SENZENI NA? HONOURING THE ROLE OF LIBERATION SONGS AS A POWERFUL TOOL THAT GAVE A VOICE – AND SO POWER – TO SOUTH AFRICA'S OPPRESSED MAJORITY IN THE STRUGGLE TO END APARTHEID

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DECLARATION

This dissertation was conducted at the Department of Heritage and Cultural Studies, University of Pretoria, under the supervision of Prof Siona O'Connell (Department of Historical and Heritage Studies). All research activities were conducted from (16 August 2019) to (30 July 2020). This dissertation, submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science, in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria, represents original research conducted by the author; exceptions are where the work of others is duly acknowledged in the text.

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I certify that the above is correct:

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PROFESSOR SIONA O'CONNELL
Supervisor

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to artists who composed revolutionary songs and the masses whose performance of the songs contributed to the demise of apartheid in 1994.

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My supervisor Professor Siona O' Connell strongly believed that this was something I could do.

ABSTRACT

South Africa's long history of liberation art and music dates as far back as the 17th century when the Minstrel troupes, comprising slaves from South and South East Asia, East and West Africa, Madagascar and Mozambique, began the annual *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* tradition, a street festival that still takes place every year on 2 January (F. Inglese, 2014). With songs and performances that recalled "the worst that could be done to people by other people" (N. Worden, 2009), the "Struggle" landscape evolved over the following decades as composers and musicians responded to prevailing socio-economic and politically oppressive circumstances, their work reflecting protests against land dispossession, the pass laws, the enforcement of callous curfews and inhumane forced removals, among others.

Against this backdrop, this dissertation explores the role of revolutionary songs in both the battle to end apartheid in South Africa, and their contribution to its ultimate demise. It foregrounds the critical role relevant music and lyrics have played throughout history in raising political awareness and uniting both minorities and majorities doing battle against brutalising, and racially oppressive regimes. It argues for the importance of preserving this element of South Africa's historic memory, including when the contents make certain sectors of society uncomfortable. While accepting the ruling by Equality Court in 2011 on the matter between Julius Malema and Others against Afriforum and Others that deemed the song commonly known as *dubul' ibhulu* (shoot the boer) as hate speech and serving to incite violence, the study will include it as an example of the deep complexity of retaining oral literature as a "collective expression and a celebration of communal, culture specific related experiences which enhance values in traditional societies'' (A.M. van der Wal, 2009).

This dissertation used an oral history research design in order to locate actual human experiences that are related to specific historic events. This required the completion of interviews with fifteen (15) subjects, along with the deployment of secondary sources, including published dissertations, journal articles, newspaper articles, books, websites and interviews.

The paper reveals the integral role of revolutionary songs in adding impetus to the struggle against the racist and oppressive system of apartheid, and argues for continued interrogation and critical thinking to be applied as the country and its legislative structures provide space for individuals to talk simultaneously about their present experiences of needs, wants and desires (A.M. van der Wal, 2009). It is therefore inevitable that these will – and should – continue to have relevance as a means to pass on knowledge about the past, while helping inspire younger generations to continue their present-day struggles to secure a better future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 4: THE EVOLUTION Of *SENZENI NA?* AND OTHER POPULAR STRUGGLE SONGS, AND THEIR PLACE IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

CHAPTER ONE

THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY SONGS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

South Africa's past, from colonialism and slavery, to the enactment of apartheid has been riven by repression and oppression of the black majority since as far back as the 17th Century. And throughout what has gone down in history as one of the darkest, most brutal periods of human oppression the globe has seen (Vershbow, 2010), music has proved to be not only a uniting factor, but also a powerful tool to give a voice – and so power – to the oppressed within this imbalanced and exploitative arena (Periphery Center, 2015).

Beyond South Africa, and the African continent, the role of music in the advancement of social justice is seen in the roots of the blues in the United States, as a response to their enslavement in America by Africans abducted from their homes. (Nicholls, 2014) cites Ray Pratt, who wrote in his book *Rhythm and Resistance* that the blues was "a cultural outpouring developed from work songs and spirituals which represents in microcosm the entire range and nuance of a people's adaptation to a foreign land they were given no choice but to make into a home" (Nicholls, 2014).

The same is likely true of the Minstrels troupes, that parade through the city of Cape Town annually in what is known as the *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* (Second New Year) festival, which takes place on 2nd January and dates as far back as the 17th century, comprising slaves from South Asia, South East Asia, East Africa, West Africa, Madagascar and Mozambique, and their descendants - who in turn comprised a large percentage of the

working class population of the Cape of Good Hope (F.Inglese, 2014). One of the regulations governing their lives was that they were given one day a year to themselves, and on such days, they formed themselves into dance bands, performing music not only for their masters, but also for their own edification.

The songs, even long after the 1834 emancipation of slaves in the Cape Colony, were sung in remembrance of "the worst that could be done by people to other people", also serving to unlock the door to memory and knowledge of the history of so-called Coloured people in South Africa, where they came from, "and where they belong" (N. Worden, 2009). The Kaapse Klopse, or Ghoema, or Malay choirs or *Nagtroepe* (night troupes) as they would later become known, continued to respond via song and dance to both the prevailing socio-economic and politically oppressive environment through the following decades. Thus, music became a tool of what (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison, 1998) termed the "mobilisation of tradition".

Songs protested everything from land dispossession of South Africa's indigenous peoples, the enforcement of strict curfews, regulations against the congregation of people, and of noise control, and later, of devastating forced removals that secured the white control of public spaces within the colonial arena (F. Inglese, 2014). It is in this context, that an absence of equal rights for all South Africans, and the brutal oppression of African and Coloured citizens, nurtured political songs, or oral art. The strikes against exploitation and bus boycotts that took hold in South Africa's major cities in the 1940s, and the growing intensity of the resistance against apartheid's segregationist policies in the 1950s, drove the composition of a range of songs that authenticated the country's liberation struggle. For example, South African music icon Miriam Makeba's song

Meadowlands became a national protest song, one of many that were described as songs of socio-political commitment (S. Mcimeli-Nkoana, 2008). From the 1950s, which saw the defiance campaign that inspired more resistance and led to the arrest and imprisonment of Struggle leaders, and the banning of political activist and organisations, singing and chanting became an integral part of the political landscape, particularly in later decades during military training of Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives in Angola (V. Mavimbela, 2018). Struggle icon Archbishop emeritus Desmond Tutu declared at the time that as the songs became more militant, awakening the consciousness of the masses, they "scared the living daylights out of the enemy out there" (H.C. Groenewald, 2005).

The music that emerged ahead of the advent of democracy in South Africa – and beyond – served to not only evoke memories of the past while reflecting a dramatically changing society, but also contributed to shaping that new society through sharing, making and imagining together (D. Constant-Martin, 2013). It spoke of new identities, different from those imposed by oppressive colonial and apartheid regimes, reimagining and actualising a changed, better reality. It is against this background that this paper explores the role of so-called revolutionary struggle songs in both the battle to end apartheid in South Africa, and their contribution to its ultimate demise. It foregrounds the critical role relevant music and lyrics have played throughout history in raising political awareness and uniting both minorities and majorities doing battle against brutalising, racially oppressive regimes. It argues for the importance of preserving this element of South Africa's historic memory, including when the contents make certain sectors of society uncomfortable.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The music that emerged ahead of the advent of democracy in South Africa – and beyond – has served both as an irreplaceable tool to catalogue memories of the past, and as a historical record of a rapidly and dramatically changing society. It was in the 1950s, for example that iconic singer and ANC member Vuyisile Mini wrote *Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd* (Beware Verwoerd!) as a fierce warning to the "architect of apartheid" and former South African prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd. By the 1980s, lyrics that rebelliously challenged the status quo drove – and acted to unify - protestors across the country in the dying days of apartheid.

This study seeks to quantify that contribution, with a special emphasis on the period from 1980 to 2011, when the Equality Court ruled, in a matter between Afriforum, a pro Afrikaans human rights non-profit organisation and Julius Malema, then president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), that the liberation song whose lyrics included *dubul' ibhulu* was indeed hate speech and could potentially incite violence.

Juxtaposing this decision with a long history of lyrics that inspired significant discomfort among certain population groups in South Africa, this work will consider the delicate balancing act that is essential when assessing the overall importance to the historical record of liberation songs that gathered support, usually around incidents of brutal oppression and discrimination in the country's chequered past.

1.3 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This study was guided by three different schools of thought on collective memory – how the past is organised, selected for

posterity, and how that past will be remembered. Memory has been described as a powerful tool in the quest for understanding, justice and knowledge (J.W. Muller, 2009), but also as the use and instrumentalisation of the past (J. McCormack, 2007).

The Halbwachsian model:

This model argues that there are three social frames of memory or cadres with which individual fix their memory (J, McCormack, 2007). The first one is language, time and space. The second tenant of the halbwachsian model is social dimension which proposes that individuals rely on the memory of others to authenticate their individual memories. Thereafter, when one's memory has been confirmed to be legitimate it becomes part of the collective memory. Consequently, through collective memory the community or society is able to forge unity and achieve social cohesion. It is against this background that this paper examines the importance of freedom songs not only as tool of memory, but also as part of one of the most hard-fought battles of modern times – to bring an end to apartheid. While the songs are remembered by some with fondness, as one of the instruments that freedom fighters utilised in their quest for justice, there will always be others who reject them as polarising and demand their removal from the annals of history. The danger of not protecting these cultural memories is that even though they apply to the majority, they will be repressed and allow a minority opinion to instead dominate. Similarly, the cognitive school of thought emphasises the memory of an individual. The halbwachsian model also argues that memories are a reconstruction of the past from the standpoint of the group's representation of its own current interests (J, McCormack, 2007). (A.M. van der Wal, 2009) argues that music enables the "remembrance of the present". In other words, present day needs and

preoccupations influence the memories of the past. Thus, revolutionary songs remind the working class that the root cause of poverty, unemployment and inequality was the system of racial oppression that emerged during the slave era at the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century, the colonial regime in the 19th century and the apartheid system during the second half of the 20th century. The knowledge and the memory of this past influences the continued usage of the revolutionary songs that hastened the abolition of the past repressive systems in the present, in the hope that they will propel the masses to tackle and surmount current challenges in the same way they did previously.

The Sigmund Freud model:

Freud is known for his theory of the subconscious mind and forgetting, and argues that the "work of grieving" can be very difficult (J, McCormack, 2007). Even if memories are suppressed, they will be unconsciously repeated (J. McCormack, 2007). Getting them out in the open, however, allows people to mourn and let go of that which they do not want to remember. This view is supported by Abdullah Maged, a leader of the one of the Malay choirs that participates in the annual New year celebrations to advance the legacy of slavery at the Cape. He argues that it is important to remember the past because doing so provides time for closure and hope for the future (A.M. van der Wal, 2009). This was the stated objective of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa between 1996 and 1998. It hoped that after the truth had been revealed – or, after memories have been brought out in the open - people would mourn and move forward (TRC, 1996). Similarly, the preamble of the country's Constitution commits to healing the divisions of the past and establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights (Constitution of the Republic of

South Africa, 1996). This commitment guarantees that memories will not be suppressed and occluded.

Agency and collective memory model:

This model highlights the behaviour of groups and individuals involved in remembrance, and argues that collective remembrance is the product of individuals and groups coming together not at the behest of the authorities, in the form of state institutions and organisations, but because they have to speak out (J. McCormack, 2007). Put simply, it is a grassroots movement that recalls its past and shapes its consciousness. The past is transmitted, received and acknowledged as meaningful. In the context of a democratic South Africa, transmission of the past is crucial because the Constitution embodies more intensely than most the consequences of only one group benefiting, in this case the white minority linked to Europe. Conversely, the majority (linked to the rest of Africa and Asia) suffer only misfortunate while the minority seek to create a South Africa after their own image, representing what is known commonly as Western civilisation (N. Wa Thiong'o, 2003). But South Africa was also to embody the resistance against the negative consequences of that modernity (N. Wa Thiong'o, 2003). Thus, the singing of revolutionary songs is not only a means of acknowledging the past as meaningful, but is also an effective instrument in the struggle for healing from the traumatic experiences of torture, imprisonment, restricted movement, police harassment and ridicule that were the hallmarks of the past colonial and apartheid systems. Importantly, the act of singing revolutionary struggle songs may be interpreted as resistance to the mutilation of memory and the subjugation of culture, as this paper will argue. It will question whether the victims of apartheid and their descendants have the right of recountability, entitling them to see their memories shared and acknowledged in the public

sphere. Because when they are deprived or depoliticised, they are deprived of their claims to political resources and state power (G.F. Baines, 1998).

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

According to the late cultural theorist Stuart Hall, "however deformed, incorporated and inauthentic are the forms in which black people and black communities and traditions appear and are represented in popular culture, we continue to see in the figures and the repertories on which popular culture draws, the experiences that stand behind them …" (S. Hall, 2019). Understanding the implications within this reality of the banning of liberation songs in South Africa, where they played a critical role in the fight against violent oppression of the majority of the country's citizens, is essential if we are to recognise that culture is formed of expressions that have been imbued with a power – that results from the uniting of a people to achieve a specific goal. Such decisions also mirror the colonial authoritarianism that failed to appreciate the very existence of cultures within the countries they colonised, but worse, dismissed these as barbaric and even savage (J. Ijoma, 1992).

The use of the imperatives of South Africa's legal system to suppress memories, via the banning of revolutionary songs which, it is common cause, played a critical role in the long struggle for freedom, is an important conflict to unpack. It is also common cause that the militancy of these songs awakened the consciousness of oppressed South Africans in a communal act of expression that shed light on injustice, rather than fueling hate speech and inciting violence.

This work will assist in expanding scholarly discourse on what has become a controversial issue, with opinions often split along racial lines.

1.5 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Aim

The aim of the study is to explore the importance of revolutionary songs, as well as their representation in the democratic dispensation to promote understanding of their role in social mobilisation, highlight their impact on the black population and enhance collective memory of the struggle for liberation. This study marks 1964, a year when one of the composers of the revolutionary songs, Vuyisile Mini was sent to the gallows for refusing to implicate his comrades in a crime. It is in that year that his radical or militant song *Izakunyathel' iAfrica Verwoed* a fierce warning to the former Prime Minister of the Apartheid state became prominent. This study considers *Izakunyathel' iAfrica Verwoed* to have heralded a barrage of radical or militant songs that dominated the 1980s which the leader of the African National Congress (ANC) Oliver Reginald Tambo declared the "decade of liberation" (ANC NEC, 1981) and as a result witnessed a change of struggle into confrontational and often violent forms (A. Schumann 2008). The change of the forms of struggle was accompanied and abated by equally radical and revolutionary songs and lyrics. One of the songs that became popular in this period was;

Uyabaleka	*He's running away*
UBotha	Botha
Uyabaleka	*He's running away*
UBhota nonyana wakhe	Botha and his son
Sizawubashaya ngesbam, gun	*We will shoot them with the*

Ngesbam, ngesbam	With the gun, with the gun
Sizawubashaya ngesebham gun	*We will shoot them with the*
Ngesbam nonyana wakhe	We will shoot them with the
gun together with his son).	

