CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

"I am here to defend my song. I want to sing the song," said 43-year-old Busisiwe Mvula (2011), an African National Congress (ANC) supporter from Sterkspruit, a rural town in the Eastern Cape, while watching a court battle over a struggle song on a big-screen television outside the South Gauteng High Court in Johannesburg's Pritchard Street.

The woman, dressed in the green, gold and black colours of the ruling party, had travelled to Johannesburg in April 2011 to support the then ANC Youth League (ANCYL) President, Julius Malema, in the case brought against him by 'Afrikaner' civil rights organisation AfriForum[1] over the song *Dubula ibhunu* (Shoot the Boer). Mvula fervently defended the song: "It's not a fighting song. You can't destroy the song. We have to express ourselves. Our revolutionary song is very important to us. The song is part of history. We cannot forget history" (Mvula, 2011).[2]

The woman's zeal captivated me. Why was she prepared to travel so far to fight for the survival of *Dubula ibhunu*? Why did she feel so strongly about being able to sing the song? These questions were among the factors that inspired my journey to investigate the place of struggle songs in contemporary South Africa.

Six years before this struggle song found itself as an accused in court, Jacob Zuma, at that time still Deputy President of the country, brought song to the fore of the political stage. *Umshini Wami* (My Machine Gun) became "almost a part of his… skin", Liz Gunner asserted (2009:27). Despite South Africa being a constitutional democracy, the songs originally composed under the oppressive conditions of apartheid have continued to play a visceral role in the country's political landscape. Since the democratic transition in 1994, the ANC has been plagued by fierce political in-fighting, succession struggles and a jostling for positions (See for example Booysen, 2015; Rossouw, 2012 & Suttner, 2009a).[3] Susan Booysen (2015:13) writes

[1] AfriForum is a non-profit company "with the aim of protecting the rights of minorities… [with] a specific focus on the rights of Afrikaners" (AfriForum, n.d. a). In this study, I use the term 'Afrikaners' to describe AfriForum's supporters – the organisation itself uses the term when referring to its supporters, who see themselves as part of a minority group and feel like "second-class citizens" (AfriForum, n.d. b:3-4). Both the terms ─ 'Afrikaner' and 'Boer' ─ are used in single quotation marks to indicate that they are not neutral terms, but terms that hold a range of meanings for different people.

[2] I interviewed Mvula in my capacity as a news reporter for *The Times* newspaper.

[3] See Rossouw (2012) who examines the "kings and kingmakers" and the fierce political battles, as well as their roots, in the run-up to the ANC's National Conference in 2012. Rossouw (2012:15) writes about the Polokwane conference in 2007, where Jacob Zuma defeated Thabo Mbeki to become President of the ANC: "As journalists, we were about to witness the spectacle of a lifetime. A national ANC conference spun out of control, right in front

about the state of the ruling party in 2015: “The centre of the organisation was holding but now it was more fragile and contested than at any preceding point in democratic South Africa”. It is in this increasingly volatile political space that song is deployed with new lyrics and meanings, playing multiple roles and fulfilling several functions. The sonic becomes an instrument of defiance as song is used by supporters to viciously attack opponents and show thunderous support for their leaders, by students in their calls for statues and fees to fall, and by politicians in attempts to weaken opponents and unite voters behind their leadership.

Song is seen as a barometer of support by some struggle veterans and ANC leaders. Apartheid-era political prisoner and political analyst Raymond Suttner, who describes himself on his blog (Suttner, n.d.) as “currently… [being] in disagreement with the directions taken by the ANC/SACP alliance and the ANC-led government”, uses the absence of the spontaneous, ubiquitous display of song at rallies to draw attention to the decline of the ANC’s symbolic standing.[4] Suttner (2016) writes about the provincial launch of the party’s election manifesto at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg ahead of the 2016 local government elections: “Usually when one is in a large crowd there is a buzz of excitement. Ten or 20 years ago, if a freedom song was sung, it would emerge from the crowd or, if from the stage, it would be taken up by supporters all over the stadium... There seemed little of that on Saturday. In fact, when [Paul] Mashatile was about to speak, the deputy secretary-general, Gwen Ramakgopa, had to ask the musicians to welcome him with a song... But much of the crowd did not join in, certainly not with the fervour that would have been the case in the past”.

Leaders within the ANC also recognise the implicit potency of song. Before the start of the party’s National Policy Conference in June 2017 at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, ANC Secretary-General, Gwede Mantashe, said the party would prevent delegates from singing derogatory songs about leaders as well as “campaign” songs endorsing candidates ahead of the party’s elections in December 2017. “Once you manufacture new songs… then we will have to stop that song… it can’t be allowed in the conference” (George & Mvumvu, 2017 & Manyathela, 2017a).[5] Mantashe’s warning would, however, have no impact on the deployment

of the nation, courtesy of SABC’s rolling coverage. Delegates openly sang opposing struggle songs, inserting where appropriate the name of their leader of choice”.

[4] In the local government elections in August 2016, the ANC received 53.91% of the vote ─ less than 60% for the first time since 1994 ─ and lost key municipalities, including Johannesburg and Tshwane in Gauteng (Dlamini, 2016 & Munusamy, 2016a). Suttner’s article was published approximately two months earlier.

[5] Leaders within the ANC have on several occasions recognised the strength of song on the political stage. At the start of the party’s National Policy Conference at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, in June 2017 ANC National Chairperson, Baleka Mbete, told delegates that “even in the songs we sing we must unite this organisation” (Modjadji, 2017). In January 2017, ANC Deputy Secretary-General, Jessie Duarte, suggested that the party’s National Working Committee (NWC) would bar songs endorsing candidates for the ANC’s presidency, after the ANC Women’s League endorsed former African Union (AU) Commission Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as its preferred candidate for the position ahead of the party’s elections in December 2017 (Gallens & Madia, 2017). At the ANC’s 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in December 2012, Mbete told delegates that they

of such songs at the party's policy conference: Delegates sang in support of Zuma, while other songs called for a change in the party's leadership (eNCA, 2017a).

Despite the significant place of song in post-apartheid South Africa, Gunner (2015:326), who has done pioneering research on the visceral effect of song's deployment in the political sphere, points out that song is often missing from the record. "*Song as substance* frequently has cogent political points to make, which are folded in to rhetoric and oratory, or may be free standing. Yet, as an expressive form within a wider text, it is often erased from the records". This thesis aims to contribute to addressing this erasure by investigating the deployment of song in post-apartheid South Africa as a form of intangible heritage. It will go on to demonstrate that song operates with a range of meanings that radically extends our understanding of heritage.

In this chapter, I trace my research journey. I illustrate how the heritage analysed in this study does not fit into existing scholarly or policy frameworks, how my research question evolved over time to include the multiple meanings of songs I was starting to find, and I explain the need for a study of song in post-apartheid South Africa. I also outline my research methodologies, including how I handled the translation of the songs analysed in this study. Former *City Press* political journalist Sabelo Ndlangisa became my informal research assistant in this regard and helped with the translation and interpretation of the songs.[6]

Aim

This thesis is anchored in the field of Heritage Studies. It argues that song is a particular, compelling form of intangible heritage that often emerges in the heat of political contests and does not easily fit the categorisation delineated by the academy. Struggle songs break the mould of heritage as it has been characterised by scholars in contemporary South Africa.

In post-apartheid South Africa, for the purposes of analysis, heritage has been divided into two chronological frameworks by heritage scholar Daniel Herwitz (2012). The two frameworks he identifies correspond with the dominant political ideologies developed by successive governments in the country. The first framework is identified in line with the ideology of reconciliation and the idea of the rainbow nation, driven and epitomised by former President Nelson Mandela. The second heritage framework has been developed to identify the influence

should "sing songs all of us can sing to". Delegates were also told that they were not allowed to sing while they were queuing to vote for the party's top six positions (Langa, 2012).

[6] Denis Ngcangca, a translator from the Wits Language School, also reviewed the translations.

of the African Renaissance ideology, embraced and significantly remoulded by former President Thabo Mbeki. This ideology still continues to have purchase after the Mbeki presidency as illustrated by the opening of Freedom Park's //hapo Museum in April 2013 (SAnews.gov.za, n.d.). It is important to note that other heritage scholars, such as Harriet Deacon (2004) and Ciraj Rassool (2007), do the same kind of analytical work as Herwitz without using the concept of a framework. (See Chapter Two, pp. 54-58).

Although these two analytical frameworks might appear to periodise heritage quite strictly, the ideologies they bring to the surface overlap and co-exist. The ideologies are not static – different parts of the narratives contained in them are valued or condemned at different times. They can undergo significant change over time. At the time of writing a contradictory narrative has developed which simultaneously represents the ANC as the liberators who brought victory, but also encapsulates the idea that the struggle continues and that the victory is incomplete. The reconciliation component has found itself under increasing attack, with Malema suggesting Mandela was a sell-out and *Rhodes* and *Fees Must Fall* student movements interrogating the validity of the notion of South Africa as a 'rainbow nation' (Meintjies, 2015; Munusamy, 2015; Ndletyana & Webb, 2017:98 & Serino, 2015). It will be interesting to see how this is reflected in the heritage produced during this period.

These frameworks serve several valuable purposes for a study of heritage. They provide structure for what would otherwise be amorphous and difficult to analyse. They remind us that heritage is not just something received or inherited from the past, which remains unchanged and is separate from political ideologies, but that it is something that is produced under contemporary conditions. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:149) states: "Heritage is a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past". These frameworks also show that successive regimes might try to harness heritage. Heritage may also be influenced by wider stylistic or intellectual trends and fashions. It is very often the object of power struggles and it is also the medium through which power struggles are played out, as this thesis will show.

Despite scholarly attempts to contain heritage to a few typologies, there is in fact a proliferation of heritage that does not conform to the types specified above. This thesis identifies two additional heritage frameworks in South Africa that do not correspond with particular state ideologies in the way the two frameworks discussed above do. The third one is associated with senior members of the History Workshop based at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). The Workshop does not name the work that it does as heritage. The Workshop calls what it does public history – in line with a long intellectual tradition that emphasises the

importance of recovering the history of so-called ordinary people and of making history accessible to those outside the academy. This framework can assist us in understanding the representation of history at post-apartheid museums that members of the Workshop have been involved in. The portrayal of the narrative at the Apartheid Museum, for example, reflects the focus of some of its members on identifying capitalism as the main driving force behind South Africa's history since the mining revolution in the nineteenth century.

The fourth framework identified in this study is helpful to recognise types of heritage that, in a sense, operate on the periphery of state ideologies. It is the result of hybrid public/private partnerships. An example of this type of heritage is the National Heritage Monument of Dali Tambo, son of former ANC President Oliver Tambo. He coined the phrase heritage as the "show business of history" (Partridge, 2014) to describe the heritage on display at the Monument in Pretoria, which features life-size statues of over eighty struggle heroes. Tambo does not see the need for mediation and believes that history can be transformed into something with more popular appeal. This type of heritage can be seen as an attempt to push back against the dominance of the academy – this yearning to bypass mediation by academics or specialists emerged as a major theme in this thesis.

One could judge this type of heritage harshly for commodifying history, as Noor Nieftagodien (2016), Chair of the History Workshop, has done in an interview conducted for this thesis. Tambo's procession of life-size statues has overtones of the spectacle in the sense of the concept developed by French Marxist theorist Guy Debord in his seminal work, *The Society of the Spectacle*, published in 1967.[7] In a spectacular society, argues Debord (1994:12), "all that once was directly lived has become mere representation". However, increasingly as I progressed through my research journey, I have realised that I wanted to give more consideration to Tambo's defence of his work. Tambo has said that he wants "to attract people with the beauty of these sculptures so young people can go and see what Lilian Ngoyi looked like. They can see how tall she was, they can see what she looked like as a young person. And they can see what she stood for" (Capazorio, 2013). This type of heritage could then be seen as something that allows for a closer and more meaningful experience with one's ancestors.[8]

[7] Although Debord's work is significant in highlighting why formal heritage is experienced as alienating, this thesis does not subscribe to his view of individuals as having no agency in the spectacular society. According to Debord (1994:153), "the individual, though condemned to the passive acceptance of an alien everyday reality, is thus driven into a form of madness in which, by resorting to magical devices, he entertains the illusion that he is reacting to this fate". This thesis acknowledges the agency of individuals to interpret and experience song in diverse ways that do not always subscribe to the meanings that leaders wish to convey to their audiences.
[8] Some of the statues were on display at the ANC's National Policy Conference held from 30 June to 5 July 2017 at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, as well as at the ANC's National Conference in Mangaung from 16 to 20 December 2012 (Capazorio, 2013 & Du Plessis, 2017).

This thesis will demonstrate that the deployment of song does not fit into any of these analytical frameworks. They are nonetheless valuable in shedding light on how prominent certain heritage discourses have become and how people draw on them to defend and justify the utilisation of song, even songs that have come under attack for being inappropriate in a democratic South Africa. The fourth framework (associated with Tambo's statues) furthermore assists me to recognise the longing for a type of heritage that circumvents the mediation of the academy and experts.

Certainly, the heritage analysed in this thesis also does not fit into the parameters set by international and local policies and legislation. Internationally, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted in 2003, applies. As the title of the Convention suggests, it focuses on safeguarding intangible heritage and uses the term "safeguard"[9] or variations of the word, forty-two times in the fifteen-page document (UNESCO, 2003).[10] The Convention views intangible heritage as something fragile: "Recognizing that the processes of globalization and social transformation, alongside the conditions they create for renewed dialogue among communities, also give rise, as does the phenomenon of intolerance, to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular owing to a lack of resources for safeguarding such heritage" (UNESCO, 2003:1).

Although UNESCO (n.d. c) states that intangible heritage "does not only represent inherited traditions from the past but also contemporary rural and urban practices", it tends to get stuck in the rut of a notion of 'traditional' song and dance which centres on an unrecorded past known only by a few skilled elders. In a similar vein to the Convention's view on the fragility of

[9] On its website, UNESCO recognises to a greater extent the dynamic nature of heritage. It states that safeguarding "does not mean fixing or freezing intangible cultural heritage in some pure or primordial form" (UNESCO, n.d. a). Safeguarding therefore "does not mean protection or conservation in the usual sense". Instead, UNESCO says, it "means ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, that is ensuring its continuous recreation and transmission" (UNESCO, n.d. b). In this study, however, I do not consider song as a form of heritage that is merely transmitted. (See pp. 28-29).

[10] The Convention defines intangible cultural heritage as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development."
The intangible cultural heritage "is manifested inter alia in the following domains:
(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
(b) performing arts;
(c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
(d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
(e) traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO, 2003:2).

heritage, a UNESCO document on intangible cultural heritage (2011:5) describes intangible heritage forms, such as oral traditions, as being at risk: These traditions "are threatened by rapid urbanisation, large-scale migration, industrialisation and environmental change. Books, newspapers and magazines, radio, television and the Internet can have an especially damaging effect on oral traditions and expressions". Intangible heritage is cast as if it were the opposite of the modern and unable to withstand the modern. This study will show, by contrast, just how much song thrives in, and on, the modern. Oral traditions are also seen by UNESCO (2011:4) as practices performed by specialists who are held "in the highest regard as guardians of collective memory" by the community. The Convention (2003:2) ignores the contested nature of intangible heritage, describing it as something that brings "human beings closer together" and ensures "exchange and understanding among them".

Taking their lead from international policies, South African policies and legislation also present heritage as delicate and in need of safeguarding to guarantee its continued existence. The National Heritage Resources Act, adopted in 1999, describes heritage as "unique and precious" and something which "cannot be renewed" (*National Heritage Resources Act, No. 25 of 1999*, 1999:2). The Act is a product of the reconciliation ideology (see p. 3) in which reconciliation and nation-building are of paramount importance. The Act does not recognise the dynamic nature of heritage and states that the "identification, assessment and management of the heritage resources of South Africa must… involve the least possible alteration or loss of it" (*National Heritage Resources Act, No. 25 of 1999*,1999:16).

The Act furthermore does not acknowledge the power battles involved in heritage. Instead, it states that it "lies at the heart of our spiritual well-being and has the power to build our nation... Our heritage celebrates our achievements and contributes to redressing past inequities… It facilitates healing and material and symbolic restitution and it promotes new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs". Heritage resources "have the capacity to promote reconciliation, understanding and respect, and contribute to the development of a unifying South African identity". It does, however, warn against "the use of heritage for sectarian purposes or political gain" (*National Heritage Resources Act, No. 25 of 1999*, 1999:2,16).

Seventeen years later, the second draft version of the Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was released, which recognises the dynamism of heritage to a greater degree than the Act. The draft version, a revision of the 1996 White Paper, [11] describes heritage as "a

[11] A final draft of the revised White Paper was released in October 2013 (DAC, 2013). However, in March 2015 the Acting Director-General of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), Vuyo Jack, said that the 2013 version

source of inspiration and a frame of reference for contemporary creativity and innovation". But although the document, released in November 2016, acknowledges the dynamic nature of heritage, it suggests that something can only be classified as heritage once it has aged and matured sufficiently: "Over time, contemporary creativity eventually becomes heritage. This underscores the living and dynamic nature of heritage and its relevance to contemporary society" (DAC, 2016:21). As is the case with the 1996 White Paper and the 2013 draft version, the role of heritage in nation-building and social cohesion is emphasised (DAC, 1996:8; 2013:18-19, 28, 34, 38, 42, 45, 48 & 2016:5,11-12, 22, 78).[12]

As will be shown in this thesis, song is not accommodated by any of the four analytical frameworks discussed earlier. It is also not the 'traditional' living heritage envisioned in the UNESCO or South African heritage policies, in which only a few skilled elders know a particular practice that has survived over centuries.

Rather, I will argue that it is an *active* heritage deployed in brutal succession battles on the national political stage, as well as in more intimate struggles over how history is interpreted by the academy and presented in formal heritage institutions. This thesis draws on the seminal work of James Young (1992) on the notion of the counter-monument. Young's concept of the counter-monument derives from a study of various consciously designed counter-monumental projects in Germany to memorialise the Holocaust. Drawing on the objectives and ideas about art expressed by the designers, Young argues that they operate as dynamic monuments that insist on interaction and not passivity from their viewers and function in opposition to the idea of the fixed, static nature of 'conventional' monuments. Instead, they aim "… to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by its

would be set aside and that a new process would be started to draw up a White Paper (Thamm, 2015). In November 2015, Minister of Arts and Culture, Nathi Mthethwa, appointed as the new Minister after the 2014 national elections, appointed a reference panel to revise the 1996 White Paper (DAC, 2016:4). The second draft of the revised White Paper was released in November 2016 (DAC, 2016). A third draft was released in 2017, but was not considered as it was made available too close to the submission date of this thesis.

[12] The 1996 White Paper as well as the 2013 draft version focus on the need to safeguard and preserve heritage, as if it is something that can be frozen in time. According to the 1996 White Paper (1996:25), "attention to living heritage is of paramount importance for the reconstruction and development process in South Africa. Means must be found to enable song, dance, story-telling and oral history to be permanently recorded and conserved in the formal heritage structure". The 2016 version places less emphasis on protection and preserving heritage and recognises the dynamic nature of heritage to a greater extent. It does, however, still state, for example, that the DAC "will preserve endangered cultural expressions using technological procedures" (DAC, 2016:45). For a detailed analysis of another heritage policy document, namely the Heritage Transformation Charter, and its ability to accommodate intangible heritage, see Mohale (2010). The process to complete the Heritage Transformation Charter took nine years, with the final version being handed over by the National Heritage Council (NHC) to the Minister of Arts and Culture in April 2014 (Makhubu, 2014 & Mohale, 2010:37). The document does not seem to be publicly available on the websites of the NHC or the DAC. It is also not mentioned in the latest draft version of the Revised White Paper.

passersby but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desecration" (Young, 1992:277).[13]

In this study, I utilise the idea of the counter-monument somewhat differently to the way that it is used by the artists that Young describes. I apply it not to built monuments, but as a way to shed light on intangible heritage. I aim to show that song plays the role of a sonic counter-monument in motion as it is deployed in post-apartheid South Africa. Unlike the Holocaust memorial projects, the counter-monument of song is not a consciously designed one, but one that has evolved into being through the complex ways it is utilised and thought about in post-apartheid South Africa. Young's analysis provides me with a valuable framework to examine this utilisation. Although his analysis is largely focused on the intentions of monument designers, it makes one pay attention to the question of performance as well as reception. It guides one to see performance as a "dynamic relationship between artists, work, and viewer, in which none emerges singularly dominant" (Young, 1992:279). Young furthermore directs one to see reception as unpredictable, but nonetheless worthy of analysis – even when it seems destructive or even nihilistic. Considering song as a counter-monument thus makes me more aware of the significance of its performance and reception by different constituencies in the production of meaning. It is in these areas where new meanings and functions are generated and song's volatility emerges. Through utilising Young's notion of the counter-monument, I hope to substantially broaden our understanding of heritage and its role in power battles within contemporary South Africa.

An analysis of the court transcripts of the *Dubula ibhunu* hate speech case forms the starting point of my study, as the trial encouraged me to investigate how the parties used the concepts of heritage and history to strengthen their arguments. The trial ignited my interest in how heritage might be defined, and why it was so powerful in post-apartheid South Africa. The heritage on trial was not the romanticised or static heritage that is occasionally presented by some South African scholars, such as Sabine Marschall. Although Marschall has played an important part in making heritage a field of study in South Africa, has focused attention on the importance of looking at the aesthetic elements of heritage projects, and has furthermore highlighted the role heritage plays in political struggles and mobilisation[14] at sites such as Sharpeville, she has, however, largely presented the actors in these battles as broadly

[13] See Chapter Two, pp. 49-52 for a discussion of both Young's analysis and the notion of the counter-monument.

[14] Marschall is not the only scholar who explores the role of heritage in political mobilisation in post-apartheid South Africa. Ali Hlongwane, for example, looks at how the commemoration and memorialisation of the 1976 Soweto Uprisings have been intertwined with political and power battles, both during the struggle and after the advent of democracy (Hlongwane, 2008 & 2015).

representative of opposing political parties. She has also at times tended to express a romanticised view of heritage as static. On the subject of new statues erected in post-apartheid South Africa, she writes that “statues of newly identified heroes champion new values, serve as models of inspiration, but also help the individual to identify with a particular place and thus contribute to forging a new sense of community and national identity” (Marschall, 2006:183).

Instead of this romanticised or static view of heritage, I discovered a different picture in which prevalent notions about the role of heritage in political battles have been challenged. Fundamentally different concepts of heritage were brought into conversation with one another. I will evaluate the impact of this encounter, which assumes unexpected dimensions, by analysing the *Dubula ibhunu* court transcripts and exploring other avenues where songs are deployed in contemporary South Africa, including the ANC’s National Conference in Mangaung in December 2012. Initially my research questions focused on this aspect of song’s utilisation in political battles. However, as I detail below, my research journey fundamentally shifted the aims of this study.

The research journey

The influence of the political landscape

My research questions have evolved considerably since I started this study in 2012, initially as a Master’s dissertation. This is largely due to two factors. Firstly, the political landscape has changed dramatically over the past five years. South Africa’s political space has become fiercely contested and volatile. As the political environment becomes more hostile, ideas about the past are used to launch vicious attacks on political opponents or to cement a position of power. Secondly, and even more significantly, interviews conducted for this thesis made me realise that my initial research questions, which focused mainly on the deployment of song as a weapon in the national political space, were too narrow. I have come to understand that a study of song as active heritage in post-apartheid South Africa demands a broader view. Individuals attach a range of different meanings to song in different contexts. Attempting to constrain the deployment of song to a defined set of meanings would thus be a pointless task.

As mentioned above, the political changes in South Africa since 2012 have had a substantial impact on the development of my research. In February 2012, Julius Malema, former President of the ANCYL, was expelled from the party for sowing divisions in the ANC and bringing it into disrepute, after his comparison of Zuma to Mbeki and a call for regime change in Botswana (*News24*, 2012a & Sapa, 2012a). Approximately six months after Malema’s

expulsion — on August 16, 2012 — members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) opened fire on striking Lonmin mineworkers at Marikana in the North West province. The massacre left thirty-four mineworkers dead and seventy-eight injured. Ten people, including two police officers and two Lonmin security guards, had been killed in the week preceding the massacre. The protesting mineworkers were demanding a monthly wage of R12 500 at the platinum mine (Bond & Mottiar, 2013:292 & Montsho, 2016).[15] Song played a significant part in conveying Marikana's story, writes Thapelo Lekgowa (2013). "The singing voices have propelled, shaped and expressed the shifting struggle of the Marikana community... The lyrics of their songs are a venting of anger; anger at Lonmin, Jacob Zuma, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Frans Baleni, and the union's president, Senzeni Zokwana.[16] The words of praise to found in the songs are for Julius Malema, for understanding and standing with them" (Lekgowa, 2013).[17]

Malema launched his political resurrection at the famous koppie (little hill) at the Nkaneng informal settlement, which became a meeting site for striking miners. Malema visited Marikana just days after the massacre and told miners: "President Zuma said to the police they must act with maximum force…. He presided over the murder of our people and therefore he must step down. Not even apartheid government killed so many people ...". In a sign of his future party's onslaught on Zuma's presidency, Malema urged miners to disown Zuma as their President: "From today, when you are asked 'Who is your president', you must say 'I don't have a president'" (*Mail & Guardian,* 2012 & Tolsi, n.d.). The koppie would become the birthplace of Malema's "new baby", the EFF, in October 2013. The EFF was officially launched in Marikana

[15] For an analysis of how several print media publications covered the massacre, see Holmes (2015).
[16] On August 11, 2012, an incident took place that "started the chain of events leading to the Marikana massacre", asserts Pulitzer-prize winning photojournalist Greg Marinovich. On that day, striking mine workers marched on the offices of the NUM, at the time the dominant union, to have it relay their grievances to Lonmin. The miners were met by people who they describe as wearing NUM T-shirts, who opened fire on the marchers, wounding at least two. The workers claimed that that incident gave them no choice but to arm themselves and become more confrontational. The NUM claimed that it had to defend its office, which had come under attack. This incident took place in the context of increasing rivalry between the NUM and the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) for control of the Platinum Belt (Marinovich, 2013). In *Murder at Small Koppie: The real story of the Marikana massacre*, Marinovich (2016:30-34) also details the more long-term causes of the massacre, including a wildcat strike by rock drill operators at Impala Platinum (Implats) in January 2012 which lasted for six weeks and resulted in 17 000 workers being dismissed and four miners being killed. The strike took place after Implats signed off on a two-year wage agreement with the NUM which dismissed the demands by rock drill operators for substantial raises. Two months later, an 18% increase in wages for underground supervisors, who oversee the rock drill operators, was put in place which caused great unhappiness among the rock drill operators over the "treachery of NUM" (Marinovich, 2016:32) and led to the January 2012 strike. See also Botiveau (2014) for more on the decline of the NUM in the platinum sector and the competition between the union and AMCU.
[17] According to Lekgowa (2013), new songs such as *Sisebenza emigodini sisebenza kanzima* (We work underground, we work hard) were composed. Old songs such as *Senzeni na* (What have we done?) were sung with a "new and different poignancy". The Marikana Commission of Inquiry's (also known as the Farlam Commission of Inquiry) report into the events at Marikana, released by Zuma in June 2015 (De Wet, 2015), includes nine references to song – most of which emphasise an aggressive or violent characteristic of song. The report (2012:558), for example, states that striking workers "sang provocative songs and made inflammatory remarks which tendered to aggravate an already volatile situation".

with party supporters gathering on the koppie to “sing anti-Jacob Zuma songs” (Sosibo & Sapa, 2013).

Malema was to be known as EFF’s Commander-in-Chief, with the rest of the national leadership called commissars. EFF members are described as fighters, a title, according to Nieftagodien (2015:447), “that goes along with modes of self-fashioning that have actively appropriated and redeployed the symbols of the struggle for liberation”. The party’s trademark red berets “have become a popular struggle accessory and the most visible marker of identification with the party” (Nieftagodien, 2015:447). According to Suttner (2015), the EFF has “understood the significance and power of imagery in a country where colours, dress and forms of address and self-representation, especially those conveying military power, immediately carry meanings with which people align themselves…”. The militarism of South Africa’s political culture, identified by Suttner (2015), is significant in my thesis. As Suttner (2015) points out, the deployment of song is part of this “militaristic culture”, with it being utilised in brutal political battles to silence enemies and defend specific leaders. I discuss the notion of song as a weapon in Chapter Three. (See pp. 81-86).

People’s ideas about the past play a significant role in this combative space, as they try to find a secure footing to make sense of the unpredictable, unruly present. For the ruling party, the history of the struggle against apartheid is vital in attempts to keep the party united, states Philip Bonner. It is the “real glue that holds the ANC together” (Bonner, 2012:1). According to Bonner (2012:1), “this history of struggle has been mobilised repeatedly since 2004 to energise the ANC’s base and hold competing factions together… but to which appeal is also constantly made by rival fragments or factions as they try to represent themselves as the authentic custodians of the ANC’s past – and its struggle. What this means… is that history matters… history is a key political resource. You cannot do without it, it has to be controlled”. Booysen (2015:4, 7, 9-10, 15, 18, 31-32, 299) also highlights how important this “liberation dividend” continues to be for the ruling party to maintain its widespread support in society. It becomes essential during election campaigns, she says, as the party “keeps the flame of history alive” and calls on voters to remember the struggle fought against apartheid.

However, this “liberation dividend” is under attack by opposition parties. In November 2015, Malema questioned the ‘father of the nation’s’ legacy, telling the Oxford Union in the United Kingdom (UK): “The Nelson we celebrate now is a stage-managed Mandela who compromised the principles of the revolution, which are captured in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter is the bible of the SA [South African] revolution. Any deviation from that is a sell-out position. We normally don’t use phrases like Mandela sold out, he was too old, he was

tired, he left it to us" (Meintjies, 2015).[18] Malema's comments, according to journalist Ranjeni Munusamy (2015), tapped "into the growing restlessness and anger of people stuck in a state of hopelessness, searching for the root cause of their misery". During the *Rhodes* and *Fees Must Fall* protests, described in more detail below, students expressed frustrations over the reconciliation project and the compromises made during the transition period, she writes.

The local government elections held on August 3, 2016 also illustrated how imperative South Africa's struggle past is becoming for opposition parties in attempts to sway more voters. The Democratic Alliance (DA) used Mandela in their campaigns to appeal to voters who had previously supported the ANC. A television advert released by the party used his voice to convince a young woman in a voting booth to change her vote to the DA. The party's leader, Mmusi Maimane, also unveiled campaign posters with the slogan "Honour Madiba's dream, vote DA" outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria (DA, 2016 & Munusamy, 2016b). The ANC reacted by accusing the DA of "cheap politicking bordering on desperation" and said the party had "offended the memory and integrity of Comrade Madiba, using him and his legacy callously for their narrow political gains" (ANC, 2016).

The EFF also tried to leverage the legacy of a struggle hero to garner votes. It hosted a Solomon Mahlangu[19] Memorial Rally in Pretoria. Mahlangu was an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operative hanged by the apartheid government on April 6, 1979. The Mahlangu family took the EFF to court to prevent it from using his name, but the High Court in Pretoria dismissed their application (African News Agency, 2016). EFF spokesperson, Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, said: "There is no such a thing in South Africa as a right to commemorate a struggle hero…So if we have to seek permission each time we talk about struggle heroes, then the ANC must seek permission before it commemorates June 16" (SABC, 2016a). According to Nieftagodien (2015:450-451), EFF has been deliberate about framing itself as presenting a new lineage of freedom fighters, which has been key in the construction of its identity. From its founding, he says, EFF "proclaimed itself the new generation of freedom fighters following in the footsteps

[18] I thank Nieftagodien for drawing my attention to the significance of this call and the value of questioning the past. "…the accepted narrative is being challenged rather than simply claiming a particular part of history," according to Nieftagodien (2016). "The idea of critiquing the… icon and questioning what happened in the early 1990s is very important, because I think it allows us further publicly to think about the past… If you say Nelson Mandela is a sell-out, then you've got to go back and say what does this mean about the ANC, what does it mean about negotiations, what does it mean about the 1950s, what does it mean about the1940s?"

[19] The legacy of Solomon Mahlangu has in recent years regularly been revived. In March 2017, *Kalushi*, a film about his life was released (Ramphele, 2017). In 2015, students at Wits University renamed Senate House Solomon Mahlangu House during *Fees Must Fall* protests and in April 2016, the university announced that the building would officially be renamed Solomon Mahlangu House (Blignaut, 2015 & Koza, 2016). The song *Iyho Solomon* also became the "anthem" and a "rallying cry" for the *Fees Must Fall* protests in 2015 (Patel, 2016 & Pilane & Sosibo, 2016). In 2010, the song became the "ANC's new signature tune" at the party's National General Council (NGC) in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal (*City Press*, 2010). Five years earlier, in September 2005, a bronze statue of Mahlangu was unveiled in Mamelodi, east of Pretoria (Marschall, 2008:114).

of previous radical youth leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, and Steve Biko... The EFF has mobilized a variant of struggle history mostly extrapolated from a dominant ANC and Congress tradition narrative".

Two student movements — *Rhodes Must Fall* and *Fees Must Fall* — have also played an important part in the development of the contested political landscape. The *Rhodes Must Fall* movement, born after student Chumani Maxwele threw excrement over a statue of British imperialist and mining magnate Cecil John Rhodes on the University of Cape Town (UCT) campus on March 9, 2015, potently resurrected Rhodes, who had died more than a century before. Notably, Maxwele planned it as a "protest performance": He asked a friend to make placards which read "Exhibit White Arrogance @ UCT" and "Exhibit Black Assimilation @ UCT" and invited the media (Maxwele, 2016). It led to a renewed debate about South African monuments and heritage sites with several monuments and statues across the country being defaced, including the statue of Boer president Paul Kruger in Pretoria, which was then placed under 24-hour protection, the statue of Louis Botha in front of Parliament, the statue of Mohandas Gandhi in Johannesburg, and a statue of Queen Victoria in Port Elizabeth. After continued protests, the Rhodes statue was removed from its plinth on the UCT campus on April 9, 2015 (Essop & Malgas, 2015; Mbangeni & African News Agency, 2015; Phakathi, 2015; Smith, 2015 & Sosibo, 2015a).[20]

The *Rhodes Must Fall* campaign sparked heated discussions on how South Africa should deal with monuments and statues from its past. A student at UCT said: "Why should we erase history? The university must transform but I don't think removing the Rhodes statue will be the answer to the transformation challenges faced by UCT and other previously white universities" (Phakathi, 2015). The Minister of Arts and Culture, Nathi Mthethwa, referred back to the reconciliation narrative and called for statues to be kept in museums. Mthethwa said: "For far too long our heritage landscape has been viewed through the prism of our colonisers and we have got to challenge that. But to come up with a blanket ban is not helpful. Each statue has to be examined on its own merits because each history is not the same. We want to keep them in a museum, not destroy them, because our policy of reconciliation is that we should forgive each other, but never forget" (Smith, 2015). Just days after Maxwele threw excrement at the statue, he said: "I have no problem with the history of Rhodes but it can stay in the books or in a museum" (Sampson, 2015).

[20] The *Rhodes Must Fall* movement spread internationally to Oxford University in the UK. The UK movement called for the Rhodes statue to be removed from Oriel College. The college announced in January 2016 that it would not remove the statue (Rawlinson, 2016).

Four years earlier, 'Afrikaner' civil rights organisation AfriForum had called for the same commemorative treatment for *Dubula ibhunu* during the hate speech trial in 2011. (See Chapter Four, pp. 133-135). The arguments of both Mthethwa (and Maxwele) and AfriForum reflect the notion that the history of white people should be commemorated in museums. It seems pertinent to remark here that before 1994, white people were generally shown as having a history, while black people were depicted as having 'culture' and generally portrayed in a crude and largely offensive way. Against this "official' project, existed a "small but vigorous archive of resistance" which, by the 1980s, included oral history projects (Deacon, Mngqolo & Prosalendis, 2003:8-9). The Wits History Workshop also recognised well before 1994 that oral history was an essential part of telling a more inclusive story of South Africa ─ Philip Bonner, former Workshop Chair, for example, "fully engaged" with oral testimony in 1982 when he began to interview former factory workers at a textile factory in Benoni (Bonner, 2010:17). Nonetheless, archives concentrated on gathering written materials that came from the government or white individuals or bodies (Deacon, Mngqolo & Prosalendis, 2003:9). Museums, in particular state museums, and books therefore became the way in which 'white' history was commemorated. Mthethwa, who associated the Rhodes statue with 'white' history, wanted it to be safeguarded in the museum where it would not offend anyone. He thus sees the museum as the keeper of 'white' history.

Mthethwa's comments about keeping the statue in a museum not only suggest that he sees it as part of 'white' history that must confirm to a specific set of commemorative practices, but could also indicate that he views the museum as a safe place that could offer protection to the Rhodes statue. It also reflects the belief ─ part of the reconciliation narrative ─ that nobody's history should be destroyed, but that it does need to be disempowered. The museum is thus a place where the statue – which might not survive in the heat of the fray – can be preserved for everyone. It is the place you visit to be educated about matters that might otherwise be forgotten. The museum then bears our memory-work which, according to Young, has the opposite effect of Mthethwa's aim of not forgetting. Referring to Holocaust memorialisation efforts, Young (1992:273) argues that such efforts can make us ever more forgetful: "In effect, the initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them".

Mthethwa's recommendation to keep the statue safe in the museum, however, suggests that he did not accept that the statue was not merely an inert object that reminded people that colonialism once existed, but that it was felt to exercise power over its environment and continued to exude an exclusionary aura. According to Cynthia Kros (2015:151), the assault on the Rhodes statue "goes to the heart of what is disabling about a certain kind of institutional

culture, while providing the locus for a media event that may be nothing more than spectacle, but may also leave an indelible impression of the pain that is the legacy of exclusionary politics". Kros draws on Bhakti Shringarpure (2012), who examines the reasons for the destruction of cultural artefacts in Mali in 2012 by using the work of Georges Bataille on monuments. Bataille (cited in Shringarpure, 2012) says that "monumental productions are now the true masters … gathering the servile multitudes in their shadow, enforcing admiration and astonishment, order and constraint... it is in the form of cathedrals and palaces that Church and State speak and impose silence on the multitudes". Following Bataille, Shringarpure (2012) ascribes to monuments the "ability to command, prohibit, exclude and dominate". That is why these "structures are instinctively obliterated first in situations in which longstanding discontent gives way to collective rage". One of the *Rhodes Must Fall* activists referred to this silence imposed by the statue. While she was being interviewed by a journalist, cheering was heard from UCT's Bremner Building, which was renamed Azania House by the movement. "You hear that?" she asked. "That is the first [time] that is happening. Black acknowledgement. Applause" (Serino, 2015).

Another event that is significant in chronicling the creation of the increasingly volatile political landscape and its multiple points of conflict at which heritage often seems to be at the centre, is the *Fees Must Fall* protests which began in October 2015 in response to an increase in fees at South African universities. Protests started at Wits and spread to campuses across the country, including UCT, the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) and Rhodes University (RU) (Booysen & Bandama, 2016:320-321).[21] The movement was not only aimed at the 'fall' of fees, with demands varying among different universities, including in-sourcing of workers and free decolonised education (Moosa, 2016).

Songs, labelled by Godsell et al. as one of the "protestors' documents", were deployed to convey the messages of *Fees Must Fall*.[22] Singing songs that were performed during the

[21] See Booysen (2016) for a collection of essays from activists and scholars on *Fees Must Fall*.
[22] Godsell et al. (2016:108-109) also refer to social media platforms as one of the "protestors' documents" that gave students and workers the opportunity to produce "counter-narratives". Hashtags brought the "personal stories [together] under a common label". Social media also gave activists a channel to disseminate news about activities and events and formed "new methods of reporting" outside of the traditional news media. Jacobs & Wasserman (2015), for example, describe October 21, 2015, when *Fees Must Fall* activists protested outside Parliament in Cape Town during then Finance Minister Nhlanhla Nene's medium-term budget policy statement, as the "day mainstream media became old in South Africa. It was the day the hashtags took control". The hashtags on that day included #FeesMustFall, #NationalShutDown and #ZumaMustFall. The hashtag #FeesMustFall was also included in a court interdict granted to UCT that prohibited student protestors from "disrupting or otherwise interfering in any way with the normal activities of the university" (Pather, 2015). See also Bosch (2017) for an analysis of the role of the social network Twitter in the *Rhodes Must Fall* campaign. Luescher, Loader & Mugume (2016) look at the #SteynMustFall (in reference to the statue of MT Steyn, President of the Orange Free State from 1896 to 1902) and #UFSFeesMustFall student movement at the University of the Free State (UFS) as an "internet-age student movement".

struggle, "brought to consciousness the unfinished business of the mass democratic movement" (Godsell, Lepere, Mafoko & Nase, 2016:108, 113-114).[23] The songs that echoed around the protests in 2015 included *Iyoh Solomon*, a song honouring executed MK member Solomon Mahlangu.[24] It was described as the "anthem" of the movement (Patel, 2016).[25] A student activist at Nelson Mandela University (NMU)[26], Azola Dayile, identified with Mahlangu's famous words before his execution: "My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them. They must continue the fight".[27] Dayile said: "We are the branches of the tree that Solomon Mahlangu's blood nourished". Mahlangu's age – he was twenty-two years old when he was executed – also played a role in students relating to him: "Mahlangu died defending what he knew was right in his heart, and so are we as student activists. He paved the way for us," said Dayile. According to Wits student Sarah Mukwebo, the song was initially used to "mobilise" students, but then the meaning began to change: "At first I saw this as a song to mobilise students: when *Iyho Solomon* was sung, we would get energised. But the song then became a silencing tactic by others within the movement. When someone did not like a point another student was raising, they would break out in song" (Pilane & Sosibo, 2016).[28] The legacy of Mahlangu was also deployed by ANC councillors in Tshwane to silence their political opponents in April 2017. They initially prevented Solly Msimanga from the DA, who became mayor after the local government

[23] Godsell et al. (2016:113-114) also identify other functions of song. Drawing on the work of Tai Wei Lim (2015), Hank Johnston (2009) and Robert Pring-Mill (1987), the authors state that song sustains and revitalises protestors, plays a mobilising role, and generates hope.

[24] In 2010, *City Press* described the song as the "ANC's new signature tune" after the party's NGC in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. In the run-up to the NGC the song was first sung by activists from the ANC Youth League and later by other ANC members across the country. Its origins were not clear: Some delegates told the newspaper that it was composed by an unnamed ANCYL member. Others said it was an old MK song. Several party members, including veterans, indicated they had never heard of the song before. ANC KwaZulu-Natal Secretary, Sihle Zikalala, a former ANCYL Secretary-General, said it "is a youth league song aimed at conscientising young people about the contributions of their peers during the struggle". "It is not a new song or an MK song but is about our young comrades celebrating and acknowledging the role of Solomon Mahlangu, a young MK cadre who paid the ultimate price for his contribution to the struggle when he was executed" (*City Press*, 2010).

[25] The *Daily Vox* identified six struggle songs that one "should brush up on before getting back to campus" at the beginning of January 2016. These include *Senzeni na* and *No Woman No Cry* (Patel, 2016).

[26] The university was formerly known as Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU).

[27] According to Marschall (2008:115), Mahlangu's last words derive from a quotation from Giuseppe Mazzini, who in 1831 founded Young Italy, a society that aimed to create a united Italian republic. Mazzini's words read: "Ideas grow quickly when watered with the blood of martyrs" (Davis, 1997:188-189 & Segré, 1934:121-122). Mahlangu came across and remembered the quotation possibly "in the context of his ideological training" (Marschall, 2008:115).

[28] Employing song in an attempt to silence opponents has on a number of occasions occurred in the political space. In 2017, song was deployed in this manner at a memorial for struggle veteran Ahmed Kathrada, who died on 28 March. Nationwide memorials, as well as his funeral at Westpark Cemetery in Johannesburg, became entangled in the political battles around calls for Zuma to resign. After memorials in Johannesburg and Cape Town where Zuma was criticised and called on to resign, immediately before and after he dismissed Pravin Gordhan as Finance Minister, his supporters fought back, utilising song to try and silence his enemies in his 'home province' of KwaZulu-Natal. At a memorial service in Durban, Gordhan, the event's main speaker, who had by then been dismissed as minister, and the ANC's Treasurer-General, Zweli Mkhize, who earlier said the "ANC is no longer the centre" in a statement expressing "reservations" about the manner in which the cabinet reshuffle was conducted, were booed and "drowned out by ANCYL members who erupted into the song "Awusitshele uZuma wenzeni" (Please tell us what has Zuma done)" (Davis, 2017; *Eyewitness News*, 2017; Fengu & Mapumulo, 2017; Mkhize, 2017; Mthethwa & Cowan, 2017; Nicolson, 2017 & Nkosi, 2017).

elections in 2016, from delivering his first state of the capital address on the anniversary of Mahlangu's execution (6 April) at the Tshwane Events Centre, approximately one kilometre from where he was hanged. They sang *Dubula ibhunu* as part of their efforts to silence Msimanga (Mabena & Nkosi, 2017). The date for the address does not seem to be a coincidence, with the DA seemingly also interested in capturing its appeal. At the beginning of his address, Msimanga paid tribute to Mahlangu, drawing on his famous words before his execution, mentioned above, to suggest that the DA was continuing the fight that he had started. "It is this fight for our people, with our people, that we continue decades later" (Kekana, 2017 & Msimanga, 2017).

During the 2016 *Fees Must Fall* protests, another song appeared: An adaption of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (God bless Africa), called the "Decolonised National Anthem". The song's journey reflects the dynamic, fluid nature of song. Koketso "KK" Poho, chair of the EFF student command at Wits, was called to the stage at the General Assembly meeting on October 7, 2016 to sing the song. Poho first heard it when the Mighty Seventh Day Adventist Student Movement Choir sang it at the commemoration of the "Wits 7" — seven students from the university who died in a car accident in May 2016 on their way back to Johannesburg from Limpopo. Esther Bhosha, a choir member, taught the song to the choir. She in turn heard it at a church camp in Zimbabwe. Poho and his band members adapted the song to be "more suitable in a revolutionary space". It was given "an aggressive base" to make it sound less sad and a word was also changed (Mulaudzi, 2016).[29]

The Marikana massacre, the formation of the EFF, and the *Rhodes* and *Fees Must Fall* student movements have all contributed to the creation of a highly explosive political landscape. The past, and who has the right to claim ownership of its interpretation and deployment in contemporary South Africa, occupies a prominent space in these political battles. The political landscape in South Africa in 2017 is increasingly becoming more unpredictable and ever-changing. The succession battle to replace Zuma as ANC President at the party's National Conference in December 2017 has substantially raised the political temperature. I have, however, had to draw somewhat of a line in the sand in order to complete my thesis. Events after August 2017 have thus not been considered in detail.

[29] Members of the *Fees Must Fall* movement replaced the line *Noma sekunzima emhlabeni/ sihlukunyezwa kabuhlungu,* with *Noma sekunzima emhlabeni/ sihlukunyezwa ngamabhunu. Ukuhlukenyezwa* (*sihlukunyezwa)* means to be bothered or abused. In the first version, it refers to painful abuse. In the version sang by the *Fees Must Fall* movement, it means to be abused by white people, according to Mulaudzi (2016).

The influence of interviews on my research journey

Apart from the changing political landscape, interviews I conducted for this thesis also drew attention to functions of song I had not previously considered. This fundamentally changed the course of my thesis in ways I did not anticipate. An interview I conducted with the curators of the *Singing Freedom: Music and the struggle against apartheid* exhibition was instrumental in revealing a more personal way in which song may be utilised. The interview with curators Paul Tichmann and Shanaaz Galant was initially intended to focus on the exhibition itself and the challenges involved in exhibiting intangible heritage and specifically song as a form of active heritage. However, Galant expressed a function of song that is not directly connected to national politics, but instead reveals a more intimate purpose as an unmediated channel that provides a way to reclaim the past from both the academy and heritage institutions, whose versions of the past are experienced as alienating. Galant (2016) described song as "people's stories". "[I]n a sense, it really is our people's archive… of struggle, where it was, in a sense, untampered with… in a way… it was purely their expression, their response… to what was going on."

A similar view was also expressed in other interviews. Ayanda Dlodlo, Minister of Home Affairs and former Secretary-General of the Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association (MKMVA), viewed song in a similar way, but has a distinctly more personal connection to song as the only legitimate transmitter of *her* specific history. Song is a way to reclaim her history from alienating commemorative practices: "In the absence of a shrine or a museum that I could go to, or take my children or my great-grandchildren fifty years from now, the only thing I can do is to sing a song to my grandchild… they are a living testimony of where we come from and who we are as South Africans. They are a mobile monument of our struggle, and that's why I say it is something that we need to keep alive," said Dlodlo (2016), echoing Young's (1992) notion of the counter-monument.[30] For Dlodlo, song resists the official, dominant narrative that does not include her past. Song is not only seen as a way to tell the story of the struggle against apartheid, but also conveys the narrative of other struggles in South Africa. Fanyane

[30] In an opinion piece published in February 2017, Ronnie Kasrils, former Minister of Intelligence and a founding member of the London-based Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, writes that "as much as there is a growing literature, the history of MK is under-recorded and, more particularly, along with the history of Apla (Azanian People's Liberation Army), is barely featured in the annals of the country's conventional national military historiography and museums, still dominated by the racist narratives of the SADF and its colonial predecessors… MK does not feature in school history curricula, no official films have been produced". However, he states that Liliesleaf, the Apartheid Museum, the Mandela Capture Site at Howick, and Freedom Park "are counters to such domination" (Kasrils, 2017). The Head of Department (HOD) for history at a high school in Johannesburg, however, said that the role of MK is covered in the current social sciences and history curriculum in Grade 9, Grade 11 and Grade 12.

Tshabalala, Provincial Chairperson of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) in Gauteng, for example, sees song as a way to tell the specific story of the TAC (Tshabalala, 2016).

The resistance expressed towards a dominant narrative is not an isolated occurrence and, as Nieftagodien points out, is becoming more frequent. “Compared to the period before 2003/4 there is now a greater willingness among interviewees to point out inconsistencies and problems in the grand narratives... In this process local narratives have also started to disarticulate from the dominant political histories (although rarely completely delinked) allowing for the exploration and construction of different and alternative narratives” (Nieftagodien, 2010:52).

In an interview in 2016, Nieftagodien, who has done extensive public history work in Soweto, Alexandra (a township in the north of Johannesburg), and Ekurhuleni on Gauteng’s East Rand, said: “People even from the ANC will say that what has been done has been good and interesting. We can see Mandela’s all over, OR Tambo, and other struggle icons and the people who we work with will say that’s good, but we still don’t see our history in that… more and more individuals who may not have been directly involved in the struggle, but also people who were involved in the struggle are saying these existing main narratives don’t represent us… if the ANC narrative has tried to do one thing, particularly those from exile, then it has been to celebrate the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe and of the exiles as… the torchbearers of the revolution, and so for many rank-and-file soldiers to say we don’t see our story there, shows that people are beginning to peel away from that… main narrative” (Nieftagodien, 2016).

Debord’s work, *The Society of the Spectacle*, provides a valuable framework that illuminates why certain forms of formal heritage are perceived in this way in post-apartheid South Africa. According to Debord (1994:12), “the whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*”. He writes: “The spectacle corresponds to the historical moment at which the commodity completes its colonization of social life. It is not just that the relationship to commodities is now plain to see – commodities are now *all* that there is to see; the world we see is the world of the commodity” (Debord, 1994:29). Viewing heritage through Debord’s eyes sheds light on why Dlodlo feels so strongly that there are no museums she could take her children or great-grandchildren to: She experiences formal heritage sites as being inauthentic and artificial, a “mere representation” of her past. Museums are also associated with ‘white’ history and racial exclusivity. Some heritage projects are furthermore aimed mainly at international tourists rather than locals, and are largely influenced by commercial considerations, as I show below.

The commodity is at the centre of the spectacle. Derek Peterson (2015:1) asserts that "there is a booming market in heritage products of Africa, and entrepreneurs avidly pursue development by making medicine, art, music, clothing, and other articles into global commodities. A great variety of brokers outside the museum have been involved in the production of heritage". The erection of some heritage sites within South Africa is also guided by powerful commercial considerations and created for consumption by the global tourism market, rather than locals. A prime example of this commercialisation of heritage[31] is the six-metre-tall bronze statue of Mandela, sculpted by Jacob Maponyane and Kobus Hattingh, at Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton. Mandela is depicted dancing his famous "Madiba jive" (Sihlongonyane, 2009:5, 10). One would struggle to find a more appropriate description of the square than Debord's label for such centres: "[T]emples of frenetic consumption" (Debord, 1994:123). According to the square's management, "South Africa's favourite son holds court" over the "European styled piazza [that] commemorates heritage". There is "always a song or a dance in the air at the Square" (Nelson Mandela Square, n.d.). Although Mandela's granddaughter Dorothy Mandela questioned how much the statue looked like Mandela at the unveiling on March 31, 2004 (Sapa, 2004), it has nonetheless become a popular site for tourists to pose for photographs.[32] According to Mfaniseni Sihlongonyane (2009:14), the use of Mandela's image "convert[s] struggle-memories into new products that can easily be consumed as knowledge by international tourists". His "symbolic presence" at the square became "crucial in the urban revitalisation scheme of the Sandton precinct" as it heralded a new symbolic dispensation: "Erecting the monument became a means to erase the past bad memories of European exclusivity conjuring up images of exorcism".[33]

One could argue that Tambo's National Heritage Monument in Pretoria also displays elements of Debord's society of the spectacle, including that its erection might be influenced by commercial considerations. According to Debord (1994:114), "the spectacle, being the reigning social organization of a paralyzed history, of a paralyzed memory, of an abandonment

[31] According to Harriet Deacon (2009:6), discussions about the economic value of arts and culture have been taking place in South Africa since the period after 1994. "By the 2000s DAC also began to highlight the importance of arts and culture in economic development within South Africa, but this debate has not been as prominent as it is elsewhere". In the second draft version of the Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, released in November 2016, the economic benefits of art, culture and heritage are acknowledged, with the third objective focusing on harnessing, "art, culture and heritage as creative, innovative, educational [and] social development practices with the economic capacities for transforming South Africa into an inclusive society based on actual equality" (DAC, 2016:3). Internationally, heritage has been recognised in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) from the United Nations (UN). SDG 11, which relates to sustainable cities and communities, aims to "strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage". The success of the target is measured in economic terms: The total public and private expenditure per capita spent on the "preservation, protection and conservation of all cultural and natural heritage" (United Nations, n.d.).
[32] The statue also became one of the mourning sites after Mandela's death on December 5, 2013, with visitors laying flowers in the square (*Huffington Post*, 2013).
[33] For an in-depth discussion of the statue, see Sihlongonyane (2009).

of any history founded in historical time, is in effect a *false consciousness of time.*" Tambo's series of more than eighty statues are all walking together towards their preordained destination of freedom. Mandela, right fist clenched in a defiant, victorious salute, awaits them at the 1994 moment.[34] In this depiction of the past, there is no sense of time: Chief Tshwane,[35] or "The Mysterious One" who lived circa mid-1700s, as a plaque next to his statue identifies him, stands next to Chief Bhambatha,[36] born in 1865.

However, instead of dismissing the procession of statues as presenting a "false consciousness of time", its resistance against a linear interpretation of time could point to the presence of entanglement in the post-apartheid heritage landscape. The term 'entanglement' is used here in the sense of its analysis by Achille Mbembe (2001), in which he focuses on its temporal qualities. According to Mbembe (2001:14), "as an age, the postcolony encloses multiple *durées* made up of discontinuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another, and envelope one another: an *entanglement.*" It would be impossible to give a credible account of such time without stating three important aspects, argues Mbembe (2001:16). "This time of African existence is neither a linear time nor a simple sequence in which each moment effaces, annuls, and replaces those that preceded it, to the point where a single age exists within society. This time is not a series but an *interlocking* of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures, each age bearing, altering, and maintaining the previous ones". Secondly, that it consists of "disturbances, of a bundle of unforeseen events, of more or less regular fluctuations and oscillations…". Thirdly, that "close attention to its real pattern of ebbs and flows shows that this time is not irreversible. All sharp breaks, sudden and abrupt outbursts of volatility, it cannot be forced into any simplistic model and calls into question the hypothesis of stability and *rupture* underpinning social theory…" (Mbembe, 2001:16).[37]

[34] I thank Nieftagodien for drawing my attention to this representation.
[35] Chief Tshwane's description on the plaque includes the following: "Chief Tshwane was a leader who according to oral history inhabited the area now known as Tshwane before the Boer trekkers arrived in the mid-1800s. He is believed to be the son of Chief Mushi, an Ndebele king". The plaque refers to "various controversies" surrounding the move to change the name from Pretoria to Tshwane in 2005, "because so little information exists on Chief Tshwane". Two Ndebele kings said they had never heard of Tshwane. Other critics "have said that Tshwane is a myth, part of a legend that has been perpetuated through oral history, about a man who never existed". Zelda Strout sculpted the work (National Heritage Monument, n.d. a).
[36] Chief Bhambatha, chief of the Zondi, a small branch of Zulu, "led a rebellion to protest against" the poll tax introduced by the Natal Colony in 1905, according to the information provided on his plaque. After fighting a two-month-long guerrilla campaign, he ultimately failed. "Much controversy surrounded his death, as colonial forces claimed to have cut off his head to prove he was dead, while his followers insisted he escaped and went into hiding". Mondli Mdanda created the sculpture (National Heritage Monument, n.d. b).
[37] See Nuttall (2009:2-11) for a detailed discussion of the ways in which the term entanglement has been utilised and interpreted.

It is this entanglement, argues Carolyn Hamilton (2015:254), that is "emblematic of what distinguishes the field of heritage in post-colonial settings like… South Africa, both from the prior constitution of the field… under colonialism, and in the former imperial metropoles".[38] The defiance of heritage "to singular and straightforward specification", argues Hamilton (2015:254), "alerts us to its location in the eye of the storm of post-coloniality, and more specifically, in the latter's characteristic refusal of linear temporality that places the past firmly in the past and outside of the present". This explains why songs originally composed during the struggle era are so easily repurposed and redeployed in a post-apartheid space. Through song, 'heroes' and struggles from the past are reactivated with ease to fortify the power of leaders in the present and carry them into the future. As Godsell et al. (2016:114) assert about the role of song during *Fees Must Fall* protests: The songs were "about a past, a present and a future all in one moment. The songs carry with them the intense trauma of the past, the present reality and the possible future…".

The thesis question

This thesis seeks to extend an understanding of heritage in South Africa. The aim of the study is to examine the deployment of struggle songs as a form of active intangible heritage. It utilises the notion of the counter-monument (Young, 1992) to shed light on this deployment. The study will go on to explore the potent roles of these songs that are often mobilised and reshaped in political contests. Struggle songs have particular purchase in these volatile political contests, because they are able to seek cover under both history and heritage. If their right to exist is questioned, they are granted immunity through a double defence: Their presence is either guaranteed through the emotional and personal appeal and sense of belonging associated with heritage, or through the unquestionable authority that is attributed to history.

[38] Hamilton (2015:254) identifies entanglement around the last years of Mandela's life and specifically the 2013 court case between members of the Mandela family over the remains of three of his children. In June 2013, Mandela's daughter Makaziwe and fifteen members of his extended family took Mandela's grandson Mandla to court to force him to return the remains of three of Mandela's children – Makgatho, Thembekile and Makaziwe – to Qunu. In 2011, Mandla moved the graves from Qunu to Mvezo, where Mandela was born. Mandla, the chief of Mvezo, lost the case and after he failed to comply with an order to return the remains, the sheriff of the high court broke down the gate to Mvezo Great Place. The remains were exhumed and returned to Qunu (De Wet, 2013 & Evans, 2013). The entanglement present in the events surrounding the Mandela case and more broadly the last year of life, Hamilton (2015:254) asserts, featured "ancestral politics, embodied inheritances, graves, custom, political legitimation, struggle legacies, archives, evidence, and legal documents, involving families, politicians, courts, and foundations". The post-colonial entanglements, states Hamilton (2015:254), are partly influenced by the "extent of the historical entanglements of indigenous and colonial concepts" (See Hamilton, 1998:3-4). Hamilton's approach and emphasis on how different interests became entangled illuminates how colonial politics were driven by "diverse and shifting interests… it was never simply about colonial subjugation and anti-colonial resistance" (Nuttall, 2009:2).

The study will also consider how notions of culture and song as weapon continue to gain traction today. Describing song in this manner, suggests that it is regarded as significant and powerful, but, as Gunner (2015:329) points out, this expression implies that song can be managed and directed by its operators. This study will, however, reveal that song's effect in such clashes can be unpredictable and difficult to rein in.

This thesis will furthermore demonstrate that the deployment of song cannot be reduced to a single purpose or meaning. Nor does it only function on the national political stage. Its unruly, slippery deployment in post-apartheid South Africa requires a wide-ranging approach which acknowledges that song means different things to different people.

The study will also delve into how song provides people with a way to reclaim their pasts from the institutionalised narratives presented at heritage sites and created by the academy. Song forms a vibrant counter-monument that rejects and resists the spectacular representation of the struggle and places the responsibility to remember not on official heritage institutions, but on the singers, audience and the vilified or celebrated subjects of song.

The focus of this study is on the current utilisation of song. It is not intended to be a comprehensive study of struggle songs or the history of struggle songs; my attention will specifically be on the deployment of struggle songs in post-apartheid South Africa, which allows me the opportunity to re-examine intangible heritage.

The following questions are posed in this study: Why do songs originally composed under the oppressive conditions of apartheid continue to be deployed with such vigour in a democratic South Africa? What are the effects and meanings of this deployment in different spaces? Furthermore, if struggle songs are in fact considered a form of intangible heritage, what does this mean for the field of heritage as well as the performance of song?

In search of an answer to these questions, I will present three case studies – the *Dubula ibhunu* court case between AfriForum and Julius Malema in 2011, the ANC National Conference in 2012, and a museum exhibition on the role of music during the struggle. These three case studies will allow me to explore the multiple ways in which song is utilised in different contexts and the diverse meanings that are attached to this potent, active form of heritage.

These case studies were not selected because they are the only spaces in which song echoes in post-apartheid South Africa. In fact, song is viewed as an inherent part of protest in South

Africa, as Omotayo Jolaosho (2013:140-141 & 2015:443-444) points out. Song is heard at political rallies, including those of opposition parties, at funerals of apartheid veterans, and during recent student protests. However, each of the three sites contributes to achieving the aims of the study, as they allow me to explore different aspects related to the deployment of song as active intangible heritage in post-apartheid South Africa.

Firstly, the *Dubula ibhunu* trial forms the starting point of this journey, as Mvula's passionate defence of the song sparked my academic curiosity and ultimately led me to start exploring the place of song. The trial presents a valuable opportunity to examine how heritage helps to drive political power struggles in contemporary South Africa. The role of heritage in such battles is not in itself unexpected, as scholars such as Ali Hlongwane (2008 & 2015), Marschall (2008; 2010) and Stephanie Victor (2015) have analysed how heritage is utilised in political contests surrounding the framing, memorialisation and commemoration of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, during which sixty-nine people were killed by the police during an anti-passbook protest, the 1976 Soweto Uprisings over the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and more broadly the policies of Bantu education, and the 1992 Bhisho massacre, in which twenty-eight ANC supporters were killed in a protest for free political activity in the Ciskei homeland. However, this thesis does allow for a radical re-examination of the rules of engagement governing these contests. The battle between Malema and AfriForum in the Equality Court was anything but a clearly defined one between 'us' and 'them'. Instead, it was characterised by trade-offs, as the two parties borrowed from each other's idea of heritage, bringing multiple foundational myths into contact with one another and playing different forms of commemoration off against one another.[39] The very words 'history' and 'heritage' become deeply significant in the battles to demarcate borders, to demand protection for various practices and perspectives, and to defend ideological or political territory.

[39] Mbongiseni Buthelezi's (2015) analysis of clashes over heritage in KwaZulu-Natal also reveals that battles over heritage are not necessarily marked by fixed, rigid boundaries. As part of Mbeki's African Renaissance ideology, the province has actively been promoted and advertised as the 'Zulu kingdom' with Shaka at the heart of the narrative. This has also created a space for others, such as the descendants of the Ndwandwe kingdom ruled by Zwide before its collapse in the 1820s after a series of wars with the Zulu kingdom under Shaka, to "reach for heritages that contest" this Zulu-focused narrative. It has furthermore provided them with "a language with which to articulate their projects". This resistance, however, still happens in understated ways due to the strength of the Zulu-dominated narrative and the symbolic significance of the Ndwandwe as Shaka's enemies. An example of this, is the hosting of a "Zwide Heritage Day". Oral forms also play a significant role in these heritage struggles. The *ihubo lesizwe* ('national' hymn) and *izithakazelo* (kinship group address names), have sustained a Ndwandwe identity and rejuvenated the Ndwandwe *izizwe* (nation). Shaka's *izibongo* (praise poems), a focal point of the framing of the province as the Zulu kingdom and which celebrate the downfall of Zwide, also simultaneously ensure that the "symbolic power of the Ndwandwe has lived on" (Buthelezi, 2015:158-163, 165-169, 172-175).

The ANC's National Conference, held in 2012, was selected as the second site, as it provides an opportunity to explore the place of song outside the institutional constraints of the other two sites (the court and the museum). It revealed that song is deployed in political battles to silence enemies and to fortify the power of specific leaders. However, the deployment of a 'new' song by Zuma revealed just how uncontrollable song can be, operating in ways that even its lead singer cannot predict.

The third site – the museum – was initially chosen as it would provide a fascinating look into how the institution of the museum treated this active unruly form of heritage. Instead, an interview with the curators changed the focus, not only of the exhibition analysis, but of the entire thesis. A new function of song was introduced: Song as a way of resisting official narratives in formal heritage institutions that are seen as illegitimate. Deployed in this way, song, as a counter-monument, places the duty to remember the struggle not on the museum, but on its singers, audience and subjects of song.

Rationale

The phenomenon of heritage itself has become extremely potent in post-1994 South Africa. Drawing on the work of Benedict Anderson (1991) on the nation as an "imagined political community", as well as Achille Mbembe's (2001) theories on power in the post-colony, Herwitz argues that issues around representations of the past become so significant in the post-colonial moment because postcolonial nations such as South Africa imitate their former rulers and "set up museums, archives, and the like… [as] they are… the *only* materials through which colonial subjects can conceive their futures". He argues that post-colonial societies need heritage, otherwise "it would be impossible… to imagine and create their own nations". It is a vital "rehabilitating move… for societies that have endured the repression of their pasts and the castigation of their traditions under colonialism… to rescript both as heritage and in opposition to the colonizer" (Herwitz, 2012:8-9, 21).

It is not only on a societal level that heritage has become so potent. Hamilton (2015:256) asserts the more personal significance attached to heritage and the agency it provides people with: "Increasingly an idea mobilised by ordinary people to think about the meaning of the past in the present, heritage is an idea that has possibilities and consequences in their lives. It does things in the world. It is capable of mobilising or inhibiting people. Sometimes it regulates and authorises; it can be dissonant; and it can itself be a process of engagement". These functions all come to the fore in this study: Song is utilised in political battles to embolden specific leaders and to silence others. Leaders themselves attempt to harness the potency of song to control

their supporters, on occasion mistaking the vigour with which it is performed with for a deeper sense of unity. Song is furthermore valued as the only medium that tells the true story of the past, resisting the official, alienating versions of the academy and heritage institutions. In the *Dubula ibhunu* trial, ideas of heritage (and history) were brought into dialogue with one another and used in attempts to legitimise arguments about how song should be commemorated in post-apartheid South Africa.

The *Dubula ibhunu* hate speech trial in 2011 signalled just how important heritage had become in post-apartheid South Africa. Dlodlo said the ruling declaring the song hate speech "rape[s] our history and legacy", was "an attempt to kill a history" and "literally defecate[s] on the graves of Sisulu [and] Luthuli" (Dlodlo, 2011). The study allows us to explore why heritage is able to exercise active agency in post-1994 South Africa, and why Dlodlo felt such strong emotions about the song.

In contrast to the alienating history of the academy, museums and other heritage sites, song as a form of active heritage may then even offer what Ferdinand de Jong & Michael Rowlands (2008:133) term a "technology for healing" or act as a "form of therapy" (Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008:156). Song for Dlodlo is "the only thing" she can use to ensure her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren know and understand her past. In this way song restores her story, ensuring that it lives on in her descendants.

