

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Music to Move the Masses:

*Protest Music of the 1980s as a
Facilitator for Social Change in
South Africa.*

Claudia Mohr

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Music, University of Cape Town.

A project such as this is a singular undertaking, not for the faint hearted, and would surely not be achieved without help. Having said this I must express my sincere gratitude to those that have helped me.

To the University of Cape Town and the National Research Foundation, as Benjamin Franklin would say 'time is money', and indeed I would not have been able to spend the time writing this had I not been able to pay for it, so thank you for your contribution.

To my supervisor, Sylvia Bruinders. Thank you for your patience and guidance, without which I would not have been able to curb my lyrical writing style into the semblance of academic writing.

To Dr. Michael Drewett and Dr. Ingrid Byerly: although I haven't met you personally, your work has served as an inspiration to me, and I thank you.

To my parents, Claus and Rita Mohr, who have supported my every endeavour and in doing so stand with me outside of convention: I could not have asked for better parents.

To the artists that gave so generously of their time and material in the aid of this study: Akbar Khan, Vlamont Layne, Tina Schouw and Dr. David Kramer. May this small but genuine contribution to the academic field serve as a testament to your work and its validity as part of the socio-political discourse of the 1980s.

Lastly, to my examiners, whom I do not know but hope to impress, thank you for taking the time to read this: may you find amongst the negative enough positive to grant me my degree.

Sincerely

Claudia Mohr

Contents:

Chapter 1: Ideology

1.1) Introduction (3)

1.2) The Power of Music (8)

1.3) A History of Protest (17)

Chapter 2: 1980s External Influencing Factors

2.1) The Cultural Boycott (27)

2.2) Collaborative Trends Abroad (33)

2.2.1) Cultural Constriction for Human Rights (33)

2.2.2) Graceland (39)

Chapter 3: 1980s Internal Influencing Factors

3.1) South African Musical Resistance of the 1980s (49)

3.1.1) The Censorship Battle (49)

3.1.2) Characteristics of Protest Music in the 1980s (62)

3.1.2.1) Subversive Language (63)

3.1.2.1) Collaboration (76)

3.1.2.3) Activism(81)

Chapter 4: The Effectiveness of 1980s Protest Music

4.1) Conclusion (93)

1) Ideology

1.1) Introduction

Nkosi, Sikelel' iAfrika (Lord, bless Africa)
Malupakam' upondo lwayo (May her horn rise up)
Yiva imitandazo yetu (Hear Thou our prayers and bless us) ¹

Nkosi Sikelel Afrika (Lord, bless Africa)
Cima bonk' ubugwenza bayo (Blot out all its wickedness)
Neziggito, Nezono zayo (And its transgressions and sins)
Uwazikelele (And bless us.) ²

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika (God Bless Africa)
 Enoch Sontonga & Samuel E. Mqhayi. ³

Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika, affectionately known as the 'African National Anthem', is perhaps the single most recognisable example of the power of song in South Africa. Since its composition in 1897 by Enoch Sontonga, a Methodist school teacher, it has travelled and transformed not only through South Africa, but greater Africa as well. In 1927 celebrated Xhosa poet Samuel E. Mqhayi added seven more verses to the original for its first publication – to be reprinted in 1929 by Lovedale Press – in the Presbyterian Xhosa Hymn book (Byerly 1996,92). The original Sontonga song was an appeal to God for help and blessing in an oppressive environment, communicating a sense of hope and dignity for the African people.

¹ Original first Sontonga verse.

² Last verse, added by Samuel Mqayi.

³ For the complete 8-verse translation, refer to Appendix 1.

His combination of traditional African praise singing with Methodist harmony gave the song an appeal that crossed over many religious and secular communities, accounting for its rapidly growing popularity (Jules-Rosette and Coplan 2004). In South Africa the song has held political association as early as 1925, when it was adopted as the official anthem of the African National Congress (ANC), and quickly become a source of identity and unity amongst Africans of all ethnicities:

...the hymn affirms that the singers and listeners are *Africans*, with a geographical and racial identity that is unitive beyond the particularities of village, chiefdom, or ethnic tribe. Subtly, the song petitions the holy spirit to intervene on the side of 'Sechaba sa Afrika', the 'Nation of Africa', and against white domination (Pollard 1999, 102).

With the added Mqhayi verses that express, albeit in a constrained manner, the political discontent amongst the emerging black bourgeoisie in South Africa, the song took on an air of defiance capitalised on by the ANC. It became their resistance anthem, not only for use locally as a form of mobilization, but also to be recorded abroad in Sweden, Britain and the United States, in an effort to draw attention to the cause. Furthermore; its acceptance as a hymn allowed it to be translated and reproduced by official organisations such as the Lovedale Press, while unofficially carrying a message of resistance and protest, often formulated out of the context in which it was performed (Jules-Rosette and Coplan 2004, 350-351). "Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika has come to symbolize more than any other piece of expressive culture the struggle for African unity and liberation in South Africa" (Coplan 1985, 46). With the advent of a new democratic South Africa in 1994, and the end of the struggle against Apartheid, *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika* became the first verse of the official national anthem.

In combination with the old regime national anthem *Die Stem* (The Call), it was once again a symbol of hope and unity: the two established components of the new national anthem, fusing together to form a new image of collective identity for South Africans (Muller 2008, 23). The journey of *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika* highlights many of the key functions of music in South African society throughout history, one of which is its function as a medium to construct both national and personal identity by representing South African culture. Bohlman (2003) labels the instances where culture and music meet as “disjunctures” and goes on to outline the main instances where these “disjunctures” occur, one of which is within nationalism: “...more than any other form of identity, nationalism closes the gap between music and culture...it is for this reason that nationalists reach toward music, and that so much power accrues to music when enlisted for nationalist ends” (2003, 45-56).

In this research project I will endeavour to show how protest music, specifically during the 1980s, became an instrument with which musicians and the public themselves strived to counteract the social perceptions generated under apartheid. I will show how the protest music movement of the 1980s was able to contribute to the greater cultural revolution of the era by providing a medium through which South Africans could formulate a new collective identity. In this regard it is important to note that the term ‘protest music,’ as applied throughout this research project, refers to any music that in its form, aesthetic nature or context can be seen to raise objections against the status quo. This is in turn applied specifically to South Africa and the political context of the apartheid regime. Such music includes, but is not limited to, recorded popular music as well as the informal singing of songs both on the streets and in venues used to host political events.

Eyerman and Jamison (1998) recognise the social contribution of musicians who redefine themselves through protest music. They argue that musicians become “organic intellectuals”, adopting a new social identity through the political awareness of their art (1998, 165). These now “activist performers” pave the way for social change through their ability to merge culture and politics. They appear as “political and cultural agents” working to shape the emergence of a “new cultural formation” (Ibid. 1998, 165). Similarly I will show how 1980s protest musicians can be seen as ‘political and cultural agents’ leading the public perception into an area of greater awareness, and breaking down the ideological barriers of apartheid. How they did this depended greatly on the internal and external influences that shaped their music. External influences included the Cultural Boycott, as well as the international protest efforts of both exiled local musicians and internationally acclaimed artists. Internal influences included the battle against censorship legislation, and general challenges posed by the segregated ideologies of the apartheid state.

As a result protest music in the 1980s exhibited one or more of the following three characteristics: 1) Subversive Language, 2) Collaboration and 3) Activism. These in turn formulated a protest movement innately adept at making a contribution to the greater struggle to end apartheid. Furthermore (in the latter part of Chapter Three) I will unearth an underground streetwise resistance culture that operated within the realm of smaller communities, spearheaded by bands such as Cape Town based *Raakwys* (Get Wise) and singer songwriter Tina Schouw. Throughout this study the use of certain terms will emerge, some of which have specific implications in a South African context, and need to be properly defined.

The first set of terms refers to cultural practices used primarily when classifying performance styles: 1) 'Urban' refers to any style that has developed in the city, or as a response to living in the city; 2) 'Traditional', a highly ambiguous but necessary term, refers here to any form of music or performance with no perceptible western influence coming out of a rural area; 3) 'Neo-traditional' music refers to music of a traditional origin that has been influenced by urban culture and now included elements of that culture, such as western instrumentation and 4) 'Syncretic' refers to new music forms that include the integration of two or more separate cultural traditions, such as performances practices. 'Syncretic' music styles can include one or more 'neo-traditional' styles in their formation; in the same way that 'neo-traditional styles' include one or more 'traditional' styles in their formation (Coplan 1985; Muller 2008). The use of colloquial terms and racial classifications as specific to apartheid will be clarified in footnotes as they appear.

This study also makes use of broader ideological terms such as: 'Culture,'⁴ as used by linguistic anthropology and related fields as meaning a set of everyday practices, associated beliefs, ideas and values that characterise a particular community or group and contribute to that community's sense of identity; 'Popular Culture,' refers to expressive forms (songs, dances, films, texts, discourses) widely disseminated through society, often through the mass media and 'social constructivism' which is an approach within psychology which emphasises that people actively construct meaning according to their current and past knowledge (Vygotsky 1986; Bruner 1990). Chapter one deals with the broader ideology of my argument, and makes a firm case for the power of music as a form of socio-political discourse.

⁴ Definitions for 'Culture' and 'Popular Culture' make use of the Dictionary of Sociolinguistics (2004).

The argument is then brought into a South African context with a discussion on musical resistance pre-1980: This chapter also shows how the fundamentals of the apartheid state stilted the natural growth of the local music industry. Chapter two deals with the previously mentioned external influences that factored into the development of 1980s protest music, while Chapter 3 returns to South Africa and looks at the internal influences. In conclusion I will show that the decade between 1980 and 1990 was, in a cultural sense, partially defined by the protest movement of that time and that the musicians that formed a part of this musical resistance were political creatures, aiding the greater struggle in three distinct ways: 1) the broadening of people's perceptions, 2) the mobilization of the masses and 3) the representation of a new collective national identity. In the words of former President Thabo Mbeki, in an address to the public on Heritage Day 2006:

Then came the time when we heard the songs of resistance and protest, in which the oppressed masses of our people called for the restoration of their liberties and freedoms. Such cries and rhythms are evident in the musical performances of the artists of the time, as they persistently envisioned a new day of a democratic South Africa...the music of the time helped to sustain the momentum and impetus of the struggle for liberation and freedom (Mbeki 2006).

1.2) Determining the Power of Music:

When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them. Plato, *The Republic*, Book IV (1973, 281).

The above warning from Plato stems out of his four basic aesthetic theories on music: 1) that music has ethical implications; 2) that music can be used to elicit a specific emotional response; 3) the recognition of the greater relationship between 'text and tune' and 4) an issue of caution against musical innovation.

He held to the belief that to maintain order within the state it was necessary to examine these four aesthetic principals of music with particular attention to the last, and prescribed a general distrust of innovation where music was concerned (Portnoy 1949, 235-237). His philosophies on the subject have formed the basis of much debate throughout history with many ancient civilisations, such as the Chinese and the Greek, following suit with their belief in the effects of music on the listener, and its connection to the greater meaning of life (Tame 1984, 13-31). Furthermore, Plato's connection between the order of the state and the influence of music is one of the first arguments to highlight the political potential of the art form. That music does indeed contain political potential is evident in the seriousness with which governments have treated it in periods of political unrest, and the history of restrictions placed on the freedom to produce, perform and distribute music of a non-conformist nature.

One need only look at the growing documented cases of music censorship worldwide to realise the threat that music, when enlisted to political ends, poses on social orthodoxies.⁵ *Freemuse*, an international organisation dedicated to documenting present-day cases of global music censorship, has recorded 119 violations of freedom of expression since its inception in January 2001. Countries listed as the origins of the top eight violations include: Cameroon, Iran, China, Pakistan, Somalia, Burma, Turkey and Afghanistan.⁶ (Censorship and how it directly relates to South Africa will be discussed in Chapter 3) So the question is why? What makes music such a potent medium for political intent?

⁵ Authors that have dealt with music censorship in recent times include: Cloonan (1996; 1995) with regards to Britain; Jones (1991) with regards to the USA; Baily (2001; 2004) with regards to Afghanistan and Brown (2004) with regards to France.

⁶ A complete and detailed list of global censorship incidents is available online: www.freemuse.org

To answer this, one must explore the relationship of music in society, and unravel its power from within. Jacques Attali (2006) in his *The Political Economy of Music* makes a study of music, or “organised noise” as he describes it, arguing that it is at once both a means of power and entertainment. He explains that music is “prophetic” in that it is an “instrument of understanding” with which we decipher the world around us. He concludes that the intrinsic artistic nature of music allows it not only to mirror society, but take it one step further, and assimilate what society is to become (2006, 3-4):

Mozart and Bach reflect the bourgeoisie’s dream of harmony better than and prior to the whole of nineteenth-century political thought. There is in the Operas of Cherubini a revolutionary zeal rarely attained in political debate. Janis Joplin, Bob Dylan and Jimi Hendrix say more about the liberatory dream of the 1960s than any theory of crisis. The standardized products of today’s variety shows, hit parades, and show business are pathetic and prophetic caricatures of future forms of the repressive channelling of desire (Attali 2006, 6).

The idea that the distinctive properties of sound are what makes music so powerful, on a social, economic and political level, is one explored by many: (Merriam 1964; Blacking 1969; Nettl 1983; Connor 1997; Frith 1998; Revill 2000; Bohlman 2003). In our everyday lives silence is non-existent as sound is inescapable: whether that sound is made up of background noise filtering into our subconscious, or added to our auditory life by choice, say tuning into your favourite radio station. We are all constantly feeling the effects of our auditory existence. As posed by Revill, “The physical properties of sound, pitch, rhythm, and timbre seem to act on and through the body in ways which require neither explanation nor reflection. This appears to grant music a singular power to play on the emotions, to arouse and subdue, animate and pacify” (2000, 602).

Having arrived at the conclusion that it is to a degree the aesthetic structure of music that makes it influential, one has to take it one step further. There is another school of thought that argues that the full effect of music cannot be determined without analysing it in society. Barber-Kersovan (2004) takes into account the social aspects of music. She argues that musical structures alone have no fixed meaning and are therefore open to a variety of interpretations. These in turn are reliant on varying extenuating circumstances. This means that music cannot be political on its own. Furthermore, she brings to light the social aspect of the music making process and the complex relationships that exist between the musicians and their audience. These relationships in turn provide a platform for social discourse that can either have an “integrative” or “disintegrative” effect (2004, 7):

Music provides a communal basis for social relationships, and at the same time it also draws demarcation lines between different social agglomerations. Therefore, if we talk about musical subcultures such as hippies, punks and hip hop fans, we talk about music-centred social groups. These socio-aesthetic coalitions include individuals with the same, and exclude those with different, musical preferences (Barber-Kersovan 2004, 7).

Jaco Kruger (2001) agrees with this socialised view of music, concluding that musical forms that register shared interaction within groups are but an extension of those groups “basic socio-political relationships,” and allow participants to experience “personal power through shared, culturally prescribed action” (2001, 30). Music in this respect becomes a medium through which we process our social identity: retaining the ability to imbue a sense of belonging amongst social groups, reiterate value systems and collectively influence mass consciousness.

While it is the aesthetic structure of music that makes it powerful on an emotive level, it is the aesthetic environment of music-making that makes it powerful on a political one. What easier way of strengthening a system of social control than by controlling the influencing factors of social identity. At the same time as governments find this latter aspect of music appealing, it also makes them nervous: as with any medium of power influencing public opinion, it can go both ways. A good example of this is the South African *toyi-toyi*. Born out of a history of black people using song and dance as social-political commentary, the vigorous, rebellious nature of the *toyi-toyi* personified the political frustration of a nation.

The *toyi-toyi* provided more than just a voice for the masses, it communicated messages of socio-political awareness for both participants and observers. It was a vehicle for the expression of group power and identity through song, slogans, *izibongo* and dance... Black South Africans did not only feel a sense of emotional relief during performance, but they gained a notion of collective identity (van Schalkwyk 1994, 4-5).

So within our own individual or collective 'music centred social groups' we use music not only as a means of expression, but as a means of retrieving and constructing identity. Levitin (2009) takes it one step further, and not only recognises that music shapes our sense of social identity, but argues that it has been a primary influencing factor in the "development of human nature (2009, 3)."

Music, I argue, is not simply a distraction or a pastime, but a core element of our identity as a species, an activity that paved the way for more complex behaviours such as language, large-scale cooperative undertakings, and the passing down of important information from one generation to the next (Levitin 2009, 3).

Having said this there is one last property of music that is a contributing factor to its capability to exact power: its ability to exist beyond the bounds of everyday reality. The very nature of the artistic form be it painting, music or poetry, lends itself to superimpose an alternate reality in which things that are not discussed openly may be raised. In this reality a social forum may be opened in which the artist makes comment on political, religious or social issues and engages with the audience in a form of subconscious debate, free from the pressures of orthodoxy. Marcuse (1978) calls this forum the “aesthetic dimension”: “Art breaks open a dimension inaccessible to other experiences, a dimension in which human beings, nature and things no longer stand under the law of the established reality principle” (1978, 72).

Kruger also taps into the “aesthetic dimension” of art, but more specifically when dealing with music. In his analysis of the music of Venda musician Solomon Mathase, he calls it the “idealized social alternative” and attributes the creation thereof as a primary reason why Mathase’s music was so effective in its ideological manipulation (2001, 16-20). In this same way we can attribute much of the political success of a multi-racial group such as *Julukha*, to the mere representation of an idealised South Africa: being presented on stage with an image of unity laying the ideological groundwork for subconscious debate.⁷ In the words of Jaco Kruger: “Music making functions as more than mere reflective symbolic action in that it provides an ideological foundation for socio-economic change” (2001, 1). John Blacking (1969) also discusses the relationship of music to society.

⁷ The term ‘multi-racial’ can be a problematic term. It is used throughout this study within the historical context of South Africa under the apartheid regime, to effectively illustrate that people from different population groups under apartheid came together in an effort to undermine the principles of segregation.

He agrees that music has the ability to exist without the restraints of time, in its own reality, and in doing so opens up a realm of possibilities: showing us things that have not yet come to pass, are not yet spoken of, or are well in the past. He takes it further, however, arguing that although music can induce a sort of suspended reality through which it can imprint political, economic or social suggestion, that these suggestions will actually result in physical action is not a given: "Music cannot make people act unless they are already socially and culturally disposed to act" (1969, 39). Blacking suggests that if you have a specific intent with a piece of music, the effectiveness by which you induce a specific reaction will depend upon the effectiveness with which you can control the surrounding context in which the music is heard. This context can include large cultural markers as well as personal experiences, and therefore is highly unpredictable.

However, in the same way you might play a love song and be confident that most people share some basis of the same experience, I propose that you could perform a protest song at a period of political unrest and be confident that people who share in the political sub-text will have a similar basis of experience. I believe the existing political atmosphere of the 1980s is one of the primary reasons why music in that period had such success in changing social attitudes. It is not that musicians were saying something new; it is that they were saying something everybody knew, at a time where it needed to be reaffirmed. Blacking agrees that the context of a song may therefore be mentally held, and as long as the listener consciously recognises the social situation, he/she need not be in any particular physical surrounding to understand the shared meaning and react upon it (1969, 33-71).

Working with this same principle, the creator of a song may have no political intent, but because it is heard in an environment that is politically unstable, it may gain intent from the listener, or even from the latent social influences of the creator him/herself. A somewhat recent example of this is the controversy that surrounded the Afrikaans singer/songwriter Bok van Blerk's 2005 hit single *De La Rey*. It seems that General De La Rey, who fought for Afrikaner freedom in the Anglo Boer War, through the deliverance of Bok van Blerk, was being reborn as a 'poster child' for Afrikaner youth identity in current day South Africa. Public reaction to the song included spontaneous renditions of the apartheid national Anthem *Die Stem* (The Voice) at Bok van Blerk performances, as well as the display of old national symbols such as the old South African flag. The resulting debate revealed two main areas of interest that: 1) the song was a rallying of right wing conservatism who longed for the years of yore and 2); it symbolised a new Afrikaner identity crisis within the youth (Bezuidenhout 2007, 1-3). Tim du Plessis, editor of the Afrikaans Sunday Newspaper Rapport, held the ANC responsible for the conditions of uncertainty that led to the need for a new Afrikaner unity:

People are feeling more assertive than before. As if they want to say: we are fed up with being singled out as the only scapegoat for all the evils of SA's racist past...Afrikaners are merely migrating to a new space...It's not the dead-end radicalism of the Boeremag, but it's also not the ANC co-option personified by the acquiescent presence of Marthinus van Schalkwyk in the Mbeki cabinet. (Quoted in Bezuidenhout 2007, 2).

Bok van Blerk's own reaction to the overwhelming response remains somewhat ambiguous. Publically he makes statements such as: "*Ek wil nie met die ou landsvlag geassosieer wordnie. Ons beweeg aan*" (I don't want to be associated with the old South African flag. We are moving on) (Ibid. 2007, 3).

While also admitting, in an interview with Carte Blanche's Ruda Landman, to meeting with Johan 'Lets' Pretorius, one of the leaders of the *Boeremag*: "He [Pretorius] thanked me for what we were doing and for the song. He asked me to perform for them. I was busy and declined." When asked whether that meant he would be performing for them in the future he responded: "If they pay me, yes. Why not?"⁸ Whatever his opinion may be, it is clear that when he wrote the song he never anticipated this kind of political controversy and that he remains somewhat out of touch with the debate surrounding it. So the song itself was politicised by the public. By a specific 'music-centred social group:' namely the Afrikaans youth.

The *De la Rey* example can be used to once again affirm the properties of music that give it power: 1) That its aesthetic structure, sound, allows music to elicit emotional responses from people; 2) That music is greatly a social phenomenon, and therefore represents, influences and reinforces social identity and 3) That being an art form it can create an aesthetic dimension, or suspended reality, in which the listener is engaged and open to suggestion. In reference to the latter however, Blacking must be remembered, and his recognition that the effectiveness of music as a political weapon depends heavily on the pre-existing political context of the listener: "Music cannot escape the stamp of the society which made its creator human" (1969, 60). Having effectively discussed the properties of music that make it an instrument of power in society, we need to look specifically at how this is true for South Africa, and particularly for protest music in the 1980s. However, to effectively understand the relevance of that decade one has to have a reasonable understanding of the history of music as a political and social forum in South Africa.

⁸ Quoted from 'De la Rey Lives Again'an insert aired on Carte Blanche, MNet, 18th February 2009.

1.3) A History of Protest:

Popular South African styles of music seem in their nature to be born out of a melting pot of different influences. Early indigenous African music, pentatonic mission hymns, marching bands and minstrels have all grown into new syncretic modern styles. The role of migration workers in facilitating this cannot be understated, as by the 1930s at any time in Johannesburg you could find a large number of different cultural groups, bringing with them their own traditional music (Ansell 2007; Coplan 1979). This new urban environment allowed for a continual cross-cultural exchange, resulting in neo-traditional styles of music such as *marabi*.⁹ This later grew to include *tsaba-tsaba*,¹⁰ township swing, *kwela*¹¹ and *mbaqanga*.¹² We have already identified that music forms part of the greater cultural whole that sectors of society use to define their collective identity. In African cultures (although not specific to them) music has always played a central role in both daily life and ceremony, and during times of political unrest, has served as a forum for socio-political commentary.

⁹ *Marabi* is a musical style originating out of the era of prohibition in illegal liquor houses commonly known as 'shebeens.' Although primarily piano based, the style evolved to include an array of instruments readily available: guitars, pianos, organs and home-made percussion instruments (Byerly 1996; 98-99). The music itself is harmonically based in church hymns and traditional folk songs, maintaining a cyclical form based on the chord progressions of I-IV-I6 and IV-V (Ballantine 1993).

¹⁰ *Tsaba-tsaba* was a style that grew out of *marabi* in the late 1930s, early 1940s. It mixed African melody and rhythm, with the rhythms of American swing, jitterbug and some Latin styles (Coplan 1979; Byerly 1996; Muller 2008).

¹¹ *Kwela* is a musical style born out of the 1960s in the aftermath of the great swing era of 1950s township jazz. In the absence of the saxophone, the cheaper and more readily available pennywhistle came to the fore building melodies around jazz arpeggios with a common harmonic thread of I-IV-I-V7. Today the name generally refers to any up tempo, jive style of pennywhistle music (Allen 1993; Byerly 1996).

¹² *Mbaqanga* is a general 'blanket term' referring to black township music with influences ranging from *tsaba-tsaba*, *swing*, *kwela* and *jazz* with the added importance of the guitar. In the same way as the piano/keyboard characterised *marabi*, the guitar characterised *mbaqanga*, prominently coming to the fore not only as a choral instrument but as part of the rhythm section (Byerly 1996).

David Coplan (1979), in his study on the growth of the Johannesburg entertainment industry, uses the “African musician” as a guide through the development of African culture and parallels the development of musical traditions with the development and changes in the African community. He deals with issues of Post-colonialism and later moves to discuss *Sophiatown*, and the adoption of jazz by urban black South Africans, but also identifies a “tradition of musical protest” in South Africa: “Protest and freedom songs have been a ubiquitous feature of labour demonstrations and other forms of political mobilization in South Africa” (Coplan 1979, 147).

