
Die jossie weet waarnatoe.

The Khakis are just like a crocodile pest
They always haul you to the water.
They throw you on a ship for a very long trip,
To who knows where.

O bring my terug na die ou Transvaal,
Daar waar my Sarie woon,
Daar onder in die mielies
by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais,
Daar onder in die mielies
by die groen doringboom,
Daar woon my Sarie Marais.

O bring me back to the old Transvaal,
There where my Sarie lives
By the maize
at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives,
By the maize
at the green thorn tree
There my Sarie Marais lives.

Despite the fact that 'Sarie Marais' is known as a South African folk song, it probably originated in the United States of America and is known there as 'Ellie Rhee'. It is also not quite clear when exactly the lyrics for the South African version were composed, but according to the text, it must have been before one of the two Anglo-Boer Wars, which took place in 1880 and 1899-1902. For the sake of completeness I would like to add that 'Sarie Marais' was categorized under the "Volk en Vaderland" (Nation and Fatherland) section of the 1968 FAK songbook. However, 1986 it was moved to the "Liefde – skeiding en verlange" (Love – separation and longing) section, probably because the song had 'evolved' into a love song since its emergence during the Boer wars. This folk song was sung and is still being sung today at many occasions, especially traditional folk dances (the Afrikaner nation *at play*) and other social gatherings. 'Sarie Marais' is a girlfriend left behind during the war and the soldier sings of his *suffering* of not being able to be with his girlfriend and also of his *love* for her. The other verses describe the *suffering* endured under the British during the war as well as the *joy* and *hope* of going home, possibly after being imprisoned and/or exiled by

the British and finding the beloved waiting.

Hanru Niemand offers 'Sarjie Marais' as a protest song on his 2006 album *Tot stilte* (To silence), changing the original major key to a minor as well as rewriting the lyrics:

My Sarjie Marais lê so ver van my hart
dalk iewers in 'n sloot
Soos Siembamba se kindjie met sy kop oopgeklouf,
ja dalk is my Sarjie dood

My Sarjie Marais is so far from my heart
perhaps somewhere in a ditch
Like Siembamba's child with his head split open
yes, perhaps my Sarjie is dead

O bring my terug na daai ou, ou land
daar waar my Sarjie woon
Waar Siembamba nog speel oor die radio
daai land was so wonderskoon

O bring me back to that old, old country
there, where my Sarjie lives
Where Siembamba still plays on the radio
that country was so beautiful

My Sarjie Marais was 'n Zulu queen
So sal die boeke sê
Of wie weet dalk was sy selfs
'n vrou van die nag
ons weet sy het maklik gaan lê

My Sarjie Marais was a Zulu queen
so the books will say
or who knows, perhaps she was even
a woman of the night
we know she lay down easily

O bring my terug na daai ou, ou land
daar waar my Sarjie woon
Waar Siembamba nog speel oor die radio
daai land was so wonderskoon

O bring me back to that old, old country
there, where my Sarjie lives
Where Siembamba still plays on the radio
that country was so beautiful

My Sarjie Marais is nog hier somewhere
Ek wonder waar sy bly
Dalk lê sy in die boot van 'n Mercedes Benz
die een wat almal wil ry.

My Sarjie Marais is still here somewhere
I wonder where she lives
Perhaps she lies in the boot of a Mercedes Benz
The one everyone wants to drive

O bring my terug na daai ou, ou land
daar waar my Sarjie woon
Waar Siembamba nog speel oor die radio
daai land was so wonderskoon

O bring me back to that old, old country
there, where my Sarjie lives
Where Siembamba still plays on the radio
that country was so beautiful

My Sarjie Marais lê so ver van my hart
dalk iewers in 'n sloot
Soos Siembamba se kindjie met sy kop oopgeklouf,
ja dalk is my Sarjie dood

My Sarjie Marais is so far from my heart
perhaps somewhere in a ditch
Like Siembamba's child with his head split open
yes, perhaps my Sarjie is dead

The acoustic guitar accompaniment to this song creates a bleak, melancholic atmosphere, which almost automatically forces one to pay attention to the lyrics, since the accompaniment unobtrusively aids the acoustic effect with simple harmonies, while leaving the listener space for *contemplation*. The original 'Sarjie Marais' is very well-known in South Africa and the listener

might therefore experience a sentimental attachment to this new arrangement. Niemand combines 'Sarie Marais' with a reference to another well-known folk song, 'Siembamba'³² to extend the degree of sentiment and *suffering* experienced by the singer while looking for his 'Sarie Marais'. Especially the grotesque reference to the "kindjie met sy kop oopgekloof" (child with his head split open) suggests that the singer is expecting the worst for 'Sarie', here representing a metaphor for the suffering Afrikaner.

The chorus is filled with emotion and nostalgia ("bring my terug na daai ou, ou land" [bring me back to that old, old country]; "Waar Siembamba nog speel oor die radio" [Where Siembamba still plays on the radio]; "daai land was so wonderskoon" [that country was so beautiful]) and the singer's *suffering* conveys a kind of bitterness. This all indicates that not only does he fail to let go of the past but he also *refuses* to let go of the past. The singer complains about history books being rewritten in 'favour' of the black majority of South Africa ("so sal die boeke sê" [so the books will say]), questioning the whereabouts of 'Sarie', which at this point we can also assume represents apartheid South Africa with its predominantly Afrikaans culture. The country and traditions he used to know have disappeared. He struggles to find her, but believes that she is still hidden somewhere. His *suffering* (and perhaps rage) has multiplied because of his inability to *let go* of the past. This could be a general symptom present in the minds of many Afrikaans-speaking, white South Africans: longing for the past, which results in struggling or *suffering* in the present. Gobodo-Madikizela (2012:252) is of the opinion that,

white South Africans, especially those whose votes sustained the apartheid government's repressive rule, want to avoid facing the past and confronting their role in its enduring legacy in the lives of the majority of Black people (in all their diversity).

I agree with Nel (2007) that this song qualifies as a protest song, but I differ slightly from her observation:

... Sarie Marais wonder en bekommer oor die toekoms van ons (Afrikaners se) geskiedenis. Maar sonder 'n "ons" vs. "hulle"-beskuldiging. Dit lamenteer oor hoe revolusie en evolusie deurentyd en universeel die nuwe omhels en die ou vergeet en heeltemal begrawe.³³

Admittedly, one has the *ethical* obligation to *take care* of one's own culture; if not, the culture might

³² To be discussed in more detail later in this article.

³³ Sarie Marais wonders and is worried about the future of our (Afrikaner) history, but without an 'us' vs. 'them' accusation. It laments about how revolution and evolution always and universally embrace the new and forget and completely bury the old.

disappear. At the same time, one has the *moral* obligation to take into consideration other cultures as well in order to promote some sort of peaceful co-existence. After all, the ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ manifests itself in the mention of the rewriting of history books, the radio playing Afrikaans-oriented music, and the fact that post-apartheid South Africa is not as beautiful as the old, apartheid South Africa where ‘Siembamba’ was played on the radio and a blind eye was turned to political atrocity. That places this song in a very specific context, and not in a universal environment.

We now move on to a selection of South African protest songs in which the original folk song (melody) is perhaps not the main focus, but still bestows specific meaning to the song. The first time Karen Zoid used the FAK songbook as inspiration was in 2001 when she released “Afrikaners is plesierig” (Afrikaners are jovial), the original version being yet another very well-known folk song in South Africa, at least among the white, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. It is a light, carefree song with a simple 3/4 time signature and describes an old dance tradition as well as the character of the Afrikaner nation. This is an example of the nation *at play*, in correspondence with one of three basic actions situated on the top layer in Postural Theory:

Afrikaners is plesierig,
dit kan jy my glo
Hulle hou van partytjies
en dan maak hulle so:

Afrikaners are jovial,
you can believe it
They like partying
and then they do this:

Eers draai die ou vrou tjie
En dan draai haar ou man,
En hy vat haar om haar lyfie
en dan draai hulle saam.

First the wife turns
And then her husband turns,
And he puts his arms around her waist
and they turn together.

Goeienag, my ou vrou tjie,
goeienag, my ou man!
Nog net ’n klein tydjie
en dan speel ons weer saam.

Good night, my dear wife,
good night, my dear husband,
Only a little while longer
and then we play together again.

Karen Zoid used this song as the foundation for a protest song loaded with social criticism and commentary, revealing that this song was created while in a relationship with someone whose parents irritated her. “Hulle maak of alles oukei is, maar vergeet dat hulle *major issues* het. As hulle braai, dan *smile* almal en maak of alles oukei is. Die liedjie is daar gebore” (Roggeband 2009:131).³⁴

I’d like to introduce myself: Johanna Ertjekollo

I’d like to introduce myself: Johanna Ertjekollo

³⁴ They pretend that everything is ok, but forget that they have major issues. When they grill, everyone smiles and pretend that everything is ok. The song was born there.

And this is the alternative,
to was so saf and molo
Haai jy loop verby, is mos dekadent
Peace brother, give me five of suig jou peperment
Jy's cool, jy spoel jou mond met Aquafresh
En leer mos al van hip-hop
in jou ma se crèche
Ja, this is alternative but we're not primitive
Some het nog hare op hul lyf but we just like
to live in peace
Ekskuus mevrou, want gaan nou aan?
Ek wil net weet of is die internet dan nou te blaam
Oops! Jou naam, jou naam
I understand madame
Ek ken mevrou
Jy's een van daai's, jy is so bietjie skaam

Afrikaners is plesierig
Dit kan julle glo
Hulle hou van partytjie
En dan maak hulle so
En dan maak hulle so
Babe is jy nog lief vir my? (x3)
Ek gaan iemand anders kry.

Luister hier jou yuppie scum
Jou preconceived millennium man
Ek maak jou kwaad want ek weet ek kan
Gee my nog 'n vatlap government plan
En die bedelaar staan met sy uitsteek hand
En vra my vir net nog twee rand
Mense vrek oor die hele land
En die res lê op Clifton³⁵ se strand
En die music is vinnig
Ek raak opgepsyche
If you don't like it, why don't you take a hike
Almal is anders, sê maar wat jou pla
Hou net op om vrae te vra

Afrikaners is plesierig
Dit kan julle glo
Hulle hou van partytjie
En dan maak hulle so
En dan maak hulle so
Babe is jy nog lief vir my? (x3)
Ek gaan iemand anders vry.

I'd like to now excuse myself
Hul sit honde op mense
Ek gaan liever skape tel op Radio Sonder Grense

And this is the alternative,
to was so saf and molo
hey, you walk past, are decadent
Peace brother, give me five or suck on your mint
You are cool, you rinse your mouth with Aquafresh
and already learned about hip-hop
in your mother's crèche
yes, this is alternative but we are not primitive
Some still have hair on their bodies but we just like
to live in peace
Excuse me, madam, what is going on now?
I just want to know or is the internet to blame now?
Oops! your name, your name
I understand madame
I know you, madame
you are one of those, you are a little bit shy

Afrikaners are jovial
you can believe it
They like partying
and then they do it like this
and then they do it like this
Babe, do you still love me? (x3)
I am going to get someone else.

Listen here, you yuppie scum
you preconceived millennium man
I make you angry because I know I can
give me another potholder government plan
and the beggar stands with his outstretched hand
and asks me for only two rand more
people die all over the country
and the rest lie on Clifton beach
and the music is fast
I get psyched up
If you don't like it, why don't you take a hike
Everyone is different, do say what is bothering you
Just stop asking questions

Afrikaners are jovial
you can believe it
They like partying
And then they do it like this
And then they do it like this
Babe, do you still love me? (x3)
I am going to kiss someone else

I would like to now excuse myself
They put dogs on people
I would rather go and count sheep on RSG³⁶

³⁵ Clifton is an affluent suburb of Cape Town.