According to Hamilton (2015:258), concerns, such as those of Dlodlo, "about the biases of the colonial archive drive a turn to heritage practices as an alternative source of materials about the past". "In the face of colonial structuring and determination of the archival record", argues Hamilton, "heritage has been valorised for its capacities to have protected, through time, threatened materials that exist outside of the archives… Thus heritage today is frequently positioned to do the work of archive, and is burdened with the responsibilities of archive in substantiating claims made about the past". Hamilton (2015:258) mentions land claims in which the upkeep of gravesites is considered as a form of evidence, as an example of "heritage forms… [that] do the work of archive". When song is described as "our people's archive" (Galant, 2016) it is not in the sense of an archive being seen as a process of production and mediation as Hamilton views it, but rather as something that provides direct access to the past. Describing song in this way provides it with authenticity – it gives singers a real connection to the past.

However, this thesis subscribes to Hamilton's idea of the archive as an active, ongoing one. Hamilton argues that we should study the "constituting" of the archive. The word is specifically

used in the continuous present tense "to draw attention to constitution as an ongoing process through time…". The "operations of archive" have "life processes involving change over time" (Hamilton & Leibhammer, 2016:22-23).[40] Drawing on Hamilton, as well as the works of Marie Jorritsma (2011) and Carol Muller (2002), this study will show that song recreates the archive as it is performed. (See Chapter Three, pp. 102-104). It is an active archive that is reconstructed and dynamically shifts and changes to focus on different areas or personalities of the struggle and tells its story in different ways. It includes complex processes of dialogue between a lead singer and the audience, who are actively involved in whether a performance works.

Surprisingly, struggle songs have largely been an unresearched area (Gilbert, 2007:423; & Lekgoathi, 2013:191). According to Gilbert (2007:423), "little detailed research has been conducted on freedom songs, the ubiquitous but largely informal and un-professionalised genre that was (and still is) probably the dominant musical medium of popular political expression. Given the indispensable presence of freedom songs at mass gatherings, celebrations, funerals, protests and myriad public events in South Africa, this is a significant gap". Since Gilbert made this comment, song's role in the struggle has begun to receive more attention. Gilbert (2007) explores how music and other forms such as poetry were deployed to acquire international support for the struggle by investigating the Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensembles, Neo Lawrence Ramoupi (2013) examines song at Robben Island, and Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi (2013) looks at the role music and song played in political mobilisation on the ANC's Radio Freedom.

However, apart from a pioneering study of Zuma's singing of *Umshini Wami* and Malema's utilisation of *Dubula ibhunu* both by Gunner, who has studied and analysed Zulu song forms in their social and political contexts for many years, the place of song after 1994 has not been explored in much detail ─ it is against this neglect that this thesis focuses on the deployment of struggle songs in post-apartheid South Africa.

Gunner's work is instrumental in drawing attention to the visceral manner in which struggle songs recall the memories of the struggle and the potent impact this has on contemporary politics. She alerts us to the "role of song as an element of political discourse in the public space" (Gunner, 2015:335). Her work forms a significant part of the methodological framework I employ to analyse the songs performed at the ANC's National Conference in 2012. (See Chapter Five, pp. 172-176, 178-186). Gunner does, however, view the journey of song from

[40] For more on the "constituting" of the archive, see *Refiguring the Archive* (2002), edited by Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh.

the struggle era into post-apartheid South Africa as a process of organic transmission. The song itself does not change. It stays the same, although the time in which it is utilised might be different. *Umshini Wami,* argues Gunner, had "deep links with the liberation songs of the struggle era, and its birth (or partial birth) in that time". She describes its deployment by Zuma as a "resurrection" (Gunner, 2009:36, 40), which suggests that the song had risen from the dead to operate in a different time, but was still essentially the same.

In examining an interview with Malema, in which he talks about being drawn to the ANC when he was approximately nine years old and the significant role that song and its energetic performance played in this process, Gunner combs the interview for facts and evidence of transmission. She concludes that Malema had "been schooled from an early age in such songs" and states that in "late 1980s and early 1990s, struggle songs were being passed on from an older to a younger generation and they were seen as an important part of a political education" (Gunner, 2015:332). Again, the transmission of song is portrayed as organic, with song not changing during the process. Gunner (2015:333) also describes *Dubula ibhunu* as "sedimented in the archive of struggle memory", which suggests that song occupies a fixed, stable position within the archive.

In contrast to Gunner's portrayal of the transmission of song as organic, David Coplan & Bennetta Jules-Rosette (2005) conclude their analysis of different deployments and versions of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, which includes its utilisation by the ANC, different religious communities and as part of South Africa's national anthem, by stating that "… all the transmutations of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*… conclude with the hope for change. But what has changed perhaps as much as anything, always a stalking horse for newly emerging political realities, is the song itself as its strains drift through the century of collective memory between Sontonga's [Enoch M. Sontonga, its composer] untimely death and South Africa's too-long delayed rebirth" (Coplan & Jules-Rosette, 2005:305). A song itself changes depending on the context in which its live performance takes place. Every "rendition of a song is connected to the community or context in which it is performed, imbuing the piece with a distinctive, historically emergent social and political meaning" (Coplan & Jules-Rosette, 2005:285). This is an important idea in this study. My analysis of Mangaung's songs shows that different meanings can be produced and expressed as song is deployed in different performance settings. Song itself undergoes change during these performances.

In her studies of song, Gunner focuses on the lead singer. She does not explore the question of individual agency and tends to ascribe a collective meaning to song. For Gunner, song brings together supporters at political rallies. She (2015:328) writes that there "was a sense of

song uniting a gathering and being part of a moment of political defiance" against Zuma and the ANC government at two EFF rallies in 2014 (its election manifesto launch in Tembisa in February and a rally in Atteridgeville before the national elections in May). In her analysis of Zuma's deployment of *Umshini Wami*, Gunner argues that the song bought agency to the people. The "instrument of the machine gun, *umshini wami*, suggests not so much the brute power of war but that of agency, and the ability of the individual sanctioned by the group to bring about change" (Gunner, 2009:43).

In his study of Makonde revolutionary songs in Mozambique, however, Paolo Israel (2010) cautions us to be wary of too easily considering a crowd singing together as a single homogeneous group. Song is not a window that allows us to see a clear image. Instead, he says, song can be viewed as a mirror that reflects. It can easily create an illusion that deceives us. Israel questions how we interpret and understand the meanings that individuals, singing together as a crowd, attach to a song:

"Songs do offer easy ways into imagining collective subjects. A crowd sings a song. Is it expressing the crowd's inner essence, channelling its feelings? Is a song a minimal common denominator that fuses all the singing voices into a collective voice?... Are songs a window into interiority? Or is song something more fleeting, an effect of surface? Let subjectivity be a "coat" of social relationships and personal memories, narratives, identities; a coat woven in languages, structures of feeling, habits of the body. Do songs create a fleeting fusion between the coat and the nameless nakedness that hides behind, the illusion of depth and identity?" (Israel, 2010:197). In my study of song, I remain conscious of these ideas about group and individual agency and aim to open them to more critical consideration.

Terminology in the thesis

An explanation of the terminology used in this thesis is necessary. I remain cognisant of the influence of the media and the manner in which it framed events surrounding the Malema song, including that it generally referred to it as *Dubula ibhunu* or *Shoot the Boer*. The challenge of this study will be to examine the deployment of song while remaining mindful of the extent to which our understanding is influenced by how the media framed events.[41] I use the term 'struggle song' to describe the songs discussed in this thesis. Scholars use different

[41] The media generally referred to the song as *Dubula ibhunu* and translated it as *Shoot the Boer*. Different spellings were used. It was also occasionally referred to as *Ayesaba amagwala* and translated as *The cowards are scared*. I am grateful to Ali Hlongwane for drawing my attention to the way that the trial and song were framed by the media.

terms. Gilbert (2007), in her analysis of the utilisation of music to acquire international support for the struggle by investigating the Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensembles, uses the term 'freedom song'. Gunner (2009 & 2015) largely uses the terms 'liberation' and 'political song'. Ramoupi (2013), who explores the place of song on Robben Island, mainly uses 'freedom' and 'struggle song'. Anne-Marie Gray (2004), who studies the role of song during different periods in the struggle, predominantly uses the term 'liberation song'. I choose to use the term 'struggle song', as this is how these songs are mostly referred to in everyday use.

I remain aware of the effect of the terms I employ to label the songs analysed in this study. Referring to these songs as struggle songs might suggest that they are only about struggle and resistance. Robert Pring-Mill (1987:179) argues that calling songs protest songs "might seem to imply that all such songs are 'anti' something: denouncing some negative abuse rather than promoting something positive to put in its place". Drawing on the titles of two Spanish American anthologies, Pring-Mill (1987:179) asserts that a "more helpful designation is that of 'songs of hope and struggle'" which "stresses both their 'combative' and their 'constructive' aspects".

Research methodologies

Interviewing

Interviewing formed an important part of my thesis, because I wanted to learn more about people's attitudes towards songs and the meanings they attribute to songs today. I broadly followed the approach of influential Italian oral historian Alessandro Portelli regarding the value of subjectivity that characterises interviews. According to Portelli, interviews tell a researcher "less about *events* than about their *meaning*". Oral sources are valuable not because of their "ability to preserve the past, as in the very changes wrought by memory… [which] reveal the narrators' effort to make sense of the past and to give a form to their lives" (Portelli, 2006:36-38). My aim was not to uncover objective facts, but rather to gain a better understanding of people's memories of struggle songs and how this revealed the manner in which they were trying to keep the past alive to fortify themselves in the present. Interrogating memories related to the role of song during the struggle proved difficult, as it is precisely the strength of those shared collective memories that infuses the deployment and performance of song with such potency.

The individuals interviewed for this study were mostly specifically selected and approached. Former Constitutional Court judge Albie Sachs was chosen because of his "Preparing

ourselves for freedom" paper which called for a ban of the notion of culture as a weapon of struggle in 1989. Home Affairs Minister, Ayanda Dlodlo, was approached, as she had written an insightful opinion piece after *Dubula ibhunu* was initially ruled to be hate speech that revealed the importance attached to song. She is also a former member of MK. Barry Gilder, also a former MK member, was selected as he was a composer of song during the struggle and thus often referred to song in his autobiography *Songs & Secrets: South Africa from Liberation to governance*. Noor Nieftagodien was chosen because of his role as Chair of the History Workshop. He also holds the Chair in Local Histories and Present Realities from the National Research Foundation's (NRF) South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChI). The curators were interviewed because of their involvement in the *Singing Freedom* exhibition. Activists from the TAC were initially difficult to reach. I had to rely on professional relationships from my position at a public health non-profit organisation to secure an introduction to activists in Daveyton on Gauteng's East Rand who were willing to be interviewed. I initially planned to interview ANC branch members in focus groups, but this became untenable. The political climate in the period before and after the local government elections in August 2016, in which the ANC lost control of the Johannesburg and Tshwane metropolitan municipalities, created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust of outsiders. As a result, attempts to initiate a conversation with branch members to set-up a focus group did not yield positive results.

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis was a valuable resource to examine the transcripts of the *Dubula ibhunu* trial. I utilised the Discourse Sociolinguistics approach within the Critical Discourse Analysis framework. Discourse Sociolinguistics was a suitable approach, as it allowed me to take context into consideration and analyse the "power relations [that] are exercised and negotiated in discourse". Context was incorporated using a more wide-ranging approach and included the participants and their characteristics, the "location in time and space" and the "institution in which the event takes place" (Anthonissen, 2006:72 & Wodak, 1996:3,18,21). This approach therefore allowed me to include context on Malema's public personality at the time of the trial as ANCYL President. In terms of AfriForum, I included other campaigns and statements made by the organisation to shed more light on its arguments in the *Dubula ibhunu* trial.

The focus on power relations was precisely why I chose this framework to examine the court transcripts. Power battles were central in the *Dubula ibhunu* trial – I examined contests related to ownership of the struggle, legitimate forms of commemoration, and the interaction between different foundation myths.

I considered how the ideological work of texts is related to the concept of hegemony, a key concept to the type of Marxism linked with Antonio Gramsci. Hegemony relates to contests for power and highlights how power rests on consent. According to Gramsci, "ideologies… come into confrontation and conflict, until only one of them, or at least a single combination of them, tends to prevail, to gain the upper hand, to propagate itself throughout society – bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity… creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups" (Gramsci, 1971:181-182). I also considered the "ideological work of texts" by looking at assumptions. Assumptions are significant when one wants to investigate ideology. According to Fairclough, meanings that are taken for granted are of great ideological importance, as "relations of power are best served by meanings which are widely taken as given" (Fairclough, 2003:45, 55, 58). Assumptions related to nation-building, social cohesion and reconciliation were considered.

Using discourse analysis had limitations, as it is impossible to uncover and analyse every element of a text. According to Fairclough (2003:14-15), textual analysis is "inevitably selective", as the researcher decides to ask specific questions about texts and not other questions. Questions about objectivity could arise, but Fairclough is not overly concerned by this as there "is no such thing as an 'objective' analysis of a text", if by objective one means "an analysis which simply describes what is 'there' in the text without being 'biased' by the 'subjectivity' of the analyst". How I approached my analysis was certainly influenced by "particular motivations which go beyond what is 'there'" – in this case, I was guided by my research goal: An investigation of the deployment of struggle songs as active intangible heritage in contemporary South Africa.

Observation

Observation offers the researcher the chance to "get beyond people's opinions and self-interpretations of their attitudes and behaviours, towards an evaluation of their actions in practice" (Gray, 2009:397). Observation offers "first-hand experience", and the researcher can document information as it happens (Creswell, 2009:179). However, observation is not "simply a question of looking at something and then noting down 'the facts'… it also involves complex combinations of all the senses and the interpretation of observed events" (Gray, 2009:396, 421).

I attended the ANC's National Conference in December 2012 in Mangaung, and observed which struggle songs were sung and more broadly the role of song at the conference. The conference organisers were aware of my status as a researcher, but my accreditation card identified me as a journalist as there was no category for researchers. Being classified as a journalist was in a sense beneficial as delegates often seemed to perform for the media, which revealed multiple meanings, as I discuss in Chapter Five.

Observational research has weaknesses. The "interpretation of what is observed may be influenced by the mental constructs of the researcher". This includes "values, motivations, prejudices and emotions" (Gray, 2009:397). A criticism against observational research "lies in the area of *validity*", as researchers have to depend largely on their "own perceptions" (Adler & Adler, 1998:87).

The utilisation of Young's notion of the counter-monument formed the pillar of my framework to interpret Mangaung's songs. It guided me to consider both performance and reception as significant. I utilised several methods to assist with my examination of these two processes. I recorded the proceedings with a video camera to ensure I would be able to conduct a thorough analysis of the songs, including the way they were performed. I did not understand the languages used in the songs, but as I explain below, I do not consider this to be a significant disadvantage. As mentioned earlier, political journalist Sabelo Ndlangisa assisted with the translation and interpretation of the songs.[42] He was approached for assistance with translation after publishing an insightful article about Zuma's deployment of *Inde le ndlela esiyihambayo* (The road we are traveling is long) in *Mangaung24*, a *City Press* newspaper published during the ANC's conference in Mangaung.[43]

My analysis is also based on informal interviews I conducted with delegates at the conference, as well as formal interviews with struggle veterans and activists. I furthermore drew on

[42] Denis Ngcangca, a translator from the Wits Language School, also reviewed the translations.
[43] The translations provided in this study are not intended to be literal, exact translations of struggle songs. I remain aware of the "mediation" (Brown, 1998:10) that takes places when these songs are transcribed and translated from an original language into English. Brown (1998:10) argues that using the term 'transcribing' "implies a neutrality which ignores the fact that a literature epistemology is necessarily at work" when poems (or in this case songs) are transcribed into printed form. This also gives oral forms a "fixity" that opposes their dynamic nature. Susan Bassnett (2014:2-3) asserts that "far from being a straightforward process of linguistic transfer, translation involves complex negotiation between languages. No two languages share the same structures, syntax and vocabulary, so adjustments always have to be made to accommodate the black holes that yawn when there is no equivalent in the target language for a word or an idea expressed in the source language…no translation can ever be the same as the original". In explaining the reason for including both the original Swahili transcription and the English translation of rehearsal and performance versions of the play text he analyses, Johannes Fabian (1990:99) argues that "a translation can never claim to have accomplished the transfer of meaning from source to target language. Translation is a process; the texts we call "translations" are but documents of that process. They, too, are produced through contingent events – in fact, they may in turn be regarded as rehearsals and performances – and are therefore never definitive".

elements from Discourse Sociolinguistics, discussed above, as well as the works of other scholars, including analyses of *Umshini Wami* by Gunner (2009) and Suttner (2009b) which guided me, not only in terms of which elements to consider, but also *how* to examine these elements, and more broadly the role of song in a post-apartheid context. The idea that song, as it is utilised in post-apartheid South Africa, recreates the archive was also valuable, as it helped me to better understand how song operated, specifically in terms of the significance of performance in amplifying a sense of collective memory. The methodological framework utilised in my analysis of Mangaung's song is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. (See pp. 181-186).

I found social media a valuable tool for my study. Both Twitter and YouTube provided me with access to a wide pool of performances of song that I otherwise would not have been able to access. Traditional news media do not always mention the songs that were performed at political rallies, and if the songs are included it is often just one sentence naming a specific song. Occasionally a comment about the performance style, including gestures, is included. Twitter was especially useful in filling the gap: I found that journalists regularly tweeted about the different songs that were deployed and often included a video of these performances. These posts also occasionally sparked exchanges among Twitter users about the songs, and, for example, who had the right to sing them. (See Chapter Four, p. 157). I initially planned to include a chapter on social media and the conversations that people had in relation to issues of heritage, but ultimately did not have enough material to justify such an inclusion. The research I had conducted was, however, valuable in directing my attention to how I could utilise social media to access multiple performances of a song – as well as its reception by different online communities.[44]

Not understanding the languages in which struggle songs are composed and performed could at first be considered a limitation of this study. Most of the songs performed at the ANC's conference were sung in Nguni languages. To enrich my understanding of song, I undertook a beginner course in isiZulu at the Wits Language School at the beginning of 2014. This was of course not going to be enough to grasp the nuances and metaphors found in song. I thus depended on the translations of songs by others.

[44] I utilised social media channels while conscious of the fact that people can use pseudonyms to set up their accounts, that fake accounts are created, and that people might express opinions that they would not express in person. Many South Africans also do not use social media: In September 2016, YouTube, for example, had 8.74-million users and Twitter had 7.7-million users (Statistics South Africa, 2016 & World Wide Worx, 2016).

However, I do not consider the fact that I do not understand the languages of the songs in this study to be a significant disadvantage. I am a bilingual writer: My mother tongue is Afrikaans and I am fully fluent in English. I attended Afrikaans schools and completed my undergraduate and first postgraduate degree largely in Afrikaans. I also worked for almost four years as a journalist at the Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*. Since 2011, English has, however, been the language I work and study in. Drawing on the work of the Kenyan writer and theorist of post-colonial literature, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, I argue that my bilingual status makes me more aware of nuances between different languages and how metaphors and descriptions in one language cannot be easily translated into another. This enabled me to ask Ndlangisa informed questions about the translations.

Wa Thiong'o's earlier novels (*Weep Not, Child* (1964), *The River Between* (1965), and *A Grain of Wheat* (1967)) were written in English – *Petals of Blood*, published in 1977, would be his last novel written first in the language. Wa Thiong'o, whose mother tongue is Gĩkũyũ, explains his writing process in English: "All writing in a language that is not the mother tongue, or the first language of one's upbringing, is largely an exercise in mental translation. Underlying the exercise persists a question: how much of one's language does one retain in the mentally translated text? This question, which is really one of the relationship between the source language and the target language, is at the heart of all translations, even a mental one". According to him, "proverbs are the hardest to render in another language where one is trying to make the reader feel the rhythm of the original". Translating *Caitaani Mũtharaba-Inĩ,* his first novel in Gĩkũyũ, into English followed a similar process to his previous "mental translation" from his mother tongue into English: "That is, I tried to make the reader become aware of the source language through bending the target language in such a way as to suggest the structure and the rhythm of the original source language" (Wa Thiong'o, 2009:17-19).

The writing of this thesis is thus in itself an "an exercise in mental translation", as I translate from my source language (Afrikaans) into the target language (English). Yet this "mental translation" is not a burden ─ in fact it becomes an asset that assists me to be more aware of the challenges in conveying the "structure and the rhythm" of the original language when one translates into a second language.

Outline of chapters

The thesis consists of seven chapters. In Chapter Two the relevant literature on heritage is reviewed to show how this thesis builds on existing scholarship, but also how it radically extends our understanding of intangible heritage. Chapter Three evaluates the literature on

song and furthermore forms a foundation for how song is analysed in the case studies. The case studies are discussed in the next three chapters. Chapter Four looks at the *Dubula ibhunu* court case between Malema and AfriForum in 2011. In this chapter, I interrogate the manner in which heritage helps to drive contemporary power battles ─ contests in which the difference between friend and foe becomes increasingly muddled. The chapter also reveals the futility of trying to control song ─ which comes to fore more clearly in Chapter Five, in which I examine the ANC's National Conference in Mangaung in 2012. Song played a significant role at the conference, as it was mobilised to convey and bolster the power of specific leaders. Zuma himself caught delegates off-guard by choosing a virtually unknown song that evoked the symbol of Mandela. The song's journey after the conference, and the unexpected twists and turns it took, is also explored. Chapter Six deals with the *Singing Freedom: Music and the struggle against apartheid* exhibition at the Iziko Slave Lodge in Cape Town. In this chapter, I analyse how the museum deals with such an active form of heritage. The views expressed by the curators on both song and oral history form a significant part of this chapter. Chapter Seven concludes this thesis and re-examines the findings of the three case studies to address the research questions raised in the Introduction.

CHAPTER TWO
Literature review: Heritage

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss and evaluate the literature on heritage. Heritage is an extremely broad field that generates much debate, worldwide and in South Africa. The limitations on this literature review do not allow me to explore all these discourses. I will thus focus on the areas that are relevant to finding answers to the questions raised in this thesis. These include battles between history and heritage, oral history and memory, the notion of the counter-monument, heritage in South Africa, including the foundation myth and heritage frameworks, intangible heritage, the intersection between heritage and politics, authorised heritage discourse and lastly, challenges arising from regarding song as heritage. I evaluate the literature on song in the next chapter.

The battle between history and heritage

A discussion of history and heritage surely must start with an analysis of the significant work of British historian Edward Hallett Carr. In his George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures, delivered at the University of Cambridge between January and March 1961, compiled under the title *What is history?* published in 1962, Carr launched a direct attack on the notions of fact and objectivity. Carr refined ideas of what history is in a significant manner, opening the way for a discussion about what the relationship between history and heritage is. The discussion is complex, as the lines of division between heritage and history are not that clear-cut ─ although Carr does not mention heritage, he argues that history is open to the same arguments that would later be levelled at heritage. In this way, he undercuts some of our certainty regarding what history is and its relationship to 'the facts', which clears the way to thinking about a more ambivalent relationship between history and heritage in which they are not necessarily antithetical to one another.

Carr drew a distinction between history and the past to demonstrate that history is not objective – a radical view in the 1960s, which had a significant impact on the history profession. He argues that things become facts because historians select and judge them to be important enough to be included and preserved as part of history. According to Carr, selection and interpretation are inevitably part of history writing. The "belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy" (Carr, 1962:5-8, 18, 24). One cannot separate history from the historian who writes it.

The historian ultimately decides which facts are included, which receive more attention and which are mentioned first or last. Interpretation is thus the “life-blood of history” (Carr, 1962:5-6, 16-17, 22). Carr also refers to the influence of the present on historians. An historian is born into a specific environment and is shaped by the world he/she lives in. An historian is thus “both the product and the ... spokesman of the society to which he belongs” (Carr, 1962:19-20, 25, 29). Carr defines history as a “continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past” (Carr, 1962:24). History writing is therefore an active, never-ending process.

More than 30 years later Keith Jenkins criticised Carr’s arguments and employed it against him in *On ‘What is history?’: From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White,* published in 1995. Jenkins accuses Carr of not being willing to take his arguments “all the way” (Jenkins, 1995:52). If facts only become historical facts when the historian selects and interprets them, then Carr’s views are just that: His own views, which do not have any greater standing than opinions of former scholars or his peers, argues Jenkins. However, Carr is not willing to accept this, says Jenkins: “Instead, he will try to show that there really are some foundations which privilege his own position over others…” (Jenkins, 1995:51-52). According to Jenkins (1995:44), Carr still voices “a belief in objectivity, in real historical progress and in truth”. Jenkins’ argument is ultimately that there is no way that the historian can privilege his position over others simply through virtue of being an historian. He argues persuasively that since nobody can ever return to the past every way of accessing it must be subject to critical interrogation.

Now turning to the relationship between history and heritage, David Lowenthal defends history and wants to make a case for its superiority over heritage, because he claims that historians have better practices in *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, published in 1998. According to Lowenthal, history “explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time” while “heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes”. Lowenthal recognises that history is also guided by interpretation and influenced by “later hindsight”. However, he argues that “testable truth is history’s chief hallmark”, as historians depend on “received knowledge and reasoned estimates of its likelihood” (Lowenthal, 1998: xv, 112, 115, 120). According to Lowenthal, the work of an historian is subjected to review by other historians and changes due to hindsight “must conform with accepted tenets of evidence”. In contrast, heritage “is not a testable or even a reasonably plausible account of some past, but a *declaration of faith* in that past” (Lowenthal, 1998:120-121).

Lowenthal, who generalises by lumping everything together that he finds tasteless, is dismissive of heritage, which he believes is much less respectable than history. He argues that heritage "exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error". He acknowledges that neither history nor heritage is "value-free". The difference between history and heritage is, however, the approach towards bias. "While historians aim to reduce bias, heritage sanctions and strengthens it." Heritage "improves the past to suit present needs" whereas history "refashion[s] the past in present garb… to make the past comprehensible" (Lowenthal, 1998:121-122, 142, 148).

Ciraj Rassool, Professor and Director of the African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), responds to Lowenthal's criticism of heritage in "The rise of heritage and the reconstitution of history in South Africa". He argues that openness to other kinds of history that exist outside the academy can enrich the work of academics. Rassool, a former Chairperson of the District Six Museum's Board of Trustees, argues that critics view heritage as "innately subordinate to academic history in a hierarchical schema". This judgment privileges academic history and implies that academic historians have a greater prerogative to establish what "truth about the past" is. Rassool argues that "academic history is not simply superior by virtue of the archive and peer review", as suggested by Lowenthal. On the other hand, heritage is not just "some lesser zone", but can rather be seen as a collection of fields and undertakings of history writing that are as contentious as the assertions made about the nature of academic history (Rassool, 2000:4-5). Some of the interviewees in this study expressed views that strongly opposed what they perceive to be the arrogance and exclusivity of academic history.

The role-players in the present study are, however, not interested in the distinction between history and heritage, and in fact conflate the two fields. This double defence is used to endorse the deployment of struggle songs as they seek cover under notions associated with both fields. As a consequence, my primary focus is not on the debates regarding the distinction between history and heritage. I am more interested in how people use history and heritage to manufacture the past, than whether or not it is legitimate. Furthermore, I focus on why those responsible for making heritage (and history) or for disputing what counts as heritage (and history) think that the past is such a vital resource, feel the need to lay claim over it, use it to wound their enemies or to vindicate themselves, and the manner in which they do it.

In my thesis, there is no question that we are dealing with history (and heritage) that compresses time and which disregards or uses evidence in a very cavalier way as politicians grab what is useful at a particular moment, and discard it when it has done its work. It is

shallow and hagiographic, but it works, catches on, and helps people retain their hold on power. It is also deployed to neutralise enemies. After former ANC minister Ronnie Kasrils, together with other veterans, launched a 'Vote No' campaign, which encouraged voters to spoil their votes or vote for another party other than the ANC in the 2014 national elections (Pillay, 2014), ANC Secretary-General, Gwede Mantashe, deployed the memory of the Bhisho massacre of 7 September 1992 to weaken Kasrils. He accused him of being responsible for the massacre, in which twenty-eight ANC supporters were killed by the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) after a group ran through a gap in the perimeter fence during a march to demand free political activity in the Ciskei homeland.[45] While campaigning door-to-door in Mpumalanga, Mantashe said that Kasrils "is the one who led young men, made them jump fences [at the border between South Africa and Ciskei] and they were killed in Bhisho. The massacre was as a result of his recklessness. He is normally reckless" (Mashaba, 2014). However, as this thesis will show, ideas around history and heritage are not only deployed in political battles. A major theme that emerges in this study is the longing to have more direct access to history and heritage, without mediation by the academy or experts. This longing can also be understood against a general background of dispossession.

In the *Dubula ibhunu* trial, analysed in Chapter Four, both terms (history and heritage) are utilised in the court room, but there are slight differences in how they are deployed by the ANC and AfriForum. This suggests specific attitudes and beliefs regarding both fields as well as the objects and events being described. The ANC uses both to label song, with their witnesses describing it as an "historical" and a "heritage" song. However, two of the ANC's witnesses, Dr Mongane Wally Serote, former Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Freedom Park and Derek Hanekom, at the time Deputy Minister of Science and Technology, use the term 'history' when referring to particular objects and events, such as the Voortrekker Monument, the old South African flag, portraits and statues of apartheid-era leaders, and the 1838 Covenant (relating to an oath by the 'Afrikaner' commando that if God gave them victory against the Zulu army in the Battle of Blood (Ncome) River, they would commemorate the anniversary of the triumph).

[45] On 7 September 1992, approximately 80 000 supporters of the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) marched to Bhisho, then capital of the 'independent' Ciskei Bantustan, to demand free political activity in the Ciskei, the reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa, and the removal of Brigadier Gqozo as head of the Ciskei. At the artificial border between South Africa and the Ciskei, a razor-wire barricade and armed Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers prevented the marchers from entering the Bhisho stadium. A group of marchers, led by Kasrils, ran through a gap in the perimeter fence, and soldiers opened fire. A total of twenty-eight ANC supporters and one soldier were killed and over 200 people were injured. The narrative of the Bhisho massacre has since then been "constructed and reconstructed". In an ANC video, entitled *Bisho: The Story Behind the Massacre*, produced in 1992, Kasrils's role in leading the breakaway group through the gap in the fence is, for example, ignored (Victor, 2015:83, 87, 89, 91). By 2014, the political landscape had, however, changed and the memory of the massacre was deployed by Mantashe to attack Kasrils, who had become a thorn in the side of the ANC leadership at the time.

Describing these objects and events as history suggests a degree of distance – they are not experienced with the emotional attachment often associated with heritage. On the other hand, AfriForum favours the idea of history, arguing that their case is not about destroying history and that they are "not trying to erase this song from history" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:146, 147).

Oral history and memory

The notion of memory is central in my thesis, as I critically investigate the memories that people have of song and its function during the struggle, and how these memories are appropriated and influenced by later events through interviews. In this section, I briefly look at important developments regarding oral history and how ideas of oral history have changed over time. I also discuss the works of several scholars that are used to guide my treatment of memory and the analysis of interviews in this study. I furthermore discuss the notion of collective memory – an important concept in this thesis.

In 1961**,** Jan Vansina, a pioneering scholar in oral history, developed a methodology by which African oral traditions could be collected, transcribed and compared to create raw material for the formation of a new African history. Oral history, which "promised to recover the "lost voices" of the African past", formed the "methodological backbone of the new discipline of African history" (La Hausse, 1990:346). According to historian Paul la Hausse, Vansina's seminal 1961 work, which was translated into English as *Oral tradition: A study in historical methodology* in 1965, "captured the imagination and helped mold the concerns of a new generation of historians" in Africa during a period in which many countries had recently attained independence from colonial rulers. Oral history was utilised by several eminent scholars, such as David Cohen and Stephen Feierman, to produce ground-breaking studies of precolonial African kingdoms which "appeared to justify the value of oral tradition as a historical source" (La Hausse, 1990:346). A small, but nonetheless significant group of South African historians, most of whom were at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London during the late 1960s and early 1970s, were also influenced by this new focus on oral tradition as history. This included Philip Bonner and Peter Delius (La Hausse, 1990:346), who would later respectively become founding and early members of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) History Workshop. The Workshop was created in 1977 by a group of academics from the social sciences and humanities (Bonner, 1994:977).

In South Africa, the rise of oral history in the late 1970s furthermore overlapped with the advancement of radical history, in which members of the Wits History Workshop, including

Bonner, Luli Callinicos and Eddie Webster, played a prominent role. The History Workshop developed in the country as a response to both local and international developments. Locally, its rise was a reaction from left-wing intellectuals to the oppression of mass mobilisation by the apartheid government after the 1976 Soweto Uprising, and to the rise in trade union militancy embodied in the Durban strikes of 1973. Education and training were key in this revival (Bonner, 2010:15 & Denis, 2008:6-7, 9). Other significant influences include the demands for a "people's history" and "people's education" from student and labour movements in the late 1970s and 1980s that would "restore to the mass of the population a history of which they had been deprived" (Bonner, 1994:980). Academics at other South African universities, including at the University of Cape Town (UCT), where The Cape Town History Project (later the Western Cape Oral History Project) was formed in 1984, also impacted the workshop. The UCT project produced a ground-breaking study in the 1980s on the social history of District Six (Bickford-Smith, Field & Glaser, 2001:5).

On the international front, the History Workshop was influenced by students and scholars from SOAS as described above, including influential South African historian Shula Marks, the History Workshop movement at Oxford University and later the American Social History Project (Bonner, 1994:978, 980; Bonner, 2010:15 & Bozzoli & Delius, 1990:18, 20). Bonner (2010:14) also highlights the influence of Neo-Marxism, which was prevalent at western universities in the 1960s and 1970s, and which was "absorbed and reworked to some extent to fit local conditions" by South African exiles at mainly UK universities and a group of postgraduate students studying overseas in the early to mid-1970s.

The History Workshop at Wits wanted to make history accessible and promote the writing (or play-making) of local history by local communities. As part of its conferences, it organised Open Days, attended by students from black townships and trade unionists, which included plays, poetry, readings and exhibitions (Bonner, 1994:981, 982-984). In the 1980s, oral history was furthermore "seen as 'giving a voice to the ordinary people'" (Denis, 2008:10).

The History Workshop was, however, fiercely criticised by Rassool and Gary Minkley, the latter a Professor in the History Department at the University of Fort Hare who also holds the South African Research Chair in Social Change, for having too literal an idea of what oral history should accomplish. In "Orality, memory, and social history in South Africa", Rassool and Minkley said that members of the Workshop either saw it as filling in the gaps as "the voice of authenticity", or, the two scholars argued, referring to Rousseau (1994), Workshop members put words into their informants' mouths, because they needed them to say certain things to make a politically correct narrative. Rassool and Minkley also criticised the treatment of

memory, which was viewed as “transparent, prior to history, and subject to tests of verification” instead of a field “negotiating society’s relationships between past and present” (Minkley & Rassool, 1998:90-91, 94, 97, 99).

Sean Field, at the time Director of the Centre for Popular Memory at UCT, and UCT historians Clive Glaser and Vivian Bickford-Smith partly defended how oral history had been treated in “The Western Cape Oral History Project: The 1990s”. They argue that oral historians definitely seemed “to agonise over the precarious and provisional nature of historical facts as much as any other social researchers”, that their work revealed rifts and frictions in ‘communities’ by giving voice to various role-players, and that criticisms regarding “grand narratives and political agendas” would only be valid for a specific politically-aligned arm of the oral history field in South Africa (Bickford-Smith, Field & Glaser, 2001:13-16). According to Bickford-Smith, Field and Glaser the “diversity and intellectual independence of the social and oral history traditions” had been considerably undervalued by its detractors. The criticism around memory was, however, more convincing, they argued, as historians who utilised oral testimonies had “been slow to analyse narrative structure and the process of knowledge production itself” (Bickford-Smith, Field & Glaser, 2001:16).

In “Turning up the volume: Dialogues about memory create oral histories”, published ten years after Minkley and Rassool’s critique against the History Workshop, Field (2008:176) says that despite the increasing number of oral history projects conducted by universities, archives, museums and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) since the end of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 2000, which illustrated the necessity for more oral history and qualitative research projects to offer victims more space to share their stories, the “width, depth and volume of debate about the nature of oral history practice in South Africa has remained rather quiet”. According to Field, most of these oral history projects tended to overlook the global conceptual breakthroughs by several oral historians, including Alessandro Portelli, Michael Frisch and Alistair Thomson. These breakthroughs included the idea that oral history produces its “own documents” which are “by definition explicit dialogues about memory” from Frisch (1990:22), and Portelli’s (1994:53) views that “oral history approaches truth as much when it departs from ‘facts’ as when it records them carefully, because the errors and even the lies reveal, under scrutiny, the creative processes of memory, imagination, symbolism and interpretation that endow events with cultural significance”.

Field (2008:176-177) highlights several assumptions that he argues many oral history projects in South Africa tend to subscribe to. These include that oral history is seen by many historians as a “supplement to historical research, which primarily draws on written sources, but

occasionally turns off-stage to drag-in interviewees to provide vibrant colour to the serious business of history". Many archivists continue to view oral history as "'filling in the gaps of the archive'" of written materials, which means that oral history research will never have an impact on, or challenge the dominance of, written sources. In post-apartheid South Africa, many scholars from different fields, specifically those who subscribe to the notion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS), view oral history research as "the collection of authentic meanings of indigenous peoples, who it is believed have access to the 'pure' truths buried beneath histories of colonial and apartheid oppression" (Field 2008:177). This view – of oral history providing access to 'pure' truths – also emerged in interviews conducted for this study.

Returning to the criticism levelled against the History Workshop by Rassool & Minkley, it is important to note that the treatment of memory by the Workshop has evolved over time. An example of this evolution can be found in a social history project in Alexandra, which led to the book *Alexandra: A history* by Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien being published in 2008. The project was "strongly based on the collection of oral testimonies" (Nieftagodien, 2010:51). According to Rassool (2010:85), Bonner and Nieftagodien "experienced their expertise being questioned by heritage activists" in a Community Reference Group. The group played the role of a community representative body to oversee various aspects of the Alexandra project (Nieftagodien, 2010:51). This, says Rassool (2010:85), "gave rise to… a deeper sense of the ownership of history". In the Introduction to *Alexandra*, Nieftagodien and Bonner (2008:4) also reveal a more critical treatment of memory: The historians refer to the memories of communities who were forcibly removed as "romanticised" and "suffused with nostalgic notions of a lost golden age". Memories of Alexandra "partly share in these distortions", especially among the residents that were forcibly removed. However, the "textured and dense" oral testimonies from those that defied removal "appear to be more grounded, more rounded and more nuanced" and provide "a privileged perspective of the values, individual life trajectories, behaviour, self-images and social worlds of Alexandra's boisterous and contested past communities".

I remained conscious of the developments in oral history outlined above during the course of this study. I now discuss the works of scholars that have specifically been utilised to guide my analysis of my interviews, and also look at collective memory.

Field, in common with several scholars, highlights the important influence the interviewer has on the interview. According to him, oral history is "created through interviewer/interviewee dialogues not 'collected' like 'artefacts'. How researchers relate to, and present themselves, impacts on how interviewees tell their stories and how interview dialogues unfold". Field also

emphasises the way in which people mobilise myths when recalling traumatic events. These myths are not "commonsense falseness or untruth", but rather offer "stable, explanatory stories that help people… construct sensible narrative threads that provide a sense of continuity when worldly experiences threaten to hurt or overwhelm the individual" (Field, 2008:177, 181, 186). In my analysis of my interviews, I remain aware of my own influence on the manner in which these dialogues unfolded. It is likely that my identity as a young researcher – who did not experience the struggle – impacted the manner in which struggle veterans conveyed their stories to me.

Field's article draws on the work of Portelli, who argues that oral sources have a "*different* credibility" in "What makes oral history different". The significance of oral sources "may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge". This type of credibility should be seen as an asset and not a limitation. According to Portelli, oral sources inform the researcher "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did" and "this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts" (Portelli, 2006:32, 36-37).

According to Portelli (2006:37), memory "is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings" – this notion is central to my thesis. I remained conscious of it as I listened to and analysed what interviewees said. Portelli investigates the manner in which memory and meaning change over time, and how these meanings are contested in *The order has been carried out: History, memory, and meaning of a Nazi massacre in Rome*, published in 2003. Portelli (2003) focuses on the memories that residents in Rome have of the random killing in 1944 of 335 Italians by German occupying forces in retaliation for an attack in which thirty-three Nazis were killed by a group of partisan activists linked to the Communist Party. Portelli shows that memory is moulded by various factors. He found that people were not able to comprehend the random nature of the massacre and believed that the activists who killed the German police should have come clean about having done it – which would have spared the lives of 'innocent' citizens. By studying the way this massacre is remembered, Portelli uncovers various features of contemporary society, including the fact that the people he interviewed cannot face the idea of random murder, are fairly right wing and oppose the Communist Party.

The notion that memory is not merely influenced by the present, but that multiple collective memories have the potential to be reactivated in different circumstances to suit present needs is significant to this study, as it allows me to remain aware of the different meanings attached

to song in different contexts. The seminal work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who is credited with developing the concept of collective memory, is thus crucial. Halbwachs argues that collective memory only has life within the collective: “Our memories remain collective, however, and are recalled to us through others even though only we were participants in the events or saw the things concerned”. However, “while the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember. While these remembrances are mutually supportive of each other and common to all, individual members still vary in the intensity with which they experience them” (Halbwachs, 1980:23, 48).

Collective memory furthermore does not recognise that events in the past are over and does not distinguish the present from the past. Collective memory is a “current of continuous thought whose continuity is not at all artificial, for it retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive”. According to Halbwachs, “when it considers its own past, the group feels strongly that it has remained the same”. The “past no longer exists… [as all remembrances are] illuminated in a uniform light, like objects blending together in the twilight” (Halbwachs, 1980:80, 82, 85, 87). The notion of collective memory is significant in understanding how song operates in post-apartheid South Africa. In Chapter Five, I look at how collective memories are mobilised, and the effects of this reactivation.

Annie E. Coombes, an important scholar in the domain of heritage, applies Halbwachs’s work on how individual and collective memory intersects to South African cases. Coombes, who also draws on other memory scholars such as Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, raises two significant arguments related to memory in *History after Apartheid: Visual culture and public memory in a democratic South Africa*. Firstly, she argues that memory is “unavoidably both borne out of individual subjective experience and shaped by collective consciousness and shared social processes”. Any analysis of memory must take the impact of both levels – the individual and the collective – into consideration (Coombes, 2004:8).

Secondly, Coombes refers to the challenge of dealing with memory when it relates to “larger structural narratives and material conditions *and* individual lived experiences”. Coombes argues that the challenge lies in avoiding “reducing their public expression to either some monolithic representation of “the struggle” or some unlocated and ahistorical notion of individualized experience…” (Coombes, 2004:10). I remain cognisant of both arguments in my analysis of struggle songs and interviews conducted for this thesis.

In *How societies remember*, social anthropologist Paul Connerton (1989:37-38) argues that Halbwachs does not adequately address how collective memories are "passed on within the same social group, from one generation to the next", and does not recognise the role of performance in this process. Instead, says Connerton, Halbwachs leaves the question of "transfer" unanswered. Connerton argues that Halbwachs does "little more than hint at answers to this question, confining himself, for the most part, to suggestions that are at once formulaic and anthropomorphic". As an example of Halbwachs's "inability to pinpoint the characteristic acts of transfer", Connerton cites his discussion of family memory, in which Halbwachs (1925:233-234) refers to the role of grandparents in communicating their memories to grandchildren, which, takes place "'…across the intervals of the present family…'". (Connerton, 1989:38).[46]

Connerton argues that our remembrances of the past are staged through performance and places emphasis on the significance of the body in this "performative memory". According to Connerton, "images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past… are conveyed and sustained by (more or less ritual) performances". He argues that "commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices" are significant "acts of transfer" of collective memory, and that "memory is sedimented, or amassed, in the body" (Connerton, 1989:3-4, 40, 71-72). Connerton's work is valuable for my analysis of the songs deployed at the ANC's Mangaung conference, as it directs attention to the significance of performance and the body in bolstering the mobilisation of collective memories.

Turning to the idea of collective memory and music, Halbwachs (1980:186) argues that music is significant for collective memory, as music "is recaptured only by constant re-creation". Halbwachs's analysis focuses on trained musicians who can read music and perform from scores in orchestras. For those who are not trained as musicians, Halbwachs says that rhythm is key to recalling a tune. According to Halbwachs, "rhythm is the product of social life". The "individual by himself could not invent it. Work songs, for example, arise from regular repetition of like motions among cooperating workers. Were these motions rhythmic in themselves, the songs would not provide the service expected of them. The song offers a model to the cooperating workers; the rhythm flows from the song into their movements. Hence it assumes a prior collective agreement" (Halbwachs, 1980:171-172). In an introduction to Halbwachs's works, anthropologist Mary Douglas (1980:14) also highlights this collective and social nature of music: "If music were not a social activity, it could not be remembered and so could not

[46] Connerton quotes directly from Halbwachs's French work *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* published in 1925.

exist… musicians, lay or professional, can only achieve their appropriate level of musical experience by making music together".

It is not only making music together that evokes collective memories. Hearing and dancing to music together can also function in a similar manner, evoking both individual and collective memories. In "Home, music and memory for the Congolese in Kampala", historian Aidan Russell analyses the use of music among refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) living in Kampala, Uganda.[47] These refugees do not want to return to the DRC, nor do they wish to remain in Uganda. "Pervasive mistrust and fear of other Congolese" makes the "development of a ''refugee community'' in the city" impossible. However, music creates "homes and communities" which are "fundamentally limited, yet powerful and invaluable in the temporary mitigation of suffering" (Russell, 2011:294). In Vision Congo, a Congolese bar in Kampala, *rumba lingala* takes refugees back to the DRC and offers an "escape to the past, to happy memories cleansed of their proximate difficulties". The bar evokes individual memories: It provides a "space in which its patrons can immerse themselves in their own memory of home. The memories that rumba elicits are both general and specific; the comfort of familiar rhythms, melodies and lyrics are accompanied by particular memories of nights out, old favourite bars, and the friends that peopled them" (Russell, 2011:294, 301, 307-308). Interviews conducted for this thesis showed how song interacted with memories of events as people remembered or sang songs in connection with events or moments when a specific song was sung.

The counter-monument

In his significant work "The Counter-Monument: Memory against itself in Germany today", published in 1992, James Young looks at several Holocaust memorials in Germany as counter-monuments.[48] Counter-monuments arose in response to what Young (1992:271) calls Germany's "memorial conundrum" regarding the memorialisation of the Holocaust. One of the counter-monuments analysed by Young is the *Monument against Fascism, War and Violence — and for Peace and Human Rights* unveiled in 1986 in Harburg. It was designed by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz[49] to disappear over time as people added their names to the twelve-metre high lead column (Young, 1992:274-276). [50]

[47] Achille Mbembe has also analysed Congolose music: See Mbembe (2005).
[48] See also Young (1993 & 1997) for more on the notion of the counter-monument.
[49] See Schmidt-Wulffen (1994) for an interview with the artists.
[50] As sections were covered with graffiti and names, the monument was lowered into the ground (Young, 1992:274, 276). It was lowered into the ground eight times, until it was completely submerged in 1993. A burial stone remains above ground, with the column visible from a chamber below (Jochen Gerz Public Space, n.d. & Rosen, 2015).

According to Young, when "we assign monumental form to memory, we have to some degree divested ourselves of the obligation to remember". Monuments assume the "memory-work," and in this way, says Young, they "may relieve viewers of their memory-burden". We then become more forgetful as "we encourage monuments to do our memory-work for us... In effect, the initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them" (Young, 1992:273). The Monument against Fascism, described above, invited residents to interact with it, argues Young. The "more actively visitors participate, the faster they cover each section with their names, the sooner the monument will disappear". The monument "will have returned the burden of memory to visitors: one day, the only thing left standing here will be the memory-tourists, forced to rise and to remember for themselves" (Young, 1992:276).

Young's notion of the counter-monument is a valuable concept to utilise in this study. It illuminates the dynamic and volatile ways in which song operates as a form of active heritage in post-apartheid South Africa. It reveals the complex memory work song does, as it is thought to be a more personal and authentic memorialisation of the struggle that counters the alienating narratives produced by the academy and formal heritage establishments. As discussed in Chapter One, considering song as a counter-monument furthermore makes me more aware of the significance of its performance and reception by different constituencies in the production of meaning. (See pp. 8-9).

The notion of the counter-monument has, however, been met with some criticism.[51] Political scientist Noam Lupu argues that Young only considers the "aesthetic and conceptual contributions of countermonuments" and does not pay adequate attention to what the reception of these monuments reveals (Lupu, 2003:131). In "Memory vanished, absent, and confined: The countermemorial project in 1980s and 1990s Germany", Lupu argues that Young does not examine their "production and consumption as collective memorial processes". Borrowing from Roger Chartier (1997), he defines this as the "social activities and rituals (or representations) through which a community builds its narrative and constructs its social identity" (Lupu, 2003:131). Lupu examines these counter-monuments from the "space between their *conception* and their *reception"*. Their "public reception" is key to their "successful social implementation", argues Lupu, as they depend on social interaction. It is

[51] See for example Strakosch (2010:269), who argues that counter-monuments "can easily silence victims through their own attempt at inclusion"; and Crownshaw (2008:214), who draws on Brett Ashley Kaplan's work on "aesthetic pollution" and argues that the conception of the counter-monument "constructs a binary opposition between the monument and the countermonument" and that a "fear of re-inscribing the same aestheticisation of fascist politics… has led to a universalising equation of fascism and monumentality".

here where the counter-memorial project falls short, as it does not “produce a new discourse of representation” (Lupu, 2003:132-133).

Drawing on the work of Irit Rogoff (1995:133-134), who argues that the physical presence of the counter-monument, which despite its “partial, self-negating, vanishing, transparent or self-destructing” characteristics, is still essential to provoke a response from people and to “trigger… off re-memory”, Lupu (2003:143) concludes that the counter-monument “has not done away with didacticism for it too attempts to evoke a specific narrative, albeit one that is more attuned to the conflicted discourse of the memory of fascism. This didacticism involves the monument as narrator of an event, a representation of the very event that the countermemorial project claims cannot be meaningfully represented”.

Through people writing on the monument, private memories linked to the Second World War become public and are exhibited until the next lowering, states Lupu. The inscription near the monument’s base, in which residents are told that in signing their names they are pledging to “commit [them]selves to remain[ing] vigilant”, argues Lupu, “transformed [the private memories] into a very public, and highly political commitment to action” (Lupu, 2003:138-139). It attached a specific, prescriptive meaning to the writing or graffiti created by people and “join[ed] a kind of meta-narrative told by the monument”. This “meta-narrative then slowly descends into the ground and becomes invisible, further displacing the collection as a whole”. After the monument’s final lowering in 1993, it became a “sort of silenced archive” (Lupu, 2003:140).

Young does not ignore the reception of the counter-monument, but considers it in relation to the vision of the monument’s makers. As discussed in Chapter One, he also draws attention to its unpredictability. (See pp. 8-9). According to Young (1992:283), “… the artists were taken aback by what they found after a couple of months: an illegible scribble of names scratched over names, all covered over in a spaghetti scrawl”. Harburg’s residents condemned “the monument as a trap for graffiti”, he says. However, the reaction to the monument is not viewed by him as a sign of the failure of the counter-monument. Rather, it reinforces it. “As a social mirror, it becomes doubly troubling in that it reminds the community of what happened then and, even worse, how they now respond to the memory of this past... The counter-monument accomplishes what all monuments must: it reflects back to the people ─ and thus codifies ─ their own memorial projections and preoccupations” (Young, 1992:283). The reaction to the monument also illustrates the unease with its dynamism. “But when it begins to come to life, to grow, shrink, or change form, the monument may become threatening. No longer at the mercy of the viewer’s will, it seems to have a will of its own, to beckon us at inopportune

moments. Such monuments become a little like Frankenstein's monster, a golem out of the maker's control" (Young, 1992:284).

An interesting application of Young's notion of the counter-monument is found in Gabriel Moshenska's "Charred churches or iron harvests? Counter-monumentality and the commemoration of the London Blitz". He proposes that the discovery and disposal of unexploded German bombs from the bombing of London by the German Luftwaffe between August 1940 and May 1941 as well as the disruption, including evacuations and transport delays, and media attention that often accompany the process, can be viewed as "an active form of Blitz commemoration". Moshenska argues that these "disjunctive, intrusive processes… bring the past violently into the present" and can thus be seen as "counter-monumental performances that offer a radical and novel set of approaches to contested pasts" (Moshenska, 2010:5-7, 21). Moshenska's analysis is valuable as it brings intangibility to the fore. Although his counter-monumental performances are linked to the physical object of a bomb, this physicality is not at the centre of what makes the bomb-disposal process a counter-monument. Rather, it is the ritual its presence ignites, which includes "construction workers eyeing rusty pipes with suspicion, and military engineers listening nervously for sounds of ticking" (Moshenska, 2010:24).

In the South African context, political theorist Aletta J. Norval (1998:260) frames the country's TRC as a counter-monument which acts as an "important memory site which demands engagement, not passivity, and change, not the commemoration of a past with a fixed identity". The type of remembrance it provokes, argues Norval in "Memory, identity and the (im)possibility of reconciliation: The work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa", "is not of a given and singular past: the past is continuously renegotiated and reconstructed in its proceedings" (Norval, 1998:260).

Heritage in South Africa

The foundation myth and heritage frameworks

Benedict Anderson argued in his significant work on nationalism, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, first published in 1983, that a nation is an "imagined political community". The nation is an "imagined political community" because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1991:6). The nation "is imagined as a *community,* because, regardless of the

actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship". According to Anderson, it is "ultimately… this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings". The artefacts of print capitalism, the newspaper and the novel are significant artefacts in the creation and development of the nation (Anderson, 1991:6-7, 24-25, 36-38, 42-43).

Although Anderson (1991:145) refers to the importance of the national anthem ─ the singing of which allows for the "echoed physical realization of the imagined community" ─ in sustaining a nation, Graham Furniss and Liz Gunner (1995:6), point out that he "overplays the part of print and underestimates the role of oral forms in constructing the nation". The manner in which struggle songs create and strengthen "imagined communities" is explored in Chapter Five. (See p. 181).

As with Anderson, Leonard Thompson also explores how a nation is constructed in *The political mythology of apartheid*, published in 1985. He argues that a political myth is a "tale told about the past to legitimize… a regime". A foundation myth ─ or what Thompson labels as a "conservative myth" ─ relating "events leading to the foundation of a state", is thus required to create the nation (Thompson, 1985:1, 3). Ten years earlier, Dunbar Moodie (1975) explored the idea of the "sacred saga" of 'Afrikanerdom' in *The rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion.* As part of the "sacred saga", created by 'Afrikaner' intellectuals to mobilise 'Afrikaner' nationalism, the period between the British occupation of the Cape in 1806 and the execution of Jopie Fourie, who was killed in 1914 for rebelling against participation in the First World War, was portrayed as the "period of revelation". During this period, "God made known His will for the Afrikaner people". The Great Trek is the foundation of this "sacred saga": It forms "the national epic – formal proof of God's election of the Afrikaner people and His special destiny for them" (Moodie, 1975:1-3). The interpretation assigned to the "sacred saga" changed over the years depending on the fortunes of 'Afrikaner' nationalism – and sometimes fragmented as when the *Ossewabrandwag* (Oxwagon Sentinel)[52] emerged in 1939. Moodie argues that the *Ossewabrandwag* "developed the first genuinely new reinterpretation of the sacred history since the fall of Kruger's republic" in 1902. The sacred saga was retold "as a series of heroic uprisings against British rule" with the Great

[52] The *Ossewabrandwag* was formed in the aftermath of the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek in 1938. Its formation was officially announced on 6 February 1939 by its founder, Colonel J.C.C. Laas. It was evidence of the rising 'Afrikaner' nationalism during that period. Its goals included the "perpetuation of the oxwagon spirit in South Africa" and the "maintenance [*handhawing*], extension, and realization [*uitlewing*] of the traditions and principles of the Boer nation" (Koorts, 2014:328; Moodie, 1975:190 & South Africa History Online (SAHO), n.d. a).

Trek being interpreted as an act of "rebellion rather than… redemptive suffering" (Moodie, 1975:190, 223-224).

Drawing on the idea that the nation is created, scholars such as Thompson and Moodie isolate how specific events, such as the Battle of Blood River, that were central in the making of the 'Afrikaner' nation and which strengthened the 'Afrikaner' nationalist foundation myth, were positioned and described. Thompson, a liberal historian of English descent, wanted to show that if these supposed wrongs suffered by 'Afrikaners' were exposed as myths in the sense that they were untrue, South Africa would be able to move towards a democracy.

After 1994, the notion of a new foundation myth for a post-apartheid South Africa, that would create a radically different nation to the apartheid-era one that Thompson discusses, emerges in the works of a number of South African scholars. According to Sabine Marschall, Associate Professor in Cultural and Heritage Tourism at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), the way in which the struggle ─ not only against apartheid, but against all forms of colonial oppression ─ is being represented, is acting as a foundation myth (Marschall, 2005:25-26). Marschall does not indicate how this foundation myth was activated and treats it as if it happened organically.[53] She briefly refers to the influence of a "new political order", "post-apartheid state", "dominant political forces" and the ANC (Marschall, 2005:19, 27, 33-34), but does not interrogate these concepts and treats them as homogeneous entities.

Specific ways of telling the South African story, that reflected the struggle's status as the 'new' South Africa's foundation myth, began to dominate after 1994. Rassool identifies the reconciliation ideology in "Memory and the politics of history in the District Six Museum". According to Rassool, "South Africa was being framed as a 'rainbow' or 'multicultural' nation, one characterised by 'diversity'" with "'reconciliation' as the basis for the new 'rainbow nation'". These viewpoints shaped heritage practices in the erecting of new memorials, legacy programmes and cultural tourism (Rassool, 2007:114). The reconciliation narrative has, however, become increasingly under attack by student movements and opposition party politicians.[54]

As discussed in Chapter One, Daniel Herwitz, a former Director of the Institute for the Humanities at the University of Michigan in the US, theorises the analytical frameworks that assist the study of heritage. Other scholars referred to in the literature review, including

[53] Marchall (2005:25) does state that Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu "introduced" the rainbow nation term in the 1980s in "describing his vision for a new state", but does not explore this further.
[54] See Chapter One, pp. 4, 12-16.

Rassool mentioned above, do the same kind of analytical work without using the concept of a framework. (See pp. 3-4).

Herwitz identifies the reconciliation and redress framework in *Heritage, culture, and politics in the postcolony*, published in 2012, and he identifies a second framework: One that corresponds with the African Renaissance ideology, emerging out of exile politics and embraced and remoulded by former president Thabo Mbeki. Although Herwitz identifies the role of Mbeki in adopting and remoulding the African Renaissance discourse, he also acknowledges that he did not create the ideology out of thin air. It is an old discourse derived "from the discourses of Afro-centric return in the late nineteenth century, [and] the formulation of the African Renaissance in the 1930s". It was also influenced by South Africa's exile politics. Mbeki can, however, be credited with the powerful rhetorical articulation of the ideology, as demonstrated by his "I am an African" speech in parliament in 1996 when South Africa's Constitution was adopted. Mbeki's language evoked the Negritude poetry of Léopold Senghor, Senegal's first president, and the writing of the American civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois (Herwitz, 2012:80, 135-136, 139).

According to Herwitz (2012:123), Mbeki's African Renaissance "short-circuits modern South African history, so difficult to recount, so fraught with controversy, by returning to an artificially constructed precolonial past". Mark Gevisser, the author of Mbeki's biography, *The Dream Deferred*, however, argues that Mbeki's African Renaissance does not in fact look back to a "mythical precolonial time when Africans were free and happy". Rather, says Gevisser, it looks to the period around 1959, when Mbeki had just passed matric and several African countries were on the verge of independence. "Both the continent and a young man… saw limitless possibility – the progress, power and self-sufficiency of adulthood – before them" (Gevisser, 2007:114).

Freedom Park, which emphasises "participatory democracy" and "African heritage elements… [such as] the kraal" (Herwitz, 2012:100, 106, 124), is a product of the African Renaissance discourse. Even though Mbeki is no longer president, Freedom Park illustrates that the African Renaissance ideology continues to have purchase in the rest of Africa and in South Africa. Herwitz (2012:104) also points to the fluidity of these narratives: The Freedom Park website, for example, featured the language of the reconciliation ideology. According to Herwitz, neither of the two heritage discourses has staying power: The reconciliation narrative is "in essence transitional… for the story fades in power as the new state takes on a more stable or different… form", while the African Renaissance ideology does not "go far enough beyond building post-colonial self-esteem" (Herwitz, 2012:150-151).

As with Marschall and Rassool, Herwitz's account of the reconciliation narrative lacks agency. The scholars do not indicate who is specifically involved in selecting the struggle as foundation myth, and who influenced the significance attached to the notion of reconciliation as the foundation of the new nation. They portray the heritage environment as one influenced by authorless ideologies hanging like a pall over the South African scene. However, this dominant way of interpreting South Africa's past through the lens of reconciliation and the African Renaissance did not happen organically, as Harriet Deacon, a pioneering scholar on intangible heritage in South Africa, shows in "Intangible heritage in conservation management planning: The case of Robben Island". According to Deacon, the Island's "symbolic significance" as an intangible heritage site hinges on its memorialisation of 'the triumph of the human spirit over adversity'. The framing of the Island, a World Heritage Site and South Africa's premier intangible heritage location, as a site of triumph did not happen organically, as "activists waiting in the wings of parliament began to market South Africa internationally as an example of peaceful transition based on a human rights model" in the early 1990s. The notion that the Island represented the 'triumph of the human spirit over adversity' was first extensively promoted through an exhibition about the Island's history at the South African Museum in Cape Town in 1993. Ahmed Kathrada, a former prisoner at the Island, proposed in his address at the exhibition's opening that the Island could represent a wide-ranging human rights culture and could symbolise global victories against oppression and hardship (Deacon, 2004:309, 312).

As discussed in Chapter One, my thesis shows that struggle songs are anything but static or uniform and do not fit neatly into the analytical frameworks of reconciliation and African Renaissance, identified by Herwitz (2012). These songs are in fact a form of active heritage that make dynamic and unpredictable twists and turns as they are utilised, amongst other things, to vindicate oneself or weaken one's enemy. The analytical frameworks, however, help me to explore the deployment of song and the ways in which it attempts to summon the past. It assists me to think about how song summons the past, which parts of the past it summons, and why those parts are considered significant in the present.

Two further analytical frameworks of heritage are introduced in this thesis: One associated with the History Workshop, which was created in 1977 by a group of Johannesburg-based academics from the social sciences and humanities. (See Chapter One, pp. 4-5). The fourth framework, which is identified in line with developments outside the academy, is discussed later in this chapter. Members of the History Workshop began to get involved in the field of public history as researchers in new museums after 1994, according to Rassool (2010:85). This, he says, "mainly took the form of consultancies, which tended largely to reproduce

hierarchies of expertise and transactions of knowledge based on outsourcing and outsider skill and capacity". Museums and heritage sites that the History Workshop have been involved in include the Apartheid Museum, Constitution Hill and Soweto's Vilikazi Street (Bonner, 2010:24; Kros, 2007:52, Mphaki, 2011 & Rassool, 2010:85). This framework can assist us to shed light on the representation of history at post-apartheid museums that members of the Workshop have been involved in. At the Apartheid Museum, for example, Philip Bonner, former Chair of the Workshop, was the co-curator, and the museum thus reflects his utilisation of Marxism to interpret the past, with capitalism being depicted as the driving force behind the country's history since the mining revolution in the nineteenth century.

Intangible heritage in post-apartheid South Africa

The scholars discussed above ─ Marschall, Rassool and Herwitz ─ all tend to be preoccupied with built heritage. Rassool does focus attention on oral histories, but with the concrete manifestation of the District Six Museum in mind, while Herwitz (2012:104, 119-120) keeps returning to built heritage, despite highlighting the significance attached to the language of documents such as the Constitution and the report of the TRC above monuments in the 1990s. My thesis focuses on intangible heritage, which has recently been the subject of a lot of scholarly and UNESCO attention, as discussed below. This focus tends to get stuck in the rut of 'traditional' song and dance, which centres on an unrecorded past which is known only by a few skilled elders. In my thesis, song rests on a very different concept of tradition – one that is not in need of protection, but is utilised in an active way, often helping to drive political power battles.

During the 1990s, intangible heritage began to receive considerable attention on a local and global platform, as South Africa and UNESCO recognised the significance of intangible heritage, after developing countries called for "serious consideration of the protection" of intangible heritage (Aikawa-Faure, 2009:14). In 2003, UNESCO finally adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage which "filled the gap in the normative instruments related to heritage" (Aikawa, 2004:137, 145). In the *Dubula ibhunu* court case in 2011, analysed in Chapter Four, the parties did not seem to attach weight to local or international heritage policies ─ neither the ANC nor AfriForum referred to such policies to strengthen their arguments (See pp. 138, footnote 126). This could be an indication that the heritage discourse has not filtered down.

After 1994, intangible heritage in South Africa has become "politically acceptable, even attractive" in an effort to establish new understandings of heritage onto the colonial terrain,

argues Deacon. The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 acknowledged "intangible heritage values and living heritage forms" to counter the apartheid and colonial governments' emphasis on "buildings and monuments defined as 'white' heritage" (Deacon, 2004:311-312). Oral histories, in particular relating to the liberation struggle, received considerable attention even before 1994 from scholars such as Bonner, Delius, Tim Keegan, Charles van Onselen and Belinda Bozzoli. Acknowledging the struggle's oral history, says Deacon, assists government to "underline the commonality of all South Africans' experiences while recognising the suffering of the majority of black South Africans". This bolsters the policy of "reconciliation, redress and reconstruction" (Deacon, 2004:311-312).

Utilising Robben Island as a case study, Deacon draws our attention to the local political battles that play themselves out on the heritage stage. The contests are particularly intense in post-colonial societies (Deacon, 2004:313-314). She refers to the views of Joan Henderson, an Associate Professor at the Nanyang Business School in Singapore, on the influence that a multicultural environment has on the heritage landscape. According to Henderson, who specialises in Tourism Studies, heritage "becomes a highly political and contentious arena in which decisions have to be made about its conservation, presentation and current usage against a background of various and possibly competing interpretations" (Henderson, 2001:221). As I have already discussed in Chapter One (see p. 26), Herwitz (2012:9-10) argues, drawing on Anderson's (1991) work on the nation as an "imagined political community", that heritage is essential for post-colonial nations as heritage and the setting up of museums and archives is the only way that these nations can "imagine and create their own nations". However, this is not an uncontested, simple process, as the very notion of the nation, and who is part of it in the post-colonial moment, is up for grabs. In South Africa, the post-colonial nation does not work from a blank heritage canvas with memorials, monuments and museums from previous political eras sharing the stage with new heritage works.

Despite the official framing of Robben Island as a site of triumph, discussed earlier, Deacon also traces the political battles surrounding its interpretation. Robben Island was of great symbolic significance for the apartheid and colonial rulers as a site for pariah 'terrorists', and it was therefore vital for the post-1994 government to "reclaim the space both physically and symbolically". Controlling the reading of a site "so deeply inscribed with the soul of South Africa is a play for power". Battles over the Island's meaning are therefore "echoes of broader political struggles". The official triumph message is seen as a "party-political one" in South Africa, with some former political prisoners, for example, querying the prominence of leaders such as Mandela (Deacon, 2004:314). My thesis explores how power struggles in contemporary South Africa play itself out on the heritage stage, and more specifically through struggle songs.

Heritage and politics: A knotty relationship

The intersection between heritage and politics and the power issues regarding heritage have been extensively written about. However, the deployment of struggle songs shows that the relationship is not as sanitised and clear-cut as often portrayed by scholars. John Tunbridge and Gregory John Ashworth argue in *Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict*, published in 1996, that selection in heritage identification is inescapable. "All heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's." The production of heritage "disinherits" someone to varying degrees and this "disinheritance" can be deliberate or unplanned, and may lead to someone being "written out of the script of history" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:21).