He is not alone in signalling out this function of music in African communities. Ballantine (1989) reiterates the sentiment of music being used as a medium for ceremony and resistance amongst black South Africans: “*Mbube*¹³ – or *isicathamiya* as it is often called – is inseparable from the history and struggles of the Zulu-speaking working class: Often it has been frankly political – not only because of its lyrics, but also by virtue of its links to workers’ organisations” (1989, 306). When dealing with the musical history of South Africa one has to have a basic understanding of apartheid legislation to be able to grasp the greater context surrounding the resistance, and in turn protest music efforts. In particular, the late 1950s to early 1970s is known as the ‘Grand Apartheid’ period as most of the defining legislative action was put into place then. The Group Areas Act (1950), Population Resettlement Act (1950), Bantu Authorities Act (1951) and Native Resettlement Act (1954) worked to legalise racial classification and segregation.

¹³ *Mbube*, or *isicathamiya* is a form of Zulu workers’ choral music patterned after African church choirs (Coplan 1979; Byerly 1996).

The Public Safety Act (1953) and the General Law Amendment Act (1963) on the other hand, allowed government officials to enforce policy without restraint or explanation.¹⁴ Apartheid essentially was a process of “social engineering” in that it worked in opposition to the natural tendencies of people to engage with each other despite their differences (Muller 2008). In pre-1960 apartheid, songs such as *Meadowlands*¹⁵ and *Senzeni Na* become struggle anthems, emulating the strife and discontent of a repressed nation while simultaneously expressing hope for the future (Makky 2007, 5-6).

Much like the ANC ‘passive resistance’ campaign employed since 1952 however, resistance culture during this time focused on strategies of ideology and unification, with people trying to remain positive in the face of the severity of government policy: “Until the beginning of 1960 there was a certain optimism among black and coloured people in South Africa. Apartheid was not believed to last long” (Stockman 2001, 7). It was during this time that South African musicians started emulating the jazz musicians of the United States (US) and incorporating swing rhythm, jazz harmonies and improvisation into their musical repertoire. Ballantine (1989) argues that the adoption of “American prototypes” into township music, as far back as 1930s, was a way of establishing black South Africans on the international stage:

By adopting jazz, urban black South Africans were proudly and self-consciously identifying themselves as actors on the international stage of world history. But the identification went further. For jazz was not only international: it was also, and very significantly, the discourse closest to an international musical vernacular of the oppressed (1989, 309).

¹⁴ For a complete list of apartheid legislation refer to Appendix 2.

¹⁵ The song *Meadowlands* describes the hardships of township life with implied protest against the forced removals from Sophiatown to Meadowlands.

Furthermore, jazz was a musical vernacular cultivated by non-Europeans, or people of colour, and had a history rooted in Africa as well as a development rooted in racial repression (Erlmann 1996, 146-148). In this way the adoption of Afro-American traditions, especially the music, by black South Africans during this period was a way of internalising “racial self-respect” that became “a basis for non-violent struggle against a society determined to crush African aspirations” (Coplan 1985, 70). Popular bands from this era include: The Jazz Epistles, Havana Swingsters, The Manhattan Brothers¹⁶ and The Jazz Maniacs. The latter of which boasted some of the most influential solo musicians to come out of South Africa: Kiepie Moeketsi, Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim), Chris McGregor, Jonas Gwangwa, Dudu Pawane and Hugh Masekela amongst others (Byerly 1996, 103-104).

Jazz was played everywhere, both in the city and in the townships. Clubs, hotels, restaurants, cinemas, schools, town halls, civic halls and backyards provided scenes for big bands, vocal groups and smaller combos playing modern jazz. A single township like *Langa* is said to have boasted six big bands and eight to ten vocal groups (Stockman 2001, 7).

This era was also marked by a period of white patronage of black music: a result of the growing political and social pressures of apartheid making black enterprise virtually impossible. One area in which this was prevalent was musical theatre. Arguably the most famous example of this was the 1959 production of *King Kong*. Based on the tragic boxing career of heavyweight Ezekial ‘King Kong’ Dhlamini, the musical boasted a white production, direction and script writing team while making use of black actors, musicians and a score by Todd Matshikiza. Similar to other resistance efforts of the time, the show failed to make an overtly political statement.

¹⁶ Veteran South African singer Miriam Makeba’s collaboration with the Manhattan Brothers kick-started her career.

Instead it sought to make a social difference by representing the hardships of township life and exposing the general public to different African musical styles such as *kwela* (Erlmann 1996, 173-175). *King Kong* proved an overwhelming success in Johannesburg, and enjoyed a year run in London despite criticism by the international press. Robert Muller, a member of said press, had this to say:

Politically, *King Kong* is about as dynamic as a bag of laundry...A full blooded entertainment this may be but a whistle and a waggle are no match for the policy of Apartheid. One swallow of black and white collaboration doesn't make a summer of South Africa's bleak shame. (Quoted in Andersson 1981, 34).

The 1950s also became a period associated with the intense popularity of *kwela*, in particular with young white audiences. This initiated yet another forum of cross-racial music appreciation, and an opportunity to undermine the policies of Apartheid through shared cultural identification. Allen (2008) argues that white liberals used the patronage of *kwela* as a political statement, while the young white audiences, that enjoyed dancing to the up-beat African rhythms, used it as part of a greater rebellion against the conservative nature of the Afrikaans culture. She also concludes that the government's strong response in quelling this rebellious phase of the Afrikaans youth would later count against them, as the youth began to associate freedom of expression with freedom from apartheid (2008, 79-97).

This multivalent reception of *kwela* by its different white audiences reveals the complexity of cultural consumption in South Africa during the 1950s. The conflicts and contradictions raised by musical appreciation across the race barrier, the confusion of resistance against racial segregation and with youth rebellion, and the fusion of pleasure and identification, all suggest that some music was capable of decomposing apartheid even at its genesis (Allen 2008, 94).

The 1950s marked a period of growth and innovation for professional urban performers and musicians, and the emergence of central hubs of cross-cultural exchange such as *Sophiatown* (Johannesburg) and *Distrix Six* (Cape Town). Music was at the centre of it all, socially resisting the ideology of apartheid. From the late 1950s however, the government started aggressively enforcing their segregation policies making inter-racial converse impossible, and slowly breaking down the musical sub-cultures that had formed over the last decade. This period of intense suppression culminated in the *Sharpeville Massacre* of 1960.¹⁷ The violence demonstrated by the government at *Sharpeville*, against peaceful protestors, sparked an immediate reaction. Panic swept through the streets of South Africa as strikes, protests and mass demonstrations overflowed. ANC (African National Congress) president Albert Luthuli publically burned his pass book, with Nelson Mandela and others quickly following suit. The Government responded by banning all anti-apartheid organisations and enforcing martial law throughout the nation (Pollard 1999, 98-124). Hugh Masekela, one of South Africa's most beloved musicians, reflects on the immediate effects of *Sharpeville* and as a result the change in attitude of black South Africans:

From that day on, the apartheid guillotine came crashing down on the country with more venom than ever before...Political arrests, banishments, assassinations, house arrests, banning orders, accelerated treason trials, and every manner of ploy to get the country under apartheid's foot was introduced into the daily lives of South Africans. Our paranoia had now been upgraded to fear, loathing, suspicion, anger, and hate (Masekela 2004, 108).

¹⁷ On the 21st of March 1960 a crowd of around 5000 men, women and children joined the Positive Action Campaign of the PAC (Pan African Congress.) In opposition to the Pass laws the crowd presented themselves before the Sharpeville police station in a non-violent mass act of civil disobedience. The police opened fire, killing 69 people and injuring 180, most of whom were shot in the back while trying to flee (Reeves 1961).

The 1960s saw all the musical creativity of the previous era crushed under the weight of political circumstance: Socio-musical sub-cultures that had flourished, dissipated with the destruction of townships like *Sophiatown*; the closing down of venues; the increasing restrictions on broadcasting, recording and not to mention the geographical restrictions that made touring and late night gigs impossible. On top of that many of South Africa's premier musicians took the opportunity to leave the country and went into exile to either escape persecution, or pursue careers overseas. ANC activists that had managed to escape persecution were forced to go underground in order to remain active in the struggle. What ensued was over a decade of something like a creative vacuum where music suffered under the chains of heavy censorship laws, stringent broadcasting guidelines and international cultural boycotts.

During the 1960s and early 1970s however, two important changes took place, setting the stage for the 1980s period of heightened creativity and political protest. The First was the efforts of white folk singers Des and Dawn Lindberg who worked for over a decade against legislation that prohibited multi-racial performances. Starting out singing controversial political songs such as *I was Born Pitch Black* (the lyrics of which challenged apartheid legislation) in local coffee bars, by 1965, they had launched a fully fledged tour dubbed the 'Folk Trek'. Gaining popularity for their use of humour and multi-language lyrics, they continued to play in cities and small towns countrywide, spreading their political views and greater message of peace. Despite government banning of some of their songs and letters of warning from cabinet ministers, the Lindbergs persisted and started organising multi-racial concerts.

What resulted was a battle of wits between the Lindbergs, and the loopholes in government legislation, leading to acquiescence on the part of government in regard to theatre performances (Byerly 1996, 225-228):

It's been a continuum of change. From our 1965 performance at Wits to 1977 we didn't let up on the government to abandon the stupidities of racial laws in the theatre. And we managed to convince them that it needn't be political. Would you understand if I told you that they regarded people who went to theatre as a lunatic fringe who were relatively harmless? So they said 'Well go and play, - go and play in your theatres if that's what you want. If you want to be with Black people, go and be with Black people. Just don't bother us with it.' So legislation changed. And the common thread all the way was music. (Des Lindberg quoted in Byerly 1996, 229).

The second defining factor of this period was the establishment of radio as a medium to reinforce apartheid's social ideals and emulate a segregated nation-state. In 1960 the government passed the Broadcasting Amendment Act. As a result black radio programming became state-controlled on two fronts: through the Bantu Programme Control Board and the greater South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Bantu Radio was established with a separate channel for every 'indigenous' language. The idea was to enforce racial-segregation by limiting the mediums through which cross-cultural exchange could take place, and advocating instead the separate development of each individual 'bantu nation.' In the words of the SABC, in their annual report of 1967, the Bantu Radio initiative was a way of "bringing home to the Bantu population that separate development is, in the first place, self-development through the medium of their own language and that, by this means, there will be progress in all spheres of life."¹⁸

¹⁸ Cited from the 1967 Annual Report of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, pg 10.

The radio became a means of instituting national boundaries on the grounds of ethnic generalisation: all Zulu speaking people were expected to have the same set of traditions, separate from the Eastern Cape Xhosa speakers for example, who in turn were expected to have an entirely different set of traditions. Bantu Radio in turn aimed to not only separate African language groups from each-other, but also determine what these 'traditions' actually were, or more appropriately, influence their urban development (Muller 2008, 37-38). Charles Hamm (1995) gives an example of this process in Bantu Radio's treatment of the popular American style of music known as the twist:

Each 'vernacular' service of Bantu Radio had a committee charged with selecting appropriate music; The twist was accepted by strategists and censors as appropriate music for Radio Bantu, since it seemed impossible to read revolutionary content into the song lyrics of Chubby Checker and his peers, none of them was known to be associated with troublesome political activity....since African twist music was instrumental, it was even better suited to Radio Bantu, which accordingly devoted a considerable amount of air time to it (1995, 195).

Music's ability to reinforce social identity was manipulated by the government as a form of social control. This enterprise became an expensive operation as its success depended on increasing listenership. To facilitate this, over and above the increased Xhosa and Zulu services, new Sotho, Tswana, Venda and Tsonga services were added, increased reception areas were implemented for all services and resources were exploited to record and capture the 'traditional' music of groups represented on radio (Coplan 1979; Hamm 1995; Muller 2008). By 1968 two million Black South Africans owned radio receivers, and were listening to music filtered through government strategy.

This ushered in an era of increased cultural censorship, with the government working tirelessly to prevent the different racial groups within South Africa from interacting with each other and forming new and revised cross-cultural relationships. The success of apartheid was wholly dependent on its ability to keep South Africans away from each other, and devoid of outside influence. The social propaganda employed by the apartheid government extended to the white population as well, not only in regard to *'die swart gevaar'*¹⁹ ideology, but also in regards to compulsory conscription and the general hold of Afrikaans conservatism. However, out of this period of isolation came the vibrant, aggressively political cultural revolution of the 1980s: fought by the collective consciousness of the masses and using music as an agent for political struggle. During this period the cultural propaganda manoeuvres of the government were to be turned against them, as musicians became the social agents through which South Africans formed the foundation of a new national identity. Before discussing 1980s protest music however, one has to understand the surrounding socio-political context of the era. Part of this context was the Cultural Boycott.

¹⁹ *'Die Swart Gavaar'* (The Black Threat) refers to the sentiment of government propaganda that advocated all black people as uncivilised and dangerous, or communists, and cautioned all white people to be constantly on their guard.

2) 1980s External Influencing Factors

2.1) *The Cultural Boycott*

As previously mentioned in Chapter one (pg 6), various external factors influenced the development of protest music in 1980s South Africa: One of these being the international cultural boycott. Although boycott strategies against South Africa existed as far back as 1954, when anti-apartheid activist Father Trevor Huddleston took the first step in putting out a call to all performers to refuse to play in apartheid South Africa, it was only during the 1980s that the boycott consolidated internationally (Nixon 1994, 157). To get to this point however, the boycott had to gain gradual momentum over two decades. The first international organisation to join the charge was the British Musicians Union (BMU), who in 1961 banned the performing of any of their artists to segregated audiences.²⁰ Following this in 1968 the United Nations General Assembly accepted a new Resolution in which all cultural, educational and sporting associations with South Africa were to be cut.

The imposition of these orders remained ambiguous until the Soweto Uprisings of 1976 that resulted in the ANC and AZAPO²¹ taking the lead in support of the cultural boycott (Drewett 2006, 24-25). Other events to give the boycott the push it needed were the *Ipi Tombi* debacle and the death of Steve Biko in 1977. As part of the Apartheid government's reinforcement of their '*bantusan*' and separate development policies, they adopted various cultural propaganda strategies including the funding of black musical theatre productions under white management.

²⁰ This resulted in a cancelled SA tour of international rock band The Rolling Stones.

²¹ South African Based Azanian Peoples Organisation.

These productions showcased stereotypical misrepresentations of black culture, and idealised apartheid ideologies of the current political conditions, to white foreign and local bourgeois audiences. Productions included *Mzumba* (1968–78), *Mboni* (1973), *Meropa* (1975), *Mma Thari* (1975-80) and *Ipi Tombi* (1973-78.)²² Being by far the most widely performed of the productions *Ipi Tombi* enjoyed a hundred and twenty two day run in Johannesburg before touring London, Israel, Nigeria and New York. Andrew Horn (1986) analyses these government endorsed productions and highlights their common exploitative characteristics:

While differing in particulars, they all tend to adhere to two main formulas: (1) the arrival of a naive young rural African to the sinful city, his corruption and disillusionment, and his eventual return to the pastoral Eden of his origins and (2) the ethnic idyll, in which, with a great emphasis on spectacle and little on plot or character development, the values and mores of traditional African societies, often tempered by Christianity, are extolled, the material environments of such societies romanticized, and the rural setting demonstrated to be more congenial to blacks than that of the towns and cities (Horn 1986, 4).

Ipi Tombi received harsh criticism and provoked overwhelming international response. The London International Defence and Aid Fund issued a Paper on Black Theatre in South Africa, opposing productions like *Ipi Tombi*, and saying that by “claiming authenticity they distort African culture” and that these “glossy” misrepresentations of black South Africa are being used to “sell” apartheid (1976, 2).

²² *Ipi Tombi* is a Europeanized corruption of the Zulu *Iph' intombi* meaning ‘where are the girls?’

After its run in New York was cut short due to mass demonstrations outside the theatre, it became clear to the international community that they could not, in no uncertain terms, trust that musical productions out of South Africa weren't being used as propaganda machines by the apartheid government. In the words of journalist and London theatre reviewer Russell Vandenbroucke: "*Ipi Tombi's* vision of the lives of black South Africans confirms white attitudes and prejudices, is blatantly paternalistic in the long colonial tradition, and sugar-coats the bitter realities of contemporary South Africa - both those actually dramatized in *Ipi Tombi* and those ignored by this 'greatest ever' fabrication" (1976, 68). Further incentive for international intervention came with the death of anti-apartheid activist Stephen Biko in September of 1977. The fact that an internationally respected leader, being held without trial, had died in prison under suspicious circumstances led to worldwide public outrage.

The widespread press coverage following this – including respected publications such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* – transformed Biko into the "first truly international anti-apartheid martyr" (Drewett 2007, 40). Anti-apartheid sentiment abroad was coming to a head and in 1981 the world's largest performers' body, Associated Actors and Artists of America,²³ unanimously voted that its members not perform in South Africa. This signalled a shift in the attitude of international boycotts from voicing opposition against performing for segregated audiences, to an outright cry to end Apartheid (Ansell 2004, 181).

²³ An umbrella organisation of all major United States artists unions: comprising of some 250 000 members at the time.

The overseas Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) began working with the ANC, PAC and AZAPO at creating a blanket boycott against any foreign musicians performing in South Africa as well as South African musicians performing, recording or releasing music abroad (Drewett 2006, 23-38). Some went even further by suggesting that all contact between overseas musicians and South Africa be halted, regardless of good intentions: "Apart from their skill with song, they actually take their *bodies* there. By doing so they lend their immense prestige and glamour to the propaganda of those who wish to create an impression of a sunny South Africa." (Lewis Nkosi quote in Hanlon and Omond 1987). The United Nations (UN) General Assembly's Special Committee, established in 1962²⁴ as a monitoring body for South Africa's racial policies when the Assembly was not in session, went from having to report sparsely to: 1) initiating a register of cultural contacts with South Africa to effectively support the boycott and 2) funding an international conference for the cultural possibilities of action against Apartheid.

The UN General Assembly further declared the year 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa (Beaubien 1982, 7). Albeit the political endorsement of the boycott by international authority figures, and the support generated for it by anti-apartheid organisations within South Africa, the first half of the 1980s still saw a number of successful international stars touring SA. This was largely as a result of the apartheid government's use of the Sun City resort as a means to undermine the boycott.

²⁴ The Special Committee was inducted under Resolution 1761 and consisted of 18 member states including: Algeria, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Beaubien 1982, 7).

The fact that Sun City was situated in Bophutatswana, an 'independent homeland' under the government's separate development policy, meant that the government could lure overseas artists into playing there due to its 'fake independence.'²⁵ Exacerbating this were the large performance fees provided by Southern Sun Hotels, which secured big international performers for Sun City between 1980 and 1985 including Elton John, Cliff Richard, Gloria Gaynor, Chicago, Cher, Kenny Rogers, Dolly Parton, George Benson, Frank Sinatra, Queen, Shirley Bassey, Barry Manilow and Rod Stewart (Drewett 2006, 27-28). In 1985 however various artists came together in opposition to this under the title Artists United Against Apartheid and released the album *Sun City*. The title track, *Sun City (I Ain't Gonna Play)*, emulated the objective of the album which was not only to raise awareness amongst musicians and audiences, but also to stop the flow of international artists playing in Sun City.

Bophutatswana is far away, but we know it's in South Africa,
 No matter what they say. You can't buy me; I don't care what you pay
 Don't ask me Sun City; because I ain't gonna play.²⁶
 (Artists United Against Apartheid 1985)

Artists participating in the project included the likes of Bob Dylan, Miles Davis, Peter Gabriel, Bruce Springsteen, Bono (Lead singer of U2), Ringo Star (The Beatles), Herbie Hancock, Ron Carter and Tony Williams.

²⁵ Under the apartheid government legislation, several 'homelands' were granted independent status, in which Africans could retain full citizenship removed from greater South Africa. Outside of these homelands in white South Africa (an overwhelming 87 % of the country) Africans were treated as foreigners without constitutional rights. Due to resistance only four homelands ever received independent status: Transkei (1976), Bophutatswana (1977), Ciskei (1980) and Venda (1981) (Drewett 2006; Muller 2008).

²⁶ For the complete lyric sheet to the song *(I Ain't Gonna Play) Sun City*, refer to Appendix 3.

Shortly after its release the album *Sun City* was featured on the Top Forty Billboard charts, uncharacteristic of an album with such a blatantly political nature (Ullestad 1987, 73-74). The effect of the album and single was relatively immediate with many musicians who had performed at Sun City pre-1985 pledging their support for the boycott and their intention not to perform there again. Elton John was one of the first to publically exclaim his intent never to return to South Africa under Apartheid. This resulted in his name being removed from the UN Cultural Register (Drewett 2006, 27).²⁷ The cultural boycott had finally reached its zenith as international support consolidated with practical implementation, and locally slogans such as ‘don’t entertain apartheid, support the cultural boycott’ were continuously finding their way into contextual society wherever possible.²⁸ Local musicians’ reaction to the boycott varied. Some felt that it severely hampered their opportunities abroad, thereby permanently stifling the growth of their careers. Others however saw in this an opportunity to refocus their creative energy onto the local music scene.

Byerly agrees that the boycott resulted in a period of “insularity” that, while making local musicians and audiences yearn for exposure to the outside world, also had the effect of forcing them to turn “inwards” towards local music and musicians for new material (Byerly 1996, 120). The insularity experienced by musicians in the 1980s is one of the primary reasons for the resurgence back to South African roots that so characterised music from that period. By limiting the overseas aspirations of musicians, the cultural boycott inadvertently reanimated them to look deeper into their own heritage to further their ambitions.

²⁷ The United Nations Cultural Register was a public list of artists who by their actions were defying the General Assembly’s call to support the cultural boycott in South Africa.

²⁸ This slogan appears on a poster in support of the cultural boycott courtesy of DISA (Digital Innovation South Africa). See Appendix 4.

Furthermore, by creating a greater distance from outside influences, musicians started looking to local musical traditions as a way of rediscovering their identity instead of simply adopted American idioms. In an interview for *Ubuyile (jazz coming home)*, a radio series written and directed by Gwen Ansell, musician Siphso Mabuse agrees and dubs the cultural boycott in South Africa as being “two-pronged:”

We were able to create an industry that was vibrant, that was explosive. Suddenly, there were all sorts of musicians coming up: bands like Stimela, Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Chicco, the Sakhiles, the Bayetes, and there was so much happening. (Quoted in Ansell 2004, 184).

The cultural boycott remained a tool of resistance, the effects of which greatly added to the anti-apartheid movement of protest musicians in the 1980s. Its strategic importance as a political strategy of the ANC cannot be understated: “The Cultural and Academic Boycott of Apartheid South Africa (i.e. those bodies, institutions, cultural workers and their products that promote, defend and give aid and comfort to the system of White minority domination) must consistently and continuously be strengthened as part of our overall strategy for the isolation of the Apartheid regime”²⁹

2.2) Collaborative Trends Abroad

2.2.1) Cultural Conscriptio*n* for Human Rights

A prominent trend developed amongst international musicians during the 1980s that also contributed to the greater context out of which South African protest music was born.

²⁹ Quoted in “Cultural Considerations”, paper presented by the African National Congress, 1988, page 3.

This was the collaboration between musicians resulting in music and musical events with a social conscious. Perhaps the most important first example of this to appear on the international market was Peter Gabriel's song *Biko* (1980). We have already seen that the death of activist Steven Biko in 1977 influenced the course of the cultural boycott, but it would also prove influential in this regard. *Biko* was to become a figure-head; representative of the developing ideological struggle against apartheid, as well as the movement towards cultural conscription for human rights. *Biko* as the deceased martyr of the struggle, in turn led to the adoption of Nelson Mandela as the living embodiment of the struggle:

The martyrdom of Biko provided the foundation for the later emergence of Nelson Mandela as a folk hero. The dead symbol of resistance against apartheid was meshed with the living sign that was Mandela. What connected the two persons was that they both essentially stood for peaceful resolution of the conflict and humanism (Tomaselli and Boster 1993, 3).

Michael Drewett (2007) argues the political effectiveness of the song *Biko*. He maintains that although it was never taken up as a freedom anthem in South Africa itself - this due to the fact that it was banned - it remains the most successful non-South African anti-apartheid protest song. He argues that *Biko* achieves this status through a combination of factors: a) Its form and musical structure that employs a rock/pop idiom, while incorporating Africanised rhythm and the effective use of bagpipes, producing a song that sounds like a military call to arms; b) The poignant nature of the lyrical content, at once both highlighting the injustice of the South African situation and offering hope for the future and c) the surrounding political context that the song was performed in, and therefore associated with (Drewett 2007, 39-51). Gabriel would also consciously politicise the context of the song whenever he performed it, making the message and intention clear.

This is evident in his introductory speech to his performance at the Amnesty International Spirit of Hope Tour in 1986, where to a background of the beating drum rhythm of *Biko*, he had this to say before he sang:³⁰

“This is a song written for a man of peace, who was working for his people. Who was arrested and tortured for many months and killed in jail in South Africa. This song is dedicated to all the people in South Africa who’ve just been imprisoned over the last weekend, I dedicate it to all the people in jail that Amnesty’s now working for...Stephen Biko!”

Gabriel continued to spread the song wherever he performed, whether through his work with Amnesty International, or independently at events such as the 1988 Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute (Wembley Stadium, London). The song functioned as a successful news carrier, educating people along the way, and forcing them to start asking questions that in turn demanded answers. It created a strain of social conscription for human rights that picked up support and initiated activism as it went. The song itself went on to be covered within the same decade by artists such as Joan Baez (1987), Simple Minds (1989) and Robert Wyatt (1984). It is also widely known that it inspired Steven van Zandt to take action and write *Sun City*: “I would like to especially thank Peter Gabriel for the profound inspiration of his song *Biko*, which is where my journey to Africa began.”³¹ Suddenly various international artists were taking up the call in the anti-apartheid struggle. For example, multi-award winning artist Stevie Wonder was arrested after protesting outside the South African Embassy in Washington (Mojapelo 2008, 73).