1.5.2 Objectives

The study seeks, among other things, to:

- Analyse the content of revolutionary songs within the context of potentially inciting violence
- Emphasise the importance of revolutionary songs in South Africa's struggle for liberation
- Represent revolutionary songs as repositories of historical knowledge
- Explain the importance of collective and national memory
- Employ the radical understanding of culture.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The year 1964, when I*zakunyathel'iAfrica Verwoerd* (Africa is Going to Trample On You, Verwoerd) composer Vuyisile Mini was hanged for refusing to give evidence against his fellow comrades, is used as a starting point for this work. His song was directly aimed at then Native Affairs Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, who went on to become Prime Minister of South Africa in 1958 and was widely regarded as the architect of apartheid. Mini's work marked a watershed in protest music, opening the way to songs that more directly and aggressively challenged the oppressive regime. It ends just less than 30 years later, when *Dubul' ibhulu* (Shoot the Boer), was first sung by then president of the ANC Youth League Peter Mokaba at a Chris Hani memorial rally in Cape Town in 1993. It reflected the deep anger at Hani's murder by right-wing whites, offering a

way in which to express that national fury. In 2011, South Africa's Equality Court ruled that the song was discriminatory, harmful, undermined the dignity of Afrikaners, and so constituted hate speech.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The first challenge lay in the recruitment of interviewees, with members of the public often reluctant to participate in studies of this nature. I anticipated the sampling method would address this issue because of the large number of people from the population groups the study sought to interview. Time did, however, prove to be a second challenge because of the responsibilities of interviewees, who often had to postpone appointments due to circumstances that superseded participating in an academic interview. Additionally, a nationwide lockdown to mitigate the spread of COVID-19 was declared in March 2020. The lockdown discouraged movements and meetings and encouraged social distancing. As such, oral interviews became difficult to conduct. Questionnaires addressed this challenge. The third challenge was access to archives, especially those that relate to colonial legislations, that are necessary for comparison with the Equality Court ruling in the matter between Afriforum and others versus Julius Malema and others. Fortunately, secondary sources – books, biographies and autobiographies have cited relevant legislations to this study. Although the study does not in any way seek to equate the Equality court ruling in the *dubul' ibhulu* matter to colonial legislation, it makes a comparison between the two to demonstrate links with the past. Finally, knowing the origins and composers of the selected songs will be a challenge because of the nature of revolutionary songs. To overcome this challenge, I will inquire from former members of the military wings of the liberation movements because it is

widely believed that most liberation songs emanated from their training camps.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary focus of this study, as revealed in the first chapter, is to investigate the role of so-called revolutionary struggle songs in both the battle to end apartheid in South Africa, as well as their contribution to its ultimate demise. In this chapter, the purpose is to provide an overview of the area being investigated, not only in South Africa, but also further afield in Africa, and even globally. This chapter will point to the large collection of broader work on the subject that has already been done, presenting a synthesis of relevant literature pertinent to the research questions embodied in this thesis. Here I will explore the key themes of songs as a tool of the fight for liberation, but also the role they can and should continue to occupy as a measure of historical memory for the generations that follow.

I conclude this chapter by drawing on the key points, that emerge from a review of the available literature on the topic, to support my central argument for the importance of preserving this element of South Africa's historic memory, including when the contents make certain sectors of society uncomfortable. There is an imperative to safeguard this part of history, especially one as significant as the role played by music in the historical – and decades long – liberation of Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans.

2.2 LIBERATION AND MUSIC: THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Protest songs have been around for centuries, used across cultures and countries as a way to protest the status quo,

whatever form they may take. Usually, they're driven by either politics, as a challenge to governments, or by culture, when the music is leveraged to highlight the injustices faced by marginalised groups. There is a considerable amount of research on the topic internationally; a respected historical record of people raising their voices in song to protest everything from slavery, abolition and the death sentence, to war, nuclear armament and – increasingly so – racism. (M. Power, etal, 2018) observe that mass protest represents the movement of democracy to outside of the formal structures of political systems, and so is a critical component of any just society. Yet, its very nature requires it to disturb the dominant narrative, and to promote an alternative understanding of the circumstance or controversy, but ultimately demanding an end to the status quo.

"*When song is mobilized to counter a myriad of anti-democratic, anti-human practices, the power of song is revealed as affective, persuasive, ethical and hopeful.*"

Their view is that music as social protest is too far-reaching to be boxed into a single genre, geographic location or even time period. Instead, it can take on different meanings for different people, in a wide range of contexts.

Sociologist Serge Denisoff, one of the first academics to tackle the phenomenon that is protest songs, pointed out in 1968 that while music has the potential to reach across social and political divides to inform, it can also misinform, incite and exclude. He also raised the concern that singers, song lyrics and performances could play a role in the reproduction of oppressive structures and behaviours. (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison, 1998) disagreed however, referring to Denisoff's reductive approach to the history and function of song in social movements. They point out that some of the most effective

protest songs gain power through their appropriation of tunes that are bearers of strong cultural traditions. They suggest that music can maintain a movement, even when it is no longer a visible presence in the form organisations, leaders and demonstrations. It can be a vital force, they say, in the emergence of a new movement.

(C. Griffin, 2018) wrote a very hard-hitting article entitled The Music of Black Liberation. In it, she posits that music, with its innate ability to galvanise individuals and nations alike, has always been a repository for the seed of revolution. She points out that it has transcended time, borders and language, blowing the seeds of change across continents to build bridges that have joined people of the African diaspora, who have turned their devastating experience of violence and oppression into songs of resistance.

She points to three songs, outside of the South African context, which she offers as proof in song of the indomitable spirit of black people. These are:

- Billie Holiday's *Strange Fruit*, originally written as a poem by Abel Meeropol using the pen name Lewis Allan. It stands as a reminder of the atrocities perpetrated against Black people in the southern states of the United States. Writer Dorian Lynskey says although it was by no means the first protest song, it was the first to transform an explicit political message into popular entertainment. Griffin writes that the song paved the way for the US civil rights movement and protest music across the globe. It is today listed in the US National Recording Registry, an archive of audio of cultural and historical importance.

  > "*Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze / Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees.*"

- *Get up, stand up,* by Bob Marley & the Wailers, written by Marley and Peter Tosh in 1973, became an international human rights anthem and the official anthem of Amnesty International. It's message to listeners, says Griffin, was to stand up against injustice, and to reject the whitewashed, unreachable and abstract notion of God's justice in the next life. His message galvanised people around the world, including in his homeland of Jamaica, to rise up in protest. It led to an assassination attempt in 1976, prompting him to flee Jamaica.

  > *"Most people think / Great God will come from the skies / Take away everything / And make everybody feel high / But if you know what life is worth / You will look for yours on earth."*

- '*Nanm Nan Boutey*' ('Soul In a Bottle'), by the Haitian group Boukman Eksperyans, highlights the devastating consequences of imperialism, colonialism, and slavery on a people, the effects of which are felt even generations later, Griffin writes. The title was a tribute to Dutty Boukmon, a Yoruba slave from the Egun sub-ethnic group in modern Benin Republic. He is credited for his intelligence during the revolts that broke out in August 1791. He exploited his knowledge of Yoruba culture and especially Voodoo to make Haiti the first black republic in the world and the second nation to achieve independence in the Western hemisphere and to make the Haitian revolution the first social revolution in the Third World (O. Ogen, 2008). Thus, the memory of Boukmon is highly venerated in Haiti as being the first leader of the revolution in that country (O. Ogen, 2008).

As such, the group-Nanm Nan Boutey- took his name to signify that they too would rage against state-sponsored oppression, through song.

> *"When will we arrive / When will we take a stand / My friends this is tough! / We're going to join the revolution!"*

(D. A. Brooks, 2016) adds to that list of Curtis Mayfield's prophetic counsel to "get ready" that, she writes in a piece entitled *#How BlackLivesMatter started a musical revolution*, helped cultivate a disenfranchised public's self-reckoning; Nina Simone's curse on Mississippi that urged a more rigorous re-examination of social disenfranchisement; and Jimi Hendrix's Stars and Stripes, which she says offered the requisite inspiration to confront the US's steamrolling political expansion.

The present researcher concurs with Brooks's potentially controversial view that black protest music "should sting and burn, be hard to digest for some, leave an aftertaste for others, make us feel more rather than less – whether it's hate or love". What is regarded as hate speech or inciting violence to some is in fact a lifeline to others, demonstrating that their lives do indeed matter, and handing them a tool that allows them to ensure that the racism and injustices they have suffered are not allowed to disappear into the mists of history.

2.3 LIBERATION AND MUSIC: THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

In the colonial epoch, cultural estrangement was a major factor in the justification of colonialism as a mechanism that arrived to lighten the darkness for the "natives". As a result, cultural subjugation sought to establish psychic dominance on the part of the coloniser, and psychic submission on the part of the colonised (N. Wa Thiongo, 2003). This was effected in order to condition the natives to consider colonial authorities as what can be described as a mother who persistently restrains her fundamentally perverse children from managing to commit suicide, and from giving free rein to their evil instincts (F. Fanon, 2006). Culture is formed of expressions that are imbued with a power that results from the unification of a people all focused on one goal. Colonial authorities did not only fail to

appreciate the existence of different, deep-seated cultures in their colonies, rather dismissing these as barbaric and savage (J. Ijoma, 1992). In his PhD thesis entitled The Impacts of Slavery and Colonialism on African Traditional Music and Dance, (S. O. Ikibe, 2014) writes that slavery and colonialism plagued Africa for nearly 500 years, almost destroying the continent's cultural heritage. More specifically, he says that "at the abolition of the slave trade, colonialism took over and continued slavery in a more intelligent and disguised form" (S.O. Ikibe, 2014). It is impossible to exaggerate the depth of the impact on Africans, not only in Africa but also those in diaspora.

Professor Mickias Musiyiwa, of the University of Zimbabwe, is quoted in a very informative article in the *New Yorker* (A. Dwamena, 2018) as referring to so-called *chimurenga* music as the "one platform that Zimbabweans always resort to whenever they want to express their grievances against their leaders and against Western imperialism". Chimurenga means liberation in Shona, one of Zimbabwe's official languages and spoken by almost three-quarters of the population. The popular music genre was coined and popularised by Thomas Mapfumo. Murenga was an early ancestor and warrior of the Shona, according to the Musiyiwa's interview, which goes on to explain that guerrillas based in Mozambique and Zambia set up choirs to sing these songs, derived from folk hymns and other folk songs, during Zimbabwe's liberation war of the 1960s and 1970s. Interestingly, on his own website, Mapfumo describes the role of the genre as including to inform, educate and to, within the modern reality, raise social awareness. He highlights its important job as "prodding" people to remind them of their position in the chronicles of history, when the music was leveraged as a tool to protest colonial rule. His songs, including examples such as *Muka, Muka!* ("Wake Up, Wake Up!") and *Tumira Vana Kuhondo* ("Mothers Send Your Children to War"), were a tool to politicise, but also to educate Zimbabweans about the circumstances driving the need for the war for

independence in that country. Post liberation however, as the struggle changed and a new reality emerged, he makes it clear that the job of the music shifted too, to accord with social challenges that are or have emerged as Zimbabwe fell into a severe economic crisis post-2000. In other words, the songs still have a very important – if different – role to play, in much the same way that is the case for protest music in South Africa.

Meanwhile, in his book *The Routledge History of Social Protest in Popular Music*, (J.C. Friedman, 2013) makes reference to "intervention music" or *musica de intervencao* in Portuguese. He writes that in Portugal, as well as in its former colonies, specifically Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, intervention music was produced for 50 years from the 1930s to harshly criticise corruption and violence, but also as a vehicle to express hope for change, and a desire for peace and unity. During the Angolan independence struggle, for example, the song that was leveraged to raise political consciousness and entrench Angolan identity through social criticism was *Monangambe* (1961), by Ruy Mingas. In Guinea-Bissau, the equivalent since the late 1960s that accompanied the independence struggle in that country, and the first years of socialist political rule, included works by artists such as Jose Carlos Schwarz, Ze Manel Fortes and Adriano "Atchutchi" Gomes Ferreira. This music primarily offered political criticism, but has also stood as a narrative of the good and bad times for ordinary citizens of that country, effectively, says Friedman, translating "everyday experiences into living sound", so sensitising listeners to the "reality" and the "truth" (J.C. Friedman, 2013).

In North Africa, Rai music made its mark, influencing generations of citizens from the 1970s until far more recently, in the 1990s. This mixture of tradition and contemporary (F. Fihri, 2018), inspired but also reflected social movements in

countries including Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. At the height of the genre's popularity, young North Africans were still immersed in the remnants of colonialism and heavy-handed political authoritarianism. The majority were traumatised and overwhelmed by the violence and injustice of the socio-economic conditions imposed as a result of actions by their governments. Long regarded as essential to the Algerians in much the same way as Blues was to black people in the United States (A.L. Deen, 2005), Rai was actually banned from the Algerian broadcast media because the government of that country deemed it subversive – until the 1980s.

The comment by Abdullah Ibrahim, South Africa's most distinguished pianist and a world-respected master musician in the documentary *Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony,* sums up the argument that foregrounds this thesis when he says: "There has rarely been a liberation or protest movement that has not, at some stage, used song as a tool to rally people to its cause, keep up morale, or mourn those who have fallen or have been arrested" (M. Mbhele, 2017).

2.4 LIBERATION AND MUSIC: SOUTH AFRICA

Trade union movements, exiled liberation movements and their militaries, the student movements at universities and high schools, ratepayers and a plethora of other organisations of varying size and stature combined to form what became known as the United Democratic Front (UDF). In the mid-1980s in South Africa, the UDF made revolutionary/liberation songs a central feature of their protest action to mark political events that included the release of imprisoned political activists and the unbanning of political organisations. Their activities became an engine of social change, contributing to the emancipation of the oppressed classes, giving voice to their struggle to be heard and to make themselves known (F. Fanon, 2018).

This was one iteration of a range of resistance movements that, during the course of the apartheid regime, evolved and progressed into powerful and armed coalitions, at the centre of which was music (Periphery Centre, 2015). The article describes the communal act of singing, more than any other kind of performance, as "essential fuel" for the movement, not only helping heal wounds that were felt but couldn't be seen, highlighting the injustices of the day, and raising the spirits of especially the most downtrodden of South Africa's citizens. These songs were unapologetically critical of the apartheid regime, overtly encouraging political protests.
Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd was written in the 1950s by the iconic Vuyisile Mini, a singer and ANC member who wrote some of the most influential resistance songs in the early years of apartheid. The song carried a fierce warning to Hendrik Verwoerd, then prime minister and the "architect of apartheid". Directly translated from isiXhosa to English, the lyrics read:

'Naants' indod' emnyama Vervoerd! Pasopa nantsi' ndodemnyama, Verwoerd!'