³⁶ RSG is a South African radio station aimed at Afrikaans-speaking listeners.

Ja, jy fix my cricket en miskien my rugby
 Bobbie Skinstad³⁷ hoe's daai bene
 Ek kyk nie Currie Cup nie
 Jy's cool
 Jy voel 'n veer vir global warming
 Betogers moet iets anders doen
 Pamflette lees is boring
 Alles is affirmative
 al is jou baas verwant
 Kant sou ook geen kant kon kies
 so swot maar 'wyl jy kan
 Die bank, die bank, die bank
 Vra te veel rente
 Ek speel maar eerder pinball met my 50 sente
 Ek het nie PMS nie, ek's net a natural bitch
 I like to play my guitar
 but I don't have perfect pitch

Yes, you fix my cricket and maybe my rugby
 Bobbie Skinstad, how are those legs?
 I do not watch Currie Cup
 You are cool
 You do not care about global warming
 Demonstrators should do something else
 reading pamphlets are boring
 Everything is affirmative
 even though your boss is
 Kant would also not have been able to choose sides
 so study while you can
 the bank, the bank, the bank
 asks too much interest
 I rather play pinball with my 50 cents
 I do not have PMS, I am just a natural bitch
 I like to play my guitar
 but I do not have perfect pitch

Afrikaners is plesierig
 Dit kan julle glo
 Hulle hou van partytjie
 En dan maak hulle so
 En dan maak hulle so
 Babe, is jy nog lief vir my? (x3)
 Ek gaan iemand anders vry.

Afrikaners are jovial
 you can believe it
 They like partying
 And then they do it like this
 And then they do it like this
 Babe, do you still love me? (x3)
 I am going to kiss someone else.

I find this fast-paced rock song an effective medium for protest and dissent. Zoid's music is described as "pure koel Afrikaans, sexy en "with-it" – iets waarmee alle jongmense kan identifiseer" (pure cool Afrikaans, sexy and with-it – something all young people can identify with) (Pompiescu 2001). For Diedericks-Hugo (2004) this song means much more than any election manifesto. The accompanying bass rhythm, especially during the chorus, is the driving force behind this song and contributes to successfully conveying a message of revolt to the listener.

Zoid comments on many issues in the still young, post-apartheid South Africa with her parody on the original FAK song: peoples' characters and attitudes, the "apathy of young Afrikaners" (Thamm 2011), governmental failures and other everyday occurrences and actions that are part of *being at work, being at rest or play*. Clearly, she took the time to *contemplate* on life in post-apartheid South Africa and she inherently demonstrates a deep sense of *care* for the issues at hand as well as for the social *injustice* incurred. This song seemingly indicates the absence of *care taking*: fellow citizens who choose to ignore problems, who only want to *take care* of their own and remain blissfully ignorant about the *suffering* surrounding them.

³⁷ Bobbie Skinstad is a South African rugby player.

The chorus partly echoes the original FAK folk song, but the sudden intensification of the playfully rapped lyrics, brought on by a hard rock moment on the, perhaps personally intended, phrase “Babe, is jy nog lief vir my” (Babe, do you still love me), immediately changes the song into a full-blown rock number. Throughout the song, Zoid shares her opinion concerning some of her fellow Afrikaners: Yes, they are *jovial* and they like *taking care* of their own, but not of others, ignoring the dark postures and focusing on the light postures, which anyone naturally strives towards, but sometimes at the expense of others. The use of “Afrikaners is plesierig” as part of the chorus would certainly have caught the attention of many different cultures in South Africa, but it could have been the singer’s intention to reach a very specific cultural group that would identify with the chorus of this protest song, namely the previously advantaged white Afrikaner.

The dark-side postures of *meaninglessness*, *suffering* and *guilt* cannot be found directly in the lyrics. However, the creation of this song might have been a result of the singer personally experiencing and observing *meaninglessness* and *suffering* in her immediate social environment, thus leading her to speak out against and *attack* (especially noticeable in the music) those who *induce suffering* with their actions and postures. The *loss of meaning* is paramount for the ‘postural mood’ of the song, and creates a ‘gateway’ to the other dark postures of *suffering* and *guilt*.

As we have seen so far, the impact of a well-known melody, in this case FAK folk songs, can have considerable implications for the construction of new meanings. It assists in, for example, suggesting irony, sarcasm, rage, bitterness and cynicism. I have yet to find an original FAK folk song that was rewritten or rearranged to say something positive about the social situation in South Africa. All artists discussed in this article grew up during apartheid (perhaps with the exception of Hanru Niemand, who was only in his very early teens by the time apartheid fell) and I dare to say that most of them had fond memories of the FAK songbook at some point in their past. Therefore, it is most interesting to see how the artists *let go* of this attachment and use the FAK folk songs to *attack* that which they understand as *unethical* and *immoral*.

In this regard, Amanda Strydom is no exception. The song “Die lied van ou Suid-Afrika” (The song of old South Africa) (2007) is striking, yet personal, and in my opinion, aimed at shocking the listener into *contemplation*:

As jy eendag groot is,
sal jy weet waarvan ek praat

When you are grown up one day,
you will know what I am talking about

Eendag as jy ouer is -
luister na my raad
Dit lyk dalk nou onduidelik,
want jy is nog 'n kind
Jou hele lewe lê nog voor -
jy sal die antwoord vind

Van kleins af hoor ek die refrein
Van tantes, ma's en pa's
Van dominees
wat Sondae hulle donker toga's dra
Onderwysers wat sarkasties vir my sê
hoe om te dink
En leiers wat soos vasgehaakte langspeelplate klink

Vir lank het ek geluister, eerbiedig,
soos dit moet
Vir hul plesier gebokspring,
gesukkel in die stoet
Ek weet nie waar ek hoort nie -
ek voel nog soos 'n kind
My hele lewe lê nog voor -
ek moet die antwoord vind

Ek is al lankal veertig
en word snags nog net so bang
Vir die skadu's teen my venster
en die krake in die gang
Vir die hebsug van 'n wêreld
wat belustig is met mag
Vir die jagters wat op loer lê
om te moor en te verkrag
En die lyke in KwaZulu,
Boipatong en Mitchellsplein
Was tot nou die dag net kinders,
sonder sorg sonder pyn

En van kleins af hoor hul die refrein
Van tantes, ma's en pa's
Van predikers
wat Sondae hulle helder togas dra
Van diktators wat begeesterd vir hul sê
hoe om te dink
En leiers wat soos vasgehaakte langspeelplate klink

As jy eendag groot is,
sal jy weet waarvan ek praat
Eendag as jy ouer is -
luister na my raad
Dit lyk dalk nou onduidelik,

One day when you are older -
listen to my advice
Perhaps it is unclear right now
because you are still a child
your whole life lies ahead of you -
you will find the answer

From a young age I hear the refrain
from aunts, mothers and fathers
from *dominees*³⁸
who wear their dark robes on Sundays
Teachers who tell me sarcastically
how to think
And leaders who sound like stuck LPs

For a very long time I have listened, respectfully
as it should be
leaping for their pleasure
struggled in the procession
I do not know where I belong -
I still feel like a child
My whole life lies ahead of me
I must find the answer

I have turned forty a long time ago
and at night I am still afraid
of the shadows on my windows
and the cracking in the hallway
of the greed of a world
avid with power
for the hunters who are lurking
to kill and to rape
and the bodies in KwaZulu,
Boipatong and Mitchellsplein
Were only children until recently
without worries and without pain

And from a young age they hear the refrain
from aunts, mothers and fathers
from preachers
who wear their light robes on Sundays
from dictators who tell them enthusiastically
how to think
And leaders who sound like stuck LPs

When you are grown up one day,
you will know what I am talking about
One day when you are older -
listen to my advice
Perhaps it is unclear right now

³⁸ The name for a preacher of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa.

want jy is nog 'n kind
Jou hele lewe lê nog voor -
jy sal die antwoord vind

because you are still a child
your whole life lies ahead of you -
you will find the answer

Nooit hoef jou kinders wat trou is te vra
wat beteken jou vlag dan – Suid-Afrika!

Your children who are loyal, never need to ask
What does your flag then mean – South Africa!

What make this song unique and convincing are the melodic inclusion of the almost ‘sacred’ national anthem, “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” (The Call of South Africa) used between 1957 and 1994, as well as a fragment of the “Vlaglied” (Flag song), often sung together with the national anthem at ceremonies during apartheid. I provide a detailed discussion and analysis of both songs in Schutte (2013); therefore, let it suffice to say here that these songs have spoken (and partly still speak) to the Afrikaner nation on an immensely profound ideological level and facilitated and encouraged the distorted, *guilt-free* belief in an unjust system of religiously *taking care of* one nation only that created *suffering* and exclusion on all levels for the majority of South Africans.

The song commences with the singer offering *caring* advice to someone younger than she is, supported by a delicate, lullaby-like piano accompaniment with a broken-chord motive, similar to the chosen accompaniment in Voëlvry’s “Siembamba”. The musical suddenly changes in the chorus (“van kleins af hoor ek die refrein ...” [from a young age I hear the refrain ...]), with a modulation from a major to a minor key as well as a dramatic full-chord accompaniment to accentuate the lyrics of the refrain describing the singer's life under apartheid. This seems to underline musically that sinister reality that the advice she received from the authoritative figures (“dominees” [preachers], “onderwysers” [teachers] and “leiers” [leaders]) in her life was perhaps well meant and considered as exhibiting the light postures of *taking care* and *love*, but in reality they *failed* in doing so.

The second verse returns to the simple innocence introduced at the beginning of the song. This time, however, the singer looks back on her life and at the moment she decided to break away from what had been forced upon her for many years. A life of *contemplation* lies ahead of her, and this brings about *suffering* because her experience of what she saw and is still seeing and is painful; hence, her *suffering* resides *within* the *contemplative* mode and she intends to pass on this tormented message to the listener.

In the middle verse of the song, Strydom confronts the listener with the melody of “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” – the *caretaking* (caring about God, the country and history) channelled through the anthem only brought about more *suffering* and fear to others during apartheid. In this verse the

singer is older and now finds herself in the *new* South Africa, but she is experiencing a similar fear (“word snags nog net so bang vir die skadu’s teen my venster ...” [and at night I am still afraid of the shadows on my windows ...]) as when she was a child during apartheid. She is afraid for her personal safety in the new South Africa, but she is also concerned about the social and political violence (“die lyke in KwaZulu, Boipatong en Mitchellsplein” [the bodies in KwaZulu, Boipatong and Mitchellsplein]) and the deadly effect of systemic violence on innocent people (and specifically on children). Perhaps the old national hymn is employed symbolically in this verse: the troubling circumstances distinctive of apartheid are now also present in post-apartheid South Africa.

Once again, the chorus is heard and it is clear that for the singer nothing has changed. People are still indoctrinated by a particular ideology: circumstances might change, but history repeats itself. A different generation of authoritative figures (“tantes, ma’s en pa’s” [aunts, mothers and fathers], “predikers” [preachers], “diktators” [dictators] and “leiers” [leaders]) tell people what to do. In the last verse her frantic appeal to move people to *contemplation* is ignored; she loses patience and becomes *angry*, almost forcing her advice onto whoever is listening, displaying a somewhat frustrated postural care. The accompaniment becomes agitated and there is no sign of the *loving* advice offered in the first verse. From the perspective of postural theory, it is clear that, although the singer experienced apartheid as indoctrination, in reality this era also represented the worldview of a people who not only *worked* and *played*, but also *contemplated* their own culture and tradition along with life and the world, and came up with a body of doctrine that served as the source of her initial criticism. The song ends with the first phrase of the “Vlaglied” rewritten in the minor, possibly referencing the oppression endured under both the previous and current regimes, suggesting perhaps that the questioning of authority is as futile now as it was then.