³⁰ The Spirit of Hope tour comprised six concerts that took place in June 1986 in aid of Amnesty International. Other artists involved included U2, Sting, Brian Adams and Lou Reed.

³¹ Cited from the liner notes accompanying the album *Sun City* by Artists United Against Apartheid, 1985.

That same year he generated controversy when he accepted his Academy Award, for best song in a motion picture, in the name of Nelson Mandela, and later released a protest track *It's Wrong (Apartheid)* on his hit album *In Square Circle*³² (Pareles 1990; Wonder 1984). Other 1980s music dealing with the situation in South Africa from outside South Africa includes: *Let My People Go*, The Winans (1985); *Free Nelson Mandela*, Special AKA (1984); *Winds of Change*, Robert Wyatt and The Swapo Singers (1985); *South Africa*, Frankie Paul (1980); *Tula Dubula*, Abdullah Ibrahim (1982); the album *Nelson Mandela*, Youssou 'N Dour (1986); the album *Africa Must Be Free*, Hugh Mandell (1983) and the album *We Hate You: South African Bastards*, Microdisney (1984), (Mojapelo 2008, 74). Special AKA's *Free Nelson Mandela* was banned from release in South Africa, while all the other music mentioned although never enjoying an official local release, could be procured as an import. This steady flow of anti-apartheid music was successful in adding to the mobilisation of the international community, as demonstrated here in the Mark Pedelty's personal account:

...thinking back to my subsequent political involvement in both the anti-apartheid and Central American solidarity movements in the 1980's, music played a significant role in my becoming an activist...I am apparently not unusual in that regard. During my college years, several politically active peers told me how they first heard the story of Steve Biko after listening to Peter Gabriel's tune, Nelson Mandela from the song by The Specials, new perspectives on the Nicaraguan Revolution from the Clash, and so on (Pedelty 2007, 33).

Following this, the era also became known for mass collaborative 'Aid' concerts, as well as charity songs that became unusually successful.

³² The track featured exiled South African musicians Tsepho Mokone, Thandeka Ngono, Linda Tsbabalala, Lorraine Mahlangu and Fana Kebana.

Band Aid's 1984 single *Do They Know Its Christmas*, written by Bob Geldof and Midge Ure, became the biggest selling single in UK singles chart history, selling over a million copies in the first week alone. The project boasted an impressive list of Irish and British artists such as Phil Collins, John and Roger Taylor (Duran Duran), George Michael (Wham), Bono (U2) and Paul McCartney, with proceeds from the project going to relief efforts in Ethiopia. The US was quick to pick up on this trend, and followed with the song *We Are the World* (1985), composed by Michael Jackson and Lionel Richie, and performed by a chorus of 45 pop stars. Ninety percent of the proceeds went to famine relief in Africa with the remaining ten percent going to the underprivileged in the United States (Cocks and Worell 1985; Holden 1985).³³

Participating artists, collectively known as USA for Africa (United Support of Artists for Africa), included: Ray Charles, Bob Dylan, Billy Joel, Cyndi Lauper, Diana Ross, Tina Turner and Paul Simon. Reaction to the song varied. Its commercial success and the fact that it did indeed raise copious amounts of money (estimated \$63 million) for relief in Africa cannot be denied; however many criticised the lyrics as not shedding enough light on the issue at hand. The question was raised whether or not people were supporting the album for the cause, or just buying a song they liked by a bunch of popular artists without showing any deeper understanding or interest. Alongside the success of charity singles, came large scale charity concerts.

³³ *We Are the World* is widely known as the biggest selling single in the US and pop music history, being the first ever single to be certified multi-platinum. Besides breaking records in the US it also reached number 1 in France, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK (Holden 1985).

The biggest of these being Live Aid (July 1985) that took place on various stages around the world: the main two sites being at Wembley Stadium (London) and JFK Stadium (Philadelphia). The event was one of the largest satellite link-ups and television broadcasts with an estimated 1.5 billion people tuning in live. The concert was organised by Bob Geldof as a follow up to the success of Band Aid, and was particularly successful as a mass charity fund-raiser because of Geldof's insistence that the pure scale of it remains a once off event. Collectively the final figure raised for famine relief was 150 million pounds.³⁴ On the back of the success of charity projects such as Live Aid and the song *We Are the World* other artists started using their music as a platform to raise awareness and funds for a good cause resulting in a series of spin-off projects: Farm Aid (1985), Hear 'n Aid (1985), Northern Lights and the single *Tears Are Not Enough* (1985); as well as a string of Amnesty International Concert Tours including A Conspiracy for Hope (1986) and Human Rights Now (1988). Freedom Fest, an anti-apartheid mass concert also took place at Wembley Stadium (London) in 1988 in conjunction with Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday. It was attended by some 75 000 people who intermittently chanted 'Free Nelson Mandela' in between performances (Byerly 1996, 222). A common denominator amongst these projects was the fact that they employed collaboration not only between different musicians but also different musical styles. This is reminiscent of the new trend within South Africa during the 1980s of merging varying genres to form new syncretic music styles, reflective of the various different cultural influences of the musicians themselves, and their growing audiences.

³⁴ Although no official recordings were made of the entire event. In 2004 a four set DVD was produced containing partial footage of the 16 hour concert.

While international protest music of a blatantly anti-apartheid nature had a greater effect on the local scene – by enforcing the cultural boycott and raising a continued flow of international support – the collective effect of the body of music and musical events that raised public concern for human rights violations, particularly in Africa, added to the social implications of the era. An era that was supremely effective at mobilizing the political and social consciousness of the masses, perhaps predominantly because it was fed by popular culture: “It was a trend that was different from previous incantations, as it was led not by the disenfranchised minorities expressing their frustration, but rather by privileged communities concerned with the social realities of the underprivileged” (Byerly 1996, 220).

2.1.2) *Graceland*

When discussing contributing factors to the social and political landscape of 1980s South African music, there is one album that found itself at the centre of a raging debate. In August 1986 Warner Brothers released *Graceland* by Paul Simon. The album is a collaboration between Simon and a group of US as well as South African artists. On the American side these included Rockin’ Dopsie, and the Twisters, the Everly Brothers, and the Chicano Rock of Los Lobos.: whereas the South African contribution featured most notably artists such as Joseph Shabalala and Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Ray Phiri of Stimela. Much like its predecessor *Sun City*, the recordings on *Graceland* are an amalgamation of different tracks, laid down in different studios on separate occasions, and then mixed together in post production to reveal the final product. Recording was done in Johannesburg, London, Los Angeles and New York, before Simon felt he had gathered sufficient material (Muller 2008, 44).

The result is a fusion of American popular music with neo-traditional urban Black South African styles, each individually representative of their own set of social and historical nuances. Throughout the album collaboration remains a consistent theme, manifesting itself on three inter-related aesthetic planes: social, stylistic and linguistic. These aesthetic collaborative forms, in combination with the intrinsic communicative properties of music, allow *Graceland* to transmit a variety of social meanings, which in turn allows the album to appeal to a wide audience. The reason for this mass appeal can in part be attributed to the fact that the album on its own makes no visible political statement, thereby making it easier for the listener to draw from their own individual social circumstances to relate to the music on a personal level:

Graceland is exceptionally powerful as a sign vehicle for three principal and related reasons. First, the idea of collaboration is embedded in many levels of music and music making process. Second, the ambiguity of its political orientation allows multiple interpretations of that collaboration. Third, interpretations of that collaboration are tied through icons and indices to the listeners' sense of themselves so that their interpretations are felt to be true and natural (Meintjes 1990, 38).

In the liner notes to the original 1986 release Simon highlights the importance of the concept of collaboration when he details the compositional processes involved in creating *Homeless* - the track most clearly representative of the three aesthetically collaborative planes. He describes coming up with an initial melody and English lyric, the famous 'homeless, moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake', and then giving it over to Joseph Shabalala, with the suggestion that he make harmonic and or lyrical changes as he saw fit. Coming together in person some time later, Simon wrote further lyrics over an existing Ladysmith Black Mambazo song, which ended up being the bridge 'somebody say' section.

They went on to add a traditional Ladysmith ending, as well as an extra section based on a traditional Zulu wedding song, with original lyrics.³⁵ The result is a nine section song rooted in the traditional Zulu *isicathamiya* group singing style. The form has two larger distinct sections, signalled by an extended pause in performance before moving into the bridge section, and follows the following format:

A1 – Zulu (traditional wedding song); B1 – English ('Homeless'); A2 – Zulu;
 C1 – Vocal transition ('Too loo loo'); A2 – English ('Homeless' with extra lyric)
 Extended Pause D1 – English Bridge ('Somebody Say'); E1 – Zulu ('Yitho omanqoba'); D2 – English Bridge; F1 – Zulu (Traditional ending).

Clearly demonstrating the musical talents of Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Joseph Shabalala, *Homeless* is the most predominantly South African song on the album. An example of one of the musical themes from *Homeless* follows below.

Example 1) B1 – English

Home - less, home - less, Moon-light sleep - ing on a

mid - night lake.

³⁵ Simon, Paul. 1986. Liner notes to *Graceland*.

The vocal C1 section facilitates an easier transition from one language to another while also indicating a reference to Zulu tradition: “In Zulu ‘thululu’ is used in wedding songs and refers iconically to the beating of the heart. It is an index of love or longing for relief, and an icon of the sound of the heartbeat” (Meintjes 1990, 46). When watching Ladysmith Black Mambazo perform live they include hand gestures and/or other bodily expressions of the music. When performing this section of *Homeless* you can observe this; as they rhythmically tap their fingers on their chests together with their ‘Thululu’ chant.³⁶ ‘Thululu’ is furthermore also symbolic of Ladysmith Black Mambazo’s unique *isicathamiya* style, affectionately termed *isithululu*, for its ‘softer’, flowing, more delicate sound (Erlmann, 1988). The English vocable ‘too loo loo’ is printed as part of the lyrics on the liner notes of the album and it has been suggested that this might be representative of Simon’s dominance over the project, as well as the targeted audience (Meintjes 1990, 46).

The F1 Zulu ending can also be found to be indicative of the traditional *isicathamiya* style of ending where the performers seek to “accumulate prestige and build up their names” (Erlmann 1996, 207). The English translation is ‘we would like to announce to the entire nation that we are the best at singing in this style.’³⁷ Meintjes (1990) draws attention to the fact that the varying musical styles on *Graceland* are “structurally integrated” and not simply “juxtaposed,” and uses the instrumental break in the track *You Can Call Me AI*, to illustrate this:

³⁶ Observation based on the recording of the Harare *Graceland* concert, 1987: *Paul Simon: Graceland the African Concert (DVD)*, Warner Brothers, 1999.

³⁷ Translation taken from the liner notes of the 1986 release of *Graceland*.

The featured instruments in this instrumental break – the pennywhistle and the bass guitar – index or reference three Black South African genres. The pennywhistle references *kwela*, the bass guitar references *mbube*, and the way they are combined is typical of *mbaqanga* (Meintjes 1990, 43).

Greer also makes reference to the pennywhistle solo in *You Can Call Me Al*, saying that unlike most of the other tracks where the South African influences are apparent from the beginning, in this instance they only occur when the solo – instrumental break – begins. I tend to disagree with this assumption as although the song is written by Simon, it is arranged by South African guitarist Ray Phiri of *Stimela*. The underlying rhythm smacks of that local ‘jive’ feel while the catchy horn line, arranged for two saxophones (alto and tenor) and a trumpet – and easily the most recognisable and famous melodic theme of the song – is clearly representative of South African syncretic popular music styles of the 1980s, of which bands like *Stimela*, *Mango Groove* and *Juluka* were pioneers. I suggest that this represents earlier evidence of the influence of Phiri and the other African musicians that worked on the song.

Example 1) Opening and recurring horn section theme to *You Can Call Me Al*.



Graceland is an album surrounded by controversy as Paul Simon was greatly criticised for the project on various fronts. One of the criticisms of the album, especially due to its large commercial success, was that Simon had exploited the talents of the African musicians to further aid his own career.

One of the issues where this was concerned was the question of accreditation, and whether or not the musicians received the proper recognition for their creative contributions: “By all accounts they were well paid as studio musicians but not compensated as artists” (Muller 2008, 44). When confronted with this accusation Simon responded more from his perspective as a producer, not as a musician, modifying the concept of musical collaboration to that of him and his producer collecting the raw materials from South Africa which then required a process of fine-tuning, to end up with an overall sound commercially viable as popular music.³⁸

This sentiment is somewhat contradictory of Simon on two accounts: Firstly; his personal narration of the process of collaboration on *Graceland* indicates that the contributions of the South African musicians on the album were vastly more substantial than is implied – supported by the sheer body of clearly South African musical references found in songs like *Homeless*, *You Can Call Me Al*, *Boy in a Bubble* and *Graceland* – and Secondly; the process of ‘fine-tuning’ was hardly autonomous – in itself functioning on collaborative levels – and while the quality of sound reproduction on traditional instruments such as the pennywhistle have been tweaked toward a cleaner tone quality, changes such as these can hardly be attributed as a primary reason for the album’s commercial success. If the intention is to create a truly collaborative album, in which compensation and accreditation are accurately dispersed, then why does Simon profit over and above everybody else while simultaneously holding the copyright?

³⁸ Simons’ opinion expressed on Austin and Marre documentary: *Rhythms of Resistance: Black South African Music*, 1989.

Meintjes (1990) highlights some of the discrepancies of *Graceland* with regards to this, arguing that even in the instances where Simon is only co-credited, his contribution comes under suspicion:

Three songs on *Graceland* stand out as cover versions: 'Gumboots' covers a song by Boyoyo Boys (music co-credited), 'The Boy in the Bubble' a song by the band Tao Ea Matsekha (also co-credited), and 'That Was Your Mother' covers 'Josephine,' a song recorded by Good Rockin' Dopsie (credited only to Simon on *Graceland*). First, is there a reason for this discrepancy, and second, since Dopsie does not share the rights on 'That Was Your Mother,' why does Simon share the rights on 'Homeless'...the question remains whether all songs should simply be co-credited since the distinctive features of the album are not contributed solely by Simon (Meintjes 1990, 48).

Exacerbating these concerns is the album's success in South Africa itself: In the first year following its release the album made triple platinum status locally, meaning it sold more than 300 000 copies (Hamm 1989, 299). It has been suggested that this is partly due to the album being used as a propaganda tool by the apartheid government in an effort to show how racial cooperation existed despite apartheid (Tannenbaum 1987, 157). Whether or not this is indeed the case, it stands to reason that the mere suggestion that *Graceland* could be used in this way is evidence of its lack of anti-apartheid sentiment. This is in turn exacerbated by the overall apolitical stand displayed by Simon. Despite inserting himself into the volatile political environment of the 1980s and consciously going against the international boycott, Simon seemed conveniently naive when questioned about both the albums and his own lack of political stand: "Was I supposed to solve things with a song?" (Simon quoted in Sherman 1993, 92).

By maintaining that he was never interested in making a political statement about apartheid, but rather simply wanted to explore the rich musical history of South Africa (Greer 2006, 58), he shows a surprising lack of understanding regarding the relevance of the political landscape he was intruding upon, not to mention the politically charged origins of the 'rich musical history' he was so keen to explore. Greer (2006) argues that despite Simon's clumsy attitude toward the greater political environment surrounding the production of *Graceland*, the album still had a positive outcome. He ascertains that it allowed marginalised black South African musicians an authentic outlet, exposing the artistic integrity of traditional music styles to the international market, in turn lending impetus to the cultural struggle for freedom in South Africa itself:

By staying true to the traditions of black South African music, Simon showed respect for a mistreated people and helped an international audience to glimpse a culture that had been censored and oppressed for decades (Greer 2006, 59).

Despite the criticisms, one has to agree that *Graceland* did indeed popularise South African music internationally and perhaps even allowed local musicians to believe it was once again possible to have overseas aspirations (Muller 2008, 38). The music itself also continues to stand for one of the very best examples of what can be achieved through constructive collaboration. It is interesting to note the differences between the packaging and liner note content of the original 1986 release, and the extended 1996 version. For example; the cover picture of a solitary Paul Simon, and the back more 'African' picture of Ethiopian King George on a horse, have in the 1996 version been swapped around.

Muller (2008) attributes this shift in representation from an apolitical American album, to a politically relevant part of South African musical history, to the controversy that surrounded the recording: "It is clear that the controversy generated by *Graceland* in 1986 forced Paul Simon and Warner Brothers to re-evaluate..." (2008, 45). In conclusion, when opening a discussion on protest music in South Africa during the 1980s, *Graceland* needs to be included on the basis of its representation of many of the key "themes and issues pertinent to an understanding of South Africa and its music in the contemporary world" (Muller 2008, 38).

It also provides insight into the process of social politicising, where music with or without political intent is inserted into an already existing political atmosphere, thereby becoming symbolic of its surrounding context. It is in this regard that I find Simon falls short in his argument that he never intended for *Graceland* to be political. The very act of going against the cultural boycott to mass produce collaborative sounds that had already manifested naturally within South Africa, and became particularly prominent in the 1980s, is a political statement. Furthermore, since the album effectively renewed his waning personal career, Simon can best be seen in the role of a philanthropist; using the existing political unrest and the isolation of South African artists to profiteer off their unique, and on an international level, 'undiscovered' musical talents. *Graceland's* biggest contribution is the opening up of the international market to the quality and viability of South African music: "An important result of this album [*Graceland*] was not so much the appearance of collaborative styles (as these had been mushrooming throughout the country anyway), but rather the more national acceptance of it as a defining South African sound" (Byerly 1996, 167).

It allowed western audiences to start associating South Africa with something outside of just the political turmoil of Apartheid:

Graceland played a greatly significant role in removing the standoffish dread Western culture harboured toward South Africa during its internal struggle against apartheid, humanizing both a country's soul-searching hunger for liberation and its simultaneous outpouring of cathartic creative expression (White 1986, 3).

Whether *Graceland* directly aided in the liberation struggle against apartheid besides this remains questionable; but since it formed part of the broader context that fuelled the 1980s era of socially conscious musicians, it remains a relevant piece of the puzzle. Yes, maybe Simon could have used *Graceland* as an opportunity to make an anti-apartheid statement, but whether the project would have even been possible if this was the case is debatable. The decision to sacrifice artistic integrity and personal ethics for commercial success, or risk not being able to work as a musician after making a political stand, faced all South African musicians under apartheid.

Some took up visible arms, some employed methods of subterfuge, while others chose careers over and above social consciousness. Forming part of the country's search for new identity is the latter really any less significant? In an era of change who can determine what part of history had the most bearing. If Attali is to be believed, music is the battlefield (Attali 2006), and there are many ways to fight a battle: "Some people have to hit you over the head. Some have to come out and sing beautiful songs. It all contributes to the same thing." (Paul Simon Fricke 1987, 46).

3) South African Musical Resistance in the 1980s

3.1) The Censorship Battle

The suppression and circumscription of the press and other media is an important weapon in the arsenal of the oppressor regime which it wields to consolidate its power vis-à-vis the oppressed and exploited majority.

“Position paper” presented by the African National Congress in Lusaka, 1989.

I have already discussed the way in which the apartheid government directly controlled broadcasting content, via the SABC, in support of their separate development policies (Chapter one, pg 24-26) However, with the inception of the Publication and Entertainment Act of 1963, and the subsequent Publications Act of 1974, they consolidated that control by inflicting censorship guidelines on all publications within South Africa including recorded music. In this new era of censorship, between the SABC and the newly appointed Directorate of Publications, music production, distribution and public consumption fell under the scrutiny of the state. This had a noticeable effect on the local music industry and its creative growth over the following decade, as the artistic integrity of musicians entered a battle of concession with their ambition to succeed: success within the constraints of state censorship, to some, symbolised a yielding to the apartheid ideology as a whole. What emerged however was a musical counter-culture of resistance, in which musicians began embedding their messages of protest in the hidden depths of language. Before one can debate the implications of the above statement one has to understand the multi-faceted animal that was censorship under apartheid.

On a legislative level the new Publications Act allowed for the election of a number of committees whose purpose was ascertaining the 'undesirable' or 'not-undesirable' status of any objects, publications, films or public entertainment materials that came under their advisement. Committee representatives were to be chosen from a list of nominees put forward by the State President or the Minister of Home Affairs, and elected by the Publications Board, who was in itself also appointed by the State President. Once in place the Act allowed for everyone from an ordinary member of the public, to a police officer, or once again the State President, to incite the Directorate of Publications to arrange for a committee to assess the undesirability of any questionable materials (Kerkhof 1986, 28). As Ian Kerkhof astutely states: "In practice this means that a single complaint from the most extreme right wing element necessitates the reviewing of a publication" (1986, 28).

Once under review anything that opposed, or could be interpreted as being in opposition to, the state's ideological moral, sexual, religious and political views, could be banned on three fronts (Drewett 2005, 59-60). 1) An item could be declared 'undesirable' and be prohibited from being imported, produced, bought, sold and displayed in South Africa; 2) An item could be declared 'undesirable for possession' in which case it would also be illegal for any person to retain the item had they required it before its banning. 3) An entire organization, or company, could be declared 'undesirable' in which case the importation of all items related to said organization would be prohibited without further review (Kerkhof 1986, 28). Penalties for being involved with 'undesirable' materials were harsh as "production, distribution, or in some cases, possession of works declared undesirable" became a "criminal offence" carrying hefty fines and prison sentences (Dugard 1978, 196).

This legislative onslaught on freedom of expression bore down particularly hard on South African musicians who were trying to get their music heard, as the SABC enforced their own banning system based on censorship guidelines in accordance with the state's agenda. Cecile Pracher, an ex-censor of the SABC, recalls how lyric sheets would be analysed on a weekly basis at a censorship committee meeting, where a vote would be cast as to determine suitability on-air. She concedes that in the decade between 1980 and 1990 said committee reviewed an average of 15 lyric sheets a week: a substantial amount out of the estimated four hundred odd LPs/CDs that came in, in a year (Reitov 2004, 83):

The voting system was open and my impression was that virtually anything that was perceived as damaging to the state, to the SABC or to the National Party, was regarded as not acceptable and we would ban it. Being there was part of their mission in life – most people were Broederbond³⁹ (Ibid. 2004, 83).

Needless to say any music of a protest nature would most certainly have been declared 'undesirable' by the SABC, and in the case of music with a blatant anti-apartheid message, by the Directorate of Publications as well. However, the hard stance of censorship practiced by the SABC, resulted in the Directorate of Publications rarely having the need to overtly ban music. It was already being self-censored in preceding processes of recording and distribution, as both record labels and musicians became concerned with the potential loss of income if the music they produced were to be banned by the SABC.

³⁹ The Broederbond, or Afrikaner Broederbond (Afrikaner Brotherhood), was an elite secret organisation of white Afrikaans Christian males that operated outside of government constraints in the exclusive interest of the preservation of the Afrikaner volk (Afrikaner nation). Founded as early as 1920, this dangerous, politically fascist secret society infiltrated all major industries in South Africa and their ideologies formed the basis of the apartheid regime. It is widely known that all key leaders of the apartheid era were Broederbond (Knecht 2008, 52-59).

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) employs a team of experts, mostly linguists, in order to detect the most hidden suggestion in idiomatic expressions that in any way could have political character. As a consequence, the recording studios subject themselves to self-censorship in order to keep losses resulting from a possible ban of songs at a minimum (Bender 1991, 182).

Two leading record companies in South Africa at the time were Gallo (Africa) Ltd and EMI, also subsequently the owners of the only two local vinyl pressing plants. Like others, they relied heavily on state controlled mass media to promote their artists in South Africa. It follows then that they would also become concerned with censorship. Songs that had the potential to be found 'undesirable' were often edited or re-mixed and local musicians came under pressure to conform or risk not being heard at all. Rob Allingham, an archivist for Gallo Records, confirms that censorship on a production level was indeed employed as a means of ensuring commercial success for record companies in South Africa during that time: "The record companies in no way took it upon themselves to reinforce whatever machinations the state had in mind as far as directing culture, but the bottom line for them was, and always is, and always probably will be, that they want to make money" (Quoted in Drewett 2003, 156). This may be true, but as music formed a part of the apartheid state's cultural propaganda, which in turn controlled SABC policies, conforming to the SABC seemed in support of state ideology whether that support was generated by omission or not.

Popular South African vocal group Ladysmith Black Mambazo, who enjoyed great commercial success in the 1980s following *Graceland*, admits to practising self-censorship:⁴⁰ “We keep the radio in mind when we compose...If something is contentious they don’t play it, and then it wouldn’t be known anyway” Joseph Shabalala (quoted in Andersson 1981, 87). In this way censorship had fast become a multi-faceted cycle, in which musicians were constantly reminded of the fragility of their careers. Veteran South African musician David Kramer describes the milieu in South Africa during the time of his 1981 album release *Bakgat*, subsequently banned by the SABC for the use of political satire and mixed language:⁴¹

It is difficult to imagine what it was like at that time, there was an atmosphere of paranoia, people were quite intimidated and fearful of the authorities and you didn’t want to be perceived as being sort of too far to the left because you could end up with some kind of serious banning. Let me just say this; when I recorded the album I had no illusions. I didn’t think it was going to be played on the SABC, that wasn’t why I recorded the album (DK 02/06/2009).⁴²

Warrick Sony, through his fusion music project entitled *The Kalahari Surfers*, was also a victim of censorship during the 1980s. His 1984 release *Own Affairs* was rejected by local pressing plants on the basis of being ‘undesirable’ and had to be manufactured overseas by English company Recommended Records.