The *Dubula ibhunu* trial showed that the boundaries between a majority and a minority heritage are not as clear as Tunbridge and Ashworth argue. Instead, different foundation myths were brought into conversation with one another, as parties borrowed from each other's heritage. The question can also be asked whether there is in fact a 'script of history' that pre-existed everything. These perspectives are pertinent in South Africa, as heritage is often used in a rhetorical attempt to achieve reconciliation and nation-building. Although reconciliation and nation-building have come under increasing attack, both are still occasionally called upon by politicians.

The first three frameworks I have discussed – reconciliation, the African Renaissance and the one associated with the History Workshop – focus mainly on built heritage. Although the fourth framework also relates to material heritage, there are elements of this framework that hold particular value for my study of song as a form of active intangible heritage. Heritage scholar and Research Associate at the History Workshop, Cynthia Kros, draws my attention to the notion of heritage as the "show business of history" in "Twenty years of heritage studies – the showbiz of history?", a paper in which she focuses on the origins of heritage studies and its development, mostly at Wits and to a lesser degree at UWC. In October 2013, Dali Tambo, son of Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC between 1967 and 1991, described heritage as the "show business of history" in a briefing to Parliament's arts and culture portfolio committee about his plans to create a park with between 400 and 500 bronze life-size statues of struggle heroes from the 1600s to 1994 (Capazorio, 2013). Tambo's statues are on display at the National Heritage Monument, which opened on 15 September 2015 at the Groenkloof Nature Reserve in Pretoria (Moatshe, 2015). The fourth heritage framework I identified in Chapter One helps me to analyse this type of heritage (See p. 5).

It might be easy to dismiss Tambo's comment as frivolous, coming from someone who operates outside the academy and is merely eager to make money from heritage and offer a catchy sound bite for the media. As discussed in Chapter One, Tambo's heritage could then be judged as symptomatic of the consumer society in which everything is reduced to a spectacle (Debord, 1994). Yet instead of merely dismissing his statues as part of the spectacle, the notion of heritage as "show business" could add value to our understanding of heritage and the way it operates and is perceived in contemporary South Africa. Tambo's National Heritage Monument might not stray from the dominant struggle narrative that presents the country's past as a 'long walk to freedom',[55] which Rassool (2004:8) labels as the "key trope for… South Africa's history, narrated as the triumph of reconciliation", but his life-size statues reveal beliefs around heritage that were also expressed in interviews conducted for this thesis: The notion of a different kind of heritage that operates outside the perceived confines set by the academy ─ and attempts to push back against its dominance. This heritage is experienced as more personal and allows for a closer and more meaningful experience with the past.

Kros's analysis brings to light two important factors regarding the present-day heritage landscape in South Africa. She helps us to see the fluidity of different heritage narratives as they interact, borrow from one another, and compete, as well as the knotty relationships between these discourses and South Africa's highly volatile political climate. The "precise likeness", of Tambo's life-size statues "allows people to interact with them" through taking selfies with the personalities, but more significantly also reveals important features of the current state of monumental politics in South Africa, as well as of the ruling ANC, argues Kros (n.d.:10). It is this focus on "precise likeness", says Kros, which also underlay the anger over the discovery of a miniature rabbit that sculptors had secretly placed in the ear of another Tambo-led project, the nine-metre high Mandela statue at the Union Buildings in Pretoria (Underhill, 2014). Maybe, says Kros (n.d.:10), "the indignation over the sculptors' act was not simply provoked by the perception that they had showed disrespect for the founder of the new nation, but by their attempt to 'sign' the statue as if it were an individual creation rather than a true, and therefore invariable likeness". Drawing on Giorgio Agamben's appropriation of 'doubling' in *Homer Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1998), who uses Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King: Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (1957), Kros reveals a critical purpose of this collection of South Africa's 'ancestors': "The most obvious explanation for the creation of a double for the dying king is that it was expedient to find a

[55] I thank Nieftagodien (2016) for drawing my attention to a particular narrative focusing on the struggle presented at the monument. "There's an inherent teleology of having started somewhere and moving toward the promised land led by Madiba."

strategy for perpetuating, or representing the perpetuation of the sovereign's power even after the decease of his physical body" (Kros, n.d.:10-11). In this sense, the statue is meant to create immortality for Mandela, who becomes the eternal father of the nation. It also illustrates the continued strength of the reconciliation narrative in the heritage landscape, despite its decline in present-day politics.[56]

The embracing Mandela, with his arms outstretched and his hands open, is at odds with the contestation taking place in the country's political space. He is depicted, says Kros, as "the laid-back sovereign of the new regime rather than the defiant opponent of the old". Drawing on ideas from Agamben and other scholars regarding 'constituted power', which is established within the framework of the State, and 'constituting power', representing the (democratic) forces that brought the present State into existence, and the complex relationship between them, Kros argues that the statue represents the "consummation of the transition from constituting to constituted power".[57] The ANC's status as the ruling party is well-established, but to remain in power and further strengthen its position, it must "constantly… represent itself as if it were still the revolutionary party", particularly because its opponents, both within and outside of parliamentary politics, are becoming increasingly louder in their resistance. Simultaneously, the party has to "conceal the violence… both with which it cowed the old regime, and the violence that is necessary to maintain its present position in power – and, often one should say in all fairness – the country's democratic constitution" (Kros, n.d.:10).

Authorised heritage discourse and ownership of the struggle

The arguments of Laurajane Smith relating to "authorized heritage discourse" in *Uses of heritage* can be applied to South Africa. Smith is Head of the School of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Australian National University and therefore she has a particular interest in the material artefact. The "authorized heritage discourse" stresses "aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for... so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past". It defines who the "legitimate spokespersons for the past are" (Smith, 2006:29).

[56] See Chapter One, pp. 4, 12-16.

[57] In a conversation, Kros further elaborated on her argument: The ANC is thus in power as the ruling party in government and has to project itself as such, but in contradiction to that status, to remain in power, it must simultaneously position itself as if it is still a liberation movement fighting a struggle for *the people*. The ANC's profile on Twitter hints at this balancing act: Under the handle of @MYANC it describes itself as "South Africa's governing party and national liberation movement".

As several scholars, such as Baines (2007) and Soske, Lissoni & Erlank (2012), have pointed out, the ANC sees itself as the legitimate spokesperson for the struggle. However, following Kros, I argue that the struggle is not viewed as an event in the past – ANC leaders, including ANC President Jacob Zuma, regularly refer to the struggle as if it is still continuing. The ANC, and more recently opposition political parties, perceive the struggle to be extremely powerful in political contests in post-apartheid South Africa. This was evident in the local government election campaigns in 2016, when both the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) tried to appropriate struggle icons such as Mandela and Solomon Mahlangu[58] in attempts to lay claim to what Booysen (2015:4) labels the ruling party's "liberation dividend". Contestations over who owns the struggle, also came to the fore in the *Dubula ibhunu* trial and is discussed in Chapter Four. I evaluate struggle songs within the broader political environment in post-apartheid South Africa, which could be considered as being characterised by a different kind of warfare ─ between factions within the ANC and between the ANC and opposition political parties.

Challenges arising from considering struggle songs heritage

William Logan discusses the relationship between cultural heritage, cultural diversity and human rights in "Cultural diversity, cultural heritage and human rights: Towards heritage management as human rights-based cultural practice". The *Dubula ibhunu* trial is an ideal case study to analyse human rights and heritage, as it highlights issues related to freedom of speech, equality and dignity in post-apartheid South Africa.

According to Logan, efforts to preserve certain forms of cultural heritage can breach other human rights. One section of society might believe practising a part of their culture is a human right, while another group might feel that a particular cultural practice violates human rights. Taking human rights into consideration broadens our understanding of heritage and makes us aware of the challenges this holds for the heritage practitioner in the very fraught landscape of contemporary heritage battles (Logan, 2012:233, 239, 241). In the case of *Dubula ibhunu,* it would be quite difficult to determine whether the right to sing the song as part of practising cultural heritage is more or less important than the right to dignity and equality that AfriForum and its supporters claim is infringed when the song is sung.

Logan's arguments on intangible heritage and human rights are particularly applicable, as song is classified as intangible heritage. Logan (2012:236) argues that preserving intangible

[58] See pp. 13-14.

heritage has the “most direct and difficult human rights implications, because we are dealing with embodied and living heritage”. Buildings and heritage sites can be owned or broken down, but it is unworkable to own or destroy intangible elements such as song, as the *Dubula ibhunu* case has shown. Struggle songs cannot be safely stored away in a museum – they cannot be forbidden and do not need heritage policies to survive.

Catherine Grant argues that the preservation of musical heritage should consider the challenges highlighted by those involved in the safeguarding and maintenance of languages in “Rethinking safeguarding: Objections and responses to protecting and promoting endangered musical heritage”. One of the challenges she discusses is particularly relevant for this study. It relates to the ever-changing nature of “living, vital cultural heritage” (Grant, 2012:31, 37). As I have already pointed out, struggle songs are not the kind of ‘traditional’ living heritage that Grant is referring to. However, it is a dynamic heritage with song itself changing as it is performed in different settings (Coplan & Jules-Rosette, 2005:305). According to Grant, this causes a challenge for safeguarding efforts. What does one preserve? Should one safeguard a song “as it is now”, or should preservation attempts “encourage continual reassessment”? (Grant, 2012:38). Struggle songs raise questions about authenticity and tradition more sharply than the ‘traditional’ song and dance envisaged by Grant or UNESCO. It is utilised in an active manner in political struggles and as such is certainly capable of safeguarding itself. This creates a dilemma for heritage practitioners. Should these songs be preserved outside of their contemporary usage?

Struggle songs are, however, not unique as a form of heritage that challenges heritage frameworks and policies. Several scholars look at diverse forms and practices such as *lobolo*, graffiti and unfinished buildings that defy conventional ideas regarding heritage. The declaration of unfinished public works in Italy as a formal architectural style – ‘Incompiuto Siciliano’ – by a group of artists who also wanted to turn some of these works into an archaeological park, challenges traditional notions of heritage, argues Pablo Arboleda. “If traditional heritage is viewed as something old, self-glorifying and beautiful” to perceive such a park as heritage “may sound inappropriate in that, in principle, unfinished public works are not old, self-glorifying or beautiful… If heritage is usually presented as something fixed, regimented and publicly established in positive interpretations, in stark contrast… [the park] may well prompt shame and the ridiculing of its society as a whole” (Arboleda, 2017:299-300, 302, 311). The works are furthermore not classified as heritage by elite experts or political leaders, “who, based on the importance of a cultural value acquired over time, dictate what deserves to be labelled heritage”, but by a “simple group of artists” (Arboleda, 2017:312).

In Gabriele Mohale's Master's research report, entitled ""Oral traditions not for archives: The case of Lobolo": Reflections on the Draft Heritage Transformation Charter", in which she examines the draft and final versions of the Heritage Transformation Charter and its claim to ensure the existence of oral traditions, she questions whether *lobolo* would benefit from policy interventions. "There has to be cognizance of the fact that indigenous knowledge systems are filled with banal examples of expressions and performances, which cannot be subject to extraction for the sake of policy formulation, but will nevertheless continue to thrive as living heritage through enculturation, communal spirit as well as traditional leadership, which in reality are out of reach of the formal regulated heritage sector". According to Mohale, living heritage such as *lobolo* "would be done no justice by capturing and storing" as it does not require "our patronizing ways of 'saving'" (Mohale, 2010:42, 77-78).

Struggle songs could also be compared to graffiti, which Samuel Merrill (2015:369) argues faces "increasing heritagisation". In "Keeping it real? Subcultural graffiti, street art, heritage and authenticity", Merrill discusses several characteristics of graffiti that I argue struggle songs share. These include that it is practised by those that consider themselves "social outsiders", and "can only be deciphered by other members of the subculture", with some graffiti styles characterised by "complicated and interlocking letters linked by various shapes" (Merrill, 2015:371-372). In a similar manner, struggle songs use metaphors and political references that can often only be understood by insiders. Merrill (2015:383) argues that preserving graffiti, which includes practices such as repainting of original designs, "run the risk of freezing the dynamic dialogue that graffiti and street art, as living traditions, rely upon in order to maintain subcultural hierarchies and encourage the development of individual styles and abilities". Instead, argues Merrill, graffiti is rather a form of "alternative heritage" that should not be governed by official heritage frameworks or policies. Graffiti therefore has "the potential to act as a watermark in demonstrating that not all facets of cultural life can or should necessarily be formally designated as heritage" (Merrill, 2015:369, 384-385).

In this chapter, I have evaluated the literature on heritage to demonstrate how my thesis draws on, as well as builds upon, the existing literature. In the next chapter, I examine the literature on song.

CHAPTER THREE
Tracing song's lineage

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the scholarly literature related to struggle songs. Although there is a dearth of literature on struggle songs, I have found literature on other forms of song valuable to shed light on its repurposing in post-apartheid South Africa. My evaluation of the literature starts with looking at how the role of song during apartheid has been treated in literature. I then look at the notion of song as a weapon in the struggle, the genealogy of song, the utilisation of song after the advent of democracy in 1994 by activists, and finally I discuss some key issues regarding the interpretation of the songs in this study. Throughout the chapter, I consider how the deployment of song draws on other oral forms and performative practices. However, although I recognise that struggle songs have a long lineage, which is valuable to consider when analysing their utilisation in post-apartheid South Africa, I take into account, drawing on Coplan & Jules-Rosette (2005:305), that song changes during its journey. (See Chapter One, p. 29)

In addition to presenting a review of the literature, the works discussed in this chapter form an important foundation for the methodological framework employed to analyse the songs performed at the ANC's National Conference in Mangaung in 2012. (See Chapter Five, pp. 180-186). Struggle songs will be analysed by considering, building upon, and in some cases departing from the works evaluated here.

The role of struggle songs during apartheid

As historian Shirli Gilbert (2007:423) points out, the role of struggle songs in the struggle against apartheid is a grossly neglected research area. However, there have been notable studies recently, focusing on specific spaces in which song functioned, such as the Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensembles (Gilbert, 2007), Robben Island (Ramoupi, 2013) and the ANC's clandestine radio station, Radio Freedom (Lekgoathi, 2013). Some of the literature on struggle songs produced before 1994 provides fairly romanticised ideas about the role of song, as I will show below. Discussions on struggle songs during apartheid furthermore often follow an accepted historiography of the struggle. There is, however, a recognition of the agency of music and musicians in the work of several scholars, such as Gilbert (2007) and Belinda Bozzoli (2004).

Recollections of the powerful role struggle songs played in prison, courts, MK camps, funerals, in exile, in protest actions, at political meetings and during everyday life in apartheid South Africa, appear in several autobiographies of, and oral history interviews with, struggle veterans (Bernstein, 1999; Gilder, 2012; Joseph, 1986; Kasrils, 1993; Kathrada, 2008; Mandela, 1995; Ngculu, 2009 & Sisulu, Houser & Shore, 2001). In several of these works, specific songs are remembered in connection with significant events. In *Side by Side: The autobiography of Helen Joseph*, Joseph remembers the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (God bless Africa) and *Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo* (You've struck women, you've struck a grinding stone) during the Women's March on August 9, 1956 to the Union Buildings (Joseph, 1986:1-2). In *Long Walk to Freedom: The autobiography of Nelson Mandela,* Mandela (1995:395) recalls the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* in the court room after he was sentenced to five years imprisonment in November 1962 for incitement and leaving the country without a passport. Barry Gilder (2012:76-77), a composer of struggle songs, writes in *Songs & Secrets: South Africa from liberation to governance*, about how MK veterans remember the Quibaxe camp in Angola where he spent over a year in 1979 and 1980. He recalls the song *Siyobashiy' abazal' ekhaya* (We left our parents at home). In interviews conducted for this thesis, participants also remembered particular songs in connection with specific events during apartheid.

The literature on struggle songs produced during the dying years of apartheid often presents fairly romanticised notions about the function of song in overcoming adversity and building solidarity for a good common purpose, and generally does not acknowledge the power battles involved in the deployment of song. The discussions of the function of song during apartheid by psychologist Helen Q. Kivnick and musician and anti-apartheid activist Jessica Sherman to an extent offer such romanticised views. The publication dates – 1990 and 1989 respectively – explain their treatment of song, with their works reflecting the spirit of the time when the formal end of apartheid was in sight.

Kivnick discusses the role and impact of songs during apartheid in *Where is the way: Song and struggle in South Africa,* published in March 1990 just after the release of Mandela on February 11, 1990. Songs provided people with a sense of community, she argues. "Singing together lets individuals know... they are all part of something that is large and strong." She also examines the important role song played in prison. Struggle songs "invoke solidarity in a place where breaking the human spirit has been refined to a science" (Kivnick, 1990:273, 299). Sherman (1989:85) presents a similar view in "Liberation songs and popular culture" and argues that the function of struggle songs during apartheid was to "lift one's spirits, give courage for the tasks ahead… [and] produce unity amongst a group of people". Sherman does not attribute agency to song, stating that songs were "mirrors of political developments". In the

early 1980s, song, for example, articulated "the popularity of and support for the armed struggle" (Sherman, 1989:85-86).

Restraining song and its singers

Discussions of the role of song during apartheid often follow an accepted periodisation of the struggle. An example of such a periodisation that follows conventional lines can be found in the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) project established by former President Thabo Mbeki in 2001.[59] The chapter "divisions tend to segment topics into discrete units of analysis, with the effect that problematic analytical, geographical and chronological divisions… are inadvertently reproduced". These divisions include those between liberation movements in exile and resistance within South Africa, or between different political organisations (Soske, Lissoni & Erlank, 2012:38).

Anne-Marie Gray, an arts education lecturer, reproduces this conventional historiography in "The liberation songs: An important voice of black South Africans from 1912 to 1994". Gray, who completed her Master's dissertation on struggle songs, specifically the utilisation of song by the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), was called by 'Afrikaner' civil rights organisation AfriForum as an expert witness during the *Dubula ibhunu* trial where she testified about the characteristics of struggle songs during apartheid.[60] According to Gray (2004:85), "between 1912 and 1994 liberation songs by black South Africans were used as a strategy to accelerate change in South African society". This suggests that there was an inevitable progression in how song was deployed to guarantee the 1994 moment. Gray does not explain why she chose 1912 as the beginning of her analysis, although it could refer to the establishment of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in

[59] A total of seven volumes have been produced under this project. Three volumes cover the decades from 1960 to 1990, with one volume covering the period between 1990 and 1996. Each volume looks at several themes: The political dynamics in each of the decades, including the banning of liberation movements and exile, significant organisations and individuals, the development of the strategy and tactics of important organisations, the response of the apartheid government, the international and regional context, and the main outcomes at the end of each decade. Two of the volumes focus on international and African solidarity. One volume consists of oral history interviews. A volume focusing on the Soweto Uprisings was published in 2017 (SADET, n.d.). The periodisation is also found in popular productions such as the *Amandla!: A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony* film, which, as Lindelwa Dalamba (2012:305) points out, periodises apartheid according to specific "watershed historical events". I discuss Dalamba's critique of the film later. A radio documentary on song, *South African Freedom Songs: Inspiration for liberation*, released in 2000 and featuring interviews, with amongst others Ronnie Kasrils, founding member of the London-based Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, Baleka Mbete, poet, ANC National Chairperson and Speaker of the National Assembly, and Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, also divides its discussion of the role of song during the struggle into different periods or themes, including the period between 1948 and 1960, from 1960 to 1976, and the era after the 1976 Soweto Uprisings. Changes that the songs underwent in these periods are also discussed. Songs from the post-1976 period, for example, echoed the anger and urgency experienced by the youth.

[60] See Chapter Four for a discussion of the *Dubula ibhunu* trial. Gray testified that *Dubula ibhunu* was a chant and not a song and that it was thus not musically valuable. She also said that she had heard *Dubula ibhunu* for the first time in 2010 when Malema started singing it (See Chapter Four, pp. 136-138).

1912, which Gray refers to in her article. The SANNC was renamed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923 (Gray, 2004:85, 89-90).

Although Gray refers to 1912 as a starting point, she then divides song into two periods: Between 1900 and 1950, and those sung after 1950. Songs sung between 1900 and 1950 reflected that "black South Africans courted no political confrontation" as black politicians were mostly part of the elite educated at mission schools. Songs sung after 1950 echoed the escalation of the struggle with lyrics becoming more "militant" (Gray, 2004:85, 88-89, 94-95). Gray does not acknowledge individual agency in the utilisation and interpretation of song, concluding that song "echoes a collective cry of discontent by black South Africans" (Gray, 2004:99). The title of her article as well as her use of terms such as "black liberation songs" and "the music of the black liberation struggle" to describe her subject matter, suggest that Gray (2004:85, 88) neglects the voices of white South Africans in the struggle against apartheid.

Neo Lawrence Ramoupi focuses on the role of song at Robben Island from 1960 to 1991 in his PhD dissertation, entitled "Izingoma zo Mzabalazo" Esiqithini! Role of songs in the African liberation struggle of South Africa, 1960-1991. A culture history of Robben Island", completed at Howard University in Washington in 2013. Similar to Gray, Ramoupi's study follows a standard narrative: In his case, the one told to tourists by Island tour guides – of whom most are former prisoners (Garuba, 2007:134-137, 139-140).[61] According to Ramoupi, between 1960 and 1969, which he labels the "post-Sharpeville period", songs showed how political prisoners utilised "culture to keep their spirits and morale alive in an environment that was meant to dehumanize them". In the decade between 1970 and 1980, Ramoupi states that a "radical and militant culture" was taken onto the Island by the youth of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). Songs that were sung by these younger prisoners, imprisoned on the Island particularly after the Soweto Uprisings in 1976, echoed this "militancy and radicalism". According to Ramoupi, "the youth used the social songs of the day that were traditional songs and they took the words of the struggle and turned them into radical and militant songs". Between 1980 and 1991, Ramoupi focuses his study on the songs that were sung by ANC political prisoners, who were the biggest group on the Island during that period. According to him, "singing in the 1980s was more of a past-time [sic], more for recreation than

[61] Garuba (2007:134-137, 143) examines the narrative told by Robben Island tour guides and questions whether it is possible for "truly personal experience to emerge" – unspoiled by the "dominant narrative" of the struggle and Robben Island's place of symbolic significance within that – in the stories told by tour guides who had been imprisoned on the Island. Garuba finds that it is "not likely" to happen. He also finds that the narrative periodises imprisonment on the Island, highlighting the changes in the prison environment over time, from the "harsh brutality of the 1960s to a general improvement of conditions over the decades".

for protesting and resistance as was the case in the 1960s and 1970s" as the Island was a "more habitable place compared to the previous two decades" (Ramoupi, 2013:69-70, 155, 209, 248-249, 264).

An award-winning documentary on the role of music during the struggle also follows the accepted historiography and provides viewers with a digestible bite-size view of apartheid. *Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony*, directed by Lee Hirsch, was released in 2002 and won both the Documentary Audience Award and the Freedom of Expression Award at the 2002 Sundance Film Festival. In "Disempowering Music: The Amandla! documentary and other conservative musical projects" ethnomusicologist Lindelwa Dalamba provides a critique of the film, discussed below, that is not only valuable in illuminating specific issues in *Amandla!* itself, but also more broadly regarding the treatment and interpretation of music. [62] Dalamba argues that music is used in the film "to comment or represent the events and stories that it sees as constitutive elements in South Africa's liberation struggle" (Dalamba, 2012:305).

The film, as Dalamba (2012:305) points out, periodises apartheid according to sections, introduced by either brief descriptions – the section on pass laws, in reference to the imposing of these laws on African women, is for example introduced with the following text: "In the late 1950s laws were enacted making it illegal for black South Africans to move around the country without a passbook. The people took to the streets in resistance" – or headings, such as "1948" in reference to the National Party (NP) victory in that year (*Amandla!*, 2002). The film's other "narrative anchors" include, for example, the 1976 Soweto Uprising, the release of Mandela in 1990, and the 1994 democratic elections. These anchors are the "constituent events of the national biography read as ''the Struggle''" (Dalamba, 2012:305).

Drawing on the work of Ian Biddle (2003) on "the homologizing ideology",[63] Dalamba argues that the fundamental cornerstone of *Amandla!* is "that struggle gave birth to certain types of

[62] See also Barnard (2003) for a review of the film. He laments that the filmmakers did not look at the broader consequences of the relationship between music and politics shown in *Amandla!* and what this more generally suggests for music. Instead, it narrowed its focus on South Africa as a special, unique case in terms of how music was deployed in struggle. For Barnard, *Amandla!* "can only give us Apartheid 101 over and over again". Images "are neither specifically connected to the music in the film nor given any particular location of their own". Drawing on the work of Johannes Fabian (1983), Barnard says the film subscribes to "the familiar trope by which the Other is simplified, commodified, and fixed in time…" (Barnard, 2003:86-87).

[63] In an analysis focused on gender, music and sexuality, Biddle describes homology ''as an interpretative device whereby the structural proclivities of one cultural form are made to find a structural equivalent in another medium". It "avoids explicit examination of *how* the connectedness of music to gender and sexuality is brought about" (Biddle, 2003:224). Instead, music's ''signifying energies are largely focused on displaying" the effects of the discourse under study (Biddle, 2003:225 & Dalamba, 2012:297). Biddle's arguments are valuable in several ways, according to Dalamba. They demonstrate how some studies have "simplistically marked music as a substitution for practices tending towards the overhaul of apartheid" and ignored the complexity of music's "connectedness" to the struggle. It also illuminates how "music's role in people's lives during apartheid has been reduced to displaying apartheid's effects" (Dalamba, 2012:297).

music", which then "commented on what was happening at the time" (Dalamba, 2012:297, 308). The film thus reduces the role of song to that of commentary and ignores the agency of artists and cultural workers which Gilbert considers in her analysis of the Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensembles, discussed later. (See pp. 77-81). At the beginning of the film the story of Vuyisile Mini, a composer of struggle songs, is introduced through footage of the exhumation of his remains from a pauper's grave in 1998 (*Amandla!*, 2002). Mini was hanged by the apartheid government in 1964 in the Pretoria Central Prison. Later the Mini family and other interviewees sing his composition *Nants' indod' emnyama Verwoerd* (Here comes the black man Verwoerd) and it is mentioned that he went to the gallows singing (*Amandla!*, 2002).[64] Mini's story is deployed as the "the progenitor of struggle songs", asserts Dalamba (2012:308). The Mini song also illustrates how song is portrayed in the film. A song is introduced and evidence of it having been well known is provided by the interviewees' knowledge of the specific song. It subsequently "becomes a soundtrack to anonymous masses that are depicted living through apartheid ─ doing the *toyi-toyi*, being forcibly removed from their homes, producing pass books, marching, striking, being shot at or beaten". In this manner, says Dalamba, "multiple, unheard, individual voices are placed in a position that may be spoken by song, thus again simulating collectivity or an ensemble of coded voices" (Dalamba, 2012:308-309).

Dalamba's (2012:309) "biggest contention" with the film is thus the "narrow" characterisation of song and its singers. South African jazz musician Abdullah Ibrahim alludes to a deeper, more intricate function of music in *Amandla!*: ''The thing that saved us was the music... It's not even what we call liberation music… it was part of liberating ourselves'' (*Amandla!*, 2002). However, in the film music is not treated as being integral to this complex process of personal liberation that Ibrahim refers to. Drawing on the work of Gilbert (2005:11), who points out that it is not possible to obtain an "essential collective narrative" from song, Dalamba (2012:309) argues that *Amandla!* is guilty of exactly that: Reducing the place of song to an ''essential collective narrative''. This diminishes the various, complex functions and meanings of song in oppressed societies to a "disempowering mythology". Such portrayals, argues Dalamba (2012:309), furthermore "romanticize and essentialize the past" and present it as "a simple dichotomy between apartheid and resistance" (Minkley & Rassool, 1998:95).

[64] Anti-apartheid activist Ben Turok, who was jailed in the same prison as Mini, writes in the ANC journal *Sechaba* in 1969 about the evening prior to the execution: "The last evening was devastatingly sad as the heroic occupants of the death cell communicated to the prison in gentle melancholy song that their end was near…Soon after, I heard the door of their cell being opened…and then the three martyrs broke into a final poignant melody which seemed to fill the whole prison with sound…" (Turok, 1969:10-11).

Music is not the only aspect treated in a manner that disregards its agency. According to Dalamba (2005:308), the stories of interviewees are treated in a similar fashion. Iconic musicians such as Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela and political leaders such as Thandi Modise and Lindiwe Zulu are interviewed. Lesser known individuals are also included, such as Sifiso Ntuli, described as an activist and music producer. Dalamba argues that the stories of these individuals are "important only insofar as they illuminate and/or exemplify what the film wishes to communicate" (Dalamba, 2012:308). However, although Dalamba (2005:304) acknowledges the "hegemonic construction [of] "the Struggle"", she does not adequately explore the role of the interviewees themselves in the depiction of apartheid and the role of music in the struggle. In her discussion of the autobiographies of Makeba (*Makeba: The Miriam Makeba story*, published in 2004) and Masekela (*Still Grazing: The musical journey of Hugh Masekela*, also published in 2004), Dalamba does look at the role of the musicians in framing their journey to leave South Africa, by employing "the form and tenor of escape narratives from political exiles". "Because they are musicians", argues Dalamba, "we are guided as readers to view departure as the protagonists' initiation into a life of *musical* struggle in exile" (Dalamba, 2012:302). However, in her study of *Amandla!*, Dalamba (2012:308) places the responsibility for the representation of apartheid on the filmmaker's "strategies" and "vision" and does not delve into the potential role of the interviewees. Focusing on the interviews with Masekela and Makeba in the film, Dalamba argues that they were "not really brought in to tell their tales, but to explain and illustrate what has already been decided will be the tale to be told". They become "corroborating voices", "robbed of their stories" and not active "co-authors" (Dalamba, 2012:310). Dalamba is suggesting that their individual stories are being usurped under the film's preconceived narrative of apartheid and pleading for the recognition of their individual agency.

However, it is important to consider the extent of the role of the interviewees in how the story of apartheid and music is told in the film, and the possibility that they themselves may have told their stories in a way that reflected the dominant narrative. One must question whether it is possible that there are in fact stories that are completely unspoiled by the prevailing struggle narrative. In his analysis of the narratives of tour guides on Robben Island – where "real people are displayed" – Harry Garuba (2007:134, 143) asks this vital question: Can "there be an individual memory uncontaminated by the dominant narrative of the anti-apartheid struggle and of Robben Island as a primary symbolic site of that struggle? Can they for a few moments be subjects of their own narratives?". Drawing on the work of distinguished museum scholar Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:7) who asserts that "heritage… depends on display to give dying economies and dead sites a second life as exhibitions of themselves" and Michel Foucault's (1991a:54) ideas about "individualized discursive formation" taking place within a

"set of rules of formation", Garuba answers the question above with a "provisional answer" of "not likely". According to Garuba, the "poetics of nationalism… provides… 'a set of rules of formation' for speaking and… asking questions" at Robben Island. "Nationalist tropes of exile and homecoming", and the "movement from oppression and alienation to freedom and wholeness" are important cornerstones of this narrative. Garuba concludes that "a second life, it appears, is only available to artefacts, sites and human subjects so long as they 'live' within the discourse that produces that life" (Garuba, 2007:133, 140, 142-143). This poses a significant problem for scholars trying to isolate individual narratives and experiences.

Song as 'theatre'

A significant space in which song played an important role during the struggle is political funerals.[65] Funerals of anti-apartheid activists and leaders became "sites of mass political rallies for banned organisations" (Simpson, 2009:171). Several scholars have referred to the role of funerals in studies about the struggle. Ali Hlongwane (2008 & 2015) and Pat Hopkins & Helen Grange (2001) refer to the role of night vigils and funerals of those killed during, and in the aftermath of, the 1976 Soweto Uprisings in political mobilisation and memorialisation of the uprisings. Thula Simpson (2009) refers to funerals in an analysis of the youth-led township rebellion of the mid-1980s – these funerals played a significant part in "sustaining levels of political mobilisation" and were furthermore the "most visible manifestation" of the "extent to which the political culture among the black youth in the townships had become infected by the symbols and slogans of the armed struggle waged by the external movement". This was shown by funeral goers, for example, holding imitation AK-47 assault rifles and posters asking the ANC's leaders in exile to provide them with weapons (Simpson, 2009:171-173).

[65] This study does not focus on the funeral as a site of analysis, but funerals of apartheid activists are sites where song has often continued to play a significant role. At the funeral of former Safety and Security Minister Steve Tshwete at the Bhisho Stadium in the Eastern Cape in May 2002 "frenzied crowds in colourful green, gold and black regalia electrified the stadium by chanting liberation struggle songs which told of the great sacrifices" Tshwete had made (Jack, 2002). He was imprisoned by the apartheid authorities on Robben Island for fourteen years and later became Minister of Sport and Recreation in Mandela's cabinet from 1994 to 1999 (South Africa History Online (SAHO), n.d. b). Jack (2002) writes that "at times it was difficult for organizers to hold the excited crowds at bay and the khaki-clad ANC marshals were kept busy maintaining the dignity of the funeral". Although funerals in post-apartheid South Africa take place under very different political conditions, some elements described by Bozzoli (2004) in her analysis of funerals as "'theatres' of struggle", which I discuss below, have survived. At the memorial service of Mandela on December 10, 2013 at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg song played a prominent role. The singing crowd at the stadium played a similar role to the "notoriously unstable and treacherous" crowds that Bozzoli (2004:218) identifies at apartheid-era night vigils and funerals. As during the funerals of the Alexandra Rebellion of 1986, the "volatility of the crowd sometimes spilled over into disruption" (Bozzoli, 2004:222). The anger was not aimed at the police or informers as was the case at political funerals during apartheid (Bozzoli, 2004:218, 222), but at a democratically elected leader, with Zuma being repeatedly booed by sections of the crowds (Grootes, 2013).

Michael Tetelman (1999) examines a specific funeral – that of James Arthur Calata in June 1983 in Cradock in the Eastern Cape. He argues that the funeral was used by activists in the town "to bolster their authority amongst township residents and build a powerful protest movement". The funeral also, however, became a "complex, contested" affair, with funeral organisers battling it out over the place of the church in a "context of emerging mass opposition… how ideologies and tactics of past struggles could be appropriated to suit the struggles of the 1980s" and contests between younger and older residents for "control of opposition" (Tetelman, 1999:5-6, 17, 21).

Funerals, together with indoor meetings and court trials, were the main "forums available to Africans for open political expression" since 1976, when the apartheid government banned outdoor gatherings for purposes other than religion or sport (Simpson, 2009:170).[66] During these funerals, the "streets of townships were redefined, with use of oppositional flags and symbols, freedom songs, poetry, speeches, music and symbolically important figures within them – and this time with the passion that came of public and widespread grief at death, or in many cases the murders of activists" (Bozzoli, 2004:211).[67] This description by sociologist Belinda Bozzoli in *Theatres of struggle and the end of apartheid* points to the agency of music. Instead of following in the already ploughed furrows, music remapped the terrain of the township. Night vigils were held before funerals, which offered the space for the "symbols and rituals which were to be used in the next day's events to be rehearsed, and for popular emotions to be captured and channelled". At these vigils, poetry was performed, speakers criticised the deaths and comforted the families, and songs were sung (Bozzoli, 2004:217).

Bozzoli argues that funerals and their accompanying marches became the most broadly witnessed "'theatres' of struggle" during the Alexandra Rebellion of 1986. The protestors "used the spaces available to them by treating them as social and political 'theatres', places within which the varying dramas they sought to mount could be enacted and thus become the means to claiming great power". Song formed part of this theatre production (Bozzoli, 2004:10-11, 211, 217-218, 223-225).

[66] See Rassool (2004), who argues that funerals are one of the places where "biographical narratives" are created. Mass funerals of struggle veterans, such as Joe Modise, former MK Commander and Minister of Defence who died in 2001, become sites where "debates and disputes" play out over the "narration, evaluation and contestation over the meanings of their lives". In his thesis, Rassool also looks at the "significant biographic contests" that took place at the funeral of Unity Movement resistance leader I. B. Tabata, the case study of his thesis, in 1990 (Rassool, 2004:6, 194, 244-247, 436, 489-501).

[67] Utilising funerals and song for political purposes in oppressive conditions is not unique to South Africa. In Swaziland, a monarchy ruled by King Mswati III, funerals have been "one of the very last remaining 'free spaces' for public political expression… and therefore have been important sites of resistance", argues Teresa Debly. She labels song as "so-called weapons of the weak" that are deployed as "expressions of resistance" at such funerals. After the funeral of lawyer and political activist Musa Dlamini in 2008, however, laws were introduced in an effort to curb political opposition at funerals (Debly, 2014:284-285, 294, 297).

Bozzoli (2004:10-11) employs the notion of 'theatre' to analyse the social movement in Alexandra during the rebellion in 1986. Utilising the concept of 'theatre', says Bozzoli, provides the opportunity to look at "the power a movement can acquire in the course of its growth and development". Drawing on Benford & Hunt (1992:50), who argue that "social movement actors socially construct and communicate their conceptions of power" and Saul Alinsky (1989:127), who states that "power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have", Bozzoli argues that those "involved in collective action have to… actually deploy the resources they have mobilised to the end of achieving greater power, inspire their followers to believe and to act, and present their claims to power as legitimate, consistent and viable". According to Bozzoli, "[t]heories of 'dramaturgy' suggest that movements do this through scripting, staging, performing and interpreting their definitions of power as a counter to the dominant ones, and through a myriad of other techniques within each of these broad groupings". Employing the notion of 'theatre' is also a helpful concept for my analysis, as it makes me aware of how song becomes a valuable resource to be mobilised and activated in power battles.

In the case of funerals in the township, Bozzoli (2004:210-232) argues, multiple methods were utilised "to create political theatre out of political tragedy and to translate the varied emotions of grief, anger, revolutionary passion or even apathy into public and theatrical means of communicating power". This required many elements, including scripts, the cast of characters, an audience, props, intricate staging, dialogue, performances and direction. As funerals involved such huge numbers of participants without "formal scripts" the main performers needed to have the capacity to read and decode signs and proceedings and adjust their performances accordingly. The police and the army were also important actors in the political theatre of the funeral and their "leaders made their own spatial and theatrical decisions accordingly". The army, for example, often withdrew to the edge of the township to contain the funeral instead of preventing it from taking place. The police, on the other hand, was "more interventionist", and on one occasion spoke to families to discourage them from having their children buried as part of a mass funeral.

However, despite the "planned scripts, designated performers and appointed directors", the funeral in Alexandra produced "its own inner creativity, and its participants begin to write their own scripts". This, says Bozzoli, reveals "myriad overt and subliminal messages" with the "tension between volatility and conformity casting a compelling spell over all who attended". The crowds played a crucial part in the "creation of an appropriate script" by cheering, jeering, chanting, singing or ululating during the speeches of different speakers. Most funerals and night vigils were, however, fairly peaceful, although there were occasionally disturbances (Bozzoli 2004:219-220, 222-223).

Bozzoli's study is valuable for my analysis of the deployment of song at the ANC's conference in Mangaung. (See Chapter Five). It directs me to see the proceedings at the conference as a performance production with different characters and objectives related to the power struggles within the party. The conference had a programme, programme directors and high-profile politicians, including ANC President, Jacob Zuma, delivering speeches and utilising song to make important political points. The ANC delegates themselves also played a central role in the development of the script, employing song and gestures with multiple messages. Most of the songs were performed to convey and reinforce the extent of Zuma's power. Some delegates, however, also deviated from the script and sang anti-Zuma songs. As anthropologist Johannes Fabian (1990:13) asserts, performance is "action, but not merely enactment of a preexisting script; it is making, fashioning, creating".

The performative nature of politics established during apartheid has certainly not disappeared after its end in 1994. [68] In "Song, identity and the state: Julius Malema's *Dubul' ibhunu* song as catalyst" Liz Gunner, who has studied Zulu songs and oral forms, particularly *isicathamiya* and praise poetry over many years, argues that the political style of Julius Malema, currently Commander-in-Chief of the EFF, draws on the performance occasions of the 1980s, including funerals. Through his deployment of *Dubula ibhunu*, Malema was "reconnecting with the deep stream of performance politics that ran like a current… through national life". His construction of his "public persona comes in part from the continuation of a public space of theatricality and the claiming of authority through acts of performance". Except for the funeral, Gunner argues that Malema's deployment of song also follows on other oral forms, citing praise poets, the works of Ingoapele Madingoane and other Soweto poets, and the trade union praise poets (Gunner, 2015:328, 330-331).[69]

Through Malema embracing and embodying the "deep stream of performance politics", he was also reinforcing and drawing on the potency of the spectacle in South African politics. Both Nieftagodien (2015:448) and Gunner (2015:328, 331) refer to EFF's embrace of the spectacle together with the performative. Gunner (2015:327-328) highlights the role that song plays in the "flamboyant political spectacle", labelling it as part of the "*political grammar*" of the EFF's election manifesto launch in February 2014 in Tembisa for the national elections.

[68] See Jolaosho (2013 & 2015) who examines the performance of struggle songs by activists in post-apartheid South Africa and considers the significance of the body in such performances. In her 2013 thesis, Jolaosho uses the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF), whose "members actively adapted anti-apartheid songs and created new expressive forms to inform and comment on their struggles for access to water, electricity, housing, education and health facilities" as her case study (Jolaosho, 2013:ii-iii).

[69] See Penfold (2015a) for more on the performance forms of the 1980s, including trade union poetry. See also Chapman (2007) and Penfold (2015b) for more on Soweto poetry. Brown (1998:165-211) looks specifically at Madingoane's 'black trial' poem and the utilisation of oral forms by the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s.

Malema's performative politics has also resonated with constituencies that his party wants to attract. According to Nieftagodien (2015:448-449), the EFF has "by robustly projecting the disillusionment and anger of young black people whose lives have been rendered precarious by neoliberal capitalism… succeeded in capturing the aspirations of this segment of society and has given them a political banner behind which to march: the struggle for economic freedom".

The roots of Malema's spectacle are not only found in performance events of the 1980s or earlier periods. Sociologist Deborah Posel (2014:31, 33-38, 41), who looks at Malema's influence within the "post-apartheid public sphere as a space of spectacle", furthermore highlights more recent events in the period from 1990, including Mandela's release from prison in 1990, the advent of democracy in 1994 and his inauguration at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, as the foundation of the country's present-day spectacle. According to Posel, the changes in the media environment in the transition period also played an important role. These include the rise of tabloid journalism, the demise of the majority of independent, alternative media, and a fall in readership numbers, which created a media that was "well attuned to capturing and amplifying… politics-as-spectacle". A "sensation-seeking" media environment coincided with the dominance of politics of the spectacle which created an ideal environment for Malema to thrive in as he "offered irresistibly rich pickings for versions of news as spectacle. His mode of politics was inherently and deliberately sensationalising – which ensured maximum publicity".

Empowering song and its performers

I now turn to discussing the literature on a more institutional, formalised use of song during the struggle. I focus on the ANC's clandestine radio station, Radio Freedom, and its cultural groups, the Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensembles. The idea of song being utilised as part of a deliberate strategy from the ANC emerges in these works.

Historian Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi draws attention to the significant role music played in the broadcasts of Radio Freedom in "Radio Freedom, songs of freedom and the liberation struggle in South Africa, 1963-1991". Radio Freedom, launched in June 1963 on Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, the secret headquarters of the MK high command, was a "weapon of struggle" and played a significant role in "keeping the ANC alive in the minds of the black population".[70] Radio Freedom offered political education about the ANC and its campaigns

[70] For more on Radio Freedom, see Davis (2009) and Lekgoathi (2010).

and was a “major source of inspiration for political activists inside the country wanting to join MK” (Lekgoathi, 2013:193-195).

According to Lekgoathi, the party has “throughout its history… always recognised music as an important medium for communicating the experiences, feelings and aspirations of its supporters and uniting them for a common purpose”. Music was a “pivotal component of the radio station’s broadcasts and underscored the propaganda messages and campaigns of the ANC and MK”. It “was at the heart” of the station’s broadcasts. Songs were a significant vehicle for conveying oppression and how to conquer it. Radio Freedom’s hallmark song, *Hamba kahle Mkhonto we Sizwe* (Go well, Spear of the Nation), was played every time the station went on air, together with the sound of gunfire of an AK-47 assault rifle, and the calls “Amandla” (power) and “Mayibuye” (Africa must be returned to her rightful owners). This, says Lekgoathi, was “intended to invoke strong nationalist feelings, to inspire defiance and to send a clear signal to the audiences regarding the ANC’s resolve on violence as a key means of ending apartheid”. Intervals between and within programmes featured struggle songs or other types of political music aimed at invoking a particular mood that suited the message communicated on a programme. Radio Freedom also ended its broadcasts with *Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika* (Lekgoathi, 2013:192, 196, 204).

Lekgoathi’s work differs from Gray and Ramoupi, whose analyses focus on the ‘informal’ use of song in spaces such as Robben Island, the funeral and political marches, in that he considers – although he does not state it explicitly – the ANC employing the affective impact of song as part of a strategy with particular aims. These include to “inspire defiance” or to “invoke strong nationalist feelings” (Lekgoathi, 2013:196).

In “Singing against apartheid: ANC cultural groups and the international anti-apartheid struggle” Gilbert explores the “deliberate and focused role that music was mobilised to play in the struggle” through an analysis of the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, a London-based group created in 1975, and the Amandla Cultural Ensemble, established in the late 1970s among exiles based largely in MK training camps in southern Africa, primarily Angola. The two groups “played a significant part... [in] moving culture into the mainstream of the movement’s work”. Gilbert, who has also done extensive research on the role of music in the ghettos and concentration camps of the Second World War,[71] is particularly interested in how culture was utilised to advance the struggle on the global stage, how the ANC changed its views on culture during the struggle from viewing it “as peripheral to organised political activity” to culture

[71] See Gilbert, S. 2005. *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

holding a “firm place on the ANC’s agenda” by the end of the 1980s, and the relationship between cultural work that was targeted at the international audience and the activities that were internally focused (Gilbert, 2007:421-424).

Gilbert’s analysis is largely based on archival materials from the Mayibuye Archive at UWC. However, although the work of other scholars analysed in this literature review, such as Gray and Ramoupi, also make use of materials from Mayibuye and other archives, Gilbert provides us with an analysis that does not conform to the accepted historiography of the struggle, nor does she offer a romanticised view of the role of culture in the struggle. Instead, she acknowledges the agency of musicians. She furthermore draws attention to the contests in the workings of the Amandla group regarding creating a production that fit with ideas around ‘people’s art’ while also suiting the expectations of international audiences and entertaining them. I discuss this later. (See p. 81).

Gilbert identifies the *Poets to the People* book launch for a poetry anthology of the same title edited by ANC activist Barry Feinberg in 1974 as “one of the central impetuses for the gradual integration of culture into the organised activities of the ANC in exile”. The launch at the Mermaid Theatre in London included performances of poems, political and traditional songs and rhetorical pieces where actors explained several characteristics of life in apartheid South Africa, including racial classification and Bantu education. According to Gilbert, the possible place of culture in the struggle had been deliberated within the movement long before this event and had also influenced the works of musicians, artists and writers who dedicated their work to the struggle. Furthermore, cultural activities, specifically singing, was an essential part of celebrations, funerals and other mass gatherings. According to Feinberg, quoted in Gilbert, despite the concrete importance of cultural activities in these spaces, there had hardly been any effort to include them in a more organised manner into the ANC’s mainstream political activities as a channel for raising awareness and realising change (Gilbert, 2007:424-425).

Due to the success of *Poets to the People,* says Gilbert, Feinberg and Ronnie Kasrils, who later became a government minister in post-apartheid South Africa, decided to create a more permanent group. In January 1975, they approached two other members to launch the project with: John Matshikiza,[72] who was studying drama in London, and Billy Nannan, a former leading member of the South African Indian Congress. According to Gilbert, Mayibuye, whose

[72] John Matshikiza, who died on September 15, 2008, was an activist, poet, actor and writer. Matshikiza’s father, Todd, composed the music and some of the lyrics for the highly-acclaimed *King Kong* musical. The musical, South Africa’s first black musical which opened in 1959, became a hit in South Africa before transferring in February 1961 to London’s West End for a 200-performance run (Ansell, 2004:100-101; Fugard Theatre, 2017; SAHO, n.d. c & SAHO, n.d. d).

performances included narrative, poetry and song, was "intended to raise awareness about apartheid, strengthen international solidarity, and obtain financial support for the ANC". Acknowledging the agency of artists and cultural workers, Gilbert argues that Mayibuye raised "consciousness within the movement about the practical ways in which cultural activity could further the project of national liberation" (Gilbert, 2007:422, 425, 428).

Despite requests for performances from Mayibuye streaming in by 1978 and pleas from Feinberg to the ANC leadership for the creation of a professional group, ideally made up of young comrades from southern Africa, Gilbert asserts there was at first not a lot of enthusiasm for such a group because of the omnipresent character of culture, specifically songs at mass gatherings and political events. According to Feinberg, quoted in Gilbert, "it was difficult to elevate [this commonplace political culture] into Art, with all the organisation and discipline that implies, in the consciousness of people". In the late 1970s there were also more urgent issues, and in the MK camps life was concentrated mainly on military training and organisation. The vibrant cultural life in camps[73] was seen as a recreational pastime that was less imperative than getting back to South Africa to fight (Gilbert, 2007:429-431).

However, although culture "was not yet on the ANC's mainstream agenda" when Mayibuye was created in 1975, it "gained increasing presence in the movement's formal discourse" during the decade. The 1980s, says Gilbert, experienced a "dramatic upsurge" in attention given to culture.[74] The second cultural group of the ANC – the Amandla Cultural Ensemble – was born out of, and contributed to, this growing interest in culture.[75] Amandla, whose "carefully crafted and staged" performances included dramatic pieces, traditional dances and songs, was formed in the late 1970s in southern Africa. According to Gilbert, the group was

[73] See for example Gunner (2009:41-42) who refers to cultural competitions that took place in MK camps. Exiled academic Jack Simons, who was based at the Nova Catengue camp in Angola in 1978 and 1979, also mentions a "cultural evening" in his diary (Sparg, Schreiner & Ansell, 2001:108 & Ansell, 2004:247). James Ngculu says that "all the camps had cultural groups" and refers to the participation of poets, musical groups and traditional dancers in cultural evenings at Fazenda camp in Angola. He also recalls a *Indlamu* (the Zulu dance) competition between Fazenda and Quibaxe camps. According to Ngculu, the cultural activities "created a lively atmosphere in the camps" (Ngculu, 2009:100-101,123, 127).

[74] Gilbert refers to several events in the 1980s that point toward the growing importance attached to the role of culture. In July 1982, the Culture and Resistance conference was hosted in Gaborone, Botswana under the banner of the Medu Art Ensemble, whose members were mainly ANC, although it was not officially aligned to the party. In the same year the ANC created a Department of Arts and Culture, and in 1985 the party launched its own cultural journal, *Rixaka*. In 1987, the Culture in Another South Africa (CASA) conference was also held in Amsterdam (Gilbert, 2007:430). See Campschreur & Divendal (1989) for a collection of some of the papers as well as the resolutions from the CASA conference.

[75] According to Gilbert (2007:430), there was "no direct connection" between Mayibuye and Amandla. No official meetings were held between Mayibuye and potential participants in a new group, and Amandla members seldom spoke about Mayibuye when talking about the roots of their ensemble. Mayibuye records were, however, sent to the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia and in 1977 Kasrils, a founding member of Mayibuye, moved to Angola, which raised awareness of Mayibuye.

intended to strengthen global awareness about apartheid, raise funds and depict a different idea of culture in a future democratic South Africa (Gilbert, 2007:422, 429-430, 432, 435).

Gilbert predominately relies on Amandla's musical repertoire ─ a great deal of which was newly composed or arranged by musician Jonas Gwangwa[76] and other Amandla members ─ to argue that the ensemble projected an "affirmative", "forward-looking" and "more positive, dynamic representation of black South African culture" than the Mayibuye group. Except for these new works, Amandla's repertoire was also based on the "culture of exile and the MK camps", including songs such as *Siyobashiy' abazal'*, one of the most popular songs in the camps. In Amandla's version of the song, says Gilbert, the music was "faster, more upbeat and energetic, and its militaristic rhythm – with accompanying marching actions – was a gesture towards the marching step of the soldiers" (Gilbert, 2007:432-434).

Gilbert does not write a history that merely follows the outlines of the political struggle, as has been noted above. Instead, she acknowledges the agency of musicians and other cultural workers and their role in creating a different kind of consciousness. As already mentioned, a significant aim of Amandla identified by Gilbert (2007:435, 436) focused on depicting an "affirmative image of culture" in an anticipated future democratic South Africa. According to Gilbert (2007:436), official communication from the ANC relating to Amandla highlighted that the "imposed culture of the coloniser" and the disregard for African culture needed to be challenged. In an interview for the 1986 documentary *Song of the Spear*[77] Barbara Masekela, who was the head of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture from shortly after its creation in 1982, said that Amandla was not only meant to rally the global community behind the struggle against apartheid, but that it was aimed at contesting views of black South Africans only as helpless victims of apartheid. Amandla's audiences were thus given a positive, vibrant image of South African culture.

During the time of Amandla's performances, an "increasingly coherent" view of culture and its place in the struggle developed in ANC forums, including conferences, journal articles, speeches and interviews with both artists and leaders, argues Gilbert. The best possible form

[76] In post-apartheid South Africa, Gwangwa has revived the Amandla Culture Ensemble with performances at the State Theatre in Pretoria in December 2015 (Sibisi, 2015). Some of the ensemble's members criticised Gwangwa harshly for the move. Jabulani Magubane called the revival a "political and cultural smash and grab". "It's so sad that the heritage of the ANC and the sweat and tears of the members of Amandla have gone down the drain." Doctor Pooe said Gwangwa had "stolen from us and the ANC. This is our history and ANC legacy". In response, Gwangwa said Amandla did not belong to the ANC and that he for years had "tried to revive Amandla without their support. Just because they now see the results, they are getting jealous" (Makhoba, 2015).
[77] *Song of the Spear* was produced in 1986 by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), based in London. Feinberg directed the documentary, which was jointly sponsored by the ANC and IDAF (Gilbert, 2007:436).

of art was not “elitist or exclusive”, but was closely linked to ‘the people’. According to Gilbert, “its purpose was not only to portray their plight – according to artist Thami Mnyele, this in isolation was the theme of ‘defeatist’ township art – but to articulate their ‘hopes and aspirations’, to encourage commitment to the struggle and to promote the affirmative values of a democratic South Africa”. Art that only offered entertainment was seen as undesirable. Real “revolutionary” art needed to inform, teach, stimulate political consciousness and spur people to act. Art was seen as a platform to criticise the apartheid government and tell the international community about apartheid. Culture was thus seen as a weapon in the struggle, argues Gilbert (2007:436). I look at this notion in the next section of this literature review. (See pp. 81-84).

However, despite the increasing clarity within the ANC regarding the role of culture in the struggle, Gilbert identifies the contests that existed in Amandla and avoids offering the reader a romanticised perspective on the ensemble’s role. The group’s performances echoed the growing move during the 1980s towards ‘people’s art’, but, according to Gilbert, at the same time the group focused on delivering a show that would resonate with international audiences. The “tension relates primarily to a lack of conscious distinction in the movement’s conception between culture’s roles in the internal nation-building process and international solidarity work,” argues Gilbert. Although Amandla “took pains to present some of the most vibrant current elements of black South African culture, and genuinely affirmed many of the movement’s most important cultural ideals, Amandla’s primary function was ultimately mobilising international support”. Gilbert highlights the contradiction that existed between the music and lyrics which illustrates this tension. Lyrics would focus on “defiance, vengeance and commitment to the armed struggle” while the music would be “upbeat and melodious, with no signs of the aggression or combativeness suggested” in the song’s lyrics (Gilbert, 2007:437, 439-440). A similar tension exists in some performances of *Umshini Wami* by Zuma. He occasionally sings the song in a melodic, almost hymn-like way which seems to contradict the threat contained in the lyrics, which suggests that a machine gun will be fired. (See Chapter Five, p. 169).

Song as a weapon of struggle

The notion of culture as a weapon during apartheid

As Gilbert (2007:436) points out, the notion of culture as a weapon of struggle was “emphatically promoted” during the time that the Amandla group was in operation from the late 1970s. The role of culture and art in the late 1970s and 1980s was often described as a

weapon in the struggle in interviews and articles published in the ANC journals *Sechaba* and *Rixaka,*[78] launched in 1967 and 1985 respectively (Gwangwa, 1986:26; Langa, 1988:26; Mompati, 1986:19, 21; *Sechaba*, 1977:41; *Sechaba*, 1981:17; Serote, 1984:30 & Tambo, 1980:17). Although culture is a complex and disputed term with several meanings, Gilbert argues that its usage by the ANC signified a reasonably clear understanding of the concept during the struggle. The definition of culture from the Welsh Marxist academic Raymond Williams is thus a suitable one to describe how the ANC viewed culture, she says (Gilbert, 2007:421). It was seen as "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity" (Williams, 1983:90). It included, for example, music, dance, theatre, poetry and crafts. Gilbert argues that the view that art was a weapon in the struggle originated from Soviet notions about art and the "rhetoric of socialist realism". Art had to "educate, awaken political consciousness and galvanise people to action" and was seen as a way of denouncing the apartheid government and telling the world about apartheid (Gilbert, 2007:421, 436).[79]

It would be impossible to discuss the ANC's views on culture and the notion of it as a weapon without referring to well-respected ANC activist and lawyer Albie Sachs's paper, "Preparing ourselves for freedom", read at an ANC in-house seminar on culture in Lusaka, Zambia in 1989. Sachs's paper is a valuable source of ideas about the notion of culture as a weapon of struggle in the period immediately before the transition. He said that party members "should be banned from saying that culture is a weapon of struggle" for a suggested "period of, say, five years" (Sachs, 1990:19). Sachs, whose views were particularly valued, according to Gilbert (2007:422), as he had survived an assassination attempt in Maputo in 1988, admitted that he had been maintaining for many years that art should be an "instrument of struggle", but that this notion "seems not only banal and devoid of real content, but actually wrong and potentially harmful" (Sachs, 1990:20). Sachs was still recovering at the time of the seminar and did not attend (Gilbert, 2007:422 & Slovo, 2010).[80] Sachs tells the story of his recovery after he lost his right arm in the Maputo assassination attempt in *The soft vengeance of a freedom fighter*, published in 1990.

[78] *Sechaba* is described in the first issue of the journal in January 1967 as "not an observer but an active participant in the struggle for freedom, human dignity and free press in South Africa" and a "new and powerful weapon to carry the truth about South Africa, and the voice of the African National Congress into every corner of the world" (Tambo, 1967:1,16). The ANC's cultural journal *Rixaka*, "will allow the full expression of the cultural voice of our movement for national liberation," wrote Barbara Masekela, head of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture, in its first edition in 1985 (Masekela, 1985:2).

[79] The words 'culture' and 'art' are used interchangeably in this section.

[80] His paper was read by Gillian Slovo, daughter of Joe Slovo, at the time General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, and Ruth First, who was killed in a parcel bomb explosion in Maputo, Mozambique in 1982 (SAHO, n.d. e & Slovo, 2010).

Sachs, who would later serve as a judge in South Africa's first Constitutional Court between 1994 and 2009, identifies several characteristics of culture and art produced under the idea of it being a weapon. Viewing art as a weapon of struggle led to an "impoverishment of our art" and meant that a limited series of political elements, such as fists, spears and guns were appropriate, that the struggle was depicted in a simplistic manner with a divide between good on the one hand and bad on the other and that ambiguity and paradoxes were ignored. It also led to a topic such as love being ignored, said Sachs. Instead, art and literature largely portrayed people "living in the greyest and most sombre of all worlds, completely shut in by apartheid". Sachs argued that "the power of art lies precisely in its capacity to expose contradictions and reveal hidden tensions". He longed for a form of art that "bypasses, overwhelms, ignores apartheid, establishes its own space" (Sachs, 1990:20-21). [81]

Gilbert emphasises the timing of his call for a ban as significant in understanding why Sachs was making such a statement. By 1989, argues Gilbert, "culture occupied a firm place on the ANC's agenda". The 1980s, she says, had seen the "rise of an increasingly sophisticated discourse within the movement about the ways in which culture might contribute to the process of national liberation", as well as a surge in the number of organisations, publications and events dedicated to the issue. (See p. 79, footnote 74). The end of the struggle was in sight, and this made it possible to review and even publicly criticise the notion of culture as weapon. Sachs's views "point towards a new phase" in "culture's relationship to the struggle": "The process, beginning in the late 1980s, of 'preparing ourselves for freedom'". What Sachs was calling attention to, says Gilbert, was that the "changing context of the struggle required a corresponding shift in how cultural activity was conceived and implemented" (Gilbert, 2007:422, 441).

[81] Sachs was not the first to express such opinions, as Frank Meintjies (1990:33-34) and Tony Morphet (1990:131-144) point out – academic and writer Njabulo Ndebele, for example, had made similar calls about South African literature. Geoffrey Davis (2003:293) points out that it was, however, important that it was said by someone within the ANC whose "opinions thus carried the weight of one who was very close to the centre of (possible future) power". In the 1980s, Ndebele published several essays on the state of South African literature and culture, which were compiled in a book *Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Essays on South African Literature and Culture* published in 1991. In a keynote address at the New Writing in Africa: Continuity and Change conference held at the Commonwealth Institute in November 1984, Ndebele said that "the history of Black South African literature has largely been the history of the representation of spectacle". This spectacle has no place for complexities or subtleties – "people and situations are either very good or very bad". This depiction was not only found in literature, but also in paintings and sculptures. Ndebele sums up the characteristics of the spectacular as follows: It "documents; it indicts implicitly; it is demonstrative, preferring exteriority to interiority; it keeps the larger issues of society in our minds, obliterating the details; it provokes identification through recognition and feeling rather than through observation and analytical thought; it calls for emotion rather than conviction; it establishes a vast sense of presence without offering intimate knowledge; it confirms without necessarily offering a challenge. It is the literature of the powerless identifying the key factor responsible for their powerlessness". Instead, suggests Ndebele, the emphasis should be on the "ordinary day-to-day lives of people" as they "constitute the *very content* of the struggle, for the struggle involves people not abstractions" (Ndebele, 1986:143-144; 147, 149-150,156).

Sachs's comments sparked a lengthy debate, and a book ─ *Spring is Rebellious: Arguments about cultural freedom* ─ was published in the following year containing twenty-two responses to his paper. Gilbert (2007:441) argues that despite Sachs's paper focusing on the place of culture in the framework of change, the "debate that exploded around it repeatedly returned to the division between culture's internal and external roles". Sachs was criticised for being out of touch with the reality of living in South Africa after he had been in exile in England and Mozambique since 1966.[82] Writer Rushdy Siers, who was a founder-member of the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) in the Western Cape, (1990:58, 62) said that "comrades living in exile…have an extremely difficult task to catch up, as it were, with internal developments". In South Africa, Siers said, culture "has been denied the privilege to contemplate the beauty of roses". Poet Ari Sitas, who was the regional secretary of COSAW in Natal at the time, accused Sachs of being "simplistic" in saying that artists were fixated with the repressive apartheid system: "Indeed, it is through the struggle to comprehend this ugliness, this grief, that hope and more complex emotions could be articulated" (Sitas, 1990:93).

Song as a weapon of struggle after 1994

Despite Sachs's call for a ban on labelling culture as a weapon of struggle, the notion that culture, and specifically song, plays the role of a weapon has been revived in post-apartheid South Africa. Both Baleka Mbete, ANC National Chairperson and Speaker of the National Assembly, and Ronnie Kasrils, former Minister of Intelligence and a founding member of the London-based Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, maintained the view that struggle songs were a weapon during apartheid in a 2000 radio documentary entitled *South African Freedom Songs: Inspiration for liberation*.[83] Sachs (2015) himself also described music as a weapon in a *Sunday Times* opinion piece in celebration of the sixty-year anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 in Kliptown.

Struggle veterans are not alone in describing song as a weapon. Several scholars have also labelled song a weapon of struggle in analyses concerning different spaces and periods of the

[82] See De Kok and Press (1990) for more responses to Sachs's paper. Brown & Van Dyk (1991) feature interviews with South African writers, cultural workers and academics and use Sachs's paper as a "point of departure" for a broader look at the place of literature in a fluctuating socio-political environment (Brown & Van Dyk, 1991:vii-viii).

[83] In the documentary, Kasrils (2000) refers to the role of song in mobilisation efforts: "We aimed to create propaganda amongst the people, to inspire the people which was a major factor, that was the weapon and the mobilisation of the people on this mass spaces song and toyi-toyi featured as a weapon. This is what inspired people, it inflamed people and was very much part of this massive avalanche that in the end buried apartheid. So it was a real weapon in a concrete sense". Mbete (2000) says song unified and strengthened the ANC. "It became a weapon precisely because it pulled us together, it focused us. It energised us... Without it I just don't imagine how we could have pulled through. I really don't".

struggle. In his study of Radio Freedom, Lekgoathi (2013:190, 192-193, 195, 198, 200-201) describes the radio station as a "weapon of struggle" – music and struggle songs were "crucial aspects" of this weapon. Lekgoathi does not explicitly explain why he uses the term to describe Radio Freedom, but through his analysis it becomes clear that he is referring to several functions of the station and its programmes, including mobilising ANC supporters within South Africa, offering political education and encouragement, serving as a "recruitment agency for the ANC's military wing", rousing "militant support for the ANC's and MK's campaigns" and intensifying "the internal revolt against the apartheid state". In his analysis of song on Robben Island, Ramoupi (2013:xvi) asserts that song was a "cultural weapon" on Robben Island to "protest, resist, defy and kept the spirits of a community of political prisoners alive and willing to continue to fight the struggle in the most brutal prison of the apartheid era". The *Singing Freedom* exhibition, analysed in Chapter Six, also describes the role of song during apartheid as that of a weapon.

These views on the role of culture and song in the struggle are particularly pertinent as the legacy of such views could have an influence on ideas about the place of these songs in contemporary South Africa. The use of song in heated political battles in post-apartheid South Africa shows the potency of the notion that song can be deployed as a weapon. At the ANC's conference in Mangaung, Zuma's supporters, which included women as the formation of masculinities did not exclude them,[84] utilised song to silence the followers of then ANC Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe (who stood for the position of ANC President against Zuma) and to show and reinforce the overwhelming dominance of their faction. (See Chapter Five).

Why does the notion of song as weapon still seem to carry such weight in post-apartheid South Africa? Raymond Suttner, former apartheid-era political prisoner and political analyst, draws attention to the "warrior tradition of resistance" which was one of the traditions that affected the creation of masculinities within the ANC and MK. According to Suttner, it includes a "readiness to deploy violence where necessary, a readiness to die, and a capacity to wound or kill". Suttner argues that the warrior tradition's influence over the construction of masculine identities did not disappear after apartheid as many felt betrayed over the ANC's decision to negotiate with the National Party (NP) in the early 1990s (Suttner, 2009b:231-232).[85] Suttner

[84] Gunner (2009:33) also refers to women waving cardboard machine guns with the lyrics of *Umshini Wami* written on them outside courtrooms where Zuma appeared in 2006.

[85] The gender issues present in the performance of songs such as *Umshini Wami* in post-apartheid South Africa are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. (See pp. 175-180). See also Xaba (2001) who looks at the battle between "struggle masculinity" and "post-struggle masculinity" in South Africa during the transition from apartheid to democracy and thereafter. Post-struggle masculinity, which emphasised "respect for 'law and order', [and] the restoration of 'public order'" aimed to replace the "political militancy" of struggle masculinity. Xaba refers to the "ostracisation" of comrades and exiles who "did not find confirmation of their masculinity from the new society", its "human rights discourse" and the ANC's gender politics "which stressed gender equality and women's rights". He

refers to this “warrior tradition” in the context of the gender issues present in Zuma’s rape trial in 2006, including in his singing of *Umshini Wami* outside the court building, and although he does not mention the notion of culture or song as a weapon of struggle, his identification of this tradition is valuable in explaining why such a view of song could continue to endure in post-apartheid South Africa.