4. Conclusion

To conclude my postural reading of Afrikaans protest song texts as presented in this article, I would once again like to point out the posture of *contemplation*, which thematically holds together all the songs analysed in this article. Looking back in terms of my analysis; through their alternative music, the members of the Voëlvry movement wanted to create an awareness of the *suffering* in apartheid South Africa whilst challenging stereotyped notions of white identity in South Africa. A bigger challenge was perhaps to have white people acknowledge that the dark postures of *suffering* and *meaninglessness* were poignantly present in their life worlds, even though they chose to ignore

the dark postures and denied their collective guilt with their illusions of *justice* and *compassion*. Sometimes *moral care* is not enough to keep a society together and it should be expanded to include *ethical care* as well. From the perspective of postural theory, it may be argued that the Voëlvry movement's use of protest songs in Afrikaans and references to the FAK songbook not only guaranteed attention from the Afrikaner nation and government. Perhaps it was also the group's explicit intention to go a step further in the direction of ethical judgement, as it were, and ignite a sense of *guilt* and of *humility* through their music.

Although the notable appearance of irony was generated by using FAK folk songs to protest against the ruling nationalist government might have been lost on some listeners, the Voëlvry songs remain a key contribution in terms of the powerful politically oriented meanings they disclosed. While the influence of the Voëlvry movement will continue to be a point of polemical discussion, I believe that songs of the post-apartheid musicians discussed in this article still reflect much of the courage and compassion displayed by Koos Kombuis and his fellow musicians who protested against the status quo in a time of extreme political oppression.

Focusing on the post-apartheid protest songs as discussed above, in postural terms the pervasive presence of postures of *contemplation* was noted – as was also evident in the Voëlvry protest songs – although my analysis brought to the fore that these referred to a different set of socio-political circumstances. While apartheid artists wanted to shock people into action in a cultural milieu, where radio stations and tertiary institutions banned the transmission and performances of songs, post-apartheid artists have relative freedom of speech. In this case, *suffering* (as a personal experience, seeing others suffer or even ignoring others who suffer) seems to be a common denominator, while transformative postures such as *humility*, *letting go* and taking *care* (moral and ethical) are conspicuously *missing* from some of these songs. From an idealistic point of view, one would have hoped to see such postures featuring in post-apartheid protest songs as part of a step forward towards achieving the light postures. From the fact that this is not (yet) the case, it may be concluded that, in post-apartheid South Africa, white musicians once again question their identity as well as their cultural heritage by employing FAK folk songs as a tool for irony, parody, social commentary and criticism. Perhaps the absence of the light postures in their songs indicate that the socio-political circumstances on which they comment still calls for reference to the darker postural spectrum.

These observations bring me to the following conclusion. Using the root metaphor of 'war' to

summarise the content and music of the abovementioned protest songs, the reader was introduced to the central sphere of Postural Theory where, in this specific interpretative context, the different postural dynamics as experienced by the performers were seen to thrive on different interpretations of Postural Theory's attack-defend logic. The Voëlvry musicians *attacked* the apartheid regime with their protest songs, since the post-apartheid protest songs contain a mixture of what may be described as the different phases of 'warfare'. A *defend* mechanism becomes apparent in both Maree's and Niemand's songs: they inherently defend and long for the 'good old days', which is intensified by nostalgic elements pervading the FAK-inspired lyrics. Zoid, on the other hand, forcefully *attacks* the post-apartheid government and its social environment, using FAK folk songs to bombard the very society in which the songs were produced with adapted versions of its cultural heritage. Strydom seemingly attempts a *peace-making* process, hoping to bring people together, or at least urge them to put down their weapons (of self-destruction). These constant battles or struggles between dark and light postures are postural realities, which are unavoidable within the complex new South African reality, illustrating in material ways how the musicians discussed here attempt to make sense of their own existence and of that of others.

Finally it may be remarked that the apparently relentless search for a new identity in South Africa is often based on one-dimensional worldviews, which may result from the fact that many South Africans only look out for their own interests in order to 'survive' in post-apartheid South Africa. Coming back to the opening citation of this article it may thus be concluded that the reinterpretation of inherited traditions is indeed valuable and powerful cornerstones of any community. My analyses of Afrikaans protest songs in this article, however, underline the fact that even a critically intended 'preservation' of such traditions may serve manipulative manifestations of ideological power which, in the case of post-apartheid South Africa, may prevent individuals from embracing and accepting new collective identities.

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“Uit die chaos van die eeue”: an ideological-critical, multi-model analysis of an iconic Afrikaans ‘volkslied’

“Die fokken culture is ’n gevaarlike ding!”¹

K. Pieterse 1988:24

1. Introduction

In a 1988 interview with the black South African teacher and poet Mavis Smallberg, the conversation turned to the secret police interrogators and their fear of the ‘danger’ of black cultural renewal and prosperity, visible even while interrogating arrested black activists. Pieterse (1988:24) ascribes this fear to an awareness of “een parallel tussen de eigen Afrikaner geschiedenis (het hanteren van het culturele ‘wapen’ tegen de Engelssprekende blanken) en de van zwart Zuid-Afrika”.² Indeed, starting in the early 1920s and continuing during apartheid, the notion of the “swart gevaar” (black threat) became a convenient propaganda tool used by the nationalist government, benefitting the “apartheid political elite and their ideological advisors as it guaranteed support at the polls from the White electorate” (Potgieter & Liebenberg 2012:66). This even gained the steady support of English-speaking white South Africans.

Owing partly to the historical fear of being culturally drowned by the British and dominated by the black population, white South Africans were easily deluded into the ideological belief of apartheid. This ideology also relied heavily on the deep religiousness of the white Afrikaner, while the Dutch Reformed Church, closely associated with the nationalist government, unconditionally supported and justified apartheid by, amongst others, regularly referring to biblical quotations that supported the belief that white South Africans had a Christian duty to ensure the survival of the Afrikaner nation (Fox 2013:73). Considering the words of the Reverend Frank Chikane (1991:49), as expressed during the historical Rustenburg Conference held in November 1991, where church leaders across various denominations met in order to reconcile, it is evident that the close interrelation of Church and State led to an insurmountable impasse during the apartheid era:

If I had to sum up the situation in South Africa, I would say that South Africa consists of at least two worlds and at least two histories. The black world and the white world. The world

1 “The fucking culture is a dangerous thing!” This translation as well as all other translations of texts other than English in this article is my own.

2 ... a parallel between the own Afrikaner history (the use of culture as a ‘weapon’ against the English-speaking whites) and that of black South Africa ...

of the privileged and the underprivileged, the oppressors and the oppressed. All this because of the heretic system of apartheid.

Apartheid has kept not only blacks and whites apart, but it has also divided the Church of Christ in South Africa for many years. Apartheid has legally and forcefully separated South Africans. [...] Apartheid has distorted not only reality, but has made some believe that others are not made in the image of God. Denying the humanity of blacks and their rights as human beings is equal to denying that blacks are made in the image of God. And denying that blacks are also made in the image of God is denying God's being. Desmond Tutu, in his paper on Christianity and Apartheid, shows how apartheid is intrinsically and irredeemably evil, but he says that for his part: "... its most vicious, indeed its most blasphemous aspect, is not the great suffering it causes its victims but that it can make a child of God doubt that he is a child of God. For that alone, it deserves to be condemned as a heresy".

The almost obsessive dedication to the 'God-given' cause of protecting the Afrikaner nation and developing "a sense of pride and accomplishment in Afrikaner culture" (Clark & Worger 2013:29) was also echoed throughout the different editions of the FAK songbook.³ Many songs, especially those in the "Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere" section, reflected (and still reflect) the 'superiority' of the Afrikaner culture in aspects of its people, religion, language and country. In the present day, the FAK songbook is labelled as a "skatkis van Afrikaanse volksmusiek" (treasury of Afrikaans folk music) (FAK Sangbundel, 2012), a seemingly innocent description of a songbook that was associated with apartheid for many decades. However, as I have argued elsewhere (Schutte, C. 2012a,⁴ Schutte, C. 2013a,⁵ Schutte, C. 2013b), many of the "Volk en Vaderland" songs have a deep-rooted ideological content and can easily serve an ideological function in the hands of, for example, right-wing political parties in post-apartheid South Africa.

Within the scope of this thesis I employed different models,⁶ cited above, as developed by the South African philosopher Johann Visagie, to demonstrate the extent and depth of indoctrination conveyed through song texts critically. My particular focus in this article is a song selected from the "Volk en Vaderland" section of the FAK songbook, which will be scrutinised critically by simultaneously interlacing the models⁷ which were applied independently elsewhere. After a brief outline of these

3 The FAK songbook is a collection of Afrikaans folk songs published by the "Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuurorganisasies" (Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organisations). This organisation was founded in 1929 by the "Broederbond", an Afrikaner organisation formed in 1918 to protect Afrikaner culture and has since played an important role in protecting the Afrikaans language and culture.

4 Published under Schutte, C. & Visagie, J. 2012. Lieder sind Brüder der Revolution: An ideology-critical approach to the use of song as a vehicle for propaganda. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 43(1):107-138.

5 Forthcoming publication.

6 The models form part of a bigger model called Discourse Archaeology (DA).

7 A fourth model (Macro-motive Theory) was employed in Schutte (2012) within the context of foreign folk songs used in GDR songbooks, and will be used in combination with the other three models to identify ideological structures in folk songs.

models, the song will be subjected to a detailed and critical analysis based on the aforementioned politicised contexts. This undertaking is the first of its kind in the alliance between musicology and philosophy, which I build out in this thesis by way of five interrelated articles, and will thus serve as an example of an ideology-critical analysis as applied to the reading of an iconic Afrikaans ‘volkslied’.

2. Revisiting four interlacing models

Discourse Archaeology (DA) is a theoretical framework developed by the South African philosopher Johann Visagie. This pluralistic approach is based on a ‘university’ model with five different faculties comprising twenty departments. For my research as mentioned earlier, I have focussed on a selection of models found in three of these faculties: the Ethics and Belief faculty (Postural Theory), the Cognitive faculty (Figurative Semiotics Theory) and the Socio-cultural faculty (Ideology Theory and Macro-motive Theory). These models, in combination with one another, can be used as a multi-level framework of analyses that will offer a comprehensive view of the inner ideological workings of a ‘harmless’ folk song. Although the following outline of the above-mentioned models will be relatively concise, references are included to direct the reader to a more detailed description of each model.