⁴⁰ On the back of the 1986 international success of *Graceland*, Ladysmith Black Mambazo released their album *Shaka Zulu* (produced by Paul Simon). The album brought them their first Grammy award in 1988 for Best Traditional Folk Album.

⁴¹ Refer to Appendix 7 for a copy of the *Bakgat* banning order.

⁴² Personal Interview with David Kramer, 2 June 2009.

The album included hard hitting songs such as *Don't Dance* that directly challenged apartheid ideology (Sony 1991, 114):

Our lives are out of phase, we're black white separated
Right from birth indoctrinated
Years and years developed apart, brainwashed each in the name of god
Lets re-educate ourselves
Lets de-educate ourselves⁴³

Sony's subsequent 1980s releases *Living in the Heart of the Beast* (1985), *Sleep Armed* (1988) and *Bigger than Jesus* (1989) were all rejected by the SABC. The latter, *Bigger than Jesus*, being banned directly by the Directorate and later unbanned on the basis of its low sales figures and only after Sony re-released the album with a new title, *Beachbomb*: "One of the key reasons the state unbanned my fourth LP *Beachbomb* was the fact that I had never sold more than a thousand copies of any of my records. If the system works on its own there is no need to ban records or anything. Without access to the means of proper promotion, especially broadcasting, it will effectively die its own death" (Sony 1991, 115).

A further component in a musician's battle with censorship during this period was the physical presence of the South African Police Force, and its Security Branch (SB). The SB became the watchdog of state security, and once a musician was flagged as an enemy of the state, the outcome was inevitable persecution. Paul Erasmus was a field operative for the Security Branch (SB) of the South African Police Force, more commonly known as the Secret Police. His primary duty was to 'apply pressure' on any and all enemies of the state that at the time encompassed any person(s) or institution(s) that, by their nature or actions, was considered to be against the values of the state.

⁴³ For entire lyric sheet to *Don't Dance* refer to Appendix 8.

Once a suspect was decided upon the Secret Police would employ a variety of suppression tactics ranging from surveillance (phone tapping, the use of informants, postal interceptions) to aggressive action (detentions, banishing, house arrests) (Erasmus 2004, 73-74).

‘Applying Pressure’ meant that we were given free rein to do to these people whatever we felt would disrupt their activities, and ‘dirty tricks’ was the order of the day – ranging from the ordering of unwanted supplies or services to shooting up vehicles and petrol-bombing homes. The only rule was quite simply don’t get caught, although we all believed (and correctly so) that the state, and specifically the security establishment, would protect us to the hilt (Ibid. 2004, 74).

Sometime in the late 1970s the Security Branch (SB) became interested in Roger Lucey: A local singer/songwriter making waves with his openly political music that was fast gaining him popularity amongst liberal audiences. Lucey was to release two albums – *The Road Is Much Longer* (1979) and *Half Alive* (1980) – before his career was crushed by censorship and the Secret Police.

I started becoming known in the music scene around 1976, at about the time of the Soweto Riots, and many of my songs reflected the social situation I found myself in. Add to this a big voice and a bigger attitude, especially with a couple of drinks in my belly before hitting the stage, and what you had was a loud-mouthed, long-haired kid raging against the government, the army, the police and any other fascist icon I came across. I knew I’d get into shit sooner or later (Lucey 2004, 68).

Lucey's song-writing talent in combination with his passionate guitar playing and poignant vocals made for a hard hitting performance, especially when coupled with blatantly anti-apartheid messages. In his song *Lungile Tabalaza* (1979) Lucey tells the story of a black youngster arrested under suspicion of robbery and subsequently falling to his death from the five-storey window of a police building. The implication is clear. Lungile was murdered by the SAP and he's not the only one:

Well whatever happened in that office God and the cops will only know
'Cause the law has ways of keeping quiet
So that nothing at all will show...
Well some say it was murder, some say suicide
But this is not the first time men have gone in there and died

The song itself has a catchy bass riff and repetitive cyclic form over which he sings the story of Lungile. It is easy to imagine the kind of impact it would have on a live audience since it is at once both lively – rhythmically appealing enough to make you want to tap your foot and move along to the beat – and aggressively political. The opening verse of *Lungile Tabalaza* is particularly memorable as before Lucey starts the story of Lungile he sets the tone by describing the circumstances that he, Lungile and the rest of South Africa found themselves in:

Some men take the hard line, and some take none at all
And some just want their freedom, when they wind up behind the prison walls
There are cops on every corner, and they know what they don't like
And if you're it, then you know that the street's no place for you at night

In the last verse of the song Lucey makes reference to the first, leaving the listener with a keen sense of injustice as he sarcastically confronts the ‘accidental’ reasons cited for deaths connected to the SAP.

Now some men take the hard line and for that they get the rope
And some men fall from windows and others slip on bars of soap⁴⁴

Lucey’s album *The Road is Much Longer* was banned by the Directorate of Publications on the grounds that four of the songs found on the album presented a threat to state security as they created “a climate of protest against the Police and the present order of State.” *Lungile Tabalaza* was one of the four⁴⁵ (Drewett 2005, 60). As a result Roger was penned a threat to national security and came under the persecution of the Security Police and field agent Paul Erasmus, who was charged with the job of ‘stopping this filth.’ He brought the full force of security police tactics down on Roger’s career with the aim of silencing him (Erasmus 2004, 75).

Erasmus describes how he intimidated Lucey’s record label WEA and producer David Marks, demanding to know how many copies of the album had been printed and incriminating Lucey, claiming he was facing imminent arrest due to his involvement with banned anti-state organizations, the ANC and the South African Communist Party. Erasmus then went on to confiscate what few copies of the album had been distributed to record stores and set about stopping Lucey’s live performances as well (Ibid. 2004, 75-77).

⁴⁴ For the entire lyric sheet to *Lungile Tabalaza*, refer to Appendix 9.

⁴⁵ As was *Crossroads* (dealt with forced removals), *Thabane* (referred to Steve Biko’s death as ‘one of many’) and *You Only Need Say Nothing* (dealt again with police brutality and injustice) (Drewett 2005, 60).

I had earlier on instituted taps on Rodger's telephone, arranged for interception of his mail and activated (to acquire information on him) the huge informant network. Having established that he was performing at Mangles (a bistro in Braamfontein), colleagues and I stopped his performance in mid-song by pouring CS (tear gas) powder into the air-conditioning unit...This action was followed by a series of phone calls threatening to blow up the restaurant if they continued with his shows. Other potential venues were also told that what happened at Mangles (or worse) would happen to them if Roger and his band were given gigs (Erasmus 2004, 76).

This is but one example of the kind of police intimidation musicians under Apartheid suffered at the hands of Security Police in the effort to enforce state policy. Mzwakhe Mbuli, affectionately known as 'the people's poet', became a powerful source for resistance culture during the mid to late 1980s. His physical presence on stage together with his powerful vocal delivery of vicious anti-apartheid poetry set to music had him gaining vast public support (particularly amongst the township youth). He fast became a target of the local police force and suffered direct attacks to his person, being both shot at and having a hand-grenade thrown at his house.

Following his 1986 cassette release entitled *Change is Pain*, which was banned outright; Mbuli was further arrested, tortured and detained. He served months in solitary confinement, just to emerge with new material for his second release (this time an LP) entitled *Unbroken Spirit* (Sony 1991, 117-118; Drewett 2003, 158). Other more extreme cases of censorship penalties include: Jacob Mashingo, who received a five year prison sentence for possession of a cassette with a song by Miriam Makeba and Harry Belafonte (1983);

Derek Tsietsi Makomoreng, who received five years for the possession of a cassette featuring music by the ANC cultural ensemble Amandla⁴⁶ (1986) and the members of reggae group Splash, who received five years each for singing a song called Tribute to the Martyrs, that mentioned Nelson Mandela (1980) (Kerkhof 1986, 29). Inbetween the state, the SABC, the SAP and the acquiescence of major record labels, musical freedom became highly conditional with non-compliance constituting a high price. The only way a musician could indulge in voicing an egalitarian opinion on an actual record was through the help of a gutsy independent record label. Shifty Records was just such a label and responsible for most of the recorded protest music of the 1980s.

Shifty was founded in 1983 by Lloyd Ross on the belief that good musicians, who were contributing to the resistance through their music, deserved the opportunity to record and be heard instead of being muted under state censorship. With budget constraints to consider Ross and fellow music enthusiast Ivan Kadey bought the necessary equipment, added some self-engineered sound-proofing made out of masonite board, and set up shop in a caravan. This mobile set-up allowed them the freedom to move where the music needed them, shifting when necessary, hence the name Shifty Records. Shifty's first project was with the band *Sankomoto* (Ross 2011).

⁴⁶ The ANC's cultural ensemble entitled *Amandla* was formed in the ANC military wing, *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK), training camps of Angola and consisted of young soldiers whose role as political activists came second only to their military service. Led by exiled musician Jonas Gwangwa, a popular trombonist from 1950s *Sophiatown*, *Amandla* became the politicised road show of the ANC. Their shows included original compositions, Freedom songs, *toyi-toyi* and in some instances pieces of the Freedom Charter, advocating the aims of the liberation struggle while maintaining an air of optimism for the future. Travelling throughout Africa as well as South America, Canada, Europe, South-east Asia, Australia and the Soviet Union, it was considered one of the ANC's most successful projects at mobilising support (Gilbert 2008, 156-184).

Having been kicked out of South Africa on account of their political lyric content and provocative onstage personas, *Sankomoto* were residing in Lesotho, which is where Shifty helped to materialise their first self-titled album. Although the album was a good quality product, the music was innovative and represented a fusion of different styles. Subsequently Ross couldn't get any of the major record companies in SA at the time to distribute it, not to mention having it play listed on radio (Ross 2011):

Firstly, they sang in different languages, which violated grand apartheid's pipedream of keeping all languages pure and separate. Secondly; the lyrics referred to what was really happening in the country, which was of course a no-no. And finally, the music was eclectic, a concept that has confused industry marketing departments since the invention of the gramophone (Ross 2011).

Nevertheless, Shifty continued to set a precedent and record those who could not get recorded and as a result ended up making a worthy contribution to the local music industry and resistance culture of the 1980s: previously mentioned artists Roger Lucey, Warrick Sony as The Kalahari Surfers and Mzwakhe Mbuli all started off recording with Shifty. A cult classic Shifty favourite was the 1985 release *Wie is Bernoldus Niemand?* (Who is Brenoldus Nobody?). This album, featuring the alter-ego of singer/songwriter James Phillips, is the first ever record to feature the new genre, Afrikaans rock. The album's impact on the Afrikaans music scene was immense, with many key revolutionaries of the Afrikaans alternative movement of the late 1980s citing it as a direct inspiration including Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel (Kombuis 2000; Pretorius 2004).

Shifty also went on to release a series of landmark compilations of 1980s protest music including *A Naartjie in our Sosatie – A Naarchie in Our Kebab*, a play on Anarchy in our Society⁴⁷ - and *Forces Favourites* (a compilation of anti-conscription songs). As the force behind Shifty Records, Lloyd Ross became an invaluable asset to independent artists with a social conscience. By using creative means of financing, such as overseas sponsorships, and handling a large part of the production personally, he was able to continue to fund non-conformist musicians (Drewett 2003, 162).

Although hardly any of these artists were exposed to a wide audience, due to the censorship constraints of that period, they do represent the role that music played in the cultural resistance against apartheid. The 1980s was to be a period of abundant originality forged by a new movement of activist musicians. Their music would give voice to the struggle from the street up, filtering into the everyday lives of South Africans. As previously mentioned (Chapter one, pg 6) protest music in the 1980s exhibited one or more of the following characteristics - subversive language, collaboration and activism – all of which contributed to its success as a socio-political forum and an aid to the struggle.

⁴⁷ A 'naarchie' is a South African colloquial term for a mandarin fruit.

3.2) Characteristics of 1980s Protest Music

Music is prophecy. Its styles and economic organisation are ahead of the rest of society because it explores, much faster than material reality can, the entire range of possibilities in a given code. It makes audible the new world that will gradually become visible, that will impose itself and regulate the order of things; it is not only the image of things, but the transcending of the everyday, the herald of the future (Attali 2006, 11).

The above portrayal of music as not only a mirror to society, but a window to its future, is paramount to the role of 1980s protest music in South Africa. The musicians of the era, whether functioning within or outside of commercial visibility, became prophets of change. They formed part of the greater social consciousness of the era that fuelled the cultural resistance. This in turn supported the political resistance of the ANC, and other political organizations, and constituted a national revolution. In the highly politicised environment of the decade leading up to 1994, everyday meant another step away from apartheid domination and towards a personal and political dream of freedom. As the ANC became more militant; so too did the music. As people became tired of shunning their natural propensities for cultural exchange, and finding more and more ways of reconnecting; so too did the music. It was the “height of the South African madness” and all facets of society were joining in the struggle (Amandla 2003): “Others were engaging Apartheid with guns. Others were engaging them through discussion. Others were engaging them through song. That’s how we managed to turn the tide of the world” (Sifiso Ntuli Ibid. 2003). Multi racial groups playing new syncretic styles of music - a fusion of traditional African musical styles with modern day pop idioms - became prevalent.

Examples of bands that represented this trend fusion and cross-cultural exchange are *Stimela*, *Juluka*, *Mango Groove*, *Hotline*, *Sakhile* and *Bayete*.

What these groups – and many others, smaller and less well known, across the country – had in common, was their combination of social themes and a musical language drawing on both urban pop and rural tradition, and often jazz, too. It was in many ways an alternative kind of neotraditionalism, crafted – unlike the state’s version – from the bottom up (Ansell 2004, 187).

Even the Afrikaans youth, bred on propaganda and conservatism, were defying all stereotypes and rejecting Apartheid ideology. The *Alternatiewe Afrikaans Beweging* (Alternative Afrikaans Movement) was born, culminating in the epic *Voëlvry* tour of 1989. South Africans everywhere were looking for a new sense of self, one that represented the collective diversity of the future South Africa, and they were finding it in music. At schools, churches, rallies, street corners and private homes – whether shouted out or quietly insinuated – it was to become a facilitator of social change. Music worked to break down the ideology of Apartheid, and although different musicians employed different techniques, all exhibited one or more of the following characteristics: 1) Subversive Language, 2) Collaboration and 3) Activism.

3.2.1) Subversive Language

Writing between the lines requires reading between the lines. It creates a conspiratorial bond between the writer and the readers who can ‘crack the code’ (Jansen 1988, 199).

The notion of “writing between the lines” discussed by Jansen in relation to counter-censorship strategy, is one drawn from Leo Strauss in his analytical approach to the art of writing (Strauss 1952). Both agree that language has a tradition of being used by the non-conformist to undermine, in a subtle yet perceptive way, the staid authority. These non-conformists then, with the aid of language within language, become “opponents” of orthodoxy and “bureaucratic conformity (Jansen 1988, 193). South African musicians in the 1980s used this same device of undercover commentary, becoming “ideological saboteurs,” through the manipulation of language as a social text (Ibid. 1988, 193). Under the stringent censorship policies of the time, musicians were no longer creatively free, working instead in an atmosphere of heightened awareness. As a result they started paying closer and closer attention to what it was that they were actually saying.

This may have started out as a necessity to avoid persecution, but it ended up being an incentive to become increasingly resourceful. Instead of simply submitting under the crush of censorship, musicians began inventing ways of fooling the censors. Their primary tool in this regard was language. Innuendo, satire and irony all formed part of the arsenal of subversive language employed by musicians in the 1980s to undermine the status quo. Byerly calls it cross-cultural “mediation through lyrics” (1996, 172) and Drewett dubs it an “aesopian strategy of textual resistance” (Drewett 2004a, 189-207), but both agree that the 1980s exhibited a trend of manipulating language to include hidden missives of protest. In the words of David Kramer: “There was a cultural war going on at the same time as there was the obvious political thing, but the cultural war was more subtle. It was being fought by writers and musicians...the very use of code-switching was a part of the cultural war”

(DK 02/06/2009). Brown and Levinson's definition of "code-switching" is useful in understanding the process:

The phenomenon of code-switching involves any switch from one language or dialect to another in the communities where linguistic repertoire includes two or more such codes. In some cases, situations of diglossia, the switch is between two varieties of dialects of a language, one is considered 'high' and prestigious and the other 'low' and domestic. Other cases simply involve switching from one language to another in bilingual or multilingual communities (1978, 110).

'Code-switching' would prove particularly effective in South Africa given the sheer range of local dialects and cultural differences available to draw from. Musicians took advantage of this, making use of the subtle nuances unique to specific sub-cultures, to add veiled messages of resistance to their music. These messages could then in turn be deciphered by listeners who shared the same cultural references.

In numerous cases code-switching has not only been used to 'save face' but on the contrary, to express an 'in your face' sentiment. Using a particular language to make a dig at a certain group, or to target that group through the use of their linguistic code (Byerly 1996, 174).

David Kramer was one of the musicians to make use of code-switching as well as satire in his music. He sang in both English and Afrikaans, with a 'coloured'⁴⁸ accent and the on-stage persona of the travelling everyman: telling stories of small town South African life while playing a beat-up guitar.

⁴⁸ Coloured: A colloquial term referring to a Western Cape sub-culture of mixed-descent that developed their own unique dialect of Afrikaans. More a people that developed...

My experience was a Western Cape experience with coloured people and fellow Afrikaans speakers, and I thought ‘but they speak Afrikaans, it’s not just the oppressor’s language.’ The more I thought about that, the more I was able to find a valid reason to explore Afrikaans, and I saw how radical that was: to choose Afrikaans as a language of social observation and subtle protest (DK 02/06/2009).

A classic example of Kramer’s unique style can be heard on the song *Tjoepstil*.⁴⁹ The Afrikaans word *tjoepstil* is more of an expression, meaning an exaggerated version of keeping quiet. You’re not just quiet, you’re particularly quiet: the implication is that there is a greater underlying reason for your silence. In the song one is presented with a satirical description of characters found in everyday South African life: the ‘coloured’ man from “Parow Vallei,” an SAP sergeant, the white upper class university student. These characters are all in some way confronted with the stereotypes of themselves; ending in either the confronted or the persona doing the confronting, having to bite their tongue in the face of their own hypocrisy:

I’m a staff sergeant in the SAP
 You and the press point your finger at me
 But when the black man crawls through your window at night
 You call for me quickly ‘cos then I’m alright
 Then you’ll keep *tjoepstil*; then you’ll keep *tjoepstil*⁵⁰

In this verse, Kramer confronts the hypocrisy of white South Africans who don’t practice what they preach.

⁴⁹ Phonetically pronounced *chupe still*.

⁵⁰ For the entire lyric sheet to *Tjoepstil* refer to Appendix 10.

You and your friends in their faded blue jeans
 You think you know what everything means
 You've got the big mouths, you've got the degrees
 But when the shit starts to fly you run overseas
 Then you'll keep *tjoepstil*; then you'll keep *tjoepstil*

Once again, Kramer confronts the hypocrisy of white South African youths who have an opinion on everything, but lack conviction. There is a deeper meaning here too. *Tjoepstil* represents more than just an expression; it represents the entire non-confrontational ideology that dominated Afrikaans culture under apartheid: A kind of passivity, 'if we don't talk about it, it doesn't exist,' that enabled the average Afrikaner to turn a blind eye to the reality of the situation. Although this represents a clever way of voicing protest, the very nature of the satirical song opens it up to interpretation, and Kramer's music was often taken merely at face value. This did however facilitate his popularity amongst conservative Afrikaans audiences. After the 1981 vinyl release *Die Verhaal Van Blokkies Joubert* (The story of Blokkies Joubert)⁵¹, Kramer became a household name in the Afrikaans community, who found his stories funny and entertaining. Suddenly he went from being an underground indie artist with a banned record,⁵² to one of the most popular artists in South Africa with commercial hits. The different sectors of the South African public had differing opinions about Kramer, some feeling his new success was indicative of him selling out, and others just confused by his multicultural style:

⁵¹ The album included the hit singles *Blokkies Joubert* and *Hak Hom Blokkies* (Hak Hom is a local Afrikaans expression loosely meaning go for it, associated with scoring a goal in rugby). Being both reminiscences of the life of a once great Springbok rugby player, conservative Afrikaans audiences felt a strong association with these songs about rugby: the sport is considered a large part of Afrikaans culture.

⁵² *Bakgat*, 1980.

The perception was 'he used to sing just coloured songs and now he's making money just banking on the Afrikaans market...and the trouble was, I was. I was very successful; but because of certain songs that I sang like *Royal Hotel* and *Hak Hom Blokkies*, but at the same time they were all part of a body of work. If you came to my concerts I would sing *Tjoepstil*, I would sing I had A Dream, and all those political satire songs (DK 02/06/2009).

Kramer's 1983 live album release *Jis Jis Jis* better represents the body of work you would expect to hear at one of his concerts. The album included crowd favourites such as *Hak Hom Blokkies*, and the *Royal Hotel*, while also showing some of his best satirical songs such as *Tjoepstil* and *Hekke van Paradise*.⁵³ The latter painting a picture of segregated suburban life, and the disillusionment of South Africans living in these areas.

This town, this town is like a two cent piece
 It's got a coat-of-arms, it's got a wildebeest
 Like a clean white shirt with gold cuff links
 It looks quite clean, but the armpits stink

This verse from *Hekke van Paradise* confronts the euphoric illusion of segregated South Africa. It is followed by a plea in Afrikaans, directed at all the residents of this seemingly perfect town and the listeners alike.

En ek vra jou mos, ek vra jou mos (and I ask you, I ask you)
Ek vra jou mos so nice (I ask you politely)
Hoekom blaf die honde (why do the dogs bark)
By die hekke van paradise (at the gates of paradise)⁵⁴

⁵³ Translates as 'Gates of Paradise': first released on the album *Delicious Monster*, 1982.

⁵⁴ For entire lyric sheet to *Hekke van Paradise*, refer to Appendix 11.

The song impassions the listener to look beyond the surface of these segregated towns, to question why the gates are closed and the world outside is ‘barking’, rising up in opposition. This kind of musical storytelling, delivered with what Kramer calls “observational humour,” was popular because people recognised the authenticity in it. It was also powerful as a form of political protest because of its indirect approach. Yes, some people may have only had the incentive to take it at face value, but one imagines that others took the bait and started questioning. Especially in the right wing Afrikaans community, who comprised a large part of Kramer’s fan base, the listeners were people heavily laden with years of guilt-ridden orthodoxies intimately connected with the church. As noted by Cecile Pracher:

It’s very complex. We grew up in conservative surroundings where you would belong to a church, a school and a community. Your entire world of reference was regulated by the Broederbond. There is no doubt about it because all those people, like the headmaster of the school, were Broederbond...The brainwashing came through this whole authoritarian and paternalistic society where nothing gets questioned. (Cecile Pracher Quoted in Reitov 2004, 86).

It takes a series of hard hitting realisations before one can be free of this kind of indoctrination. A more aggressive approach would more than likely scare such a listener away before even having given it a decent chance, as explained here by David Kramer:

There was a hell of a strong push from the political left to make a stand, and to sloganize, but some people felt uncomfortable with it. The technique that I used was to pull people towards me, with humour and so forth – so you get them to warm to you and like you – so they open themselves up. Then you can introduce some sort of idea that they are not comfortable with, but they will accept it, because it’s you and you now have a sort of bond already (DK 02/06/2009).

Kramer became somewhat disillusioned with the fame that came with his success. After five years he decided to leave the stage as a singer/songwriter and explore his interest in musical theatre that would eventually lead him to Taliep Peterson and the birth of *District Six*.⁵⁵ He had however written a body of political songs in the 1970s that had never been recorded, and decided to release one last album, *Baboon Dogs* (1986): “It was a very political year with the state of emergency and I had the sense that if I was stopping, it would be nice if people remembered I had something to say about all this; because if you look at my work people wouldn’t necessarily have known that I had written that” (DK 02/06/2009).

Baboon Dogs is widely considered to be his most political album, certainly his most aggressive in that light. In it, for the exception of a few tunes, Kramer drops his ‘plat Afrikaans’ accent and usual bi-lingual style for a straight English vocal delivery. He reveals this more serious side of himself, one not commonly associated with his music, intentionally. The track list includes the song *Dry Wine*, which was actually first recorded as a cover by protest singer/songwriter Roger Lucey on his second album *Half Alive* (1980). It is particularly poignant in delivery and became something of a Lucey ‘classic’ that he regularly performed live.⁵⁶ The song is hauntingly beautiful, despite its hard hitting lyrics, which is where its power lies.

Half asleep I dream in the dark

Thrusting the locks on the door and the dog’s warning bark

Outside in the street a drunkard stumbles and sings

In the next door flat, a telephone rings and rings

⁵⁵ *District Six* remains to this day one of South Africa’s most beloved musicals. It deals with the destruction of vibrant communities through the government’s forced removals.

⁵⁶ This information makes use of the website www.3rdmusic.co.za as part of the Hidden Achieves project.