'Here is the black man, Verwoerd! Watch out, here is the black man, Verwoerd!'

"Look out, Verwoerd, the black man is going to get you.
Look out, Verwoerd, the people have taken up the song."

Struggle songs, it is widely agreed, fulfill three separate or interlinking roles – to support a specific cause through inspiration, to communicate key messages, and to educate with a view to raising consciousness. There are also three different areas which are likely to determine the impact with which songs are used, the first factor being dependent on the

personal character of the speaker and his or her oratory skills and capabilities (S. Mcimeli-Nkoana, 2008). Many world leaders and personalities earned their dominant place in world affairs thanks to their ability to communicate in a manner that does the job of influencing others. The second important question is whether the speaker has the ability to influence the audience into a particular frame of mind, and the third is the proof, or apparent proof, inherent in the actual words of the speech/song itself.

"They used to clap hands. They'd think we made nice music ... 'Oh, these blacks can sing so nice!' and they'd clap their hands and we'd sing: 'We will shoot you; we will kill you … (laughter) ... be careful what you say. ... You're going to die, slowly … (laughter)... be careful what you say, what you do.'" - Sophie Mgcina, South African vocalist and actress, recalling the irony of singing protest songs in African languages in the face of white troops.

From ***Amandla! A Revolution in Four Part Harmony***

In 1955, when Sophiatown, west of Johannesburg, fell victim to the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Resettlement Act (1954) and army trucks and armed police removed 60 000 people to an area designated for Africans, another iconic song was born (Vershbow, M. 2010). The lyrics of "*Meadowlands*" voiced the devastation of the forced removal: *"We will move all night and day/to go stay in Meadowlands/you'll hear the white people saying/let's go to Meadowlands".* Recordings by Nancy Jacobs and Sisters, and by Miriam "Mama Afrika" Makeba, popularised the song which was originally composed by Strike Vilakazi. The success of the song, including internationally, helped shine a spotlight on the injustices being suffered by oppressed racial groups in South Africa.

(A. Schumann,2008) argues in her paper, *The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa*, that music in South Africa went, however, from reflecting common experiences and concerns such as forced removals in the early years of apartheid, to eventually functioning as a force to confront the state, and a means to actively construct an alternative political and social reality. She cites, for example, the effect of the song *"Senzeni Na?"* (What have we done), saying the effect lies not so much in the actual lyrics but in their repetition. She quotes musician Sibongile Khumalo as follows: "Can you imagine, that's one line, Senzeni Na?, 'what have we done', repeated over and over … You have no other option but to stand up and go fight" (A. Schumann, 2008). In the 1950s, she suggests, songs of protest openly addressed the politicians in question, mirroring common concerns of the day. In the 1960s the music got "mournful", reflecting the sentiments of the oppressed majority following the Sharpeville massacre and the banning and arrest of the African National Congress (ANC) leadership. Mounting censorship later saw politically-sensitive meaning hidden in lyrics. But by the 1980s these lyrics were rebelliously challenging the status quo.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The literature analysed for the purpose of this study points to the historical relevance of freedom songs and slogans, not only in South Africa, but for generations of disenfranchised people subjected to violent oppression, predominantly based only on the colour of their skin. However, it also reveals how revolutionary songs have inspired courageous behaviour and character, a virtue that, history has shown, has encouraged people to put aside their personal differences as they focused on an achievement for the greater good. This has emerged as particularly relevant in the context of South Africa's history, where unity was critical in the struggle against racial oppression

to challenge the power of a ruling regime that constantly sought to exploit disparities in order to divide and rule. The literature also confirms the invaluable contribution that these songs and slogans have made, since those early examples that inspired acts of resistance by slaves in the United States since the 1600s, to a historical record that was otherwise in danger of being lost altogether.

This study notes that revolutionary and freedom songs are important instruments for memory, while also reorganising the history of a group "in order to make it meaningful and useful for the present", as (D. Constant-Martins 2013) argues: "Memory conjures up a 'present from the past', it selects facts, ties them with new logics to produce social representations relevant to the present." It is in this particular respect that I believe this study will fill an important gap in the available knowledge and research, going way further than only the significance of these songs to the many generations to whom they offered hope of escape from the oppressive and violent circumstances in which they lived. It will also examine how, after nearly three decades of democracy in South Africa, these still have relevance for future generations that goes beyond their role in the history of South Africa's liberation struggle. They will stand, into the future, as proof of the power of cohesive action to inspire change, but also to achieve the kind of social cohesion our society is struggling to achieve right now.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research designs refers to a template, a series of methodological procedures that should be followed for different research purposes and research questions (C.A. Bailey, 2007). In other words, it refers to a variety of techniques that a researcher employs to integrate the various components of the research in order to solve the research problem. This study will employ oral history research design because it is interested in finding people's experiences that are related to specific events. This design requires the researcher to spend many hours conducting interviews with the identified sample of the population in order to gain insights into their experiences of the phenomenon. Thus, the research will be able to open a discussion about the role of revolutionary songs in the liberation struggle against apartheid, but also of their important role in the collective memories, especially those that are associated with the struggle to attain freedom.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

This refers to a set of fundamental assumptions that researchers hold about the nature of social reality, the creation of knowledge, the effect of the researcher on what is being learned from the research, the role of values during the research, and the procedures that will be used to acquire knowledge (C.A. Bailey, 2007). The assumptions that the researcher have are categorized into, post-positivism, social constructivism, advocacy/ participatory and pragmatism (L. Butler- Kisber, 2010). This study focuses on investigating the role of revolutionary songs in the struggle against the brutal

system of apartheid, the importance of preserving the memories of the anti- apartheid struggle particularly the songs that were used in mobilizing the oppressed group to rise against apartheid and the continued relevance of those songs in today's struggles.

Therefore, this research will be more inclined to employ post-positivist view because it has "scientific and reductionist approach aiming for cause-and-effect findings from empirical data" (L. Butler- Kisber, 2010). Simultaneously this paper will use social constructivism because of a variety of methods of reading and analysing interviews or cultural text including content, narrative and semiotic strategies that the researcher will have to undertake (N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, 2003).

3.3 RESEARCH METHOD

Research methodology relates to a whole range of strategies and procedures that include developing a mind picture of the empirical world, posing questions about that world and turning them into a researchable problem; finding the best means of doing so that involve choices about methods and data to be sought, the developments and use of concepts and the interpretation of findings (P. Alassutari, etal, 2008).

In simple terms, methodology comprises the steps that will guide the researcher during the research process. The plan that the researcher follows is influenced by many things including the design and philosophy or paradigm (C.A, Bailey, 2007). Research methodology is classified into three categories: quantitative research, qualitative research and mixed methods. This study will employ qualitative methods because they are drawn from, on one hand, a broad interpretive, post experimental, postmodern, feminist and critical sensibility and, on the other hand, from narrowly defined positivist,

postpositivist, humanistic and naturalistic conceptions of human experience and its analysis (N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, 2003). In other words, the human experience, the voice and subjectivity will feature strongly in the study (D. Silverman, 2010).

3.4 RESEARCH STRATEGY

A research strategy is an elaborate action plan that outlines how the research questions will be answered. There are a number of research strategies that qualitative researchers may select for their studies. They include case study, ethnography, observation, interviews, surveys and experiments. The choice and the appropriateness of a research strategy is influenced by among other things the concept that the researcher wants to pursue (D. Silverman, 2010). This study will apply grounded theory because it is an inductive, comparative, emergent and interactive method that attempts to explain a certain phenomenon in the society (P. Alassutari, etal, 2008).

The study seeks to understand the role that liberation songs played and the factors that influence the quest to influence memory and the implications thereof. Importantly, grounded theory techniques allow researchers to use varied forms of data collection for historical analyses (N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, 2003).

3.5 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

One of the key factors that researchers need to consider when designing a research study is sample size planning (P. Alassutari, etal, 2008). Sampling is used to select a subset of people, sites, groups, observation times, objects and so on from a larger population of these that are of interest to the researcher (C.A, Bailey, 2007). This study's research question

determines that age is going to be a key factor in determining who will be interviewed.

The first group will be the people who can be regarded as veteran political activists because of their participation in the protests at the workplace and school boycotts long before the general elections in 1994. The second and last group of people will be younger activists who first participated in community protests for houses and other services, at universities and work place after the democratic elections in 1994 due to the fact they were not yet born or too young to participate in protests before South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994.

There are two types of sampling that this study will use. They are probability sampling and purposeful sampling. Probability sampling enables the researcher to statistically generalise the results from the sample of the population. (P. Alassutari, etal, 2008)

Purposeful sampling on the other hand enables a researcher to select cases for systematic study that are information rich (C.A, Bailey, 2007). Thus, this study will employ purposeful sampling because it seeks information about the origins of some of the revolutionary songs that were sung in the struggle against apartheid, their role in the struggle, the relevance of those revolutionary songs in the current dispensation and the importance of keeping the memories of those songs and other memories that are associated with them.

Lastly, the study will be carried out in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape and City of Cape Town in Western Cape because the researcher commutes between these two metropolitan areas.

Population	Quantity	Method of collecting data
Male and female (adult and younger) activists from the Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.	15 participants	Oral interviews and questionnaires

3.6 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

Since this research is about investigating the role of liberation of revolutionary songs and keeping the memories of the struggle for the liberation of blacks from the apartheid system, specifically in respect of the memory of revolutionary songs that became popular in the 1980s and early 1990s, face to face interview will be conducted and questionnaires distributed to participants that the researcher may not be able to reach due to time constraints or any other circumstances that may prevent face to face interviews. Open ended questions will be asked to give interviewees an opportunity to recall the past as well as reflect on the role and relevance of revolutionary songs and their messages in today's reality. Other primary sources that will be consulted include newspaper articles and audio-visual archives. Additionally, data will be sought from secondary sources.

Oral interviews:

Often, face to face interviews form an important part of qualitative research methods. For this study, I will interview fifteen interviewees whom I will select as follows: Ten of the interviewees will be people who, due to age might have participated or witnessed the protests that took place in their communities and the country at large long before the advent of democracy in 1994. Such interviewees will have an opportunity

to remember the songs that dominated the protests of the time. Secondly, interviewees will have an opportunity to explore the roles that revolutionary songs played in the struggle at the time, their relevance in today's modern society and discuss their views on the importance of passing down such memories to younger generations for posterity. The second group of interviewees will be drawn from youth who are generally categorized as people between 18- 35 years of age. They were either not yet born or were too young to participate of witness the protests against the apartheid government. Therefore, it will be interesting to ascertain the group's depth of knowledge about liberation songs, their origin, and how they rate their importance. Importantly, interviewees will be drawn from all genders, males, females and others. The purpose of this variation is to establish the various perspectives in which the interviewees would have experienced the singing of revolutionary songs. Lastly, I will prepare a questionnaire for interviewees that I may have difficulties to hold face to face interviews with. This may be due to distance or time constraints or any other impediment. The questionnaire will be sent via email and WhatsApp with strict time frame.

Secondary sources:

These sources will complement, corroborate, analyse and interpret the oral interviews. They include books, newspaper articles, journal articles, speeches, biographies and autobiographies, reports, legislation, and the Constitution of South Africa.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

This study will organize the collected data according to themes that emerge and recur from its study and analyse it. The study investigates two key matters: the important role played by revolutionary songs in the struggle against apartheid and their

relevance in the post democratic elections and TRC eras especially in light of the court judgement that prohibited the singing of *dubul' ibhulu*.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In general, ethics are principles that individuals choose in order to regulate their behaviour or conduct. Various sectors of the society adopt specific ethics for the sector. For instance, in business, corporate ethics is simple as "if something stinks don't do it" (G. Pogrund, 2017/2018). In other words, the sector has a set of ethics that guide the conduct or good behaviour from unacceptable actions. Similarly, academic sector has its own ethics. This is especially the case with oral research because "face-to-face long-term interactions in natural settings can lead to numerous ethical dilemmas" (C.A. Bailey, 2007). Consequently, consent from all the participants will be sought. The agreement will entail the expectations of the interviewer and that interviewees participate out of their own volition. Also, the undertakings of the researcher will include the following: the identities of the participants will be concealed, the objective of the interview, and that the purpose of the interviews is to gather their views for academic research purposes will be clearly stated.

3.9 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study anticipates some challenges, the first of which is related to the recruitment of interviewees. Sometimes members of the public are reluctant to participate in studies of this nature. However, the sampling method will overcome this challenge because there is a large number of people who belong to the populations from which the study seeks to interview.

Secondly, time will be a challenge. Sometimes interviewees postpone appointments due to circumstances that supersede an appointment to participate in an academic interview. Nevertheless, the study will be completed in time because interview appointments will be made as soon as possible.

The third and final challenge will be accessing material to properly and correctly attribute the writers and composers of the various songs, given the absence of attention paid to black culture pre democracy in South Africa's history.

Importantly, some of the identified interviewees are people that are known to me. They included people who were my colleagues, people that I interact with in the heritage sector, and my current colleagues. Moreover, I asked some of the to recommend people that they think would be interested in this study. This was especially the case with the second group- the younger activists who performed liberation songs after the advent of democracy.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EVOLUTION Of *SENZENI NA?* AND OTHER POPULAR STRUGGLE SONGS, AND THEIR PLACE IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused on the methodological part of this study while the current chapter seeks to provide an overview of the invaluableness of South Africa's revolutionary songs, and their representation as national treasures by focusing on five of the most popular ones in the period under review. It does so by examining the political and cultural circumstances that foregrounded their composition, the role they played in steering the country's history in an alternative direction from the one planned by the apartheid government, and the impact they continue to have today in the memories of young South Africans. As highlighted and against the time frame of this study, the relevance of these songs is dated back to the imposition of apartheid in 1948. Taking account of the long history of revolutionary songs that came before this watershed moment, this chapter will make the link between social, economic and political adversity and the need for oppressed communities to raise their voices as their only form of protest. Moreover, it will offer context for the argument that revolutionary songs have been a response to the "inhuman and barbarous" nature of the successive racially oppressive regimes that governed South Africa from as long ago as the 17th century, right up until the last 10 years of the 20th century (A. Tambo, 1987).

4.2 REVOLUTIONARY SONGS AND RESISTANCE: A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It was Bantu Stephen Biko, the iconic anti-apartheid activist and one of South Africa's most famous sons, who died at the hands of policemen on September 12, 1977, who observed that "nothing dramatises the eagerness of the African to communicate with each other more than their love for song and rhythm" (S. Biko: 2005). Continuing his views on the role of music in African communities as a tool of resistance, he argued that its efficacy is illustrated by the fact that "music features in all emotional states". (S. Biko: 2005).