2.1 Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM)

Johann Visagie’s Ideological Topography of Modernity is a multi-level structure⁸ aimed at revealing the link between the notion of ideology and dominating discourses found in an ‘ideological culture’ – an “aspect of industrially advanced Western societies that comprises a complex of dominating discourses” (Visagie 1996:74). Within this topography of dominating discourses, imposing norms, values or practices (hypernorms) override other norms, values or practices of the life world. Three different cultural realms (social culture, theoretical culture and aesthetic culture) can be identified in the topography and the various levels of ideological culture in society are assigned in terms of a broad macro-scale levelling down to a micro-scale stratum (Schutte 2012a:11). The macro-level includes formations called the ‘steering powers’ of society such as science, technology and political power, with an immediate lower level encompassing formations supporting the aforementioned powers. Further down, the levels include ‘political’ formations (liberalism, ethno-nationalism, etc.),

⁸ ITM’s multi-level setup allows for the integration and coupling of aspects belonging to other analyses, especially those categorised under Discourse Archaeology (DA).

personal achievement and selfism, institutions (state, family, medical care, etc.) consisting of a protective power network and finally, on the lowest level, the 'pastoral havens', formations Visagie (1996:75) describes as corresponding to the individual's goals of romantic love, material possessions, high morality etc. Most importantly, ideology is seen as a negative concept and within ITM it acquires a hypernormative value that dominates other values found in society. Lastly, the strength of ITM lies in the fact that it can be consolidated with elements of other theories as well as offering a detailed account of the powers embracing Western ideological culture.

2.2 Figurative Semiotics Theory

Based in the Cognitive faculty, Figurative Semiotics Theory, also known as 'Box Theory' among DA theorists, serves to expose hidden ideological elements in discourse or, in this case, folk song texts. Within the semiological field different themes (symbols, metaphors, models, myth, narrative, irony, etc.) are analysed but in this specific theory, the distinction between the individual themes is not as important as identifying the figurative expressions present in ideological discourse (Visagie 1990:4ff.). Although these themes are labelled as 'metaphors', it is only a collective expression to refer to the individual semiological themes involved in an analysis. When analysing a discourse within the scope of Figurative Semiotics Theory, phrases or expressions can be reduced to express belief in some or other 'key formula' that has some ('x') supposedly governing ('y') the world ('z') or large parts of it. Typically, the semiotic element or 'metaphor' is indicated by a box (|__|), and the formula takes on the shape of an 'x' and 'y' formation. The noun ('x') *governs* in some sense, which is specified by selecting an appropriate verb for the ('y') function, for example: cause, enclose, ground, etc. (including the verb 'govern' itself (Schutte 2013a:6). Another consideration is the role of the 'root metaphor' in Figurative Semiotics Theory. This metaphor represents postures such as fighting, working, loving, playing, etc. and correlates with archetypal figures such as the warrior, the worker, the lover and the child. The competence of this theory is based on the capability of the box to generalise, and so the distinction between symbol, sign, etc., becomes irrelevant.

2.3 Macro-motive Theory

Grouped together with Ideology Theory under the Socio-cultural faculty, Macro Theory identifies a collection of 'super ideologies' representing man's highest respect and ideals, regardless of time or culture. Visagie proposes that one should ask who or what has a similar aura and power to that of a

God in order to determine if a power or force can be assumed as a macro-motive, and the logical conclusion is that not many things qualify as having a godlike status (Schutte 2012:6). The aim of Macro Theory is to analyse discourse by identifying a set of basic, sometimes hidden, concepts deemed as important by people and societies. The current list of macro-motives consists of Nature (N), Knowledge (K), Power (M1), Culture (M2), History (M3), Personhood (P), Society (S) and Humanity (H)⁹. This list can be expanded although until now no other suitable macro-motive has been identified to add to the current collection of macro-motives. In order to qualify as a macro-motive, a concept must be describable as an aspect of reality with a special aura of godlike prominence, power, unprecedented potential, greatness and uniqueness, a special characteristic not easily found in reality (Schutte 2012:6-7). People of all historical periods were once and are still influenced by macro-motives and combinations thereof. Thus, each macro-motive should also be understood within in the scope of the times we live in today. Macro-domination is indicated by using arrows (----> or <----) in macro-formulas. A capital letter 'S' represents the majority group in a society and the minority group of a society is indicated by a lowercase 's'.

2.4 Postural Theory

The aim of Postural Theory is to answer the existential questions of 'What am I?' and 'What am I to do?' The answer to these questions comes in the shape of light and dark postures that are experienced on a daily basis. Postural Theory is located in the Ethics and Belief faculty and, according to Visagie (2007:12), it offers us a postural wheel of existence with prevailing measures for being human and living a meaningful and ethical life. The dark postures include experiencing meaninglessness, suffering and guilt, all of which should be experienced by everyone at some point in their lives. Postural actions such as going to work, resting and reflecting on meaning in our lives are grouped under the light postures which include humility, compassion, joy, justice, love, peace, hope, ecstatic transcendence, letting go of things when needed and very importantly, taking care of nature, culture, oneself as well as others. Taking care of one's own concerns ethical care, whereas taking care of others relates to moral care (Schutte 2013b:7). A grey area on the postural wheel contains the frustration of everyday obstacles preventing us from reaching our goals. Finally, postural themes such as success, power, fullness, perfection and glory are all opposites of postural failure and all of the aforementioned can be experienced within the light and dark postures. Visagie

9 An explanation of the abbreviations can be found in Schutte, C. 2012. Foreign folk songs as a display of solidarity with socialist Germany. In: C. Schutte, *Music and Discourse Archaeology: Critical Studies of GDR 'rote Lieder' and Afrikaans 'Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere' as based on a model of interacting philosophical sub-theories*. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State. (Unpublished PhD dissertation.)

(2007:22) writes that a natural tendency amongst humans is to move away from the dark postures and strive to achieve light postures in order to survive. Postures can be grouped together, stand opposite each other or work together in a partnership. In this article, all postures will be indicated by using italics.

3. Discourse Archaeology and “Uit die chaos van die eeue”

I will now illustrate just how flexible and thoroughly integrable the above models are. Thus, the significance of these models, either as separate entities or in a merged form, for ideology-critical analyses in musicology will be established. This analysis will focus on a folk song taken from the “Volk en Vaderland” (Nation and Fatherland) section of the 1968 FAK songbook. “Uit die chaos van die eeue” (From the chaos of the centuries) is the second song in the songbook, preceded only by the previous national anthem of South Africa, “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” (The Call of South Africa). The folk songs grouped under “Volk en Vaderland” are not ordered alphabetically and therefore I assume that at some point in the past, this song was held in high esteem by the white Afrikaner nation. Throughout the years, all FAK songbook editions included this song in the “Volk en Vaderland” section; the 1986 edition contains a slightly different version, modified to suit the evolution of the Afrikaans language.

As a first step, the socio-historical circumstances and brief notes concerning the musical aspects of this song will be conveyed in order to provide the reader with a general background. This will be followed by an application of all four models on the lyrics in question. Although the ‘order’ of the models I have described earlier in this article correlates with the order in which I was first introduced to the models, I have chosen another system of application for my analysis in this article. Although I first started working with Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM), I will now end my analysis with this model, the reason being that ITM offers us an *overarching view* on the ideological content of the analysed song. *Within* the broad framework of ITM, Figurative Semiotics Theory, Macro Theory and Postural Theory elegantly harmonise with one another, and through their own specialised results, they provide us with intricate, meaningful connections to other departments. Ultimately, the object of my analysis is not a macro, postural or semiotic object, it is a sophisticated, ideologically generated object to be viewed from the vantage point of ITM, offering one a ‘topographical’ perspective of the whole interdepartmental complex as generated by a combination of the above-mentioned models.

UIT DIE CHAOS VAN DIE EEUE

D. F. VILJOEN

(Vierstemmig)

STEPHEN H. EYSEN

Met sterke maatgang. In marstyd

mf
Uit die cha - os van die eeu - e het ver - rys 'n stoe - re volk.

The first system of the musical score is for a four-part setting. It features a piano accompaniment with a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The music is in 4/4 time and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "Uit die cha - os van die eeu - e het ver - rys 'n stoe - re volk."

Met die durf van pi - o - nie - re word ons na - sie - stryd ver - tolk.

The second system continues the four-part setting. The piano accompaniment maintains the same texture. The lyrics are: "Met die durf van pi - o - nie - re word ons na - sie - stryd ver - tolk."

Met die pols - slag van ons volk - siel word ons dank jou toe - ge - dra

The third system continues the four-part setting. The piano accompaniment maintains the same texture. The lyrics are: "Met die pols - slag van ons volk - siel word ons dank jou toe - ge - dra"

Deur ons san - gers, skil - ders, bou - ers roem ons jou, Suid - A - fri - ka.

The fourth system concludes the four-part setting. The piano accompaniment maintains the same texture. The lyrics are: "Deur ons san - gers, skil - ders, bou - ers roem ons jou, Suid - A - fri - ka."

vasberade en toenemend

Ons sal hand-haaf, ons sal op - bou, ons sal hoog jou vaan - del dra;

Ons sal sterk wees in ons Lief - de vir ons Volk, Suid - A - fri - ka.

Hoor hoe skoon ruis oor ons velde soetste taal van klein en groot:

Klanke wat ons hier verwelkom, van Vaarwel ook, by die dood.

Dis die taal van onse Vaders, in ons volksvergadersaal;
op ons kansel, in ons howe klink die Afrikaanse taal.

Ons sal handhaaf, ons sal opbou, ons sal hoog jou vaandel dra;
ons sal sterk wees in ons Liefde vir ons Taal, Suid-Afrika.

Een van hart en sin en strewe, vasvertrouend op die Heer,
sal ons bou 'n toekoms heerlik op die skone van weleer.

Uit die diepte van ons harte smee ons vurig om gena
om te hou wat ons verwerf het, om te bou, Suid-Afrika.

Ons sal handhaaf, ons sal opbou, ons sal hoog jou vaandel dra;
ons sal sterk wees in ons Liefde vir ons land, Suid-Afrika.

From the chaos of the centuries a powerful nation has risen.
With daring pioneers our nation's battle is shown.
With the pulse of our nation's soul, we dedicate our thanks to you
Through our singers, painters and builders we praise you, South Africa.
We will maintain and build, we will carry your flag high;
We will be strong in our Love for our Nation, South Africa.

Listen how beautiful the sweetest language of small and big rustles over our fields:
Sounds that welcome us here, and say Farewell at death.
It's the language of our Fathers in our nation's meeting room;
On our pulpit, in our courts, the Afrikaans language sounds.
We will maintain and build, we will carry your flag high;
We will be strong in our Love for our Language, South Africa.

One of heart, sense and pursuit, steadfastly trusting the Lord,
We will build a glorious future on the beauty of the past.
From the bottom of our hearts we fervently beg for mercy
To keep what we have acquired, to build South Africa.
We will maintain and build, we will carry your flag high;
We will be strong in our Love for our Country, South Africa.

When one studies “Musiek in Suid-Afrika” (Music in South Africa) (Bouws 1946), it becomes clear that the search for a national hymn for South Africa already started well before 1900. Bouws (1946:49ff.) describes how several songs were composed and published over a period of more than eighty years and, in many cases, with the ultimate aim to officially serve as South Africa's first national hymn. This brings us to the time surrounding the 1918 publication of C.J. Langenhoven's “Vlaglied” (Flag song). Although the published song was already set to music, several melodies were composed after Langenhoven made a public request for new music to accompany this song in a newspaper called *Die Burger*. Composers include M.L. de Villiers, J. Peters, S. Eyssen, V. Potgieter, A. Witting and G. Fagan, to name but a few. Although Eyssen's 1928 composition was deemed acceptable by Langenhoven, it was M.L. de Villiers's 1919 composition that, after several public appeals and (almost superfluous) competitions organised by the FAK, was chosen in 1936 (Bouws 1946:66-70). Shortly after the new national hymn had been chosen, D.F. Viljoen wrote new lyrics to Eyssen's music; hence, “Uit die chaos van die eeue” was created.