Although describing song as a weapon suggests that the role of song is valued and seen as something potent, Gunner questions whether this was the case during the struggle. Drawing on the work of Gilbert (2007:441), who ends her analysis with the question: “Did culture ever achieve equal status with ‘real’ political work?”, Gunner points out that although the role of culture was seen as “vital” for the ANC in exile, “it was seen by those in command as something to be controlled”. Describing culture as a weapon of struggle conveyed the notion that culture “could be made to ‘do’ certain things and stopped from other things”. Was song, thus, “part of the ‘unreal’ presence of culture, elusive, hard to pin down, undervalued and, in some senses, unreliable?” asks Gunner (2015:329). By exploring the deployment of a ‘new’ song by Zuma at the ANC’s Mangaung conference and thereafter, this thesis aims to show just how “elusive” and “unreliable” song has become in post-apartheid South Africa and how it cannot be made to do or accomplish specific things, even by one of its most powerful post-apartheid operators.

The genealogy of struggle songs

A significant factor I remain cognisant of in my analysis of struggle songs is the manner in which they borrow from other oral forms. There is a vast amount of literature on different oral forms in southern Africa which the scope of this thesis does not allow me to discuss in detail.[86]

describes five cases of violent crimes, including incidents of mob justice by members of the community against those suspected of, or those who had ‘confessed’ to, committing crimes between 1993 and 1997 to demonstrate how “the old forms of masculinity have been expressed in the new order” (Xaba, 2001:108-112, 114-119). See also Erlank (2005) who looks at the tensions regarding the ANC’s positions on gender in the decade between 1994 and 2004.

[86] There is extensive literature on different oral forms in Africa. See for example Gunner & Gwala (1991) on praise poetry; Gunner (1984 & 1995a) on praise poetry; Erlmann (1996) on *isicathamiya*, Erlmann, (1991) on various aspects of black popular performance in South Africa between 1890 and 1939, including *isicathamiya*; Pongweni (1982; 1997) on *chimurenga* songs; James (1994, 1999a & 1999b) on the *kiba* genre; Gunner (2006; 2008; 2010; 2014) on *isicathamiya*; Gunner (2004) on orality in African societies; Coplan (1987; 1988 & 1994) on the *sefela* songs of Basotho migrants and women; Ballantine (1989) on South African popular music; Ballantine (1991; 1993) on jazz and vaudeville; Meintjes (2003) on the production of a *mbaqanga* album in the early 1990s in Johannesburg, Meintjes (2004) on Zulu *ngoma* song and dance; Ansell (2004) on popular music and the journey of jazz in South Africa; Brown (1998) on different oral forms, including Shaka’s praise poetry; Vail & White (1991) on oral poetry in several African societies; Askew (2002) on the significance of performance in the negotiation of power relations and in contests around the constitution of the Tanzanian nation; and Finnegan (2012) on a variety of oral literature forms in Africa.

I therefore focus on highlighting some of the most relevant arguments that cast light on how struggle songs function in post-apartheid South Africa.

Several scholars point to how different oral and musical forms borrow and draw from one another (Ballantine, 1989:306; Brown, 1998:77; Erlmann, 1996:52-55, 59-60, 216-223; Gunner & Gwala, 1991:2, 27-28; James, 1999a:91-92; Mbembe, 2005:74; Pongweni, 1982:viii,1 & 1997:66). Struggle songs thus function in a similar way to other oral genres. In this section, I examine the literature on other forms of song and illustrate how the deployment of struggle songs draw on such forms. I focus on five aspects: The dynamic nature of oral forms, the fluidity of the relationship between the past and the present, the "poetic license" found in oral forms, gender, and how the utilisation of song is not the domain of the powerful, but also of 'ordinary' citizens. I also briefly look at the deployment of song in other African countries. This division into sub-sections must not be seen as an indication that these characteristics of song operate separately from one another – the features discussed below are in fact all interconnected and rely on one another.

Song's dynamism

Gunner, who has analysed *isicathamiya* over many years, draws attention to several features of this genre of acapella choral music performed mostly by men, that I argue are shared by struggle songs. According to Gunner (2006:90,95), the "present state of *isicathamiya* is very dynamic in South Africa… The resilience of the genre is reflected in its ability to change, to absorb new practitioners and new audiences…The space of the song becomes a means of participating in the public sphere and passing on messages to the powerful: about the lack of jobs, about child rape, about women abuse, but also about hope for the future". *Isicathamiya* songs also talk about difficult topics such as HIV/AIDS as groups to a certain extent "believe that they are the bearers of messages concerning social value, morality". In a similar way, Zuma's *Umshini Wami*, became the "catalyst for popular debate in the South African public sphere" (Gunner, 2009:30).

Praise poetry is another oral form with the capacity to move into different spaces and change meaning over time.[87] In *Musho! Zulu popular praises*, Gunner and Gwala (1991:13) describe

[87] Praise poetry has continued to feature on the national political stage in the period after Mandela's release and in post-apartheid South Africa, with performances at the first ANC conference after his release in July 1991, at his inauguration, at the opening of South Africa's first democratic parliament, and at subsequent State of the Nation Addresses (Brown, 1998:5, 115; Gunner, 1995a:27 & Merrington, 2015). However, the role of the praise poet on the national platform is no longer one where criticism against leaders is heard, a characteristic of several oral forms described below. Writing in 1995, Gunner (1995a:28) says that "[w]hen the praise poet is seen on national occasions, as at the inauguration of President Mandela, his role appears to be that of endorser". With recent

praise poetry as “slippery” and “resilient” with a “capacity to be constantly interpreted anew” as they “exist at different times in different relations to the historical moment”. According to Duncan Brown (1998:10), the texts of praise poetry of, for example, Shaka or Dingane, “varied to a greater or lesser extent with every delivery, and the specific demands of the occasion made each performance a distinct ‘event’”.[88] Oral forms have the ability to operate in multiple spaces: Trade union poets of both the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and later the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), for example, utilised praise poetry (Gunner & Gwala, 1991:12-13 & Gunner, 1995a:26). *Isicathamiya* choirs also performed at rallies of COSATU (Ballantine, 1989:306-307 & Ballantine, 1993:5).

Sefela song, a Basotho migrant workers’ and women’s sung poetry, functions in a similar dynamic manner, with individual performances varying, argues David Coplan (1994:90-91). Every “performance is a novel interweaving of well-worn freshly phrased favorite passages, stolen verses old and new, and newly composed, often extemporaneous extensions, elaborations, transitions, and digressions inspired by experience, vision, and the demands of the performance event”.

Struggle songs share this vitality, with new songs being composed to reflect a contemporary event. In April 2017 – a year in which the ruling party would elect a new president – Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who was endorsed by the ANC Women’s League as its presidential candidate, was praised with songs calling for her to lead the party at a discussion about free education at the Durban University of Technology in KwaZulu-Natal. Some of the songs sung by her vocal supporters were “culled from her ex-husband’s campaigns, with “Mama” transposed for “Zuma” for the 2017 remix” (Harper, 2017). New meanings – influenced by the earlier renditions – are generated through this remix. The reactivation of old Zuma campaign songs might signal that Dlamini-Zuma and Zuma share the same group of supporters or it could be interpreted as a call to action to Zuma’s supporters to mobilise behind Dlamini-Zuma.

Reactivating the past in the present

The dynamism discussed in the previous section is linked to another characteristic of the oral forms under discussion. Many oral forms, including praise poetry, *isicathamiya, chimurenga* songs from Zimbabwe, the migrant-performance genre *kiba,* and *oriki*, a genre of Yoruba oral

performances of praise poetry in South Africa’s Parliament “it has become accepted that, when Parliament’s presiding officers sign off on the chosen praise singer, the incumbent will not disgrace the paymasters” (Mohlomi, 2015).

[88] It is important to note that we cannot know exactly how these poems were performed or whether the performances varied.

poetry, bring the past into conversation with the present. This intersection between the past and the present should not be seen as a static, stagnant reference to the past in present-day oral forms, but rather as a dynamic reactivation of the past that has many functions. Such a remix between the past and present allows for a current situation or problem to be articulated, contemplated or coped with, for a connection between current and older struggles and heroes to be created as ancestors, whether real or formed through song, are recalled and summoned to empower those in the present, and for identities to be conveyed, produced and negotiated (Barber, 1991:14-16, 25-34; Erlmann, 1996:135-139; Gunner & Gwala, 1991:13,15-16; Gunner, 1995a:19-20, 22-23; James, 1994:91, 94-102; James, 1999a:71-72, 83-93, 188 & Pongweni, 1982:vii, 3). How song allows for the negotiation of gender identities is discussed in the next section.

In her analysis of the Yoruba oral poetry form *oriki*, in *I could speak until tomorrow: Oriki, women, and the past in a Yoruba town,* anthropologist Karin Barber argues that *oriki* have the "capacity to transcend time" – an important feature greatly valued by their performers. The past, she asserts, "is reactivated in the present" through *oriki*. A performance can frequently comprise items composed up to two hundred years apart – these units are not generally organised chronologically, and may be performed in almost any sequence. They are a "way of experiencing the past by bringing it back to life". The genre "can open windows simultaneously onto the past and the present". Through the performance of *oriki*, "great men and women of the past are called on… to lend them [their descendants] some transmitted glory" (Barber, 1991:14-15, 26, 34, 78).

According to ethnomusicologist and anthropologist Veit Erlmann, who has done extensive work on *isicathamiya*, cultural forms and practices, including performances and texts, are "more than literal representations of the past". Instead, drawing on the work of Vail & White (1991) on history as metaphor discussed below, history is about "agency", a way of making sense of the present and bringing the past into the present. Considering it as a continual dialogue is important in our interpretation of *isicathamiya*. Regarding songs in this way "alters the way the past is read and brought to bear on the present". It "merge[s] history and the stories told about it into a mode of present-ing the past" (Erlmann, 1996:135-139).

The migrant performance genre *kiba* is "rooted in the past… but… the genre is not a static or unchanging one", argues social anthropologist Deborah James, who has done extensive research on this genre ─ which initially developed as an exclusively male genre, but since the start of female migration from several areas in the former Northern Transvaal during the 1970s, has also developed a female version (James, 1994:84 & James, 1999a:71). The "past,

while important to *kiba's* constituents, is not unmediated, but becomes evident in its refraction through the lens of contemporary performance, and in its reinterpretation by composers, performers and audience" (James, 1999a:71). Drawing on Vail & White (1991), James states that the lyrics of *kiba* therefore "share with other southern African oral poems a propensity to situate their commentaries on the immediacies of contemporary experience within a structure whose links with previous performance renders them durable and permanent". This happens in both men's and women's *kiba*, but women's kiba is more suited to this dynamism, as it is a form that is sung. In women's *kiba,* sections of older songs are combined with newer songs and new lyrics are also added, which "provide the basis for a changed significance to an older song" (James, 1999a:71-72, 83). In this way present-day problems, anxieties and ambitions are granted a "transcendent quality" and connected to the fears of earlier generations (James, 1994:95 & Vail & White, 1991:42). How this function of *kiba* allows for the negotiation of complex gender identities is discussed in the next section (See pp. 95-96).

Praise poetry also has the "ability to collapse the heroic past into an heroic present, and in this way make memory work for it", argues Gunner (1995a:22) in "Remaking the warrior? The role of orality in the liberation struggle and in post-apartheid South Africa". Gunner (1995a:22) includes the example of Chief Albert Luthuli, who, during his political career and at his funeral in 1967, had been the subject of praise poems which "harnessed the aura of great figures from the past, such as the early nineteenth-century Zulu ruler Shaka, and resituated them around the modern leader". In this redeployment, Gunner says, the idea of the "warrior" played a significant role. "[E]pithets that occur in Shaka's *izibongo* were taken and used for Chief Luthuli when he was praised for his role in the infamous Treason Trials of the late 1950s".[89] Through the praises, the "quality, the presence and power of the one individual was passed down to the other" (Gunner & Gwala, 1991:15). Framing Luthuli as "in some ways a modern heir to Shaka", argues Gunner (2012:204-205), had a "clear message for the politics of that moment" with the praise poet "suggesting a new kind of nation where the memory and history of each figure had to be contemplated together".

The deployment of struggle songs in contemporary South Africa functions in a similar manner. As Gunner (2009:43) points out, these songs "can have the ability to collapse time" and in such a way exert "powerful recall". At the ANC's conference in Mangaung, Zuma, for example,

[89] See Gunner & Gwala (1991) for more on *izibongo* (praise poems), including a collection of praise poetry, recorded in the main by Gunner between September 1975 and September 1976 in districts in Zululand. It also includes the *izibongo* composed for the funeral of Chief Albert Luthuli in 1967 in Stanger, which was performed by Nkosinathi Yengwa. See also Gunner (2012) for a discussion of the manner in which the death and funeral of Luthuli was covered in the isiZulu papers *Ilanga lase Natal* and *UmAfrika* and the significance of performance in the production of identities and expression of political arguments.

sang a struggle song evoking the name of Luthuli in an attempt to position himself as the legitimate heir of the ANC leader. (See Chapter Five, pp. 207-208). Another space where this has played out is in the deployment of the Solomon Mahlangu song in the *Fees Must Fall* protests. (See Chapter One, p. 17). The deployment of the song by students can then be seen as an attempt to suggest a "continuity" between Mahlangu, who was hanged by the apartheid government in 1979, and the struggles of students in the same way that Gunner & Gwala (1991:15) argue that the inclusion of sections of Shaka's praise poetry into Luthuli's praises at his funeral in 1967, asserts "continuity between the two figures".[90]

Malema and the EFF have also utilised song and other strategies to generate a specific identity for the party and to position it as the "authentic bearer" of the legacy of the struggle (Nieftagodien, 2015:451). The party has "actively appropriated and redeployed the symbols of the struggle for liberation" by, for example, calling each other fighters (Nieftagodien, 2015:447). According to Nieftagodien, the party has tried to position itself as representing a new era of freedom fighters succeeding in the path of the ANC leader Mandela, the PAC's first president, Robert Sobukwe, and the BCM leader Steve Biko. This "construction of a struggle lineage has been crucial in the creation of its identity", argues Nieftagodien (2015:447, 450-451).

Song has been significant in this construction. Gunner (2015:327, 331) argues that Malema has used song against the ANC and its leader "as part of a battle to challenge the power of the elders, and of their right to own and reproduce the struggle past and through this the future". Song, says Gunner, was a "central component of his strategy" and he utilised it "to articulate key policies, break with the ruling ANC and stake out a new role for himself and the party he formed". The EFF's deployment of song can thus be viewed as a reactivation of the struggle – but as Gunner (2015:331) points out – it is not about looking back, but looking forward. It is ultimately a clash about the "right to own… the future". The party is thus able to summon and repurpose the legacies of 'heroes' of the ANC in multiple ways to create its own genealogy. It can question the legacy of the 'father of reconciliation' Mandela, suggesting he was a sell-out whose actions departed from the Freedom Charter (Meintjies, 2015), but also lay claim to Solomon Mahlangu,[91] holding a memorial rally in his name because, according to its spokesperson, Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, "when Solomon Mahlangu died his statement was to tell

[90] Both the media as well as individual *Fees Must Fall* activists framed their protests with references to the struggle against apartheid, in particular the 1976 Soweto Uprisings and iconic anti-apartheid activists, including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Lilian Ngoyi. *Fees Must Fall* activists also renamed buildings in honour of such icons. At Stellenbosch University, buildings, for example, were renamed Winnie Mandela House and Lilian Ngoyi Building (Ackroyd, 2016; Blignaut, 2015; Cele 2015; Maughan, 2015; McNulty, n.d. & Motloung, 2016)
[91] See Chapter One, pp. 13-14.

my people, not tell ANC members, not tell the MKMVA members, but tell my people… that my blood will nourish the tree of freedom (SABC, 2016a).[92] By attempting to claim ownership of Mahlangu's memory and attacking Mandela for forsaking the Freedom Charter, the EFF is depicting itself as being the real guardian (Nieftagodien, 2015:451) of the icons of struggle, including the charter.

The "poetic license" of song

Another feature of many oral forms that is of importance to this study is "poetic license" (Vail & White, 1991). In their significant work, *Power and the praise poem: Southern African voices in history*, Leroy Vail and Landeg White argue that "poetic license"[93] – the "convention that poetic expression is privileged expression" – is vital to the "common aesthetic" that connects oral poetry forms in south-central Africa.[94] It makes the performer "free to express opinions that would otherwise be in breach of other social conventions" and allows followers, subjects and workers to criticise chiefs, life-long leaders and employers (Vail & White, 1991:43, 319). Several scholars refer to this characteristic in different oral forms such as praise poetry, women's *kiba,* struggle songs in South Africa, and a protest song in Mozambique (Brown, 1998:91-96; James, 1999a:85-86; Jolaosho, 2013:168-169 & Vail & White, 1978:23-24). However, as Vail & White (1991:56-57) point out, it is not the individual performer who enjoys this "poetic license", but rather the "*performance*" itself. [95]

Paolo Israel, a historian who has done extensive research in northern Mozambique on the intersections between popular culture and politics, argues in "*Lingundumbwe*:

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[92] In 2014, EFF also released an album for the national elections entitled *Jazz Hour* ─ both Ayanda Dlodlo (2016) and Barry Gilder (2017) referred to the Jazz Hour or jazz sessions as a feature of life in MK camps. The release by EFF under such a title could be interpreted as the party trying to revive such memories to fortify itself in the present and for the future. The album included songs such as *Senzeni na* and *Azania* (Lourens, 2014).

[93] Vail & White borrow the term from ethnomusicologist Hugh Tracey (1948), who used the term "poetic justice" in his study of Chopi music to describe how song is used in Mozambique to, for example, criticise the chief (Tracey, 1970:3, 66-70 & Vail & White, 1991:45).

[94] Many scholars have written about the licensed freedom of expression found in oral forms in sub-Saharan Africa. The first appears to be Dr Andrew Smith who visited the court of Ndebele chief Mzilikazi in 1835 (Vail & White, 1991:43). Writing in 1964, for example, cultural anthropologist Alan Merriam, who worked in central Africa, stated that "song itself gives the freedom to express thoughts, ideas, and comments which cannot be stated baldly in the normal language situation" (Merriam, 1964:193).

[95] Vail & White (1991:76) also highlight the contests involved in "poetic license". The "chronic imbalance in relationships of power sometimes tilts badly towards the ruler, and with this situation comes the censor". Examples of attempts to restrict "poetic license" include the banning of songs by missionaries or colonial radio stations. In Swaziland, for example, the "appointment of carefully vetted and trained court poets" was an important characteristic of Sobhuza II's battle for political domination in the decades leading up to independence in 1968. See also Schumann (2015) who examines the involvement of reggae artists in politics in Ivory Coast. In that context, "poetic license" "seemed to no longer hold, and reggae artists took great risks through their political engagement". Their involvement in politics had serious consequences, such as exile or censorship, and their "agency was severely constrained through a lack of freedom of expression and through threats from both the party in power and the opposition" (Schumann, 2015:342, 346, 352).

Feminist masquerades and women's liberation, Nangade, Mueda, Muidumbe, 1950s-2005" that the "binary 'licensed versus unlicensed'" found in Vail & White's work "fails to convey… ambiguity" which he labels as a crucial feature of oral forms in Africa. Israel points out that many scholars, such as Barber (2007), Chinyowa (2007) and Kramer (1993), have shown that African "performative traditions rely on concealment, rather than revelation; that they seek obscurity and polysemy, rather than clarity and univocality; that they convey ambivalence, rather than outright discontent". Drawing on Archie Mafeje (1967), Israel asserts that the roles of criticism and admiration are never completely detached from one another in such forms. They are "two faces of the same coin". Such a binary 'licensed versus unlicensed' is particularly insufficient, argues Israel, when one looks at the "entanglement of performative forms within the politics of post-colonial" countries where it is not possible to distinguish between what "is produced 'from above' and what stems 'from below', between 'official' and 'popular'" (Israel, 2013:207-208).

The songs in this thesis, however, do not operate with the ambiguity that Israel underscores. Struggle songs in post-apartheid South Africa are generally much more blatant about attacks on leaders than other oral forms. In praise poetry, for example, the criticism is "couched in the typically allusive phrasing of izibongo which makes it hard to pick out unless one is in the know" (Gunner & Gwala, 1991:18-19). An example of "poetic license" is found in the songs that attacked Zuma, by labelling him the "shower man" or "shower", which appeared in 2011 and 2012 (Sapa, 2011a & Sapa, 2012b). A degree of the insider knowledge that Gunner and Gwala (1991:18-19) refer to, is, however, required. The shower man is a reference to Zuma's 2006 rape trial in which he told the court that he had a shower after having unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman (Sapa, 2011a). A sense of the hostility expressed through song can also be found in an article entitled "Rude songs to make you cry" written by Mondli Makhanya, at the time *City Press* editor-at-large. Describing the unhappiness about Zuma's leadership that was being expressed through oral forms, Makhanya said: "They hurled venom at you during a march on your party's provincial headquarters. They chanted slogans and sang songs that contained unprintable language" (Makhanya, 2015).

Song and gender

Different forms of song also perform and produce multiple kinds of gender identities. Several scholars have pointed out that performance is key to the construction, debate and expression of shifting gender identities (See for example Clegg, 1982 & Coplan, 1994).

The gender issues are not always straightforward, nor simple. Regarding praise poetry, Gunner argues in “Clashes of Interest: Gender, status and power in Zulu praise poetry” that to “say that there is a simple division of power and marginality between male and female expressions within the genre is too simple”. Different forms of praise poetry treat women differently. In the praise poetry of kings, chiefs and politicians, women are positioned “on the margins”. When they are included it is normally as objects of conquest. Sometimes they are also depicted as conniving and devious (Gunner, 1995b:185-186).

However, Gunner argues (1995b:188-189) that when another form of praise poetry, that has “no clear connection with power, status or authority” is performed by men, women are treated differently. Although the poems still feature a “language of patriarchy” and “heroic ethic”, this ethic is watered down, and can on occasion be “mocked and inverted” and used in a humorous way. Women are more visible, although they still emerge in specific roles, such as that of a mother-in-law or a good or bad woman.

Women’s praises – which are generally performed only for other women, during a break from working in the fields, or in specific houses of the homestead during a wedding where there are only women present – in turn produce a different identity. According to Gunner, “this privacy, this distance from the overt centres of patriarchy, sometimes gives it a cutting edge, a subverting thrust which it might otherwise lack”. More importantly, Gunner states, it provides women with the opportunity to create for themselves a “completely different identity, an answer, even a challenge which undercuts the dominant discourse relating to images of power and the status of men and women” (Gunner, 1995b:192).

In post-apartheid South Africa, song and performances have continued to be linked to issues of gender. Gunner, for example, argues in “Soft masculinities, isicathamiya and radio” that *isicathamiya* is a “site of ‘soft’ masculinity”, which is “often the first to sing out on urgent social issues such as rape, violent men, and the abuse of women”. Recognising the agency found in song, Gunner asserts that the genre “sings into being a new possibility of manhood”. It is “unofficial” which gives it more room to construct how it functions without being prescribed by “ritual and chiefly authority”. Its status as a “migrant genre”, together with the “leisure” spaces that that created, assisted *isicathamiya* performers to “uncouple… from a dominant ‘traditional’ masculinity”. *Isicathamiya’s* “creativity and flexibility help to explain how the genre managed to slip past, or at least negotiate with, the hegemonic masculinities of South African societies, and the contingent, violent and ethnically manufactured ‘Zulu’ masculinities”, says Gunner. The violent masculinities of the 1990s did not feature in the new creations. Instead, reflections

on topics such as the home and love continued and new subjects appeared, including those related to HIV/AIDS (Gunner, 2014:343-345, 348-349, 357).

In “Shoot the Sergeant, Shatter the Mountain: The production of masculinity in Zulu ngoma song and dance in post-apartheid South Africa” Louise Meintjes looks at how Zulu *ngoma* song and dance, and specifically how the aesthetic principal *isigqi* ─ the “magic moment when a groove absolutely works because its components are tightly co-ordinated” ─ generate and convey masculinity. Nicknames given to performers, which bestow reverence and “make claims to having power” play a significant part by offering “poetic links that connect the dancing, quite directly, to a more specified/articulated sense of masculinity”. In Msinga in rural KwaZulu-Natal ─ the area under study ─ where HIV/AIDS, violence and unemployment are prevalent and opportunities scarce, *ngoma* is seemingly becoming a significant means for some young migrant Zulu men, as the possibility of gaining access to government-aided empowerment starts to reduce, argues Meintjes. A “dance about power can become a source of power… through singing and dancing some men can indeed accumulate institutional power; some make material gains; some gather military responsibility; many generate seductive power” (Meintjes, 2004:173, 175, 177, 187, 191-193).

Another performance genre that intersects with gender issues is *kiba*, specifically its female version, discussed earlier. According to James (1999b:177-178), its “performers’ creative reinvention of pre-existing songs has indisputably had a direct bearing on their emerging roles as autonomous wage earners whose self-sufficiency offers a challenge to existing gender roles”. However, the genre’s lyrics convey this in “muted and inverted ways”. Women are depicted in conventional situations in the songs: As a girl waiting on her admirer to begin wooing her, or a sister, reliant on her brother who earns wages, and who is bitter about his marriage to an undeserving woman. The latter illustrates the significance of the relationship between a brother and a sister in the former northern Transvaal communities. However, “strains arise” as sisters start becoming independent wage-earners. Yet, none of the lyrics reflect “the actual position of autonomous wage-earner which female *kiba* singers have achieved” (James, 1999b:178, 184).

How then do we comprehend the connection between the *kiba* songs and their singers? According to James, if we want to grasp the relationship between the lyrics and the identities of their performers, we need to interpret the genre in a “broader’ manner and consider it “within the overarching category of *sotho*”. In Sotho custom, the oldest son should support his other brothers and sisters while the youngest son should look after his parents. When a daughter starts to perform these duties, she is “redefining a role sanctioned by custom as that of a son”.

This “gender interchangeability shows a distinctly modern character. But her capacity to perform this role… where her brother has failed… indicates her success in behaving in accordance with ‘real *sesotho”*. Through “juxtaposing nostalgic visions of the past with the flawed relationships of the present”, the songs thus furnish performers “with an opportunity for critically appraising” these relationships. The “broader context of *sesotho”* also gives women a “mandate for appropriating roles which transcend the limits of female dependency”. While “legitimising these roles,” *kiba* lyrics simultaneously “hold out to singers the promise of future marital domesticity…” (James, 1999b:178, 186, 191-192).

Regarding struggle songs, Gilbert (2005:11-18) examines to what degree the experiences of women (mainly black) are portrayed in these songs and what they tell us about the mindsets and views of women during apartheid in “Popular song, gender equality and the anti-apartheid struggle”. In the paper, which Gilbert labels as being part of the early stages of a project, she finds a “relatively large number of songs focusing specifically on women’s *presence* in the struggle”. Few, however, talk to their “particular *experiences*” and they are “conspicuously silent on the issue of women’s equality”. One of the songs that speaks to the experiences of black women appears in the *Amandla*! (2002) film discussed earlier in this literature review: In the film, the song *Madam* is sung by the actress and composer Sophie Mgcina while actress and singer Dolly Rathebe listens. The song, addressed to the white ‘madam’, tells the story of a female domestic worker who has to tend to another woman’s family to the detriment of her own and “expresses a powerfully gendered experience of oppression” (Gilbert, 2005:11-12; 15, 17).

In Chapter Five, I discuss the different ways in which the analyses of *Umshini Wami* by Suttner (2009b) and Gunner (2009) considered the gendered dimension in the work the song was doing. (See pp. 175-180).

Domain of leaders and ‘ordinary’ people

According to Gunner & Gwala (1991:7, 9-11), it would amount to a misinterpretation of praise poetry to consider it a genre only of the influential, chiefs and kings. “Ordinary people too will be named and praised by others”. Gunner (1995b:185, 195) furthermore has an important warning for those who study art and cultural forms and the choices we make in how we research such forms. The choices we make as researchers are often connected to power. Those forms that are the “expression of those who are in a position of dominance are foregrounded” while other forms are “reduced to whispers and footnotes” in the academic

sphere. Gunner reminds us to consider and remain aware of the "many voices of the community".

Struggle songs are similarly not the preserve of leaders. Ramoupi (2013:10-11) points to this significant feature of song on Robben Island: "Singing was not the arena of those who were considered leaders… except perhaps for a few, like Govan Mbeki, who kept a guitar and was well known for his love of song and music… Cultural expressions and songs specifically give us the opportunity to fill in the gap in the Robben Island story, by adding those many other hundreds of voices of ordinary freedom fighters... Every song they sang had a purpose, a story, a history, and an occasion behind it". In this thesis, a similar approach is followed as the focus is not only on the deployment of song by leaders, but also by 'ordinary' people, which allows for a diverse, rich analysis.

Song in other African countries

There is a fair amount of literature on the intersection between popular music and politics in other African countries and the significant role that music plays in power relations and battles (See, for example Chirambo, 2009; Mutonya, 2004; Nyamnjoh & Fokwang, 2005 & Sibanda, 2004). As I show below, several scholars writing about the role of music in in Africa highlight a significant feature of song: It is dynamic, elusive and flexible. In Kenya,[96] Joyce Nyairo and James Ogude examine the role of the popular song *Unbwogable* in the country's general election in 2002 in "Popular Music, Popular Politics: *Unbwogable* and the idioms of freedom in Kenyan popular music". The song became the "anthem" of the opposition party National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), but after NARC's election victory it changed from representing "resistance" and "invincibility" to signifying "victory and a tremendous sense of achievement". The song almost became "official state culture". The song's journey illustrates the "elasticity of symbolic structures, of metaphors, of words and of text; it shows how a travelling text will invariably constitute unstable and multiple meanings that defy their originary discourses". Nyairo & Ogude also point out that "the generation and spread of popular forms is not as spontaneous and informal as we would sometimes wish to imagine. Popular forms can, in fact, be very deliberately engineered products" (Nyairo & Ogude, 2005:240, 244, 246, 248). This is significant as it draws attention to why certain songs are selected by leaders and how they are deployed to reach out to specific groups of supporters.

[96] See Maina wa Kinyatti (1980) for a collection of Mau Mau songs from Kenya.

In Ivory Coast, the "fluid and evasive" character of most of Africa's popular music came to the fore during the crisis in the country between 2002 to 2007. Anne Schumann discusses the use of "patriotic" *zouglou* songs, which became a "contested space" in "Songs of a new era: Popular music and political expression in the Ivorian crisis". The utilisation of *zouglou* demonstrates that "the idioms of "praise" and "protest"" should not automatically be viewed as "mutually exclusive" as *zouglou* music was used for both political mobilisation in support of the government and also appeared at opposition rallies (Schumann, 2013:440, 442-443, 459).

In Zimbabwe, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Wendy Willems highlight the important role that song and other cultural activities – as fluid, dynamic forms – continue to play in the political landscape in Zimbabwe. [97] In "Making sense of cultural nationalism and the politics of commemoration under the third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe", they demonstrate how "cultural legacies of the liberation struggle" played a key part in the "renewed project of cultural nationalism in the early 2000s" of the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF). The project was aimed at sanctioning the party's ongoing command over Zimbabwe. Music galas, which included old *chimurenga* songs and the new 'urban grooves' music, played a significant role in the resurgence of cultural nationalism. Emphasising the connection with the liberation war, galas were often publicised as *pungwes* (night vigils) which, in the 1970s, were aimed at persuading the youth to join the struggle. The reactivated version had a different goal: It was intended to entice young Zimbabweans to become loyal followers of Zanu-PF (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009:945, 953, 955, 963-964).[98]

The deployment of song in post-apartheid South Africa

The utilisation of song in post-apartheid South Africa has been dealt with in several sections of this chapter to show how it draws on other oral forms and performative repertoires. Gunner's study of Zuma's singing of *Umshini Wami* forms a significant part of the methodological

[97] South Africa and Zimbabwe have a "shared history of music within political struggle" as well as a post-apartheid/colonial deployment of song. During the struggles for liberation in both countries "cross-border traffic of political song" occurred. *Siyobashiy' abazal'*, is an example of a song that has travelled across borders (Gunner, 2015:328, 333-334). The song, which Alec Pongweni (1982:35) include in his documentation of song in Zimbabwe, was also popular with MK combatants in the Luthuli Detachment in the late 1960s, who worked with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) forces in the Wankie campaign in 1967. It later became one of the songs of the ANC's Amandla Cultural Ensemble. The song is also mentioned by Barry Gilder, a composer and singer of struggle songs, who was based at the Quibaxe camp in Angola in 1979 and 1980, and James Ngculu, who arrived at Novo Catengue, a training camp in Angola in 1977. Ngculu describes it as a "popular song that would always make us think of home" (Gilbert, 2007:432-433; Gilder, 2012:77; Gunner, 2015:333 & Ngculu, 2009:60).

[98] See also Turino (2000:190-219), who looks at *chimurenga* songs during the war years of the 1970s, with a focus on the songs from the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). The songs "were, above and beyond everything else, an educational tool" which provided ZANU with a channel to spread information about its objectives and views. Like other oral forms discussed in this chapter, the *chimurenga* songs also drew from other forms, such as hymns (Turino, 2000:207-211).

framework employed to analyse the songs performed at Mangaung. It is thus discussed in Chapter Five. (See pp. 171-175, 178-180). In this section, I look at the manner in which song has been utilised by activists in the field of HIV/AIDS.

Song outside the party political: The utilisation of song by AIDS activists

Struggle songs have not only been utilised by political leaders in post-apartheid South Africa; they are also an important medium used by civil society organisations. The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) was established on December 10, 1998 when a group of approximately fifteen people protested at the St Georges Cathedral in Cape Town to demand medical treatment for people living with HIV/AIDS (Robins & Von Lieres, 2004:577). Several scholars (Grebe, 2011:852-853; McNeill, 2009:365-366; McNeill 2011:164-170, 177; Robins, 2004:665-666 & Robins & Von Lieres, 2004:582) state that the TAC has repurposed struggle songs at marches, funerals, demonstrations and public meetings to mobilise, advocate and educate people around HIV. The memory of AIDS activists who partook in the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s made this "creative re-appropriation of locally embedded political symbols, songs and styles of the anti-apartheid struggle" possible. The reactivation of these forms helped the TAC to prevent being seen as part of a conservative white grouping or as anti-government because of its criticism of Mbeki (Robins, 2004:665-666). The use of these symbols of the struggle was thus crucial for legitimacy and support in post-apartheid South Africa (Friedman & Mottiar, 2005:522-523; Grebe, 2011:852-853 & Jones, 2005:434).

Struggle songs with new lyrics are also being used by peer educators to teach people about the virus (McNeill & James, 2008:8-10, 12). Anthropologists Fraser McNeill and Deborah James discuss the use of struggle songs by peer educators in Venda in "Singing songs of Aids in Venda, South Africa: Performance, pollution, and ethnomusicology in a 'neo-liberal' setting". Struggle songs "constitute an important aspect of the peer educators' arsenal" due to their "ambivalent and polysemic character". Peer educators use song because they "cannot 'talk about' AIDS". This "avoidance of open conversation around HIV/AIDS should be understood as a safety precaution, collectively undertaken by individuals to protect them from the constant threat of guilt by association" (McNeill & James, 2008:2, 6, 10 & McNeill, 2009:368). AIDS is the new struggle, according to a peer educator quoted in the article: "It kills us secretly just like the Boer used to, and we should fight it [AIDS] as we did before with the Boer" (McNeill & James, 2008:9).[99]

[99] In an interview conducted for this thesis, Portia Serote (2016), the TAC's National Women's Representative, said songs are used in the organisation's education efforts.

TAC activists, interviewed for this study, saw song as being an implicit part of any struggle and as something that presented them with a mechanism to cope with internal struggles. Jolaosho (2015:445) also highlights this function of song: "[S]ongs serve as avenues for emotional transmission, poignantly conveying protesters' sentiments… freedom songs have been avenues for healing and catharsis for some activists".

Although Africanist scholars have determined that music and other oral forms are able to "communicate the incommunicable",[100] which makes them attractive to utilise in health communication campaigns, anthropologist Kelly Askew argues that the adaption of such forms in HIV/AIDS education and prevention efforts is not an uncomplicated, straightforward task. In "'Eat squid not fish': Poetics, aesthetics, and HIV/AIDS in Tanzania", Askew analyses the use of Swahili poetic and dramatic forms in HIV/AIDS prevention efforts in Tanzania between 1990 and 1995 and finds that although these forms might be seen as "easily hijacked modes of communication", Swahili poetry "is not a convenient *tabula rasa* easily drained of local meanings and refilled with biomedical ones" (Askew, 2015:257, 260-261).

The interpretation of song

It is important to look at some of the literature that raises important issues regarding how songs are interpreted. The specific methodological framework utilised to analyse the songs performed at the ANC's National Conference in Mangaung is discussed in Chapter Five. (See pp. 180-186). In this section, I look at literature related to aspects that form part of the foundation for the framework employed. I look at the agency of song and how we read songs, given the dynamic intersection between the past and the present. I furthermore examine how song recreates the archive as it is performed, and look at how power operates in postcolonial societies.

The agency of song

In the *Amandla!* documentary a group of activists briefly debate whether song or struggle came first. One activist says: "What I'm saying is that song didn't give birth to struggle… Struggle gave birth to song". "That's not true, that's not true," responds another activist. The documentary moves to another scene while you hear the arguing voices fades away. Later in the film, the same group refers to the bible story of the walls of Jericho falling after the Israelite

[100] See pp. 92-93 of this chapter for a discussion of the "poetic license" found in oral forms.

army blew their trumpets. An activist says the trumpets are song and the walls of Jericho are Pretoria. “The more we sing, the more we shall see cracks on the walls of Jericho and it shall tumble. And then we sang until it tumbled” (*Amandla!,* 2002).

In this thesis, the function of song to both communicate and convey certain emotions, attitudes or ideas, as well as to produce emotions, beliefs and thoughts is recognised. According to Fabian, “culture does not simply mirror, it symbolizes and thus always has a sign-function (it is ‘semiotic’). More than that, any living culture must be viewed as a communicative process in which a society not only expresses but also generates and forms its world view” (Fabian, 1978:324). Barber (1997:6) makes a similar point in an introduction to a collection of essays about popular culture in Africa: Cultural expressions, including song, she says, “are not seen by these authors as ‘reflections’ of an already-constituted ‘world view’. Rather they are part of the work of cultural production, a cultural production which produces consciousness”.

Askew (2003) brings the agency of musical forms to the fore in her analysis of two genres, *ngoma* and *dansi,* from the Swahili coast of East Africa. She argues that instead of seeing these forms as “an assumed byproduct” of the success of Swahili merchants, whose activities involved “increased contact with foreign cultures” that were part of Indian Ocean trade networks, the “aesthetic principles” in these genres, such as “continual innovation, inventive borrowing… [and] competitive opposition… have clear economic utility and could help explain the economic success Swahili enjoyed for many centuries” (Askew, 2003:609, 611-612, 632). According to Askew (2003:633), “art is a source of power, a mode of exercising power…”.

Caught in the past and the present

In interviews conducted for this study, song was viewed as an uncontaminated, uncluttered version of the past that provides people with a way of reclaiming their past from the academy that has mystified it. Scholars that write about music in Africa also describe song in a similar manner. For example, popular culture is seen as presenting “moments of freedom” (Fabian, 1998) with oral forms such as song being described as “a “map” of peoples’ experience” (Vail and White, 1991:41). According to ethnomusicologist Lara Allen (2004:2), “because so many people are swayed by its messages, and because so many people articulate their ideas, beliefs, and feelings through its creation, performance, or consumption, music potentially provides a revealing window into African people’s experience”. Song also has value for the writing of history. Coplan describes oral literature, including song, as “among the most accessible and potentially revealing of the varied forms which people create to reflect upon their own experience”. Music genres, techniques, texts, traditions and instruments are thus

considered important as “alternative sources for an historiography of Africa” (Coplan, 1988:337-338). However, in Makonde revolutionary songs in Mozambique a “different picture” emerges. “One would look… in vain for “lived memories” of the Struggle, for alternatives historiologies or maps of that extraordinary experience... One finds instead a recitation of trite tropes, reproducing the silhouette of the Struggle as in the official history-myth” (Israel, 2010:182-183).

Viewing oral forms such as song as “alternative sources” or as a “revealing window” could mean that we look to such forms to provide us with a different history. Vail and White (1991:71-73) caution us not to “raid the content of these songs and poems for “history” [as this] would… abuse them profoundly”. They refer to the notes of Oxford Library of African Literature volumes accompanying praise poems that are “primarily concerned with decoding the alternative history of the text”. Individuals are identified by lineage and date and the names of regiments, dates of battles and location of places are provided. This information is valuable, but an important aspect is neglected: “History as metaphor is not simply history as code. It is history as drama, evaluation, and judgment: history with the metaphysics included. The metaphors, elaborated into patterns of interpretation, are not simply vehicles for the events themselves. They are the means of comprehending those events in terms of permanent or changing systems of values, a means of being equal to events and hence of transcending them”. The authors find that specific metaphors in oral forms such as the praises of Shaka, “come to stand as the bearers of history and remain in the cultures concerned as evaluative precedents, the “evidence” to be deployed by subsequent poets as they reinterpret that history”. These “metaphors are not “formulas”” utilised as “repeated expressions”. Nor do they “repeat given “essential ideas””. Instead, they supply the “currency for new ideas” and for re-examination and reconsideration.

In this study, the focus is not on analysing songs to explore the historical accounts of specific events or in establishing ‘facts’ incorporated in song. I concentrate on the meaning of song in the present. This thesis explores why songs originally composed under the oppressive conditions of apartheid still have such a visceral impact today, and how these songs are deployed in power battles on the political stage, as well as in more intimate struggles about how the past is interpreted.

Recreating the archive

The notion of the archive is a powerful one, as it commands the same type of reverence that history is able to lay claim to. The archive has authority and power (Muller, 2002:409-411) as

it offers a constant re-assertion of one's identity and culture. Do struggle songs create an archive as it is performed, and does the possession of an archive give the parties power?

The work of two ethnomusicologists ─ Carol Muller and Marie Jorritsma ─ demonstrate that song can be viewed as an archive. In "Archiving Africanness in sacred song", Muller (2002:409-410) states that archives are usually seen as "buildings, as monumental edifices to institutional or state power". However, she suggests "that we begin to consider certain kinds of music composition as archival practice: as constituting valued sites for the deposit and retrieval of historical styles and practices in both literate and pre-literate contexts". Muller (2002:409, 411-412) draws on Jacques Derrida's interpretation of the three key expectations of an archive to show that song can be viewed as an archive: "There is no archive without a place of consignation, without a technique of repetition, and without a certain exteriority" (Derrida, 1995:11). Drawing on Muller's arguments, Jorritsma (2011:43), who highlights the archiving function of song in her study of the music of three church congregations of coloured people in Kroonvale[101] in the Eastern Cape, views the "place of consignation" as the "body and mind of an individual", the "technique of repetition" as a "performance of a particular composition", and the "exteriority" as the "context/place of performance". In *Sonic spaces of the Karoo: The sacred music of a South African coloured community*, Jorritsma (2011:43) states that "far from being a people and music without history, identity, and culture (a designation implied and reflected by the official apartheid record), Kroonvale congregation members have ensured the survival of their past by archiving this knowledge within a community musical tradition".

Jorritsma (2011:44) suggests that "musical style as well as musical composition can be understood as a type of archival practice". Muller (2002:415-417) identifies several elements of Nazarite hymns – also found in struggle songs – as being archival in nature. This includes the hymns' lyrics, and rhythm, which is characterised by "collective improvisation" and "interaction that can only occur when several people are singing together". A call and response structure forms part of their rhythmic features. The "collective articulation" and ownership of these hymns is also a significant archival feature. Drawing on Mary Douglas (1990), Muller (2002:417) argues that each "person has the right to perform these songs as members of the community, as social beings, rather than as individual agents". The body is central in remembering and recalling the songs: "The archive thereby remains largely concealed inside the bodily memory of church members, exteriorized and repeated daily in gestures of ritual and devotion" (Muller, 2002:417).

[101] Kroonvale was the apartheid-era residential area for coloured people under the Group Areas Act in the rural town of Graaff-Reinet (Jorritsma, 2011:4).

Just like the hymns of the Nazarites that Muller discusses, struggle songs are collectively remembered and performed. Gwede Mantashe, ANC Secretary-General, referred to this characteristic during his testimony in the *Dubula ibhunu* trial. “You see the liberation songs are not written and you do not get copyright for a song, you sing it every day,” he said (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:853). Collins Chabane, former Minister in the Presidency, also testified to the communal ownership of song: “Those type of songs, nobody has copyright to them, because they belong to the community” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:955). My analysis of the songs performed at Mangaung shows the significance of the collectiveness of struggle songs in understanding their visceral effect – singing and moving together reactivates and mobilises the shared collective memories of the struggle against apartheid and for a better world in ways that generate potent meanings. Viewing lyrics, rhythm, including a call and response structure, the collective nature of performance and the significance of the body in such performances as archival features is also useful for my analysis of song at Mangaung, as it makes me aware of their significance.

As mentioned in Chapter One, this thesis subscribes to the ideas of Hamilton of the archive as an active one. I consider the performance of struggle songs in post-apartheid South Africa as continuously recreating the archive: It is recreated and shifts and changes to focus on different areas or personalities of the struggle and tells its story in different ways. Different performance settings change the meanings a song expresses and generates, and over time a song itself changes, as Coplan & Jules-Rosette (2005:285-286, 305) argue. (See Chapter One, pp. 27-29).

A significant aspect of song’s function in recreating the archive is that it creates a constituency and distinguishes who the “insiders” and the “outsiders” are (Gunner, 2009:32). Those that possess the archive are the heirs to the noble tradition of song – the notion of the archive supports them when they defend the deployment of songs, as it has authority that reiterates that one has a culture and a history. Just as with history, one surely could not call for the archive to be destroyed. It also provides songs with a sense of authenticity – it is something that provides singers with a real connection to the past.

Power in the postcolony

Another significant factor regarding the interpretation of song is how it intersects with power battles ─ both reflecting and driving such contests. According to Fabian (1990:17), a researcher must be careful not to miss such power issues: “Fascination with the communicative, esthetically creative, inspiring, and entertaining qualities of cultural

performances all too easily make us overlook that the people who perform relate to each other and to their society at large in terms of power."

Achille Mbembe's seminal work, "Provisional notes on the postcolony", which looks at power in the African postcolony, is important to consider. As outlined below, I agree with Mikael Karlström that Mbembe is, however, too pessimistic in his analysis. Mbembe defines the postcolony as "societies recently emerging from the experience of colonisation and the violence which the colonial relationship, *par excellence*, involves". Using Cameroon as a case study, Mbembe argues that "in the postcolony the *commandement* seeks to institutionalise itself, in order to achieve legitimation and hegemony (*recherche hégémonique*) in the form of a *fetish*. The signs, vocabulary and narratives that it produces are not meant merely to be symbols; they are officially invested with a surplus of meanings which are not negotiable and which one is officially forbidden to depart from or challenge. So as to ensure that no such challenge takes place, the champions of state power invent entire constellations of ideas… [and] adopt a distinct set of cultural repertoires…". Because the state and its subjects live in the same environment, it has "resulted in the mutual zombification of both the dominant and those whom they apparently dominate. This zombification meant that each robbed the other of their vitality and has left them both impotent (*impouvoir*)" (Mbembe, 1992:3-4).

Mbembe (1992:7, 21) also points towards the importance of ceremonies in the display of power. "Ceremonies have become the privileged language through which power speaks, acts, coerces… it is the festivities and celebrations that are the vehicles, *par excellence*, for giving expression to the *commandement* and for staging its displays of magnificence and prodigality…".

However, anthropologist Mikael Karlström argues that Mbembe overvalues the "ideological power of the postcolonial state" and that his analysis is hindered by a "radically and unjustifiably pessimistic portrayal of state-society relations in postcolonial Africa as terminally mired in inherently dysfunctional political dispositions and practices" (Karlström, 2003:57). Drawing on the work of Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, Karlström argues in "On the aesthetics and dialogics of power in the postcolony" that there is indeed space for "dialogical interactions" between the state and subjects. Using an example of dignitaries visiting rural communities in Buganda, Karlström says that although the visit is characterised by "scripted forms of communicative interaction" with speeches, song and dance from the community, and gifts offered to the dignitaries, the community can still "express their satisfaction or discontent

with power holders" by, for example, the number of gifts given to visitors (Karlström, 2003:64-68).[102]

In the South African context, Gunner (2015:327-328, 336), following Karlström (2003), points out that song can play a significant role in opening dialogue ─ in which forward movement is possible ─ between a state and subjects, or between a less powerful or opposition political party and the governing party. Song "assisted Malema in his dialogue with the state" and "helped him to carve out new positions vis-á-vis economic policy and the urgent question of the poor and the marginalized…". The *Dubula ibhunu* song, says Gunner, was "part of a new voicing of an oppositional position in *dialogue* with the state". The performance of song itself can become a dialogue which can be used by singers to convey certain messages to leaders. By actively participating in a performance with the lead singer, they can show and mobilise support for him/her. By withholding their voices, another message is sent that weakens a leader.

In this chapter, I have shown how my study builds on the existing literature on song, but how it also extends our understanding of how song operates as a form of active heritage. Although struggle songs are a largely neglected research area, literature on other oral forms has proven to be valuable in shedding light on their deployment in post-apartheid South Africa. In the next chapter, I present the first of three case studies – the *Dubula ibhunu* court case – to demonstrate the significant role of song in driving brutal political battles. In such battles, song operates in unexpected ways that extends our understanding of heritage.

[102] Drawing on the work of Karlström, Willems asserts that the mobile, dynamic character of performance means it is an "inherently risky practice that does not always prove reliable in furthering the status quo". State-sponsored music galas in Zimbabwe allowed for both "co-optation and resistance". At one of these galas in August 2005, musician Hosiah Chipanga, for example, sang a song about an ageing leader of an unnamed country who is determined to rule until he dies, despite calls from citizens to resign due to his old age. The song was clearly a reference to President Robert Mugabe who at the time had been leading Zimbabwe since 1980 (Willems, 2015:356-357, 363).

CHAPTER FOUR

The *Dubula ibhunu* trial: The emergence of new rules of engagement in heritage battles

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the first of three case studies to illustrate how song as a form of active heritage is deployed in different contexts with multiple meanings. I analyse the court transcripts of the hate speech trial in 2011 between 'Afrikaner' civil rights organisation AfriForum[103] and former ANCYL President Julius Malema over the struggle song *Dubula ibhunu* (Shoot the Boer). The trial became the stage for broader political contests, as AfriForum and the ANC battled it out in an attempt to control the song's utilisation. It thus presents an opportunity to explore how heritage helps to drive fierce political power struggles in post-apartheid South Africa. Although the role of heritage in such battles has been acknowledged in existing literature,[104] this chapter aims to shed new light on such contests by showing that the battle lines are much more fluid than often presented. The parties in the court case did not play by the 'accepted' rules of engagement: Instead, they cunningly adopted each other's idea of heritage, bringing different foundational myths into contact with one another, to further their own objectives. Different forms of commemoration also got embroiled in the showdown.

The parties jostled for domination over the song and how it would be allowed to exist in a post-apartheid South Africa. Neither denied that it should be allowed to exist. AfriForum wanted it to be safely kept in the museum where it could not offend or harm anyone. The ANC strongly resisted this burial of song. It was part of a vibrant tradition of oral history, the party argued. The brutal contest would, however, be all for nothing. The life of the song after the trial showed that it was futile to try and direct or control its journey. The sonic counter-monument (Young, 1992) is unpredictable and defiant, and could not be reined it to suit the demands of either the ANC or AfriForum.

[103] AfriForum is a non-profit company "with the aim of protecting the rights of minorities… [with] a specific focus on the rights of Afrikaners" (AfriForum, n.d. a). In this study, I use the term 'Afrikaners' to describe AfriForum's supporters – the organisation itself uses the term when referring to its supporters, who see themselves as part of a minority group and feel like "second-class citizens" (AfriForum, n.d. b:3-4). Both the terms ─ 'Afrikaner' and 'Boer' ─ are used in single quotation marks to indicate that they are not neutral terms, but terms that hold a range of meanings for different people.

[104] See for example Hlongwane (2008 & 2015), Marschall (2008 & 2010) and Victor (2015).

In this chapter, I first provide a brief overview of the Discourse Sociolinguistics approach that was utilised to analyse the *Dubula ibhunu* transcripts. I then discuss the features utilised in my analysis. This includes the exposure of power relations, context and intertextuality, ideology, hegemony, disorders of discourse, institutional language use and modality. Modality and hegemony are not specifically recognised in Discourse Sociolinguistics, but were nevertheless valuable in my examination of the transcripts. I also discuss the treatment of memory. Finally, I refer to the limits and the value of conducting this type of analysis. The second part of this chapter focuses on the analysis of the court transcripts.

Discourse Sociolinguistics

"The constructive role of language often goes unnoticed," argues Anthonissen (2006:72). Language, she says, "is such a natural part of everyday life that it becomes transparent; not all users reflect on the choices they have, the choices others make, and the implications and effects of various linguistic choices".

To ensure the "constructive role of language" does not go undetected in my discussion of the court transcripts, I utilise the Discourse Sociolinguistics approach situated within the Critical Discourse Analysis framework to examine the transcripts.

Norman Fairclough, one of the founders of Critical Discourse Analysis, and Ruth Wodak, who developed Discourse Sociolinguistics together with several other Critical Discourse Analysts, define discourse in the following manner:

Critical discourse analysis "sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures but it also shapes them… discourse is socially *constitutive*, as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that is contributes to transforming it" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258).

Discourse Sociolinguistics acknowledges, concurring with the definition of discourse provided by Fairclough and Wodak, that "discourse constitutes society and culture, as well as being constituted by them" (Wodak, 1996:15, 18). Discourse Sociolinguistics was a suitable

approach for my analysis of the court transcripts, as it allowed me to investigate two important aspects: Context, and the manner in which "power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse". According to Wodak, "every instance of language use makes its own contribution to reproducing or transforming culture and society, including power relations (Wodak, 1996:3,18, 20-22).

Power battles on the heritage stage

The Critical Discourse Analysis framework is valuable as its very goal is to reveal "veiled power structures". Power relationships are "discursive" – Critical Discourse Analysis "highlights the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power in contemporary societies" (Wodak, 1996:16, 18). According to Anthonissen (2006:76), Discourse Sociolinguistics "supports and elaborates this interest in the functions language may fulfil in the social distribution of power".

The focus on power relations is precisely why I chose this framework to examine the court transcripts. Power battles were central in the *Dubula ibhunu* trial. However, these clashes were not defined by clear boundaries between the different parties. Instead, the borders were blurry and muddled. A dialogue between the foundation myths of factions within the ANC and AfriForum took place during the trial. These foundational myths were not necessarily oppositional – rather, they were brought into conversation with each other, interacting in a fluid manner and borrowing from each other to strengthen their arguments. It exposed different interpretations about what is seen as 'white' history and what is perceived to be 'black' history, and how these different histories are commemorated.

The relationship between heritage and power is largely overlooked in international and local heritage policies and legislation. The National Heritage Resources Act (1999:2,16) has a sentimental perspective regarding heritage, with the act's preamble stating: "Our heritage is unique and precious and it cannot be renewed. It helps us to define our cultural identity and therefore lies at the heart of our spiritual well-being and has the power to build our nation". The act ignores power issues, except to state that "heritage resources management must guard against the use of heritage for sectarian purposes or political gain". UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003:2) states that intangible culture heritage plays an "invaluable role… as a factor in bringing human beings closer together". Heritage is thus deployed as something that can solve conflicts and glue nations together.

Scholarly literature acknowledges the role of heritage in power battles, but often views these struggles as a stable contest with clearly defined battle lines and role-players. “All heritage is someone’s heritage and therefore logically not someone else’s,” Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996:21) assert. The trial, however, showed that the contestation was not defined by clear boundaries between opposing sides and their heritages. It was in fact characterised by trade-offs and concessions between the different parties, whose foundation myths were also modified through this process. Instead of the parties rejecting the idea that there was any resemblance between their foundation myths, they exploited similarities to gain the upper hand. The trade-offs and concessions were being made in the context of a court case in which the different sides were trying to outwit each other. It was a dirty game of give and take.

Context and intertextuality

Discourse Sociolinguistics is “not only… explicitly dedicated to the study of the text in context, but also accords both factors equal importance”. Wodak argues that context was often explained by taking “class, gender, ethnicity and age” into consideration. She suggests that context should be included using a more wide-ranging approach to ensure that an examination of “discourse as social practice” takes place. Context should therefore also take into account “the discourse unit itself… the interactants with their various personality features, biographies and social roles… the location in time and space… the institution in which the event takes place… [and] the society in which this institution is integrated” (Wodak, 1996:3, 21).

Wodak refers to an important aspect which received attention in my analysis: Intertextuality. Intertextuality is a crucial element of discourse and forms part of the wider context. This means a researcher should also consider other discourses of the same role-players and other proceedings in the same establishment. Intertextuality means that “there is no objective beginning and no clearly defined end, because every discourse is related to many others and can only be understood on the basis of others” (Wodak, 1996:11,14, 19, 21).

However, the fact that there is “no objective beginning and no clearly defined end” poses a challenge to the researcher. It creates the possibility of endless analysis. According to Cicourel, “an infinite regress can occur whereby the observer presumably must describe “everything” about a context. Such a demand is of course impossible to satisfy because no one could claim to have specified all of the local and larger sociocultural aspects of a context”. The researcher is, however, “obligated to justify what has been included and what has been excluded according to stated theoretical goals…” (Cicourel, 1992:309). In this case, all the arguments raised during the trial cannot possibly be discussed. My research questions

determine what would be incorporated and what would be omitted. The arguments and the context included in this chapter are thus determined by my goal of probing the deployment of struggle songs as active intangible heritage in post-apartheid South Africa.

The ideological work of discourse

The concept of ideology is important in Discourse Sociolinguistics – the approach is "interested in disclosing the ways in which language functions to entrench ideologies as they are embodied in politics" (Anthonissen, 2006:82-83). According to Van Dijk (1998:192-193), discourse has a "special status in the reproduction of ideologies" as it permits "direct and explicit expression of ideologies". In contrast to most other social practices "various properties of text and talk allow social members to actually *express* or *formulate* abstract ideological beliefs, or any other opinion related to such ideologies".

According to Eagleton (1991:5), ideology does not only point towards "belief systems, but to questions of *power*". The general explanation, says Eagleton, is that ideology "has to do with *legitimating* the power of a dominant social group or class". The most commonly recognised definition, argues Eagleton, is the one by John B. Thompson (1984:4), who argues that the examination of ideology is an investigation of "the ways in which meaning (or signification) serves to sustain relations of domination". This practice of legitimation includes at least six strategies. According to Eagleton (1991:5-6), "a dominant power may legitimate itself by *promoting* beliefs and values congenial to it; *naturalizing* and *universalizing* such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; *denigrating* ideas which might challenge it; *excluding* rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and *obscuring* social reality in ways convenient to itself".

To examine the ideological work of discourse, I paid close attention to assumptions. Fairclough argues that "implicitness is a pervasive property of texts, and a property of considerable social importance". All communities rely on meanings which are communal and taken for granted – no form of communication would be possible without this mutual understanding. However, the ability to dominate includes the ability to mould to a substantial extent the type and gist of this mutual understanding. Assumptions are thus significant when one wants to examine ideology. Meanings that are taken for granted are of great ideological importance as "relations of power are best served by meanings which are widely taken as given" (Fairclough, 2003:55, 58).

During the trial, assumptions related to specific seminal 'events'[105] in the history of the 'Afrikaner' were redeployed by AfriForum. The organisation drew on long established mythologies related to the killing of Voortrekker leader Piet Retief by warriors of Dingane in 1838 (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:878-879). For AfriForum and its supporters, Retief and his men were "treacherously murdered" (Moodie, 1975:6) as his death had traditionally been depicted in 'Afrikaner' historiography. Dunbar Moodie (1975), and other scholars such as Leonard Thompson (1985 & 1995) and Jay Naidoo (1989), have shown how important the portrayal and distortion of Retief's death was to the growth of 'Afrikaner' nationalism in the twentieth century. It was deliberately used to promote 'Afrikaner' nationalist sentiments by 'Afrikaner' intellectuals and politicians. AfriForum was possibly suggesting, without stating it clearly, that the ANC would kill 'Afrikaners' while pretending to befriend them, in a similar way to what the 'Afrikaners' believed Dingane did to Retief.

For AfriForum and its supporters, the power of the Retief narrative lies not only in its story of undeserved treachery, but also in its alleged status as history – as the truth. Scholars such as Thompson (1985:1) define events such as his death as myths ─ a "tale told about the past to legitimize… a regime" ─ in an effort to break their spell.[106] He thought that puncturing the truth of such narratives would destroy them and hence weaken people's attachment to 'Afrikaner' nationalism.

In a sense, Thompson's theory proved to be correct. During the trial, it emerged that AfriForum, while still believing in the absolute truth of the Retief narrative, felt less certain about its potency. As part of its strategy to win the case, it attempted to claim some of the 'Madiba magic', related to the foundation myth that emerged during South Africa's democratic transition, by asking ANC witnesses what the reaction would have been if the former president had sung *Dubula ibhunu* at Ellispark after the Springboks won the Rugby World Cup in 1995. According to Marschall (2005:20-21, 25-26), the way the struggle against apartheid and colonialism was being told and represented had become the foundation myth for the new South Africa. Specific ways of telling the South African story, that reflected the struggle's status as the 'new' South Africa's foundation myth began to dominate after 1994. According to Rassool, "South Africa was being framed as a 'rainbow' or 'multicultural' nation, one

[105] I use the term 'events' in inverted commas to show that AfriForum does not see these events as myths, but as real historical events that happened as they had been depicted in 'Afrikaner' historiography.
[106] According to Thompson (1985:8, 23), myths are "historical phenomena". They "originate in specific circumstances as a product of specific interests, and they change with the changing interests of successive generations and successive regimes. They vary in intensity: they may be dormant, they may flourish, they may decline, they may die out. Myths also change in substance and meaning. They may serve one interest at one time and another interest later on, or they may be manipulated to serve more than one interest at the same time". Myths can also "accommodate a great deal of factual and scientific error".

characterised by 'diversity'". Attaining 'reconciliation' was the foundation that the new identity of a diverse 'rainbow' nation was being built on. South Africa was depicted as a "society of 'many cultures'… [with] a history of 'great lives of resistance and reconciliation'" (Rassool, 2007:114).[107]

Hegemony

Fairclough (2003:45, 58, 218) points outs that the ideological work of texts is also related to hegemony, a key concept to the type of Marxism linked with Antonio Gramsci. Hegemony is a "particular way… of conceptualizing power and the struggle for power in capitalist societies, which emphasizes how power depends on consent or acquiescence rather than just force, and the importance of ideology". Hegemony is not specifically recognised in Discourse Sociolinguistics, but is acknowledged within the Critical Discourse Analysis framework.

According to Gramsci, "ideologies… come into confrontation and conflict, until only one of them, or at least a single combination of them, tends to prevail, to gain the upper hand, to propagate itself throughout society – bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity… creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups" (Gramsci, 1971:181-182).

The consent is "spontaneous", argues Gramsci, "given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production". When "spontaneous consent" does not succeed, "the apparatus of state coercive power… "legally" enforces discipline on those groups who do not "consent" either actively or passively" (Gramsci, 1971:12).

Aiming to achieve hegemony is a "matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance". This is an ideological act, argues Fairclough (2003:58). However, hegemony cannot be reduced to ideology – it includes ideology, but is more wide-ranging. Leaders "may secure consent to its power by ideological means; but it may also do so by, say, altering the tax system in ways favourable to groups whose support it needs". Hegemony is "not just some successful kind of ideology, but may be discriminated into its various ideological, cultural, political and economic aspects". Eagleton argues that

[107] Rassool does however, point out that the dominant narratives "were not uncontested". Community museums, such as the District Six Museum, had "begun to push beyond these dominant narrations" (Rassool, 2007:115).

hegemony can then be defined as a "whole range of practical strategies by which a dominant power elicits consent to its rule from those it subjugates" (Eagleton, 1991:112-113,115-116).

Although the struggle remains an important tool in the ANC's arsenal during elections to secure support from voters (Booysen, 2015:7, 9-10, 15, 18, 31-32, 299) [108], the real battleground is in fact within the ANC itself. The history of the struggle against apartheid is the "real glue that holds the ANC together," argues Bonner (2012:1). According to Bonner (2012:1), "this history of struggle has been mobilised repeatedly since 2004 to energise the ANC's base and hold competing factions together… but to which appeal is also constantly made by rival fragments or factions as they try to represent themselves as the authentic custodians of the ANC's past – and its struggle". As Gramsci points out, this consent is "caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys" (Gramsci, 1971:12). For the ANC, it is produced by harnessing the prestige of struggle icons. ANC leaders often evoke great figures of the struggle at moments of disunity. The memories of struggle heroes are used in internal leadership contests to ensure unity and to consolidate a power base within the party. In the next chapter, I show how Zuma evoked the memories of two iconic ANC heroes – former president Nelson Mandela and Chief Albert Luthuli – in an attempt to unite the party behind his leadership at the ANC's Mangaung National Conference in 2012.

Disorders of discourse

Despite what has been said above about common assumptions, the occurrence of "disorders of discourse" will also be considered. Communication does not always take place successfully. Instead of achieving "clarity and comprehension" with "accurately conveyed" information, our daily exchanges and conversations often cause "confusion… [with] barriers to communication erected" (Wodak, 1996:2). The term "disorders of discourse" refers back to Michel Foucault's inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in 1970 (Wodak, 1996:24). In his lecture Foucault stated: "I make the assumption that the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and canalized in every society – and that this is done by way of certain procedures, whose task it is to subdue the powers and dangers of discourse, to evade its heavy and threatening materiality" (Foucault, 1993:10-11).

[108] The ANC is not the only party that perceives the struggle to be important in securing support during elections. During the 2016 local government elections, both the DA and the EFF used struggle icons in their election campaigns. The DA used Mandela's voice in a television advert to persuade a woman in a voting booth to change her vote from the ANC to the DA (Munusamy, 2016b). In April 2016, the EFF hosted a Solomon Mahlangu Memorial Rally in Pretoria. The Mahlangu family took the party to court to prevent it from using his name, but the application was dismissed. Mahlangu, a member of MK, was executed on April 6, 1979 (African News Agency, 2016).

The “disorders of discourse” means that a participant can never be completely certain what another speaker is trying to convey. To ensure effective communication, “conventions and rules” are necessary. “Only a setting with conventions and rules within a discursive space produces knowledge and makes possible… a communicative framework, which can altogether be defined as functional”. Discourse Sociolinguistics is an approach which is able to recognise and explain the underlying aspects that influence those disorders, which are rooted in context (Wodak, 1996:3, 25). In this case, the institution of a South African court of law with its rules and conventions, unavoidably influenced the communication that took place.

According to Anthonissen (2006:80), where “communication has an intended but improper effect, such as misleading [or] maliciously concealing” disorder takes place. A court case, where both sides are trying to win, would certainly be characterised by such disorders. The court transcripts revealed “disorders of discourse” that are similar to the ones Anthonissen (2006:81) identifies in relation to her analysis of testimony at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Participants gave contradictory information, witnesses testified in an unclear and illogical way, and lawyers and witnesses became emotional and their testimonies reflect this.

I considered the institutional constraints of a courtroom and the fact that the testimony therefore unfolded differently to the way it would in another context. Witnesses had to answer specific questions and were often interrupted by lawyers before they were able to complete the point they were trying to make. Participants in the court case wanted to win, and their discursive strategies reflected that. Testimonies were therefore occasionally incorrect to strengthen a specific argument.[109] Lawyers also made insinuations to plant certain seeds of arguments without properly explaining their arguments. I remained cognisant of these “disorders of discourse” in my analysis.

Institutional language use

According to Wodak (1996:18), Critical Discourse Analysis draws attention to the manner in which “power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse”. It is therefore not unexpected that Discourse Sociolinguistics also pays careful attention to institutional language use. Institutional discourse is a “form of social action which reflects the essence, aims,

[109] Serote’s testimony about the song *De la Rey* was in fact incorrect, as he stated that the song was about a right-wing legend, the ‘Night of the Long Knives’ (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:782). According to the legend, white people would be killed when Mandela died (Malan, 2011). It is unclear whether this factual error was deliberate or not, but it could be intended to paint the ‘Afrikaners’ as paranoid, and therefore suggesting that they were being paranoid about *Dubula ibhunu* as well.

attitudes and functions of a particular organisation, and at the same time constructs all these features of the organisation" (Anthonissen, 2006:81-82).