But nothing disturbs the suburbs quiet,
 Not the sirens or the news of a township riot
 Knowing it all from the distance of headlines
 I express my opinion, with a mouth full of dry wine⁵⁷

In this opening verse the character being 'half asleep' while locking up the house at night is a metaphor for the way in which white South Africans were going about their daily activities only partially conscious: choosing to close their eyes to the dire political situation in the country and locking it behind closed doors. This is reinforced in the second verse with a depiction of a woman entirely oblivious to the political significance of Robben Island, and the fact that innocent people were suffering there, instead admiring it as part of a beautiful sea view.

A woman with red fingernails is playing with her diamond
 Gazing through the restaurant window at the lights of Robben Island
 Her hair's cut in the latest style, her eyes are painted blue
 She's probably thinking, 'now where in the world could I find a better view?'

Subversive language was also vastly employed by the Afrikaans musicians involved in the *Aternatiewe beweging* of the late 1980s. The juxtaposition of English words with loaded meanings into Afrikaans songs, was in blatant opposition to the conservative notion of '*suiwer Afrikaans*' as representative of the '*suiwer Afrikaner*'.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ For the entire lyric sheet to *Dry Wine*, refer to Appendix 12.

⁵⁸ *Suiwer Afrikaans* directly translates as 'pure Afrikaans' but refers here to an entire mentality in which conservative ideologies were representative of the ideal in Afrikaans culture.

In the introduction to his *Niemandslaan* album, Koos Kombuis (André Le Toit) reminisces about long ago when you still found "*dapper Witmense wat kon fight...hulle het toe nog geken van suffering.*"⁵⁹ By replacing the Afrikaans work *baklei*, with fight, he sarcastically suggests that it does not exist in Afrikaans or sounds stronger in English. Similarly by replacing *lyding* with suffering, the accusation is that today's Afrikaners no longer have a word for it (Byerly 1996, 174-175). The movement culminated in a series of nationwide concerts called the *Voëlvry*⁶⁰ tour, symbolic of an entire generation of young Afrikaners who were freeing themselves from the chains of Apartheid. The *Voëlvry* musicians made it their mission to mock *suiwer* Afrikaans traditions wherever possible, evident in the pseudonyms they adopted.

Ralph Rabie became known as Johannes Kerkorrel, in reference to the trademark Dutch organ in the music ceremonies of the Dutch Reformed Church. His band was called *The Gereformeerde Blues Band (The Reformed Blues Band)*. James Phillips became Bernoldus Niemand, or affectionately Mr Nobody, with his band *Die Swart Gevaar* (The Black Threat) and André Letiot became Koos Kombuis (Koos Kitchen)⁶¹ (Grundlingh 2004, 3). The Afrikaans irony at play was meant to destroy symbols of Afrikaner nationalism, such as changing the traditional ox wagon, symbolic of *Die Groot Trek* (The Great Journey), into a "funky new rock and roll *ossewa* (ox-wagon)" (Hopkins, 2006:14).

⁵⁹ Translation: Brave white people that could fight – they still understood suffering.

⁶⁰ *Voëlvry* directly translates as 'bird free', related to the English saying 'free as a bird.'

⁶¹ The name 'Koos' in Afrikaans is also a term used to describe the everyday man.

Institutions key to Afrikaans identity such as the church, authoritarian schools, the state broadcasting corporation and, above all, conscription and the army, were being challenged and disregarded: "For the first time full-blown rock and roll with biting social commentary was seen to challenge the generally staid and shackled Afrikaans cultural and political world" (Grundlingh 2004, 3) Head of state P.W. Botha often found himself the subject of mockery by the *Voëlvry* musicians as evident in Johannes Kerkorrel's song *Sit Dit Af* (put it off). The song describes Kerkorrel flipping through the SABC channels and being constantly confronted and with P.W. Botha's face.

Dit was 'n nare gesig (It was an ugly sight)

Dit het my heeltemal ontwig (It completely unhinged me)

Dit was 'n moerse klug (It was a huge joke)

Dit was PW se gesig (It was PW's face)

En langs hom staan oom Pik (and next to him stands uncle Pik)⁶²

O, ek dog ek gaan verstik (O, I thought I'll choke)

Sit dit af, want dis 'n helse straf (Put it off, it's a heavy punishment)⁶³

As the song progresses Kerkorrel tries to hop channels, but since the state controls all broadcasting, he still ends up watching P.W. Botha. The song *Die Nuus* is another of his that exposes the fallibility of state controlled broadcasting.

Goeienaand dames and here (good evening ladies and gentlemen)

Vandag is daar slegs 31 mense dood (today there are only 31 people dead)

Swart op swart geweld is die oorsaak van die nood (Black on black violence is the cause of the emergency)

⁶² Roelof Frederik "Pik" Botha: apartheid minister of foreign affairs.

⁶³ For the entire lyric sheet to *Sit Dit Af* refer to Appendix 13.

Die onrustoestand word baie goed beheer (the unrest situation is kept well in hand)

Deur daai gawe mense wat ons land regeer (by those wonderful people who govern our land)

En in Soweto het al die kinders kos en brood (and in Soweto all the children have food and bread)

En vandag is daar slegs 31 mense dood, geniet die aand (and today there are only 31 dead, enjoy the evening)⁶⁴ (Hopkins 2006, 10-11).

Another example of word play and symbolism is found in the music of *Bayete*. *Bayete* was an eight piece band led by vocalist and multi-instrumentalist Jabu Khanyile. Their sound was a fusion of African rhythms with jazz harmony and improvisation, and they also used subversive language to voice protest in the 1980s. The song *Hypocrite* alludes to the ‘Hippo police,’ a nick name for the South African Police Force (SAP).

I don't like gossiping people; I don't want people who talk behind my back

You're a hyppo, you're a hypocrite

Amahypo amahypocrite

Hey gossiping people, will you stop spoiling other people's happiness

You're a hyppo, you're a hypocrite

*Amahypo amahypocrite*⁶⁵

The ‘gossiping people’ can be seen to be the enemies of the state, persecuted by the SAP on the grounds of ‘spoiling other people's lives,’ or rather opposing the status quo. Being that the SAP was the workhorse of the Apartheid state – the actual culprit in the destruction of the lives of all South Africans – *Bayete* calls them out as hypocrites.

⁶⁴ For the entire lyric sheet to *Die Nuus*, refer to Appendix 14.

⁶⁵ Taken from the liner notes to *Mombela*, 1987. CCP. WM 4061532.

A last example of a song that contained veiled symbolism, and managed to bypass the SABC censors is *Weeping*, by the band Bright Blue. The track appeared on the flip side of their independently produced forty-five single *Yesterday Night* (1987). Although the lyrics were sung over a lingering echo of banned anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, the song slipped through the censors on the basis that on the surface the lyrics didn't present a problem. Subsequently *Weeping* became a number one hit on state radio station Radio 5.⁶⁶

I knew a man who lived in fear
 It was huge, it was angry, it was drawing near
 Behind his house, a secret place
 Was the shadow of the demon he could never face
 He built a wall of steel and flame
 And men with guns, to keep it tame
 Then standing back, he made it plain
 That the nightmare would never ever rise again
 But the fear and the fire and the guns remain

The 'fear' in the song is a double entendre: It is representative of the entire Apartheid ideology and makes reference to its propaganda campaign built on fear. It was the fear of "*die swart gevaar* (the black threat)" that kept white people acquiescent. The song also implies that the 'house' of Apartheid may appear solidity built and well guarded, but the country itself is crumbling. The man doing the building and defending was the State President at the time, P.W. Botha. Furthermore, in the chorus the 'fear' also becomes representative of the nation of South Africa and the aspirations of the oppressed, 'weeping' for the loss of their freedom.

⁶⁶ This information makes use a personal account by Bright Blue member and writer of *Weeping* Dan Heymann: www.weeping.info

The entire song alludes to the government's obsession with containment, presenting the world with a façade of harmony, and yet not being able to hide the turmoil within.

"My friends," he said, "We've reached our goal"
The threat is under firm control
As long as peace and order reign
I'll be damned if I can see a reason to explain
Why the fear and the fire and the guns remain"⁶⁷

The song remained popular and has since then been covered by a number of popular artists including Josh Groban and The Soweto Gospel Choir.⁶⁸

3.2.2) Collaboration.

Music in the 1980s also embodied varying forms of collaboration. Musicians began working together, opening new communication routes between contrasting cultures and forging new syncretic styles of music uniquely South African. They became representative of what was possible without the segregation of apartheid. Collaboration during this period can be seen to exist on various different fronts. Musically a kind of fusion was taking place, where songs would become tapestries of traditional African music styles mixed with western popular vernaculars such as rock, pop and reggae: the same is true for the instrumentation they used. Lyrically, as we have already discussed, musicians were switching between different languages and local dialects, broadening listenership.

⁶⁷ For entire lyric sheet refer to Appendix 15.

⁶⁸ I could not procure the original recording of *Weeping* by Bright Blue, but their original music video of the song is available online: <http://www.youtube.com/v/GeecXiqNzWA>

Socially the band members were of mixed descent, in turn facilitating a multi-racial audience, and opening up new spaces of cultural exchange:

Collaborations between various styles became increasingly common; and musicians not only incorporated different genres into their sound, but also became cross-over artists experimenting with genres or artists previously associated with 'other' social groups (Byerly 1996, 115).

The most prevalent example, that exhibits all of these forms of collaboration, is Johnny Clegg and his bands *Juluka*⁶⁹ and *Savuka*.⁷⁰ Clegg was born in England, brought up in Zimbabwe (his mother's native land) and later immigrated to South Africa at the age of seven when his mother married a South African Journalist. It was his early exposure to black culture as a result of being taken into townships by his step-father, as well as his fascination and friendship with first Charlie Mzila (a guitar player that initiated Johnny into the Zulu culture up to 1969) and later Siphos Mchunu (his musical partner and co-founder of *Juluka*), that formed the basis for his interest in the fusion of Zulu and western musical idioms (Mojapelo 2008, 122). It also allowed him the unique opportunity to experience South African life from a black and white perspective, enabling him to successfully cross cultures and later be heralded 'the white Zulu.' The musical partnership between Siphos and Johnny grew, and with the help of producer Hilton Rosenthal, they released their first album, *Universal Man*, under the name *Juluka*. *Juluka*, like other politicised bands under apartheid, suffered broadcasting censorship and relied heavily on the local touring circuit to build their fan base.

⁶⁹ The word *Juluka* means 'sweat' in Zulu: A representation of the physical exertion employed by Johnny and Siphos in their live performances that included traditional Zulu dance moves.

⁷⁰ *Savuka* means 'we have risen.'

They initially played mostly in 'private' venues – constantly pushing the boundaries of the definition to elude state segregation laws – including universities, church halls, migrant labour hostels and private houses (Shoup 1997, 82-83).⁷¹

I was privileged enough to compère their live performances in the days of the Lion Lager Road Show. They were usually billed towards the end of the show because theirs was a mixture of heavy dance routines, Zulu culture displays and political slogans that would work the crowd up into a frenzy...Most of their songs were banned for preaching of a new order. They taught many people, including blacks, about Zulu rituals and methodology (Mojapelo 2008, 123).

The band proved to be exceedingly popular appealing to all sectors of the South African public. The white South African youth were particularly drawn to them. In their search to find ways of distancing themselves from the staid racial orthodoxy of their parent's generation, they found comfort in being associated with a band that represented a non-segregated, non-conformist South Africa: "In providing audiences with a glimpse, and insight into black culture, Clegg tapped into a forbidden curiosity which allowed audiences to safely consider an alternative at a distance" (Drewett 2004a, 201-202). Black audiences on the other hand supported the authenticity of their representation of Zulu culture. Unlike the states co-modified versions, Juluka portrayed black culture as equal to its western counterpart, which in turn fought to break down the racial stereotypes of apartheid (Ngcobo 1982, 6).

⁷¹ This history also makes use of Johnny Clegg's official biography: www.johnnyclegg.com as well as his Wits University Alumnus Biography.

Juluka went on to release another seven albums between the years 1980 and 1985⁷² and toured internationally in Germany, Canada, Scandinavia and the USA until the band disbanded: Siphosho chose to return to his homeland in KwaZulu-Natal. Johnny went on to form a new band, *Savuka* whose first release, *Third World Child* (1987) broke international sales records in Switzerland, France and Belgium.⁷³ As Clegg's success grew, so did his power as a protest musician. The state became apprehensive of enforcing controversial apartheid laws upon such an overwhelmingly popular artist, both locally and internationally, and in such an increasingly volatile political situation. In the song *Asimbonanga*, released on *Third World Child* (1987) and subsequently banned by the SABC, Clegg makes a heartfelt plea for the release of Nelson Mandela:

Asimbonanga (We have not seen him)

Asimbonang' um Mandela thina (We have not seen Mandela)

Laph'ekhona (In the place where he is)

Laph'ehleli khona (In the place where he is kept)

Oh the sea is cold and the sky is grey

Look across the island into the bay

We are all islands till comes the day

We cross the burning water⁷⁴

The song makes it known that South Africa is out of balance, everything is 'cold' and 'grey,' and it will only be restored to its former beauty once we've 'crossed the burning water:'

⁷² Juluka Releases: *African Litany* (1981), *Ubuhle Bemvelo* (1982), *Scatterlings of Africa* (1982), *Work for All* (1983), *Stand Your Ground* (1984), *Musa Ukungilandela* (1984) and *The International Tracks* (1984).

⁷³ Other *Savuka* releases in the 1980s include *Shadow Man* (1988) and *Cruel, Crazy, Beautiful World* (1989).

⁷⁴ For entire lyric sheet refer to Appendix 16.

The image of the 'burning' distance between Robben Island and the rest of the country symbolic of the struggle for freedom. During apartheid Robbin Island was surrounded by a veil of secrecy. The oppressed masses who had fellow comrades locked away there had an idea of the kind of mistreatment that was going on, and the vast amount of political prisoners held there without proper trial. However, the majority of white South Africans never came into contact with first person accounts of what was happening on the island, a situation instituted by the apartheid government to keep them blissfully unaware and acquiescent. Its isolation as an island further perpetuated this, as its physical distance from everyday reality made it easier to ignore. Another song worth mentioning is *One (Hu)man One Vote*. Released on the 1989 album *Cruel, Crazy, Beautiful World*. The song deals with the disenfranchised black community, and the feeling of emasculation that comes with not being able to decide your own future. The first verse is in Zulu, and sets the violent scene of young black men preparing to fight for their future and the right to vote, and asking their ancestors to look out for them:

Bayeza abafana bancane wema (The young boys are coming)

Bayeza abafana bancane wema (The young boys are coming)

Baphethe iqwasha, baphethe ibazooka (They carry homemade weapons and a bazooka)

Bathi 'Sangena savuma thina, Lapha abazange bengena abazali bethu

Nabadala, bayasikhalela thina ngoba asina voti'

(They say 'We have agreed to enter a place that has never been entered before by our ancestors and they cry for us, for we do not have the right to vote)

This is followed by the first English verse, in which Clegg draws a parallel between the struggle in South Africa and the plight of black people during the slave trade.

He accuses the 'west' of having forgotten the high human cost of this first battle for emancipation, and implores the world to remember, and not let history keep repeating itself. He ends the verse with the lines:

These things come to us by way of much pain;
Don't let us slip back into the dark
On a visible but distant shore; a new image of man
The shape of his own future, now in his own hands⁷⁵

3.2.3) Activism

We charge our cultural workers with the task of using their craft to give voice, not only to grievances, but also to the profoundest aspirations of the oppressed and exploited. In our country a new social and political order is being born. Our artists have to play an even bigger role as midwives of this glorious future. Let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage. (O.R. Tambo in an interview with *Rixaka* Trade Union and Cultural Workers 1985, 20).

The last characteristic of protest music in the 1980s is activism. More than ever before, protest music during this time displayed heightened aggression in its resistance efforts, and played a role in mobilizing the masses. It did this by not only operating on its own, but by operating within the greater cultural resistance.

⁷⁵ For full Lyric refer to Appendix 17.

Protest songs become one of the instruments of mobilization within the greater context of political events – rallies, fund raisers, funerals, strikes, uprisings – and were often themselves embedded with recognisable political references: speeches, slogans and other political texts. This type of protest music is direct, and as it is within a specific context, it leaves no room for interpretation. The song *Reasonable Men* by The Kalahari Surfers for example is embedded with excerpts of State President P.W. Botha's famous "Rubicon" speech (15 Aug 1985), intercut with remarks by Brigadier Visser of the SAP: (Visser's words are in Italics)

It is the duty of the Government to ensure that a normal community life can no longer be tolerated...

movement will be restricted

In closing...

Again

in closing

obviously

I just want to say that ; South Africa has the ability to rise above pettiness

Government people

and violence

development board officials

I call upon all well meaning and reasonable South Africans to take hands in these times

*just by way of hypothesis...*⁷⁶

The Kalahari Surfers have interwoven these two political texts in such a way that they make both Botha and Visser appears quite ridiculous: these two 'reasonable men' saying unreasonable things.

⁷⁶ For full lyric refer to Appendix 18.

This is a recorded example, but for music to become activism it needs to create a tangible link between the musician and the listener, most easily done through performance: “Emotion gets its meaning and force from its location and performance in the public realm of discourse” (Lutz 1990, 73). It was through performance that music became an organizer of the liberation struggle. We have previously mentioned many examples of musicians protesting within the constraints of apartheid legislation – creatively using symbolism, subversive language and collaboration to break apart the ideologies of apartheid – but there was also protest music outside of the recording industry as part of an everyday socio-political discourse amongst disenfranchised South Africans: “There are, of course, sounds which escape the censor by remaining unrecorded. The most significant and visible of these are the freedom songs sung at political meetings; funerals, etc (listen to your television coverage!).” (Ian Kerkhof 1985). The *toyi-toyi*⁷⁷ is most certainly a part of this:

Unlike any other discourse of resistance, the *toyi-toyi* not only provided performers with privileged articulation, but publically challenged institutions of state power. For this reason it was seen as a cultural weapon with which performers could reclaim public space in urban areas and so effectively construct a culture of truth and social justice (van Schalkwyk 1994, 14).

Also a part of this is the story of local bands and musicians who kept the impetus of the struggle burning daily in their own communities. This part of resistance culture however is mostly lost, as it was never properly documented or recorded. The band *Raakwys* (Get Wise) and singer/songwriter Tina Schouw, are two examples of this form of protest in the 1980s.

⁷⁷ The *toyi-toyi* refers to a mass musical discourse that includes dancing, the chanting of slogans, and singing in opposition to the government. It was a mass form of protest particularly adept at spreading solidarity amongst the oppressed masses.

The story of *Raakwys* starts in 1983 at Oaklands High School (Lansdowne) with two charismatic teachers Akbar Khan and Jeff Raaff: because of the acrid political atmosphere surrounding the students' everyday life, Khan and Raaff instigated the formation of a school band, The Oaklands band. The band provided the students with an outlet for their political frustrations, and they took to playing well-known freedom songs interspersed with original material. News about them started spreading within certain communities, and soon they were being asked to appear at local political rallies and cultural events. In the words of Akbar Khan:

We had a repertoire of protest songs that we felt people needed to hear, to raise consciousness about what was happening and to tell people that we don't have to accept what's going on (AK 07/05/2009).⁷⁸

In light of their new-found mission, the band took on the name *Raakwys*, and quickly became a constant musical pillar in the communities of the Cape Flats as they travelled around "from rally to rally in a mini..." (Barthies 2008). By 1985 *Raakwys* filled a permanent position as part of the socio-political discourse in their community making a plan to play as much as possible, and do as much as possible in support of the struggle:

During 1985, I promise you, our lives as part of the band were basically dedicated to the struggle. We lived, sang, slept, ate and drank struggle music. I mean we were probably naïve and innocent in thinking that music could change the world, but we believed it. We most probably performed on more stages than anybody else in terms of struggle stuff, and a lot of those performances we organized from start to finish (AK 07/05/2009).

⁷⁸ Personal Interview with Akbar Khan on 7th May 2009.

According to Khan's records, between fundraisers, school concerts, rallies, cultural events and workshops; *Raakwys* performed at over fifty struggle related events within their community, not counting the impromptu performances that were not prearranged, which they were also known for.⁷⁹ They also played a large part in the organization of these events, a very direct example of mobilization. Valmont Layne, another member of the band, reflects upon the way they saw their role in the struggle stating that a story like theirs is not "typically what people would think about when they think about South African protest music" (VL 13/05/2009). He feels strongly that what they did goes well beyond just protest: "conceptually this whole notion of protest music and resistance music we would probably have taken issue with in the 1980s. We would have thought of ourselves more militantly, in fact a lot of the times we weren't protesting...the music we were playing was to mobilize people, not just protest...It was activism. It was musical activism" (VL 13/05/2009).

I agree that through their efforts *Raakwys* facilitated an entire resistance sub-culture, operating on a very personal level between neighbours, friends and acquaintances within the same community. They served as a momentum to the struggle on an underground street-wise level, in some ways removed from the larger more nationally publicized styles of protest music in the 1980s. They were less concerned with having careers as musicians and more concerned with the practicalities of using music as a tool to invigorate the struggle. Khan alludes to the fact that the music industry was not interested in a project like *Raakwys*, which I can well believe given that their kind of activist protest music would have a different effect if taken out of the context in which it originated.

⁷⁹ Refer to Appendix 19.

It would certainly not have been seen as a commercially viable project for record companies, especially in the existing climate of severe censorship. Nevertheless, Khan did receive interest from independent *Shifty Records*:

Lloyd Ross of Shifty Records, I sent him a tape of a concert that we'd held on December the 16th, at the Cine 400, to again protest what was going on in the country at that time called *Shine at the Cine*. He was blown away by some of the more elementary and rudimentary kind of fresh way that this Oaklands band had played. He said he was gonna come down, for three thousand rand, and bring his truck and record the whole process and unfortunately we couldn't raise three thousand rand...I'm still so *gatvol*⁸⁰ that, that never happened (AK 07/05/2009).

Had the band been able to explore more commercial options, they would probably have lost the opportunity to do such constructive resistance work on a weekly basis in the Western Cape communities. The band was also heavily involved with fundraising for workers unions, crisis relief funds, individuals who had suffered particular losses during the struggle, and youth movements. In this way *Raakwys* can be seen to be activists for the struggle but also instigators of solidarity. One such concert in the aid of crisis relief was held in October 1985, entitled Concert Against Detentions.⁸¹ Fundraisers such as these became cultural events that included music, poetry, political addresses, drama, and designated time for social debate, as is evident from the program for this particular event.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Gatvol* is a colloquial expression meaning heightened frustrated.

⁸¹ Refer to Appendix 20 for the poster used to advertise this concert.

⁸² Refer to Appendix 21 for a copy of the program.

Also included in the program is an opening address about the purpose of the evening's activities:

The aim of the concert is to raise funds for those detained but an equally great, though nobler reward will be if everyone present – through the cultural enrichment experienced – enters their social reality with a transformed consciousness – A new awareness. If all could assist in the cultural and political awareness of the community, and inculcate within it, a conscious political awakening of its class position, then this concert, excuse the pun, would be of historical note. But a concert of artists and musicians cannot change society, the least it can do, is to act as a catalyst on the world stage. Therefore an artist must, because of the nature of the society in which he/she participates, be political (Anonymous).⁸³

These concerts were clearly organized with specific goals in mind that fed the cultural resistance against apartheid. Singer/songwriter Tina Schouw was also a regular at many of these concerts and an active practitioner of musical activism. She describes how she started becoming involved in the struggle after she joined the students union at her local Teachers Training College. Growing up in a musical family (her Dad had a band) it was natural for her to start exploring her surroundings through music. When people in the community caught onto her talent they started requesting her to perform, and she became particularly well known for covering a song written by a Native American Indian, Buffy Sainte-Marie called *My Country 'Tis of Thy People You're Dying*: drawing parallels between the plight of the Native Americans and the South African struggle.

⁸³ Refer to Appendix 22 for full address as it appeared on the program.

In her own words: “I kept thinking ‘that’s what’s happening here. I’m feeling that’, and I used to sing it whenever they had a cultural evening or anything where they were discussing what was happening at the time in the country” (TS 12/05/2009).⁸⁴ She describes how one day a friend came up to her and told her how much he loved her rendition of the song, and how relevant it was to their own situation, and then left her with a challenge that set off her songwriting: “We have our own songs Tina, and I know you’ve got a song for us” (TS 12/05/2009). She started channeling the everyday strife of life under apartheid into her own songs: “The more I became involved, the more I started meeting up with parents who had children in detention...and once you’re in detention parents, nobody, had access to you, they can hold you in detention for thirty days and they can ill treat you and they can beat you...there was such fear and there was such anger, such frustration and so obviously when you feel those things and you have a guitar then it comes out” (TS 12/05/2009). The plight of mothers with children in detention is dealt with in Schouw’s song *We Will Be Free*.

Locked away in cells are the children, who can only tell,
That it was wrong that they were given inferior education
They weren’t wrong no, no but in jail they were thrown.
Then the women cried saying our children from us you cannot hide.
But they were taken away, with their bodies forced to pay.
And their cries were heard echoing through the earth⁸⁵
(All lyrics are unpublished and occur here courtesy of Tina Schouw)

Schouw’s lyrics do not make use of any innuendos or veiled meanings; they are direct, honest, and relevant. They reflected the concerns of her immediate community and not only the greater national concerns of the struggle for freedom.

⁸⁴ Personal Interview with Tina Schouw, 12th May 2009.