The above-mentioned facts only came to my attention after I have noticed that the *lyrics* of “Uit die chaos van die eeue” perfectly matched the melody of “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika”. A quick look at the 1937 and 1940 editions of the FAK songbook confirmed that the music was indeed composed

originally for “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika”,¹⁰ possibly explaining the popularity of this particular song in the Afrikaans community because of its consideration as a candidate for the national hymn. The already stated ‘positioning’ of this song in the FAK songbook might also have been influenced by the fact that Stephen H. Eyssen, the composer of “Uit die chaos van die eeue”, also served on the editorial board of the FAK songbook.

Over the years, this song only gained in popularity and was sung tirelessly at cultural events and celebrations, i.e. “Geloftedag” (Day of the Covenant), in schools, by Afrikaner youth organisations and at political party gatherings. It also became closely associated with the “Afrikanervolkswag” (Afrikaner People’s Guard)¹¹, a right-wing cultural organisation¹² established by Prof. Carel Boshoff in 1984, but like many other FAK folk songs, its popularity started fading amongst the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who did not want to be associated with far-right political views as advocated by some Afrikaner political parties. In 1991 the ruling National Party received a rap on the knuckles in *Die Burger* for singing “Uit die chaos van die Eeue” at a party congress – the year in which President F.W. de Klerk announced major reforms to bring an end to apartheid legislation (Davis 1991). Today this song is still quoted and revered on far-right forums such as www.bravoland.co.za and www.boerevryheid.co.za.

The tempo indication for this song is that of a 4/4 march, with “sterke maatgang – in marstyd” (strong measure – in a march tempo) – very fitting for a national anthem which was, of course, the original intention of the composer. Curiously enough, the opening notes of this song, like “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika”, also remind us of the French national anthem “La Marseillaise”.¹³ The strong, rhythmic pulse of the first eight phrases is followed by a sudden change in character from a major key to a minor, thereby introducing a solemn, hymn-like atmosphere befitting the text, at least of the first and third verses. For the last eight phrases, the tempo indication is described as “vasberade en toenemend” (determined and increasing) (in dynamics) and the song comes to a triumphant close whilst returning to the original major key.

10 A single sentence states, “Hierdie musiek oorspronklik gekomponeer vir ‘Die Stem van S.A.’ (This music originally composed for ‘The Call of South Africa’) (Gutsche, Eitemal & Eyssen 1937:5d; Gutsche, Eitemal & Eyssen 1940:29).

11 In 1995 the Afrikanervolkswag organised a Day of the Covenant celebration even though the day has officially been changed to ‘Reconciliation Day’ in post-apartheid South Africa. “Uit die chaos van die eeue” was one of three songs sung at the opening (Bester 2007).

12 This organisation later led to the founding of Orania, a town with a predominantly white and Afrikaans-speaking population.

13 See Lüdemann (2003:22-25).

As mentioned earlier, the lyrics for this song did not form part of the composer's original proposal for the national anthem but was written at a later stage. The first verse sketches the history of the Afrikaner nation in South Africa and refers to the nation's struggle to build up and develop the country. The beauty of the Afrikaans language dominates the second verse and it seems as if it can be heard everywhere: in nature as well as in society. This glowing tribute to Afrikaans reveals just how important the "Taalstryd" (Language struggle)¹⁴ was to the Afrikaner nation and partly clarifies why Afrikaans later became such an indispensable component of Afrikaner nationalism. Another pillar of Afrikaner nationalism was religion and the belief that God gave the Afrikaners the right to 'own' the country after 'rightfully' claiming it for them. This becomes apparent in the last verse when God is asked for mercy to keep the land they acquired.

One can only speculate about the 'chaos' referred to in the title and first verse. Perhaps the historic events of the last few centuries in South Africa were seen by the lyricist as being marked by turmoil or perhaps even lawlessness that could only be 'tamed' by the Afrikaners who managed to rise up above the said confusion and emerge as a powerful nation:

S(M1(Afrikaner nation))

The above formula indicates a society (S) in which the Afrikaner nation is in possession of (political) power (M1): ample power to dominate any other culture in South Africa. Adding to the contrasting distance between 'chaos' and 'powerful nation', the verb "het verrys" (has risen) indicates an upward movement, mirrored in the melody as well. Because of its past tense form, it also shows that the Afrikaner nation is considered as already being at the 'top', and enjoying the postural experiences of *success*, *power* and *glory*, with the chaos still abounding 'down below'. At the top, everything is 'organised' and, at the very least, more civilised than the chaos. The primal postural question of 'Who are we?' is answered on behalf of everyone: *we* are a powerful nation.

Acknowledgement is given to a group of individuals (P2 ...)¹⁵, the nation's pioneers, who have shown courage and power (M1) in the nation's battle:

P2 ... (M1)---->

14 The "Taalstryd" started shortly after the Anglo-Boer War as a reaction against British rule and lasted until the 1960s with Afrikaner leaders pushing for the use of Afrikaans in all spheres of society.

15 The dots are indicative of the plural form – thus a group of individuals.

The exact struggle or against what or whom the struggle is led is not mentioned in the song (in the formula the arrow to the right signals domination although the ‘dominated’ is not explicitly revealed in the song), but one can safely assume that the lyricist refers to battles past and present, fought for the Afrikaner nation’s freedom and identity. The pioneers serve their country as warriors in a battle apparently belonging to everyone (“ons nasiestryd” [our nation's battle]) who *suffered* under the /chaos/, but the ultimate recognition goes to the country (“word ons dank jou togedra ... Suid-Afrika” [we dedicate our thanks to you ... South Africa]) that is now personified with the (informal)¹⁶ use of “you”:

Country---/Person/

With a more subdued, hymn-like character introduced in the music, the nation itself also takes on the metaphor of a /person/ with the mention of a “polsslag” (pulse) of the “volkssiel” (nation’s soul):

Nation---/Person/

The power (M1) of this nation lies in the souls of the people, another cultural battle won against the /chaos/ of the centuries that encompasses, in reality, the history (M3) of South Africa:

/People/(Soul (M1))--->M3

Together with a return to the main key of G major, a kind of ‘proud’ announcement is made: within the country, the /chaos/ is becoming more and more ‘organised’ with the influx of singers, painters and builders, bringing a strong sense of culture as well as a distinct work ethic to society. The existing cultures in the country therefore do not suffice to honour South Africa. Only the Afrikaner nation is competent enough to develop the country culturally – everyone else is disregarded. The following formula denotes a minority group in society (s,¹⁷ Afrikaner nation), holding power (M1) over a majority group (S, non-whites) in society:

s(M1)--/-->S¹⁸

16 Although not distinguishable in English, there is a difference between the informal and formal use of ‘you’ in Afrikaans. “U” indicates the formal whereas “jou/jy” indicates an informal form of address.

17 A lowercase ‘s’ represents a minority group and a capital ‘S’ specifies a majority group in a given society as explicated in Article 2 of this thesis.

18 The broken dotted line is a display of ‘tension’ resulting in ‘domination’ (the arrow).

In addition to the |warrior| metaphor, the |worker| metaphor now steps forward and strengthens the image of the Afrikaner nation. The very distinct use of “ons” (us) throughout the verse conveys a sometimes overpowering ‘ownership’ of the individuals involved in building up the country, or perhaps it is simply a case of *moral care-taking*. Be that as it may, the president of South Africa from 1975 to 1978, Nicolaas Diederichs (as cited by Marx 1998:215), deemed the individual in itself as unimportant and wrote in 1936 that “a human being only becomes a human being in the nation; he rises to his full potential within it and finds freedom in it”.

The final two phrases of the first verse are dedicated exclusively to what exactly the Afrikaner nation is willing to do for its country. “Handhaaf” (Maintain) and “opbou” (build up) correspond with the motto “Handhaaf en bou” (Maintain and build), a popular phrase used in many songs during apartheid (Schutte 2012a:23). The aim of the Afrikaner is clear: to preserve what is his and to develop and expand his country and the Afrikaner nation’s ideals. South Africa’s flag will be carried high and thus be visible to everyone – a powerful sign to the outside world (and to the non-white population) as to who is ruling the country. People have to *look up* to the flag and an immense amount of respect is shown for the flag. Again, the metaphor of the |worker| stands out and adds to the expectation and/or assumption that the nation will *work* hard to achieve the goals as devised by the apartheid government. However, it should immediately become clear that the |workers| also act as |servants| by order of the government, but this is well hidden by the last phrase in which the decision to stay strong with *love* for the nation, and South Africa is declared. By repeating the word “ons” (our) eleven times in the first verse alone, the focus is moved away from the steering powers of the state and one could probably believe that everything revolves entirely around the nation and the country. The unusual occurrence of “Liefde” (Love), which coincides with the musical climax of the song, and “Nasie” (Nation) with capital letters (in Afrikaans normally not written with capital letters), aids in reinforcing basic beliefs needed for the Afrikaner nation to succeed.

The overarching focus of the second verse is on the Afrikaans language. The struggle to have Afrikaans established as an official language and not accept it as only as a “kombuistaal” (kitchen language) was at its height with the “Broederbond” formed in 1918, followed by the founding of the FAK about ten years later. The reason for publishing the FAK songbook was to “get Afrikaners to sing in their own language” (Giliomee 2003:402) and use it in all aspects of life in South Africa. Against this background, the dedication of a complete verse to the Afrikaans language becomes clear and this kind of seemingly fanatical devotion can also be found in other FAK songs written

and composed at the time of the 'language struggle'.

According to the lyricist, Afrikaans is everywhere and part of everyday life. The language can be heard rustling over the fields and everyone, young and old, speaks the language. Even at memorable occasions in the journey of life, whether *joyous* or *mournful*, such as birth (“klanke wat ons hier verwelkom” [sounds that welcome us here]) and death (“van Vaarwel ook, by die dood” [of Farewell as well at death]) are 'accompanied' by the Afrikaans language. Within the framework of apartheid, culture (M2) becomes synonymous with Afrikaans and the language becomes one with nature (N2):

M2(Afrikaans)<---->N2 (birth, death, fields)

The Afrikaner's increasing control over the country is manifested in the possessive pronoun of “our” (fields), which subsequently translates into a lack of *moral care* and high disregard for anyone (non-white) who does not belong to the Afrikaner nation. Once more the Afrikaner culture (M2) overpowers all individuals (P2 ...) automatically excluded from Afrikaner nationalism:

M2(Afrikaner)---->P2 ...

The use of Afrikaans is described in even more detail in the next few phrases, with very specific references to the ancestors and history of the Afrikaner (“onse Vaders” [our Fathers]), politics (“volksvergadersaal” [nation's meeting room], “in ons howe” [in our courts] and religion (“op ons kansel” [on our pulpit]). By demonstrating the versatile use of Afrikaans on practically all public platforms, the necessity of English is completely downplayed, if not deemed superfluous, although English still was the predominantly used language until 1948 when the National Party came into power (Kamwangamalu 2003:238). The /battle/ was not only against non-whites, but also against English under British rule. Two minority(s) language groups fight for survival, but the power (M1) of the Afrikaans language and its avid supporters overthrow English culture (M2) in South Africa, at least as indicated by the lyrics:

s(M1(Afrikaans))---->s(M2(English))

The image of a united Afrikaner nation is acknowledged again with the abundant use of the personal pronoun “ons” (our) throughout the second verse. The capital letters used for “Vader” (Father),

“Liefde” (Love) and “Taal” (Language) once more accentuate important principles pertaining to the preservation of the Afrikaner heritage. The last two phrases are a repetition of the final phrases of the first verse, with the exception of “Liefde vir ons Taal” (Love for our Language) instead of “Liefde vir ons Nasie” (Love for our Nation). The Afrikaner nation’s national *love* affair with Afrikaans which, in some way, started as a resistance to British rule, brought about a great deal of *suffering* to other cultures in South Africa and Afrikaans became politically tainted, especially after being called the ‘language of the oppressor’ by Desmond Tutu (Mitchell 2012:266).