In an essay that pays tribute to the legendary jazz musician Dorothy Masuka, writer Panashe Chigumadzi recalls an interview with the legend, in which she commented:

> *"I never held a gun but my voice was as powerful as a gun. It took me a few moments to send my revolutionary messages home to millions of people. When I sang 'Tinogara Musango' [We live in the bush] and 'Dr Malan', it was like being with the people"* (P. Chigumadzi, 2019).

Long before apartheid, there are examples of songs that inspired acts of slave resistances in the United States. *We Shall Overcome*, which is previously referred to in this thesis, is perhaps the most well-known song that originates from the slavery era, and which has been wielded by freedom fighters at various times in history ever since. The song originates from "*I'll Be All Right*", a gospel song sung by slaves and freed slaves in the southern states of the United States during the 19th century (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison 1998). Later, and in the early years of the 20th century *"I'll Be Alright*" evolved into *"I'll Overcome Some Day*" (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison 1998). Written by Charles Tindley, a black theologian in Philadelphia, it featured a European-style melody, slightly different lyrics and

was then published with other spirituals that became very popular. Interestingly, the older version of *"I'll Be Alright"* survived the modifications and remained firmly in the collective memory of the descendants of slaves (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison 1998). Subsequently, in the 1940s, workers under the banner of the Tobacco Workers' Union in the US southern states revived the original version of the song when they put their demands to employers. This time its lyrics were modified and became "*We Will Overcome"* (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison 1998).

It is important to note that in place of "I" the workers inserted the pronoun "we", in order to emphasise their collective demands and hope, rather than the individual desire to overcome. In other words, they recognized the importance of unity in the struggle. (S. Micimeli- Nkoana, 2008) underscored unity and the agency to achieve it in her observation that it is through militant songs that the hearts and energies of the people are mobilised to strike back at forces which appear insurmountable. In the late 1940s, *"We Will Overcome"* was appropriated and become a class struggle song when white workers' unions employed it during their protests against exploitation and for improved working conditions (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison 1998).

Later, the song captured the attention of Zilphia Horton, a music director at the Highlander Research and Education Center, a social justice leadership training school and culture centre in Tennessee in the US. She made it part of her curriculum in her cultural programmes, during which her colleague, Pete Seeger, decided that "will" should be replaced by "shall" so that it sounded grammatically correct (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison 1998). From then on, the song became *"We Shall Overcome",* going down in history as the anthem of the

civil rights movement of the 1960s as well as the student and the anti-Vietnam war demonstrators.

We shall overcome, we shall overcome
We shall overcome some day
Oh deep in my heart, I do believe
That we shall overcome some day

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

The first two verses of the song communicate determination that protesters will eradicate the form of injustice that they were opposing in their collective effort. Similarly, in the second stanza, there is conviction and determination to achieve their purpose, while the final stanza emphasises unity of purpose and cohesion. In this way, the music became a tool of what R. Eyerman and A. Jamison took the role of mobilisation of tradition as it was previously cited earlier.

Examples of this mobilisation of tradition in respect of slavery in the Cape during the rule of the Dutch colonialists are found everywhere, even outside of the archives. Cape Town's annual festival the "Kaapse Klopse" (again, referred to previously in this thesis) dates back to the slave era where slaves' bands performed "music for slave owners and for their own edification and enjoyment" (F. Inglese, 2014). Participants are almost exclusively drawn from the so-called Cape Coloured community (the descendants of the slave population brought to the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries) (A. M. van der Walt, 2009). (F. Inglese, 2014) believes that the origins of the sweeping wave of sound and colour that characterises the festival are often linked with the December 1st emancipation processions of the mid-to-late 1800s, which celebrated the abolition of slavery in 1834, as well as to the annual slave holiday, the one day a year slaves could take off work. (D. Constant- Martin, 2013) argues that long before the tour of the

American minstrel troupe in the late 1800s that has since been credited for influencing the Cape minstrels, slaves performed music in the colony. (A. M. van der Walt, 2009) agrees that the "tradition" of singing comical songs is as old as the city of Cape Town itself. More specifically, Van der Walt states that "Ghoemaliedjies", or comic songs, were sung by slaves on their picnics, which were an important aspect of the slave culture. She points out part of the slave owners' obligation to his slaves was the provision of an annual picnic. The celebrations are considered a time of remembering the past.

According to interviews that Van der Walt conducted during her research about the comic songs, slavery and slaves themselves, participants reported that their participation was a way of honouring the past. Among other things that they said during the interviews were the following:

> *"Our forefathers used to be slaves and whenever they had like free moments they used to sing and make music. They [our forefathers] were oppressed when they came here. They came here as slaves and so the only way they could express themselves was putting it in words, singing it out in a jolly way so that the next one would think they're happy about it and in the meantime, they're expressing themselves, how they feel about certain things."*

The above representations of the Minstrel Carnival often reinforce the perception and depiction of the event as a mere "street party" or "release valve" for working-class coloured Capetonians. But these views belie the tremendous agential labour participants undertake as they challenge spatially-grounded inequalities through expressive practice (F. Inglese, 2014). Moreover, (F. Inglese, 2014) argues that the day of the carnival is when the city of Cape town "turns itself right again", because that's when those who have been "pushed to the periphery reclaim the centre". In other words, and in direct contradiction of the narrative that depicts the carnival as a

theatrical spectacle only, the goal of the performance is in fact to claim a space from which they have been excluded, despite the fact that it belongs to them. The performance therefore reclaims the city and attempts to change its identity. (D. Constant-Martins, 2013) concurs and emphasize that:

> "When members of a group claim they, or their ancestors, have occupied a particular space for long periods of time, they assume they have imprescriptible rights on it. Space can be disputed and become the locus of struggles between groups which consider they own it; in these quarrels music is often used as an identity marker and accompanies processions attempting to occupy, at least temporarily, the contested territory."

Therefore, if the Minstrel Carnival dates back to the slave era as evidence suggests, this study argues that it can be assumed that the songs that slaves performed at their picnics were not just comic songs to entertain themselves and their masters, as van der Walt suggests. Rather, they were revolutionary songs. Indeed, slaves embarked on revolutionary actions to gain their liberation. For instance, Robert Ross in his book Slavery at the Cape mentions a group of runaway slaves that lived in Hangklip and had "made its presence felt" on the farmers in the area (R. Ross, 1983). The group survived by stealing food supplies from those farmers, and never hesitated to murder them when the situation demanded. The situation became such a serious concern to authorities that various search parties were dispatched to arrest the slaves – but without success. Could it perhaps have been the inspiration of those songs – with their real messages kept so well-hidden from the oppressors – that drove those brave revolutionaries who decided to carve a completely different future for themselves?

4.3 POPULAR SONGS THAT DEFINED THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

4.3.1 Senzeni na?

Funerals, particularly, provided a platform for marginalised South Africans to raise their voices against the oppressive apartheid regime, and make demands for the abolition of racial segregation. *Senzeni Na?* was among the revolutionary songs that became tools to mobilise society against apartheid President P.W. Botha's violent regime.

Senzeni Na?

Senzeni Na?	*What have we done?*
Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na?	What have we done?
	What have we done?
Senzeni Na?	*What have we done?*
Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na?	What have we done?
	What have we done?
Senzeni Na?	*What have we done?*
Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na?	What have we done?
	What have we done?
Sono sethu	*Our sin*
Sono sethu bubumnyama	Our sin is being black
Tyala lethu	*Our transgression*
Tyala lethu yinyaniso	Our transgression is truth
Sono sethu	*Our sin*
Sono sethu bubumnyama	Our sin is being black
Tyala lethu	*Our transgression*
Tyala lethu yinyaniso	Our transgression is being black
Amabhulu	*Boers*
Amabhulu azizinja	Boers are dogs
Ayakufa	*They will die*

Ayakufa ezizinja.	They will die dogs
Amabhulu	*Boers*
Amabhulu azizinja	Boers are dogs
Ayakufa	*They will die*
Ayakufa ezizinja.	They will die dogs

Poet and playwright Duma Ka Ndlovu compared *Senzeni Na?* to that popular anti-slavery and abolitionist song *We Shall Overcome*. He says it is correct that the song takes its rightful place in the history books, not least because "at one time, a mass body of people related to that song and touched each other's hearts using that song" (Songs of Freedom: Amandla! A Revolution in Four- Part Harmony, 2002). Indeed, the song was relevant to the political upheaval that was unleashed by former President Botha's total strategy in 1985. Previously, as Minister of Defence in the 1970s, Botha outlined strategy a strategy to annihilate resistance to apartheid in a White Paper as follows:

> *"A credible military capability still remains a requirement for survival. This does not mean that, in the prevailing circumstances any country can rely on the military power alone. All countries must, more than ever, muster all their activities - political, economic, diplomatic and military - for their defence. This, in fact, is the meaning of 'total strategy'"* (J. Selfe, 1987).

Botha, who served as South Africa's Prime Minister from 1978 to 1984, and the country's first executive State President from 1984 to 1989, greatly enhanced the capability of its military to crush political resistance to his oppressive apartheid regime. Emboldened by this increased military capacity, the State intensified its repression, recording the first significant massacre of his rule on 21 March 1985, on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. Police opened fire on a crowd gathered between Uitenhage and Langa township in the Eastern Cape, who were attending the funeral for one of six people slain by the apartheid police a week earlier. Police

blocked the road with two armoured vehicles, and when the crowd failed to disperse, they opened fire. A total 35 people were killed and 27 others wounded.

The brutal killings left the mourners wondering whether attending the funeral and participating in a peaceful commemorative march warranted such a cruel repression. The lyrics *Senzeni Na?*, in the form of a question, forced an introspection and a reflection on the part of victims of such violence. More than a question, the song was also an expression of a deep pain and sorrow. Yet, despite the fact that the lyrics of the song exude a sense of both pain and protest, what's absent is the angry challenge that formed the premise of many protest songs that emerged in the later years of the struggle (N. Makky, 2007).

It is not clear who composed the song, which is true of many protest or revolutionary songs. Some are the work of actual composers, but others grew and evolved out of actual protest, the lyrics of which cannot be accredited to a single source (L. Nkosi, 2015). *Senzeni Na?* specifically, is purported to have emerged in the aftermath of the forced removals in Sophiatown between 1955 and 1960, the repressive Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and the banishments and long-term imprisonments of the leaders of the anti- apartheid movement in the 1960s (H.C. Groenewald, 2005).

4.3.2 Hamba Kahle Mkhonto (Farewell Comrade)

Hamba Kahle is an isiZulu and isiXhosa saying that means "farewell", and was a rallying cry in the struggle against apartheid, when it was put to song and sung at funerals of the martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause of freedom, justice, equality, democracy, and dignity for all.

As conditions in which the anti-apartheid movement operated in South Africa changed, so did the songs. Resistance leaders were forced, following the Sharpeville massacre, to review their peaceful protest approach in favour of more militant tactics. And the songs reflected that shift, transforming from peaceful protest songs promoting civil disobedience to the more aggressive stance inherent in the toyi-toyi. The violent armed struggle for independence was afoot, under the leadership of Mkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC. New weapons (as expressed in the words *umshini* (machine), scorpion, and bazooka, the (racial) identity of the enemy and the consequences of an armed struggle were clearly worded in songs (H.C. Groenewald, 2005).

The lyrics of *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* are a case in point:

Hamba	*Go*
Hamba kahle mkhonto	Go well spear
Mkhonto	*Spear*
Wemkhonto mkhonto wesizwe	Spear spear of the nation
Thina	*We*
Thina bantu bomkhonto siz'misele	We people of Mkhonto we are determined
Ukuwabulala	To kill
Wona lamabhulu	The boers

One of the songs capturing the fearlessness inherent in the freedom fighters, it was especially ubiquitous during the period of heightened State repression in the mid-1980s. Most recently, it was back in the headlines to mark the deaths of the Mother of the Nation Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in 2018, and the daughter she shared with peace icon and former President Nelson Mandela, Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane in 2020. In addition, the words bid farewell in 2020 to the last of the Rivonia trialists Andrew Mlangeni.

Literally Spear of the Nation, the MK was founded in 1961 and headed by former President Nelson Mandela and later by the more popular Chief of Staff Chris Hani. MK's High Command, decided from the start, to focus on selective sabotage as its form of armed resistance. (N. Makky, 2007)

"All efforts were made to avoid the loss of human life. We clearly stated that the aim of the campaign was to bring the government to its senses before it was too late and save our country from going down the path of war which would leave scars very difficult to heal and further polarise South African society" (J. Smith, B. Tromp, 2009).

Makky says the Sharpeville massacre sparked a new kind of militancy that incorporated armed struggle. Throughout the militarisation, songs continued to ignite the spirit of African resistance. The songs themselves also took up arms and assumed more military forms. The Sharpeville massacre and the June 16 Soweto youth uprising that followed 16 years later, when police opened fire on protesting schoolchildren, killing at least 176 and injuring a further 4 000, were atrocities that brought death to the doorsteps of black South Africans. Makky quotes former militant and MK operative Lindiwe Zulu as saying of those burials in Soweto: "We never used to cry, we used to sing." MK soldiers were often present at funerals such as these to mourn the deaths of their members. The events [funerals] were politically charged and began with songs like *Hamba Kahle* – a "melancholic and militant, a powerfully evocative mix of hymn and war song, protest and pain" (A.B. Pollard, 1999).

Groenwald cites the severe clampdown of the apartheid government on resistance groups that led to the Rivonia trial and imprisonment of the ANC leadership for the first wave of refugees out of South Africa. The second wave was the youth who fled in the wake of the crackdown of the Soweto uprising. Many ended up in training camps in other African countries where, while undergoing combat training, they learned new

songs. According to John Matshikiza (South African Freedom Songs), the youths arrived at the training camps with a new dynamic and a sense of urgency. They sang new kinds of songs, which differed because they did not originate in the church as was usual, but rather in the yards and on the streets of Soweto. Interestingly, as recently as 2010, IOL reported that former Tshwane mayor Smangaliso Skwatsha had mooted a possible change in wording for those struggle songs that might be regarded as offensive by some sections of the community. The article made reference to ANC leaders, including the late Adelaide Tambo and former Defence Minister Lindiwe Sisulu, publicly substituting the words of the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) dirge, *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto*, with less inflammatory phrases, including at the funerals of former sports minister Steve Tshwete in 2002, and of former intelligence minister Joe Nhlanhla in 2008. This included swopping the “We people of Mkhonto are prepared to kill those boers” with the more conciliatory “We are prepared to live with the boers”.