⁸⁵ For entire lyric sheet to *We Will Be Free* refer to Appendix 23.

So if an incident affected the community, Schouw would pick up on it and write a song. An example of this is the Trojan Horse Incident of October 1986: “basically there was a truck with all these soldiers in it, policemen, and they were covered up so nobody knew they were there, and there were kids marching, and suddenly out of the blue they just opened up this big canvas, or whatever it was, and they jumped out and they just shot at people and these kids just died...” (TS 12/05/2009). By performing struggle songs specifically relevant to the people in her community, Schouw’s music became a powerful form of mobilization. Her song *Trojan Horse* delivers a harsh reality check. It’s written in the voice of one of the dead children, and contains graphic imagery of the child’s ‘bullet-ridden body, with ‘gaping holes that stare.’⁸⁶ From his grave he asks the listener whether they’ll be quick to forget his death ever happened, and then challenges them to make a stand: “What I need now is more than your pity. Get up and get out of your complacency.” You could easily imagine that a song such as this would incite people to action, especially since its subject matter is so intimately connected with them.

A last example of Tina’s brand of hard hitting protest is found in a song that also deals with peoples ‘complacency’ and those that chose to turn a blind eye while they could be fighting. The song is entitled *Darkness Has Fallen*, and in it she shows passive South Africans no leniency saying ‘I would rather be blind, than have eyes which will not see.’

I will not lie with the state,
Pretend that all is well.
Detainees cry in jail, they die in jail, and yes they go through hell.
I’ll not pretend, no.

⁸⁶ For entire lyric sheet to *Trojan Horse* refer to Appendix 24.

Pity the man, who has sight confined by blinkers,
Which he wears when he sees and reads state propaganda,
But like a pig greedily he buys their wares and swallows all.
And when asked to comment replies
Don't want no politics at all, at all.⁸⁷

The unfortunate reality is that none of Tina's protest music was ever recorded, and besides retaining some photographs⁸⁸, hand written lyric sheets and her lingering memories of the music on her guitar, no physical trace of her contribution to the struggle remains. A similar fate befell *Raakwys* and other musicians that worked with them in the Western Cape such as Robbie Jansen, Basil Coetzee, Paul Abrahams and the bands Workforce and Amajingo.⁸⁹ Both Schouw and Khan admit that after 1994 most of the musicians that had been a part of their movement were overcome with a sense of disillusionment. They had put their lives on hold and used their talent to aid the struggle, and now were faced with the overwhelming sense of emptiness: a lack of purpose. Unlike some of the other protest musicians of the 1980s who had in the process built a musical career, or found another career path along the way, the very nature of the roles of activist musicians such as Schouw and *Raakwys* allowed them little time for anything else besides protest (AK 07/05/2009; TS 12/05/2009). There was also an underlying sense of resentment towards artists that had gained commercial success by staying clear of struggle issues.

⁸⁷ For entire lyric sheet to *Darkness Fallen*, Refer to Appendix 25.

⁸⁸ Refer to Appendix 26.

⁸⁹ Refer to Appendix 27 for a poster advertising the involvement of some of these musicians.

Tina recalls seeing Brenda Fassie on TV singing *Weekend Special* for the first time, thinking how removed it was from what was really needed, while at the same time wishing for that kind of recognition for herself (TS 12/05/2009). However, they all agree that the relevance of the work they did during that time gave them an inner sense of accomplishment: “I really believe that music had a healing quality. It has a message. It’s a balm, it’s a soother and it’s protest. It’s all kinds of things and all kinds of emotions and people are able to relate to that” (TS 12/05/2009). The sheer number of thank you letters received by *Raakwys* by a host of different unions, schools and cultural groups, confirms the value of their contribution.⁹⁰

In 2008, to celebrate Mandela’s 90th birthday, the band was reunited and recorded one of their most loved songs from the 1980s entitled *Nelson*. The release also includes a rare recording of the song being sung live by *Raakwys* in 1986.⁹¹ The music is filled with references to local popular styles, particularly a throwback to the African jazz fusion bands of the 1950s: It has a raw quality to it, but still maintains a strong melodic quality, while delivering the story of Nelson Mandela’s imprisonment.

The sound of thunder burst through the door,
Breaking the silence in the dark of the night
The man did not even try to run
When morning came, they were all in prison
Nelson, Oh Nelson
Born in the land of the sun

⁹⁰ Refer to Appendix 28 for an example of these.

⁹¹ All material related to *Raakwys* appears here courtesy of Akbar Khan.

Imprisoned on the Island

Locked away for taking a stand⁹²

Raakwys and Tina Schouw are further testaments to the effectiveness with which music can form part of the socio-political discourse of a community, and in this way contribute to the community's resistance culture during periods of political unrest. The characteristics of South African protest music in the 1980s – subversive language, collaboration, activism – are what made it particularly useful in breaking down the ideologies of apartheid, adding to the mobilization of the masses, and thereby contributing to the cultural resistance: “Art is not in any fundamental sense more pure or less political than the language of theory, it just seeks wisdom and plays politics by a different set of rules” (Jansen 1988, 193).

⁹² For entire lyric sheet, refer to Appendix 29.

4) The Effectiveness of 1980s Protest Music

4.1) Conclusion

*Toe die wêreld hier nog jong was en die horison wyd en oop
Was dit groen hier in die halfrond, suid van die ewenaar
En in die skemer as die son sak en die beeste huis toe loop
Klink die roepstem van die vrouwe oor die heuvels van die land:
Halala, ewig is ons Afrika.
Tula tula mtanami, tula tula sanaboni, tula tula mtanami,
Ubab uzobuya sihlale naye, ubab uzobuya sihlale sonke, Hmmm-Hmmm⁹³*

Johannes Kerkorrel

(When our world here was still young and the horizon wide and open
It was green here in this hemisphere, south of the equator
And in the evening twilight as the sun would set and the cattle would walk home
Sounded the voice/call of the women over the hills of the land
Halala, forever we are Afrika
Hush (be quiet) hush my child, hush hush my little baby, hush hush my child
Father will return, we shall stay with him, father will return, we shall all stay,
Hmmm-Hmmm)⁹⁴

This is the opening verse of the Kerkorrel song, *Halala Afrika*, written in 1988 and performed at Mandela's inauguration. The song tells the story of 'Mother Africa' and the arrival of western settlers, who bled her dry of all her riches and enslaved her people. It is representative of the collaborative musical trends of the 1980s era making use of code-switching, symbolism and a musical fusion of styles.

⁹³ For entire Afrikaans and Zulu lyric sheet refer to Appendix 30.

⁹⁴ For entire English translation refer to Appendix 31.

The Zulu lines are sung by a choir, indicative of traditional *isicathamiya* singing, while the Afrikaans verses are sung by Kerkorrel to the back drop of his guitar. Fellow apartheid musician Vusi Mahlasela reminisces about his friendship with Kerkorrel in the 1980s, telling how they used to sit under a certain neighbourhood tree together and sing and play music: *“Soms as ek met a liedjie in ‘n doodloopstraat gekom het, het hy lankstil en intens geluister en dan sou hy sy kitaar optel en ‘n nuwe rigting begin soek met sy vingers. Ons het dan op die akoestiese kitare aangeval en sag geneurie. O, hy het ‘n wonderlike stem gehad”* Vusi Mahlasela (quoted in Pretorius 2004, 52). The English translation is: “Often when I reached a dead-end with a song, he would listen intensely for a long time before picking up his guitar and searching for a new direction with his fingers. We would then take up the acoustic guitars and start humming softly. Oh, he had the most wonderful voice.”

Mahlasela also recalls when Kerkorrel wrote *Halala Afrika*, and how positively it was received by the black community: *“Daardie liedjie het aan almal bewys hy is ‘n Afrikaner. Weet mense vandag wat dit beteken het om ‘n wit mens ‘Mayibuye Afrika’ te hoor sing? As jy in die townships rondbeweeg het, kon jy hoor waar mense dit sing. Hulle was baie trots dat iemand soos hy dit gesing het. Ek was baie trots op my vriend...”* (Ibid. 2004, 52). The English translation is: “That song proved to everybody that he was an African. Do people today understand what it meant then to hear a white man singing Mayibuye Afrika? If you walked around in the townships you could hear the people singing. They were very proud that somebody like him sang that song. I was very proud of my friend.” The camaraderie, evident here, that existed between Mahlasela and Kerkorrel was one built through their shared love of music. As artists they had a natural curiosity with the world, and lived out their curiosity about their own differences through music.

This kind of human connection between people of different cultures became a positive force aiding the impetus of the cultural resistance against apartheid and showed itself to be a byproduct of the collaborative protest music efforts during the 1980s. Tina Schouw recalls how music formed part of the socio-political discourse of that time: bridging the gap between cultures that were instituted by segregation policies. The implication is that since the stability of the apartheid state depended so heavily on the preservation of segregation, by bringing people together and working to open up their perceptions, music played a role in the destruction of the state:

It was very separate...you would have this experience in Athlone of tyres burning – people being beaten – and just around the mountain over in Camps-Bay everybody is sitting in the bars drinking and sun tanning...So you're coming from wherever area and the thing that is joining you together is the fact that you both play music...it really got people fired up. It opened their eyes; we got to see how white people lived and white people got to see how black people lived and suddenly we were all connected saying 'this is bullshit', 'this is something they did to us' and 'how do we reconnect as fellow South Africans, as human beings' (TS 12/05/2009).

Protest music formed part of the everyday socio-political discourse of communities, connecting people under the realization of their shared need for change and in the process working to break down barriers between different cultures by negating the racial stereotypes of apartheid. Within the music itself, the voice of protest took on different forms - symbolism, suggestion and confrontation – which allowed it to infiltrate all sectors of society and impact the collective consciousness of South Africans. As people started opening up their minds to the possibility of actual change, they started seeing the new intercultural collaborative musical styles of the 1980s as representative of that change, and allowed it to become part of the development of their new national identity.

Ballantine (1989) agrees: "...like their audiences, the bands are wholly non-racial, rejecting in their behaviour and commitment centuries of racial and class dichotomy. For them, this music is an alchemy that is helping, in its way, to corrode the old social order and liberate the new" (1989, 309-310). As discussed in Chapter 1, the recognition of music as an indicator of national identity is once again representative of the ways in which the aesthetic principles of music constitute power over public perception. Under the authoritarian eye of apartheid, which made persecution a daily concern for South Africans, music provided a platform for subconscious debate and in this way helped to fight the ideological battle of the struggle.

Furthermore, as is evident from the more aggressive forms of protest in the 1980s, music had its place in mobilizing the masses by reinforcing the feeling of solidarity. This in turn played a part in inciting people to action, often by giving them the courage to stay the course in the face of adversity. These characteristics of 1980s protest music – influenced both from the socio-political climate within the country, as well as from overseas – is what made music so successful at playing a role in facilitating the social change that led to a real political change in the country. Ingrid Byerly (1996) agrees that 1980s protest music, which she calls the "second protest wave" stands apart from all that preceded it:

Unlike the first creative wave, the second one discovered strategies that could slip through censorship and dodge various obstacles of suppression. And unlike the first wave, the second one was not silenced forcefully, but rather self-destructed when its motives had been achieved, and when, in short, the unofficial became official (1996, 116).

This story of South African protest music is a story of the South African people, and this is the reason it was able to operate both within and outside of social orthodoxy. Over and above apartheid as a legislative system, it was an ideological system that entrapped the lives of all South Africans. It follows then that a successful revolution needed to combat apartheid on both a political and a social front. Musicians, in their role as artists in communities around the country, were uniquely situated to engage in this socio-political revolution:

The musician, like music, is ambiguous. He plays a double game. He is simultaneously *musicus* and *cantor*, reproducer and prophet. If an outcast, he sees society in a political light. If accepted, he is its historian, the reflection of its deepest values. He speaks of society, and he speaks against it (Attali 2006, 12)

From their standpoint, as both reflectors of society and members of it, musicians were able to devise various means of protest – subversive language, collaboration, and activism – that further exacerbated their effectiveness as facilitators of social change. In so far as the protest music during this time aided the resistance, it remained true to its innate aesthetic properties, and in light of this one has to agree with the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche: “Music is the art that so sharpens our perception of life, it gives meaning to it” (quoted in Storr 1992, 150).

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika (God Bless Africa)

Enoch Sontonga-Samuel E. Mqhayi (Original Lovedale English Translation, 1929).¹

Nkosi, sikelel' iAfrika (Lord, bless Africa)

Malupakam' upondo lwayo (May her horn rise up)

Yiva imitandazo yetu (Hear Thou our prayers and bless us)

CHORUS:

Yihla Moya, yihla Moya (Descend O Spirit)

Yihla Moya, Oyingcwele (Descend, O Holy Spirit)

Sikelela iNkosi zetu (Bless our chiefs)

Zimkumbule umDali wazo (May they remember their Creator)

Zimoyike zezimhlouele (Fear Him and revere Him)

Azisikelele (That He may bless them)

Sikelel' amadol' esizwe (Bless the public men)

Sikelela kwa nomlisela (Bless also the youth)

Ulitwal' ilizwe ngomonde (That they may carry the land with patience)

Uwusikilele (and that Thou mayst bless them.)

Sikelel' amakosikazi (Bless the wives)

Nawo onk'amanenekazi (And also all young women)

Pakamisa wonk'umtinjana (Lift up all the young girls)

Uwusikilele (And bless them)

¹ Cited in (Coplan and Jules-Rosette 2004, 346 – 345)

Sikelela abafundisi (Bless the ministers)

Bemvaba zonke zelizwe (of all the churches of this land)

Ubatwese ngoMoya Wako (Endue them with Thy Spirit)

Ubasikelele (And bless them)

Sikelel' ulimo nemfuyo (Bless agriculture and stock raising)

Gzota zonk'indlala nezifo (Banish all famine and diseases)

Zalisa ilizwe nempilo (Fill the land with good health)

Ulisikelele (and bless it)

Sikelel' amalinga etu (Bless our efforts)

A womanyana nokuzaka (of union and self-uplift)

Awemfundo nemvisiswano (of education and mutual understanding)

Uwasikelele (And bless them.)

Nkosi Sikelel Afrika (Lord, bless Africa)

Cima bonk' ubugwenza bayo (Blot out all its wickedness)

Neziggito, Nezono zayo (And its transgressions and sins)

Uwazikelele (And bless us.)

Apartheid Legislation 1948 - 1994

YEAR	LEGISLATION
1948	Afrikaner Nationalists come to power
1949	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act
1950	Immorality Act: <i>Forbids sexual relations between whites and people of colour</i> Population Registration Act: <i>Introduces legalised racial classification</i> Group Areas Act: <i>Divides residential areas based on racial classification</i> Suppression of Communism Act: <i>A 'communist' becomes anyone who opposes the state</i>
1951	Bantu Authorities Act: <i>Aimed at 're-tribalizing' the African/Bantu population</i>
1952	Native Laws Amendment Act: <i>All non-Europeans are required to carry pass books, detailing work and residence rights</i>
1953	Public Safety Act: <i>Allows Governor General to declare a State of Emergency</i>
1954	Native Resettlement Act: <i>Sanctions the forced removal of black residents from Johannesburg, Sophiatown, over five years</i> Bantu Education Legislation: <i>Black education comes under the control of government</i>
1956	Industrial Coalition Act: <i>Reserves skilled jobs for whites</i> Treason Trial: <i>156 ANC Activists are put on trial for treason</i>
1957	<i>The Union Jack is officially removed as dual nation flag</i>
1958	National Party Wins Election: <i>First all white election held</i>
1959	Independent Homelands Project: <i>PM Hendrick Verwoerd implements the assignment of separate areas for each 'tribal' group.</i> Extension of University Education Bill: <i>All non-whites excluded from white universities</i>
1960	Sharpsville Massacre: <i>Police open fire on PAC sanctioned march against pass laws, killing 60 and wounding 178.</i>
1961	SA Declared a Republic Treason Trial Ends: <i>156 ANC members found guilty</i>
1963	General Law Amendment Act: <i>Police are able to arrest and detain suspects for ninety days without trial</i> <i>ANC underground leaders captured including Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu</i> Publication and Entertainment Act: <i>Government censorship on public mediums of media and entertainment</i>
1965	Bantu Laws Amendment Act: <i>Black people are denied the right to live in South Africa other than as temporary dwellers</i>
1967	Defence Amendment Act: <i>Compulsory Conscription to the military for all white South African men</i> Terrorism Act: <i>Defines 'terrorism' as anything defying government policy, and allows for the arrest, detainment and trial of all guilty parties without jury</i>
1969	Bureau of State Security Established: <i>Newspaper prohibited from reporting Bureau activities</i>
1970	Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act: <i>All black South Africans become citizens of 'tribal homelands'</i>
1976	Soweto Uprising: <i>Police open fire on school children protesting Afrikaans as a language of instruction</i>
1977	Steve Biko Dies: <i>After being detained under the Terrorism act, and suffering injuries in jail.</i>
1970 - 1980	<i>Increased international pressure against Apartheid, resistance efforts within the country escalate</i>
1985	State of Emergency Declared

1986	<i>Pass Laws, Prohibition of Political Interference, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act</i> Abolished
1989	Fredrick William De Klerk elected State President: in all white election.
1990	F.W. De Klerk unbans political organisations including the ANC (African National Congress) and PAC (Pan African Congress) <i>Mandela and other political prisoners to be released from prison.</i> Separate Amenities Act repealed State of Emergency Lifted
1991 - 1992	CODESA I & II (Convention for a Democratic South Africa): Negotiating Council: In charge of drafting new constitution
1993	Transitional Executive Council: Oversee transition into a democracy Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk awarded Nobel Peace Prize
1994	First Free Democratic Election Nelson Mandela becomes president

University of Cape Town

(I Ain't Gonna Play) Sun City

Words and music by Steven van Zandt

We're rockers and rappers
United and strong
We're here to talk about South Africa
We don't like what's going on
It's time for some justice
It's time for the truth
We've realized there's
Only one thing we can do

CHORUS:

You got to say I, I, I
Ain't gonna play Sun City
I, I, I ain't gonna play Sun City
Everybody say I, I, I
Ain't gonna play Sun City
I, I, I, I, I ain't gonna play Sun City

Relocation to phony homelands
Separation of families
I can't understand
23 million can't vote
Because they're black
We're stabbing our brothers
And sisters in the back

CHORUS

Our government tells us
We're doing all we can
Constructive engagement is
Ronald Reagan's plan
Meanwhile people are dying
And giving up hope
This quiet diplomacy
Ain't nothing but a joke

CHORUS

It's time to accept our responsibility
Freedom is a privilege
Nobody rides for free
Look around the world, baby
It cannot be denied
Somebody tell me why
We're always on the wrong side

CHORUS

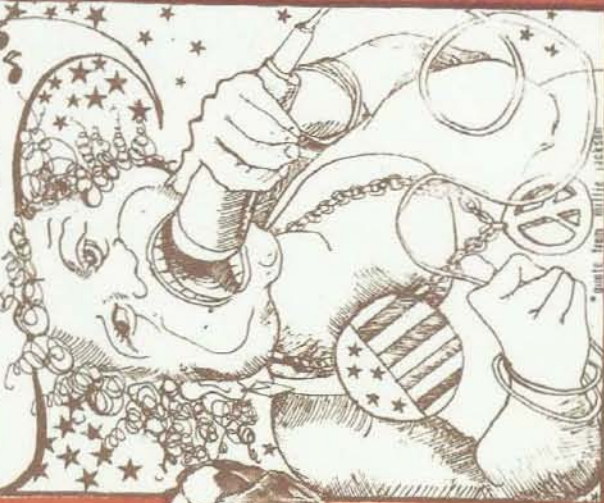
Boputhuswana is far away
But we know it's in South Africa
No matter what they say
You can't buy me
I don't care what you pay
Don't ask me Sun City
Because I ain't gonna play

CHORUS

at last ... flying into jan smuts!



i'm only here for your beautiful gold.. yeah yeah



...WHILE WE ARE ONLY PERMITTED HERE FOR OUR LABOUR!



DON'T ENTERTAIN APARTHEID-- SUPPORT THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT!

Biko

Words and Music by Peter Gabriel

September '77; Port Elizabeth weather fine
It was business as usual; In police room 619
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
Yihla Moja, Yihla Moja (Descending Spirit, Descending Spirit)
The man is dead

When I try to sleep at night; I can only dream in red
The outside world is black and white; With only one colour dead
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
Yihla Moja, Yihla Moja (Descending Spirit, Descending Spirit)
The man is dead

You can blow out a candle; But you can't blow out a fire
Once the flames begin to catch; The wind will blow it higher
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
Yihla Moja, Yihla Moja (Descending Spirit, Descending Spirit)
The man is dead

And the eyes of the world are watching now, watching now...

Homeless

Words and Music by Paul Simon and Joseph Shabalala

(1) Zulu – A1:

Emaweni webaba

Silale maweni

Webaba silale maweni

Webaba silale maweni

Webaba silale maweni

Webaba silale maweni (Repeated)

(2) English B1:

Homeless, homeless

Moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake

Homeless, homeless

Moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake

We are homeless, we are homeless

The moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake

And we are homeless, homeless, homeless

The moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake

(3) Zulu A2:

Zio yami, Zio yami, nhliziyo yami

Nhliziyo yami amakhaza asengi bulele

Nhliziyo yami, Nhliziyo yami

Nhliziyo yami, angibulele amakhaza

Nhliziyo yami, Nhliziyo yami

Nhliziyo yami somandla angibulele mama

Zio yami, Nhliziyo yami

Nhliziyo yami, Nhliziyo yami

(4) Vocal transition C1:

Too loo loo, too loo loo (Repeated)

(5) English A2:

Strong wind destroy our home
Many dead, tonight it could be you
Strong wind, strong wind
Many dead tonight, it could be you

And we are homeless, homeless
Moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake
Homeless, homeless
Moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake
Homeless, homeless
Moonlight sleeping on a midnight lake

(6) Bridge English D1

Somebody say ih hih ih hih ih
Somebody sing hello, hello, hello
Somebody say ih hih ih hih ih
Somebody cry why, why why?

(Repeated)

(7) Bridge Zulu E1:

Yitho omanqoba (ih hih ih hih ih) yitho omanqoba
Esanqoba lonke ilizwe
(ih hih ih hih ih) Yitho omanqoba (ih hih ih hih ih)
Esanqoba phakathi e England
Yitho omanqoba
Esanqoba phakathi e London
Yitho omanqoba
Esanqoba phakathi e England

(8) Bridge English D2

Somebody say ih hih ih hih ih
Somebody sing hello, hello, hello
Somebody say ih hih ih hih ih
Somebody cry why, why why?

(Repeated)

(9) Zulu Ending F1:

Kuluman
Kulumani, Kulumani sizwe
Singenze njani
Baya jabula abasi thanda yo
Ho

University of Cape Town

S.A.U.K. S.A.B.C.HUISHOUDELIKE KORRESPONDENSIE/INTERNAL CORRESPONDENCEMemo
No. 562. DATUM
DATE: 29.01.81ONDERWERP
SUBJECT PLATE VOORGELE VIR KEURING/RECORDS UNDER CONSIDERATION**LANGSPEELPLAAT**

Neem asseblief kennis dat die volgende ~~keuring~~ aan die komitee vir keuring voorgelê is, en mag dus, tot verdere kennis, in geen programme van die S.A.U.K. gebruik word nie.

Please note that the following ~~keuring~~ LP has been submitted to the committee for consideration, and therefore may not be used in any programme on the S.A.B.C. transmissions, until further notice:

THE ENTIRE ALBUM: "BAKGAT"
ARTIST: DAVID KRAMER
LP NO: MOUNTAIN RECORDS MOULP(L) 10

Tinus Esterhuizen

HOOFSTELLER: SPRINGBOKRADIO/
CHIEF COMPILER: SPRINGBOK RADIOAFSKRIFTE AAN/COPIES TO:

Direkteur : Radioprogramme/Director : Radio Programmes
HOOF : Afrikaanse Diens/Head : Afrikaans Service
HOOF : Buitelandse Diens/Head : External Service
SUPERINTENDENT: Bantu Musiek/ Superintendent : Bantu Music
HOOF : Sotho Diens/Head : Sotho Service
HOOF : Musiek/Head : Music
HOOF : Streekdiens en Radio 5/Head : Regional Services and Radio 5
HOOF : Engelse Diens/Head : English Service

Organiseerder : Oudioteka/Organiser : Audio Libraries
HOOF : Engelse T.V./Head : English T.V.
HOOF : Afrikaanse T.V./Head : Afrikaans T.V.
Direkteur : T.V./Director : T.V.
Organiseerder Musiek T.V./Organiser : Music T.V.
Organiseerder : Verskeidenheid Afrikaanse T.V.

KEURING
P.M. NATAL (2)
R.M. WESTER: CAPE (1)
JOHN KOO (1)
L. ALLING (1)
EKSTRA (1)

Don't Dance

Word and Music by Warrick Sony.