Considering the institutional language use of the ANC as it was revealed by its witnesses, who acted as spokespeople for the dominant factions within the ANC, was valuable, as it provided insight into the essence, aims and attitudes of these factions within the ruling party at the specific time when the trial took place. It specifically gave insight into their opinions on heritage, the struggle, and the deployment of struggle songs as intangible heritage.

Modality

I also considered modality in my analysis of the court transcripts. Modality is not specifically recognised in the Discourse Sociolinguistics framework, but is acknowledged in the Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. Modality refers to "what people commit themselves to when they make Statements, ask Questions, make Demands or Offers". Modality is closely linked to one's identity, argues Fairclough, because "what you commit yourself to is a significant part of what you are". The identification process is also affected by social relations. "How one represents the world, to what one commits oneself, e.g. one's degree of commitment to truth, is a part of how one identifies oneself, necessarily in relation to others with whom one is interacting" (Fairclough, 2003:165-166). For example, when Gwede Mantashe, ANC Secretary-General, said *Dubula ibhunu* was part of the party's heritage, he was not just making a strong undertaking to the truth of the statement, he was doing it as Secretary-General of the ANC ─ a party with millions of supporters.

Memory as an "active process"

Discourse Sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary approach ─ the recognition of context in a wide-ranging manner "virtually dictates" such an approach (Anthonissen, 2006:83). This allows me to draw on other disciplines to inform the examination of memory. As stated in Chapter One, I find the work of influential Italian oral historian Alessandro Portelli valuable to guide my treatment of memory. According to Portelli, memory "is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings". Oral sources inform the researcher of "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did". Oral sources are valuable not because of their "ability to preserve the past, as in the very changes wrought by memory… [which] reveal the narrators' effort to make sense of the past and to give a form to their lives" (Portelli, 2006:36-38). Drawing on Portelli allows me to explore why participants in the trial referred to certain events or

personalities, and why they were so determined to create specific genealogies or identities for themselves and their opponents

Limits of this analysis

Fairclough's arguments on the limitations on textual analysis are relevant to this study. Firstly, my analysis was unavoidably "selective". According to Fairclough, we "choose to ask certain questions about social events and texts, and not other possible questions". Secondly, Fairclough alerts researchers to the fact that an objective analysis does not exist – if by objective one means "an analysis which simply describes what is 'there' in the text without being 'biased' by the 'subjectivity' of the analyst". How we approach an analysis is inevitably influenced by "particular motivations which go beyond what is 'there'" (Fairclough, 2003:14-15). In this case I was guided by my research goals of exploring how struggle songs are actively deployed with multiple meanings in post-apartheid South Africa.

The value of Discourse Sociolinguistics

Discourse Sociolinguistics was a valuable approach to analyse the *Dubula ibhunu* court transcripts, as it allowed me to explore the power relations that played themselves out on the heritage stage, and how such battles are characterised by concessions between parties as foundational myths are brought into conversation with each other. Together with the Critical Discourse Analysis framework it is rooted in, it also gave me the opportunity to consider several other important aspects including context, the ideological work of discourse including assumptions, hegemony and perceptions regarding the significance of the struggle in current power contests, and disorders of discourse and the influence that the institution of the court has on communication. In the next section, I utilise Discourse Sociolinguistics to analyse the court transcripts of the *Dubula ibhunu* trial. The transcripts total 1 188 pages. Although I do not intend to reproduce these pages in my analysis, I do quote extensively from the transcripts. This was done to enable the reader to get a sense of the spirit of the arguments made by witnesses and lawyers in Court 8A of the South Gauteng High Court, and to allow for an in-depth probe into the power battles and other aspects mentioned above.

The *Dubula ibhunu* court case

The *Dubula ibhunu* trial became the stage for broader political contests as 'Afrikaner' civil rights organisation AfriForum and the ANC battled it out over the deployment of the struggle song in contemporary South Africa. The trial was, however, about much more than Malema

and *Dubula ibhunu*. It provided an escape valve for the anger that had boiled over for Malema supporters over apartheid, which for many was not something that belonged to the past, but a system which continued to have a very real impact on their lives seventeen years after its formal end. Inside the court room, ANC witnesses and AfriForum representatives played a complex game of give and take over issues related to identity, reconciliation and land. The trial presented an opportunity to examine how heritage helped to drive such political power struggles in contemporary South Africa.

This analysis is not intended to be a complete discussion of all the arguments raised during the trial – the scope of this thesis does not allow that. I therefore focused on matters that contribute to finding answers to my research questions. The chapter is structured as follows: Background on the trial and the parties are provided. I then move on to the analysis of the court transcripts and examine how the parties manufactured specific identities for themselves and their opponents, and how they utilised notions regarding history and heritage as well as views on social cohesion, nation-building, reconciliation and redress. The importance attached to owning the struggle – and by implication its songs – is also investigated. The utilisation of the emotions around land reform in post-apartheid South Africa is brought to the fore. Finally, I investigate the song's deployment after the judgment. The song gained a new life as a resistance song for striking mineworkers and a leader who initially found himself in the political wilderness after being expelled from the ANC, but then found his voice again, first on the stage of the mining strikes taking place at the time, and later as leader of a new political party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).

Background

The case centred on a struggle song[110] called *Dubula ibhunu* in the media and translated as "Shoot the Boer".[111]

[110] The difference between a song and a chant was discussed during the trial. Whether *Dubula ibhunu* is classified as a song or a chant does not contribute in creating a better understanding of my research questions. I therefore chose to refer to *Dubula ibhunu* as a song.

[111] The translation of the song as "Shoot the Boer" was not "seriously challenged" during the case, although the ANC referred to the "limitations of translated versions". Malema testified: "It is very difficult for me my Lord to be told of the interpretation of this song because our songs must not be interpreted. When they are interpreted they mean something else and it makes it difficult for me to accept to something which my song does not mean that". Whether the words '*Boer'* or *ibhunu* were references to specific individuals was, however, contested. Derek Hanekom, Deputy Minister of Science and Technology at the time, testified that *ibhunu* referred to a "system of racial oppression" and not specific individuals (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:499, 567, 591,1087 & Lamont, 2011:31).

The words of the song according to the court ruling:

Dubula! Dubula! Dubula ngesibhamu
Dubula ibhunu
Dubula! Dubula! Dubula ngesibhamu
Mama, ndiyeke ndidubula ibhunu
Dubula! Dubula! Dubula ngesibhamu
Ziyasireypa lezi zinja
Dubula! Dubula! Dubula ngesibhamu

A translation of the words into English:

Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun
Shoot the boer
Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun
Ma, let me shoot the Boer
Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun
These dogs rape us
Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun (Lamont, 2011:35).

In March 2010, Malema sang *Dubula ibhunu* on four occasions: At his birthday celebrations in Polokwane, at the University of Johannesburg during a political gathering, at a Human Rights Day celebration in Mahikeng, and lastly, in Rustenburg. AfriForum lodged a complaint against Malema with the Equality Court on March 12, 2010 (AfriForum, 2010 & Lamont, 2011:39). The organisation claimed that *Dubula ibhunu*, as sung by Malema on these specific occasions, constituted hate speech. It also sought an interdict that would prevent Malema from "inciting, encouraging or promoting hostility towards any ethnic group, Afrikaners and Afrikaner farmers not least" (AfriForum, 2011a:35).[112]

The agricultural union TAU SA was the second complainant in the case, while the ANC was the second respondent. Malema and the ANC were represented by the same legal team. The *Vereniging van Regslui vir Afrikaans* (Association of Lawyers for Afrikaans) was a friend of the court. The case was argued in the South Gauteng High Court, sitting as the Equality Court,

[112] In another case, the South Gauteng High Court ruled on March 26, 2010 that the use of the words *dubula ibhunu* was unconstitutional and unlawful. The court action was brought by Delmas businessman Willem Harmse to prevent his colleague Mahomed Vawda from using the words on banners and singing them during a planned march against crime (*News24*, 2010).

between April 11 and April 21, 2011 in Johannesburg. Judgment was delivered by Judge Colin Lamont on September 12, 2011.

As the scope of this thesis does not allow me to discuss the trial in its entirety, I include a brief summary of the main arguments raised by AfriForum and the ANC. I did not consider the arguments of TAU SA in great detail.

AfriForum argued that *ibhunu* refers to 'Boer' which was a reference to white 'Afrikaners'. They referred to statements Malema made on land reform and nationalisation to argue that the song should be judged considering his public pronouncements. AfriForum called two witnesses: Ernst Roets, Deputy Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of AfriForum and Dr Anne-Marie Gray, an arts education lecturer who had completed her Master's dissertation on liberation songs at the University of the Free State (then called University of the Orange Free State) in 1996.

The ANC and Malema argued that AfriForum lodged the complaint specifically because Malema sang the song. The case was therefore more about Malema than about the song. The ANC also argued that the song was part of the heritage and history of the struggle and that it commemorated the struggle. It was not aimed at individuals, but rather at a system of oppression that still existed today. The ANC called Derek Hanekom, Deputy Minister of Science and Technology at the time, Dr Mongane Wally Serote, poet, writer and former CEO of Freedom Park, Gwede Mantashe, Secretary-General of the ANC, Collins Chabane, a musician and Minister in the Presidency at the time, and Malema himself.

In my analysis, I considered that the trial took place in a particular historical moment that has passed. The arguments presented in court reflected the view of participants at that specific time. Circumstances are now very different. Malema has since been expelled from the ANC and formed the EFF, and would not portray himself in the same manner as he did during the trial, when he was still President of the ANCYL.

The participants: AfriForum and Malema

AfriForum describes itself as a non-profit institution with the "aim of protecting the rights of minorities… [with] a specific focus on the rights of Afrikaners" (AfriForum, n.d. a). The organisation was founded in 2006, and during the trial it claimed that it had approximately 20 000 members (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:98, 102). Campaigns initiated by AfriForum also reflect its focus on 'Afrikaners'. The organisation campaigns against farm murders and

the name change of Pretoria to Tshwane – both issues are of huge importance to 'Afrikaners' (AfriForum, n.d. c & Kriel, 2013).

Malema was elected President of the ANC Youth League in April 2008. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Jacob Zuma's campaign to become the country's President and told a rally in June 2008: "We are prepared to take up arms and kill for Zuma". In March 2010, Malema was convicted of hate speech for comments he made to students in 2009 about Zuma's rape accuser. Malema said: "When a woman didn't enjoy it, she leaves early in the morning. Those who had a nice time will wait until the sun comes out, request breakfast and ask for taxi money". During the same month, he sang *Dubula ibhunu* (Bauer, 2011; *IOL*, 2010a & Shoba, 2012). As discussed in Chapter Three, Malema thrived in the post-apartheid landscape in which Posel argues that "politics-as-spectacle… emerged as the dominant popular imaginary of political life". He played the role of the "angry, unruly bad boy". His "political messages were akin to slogans – populist précis – perfectly suited to media repertoires of punchy sound-bytes, and irresistible material for emotional exchanges of views aired repeatedly on any number of talk shows" (Posel, 2014:31, 36, 41).[113]

In April 2010, Malema visited Zimbabwe, where he joined Zanu-PF supporters and Zimbabwean government officials who sang *Dubula ibhunu* on his arrival in Harare (Bailey & Moyo, 2010 & *IOL*, 2010a).[114] Later that month, Malema called British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) journalist Jonah Fisher a "bloody agent" at a press conference. In reaction, Zuma said Malema's behaviour was "alien to the ANC". Malema was charged with bringing the ANC and the government into disrepute for publicly supporting Mugabe's Zanu-PF party, his comments to Fisher and his comparison of Zuma to former President Thabo Mbeki, but entered into a plea bargain. In July 2011, Malema said regime change was needed in Botswana and labelled President Ian Khama a "puppet" of the United States of America. The ANC charged Malema with sowing divisions in the party and bringing it into disrepute. In

[113] See Hyde-Clark (2011) for an analysis of media coverage relating to Malema. Hyde-Clark examined media reports featuring Malema in English South African newspapers between January 1, 2009 and June 30, 2010, which includes the period when Malema sang *Dubula ibhunu*.

[114] The singing of *Dubula ibhunu* in Zimbabwe took place twelve hours after Malema was interdicted by the Pretoria High Court on April 1, 2010 from singing it. Malema was barred from singing it after AfriForum and agricultural union TAU-SA applied for an interdict to stop Malema from singing *Dubula ibhunu*, after he refused to apologise for singing the song. The order was a provisional one and would only be effective until the first day the matter was heard in the Equality Court (Bailey & Moyo 2010; *IOL*, 2010a; *Mail & Guardian*, 2010). The Zimbabwe event did not form part of the hate speech case, as it took place in another country (Lamont, 2011:46). Gunner considers this performance of the song significant: "Through the song, Malema was taking hold of the issue [of land] and making it his own in an international and also regional setting." It drew attention to the shared issue of land reform in both countries, the history of struggle and the role of music in these struggles. The performance of the song was also "replaying the cross-border traffic of political song" of both the South African struggle and the Zimbabwean war of liberation (Gunner, 2015:333-334).

November 2011, Malema was suspended for five years for unfavourably likening the leadership style of Zuma to that of Mbeki, and for his comments on Botswana. In February 2012, the ANC converted his suspension to an expulsion (Bailey & Moyo, 2010; Bauer, 2011; *IOL*, 2010a & *IOL*, 2010b).

The *Dubula ibhunu* trial was broadcast live (Sapa, 2011b). The lawyers and witnesses were thus not just trying to convince the judge of the merits of their arguments, but were also 'performing' for the broader public watching the trial. This is significant in understanding the arguments raised in the court, as the different parties were not only presenting views directly pertaining to the song, but were also using the opportunity to convey specific messages to their supporters or to those they wanted to attract as supporters or members. The trial became a public stage to address South Africans – this sheds light on why participants attached so much importance to creating specific genealogies and identities for themselves and for their opponents.

Recreating a new genealogy

The identity of participants created during the trial played a significant role in the case. Malema's public persona was central to the case with Mantashe arguing that a degree of "Malema phobia" was present among 'Afrikaner' leaders (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:856). Hanekom's identity as an "Afrikaans-speaking person" was also noteworthy, as it illustrated important questions regarding the identity of those that call themselves 'Afrikaners' and those that prefer the term 'Afrikaans-speaking'.

AfriForum used the identity it ascribed to Malema to argue its case. Malema was described by Advocate Martin Brassey as "obdurately defiant", and an "influential and controversial political leader in a high position". Brassey argued that Malema had "the tendencies of a demagogue" who expressed "race-based resentment against white people". Roets referred to Malema as a "very prominent political leader... who is viewed as someone who does not have a particular taste for white people". He also claimed that Malema had become "well-known" for his "attacks on white people" and his "statements about violence or killing". AfriForum framed him as a "demagogue" and "rabble-rouser" by referring to his statements on killing for Zuma, his disciplinary problems within the ANC, and his views on land reform and nationalisation (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:46, 54, 77, 84-85, 158, 241, 1031-1035).

The ANC attempted to counter this depiction of Malema by portraying him as a reasonable man. His testimony in court was certainly much more composed than his usual performance

at political rallies. The tone of his testimony was guided by the conventions of court, which does not allow the witness to act like he would at a political rally. When Malema made speeches as ANCYL President, he would often become animated, shouting loudly and appearing quite fanatical. His composed performance was possibly also part of an act to portray himself as a rational person who would never call for the killing of anyone. According to Forde (2011:20), Malema "took the stand with confidence. His tone was calm, his argument coherent… not once did he allow his cage to be rattled". The ANC also attempted to project Malema as a man who did in fact, in contrast to the testimony of Roets, have a particular taste for white people by referring to his visit to the 'Afrikaner' cultural separatist town of Orania in the Northern Cape where Malema said he ate "koeksisters"[115] (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:990-993).

Malema also attempted to craft his own identity throughout the case. He portrayed himself as a freedom fighter and struggle veteran. Forde (2011:19-20) argues that the hate speech trial "played right into his lap". The trial gave Malema "political legitimacy" he did not have "because the court plays a pivotal role in ANC struggle and contemporary history". Struggle veterans, such as Mandela and Ahmed Kathrada, all fought court battles during apartheid. Zuma had also appeared in court in post-apartheid South Africa. Now Malema would have his chance. His performance in court linked him in an extremely potent way to the iconic image of an ANC leader in court as he "became the custodian of ANC struggle songs".

Malema delivered a potent performance in court. He spoke about joining the ANC at a very young age. Song was described as forming an important part of his political education, but his training also went further, involving learning how to use a fire-arm. Drawing on Portelli (2006), I am not looking at finding the 'facts' in Malema's testimony. I am much more interested in why he said certain things, how he said it and what that can tell us about the present.

"I have been in the movement, My Lord, from when I was nine years. Nine years of age. Part of the things they taught me was the songs. At nine, they could not teach us politics, they taught us songs. They taught us salutations, how to salute the leadership, how to shout ANC slogans and I was part of, after that, that period we called it young pioneers, *mashupatsela* [sic]. And then from there, I was a marshal, I was trained marshal of the ANC, who his primary responsibility was crowd control. But I was also trained to use a firearm. In fact, when I was between 11 and 12, they taught me how to use a firearm and the discipline that goes with a firearm" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:1004).

[115] A confectionery made of fried dough infused in syrup.

Malema's testimony is rich with meaning. By repeating that he was nine years old when he joined the ANC, Malema was aiming to gain maximum impact from the statement of just how young he was when he became involved in politics. He told the court that his political education took place in a structured way and that song played a significant role in this process. Song was the first part in a military training that was to culminate in teaching him to use a firearm. Malema might also be pointing to the importance of history and ideas being transmitted orally in 'black' communities, in contrast to 'white' ways of educating children – an argument that would be raised in defence of the song, as I show later. (See pp. 133-135). By using the words "trained", "responsibility" and "control", Malema was depicting himself as someone who was a self-controlled, disciplined and responsible individual, especially when it came to using a firearm. This was a quite a different image from the impression created by the song, with its repeated *Dubula!* accompanied by the gesture of pointing a gun, or of the unruly "demagogue" and "rabble-rouser" as AfriForum was framing him. There was, however, also a warning from Malema: He was a trained soldier and knew how to use a firearm.

Malema also went on to speak about the assassination of Chris Hani, General-Secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), on 10 April 1993. The country was on a knife-edge after his assassination, with two right-wingers ─ Conservative Party Member of Parliament Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus, a Polish immigrant ─ arrested for the murder (Hennop, 2003). "At 13 I came to bury Chris Hani. 350 something kilometres away from my home. My first time in Jo'burg, it was when I came to bury Chris Hani. I was armed. I had a firearm. At that age I was 13, I had a firearm" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:1005).

Again, Malema emphasised his age. He was barely a teenager and had to bear arms. He was questioning the kind of society that forced a thirteen-year-old to carry a gun. He was also showing how profoundly different his childhood was to those of AfriForum's supporters. Society did not force them to join a political movement when they were nine years old, or to attend a funeral, carrying a fire-arm, at thirteen.

Malema was furthermore establishing a connection between Hani and himself by telling the court that he had the privilege of being allowed to bury him. His testimony could be influenced by the significance attached to struggle credentials in post-apartheid South Africa. Malema likely felt it was important for his success as a politician to have a strong anchor in the struggle against apartheid. At that stage, Malema was President of the ANCYL and had a bright future in the ANC. The trial, argues Forde, (2011:20), who does not specifically refer to Malema's

testimony about Hani, gave Malema "an extraordinary boost" ahead of the ANC Youth League elections two months later, where he stood for re-election as President.[116]

By referring to Hani, Malema was portraying himself ─ to a large audience watching the live broadcast of the trial or following it through media coverage ─ as a leader following in Hani's footsteps and attempting to legitimise his own position by sketching himself as an heir to Hani, who was murdered on the eve of South Africa's democratic transition. Marschall (2006:185-186) refers to how 'heroes' from the past are utilised in contemporary circumstances. She argues that current leaders use heroes to "create a carefully selected genealogy for themselves". "The heroes of the past are the ancestors, not biologically but ideologically and morally, to the leaders of the present." Malema wanted to present himself as a martyr who was being persecuted for refusing to stop singing a struggle song, akin to Hani, who was a "charming, passionate and charismatic" leader who "attracted a cult-like following", and was widely feared by the 'Afrikaner' right-wing (SAHO, n.d. f). His testimony revealed the contests for positions within the ANC, as he was trying to stake his claim to a leadership position in the ruling party.

In her work on Malema's deployment of the song, Gunner (2015:332) refers to an interview in which Malema spoke about joining the ANC at a young age and being drawn to the movement by song. She does not refer to his court testimony, discussed above. Malema's descriptions in the interview excerpts included by Gunner are, however, very different to his court testimony and do not include the references to receiving training and learning how to use a firearm. In the interview, originally published in *The Coming Revolution: Julius Malema and the Fight for Economic Freedom,* Malema said: "Look, we were attracted to the movement at the age of nine or so and first we were attracted by the type of songs they sing and the energy they display when they sing these songs… ja, so, and then there was a guy who came from MK, [Umkhonto we Sizwe] called Freddie Ramaphakela, who then started organising us as Young Pioneers and then started teaching us songs, started teaching us poems…" (Smith, 2014:211-212).

Gunner uses Malema's interview to conclude that songs were deeply ingrained in Malema. They "were part of the repertoire of imagining the meaning of liberation, and the texture of its language". Songs were part of his political education and were "being passed on from an older to a younger generation" (Gunner, 2015:332). By describing the process in this way, Gunner

[116] Malema was re-elected unopposed in June 2011 (Bauer, 2011).

is depicting it as organic, as discussed in Chapter One. (See pp. 28-29). Song was merely being transmitted – it did not change during this process.

Malema was not the only one trying to create a favourable genealogy for himself. AfriForum attempted to use Mandela as its forefather. AfriForum's questioning to Hanekom and Serote regarding what the reaction would have been if Mandela had sung *Dubula ibhunu* after South Africa's victory in the 1995 Rugby World Cup (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:599, 787-789), was also an attempt to portray the organisation as following in the footsteps of the iconic struggle hero. Mandela, the 'founding father' of South Africa, is seen as the embodiment of the spirit of reconciliation after 1994. By referring to Mandela, AfriForum was arguing that it was merely practising Mandela's reconciliation as the former president would never have sung such a song. The organisation also wanted to remind the ANC to follow the example of its most iconic leader not to sing *Dubula ibhunu* and was rebuking Malema for not emulating Mandela's approach of reconciliation.

AfriForum's creation of their genealogy was, however, complicated. As mentioned earlier, they were not only claiming Mandela as their ancestor, but also the 'Afrikaner' hero, Piet Retief, who was killed with his companions in 1838 by warriors of the Zulu king Dingane. AfriForum attempted to portray itself as the heir to the Voortrekker leader who would likely be greatly admired by AfriForum's supporters. According to Thompson, the Great Trek "was the central theme in the Afrikaner nationalist mythology". Retief formed part of this mythology as he was portrayed as a hero "larger than life" in historical writings about the Great Trek that shaped 'Afrikaner' mythology (Thompson, 1985:36, 180-181). According to Grobler, "a number of myths have become ingrained over time" regarding Retief's death as "Afrikaans historians in particular have traditionally portrayed Retief and his men as the victims of unpardonable treachery on the part of an evil barbarian" (Grobler, 2011:115, 131).[117]

Brassey asked Mantashe: "And just before Piet Retief and his boers were killed on that occasion Dingaan uttered two words, do you remember what that was... I think he said "bulala umtagati" [sic] did he not?"

[117] A court case over a photograph caption in a Sunday newspaper illustrated the potency of the perceptions surrounding Retief's death. Zuma sued Media24 and former *Rapport* editor Tim du Plessis for R5-million after the newspaper published a photograph in December 2007 of Zuma braaiing with singer Steve Hofmeyr and comedian Leon Schuster. The text above the photograph read: "*Piekniek by Dingaan*" (Picnic at Dingaan's). Zuma filed a claim in 2010, claiming that the suggestion harmed his dignity and reputation as it implied that he was similar to Dingane, who had "pretended to befriend the Afrikaners while he had in fact plotted to kill them" (Samodien, 2013). The case was later dismissed after Zuma failed to respond to an interim court order which required him to submit specific documents (Sapa, 2013).

Mantashe answered: “Yes “bulala umtagati” [sic]”.

Brassey asked: “That is kill the wizards?”

Mantashe answered: “Yes witch, yes” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:878-879).

Retief’s death was not the only seminal ‘Afrikaner’ ‘event’ that was reactivated during the trial. Several other ‘events’ of significance in ‘Afrikaner’ history, including the 1838 Vow (relating to an oath by the ‘Afrikaner’ commando that if God gave them victory against the Zulu army in the battle that followed Retief’s murder, they would commemorate the anniversary of the triumph),[118] the Great Trek, and the South African War, were deployed and mobilised by the different parties for multiple reasons, most of which were likely related to their court strategies, as I show in my analysis. The depiction of these events before and during the apartheid era played a significant role in strengthening ‘Afrikaner’ nationalism (Thompson, 1985:39, 144,180-181 & Thompson, 1995:145, 162, 198).

Events and personalities that are part of the ‘Afrikaner’ foundation myth were not the only ones utilised during the trial. The foundation myth of post-1994 South Africa also emerged. The two foundation myths, however, intersected and were brought into conversation with each another. The testimony of one of TAU-SA’s witnesses bought to the fore how the two foundation myths interacted during the trial. In his testimony on the meaning of the word ‘Boer’,[119] Professor Danie Goosen, Chairperson of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK, or

[118] The sixteenth of December had previously been known as Dingane’s Day’s, but in 1952 the name was changed to the Day of the Covenant. In 1980, it was renamed Day of the Vow (Thompson, 1985:144). After the democratic elections in 1994, the public holiday was renamed Day of Reconciliation. It was celebrated for the first time in 1995 (South African Government, n.d. a).

[119] Goosen used the words ‘Afrikaner’ and ‘Boer’ as synonyms and labelled the two terms “equivalent terms”. He said that “the Afrikaners or Boere would refer to a specific community, a specific cultural community that had its beginnings at the commencement of the 18th century”. According to Goosen, this “community” only started referring to themselves as ‘Boere’ during the Great Trek. Despite Goosen testifying that the words ‘Afrikaner’ and ‘Boer’ were “equivalent terms” he claimed that the word ‘Boer’ “gained a controversial meaning amongst Afrikaners”. “A certain segment of the community preferred to refer to themselves as Afrikaners, whereas another segment preferred to refer to themselves as Boers… the concept Boer still had a strong political meaning”. According to Goosen, the word ‘Boer’ did not only have a political meaning, but had also attained a “nostalgically heroic meaning” among younger ‘Afrikaners’ in the past decade. Referring to the South African War, Goosen said. “With the concept Boer, the young people specifically do not refer to apartheid, but they refer to the heroic fight that the Boers fought against the imperial governments, especially England or the British” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:439-441, 457). Roets testified that ‘Boer’ could refer to farmers, but also to “white people or to Afrikaners”. He specifically referred to the Anglo-Boer War between the British and the two Boer republics as an example of the term. According to Roets, the word ‘Boer’ also had a “derogatory” meaning. “Well the word “boer” is a word that in my opinion has various, can be seen, can be viewed differently according to the context in which it is used. There are times when I would use the word, the word and say for example, “*Die boere is ongelukkig*”, which is sort of an informal way of saying, of referring to people, but I do think that the word “boer” also has a derogatory context which I view also in certain context when it is, when I am referred to as a “boer” that it can be seen to a certain extent as similar to the “K” word that white people used toward black people” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:101-102, 189).

Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations),[120] said that this "community" only started referring to themselves as 'Boere' during the Great Trek. "What is exceptional is that these republics in which the Boers formed themselves were then known as Boer republics, and therefore the concept Boer gained a political meaning. Then also emphasis must be placed on the fact that during the two liberation wars that the Boers fought against the English. As a result of these two wars the concept Boer then also gained a heroic, a military heroic meaning apart from the political meaning" (AfriForum vs Malema 2011:439-440).

He called the two wars against the British "liberation wars", which was an attempt to draw a parallel with the liberation struggle against apartheid. It illustrated the conversation between the two freedom discourses of AfriForum and TAU SA, and the ANC. It is important to note that Goosen referred to the Great Trek and the South African War – both events were central in the creation of a foundation myth for the 'Afrikaner' nation and would become powerful tools to strengthen 'Afrikaner' nationalism.[121]

Advocate Vincent Maleka, acting on behalf of the ANC and Malema, also asked Goosen whether he was aware that people involved in the struggle used the word 'Boer' to "achieve political emancipation". Goosen replied by saying that that use of the term was a "strange phenomenon" and "strong paradox" because of the meaning of freedom he attached to the word (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:461-462).

"The Afrikaners have great sympathy for… [the] freedom ideals of… [the] majority, and acknowledge that... the Afrikaners always found it a strange phenomenon, because in the mind of the Afrikaner the concept Boer always had a connotation to do with freedom... The paradox of the South African history is based on the foundation that the freedom struggle of the Afrikaner was one in which he sought control of himself. But then as a part of this apartheid evolved as a phenomenon which oppressed freedom. And indeed Your Lordship, this is precisely the dilemma where the concept Boer is seen as a freedom fighter on one hand, and then on the other hand as an oppressor" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:461-462, 465).

[120] The FAK is an umbrella body of Afrikaans cultural organisations. It was formed in 1929. On its website, it is described as providing a home for the Afrikaans language and culture and promoting the proud Afrikaner history in a positive way (FAK, n.d.). Like AfriForum and the trade union Solidarity, it forms part of the Solidariteit Beweging (Solidarity Movement), an umbrella organisation (Van Dyk, 2017).

[121] The South African War, including the concentration camps, "gave Afrikaner nationalism a powerful stimulus" as the majority of 'Afrikaners' "retained an indelible conviction that their cause had been just". According to Thompson, the centennial commemoration of the Great Trek also played an important part in strengthening 'Afrikaner' nationalism. The highlight of the Great Trek celebrations in 1938 was the laying of a foundation stone at the site of the Voortrekker Monument. Speakers described the Voortrekkers as heroes portraying them with the required characteristics "to promote the nationalist cause" (Thompson, 1995:145, 162).

Goosen referred to the “freedom struggle” to draw a comparison with the struggle against apartheid. It reflected the two freedom discourses that were in conversation during the trial.

On the ANC’s side, Malema’s identity was not the only form of identity that played a role in the trial. Hanekom was the ANC’s first witness. This was no coincidence. He is an Afrikaans-speaking person which was significant for the ANC, as it countered AfriForum’s monopoly on the voice of the ‘Afrikaner’.

Maleka asked: “Do you consider yourself an Afrikaner of this country?” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:562).

Hanekom answered: “My Lord, partly, there is some debate amongst Afrikaans-speaking people whether they want to describe themselves as Afrikaners, so the majority of many Afrikaans-speaking people in our country actually do not describe themselves as Afrikaners. There are many Afrikaans-speaking people in our country who are not white for that matter. So I certainly describe myself and am an Afrikaans-speaking person, but I am also an English-speaking person... But I have no problem with the identity, if somebody wishes to refer to me as Afrikaner, I do not have discomfort about that, but I am an Afrikaans-speaking person” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:562-563).

When asked about his cultural background, Hanekom said: “I went to an Afrikaans school, I played rugby, I played cricket, I did the things that other young Afrikaans people might do, so I suppose that would be my cultural background” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:563).

Advocate Roelof du Plessis, on behalf of TAU SA, also referred to Hanekom’s identity. Du Plessis asked: “Mr Hanekom you are not an Afrikaner, am I correct?” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:673).

Hanekom answered: “If you, it depends entirely how you define Afrikaner of course. If you think I am not an Afrikaner you are free to do so, but I made it clear to this court that many Afrikaans-speaking people choose not to call themselves Afrikaners. I choose not to call myself an Afrikaner, but I do consider myself an Afrikaans-speaking person… Therefore I do not consider myself to be an Afrikaner” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:673).

Hanekom, an ANC member and a Deputy Minister in the government, was suggesting that although he spoke Afrikaans and played rugby and cricket at school, he was not the kind of

‘Afrikaner’ AfriForum or TAU SA was representing. He still, however, had the right to speak as an ‘Afrikaner’.

During the trial, it became clear that the participants felt that identity mattered. Through their testimonies they attempted to create specific ones. The manufacturing of these identities was also influenced by the audience watching the live broadcast. Malema tried to portray himself as the heir to Hani and as a struggle veteran – this could be influenced by ANC politics and the ANCYL elections that were to take place two months after the trial. Although Hanekom’s identity as an ‘Afrikaner’/Afrikaans-speaking person was utilised by the different parties, ethnic identities were largely not utilised. Malema himself almost seemed to reject the idea of ethnic identities, despite mobilising those identities in other battles, for example when he defended South Africa’s 800-metre athlete Caster Semenya by saying that the word hermaphrodite did not exist in Pedi (Tromp, Mtshali, Gerretsen & Mbanjwa, 2009). Instead, during the trial Malema referred to engagements he had with ‘Afrikaners’. He wanted to show that he did not hate ‘Afrikaners’ and was willing to eat *koeksisters* with those living in the separatist town of Oriana. AfriForum reactivated a potent ‘event’ – the killing of Retief by Dingane – that it knew would resonate strongly with its supporters. However, it also moved away from an ethnic framing of identity and did not place all its faith in old ‘Afrikaner’ heroes, whose strength it likely knew was starting to fade. Instead, AfriForum tried to sketch itself as a follower of Mandela’s reconciliation vision.

An unlikely consensus

Manufactured genealogies were not the only tactic employed during the trial to get the upper hand. Ideas and beliefs around history and heritage, as well as different forms of commemoration, were also employed by both parties to outfox each other.

The lawyers and witnesses of both AfriForum and the ANC used the two words (history and heritage) interchangeably, which was not unexpected as the differences between the fields are often not recognised by people outside the academic environment. A closer look into how the two parties used the terms suggests specific attitudes and beliefs regarding both fields as well as the objects and events being described. As discussed in Chapter Two, the ANC used both history and heritage to describe song. However, conflating history and heritage benefitted the ANC, as struggle songs could be defended through arguments associated with both fields. Struggle songs had a double defence, as their deployment could be justified through the emotional and personal appeal and sense of belonging associated with heritage, or the unquestionable authority that is attributed to history.

Hanekom said songs “represent part of our heritage, part of our history”. He called the song a “historical” song and a “heritage song”. Mantashe also used both terms: “We made that offer that let us discuss this issue rather than trying to erase our history, let us find a way of making that understanding and work together in ensuring that we reconcile and preserve our history and heritage” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:566, 593, 632, 855-856).

Mantashe was equating *Dubula ibhunu* with history. If the song were to be banned, it would lead to an erasure of history, he argued. His testimony also reflected a defence linked to both heritage and history – by using the word “our”, Mantashe was evoking the personal nature of heritage. The ANC’s witnesses often used the word “our” when referring to the fact that songs were part of their heritage. This suggested a powerful personal and a particular collective connection – an implicit ANC one – to songs as heritage. Mantashe’s reference to the preserving of history refers to the authority of history that one cannot change or question.

In contrast, AfriForum largely used the term ‘history’ to describe the song. Only twice did its witnesses describe songs or the specific song as heritage.[122] AfriForum repeatedly pointed out that it recognised the song as history and that its case was not about destroying history. AfriForum’s insistence that its case was not about destroying history should also be seen in the context of a trial tactic to try and win the case: AfriForum realised that advocating for the destruction of history would be seen as unacceptable considering South Africa’s oppressive past. Arguing that the song was not history or that history could be destroyed would thus be a risky court strategy to follow. It could furthermore also boomerang as the ANC could then later employ the same argument against symbols of ‘Afrikaner’ history valued by AfriForum and its members. AfriForum’s own Civil Rights Charter argues against such an approach: “Criminalising the history of a community and disowning place names and monuments that are crucial to the heritage of a community are acts of disparagement and disrespect” (AfriForum, n.d. b:7). They could also, however, have been subscribing to the idea that every group is entitled to its own history. This idea was prevalent during the trial: The different parties did not attack each other’s idea of history. For example, when AfriForum referred to Retief’s

[122] Roets described the song as heritage, after Advocate Vincent Maleka, acting on behalf of the ANC and Malema, used the word heritage in a question to Roets. In reference to testimony from Serote, Maleka said: “And he will tell His Lordship how he as a member of Umkhonto weSizwe sung these songs which include the words that you complain about and he will also tell the Court that these songs are part and parcel of our heritage and that they should be preserved and not banned. Will you have difficulty with the suggestion of our heritage ought not to become the subject of a banning order?” Roets answered: “We, with this court case we are not trying to ban heritage, we are trying to implement, to have, to address the frustrations of our members and to implement the Constitution and the relevant legislation effectively…” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:235). Gray described songs as part of the “proud heritage of the ANC”. However, in this instance she was referring more generally to struggle songs, which she describes as “very, very different” to a chant such as *Dubula ibhunu* (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:282-283). Brassey also referred to the song as heritage when asking whether its lyrics could change. I discuss this later. (See p. 139).

killing, the ANC did not argue that he was not the innocent hero he had been portrayed as in 'Afrikaner' history.

In his opening address Brassey said: "The second thing that is suggested of AfriForum in this case is that we seek to erase history in some extraordinary way. May I say to Your Lordship equivocally that we seek no such erasure. We do [not] for a moment contend that there are not context[s] in which this particular singing of this particular song might be appropriate or the articulation of the content of the song might be appropriate. One can see that, and we do not want to seem unduly limiting by the examples that I give, one can see that potentially in the citation of the song in historical societies, in educational seminars, in history classes, and I suppose appropriately depending on the context, even when one captures the past at funerals of people who powerfully were engaged in the struggle, where that commemoration is appropriately dealt with in a proper context" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:84).

Although Brassey's arguments, in a similar fashion to the ANC, reflected the idea that history could not be questioned, he used the concept of history not to defend struggle songs, but to consign the songs to the past and make it antiquarian. He did not acknowledge the role of song at political rallies, strikes and commemorative events in contemporary South Africa.

He repeated this: "My client has no desire to do that, to tamper with history. He has no desire to erase the song, has no desire to tread on history and is eminently respectful of the history. Indeed the history of the struggle... So they ['Afrikaners'] have a very keen sense of what it is to be oppressed and no doubt some of them have a keen sense of what it is to be oppressors" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:871).

Brassey's arguments illustrated the view that one could not change or destroy history. History is history. It indicated a reverence for the holiness of history. It also revealed the common assumption that there was in fact a common idea of history which one must respect.

Roets testified in the same vein: "We are not trying to erase this song from history, we are not trying to ban the existence of this song, we are trying to, we are hoping to receive a court order that this particular song or other songs with similar wordings are in fact hate speech and that these songs can still be known in history books and in museums, we can still learn from this song, we can still know that this song exists, but as far as the post-1994 Constitution of South Africa or democratic South Africa is concerned that there is no, there is not place for songs like this in the new South Africa" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:146-147).

Roets wanted the museum to do the memory-work so this song would not have to exist in the political landscape. Maleka argued that the song could not survive the requirements that AfriForum suggested for its continued existence. He argued this point by questioning Roets about the nature of history.

Roets replied: “History is also very important for me and from the culture of where I am a part of”.

Maleka said that history “is not there merely for the sake of being there”, but that it educates and informs people about their background.

Maleka asked Roets: “Do you accept that this song is part of the history of the liberation struggle in this country?”

Roets answered: “Yes, I accept that”.

Maleka asked: “Do you accept that we have to teach our children, our grandchildren and many others that will follow us about the history of the struggle?”

“Yes, we do,” answered Roets.

Maleka asked: “Now if you say that you do not want to ban this song from history how do you expect that we should teach our children about this song, this part of the liberation struggle?”

Roets replied: “I think we can still teach our children about this song in the form of history books, in the form of museums and so forth, even if we, if there were to be a, let us give an example, a play, a musical play or something like that about the history of South Africa then I think it is very relevant that people should know that there is such a song and that there are many other songs that was used during the struggle against apartheid”.

Maleka asked: “This song, the words that you want the Court to ban relates to a song, are you suggesting that we can teach our children about this song without singing it?”

Roets answered: “To a certain extent, yes. What I mean by that is I do not think that we need to sing this song as a political song to supporters in a post-1994 regime where we have a Constitution with very particular references to what freedom of speech is and what freedom of speech is not” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:147-148).

Both AfriForum and the ANC agreed that history could not be destroyed, and that history is incontestable. They agreed that history was important and that the past should be commemorated. However, as I pointed out above, this reverence for history was likely influenced by their respective strategies to win the case. The ANC hoped to use the song's status as history so that it could continue deploying it, while AfriForum believed that by admitting that the song was part of history, it would make its calls for it to be declared hate speech more acceptable. The parties cloaked their dispute in the commemoration argument. This approach was effective, however, as it was based on a consensus, with both parties subscribing to a set of principles regarding the importance and indisputable nature of history and the right to commemoration.

Roets and Brassey argued that the song could be commemorated in historical societies, seminars, classes, books, museums and possibly funerals. Their arguments reflected the idea that the history of white people is commemorated in books and museums. It also gave them an air of sanctification: It was a way of saying they respect the ANC's history – while wanting to disable it. AfriForum wanted the history of black people to conform to the commemoration practices of 'white' history. Thus, the song should be in a museum, where history belongs. However, Maleka argued that it would be impossible to commemorate the song without singing it, as 'black' history is oral history, told through vibrant and dynamic songs.

After the end of apartheid, intangible heritage has become "politically acceptable, even attractive, in the attempt to insert new interpretations onto the colonial landscape". Oral histories, specifically those associated with the struggle against apartheid, were acknowledged even before 1994 as a significant component of South Africa's anti-colonial heritage. Recognising the oral history of the struggle "supports the government policy of reconciliation, redress and reconstruction" as it assists the state "to underline the commonality of all South Africans' experiences while recognising the suffering of the majority of black South Africans" (Deacon, 2004:311-312).

Before 1994, white people were shown as having history, while black people were depicted as having 'culture' and generally portrayed in a crude and largely offensive way in official history textbooks and museums. Although a "small but vigorous archive of resistance" existed by the 1980s which included oral history projects, archives concentrated on gathering written materials that came from the government or white individuals or bodies (Deacon, Mngqolo & Prosalendis, 2003:8-9). Museums and books therefore became the way in which 'white' history was commemorated.

This vein of history had a significant influence on the arguments in court. Struggle songs were viewed by the ANC's witnesses as being part of the intangible heritage that could "insert new interpretations onto the colonial landscape", specifically in terms of commemorative practices. Throughout the trial they rejected colonial forms of commemoration which determined preserving the song in a museum. Serote also emphasised how he himself and the ANC had practised reconciliation towards 'Afrikaner' heritage.

After the court declared the song hate speech, Ayanda Dlodlo, at the time Secretary-General of the Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association (MKMVA), vehemently rejected commemorating *Dubula ibhunu* in the manner that AfriForum was proposing, suggesting that it would equate to a burial of struggle songs. "These revolutionary songs were never to be interred in the archives of universities or heritage shrines," she said in the ANC's online newsletter, *ANC Today* (Dlodlo, 2011).

Dlodlo's comments during an interview on June 22, 2016 suggested a distinction between possible memorialisation attempts aimed at preserving song, and the performances of song by musical groups at political rallies, which she describes as "keeping… songs alive" (Dlodlo, 2016). This reflects the notion that formal commemoration efforts are not able to accommodate the active, vibrant nature of song, which is more at home in political gatherings. "I think having them memorialised in whatever way is the way to go, but also keeping them alive is also a way to go," Dlodlo said. Preservation efforts suggested by Dlodlo included recordings of songs by artists such as Don Laka (Dlodlo, 2016).[123]

Serote, the ANC's second witness, was asked about the notion of preserving the song in a museum or a book.

He answered by criticising Bantu education:

"Well two things about that. First of all it is African culture to sing, the world knows that and why not adopt it at that moment of mobilisation... We did. We adopted that. But the second thing is that we must remember something. Bantu education de-educated our people and therefore we had to find a manner where people who do not read, cannot read to have content of the struggle within their reach and means which they can use to understand what is going

[123] Laka released an album of struggle songs, entitled *Heritage*, in 2011. Laka said "the songs have become our heritage. My aim is not to open old wounds or remind people of the past, but to archive them for future generations" (Bambalele, 2011).

on, not only in South Africa on the African continent and in the world" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:757-758).

He also referred to culture.

"Well, what is culture? Simply put culture is… to interact with each other on a common understanding. That is culture. How can you bend that? What do you do? How are people going to be organised? How are people going to relate to each other if you bend those rules?" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:758).

Serote was arguing that the song was part of African culture, and that one could not restrict how people practised their culture. His testimony echoed Brassey's arguments regarding the fact that AfriForum did not want to "tamper with history". Serote was arguing that culture was inflexible; one could not tamper with it, or change it. Serote also used the opportunity to criticise the system of Bantu education and colonialism. His testimony about the role of song during the struggle emphasised the view that 'black' history was oral in nature.

Chabane also referred to the role of song as part of cultural heritage. "Generally it is a known fact, and I think even those who are experts will confirm that, that African societies, part of their cultural heritage is their ability to sing and dance. And therefore, even at the time when they are grieving, at the time when they are happy, even when they are at war..." (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:956).

The trial strategies employed by both AfriForum and the ANC seemed to have converged around the consensus reached about history: The song was part of history. History was about real events and could thus not be contested. The extent of their dispute was reduced to one centred around different commemorative practices associated with 'black' history, which is oral and dynamic, and 'white' history, preserved in the museum. However, the truce built on this respect for history would not last and, as I show below, cracks would begin to emerge in the consensus.

The consensus starts to crumble

Although AfriForum maintained that its case was not about destroying history and that it recognised the song as history, the testimony of its expert witness, Anne-Marie Gray, made two arguments aimed at diminishing the value of the song. Firstly, she testified that *Dubula ibhunu* was not a song, but a chant that had no musical value. It was thus not, like the 'real'

struggle songs, part of the ANC's heritage or a significant historical document. Secondly, she testified that she had heard *Dubula ibhunu* for the first time in 2010 when Malema started singing it. The song was thus not old and was not created during the struggle. The importance attached to when the song first emerged draws on ideas that something must be old to be classified as history or heritage.

Gray testified: "You know I have a real problem with calling that a song... That is a chant. It is like after 1980, a chant with a lot of movement you know, and gestures. It is really very different to the music from the beginning of the century as it evolved up to 1980. It is very different. Those were songs which are very much part, a proud heritage of the ANC, because they tell stories about what was happening, because they were in response to a certain socio-political circumstance. And they were very meaningful… It is talking about Luthuli, it is talking about Verwoerd, you know the songs like that" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:282-283).

According to Gray, songs are "important historical documents". She testified: "If you had to tell me that any of the songs with the historical and socio-political commentary that mirrored conditions in South Africa, if they were lost I would say it is very sad". In contrast: "I do not think any chants can, you know are of musical value, that if they get lost it has got any – the country is sadder for it" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:271, 287-288).[124]

Gray's argument that a chant did not have musical value could be a deliberate strategy, privileging western harmony, to describe *Dubula ibhunu* as a chant and not a song and in this way, make it less valuable.[125] Her use of the words "I think" could be a way of asserting her specialist opinion as an expert. By describing song as mirroring reality, Gray did do not acknowledge the agency of song or the multiple meanings of song in different periods. Her view that the country would not be sadder if chants were lost furthermore suggested that a collective heritage existed and ignored the contests around heritage.

Secondly, Gray also testified that the first time she heard the song was when Malema sang it in 2010. "This chant, I have never heard it in song. This particular, I have never heard it anywhere, and I would have heard it after the 1980s". When asked if she recognised it when

[124] Interestingly, Gray (1996:110) refers to a statement from former President Thabo Mbeki, made in the *Singing the Changes in South Arica* (1989) film about the importance of chants in her Master's dissertation. She writes that "slogans and chants… were very important in the liberation struggle".
[125] I thank Dr Susan Harrop-Allin who drew my attention to the notion that Gray was utilising ideas around western harmony to create a hierarchy in which the value of a song with such harmonies would be more valuable and deserving of preservation than a chant.

Malema sang it, Gray answered: “No, not at all. Not at all. I recognise it now but I did not… I did not recognise it at all, the first time I heard it” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:286-287).

The repetition of “not at all” indicated a strong commitment to the statement. Gray was making a strong assertion as she stated with great certainty that she had not heard the song before Malema sang it. This meant the song was only a year old. The importance attached to when she first heard it drew on beliefs that something must be old to be considered heritage. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 2003, recognised that intangible heritage is “constantly recreated”, but the idea that something must be old to be recognised as heritage is also acknowledged with intangible heritage described as being “transmitted from generation to generation” (UNESCO, 2003:2). Locally, the National Heritage Resources Act (1999:16) states that “heritage resources have lasting value in their own right and provide evidence of the origins of South African society…every generation has a moral responsibility to act as trustee of the national heritage for succeeding generations”.[126]

ANC witnesses strongly disputed Gray’s academic expertise. When asked about the song, both Serote and Chabane were specific in their answers, providing locations and times when they had heard the song.

Serote said *Dubula ibhunu* was in fact an old song: “I have heard it sung in the camps of the ANC. I heard it sung in Botswana where I was for a very long time. I have heard it when I came into the country here in 1990” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:759). Serote’s repetition of the words “I have heard” and “I heard” is significant. He was emphasising that *Dubula ibhunu* was definitely an old song and that he personally experienced the song during the struggle.

Chabane also testified about the origin of the song. He recorded the song before the 2004 elections. “I am positive… [the] first time that I learnt it [was] in Maputo in 1980. It was s[u]ng in an ANC, it was not a camp, it was just a reception area where all of us [who] were coming

[126] Neither party referred to UNESCO or local heritage policies to strengthen their arguments during the trial. Both parties could have utilised the policies to advance their case. UNESCO’s Convention, for example, specifically recognises “oral traditions and expressions” as intangible cultural heritage domains. It also states that “consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development” (UNESCO, 2003:2). South Africa’s National Heritage Resources Act (1999:8,16) recognises “cultural tradition”, “oral history” and “performance” as part of living heritage. It does not set the kind of criteria that UNESCO sets, but does state that “heritage resources have the capacity to promote reconciliation, understanding and respect, and contribute to the development of a unifying South African identity” and that “heritage resources management must guard against the use of heritage for sectarian purposes or political gain”. Instead of heritage policies, South Africa’s Constitution, including the provision on freedom of expression and equality, and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act No. 4 of 2000, which includes a section on the prohibition of hate speech, featured prominently in the court case.

from the country would be received and stay. And when I landed in the camps in Angola, the first camp I went into, that song was sung. And from there onwards, in almost every occasion, even when I was in prison in the 80s, that song was being sung. So definitely, I am positive that that song would not have been created in 1980, it should have been before" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:954, 957).

Whether the words of songs could change, also became a prominent issue during the trial. Mantashe referred to the fact that some struggle songs were based on the melodies of hymns, but that different lyrics were used (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:866).

In what could be seen as an attempt to lead Mantashe into a trap relating to heritage and the dynamic character of song, Brassey asked him what would happen to a song's heritage status if its words were changed. Although AfriForum mostly referred to the song as history, Brassey used the term 'heritage' here. AfriForum was likely hoping that Mantashe would get tripped up in his testimony which it could then exploit to strengthen its case. It could also suggest that AfriForum subscribes to the idea that heritage is fixed and cannot change.[127]

Brassey asked: "So how do we deal with heritage and this is not a trick question again, how do we deal with heritage in these circumstances?" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:866).

Mantashe answered: "You see a struggle is not static. Struggle is not static, it is always in a state of becoming and songs will be adapted and move on... if you sing songs that are historically there, I do not think you can expunge those words [terms deemed to be derogatory by AfriForum] from the wording" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:867, 877-878).

When asked why Malema did not change the words of *Dubula ibhunu*, Mantashe replied: "My starting point is that he is singing an existing song. The ability to change words in a song is in itself a skill, not everybody does that" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:883).

Chabane testified that a change of words could not be forced. "You use the same tune to insert new words... So there is always that development and evolution of songs... It happens on its own. It is not forced. You do not pass a law that today, tomorrow this song is going to change. People change it as they practise it themselves" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:969).

[127] The National Heritage Resources Act (1999:2), for example, describes heritage as something which "cannot be renewed".

Malema did in fact change the words of *Dubula ibhunu* and sang *Kiss the Boer, kiss the Boer* and *Dubula igwala* (shoot the coward) at an ANCYL conference in KwaZulu-Natal in May 2010 (Sapa, 2010a). He also sang *shoot to kill, shoot to kill... kiss the Boer, kiss the Boer, kiss the Farmer* outside the South Gauteng High Court during the trial (Sapa, 2011c).

Zuma has also referred to the reviewing of lyrics of struggle songs. In April 2012, at a wreath-laying ceremony to pay tribute to Josiah Tshangana Gumede, President-General of the ANC from 1927 to 1930, Zuma said the singing of such songs in a democratic country was "tantamount to making peace with a so-called enemy while waving a weapon". At the ceremony a struggle song, the lyrics of which, when roughly translated, are "We as the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are prepared to kill these Boers" was sung at Gumede's graveside with new lyrics. The new line was "We as the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are prepared to reconcile with these Boers" (Mgaga & Mdletshe, 2012).

The testimony of Gray regarding *Dubula ibhunu* being a chant that she had heard for the first time in 2010 when Malema sang it and the ANC's attempts to refute her claims about its origins revealed how fragile the consensus around history and the song's status as history (and heritage) was. Its shaky foundation would emerge again when the parties deployed ideas around reconciliation, social cohesion and nation-building to fortify their specific positions. I discuss this later. (See pp. 143-152).

The judge's history

The parties were not the only ones using history to make their argument. Judge Colin Lamont also presented his own version of history in his ruling. He began with setting out "some historical facts" (Lamont, 2011:2). Starting his judgment in this manner, illustrated the significance he attached to these "facts". The "two main actors" were the 'Boers' and the ANC. South Africa's history was thus depicted by Lamont as an "ancient struggle between two ethnic and political groups that erupted in violence in the 1980s, that was resolved by the adoption of the Constitution and that no longer has any place in our society". The history presented in the judgment is "reduced simply to a single political conflict" while "the rich and varied cultural, social and political disputes, debates and dialogues both between and within South Africa's many distinct groups are ignored". All disagreements within the Afrikaans-speaking and African 'community' were disregarded (Brown, 2012:317, 320).

The history of the 'Boers' was described as follows by Lamont:

"Several centuries ago people commenced and since then have continued emigrating to the Republic[128] from Europe and elsewhere". This group "brought with them their languages, cultures, moralities, laws and customs". European immigrants "gained control of the country" but "their morality did not recognize others as having rights of any significance". This group of immigrants "proceeded to trample upon the rights of others and seize control of the assets of the Republic for themselves". However, this group was not united: A "faction of the immigrants who had their origin in Holland, France and Germany banded together at a point in time in consequence of conflict between European factions". Lamont referred to the Great Trek, stating that this "faction", known as 'Boers', "left the community of European settlers and went to live on their own… in the pursuit of freedom". After the defeat in the South African War in 1902, the "zeal of that band and their ideal of pursuing their freedom remained intact". Referring to the victory of the National Party in the 1948 elections, Lamont said that "the Boers were able to seize control" and "today are identified as a community or set of persons calling themselves Boere or Afrikaners" (Lamont, 2011:2-3). Lamont's use of "historical facts" demonstrated that he drew on the refrain of freedom found in classic 'Afrikaner' historiography, such as the works of Gustav S. Preller, who portrayed the Great Trek's objective as obtaining freedom from the oppressor (Preller, 1920:148 & Van Jaarsveld, 1964:78-79, 82-83).

The motivation for apartheid was political freedom, stated Lamont (2011:3). "Demonstrating excessive zeal and rigid in their demands for freedom the Boere pursued a policy of apartheid so as to maintain their political freedom". This is also the argument advanced in Hermann Giliomee's *The Afrikaners,* published in 2003. According to Lamont, because the numbers of the 'boers' were fewer than other communities in South Africa, they would have been beaten in democratic elections. Apartheid was thus "the only way to retain control and power". Apartheid "was pursued ruthlessly and with violence sanctioned by the regime… Ultimately the regime became identified with the Boere who virtually, exclusively, controlled the implementation of the policy".

Lamont described the ANC in the following way:

"During the early part of the twentieth century, members of the oppressed groups began banding together. They banded together under the auspices of organisations which broadly speaking became united as the present African National Congress". The ANC "represented…

[128] The Republic of South Africa was only established on May 31, 1961.

the suppressed majority" who "largely comprised black persons". (Lamont, 2011:4). All black resistance to apartheid is thus thrown together under the banner of the ANC (Brown, 2012:318). According to Lamont (2011:4), the policy of the ANC was initially non-violent. However, "with the passage of time and the increasing frustration of its members, the ANC eventually formulated a policy which included violence as an option". ANC members, said Lamont, "who were involved in violence, euphemistically referred to it as the struggle". Those "who participated in the struggle were drawn from all walks of life and comprised civilians". Despite, as Brown (2012:319) points out, the formation of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961, Lamont said there "was no known army wearing a uniform".[129] Consequently, he argued that the "government directed its attacks against civilians… With the passage of time, the frustrations and anger of persons belonging to the suppressed majority, the members of the ANC and non-combatants who suffered attacks, increased" (Lamont, 2011:4-5).

After presenting the "historical facts" about the two parties in the case, Lamont went on to describe South Africa's Constitution, adopted in 1996, as the "agreement between the various communities". The "consequence" of this agreement was that "people who had lived lives separately from each other, who had hurt, tormented and degraded each other and who in particular, were not accustomed to each other in any way commenced associating and interacting with each other… All persons were compelled to interact as a unified society at social, political and economic levels" (Lamont, 2011:6-7). The Constitution, argues Brown, was presented by Lamont as "clos[ing] the book on the events of the past". In Lamont's view, "South African society did not inherit a hangover from the violence of the previous decades and centuries; instead, the Constitution provides us with a tabula rasa" (Brown, 2012:320).

Lamont (2011:6-8) did refer to members of society who "found it difficult to re-adjust and difficult to give up practices and customs which they held near and dear" and that "extreme social conflict resulted from the transformation", but he did not acknowledge the contestations involving South Africa's Constitution which I refer to later. (See p. 145).

[129] Later in the judgment, Lamont (2011:49-50) provided a possible explanation as to why he said there was no known army: "It is apparent that soldiers are not readily identifiable as they would be in the case of a formal army which fights another formal army in uniform. In this country, persons who formed part of the struggle were all those who took steps and acted, in a way, as soldiers. They assisted their fighting members by providing them with support against the regime. The support consisted of emotional and financial support; support by way of providing provisions; support by way of providing hiding places for both persons and arms".

Although both the ANC and AfriForum agreed that history could not altered, Lamont raised the notion that one could change one's "historic customs", and that this process was required after 1994.

"The re-adjustment of society required individuals of the groups to reprogram themselves and their conduct… Historic customs and practices had to be reconsidered and re-adjusted to accord with the newly introduced requirements which the State imposed on society in the form of the Constitution" (Lamont, 2011:7). When commenting on the argument that it would be impossible to impose an interdict banning the song, as "people are passionate about the right to sing the song", Lamont said that "people must pursue new ideals and find a new morality". "They must develop new customs and rejoice in a developing society by giving up old practices which are hurtful to members who live in that society with them" (Lamont, 2011:63). Lamont argued that "old practices" and "historic customs" should in fact be changed. Throughout the trial history was viewed as something that should be revered and could not be changed. Lamont's ruling was thus in opposition to these views.

Social cohesion, nation-building and reconciliation

Social cohesion, nation-building and reconciliation were often mentioned by AfriForum and the ANC in the court case and were examples of assumptions that did ideological work. I draw this conclusion by not merely looking at the court transcripts, as I follow Fairclough's (2003:58) approach by going "beyond textual analysis" to include the way these notions are generally used in post-apartheid South Africa.

According to Fairclough, "texts can be seen as doing ideological work in assuming, taking as an unquestioned and unavoidable reality" that certain things exist. Fairclough identifies three main types of assumptions, namely existential assumptions ("assumptions about what exists"), propositional assumptions ("assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case"), and value assumptions ("assumptions about what is good or desirable") (Fairclough, 2003:55,58). All three were reflected in the use of the concepts during the trial. Firstly, it was assumed that social cohesion, nation-building and reconciliation existed. Secondly, that it could be achieved and thirdly, that these concepts were desirable goals.

Not all assumptions are necessarily ideological (Fairclough, 2003:58). In this case, I argue that these assumptions were in fact ideological. The assumptions did not suddenly appear during the trial. It has become part of the discourse surrounding the struggle after 1994. As discussed, the way the struggle against apartheid and colonialism was being told and

represented became the foundation myth for the new South Africa (Marschall, 2005:20-21, 25-26). The country was portrayed "as a 'rainbow' or 'multicultural' nation, one characterised by 'diversity'". Attaining 'reconciliation' was the foundation of the 'rainbow' nation (Rassool, 2007:114).

These ideologies were employed by both the ANC and AfriForum to strengthen their arguments. In a similar fashion to the consensus achieved about the song's status as history, there seemed to be ─ on the surface at least ─ a shared assumption between AfriForum and the ANC that these concepts of reconciliation, nation-building and social cohesion existed, that they were achievable and that they were a desirable goal. Again, this consensus worked because it benefitted the arguments of both parties. The ANC and AfriForum utilised these concepts in different ways to further their cases: The ANC's witnesses used the ideologies to claim the moral higher ground and to show that they were the better people who truly espoused these values, while AfriForum argued that the ANC had forsaken these ideals.

Roets referred to social cohesion when he testified about Malema. "Songs like this when sung the way it is sung or when sung especially by people like Mr Julius Malema can only be damaging to social cohesion and peaceful coexistence in South Africa" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:159). His understanding of social cohesion was informed by AfriForum's views on democracy. According to Roets, AfriForum seeks to encourage social cohesion. "We feel that the test for a good democracy is whether minority groups also feel that they are involved and that they are, that they feel welcome" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:100).

AfriForum's Civil Rights Charter also emphasises minority rights. It calls for "mutual recognition and respect" between the majority and minority groups and the "promotion of peaceful coexistence and tolerance". It states: "No government can claim the status of being a mature democracy if such government cannot or will not reach a balance between the rights and interest of the majority and those of minorities". In the charter AfriForum also expresses concern "that the interests of the majority are furthered at the expense of minorities under the guise of democracy and transformation" (AfriForum, n.d. b:3, 6-7).

Roets's testimony revealed a personal need to "feel welcome" in South Africa. "I would like to feel welcome in South Africa, I would like to feel that although I am part of a minority group and people who share my views are less likely to be ruling this country or to be in government, I would like to feel welcome in this country but he is, Mr Malema is a threat to me in the sense that judging by the influence that he has or that, we believe that he has, and judging by the type of statements that he makes that he will contribute to me as a person and the community

that I come from to be marginalised more and more and more and the implication thereof is that my community becomes frustrated more and more and more, and it can only, it is not a healthy situation for a democracy that is founded on principles as we can see in the Constitution of South Africa" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:159-160).

Roets's personal need was emphasised by the repetition of "more and more and more". His testimony revealed a shared assumption that the Constitution has always existed and been supported by everyone. However, this is not the case. The ANC had in the past "strongly hinted" that it wanted to change South Africa's Constitution to "enable faster social and economic transformation" (Msomi, 2012). In 2011, Ngoako Ramatlhodi, an ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) member and at the time Deputy Minister of Correctional Services, said that the liberation movement made "fatal concessions" in the process of drawing up the Constitution. "We thus have a Constitution that reflects the great compromise... the black majority enjoys empty political power while forces against change reign supreme in the economy, judiciary, public opinion and civil society" (Ramatlhodi, 2011).

ANC witnesses also referred to nation-building and reconciliation to illustrate that its actions were morally superior to its opponents. The party had set the example and its arguments suggested that AfriForum should follow in its footsteps and accept the song as part of the nation-building and reconciliation project.

Serote testified: "I am taught by the ANC where ever I am in this country to find a manner to contribute towards reconciliation in our country, to find a manner to contribute towards nation-building in this country and I see those effort as part and parcel of that," in reference to an event where families of killed South African Defence Force (SADF) soldiers visited Freedom Park (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:762).[130]

Mantashe also referred to nation-building and reconciliation.[131] When testifying about the ANC's decision to tell its members not to use the *Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer* chant associated

[130] A row erupted in 2007 between the Freedom Park Trust and apartheid-era South African Defence Force (SADF) veterans' organisations over the Wall of Names at Freedom Park. The Wall honours those who died during several conflicts: Pre-colonial conflicts, genocide, slavery, wars of resistance, South African Wars, World War I, World War II and the liberation struggle. Veterans' organisations of the SADF also proposed names of soldiers who had lost their lives during apartheid to be included on the wall. The Freedom Park Trust rejected these names. This caused a political storm and even led to a group of SADF veterans constructing another memorial at the access road to Salvokop in January 2007. AfriForum intervened and asked that civilians and security force members that died in attacks by the ANC also be recognised as victims of the struggle (Baines, 2009a:335-336).

[131] The resolutions adopted at the ANC's National Conference in December 2012 highlighted the importance attached to social cohesion and nation-building. They stated that the party "must ensure that social cohesion and nation-building underpins all national, provincial and local government strategic priorities". The party's resolutions also stressed the "pivotal role" of heritage in "promoting nation-building" (ANC, 2013:12,17).

with the late ANCYL President Peter Mokaba[132], Mantashe said: "The ANC encouraged the young people to stop chanting it for purpose[s] of reconciliation and nation-building" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:915).

The ruling party has promoted the ideologies of nation-building, social cohesion and reconciliation and attempted to universalise the idea that these concepts are achievable and desirable. [133] It has become part of the discourse surrounding the democratic transition. Serote referred to nation-building to describe an event where SADF soldiers visited Freedom Park. Mantashe used nation-building and reconciliation to explain the ANC's decision to ask its members to stop chanting *Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer*. Serote and Mantashe used these two examples as proof that they were committed to nation-building and reconciliation. Both these examples were issues that would have mostly concerned 'Afrikaners'. They specifically referred to these examples to illustrate to what extent the ANC was willing to compromise to reconcile with 'Afrikaners'. [134]

Serote was personally attempting to take the moral high ground here. He used the reconciliation and nation-building ideologies as a weapon. In the process of achieving hegemony, the value of these notions has become universally accepted in South Africa – nation-building and reconciliation are seen as desirable, and one can surely not be against them. Serote used this to gain moral superiority. The ANC could have employed these arguments to remind the judge of the importance of reconciliation, and that AfriForum was acting in contravention of this founding principle. It could also be using the opportunity of the stage provided by the trial to remind the public that the ANC was a morally superior organisation willing to reconcile with its enemies. However, one can also not merely dismiss

[132] The chant *Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer*, was chanted by the late ANCYL President Peter Mokaba in the early 1990s. Mokaba first chanted the slogan at a rally in honour of the murdered Hani in April 1993 in Cape Town. In June 1993, the ANC decided that its members were not allowed to use the slogan anymore (Ley, 1993 & Sapa, 2002). A decade later the Human Rights Commission declared *Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer* hate speech following a complaint from the then Freedom Front (now Freedom Front Plus) after ANC members chanted the slogan during two public meetings in 2002, including Mokaba's funeral (Sapa, 2003). During the trial, both AfriForum and TAU SA referred to the *Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer* chant on numerous occasions (See for example, AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:695-696; 1037-1041). This could have been a strategy to remind the court that the ANC told its supporters not to use the chant anymore. Both also often called the song under question *Kill the Boer* (See for example AfriForum vs Malema, 2011: 1087, 1147) which could have been a tactic to make the song sound more threatening.

[133] Since the court case, the ideology has come under increasing attack with student activists during *Rhodes* and *Fees Must Fall* protests interrogating the validity of the notion of South Africa as a 'rainbow nation' (Munusamy, 2015; Ndletyana & Webb, 2017:98 & Serino, 2015). Malema, now the leader of the EFF, said in 2016: "I am not for reconciliation, I am for justice. There is no reconciliation without justice and justice is the return of land" (Madia, 2016a).