The final verse is dedicated to a third ‘pillar’ the lyrics are built upon, namely that of religion. The Afrikaner nation (note again the use of the possessive pronoun “ons” [our]) is united in terms of “heart, mind and ideals” (een van hart en sin en strewe), but the most important aspect is the nation’s trust in God (vasvertrouend op die Heer). In a manner similar to the first verse, the focus is on the nation as a worker, *working together* to build a bright future. This future will be built on the “skone van weleer” (the beauty of the past) and not on the “ugliness”, and it is left to the singer or reader of this song to decide which past events should be considered as positive or negative happenings.

At the same time, the nation is also depicted as a servant who sincerely (“uit die diepte van ons harte” [from the bottom of our hearts]) (and rather desperately) pleads for God’s mercy to keep that what was acquired and to build up South Africa. From the Afrikaner’s point of view, the country was ‘rightfully obtained’ from other inhabitants and perhaps the plea for mercy originates from the realisation that it might be difficult to ‘contain’ the overwhelming majority of non-white cultures in South Africa. The verse ends with the now familiar phrases of “Ons sal handhaaf, ons sal opbou ...” (We shall maintain and build ...) and “ons sal sterk wees in ons Liefde ...” (we will be strong in our Love ...); however, this time the nation’s *love* is directed at their “Land” (Country).

While the first verse exclusively contemplates the Afrikaner nation and history, the second verse is entirely devoted to the Afrikaans language and its diversity. In the third verse, we have *two* focus points: religion and the *love* for a country. Although the verse speaks of trust in God and the need for mercy, these religious utterings ultimately serve the foremost desire of the Afrikaner nation to build and develop *their* South Africa. During apartheid, the Dutch Reformed Church became closely associated with the nationalist government and accordingly religion was (ab)used by the state to spread a culture of Afrikaner nationalism, resulting in the church, as a power (M1) in society, bending down to culture (M2):

M2(Afrikaner nationalism)---->M1(church/religion)

When viewed in ‘isolation’, this song could simply tell the tale of a proud nation that emerged powerful after *suffering* and battling through many difficult situations. An almost utopian life is sketched with a description of the cultural development in the country and an expression of *love* for the language spoken in society, with a final prayer to be able to continue in this way, nurturing the country in the best way possible. However, seen against the background of the history of South Africa, this song is intricately interwoven with ideology. The endless use of “ons” (our) in this song represents the formidable unity and ideological greatness of the Afrikaner nation, creating the illusion that ‘we’ are the only relevant nation residing in ‘our’ country.

The other cultures are conveniently ignored (but perhaps subconsciously indicated by the metaphors of ‘chaos’ and ‘battle’), thus contributing to the hypernormative value of the Afrikaner nation. In a similar way, the languages of the majority non-white South Africans are reduced to non-existence by metaphorically revealing (“ruis oor ons velde” [rustles across our fields]) how ‘widely’ Afrikaans is spoken in South Africa, not to mention the paramount role of Afrikaans in a society far removed from ‘chaos’. The metaphors found in this song (‘struggle’, ‘victory’, ‘honour’ and ‘national pride’) are also present in “Handhaaf en bou” (Maintain and build), another FAK folk song analysed in this thesis (Schutte 2012a:23). The result is much the same in that the focus on the Afrikaner history, heritage and Afrikaans language, and the emphasis on religion contribute to the hypernormalisation of ‘national pride’, “therefore, automatically pushing any other root metaphors to the background” (Schutte 2012a:29). In fact, these metaphors are visible in numerous folk songs included in the “Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere” section of the FAK songbook, which leads me to believe that the FAK organisation, as a direct derivative of the “Broederbond”, used the FAK songbook as a subtle, but deadly weapon to ideologise the minds of the Afrikaner nation, especially during apartheid. The fact that many of the FAK “Volk- en Vaderland” folk songs are still religiously sung today by right-wing political groups in South Africa demonstrates how deeply the apartheid government’s strategies and ideology affected South Africa and failed its citizens.

With this article, I aimed to consolidate the four models used in this thesis to demonstrate the incredible depth an ideology-critical analysis of this kind can accomplish. While each model on its own already exposes a wide range of ideological layers and angles not visible at first glance, it is with this amalgamation that one arrives at something truly unique and innovative in the field of

musicology. Not only do these models enable one to uncover in-depth imaginings of a song text, but they also assess the impact of a song on different societies critically.

This article links up with the previous articles in this thesis by reinforcing the fact that a ‘harmless’ folk song can indeed be the carrier of deep-rooted ideological meaning, whether it be intentional or unintentional, even surviving different political environments over many generations. “Uit die chaos van die eeue” (From the chaos of the centuries) is just one example of many in the “Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere” section of the FAK songbook, showing how ‘easily’ the Afrikaner nation was coerced into accepting an immoral political system of suppressing other cultures, clearly forgetting the restraints forced upon them by the British. Through apartheid the Afrikaner nation did not achieve real freedom; in the words of Nelson Mandela (Conradie 2006:28), “... to be free is not merely to cast off one’s chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others”.

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Conclusion

When I embarked on this unique research project, I could not foresee the dimensions it would take on or the results that would ensue from what eventually materialised as a thoroughly interdisciplinary study. Indoctrination through music is a long discussed and well written about phenomenon in the academic realm as well as being a topic that has a material influence in the 'real' world. My intention was therefore to make a meaningful, methodological contribution to existing studies on this complex subject.

Although every article in this thesis was initially carefully planned and considered both in terms of its individual conceptualisation as well as its role within the 'thesis' structure implied by the articles as a whole, the final outcome of the initially formulated hypotheses only came into being through the intensive interaction of the ideology-critical theories and the folk songs selected for my research as presented in this study. My aim was to examine symbolic meaning in a collection of GDR and FAK folk songs critically in the interest of analysing and describing the content from an ideology-critical vantage point.

For this undertaking I selected several theoretical frameworks, most notably Johann Visagie's Discourse Archaeology (DA) and, to a lesser degree, John Thompson's depth-hermeneutical, multi-level framework for ideology analysis. Discourse Archaeology consists of five 'faculties' with twenty 'departments' or sub-theories. Of the twenty sub-theories available, I selected and studied the following four: Postural Theory, Figurative Semiotics Theory (Box Theory), Ideological Topography of Modernity (ITM) and Macro-motive Theory. These theories enabled me to carry out an unusually comprehensive multi-level analysis to expose underlying ideological beliefs and principles in GDR and FAK folk songs.

As stated in the introduction to this study, the research question I intended to answer focused on the extent to which ideology is present and operative in GDR songs and FAK "Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere" by distorting reality through misrepresenting the conditions of a particular set of socio-historical circumstances; expressing the interests of those in power; mobilising meaning so as to establish and perpetuate relationships of domination, and concealing relationships of domination.

The following sections of my conclusion describe the musical aspect of my research, followed by what may be described as a 'GDR' and a 'South African' perspective on the research project as a

whole.

Considering that Discourse Archaeology was not originally designed to be used within the field of musicology, I would firstly like to address the question of music analysis within the context of my research. Essentially, the theories I selected clearly are not suitable for a 'purely' musical analysis of the selected folk songs. Nonetheless, through application of Visagie's theories on the song texts, and, where possible, on musical parameters of the songs, an acute awareness of the musical dimension within an ideological environment was established and thus the following musical characteristics, evident in most or all of the folk songs discussed in this thesis, were identified:

- melodies that are structurally simple and stereotypical in nature, with a high recognition value;
- basic harmonic progressions, which powerfully serve to establish the melodies in the singer's memory and mind;
- often march-like rhythm patterns and tempi – musical characteristics which are strongly associated with songs of war, songs of protest and national anthems;
- uncomplicated time signatures;
- repetitive figures and chant-like effects; again these serve to embed the songs in the 'collective memory' of a people;
- limited melodic contours;
- melodies that are short and easy to sing and to memorise, again aimed at establishing themselves in the collective consciousness of large groups of people;
- melodies that display a hymn-like character; this aspect conveys a 'religious' type of sentiment;
- 'old' or well-known melodies taken from different 'landscapes' and recycled to create new meaning (with new lyrics), while still carrying with them some or other referral to meanings embedded in the original songs;
- historically 'innocent' melodies which are often changed to project ideologically charged connotations; and
- when applicable, simple forms of accompaniment, as would be the case in folk songs, hymns, or national anthems.

I do not consider Discourse Archaeology's general suitability to mediate a fully detailed musical

analysis in this study to be a hindrance in terms of my investigation, exactly because of the fact that the musical nature of the songs does not lend itself to a detailed analysis of musical parameters, but rather displays conformist, stereotyped musical formats. This does not mean that the ‘stripped-down’ musical characteristics of the songs therefore render them ideologically ‘neutral’; it is indeed the *simplicity* of the folk songs that so uniquely contributes to the effortless transferral of ideology-political content and values to masses of people. While the musical ‘plainness’ of the folk songs discussed in this thesis does not call for an exhaustive ‘purely’ musical analysis, should Discourse Archaeology be selected as an analytical tool for a music genre other than political folk songs, which displays more intricate harmonies and complex musical structures, etc., which call for a detailed metaphorical analysis, the different sub-theories of DA might, in my mind, effectively allow for an exhaustive symbolic analysis of musical parameters to be incorporated into such a study.¹ Ultimately, I believe that the findings of this research might be applicable to political folk songs sung in other countries as well (as the analyses of foreign folk songs sung in the GDR in my thesis have already revealed). Should such a more inclusive study be undertaken, possible findings might bring us closer to what may be called a ‘universal grammar’ for political folk songs.

Returning once more to the rationale for my research, it must be brought to mind again that, when the Soviet Union took control of East Germany, the new government had the task of convincing the new GDR citizens that communism was the right choice for the way forward. To achieve this objective, they had to find ways to persuade highly distraught people who just survived yet another war to see the advantages of the communist system. Apart from the newly formed political parties and youth organisations, songs were used to get the ideological message across. Only one year after the GDR was formed, a new national anthem was introduced, with a text that was described as non-political and peaceful at some point.² However, my semiological analysis of this song as presented in article three exposed the hidden reality of a controlled existence under communist rule that could not be foreseen by people at that point in time. Through the use of metaphors like sun and light, a *positive* and *peaceful* vision of life in the GDR is projected; within the lyrics these images stand alongside declarations of building together a new future, happiness, freedom and unification. Unfortunately, they also overshadow the true circumstances in the GDR: soldiers were needed to form a new army to defeat the nation’s enemy (although peace was promised), and this responsibility was put on the shoulders of the youth. The *free* generation, as mentioned in the hymn, was thus never really free: the constant monitoring and spying on the GDR citizens by the Stasi

1 In this case, a detailed transfer of analytical tools would be involved.

2 Castillon, M. 2007. Das Problem mit der nationalhymne: Einheitshymne vs. SED-Doktrin. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag, p. 7.

(Ministry for State Security) created a far-reaching and grim suppression of political and civil rights.