The song Hamba Kahle Mkhonto is reported to have been composed in the late 1960s when MK combatants made the first attempt to return to the country. Precisely, this was in 1967 when they joined their Zimbabwean counterparts and crossed the Zambezi river. The mission became known as the Wankie campaign.

4.3.3 Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd (Beware, Verwoerd)

In his address before a delegation of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid in London in 1964, former President Thabo Mbeki, then a young university student activist, eloquently expressed his disgust at the brutality of the apartheid government that was concluding the Rivonia trial, in which his father was an accused.

He remarked that:

"The fact is inescapable that the trial is not only their trial as individuals, but it is a trial of all that they stood for, which was not and is not war but peace among free and equal men. The government has replied with more brutality, sentencing only last month three respected ANC leaders to death. By doing so that government has declared freedom from poverty, from suffering and from degradation, and human equality without discrimination on grounds of colour of race, to be illegal and criminal in its eyes." (T. Mbeki, 1998).

The three respected leaders referred to above were Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkaba and Wilson Khayinga. Six months after the address, the three activists were hanged. Mini, at 44 the older of the three, was a respected composer of freedom songs. One of his compositions was *Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha*, a warning to the architect of apartheid, former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. It was later arranged by the talented Miriam Makeba and featured on her album, *Miriam Makeba: Africa*.

Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	*Here comes the black man Verwoerd*
Indod' emnyama Velevutha	The black man Verwoed
Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	*Here comes the black man Verwoerd*
Indod' emnyama Velevutha	The black man Verwoed
Basopha nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	Watch out, here comes the black man Verwoerd
Basopha nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	Watch out, here comes the black man Verwoerd

In a 2015 *Mail & Guardian* article under the title "The struggle is in the songs", Lindokuhle Nkosi commented that Mini was aware that music was a weapon and that awareness enabled him to walk to the gallows, his hands cuffed behind his back, singing. He would continue singing until the noose around his neck killed him (L. Nkosi. 2015). Through his music, Mini faced

his fear of death. With his lyrics in *Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd*, he defied the illegitimate authority and the intimidation by a brutally oppressive and racist regime. Bravery took the place of fear. Importantly, he affirmed the determination of the oppressed class to overthrow the system of oppression when he proclaimed: “Watch out Verwoerd, here comes the black man.”

New Frame writer Charles Leonard wrote in 2020 that Mini was born in Port Elizabeth in 1920 and joined the ANC in 1951, becoming a union organiser and activist responsible for coordinating metal workers. Just five years later he was among 156 defendants in the Treason Trial, alongside Tambo and Mandela. The State’s case collapsed for lack of evidence and Mini was discharged on 20 April 1959. Leonard continues: “In 1961, he was recruited into MK’s Eastern Cape High Command, and was arrested again on 10 May 1963.” Together with Zinakile Mkaba and Wilson Khayingo, he was charged with 17 counts of sabotage and other political crimes, including complicity in the January 1963 death of Sipho Mange, an alleged police informer.

Closing his address to the delegation of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, the young Mbeki eloquently reiterated the coming of a black man in simple but affirming words. He said:

“For our part, if the butchers will have their way, we shall draw strength even from the little crosses that the kind may put at the head of their graves. In that process we shall learn. We shall learn to hate evil even more, and in the same intensity we shall seek to destroy it. We shall learn to be brave and unconscious of anything but this noblest of struggles.” (T. Mbeki, 1998).

4.3.4 Sikhulule Tambo (Liberate Us Tambo)

Tambo	*Tambo*
Ngawo lo nyaka womanyano skhulule Tambo	This year of unity liberate us Tambo
Tambo	*Tambo*
Ngawo lo nyaka womanyano skhulule Tambo	This year of unity liberate us Tambo
Tambo, Tambo, Tambo ho skhulele Tambo	*Tambo Tambo Tambo ho liberate us Tambo*
Ibazooka ne Mortar ne Archer skhulule Tambo	Bazooka, and Mortar and Archer
Tambo, Tambo, Tambo ho skhulele Tambo	*Tambo Tambo Tambo ho liberate us Tambo*
Ibazooka ne Mortar ne Archer skhulule Tambo	Bazooka, and Mortar and Archer

This song calls on the revered leader of the ANC during the exile years (1960 – 1990), Oliver Tambo, to lead the oppressed people towards their long-awaited liberation. The song indicates that it is through the use of weapons such as the bazooka, a portable anti-tank rocket launcher weapon, the freedom will finally be realised. This was one of the weapons most commonly used by Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters. MK was founded by the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP), with the following objective (D. Goldberg, 2010):

"Essentially the manifesto [of MK] said that for the oppressed majority there were two choices: submit or fight. We would not submit, therefore we had no choice but to hit back, by all means within our power, in defence of our people, our future and our freedom."

The government, said MK, had interpreted the peacefulness of people as weakness; the people's non-violent policies were taken as a green light for government violence against the people, without fear of reprisals. The manifesto said that the people would show that they could mobilise the force needed to seize power - but were, nevertheless, prepared to negotiate

if the apartheid government agreed to do so. As such, the organisation carried out its first acts of sabotage in December 1961. Since the apartheid government banned political organisations in 1960, MK conducted its training and activities underground, launching operations from supporting countries like Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, Russia, East Germany and Uganda.

Another weapon that featured in the lyrics of the song is the mortar, a portable, muzzle-loaded weapon that MK used to launch bombs. The archer, meanwhile, is a reference to the arsenal of weapons available to wage war against the apartheid government. Archer was a self-propelled gun system that the MK probably got from the Scandinavian countries; the Archer Artillery System was an international project aimed at developing a next-generation self-propelled gun system for Sweden and Norway. These countries, especially Sweden under Prime Minister Olof Palme, supported the ANC and MK in their struggle against the apartheid regime during the exile years. Palme was assassinated in 1986. Palme's progressive vision and his opposition to the Vietnam War, apartheid South Africa and dictatorships worldwide created many enemies, including the right-wing Stig Engström, who is now, 34 years later, believed to be the killer.

Efforts to identify the composer of Sikhulule Tambo, and the year in which this song emerged yielded no positive results, and so is believed to be one of the popular protest songs that Nkosi argued were "inspired and came out during the actual protest" (L. Nkosi, 2015). In an interview with Silondoloze David Mbata, a South African National Defence Force (SANDF) colonel and a former MK operative in Angola as well as a composer liberation song "Four o'clock", he explained that some songs were composed in MK camps when guerrillas were doing their drills. Some for which he was responsible were forwarded to

popular musicians such as Gerald “Blondie” Makhene, who created a legacy and a name for himself through his struggle songs that impacted the country's political history, and others. During an interview that was carried out on WhatsApp with Monde Ngonyama, artist (poet and scriptwriter) and general manager of the Port Elizabeth Opera House, he also testified that it is difficult to know exactly who composed revolutionary songs.

During a lecture to commemorate Tambo on 24 April 2020, ANC Secretary General Ace Magashule said the song was composed in 1985 after OR Tambo declared that year the “The Year of the Youth” (BayTV, 2020) in its annual January 8th statement. The January 8th statement was and is issued annually by the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) to celebrate the ANC’s birthday, highlight achievements and challenges of the previous year, and to identify programmes on the party’s agenda for the forthcoming year. Whether or not that is historically correct, it appears likely that the song emerged from the 1980s which the ANC declared a “Decade of Liberation” (ANC NEC, 1981). In the 1981 January 8th address that focused on removing the Apartheid government, ANC president Oliver Tambo committed his organisation and MK to “employing every conceivable means at our disposal, to achieve this goal. We shall surely bleed in the process, but we shall bleed together, Black and White, oppressed and oppressor alike” (ANC NEC, 1981). Thus, the use of arms was clearly reflected in the words of the song, offering insight into the activities of the revolutionary movement, especially the militarisation of the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed, followed Tambo’s emphasis that “every conceivable means” shall be employed and the belief that in the process the warring parties will “bleed”.

4.3.5 Awudubul' ibhulu

"Kill the boer, kill the farmer", according to a Daily Maverick article *Kill the Boer: A brief history* (K. Bloom, 2010), was a refrain first uttered at a Chris Hani memorial rally in Cape Town in 1993, during the explosive months when it seemed possible that South Africa would descend into all-out race war. Bloom wrote: "On that day, Peter Mokaba, the then president of the ANC Youth League, galvanised his organisation's deep anger at Hani's murder by right-wing whites into something concrete: a song that perfectly (and terrifyingly) expressed the anger."

Ayesab' amagwala	*Cowards are freightened*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun
Ayesab' amagwala	*Cowards are freightened*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun
Dubul' ibhulu	*Shoot the boer*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun
Dubul' ibhulu	*Shoot the boer*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun

The accuracy of this version is however questioned by Joelien Pretorius (University of the Western Cape) in her article "*Dubula ibhunu" (shoot the boer): A psycho-political analysis of farm attacks in South Africa*", published in 2014 in peer-reviewed journal Psychology in Society. Pointing out that the song was often sung by comrades of all races to articulate the struggle against white oppression in South Africa during apartheid, she quotes ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe as saying that "ibhunu" is a metaphor for oppressor: "When we talk (about) amabhunu, we were not talking (about) whites, we

were talking about the system (of apartheid) … The biggest problem I have is when journalists interpret (Dubula Ibhunu) as 'Kill the boer, kill the farmer', which is a vulgarised interpretation of the song." She suggests that it is this ambiguity of the word ibhunu (boer) that makes the song controversial. Boer, literally, means farmer, but it could also mean Afrikaner (as in Anglo-Boer War). She quotes Ampie Coetzee (2000:10): "Since the institutionalisation of apartheid by the Afrikaner government, boer became Boer and got definite ideological connotations with police, military and power". She adds the views of Simphiwe Sesanti (IOL, 2011), saying he too red-flagged the ambiguity of the term: Ibhunu "was both literal and symbolic, synonymously. [It] refers to whites as whites and as symbol of oppression."

Civil society organisations claiming to represent the interests of Afrikaners and farmers after 1994 found the song offensive in the post-apartheid context, especially given the spike since 1990 in robberies on farms, often accompanied by the brutal assault and murders of farmers, their family members and farm workers. In 2010, the Equality Court in Johannesburg ruled that lyrics of the song constituted hate speech. The South Gauteng High Court in Johannesburg affirmed the ruling in 2011, effectively banning it. In his order, acting Judge Leon Halgryn said "the publication and chanting of the words 'dubul' ibhunu', prima facie satisfies the crime of incitement to murder". When Julius Malema, then ANC Youth League leader had his day in court accused of hate speech in 2011, he defended the use of the song as follows: "This is an old song that was sung by leaders before us and we are just continuing with it." He maintained in court that the Zulu word "ibhunu" simply means "oppressor", and said "our struggle has never been directed at white people".

In a press release following the decision, the National Heritage Council of South Africa (NHC) said it was disappointing that

South Africans found themselves at a crossroads, “with a delicate choice of what constitutes their country’s national identity” which would have far-reaching consequences for how South Africa determines its heritage. NHC chief executive Advocate Sonwabile Mangcotywa said they believed that the public view on the significance of the liberation songs, including "dubul’ ibhunu", and other historic pointers of the struggle qualify to be part of South Africa’s heritage. Mangcotywa also raised concerns that the ruling could jeopardise elements of a transcontinental project reconstructing the liberation history of South Africa on the continent, especially the intangible heritage such as songs. The project called the Liberation Heritage Route (LHR), would be considered by United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for listing as a World Heritage property.

4.4. THE SIGNIFICANT ROLE OF FREEDOM SONGS IN A CULTURE OF OPPRESSION

A national culture is a whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence (F. Fanon, 2001). In other words, culture is formed of expressions that are imbued with a power that results from the coming together of a people to achieve a particular goal. In this context, revolutionary songs were a culture that resistance movements formed and developed to affirm their presence. Unfortunately, colonial authorities did not only fail to appreciate the existence of cultures in their colonies but also dismissed them as barbaric and savage (J. Ijoma, 1992). Consequently, various legislations and repressive practices were promulgated to regulate such things as the assembly of the colonised, effectively destroying the growth of a local culture that would have confirmed black and coloured people as distinct human beings equal to other races (N. Wa Thiong’o, 1998). It took the formation of liberation movements

and calls for the total emancipation of the oppressed to guarantee the existence of their culture.

Analysing the music and performances of the Kaapse Klopse, (A.M. van der Wal, 2009) agreed that music is a "reflection of popular consciousness and gives us ethnography from within and history from below". Additionally, culture refers to the intellectual and imaginative products of a society rather than a whole way of life or a general social process (D. Morley and K. Hsing Chen, 1996). In this regard the revolutionary songs and slogans were a product of a struggle to liberate a class or race that was under socio- economic and political subjugation. Precisely, race or class was a key element in the creation of culture of revolutionary songs and slogans.

The first years of the apartheid regime, that assumed control of the South African government in 1948, were dedicated to crafting a raft of policies and legislation that included the Group Areas Act (1950), the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the Population Registration Act (1952), and the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act (1952), which would act as the pillars to support official oppression of the majority of citizens. Prime Minister Hans Strijdom (1954 – 1958), and his successor Verwoerd, implemented the repressive laws aggressively, inflicting enormous pain and suffering on the black population. It is in that context, unsurprisingly, that the song *Senzeni Na?* emerged. But the question that forms the basis of the song, which is asked repeatedly throughout, also played another important role for the victims of racially-inspired violence. It offered the singers and performers an opportunity to mourn the loss of family members, neighbours, leaders and comrades. (J. McCormack, 2007) describes the song as an instrument of the "work of grieving".

And there was plenty of grieving to be done; for the demolition and forced removals of Sophiatown in Johannesburg, South End in Port Elizabeth, District Six in Cape Town, Farmerfield in Makhanda (Grahamstown), and a host of others that marked the turbulent early 1960s in South Africa. Then there was the violent persecution of political activists, the execution of leaders, the massacres and the restrictions that the pass laws imposed. As state repression intensified in the 1970s and 1980s, delivering constant traumatic events and experiences to the oppressed, the song, and others like it, offered an outlet. They also helped generate the strength that would finally lead to the long-awaited end of the heinous system of apartheid.

Back to the words of young Mbeki in his closing remarks in 1964:

"Today we might be but weak children, spurred on by nothing other than the fear and grief of losing our fathers. In time yet we shall learn to die both for ourselves and for the millions." (T. Mbeki, 1998)

The spirited resistance to apartheid's repression in the 1970s and 80s was the culmination of years of learning to die for the noblest causes, freedom and the eradication of a system that sanctioned a policy of extermination. Through revolutionary songs like *Senzeni Na?* and the performance that accompanied all the song, virtually all sections of the oppressed groups were spurred to organise resistance campaigns. Students in high schools, workers in factories and mines as well as community organisations mobilized under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDM) that was launched in Cape Town in 1983 (M.K. Jack, 2018). The emergence of militant leaders from the youth and the various campaigns that were launched against the apartheid government and businesses was the proof that these oppressed groups had regained their strength.