[134] The examples mentioned by Serote and Mantashe as proof that the ANC wanted to reconcile with 'Afrikaners', were not the only efforts made by the party. In May 2012, the ANC held a meeting with Afrikaans organisations to "take the discussion of nation-building, reconciliation and inclusiveness forward" (ANC, 2012). The meeting was boycotted by the Solidarity movement, which includes AfriForum, after it was rumoured that the ANC wanted to use the meeting to attract 'Afrikaners' to vote for them (Lamprecht, 2012a).

these testimonies as a cunning court tactic. It could be that ANC members, such as Serote, wanted to feel certain that they were acting in a moral way and that they were sincere in their efforts to reconcile with 'Afrikaners'. As I show below, Serote and Hanekom also mentioned several examples of 'Afrikaner' heritage that had been preserved as evidence of their tolerance towards offensive heritage.

'Afrikaner' heritage and redress

The notion of redress featured extensively in Serote's discussion of South Africa's post-1994 heritage environment. He testified in detail about how 'Afrikaner' heritage had been treated to illustrate that the ANC did not ban heritage. He referred to the Voortrekker Monument, the Afrikaans language, and the song *De la Rey*. Interestingly, as discussed in the literature review, he described the Voortrekker Monument, portraits and statues of apartheid-era leaders and the 1838 Covenant (relating to an oath by the Afrikaner commando that if God gave them victory against the Zulu army at the Battle of Blood River they would commemorate the anniversary of the triumph) as history.[135] Hanekom also described the old South African flag as history. Utilising the term 'history' to describe these objects or sites could suggest a degree of distance ─ they are not experienced with the emotional attachment often associated with heritage.

Serote made an interesting point when he testified about the preservation of portraits of apartheid-era Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. "We preserved them. Precisely because that is a history of our country… We took them to the National Gallery, if you go to the National Gallery you will find them there, properly preserved, deliberately so" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:800).

AfriForum was arguing exactly the same treatment for *Dubula ibhunu*: Preserving the song in a museum.[136]

Serote did not recognise the validity of the museum. The portraits were part of 'white' history and were commemorated accordingly in a 'white' gallery, where they could safely stay put. Serote highlighted the separate jurisdictions of 'black' history and 'white' history. The custodian

[135] Serote uses the words "heritage sites" in reference to sites developed during the apartheid era. (See p. 148).
[136] In November 2012, *Beeld* reported that the old South African flag that was waving outside the Castle in Cape Town would be taken down. Nomfunelo Mabedla, an ANC MP, said that the old flag should be "stored in a museum" (Styan, 2012). Her instructions reflected the view that symbols associated with apartheid and 'white' history should be safely kept in a museum.

of ‘white’ history is the museum. ‘Black’ history is oral, vibrant and alive. It cannot be contained or preserved in a museum.

Du Plessis also questioned Serote about the removal of statues of ‘Afrikaner’ leaders.

Serote replied: “We eventually discussed that matter we decided that we were going to preserve that history and there is evidence throughout the country of that... there are many statues, many heritage sites, of that era which are preserved, which are funded by government at the present moment... There was fundamental change from 1994 to now in this country. Change means what? Certain things must change and we understood this and we said that there was going to be a policy on transformation, there was going to be a policy on redress” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:800-802).[137]

Serote explained what he meant by redress: “Sometimes in public spaces like this one we will put different heritage sites. I mean heritage symbols. So that everyone feels they are represented. And that is what we meant by transformation and redress… it is about all of us feeling comfortable in a space” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:802).

Serote also testified that the Voortrekker Monument was part of a past that must be remembered.

“If people feel offended by any song we were feeling very offended by what Voortrekker Monument said, but we took the initiative to preserve the Voortrekker Monument… I am asking everyone in South Africa to want to will to preserve all the liberation songs… even Voortrekker Monument is our past and history which we must remember, which must teach us who are now here and future generations that a thing of this nature happened and what is it that we must continuously do to negate it…” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:761, 799).

[137] Serote is correct in some aspects of his testimony. Although some monuments, especially those linked with the apartheid architect and former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd have been destroyed, many monuments linked with ‘Afrikaner’ history remain, including the Voortrekker Monument, which has in fact thrived in post-apartheid South Africa, receiving approximately 250 000 visitors per year (Alfred, 2015 & Coombes, 2004:19-22). Busts of ‘Afrikaner’ leaders that have been removed from public spaces, including those of former Prime Minister DF Malan and Verwoerd, are kept in an archive at the monument (Van Niekerk, 2015). Regarding government funding, the Voortrekker Monument is not a Declared Cultural Institution in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act and thus does not receive a subsidy from the DAC. It has, however, received ad hoc funding from the government (Mthethwa, 2015). The Afrikaanse Taalmuseum en -monument (Afrikaans Language museum and monument) in Paarl does receive funding from the DAC (DAC, 2017:204). Current statues of ‘Afrikaner’ leaders include Boer president Paul Kruger in Pretoria and the statue of Louis Botha in front of Parliament, which were both defaced after student Chumani Maxwele threw excrement over the Rhodes statue at UCT on March 9, 2015 (Essop & Malgas, 2015 & Smith, 2015).

Serote perceived the Voortrekker Monument to be the custodian of 'white' history. His words "we took the initiative" were also significant. He was depicting the ANC and himself as nation-builders that did not destroy 'white' history, but in fact actively preserved it. It was a jibe at the kind of history the monument represented. Serote believed the monument represented 'Afrikaner' history. The monument does not represent 'Afrikaner' history, but rather an important moment in 'Afrikaner' nationalism.[138]

Both the ANC and AfriForum used the belief that the monument represented 'Afrikaner' history. This sustained the idea of segregated histories. Serote used it to illustrate how the ruling party and himself, as the former CEO of Freedom Park, compromised and kept the monument alive. AfriForum also uses the perception that the Voortrekker Monument represents 'Afrikaner' history. They view it as an important site and regularly host events there. For example, in 2012 the organisation held a music concert to retain Pretoria's name at the monument (AfriForum, 2012a).

Serote also referred to the humiliation he associated with the monument. His reference emphasised the oppression of black people under apartheid. This made the willingness to preserve the monument even more extraordinary.

"It humiliated, you know people older than me they were beaten on December 16th when celebrations were happening on the mountain at Voortrekker Monument, they were called Kaffirs, they were chased away out of Pretoria. They were most, ask anyone who is 80 who is 90, they will tell you that and they told us that" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:799).

Serote also referred to a discussion he had with the CEO of the Voortrekker Monument, Gert Opperman. Again, it illustrated just how much he personally was willing to reconcile with the monument and its leadership. Serote was painting himself as morally superior.

Serote said: "I asked him when you say the vow what does that mean? And he says we took the vow that if we defeat in other words if we kill all the Zulus who are going to fight against us we will have a symbol which forever reminds us and makes us pray to God. Now if tomorrow the Zulus come and say to me we are offended about this, I will say you are right to be

[138] The Voortrekker Monument is historically of "critical significance for the foundational myths of Afrikaner nationalism", specifically the notion of the Trek "as the moment of emergence of the Afrikaner as the founding ethnic group of a new nation… and the "divine right" of the Trekkers to the land" (Coombes, 2004:28). According to Thompson, the "most dramatic event in the upsurge of Afrikaner nationalism" was the 1938 ox-wagon trek, which commemorated the centenary of the Great Trek. The event included the laying of the monument's foundation stone (Thompson, 1985:39).

offended, but this is our history. I would want to persuade them to say please understand that this is our history and that you and I must protect it. If not for us who are living now for the future of our country" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:802-803).[139]

Serote also testified about the Afrikaans song, *De la Rey*, and the right-wing legend, the 'Night of the Long Knives'. The Suidlanders, a right-wing organisation, claimed that white people would be killed after Mandela died and labelled the event the 'Night of the Long Knives' (Malan, 2011). Serote, however, incorrectly testified that *De la Rey* is about the Night of the Long Knives.[140]

Serote testified: "You know I have heard a song which was sung some time back and when I asked why are people singing this song they told me, they told me that there was an Afrikaner Prophet Your Lordship who prophesied that when Nelson Mandela dies there will be the night of the knives. And that, that meant that… black people would begin to kill… [white] people and that song was De la Rey De la Rey. I was not frightened by that, I felt that if people sing that song, I will sit with them learn the song and then find how that song assist us to build this country… precisely because if I were to take the fact that it was true that we were going to kill white people after that, it would mean that I am not an ANC cadre" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:782).

Serote referred to the song to show how paranoid 'Afrikaners' were. If they were so paranoid that they believed in the 'Night of the Long Knives', then they must surely also be paranoid about the impact of a song such as *Dubula ibhunu*. Serote was also portraying himself as a peacemaker who found out more about the song and was not scared by it, but rather saw it

[139] The vow that Serote was referring to is an oath by the 'Afrikaner' commando in 1838 that if God gave them victory against a Zulu army, they would build a church and commemorate the anniversary of the triumph. The anniversary was celebrated on December 16 as the Day of the Vow after 1980. It had previously been called the Day of the Covenant and Dingane's Day. According to Thompson, the vow has all the characteristics of a "classic political myth". This includes "its partial concordance with historical reality, [and] its delayed codification followed by rapid development and fervent deployment for political purposes". Almost the entire commando "proceeded to forget all about any such vow". However, "in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a number of clergy, politicians, and intellectuals in the Transvaal and Orange Free State republics began to resurrect, embellish, codify and celebrate a version of the events of December 1838 for the purpose of promoting pride and self-confidence among Afrikaners in the face of British imperial aggression". The tale was later revised as African nationalism became the main danger to 'Afrikaner' nationalism (Thompson, 1985:144-146).

[140] In 2006 a South African singer, using the stage name Bok van Blerk, released a song called *De la Rey*. It pleaded with the South African War General Koos de la Rey to rescue the 'boere' from the strategies of the British army, specifically the scorched earth policy and the imprisonment of women and children in concentration camps (Baines, 2009b:1). De la Rey was portrayed by Johannes Meintjes, his biographer, as a soldier that fought till the bitter end against the British forces in the South African War. He was accidentally shot at a police roadblock in 1914 and many 'Afrikaner' nationalists viewed him as a martyr (Meintjes, 1966:388, 396). The song was extremely successful, and despite Van Blerk and his team claiming that *De la Rey* was "merely expressing pride in Afrikaner history, the social life of this song soon became entangled with the politics of right-wing Afrikaner nationalism" (Van der Waal & Robins, 2011:763). At Van Blerk's concerts people sang the song with clenched fists while waving the old South African flag (Grobbelaar, 2007).

as a potential instrument for nation-building. He was presenting himself as a heroic ANC cadre.

The survival of Afrikaans was also highlighted by Serote as proof of the ANC's tolerance towards 'Afrikaner' history. The future of Afrikaans is a very emotive topic for many Afrikaans-speaking people and it is often feared that the language is dying out (Fourie, 2010; Greyling, 2010 & Van Niekerk, 2010).

"You will recall that at one time in this country… many children were killed because they said we are not going to speak Afrikaans. Today we protect and defend the speaking of Afrikaans. That is who we are. So I would expect that those people who say today that we must not sing that song, they would be ready in their minds to listen to why we sing it, and tomorrow be able to protect the singing of that song" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:789-790).

His use of "we" was significant. Serote claimed that the ANC was defending Afrikaans. Both the ruling party and Serote himself was portrayed as great reconcilers that ensured the survival of Afrikaans. Serote was reemphasising the different 'black' and 'white' histories and having a dig at the 'white' history that Afrikaans represented. He was suggesting that AfriForum and their supporters should act in a manner that supported reconciliation as the ANC had done regarding Afrikaans. Serote was also arrogating power to the ANC through his statement that the ANC protected Afrikaans. He then turned it around and made it seem as if the ruling party depended on AfriForum to allow for the singing of the song.

In a similar fashion, Hanekom used the old South African flag to illustrate how the ANC dealt with symbols associated with apartheid. Hanekom emphasised the tolerance of the ANC towards 'Afrikaner' symbols. He also referred to the wounds suffered under apartheid, which emphasised just how tolerant the ANC was: Despite the suffering they endured they still did not ban the flag. It was part of an attempt to put 'Afrikaner' history in mausoleum.

"... just after 1994 after the first democratic election in fact for some years after that, if you were to go to a rugby match at Ellispark or to Loftus Versfeld in particular you had numbers of South Africans waving the old South African flag, as one example which was offensive to the majority of South Africans actually, but interestingly no one asked for that to be banned, although it was offensive, but today, because your question is how do I understand, how do we understand the changes in society, you do not see that anymore... That old flag, it belongs in the archives, because you do not destroy history, but nobody banned it" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:572).

Hanekom said: “A society almost censored itself. A society not in any kind of deliberate way, but it became sociably unacceptable to increasing numbers of South Africans. So even those that you know upheld this flag, this flag for them symbolise something that they cherished evidently a few years later they no longer felt the need to use this flag and it disappeared it died a natural death” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:573).

Hanekom used the example of the old flag to show that the ANC did not ban the old flag, but allowed it to die a “natural death”. His testimony reflected the notion that ‘white’ history belonged in an archive, which was what AfriForum was suggesting about the song.

The ANC’s testimony about symbols that it considered to be important to the ‘Afrikaner’ was another example of the fluid nature of the battle playing out in the trial. South Africa’s post-1994 foundation myth of the struggle was interacting with the ‘Afrikaner’ foundation myth endorsed by AfriForum, TAU SA, and their supporters. Although these myths might be in opposition, they became intertwined during the trial. It illustrated how myths can be “manipulated to serve more than one interest at the same time” (Thompson, 1985:8). AfriForum referred to ‘events’ associated with the Great Trek such as Retief’s death, but possibly recognised that the symbolic power of these ‘events’ were not as potent as it used to be during apartheid, or that it had to speak to a broader constituency. As a result, it referred to events and personalities, such as Mandela and the Constitution, that are more closely associated with the foundation myth of the struggle against apartheid. On the other hand, the ANC referred to aspects of the ‘Afrikaner’ foundational myth. Serote’s mention of the Voortrekker Monument and the ANC’s preservation of the site was an attempt to illustrate that the ruling party respected ‘Afrikaner’ heritage. AfriForum should therefore have the same consideration for the ANC’s heritage by allowing the singing of struggle songs. However, the ANC was certainly not only going to rely on AfriForum’s commitment to reconciliation to ensure the survival of *its* song. As I show below, its witnesses went on the offensive to reinforce that they were the owners of the liberation struggle and its songs, and could therefore not be told by outsiders how to deploy them.

Ownership of the struggle – and its songs

The trial revealed the importance the ANC attaches to owning the struggle. Several scholars have indicated that the ruling party has taken ownership of the struggle narrative.

(See for example Baines, 2007 & Soske, Lissoni & Erlank, 2012).[141] The testimony of several ANC's witnesses revealed just how determined the party was to cement its struggle roots. By successfully reinforcing its ownership of the struggle, the party would then also be able to lay claim to its songs. Song would be shown as belonging by a deep visceral connection to the ANC. Like the liberation struggle itself – songs are the ANC's by right — all others are impostors or plagiarists.

Hanekom testified about song: "They represent part of our heritage, part of our history and my contention is that it is a history… we do not feel any need to deny. We have every reason to feel proud of, we feel proud of the fact that we finally through noble efforts of so many people brought to an end fundamentally an unjust system and that is something that we should be celebrating and that is something that we would like all South Africans to celebrate with us, because it is something to celebrate" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:566). It is clear that Hanekom was not referring to all South Africans when he used the word "we" and "our" as he stated that "*we* would like all South Africans to celebrate with *us*". The word "we" was therefore not used in an inclusive way, but rather exclusively referred to the ANC, while extending an invitation to the rest of South Africa.

Malema's testimony also reflected the notion that the ANC owned the struggle. Malema testified about a Human Rights Day celebration held on March 22, 2010. This was one of the occasions on which he sang *Dubula ibhunu*. Malema testified about the speech he gave at the event. He perceived the ownership of the struggle to be so significant that he fabricated the events surrounding the Sharpeville massacre and blamed the PAC, and not the apartheid security forces, for the killings. It was an intense shifting of blame and reflected the importance the ANC attaches to the struggle, and Sharpeville in particular, which "occupies an iconic status in liberation narratives" (Nieftagodien, 2012:155).

Malema said: "I spoke about the Sharpeville massacre and how it came about that the occasion was an occasion of the ANC which was later hijacked by the PAC and I quoted several documents which made reference to the ANC organising that event, the PAC which was a breakaway group from the ANC hijacking the protest which led to many people dying,

[141] According to Nieftagodien, the "hegemonic narrative of liberation history has become virtually synonymous with the history of the African National Congress". In this paramount version of the struggle's history "popular protest movements are either subsumed under the ANC's history or, in the case of the struggles of the 1940s portrayed as overtures to the subsequent decade of mass defiance led by the ANC". An example of this is the Alexandra bus boycotts of the early 1940s when residents protested against planned increases in bus fares. The boycott took place at a time when the ANC on a national level "remained largely uninvolved in the popular resistance. Little, if any effort was made to intervene, support or direct these struggles". Despite this, the liberation historiography, particularly in the past twenty years, "has tended to elevate the role of political organisations at the expense of popular movements" (Nieftagodien, 2012:135-136, 143,149).

because it was not properly arranged... Actually, the date in question was, you know, put forward by the PAC. The protests would not have taken place on that day. Due to lack of proper organisation this led to the massacre we experienced" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:986-987).[142]

Malema revealed a similar position regarding ownership of South Africa's Constitution: "Who are the champions of that constitution, we are the champions of that constitution... That constitution you have is our baby... We are the champions... We made it possible for you to sit with blacks in this bench. We have freed you" (Malema vs AfriForum, 2011:1164).

Sharpeville was not the only iconic struggle event referenced in the trial to cement the ANC's ownership of the struggle. ANC witnesses were also questioned on the Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People in Kliptown, Soweto.

Maleka described the Freedom Charter as an ANC document when he questioned Hanekom. Hanekom said the charter was a "very important document in the life of the ANC".[143] Malema also called the Freedom Charter the "bible of the ANC" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:571,1091).[144] This illustrated that the Freedom Charter was considered with the same reverence that was present throughout the trial towards history. The Freedom Charter was viewed as holy; a document that could not be questioned. ANC witnesses described the Freedom Charter as an ANC document during the trial, but of the organisations represented at Kliptown in 1955, the party was in fact "one of the tardiest in formally adopting" the Freedom Charter. The party only adopted it in 1956 (Suttner & Cronin, 2006:xix).[145]

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[142] Sharpeville has become a contested event in post-apartheid South Africa. The question over who owns Sharpeville turned violent in March 2012, when more than 2 000 Sharpeville residents protested after official Human Rights Day celebrations were moved from Sharpeville to Kliptown in Soweto (Tau, 2012), where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955. The ANC was accused of acting "like a thief at night" (Mangena, 2012). Zuma also did not mention the role of the PAC at the official event at Kliptown (Mabuza & Kumalo, 2012). The moving of the event could have been an attempt by the ruling party to strengthen its ownership of the commemoration by taking it to Kliptown ─ a site which is more closely associated with the party than Sharpeville. In 2013, the DA was accused by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) of continuing "its campaign to appropriate struggle history" after it laid a wreath in Sharpeville on Human Rights Day (Morudu, 2013).

[143] Du Plessis also referred to several principles of the Freedom Charter, including the right to use your own language and develop your own culture and customs, when he cross-examined Serote. Du Plessis said: "And then the next one all national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride. Now this is what this case is about there are people who say as Afrikaners their national pride, their pride has been under attack in this case. They say that what is happening here is contrary to the freedom charter" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:807-808). Du Plessis used the status the ANC had given to the Freedom Charter – a document that he clearly did not subscribe to, as illustrated by his later questions on land reform – to bolster his case. He argued that the ANC was not adhering to the principles contained in its "bible".

[144] During an EFF rally in June 2016 to commemorate the 61st anniversary of the Freedom Charter held in Newcastle, KwaZulu-Natal, Malema, by then Commander-in-Chief of the EFF, certainly no longer viewed the Freedom Charter as the bible of the ANC. "They [the ANC] have betrayed the Freedom Charter, the people are scared, our people are not safe in their own country, and our people are shot at and killed for asking for water" (Manyathela, 2016).

[145] For more on the Freedom Charter, see Suttner (2006 & 2015).

Claiming the struggle also positioned the ANC as the owners of song. The party was the only real, legitimate experts. In the ANC's cross-examination of AfriForum's expert witness, Dr Anne-Marie Gray, the party implied that it was the only expert on struggle songs and those experts who stand outside the party could not speak with real authority on the topic.

Advocate Muzi Sikhakhane, on behalf of the ANC and Malema, said: "We are dealing with people who have come to this court to tell the ANC and black people, they do not even speak that language, these are your songs, we know them". Sikhakhane emphasised that the ANC was the only expert on struggle songs and that outsiders did not have authority to talk on the topic. Sikhakhane said: "Now my witnesses are going to come and tell you with authority, because it is their song, it is their songs" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:328, 348-349).[146]

This was part of an attempt to reject institutions and expertise that were part of the colonial and apartheid legacy. Sikhakhane was rejecting the testimony of AfriForum's expert, which was based on research and not personal experience of song in the struggle. It was an effort to establish alternative foundations for history and expertise.

After the ruling, Dlodlo (2011) reiterated the view that people who used to compose and sing songs during the struggle were the only legitimate experts. "It is important to appreciate that the only experts on these revolutionary songs are the people who coined them because they understood the explicit and subtle meanings of the songs they coined… So it is relevant for us as fighters of a just war against apartheid, an evil system that was dubbed a crime against humanity by the United Nations, that when so called experts are called to give or interpret a meaning of these songs that we be called instead of giving prominence to people that probably never sung any of these songs in their lives," she said.

During the trial, Serote's identity as an ANC member for more than forty years was highlighted, as it established him as a legitimate expert. He joined the organisation in 1966 and referred to himself as a "freedom fighter" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:753, 755). In contrast to Gray, his expertise was linked to his membership of the ANC – he was an insider who experienced the struggle and the songs first-hand. He later testified about *Umshini Wami*, recalling: "We sang that in the camps". Serote's testimony relating to apartheid also reflected his personal

[146] Sachs (2016) said that it was significant that his "Preparing ourselves for freedom" paper, read out an ANC seminar in Lusaka, Zambia in 1989, in which he called for the phrase culture as a weapon of struggle to be banned, came from within the ANC. "I think the fact that it came from an ANC conference was vital. This wasn't a university literary critic. This was somebody right at the heart of the struggle, speaking out and using imagery and developing a voice that people could respond to".

involvement: “Many of us, because we were already trained we chose to remain in the front, asked our wives and children to go to the rear and we were parted for a very long time” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:756, 829).

The use of “we” and “us” was significant, as it demonstrated that Serote was not testifying as an expert from the ‘outside’. He was very much an ‘insider’, who was part of the struggle and who sang the songs he was testifying about in MK camps. According to Fairclough (2003:76), the word “we” “reduces hierarchy and distance”. However, in this case Serote’s use of the word “we” was not inclusive in the sense of referring to all South Africans. Rather, it was an exclusive reference to ANC cadres. It thus did not reduce distance, but rather increased it. Malema’s testimony revealed a similar notion that an outsider could not understand the ANC.

When questioned by Du Plessis, Malema said: “You have never been part of the ANC you do not know the ANC” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:1164).

The ANC’s attempted monopoly of the struggle was also evident in testimony relating to the PAC. Serote testified that “it is possible for the PAC to take some of our songs and put other words in them, it is very possible”. The ANC would, however, not take songs from the PAC because the party had “enough composers”, he said (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:828-829). Serote’s use of the word “our” suggested that the ANC fundamentally owned the songs and that the PAC sung ANC songs.

Mantashe also used the words “our” and “their” when questioned about the PAC’s songs. “You see the liberation songs are not written and you do not get copyright for a song, you sing it every day. And we stay in the same localities, we share occasions, people sing and others take that song and sing at their own gathering... Internally we were in the same township, we sang these songs, others will take our songs and sing at their own meetings. So because there is no copyright any other liberation movement would sing that song and add other versions to it” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:853). Mantashe’s testimony continued the discourse of a ‘white’ history that was written down and a ‘black’ history that was oral and vibrant. His arguments reflected the desire for an alternative to the colonial institutions of history and commemoration in a similar vein to Serote’s testimony, discussed earlier.

The battle for control of song in post-apartheid South Africa has, however, not been confined to this trial. During the federal congress of the Democratic Alliance (DA), the official opposition party, on 9 and 10 May 2015 in Port Elizabeth, several references were made to the party singing songs that belonged to the ANC and other parties. Thulasizwe Simelane, a journalist

at the television news channel eNCA, said: “Save for a few original compositions, many DA songs are adaptations of songs, ANC, EEF and others sing at their gatherings” (Simelane, 2015a). Mayihlome Tshwete, son of the former ANC activist Steve Tshwete who was imprisoned on Robben Island, tweeted “DA singing ANC songs” (Tshwete, 2015). Before the congress, *City Press* journalist Andi Makinana tweeted: “I hope the Smurfs [the DA] are practising some nice songs on their own for their national congress. It’s weird when they sing ANC songs… and lazy” (Makinana, 2015). These claims about ownership of song should also be evaluated by considering the outcome of the party’s leadership election: The DA elected its first black leader, Mmusi Maimane, at the congress (Areff & Khoza, 2015). Before his victory, ANC spokesperson Zizi Kodwa said that the DA “remained a racist party that desperately needs a black leader to hide its true colours” (Sosibo, 2015b).

Twitter users might accuse the DA of plagiarising the party’s songs, but that does not stop the utilisation of song by the opposition in its leadership battles. Despite attempts to brand songs as belonging to the ANC, song showed that it cannot be owned, it cannot be controlled by a single political party – not even by the ruling party. At its 2015 congress, DA supporters adapted a song also heard at the ANC’s Mangaung conference in 2012, where it was used to praise Zuma. (See Chapter Five, p. 195). The DA changed the lyrics of the song to celebrate its outgoing leader, Helen Zille. Its lyrics include: *uZille lo abamaziyo abazange bambona* (*This is Zille, those who know her have never seen her)* (Simelane, 2015b).

Song’s deployment outside the courtroom shows that the attempts by both the ANC and AfriForum to control or own it were bound to fail. Song is unpredictable, it has a life of its own as it is activated and mobilised for different purposes, even against its so-called ‘owners’ by opposition political parties. It “is not the captive of a particular regime or a specific ideology (Gunner, 2015:327).

Land reform

During the case, the consensus that the parties had achieved (or pretended to achieve) around history, and the song’s place within it, showed signs of unravelling. The issue of land reform was another area where the fragility of their pact emerged.[147] In cross-examining the ANC’s

[147] According to Professor Ben Cousins, former Director of the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the legacy of the country’s apartheid policies is “immense bitterness amongst black South Africans and a powerful desire to have the land restored to its rightful owners… high levels of racial inequality in land ownership symbolise and evoke a much wider range of deprivations and oppressions that were experienced in the past and are seen to require redress in the present. Land therefore carries a powerful political charge” (Cousins, n.d.). According to the government, up to 87% of the country’s agricultural land was still in the hands of white farmers when the trial took place (Bauer, 2012a). According to

witnesses, both AfriForum and TAU-SA attempted to mobilise the strong emotions of their supporters about land reform against the song, and argued that it should be interpreted in the context of Malema's views on land reform.[148] This focus on land reform was expected as Du Plessis was arguing on behalf of the agricultural union TAU SA in court. It possibly reflected the fear of TAU SA's members over land reform, and it appeared as if Du Plessis was using the trial to gain a better understanding of the ANC's thoughts on land reform. AfriForum does not specifically represent farmers, although it has campaigns that would be supported by farmers, including one against farm killings. Many of its members likely support the concerns of farmers on land reform, and it therefore employed a similar strategy.[149] The strategies of AfriForum and TAU SA were also influenced by the wider audience potentially watching the trial – they were not just bringing up land reform to further their case, but also to drum up further support for their respective organisations among those that might be alarmed about land reform and Malema's statements on the topic.[150]

Walker & Dubb (2013), 67% of the land in South Africa is "'white' commercial agricultural land". The parties involved in the court case generally had opposing viewpoints on land reform. AfriForum's opinion on land reform is often in conflict with the government and the ANC. In November 2012, Cornelius Jansen van Rensburg, AfriForum's spokesperson on the economy, accused the ANC and the government of "using land ownership as a political football to spawn racial division" (AfriForum, 2012b). TAU SA has also been extremely critical of the government's policies on land reform, labelling them "suicidal" (TAU SA, 2012). For more on land reform in South Africa, see Hall (2010) who examines the evolution of the land redistribution programme in the country between 1990 and 2004.

[148] Although neither party in the case referred to land as heritage, there is a link between land and heritage. Both land reform and heritage are viewed by the government as playing a central role in ensuring social cohesion (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2011:4 & DAC, 2012:3). Furthermore, land can be viewed as heritage. According to Deacon, Mngqolo & Prosalendis (2003:1), "natural environments can have cultural significance as part of our heritage". The scholars refer to definitions of heritage: It is defined as "what we inherit", "what we value" and "what we want to pass on to future generations". Using this definition, it is clear that land can be classified as heritage. Malema's EFF has also emphasised the notion of land as heritage (EFF, 2016; Ferreira, 2015; Sapa, 2014). In a statement issued about the celebration of Heritage Day (24 September) in 2014, its spokesperson, Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, said: "The greatest heritage of any people is the land...Without land, a people remain visitors in their own country of birth" (Sapa, 2014).

[149] Both AfriForum and TAU SA also employed the emotion around farm killings to strengthen their case. The two parties differed in their strategy – TAU SA argued that there was a strong connection between *Dubula ibhunu* and farm killings, whereas AfriForum continually referred to farm killings, but pointed out that its case was not about establishing a "direct link" between the song and farm killings. Brassey said: "We say that the use of this inflamed language may create a hostile environment, indeed does create a hostile environment; we say that it may produce a predisposition in the minds of some people to embark upon killing where otherwise they would not, but we do not, we say that it is no central part of the case" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:82-83). Brassey's use of the word "may" was significant. Modality, defined as "what people commit themselves to when they make Statements", can be identified here. May is one of the "modal verbs" and an "explicit marker of modality". In this case the modality was epistemic with the speech function of statement. Brassey's statements were modalised ("may create a hostile environment" and "may produce a predisposition") and could be seen as an "intermediate between Assertion and Denial" (Fairclough, 2003:165, 167-169). He was not stating the link as a fact. He was, however, still planting the seed that there might be a link between farm killings and the song which strengthened AfriForum's arguments about the impact of the song. The organisation did, however, draw a connection between farm killings and Malema singing the song in statements published on its website (AfriForum, 2011b & AfriForum, 2011c).

[150] At the time, the ANCYL called for land expropriation without compensation (ANCYL, 2012). Malema had also made controversial statements about land reform. In February 2012, he told supporters that the youth league would return the land to its "rightful owners". "The settlers committed a black genocide and made the black land owners into slaves. We'll pay whatever price for this land. If the leaders of this revolution are not prepared to fight for this land, the economic freedom fighters will" (Bauer, 2012b).

Malema himself deployed the song to draw attention to the slow pace of land reform, argues Gunner. Land as a "signifier of loss" was critical (Gunner, 2015:332). According to Gunner, he was "signalling his claim to a particular constituency, that of the youth and more widely to those who were marginalized by the government". Malema also aimed to utilise the issue of land to build his political brand. Malema, the "most astute of politicians… set the song to use in establishing the issue of land as a key pillar around which to raise his profile" (Gunner, 2015:332-333).[151]

During the trial, both Brassey and Du Plessis often referred to the land issue when they cross-examined ANC witnesses, in particular Malema.

Du Plessis questioned Serote about the clause that "the land shall be shared amongst those who work it" in the Freedom Charter. Du Plessis asked: "And is that not correct, that, that means sir that the land that is currently owned by whites should be owned by the workers who work the land and not the whites, is that not so?" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:832).

Serote referred to redress, as he did when he testified about the heritage sector: "I will take a non-racial position that whether you are white or black if you till the land it would belong to you, but there has to be a redress historically on the question of the land" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:832).

Serote again raised the notion of redress when testifying about the Natives Land Act: "From 1913 onwards the majority of people in this country were in 13% of the land and 87% were all the people, the Europeans were settled here… That needs a redress. That must be redressed, whether it is in urban areas or in rural areas, that is a redress" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:836).

[151] Land has been an important cornerstone for Malema's EFF. In the party's founding manifesto, the party lists seven "non-negotiable cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime". It includes "expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use" (EFF, 2013). In November 2016, Malema appeared in both the Bloemfontein and Newcastle Magistrate's Court, facing charges of contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 regarding comments he made about land during the EFF's elective conference in Bloemfontein, where he was elected president in 2014 and the party's commemoration of the Freedom Charter in 2016 in Newcastle. AfriForum laid the charges against Malema. During the party's 2014 elective conference, Malema, reportedly told his supporters: "We are going to occupy the unoccupied land because we need the land". During the party's Freedom Charter rally, Malema said: "If we say that South Africa belongs to whites too it means we are defeating what our forefathers were fighting for. These whites found us here and not one of them came with a piece of land in their pockets. So, if you see a piece of land and you like it, don't apologise, go and occupy that land. That land belongs to us." After his court appearance in Bloemfontein, Malema told supporters: "When we leave here and you see any beautiful piece of land and you like it, occupy it, it belongs to you ... It is the land that was taken from us by white people by force through genocide" (*Dispatchlive*, 2016; Khoza, 2016a; Macharia, 2016 & Radebe, 2017).

Serote's testimony was inaccurate. According to the 1913 Natives Land Act, approximately 7% of South Africa's land was available for African settlement. The Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936 increased this proportion to 13% (Hay, 2012:361). Serote was drawing on the 1913 Act as it is an aspect that most people know about.[152]

Du Plessis questioned Serote about how a farmer would interpret the song in the context of Malema's views on land reform. Du Plessis asked Serote: "Well sir the real issue is, I am putting it to you that a farmer outside on his farm who hears what Mr Malema says the ANC Youth League's policy is, when Mr Malema is not restrained and he also hears a song where the words [are] kill the boer, he [is] going to put two and two together and say well the policy of the ANC is to take us white boers off the land and he is going to take it seriously and he is going to be very upset about it. What do you say?" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:840).

Serote answered: "My suggestion, My Lord, would be that... all of us must find a way to do away with ignorance about serious matters of our country. Because if we take narrow positions and make them a reality we will get into trouble with that. The ANC has gone out of its way to meet all people in this country to talk to them about its policy and the way forward. A way forward of inclusively and abandoning white superiority and mentality. The ANC has taken pains to do that. And we are asking that it is not only the duty of the ANC to do so. It is the duty of all South Africans to do so" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:840).

Malema was also extensively questioned about his opinions on land reform. Brassey was arguing that *Dubula ibhunu* must be viewed in light of Malema's views on land reform. He was arguing that farmers would think that Malema wanted to shoot them to take their farms.

Brassey questioned Malema about the current struggles the song was referring to, which he argued included "the redistribution of land so that there is an equitable distribution as between black and white".

Brassey asked Malema: "And the people who sit on the land, great big farms in the Free State, can be expected to disgorge at least some of that property for the purposes of that redistribution?... And if they are unwilling to do that, or feel that they are unwilling to do that, then they might usefully be termed repressive".

[152] For more on 1913 Natives Land Act and its legacy, see Beinart & Delius (2014) and Walker (2013). Walker looks specifically at the centenary commemoration of the act in 2013.

Malema answered: “No. They are resisting change. They are refusing to share the land of this country.”

“And it is precisely those people who must be “killed”?” asked Brassey.

“No, who must be defeated,” said Malema.

Brassey responded: “And so when you sing the song, you are referring to those sorts of people”?

“We are referring to a system which refuses to redistribute the wealth of the country,” Malema answered.

Brassey replied: “Yes. And the people who are farmers, for instance, who hold the property, when they hear you singing, kill the oppressor, let us call it oppressor, when they hear you saying, kill the, or shoot the oppressor, they think, goodness, Mr Malema is referring to me, he wants to shoot me”.

Malema responded: “No, how am I going to do that when I do not even have arms. I am going to use, My Lord, the arm, the firearm I have today, is the political power I have in government in the legislature, in parliament. Now how are you going to *dubula* this *bhunu*? You do it through democratic means, by introducing legislations which makes it possible for land to be redistributed. In 1993 I was carrying a firearm. Today I am carrying political power to [de]feat this oppressor. How do you that? You do it through introducing legislative laws which are going to be helpful to defeat this oppressor” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:1077-1078). Malema’s phrase – “how are you going to *dubula* this *bhunu*?” points to song’s susceptibility to metaphor.

Malema referred to the Freedom Charter when Brassey questioned him about the proposed policy of the ANCYL about land redistribution without compensation. Malema answered: “The land shall be shared amongst all South Africans… the land will be shared amongst those who work it that is what the Freedom Charter says the bible of the ANC” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:1090-1091).

Du Plessis also asked whether farmers would not be harmed psychologically and emotionally when they lose their farms, to which Malema gave a passionate answer.

Malema replied: “What are you saying, what are you saying about those who were harmed when they took the land, what are you saying about them? What are you saying about people who live in this country and do not have land? What are you saying about people who were forcefully removed on their land? Landowners turned into slaves, what are you saying, what are you saying?” (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:1144).

The issue of land exposed the shaky foundation of the consensus around history and the notions of reconciliation, social cohesion and nation-building between the different parties. It could not survive in the heat of battle and collapsed completely when faced with the raw emotion attached to the land question.

A new life for *Dubula ibhunu*

On September 12, 2011 Lamont ruled that the song constituted hate speech. He interdicted the ANC and Malema from singing *Dubula ibhunu* at any private or public meeting. Lamont ruled that “the morality of society dictates that persons should refrain from using the words [and] singing the song”. Lamont said he considered whether the song’s “place in our heritage” should give a singer an “overriding right… to sing the song” even if it constituted hate speech (Lamont, 2011:32, 68). The song’s status as heritage was separated from the singer. It could still be viewed as heritage, but could be placed in a museum instead of being sung.

ANC lawyer Leslie Mkhabela said the “effect was not limited to one song”. “These lyrics traverse many other struggle songs. This is like rewriting the hymn book of struggle songs” (Du Plessis, 2011). This was an example of the biblical imagery that surrounded the trial. The Freedom Charter was also described as an ANC bible. It revealed the same type of reverence as could be seen in the testimony regarding history and the notion that it could not be changed.

The ANC was “appalled” by the judgment. The party’s spokesman, Jackson Mthembu, said the ANC would “explore every possibility to defend our history, our heritage and our traditions” (Du Plessis, 2011). According to Dlodlo, the judgment “clearly seeks to erase this legacy of the glorious people’s army, uMkhonto weSizwe... To take this [songs] away from people who gave their all for the liberation of this country, is to literally defecate on the graves of Sisulu, Luthuli and literally spitting in the face of a living Mandela and surviving members of the Luthuli detachment…. So to say that these songs incite murder or violence towards a certain racial group is not only false and malicious, but also mischievous and cruel in its nature because this is only an attempt to kill a history… It is sad, very sad that our courts can rape our history and legacy in the way that Judge Lamont has…” (Dlodlo, 2011).

The judgment did not mean the end of *Dubula ibhunu*. Its life after it was banned demonstrated the constraints of the institution of a court. It was sung immediately after the ruling by a group of supporters outside the South Gauteng High Court (Hlongwane, 2011). According to Gunner (2009:36), songs "travel… sometimes they are reborn and they give birth. They are the midwives to new ideas and new social visions". This was exactly what happened to *Dubula ibhunu*. The song gained a new life as a protest song and was sung at strikes and outside courtrooms.

In March 2012, COSATU and ANCYL supporters sang *Dubula ibhunu* during a march over labour brokers and Gauteng's e-tolling system in Cape Town (Child, Peterson, Louw, Mdletshe & Nombembe, 2012). In May 2012, it was sung in Ventersdorp outside the court room were Chris Mahlangu and an eighteen-year-old youth appeared for the murder of right-wing leader Eugene Terre'Blanche (Sapa, 2012c). The song was possibly sung at Ventersdorp because Terre'Blanche could be viewed as the ultimate 'Boer' against whom the song was directed. The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), of which Terre'Blanche was the leader, said his murder in April 2010 was "directly linked" to the song (Sapa, 2010b). ANC supporters also sang *Dubula ibhunu* outside the South Gauteng High Court during an urgent application by the ANC, Zuma and Zuma's children to remove *The Spear* painting, which depicted Zuma in a Lenin-style pose with his genitals exposed, from the Goodman Gallery.[153] They also wanted images of the painting to be removed from the website of the *City Press* newspaper (Nkomo, 2012; Subramany, 2012 & Van Wyk, 2012).[154]

The song also echoed during the mining strikes in the second half of 2012. Malema was trying to fight his way back into the ANC, and was attempting to use *Dubula ibhunu* as his rallying call to revive his political career. Malema, who had by then been expelled from the ANC, re-appeared on the public stage after the Marikana killings in which thirty-four mineworkers were killed. Marikana gave Malema a stage to air his views, since he could no longer speak at official ANC events after his expulsion from the party. After the killings at Marikana, Malema visited the mine and several others in Gauteng and the North West. Malema addressed frustrated miners in the two provinces, urging them to remain resolute in their demand for a R12 500 salary. During these visits Malema criticised mine bosses, the ANC and its leader Zuma, and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) (Bauer, 2012c; Lamprecht, 2012b;

[153] See Hassim (2014) for more on the "The Spear".
[154] The ANC withdrew the court application against the Goodman Gallery and *City Press* after it reached a "mutual understanding" with both. The newspaper removed a picture of Brett Murray's *The Spear* from its website and the gallery removed *The Spear* from display (Hlongwane, 2012).

Mahlangu, Kgosana, Hosken & Memela, 2012; Mbanjwa, 2012; Sapa, 2012d & *The Star,* 2012).

Malema defied the court ruling in September 2012 and sang the song during a speech to striking mine workers at the Gold Fields' Kloof gold mine complex on the West Rand. He condemned the leaders of the ANC and NUM. "NUM has been hijacked by people who are greedy and fighting for positions in the ANC [who say] you can't strike… [or] fight before Mangaung because you will jeopardise Jacob Zuma" (*The Star,* 2012). Days earlier, addressing Aurora mineworkers in Springs who had not been paid for more than two years after the mine was taken over by Aurora empowerment systems – a company partly owned by Zuma's nephew Khulubuse Zuma and Nelson Mandela's grandson Zondwa Mandela – Malema called white business owners "Boers [who] have hijacked the revolution through the [ANC] leadership". The workers sang *Dubula ibhunu* when Malema arrived (Bauer, 2012c & Mbanjwa, 2012). It seemed that the 'Boers' that had to be "defeated" were no longer quite the same ones Malema were singing against when he sang *Dubula ibhunu* in 2010. Then he was still part of the ANC, and his disciplinary problems had not yet begun.

During the trial, Malema testified that people who still hold on to "ideals of oppression… must be defeated" when asked against whom the song was directed at. "This song is an historic song which is still relevant to the current conditions of our struggle… The system is ideals of oppression which people still believe, some of them, still believe in those and those people must be defeated" (AfriForum vs Malema, 2011:1076). The 'Boers' that the mineworkers and Malema were singing against in 2012 could be seen to include Zuma, the ANC and NUM. Malema's criticism of Zuma was certainly also influenced by the ANC's National Conference that would be held in Mangaung in December 2012. The ANCYL wanted then-ANC Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe to succeed Zuma as President. Malema said he would reapply for his ANC membership if Zuma was defeated at Mangaung (Du Plessis & Ndlangisa, 2012).

The clearest sign that Malema and his supporters saw Zuma as a 'Boer' that had to be "defeated" was the appearance of new lyrics when Malema appeared in court in September 2012 for money laundering and fraud charges. Malema supporters changed the words of *Dubula ibhunu* to *Dubul iZuma* (shoot Zuma) during a night vigil and on the morning of Malema's court appearance in Polokwane (De Wet, 2012; *News24,* 2012b & Sapa, 2012e).

However, Malema and his trademark song were not given much time to gather momentum. He was prevented by the ANC from occupying the spotlight when the party reached a

settlement with AfriForum and TAU SA over the song in October 2012 (Magome, 2012). [155] The settlement took the sting out of the song. It was no longer banned and lost its subversive character. The parties announced they had reached an agreement just a day before the case was to be heard in the Supreme Court of Appeal (Du Plessis, 2012).[156]

Conclusion

Utilising Discourse Sociolinguistics to analyse the *Dubula ibhunu* court transcripts revealed the power battles that took place within the trial, as well as how heritage, and specifically struggle songs, helped to drive these contests. It also illuminated the significance that is attached to ideas of history and heritage as well as the very words 'history' and 'heritage'. Both became profoundly significant in the battle to demand protection for various practices and perspectives and to defend specific ideological and political territories. This case study allowed for a re-examination of the rules of engagement governing these contests that took place on the heritage stage. The battle between the two parties was anything but a clearly defined one between 'us' and 'them'. Instead, it was characterised by trade-offs as they borrowed from each other's heritage, bringing different foundational myths into contact with one another and playing different forms of commemoration up against one another. It also demonstrated that the parties had inherited the habit of thinking of a separate 'black' and 'white' history from the apartheid era.

Both parties employed beliefs around history as incontestable and unchanging as well as the desirability of reconciliation as part of their trial strategies. Although these ideas were mobilised in different ways to strengthen their respective arguments, it worked, as it was based on a shared consensus around these notions. The consensus was not necessarily authentic and was likely part of a staged performance put on not only for the judge, but most importantly for the multiple publics following the trial. The consensus was, however, fragile ─ with the parties' arguments departing from each other as they battled it out. The consensus completely crumbled when faced with the issue of land reform. The trial can potentially be seen as a sign of what was to come. Although the ANC's witnesses were still largely holding on to the notion

[155] According to the settlement agreement: "The ANC and Malema recognise that certain words in certain struggle songs may be experienced as hurtful by members of minority communities; the ANC and Malema commit to counselling and encouraging their respective leadership and supporters to act with restraint to avoid the experience of such hurt; the parties agree that it is crucial to mutually recognise and respect the right of all communities to celebrate and protect their cultural heritage and freedom; and the parties commit to a continued formal dialogue between leaders of the ANC and leaders of AfriForum, TAU SA and other interested parties to promote mutual understanding of their respective cultural heritages and aspirations" (AfriForum, 2012c).
[156] Just five days after the agreement was announced *Dubula ibhunu* again made an appearance. ANC supporters sang the song when then DA leader Helen Zille attempted to march to Zuma's Nkandla homestead over the renovations at the residence. Zuma would reportedly only pay 5% of the total R248-million the renovations would reportedly cost (Mgaga & Dzanibe, 2012).

of reconciliation, its strength was starting to wane. Its weakness was further exposed during the *Rhodes* and *Fees Must Fall* protests that erupted approximately four years later. Malema himself had by then emerged as a thorn in the ANC's side, using the failure of both land reform and Mandela's vision of reconciliation as foundations for his revival.

The song's deployment after the judgment also showed the futility of the parties' attempts to control its utilisation. This comes to the fore more clearly in the next chapter, when I explore the place of song at the ANC's National Conference in Mangaung in December 2012.

CHAPTER FIVE

The road to Mangaung and beyond

Introduction

On December 16, 2012, 4500 delegates from ANC branches across South Africa gathered on the University of the Free State (UFS) campus for the party's fifty-third National Conference. Over the next five days, delegates would vote for the party's top six positions as well as choose the eighty members that would sit on the party's National Executive Committee (NEC). Song played a significant role in the party's succession battle, with the main conference marquee pulsating with rhythms and gestures deployed to fortify particular leaders and attack and weaken others.

This utilisation of song was, however, not unexpected. Seven years earlier, *Umshini Wami* (My Machine Gun) burst onto South Africa's political stage. Jacob Zuma, at the time the country's Deputy President, reactivated the old struggle song and mobilised it as a potent weapon in his journey to the ANC's conference in 2007, where he defeated President Thabo Mbeki to ascend to the ANC's presidency. *Umshini Wami* was certainly not just a song. The song, together with Zuma's rise to the top, signalled a profound rupture in South African politics, as Raymond Suttner (2009a & 2009b)[157] and, to a lesser extent, Liz Gunner (2009) demonstrate. A new political discourse was emerging, as their analyses show: One in which questions would come to the fore about the future trajectory of South Africa's young democracy. Would Zuma's leadership bring power to the people, as the well-known apartheid rallying call envisaged? Would the principles of the country's constitutional democracy, including those relating to gender equality, survive? What would the place be of 'African traditions', or versions of such 'traditions'?

While the long-term effects of this new discourse and the questions it raised were still unclear, Zuma was about to enter a new era of his political life. In Mangaung, he was no longer the outsider fighting for survival, but the incumbent President standing for re-election. Once again, Zuma heralded the beginning of the new phase with a song. It would not be his familiar battle cry that carried him to the presidency in Polokwane. Instead, he chose a different song: A

[157] In Suttner's (2009a) article, entitled "The Zuma era – its historical context and the future", his argument differs slightly in terms of the rupture. According to Suttner (2009a:55), the manner in which Zuma leads represents "a break with the leadership tradition that has been bequeathed to the ANC" – he includes Walter and Albertina Sisulu, Chief Albert Luthuli and former President Nelson Mandela as part of this tradition. However, in terms of the difference between Zuma and his predecessor, Thabo Mbeki, Suttner argues that there is not a "substantial ideological difference" between the two leaders, "but difference in style, manifested particularly in 'war talk' and actions that threaten the constitution" (Suttner, 2009a:28).

much gentler and virtually unknown song, evoking the iconic symbol of former President Nelson Mandela. Questions that this chapter addresses include: Why would Zuma deploy this specific song at that time? What messages was he trying to send his followers? What has been the fate of the song since the conference?

Furthermore, I explore the significant role of song more broadly at the Mangaung conference. *Umshini Wami* forms the starting point of my study, as its scholarly treatment by both Gunner (2009) and Suttner (2009b) alerted me to its significance and the importance of song as a whole. Both also make a valuable contribution to the methodological framework utilised in the examination of the songs performed at Mangaung. The two scholars come to radically different conclusions about the meanings of the song and its significance for the political road Zuma chose. Gunner (2009) sees the song as speaking to a constituency that had been alienated by the presidency of Mbeki. For Suttner (2009b), the song signals a particular political trajectory – most noticeable in its gendered message – that includes a potential defiance of the Constitution. Both scholars treat *Umshini Wami* as both a political barometer and an instrument – as something much more than just a song.

Zuma and the machine gun

Umshini Wami erupted onto the post-apartheid political stage in 2005. Zuma, then still Deputy President of South Africa, performed the song in Durban during the trial of businessman and former ANC activist Schabir Shaik. Zuma was later dismissed by Mbeki for his relationship with Shaik (Gunner, 2009:28).[158] The song was first composed during the struggle to convey the longing from MK soldiers to return to South Africa and fight. According to a former MK soldier, it was performed by singers from the Cetshwayo base at a cultural competition at a MK camp in Angola. They won the competition easily and the song "soon became widely known and very popular" (Gunner, 2009:42). Gunner traces its roots back to Zulu song: The "song's deep aesthetic appeal… may have come from its melodic and rhythmic similarity with *amahubo empi* (war songs) and with the slow dignity of clan *amahubo*" (Gunner, 2009:42).

[158] In June 2005, Shaik, Zuma's financial advisor, was found guilty on two counts of fraud and one of corruption. He was released on medical parole in March 2009. After Shaik's guilty verdict, Mbeki announced that he had "released" Zuma from his position as South Africa's Deputy President. In December 2007, after his victory at the ANC's conference in Polokwane, Zuma was charged with fraud, corruption, money laundering and racketeering. In September 2008, Judge Chris Nicholson granted Zuma's application to have the charges dismissed and agreed that there were signs of a conspiracy. Eight days later Mbeki stood down as President. The ANC recalled him after Nicholson's ruling found that Mbeki might have been involved in a political conspiracy against Zuma. In January 2009, the Supreme Court of Appeal set aside Nicholson's judgment. In April 2009, Mokotedi Mpshe, the acting National Director of Public Prosecutions, announced that charges against Zuma would be dropped. In May that year Zuma was sworn in as South Africa's President. The DA approached the courts over the decision and in April 2016, the High Court in Pretoria set aside Mpshe's decision on the basis that it was irrational. Zuma and the National Prosecuting Authority has applied to appeal the ruling (Bateman 2017; Davis, 2009; Evans 2016 & Reuters & Sapa, 2008).

At the 2006 rape trial, *Umshini Wami* occupied centre stage with Zuma and his followers, holding handmade model rifles made from cardboard and wood, singing the song and dancing "triumphantly like warriors returning from a successful battle" (Msomi, 2006 & Sapa, 2006).[159] It would also feature at the ANC's National Conference in 2007 where Zuma became President of the ANC (Gunner, 2009:32-33). As this chapter will show, he has largely replaced the song with a new trademark composition, but the song has certainly not disappeared and continues to be a hit with his supporters.[160] It should be noted that Zuma does not perform *Umshini Wami* in the same way on each occasion. In this way, the archive is continuously recreated with each performance.[161] He generally sings it with one or both his fists above his shoulders, making circular movements with his hands. At times, he looks like a warrior ready to attack with a spear, while at other times he dances rhythmically and eggs the crowd on to sing with him. He emphasises different words and varies how he collaborates with his audience, who plays the role of a choir. On occasion, Zuma, who was ordained as an honorary pastor in 2007 (Smith, 2011), sings the words *umshini wam* in a melodic, almost hymn-like way, resembling a lead singer or pastor in a church. The choir answers back by singing ***awuleth' umshini wam***.[162] The combination of the voices singing different parts of the song creates a four-part harmony that seems to be at odds with the threat contained in the lyrics, which suggests the imminent deployment of a machine gun. This contradiction ─ between the lyrics of a song and the melodious manner in which it is performed ─ was also present in the ANC's Amandla Cultural Ensemble, which was created in the late 1970s (See Chapter Three, p. 81).[163]

Zuma's ability to lead people in song is not a skill he has employed only in a post-1994 context. Ebrahim Ebrahim, who shared a cell with him on Robben Island after being arrested for

[159] Zuma was acquitted of rape charges in May 2006 (Blair, 2006).
[160] At an event in Port Elizabeth on April 8, 2016 – just eight days after the Constitutional Court judgment found Zuma had failed to "uphold, defend and respect the constitution" by disregarding the remedial action against him by former Public Protector Thuli Madonsela over upgrades at this Nkandla home – Zuma "mesmerised the audience with his trademark song", *Umshini Wami*. After Zuma reshuffled his Cabinet in March 2017 and dismissed Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan, and Deputy Finance Minister, Mcebisi Jonas, he opened the Mbizana rural enterprise development hub in Mbizana, Eastern Cape. He sang *Umshini Wami* before his address and "the large marquee went into raptures as the crowds joined the president in the song" (Ngcukana, 2016; Ngcukana, 2017 & Seale, 2016). Zuma has also sung both of his songs at political gatherings and rallies. This is discussed later in this chapter. (See p. 207).
[161] I draw here on the works of Muller (2002), Jorritsma (2011), and Hamilton on song and the archive. See Chapter One, pp. 27-28 & Chapter Three, pp. 102-104).
[162] Zuma often describes the ANC in biblical terms. In campaigns for elections in 2004, 2009 and 2016, Zuma said that the ANC will "rule until Jesus comes back" (Munusamy, 2013 & Ngoepe, 2016). Ahead of the ANC's January 8 statement in 2017, Zuma said, referring to the founding of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), later known as the ANC, in 1912: "As a nation we must never forget the day because it's like the day Jesus was born" (Gallens, 2017). Zuma has, however, also blamed Christianity for the prevalence of orphans and old-age homes. In 2011, he was quoted as saying: "As Africans, long before the arrival of religion and [the] gospel, we had our own ways of doing things. Those were times that the religious people refer to as dark days, but we know that during those times, there were no orphans or old-age homes. Christianity has brought along these things" (Smith, 2011).
[163] See AP (2015); Mammburuu (2008); *News24* (2015) & Weslanderonline (2013) for videos of Zuma's performances of *Umshini Wami*.

sabotage in 1963, recalled that Zuma sang on the boat to the Island. “He was a good singer, because we would sing freedom songs and he would lead the singing of these songs” (Frykberg, 2017; RFI, 2009 & Russell, 2009). Zuma’s biographer, Jeremy Gordin (2010:20), wrote that Zuma “organised a choral group that sang mainly liberation songs” on the Island. Zuma’s charisma as a performer is also reflected in the way he told stories on the Island. According to Ebrahim, Zuma had “a remarkable memory – there are advantages to coming from a predominately oral culture… he would start telling a story – say about Shaka… at night in the cell – and then he would have to stop. But he would carry on the next night where he left off. The other prisoners were spellbound” (Gordin, 2010:21).

Former Constitutional Court Judge and ANC anti-apartheid activist Albie Sachs traces the roots of Zuma’s utilisation of song to his time in exile in Mozambique. Sachs (2016) believes that Zuma could have been influenced by former Mozambican president Samora Machel’s use of song. Zuma “would have seen Samora Machel in Mozambique. Samora was a brilliant orator and he sang a lot. He connected up very powerfully with the audience with humour and the singing… Zuma was the ANC chief rep in Mozambique for a number of years. I think that would have influenced him, consciously or unconsciously”.

Umshini Wami, with its perceived violent threats linked to the lyrics that call for a machine gun, created much debate when it was performed on the political stage in post-apartheid South Africa. Zuma defended his choice of song, saying: “If you erase the songs, you erase the record of history” (Mangena, 2007). This statement positions song as a significant, oral part of the record of history. Contests over how history is written are not acknowledged – there is only a single record. Such arguments also emerged in the *Dubula ibhunu* trial – both the ANC and AfriForum argued that history was history: It could not be destroyed and was incontestable.

Some within the ANC supported Zuma’s right to sing the song. Pallo Jordan, then Minister of Arts and Culture, defended the song in line with the idea adopted by a part of the ANC that only one stage of the revolution had thus far been accomplished. “In any revolution one of the mobilising tools is culture and music .... Why should we abandon it?” Zola Skweyiya, at the time Minister of Social Development, evoked the image of the church: “Just like in church, everyone had his favourite song. The ANC is a broad church” (Mangena, 2007). These two defences point to two sets of beliefs within the ANC: One of the party as a broad church and the other of the party leading an unfinished revolution. However, there were also those in the ANC who were opposed to Zuma singing the song. Criticism echoed the volatile political environment in 2007, when Zuma was campaigning to become ANC President. The song became a symbol of Zuma’s rising political star. Those that were hoping to stop the ‘Zunami’

from reaching the presidency also spoke out against the song. Mosiuoa Lekota, former ANC Chairperson who later broke away from the ruling party to form the Congress of the People (COPE) in 2008, was a fierce Zuma critic in the build-up to the ANC's conference in 2007 and said that only *izibanhxa* (idiots or brain-dead people) still sang songs like *Umshini Wami*. ANC veteran and one of the Rivonia trialist, Andrew Mlangeni, said the song was "no longer relevant today". He said: "The song has military character used during the struggle against apartheid... It basically says: 'Give me my weapon, I am going to fight apartheid'. Who are you fighting? Your own people? The fight is over and that song must no longer be sung" (De Lange & Williams, 2007; Du Toit, 2008; Essop & Joubert, 2007 & Mangena, 2007).

People commenting on news websites[164] claimed the song was "inciting violence", was "inappropriate" and meant to "intimidate the judiciary and witnesses" during Zuma's court appearances. Others said there was "nothing wrong" with the song, as it was an old struggle song. It "is just a song" that showed that there "are still a lot of challenges ahead that require the same spirit of comradeship" (Shange, 2007). This is in contrast to Zuma's statement that equated struggle songs with the record of history. Song was vacillating between something enormously potent and being "just a song". The song, however, gained a darker meaning when it emerged that people in Alexandra and other areas sang *Umshini Wami* while attacking foreigners during the xenophobic violence in 2008 (Mbanjwa, 2008).

Interpretations of *Umshini Wami*

Although some claimed *Umshini Wami* was "just a song", the analyses of Suttner (2009b) and, to a lesser extent, Gunner (2009) show that it in fact signalled a transformation in South Africa's politics, as mentioned in this chapter's introduction. The song both heralded and drove this break. It was not a passive broadcaster of the new phase: It played a pivotal role in mobilising support for Zuma and fortifying the 'Zunami' that engulfed those that opposed him.

Both Gunner and Suttner focus analytical attention on the song and the work it was doing. In hindsight – ten years after the ANC's Polokwane conference – both have been proven right in attaching such significance to the song and what it told us about the change in the kind of politics that was emerging in South Africa. Their conclusions about the exact nature of this shift are, however, radically different, as I show below. It is important to remain aware of the publication dates of their works – in 2009 – in how we now interpret the conclusions they reach

[164] Comments on websites are not necessarily representative of the bigger population, as not everyone has access to the internet. People also tend to comment using anonymous names and make comments that they might not make using their own names.

about the song's meaning. Gunner's (2009) argument about the return of power to the people after the alienating years of the Mbeki presidency is supported by the reaction of Zuma's supporters after his victory was announced in Polokwane in December 2007. Euphoric supporters heralded his triumph as the dawn of a new era. Maria Mabaso of KwaZulu-Natal said: "I'm so happy. Everything is going to change because Zuma cares about the people". Emile Louis Enock, also from Zuma's home province, said: "I am very pleased. Trade unions will have a voice now" (Wolmarans, Burbidge & Sapa-AFP, 2007). Despite this elation, Suttner (2009b) sees this new era in a much more negative light. He argues it signalled something dangerous: A rejection of the values espoused in the Constitution, particularly regarding gender equality. Below I discuss their respective analyses and conclusions which reveal a number of features that are important to my study of song at Mangaung

Gunner directs my attention to the visceral manner in which these songs recall the memories of the struggle and the impact this has on present-day politics in South Africa. Zuma and *Umshini Wami* became synonymous and the song was "almost a part of his… skin," Gunner asserts (2009:27, 32). She recognises that a song can get away from its singers and points to its "instability… its unruliness and uncontrollability". It "began to have a life of its own", she says about *Umshini Wami* (Gunner, 2009:27-28, 34).

In her analysis, Gunner explores reasons for the potency of *Umshini Wami*. She argues that one of the reasons for the song's effect lies in its struggle roots. It was not a new composition, but a song "from the belly of the struggle", she states (Gunner, 2009:38). Although she says, citing a former MK comrade, that the song was composed as part of a cultural competition in an MK camp in Angola, Gunner locates it in the heat of war: It "evoked the years of pre-1994 resistance to the apartheid regime, the tense urban gatherings and the mass funerals". Gunner argues that struggle songs could "collapse time" and "bring back the image or complex of memories and particular political character of an earlier era" (Gunner, 2009:38-40, 42-43). According to Gunner (2009:40,42), the song "allowed the memories" of the struggle "to resurface" and was a powerful instrument Zuma used to remind people of his struggle credentials.[165]

As mentioned above, the song both signalled and drove the political rupture taking place in South Africa. We might ask where the momentum for this break came from. This raises the question of the role of individual agency in the journey and reach of a song.

[165] Zuma was a member of MK and was imprisoned for ten years on Robben Island (SAHO, n.d. g)

Gunner views the machine gun as a symbol of agency for the people. The song performed a "crucial role in creating a public, indeed different publics for Jacob Zuma" and "acted as a catalyst for the involvement of multiple publics in the wider public sphere". The machine gun Zuma sang about therefore represented "agency, and the ability of the individual sanctioned by the group to bring about change". According to Gunner, it became the way in which an ANC faction, at that stage the relegated outsiders unhappy with South Africa under Mbeki, "seized back agency and the power to determine the flow of change". These outsiders also included COSATU, the SACP and women with carboard machine guns outside court rooms where Zuma appeared (Gunner, 2009:28, 30-33, 38, 43). Gunner's conclusion – of the song providing agency to the masses – is likely influenced by her focus on the deployment of song by leaders. She tends to ascribe a collective meaning to song and does not explore the question of individual agency. (See Chapter One, pp. 29-30).

Allen (2004), however, raises the importance of considering both the agency of the group and the individual in how we read song. According to her, a "powerful political force" can be created when "individual experience can be articulated while simultaneously receiving affirmation from a group". This can help people survive oppression. Referring to protest marches during apartheid, Allen asserts that "each of these mass spectacles equally provides a platform for the display of individual choice and inflection: all participants have their own repertoire of favourite compositions; each participant could be projecting himself or herself to a slightly different imagined audience…". Music can thus "function as a site of both individual and group agency" (Allen, 2004:4-5, 9). Allen furthermore suggests that what the audience *does* with a song is most important. In essence, what "matters about a composition is how it is used", and not what the aims of its author are, or what an audience says a song means. If a popular song becomes a protest song, for example, then its meaning is found in protest (Allen, 2004:12).

Despite Gunner's tendency to ascribe a collective meaning driven by a leader, one should fully acknowledge the strength of her multi-faceted argument about why the song worked and circulated so widely. She shows us that the song worked because it resonated strongly with people. The "discussions it triggered took place under trees, at bus stops, in taxis, shebeens, coffee shops and bars….". The song even became a cellphone ringtone, states Gunner (2009:30, 32). Song also operates in a sonic eco-system with other popular forms. According to Gunner (2009:28, 43-46), Zuma's song had a partner and supporter in a song by a *maskandi* group, *Izingane ZoMa* (Mother's Children). The group recorded a song, entitled *Msholozi* ─ referring to one of Zuma's clan praise names ─ in November 2005 and released it on audio-cassette and CD. The song was banned on the Zulu station Ukhozi FM, but thousands of copies were sold.

Gunner argues that there were several reasons for the appeal of *Umshini Wami*. She alerts me to the importance of people reacting to the sense that it had a long genealogy. According to Gunner, Zuma's followers "recognized it as part of a social language that they knew". It demonstrated the "shared knowledge and cultural commonality" of his supporters. Whether it was at a political rally or at a funeral, the ritual would be the same: A leader would start dancing and singing a song as he/she walks up to the stage and the audience would follow. *Umshini Wami* was a short song, but its call and answer format encouraged people to join in and it was easily repeated. As already discussed above, Gunner also argues that its struggle roots and the visceral manner in which it brought back memories of the struggle contributed to its potency (Gunner, 2009:33, 35-36, 37-40, 43).

Gunner furthermore refers to the timing of the song's 'release' as another reason for its success, describing its comeback as "superbly timed" and as the "particular genius of the song" (Gunner, 2009:43). It's 'release' "seemed to coincide with a particular structure of feeling in the country, namely a widespread anxiety and dissatisfaction concerning the nature of governance…". At a time when the public arena was full of "images of suited politicians" and the "dancing bodies and the performed language of the struggle were a distant echo", Zuma, simultaneously a persecuted politician and a brave freedom fighter, came to the rescue, bursting on to the stage with a struggle song (Gunner, 2009:38, 43). Its reintroduction represented and merged both Zuma's personal political struggle and the more general feelings of disenchantment with the 'new' South Africa. Zuma's impeccable timing furthermore suggests that his supporters were not simply being dragged along by him, but embraced him and the song because of the way they seemed to speak to current issues.

Gunner's analysis is significant, as it reveals how central song's deployment can be in post-apartheid politics. She brings to light some of the reasons for its potent effect, including the way it revives memories of the struggle against apartheid at a point of disenchantment. These reasons are valuable in considering the journey of Zuma's 'new' song after Mangaung. Her analysis also contributes to creating a framework from which I can approach my study of song. As discussed in Chapter One, she, however, assumes that an organic transmission of song takes place. She sees the public as being consumed with longing and nostalgia for the struggle, and Zuma recalling it for them. However, this study is particularly interested in highlighting Zuma's remaking of the archive and his consciousness of the historical record ─ he believes that what he calls the historical record is important, and sees it as singular and uncontested. This thesis does not consider his deployment of song as a mere resuscitation of an old song from the struggle. Zuma's utilisation of song is characterised by mediation,

deliberation and recalibration. These processes all come to the fore in my analysis of the songs performed at Mangaung.