Another component of this distorted reality was the foreign folk songs used to contribute to a cultural and political uniformity in the GDR. The political relationship formed with countries of the Warsaw Pact as well as countries such as North Korea, Cuba, Chile, Italy and Vietnam, etc., constructed an image of a homogeneous world and the foreign folk songs were representative of countries, which stood in solidarity with the GDR. By including the foreign folk songs in the GDR songbooks, the GDR citizens were made to believe from a very young age that they were not 'alone' in their world – there was an international community that supported the socialistic ideal. As applied in this context, Macro Theory allows us to see the 'truth' behind the freedom that was celebrated in the songs: a repressed society forced to accept a national identity. Many in the GDR hoped and believed at some point that communism would bring a positive change, but the massive emigration of millions of people long before the wall was built, revealed the true, dismal state of the GDR.

Undoubtedly, the GDR government managed to convert their interests into very specific political strategies and demands in order to maintain power. It must have been a challenge for the GDR government initially to restrain an essentially German society that was involuntarily pushed into a communist environment. The already-mentioned youth organisations played a significant role in the propaganda system of the government, and the official SPD party hymn, "Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit" (Brothers, to the sun and to freedom), analysed in detail in article one provided us with an outstanding example of the GDR government's attempt to advance the communist ideology through the medium of song. As my discussion of this song illustrated, ITM reveals the highly ideological phrases in this song with the hypernormative ideal of a brotherhood moving towards the metaphorical light and to freedom. The lyrics of this song easily influenced people to join the SPD by creating an ideological image of a dark past, slavery and tyrannical power, thus casting communism in a good light. Likewise, the enormous effort made to teach the new national GDR hymn to the citizens also displays how important it was to transfer the new ideology to society through the medium of patriotic song. The political content, as disclosed by root metaphors such as *servant* and *warrior*, as my analysis revealed, is indicative of the true intention behind the government's endeavours. By further introducing foreign folk songs and organising international "Festival des politischen Liedes" (Festival of Political Songs) through the FDJ (Freie Deutsche Jugend), the government was able to maintain the internal and external image of an international

solidarity with the Warsaw Pact and other countries, and so protected its own political interests.

The ideology-critical analyses employed in this thesis also unmasked concealed relationships of domination and demonstrated how meaning is constructed and communicated through symbolic forms (in this case patriotic songs) to strengthen and perpetuate relationships of domination. The GDR government successfully transported its citizens from one ideology to the next with the help of the GDR Agitation and Propaganda Department. Hidden propaganda and disinformation were typical of communist rule and the GDR was no exception.³ The ‘change of ideology’ was streamlined by converting existing, known songs into something more suitable for the ruling ideology. Well-known melodies were kept but lyrics were changed to transfer flawed ideological beliefs to an unsuspecting society. “Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit” (Brothers, to the sun and to freedom) was taken from the Nazi rule and by simply adjusting the lyrics, a brand-new but already-known song was created to be used in completely different socio-historical circumstances than before. Especially the description of ‘millions of people joining the cause’ in a later verse of this song forms a distorted and deceitful image of an apparently ever-growing resistance against the enemy (whose identity is kept secret). With the endless repetition of songs in organisations and at public events, etc., the communist ideology systematically and subconsciously crept into the minds of the people until it was accepted as being part of every-day life.⁴

The fact that very few people actually understood the lyrics of foreign folk songs sung so often in the GDR also shows a complete power-ruled society in which the communist party’s interests were more important than the rights of the individual. Interestingly enough, some of the foreign folk songs (“If I had a hammer”; “We shall overcome”) were later used to protest *against* the GDR government, indicating that not all individuals were involuntarily indoctrinated and uncritical towards state propaganda. Nonetheless, I have to add that a vast number of GDR citizens were considered (and considered themselves) as “Mitläufer” (tag-along, non-political citizens) who only wanted to live ‘a normal life’ and receive the best possible opportunities in a life under GDR rule.⁵ Regrettably, the “Mitläufer” ‘assisted’ the GDR regime to maintain a strict ideological stance. The foreign folk songs were incorporated into daily life to give people the feeling that they were part of something bigger than their own culture and surroundings and fighting for the same communist

3 Scholz, M. 2010. Active measures and disinformation as part of East Germany's propaganda war, 1953-1972. In Wegener Friis, T., Macrakis, K., & Müller-Enbergs, H. (eds.). *East German foreign intelligence: myth, reality and controversy* (pp. 113-133). Oxon: Routledge.

4 Picaper, J-P. 1976. *Kommunikation und Propaganda in der DDR*. Stuttgart: Verlag Bonn Aktuell GmbH.

5 Grafe, R. 2009. Wohlfühldichtung für Mitläufer. In Grafe, R. (ed.). *Anpassen oder Widerstehen in der DDR* (pp. 175-185). München: Pantheon Verlag.

ideals, but the truth was once again concealed: the triumph of creating the envisioned land of glory belongs to the state only.

The government's tactic also to indoctrinate society through the national anthem apparently worked quite well; otherwise the use of its lyrics would not have been banned from the beginning of the 1970's when it became clear that a reunification between the two Germany's was impossible. By banning the lyrics, the government was able to exercise continued control and domination over the GDR citizens. By personifying the country and creating a 'parent-child relationship' through the discrete use of metaphors, a more accessible image was created for people to relate to intuitively and the State thus assumed the capacity of 'taking care' of society.

In terms of my initial research question, this finding, as well as those presented above, points to the fact that undoubtedly ideology was present and operative in GDR songs and that these songs purposefully misrepresented the conditions of the particular set of socio-historical circumstances relevant to the period. The songs definitely expressed the interests of those in power by mobilising meaning through the establishment, perpetuation and concealment of relationships of domination.

In South Africa the socio-historical events leading up to the National Party's total control in 1948 perhaps formed the basis of what was to follow after the party claimed victory. After two Boer wars (1880-1881 and 1899-1902), an annexation by the British Empire and a last-minute agreement to participate in the Second World War, the Afrikaner nation developed a strong sense of patriotism in reaction to British rule. The first FAK songbook was published in 1937, more than a decade before the National Party came into power and implemented apartheid, but over the course of time the songbook became a 'natural' and influential part of Afrikaner life in apartheid South Africa. Similar to the songbooks used in the GDR, the FAK songbook was used by many Afrikaans organisations and schools, and the songs were regularly sung by Afrikaans people of all ages.

Even today the FAK songbook is held in high regard – in its own right, it is, of course, a valuable collection of Afrikaans folk songs. In terms of my research on the topic, however, it should be mentioned that quite a few white, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans still, in post-apartheid South Africa, reacted with shock and aversion on learning the objectives of my study. This reaction is a small, but telling indication of the impact FAK folk songs (especially those found in the "Volk en Vaderland" section) had during apartheid, and still have in post-apartheid Afrikaans cultural life among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. The findings of this study suggest that, 'packaged'

within seemingly innocent symbolic forms, patriotic sentiments can be severely abused by those in power to serve their own interests and instigate political ideologies. In present-day South Africa the cultural divide remains significant and it is ironic that this divide is once again fuelled by influential members of the current government's 'repetition' of the apartheid government's irrational actions: 'innocent' traditional songs are widely sung and promoted for political gain. According to Max du Preez, President Jacob Zuma "... the Great Peacemaker and the Great Listener ... failed to see the inflammatory potential of singing 'kill the Boers' or 'pass me my machine gun' while hundreds of farmers and their workers get killed in violent attacks every year".⁶

I find it quite alarming when people do not comprehend the possibility that a seemingly innocent folk song could have deep-rooted ideological implications. Having said that, such feigned 'innocence' merely confirms that such a song, if loaded with political content, has historically indeed succeeded in a considerable number of contexts in brainwashing the masses into accepting certain socio-historical circumstances as, for example, fair, legitimate, and 'natural'. In the case of the apartheid government, the illusion was created for several decades that all cultures were living peacefully together in South Africa. In my analysis of "Handhaaf en Bou" (Maintain and build), it was even 'confirmed' that the country offers space for both black and white (and even for the British!), a grand gesture by which the Afrikaner conscience was to be silenced. In "Afrikaners, landgenote" (Afrikaners, compatriots) the (South African) sun and fields are described as not just being known, but being *famous* throughout the world, directly being related to the Afrikaner nation's fight for unity, freedom, justice and love. Thus, the Afrikaner nation is hyper-normalised up to a point where people are led to believe that only *one* nation has the (historical) right and power to own and rule *their* beautiful country where everyone speaks the same language and practises the same religion.

A common factor in the "Volk en Vaderland" folk songs, except for "Afrikaners, landgenote" (Afrikaners, compatriots) and "Die lied van jong Suid-Afrika" (The song of young South Africa) analysed in this thesis, is religion. The apartheid leaders used the powerful social influence of religion to gain authority and to provide proof that apartheid could be justified on scriptural grounds. Being a conservative nation, the Afrikaners gladly accepted the rationalisation offered by the government, especially *through* its alliance with the Dutch Reformed Church. Seen from a macro-motive perspective, the church (religion), a prominent and influential power in society, was

⁶ Du Preez, M. 2010. *Irresponsible leadership*. [O] available: <http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/Irresponsible-leadership-20100407> [Accessed 15 January 2014].

overpowered and mobilised by the Afrikaner nationalist culture, thereby serving the interests of the apartheid regime and its collaborators. As was the case concerning the GDR songs, the findings of my analyses again confirm the ideological functioning of the “Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere” and the ways in which these lofty songs distorted reality through misrepresentation, promoting the interests of those in power – this time, however, also mobilising religious meaning to achieve ideological aims.

Reflecting on a more detailed level of analysis, it should be mentioned here that a typical tactic deployed in the GDR folk songs also operates in the FAK folk songs, namely the use of possessive pronouns such as ‘our’ or ‘we’ in formulations referring to ‘our language’, ‘our country’ and ‘our nation’, etc. This creates a feeling of communal belonging and national pride. The personification of South Africa as a parent, a lover and a ruler allows individuals to, first of all, *patriotically connect* with their country on a personal and intimate level; the focus is ‘moved away’ from the government as a powerful force to that of the power of the Afrikaner nation. Unbeknownst to society, the state’s ideological objectives were thus strengthened through these songs by providing a sense of collective identity to the Afrikaner nation.

The Afrikaner's history takes an important place in the apartheid ideology, and the fight for South Africa features prominently throughout the songs. In “Handhaaf en bou” (Maintain and build) the Afrikaners are depicted as heroes who earned the right of ownership; “Die Stem van Suid-Afrika” (The Call of South Africa) describes the glory of the past and the willingness to die for the country. The nation will fight and suffer (“Afrikaners, landgenote” – “Afrikaners, compatriots”) to keep the land ‘given’ to them by the hand of the Highest (“Vlaglied” – “Flag song”); a land that was ‘bought’ with blood (“Die lied van jong Suid-Afrika” – “The song of young South Africa”) by their fathers. Finally, “Uit die chaos van die eeue” (From the chaos of the centuries) depicts the nation’s battle fought by daring pioneers.

It was thus an important finding of my study that all of the above phrases are intended to remind the Afrikaner nation of their history and the extreme hardships suffered in obtaining the land originally whilst simultaneously being underpinned by inflammatory phrases such as ‘we hear the battle cry of today’, ‘Saddle up! Maintain and build!’ and ‘the fight our fathers began, shall rage until we die or win’. Thus a continual preparedness to defend the nationalist ideology is projected which, especially during apartheid, incited national pride in order to uphold the dominance of the majority by a minority.