Ok people; get up off your feet

It's time to move to a different beat

We don't like the way they're running our days, our nights

Our lives are out of phase,

We're black and white separated

Right from birth indoctrinated

Years and years developed apart

Brainwashed in the name of god

Lets re-educate ourselves

Lets re-educate ourselves

Hey white boy get your feet off the floor

God gave you legs so you can go to war

Your leaders want you in sporting affair

So put on your boots and cut your hair

Don't talk back, or stop to think

When you're in Angola you can have a drink

Obey, obey

They know the way

From here you go to SWA

Where they don't dance when facing such hostility; don't dance

The SAP are there to see that we all enjoy democracy; don't dance

When facing such hostility; don't Dance

Lungile Tabalaza

Words and Music by Rodger Lucey

Some men take the hard line, and some take none at all

And some just want their freedom, when they wind up behind the prison walls

There are cops on every corner, and they know what they don't like

And if you're it, then you know that the streets no place for you at night

No, no, no, no...No Place for you at night, hey

Lungile Tabalaza, he was a young man only twenty

He lived in Brighton Township just outside of Port Elizabeth

In a small house with his family, he lived through violations

Went to school in Kwa-Zakele, with the bantu education

Yeah, and they call it education

Well the cops came Monday morning and they took him on suspicion

Of robbery and arson, the law makes no provision

So they handed him to plain clothes, the Special Branch elite

And it doesn't really matter how strong you are, they've got ways to make you speak

They going to make you speak if they really want to hear you speaking

They going to get it out of you, they're going to hear your voice

Well whatever happened in that office God and the cops will only know

Cause the law has ways of keeping it quiet so that nothing at all will show

But at 3 o' clock that same afternoon, Lungile fell five floors

Lay dead below on the street outside, they quickly rushed his body behind closed doors

Oh yeah, they rushed the body behind, behind the doors.

Well some say it was murder, some say suicide

But this is not the first time men have gone in there and died

From New York and from London came angry cries and protests

And at his home his mourners come to us for his eternal rest...

And they sing and they cry and they ask, they ask, they ask for his rest

Now some men take the hard line and for that they get the rope

And some men fall from windows and others slip on bars of soap

Whether innocent or guilty Lungile dies just the same

And in the halls of justice the overseers just carry on with the game

Oh they carry on, they carry on the game

Tjoepstil

Words and Music by David Kramer

You call me a rock spider you call me a gé

You like to mock the things that I say

Don't ever come out here to Parow Vallei

Cos if I should catch you alone one day

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

I've got sideburns down my cheeks

I haven't had my haircut for nearly two weeks

Call me a crunchie and I'll take you outside and

I'll show just how the cruch is applied

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

I'm a staff sergeant in the SAP

You and the press point your fingers at me

But when the black man crawls through your window at night

You call for me quickly cos then I'm alright

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

You and your friends

In their faded blue jeans

You think you know what everything means

You've got the big mouths

You've got the degrees

But when the shit starts to fly

Then you run overseas

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

Then you'll keep tjoepstil

Hekke van Paradise

Words and Music by David Kramer

I'm driving through this face-brick town
My radio's up, but the window's down
I'm listening to the late Jim Reeves
In my nylon jersey with the raglan sleeves

This town, this town is like a two cent piece
It's got a coat-of-arms, it's got a wildebeest
Like a clean white shirt with gold cuff links
It looks quite clean, but the armpits stink

En ek vra jou mos, ek vra jou mos
Ek vra jou mos so nice
Hoekom blaf die honde
By die hekke van paradise

I got a twin-cab v8 in this jammie that I drive
You can take me for a dice but you won't survive
I need new tyres and I need new shocks
I need to phone my bakkie gonna phone her from a tickey-box

Ja she's got the cutest little pair of legs
She shaves them clean till they look like ostrich eggs
And at night at night she takes her teddy bears to bed
but I wonder why she paints her toe nails red

En ek vra jou mos, ek vra jou mos
Ek vra jou mos so nice
Hoekom blaf die honde
By die hekke van paradise

Ja this is where I spent my teens

Just a dirty little town that the council cleans

It's got orange lights that prick the dark

And the streets are wide there's always room to park

Dry Wine

Words and Music by David Kramer

Half asleep I dream in the dark

Thrusting the locks on the door and the dog's warning bark

Outside in the street a drunkard stumbles and sings

In the next door flat a telephone rings and rings

But nothing disturbs the suburbs at quiet

Not the sirens or the news of a township riot

Knowing it all from the distance of headlines

I express my opinion with a mouthful of dry wine

A women with red fingernails is playing with her diamond

Gazing through the restaurant window at the lights of Robben Island

Her hair's cut in the latest style, her eyes are painted blue

She's probably thinking, 'now where in the world could I find a better view?'

Her husband asks the waiter, 'are these prawns from Mozambique?'

The waiter just nods his head, he smiles but doesn't speak

Knowing it all from a distance of headlines

I express my opinion with a mouthful of dry wine

An old lady in a Sea Point flat, lives with her dreams and dread

She can hear the disco music, as she lies asleep in bed

And in the servants quarters, she can hear them laugh and sing

While in the next door flat, a telephone rings and rings

Perhaps I'm like a deaf man, who has seen the lightning flash

Or maybe I'm just like the blind, and I'll only hear it crash

Knowing it all from the distance of headlines,

I express my opinion with a mouth full of dry wine

University of Cape Town

Sit Dit Af

Words and music by Johannes Kerkorrel

Die ander dag toe voel ek lam (The other I was exhausted)

Ek wou 'n klein bietjie ontspan (I wanted to unwind)

En 'n boer maak 'n plan (so I made a plan)

Ek sit my TV-set toe aan (and turned on my TV set)

Jy sal nie glo of ek sien (you won't believe what I see)

Op my TV-screen (On the TV screen)

Dit was 'n nare gesig (It was an ugly sight)

Dit het my heeltemal ontwrig (It completely unhinged me)

Dit was 'n moerse klug (It was a huge joke)

Dit was PW se gesig (It was PW's face)

En langs hom staan oom Pik (and next to him stands uncle Pik)

O, ek dog ek gaan verstik (O, I thought I'll choke)

Sit dit af, sit dit af (Put it off, put it off)

want dis 'n helse straf (Put it off, it's a heavy punishment)

Ek stap kombuis toe, kry 'n bier (I walk to the kitchen, fetch a beer)

Skakel oor na TV4 (switch to TV4)

O my gots wat het ones hier (Of my god! What have we here)

Wat my TV-screen ontsier (spoiling my TV screen)

Is daar nêrens om te vlug (is there nowhere to escape)

Van daai man se mooi gesig (from that mans beautiful face)

Met sy vinger in die lug (with his finger in the air)

Gaan hy my lewe net ontwrig (he just disrupts my life)

In die programme in die lug (in the programs on the air)

Sien jy net PW se gesig (you only see PW's face)

Ek vat jou nou 'n vet (I'll make you a bet)

Al die bure het MNet (all the neighbours have MNet)

Sit dit af, sit dit af (Put it off, put it off)

want dis 'n helse straf (Put it off, it's a heavy punishment)

O, ek sê jou dis finaal (Oh, I tell you it's final)

Voor julle my kom haal (before you come and get me)

En ek met al my verstand (and I with all my faculties)

In die gestig beland (get thrown into an institution)

As daar iets is wat my kwel (if there is one thing that troubles me)

Is dit my TV-stel (it's my TV set)

Sit dit af, sit dit af (Put it off, put it off)

want dis 'n helse straf (Put it off, it's a heavy punishment)

Die Nuus (The News)

Words and music by Johannes Kerkorrel

Iewers in daardie groot en grys ou gebou in Auckland Park (somewhere in that big grey building in Auckland Park)

Waar Riaan se reuke aan die mure bly klou (where Riaan's scent still clings to the walls)

Wag sy kil op die kamera se oog (she waits coolly by the camera's eye)

Sy lek haar lippe so effentjies droog (she licks her lips that are a little dry)

Goienaand dames and here (Good evening ladies and gentlemen)

Vandag is daar slegs 31 mense dood (Today there are only 31 people dead)

Swart op swart geweld is die oorsaak van die nood (black-on-black violence is the cause of the emergency)

Oor mense in aanhouding, dié weet ons nie veel nie (we don't know much about the people in detention)

Daar is 'n groep wat Vlok selfs nie met ons wil deel nie (there is a group that even Vlok won't share with us)⁹⁵

Maar vermoedelik is almal nog veilig (but we believe everyone is still safe)

In Suid-Afrika is mens se lewe heilig (a person's life is sacred in South Africa)

Die onrustoestand word baie goed beheer (the unrest situation is kept in hand)

Deur daai gawe mense wat ons land regeer (by those wonderful people that govern our land)

En in Soweto het al die kinders kos en brood (and in Soweto all the children have food and bread)

En vandag is daar slegs 31 mense dood, (and today there are only 31 people dead)

Geniet die aand (enjoy the evening)

⁹⁵ Adriaan Vlok, apartheid Minister of Law and Order.

Weeping

Words and Music by Dan Heymann

I knew a man who lived in fear
It was huge, it was angry, it was drawing near
Behind his house, a secret place
Was the shadow of the demon he could never face
He built a wall of steel and flame
And men with guns, to keep it tame
Then standing back, he made it plain
That the nightmare would never ever rise again
But the fear and the fire and the guns remain

Chorus:

It doesn't matter now
It's over anyhow
He tells the world that it's sleeping
But as the night came round
I heard its lonely sound
It wasn't roaring, it was weeping

And then one day the neighbours came
They were curious to know about the smoke and flame
They stood around outside the wall
But of course there was nothing to be heard at all
"My friends," he said, "We've reached our goal"
The threat is under firm control
As long as peace and order reign
I'll be damned if I can see a reason to explain
Why the fear and the fire and the guns remain

*Asimbonanga**Words and music Johannes Kerkorrel**Chorus**Asimbonanga (we have not seen him)**Asimbonang' umandela thina (we have not seen Mandela)**Laph'ekhona (in the place where he is)**Laph'ehleli khona (in the place where he is kept)*

Oh the sea is cold and the sky is grey

Look across the island into the bay

We are all islands till comes the day

We cross the burning water

Chorus

A seagull wings across the sea

Broken silence is what I dream

Who has the words to close the distance

Between you and me

Chorus

Steve biko, victoria mxenge Neil aggett

*Asimbonanga Asimbonang 'umfowethu thina (we have not seen our brother)**Laph'ekhona (in the place where he is)**Laph'wafela khona (in the place where he died)**Hey wena (hey you!)**Hey wena nawe (hey you and you as well)**Siyofika nini la' siyakhona? (when will we arrive at our destination)*

One (Hu)man One Vote

Words and Music by Johnny Clegg

Bayeza abafana bancane wema (The young boys are coming)

Bayeza abafana bancane wema (The young boys are coming)

Baphethe iqwasha, baphethe ibazooka (They carry homemade weapons and a bazooka)

Bathi 'Sangena savuma thina, They say 'We have agreed to enter a place

Lapha abazange bengena abazali bethu (that has never been entered before by our ancestors and they cry for us,)

Nabadala, bayasikhalela thina ngoba asina voti' (for we do not have the right to vote)

Hayiyaah!

The west is sleeping in a fragile freedom

Forgotten is the price that was paid

Ten thousand years of marching through a veil of tears

To break a few links in these chains

These things come to us by way of much pain

Don't let us slip back into the dark

On a visible but distant shore -- a new image of man

The shape of his own future, now in his own hands -- he says:

Chorus:

One 'man, one vote -- step into the future

One 'man, one vote -- in a unitary state

One 'man, one vote -- tell them when you see them

One 'man, one vote -- it's the only way

Bayeza abafana abancane

(The young boys are coming)

Hayiyaah!

In the east a giant is awakening

And in the south we feel the rising tide

The soul inside the spark that gives breath to your life

Can no longer be made to hide

These things come to us by way of much pain

Don't let us slip back into the dark

On a visible but distant shore, a new image of man

The shape of his own future, now in his own hands

University of Cape Town

Reasonable Men

Music by Warrick Sony

Words by: Brigadier Visser(Italics) & P.W. Botha (Underlined)

Again; it may be necessary in certain prevailing conditions, to declare that a particular curfew will prevail in a particular time; to a particular time...movement will be restricted.

I call on all well meaning and reasonable South Africans to take hands in these times, and to stand together to restore order and peace; I wish to give the assurance, that law-abiding people have nothing to fear as from midnight today

Movement will be restricted

Have nothing to fear in that particular area

The government has shown utmost patience, especially in black townships

Again...

It is the duty of the Government to ensure that a normal community life can no longer be tolerated however, I cannot ignore the insistence of all responsible South Africans who ask that those persons and institutions that cause or propagate disruption be terminated as soon as this is justified by local conditions

Movement will be restricted

In closing

Again

in closing

obviously

I just want to say that ; South Africa has the ability to rise above pettiness

Government people

and violence

development board officials

I call upon all well meaning and reasonable South Africans to take hands in these times

just by way of hypothesis

and to stand together to restore order and peace

in other words

in order that we can work in the interests of peace and prosperity

after it has been properly promulgated and built into this law

in the interests of peace and prosperity

just by way of hypothesis

for all in the country

The law, this particular law, makes provision for certain offences and it does not make provision that a person can shot on sight at all, nowhere is that provision um, built into this law so that if offences are committed, um a duty again prevails where the forces must arrest that person and bring them before a properly constituted court

-Explosive Sound Effect-

University of Cape Town

OAKLANDS - RAAKWYS BANDList of Events 1985 - 19881985A. School Rallies

1. Oaklands Senior Secodary
2. Grassdale Senior Secondary
3. Garlandale Senior Secondary
4. Alexander Sinton High
5. Groenvlei High School
6. South Peninsula
7. Heathfield Senior SEcondary.
8. Spes Bona.

B. Organisations-Cultural Shows-Fundraising-Awareness Programmes.

1. Church Youth - Steenberg - St. Annes Hall
2. Logsac Mass Meeting - Grassy Park Civic.
3. Baltic Rangers Soccer Club. - Athlone Civic
4. Inter-colleges end of the year concert - Wittebome Civic.
5. Matroosfontein Youth Movement- Youth Focus- Matroosfontein Civic
6. Advice Office Forum (H.P) - Concert Against Detentions- Luxurama-27thOct.1985
7. U.D.F.- U.W.C.O;- Cultural Programme- Space Oddesey.
8. Fundraising for Karl von Höldt's wheelchair. - St. Michaels
9. U.D.F.- Cultural programme- Holy Cross Centre-Walmer Estate.
10. Lansdowne Moravian Church- Lansdowne Civic Centre.
11. Pawu-Wectu-Shine at Cine 400- 16th December 1985-Cine 400
- 12.

1986

1. ECC Uct Red Level
2. Cultural Show - Langa
3. Houtbay Youth - HoutBay
4. Education Charter Campaign - UCT Yellow Level
5. Workshop - Guguletu
6. Wectu- Cultural Evening- Spra Hall
7. Uct- Workshop on Mayday-Teaching songs to the workers-UCT 1st May
8. UCT Workers snack dance-Guest appearance by the Oaklands Band.
9. Pawu- Snack dance-Eerste Rivier Hall.
10. June 16 commemoration programme -Cine 400-22nd June 1986
11. Mapp. Concert for crossroads.- Samaj Centre.
12. Hapsac- Hanover Park Civic Centre
13. Wectu (M.P.) - For Teachers in the region- Mitchells Plain
14. UWC- Jazz Festival UWC
15. Bokaap Youth- Schothces Kloof Civic 20th Sept. AT the Civic
16. BISCO- Cultural Evening - Oasis Cinema- Bonteheuwel
at the Hall Hanover Park (3rd October)

17. Hapsac - Catholic Hall- Hanover Park. 3rd October 1986
18. Cultural Collective- St. Dominics Hall Hanover Park. -5thOctober.
19. Pawu (Cwiu) ACA/ Concert for Worker Rights. 27th Oct.
20. Moravian Youth of South SAfrica- Spanenberg Hall 22.11.86.
21. Manenberg Youth- Silvertree Hall Manenberg 22.11.86.
22. Cayco- Guguletu-30.11.86.
23. Alexander Sinton - Cultural Evening 2.12.86.

1987

1. CCAWUSA- Concert for the OK workers- March 6th 1987.
2. CWIU- Shopstewards meeting- Lutheran Centre-21st March 1987.
3. Thornhill Cricket Club- Presentation. 6.3.87.
4. Wynberg Crisis-Fundraising- Luxurama.
5. Glendale High- School Concert 21.3.87 Rocklands Civic
6. Manenberg youth 24th March 1987.
7. ASAC- Mayday Programme-Wonderland Creche
8. Cosatu-Mayday - Athlone Stadium 1.5.87.
9. UWC Hostels students- Cultural Programme-Uwc

FOR CRISIS RELIEF FUND



**CONCERT
AGAINST
DETENTIONS**

**LUXURAMA OCT.
27 '85**

FIRST HALF

1. OPENING ADDRESS
2. SONGS BY GRAHAM
3. POETRY
4. SONGS BY VALMONT
5. SONGS BY IVAN LUCAS
6. POETRY
7. OAKLANDS BAND

INTERVAL

ART EXHIBITION IN THE FOYER

SECOND HALF

1. DETENTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA
2. POETRY
3. MUSIC, DRAMA AND MOVEMENT
4. CONVERSATIONS
5. BASIL COETZEE & PAUL ABRAHAMS
6. WORKFORCE
7. AMAJINGQI

The aim of the Concert is to raise funds for those detained.

THE AIM OF THE CONCERT IS TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THOSE DETAINED. BUT AN EQUALLY GREAT, THOUGH NOBLER REWARD, WILL BE IF EVERYONE PRESENT, THROUGH THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT EXPERIENCED, ENTERS THEIR SOCIAL REALITY WITH A TRANSFORMED CONSCIOUSNESS - A NEW AWARENESS.

IF, ALL COULD ASSIST IN THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL AWARENESS OF THE COMMUNITY, AND INCULCATE WITHIN IT, A CONSCIOUS POLITICAL AWAKENING OF ITS CLASS POSITION, THEN THIS CONCERT, EXCUSE THE PUN, WOULD BE OF HISTORICAL NOTE. BUT A CONCERT OF ARTISTS AND MUSICIANS CANNOT CHANGE SOCIETY, THE LEAST IT CAN DO, IS TO ACT AS A CATALYST ON THE WORLD STAGE.

THEREFORE AN ARTIST MUST, BECAUSE OF THE NATURE OF THE SOCIETY IN WHICH HE/SHE PARTICIPATES, BE POLITICAL. IN OTHER WORDS THE ARTIST MUST CHOOSE SIDES. EITHER HE/SHE PERPETUATES THE IDEAS OF THE RULING CLASS OR HE/SHE FOSTERS THROUGH ART THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS TO CONTROL THEIR OWN LIVES.

FURTHERMORE THE ARTIST ATTEMPTS TO UNMASK THE MYTHS, THE FALSITIES AND UNTRUTHS SURROUNDING US AND SEEKS TO CARVE ANEW A WORLD IN WHICH PEOPLE WILL GOVERN AND DETERMINE THEIR OWN BEING.

TO THIS END CULTURAL BODIES SHOULD BE CREATED WHEREBY THE ARTISTIC IS FUSED WITH THE POLITICAL SO THAT A "RENAISSANCE" OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS COULD OCCUR. A GOAL DIRECTED CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS WHICH WILL REPLACE THE OLD ORDER WITH A NEW ORDER FREE FROM OPPRESSION, EXPLOITATION AND RACISM. WHERE THE DOWN-TRODDEN WILL NO LONGER BE THE DOWN-TRODDEN, WHERE THE WRETCHED WILL CEASE TO EXIST AND THE POOR BURIED IN THE GRAVE OF A PREVIOUS EMPIRE WHILE THE RICH OXIDISE IN THE ASHES OF HISTORY. SUCH IS OUR DESTINY.

We Will Be Free

Words and Music by Tina Schouw

Locked away in cells are the children, who can only tell,
That it was wrong that they were given inferior education
They weren't wrong no, no but in jail they were thrown.
Then the women cried saying our children from us you cannot hide.
But they were taken away, with their bodies forced to pay.
And their cries were heard echoing through the earth

You can lock us up and throw away the key,
But we will be free, we will be free
And with God on our side,
The truth no longer you can hide,
We will be free.

Then the people of the land said this pain we will no longer stand.
With our comrades in prison the need has arisen,
For us to find a way, for that brighter day.
And we, we will never, never give up.
No we, we will not let them get us down.
For their walls are slowly crumbling,
And they will come tumbling down.
And we will sing, yes we will sing.

You can lock us up and throw away the key,

But we will be free, we will be free

And with God on our side,

The truth no longer you can hide,

We will be free.

Oh yes, we will be free,

We will be free.

University of Cape Town

Trojan Horse

Words and music by Tine Schouw

Once I like you stood tall and true,
But now you see my bullet ridden body
Spread on the floor
My gaping holes they stare at you
What are you going to do about it?
Like the Trojan horse that opened its mouth,
And spat it's bullets at me.
Open your eyes, this is no disguise, this is reality
But is this normality for you?

I see you're saddened and angered at my death.
But sadness and anger they quickly die away.
And when that feeling's gone tell me what's left behind.
Do you dump me in your subconscious mind?
Open your eyes have you become so used to our country,
Where you are killed for believing
Open your eyes, this is no disguise, this is reality.
But is this normality for you?

And so you've wiped your tears and no you're moving on.
Where will you go to and what will you do.
What I need now is more than your pity,
Get up and get out of your complacency.

Darkness Fallen

Words and Music by Tina Schouw

Darkness has fallen like a blanket over me

My eyes they have been shrouded, these clouded eyes can't see.

Black clouds descending, are these signs of impending doom?

My faculties of vision,

Just like shutters they've been closed,

They've been closed.

I would rather be a blind man,

Then have eyes which will not see,

All the pain and the suffering eminent in my country.

I will not lie with the state,

Pretend that all is well.

Detainees cry in jail, they die in jail, and yes they go through hell.

I'll not pretend, no.

Pity the man who has sight confined by blinkers,

Which he wears when he sees and reads state propaganda,

But like a pig greedily he buys their wares and swallows all.

And when asked to comment replies

Don't want no politics at all, at all.

I would rather be a blind man,

Then have eyes which will not see,

All the pain and the suffering eminent in my country.

I will not lie with the state,

Pretend that all is well.

Detainees cry in jail, they die in jail, and yes they go through hell.

I'll not pretend, no.

Tell me truly are you a blind man? Eyes closed tell me what do you see?

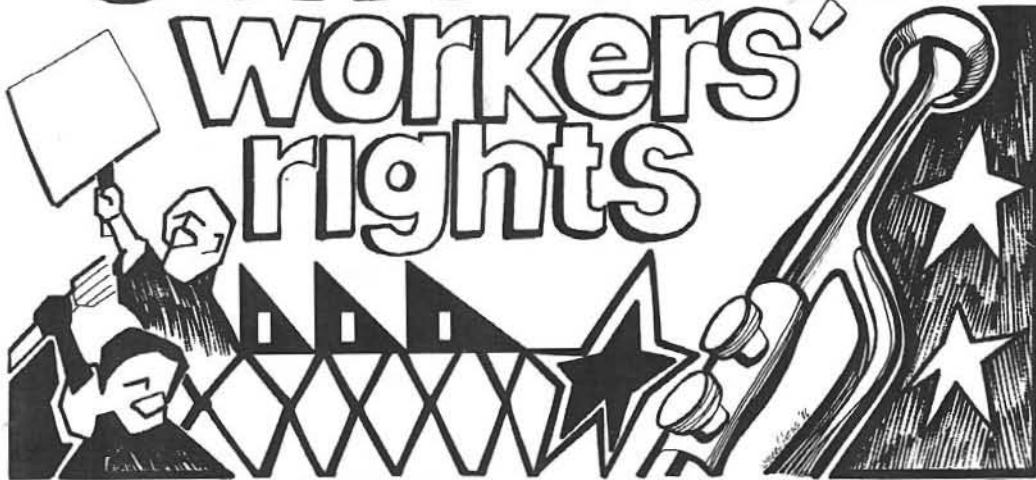
Tell me truly are you a blind man? Eyes closed tell me what do you see?

University of Cape Town



COSATH ASKS YOU TO SUPPORT THE SARMCOI

CONCERT FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS



Relief Fund For Dismissed A.C.A. Workers



AMAJINGQI ☆

RAAK WYS BAND

ACTION WORKSHOP

ROBBIE JANSEIN

U.W.C. FRI 24 OCT. 1986

8 PM ADM R3.00

COMMUNITY ARTS PROJECT 106 CHAPEL STREET
CAPE TOWN
P O BOX 168
RONDEBOSCH - 7700
Telephone - 45-3689
45-3648


Raakwys,
c/o Akbar Khan

10 December 1987

Dear Raakwys,

Everyone at CAP would like to express our appreciation for all your support over our 10th Anniversary programme. Our thanks go to Akkie in particular for all his assistance with sound equipment and in general. Don't go away - you are needed. Having heard about the loss of your equipment we have decided that the proceeds from the door at the Chapel Street event should go to you - just over R100.00. The issue of the cymbal stand we must still sort out. In the meantime let me say that we have great appreciation and respect for the contribution of Raakwys in the cultural field - viva!