Suttner (2009b) evaluates the song in the context of the Zuma rape trial and the volatility of the broader political landscape during that period. He approaches his analysis from a feminist perspective and uses gender as an analytical concept to read Zuma's discourse and its implications.[166] Gender issues are central to the way in which politics is being conducted. "Questions of masculinity, gender, and sexuality are central to the representation of the Zuma phenomenon as a political force". The trial, including events outside the court-room, was characterised by "gender stereotypes… [and] stereotypical expectations of how women should or should not behave in situations prior to and during a rape". The judge, for example, questioned why the complainant, named Khwezi[167] to protect her identity, did not say "no", did not call out for help, and why she stayed at the house for the rest of the night (Suttner, 2009b:223, 227-228).[168]

Suttner (2009b:225) highlights an important aspect regarding how we view the trial. He reminds us that the rape trial cannot be separated from the highly contested, explosive political context of 2006. There was a widespread perception that Zuma was the target of a conspiracy devised by Mbeki and his followers to prevent him from becoming President, with some Zuma supporters seeing the rape charge as part of this conspiracy. Suttner makes it clear that he is not aiming to advance or refute such theories by including them, but that it is necessary to see the theories "as part of the public discourse surrounding the trial". It also allowed Zuma to "mobilize support, claiming that he had been unjustly treated".

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[166] In this article, Suttner draws on feminist scholars such as Valerie Bryson, Susan Edwards, Pumla Dineo Gqola and Nomboniso Gasa. He refers to other feminist scholars such as Shireen Hassim, Natasha Erlank and Elaine Unterhalter in some of his other works on the ANC. See, for example, Suttner, R. 2005. Masculinities in the African National Congress-led liberation movement: The underground period. *Kleio*. 37(1):71-106.

[167] Khwezi (meaning star) was the name given to the complainant, Fezekile Kuzwayo, by activists. On August 6, 2016, ten years after Zuma's rape trial, four women held an anti-rape silent protest at the results centre of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in Pretoria when Zuma made a live televised address after the local government elections results were declared. The four women held up placards with the phrases "Khanga", "Remember Khwezi" "10 years later" "I am one in 3". The kanga was a prominent part of his rape trial, as Zuma referred to Khwezi wearing a kanga as one of the factors that showed that she was willing to have sex with him. In April 2008, Khwezi, who was living in the Netherlands with her mother after it was decided that it would be safer to leave South Africa due to the anger of Zuma's supporters, responded to the verdict in a poem "I am Khanga". She died on October 8, 2016 (Gifford & Maughan, 2006; Hassim, 2009:58; Makhubu, 2016; Nair & Malefane, 2016 & *News24*, 2016).

[168] According to Hassim (2009:57), "gender politics… took a nasty turn and exposed… the underbelly of post-apartheid South Africa" during the trial. According to Hassim (2009:61), the protection of sexual and gender rights in the Constitution largely "represented an elite consensus… [and] arose out of a commitment to human rights in the ANC, rather than out of a broad public deliberative process". The "extent of popular support for extensive equality rights is erratic at best". There are two reasons for this disconnect. Firstly, not much attention was given to feminist ideology in discussions about democracy. It was rejected as alien and western. This also made it almost impossible to advance a broad public debate on sexual equality in which different viewpoints were considered and discussed. Secondly, argues Hassim, the women's movement was also not "strongly institutionalised" (Hassim, 2009:61-62).

Suttner's insight into the political context is certainly influenced by his political background. During the apartheid years, he served two prison sentences. He was arrested in 1975 and tortured with electric shocks because he refused to supply information to the police. He then served eight years in prison because of his underground activities for the ANC and SACP. He was re-detained in 1986 for twenty-seven months – eighteen of these were spent in solitary confinement (Suttner, 2017). In his article, Suttner (2009b:224) describes himself as not an "innocent bystander". He details how his sentiment towards Zuma changed over the years. He initially saw him as "embodying an image of all that was best in the ANC". By the 1990s, that "romanticism evaporated and turned into scepticism". During the Shaik trial in 2004 and 2005, Suttner felt sympathy for Zuma over details of his financial position being publicly revealed. However, in the run-up to the national elections in 2009, the sympathy had disappeared, as "Zuma and his acolytes incited closure of debate, embracing war talk and a religious aura around voting ANC and the person of Zuma" (Suttner, 2009b:224).

Suttner draws attention to Zuma's utilisation of 'Zulu culture' during the trial. He turned to ethnic identity, depicting himself as "an embodiment of Zulu culture" with the case becoming a "major site of focus on Zulu culture and masculinity," states Suttner (2009b:225-226). Zuma's turn to ethnic identity during the case in itself signals a change in political direction as the ANC had ascribed to a principal of non-racialism for many decades, although as Suttner (2009b:226) points out, there had been claims made in the past that the ANC was dominated by Xhosa-speaking people. An example of Zuma's deployment of 'Zulu' culture during the trial was the argument that there are expectations in 'Zulu' culture that a man must satisfy the desires of a woman if he understands her to be "aroused", as Zuma claimed the complainant was. However, as Suttner points out, we should not view the account of 'Zulu' culture that was portrayed by Zuma as "being Zulu culture per se as various interpretations of that culture are and were available". Suttner argues that the '100% Zuluboy'[169] identity embraced by Zuma during the trial had perhaps less to do with Zuma being an actual "ethnic chauvinist", but was rather opportunistically put to use for political reasons. "Like many African politicians who have mobilized or seen their support emerge on that basis, he [Zuma] has done nothing to discourage it" (Suttner, 2009b:225-226).

[169] The term 'Zuluboy' was first used in emails and chatroom communication alleged to have been between ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) member Saki Macozoma, Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka and other ANC and government officials accused of being part of a conspiracy against Zuma. The e-mails were widely viewed as a hoax, but did not stop Zuma's supporters from adopting the term and wearing T-shirts with the slogan "100% Zuluboy". Zuluboy is an insulting township slang term used to refer to farm boys (Msomi, 2006).

Zuma's performance during the trial was not the only time he deployed 'Zulu' or 'African tradition'. During an address to the National House of Traditional Leaders in the run-up to the ANC's Mangaung Conference in 2012, Zuma made off-the-cuff comments calling for a return to 'African traditions'. He was likely trying to court the support of these leaders. According to a *City Press* report (2012) on his remarks, Zuma argued for a return to an African way of resolving disputes and a rejection of "the white man's way". He also criticised black people "who become too clever", saying "they become the most eloquent in criticising themselves about their own traditions and everything". Buthelezi (2016) directs attention to the contradictions found in such calls or comments by leaders that evoke 'African culture' or plead for a return to 'African ways'. It is "ironic" that a leader such as Zuma "rejects some 'modern' institutions… but operates within others". He "is president and at the same time advocates the return of 'traditional' leadership" (Buthelezi, 2016:592, 594). Buthelezi alerts us to be on our guard when confronted with arguments about what is 'traditional'. It is often a new interpretation of what 'traditional' is, and co-exists with a range of modern institutions.

Robins (2008) demonstrates why Zuma might have employed 'Zulu tradition' during the trial. According to Robins (2008:422), Zuma's portrayal of himself as the quintessential '100% Zuluboy' had significant legal benefits. It was a deliberate strategy utilised by Zuma, argues Robins. Zuma's performance of his "version of Zulu masculinity… was designed to prop up Zuma's legal defence of consensual sex". Zuma's actions merely reflected how "Zulu men are meant to act" ─ he could therefore not be found guilty of rape as he was merely following the principles of his 'culture'. This "particular understanding of Zulu masculinity was self-consciously fashioned and situationally deployed by Zuma", argues Robins. His performance should also be viewed within the context of the leadership battle between himself and Mbeki. According to Robins, he was trying to position himself as radically different to Mbeki. His performance of an "unblemished virile Zulu masculinity… contrasted starkly with the image of President Mbeki as the (Xhosa) modernist architect of South Africa's rights-based constitutional democracy that is widely perceived to challenge 'African culture' by undermining traditional leadership and promoting gender equity" (Robins, 2008: 416, 418, 422-423).

Returning to the deployment of *Umshini Wami* by Zuma, Suttner argues that the song was "at one level a manifestation of male power over women, a symbolic representation of the power of the gun ─ a phallic symbol". According to Suttner, the firing of the gun is a recognised symbol of ejaculation. He refers to the Katyusha rockets, developed by the former Soviet Union and later employed by the Cubans against the apartheid-era South African Defence Force, that were called "Stalin's organ" as an example. The word *umshini* is also generally used as a euphemism for a penis in some villages and townships. Suttner argues that the

song was “a re-enactment of a rape (that the court found did not take place)”. Zuma’s dance movements also mirrored a sexual act (Suttner, 2009b:229). Suttner does not specifically explain why he believes Zuma and his supporters would sing a song that was a “re-enactment of a rape” while he was on trial for the crime.

Like Gunner, Suttner also considers the song’s genealogy. However, he considers it in a vastly different way: Instead of seeing it in terms of other oral forms and, in particular the function of song during the struggle, Suttner views the gendered nature of the discourse during the trial, including the song, as part of a continuation of a tradition that impacted the construction of masculine identities in the ANC and MK – a “warrior tradition of resistance”. Suttner argues that Zuma’s use of a uniform concept of ‘Zulu culture’ indicated a “re-embodiment” of this warrior tradition which included “a readiness to deploy violence where necessary, a readiness to die, and a capacity to wound or kill… [and] allows for… the *potentiality* of sexual abuse” against women. Suttner refers to cases of abuse in MK camps as examples (Suttner, 2009b:226, 229-232)

Suttner argues that the warrior tradition’s influence over the construction of masculine identities did not disappear after apartheid. It “continues to have considerable resonance because… many cadres felt a sense of betrayal when the ANC embarked on negotiations”. Zuma’s “mode of conduct or militaristic self-representation in and around the rape trial was able to feed into the residual emotion as well as add fuel to these claims”. The trial took place approximately sixteen years after negotiations started and as such the “warrior tradition of resistance” in a sense belonged to an earlier time of struggle and was “even more likely to embrace both the heroic and warped versions of what being a soldier or a warrior entailed”. Many of his followers might not have experienced the struggle, yet still responded “enthusiastically to militaristic symbolism”, argues Suttner (2009b:223, 232).

Suttner (2009a) takes issue with Gunner’s interpretation of the song. He does not agree with her reading of *Umshini Wami* as delivering agency to Zuma’s followers. According to him, Gunner “does not present it as having phallic imagery and in my view wrongly attributes to it provision of agency to the masses” (Suttner, 2009a:45). However, Gunner might not place gender at the centre of her analysis of *Umshini Wami*, but she does not completely ignore it. She acknowledges the existence of gender inequality and injustice in the country at large, which seeps into the song.

Gunner acknowledges the link between the song and issues of gender in post-apartheid South Africa and states that the song is interweaved “in a seamless masculinity with little place for

gendered identities in the new state to come". She considers the "heavy masculinity" present in the song as part of what makes it "powerful [and] unruly". Gunner argues that the song created a clear distinction between those that were considered insiders and those that were judged to be outsiders. This was particularly evident regarding the gendered nature of the discourse during the trial. The song "marked the ugly gender politics that erupted during the case, which showed the weakness of gender equality in the country in spite of the strength of the constitution in this regard" (Gunner, 2009:27, 32, 48). Drawing on the works of several scholars, including Shireen Hassim (2006) and Anne McClintock (1991), Gunner sees the "ugly gender politics" as a legacy of the way the struggle was waged and brought to an end. The question of gender equality was not settled and was overtaken by other priorities. The song therefore "carried as one of its resonances the gendered discourse of nationalism and the unresolved question of the role of women in war" (Gunner, 2009:42-43).

Suttner, however, does not locate the song as part of the debate about the role of women in war. He views the trial and the broader events surrounding it, which included the song, in the here and now and as a direct, clear danger to the gender rights guaranteed under the Constitution. It was a "set-back for gender equality". According to Suttner, the "rhetoric of a certain version of "Zulu culture" came to embody elements most antagonistic to the constitutional protection of gender equality" both during and after the trial (Suttner, 2009b:222, 226, 234). *Umshini Wami* carried a coded message to Zuma's constituencies that women should not benefit from gender equality – a coded message that would be welcomed by those whose identities continued to be informed by the "warrior tradition of resistance".

As I have shown above, the analyses of *Umshini Wami* by Gunner and Suttner are fundamentally different. Gunner approaches her analysis in terms of 'social language' and as part of a long genealogy of song, rooted in the Zulu tradition as well as in the struggle. She argues that the song grants agency to the 'masses' and sketches its journey from the struggle to a democratic South Africa as organic. Gunner does not explore what the song tells us about the state of democracy and respect for the rights enshrined in the Constitution. Although she does include a gender component in her analysis, she ascribes the gendered dimension of the song's performance to a more general, national failure in terms of promoting gender equality. In contrast, Suttner looks at the more sinister meanings of the song. He considers the gendered violence of *Umshini Wami* as central and an integral part of Zuma's portrayal of Zulu masculinity – and hence of the 'authentic' Zulu 'culture' – that he claims to represent. Suttner suggests that Zuma's conduct implies that he would use Zulu 'culture' as his reference point and not the Constitution. His analysis explains why many of Zuma's supporters who

denounced Khwezi outside the court were women – they were brought together by a rejection of some of the rights guaranteed in the Constitution (Suttner, 2009b:226, 234)

By utilising *Umshini Wami* as the basis for their scholarly analyses, both Gunner and Suttner show us something important: Song matters. It has a story to tell. They show that song and its reception and journey have something powerful to say about a particular turn that South African politics took with the rise of the 'Zunami'. Song is not a mere passive spectator, but also determines the direction of this new phase. Their analyses ─ considered in conjunction with the works of Allen (2004), Robins (2008) and Buthelezi (2016) ─ raise significant questions about agency and the relationship between politicians and publics. It also brings to the fore questions regarding the nature of the transmission of song: Should we consider it as something that takes place organically? If we were to take this position, then Zuma could be seen as merely the vehicle for old traditions that might go back beyond the struggle to the time of the Zulu kingdom. However, I would argue that a different picture has begun to emerge: One in which Zuma's talent for refashioning the material for the archive has been revealed. This talent emerges strongly in my analysis of Mangaung's songs. In the next section, I outline my methodological approach for analysing Mangaung's songs and show how I draw on the approach of both Gunner and Suttner as well as several other interpretive modes.

A methodological framework for interpreting Mangaung's songs

My analysis of the songs at Mangaung was based on several methods. The necessity of such an approach was revealed through my study of the works of Suttner (2009b) and Gunner (2009), which alerted me to the complex ways in which song expresses and generates multiple meanings. These meanings emerge in the performance and reception processes ─ as my utilisation of Young's (1992) notion of the counter-monument shows. As discussed in Chapter One, utilising his notion of the counter-monument alerts me to see performance as a "dynamic relationship" (Young 1992:279), and to be aware of the unpredictable nature of reception. (See Chapter One, pp. 8-9). Performance and reception are not static, separate entities. They overlap, intersect and are interwoven in a never-ending cycle as each performance of a song can convey and generate new meanings[170] – which in turn initiates new processes of reception. In this way, song recreates the archive.[171]

[170] I draw here on Coplan & Jules-Rosette (2005:285-286, 305) who argue that a song itself changes as it is performed in different settings over time. (See Chapter One, p. 29).
[171] As already discussed, drawing on the works of Hamilton, Muller (2002) and Jorritsma (2011), I consider song as it is deployed in post-apartheid South Africa as recreating the archive. (See Chapter One, pp. 27-28 and Chapter Three, pp. 102-104).

I found several methods helpful to analyse performance and reception, including the Discourse Sociolinguistics approach employed in the previous chapter. In addition to that, I used techniques of observation as well as formal and informal interviews. I furthermore considered the works of several scholars, including Gunner (2009) and Suttner (2009b), discussed above, as well as the scholarly literature evaluated in Chapter Three in which the lineage of song is traced. The work of Bozzoli (2004), in which she employs the notion of 'theatre' to study the Alexandra Rebellion of 1986, is of particular importance: She alerts me to consider the performances at Mangaung as "political theatre" with scripts, a cast of characters and directors (Bozzoli, 2004:213, 219). (See Chapter Three, pp. 72-75).

Below I first sketch why the moment of performance carries such potency. I then look at the method employed to collect the songs, and the specific elements of performance and reception that were utilised in my study of Mangaung's songs.

The works of several scholars shed light on why the moment of performance is so profoundly significant for those involved in it. According to Anderson (1991:145), a song such as an anthem provides an opportunity for the "echoed physical realization of the imagined community". During the struggle, most comrades never met each other, as they were spread all over the world – in exile in Europe, north America, socialist countries, African countries and MK camps, as well as in South African prisons and townships. They could, however, all sing the same songs, albeit with slight variations. This created an "imagined political community" united by the "imagined sound" (Anderson, 1991:6, 145) of struggle songs. Through singing these old songs today, ANC members who do not necessarily know each other, bring this powerful "imagined political community" back to life. Interviews, which formed an important part of my framework as I discuss later, showed that this community existed on a deeply visceral level.

The strength of this community is bolstered by the fact that it draws on, and re-activates, the collective memory of those participating in its present-day performance. An important function of collective memory on display at Mangaung, is the notion that collective memory does not recognise that events in the past are over. Collective memory is a "current of continuous thought whose continuity is not at all artificial, for it retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive" (Halbwachs, 1980:80). According to Halbwachs (1980:85), when the group "considers its own past, [it]… feels strongly that it has remained the same…". At Mangaung, the notion that the struggle was not over was most prominently and loudly demonstrated by the powerful role of struggle songs that continued to echo eighteen years after the country's first democratic elections. Zuma's

singing of two old struggle songs about ANC icons reactivated the memories of the struggle in a visceral manner and produced rich meaning, as my analysis will show.[172]

The presence of entanglement in the postcolony, in the sense of the concept used by Achille Mbembe (2001) in which he emphasises its temporal qualities, reveals why the mobilisation of these collective memories would be particularly potent in the post-apartheid society. According to Mbembe (2001:16), the time of entanglement is "not a series but an *interlocking* of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures…". Performance amplifies this mobilisation of collective memory as memory is held in the body, as Connerton (1989:72) and Muller (2002:417) point out.[173] The performance moment is thus key. It is at the moment of performance that the bodies of a lead singer and the choir are transported to simultaneously exist in the past, present and future. The visceral effect that performing together can produce helps explain why leaders would be so eager to reactivate memories of iconic struggle heroes through song.

However, utilising Young's (1992) notion of the counter-monument also reveals that the reception of such reactivations cannot be controlled by leaders. It can create "the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups" and can secure "the "spontaneous" consent" (Gramsci, 1971:12, 182) needed by certain factions to control the party. However, such consent can be "fleeting" (Israel, 2010:197).[174] As Allen (2004:12) points out, "once a song is in the public domain the creators have little or no control over how it is used or interpreted".

Utilising Young's notion of the counter-monument shows the importance of the processes of performance and reception in the meanings that songs express and generate. I now turn to discussing the method employed to collect the songs that were analysed and the different elements that formed part of my analysis of the performance and reception processes.

I attended the ANC's National Conference in December 2012 in Mangaung and observed which struggle songs were sung, and more broadly the role of song at the conference. The media covered some aspects related to song, but merely watching the conference on television news channels would not have sufficed, as coverage would not have focused on

[172] Zuma sang a song evoking the symbol of Mandela as well as one that referred to Chief Albert Luthuli. I discuss the two songs later in the chapter. See pp. 200-208.
[173] For more on Connerton (1989), see Chapter Two, p. 48. For more on Muller (2002), see Chapter Three, p. 102-104.
[174] See Chapter One, p.30.

song's deployment and would likely furthermore have paid more attention to songs performed by ANC leaders, such as Zuma, than those mobilised by delegates.

The conference organisers were aware of my status as a researcher, but my accreditation card identified me as a journalist, as there was no category for researchers. Being classified as a journalist was in a sense beneficial. A demarcated section was reserved for the media in the front of the marquee, and journalists were furthermore identified as being part of the media through their accreditation tags. Delegates thus knew who were part of the media, and where they were sitting in the marquee. This seemed to have an influence on the way song was deployed at the conference. At times delegates appeared to deliberately direct their performances of song at the media. Being part of the group of journalists thus meant that I could observe these performances, which revealed rich meanings.

My observations had some limits. Firstly, I did not understand the lyrics. I relied on the translation and interpretation of Ndlangisa. However, as explained in Chapter One, I do not view this as a serious limitation, as my bilingualism made me more aware than a monolingual researcher of the nuances when translating from one language into another. (See Chapter One, pp. 35-36). This awareness meant that I was able to ask informed questions of Ndlangisa about the different meanings of lyrics during our sessions translating the songs. Secondly, although my accreditation classification as a journalist was valuable, it also meant I could not attend all sessions and was limited in my movements once inside the marquee. The majority of songs I recorded are thus sung by groups sitting next to the designated media area. Being classified as a journalist, also made interviewing delegates challenging. Several delegates refused to speak to me, despite my explanation that I was a researcher and not affiliated with a media house.

The informal interviews that I was able to conduct at Mangaung provided insights into people's views on the role of song and why it played such a significant role at the conference. Formal interviews conducted afterwards also revealed more perspectives on the different functions of song. I remained conscious of Portelli's (2006:37) argument that memory "is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings" when I analysed these interviews.

The Discourse Sociolinguistics approach was valuable, as it drew my attention to the importance of including the biography of the personalities and other contextual elements, including political developments and different discourses of the same role-players, in my analysis (See Chapter Four for a discussion of the approach).

As I have indicated, Gunner's analysis of *Umshini Wami* has been instructive for my study of the songs at Mangaung. To recapitulate, she alerts me to song's "instability… its unruliness and uncontrollability". (Gunner, 2009:28). Her analysis demonstrates how people react to the sense that song has a long genealogy. She illustrates that a song can circulate widely and that it operates in a sonic eco-system with other popular forms. Gunner also directs our attention to the significance of the structure of a song. The influence of the timing of a song's performance and release on its effect is another factor accentuated through her analysis.

Suttner's (2009b) close attention to the political context is important. He also draws attention to the turn to mobilising an ethnic identity and notably locates the genealogy of song in the "warrior tradition of resistance" that impacted the development of masculinities within the ANC during the struggle – and which continues to operate in post-apartheid South Africa (Suttner, 2009b:230-232). As discussed above, the gendered nature of political discourse is central to Suttner's analysis. I have not developed the gendered aspect in this thesis ─ this could form the subject of another study.

Both Gunner (2009) and Suttner (2009b) consider the lyrics of *Umshini Wami* in their analyses. Gunner (2009:42) also utilises the song's "melodic and rhythmic" features in tracing its origins back to Zulu song. Melody is not one of the main elements I focus on, but I did consider changes in melody and rhythm between different performances as having the potential to contribute to creating new meanings. As discussed earlier, Zuma occasionally performs parts of *Umshini Wami* in an almost hymn-like manner ─ in which he resembles a lead singer or pastor in a church. (See p. 169).

The way in which *Umshini Wami* was performed by Zuma and his supporters is also highlighted by Suttner (2009b) and Gunner (2009). Gunner (2009:30) directs our attention to the significance of the "dancing body".[175] Drawing on Clegg (1982), who looks at how migrant workers developed new forms of dance and lyrics which helped them to create a form of masculinity, resistant to the emasculation of the migrant labour system, Gunner (2009:30) argues that "to inhabit a song, a dance in this way presented a moment of empowerment and an understanding, however fleeting, of why one was alive. Song and dance can thus become a means of empowerment and a means by which one inhabits or reinhabits a tainted social

[175] As mentioned earlier, Connerton (1989:72) & Muller (2002:417) also direct me to consider the body as significant with both arguing that memory is held in the body. As discussed in Chapter Three, Muller's (2002) work furthermore alerts me to consider lyrics, rhythm, including a call and response structure, and the collective nature of performance as important.

space". For Zuma, "his performance was itself a very public act of reclamation of voice, sound, and body within the public sphere".

Neither Gunner nor Suttner look specifically at gestures. I considered performance style, including gestures, the *toyi-toyi* and other dance movements as important. Gestures, the *toyi-toyi*, and other movements became vital to my interpretation, as I began to realise that they reinforced the message of a song, or added an entire new layer of meaning to a song. If I had only considered the lyrics of song, I would have failed to see meanings embodied in the performance style of the song. Other signs of support, such as posters and T-shirts, were also considered in this creation of meaning.

Although song at Mangaung was essentially a group activity, that does not mean that one can view the meaning of song as being collective and thus homogeneous in nature. Several scholars (Allen, 2004:4-5, 9, 12, 15; Gilbert, 2005:11 & Israel, 2010:197) warn against attributing such a singular, collective meaning to song. I considered the role of both the audience and the political leaders, such as Zuma, as central to the creation of different meanings at Mangaung. The audience was not just the delegates at the conference. It also included journalists, who themselves attached meanings to song. The audience then became broader and included the public who consumed the media. The presence of the media also influenced performances – as mentioned earlier, delegates often seemed to perform for the media to demonstrate how much faith they had in Zuma. The boundaries between audience and performer at Mangaung were also blurred with the roles constantly shifting throughout the conference. Different groups of delegates performed different songs simultaneously. Zuma and other ANC leaders, were sometimes the performers, leading the delegates in song. On other occasions they were the audience, with delegates singing from the floor. This is not unique to struggle songs. Several scholars (Gready, 1994; Penfold, 2015 & Peterson, 1990) point to the fluid lines between performers and audiences of South Africa's worker theatre of the 1980s.[176]

At Mangaung itself, delegates and leaders actively participated in the generation of meaning of song. Both produced meaning together and were influenced by the wider public following the conference through the media. The influence of the church, which I refer to in my analysis,

[176] The audience at worker theatre could "intervene in the act of performance by, for example, asking for portions to be repeated, suggesting different endings or soliciting improvised responses through their interventions" (Gready, 1994:174). Penfold (2015a) also highlights the role of the audience during the performances of Mzwakhe Mbuli's poetry in the 1980s. Mbuli's performances "challenged the boundary between performer and audience because his lyrics were calls for action that asked the crowd to take on their own active role and the successful performance of his poems relied on the audience's direct inclusion" (Penfold, 2015a:321).

seems to have created a model in which Zuma played the role of the lead singer or pastor, and the delegates became the congregants or choir singing with him. Drawing on Bakhtin's notion of the dialogic, in which an utterance is dialogic as it is always aimed at reception, Barber (1991:36) says that "utterance is not the creation or property of the utterer; on the contrary, it only has meaning because it inhabits the space *between* a speaker and a hearer". As Bakhtin/Vološinov[177] (1973:86) asserts, language is "*a two-sided act*. It is determined equally by *whose* word it is and *for whom* it is meant".

As outlined above, my methodological framework for analysing the songs performed at Mangaung is influenced by multiple elements. I now turn to discussing the Mangaung conference and specifically the deployment of song at the conference. To bring the reader closer to the action, I created a website to host some of the recordings of the performances at Mangaung. The site can be accessed here: https://goo.gl/ep7BNG

The ANC's Mangaung Conference

The leadership contest

At Mangaung, Zuma and ANC Deputy President, Kgalema Motlanthe, faced each other for the position of ANC President. Motlanthe was backed by a faction within the ANC calling itself the 'Forces of Change', who wanted him to replace Zuma as President (Munusamy, 2012a).[178] By the first day of the conference, as I show below, it became clear that Zuma was in control of the conference. The 'Zunami' camp would win all six top positions convincingly. Zuma received 2 983 votes while Motlanthe only secured 991 votes. Cyril Ramaphosa, who had not played an active role in politics since the mid-1990s, was elected as the ANC's Deputy President. Both Baleka Mbete and Gwede Mantashe were re-elected as National Chairperson and Secretary-General respectively. Jessie Duarte was elected as Deputy Secretary-General and Zweli Mkhize was elected as Treasurer-General (Munusamy, 2012b).

[177] Vološinov is believed by some scholars to be one of the pseudonyms used by Bakhtin. In her analysis of *oriki*, Barber (1991) refers to the disputed texts by both names, "without wishing to suggest that I am competent to judge their authorship myself" (Barber, 1991:304). In this thesis, I will make use of the same convention and like Barber, I also do not attempt to judge their authorship. See Clark and Holquist (1984) for more on the disputed texts, and for arguments for regarding them as Bakhtin's work.

[178] According to Munusamy (2012b), the conference will likely be remembered more for Motlanthe's defeat than Zuma's triumph. She argues that "Motlanthe's lack of enthusiasm and unwillingness to engage in discussions or campaigning around the leadership battle disorientated the Forces of Change". Political commentator Justice Malala agrees that Motlanthe suffered such an enormous defeat because he did not seem to want the position. He was seen as "weak [and] indecisive" and said that he would contest the ANC presidency only days before the conference started. Motlanthe also made a mistake in allowing Malema and the ANCYL to be his "foot soldiers" and the "face of the Motlanthe campaign". Many ANC members who were against Zuma could not accept an ANC under Motlanthe if it strengthened Malema (Malala, 2012).

The role of song at Mangaung

Song played a significant part in the proceedings at Mangaung. The conference started with song as delegates queued to go through the security scan machines to enter the main marquee. They continued singing as they made their way to the marquee. They sang as they waited for sessions to start and welcomed their leaders through song. Supporters also used song to celebrate the victory of Zuma and other leaders that were part of his camp.

Song at Mangaung was predominately utilised to express loyalty to a leader. Supporters loudly broadcast their support for Zuma's re-election as ANC President. The loudness of the pro-Zuma songs pre-empted the election results. One delegate said that song was an important indication of how much support a candidate enjoyed: "Song is very important. How many people are singing together shows support before you vote" (Langa, 2012).

Song is thus seen as a way to express support in a sonic manner. Fanyane Tshabalala, Provincial Chairperson of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) in Gauteng, referred to the idea that song allows you to be heard in connection with the organisation's advocacy efforts. "It is our secret weapon that we use at TAC… whereby we don't have access… [to] the MEC's [Member of Executive Committee] office, the MMC's [Member of Mayoral Committee] office, the minister's office and also the presidential office. In terms of their protocols, they will tell you, you didn't make an appointment... but when we are outside starting to sing and we can send the message loud and clear …. the message will go… they can actually get the message loud and clear" (Tshabalala, 2016).

Song was not the only way to show allegiance. Delegates also showed their loyalty in other ways, wearing T-shirts with Zuma's face and the slogan "100% Zumantashe", which is a combination of the names Zuma and Mantashe. A Sesotho song with the words *Welewele Zumantashe* (Hail Zumantashe) echoed around the tent during the conference. Supporters waved copies of *The New Age,* which printed pictures of Zuma and the other predicted winners of leadership positions on the front page.[179]

Those who did not support Zuma at Mangaung were largely drowned out by his followers and their powerful singing, although a song calling him shower ─ in reference to his testimony during his rape trial in 2006 that he showered after sex to minimise the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS (Green & Gordin, 2006) ─ was performed. One delegate referred to this potent

[179] This performance can be viewed here: https://goo.gl/ep7BNG

impact of song: “Songs must have Zuma’s name. We are attracting new members to join us [in supporting Zuma]. We are talking about his bravery and showing support”. Another delegate said that songs had only one main message: “The president must win. It’s about the struggle and the support for Zuma and Mantashe” (Langa, 2012). The leadership of the ANC recognised the power of song to demonstrate and mobilise support for specific leaders. Mbete told delegates that they should “sing songs all of us can sing to”. Delegates were also told that they were not allowed to sing while they were queuing to vote for the party’s top six positions (Langa, 2012).

Other reasons for song’s prominence at Mangaung emerged in interviews conducted with delegates at the conference, and struggle veterans and activists after the event. It became clear that song did not occupy a significant place only because it showed allegiance to different leaders. Its deployment was motivated by a range of meanings attached to song. A delegate said that song “boosts morale and makes you forget that you are tired. Singing is an African tradition. When you are in the township having a beer you will sing”. The notion that song is part of “African culture” was also alluded to by Mongane Wally Serote, former CEO of Freedom Park, during his testimony in the *Dubula ibhunu* trial. (See Chapter Four, p. 136). Composer and former MK member, Barry Gilder (2017) also described song as “part of African cultural tradition”. Another delegate repeated this and said that songs were furthermore a way of communicating. “Our songs have messages. It is not just singing. Songs are relevant. Africans express themselves in song. When you are happy, frustrated or celebrating you sing. Song is an old thing from the struggle”. Minister of Home Affairs and former member of MK, Ayanda Dlodlo (2016) also spoke about the omnipresence of songs: “Africans will sing when they are happy. Africans will sing when they are working. Africans sing when they are at war. Song for Africans is everything...”.

Several interviewees with struggle veterans referred to the ubiquitous place of song during the struggle. In MK, Dlodlo said that, “[e]very situation had a song to it. Whenever we were training, whether it was a tactics class, a physical training class… the songs were always part of this… The songs that we sang were very important to us. They kept us alive, they kept us going, they kept us sane, they refreshed us every day”. When asked about the role of song in MK, Gilder (2017) said: “Ah, wow man, song is… song is everything almost… we did almost everything to song”. Sachs (2016) recalled meetings on Saturdays at the Grand Parade in Cape Town. “We always had music, singing at our meetings… one of the constants was the singing… and it was amazing four-part harmony. New songs, somebody starting, and then somebody else joining in ─ and the music wasn’t an add on. It was a very rich form of expression”.

In post-apartheid South Africa, song is viewed as an inherent part of political and protest activities.[180] Song is inextricably African. It is trans-linguistic and trans-historical – linking people not only with their comrades, but with their history and their ancestors. Portia Serote (2016), the TAC's National Women's Representative, referred to the ingrained role of song in relation to marches: "*Toyi-toyi's* and marches… without singing, really, it will be very much boring. It won't be the same... Without those [singing and dancing], comradeship is not comradeship". Another delegate said songs had a commemorative function. "Songs are very important. It reminds us where we came from. It's part of the culture of the movement." He also said that song was a way of communicating, especially when people did not talk the same language. Another delegate referred to the unifying and commemorative role of song. "It brings us together. We remember where we are coming from and our heroes" (Langa, 2012).

Gilder (2017) also referred to a reactivation of an ANC community in post-apartheid South Africa. In his case it was specifically an exile community. "In exile, for most of us we were part of an ANC community, family, especially if you were in Angola, or in the camps, or even in Lusaka, or even underground in Botswana. You were part of the family, and you shared the deprivations, and the joys, and the challenges, and the culture, and the language, and, of course, songs. The singing of songs in those conditions was a kind of affirmation, a reinforcement of that togetherness. When we came back from exile, we were all scattered into… villages, communities, families, work, that immediacy of community was lost. When we did get together at a funeral, or a political meeting and sing those songs, it was a ─ that's how it felt for me ─ a reaffirmation and a reminder of that togetherness".

In reference to the role of song when the police attacked the attendees at the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown in 1955, Sachs (2015) wrote in the *Sunday Times* that song played the part of a weapon. In an interview, he described the weapon as giving oppressed people a way to resist apartheid in a dignified manner. Sachs (2016) explained: "…the singing united. There were 2300 of us and it was dignified, it was resonant, it was quietly defiant and it showed terrific discipline and control… there's a saying the soft answer turneth away the wrath… another thing would be like beauty and the beast. The beast in that sense came in the form of racist might, armed to the teeth, dominant, powerful, expressing its supremacy through superior force, and now the oppressed people responding with what they had, their voices, the emotion coming through in four-part harmony on a massive scale. I forget even what the particular song was, but it was immensely unifying and very affirmative and very

[180] See Jolaosho (2013:140-141 & 2015:443-444) who refers to the omnipresent role of song in post-apartheid protest actions.

strong…". In the face of violence and repression, song thus emerges, above the fray, as good and virtuous.

All these different views on the roles of song illuminate possible reasons why it would come to play such a significant role at a political conference held eighteen years after the advent of democracy. It shows that song holds multiple meanings for different people while offering enough common ground for them to sing together for, or against, someone or something. The song and accompanying gestures performed at the conference also drew on a range of eclectic resources, as I show below. They borrowed from soccer culture, church culture, the traditions of the MK camps, as well as history.

The genealogy of Mangaung's songs[181]

Songs at Mangaung had different origins. Songs were adapted from hymns, and words such as "Jesus" or "heaven" were changed to "Zuma" or "Mangaung". New songs were also composed for the conference. Zuma himself performed two songs that were first sung during the struggle.

There are several possible explanations to explain why hymns were adapted. This is not something that only occurred after 1994. The lyrics of hymns were also changed during the struggle (Gray, 2004:97; Jordan, 2000 & Sherman, 1989:84). It is furthermore not unique to South Africa.[182] It is highly likely that lyrics of hymns were changed for practical considerations. Hymns have well-known melodies which many people know. It is therefore easier to use familiar melodies and change the lyrics to ensure that people from different areas and provinces had a shared knowledge base. They would then be able to learn new lyrics easily, as they already knew the melody. Sherman (1989:83) refers to this: "Old songs are adapted to new situations often using new words to old music which everyone already knows". The influence of the church can also be seen in how songs are performed. When Zuma sings with his followers, he occasionally adapts the way he sings the melody of a song to give it a more hymn-like quality. In that moment of performance, he takes on the role of a pastor, herding his flock to sing with him.[183]

[181] It was not possible to determine the origin of all the songs sung at Mangaung. Gray (2004:86), regarding her own challenges relating to her study on struggle songs, points out that there is a "dearth of scholarly literature about black South African liberation songs". The "identity of many of the creators of the songs and their points of origin were lost in the obscurity of the past".
[182] In the early 1990s in Kenya, some of the music against the ruling regime of Daniel arap Moi "built on earlier expressive forms, such as… Christian hymns sung in the 1950s whose words were altered to praise Kenyan political leaders who opposed colonial rule" (Haugerud, 1995:28). In Zimbabwe, *chimurenga* songs incorporated the melodies of Christian hymns (Pongweni, 1997:66).
[183] For an example of such a performance, see *News24* (2015).

Language

The lyrics of song at Mangaung were sung in several languages. The Nguni languages isiZulu and isiXhosa dominated, although several songs were sung in Sesotho.

Some lyrics were also a mix of two languages: isiZulu and Sesotho. According to Ndlangisa (2013a), it is not unusual for several languages to be combined in one song. “In urban areas like in Gauteng, you would find a lot of mixed languages. It is very rare that a song would be pure,” he said. This also reflects the old rivalry between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu-Natal. Ndlangisa said that the ANC would use isiXhosa words to distinguish itself from the IFP, who would use traditional isiZulu. During the struggle, isiXhosa-speaking ANC supporters also fled from the Eastern Cape to KwaZulu-Natal, and songs would thus become mixed, Ndlangisa explained.

Gestures

Most songs at Mangaung were accompanied by gestures, which, together with song, demonstrated support for leaders. Three gestures became prominent in the build-up to the conference. Zuma’s supporters used a peace sign to show support for his second term. This sign is normally used to show support for the Soweto-based soccer club Kaizer Chiefs. Motlanthe’s ‘Forces of Change’ supporters also used a soccer gesture to show that change was needed. At soccer matches the sign, a circular motion using both wrists, is used by supporters to tell a coach that a player needs to be substituted, as he/she is not playing well.

According to Ndlangisa (2013a), the same substitution gesture was used by Zuma supporters at the ANC’s 2007 conference in Polokwane. Zuma then represented change, as he was taking on Mbeki, who was campaigning for a third term as ANC President. This points to the fluid nature of gestures. Their meanings also change in a similar fashion to the meaning of song, which is reinvented when new lyrics are composed.



Figure 1: Zuma followers show their support for his second term (Image by Delwyn Verasamy, courtesy of *Mail & Guardian*, 2012)



Figure 2: Motlanthe supporters make the change gesture at the ANC's policy conference in June 2012 (Courtesy of Africajournalismtheworld.com, 2012)

I did not see the change gesture once at Mangaung. This was possibly an indication of Zuma's overwhelming support, as Motlanthe's followers did not feel they could openly show loyalty to the Deputy President by making the gesture.

The third gesture started in reaction to the change sign. The sign comprised of two movements. The change sign is made and then arms are raised to ask where change is. It was used by Zuma supporters to illustrate that change was not going to happen. According to Ndlangisa (2013a), Mantashe started making the gesture when he spoke to supporters of Motlanthe who were making the change gesture. It became a popular sign at Mangaung to show disdain towards, and ridicule, the 'Forces of Change' supporters.



Figure 3: Supporters mock the 'Forces of Change' movement (Image by Kobus Robbertze, courtesy of *Bloemfontein Courant*, 2012)

According to Ndlangisa (2013a), gestures were not always part of the ANC's repertoire. Gestures to show support for specific leaders became prominent in the run-up to the ANC's 2007 conference. It then "became part of the culture of the ANC", he said.

The songs of Mangaung[184]

Song was part of the "political theatre" (Bozzoli, 2004:213) at Mangaung. A Zuma triumph script, intended to demonstrate as well as fortify the extent of his power in the ANC, was being acted out. Both delegates and leaders played their respective roles. The media was also an important cast member in the production.[185]

On December 16, 2012, the first day of the conference, delegates sang an old struggle song in isiZulu as they waited in queues to go through the security scans. The song did not indicate support for a specific candidate. However, the song's meaning was changed through the gestures that accompanied it. Delegates were making the 'second term' gesture to turn the song into a pledge of allegiance to Zuma.

The lyrics in isiZulu:
Tambo, Sesifikile abafana boMkhonto
Sokuzokhal' ibazooka

[184] The translations contained in this study are not necessarily literal, exact translations of the lyrics. My aim is not to provide a linguistic analysis of struggle songs, but rather to investigate the deployment of song as a form of active intangible heritage in post-apartheid South Africa.
[185] I draw here on Bozzoli who uses the notion of the 'theatre' to study the Alexandra Rebellion of 1986. See Chapter Three, pp. 72-75.

Translated into English:
Tambo, we the soldiers of Umkhonto have arrived
The bazooka is about to go off

The delegates then broke into a song which showed their loyalty to Zuma. An old hymn was adapted and sung in two languages: isiZulu and Sesotho. Instead of praising Jesus, the song honoured Zuma. The song portrayed Zuma as the shepherd herding his flock to the promised land of Mangaung.

The lyrics in isiZulu and Sesotho:
Ha ho na mathata ha Zuma a le teng
UZuma wethu sizohamba naye siyongena ekhaya eMangaung
Noma kunzima kuyenyuka
Kodwa uZuma siyongena naye

Translated into English:
No problem as long as Zuma is around
Our Zuma, we will walk with him till we reach home in Mangaung
Whether it's tough, whether it's steep, we will enter with our Zuma

When delegates entered the main marquee, the singing and gesturing became more frantic. Delegates were waiting for Zuma to arrive and were singing songs to show their support for the ANC President. Inside the marquee delegates sang a chant that would become Zuma supporters' theme song during the conference – *Welewele Zumantashe*. It was a new Sesotho chant, hailing Zuma and Mantashe. It was accompanied by a clap movement performed with the person next to them. Delegates, specifically from Limpopo, sang the song while dancing and making both the gesture for Zuma's second term and the anti-change sign, to demonstrate that the change campaign was not going to be successful. Some delegates also wore "100% Zumantashe" T-shirts.

Zuma's entry on the first day revealed the extent of the planning that he and other leaders in his camp put into the performance of his victory script. Zuma built up the anticipation of his arrival by arriving three hours late. Tabane (2012) describes Zuma's entry on the first day of the conference: "Having worked-up a sense of anticipation from the waiting audience", Zuma arrived, "like a popular boxer entering the ring". Tabane also points out that Zuma entered the marquee by himself, and not with his opponent, Motlanthe, as had been the practice at previous conferences. "In the past when there has been a contest between the leaders, the

ANC has worked to avoid a public competition for the loudest cheers by ensuring that the two leaders enter at the same time. But this time there was no denying Zuma his glory" (Tabane, 2012).

When Mbete announced that Zuma was about to arrive, the excitement reached boiling point, with delegates cheering and shouting: "Zuma, Zuma, Zuma". Mbete, says Tabane (2012), played the role of a "ring announcer… [who] goaded them: "If you are this crazy even before he arrives, can you imagine when he is actually here!""

Zuma was welcomed to the podium with a song in Sesotho and isiZulu.

The lyrics in Sesotho and isiZulu:
UZuma lo abamaziyo abazange bambona
UZuma lo abangamazi ha ba tjhetjhele morao

Translated into English:
This is Zuma
Those who know him have never seen him
This is Zuma
Those who don't know him must retreat

Although the majority of delegates followed the Zuma victory script, there were those who did not toe the line. The first anti-Zuma song that I heard was sung on the second day of the conference, before the nominations for the top six positions were announced. It was sung in Sesotho sa Leboa (Northern Sotho). It ridiculed Zuma for his testimony during his rape trial in 2006 that he showered after unprotected sex to lower the risk of HIV transmission. The shower image was created by cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro, known as Zapiro, who drew Zuma with a shower growing out of his head during and after the trial (Sapa, 2011a). The group, from Limpopo, sang the song while gesturing with their hands above their heads to signify a shower and waving someone away. The song also illustrates the "poetic license" found in many oral forms. (See Chapter Three, pp. 92-93).[186]

The lyrics in Sesotho sa Leboa:
Re utlwile ditaba tse monate
Ba re Zuma o a tsamaya

[186] This performance can be viewed here: https://goo.gl/ep7BNG

Re utlwile ditaba tse monate hore shawara o a tsamaya
Ha tsamaya

Translated into English:
We've heard the good news that Zuma is leaving
Let him go
We've heard the good news that shower is leaving
Let him go

Zuma had previously also been called "shower man" or "shower". Before Malema appeared in court on charges of money laundering and fraud[187] in September 2012, his supporters sang a song which translated to "shower man is giving us problems... Malema please pray for us". They made gestures with their hands to illustrate a shower head while singing the song (Nhlabathi & Maponya, 2012). ANCYL supporters, who wanted Motlanthe to replace Zuma, would regularly refer to Zuma as shower in songs during the run-up to Mangaung (Matlala & Chauke, 2012 & Sapa, 2012b).

Song was an important part of the victory script (Bozzoli, 2004:213) at Mangaung. Zuma's supporters began celebrating his victory in earnest after he was nominated for the position of President, as it was clear, through the dominance of songs and gestures praising Zuma, that he would convincingly win a second term as the ANC's leader. The celebrations would continue the next day outside the marquee, as delegates waited for the results to be announced. It seemed like some of these performances were directed at the media to show just how much support Zuma enjoyed among delegates. This could be influenced by how the media framed the leadership battle ahead of the conference: After Zuma's emphatic victory over Motlanthe, Ferial Haffajee, at the time *City Press* Editor, questioned whether the media should examine why they "presented the campaign as a race of equals rather than a predictable Zunami" (Haffajee, 2012). Delegates might have deliberately wanted to demonstrate to the media just how wrong they were in their analysis of the contest. It could also be influenced by the media being a gateway to a broader audience – the delegates wanted to show the rest of the country how powerful Zuma was.

Supporters sang several songs as they danced their way to the marquee while making the 'second term' gesture. The group sang a song that Ndlangisa (2013b) said he first heard at the conference of the South African Communist Party (SACP) in KwaZulu-Natal in July 2012.

[187] The case against Malema was struck from the roll in August 2015 (Hawker, 2015a).

At the conference, the isiZulu song was sung as an anti-Malema song. Malema was expelled from the ANC in February 2012 for sowing division in the party and for bringing it into disrepute (*News24*, 2012a & Sapa, 2012a).[188]

The lyrics in isiZulu:
Malema ungayijahi impi
Impi iyabulala

Translated into English:
Malema don't rush into a war
War kills

A different version was sung at Mangaung without a reference to Malema.

The lyrics in isiZulu:
Ungayijahi impi
Impi iyabulala

Translated into English:
Don't rush into a war
War kills

After the song, a man in the group started with a call and response chant.
Man: "Amandla" (Power)
Group: "Awethu" (To us)
Man: "Forward with a united ANC, forward"
Group: "Forward"
Man: "Forward with a united ANC, forward"
Group: "Forward"
Man: "Away with reactionary forces, away"
Group: "Away"
Man: "Away with reactionary forces, away"
Group: "Away"
Man: "Away, away" x7

[188] Malema was expelled after unfavourably comparing the leadership style of Zuma to that of Mbeki, and for comments he made about regime change in Botswana. (*News 24*, 2012a).

Group: “Away”
Man: “Forward with unity, forward”
Group: “Forward”
Man: “Amandla” (Power)
Group: “Awethu” (To us)

The group then chanted “Chijo”. The chant appeared to be a spontaneous one. Despite this, the group knew exactly how to respond. It followed a familiar structure known to all those that were there.

The group sang an old Sesotho hymn. The transition to a new song seemed unplanned. It appeared as if a member of the group made an impromptu decision on which song to sing.

The lyrics in Sesotho:
Re batla Zuma feela
Ha re batle mamenemene

Translated into English:
We want Zuma only
We don’t want hypocrisy

The performance was not a passionate one as the group, who had formed a circle, did not seem to know the song very well. They quickly moved on to a different song with another member of the group starting a Sesotho song.

The lyrics in Sesotho:
Re ba Zuma mo
Ba sa mo batleng ha ba tjhetjhele morao

Translated into English:
We are Zuma’s here
Those who don’t want him must retreat

The performance of this song was much more energetic. The song’s rhythm was faster than the previous hymn. The group clapped and made gestures to illustrate the song’s meaning. They pointed towards themselves to show that those gathered were Zuma supporters, and gestured that those who were against Zuma must retreat and be chased away. A man wearing

a jacket with a photograph of Zuma and the words “Zuma for second term” printed on the back, turned his back to the cameras of the photographers. Others pointed towards the words in support of Zuma. The group was likely performing for the media’s cameras, because they received a lot of attention as photographers were waiting for the results to be announced. The group got more and more animated each time they repeated the song. They also started *toyi-toying* and clapping.

Inside the marquee, Zuma supporters continued singing and chanting as the results of the six leadership positions were announced. The results of the election for the position of ANC President were announced first. When the official announced the number of votes for Motlanthe, it was evident that Zuma had won. Zuma supporters began cheering. When the number of votes for Zuma was announced, his supporters cheered louder, shouting “Zuma, Zuma, Zuma”. They started singing their victory song *Welewele Zumantashe* while clapping, dancing and making the ‘second term’ gesture.

The results of the election for the position of Deputy President were announced next. Ramaphosa’s convincing victory was greeted with loud cheers. Supporters again sang *Welewele Zumantashe* while making the second term gesture. Zuma supporters celebrated Mbete’s election as National Chairperson by ridiculing the ‘Forces of Change’ campaign. They made the gesture started by Mantashe to show that change had been defeated; it had completely collapsed. Several supporters also waved copies of *The New Age* with the photographs of the predicted leadership. After Mantashe was announced as Secretary-General, his supporters again ridiculed the change campaign by gesturing that it had collapsed. They also sang a new isiZulu song.

The lyrics in isiZulu:
Thina sifuna unobhala one-content

Translated into English:
We want a secretary-general with content

It means that supporters wanted an intelligent Secretary-General, who was an experienced politician. It was meant to show disdain for then Minister of Sport and Recreation, Fikile Mbalula, who stood against Mantashe in the election for the position. Mbalula, the 41-year-old former President of the ANCYL, was much younger and had less experience than the 57-year-old Mantashe. After Zweli Mkhize was announced as Treasurer-General, supporters sang a

Sesotho song while making the ‘second term’ sign. Many waved copies of *The New Age*. They made a gesture as if they were going to beat someone and waved posters of Zuma.

The lyrics in Sesotho:
Le a e bona thupa e a lla?

Translated into English:
Can you see the stick being wielded?

They also sang a Sesotho greeting which is used to welcome leaders while clapping and waving to the leaders on the stage.

The lyrics in Sesotho:
Leadership dumela

Translated into English:
Hello leadership

Before Zuma made a speech as the newly elected president, his supporters praised him. Ndlangisa (2013a) first heard the Nguni song in the run-up to the Polokwane conference. It was then sung to praise Mbeki.

The lyrics in isiZulu:
Zuma, Zuma wethu, Zuma, Zuma wethu

Translated into English:
Zuma, our Zuma, Zuma, our Zuma

Zuma’s long road

After creating anticipation for his arrival and being welcomed with loud cheers of “Zuma, Zuma, Zuma” and a song that portrayed him as a legend, Zuma surprised delegates with his choice of song on the first day of the conference. He did not sing *Umshini Wami*, the song that had become his ‘theme song’ in the run-up to the ANC conference in 2007. Instead, Zuma sang an old, virtually unknown struggle song in isiXhosa, evoking the name of Mandela before and after he delivered his ninety-minute-long political report.

The lyrics in isiXhosa:
Inde le ndlela esiyihambayo
Watsh' uMandela kubalendeli bakhe
Wathi sodibana ngeFreedom Day

Translated into English:
The road we are travelling is long
Mandela told his followers
He said we'll meet on Freedom Day

Most delegates did not know the song. Two younger delegates said that it might be a new composition (Langa, 2012). According to Ndlangisa (2012), two veterans said the song dated back to the 1960s, when Mandela was made commander-in-chief of MK. It was sung in MK camps outside the country.[189]

Despite not knowing the song, delegates showed their support for Zuma by clapping and making the 'second term' gesture. The performance of the song was significant. Initially Zuma stood quite still. The song itself also does not have the rhythmic qualities of *Umshini Wami* which lends itself to dancing. However, although Zuma initially did not move as much as with the Machine Gun song, his body was still a significant part of the performance. He pointed forward with his hand while singing. It was perhaps an invitation to the members of the congregation to encourage them to sing with him and to direct them to the road ahead that they must walk with him to Freedom Day. Zuma also occasionally pointed up at the sky in the direction of the heavens, exalting Mandela and the ANC to celestial beings: The iconic former president was cast in the role of Jesus, telling his disciples to stay committed on the long road towards freedom.[190] As the song continued, Zuma's performance grew in confidence. As he sang the word *Inde*, he moved his arms from beneath his shoulders, throwing both hands up in the air. He then threw one hand up into the air as he sang *le ndlela*, like a choirmaster urging his singers to reach the crescendo with him. His supporters cheered loudly when he made these movements.

Why would Zuma not sing his trademark song, *Umshini Wami*, at the conference? Why choose an unknown song instead of the Machine Gun song that was part of the 'Zunami' that secured him victory at the previous conference in Polokwane?

[189] This performance can be viewed here: https://goo.gl/ep7BNG
[190] See Suttner (2009a:53) on the "messianic element" that developed around Zuma.

The deployment of the song can be seen as part of the triumphant victory script that was being acted out at the conference. Zuma no longer needed to fight to gain power. He was confident that he had the support of the majority of voting delegates. Zuma's supporters were also certain of his victory before the conference even started. Peter Botabota, a fierce Zuma supporter, told columnist Fred Khumalo that Zuma's re-election was never in doubt. "That Zuma was going to win was a foregone conclusion. We came here to celebrate, not to fight a campaign" (Khumalo, 2012). Khumalo (2012) argues that *Umshini Wami* was not needed at Mangaung. Mbeki, Malema (who had been expelled from the ANC, but was campaigning against Zuma in the run-up to the conference), Motlanthe and other rivals were "figurative corpses scattered on the long road that Zuma and his followers must walk".

The song conveyed several messages to delegates. According to Ndlangisa (2012), unity was one of its central messages: "The song cast the conference not as a place of division, as it were, but as some kind of meeting place of victory after a long journey" (Ndlangisa, 2012). Zuma's message of unity was a particular one: It was the message of a confident leader, certain of his victory. He was being magnanimous and extending the olive branch to Motlanthe and his supporters. He was telling them that they would still have a place in the ANC, and that he would not take revenge for their decision to take him on.

The importance Zuma attached to unity in the ANC was also demonstrated in his annoucement in his closing address that Motlanthe would lead the ANC's political education school (Marrian, 2012).[191] Journalists predicted that standing against Zuma would probably bring an "end to his political career" (Du Plessis & Rossouw, 2012), but it seemed Motlanthe's career in the ANC was not over yet. Zuma also reiterated the message of unity in his closing address: "The primary task of the ANC going forward is to work for unity at all levels of the organisation… We must all do everything that is humanly possible to lead the organisation in promoting unity" (Marrian, 2012). Zuma's unity message was in line with the conference theme of "Unity in action towards socio-economic freedom".

One delegate said the song carried an important message: The struggle was not yet over (Langa, 2012). Zuma used song to communicate an important message: The struggle is

[191] In February 2014, an anonymous source was quoted in the *Sunday Times* saying that Motlanthe was "not the head of a political school because there is no political school". Nathi Mthethwa, Chairperson of the ANC subcommittee on political education, however, said that Motlanthe was involved in the school. "The school is on. It is the actual building that is not there, but the programme and the school is on and continuing". Motlanthe has increasingly become more outspoken in talking about the decline of the ANC and Zuma's leadership, and has said that Zuma should step down as President. In March 2017, at struggle veteran Ahmed Kathrada's funeral, he read sections from a letter Kathrada sent Zuma a year earlier asking him to consider resigning. After the dismissal of Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan, Motlanthe said Zuma's actions showed "recklessness" and "a measure of irrationality" (Mkokeli & Mbatha, 2017; Munusamy, 2017 & Shoba, 2014).

uncompleted; the road is still long. Zuma (2012a) also highlighted the fact that the struggle was not over in his closing remarks, saying that the conference was "significant", as it marked the beginning of the "decisive second phase of our long transition… to a national democratic society". Zuma added that there would "certainly be no easy walk to socio-economic freedom".

The song's reference to Mandela was significant. Through the song, Zuma was recalling the memory of the ANC's biggest struggle icon. The former president was seriously ill in hospital during the conference (Sapa-AFP, 2012), and this made the reference to Mandela even more potent. By singing about Mandela, Zuma was constructing what Marschall (2006:185-186) describes as a "carefully selected genealogy". According to Marschall, the "heroes of the past are the ancestors, not biologically but ideologically and morally, to the leaders of the present". Zuma, at the beginning of his second term as ANC President, was thus positioning himself as the heir to Mandela. He could take over from the ailing leader and complete the journey to Freedom Day that Mandela had started.

Despite Zuma's supporters not knowing the song on the first day of the conference, it soon became part of their repertoire. Before the results of the elections for the top six positions were announced a group of Zuma loyalists sang the song as part of a victory celebration outside the marquee.[192] Their performance was not as good as the one given by Zuma. They sang the song with a quicker beat and their version was off-key. Supporters mimicked Zuma's crouching movements with passion, lifting both their arms above their heads as they marched towards their Freedom Day. Zuma would again sing the song after his closing address at the conference. By then the song had grown on Zuma's followers, who were "eating out of the palm of their leader" (Khumalo, 2012).

Khumalo describes the rise of the song: "It's only… days since Zuma started teaching this song to his followers, who were by and large not familiar with its lyrics and harmony. But now they are singing as if they were born singing it, as if it's part of their DNA… By the time the song reaches its explosive climax, Zuma's followers are ecstatic, singing with gusto… They are not just singing, they are part of the song; the song is them, and they are the song, for they are resigned to the inevitability of this long road that they must travel with their leader" (Khumalo, 2012).

The Mandela song would again appear when a confident Zuma made his January 8 statement, to mark the ANC's 101st anniversary, in Durban in 2013 (*Business Day,* 2013). Since

[192] This performance can be viewed here: https://goo.gl/ep7BNG

Mangaung the song has become Zuma's new hallmark song, with many speeches at ANC gatherings and rallies including a rendition of the song (Mtshali, 2017; Munusamy, 2014; Nicolaides, Bendile, Malgas, Kekana & Grootes, 2016; SABC, 2016b & SABC, 2016c).

What has the effect been of Zuma's deployment of the song in the long-term? Was it truly part of the ANC members' genes, as Khumalo suggested? Or, was it "something more fleeting, an effect of surface?" (Israel, 2010:197).[193] Did it signify a lasting change in the party from the turbulent years around the Polokwane conference in 2007 and the run-up to the 2012 conference? Or was it rather a brief, unstable reflection of harmony driven by a triumphant leader?

The veneer of unity that Zuma tried to impose at Mangaung through song turned out to be short-lived. Just like the counter-monuments described by Young (1992), the reception of the song could not be controlled. Since the conference, the deployment of the song has had little impact in uniting the ANC.[194] Many in his party have not heeded the call to walk with him on the long road. Just a year after he reactivated the song, Zuma would ironically be booed at the memorial service of the very icon whose name he evoked at Mangaung (Grootes, 2013). He has also faced repeated calls to resign from ANC veterans such as Denis Goldberg, Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Kathrada after the Constitutional Court found in March 2016 that he had failed to "uphold, defend and respect the constitution" by disregarding the remedial action taken against him by former Public Protector Thuli Madonsela over upgrades at this Nkandla home (Corke, 2016; Madia, 2016b & Seale, 2016).[195]

While *Umshini Wami* was part of an arsenal of weapons unleashed on the political landscape in the run-up to the ANC's Polokwane conference in 2007 which ultimately saw Zuma become President of the ANC, *Inde le ndlela* would not have the same firing power. It was rendered impotent in post-apartheid South Africa – it could not bring a fractured ANC together. Unlike *Umshini Wami,* whose revival Gunner (2009:38) argues "seemed to coincide with… widespread anxiety and dissatisfaction concerning the nature of governance in South Africa", *Inde le ndlela's* message of unity behind Zuma has not found fertile ground. At Mangaung, the Mandela song might have looked like it signalled the beginning of a new era of unity in the

[193] See Chapter One, p. 30.
[194] In her analysis of *Dubula ibhunu* Gunner (2015:331) refers to "later events [that] showed the limitations of what Zuma was able to achieve through song", but does not explore this idea further.
[195] In 2017, the calls for Zuma to resign have become louder after he dismissed South Africa's Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan and his deputy, Mcebisi Jonas, together with other members of his Cabinet in March 2017. These calls have come from within the ANC as well as the party's alliance partners, the SACP and COSATU. Zuma has survived motions for him to step down at two ANC NEC meetings: In November 2016 (before the dismissal of Gordhan and others) and again in May 2017 (AFP, 2017; Allison, 2017; Manyathela, 2017b; *Moneyweb*, 2017 & Stone, 2017).

ANC, but its effect was brief and could not survive the heat of the hostile political environment it has encountered since. The timing of its release and the political context that surrounds its performances have not been supporting partners in Zuma's quest for unity behind his leadership. Its transience shows that song is not always the "midwives to new ideas and new social visions", as Gunner (2009:36) suggests in her analysis of *Umshini Wami*. Instead, Zuma's new trademark song reveals that song and its effect can be unpredictable and short-lived. Its journey shows the importance of individual agency:[196] A leader cannot drive a song's reach and effect alone. As the analysis of Gunner (2009) showed, *Umshini Wami* worked because it resonated with people. *Inde le ndlela* has not spoken to people in the same way. The performance of the song by audiences can then in itself be seen as sending a message to Zuma. By withholding their voices and bodies from the performance dialogue, his audience could be attempting to convey that they do not want to walk with him to Freedom Day.[197]

Despite the song not bringing the ANC together, the song is still being deployed by Zuma at the time of writing in 2017. His continued deployment is not entirely unexpected. As Gunner (2015:329) points out, the notion of culture as a weapon of struggle that emerged during the struggle conveyed the notion that culture "could be made to 'do' certain things and stopped from other things". Zuma may be hoping that he can still make the song evoke unity behind his leadership.

Political rallies in rural areas and in his home province, KwaZulu-Natal, have become Zuma's stage for such performances (eNCA, 2016a; Magubane, 2017 & Yende, Harper, Nhlabathi, Cele & Stone, 2016). At the end of 2016, amidst calls for him to resign after the release of the Public Protector's report into state capture (Cohen, Mbatha & Sguazzin, 2016),[198] Zuma retreated to sympathetic audiences, including those in his home province, where a series of cadre forums was organised by some of his faithful supporters as part of a fight-back strategy. "With the tide turning against him in the party, Zuma has resorted to tried-and-tested tactics that have ensured his staying power: playing the victim and appealing directly to the grass roots ANC membership... Zuma has fired salvoes at his own comrades, party veterans,

[196] As discussed earlier, Allen (2004:4) directs us to consider individual agency. See p. 173.
[197] I draw here on the ideas of Karlström (2003) and Gunner (2015). See Chapter Three, pp. 105-106.
[198] Former Public Protector Thuli Madonsela's *State of Capture* report was released on November 2, 2016, after Zuma withdrew his interdict application to prevent its release. The report focuses on the degree of influence of the Gupta family on the President's office as well as other state-owned entities. The Public Protector identified potential ethical violations and conflicts of interest in Zuma's conduct. It indicates that he may have violated the Executive Ethics Code by sharing information about the appointment of ministers with the Gupta family. The report recommended that the President appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate the issues it raises and that Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng must appoint the judge to head the inquiry. Zuma has approached the court to review the report's recommendations on a judicial inquiry (Karim, 2016; *Mail & Guardian*, 2016 & *Mail & Guardian*, 2017 & Nicolson, 2016a).

opposition parties, white business and Western powers, all of whom he accused of being in a conspiracy to bring down the ANC" (Yende, Harper, Nhlabathi, Cele & Stone, 2016). At a cadre forum at the Pietermaritzburg City Hall in KwaZulu-Natal, in which Zuma addressed his followers in isiZulu, his supporters used song to show their loyalty. According to *News24*, "the mood in the city hall was electric. A long queue of people waited to go through a security check and get in… Earlier, thousands of ANC members sang that they would "defend Zuma" while waiting for him to arrive. The words "uZuma sisomdefender ngoba amandla asemesebeni" reverberated through the venue. Loosely translated, it means: "We will defend Zuma because the power rests in the ANC's branches"". Zuma ended his performance with his Mandela song (Khoza, 2016b & SABC, 2016b).

The location of his performances, the songs he deploys, and the language that he addresses his followers in, express and generate multiple messages. It could be seen as an attempt to simultaneously re-ignite his traditional support base and mobilise them by harnessing the same ethnic identities as had been done during the potent journey of *Umshini Wami*. It could also signal to his enemies, who are not only in opposition parties, but also within the ANC, that he is still in control. Zuma's unity message of Mangaung still remains, but it has evolved since the conference. At these performances, it is not aimed at the whole party, but rather specifically at his supporters. Through his performances Zuma then attempts to shepherd the insiders closer and shut the outsiders, that are not part of his flock, out.

Although the song's journey is still continuing at the time of writing (in 2017) and new meanings will likely emerge, it is nonetheless valuable to ask what its continued performance after Mangaung tells us about the second phase of Zuma's presidency. *Umshini Wami*, as it was deployed in the run-up to his triumph at Polokwane, was the song of an outsider, fighting for political survival and facing several onslaughts in court. The song mobilised supporters. They sang the song, with its participatory call and response style, *with* him.[199] Even in more recent performances, for example at the ANC's National General Council in 2015, this vibrant dialogue, characterised by voices coming together in a four-part harmony, has remained.[200] *Inde le ndlela* does not have the call and response structure of *Umshini Wami* where Zuma sings certain lyrics and the choir answers him. With *Inde le ndlela* the choir sings the same words as their lead singer, Zuma. It does not invite the same active participation as *Umshini Wami,* where the choir and Zuma are in dialogue. Perhaps *Inde le ndlela* is the song, not of

[199] Gunner (2009:33) refers to the call and response form of *Umshini Wami*, which invited "the audience to participate".
[200] See *News24* (2015) for a recording of the performance.

an outsider that needs the people to fight with him and clear his path to the top, but of a President who wants his supporters to follow him as he leads them to Freedom Day.

Zuma's two trademark songs have also shared the political stage (eNCA, 2016a; Meyer, 2015 & Seale, 2014). In 2016, Zuma sang both songs at occasions when he faced mounting pressure to resign. It is not a surprise that *Umshini Wami* – his theme song during times of hardship – continues to be remobilised as Zuma faces increasing hostility, even from within his party. In May 2016, both songs shared the stage when he addressed the ANC's Gauteng General Council – his first major address to the province after the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) called on him to "do the right thing to resolve the unprecedented crisis that the ANC currently faces" and it Chairperson, Paul Mashatile, was quoted in the media calling for his resignation after the Nkandla Constitutional Court judgment (eNCA, 2016b; Letsoalo, 2016; Nicolson, 2016b & Simelane, 2016). Weaving the two songs together at the Gauteng conference suggests a new meaning – which once again shows the dynamic, fluid nature of song. Zuma is calling for the party – and in this particular performance it also includes the outsiders of the ANC in Gauteng – to unite behind his leadership, but he could also be warning them: The Machine Gun, which was part of the 'Zunami' that led to his victory in Polokwane, has not been buried, and is ready to be redeployed against his enemies.

Following in Luthuli's footsteps

Mandela was not the only struggle icon evoked by Zuma at Mangaung. He also reactivated the memories of Chief Albert Luthuli. Luthuli won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960 and was President-General of the ANC from 1952 until his death in 1967 (Nobelprize.org, n.d. & SAHO, n.d. h). After Zuma's convincing re-election as President at Mangaung, he made a speech emphasising unity within the ANC. He specifically mentioned the singing of songs in support of candidates. Zuma said: "In process of contestation, songs are sung, things are said. Once the ANC has spoken, we must look at how we treat one another. I don't want after elections that comrades who are part of us must feel they [are] outside the organisation" (Langa, 2012).