Like Vuyisile Mini, the oppressed classes had drawn strength and courage from the revolutionary songs.

4.5 THE INFRANGIBLE LINK BETWEEN POLITICS AND CULTURE FOR BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS

Long before the system of apartheid was introduced another authority brought misery and hopelessness to the oppressed black race. It was during the colonial rule under the Cape colonial government, a proxy of the British government. A total of ten (10) wars were fought between the English and Xhosa warriors in the frontier of the Cape colony. These were called "frontier wars" (T.J. Stapleton, 2016). In the aftermath of the 6th frontier war that was later named "War of an Axe" because Tsili allegedly stole an axe from a British trader's shop in Fort Beaufort, Chief Maqoma who had a huge following on the eastern frontier of the colony was sent to exile in Port Elizabeth in 1847. Whilst he was there, he heard that a new governor of the Cape colony was appointed and had arrived in Port Elizabeth to assess the resistance to land dispossession and colonial invasion in the eastern frontier.

Chief Maqoma rode to the city in the hope of seeing the new governor and getting a chance to have a word with him. To his surprise, the new governor was his old adversary and nemesis Sir Harry Smith, whose previous role was that of commander of British army in the colony. The new governor extended his hand as if to greet the chief only to knock him down and put his boot on the chief's neck. Chief Maqoma retorted: "You are a dog and you will die a dog." (T.J. Stapleton, 2016)

Thus, the governor's humiliating act and the subsequent legislations and regulations were a central part of the narrative that natives were inferior and settlers superior. Reverend Dugmore a Missionary of the Methodist Church in

Grahamstown in the 1800s underscored this point in his comment about the dress, and the design of houses of the natives (T.J. Stapleton, 2016):

> *Could they be induced generally, to abandon their grass huts, and adopt a kind of dwelling more favourable to habits of cleanliness, it would greatly tend to promote the use of the European apparel.*

His colleague, Thornely Smith focused his attention on the division of labour in the native homestead and concluded that (T.J. Stapleton, 2016):

> *To the wife belongs the task of hewing wood and drawing water, digging ground and grinding corn, erecting the habitation and doing all the drudgery of the house; whilst my lord [the African], during all the greater portion of the day has no employment at all*.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that the notion of "civilising inferior natives" began with the Dutch settlement in Table Bay in 1652 and consequently, led to the introduction of the racist system of apartheid in 1948 (M.B. Mhlauli, etal, 2015). Apartheid was introduced by the Gesuiwerde Nationale Party that broke away from J.M.B. Hertzog's National Party in 1934. Its desire was to establish firm control of the country's economic, political, social and educational institutions and systems in order to elevate whites through the deprivation of black, Coloured and Indian races (M.B. Mhlauli, etal, 2015). (N. Kamies, 2017) traces the goals of apartheid from theologians who studied in Europe during the era of eugenics and returned to South Africa having imbibed the doctrine of "the divine right of each nation to a separate existence". Thus, a plethora of laws and policies were passed to restrict the advancement of black races and subject them to subjugation.

Black South Africans challenged the discriminatory policies like Bantu Education, pass laws, Group Areas and Bantu Administration. In their paper, Understanding Apartheid in South Africa through the Racial Contract, Botswana academics Mavis Mhlauli, End Salani and Rosinah Mokotedi said resistance came in the form of popular protests by urban blacks most of whom were employees in the mining industry. One of the most prominent songs to emerge during the 1950 was another by the legendary Makeba, in protest against forced removals from areas the government had decided were reserved for whites only:

Utla utlwa makgowa a re (you will hear whites saying)
A re yena eMeadowlands (let's go to Meadowlands)
Meadowlands, Meadowlands, (Meadowlands Meadowlands)
ons duck ni ous pola ni (We are not leaving, we are staying)

The "second phase" of the implementation of apartheid witnessed intensified repression (M. B. Mhlauli, 2015). Protesting against the pass laws saw people brutally murdered and the ANC and PAC responded with the formation of MK, and for the PAC, the African People's Liberation Army (APLA). This development specifically emphasised the recognition of the Sharpeville massacre "as an historical dividing point" (T. Lodge, 2011). As such, the NP government passed the General Laws Amendment Act that empowered police to suppress actions that they deemed to be challenging the state. Consequently, political activists and leaders of the suppressed races were summarily arrested, some sentenced to life imprisonment, and others to death. Black political organisations were banned. Towards the end of the 1960s, a new organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement (BC) was formed. So, despite the restrictions and the police brutality, resistance to apartheid continued into the 1970s.

The toll it took was significant however. On June 16 1976 alone, an intensified state repression resulted in 1 200 black students killed, hospitalised or brought before the courts. Nearly 45% of them were aged just 13 and 16 (M. B. Mhlauli, 2015). This use of weapons against civilians, including children, was part of then Defence Minister P.W. Botha's "total strategy" against resistance to apartheid in the early 1970s (J. Selfe, 1987)

South Africa's revolutionary songs were there throughout. (A. M. van der Wald, 2009) states that songs as social commentaries are continually changing, influencing new compositions and reappearing regularly in almost the same form. But during the oppression of black and coloured South Africans until democracy, they were a response to the "inhuman and barbarous" nature of the successive racially oppressive regimes that governed South Africa from the 17th century until the last 10 years of the 20th century (A. Tambo, 1987). In essence, revolutionary songs became a weapon to fight against the repressive and brutal regimes that governed South Africa's racial relations from the first permanent European settlement in 1652 through to the British colonial era and the recent Apartheid government that lasted more than four decades.

4.6 MEMORY AND IDENTITY

Lastly, this chapter argues that songs are important instruments for memory and imagination of the future. (D. Constant-Martins, 2013) makes the point thus:

"Music, and discourses on music, contribute to imagining memories that reorganise the history of a group in order to make it meaningful and useful for the present. Memory conjures up a 'present from the past', it selects facts, ties them with new logics to produce social representations relevant to the present. Memory opens up a capacity to explore the world and to act in the world. Music is used in the elaboration of

representations of the past because it is the art of playing with time, with continuity and breaks."

(N. Wa Thiongo, 1998) concurred that:

"Revolutionary songs and slogans are a reflection of history. Freedom fighters used them to create images which become the basis for the conception of themselves as human beings. Militant songs and slogans enable guerrillas of the former liberation movements – most of whom are alive - an opportunity to relieve their days in the battle and perform certain scenes that would inspire the younger generation and earn their gratitude and admiration as warriors. Certainly, the memory of slave performances inspired the natives in their struggle against the British forces in later years."

Music in the African context serves various purposes including communication, the musical pattern of call and response with the former being an invitation or an appeal, and the latter being an answer or a commentary (H.D. Dawjee, 2019). Secondly, and most importantly, songs serve as a memory of history, the sting of the present and a dream of a more equal future (H.D. Dawjee, 2019). In the plantation, slaves needed to record the memory of their past, understand their present circumstances and articulate an ideal future. Letters and other records had to be concealed because they invited heavy penalties, including execution. Thus, music became a viable instrument to keep memory alive, a response to their daily struggles and an expression of the desired future freedom or returning to their homelands.

S. Mcimeli-Nkoana (2008) concurs that historical events are recorded in a passionate rather than a dispassionate manner in Struggle songs. Importantly, the passion found in Struggle songs is not so much that of individuals who were conversing in the song. Rather it was that of the collective interpretation of events from a particular committed standpoint. The collective

interpretation is made possible by the ability of the liberation songs to persuade, inspire and educate in a manner that no other medium is able to.

As previously cited, Biko asserted that music in African culture features in all emotional states. (A. le Roux- Kemp, 2014) concurs with Biko and further adds that music is interwoven with development issues, a dynamic and highly charged force that affects and embraces intellectual property right, democracy, economic growth, censorship, media, tradition, globalisation and education. Moreover, one of the major things to note about songs in the African context is that they never were songs for individuals. All African songs are group songs, and while many have words or lyrics, this is not the most important thing about them (S. Biko, 2008). In other words, the lyrics do not necessarily instruct performers to carry them out in the literal sense. In one of her songs, for example, Makeba says: "*Ngeke ndiye KwaZulu kwafel' umama*" (I will never visit the province of KwaZulu because my mother died there.) (Makeba, 1991). People who know the song sing it even though their mothers are alive or if they were dead did not die in KwaZulu. So, rather than being all about the content, liberation songs reassured those who were afraid while fighting the war for freedom. They reinforced the determination of the regiment to win a particular encounter and made much more urgent the need to settle the score (S. Biko, 2008).

4.7 CONCLUSION

Revolutionary songs inspired courageous behaviour and character in people who performed them. Courage is a virtue that inspires people to put aside their personal preferences in the cause of a greater good. In the context of South Africa's history of struggle against racial oppression, unity of the oppressed and freedom loving people was necessary to

eliminate the apartheid regime's potential for exploiting contradictions there might be amongst the oppressed in order to weaken their strength.

Revolutionary songs have enhanced the unity of the fighting classes and enabled their cohesiveness. (A, le Roux- Kemp, 2015) amplified the importance of revolutionary songs and postulated that "there has never been any revolution that did not use songs to give voice to its aspirations or rally the morale of its adherence."

Moreover, revolutionary songs "shaped and functioned as a force to confront the state and as a means to actively construct an alternative political and social reality". (A, Schumann, 2008) Lastly, and most importantly, revolutionary songs have, according to (R. Eyerman and A. Jamison 1998), been instrumental in the remembrance of a wide range of social movements and collective identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

Introduction

For the purposes of this study, face-to face interviews were conducted and questionnaires were distributed for self-completion. Importantly, subjects were divided into two groups: the first included those commonly accepted as veteran political activists, who were effective eyewitnesses to the Struggle years in South Africa, and who would have attended or been familiar with protests that took place in the country during the 1980s and 1990s, ahead of the first democratic elections in 1994. These included community protests, school boycotts as well as workers' strikes. To complement their perspectives, the other group of interview subjects represented a younger cohort, who would be more interested in Struggle or revolutionary South African songs from a historical standpoint, but who could supply critical viewpoints around the very question of whether the longevity of interest in this music is in fact alive and well in the country – and if so, offering the essential proof of the critical role it has to play in collective memory, becoming an integral part of the "new history" being recorded for an entire nation of people that could well otherwise have been grossly underrepresented.

5.2 Interview Group 1.

This cohort was selected to supply the following specific insights:

- To give interviewees an opportunity to recall the past.
- To explore the roles that revolutionary songs played in the struggle at the time
- To give them a chance to reflect on their views of the roles and relevance of revolutionary songs, at the time and today in a democratic South Africa.

- To interrogate what they remember as the revolutionary songs that had the biggest impact – and were most popular - during the 1980s and early 1990s.

This cohort included a total 10 individuals, six women and four men. Four of them did face-to-face interviews and their comments were either audio recorded and later transcribed and translated, or were handwritten during individual interviews. The remaining subjects completed questionnaires that were sent via WhatsApp with strict deadlines. Three interviewees sent their comments via email and the other three via WhatsApp.

It was interesting to observe that the responses from this cohort reflected the general view that these songs offered insight into the activities of the revolutionary movements of the time, especially in respect of the militarisation of the Struggle for liberation. Commenting on this militarisation of the masses, one remarked:

> *" … we sang, but we had no weapons. As people, it was the Boers who were shooting and killing. During apartheid, even if you were afraid, once you heard the song, the fear would dissipate".*

They were in broad agreement that revolutionary songs inspired courageous behaviour and character in those who performed them, encouraging oppressed South Africans to put aside their personal desires and to instead pursue a goal that was for the common good. One respondent went so far as to comment that "where language fails, music takes over". His view that revolutionary songs were extremely effective in "passing a clear message and intention" was echoed by another subject in this group who emphasised that liberation songs still remain a vehicle of "conveying the concerns – as well as the plight – of (the so-called) masses".

5.3 Interview Group 2

The second group, of younger South Africans, have an interest in history and heritage in general, but are often also activists within their own realities in a democratic South Africa. They were selected to add their own, different insights around the role of revolutionary songs decades after the advent of democracy – both historically and currently. These included:

- Ascertaining the depth of this group's knowledge about South African liberation songs.
- Unpacking their experiences around the singing of these songs in a post-democratic South Africa.
- Establishing how they rate the importance of revolutionary songs, both historically during the Struggle years, and in terms of today's democratic dispensation.

This cohort comprised five participants, all of whom were women. This was not planned but reflected those who chose to respond to requests for interviews; four returned the questionnaires and one agreed to a face-to-face interview under the regulations that were occasioned by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in South Africa. This necessitated strict social distancing in a lockdown scenario. All participants in this cohort were born after 1985, and as such, were aged 10 or younger when the 1994 elections heralded the advent of democracy in the country. At least one was actively involved in student politics between 2005 and 2010. Another is a supporter of an opposition party that specifically uses revolutionary songs to mobilise its followers. The remaining participants included a university student and an artist, whose work is site-specific. Their profiles suggested to this researcher that they all had a specific interest in history, politics, culture and heritage.

5.4 ANALYSIS: PRIMARY FINDINGS

5.4.1 Education

Education emerged as a predominant theme for both groups; despite the difference in generations, subjects across the board agreed that revolutionary songs play/ed a critical and broad educational role in terms of the essence of the struggle against the apartheid regime – and post-democracy. Respondents said the songs played an important role in educating the masses about the injustices of apartheid, the importance of unity of the struggling classes, the methods of the struggle, the protagonists, mobilisation and other issues.

One veteran activist, whose involvement in the liberation struggle spans three decades from the early 1980s in the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Queenstown Youth Congress (Queeyo), used the term “tool” to illustrate their capacity of these songs to impact knowledge about the Struggle itself, but also related issues. She suggested in her response that the educational role of revolutionary songs extended to helping people understand the ramifications and complexities of the Struggle, including the fight for a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society – highlighting how apartheid actively promoted racism. The revolutionary songs exposed this reality, along with “what the people of South Africa were hoping to achieve”.

One respondent from the younger group, who first experienced the singing of freedom songs during his first year of study at the University of Fort Hare in 2005, explained that students were protesting fee increases and financial exclusions by the university. The context was vastly different, but in this case, they achieved the desired effect and these controversial decisions were withdrawn by the university’s management.

Another said that just as had been the case with the liberation movements of the apartheid era, the use of the songs was to transmit the message of the protestors clearly and unambiguously. Not only did this ensure that the substance of the opposition was understood by those in authority, but also by other students or potential protesters, so attracting them to the cause. Thus, they contend, liberation songs were and are designed to mobilise communities around a specific agenda, whether it is of a liberation movement or a protesting faction.