As noted in the articles presented in this study, South Africa is still struggling today to come to terms with the political damage incurred during the apartheid years. For all cultures living in South Africa, a new national identity still needs to be constructed in order to continue transforming the country, but many political and cultural factors are hindering this process, leading to all kinds of protests from different cultural groups. A few years before the end of apartheid, the FAK songbook surprisingly made a ‘come-back’ as a ‘cultural weapon’; however, this time attacking its initial ‘creators’, the Afrikaner ‘Volksvaders’. Discussed in article four, it was found that the Voëlvry movement based some of their most effective protest songs on well-known FAK songs not only to taunt and shock their fellow Afrikaans citizens as well as the apartheid government, but also to highlight specific socio-political problems. The members of this movement clearly understood the immense cultural value of the FAK songbook and knew that elements thereof would certainly get the attention of their ‘target audience’.

After 1994, more musicians followed in Voëlvry’s footsteps by again using FAK songs or elements thereof in newly created Afrikaans protest songs as a means to express dissatisfaction with the socio-political problems in post-apartheid South Africa. These songs powerfully express the musicians’ personal and collective opinions or attitudes. As tested against the ethical-existential dimensions of Postural Theory, the extent to which the Afrikaners recreated themselves to assume a new identity in post-apartheid South Africa strongly came to the fore in the analysis offered in article four. It became clear that these songs were carefully constructed and projected a wide range of ‘postures’, including those of suffering and meaninglessness, but also a lack of compassion, guilt, humility and taking care, inclining towards the dark side of Postural Theory. It was found that some artists even defend the ‘good old days’, whereas other artists attack the post-apartheid government and its social environment. Thus the FAK songs, in this reformulated context, became a tool for irony, parody, social commentary and criticism, with which white musicians could question both their identity and cultural heritage. Although the reinterpretation of inherited traditions provides, and should provide, an important foundation for the Afrikaans community to assist with reinventing their individual and collective sense of identity, my ideology-critical analysis of these protest songs again demonstrate manipulative manifestations of ideological power even in the context of ‘protest’.

In closing it needs to be said that my decision to use Discourse Archaeology as the main ideology-critical tool in this study is based on the potentiality of its sub-theories to identify ontologically

loaded words, as well as those that are 'masked' within seemingly innocent forms of musical discourse, thereby providing a unique and critical profile of the selected songs. Apart from the fact that Discourse Archaeology can only provide a very restricted analysis of the music itself, the 'standardised' nature of the DDR and FAK songs do not lend themselves to a detailed semiotic analysis and merely allow for a limited set of observations. Coming back to the research problem stated at the beginning, it can thus finally be concluded that the sub-theories of Discourse Archaeology are highly complex ideology-critical tools with which deep-rooted ideological meanings in political folk songs were identified and exposed in this study within different socio-historical environments, over many generations. Moreover, when utilised in combination, each of the four models introduced and applied in this thesis offers its own below-the-surface analysis on different levels and in different fields. They use their own language (formulas) to describe structures and systems in a way that is not possible with 'everyday' language, thus providing the analyst with a multi-perspectival, powerful analytical framework with which to expose the philosophical deep structures of indoctrination through music

Summary

Indoctrination through music is a well-known phenomenon which has been used for centuries as a strategy to influence society and instil certain beliefs and attitudes in people. Extensive research over the last few decades confirms music as a propagandist method to promote ideology. In this study, it is my aim to focus on two specific instances of such indoctrination, namely the “rote Lieder” which were sung in the German Democratic Republic, as well as Afrikaans “Volks- en Vaderlandsliedere” as deployed before and during the apartheid era in South Africa.

After National Socialism, people were once again exposed to propaganda in the German Democratic Republic. Several mass organisations were formed by the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), including youth organisations such as the Young Pioneers, the Thälmann Pioneers and the Free German Youth, and society was introduced to songs of an ideological nature, encouraging belief in the communist system. These GDR “rote Lieder” were published in songbooks used especially by youth organisations. In this way the GDR government managed to gain support for the communist regime and a successful endeavour was initiated to circulate ideologically-loaded folk songs amongst the GDR citizens.

In South Africa an Afrikaner ideology of racial segregation slowly emerged during the first decades of the 20th century, reaching a climax with a political take-over of the National Party in 1948. The songbook of the FAK (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations), published in 1937, quickly gained popularity and promoted patriotism and nationalism among white Afrikaners, finding its way into Afrikaner homes, churches, organisations and schools, thus becoming unanimous with Afrikaner culture. Similar to the GDR, these songs were sung especially by the youth in schools and youth organisations. The governments of both the GDR and South Africa never formally disclosed the implementation of ideologically-driven songs to indoctrinate people, but this does not mean that they did not understand the value and effectiveness of using music and song text to sway large groups of people, and actively used these to convey political ideas. An ideology-critical analysis of a selection of folk songs taken from the GDR and FAK songbooks could therefore uncover underlying ideological structures which may have had a profound but possibly distorted effect on those who sang these songs.

Against this background, this thesis investigates the extent to which ideology is present and operative in GDR songs and FAK “Volk- en Vaderlandsliedere” by distorting reality through

misrepresenting the conditions of a particular set of social-historical circumstances; expressing the interests of those in power; mobilising meaning so as to establish and perpetuate relationships of domination, and concealing relationships of domination. In order to uncover such ideological content, the theoretical framework for ideology analysis, as presented by John Thompson with his depth-hermeneutical, multi-level critical approach, and sub-theories of Discourse Archaeology as proposed by Johann Visagie, are applied. By combining Visagie's Discourse Archaeology with the discourse of critical musicology, the underlying and sometimes hidden ideological deep structures found in political folk songs revealed deep-seated ideological beliefs concealed within these songs and unmasked hidden relationships of domination.

The conclusion reached is that ideological indoctrination is present in both the 'rote Lieder' and the 'Volks- en Vaderlandsliedere' to a substantive degree. This confirms that the sub-theories of Discourse Archaeology are highly-complex ideological-critical tools with which deep-rooted ideological meanings in political folk songs were identified and exposed in this study within two very specific socio-historical environments. Moreover, when utilised in combination, each of the models introduced and applied in this thesis offers its own below-the-surface analysis on different levels and in different fields using their own language to describe structures and systems in a way that is not possible with 'everyday' language, thus providing the analyst with an all-encompassing, powerful analytical framework with which to expose the philosophical deep structures of indoctrination through music that might have gone unnoticed in a more traditionally-oriented mode of musical analysis.

Key words:

Critical theory/ideology theory/Discourse Archaeology/political songs/GDR/apartheid/John Thompson/ Johann Visagie

Opsomming

Indoktrinasie deur middel van musiek is 'n bekende verskynsel wat eeue lank reeds gebruik word as 'n strategie om die samelewing te beïnvloed en sekere oortuigings by mense in te prent. Uitgebreide navorsing oor die afgelope paar dekades bevestig musiek as 'n propagandamethode om ideologie te bevorder. In hierdie studie is dit my doelwit om op twee spesifieke gevalle van sodanige

indoktrinasië te fokus, naamlik die “rote Lieder” wat in die Duitse Demokratiese Republiek gesing is, asook Afrikaanse “Volks- en Vaderlandsliedere” wat voor en gedurende die apartheidsera in Suid-Afrika aangewend is.

Na Nasionaal-Sosialisme is mense weereens in die Duitse Demokratiese Republiek aan propaganda blootgestel. Verskeie massa-organisasies is deur die SED (Sosialistiese Eenheidsparty van Duitsland) gevorm, insluitende jeugorganisasies soos die Jongpioniere, die Thälmann Pioniere asook die Vrye Duitse Jeug, en die samelewing is bekendgestel aan liedjies van 'n ideologiese aard met die doel om vertroue in die kommunistiese stelsel aan te moedig. Hierdie DDR "rote Lieder" is in liedboeke gepubliseer wat veral deur jeugorganisasies gebruik is. Op hierdie manier het die DDR regering daarin geslaag om steun vir die kommunistiese regime te bewerkstellig en 'n suksesvolle poging is geïnisieer om ideologies-gelaaide volksliedere onder die DDR-burgers te sirkuleer.

In Suid-Afrika het 'n Afrikaner ideologie van rasse-segregasie geleidelik tydens die eerste dekades van die 20ste eeu na vore gekom, en 'n hoogtepunt is bereik met 'n politieke oornam van die Nasionale Party in 1948. Die liedboek van die FAK (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings), gepubliseer in 1937, het vinnig gewild geword en patriotisme en nasionalisme onder wit Afrikaners bevorder. Hierdie liedboek het sy plek gevind in Afrikaner huise, kerke, organisasies en skole, en is gevolglik met Afrikaner kultuur geassosieer. Soortgelyk aan die DDR, is hierdie liedere veral deur die jeug in skole en jeugorganisasies gesing. Die regerings van beide die DDR en Suid-Afrika het nooit die implementering van ideologies-gedrewe liedjies om mense te indoktrineer, formeel bekendgemaak nie, maar dit beteken nie dat hulle nie die waarde en effektiwiteit van die gebruik van musiek en sangtekste om groot groepe mense te swaai, nie verstaan het nie. 'n Ideologie-kritiese ontleding van 'n seleksie van volksliedere uit die DDR en FAK liedboeke kan dus onderliggende ideologiese strukture wat 'n groot, maar moontlik ook verwronge effek op die sangers van hierdie liedjies gehad het, ontbloot.

Gesien teen hierdie agtergrond, ondersoek hierdie tesis die mate waarin ideologie teenwoordig en aktief is in DDR liedjies en FAK 'Volk -en Vaderlandsliedere' deur die realiteit te verdraai met 'n wanvoorstelling van die kondisies van 'n spesifieke stel van sosiaal-historiese omstandighede; die uitdrukking van die belange van diegene in magposisies; die mobilisering van betekenis om dominante verhoudinge te vestig en te laat voortbestaan, en om dominante verhoudinge te verdoesel. Ten einde sodanige ideologiese inhoud te ontbloot, word die teoretiese raamwerk vir ideologie analise, soos aangebied deur John Thompson met sy diepte-hermeneutiese, multi-vlak

kritiese benadering, en die sub- teorieë van Diskoers Argeologie van Johann Visagie, toegepas. Deur die kombinasie van Visagie se Diskoers Argeologie en die diskoers van kritiese musikologie, openbaar die onderliggende, en soms versteekte, ideologiese diepte-strukture in politieke volksliedere diepliggende ideologiese oortuigings binne hierdie liedjies en word verborge dominasie verhoudinge ontmasker.

Daar word tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat daar 'n hoë mate van ideologiese indotrasie in beide die 'rote Lieder' asook die Volks- en Vaderlandliedere wat in die studie ondersoek is, aanwesig is. Hierdie bevinding bevestig dat die sub-teorieë van Diskoers Argeologie hoogs komplekse ideologie-kritiese gereedskap is waarmee diepgewortelde ideologiese betekenis in politieke volksliedjies geïdentifiseer en blootgestel kan word binne twee baie spesifieke sosio-historiese omgewings. Ten slotte bied elk van die modelle soos bespreek en toegepas in hierdie tesis, in kombinasie met mekaar, 'n eiesoortige diepte-analise op verskillende vlakke en in verskillende rigtings met behulp van hul eie taalstrukture en stelsels in 'n manier wat nie moontlik is om met 'alledaagse' taal te beskryf nie. Sodoende word die ontleder voorsien met 'n alles-omvattende, kragtige analitiese raamwerk waarmee die filosofiese diepte-strukture van indoktrasie deur middel van musiek – wat dalk in 'n meer tradisioneel-georiënteerde modus van musikale ontleding ongesiens verbygegaan sou word – onthul.

Sleuteltermes:

Kritiese teorie/ideologie/Diskoers Argeologie/politiese liedere/DDR/apartheid/John Thompson/Johann Visagie