Best wishes


on behalf of the CAP Committee

Nelson

Words by Randolph Hartzenberg

Music By Akbar Khan

The sound of thunder, burst through the door

Breaking the silence in the dark of the night

The man did not even try to run

When the sun came up, they were all in prison

Chorus:

Nelson, Oh Nelson

Born in the land of the sun

Imprisoned on the Island

Locked away for taking a stand

At the palace of justice, the trial was heard

When sentenced as passes there was anger in the air

A man of vision had been told to go

And live his life in an island prison

Nelson, Oh Nelson

Born in the land of the sun

Imprisoned on the Island

Locked away for taking a stand

Halala Afrika

Words and music by Johannes Kerkerrel

*Toe die wêreld hier nog jong was en die horison wyd en oop
Was dit groen hier in die halfgrond, suid van die ewenaar
En in die skemer as die son sak en die beeste huis toe loop
Klink die roepstem van die vrouwe oor die heuvels van die land:
Halala, ewig is ons Afrika.*

*Tula tula mtanami, tula tula sanaboni, tula tula mtanami,
Ubab uzobuya sihlale naye, ubab uzobuya sihlale sonke, Hmmm-Hmmm*

*Toe kom die skepe uit die weste, wit seile oor die see
Om te vra vir kos en water en te bly vir so veel meer
En die land wat een tyd oop was, die land het ons verruil
Vir die ghetto's van die stede is ons koperdraad gegee.*

Halala, ewig is ons Afrika

Halala, sasiphila, kamnandi, halala, mayibuye Afrika

*Tula tula mtanami, tula tula sanaboni, tula tula mtanami,
Ubab uzobuya sihlale naye, ubab uzobuya sihlale sonke, Hmmm-Hmmm*

Daar was rykdom in die maag van ons moeder Afrika

Diamante en ook steenkool, goud, edel metaal

En die mense word die slawe hier want die mense word betaal

Om te tunnel in die aarde elke greintjie uit te haal

En die groot en oop grasvlaktes span dit toe met doringdraad

En van die olifant tot die gemsbok al die diere moes kom buig

Voor die mag van die grootwildjagter voor die mag van sy groot geweer

Totdat net die stilte oorbly, totdat net die stilte heers.

Halala, ewig is ons Afrika.

Halala, sasiphila, kamnandi, halala, mayibuye Afrika

Sasidjapolutjologythina

Halala, sasiphila, kamnandi, halala, mayibuye Afrika

University of Cape Town

Halala Afrika – English Translation

When our world here was still young and the horizon wide and open
It was green here in this hemisphere, south of the equator
And in the evening twilight as the sun would set and the cattle would walk home
Sounded the voice/call of the women over the hills of the land
Halala, forever we are Afrika
Hush (be quiet) hush my child, hush hush my little baby ,hush hush my child
Father will return, we shall stay with him, father will return, we shall all stay, Hmmm-Hmmm

And then the ships came from the west, white sails over the sea
To ask for food and water but stayed for so much more
And the land that once was open, this land we exchanged
For the Ghettos of the city we were paid in copperwire
Halala, forever we are Afrika
Hush (be quiet) hush my child,hush hush my little baby,hush hush my child
Father will return, we shall stay with him, father will return, we shall all stay, Hmmm-Hmmm

Their was richness in the belly of this our Mother Africa
Diamond as well as coal, gold and precious metal
And the people became the slaves here because the people were being paid
To tunnel into the earth, every grain to extract
And the big and open grassy plains were fenced in with barbed wire
And from the elephants to the gemsbok, all the animals had to bow
To the might of the big game hunter, to the might of his big gun
Until only the silence remained, Until only the silence prevailed.
Halala, forever we are Afrika
Hush (be quiet) hush my child,hush hush my little baby,hush hush my child
Father will return, we shall stay with him, father will return, we shall all stay, Hmmm-Hmmm
Hurry we were living happily, hurry, let Africa(our land) return to us.
We used to enjoy together

Bibliography

- Allen, L. V. 1993. *Pennywhistle Kwela: A Musical, Historical and Socio-Political Analysis*. Masters Thesis, University of Natal.
- . 2008. Kwela's White Audiences: the politics of pleasure and identification in the early apartheid period. In *Composing Apartheid: music for and against apartheid*. G. Olwage. Ed. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 79-97.
- Andersson, M. 1981. *Music in the Mix: the story of South African popular music*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Ansell, G. 2004. *Soweto Blues: jazz, popular music and politics in South Africa*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Inc.
- . 2007. Of Roots and Rhythms. In *Jazz, Blues and Swing: six decades of music in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Phillips Publishers. 15-19.
- Attali, J. 2006. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Translated by B. Massumi. 9th ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Baily, J. 2001. *Censorship of Music in Afghanistan*. Copenhagen: Freemuse.
- . 2004. Music Censorship in Afghanistan before and After the Taliban. In *Shoot the Singer: music censorship today*. M. Korpe. Ed. 19-28. New York: Zed Books Ltd. 19-28.
- Ballantine, C. 1989. A Brief History of South African Popular Music. *Popular Music* 8 (3): 305-310. [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/931280>. [2009, November 21].
- . 1993. *Marabi Nights*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Barber-Kersovan, A. 2004. Music as a Parallel Power Structure. In *Shoot the Singer: music censorship today*. M. Korpe. Ed. New York: Zed Books Ltd. 6-10.
- Barthies, W. 2008. About the band Raakwys. In liner notes to *Nelson: Born in the Land of the Sun*. Copy write Eastern Acoustics.
- Beaubien, Michael C. 1982. The Cultural Boycott of South Africa. *Africa Today* 29 (4): 5-16.
- Bender, Wolfgang. 1991. *Sweet Mother: modern African music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Bennighof, James. 1993. Fluidity in Paul Simon's "Graceland": on text and music in a popular song. *College Music Symposium* 33 (34): pp. 212-236.
- Bezuidenhout, A. 2007. From Voëlvry to De La Rey: popular music, Afrikaner nationalism and lost irony. *Paper Presented at the Department of History Seminar, University of Stellenbosch*. [Online]. Available: http://academic.sun.ac.za/history/news/a_bezuidenhout.pdf [2009, November 23].
- Black Theatre in South Africa. 1976. *Fact paper on South Africa presented by the International Defense and Aid Fund*. London.
- Blacking, J. 1969. The Value of Music in the Human Experience. *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 1: 33-71.
- Bohlman, P. V. 2003. Music and Culture Historiographies of Disjuncture. In *The Cultural Study of Music*. M. Clayton, T. Herbert and R. Middleton, Eds. New York: Routledge. 45-46.
- Brown, D. 2004. Rap and Censorship in France. In *Shoot the Singer: music censorship today*. M. Korpe. Ed. New York: Zed Books Ltd. 197-208.
- Brown, P. and S. C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: some universals in language usage* Cambridge University Press.
- Bruner, J. 1990. *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Byerly, I. 1996. *The Music Indaba: music as a mirror, mediator and prophet in the South African transition from apartheid to democracy*. Doctor of Philosophy Thesis. Duke University.
- Clegg, J. and M. Drewett. 2006. Why Don't You Sing about the Leaves and the Dreams? Reflections on Music Censorship in Apartheid South Africa. In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa*. M. Cloonan and M. Drewett, Eds. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited. 127-136.
- Cloonan, M. 1995. Popular Music and Censorship in Britain: An Overview. *Popular Music and Society* 19: 75-104.
- . 1996. *Banned! Censorship of Popular Music in Britain, 1967-1992*. Aldershot: Arena.

- Cocks, Jay and Denise Worell. 1985. Music: Strike Up the Bandwagon. *Time*, April 22. [Online]. Available <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,966887,00.html?promoid=googlep> [2010, October 3].
- Connor, S. 1997. The Modern Auditory I. In *Rewriting the Self: histories from the renaissance to the present*. R. Porter. Ed. London: Routledge. 203-223.
- Coplan, D. 1979. The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 5 (2): pp. 135-164.
- . 1985. *In Township Tonight! South Africa's black city music and theatre*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Cultural Considerations for a Democratic South African Constitution. 1988. *In house seminar presented by the African National Congress*. March.
- de Lama, G. 1988. A Concerted Effort: Superstars rock the world on behalf of human rights. *Chicago Tribune*, October 21. [Online]. Available: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1988-10-21/features/8802090816_1_amnesty-international-universal-declaration-rock. [2010, August 8].
- Dictionary of Sociolinguistics*. 2004. J. Swann, T. Duemert, R. Lillis and R. Mesthrie, Eds. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Drewett, M. 2003. Music in the struggle to end apartheid: South Africa. In *Policing Pop*. M. Cloonan and R. Garafalo, Eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 153-165.
- . 2004a. Aesopian Strategies of Textual Resistance in the Struggle to Overcome Censorship in Apartheid South Africa. In *Censorship and Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*. B. Muller. Ed. Amsterdam: Rodopi Press. 189-207.
- . 2004b. Remembering Subversion: resisting censorship in apartheid South Africa. In *Shoot the Singer: music censorship today*. M. Korpe. Ed. London: Zed Books Ltd. 88-93.
- . 2005. 'Stop this Filth: the censorship of Roger Lucey's music in apartheid South Africa. *South African Journal of Musicology* 25: 53-70.
- . 2006. The Cultural Boycott Against Apartheid South Africa: a case of defensible censorship? In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa*. M. Drewett and M. Cloonan, Eds. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited. 23-38.

- . 2007. The Eyes of the World are Watching Now: the political effectiveness of "Biko" by Peter Gabriel. *Popular Music and Society* 30 (1): 39-51.
- Dugard, J. 1978. *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Erasmus, P. 2004. Roger, Me and the Scorpion: working for the South African Security Services during apartheid." In *Shoot the Singer: music censorship today*. M. Korpe. Ed. London: Zed Books Ltd. 73-81.
- Erlmann, V. 1988. The Music of Ladysmith Black Mambazo: working class, traditional, or popular? *Paper presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology*. October 20-23, Arizona.
- . 1996. *Night Song: performance, power and practice in South Africa*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Eyerman, R. and A. Jamison. 1998. *Music and Social Movements: mobilizing traditions in the twentieth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Feld, S. 1984. Sound Structure as Social Structure. *Ethnomusicology* 28 (3): pp. 383-409.
- Fricke, D. 1987. Paul Simon's Amazing Graceland Tour. *Rolling Stone*, July 2, 43-48. [Online]. Available: <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/paul-simons-amazing-graceland-tour-19870702>. [2010, October 4].
- Frith, S. 1998. *Performing Rites: evaluating popular music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gilbert, S. 2008. Singing Against Apartheid: ANC cultural groups and the international anti-apartheid struggle. In *Composing Apartheid: music for and against apartheid*. E. Grant. Ed. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 156-184.
- Greer, J. D. 2006. *Paul Simon's Graceland Album and its Social and Political Statements in Apartheid South Africa*. Masters Thesis, Baylor University.
- Grundlingh, A. 2004. "Rocking the Boat" in South Africa? Voëlvry music and Afrikaans anti-apartheid social protest in the 1980s. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 37 (3): 483-514.
- Hamm, C. 1989. Graceland Revisited. *Popular Music* 8 (3): 299-304.
- . 1995. *Putting Popular Music in its Place*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hanlon, J. and R. Omond. 1987. *The Sanctions Handbook*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Holden, S. 1985. The Pop Life: artists join in efforts for famine relief. *New York Times*. November 27.
- Hopkins, P. 2006. *Voëlvry: the movement that rocked South Africa*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.
- Horn, A. 1986. South African Theater: ideology and rebellion. In *Research in African Literatures* 17 (2): 211-233.
- Jansen, S. C. 1988. *Censorship: the knot that binds power and knowledge*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, S. 1991. Ban(ned) in the USA: popular music and censorship. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 15 (1): 73-87.
- Jules-Rosette, Bennetta and David B. Coplan. 2004. "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika": from independent spirit to political mobilization. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 44 (173/174): pp. 343-367.
- Kerkhof, I. 1985. Introduction. In the liner notes to *Living in the Heart of the Beast*. Recommended Records. PRAC 24.
- . 1986. Music and Censorship in South Africa. *Rixaka* 2: 27-31.
- Knecht, Annette. 2008. The Afrikaner Broederbond: from 'devil of apartheid' to act of change in the transformation process of South Africa. In *African Politics: beyond the third wave of democratization*. Joellen Pretorius. Ed. Cape Town: Juta and Co Ltd. 52-66.
- Kombuis, Koos. 2000. *Seks & Drugs & Boeremusiek: die memoires van 'n volksverraaier*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
- Kruger, Jaco. 2001. Playing in the Land of God: musical performance and social resistance in South Africa. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 10 (2): 1-36.
- Levitin, D. 2009. *The World in Six Songs*. London: Aurum Press Ltd.
- Lucey, R. 2004. Stopping the Music: censorship in apartheid South Africa. In *Shoot the Singer: music censorship today*. Korpe, M. Ed. New York: Zed Books Ltd. 67-72.

- Lutz, C. 1990. Engendered Emotion: gender, power, and the rhetoric of emotional control in American discourse. In *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. C. A. Lutz and L. Abu-Lughod, Eds. New York: Cambridge University Press. 69-91.
- Makky, N. 2007. *Song in the Anti-Apartheid and Reconciliation Movements in South Africa*. Honors Thesis, Ohio State University.
- Marcuse, H. 1978. *The Aesthetic Dimension*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Masekela, H. 2004. *Still Grazing: the musical Journey of Hugh Masekela*. M. Cheers. Ed. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Mbeki, Thabu. 2006. *Address by the Former President of South Africa on the occasion of Heritage Day*. Cape Town. [Online]. Available: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2006/mbeki0924.htm>. [2009, March 5]
- Meintjes, L. 1990. Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning. *Ethnomusicology* 34 (1): 37-73.
- Merrett, Christopher. 1994. *A Culture of Censorship: secrecy and intellectual repression in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
- Merriam, A. P. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston: North-Western University Press.
- Mojapelo, M. 2008. *Beyond Music: recording the history, moments and memories of South African Music*. S. Galane. Ed. Somerset West: African Minds.
- Muller, C. A. 2008. *Focus: music of South Africa*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Nettl, B. 1983. Music and 'that Complex Whole'. In *The Study of Ethnomusicology: twenty-nine issues and concepts*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 131-146.
- Ngcobo, N. 1982. Glimpses into South Africa: a perspective through Juluka music. *Reality* 14 (1): 4-6.
- Nixon, R. 1994. *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*. London: Routledge.
- Parales, J. 1985. Review of album In Square Circle by Stevie Wonder. *Rolling Stone*, October 24. [Online]. Available: <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/albumreviews/in-square-circle-19851024>. [2010, October 20].

- Pedely, Mark. 2007. Musical News: popular music in political movements. *Paper presented the University of Minnesota*. Minneapolis.
- Plato. 1973. Republic. In *Dialogues of Plato*. Translated by B. Jowett. J. Kaplan. Ed. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Pollard, A. B. 1999. Rhythms of Resistance: the role of freedom song in South Africa. In *Rhythm in Black Cultures*. A. M. S. Nelson. Ed. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 98-124.
- Portnoy, J. 1949. Similarities of Musical Concepts in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy. *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 7 (3): 235-243.
- Position Paper on the Cultural and Academic Boycott. *Adopted by the National Committee of the African National Congress*. Lusaka, May 1986. [Online]. Available:
http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_displaydc&recordID=art19890500.026.021.000 [2010, October 20] .
- Pretorius, W. 2004. *Kerkorrel*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Reeves, R. A. 1961. *Shooting at Sharpeville: the agony of South Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Reitov, Ole. 2004. Encounters with a South African Censor: confrontation and reconciliation. In *Shoot the Singer: music censorship today*. M. Korpe. Ed. London: Zed Books Ltd. 82-87.
- Revill, G. 2000. Music and the Politics of Sound: nationalism, citizenship and auditory space. *Environment and Planning D* 18: 597-613.
- Ross, L. 2011. The Rise, Fall and Resurrection of Shifty Records. *Personal account of Lloyd Ross, Managing Director*. [Online]. Available:
http://www.shifty.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=23&Itemid=53 [2010, October 20].
- Sherman, T. 1993. Words and Music by Paul Simon. *Life*, 87-94.
- Shoup, J. 1997. Pop Music and Resistance in Apartheid South Africa. *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 17: 73-92.
- Simon, D. 1989. Crisis and Change in South Africa: implications for the apartheid city. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 14 (2): pp. 189-206.

- Simon, P. 1986. Liner notes to *Graceland*. Warner Brothers. 25447-1
- Sontonga, E. 1904. *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika*. Johannesburg: Lovedale Press.
- Sony, W. 1991. Strange Business: the independent music culture in South Africa. *Staffrider* 9 (4): 113-119.
- Stockman, H. 2001. *Cape Town Jazz 1959-1969: the photography of Hardy Stockman*. L. Rasmussen. Ed. Copenhagen: The Booktrader.
- Storr, A. 1992. *Music and the Mind*. London: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Strauss, L. 1952. *Persecution and the Art of Writing*. Glencoe: Free Press.
- Tame, D. 1984. *The Secret Power of Music: the transformation of self and society through musical energy*. New York: Destiny Books.
- Tannenbaum, R. 1987. UN Groups Attack Paul Simon. *Rolling Stone*, (11), February 12. 104.
- Tomaselli, K. and B. Boster. 1993. Mandela, MTV, Television and Apartheid. *Popular Music and Society* 17 (2): 1-21.
- Tomaselli, K. G. 1981. Black South African Theatre: text and context. *English in Africa* 8 (1): pp. 51-58.
- Trade Union and Cultural Workers. 1985. *Rixaka* 1: 15-22
- Ullestad, N. 1987. Rock and Rebellion: subversive effects of Live Aid and 'Sun City'. *Popular Music* 6 (1): pp. 67-76.
- van Schalkwyk, A. 1994. *The Voice of Protest: urban black women, song and resistance, in the 1980s*. Masters Thesis, University of Natal.
- Vandenbroucke, R. 1976. South African Blacksploitation. *Theatre* 8 (1): 68-71.
- Vygotsky, L. 1986. *Thought and Language*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- White, T. 1986. Laser in the Jungle: the conception and maturity of a musical masterpiece. In liner notes from *Graceland (Advanced Version)*. Paul Simon. Warner Brothers 9 46430-2. CD.

Wonder, S. 1984. Academy Awards Acceptance Speech. *Issued by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences*. [Online]. Available: http://aaspeechesdb.oscars.org/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=gbe_query&TN=AAtrans&RF=WebReportPermaLink&MF=oscarsmsg.ini&NP=255&BU=http://aaspeechesdb.oscars.org/index.htm&QY=find+acceptorlink+=057-16 [2010, October 13].

Discography

Amandla! A revolution in four-part harmony. 2003. Produced by Sherry Simpson and Lee Hirsch. Directed by Lee Hirsch. Kwela Productions. DVD.

Artists United Against Apartheid. 1985. '(I Ain't Gonna Play) Sun City'. Released on *Sun City*. Manhattan/Capitol. St53019.

Band Aid. 'Do They Know Its Christmas?' Mercury. FEED1

Bayete. 1987. "Hypocrite" released on *Mombela*. CCP. WM 4061532.

Bernoldus Niemand. 1984. *Wie is Bernoldus Niemand*. Shifty Records. (no catalogue number)

Bright Blue. 1987. "Weeping" released on *Yesterday night*. Blue Records. BLU 1.

Gabriel, Peter. 1980. 'Biko'. Charisma Records. CB370.

Graceland: The African Concert. 1999. Warner Bros/WEA. 6305342784. DVD.

Ibrahim, Abdullah. 1982. "Tula Dubula" Released on *South African Sunshine*. Plane, plane, plane. 88 293.

Kalahari Surfers. 1984. "Don't Dance" released on *Own Affairs*. Shifty Records. GNP333.

Kalahari Surfers. 1984. *Own Affairs*. Shifty Records. GNP333.

Kalahari Surfers. 1985. *Living in the Heart of the Beast*. Recommended Records. PRAC 24.

Kalahari Surfers. 1985. "Reasonable Men" released on *Living in the Heart of the Beast*. Recommended Records. PRAC 24.

Kalahari Surfers. 1988. *Sleep Armed*. Recommended Records. RR 26.

- Kalahari Surfers. 1989. *Beachbomb*. Shifty Records. GNP 999.
- Kerkorrel, Johannes. 1989. *Eet Greef*. Shifty Records. (no catalogue number)
- Kerkorrel, Johannes. 2004. "Halala Afrika" released on *The Winds of Change*. African Cream. ACM-CD023.
- Kramer, David. 1981. *Die Veraal van Bokkies Joubert*. Mountain Records. MOUNTLP (E) 11.
- Kramer, David. 1983. *Jis Jis Jis*. Mountain Records. MOUNTLP (L) 26/27.
- Kramer, David. 1983. "Hekke van Paradise" released on *Jis Jis Jis*. Mountain Records. MOUNTLP (L) 26/27.
- Kramer, David. 1986. *Baboon Dogs*. E.M.I. (no catalogue number)
- Kramer, David. 1986. "Dry Wine" released on *Baboon Dogs*. E.M.I. (no catalogue number)
- Kramer, David. 2001. *Bakgat*. Blik Music. BLIK06. (1980 re-release)
- Kramer, David. 2001. "Toepstil" released on *Bakgat*. Blik Music. BLK06.
- Kombuis, Koos. 1989. *Niemandslan*d. Shifty Records. (no catalogue number)
- Lucey, Roger. 1979. *The Road is Much Longer*. 3rd Ear Music. 3EE 7004.
- Lucey, Roger. 1980. *Half Alive*. 3rd Ear Music/WEA. WIC 8000.
- Lucey, Roger. 1980. "Dry Wine" released on *Half Alive*. 3rd Ear Music / Warner Bros. WIC 8000
- Lucey, Roger. 2000. "Lungile Tabalaza" released on *21 Years Down the Line*. 3rd Ear Music. 0034-F CD-R. (originally released on *The Road is Much Longer*, 1979)
- Lucey, Roger. 2000. *21 Years Down the Line*. 3rd Ear Music. 0034-F CD-R. (compilation of earlier releases)
- Mbuli, Mzwakhe. 1986. *Change is Pain*. Shifty Records. Cassette. (no catalogue number)
- Mbuli, Mzwakhe. 1986. *Unbroken Spirit*. Shifty Records. LP. (no catalogue number)
- Microdisney. 1984. *We Hate You South African Bastards*. Rough Trade. RTM 155.

- N' Dour, Youssou. 1986. *Nelson Mandela*. Verve. 831294.
- Paul, Frankie. 1980. 'South Africa'. Fu Manchu. PC-004.
- Raakwys. 2008. 'Nelson: Born in the Land of the Sun.' Copy write Eastern Acoustics.
- Robert Wyatt and SWAPO singers. 1985. 'The Wind of Change'. Virgin. 80222
- Rhythm of Resistance: Black South African Music*. 1988. Produced by Jeremy Marre.
Directed by Chris Austin and Jeremy Marre. Shanachie Records. Videocassette.
- Sankomoto. 1983. *Sakomoto*. Shifty Records. (no catalogue number)
- Savuka. 1987. *Third World Child*. Capitol. ST 6550
- Savuka. 1989. *Cruel Crazy Beautiful World*. E.M.I. 64-7934461
- Scarza, V. 2004. *Live Aid (4 Disc Set)*. Weasel Disc. 970383
- Simon, Paul. 1986. *Graceland*. Warner Brothers. 25447-1
- Simon, Paul. 1996. *Graceland (Extended Version)*. Warner Brothers. 946430-2
- Special AKA. 1984. 'Free Nelson Mandela.' 2 Tone. CHS TT26
- The Winans. 1985. 'Let My People Go'. Quest Records. W 8874 T
- USA for Africa. 1985. 'We Are The World.' Columbia. US7-04839
- Various. 1985. *A Naartjie in our Sosatie*. Shifty Records. (no catalogue number)
- Various. 1985. *Forces Favourites*. Shifty Records. SHIFT 10.
- Wonder, Stevie. 1985. 'It's Wrong (Apartheid)' released on *In Square Circle*. Tamla. 6134

Websites

- De la Rey lives again. *Television insert on Carte Blanche, MNet, aired 8th February 2007*.
[Online]. Available: <http://www.cartablanca.co.za/Display/Display.asp?Id=3251>
[2009, October 23].

Dry Wine – 3rd Ear Music. [Online]. Available:

<http://www.3rdearmusic.com/lyrics/drywine.html> [2011, January 7].

History of Amnesty International. [Online]. Available: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/history> [2010, October 13].

Johnny Clegg Biography. [Online]. Available: www.johnnyclegg.com/biog.html [2010, June 24].

Johnny Clegg Wits Alumnus Biography. [Online]. Available: <http://web.wits.ac.za/NewsRoom/NewsItems/clegg.htm> [2010, August 25].

Live Aid - 1985. [Online]. Available: <http://www.bobgeldof.info/Charity/liveaid.html> [2010, August 11].

Past Concerts - Farm Aid. [Online]. Available: http://www.farmaid.org/site/c.qII5IhNVJsE/b.2723673/k.8C39/Past_Concerts.htm [2010, August 3].

Pop Culture made Waves. [Online]. Available: http://www.usaforafrica.org/legacy_popculture.html [2010, August 10].

USA for Africa – We Are the World. [Online]. Available: <http://www.usaforafrica.org/watw25.html> [2010, August 10].

Weeping: The South African anti-apartheid song. [Online]. Available: <http://www.weeping.info> [2011, January 7].

You Tube – Peter Gabriel Biko Live 1986. [Online]. Available: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iLg-8Jxi5aE> [2010, September 20].

Interviews

Layne, Valmont. Personal Interview. Cape Town, 13th May 2009.

Khan, Akbar. Personal Interview. Cape Town, 7th May 2009.

Kramer, David. Personal Interview. Cape Town, 2nd June 2009.

Schouw, Tina. Personal Interview. Cape Town, 12th May 2009.