One female respondent, who grew up in Port Elizabeth and became a teen on the eve of democracy in 1994, commented:

"(The songs) play a role in more ways than one, from mobilising the masses around the same cause, to spreading relevant awareness while also confronting the prevailing injustices."

Using the song *Senzeni Na?* for illustrative purposes, she said she believed it worked to clearly identify the protagonists in the Struggle. In one verse, the song identifies "blackness as a sin and truth as a crime that the black population have committed to earn the wrath of apartheid terrorism". This verse responded to the repeated rhetorical question, *Senzeni Na?* in the first stanza of the song. Moreover, the last stanza *"amabhulu azizinja"* went further than identifying the Boers as provocateurs. By calling them *izinja*, the verse sought to convey that the system of apartheid over which the Afrikaners presided was unjustifiable, corrupt, brutal, repressive and had no place in a just society.

A respondent who participated in protest marches in the 1970s concurred that liberation songs were instrumental in educating the masses about the Struggle. He recalled that "through the singing of the liberation songs, coupled with what was called *ithebula* - a sort of war cry, a small group of protesters would gather crowds as they marched, singing and dancing towards a

target destination". People, especially the youngsters, would join them as they proceeded, regardless of their destination. Once they had achieved a significant following, the organisers would address the crowd, so enlightening people who may otherwise never have learnt about their cause, crisis or reason for protest. In effect, he not only believes that Struggle songs had a critical educational role to play, but also that these "have a message that educates the singer and the listener about some important things taking place in the country, so educating but also mobilising communities". To illustrate his point, he recalls a song commemorating the brutality of the apartheid response during the 1976 Soweto uprisings:

Basidubela	*They shot*
Badubulela abantwana	They killed our children
Abancane	Kids
Aph' eSoweto	In Soweto
Alawula ngesibham la mabhulu	*Boers rule through the barrel of the gun*
Alawula ngesibham	They rule through the gun
Ekhaya!	*In our home*
Alawula ngesibham	*They rule through the gun*

The lyrics of the song told the story of the events of 16 June 1976, not only for the time, but also for future generations who all learnt specifics such as where the shootings took place, and the identities of those being targeted as well as the aggressors. "It also identifies the governors of the time and their system of governance."

A young teacher from Khayelitsha in the Western Cape agrees that these songs transmit/ted "powerful messages" to protesters and communities alike, enlightening them about the ideals for which liberation movements were fighting. Born in 1994, she also saw their potential of educational efficacy when she joined a protest march against gender-based violence

(GBV) at university. The protest grew so loud and strong, and she believes the songs influenced the eventual outcome which saw an alleged rapist expelled from a university residence.

5.4.2 History, Memory and Tradition

Interviewees universally commented on the importance of the preservation of liberation songs in the democratic dispensation. One respondent, who grew up on a farm in Port Alfred in the 1980s, revealed how he had experienced discrimination from very early in his life. This included a government official giving him an English name when his parents went to register him in the late 1970s. Later, he noticed that shops in the town and even on the farm had different entrances for different races. As he became familiar with the lyrics of various freedom songs, he reported that he began to understand the narrative of the Struggle, including the toyi-toyi. He believes that regardless of whether or not the lyrics of these songs appear at first to be threatening in any way to those against whom the freedom fighters fought, they did not carry any explicit intention to cause harm. In fact, he observed that protesters and singers of these songs seldom had any weapons, or if they did, did not routinely bear arms.

He highlights songs such as the following:

Ungandiboni ndimncane kangaka Tambo ndinike ibazooka
Though I look young as I do Tambo give me a bazooka

Ndinik' ibazooka x 4
Give me a bazooka

Tambo useLusaka Tambo ndinik ibazooka
Tambo is in Lusaka Tambo give me a bazooka

Ndinik' ibazooka x 4
Give me a bazooka

Another interviewee described singing about weapons and warfare as an "old and ancient tradition". He cited, for example, a sacred song that is performed during boy-to-man initiation rites:

Somagwaza ndakugwaza ngomkhonto
Somagwaza I will stab you with the spear

Hawu weee (Hawu wee)

Iyo hawu wee (Iyo hawu wee)

Hawu weee Somagwaza ndakugwaza ngomkhonto
Hawu wee Somagwaza I will stab you with the spear

He posits that traditional songs such as this one might have had an influence on some of the most popular liberation songs of the Struggle era, when South Africa's majority people joined forces to end apartheid and forge for themselves a new and authentic heritage that wasn't based solely on the colour of their skin.

The respondents, regardless of which group they represented, unanimously agreed that liberation songs are a record, or even a vocal monument, to the struggle for liberation in South Africa. One interviewee perhaps summarised their views best when she said in reference to *Senzeni Na?* that the song "symbolises the struggle we were in as South Africans". Another, highlighting the concept of cultural memory, added that the "songs play the role of reminding the people where they come from, serving as a symbol of victory".

Another respondent, who grew up in a Port Elizabeth township in the 1980s, was clear that "you cannot forget history and where you come from". Her view is that younger generations "need to know" that freedom songs played a critical role in the

fight against apartheid, and that “history is something to be preserved”. Another, who was emphatic on the subject of the preservation of these songs in the country’s historical record, added: “These songs are part of the South African heritage. They are still sung and some have been incorporated into various genres of music, like choral, jazz and pop.”

5.4.3 Unity of Purpose

Back to *Senzeni Na?,* a poet and Rhodes University graduate student recalled that she first heard and sang this and other liberation songs in 1992 from age 10. Her mother was a political activist and their home was “always full of comrades who would greet each other in those songs and depart with them”. She recalled how the songs “moved” the people, saying that she firmly believes there are very few South Africans who have not experienced their power. Her view is that these songs were especially important for “communicating” important messages during the dark days of apartheid, a conviction she saw confirmed during an interview she had with veteran actor John Kani for her blog *The ArtPaella*, during the 2009 National Arts Festival. In it, Kani argues that “art helped the liberation movement in its quest to free the South African people.”

Another participant echoed the opinion that liberation songs were and still remain “a vehicle of unifying” the masses against the marginalising system of apartheid. A third talked too about the “unity of purpose” when he said revolutionary songs were “very effective in uniting people towards a common goal”. That unity among freedom-loving South Africans striving for democracy was sacrosanct in the Struggle years, he said, a fact underscored by the fact that the annual themes for many of the ANC’s January 8th statements since the 1980s had made reference to the unity of the masses. The concept of fostering the unity of the revolutionary classes was emphasised by other

interviewees. One who was born in 1995 and went to university in 2014, suggested that the act of singing together created a "harmony of purpose", a view amplified by a young activist that was raised in Port Elizabeth post-1994. She asserted that the very fact that revolutionary songs allowed participants to "express themselves" automatically brought cohesion within the protesting groups during the apartheid years.

During the turbulent decade of the 1980s, when primary and secondary school pupils embarked on prolonged class boycotts, they called for unity in song:

We bafundi manyanani	*We students unite*
Manyanani	*Unite*
We bafundi ka nimanyane	*We students please unite*
Manyanani	*Unite*
Bathi yiyole le ntlangano	Here is the assembly
Yabafundi	Of students
Abafundi	Students
Bomthonyama	Of the soil

More recently, jockeying for position ahead of the ANC's national conference in 2017 threatened to permanently divide the party. Ironically, opposing factions called their preferred candidates to work towards unity. Even the seemingly "neutral candidates, what became known as the "unity slate" - a reference to candidates drawn from the two competing factions called for the same unity that the competing factions advocated for. The desire for unity led to a composition in favour of then Presidential candidate Cyril Ramaphosa:

Unity unity	*Unity unity*
Unity Ramaphosa	Unity Ramaphosa
Ixesha	*Time*
Ixesha lisondele	Time has arrived

The competing faction modified the song to replace Ramaphosa's name with that of Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, their preferred candidate.

Unity unity	Unity unity
Unity Nkosazana	Unity Nkosazana
Ixesha	*Time*
Ixesha lisondele	Time has arrived

The unity slate used the same song in its mobilisation and replaced the candidates' names with the word *"maqabane"* (comrades). In effect, they were looking beyond the two candidates in a bid to urge the general membership to choose unity instead.

Unity unity	*Unity unity*
Unity Maqabane	Unity Maqabane
Ixesha	*Time*
Ixesha lisondele	Time has arrived

From the above it becomes clear that the context or circumstances are important in performance. In other words, people perform to respond to circumstances. The adaptations that the Bo Kaap community made in their regular prayers knows as the Tarawih illustrate this point. When the national government declared lockdown in March 2020 due to the outbreak of COVID-19, community members were prohibited from gathering in their Mosque to conduct prayers. This disrupted the ancient tradition of group prayers and instead sang "al-Salaatu fee buyootikum" that encouraged residents to pray in their homes (A. Teagle & R. Adams, 2020). Moreover, to overcome the protocols that were imposed by social distancing, prayers were broadcast over the loudspeakers of the mosque. As a result, the whole community was able to participate in communal prayer including people who were not

unable to attend the mosque due to responsibilities even before the lockdown.

5.4.4 Consciousness

All the major liberation movements in South Africa believed that the masses were a critical component of the struggle for their liberation. In other words, it was they that needed to play a leading role in their struggle. As such, liberation movements embarked on political, social and economic awareness campaigns in order to draw the attention and direct the energies of the masses in the struggle against apartheid. Songs became critical in such campaigns. In his observation Ngcayisa concluded that "they did serve a purpose on creatively conscientizing us the youth around the cause." His sentiments are corroborated by Vabaza in his analysis of Senzeni Na? He articulated that one of the roles that revolutionary songs played was to "conscientize [black people] that they were suffering in South Africa because they are black." For example, Vabaza cites a song that David Mbatha whom I have met during this study claims to be his composition:

Ekuseni ngo 4 O'clock *In the early morning at 4 O'clock*

Sikhulul'uMandela, Mandela Sikhulul' uMandela
We free Mandela, Mandela We Free Mandela

Ekuseni ngoMgqibelo
In the early morning on Saturday

Sikhulul'uMandela, Mandela Sikhulul' uMandela
We free Mandela, Mandela We Free Mandela

Mandela Mandela Mandela Mandela

Sikhulul'uMandela, Mandela Sikhulul' uMandela
We free Mandela, Mandela We Free Mandela

Those that were born when Mandela was incarcerated got to know about him through song s such as that Mbatha composed in the late 80s and passed on to Blondie Makhene to perform. This raised their consciousness about the true leaders of the nation and that they were incarcerated by a ruthless regime.

Additionally, the song gave insights into the activities of MK camps in Angola in the 1980s. Mr Mbatha remembered the routine at the camps. They woke up at four in the morning and start military drills that were accompanied by song and performance.

Socio-economic and political conscientization of the youth did not end with the fall of the apartheid regime in 1994. It is continuous and the song and music are essential instruments. For instance, Eado recalls that even though South Africa is today a democratic society with equal rights, "racism is still rife and black people [in particular] still struggling and there are less opportunities for them." Ms Suka's observation was corroborated by media reports in the last few years. For instance, Adam Catzavelos, Penny Sparrow and Vicky Momberg have been convicted of calling black people "kaffirs". The former leader of the opposition party Helen Zille once tweeted what was largely interpreted as racist when she claimed that the legacy of colonialism "was not only negative." During the first few weeks of the lockdown that was declared to mitigate COVID-19 the former personal assistant of South Africa's first democratic president posted in her Facebook page what was interpreted as racist. Zelda La Grange wrote, "if you have a housekeeper, nanny, gardener or garden services, pool cleaner of ANYone in your employment demonstrate to them what a 20 second handwash looks like." The 20 second handwash was

recommended by World Health Organization (WHO) to reduce the spread of coronavirus. Zelda thought that domestic servants- largely black- needed to be taught how to wash their hands despite the fact that their business has always been about cleaning. Ngcayiza concurs with this view. He shows inclination towards black consciousness when he emphasized, "as a nation have not gained our freedom yet, as we are still experiencing inferior complex and our government do not prioritize the need of our black people, and I share the same sentiments." Phumeza recalls a song that is popular in South African Communist Party (SACP) gatherings which underscores the marginalization of those that make up the majority of the South African population. The song:

My mother
My mother was a kitchen girl
My father
My father was a garden boy
That's why
That's I'm a socialist I'm socialist I'm a socialist.

These sentiments were amplified by Malema in his justification of the singing of the song "dubul' ibhulu" in court. They are an illustration of the fact that despite the fact that the country is in its 26th year of democracy, for many people the socio-economic situation has not improved. They continue to live in squalor like they did during the previous discriminatory regimes, slavery, colonialism and apartheid.

Moreover, Mr Ngcayisa believes that the consciousness that the liberation songs brought to them as youth had far reaching consequences. For example, he believes that conscientized youth behaved responsible and "communities then were safe of crimes and other social ills." In other words, revolutionary songs directed the energies of young people to more sensible

and nation building causes rather than destruction. Indeed, the lower levels of crimes in the townships in the 1980s and early 1990s was attributed to youth participation in the revolutionary struggle. Struggle activist in the 1980s Mkhuseli Jack mentions an incident in his book *To Survive and Succeed: From farm boy to businessman,* that a British journalist lost his camera while he was documenting protests in Port Elizabeth township. He recalls that it took them [a group of young activists] a few hours to recover the stolen camera. Ngcayisa continues, "the innovation and chanting of struggle songs should carry on, and mostly must be directed to the current day struggles and also suggesting solutions."

At a broader and continental level, liberation songs liberation songs demonstrated the connectedness of the African people that the colonial regimes divided and fostered divisions between the peoples of the continent. Ms Macwili and Mr Vabaza noted that in PAC gatherings, and lately the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) the song "From Cape to Cairo" was and is sung to demonstrate that Africans are one people.

From Cape to Cairo	*From Cape to Cairo*
Azania	Azania
Morocco to Madagascar	*Morocco to Madagascar*
Azania	Azania
IAzania izwe lethu	*Azania our country*
Azania	Azania
Solithatha ngebazooka	*We will liberate her by bazooka*
Azania	Azania

This song is particularly relevant especially in the light of the attacks that targeted Africans that come from other countries. Such attacks have been carried out by black South Africans who feel that they have lost employment opportunities to Africans

from other countries. As such, this song counsel black South Africans that Africa belongs to all of them as Africans and therefore rather than killing each other they must unite and take charge of their economic development. Mr Vabaza, a choral music director and enthusiast recalls a choral music song that was composed by Tom Sitsholwana in which he incorporates old liberation songs:

Afrika Yeyethu, Ngekhe siphinde sibuy'emva! (Africa is ours, we will never turn back!)
Phambili Afrika, Forward ever Backward never!
May'buy'iAfrika, Inkululeko eAfrika! (Bring back Africa, Freedom in Africa!).

5.4.5 Resistance

It is a universally accepted truth that the apartheid regime was ruthless, and brutal. Massacres in Sharpeville, Soweto and Uitenhage, and the general violence that marked its decades in government offered clear proof of the fact that murder was definitely on the agenda if it meant self-preservation. As such, bravery was necessary to confront the regime and bring it to its knees – and these songs did a lot to boost that essential courage, according to local and international academics who have written on the subject, as well as the subjects interviewed for the purposes of this study. This researcher has referred previously in this thesis to unionist and political activist Vuyisile Mini and his comrades, who sang *"Ndodemnyama"* as he walked to the gallows in November 1964. Similarly, it is reported that when the young Solomon Mahlangu walked to the gallows, he implored his fellow fighters "to continue the fight" despite the fact that they risked death. A respondent from the older group explained that "these songs, to me, displayed the deep commitment of our people to the liberation of our people, that they would sacrifice their lives. And those

who were left behind drew strength from the deceased ones." Another interviewee concurred, adding that "they (revolutionary songs) boosted the morale and motivated people to move forward with their demands". Beyond the motivation and courage, a third respondent believed that liberation songs affirmed the revolutionaries' course of action. She explained that "they gave courage and made people believe in themselves and leaders like the Mandelas and Tambos. They acted as affirmation as well." Where fear and doubts may have taken over, the Struggle songs served as an affirmation that there was still much to fight for.

Returning to Jack, in his book he goes so far as to claim that it was liberation songs that helped persuade him to re-join the Struggle. The student riots in Port Elizabeth in the early 1980s had forced him to flee to East London in the hope that he could complete his secondary school studies there. One afternoon he attended a community meeting, sitting at the back of the hall. But as the songs reignited his fervour, he says he found himself on the podium and actually among the leaders of the protest. One respondent spoke of that feeling that engulfs her when singing in a group. She said: *"Uva kamnandi and ikunika Amandla iyakuvuselela"* (you feel good, it gives you power and it revives you). Another submitted that "the prevailing and deepening oppression will always provoke the musical and confrontational response". He is of the view that protests continuing today in South African are but a continuation of the protests that brought about the fall of the apartheid regime. The socio-economic challenges that threatened the welfare of the majority of South Africans during apartheid has yet to be addressed and eradicated. As such, communities continue their assault on regimes that tolerate their continued marginalisation. His comments were echoed by another subject, who said the occupation of townships by the apartheid army and the police led directly to the resistance by

communities and the provision of assistance to the underground guerrillas. This mobilised "people to fight back violently", he said, pointing to an earlier version of the controversial song *"dubul' ibhulu",* made famous more recently by the EFF and deemed hate speech by the Equality Court.

Nang' amabhulu nanga esiza	*Here are the boers here they come*
Aw Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot shoot with a gun
Satsh' isbham sidubul' impimpi	*Hear the gun shooting and informer*
Aw Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot shoot with a gun

It was common cause that even in a democratic dispensation, people resort to protest songs when they feel that authorities do not take their plight seriously. One subject said that "once people feel that the government is heavy-handed on them, you can hear crowds singing *'Senzeni na?'*. This immediately brings back memories of how black people used to suffer under the rule of the white regime. This immediately strikes a nerve with the leaders of the democratic South Africa because the last thing they would want is to be likened to the apartheid South Africa regime."

5.4.6 Funerals

As apartheid violence intensified in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, deaths mounted along with a significant increase – and attention being paid – to funerals, especially of Struggle stalwarts. Because these were victims of state violence, these funerals became platforms to advance the ideals of liberation movements. As such, revolutionary songs dominated proceedings, such as during the funeral of Steve Biko, founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, in 1977. A year later,

during the funeral of PAC founder, Robert Sobukwe, Struggle songs were sung to disrupt Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi's planned address. Activists refused to listen to his speech because he was viewed as an apartheid apologist. One respondent commented: "In the late 1970s and 1980s, there were a lot of police shootings and killings in the townships and I got an opportunity to join the protest marches and the funerals of the victims of police killings. In some cases, due to age, I would join the singing for a short distance because marches would continue for long distances. Rallies would be held at Dan Qeqe Stadium in Zwide (Port Elizabeth) and marchers would come from different directions converging at Dan Qeqe. The same would happen for funerals."

Another notable funeral of the time was that of human rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, who was assassinated by the Security Police in eMlazi township outside Durban in 1981. During the funeral proceedings' crowds chanted slogans and sang revolutionary songs. A plain-clothes black policeman was also murdered as the crowds sought vengeance, a reality repeated during the funeral of his wife Victoria Mxenge, who was murdered in 1985, when a soldier from the former Ciskei was burnt alive. The same year, the funeral of the Cradock Four took place: Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata, Matthew Goniwe and Sicelo Mhlauli. The event saw the hoisting of the South African Communist Party flag for the first time since 1960, according to former Robben Island prisoner and Port Elizabeth activist Xhanti Lamani. The popular song heard during all these funerals – including many today – was *"Hamba Kahle Mkhonto"*, sung to pay respects, bid farewell and to mourn the loss of those who died at the hands of the apartheid regime. One respondent, a long-time ANC member, recalled how "every day, where there was a burial of a comrade, the song was always sung as the coffin was lowered into the ground".

5.5 Conclusion

Clearly, liberation songs played an important role in the fight to dislodge the brutal and racist system of apartheid. All interviewees agreed that revolutionary songs played a crucial part in educating the oppressed and majority classes about the system of apartheid and the struggle against it. This was an important element considering the fact that the apartheid government employed propaganda to influence the thinking and the mentality of the population in general. For example, leaders of the liberation movements were sent to Robben Island prison and generally called “terrorists”. This was done to turn the people that they were fighting for against them. Secondly, the apartheid government employed violence as a tool to intimidate and force obedience. It is the educational value of the liberation songs that awakened the oppressed people from the propaganda and intimidation of the repressive regime.

Simultaneously, and as a result of education that the songs provided, a new kind of consciousness developed. The new consciousness encouraged the visualization of an ideal society where all races were treated equally, the country’s resources will be distributed to all on equal basis, opportunities made available to all without regard to race, creed and social orientation and a society that would be rooted on human rights culture. To attain the values that were contained in liberation consciousness protesters need to be brave and courageous in order to confront the enemy. Revolutionary songs inculcated such values as it was seen on activist Mkhuseli Jack who was cited previously.

Moreover, funerals provided platforms where liberation songs were performed. The funerals of activists, Mxenge family, Sobukhwe, Biko and many others became sites of resistance

where songs were performed. The performance cultivated the much-needed unity amongst the fighting classes and made it a cohesive force in the fight against discrimination.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Freedom songs, otherwise described as revolutionary or Struggle songs in the South African context specifically, made a major contribution to finally bringing apartheid to its knees. Serving as an instrument that effectively united, prepared and produced political cadres, providing an important impetus in rallying the forces of change against one of the most repressive regimes in the history of the world. This study identified five examples of songs that were particularly important, not only in the 1980s and early 1990s as South Africa began looking forward to the possibility of a democratic government, but also long before that, from the early days of the ANC when the initial revolutionary response was born. It can be concluded that while the composers of most of these songs, *Senzeni Na?, Nants' iNdodemnyama Verwoed, Ayesab' amagwala, Hamba kahle Mkhonto wesizwe* and *Tambo sikhulule,* were difficult to determine for the purposes of this study, this did nothing to detract from the important role they have and continue to play in South Africa's historical record. The one exception was *Ndodemnyama Verwoerd,* which was composed by trade unionist Vuyisile Mini in the 1950s and performed by Miriam Makeba. Mini, who composed the song as a warning to the former prime minister and architect of apartheid Hendrik Verwoerd, only to be sent to the gallows in November 1964, employed the power of this song and its challenging lyrics to confront the brutal regime. The study identified *Senzeni Na?* as perhaps the most iconic of all liberation songs, believed to have its roots in the late 1950s as the apartheid government forcibly removed people from their homes, breaking up communities forever and banishing Black South Africans to the margins of society. It cannot be denied, this research found, that the song served to raise awareness about the socio-political and

economic subjugation to which the apartheid government subjected Black, Coloured and Indian populations, emphasising that this subjugation and repression was based solely on the colour of their skin.

It also became clear, however, that South Africa's long history of liberation art and music dates much further back than apartheid, before the National Party gave racism an Afrikaner name and in its place in South Africa's history. As far back as the 17th Century, the Minstrel troupes, comprising slaves from South and South East Asia, East and West Africa, Madagascar and Mozambique, began the annual *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* tradition, a street festival that still takes place every year on 2 January (F. Englese, 2014). With songs and performances that recalled "the worst that could be done to people by other people" (N. Worden, 2009), the "Struggle" landscape evolved over the following decades as composers and musicians responded to prevailing socio-economic and politically oppressive circumstances, their work reflecting a wide range of protests - against land dispossession, the pass laws, the enforcement of callous curfews and inhumane forced removals, among others. It was against this backdrop that the dissertation explored – and confirmed - the role of revolutionary songs in both the battle to end apartheid in South Africa, and their contribution to its ultimate demise. It foregrounds the critical role relevant music and lyrics have played throughout history in raising political awareness and uniting both minorities and majorities doing battle against brutalising, and racially-oppressive administrations. Employing qualitative research methodologies, information was gathered from 15 different participants, via oral interviews and questionnaires. They were divided into two groups: the first group were those who actually witnessed the protests of the 1980s, sometimes being active participants, with a view to allowing them to discuss the impact of these songs by recalling

their past experiences, reflecting on how they, their neighbours and communities were influenced by the music, and also how they had watched the continued traction these songs gathered in South Africa even post-democracy. The second group comprised younger people who grew to adulthood after the advent of democracy in 1994, with the aim of measuring the impact of these songs on the lives of younger citizens. This researcher wanted to juxtapose their views with those of the older cohort to specifically answer the question of how deeply this music had impacted Black South Africans through the decades, but also to examine whether the songs continued to have relevance today. In other words, had they become an entrenched part of South Africa's historical record? The answers produced undeniable proof that this is the case, and that it is impossible to underplay the importance of the preservation of these songs going forward – regardless of whether or not they make some sectors of society feel uncomfortable. They are a part of history, and as such, cannot be allowed to be expunged. For example, while accepting the ruling by Equality Court in 2010 on the matter between Julius Malema and Others against AfriForum and Others that deemed the song commonly known as *dubul' ibhulu* (shoot the boer) as hate speech that served to incite violence, the contents of this study offers proof of the deep complexity of retaining oral literature as a "collective expression and a celebration of communal, culture specific related experiences which enhance values in traditional societies" (A.M. van der Wal, 2009).

The analysis of both groups' responses pointed to easily identified categories of perceived influence – under the following headings: resistance; education; consciousness; history, memory and tradition; as well as funerals. The respondents, despite their age difference and the starkly contrasting circumstances in which they grew up, all shared interestingly similar sentiments about the revolutionary songs.

This included broad agreement that this music played – and continues to play - a significant role in raising social awareness and educating South Africans about their human rights, long after they were specifically focused on confronting the apartheid regime. Crucially, the respondents were unanimous in their agreement that the songs should be preserved at all costs, not least because they are a catalogue of the memories of the dark days of the Struggle against apartheid. They were frank in their acknowledgement that some of the songs could be seen to violate some of the prescripts of the country's Constitution, especially in respect of the incitement of violence and hate speech, stirring concern, mostly amongst white South Africans. But they argued that they also remained an important part of history, while having relevance for people protesting and confronting the existing challenges that continue to haunt a large section of the population. Additionally, the study employed collective memory as its theoretical orientation. It is defined as the study of how the past is organised and should be understood in the quest to achieve social justice. In this regard, the research concludes that rather than viewing the lyrics of the revolutionary songs as having the effect of polarising society, they should rather be remembered as one of the most important tools that Black South Africans had as they fought to end apartheid. Secondly, they should be viewed as a way in which the victims of not only apartheid, but also of slavery and colonialism, grieve/ed that trauma imposed on them by said regimes. Finally, this body of research concludes that these songs should be honoured for their contribution to the development of a new consciousness that can help everyone to navigate the new democratic epoch.

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ADDENDUM

4.3.1 Senzeni Na?

Senzeni Na?	*What have we done?*
Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na?	What have we done?
	What have we done?
Senzeni Na?	*What have we done?*
Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na?	What have we done?
	What have we done?
Senzeni Na?	*What have we done?*
Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na?	What have we done?
	What have we done?
Sono sethu	*Our sin*
Sono sethu bubumnyama	Our sin is being black
Tyala lethu	*Our transgression*
Tyala lethu yinyaniso	Our transgression is truth
Sono sethu	*Our sin*
Sono sethu bubumnyama	Our sin is being black
Tyala lethu	*Our transgression*
Tyala lethu yinyaniso	Our transgression is being black
Amabhulu	*Boers*
Amabhulu azizinja	Boers are dogs
Ayakufa	*They will die*
Ayakufa ezizinja.	They will die dogs
Amabhulu	*Boers*
Amabhulu azizinja	Boers are dogs
Ayakufa	*They will die*
Ayakufa ezizinja.	They will die dogs

4.3.2 Hamba kahle Mkhonto

Hamba	*Go*
Hamba kahle mkhonto	Go well spear

Mkhonto	*Spear*
Wemkhonto mkhonto wesizwe nation	Spear spear of the
Thina	*We*
Thina bantu bomkhonto siz'misele	We people of Mkhonto we are determined
Ukuwabulala	To kill
Wona lamabhulu	The boers

4.3.3 Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd

Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	*Here comes the black man Verwoerd*
Indod' emnyama Velevutha	The black man Verwoed
Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	*Here comes the black man Verwoerd*
Indod' emnyama Velevutha	The black man Verwoed
Basopha nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	Watch out, here comes the black man Verwoerd
Basopha nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha	Watch out, here comes the black man Verwoerd

4.3.4 *Sikhulule Tambo* (*Liberate Us Tambo*)

Tambo	*Tambo*
Ngawo lo nyaka womanyano skhulule Tambo	This year of unity liberate us Tambo
Tambo	*Tambo*

Ngawo lo nyaka womanyano skhulule Tambo	This year of unity liberate us Tambo
Tambo, Tambo, Tambo ho skhulele Tambo	*Tambo Tambo Tambo ho liberate us Tambo*
Ibazooka ne Mortar ne Archer skhulule Tambo	Bazooka, and Mortar and Archer
Tambo, Tambo, Tambo ho skhulele Tambo	*Tambo Tambo Tambo ho liberate us Tambo*
Ibazooka ne Mortar ne Archer skhulule Tambo	Bazooka, and Mortar and Archer

4.3.5 Dubul' ibhulu

Ayesab' amagwala	*Cowards are frightened*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun
Ayesab' amagwala	*Cowards are frightened*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun
Dubul' ibhulu	*Shoot the boer*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun
Dubul' ibhulu	*Shoot the boer*
Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham	Shoot shoot, shout with the gun