Zuma employed song to convey his message of unity. After such a resounding victory, his supporters were expecting a triumphant song. Once more he surprised them with his choice of song: He performed a song that mobilised the memories of Luthuli. Zuma had reactivated the memory of Luthuli – which had been dormant for some time – just three months before the conference in a memorial lecture about the former ANC leader.

The lyrics in isiZulu:

Somlandela uLuthuli
Yonke indawo
Lapho eyakhona somlandela
Translated into English:
We will follow Luthuli wherever he goes
We will follow

The song is a well-known isiZulu hymn with the words *We will follow Jesus*. It is not a new adaptation, having been sung during the struggle with lyrics honouring Luthuli (Ansell, 2004:116 & Sherman, 1989:84). At Mangaung, the song was sung in a call and response style, with Zuma leading certain sections and his supporters joining in. His supporters knew the song and sang it with vigour, cheering him on.[201]

While he performed the song, Zuma pointed upwards in the direction of the heavens, and at other times he raised his fists above his shoulder, making similar rhythmic movements as when he sings *Umshini Wami*. He also pointed to the congregation, which could have been an invitation for them to sing with him or to signal to his flock to follow him, as they would follow Luthuli.

The song formed part of Zuma's unity message at the Mangaung conference. Through the song Zuma was re-evoking Luthuli's legacy as a struggle icon. Zuma wanted his followers to emulate Luthuli's behaviour. As mentioned above, it was not the first time Zuma had used Luthuli to ensure comrades toed the line. In September 2012, Luthuli was honoured by Zuma as part of the ANC's centenary lectures. In his lecture, Zuma said there are "many lessons to be learned" from Luthuli and that he "represented all that a dedicated cadre and leader of the ANC should be". Zuma also referred to Luthuli's belief in "collective leadership" (Zuma, 2012b). Zuma wanted his supporters to follow Luthuli's example and support the ANC's new leaders after a divisive election campaign.

According to Ndlangisa (2012b), the song could also have had a special meaning for Zuma's followers in KwaZulu-Natal. Both Luthuli and Zuma hail from KwaZulu-Natal. Zuma was painting himself as Luthuli's successor and wanted ANC members to follow him as they would follow Luthuli. Like with the Mandela song, Zuma was once again deploying song to create a favourable genealogy for himself.

[201] This performance can be viewed here: https://goo.gl/ep7BNG

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the deployment of song at the ANC's Mangaung conference in 2012. The methodological framework employed to examine song was informed by the works of several scholars, including Gunner (2009) and Suttner (2009b), whose analyses of *Umshini Wami* formed the starting point of my study.

This case study has shown the value in focusing on the performance and reception of song in investigating its utilisation. It is in these processes that song's *active* agency comes to the fore: Struggle songs are not merely resuscitated by its singers in post-apartheid South Africa. It is reactivated, recalibrated and consciously deployed to convey and generate specific meanings.

However, this case study has shown that song's activeness holds a risk for its singers. Although leaders, such as Zuma, might attempt to deploy its potency to convey or produce specific meanings, song cannot be controlled. Song has "a life of its own", as Gunner (2009:34) states. It operates as a counter-monument that takes unpredictable twists and turns, as my analysis of Zuma's deployment of *Inde le ndlela* has shown. Zuma reactivated the old MK song, evoking the ANC's most iconic struggle hero, Mandela. He utilised the song to convey a message of unity to ANC delegates after a leadership contest. He was playing the role of a gracious winner, reaching out to those that had been defeated to assure them that they were still welcome in the party.

At Mangaung, the Mandela song might have looked like it signalled the start of a new era of unity in the ANC, but its effect was short-lived. It has not been able to survive the heat of the hostile political environment it has encountered since the conference. Its journey since 2012 reveals just how unpredictable and difficult to control the reception of this counter-monument can be. It cannot be directed to meet the desired aims of its creator.

In the next chapter, I look at how the institution of the museum treats such an active form of heritage, by analysing the *Singing Freedom* exhibition at the Iziko Slave Lodge in Cape Town.

CHAPTER SIX

The counter-monument goes to the museum

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the treatment of song in the museum. It specifically examines the *Singing Freedom: Music and the struggle against apartheid* exhibition at the Iziko Slave Lodge in Cape Town.[202] In the *Dubula ibhunu* trial, analysed in Chapter Four, AfriForum proposed the museum as a suitable keeper of song in post-apartheid South Africa. The ANC strongly argued against such a memorialisation, equating it with the burial of song. The party argued that song was part of their history – a history that is oral in nature, told through vibrant song. The *Singing Freedom* exhibition allows us to explore how the museum deals with this active form of heritage that – as the previous case study has shown – operates in complex ways.

My study of song at Mangaung demonstrated the significance of performance and reception in the production and expression of different meanings. This raises the question: How would these processes and, in particular, their dynamic and unpredictable nature be dealt with in a museum exhibition? This chapter addresses this question while remaining conscious of the broader context in which it operates. This includes the history of the museum and, in particular of the Slave Lodge, the influence of various heritage discourses, the entrenchment of specific dominant narratives, and resource constraints (both financial and time).

In this chapter, I firstly consider the work of Tony Bennett ─ one of the most influential theorists on the museum and what he calls the "exhibitionary complex" as a whole. I then look at the Slave Lodge as an institution, using Bennett's argument about the institutional power of the museum rooted in its origins in Western Europe. Bennett is concerned with the history of the institution and how it came to serve the kind of society that developed in the nineteenth century. He uses Michel Foucault's principals to think about questions of power when it became more diffuse in the period following the defeat of autocracy in Europe.

[202] This analysis is based on visits to the *Singing Freedom* exhibition on March 22, 2014, March 24, 2014, and May 6, 2016. The exhibition has undergone slight changes since my first visits in 2014, including adding two additional sets of earphones to listen to struggle songs as well as an artwork in a glass cabinet paying tribute to Ashley Kriel, a 20-year-old anti-apartheid activist and MK leader shot dead by security police in 1987. In 2016, a documentary about Kriels's life, *Action Kommandant: The untold story of the revolutionary freedom fighter, Ashley Kriel,* was released and screened at film festivals. The Hawks, South Africa's Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation, also announced it was reopening the investigation into Kriel's death (Van der Merwe, 2016).

I furthermore look at how individual curators ─ who do not feel entirely at ease with the institutional power of the museum ─ attempt to navigate such power. A significant part of this chapter is devoted to an analysis of a semi-structured interview I conducted with both curators – Paul Tichmann and Shanaaz Galant – in Cape Town on May 5, 2016. I pay specific attention to their views on oral history and song and the influence of these ideas on the exhibition. I interviewed both curators in one session, lasting one hour and fifty-three minutes. My questions (included in Appendix G) were aimed at gaining an understanding of how the exhibition was put together, how decisions were made about which elements to include or exclude, and the challenges faced by curators in creating an exhibition on intangible heritage and song as an active form of heritage. The answers provided to these questions by both curators changed the course of this chapter in a fundamental manner. I did not expect that they would express the opinions they did about oral history and song. The openness with which they expressed their views could indicate that a high level of trust had been achieved between the curators and me. At times, it felt more like a conversation between colleagues than an interview. This was likely influenced by the fact that I had been involved in the exhibition, and assisted them by conducting two oral history interviews with participants in Johannesburg.[203] This made me especially conscious of not wanting to misrepresent their views or appear judgmental of them.

The museum as institution

Bennett argues that the formation of the public museum, which obtained its modern form during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, "cannot be adequately understood unless viewed in the light of a more general set of developments through which culture, in coming to be thought of as useful for governing, was fashioned as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power". High cultural practices "came to be inscribed in new modalities for the exercise of power" (Bennett, 1995:19, 22). Bennett self-consciously derived his theories from Foucault's principles about power and knowledge. Foucault describes this as governmental power. Governmental power works through comprehensive strategies which are aimed at influencing behaviour in particular desired directions. The "instruments of government", according to Foucault (1991b:95), "instead of being laws, now come to be a range of multiform tactics". According to Bennett, the museum was being called upon to participate in this undertaking of "cultural governance", and had to be "refashioned so that it might function as a

[203] I conducted two interviews for the exhibition after an official at the DAC, who at the time was funding my studies, introduced me to curator Paul Tichmann. I did not receive any remuneration for conducting the interviews. I interviewed Lindiwe Zulu, a former member of MK and currently the Minister of Small Business Development, and Deon Lamprecht, a journalist who covered politics during the struggle years.

space of emulation in which civilized forms of behaviour might be learnt and thus diffused more widely through the social body". It needed to "develop… as a space of observation and regulation in order that the visitor's body might be taken hold of and be moulded in accordance with the requirements of new norms of public conduct" (Bennett, 1995:21, 24).

The observations by Bennett derived from his study of museums in the nineteenth century. However, they still have relevance in post-apartheid South Africa. A certain kind of behaviour is still expected from museum visitors – which they usually either internalise, or which pushes them away from the museum. According to Rassool (2000:1), the "responsibility for the ideological work of national identity formation, and the task of the creation of 'good citizens', are in some ways being shifted away from the schools to heritage institutions and mediums of public culture". Certain ideologies are promoted and reflected in the exhibitions of public museums, such as Robben Island or Freedom Park, which attempt to mould the visitor's body to make the visitor feel a sense of reverence and deference, and to see the past (and present) through a lens of reconciliation or the African Renaissance.[204]

Museums are part of what Bennett calls the "exhibitionary complex", which also includes institutions such as national and international exhibitions, arcades and department stores. Bennett sees these institutions as being "involved in the transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which they had previously been displayed (but to a restricted public) into progressively more open and public arenas where, through the representations to which they were subjected, they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power…". According to Bennett, the exhibitionary complex provided "a context for the *permanent* display of power/knowledge". The "power embodied in the exhibitionary complex… [was] a power made manifest not in its ability to inflict pain but by its ability to organize and co-ordinate an order of things and to produce a place for the people in relation to that order" (Bennett, 1995:59-61,66-67). There is a classification system and hierarchy at work, and the visitors are positioned in relation to the hierarchy – they learn to know their place.

Several scholars, also broadly influenced by Foucault, refer to the fact that a museum is not a neutral space, but a space where power is exercised. According to Luke (2002:xiii-xiv, 3), museums "possess a power to shape collective values and social understandings in a decisively important fashion". "What is accepted as knowledge, and the power to which many accede, are both easily articulated and constantly affirmed in the exhibitions museums

[204] I did not include community museums in this analysis.

produce for their visiting publics". He describes curators as "unseen seers" who "fuse their vision with authority". They direct visitors "what to see, think, and value". "Historical displays … operate as power plays in which plays for power circulate with the movement of viewers through their curated spaces". Davison (1998:145-146) argues that "museums give material form to authorized versions of the past, which in time become institutionalized as public memory… Although museum presentations are always subjectively shaped, they are widely associated with authenticity and objectivity. Consequently, museums have become privileged institutions that validate certain forms of cultural expression and affirm particular interpretations of the past". Will this prove to be true of this particular exhibition?

Singing Freedom is a small temporary exhibition. The arguments about museums as "vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power" feel too great for such a small exhibition. However, this does not mean one can ignore questions such as: "Who decides what should be displayed?... Who gets to speak in the name of 'science', 'the public' or 'the nation'? What are the processes, interest groups and negotiations involved in constructing an exhibition? What is ironed out or silenced? And how does the content and style of an exhibition inform public understandings?" (Macdonald, 1998:1).

The Iziko Slave Lodge

The *Singing Freedom* exhibition is housed in the Iziko Slave Lodge,[205] which forms part of the Iziko Museums of South Africa – a public entity of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) comprising eleven museums in the Western Cape. The Slave Lodge was built in 1679 as the slave lodge of the Dutch East India Company. It is estimated that between 7 000 and 9 000 Company slaves were kept in the building over a period of 132 years. In 1811 the lodge was modified to serve as government offices for the British colonial authorities and during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries various governmental offices were housed there, including the upper house of the first parliament, the Cape Supreme Court, and the first post office. In 1966, the site became a museum: The South African Cultural History Museum (Iziko, 2014:3; Iziko, n.d. a, b & c). The museum "represented a narrowly white history… not a single mention was made of its original inhabitants" (Ward & Worden, 1998:202).

[205] The word *Iziko* is an isiXhosa word meaning hearth. The "hearth is traditionally and symbolically the social centre of the home; a place associated with warmth, kinship and the spirits of ancestors. Iziko was thus envisaged as a space for all South Africans to gather, nourish body and soul, and share stories and knowledge passed from one generation to the next" (Iziko, 2014:3).

Before South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, a process began to transform the country's museums.[206] At existing museums, questions arose about what to do with collections that, as Deacon, Mngqolo and Prosalendis (2003:8-9) state, generally depicted white people as having a history while black people were portrayed in a crude and largely offensive way. Although some monuments, especially those linked with the apartheid architect and former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, have been destroyed, many monuments linked with 'Afrikaner' history remain, including the Voortrekker Monument, which has in fact thrived in post-apartheid South Africa, receiving approximately 250 000 visitors per year (Alfred, 2015 & Coombes, 2004:20-22).

The South African Cultural History Museum was perhaps not as strongly associated with 'Afrikaner' nationalism or the apartheid regime as the Voortrekker Monument, but it nevertheless had to adapt to a new political and heritage landscape after 1994. On Heritage Day in 1998, the Museum was renamed the Slave Lodge (Worden, 2009:31). Like other museums, the Slave Lodge has, however, been "burdened by the baggage of old collections" (Rassool, 2007:120). The Lodge has a permanent exhibition on slavery in the Cape, but the exhibition uncomfortably shares the museum's space with ceramics, silverware, Egyptology collections, and objects of English, Malaysian and Russian origin.[207] Iziko's collections of more than 2.2 million items were "mainly curated during colonial and apartheid eras, and in some instances still uncomfortably reflect the bias of a pre-democracy worldview" (Iziko, 2014:12). It has hosted numerous temporary exhibitions that "address critical issues relevant to our country's history and heritage, and contribute to South Africa's reconstruction discourse", including *Oliver Reginald Tambo: The modest revolutionary,* an exhibition on OR Tambo, President of the ANC from 1967 to 1991, and *Ships of Bondage and the Fight for Freedom,* which tells the story of slave insurrections on three vessels: the Amistad, the Meermin and the Sally (Iziko, 2014:10 & Iziko, n.d. d & e).

[206] Nearly all new museums and monuments that were developed after 1994 were connected to the concept of struggle or resistance (Marschall, 2005:26). Notions of South Africa as a 'rainbow' nation with "'reconciliation' as the basis for the new 'rainbow nation'" influenced heritage practices, from new memorials to legacy programmes and cultural tourism (Rassool, 2007:114). Specific narratives were deliberately selected, and the message they were supposed to convey was carefully formulated. At Robben Island, Deacon (2004) shows that the dominant storyline of 'the triumph of the human spirit over adversity' did not develop organically and was influenced by ANC struggle veteran and Rivonia trialist, Ahmed Kathrada. (See Chapter Two, p. 56).

[207] In this chapter, I focus on the *Singing Freedom* exhibition and do not focus on the treatment of slavery in the Slave Lodge or in other museums or heritage sites. See for example North (2017), who examines how slavery is depicted in South African museums, and how this history is examined in relation to histories of apartheid. He focuses specifically on two government-funded museums, namely the Slave Lodge and Freedom Park in Pretoria, and compares their portrayal to the way a privately funded museum at Solms-Delta wine estate in the Cape winelands depicts slavery. The representation of slavery in Simon's Town is also explored. Kros (2017) explores the treatment of slavery at the Cape in the Grade Seven curriculum.

The *Singing Freedom* exhibition thus enters an environment that is in flux; one that is simultaneously haunted by the legacy of the past ─ both in terms of collections from previous eras, and in a sense of the alienation caused by the portrayal of white people as having history, and black people as having 'culture' (Deacon, Mngqolo & Prosalendis, 2003:8-9) ─ while attempting to evolve into a post-1994 institution that "present[s] a new worldview that embraces the memories, identities and cultures of all South Africans" (Iziko, 2014:12).

Navigating the reconciliation and African Renaissance ideologies

As discussed in Chapter One, heritage has been divided into two chronological frameworks by heritage scholar Daniel Herwitz (2012). The two frameworks he identifies correspond with the dominant political ideologies developed by the governments of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki. (See Chapter One, pp. 3-4). These frameworks are helpful in illuminating how the narrative has been framed in the exhibition, and to what extent elements of these ideologies are reflected in its story.

Singing Freedom opened as a temporary exhibition on March 21, 2014 – Human Rights Day, a commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, when the police killed sixty-nine people who were protesting against the apartheid government's pass laws. The exhibition formed part of the South African government's 20-year celebration of the country's first democratic elections in 1994 under the slogan of "20 years of Freedom" (DAC, 2013 & Iziko, 2014:11). The "20 years of Freedom" commemoration branded the 1994 elections as a victory of a resilient people who overcame the evil of apartheid to become an inspirational 'rainbow' nation and model of democracy for the rest of the world (See DAC, 2013; SAnews.gov.za, 2014 & South African Government, n.d. b).[208]

This might suggest that the reconciliation narrative was still playing a significant role in the commemorative discourse in 2014. However, despite the rhetorical importance attached to the narrative, initiatives aimed at signifying its significance at heritage sites occasionally fall flat. In December 2014, I visited the Ncome and Blood River Museums in KwaZulu-Natal. The two sites, located on opposite sides of the river, tell the story of the 1838 Battle of Blood River or *Impi yaseNcome* from the 'Afrikaner' and 'Zulu' perspectives. A Reconciliation Bridge connecting the two sites was unveiled by President Jacob Zuma on December 16, 2014 – the

[208] Official "20 years of freedom" messages on the commemorative website of the DAC stated that South Africa had "risen from the ashes of apartheid to be a beacon of democracy and hope for millions of people across the world…We must continue to emphasise our unity in diversity and we must cast aside that which divides us…" (DAC, 2013).

Day of Reconciliation. Not unexpectedly, reconciliation was the main theme of Zuma's speech on the day: The "Zulu and Afrikaner people… have crossed the river and crossed the bridge in the literal and figurative senses, which demonstrates that reconciliation is possible if both sides make an effort" (Zuma, 2014). Two days after the unveiling of the bridge, I visited the site and found the gate on the side of the Ncome Museum locked.[209]

The reconciliation ideology might have shown signs of fading, but evidence of it still appears in the *Singing Freedom* exhibition. The first lyrics one sees when entering the exhibition are those of South Africa's national anthem − a combination of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and the apartheid-era anthem, *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika.*[210] The two songs were combined "in the spirit of reconciliation", the exhibition tells visitors. The lyrics are printed on a wall next to a clenched fist – an iconic symbol of the struggle against apartheid. The name of the exhibition – *Singing Freedom* – appears above the lyrics of the anthem.

The lyrics of the two anthems are, however, illustrated as two separate entities which potentially points to the uncomfortable union between the two. Calls to do away with *Die Stem* regularly arise: On Heritage Day in 2015, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), an opposition political party formed by former ANCYL President Julius Malema, argued that *Die Stem* represented a "heritage of oppression and indignity" and should be scrapped as it is "a song of oppressors, racists and mass-murderers" (Goba & Molatlhwa, 2015). Despite reconciliation seemingly enjoying such prominence, when asked whether it had an impact on the design of the exhibition, the curators said that this ideology did not have an influence. According to Tichmann (2016), the curators considered "principles of non-racialism certainly, of looking at democracy, how do we understand democracy, of looking at transformation, freedom". For Galant (2016), the Constitution and the Bill of Rights played a significant role.

[209] The site is not the only site where superficial reconciliation initiatives have not been successful. In May 2015, Freedom Park council member Edith Dikotla said that a gate to a road connecting Freedom Park with the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria is closed from the Voortrekker Monument side. "They only open it for reconciliation ceremonies." This despite Zuma naming the link between the two sites "Reconciliation Road" in 2011.The Voortrekker Monument had reportedly closed the road because the government did not contribute financially to its maintenance (Masombuka, 2015 & Van Zyl, 2015).

[210] *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was composed by Enoch Sontonga in 1897. It was sung at the first meeting of the South African Native National Congress (later the ANC) on January 8, 1912 and became the party's official anthem in 1925. The lyrics of *Die Stem* were written by C.J. Langenhoven in 1918 and the melody was composed by Reverend Marthinus Lourens de Villiers in 1921. From 1957 until 1994, when *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* became the joint national anthem with *Die Stem*, *Die Stem* was the national anthem of South Africa. In 1962, the English version, *The Call of South Africa*, was accepted for official use. In 1997, a combined version of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* in isiZulu, Sesotho and isiXhosa and *Die Stem* in Afrikaans and English, became South Africa's new national anthem "to promote unity, inclusiveness, and reconciliation" (Brand South Africa, 2017; Coplan & Jules-Rosette, 2005:286-287, 289, 301; Muller, 2001:21 & The Presidency, n.d.).

Evidence of the African Renaissance ideology is also present in the exhibition. It is, however, not the voice of Mbeki, who embraced and significantly remoulded the ideology in post-apartheid South Africa, that is included, but that of Robert Sobukwe, a founding member and the first president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which was formed in 1959 by an Africanist break-away group from the ANC. Sobukwe is quoted: "Let me plead with you, lovers of my Africa, to carry with you into the world the vision of a new Africa, an Africa reborn, an Africa rejuvenated, an Africa recreated, young AFRICA". A picture of the PAC leader is also prominently displayed. The inclusion of Sobukwe's words is likely influenced by the curators' desire to avoid portraying a dominant narrative of the ANC as the only party that fought the struggle against apartheid. I discuss this later. (See p. 226-227)

The appearance of elements of the reconciliation and African Renaissance ideologies ─ despite the curators not attaching significance to them ─ could be explained by considering Iziko's status as a public museum that forms part of the DAC, as well as the financial challenges detailed in its 2013/2014 Annual Report. Visitor numbers have steadily declined since the 2011/2012 year, when 538 005 visitors visited its museums. In 2013/2014 the figure decreased to 486 590 (Iziko, 2014:18-19,27). The declining visitor numbers, financial constraints, and the dependence on tourists, donors and friends of the museum for financial sustainability, could have a significant impact on the kind of exhibitions developed by Iziko. Museums would be less likely to take risks in their exhibitions in such an under-resourced environment. They will rather operate within the official frameworks of local and international heritage policies. Dominant narratives will go unchallenged, as museums would be hesitant to disturb the status quo that its influential donors, friend organisations, or the South African government supports.

Singing Freedom – an overview of the exhibition

As one walks up the stairs of the Iziko Slave Lodge, words written on the wall quoting Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of South Africa's current ruling party, the ANC, between 1952 and 1967 and a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, introduce the *Singing Freedom* exhibition: "The germ of freedom is in every individual, in anyone who is a human being… indeed the very apex of human achievement is FREEDOM and not slavery".

After reading the quote painted on the wall visitors do not, however, immediately enter the *Singing Freedom* exhibition. Instead, one sees a collection of musical instruments in a glass case: A *phalaphala* – a Sotho and Venda signalling horn made from Kudu horns, an *isikankuru*, a Hlubi music bow with a tin as a resonator, and an *inkositini*, a concertina possibly

used by a Zulu migrant worker. After passing the instruments, one enters a room showcasing Egyptian history. The exhibition includes information and objects in glass cases about Egyptian jewellery, textiles, trade and life after death. The collection feels completely out of place, as the sound of recorded struggle songs is heard in the background.

After walking through the room of Egyptian history, visitors reach the *Singing Freedom* exhibition. It tells the story of song in South Africa through a series of largely black and white panels with texts, lyrics of song, photographs and political posters (some photographs and posters are in colour). It is presented in two rooms – a big main room and a second much smaller space. A recording of struggle songs plays and visitors can also listen to songs using a set of earphones. A television screen shows interviews with struggle veterans.

The role of music during the struggle is introduced on the first panel: "For the oppressed in South Africa, freedom songs were a weapon in the struggle against colonial conquest and apartheid. For the majority in this country, freedom songs are part of the collective memory of the struggle against apartheid. Freedom songs tell the story of the people, organizations, events, ideologies, beliefs, hopes, dreams and emotions that were part of the struggle for freedom…".

A quote from Abdullah Ibrahim, the iconic South African pianist and composer of *Mannenberg – 'Is where it's happening',* together with several other musicians, appears below this introduction. Ibrahim is quoted as saying in 1986: "Our duty is just to remind. To remind ourselves and others what the true reality is, especially in South Africa with the political situation". The use of Ibrahim's words to introduce the exhibition as *just* a reminder of the true reality suggests that the representation of the past in the exhibition will be an unmediated, pure depiction. It also points towards the use of iconic figures to frame the narrative in the exhibition. *Mannenberg – 'Is where it's happening'* was also memorialised as part of the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project in Bloem Street in Cape Town approximately ten years ago.[211] The song was honoured with a stainless-steel instrument: Seven metal pipes were moulded, welded and mounted outside the building that housed the original studios where the song was recorded in 1974. Inscribed into the stainless steel is the instruction "Run a stick along these pipes to hear *Mannenberg*" (Valentine, n.d.). The *Sunday Times* monument gives the

[211] In its 100th year of publication in 2006, the *Sunday Times* embarked on a project to erect a series of memorials "across South Africa to commemorate some of the remarkable people and events that made history from 1906- 2006" (*Sunday Times* Heritage Project, n.d.) See Kros (2008) for an analysis of the project. She worked on the project and collated archival material suitable for history teachers in the Further Education and Training phase for the project's website.

impression of an unmediated memorialisation, as it allows people to feel as if they are producing the music themselves, while it has in fact been set up to generate the melody.

A display of a series of old radios follows the Ibrahim quote, and the exhibition then moves on to a panel on early composers, including Enoch Sontonga who composed *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, Reuben Caluza who composed a song protesting the 1913 Land Act, and Vuyisile Mini, the composer of the well-known *Nants' indod' emnyama Verwoerd* (Here comes the black man Verwoerd), a song that warns Hendrik Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa from 1958 to 1966 and the architect of apartheid, against the power of the black man.[212] The exhibition also mentions that Mini, together with other condemned men, "courageously sang freedom songs even as they were being led to the gallows" in 1964. Mini's story, including that he went to the gallows singing – is another example of the exhibition making use of iconic figures to tell the narrative. Mini's story was also employed to frame the role of music during the struggle in the *Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony* documentary (See Chapter Three, pp. 69-71 for Dalamba's critique of the film).[213]

Two panels on apartheid follow. The panels on apartheid focus on different legislation, including the pass laws, forced removals and the migrant labour system. The migrant labour system is described as a system "that saw many African workers moving between faraway homes and their places of work". The exhibition moves on to the armed struggle, including the ANC's underground radio station, Radio Freedom, exile, including musicians in exile, and the ANC's two cultural ensembles – Mayibuye and Amandla. The story is then told chronologically, with panels on the 1970s and 1980s. Discussions on music of the labour movement, reggae, cross over and hip-hop follow.

The curators incorporate a broad characterisation of freedom songs. Songs used by political activists, of which the composers are often unknown, as well as commercial music, including the British singer, Peter Gabriel's song *Biko*, the Afrikaans Voëlvry music movement that produced satire on the apartheid system, reggae, Johnny Clegg, a British-born musician with the nickname "The White Zulu", and his bands Juluka and Savuka are all included in the exhibition. Savuka, for example, produced many songs which addressed political issues, including *Asimbonanga* (We have not seen him), a song about Mandela's imprisonment on Robben Island. Hip-hop, including Black Noise, one of the first hip-hop groups in the country,

[212] The song also had a version aimed at John Vorster, who served as Prime Minister after Verwoerd's assassination.
[213] Anti-apartheid activist Albie Sachs (2016) also referred to Mini singing as he walked to the gallows in our interview.

and Prophets of da City, who produced South Africa's first hip-hop release, *Our World*, in 1990, is also discussed in the exhibition. The exhibition ends with a panel entitled "Freedom isn't free" on the role of struggle songs in post-apartheid South Africa.

The exhibition has an installation artwork in the middle of the bigger room, with two glass display cases with album covers, photos of well-known musicians such as Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela, passbooks, and political badges, surrounding the installation. The installation consists of barbed wire in a circle around wooden pedestals of anti-apartheid T-shirts. Pieces of purple fabric are tied onto the barbed wire, and rubber bullet cartridges lie on the floor. It refers to a march in 1976 in Adderley Street in front of the Slave Lodge building. Fatima February is quoted: "The Singing Freedom exhibition brings back so many memories of my youth days… 1976 in particular – marching along Adderley Street being hit by rubber bullets, birdshots, carrying wet handkerchiefs to cover our nostrils to avoid inhaling the teargas that filled the air... We were reprimanded by our parents to stay indoors out of fear that the authorities (Police) might identify us, until such time that the purple stains have disappeared from our body. Barbwire was spun along the roads to cordon us off, even that didn't stop us from our fight for equal education. It just sparked courage to continue to TOYI TOYI singing Another Brick in the Wall by Pink Floyd[214] and other freedom songs. Due to the major unrest I sadly lost family members and friends during this period". More information on who February is, is not provided, but the curators later told me that she was a conservator at Iziko.

The second smaller room focuses on key events during apartheid, and the songs that accompanied these events. The panel in the room discusses songs associated with six events during apartheid – the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955, the Women's March to the Union Buildings in 1956, the 1956 Treason Trial, the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and the Langa march in the same year. Curators quote iconic musician and activist Miriam Makeba, known as 'Mama Africa' and the 'Empress of African Song', who spent thirty-one years in exile (SAHO, n.d. k), on the purpose of song under the apartheid regime. "In our struggle, songs are not simply entertainment for us. They are the way we communicate. The press, radio and TV are all censored by the government. We cannot believe what they say. So we make up songs to tell us about events. Let something happen and the next day a song will be written about it".

[214] *Another Brick in the Wall* is the title of three songs (subtitled Part 1, Part 2 and Part 3) set to variations of the same basic theme on Pink Floyd's 1979 album, *The Wall*. *Another Brick in the Wall Part 2*, which includes the lyrics *we don't need no education* became a popular song during the school boycott by high school, and later tertiary students that began in the beginning of 1980 in the Western Cape. The song was banned by the apartheid government in May 1980 (Pinkfloyd.com, n.d.; SAHO, n.d. i & j; Van Driel, n.d. a & Waters, 2011).

A video of interviews is played. During my visit, an interview conducted with Zubeida Jaffer, a journalist active in the anti-apartheid and trade union movement who was detained several times during the apartheid era, is playing. She published her memoirs, *Our Generation,* in 2003. Two interactive quiz machines ask visitors twenty multiple-choice questions and give statements that are either true or false about the exhibition with a score provided at the end. Questions include: "Who wrote the song Meadowlands?" "Who led the women's march against pass laws in 1956?", and "Freedom songs were a weapon in the struggle against colonial conquest and apartheid: True/False".

The story told through the exhibition is not that easy to follow. Political events are not adequately contextualised. For example, curators refer to a song protesting against the 1913 Land Act, but do not give context about the Land Act and its impact. An audience that is not extremely familiar with South African struggle history would find the exhibition quite disjointed as a result of such omissions. Photographs are often used with little context provided in captions. A photograph on the panel on the armed struggle is captioned "Wankie soldier crossing stream". However, no detail is given on the Wankie campaign, the ANC's first armed military operation, which took place in 1967 in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) when the Luthuli Detachment of MK and Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) guerrillas clashed with Rhodesian forces (Van Driel, n.d. b).

The views of the curators could help explain such omissions. In the next section, I focus on their ideas about oral history.

Oral history: Getting to the heart of the narrative

Both Galant and Tichmann referred to the significance of the oral history interviews they conducted for the exhibition as a way of fulfilling the obligation described by Ibrahim, and included in the beginning of the exhibition: "Our duty is just to remind". Tichmann recalled an interview conducted with Ben Turok, an anti-apartheid activist and former member of Parliament who has been critical of Zuma's presidency.[215] Turok spoke about Mini and his comrades singing prior to their execution in Pretoria Central Prison on November 6, 1964.[216] Turok, imprisoned in the same prison after he was convicted under the Explosives Act (Smith, 2012), is quoted in the exhibition: "But then Mini and the three were put into that cell for the

[215] Turok was quoted in the media as saying that Zuma should "[g]o home to Nkandla and stay there" after he dismissed Finance Minister Nhlanhla Nene in December 2015 (Bernado, 2015).
[216] Mini was arrested on May 10, 1963 with Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba. They were charged with seventeen counts of sabotage and other political crimes, including complicity in the death of an alleged police informer (SAHO, n.d. l).

last week. And they did a lot of singing he had a beautiful voice. And he sang all the ANC songs… And on the morning when they were hanged… people could hear their singing going down the corridor as they were going to their death, the hanging section. It's the worst moment of my imprisonment". As mentioned earlier, the story of Mini singing as he went to the gallows is an example of the exhibition deploying iconic figures to tell the narrative. The making of these icons takes place before the exhibition – through expressions of collective memory or prior memorialisation projects.

Tichmann (2016) recalled the Turok interview: "Moments like that, that… put… the history in a way that we could never have.... One of the things that I'd always felt about oral histories was that… sometimes it was a way to really get to the heart of the narrative without having to… go through this whole academic kind of narrative… You are out there, you put the questions... It's not like you're doing research… in the archives or a book... It's… out of your hands… and in some ways, it's good too. It helps, I think, to bring in an element of debate that you otherwise wouldn't have".

Oral history interviews are thus viewed as an uncontaminated source – in opposition to the more cluttered version presented by the academy, which is seen as a barrier to the truth by the curators. Tichmann also referred to the way Jaffer described the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983 in Mitchells Plain, approximately twenty-five kilometres from Cape Town, to illustrate the idea that interviews present a less messy account.

Tichmann (2016) valued the sense of immediacy and atmosphere that are very often absent in academic accounts: "I'd read about all of the different figures, Johnny Issel, the meetings with Trevor Manuel and other people, and the debates over whether to have it in Cape Town or Durban or Joburg…. she captured it… in just two or three paragraphs, describing the launch… it brings it across from somebody who was really actively involved, in a way that's really powerful. I always remember her saying… for her, it was something almost magical as she looked back… something almost spiritual, all these people coming together... At moments like that, I think that's when people kind of do then remember the music, because of the atmosphere that was created through that singing, the kind of unity, people almost brought together through the singing".

Galant (2016) described oral history sources as a "primary source": "A lot of people can dispute what kind of source it is. For me, it is a primary source. It is as close to the event as you can get. Yes, people's memory go up and down, it's like a wave, we all know that," she said in reference to an interview conducted with Priscilla Jana, one of Solomon Mahlangu's

lawyers during his murder trial in 1977 and 1978. Mahlangu was hanged at the Pretoria Central Prison on April 6, 1979. Galant (2016) also referred to how the interviews revealed the networks that existed between the Jaffer, Issel and Esau families in Worcester, a town located 120 kilometres from Cape Town. “The only way you get that kind of information, besides reading people’s biographies, is through oral history and that’s how you learn how they are all connected, because they then tell you with their own mouths.”

Seeing oral history as a pure, uncontaminated source could suggest that the curators may not know about the debates on oral history or that they may disagree with what has been said in the academy. (See Chapter Two for more on the development of views on oral history).
Although the curators felt that oral history was a way of avoiding the complexities of academic history, they do cite two professional historians: Philip Bonner and John Edward Mason.

Bonner, former Chair of the History Workshop, was a founder member of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), formed in 1979, and also participated in education programmes for its worker leadership between 1980 and 1982 as part of the FOSATU Labour Studies Courses run by academics at Wits. In 1985, FOSATU joined other unions to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) (Friedman, 2011:18, 49, 98). A quote from Bonner on FOSATU is included on a panel entitled “Workers Unite!”, underneath a paragraph that provides brief information about its formation and the role of worker choirs within the federation. His words allude to the ANC’s control over the struggle narrative in post-apartheid South Africa. “FOSATU… has been almost wholly forgotten by trade unionists, political activists and the wider South African public. This may partly be due to the fact that its many achievements were accomplished in the short span of six years, and have in a sense been absorbed into COSATU. Beyond that, however, has been the active down-playing of the role of this internal struggle in the ANC’s version of the road to freedom.”[217]

The inclusion of Bonner’s quote, together with information about FOSATU, point to the efforts by the curators to provide alternative narratives to the dominant struggle narrative, which as several scholars have pointed out, is owned by the ANC (See for example Baines, 2007; Nieftagodien, 2012 & Soske, Lissoni & Erlank, 2012). Its inclusion could also be influenced by Tichmann’s personal knowledge of the federation. In our interview he mentioned FOSATU several times and spoke about running literary and educational workshops for unions affiliated with FOSATU while working for SACHED (South African Committee for Higher Education) Trust in the 1980s.

[217] Bonner wrote the excerpt in an introduction to ‘*The future is in the hands of the workers’: A history of FOSATU*, written by Michelle Friedman and published in 2011.

An excerpt from a 2007 article by John Edward Mason, Associate Professor from the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia, on the song *Mannenberg – 'Is where it's happening'* – which is part of a group of iconic artefacts in the exhibition – is also included on a panel entitled "1980s". Mason, who is also a musician, teaches African history and has written extensively on early nineteenth century South African history, specifically the history of slavery, and South African popular culture, especially the Cape Town New Year's Carnival and jazz.[218] Mason writes about *Mannenberg – 'Is where it's happening':* "There is, seemingly, nothing angry about it, nothing that would inspire people to stand up to the teargas, whips, and bullets of the apartheid state. And, yet, it did just that… They made the hit an anthem by placing it at the musical center of countless anti-apartheid rallies, demonstrations, and benefit concerts throughout the 1980s".

How then do we evaluate the views of the curators on oral history and their treatment of interviews?

Although the interviews played a central role for the curators, the exhibition does not seem to reflect the significance they attached to them. Quotes from interviewees are included on the panels, but their voices appear not to have been given prominence in the overall narrative of the exhibition. The treatment of the interviews could possibly be explained by the time constraints that the curators faced. The time limitations were signalled out by Galant (2016) several times as a major challenge. This could have meant that they did not have enough time to interrogate the interviews and to think about how to make the interviews guide the exhibition.

The exhibition attempts to move away from only quoting prominent leaders and musicians, by also quoting lesser-known musicians and activists. It does not provide contextual information about their identities and their role in the struggle, which could mean that visitors leave the exhibition remembering only the opinions of the renowned musicians and political leaders. The lack of biographical information could be seen as a reinforcement of the notion that the content is unmediated – it would not matter who the singer or author is, because it is simply the truth. However, one could also see it in a different light. By not giving more contextual information about the people who are quoted, including those that were interviewed for the exhibition, the curators are giving visitors the freedom to attach their own meanings to the voices included in the exhibition. They are in a sense returning agency to the individual to produce their own meanings – without being told what to think by the curators. It could be

[218] In 2010, Mason published *One Love, Ghoema Beat: Inside the Cape Town Carnival*, a photographic exploration of the New Year's Carnival in Cape Town and in 2003 he *published Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa*, on slavery in South Africa.

argued that their treatment of the interviews represents an attempt to fight against the institutional power of the museum, as identified and analysed by Bennett (1995). The curators are in a sense trying to break this power down.

The way objects are included in the exhibition could be influenced by the significance the curators attached to oral history. Several types of objects are on display in the exhibition, including old radios and two glass display cases with album covers, photos of well-known musicians such as Makeba and Masekela, passbooks, and political badges. They feel like obligatory symbols of the apartheid era instead of objects that could interrogate or interact with a patron's memories. The type of objects included could be explained by the curators' views about objects diluting people's voices in the exhibition. Both curators expressed resistance to the pressure they had experienced to include objects in the exhibition.[219]

According to Tichmann (2016), they were "constantly under pressure over what objects we are going to have… It became ridiculous to some extent… it was things like a jukebox, we were pressured to actually borrow a jukebox from… Ditsong", despite none of the interviewees mentioning a jukebox in the interviews. Galant (2016) remembered a meeting where the curators were asked about which objects they would include: "I said… this is not about objects. This exhibition is not about objects…There is this tendency where our history is undermined in a sense, and our people's heritage… and legacies are undermined. [The story of] James La Guma… that was important… Paul was taking these guys who were completely overlooked, completely ignored as early composers and we've got their stories there. So, no, we don't have James La Guma's shoes, which would have been great. We don't have James La Guma's suit…. It didn't even occur to us to go and ask the La Guma family for his socks, or… that kind of remnant, because the most, the more important thing was the songs, his life, his struggle, what he'd managed to achieve… and being part of this big movement… That was the thing... The research is guiding this exhibition, and the people are guiding this exhibition, not the objects". Galant felt that including objects would obscure the authentic, real narrative expressed through oral history interviews and songs. Both were viewed as ways to ensure her people's history and heritage were not neglected.

Galant's view that her history and heritage were vulnerable and had been neglected ─ and that oral history was a way to resist such disregard ─ is not an isolated opinion and was expressed by other role players represented in this thesis. During the *Dubula ibhunu* trial, the

[219] I did not probe this point further in the interview, as I realised that it likely sensitive information about a colleague or superior.

ANC argued that song was part of their history and heritage, at times equating it with history – a history that they argued was oral in nature, told through dynamic and vibrant song.

Oral history: A way to avoid a dominant narrative

The curators not only viewed oral history as providing them with an authenticity that they would not find in academic history, but also as a way to avoid portraying a dominant narrative in the exhibition. In a paper presented at the the eleventh Annual Conference of the Oral History Association of South Africa (OHASA) in October 2014, Galant and Tichmann (2014:2) said: "We not only wanted to be able to include multiple voices in narrative but also to ensure that the stories of the diverse organisations involved in the struggle against apartheid were included... We were only too aware of the trap of falling into a "dominant nationalist grand narrative" [as said by Bonner at the 2011 launch of '*The future is in the hands of the workers': A history of FOSATU* by Michelle Friedman] and saw oral history as a way of avoiding such a trap. We also hoped that oral history would help to inject some element of dialogue and debate within the narrative". Starting interviews with biographical questions "helped to personalize the narratives and reduce the tendency towards an official narrative" (Tichmann & Galant, 2014:1). In the interview, Tichmann (2016) also referred to Bonner: "It's so easy for us to become polarised… Professor Phil Bonner had made a remark about how history has been airbrushed, and how we're almost slipping into a dominant narrative again of the ANC, and forgetting there was a whole range of organisations…".

Despite their intentions to include different organisations, the curators indicated that they struggled to interview a diverse group of anti-apartheid activists due to time constraints and individuals approached for interviews either cancelling or not being willing to participate. The curators conducted a total of twenty-six interviews for the exhibition. Tichmann (2016) explained: "I think there were some cases… where… people were maybe not all that willing to share because whether they felt they were going to be attacked… It was difficult to really tie some of the people down… Some of the PAC people just were not all that willing to talk to us…. We managed to get… through [to] people like Geoff Mamputha whose father had been in the PAC".

Although the exhibition attempts to ensure that the ANC is not presented as the only party that fought against the apartheid regime by including discussions on the role of trade unions, including the federation FOSATU, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), and the PAC, there are subtle hints to the ANC's dominance of the struggle narrative. The PAC and the BCM are discussed as part of a section on organisations. However, the ANC is not discussed

as an organisation. This points to the party's dominance of the struggle story in post-apartheid South Africa. It has become so synonymous with the struggle, so omnipresent, that it is not seen as a separate entity, but rather as *the* struggle.[220]

The views of the curators on oral history – as providing them with an authentic, true account while also giving them a way to inject debate and prevent the portrayal of a dominant narrative – might at first seem contradictory. However, the curators did not see themselves as creating or participating in the debate by mediating the narratives told. They wanted the interviewees to speak for themselves. They could then in a sense debate among themselves. Galant (2016) emphasised the idea of people's "own voices… singing their own songs" being heard in the exhibition.

Although the curators might not have wanted to mediate the voices of their interviewees, they were not unaware of the mediation processes that take place in the development of a museum exhibition. Galant (2016) spoke about the design of the exhibition, in which they had to make choices about how to present the narrative. She objected to a linear sense of time within the exhibition – as well as to the time constraints they were working under to get the exhibition ready. "The way it's designed is kind of… linear. We're moving through time. That was not the way I saw it. I wanted to do it, and it could possibly have been done if we had… more time... I wanted to do it… where we have people tell their stories and talk about the songs as it developed according to different groups, so women and youth… to let the people lead it and… have it look like that, but it wasn't possible, because we had too little time… It had to open when it opened because of the whole financial year end… We therefore had to go the more conservative route in a sense and… guided by Paul's research which make[s] sense, and our interviews, which we did".

The intersection of song and memories

The two curators also spoke about how people's memories were activated through song. Songs "served as powerful triggers of memory and helped interviewees to make links with particular individuals, events and organisations" (Tichmann & Galant, 2014:3). Galant said (2016): "The songs although of course being important, the songs is almost like an aside... For a lot of them talking about their life stories they'd forgotten the songs… but then it would come back to them". According to Galant (2016), interviewees would sing songs as they recalled them during the interviews: "That was the beauty of song and intangible heritage...

[220] Several scholars have pointed to the ANC's ownership of the struggle narrative. See for example Baines, 2007; Nieftagodien, 2012 & Soske, Lissoni & Erlank, 2012.

Ronny [Nyuka] was actually singing the songs. As he recalls it, he recalls the event and then the song and then he sings and to the point where he broke down, because it was so painful, his recollection of things." Tichmann (2016) agreed: "There were poignant moments where… people would tell us a particular incident and then the song would really stand out".

Struggle veterans interviewed for this study also remembered and sang or recited the lyrics of song in connection with certain events. Former Constitutional Court Judge Albie Sachs (2016) spoke about the changes that song underwent during the struggle, recalling that there were "very sad songs" and then singing *Mayibuye iAfrika* (Let Africa return) and *Senzeni na* (What have we done) as examples. The Defiance Campaign in 1952 brought new songs, with "people now defying the law and expressing themselves in a different way", said Sachs, while singing a song with a faster rhythm and with the lyrics: "*Dr Moroka, Dr Dadoo, JB Marx, Kotane… volunteers obey the orders, be ready for the action now"* as an example.

Minister of Home Affairs and former MK member, Ayanda Dlodlo, (2016) recalled a song in connection with a specific event in an MK camp. In this instance, the song and the event intersected: "There was a song we used to sing… meaning this task is so difficult it needs for us to unite for us to conquer. I remember starting that song one day when my platoon was punished and I mean the punishment we used to get was almost inhumane. Punishment for various things and at the end of it all we were then taken into this hall… and we were asked to start a song and everybody was so exhausted and I started that song. It was a song that at that point we have gone through so much punishment, it was so hurtful. That song was a message to say this is so hard and I remember our platoon commander said: 'Is this about defiance or is this just a song?'. At that point when I started it, it was out of anger, but I'm sure when my comrades in the platoon joined in, they joined in because they truly believed that this is a tough life, not out of defiance, that this is truly a tough life.

I now turn to exploring the curators' views on song.

Song as "people's stories"

The curators viewed song in a similar way to oral history: As an unmediated channel to convey people's stories. Galant (2016) said: "The songs are people's stories… in a sense, it really is our people's archive… of struggle, where it was, in a sense, untampered with… in a way… it was purely their expression, their response… to what was going on". This is not an isolated opinion. Dlodlo (2016) said that song, which she described as a "mobile monument", helped "Africans tell the story about themselves and who they are". (See Chapter One, p. 19).

As mentioned in Chapter One (see pp. 27-28), when song is described as "our people's archive" it is not in the sense of an archive being seen as a process of production and mediation,[221] but rather as something that provides direct access to the past. Describing song as an archive provides it with authenticity – it gives singers a real connection to the past.

Viewing song as an unmediated channel ignores the way song is deployed in post-apartheid South Africa. As the previous case study has shown, the utilisation of struggle songs is not a mere resuscitation of a song in which it does not undergo change. Each performance recreates the archive[222] and is characterised by mediation, deliberation and recalibration in which song itself undergoes significant change.

How will the curators, who have consciously rebelled against some of the institutional limits they see in museum exhibitions, treat struggle songs – a form of music that is subversive in intention?

The treatment of song in the exhibition

Visitors to *Singing Freedom* are accompanied by song as they walk through the exhibition. *South African freedom songs: Inspiration for liberation*, released in 2000, plays in the background. The sound comes from a box in the shape of a radio. It includes songs such as *Nants' indod' emnyama Vorster* (Here comes the black man Vorster) and *Hamba kahle Mkhonto we Sizwe* (Go well, Spear of the Nation). A second recording of a collection of struggle songs is played over a set of headphones that visitors can listen to.

The lyrics of many other songs are printed on black and white panels mounted on the walls. Occasionally only the names of songs are included in the narrative. With some of the songs, contextual information is provided, for example about who composed it, or an event it was related to. For example, visitors are told that *Sikhalela izwe lakithi* (We weep for our land) was a popular song during the 1952 Defiance Campaign. For other songs, only the lyrics are included on panels, with no other specific information pertaining to the song provided. The conditions under which struggle songs were composed during the struggle explains why it would not be possible to include information about when, or by whom, it was composed.

[221] Carolyn Hamilton views the archive in this way – as an active, ongoing one and argues that we should study the "constituting" of the archive. (See Chapter One, p. 27-28).
[222] I draw here on Hamilton as well as the works of Jorritsma (2011) and Muller (2002). See Chapter Three, pp. 102-104.

According to Gray (2004:95), “the composers of the songs after 1950 are mostly unknown as the songs were spontaneously articulated in response to situations”.

Scholars such as Reynolds (2012) and Reising (2001) have expressed reservations about the museum’s ability to effectively exhibit the vibrancy of popular music. Reising (2001:497) argues that the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum in Cleveland in the US “communicates very little of the dynamism of rock and roll, its visceral, emotional, tactile, aural, and even aromatic thrill”, as it “exists primarily as a repository for static, material artifacts”. According to Reynolds (2012:3), museums are “opposed to the vital energies of pop and rock”, as they are places of “hush and decorum…primarily visual, oriented around display, designed for the contemplative gaze”. The museum is thus seen as a space that cannot accommodate the dynamic vibrancy of song. In this section, I first detail some of the practical difficulties in including sound in a museum and then look at the issues relating to the loss of meaning when song is divorced from its performance context.

Practical challenges regarding sound in the museum

Including music in an exhibition creates practical challenges for curators, as different sounds in a small space can make it difficult for visitors to distinguish the sounds around them. This could cause cacophonies, argues Knifton (2012:22). Patrons visiting other exhibitions within the same museum, or even different sections within an exhibition on music, could find different pieces of music distracting due to sound bleed between exhibits. Baker, Istvandity & Novak (2016:75-76) argue that sound bleed does not always have to be problematic in music exhibitions, as the “merging of sounds in exhibits embodies this everyday experience of popular music” in malls and in homes. Exhibitions on certain genres of music could even benefit from utilising sound bleed, as hearing different sounds simultaneously would be a more realistic representation of how the music sounds, and is listened to, outside the controlled environment of the museum. An example of such a genre is the “funk and fury” of hip-hop. According to Forman (2002:101, 107-108,110), visitors entering the lobby of the Brooklyn Museum of Art where the *Hip-Hop Nation: Roots, Rhymes & Rage* exhibition was housed from September 22 to December 31, 2000 were “confronted with a swirl of energy and near chaos”. The lobby “was transformed into an interactive space designated as “The Block Party,” with several digital screens… featuring a touch-screen user interface that allowed the visitor to replicate the general features of record turntables, with various rhythms/beats and more elaborate scratch and fade options programmed into the software…”. Further along in the exhibition, “the sound of a video documentary… collided with the music and rhythms from an adjacent video collage assembled from music television clips, creating a sonic cacophony that

was reminiscent of the thump of car stereos booming on a summer's night on a congested city street".

Struggle songs share several features with the "vibrant, living culture" (Forman, 2002:102) of hip-hop, with lyrics of songs being modified and new songs being composed to reflect political events as they take place. Struggle songs in marches, political rallies, or service delivery protests are not utilised in an orderly manner one after the other. Instead, different groups sing different songs simultaneously, and an observer at such an occasion would be bombarded with different sounds. An exhibition on struggle songs would be enriched by utilising sound bleed, as it would offer visitors a taste of the range of chaotic situations in which song was used during apartheid and continues to be utilised in contemporary South Africa.

For the curators, the fact the sound was included at all was seen as a significant victory. Galant (2016) explained: "I hated the silence in that space before… *Singing Freedom* and especially the… old room where *Labels* is and the musical instruments. That was… the worst room… because there's no sound. It's a music room… but it is dead quiet... There should be some sound, at least some sound. It's… this mausoleum type of thing and it just does not work for me and it does not work for a lot of people and youth especially. It's like dead... So, for me, there had to be sound. We could not just have earphones, there had to be sound, and constant sound… we've got the interviews going all the time, so there's voices, and that's really great".

The Hector Pieterson Museum in Soweto makes use of sound in a different manner than the *Singing Freedom* exhibition. In the Soweto museum, audio-visual material is one of the resources utilised to tell the story of the June 16, 1976 Students' Uprising. Other resources include text panels, photographs, and the design of the building, which incorporates big windows allowing visitors to see important sites that formed part of the uprising's story. Narratives, including of student leader Tsietsi Mashinini talking about the shooting of Hector Pieterson, and short documentaries, for example about life in Soweto, are played on television screens throughout the museum. Television news broadcasts about the uprisings are also shown. The museum uses sound technologies to insulate some sections that make use of sound. However, while a visitor watches a narrative or documentary on a screen, he/she is still able to hear the sound from other screens in the background. The museum's open architecture also means that the sound of screens located on the museum's ground floor can be heard as a visitor moves through other areas. Different sounds are thus a constant companion on a visitor's journey. This is, however, not a distraction, but instead makes a valuable contribution to the visitor's understanding of the uprising as it provides a sense of the chaotic collection of sounds that the students faced.

The absence of performance in the museum

Distinguished museum scholar Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2007:182) sheds light on the difficulties of exhibiting performance in a museum – an aspect which is central to the production of meaning, as showed in my analysis of Mangaung's songs in Chapter Five. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett refers to the arguments of Taylor (2003) on the repertoire and the archive. According to Taylor (2003:24), the repertoire "contains verbal performances ─ songs, prayers, speeches ─ as well as non-verbal practices". It is the way people "produce and transmit knowledge through embodied action". Taylor argues that "traditions are stored in the body… and transmitted "live" in the here and now to a live audience". This is distinct from recording and conserving the "repertoire… in the archive" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2007:182). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that intangible heritage is different from tangible heritage "protected in the museum… [as it] consists of cultural manifestations (knowledge, skills, performance) that are inextricably linked to persons. It is not possible – or it is not as easy – to treat such manifestations as proxies for persons, even with recording technologies that can separate performances from performers and consign the repertoire to the archive" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2007:182).

The way that *Singing Freedom* deals with song – through the use of sound recordings and the printing of lyrics on panels – separates it from its performance moment. This leads to a significant loss of several layers of meaning. As the previous case study has shown, it is during the moment of performance that collective memory is reactivated and mobilised and new meanings are expressed and generated. Using only recordings or lyrics on a panel means that a song is divorced from that potent moment in which several integral elements combine with lyrics and melody to produce meanings. This includes the political context at a particular moment in time, the dialogue between the lead singer and his/her choir, and the performance style, including gestures and other dance movements. If the songs at Mangaung were, for example, analysed by only considering the lyrics, or even the lyrics and the melody, one would not be aware that some of these songs were deployed to express and mobilise support for Zuma. The 'second term' gesture used by delegates changed songs into campaign songs for Zuma, despite the lyrics not expressing support for a specific leader. Without seeing the live performance of his supporters, this new meaning of song would be lost.

Including videos of song in the exhibition could have given visitors a better sense of the performance of song, including the dance movements and use of gestures. However, it would be impossible to include all the contextual information utilised in the previous case study to analyse song, including the political context and biographical details of the singers and

audience, without overwhelming visitors with an overload of detail. It would also create a didactic exhibition. Using a video of a single performance of a song in an exhibition would furthermore limit its meanings to the ones expressed and produced on that specific occasion. Other meanings conveyed and generated during other performances would be lost. If you were to include multiple performances of a song over time – together with each performance's contextual information – one would create an exhibition that would be completely disorientating.

Utilising a recording of a performance also divorces song from its journey ─ one that can take unexpected twists and turns, as the previous case study has shown. The analysis of *Inde le ndlela* showed the significance of a song's reception by constituencies – and specifically its unpredictable reception – in the generation of meaning. It also showed the significance of individual agency. This dynamic reception process is not something that one can represent in a museum exhibition.

Initially, I was very critical of the curators' treatment of song in the exhibition, especially in light of the previous case study that showed the significance of performance in the generation of different meanings. I thought they could have included videos that visitors could watch at different stages of the exhibition. I attributed their treatment of song and the absence of its performance in the exhibition to their views of song as the "people's archive of struggle". Viewing song in this way meant that the performance of a song would not matter, as the meaning of song is found in the song itself. It would then not matter who performs it or who the audience is.

However, working through my own thoughts about how one could attempt to exhibit song in a museum, has changed how I view their treatment of song. I have come to realise that it would not be possible to exhibit the dynamic nature of song's performance and reception in a museum. Listening to the recording of my interview with them repeatedly also impacted the change of heart.

In the interview, Galant (2016) referred to reading the lyrics of *Siyobashiy' abazal'* (included below) to a group of Grade 12 learners from John Ramsay High School in Bishop Lavis in Cape Town while taking them through the exhibition. The song's lyrics are included in the exhibition on a panel on the armed struggle. Galant said: "It's just perfect. It's just perfect… It's that timeliness of song, it's that timelessness of that voice that's there, that really captures for me what this freedom song is about, and what these people were struggling for… and what they were facing…You've got Ronny [Nyuka, who mentioned the song in his interview with the

curators] who's… a seventeen-, eighteen-year-old… who… [was] being taken out of the country… they didn't know what they were going into, but they knew what they had here was terrible. It was dreadful and what is this freedom? But it wasn't what they knew and it wasn't what their parents knew… It's that kind of moment…. Yes, it is in the exhibition.... through song, and through the interviews, and the intangible, you're able to convey that message and that is a triumph in a sense… As long as there's wrong things that are happening people have the right to struggle and fight against it…. it's current, it's happening, it's now, it's that freedom we're following. We're still following...".

The song's lyrics:

Siyobashiy' abazal' ekhaya
Saphuma, sangena kwamanye 'mazwe
Lapho okungazi khon' oBaba noMama
Silandel' inkululeko

Translated into English:
We left our parents at home
We departed. We entered other countries
Places unknown to our fathers and mothers
We are following freedom

Galant's interpretation of *Siyobashiy' abazal'*, in which she attached her own personal meaning to the song, made me realise that the curators' treatment of song was in a sense returning agency to the visitors. By including the lyrics ─ instead of videos of performances together with large amounts of contextual information ─ the curators were giving visitors the freedom to attach their own meanings to song. The curators can then be seen as contributing to creating a "more fully dialogic" space as described by Bennett (1995:104), in which "the role of the curator… [is] shifted away from that of the source of an expertise whose function is to organize a representation claiming the status of knowledge and towards that of the possessor of a technical competence whose function is to assist groups outside the museum to use its resources to make authored statements within it". Bennett is making this statement in relation to a few Australian museums in which Aboriginal peoples were given "the right to refashion the display of Aboriginal materials in order to make their own statements on their own terms" (Bennett, 1995:104), but the curators' treatment of oral history and song could be seen in the same light: As "allowing the museum to function as a site for the enunciation of plural and

differentiated statements, enabling it to function as an instrument for public debate" (Bennett, 1995:104).[223]

The treatment of the post-1994 deployment of song

The exhibition ends with a panel entitled "Freedom isn't free" which describes the role of song in post-apartheid South Africa. It refers to two very prominent incidents involving song: *De la Rey*, an Afrikaans song released in 2006 which became "entangled with the politics of right-wing Afrikaner nationalism" (Van der Waal & Robins, 2011:763), and *Dubula ibhunu,* which was initially declared hate speech by the court in 2011.[224] Curators predominately use the term 'freedom song' to describe song, but interestingly describe *Dubula ibhunu* as a struggle song.[225] The signaling out of *Dubula ibhunu* as a struggle song could point to current political battles ─ since the court case, Malema has become a political opponent of the ANC after forming a new political party, the EFF, following his expulsion from the ruling party. Both songs are well-known examples that have caused controversy. The song *De la Rey* was vigorously debated in newspapers, academic journals and conferences after its release in 2006, while *Dubula ibhunu* was argued over in the Equality Court in 2011. This renders these songs controllable and safe. The sting has already been taken out of them. [226]

The panel includes a quote from Cecyl Esau, who was imprisoned on Robben Island between 1987 and 1991 (Esau, 2008). He alludes to the notion that the struggle is not over: "…It's not something necessarily which is attained and forever there; that you need to wage on struggle and that is it. It's as that BC song says, "Freedom isn't free". Because each generation must learn it anew that it's not something handed down to you. You need to defend it. So the ideological struggle is ongoing and there will always be people, individuals or groups who will want to reverse the gains attained by liberation".

The inclusion of Esau's statement at the end of the exhibition feels as if it contradicts the exhibition's neglect of the role of song after apartheid. Despite song being described at the beginning of the exhibition as "a weapon in the struggle against colonial conquest and apartheid", the deployment of this weapon is portrayed as safely belonging to the past – the

[223] This is similar to James Clifford's concept of museums as 'contact zones'. According to Clifford (1997:192-193), "when museums are seen as contact zones, their organizing structure as a *collection* becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral *relationship* ─ a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull".
[224] In 2012, the parties settled the matter out of court (Du Plessis, 2012).
[225] The term 'protest song' is used twice: A song objecting against the 1913 Land Act and *Nants' indod' emnyama*, a song composed by Mini, are described as protest songs.
[226] Interviewees were asked about *Dubula ibhunu* and *Umshini Wami*, but the opinions expressed by them are not included on the panels.

exhibition does not acknowledge the role song currently plays in heated political battles in South Africa. The effect is that song appears frozen in the apartheid era. This partly is because of the inherent difficulty in museum practices and the difficulties of representing culture as dynamic. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2007:180), “measures intended to preserve, conserve, safeguard, and sustain particular cultural practices are caught between freezing the practice and addressing the inherently processual nature of culture”.

Iziko’s status as a public museum could also have influenced the neglect of the post-apartheid deployment of song. *Singing Freedom* might not have been able to completely escape the influence of the reconciliation narrative: It was perhaps then seen as safer to contain this unruly form of heritage in the apartheid era so as to make it digestible for tourists hungry to see the ‘rainbow nation’, and for government officials that use the notion of reconciliation to cloak contestations over the country’s past that could reveal power struggles in the present.

The curators are, however, not unaware of the role of song in a post-1994 context. Galant (2016) said: “You had your voice and there were a lot of voices and it becomes a collective and that is powerful… In terms of a weapon… it empowers people... It was a weapon and it is defiant”, suggesting that this weapon still carries power.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at how the museum deals with struggle songs – an active form of heritage that takes unexpected twists and turns as it is deployed in post-apartheid South Africa. A significant part of this case study was devoted to the views of the curators. The curators described song as “people’s stories” and as “people’s archive of struggle” that represents an “untampered” account of the past and the struggle against apartheid. Similarly, oral history interviews were seen as getting to the “heart of the narrative” in contrast to the muddled, complex versions found in academic literature. The curators also seemed uneasy with the power vested in the museum. They yearned for the counter-monument (Young, 1992) of people’s voices – through song and oral history – as a reaction to the institutional power of the museum.

Initially, I was quite critical of both the views of the curators on oral history and song, as well as the exhibition itself. I saw their views as ignoring the mediation that takes places when song is deployed in post-apartheid South Africa. I furthermore saw it as creating an exhibition that was difficult to follow, as not enough context was provided. However, I have come to a different realisation after thinking about how one could exhibit song in a museum and how the

processes of performance and reception – central to the generation of multiple meanings – could be represented. The very nature of song – as a sonic counter-monument that operates in unpredictable ways – renders it resistant to attempts to preserve it in the institution of the museum. What then do we make of *Singing Freedom*? Do we dismiss it because it was bound to fail in its attempt to exhibit this active form of heritage? I would argue against such a judgment. Instead, I would consider the views of the curators and their treatment of song – through including lyrics instead of multiple videos of performances – as signalling an attempt to defy the institutional power of the museum. They are in a sense returning agency to individual visitors, who can generate their own meanings from song.

In the next chapter, I conclude this study by re-examining the three case studies to answer the research questions posed in Chapter One.

CHAPTER SEVEN
Conclusion

The journey of this thesis started in April 2011 outside the South Gauteng High Court in Johannesburg. I spoke to Busisiwe Mvula, who had travelled approximately 600 kilometres from the Eastern Cape, to "defend" her song, *Dubula ibhunu*. She was resolute in her support: "You can't destroy the song… The song is part of history" (Mvula, 2011).

Her words stayed with me and ultimately led me to study the place of struggle songs in post-apartheid South Africa. This thesis originally set out to examine song's deployment as intangible heritage. However, as the research journey progressed, I began to realise that it operated as a particular form of intangible heritage ─ an active form.

This thesis has shown that the notion of heritage itself has become enormously potent in post-apartheid South Africa. Herwitz (2012:9) asserts, drawing on the work of Benedict Anderson (1991), that post-colonial societies need heritage, otherwise "it would be impossible… to imagine and create their own nations". Although the construction of the 'nation' in the post-colonial society has to draw on particular elements from the former metropoles – Herwitz (2012:9) refers to the museum and the archive – this thesis reveals much more personal appropriations of heritage. Heritage is utilised in intimate ways. It operates in a complex manner with multiple meanings. It is "increasingly an idea mobilised by ordinary people to think about the meaning of the past in the present… [it] has possibilities and consequences in their lives. It does things in the world. It is capable of mobilising or inhibiting people. Sometimes it regulates and authorises; it can be dissonant; and it can itself be a process of engagement" (Hamilton, 2015:256).

The *Dubula ibhunu* trial in 2011 reinforced just how important heritage had become in South Africa, with the more recent *Rhodes* and *Fees Must Fall* movements in 2015 and 2016 revealing the central role that heritage occupies in driving these heated political battles. The very idea of heritage is used as a pretext for defending practices that are challenged. Heritage also carries enormous emotional power – it is deeply felt. It is precisely this emotional power that makes it so potent when it is deployed in such contests.

Song – as a form of active heritage – is often utilised in these political battles to fortify specific leaders or causes, and to weaken or silence enemies. Gunner (2015:335) alerts us to the significance of the role of song in post-apartheid South Africa: It is an "element of political

discourse in the public space…". This thesis has shown that the deployment of song is not a straightforward process with a predictable outcome. Song takes unexpected twists and turns on its journey. It is selected, re-shaped and redeployed with multiple meanings generated by its publics. It is not merely resuscitated by lead singers and received by its audiences. Lead singers often utilise song to evoke a past ─ for which there is considerable nostalgia ─ yet this is not a mere recall of an earlier time of struggle. It has meaning in the *present*. Despite its complexity and repurposing, the singers often seem to imagine song to be an uncluttered, untainted representation of the past. It provides people with a way to reclaim their pasts from the narratives presented at heritage sites and created by the academy, which are often experienced as alienating. This authenticity associated with song is an enormous component of its appeal.

In this chapter, I revisit the three case studies presented in this thesis and address the research questions raised at the beginning of the study. I also show how this thesis has attempted to contribute to the field of Heritage Studies and make recommendations on how its findings, and limitations, can be helpful in informing future research projects.

The following questions were posed in this study: Why do songs originally composed under the oppressive conditions of apartheid continue to be deployed with such vigour in a democratic South Africa? What are the effects and meanings of this deployment in different spaces? Furthermore, if struggle songs are in fact considered a form of intangible heritage, what does this mean for the field of heritage as well as the performance of song?

In search of answers to these questions, I presented three case studies: The *Dubula ibhunu* court case between 'Afrikaner' civil rights organisation, AfriForum, and Julius Malema, at the time President of the ANCYL, the ANC's National Conference in Mangaung in 2012, and the *Singing Freedom: Music and the struggle against apartheid* exhibition at the Iziko Slave Lodge in Cape Town. Each of these case studies contributed to finding answers to the research questions posed in this study. They demonstrated that the deployment of song could not be reduced to a single purpose or meaning. Its slippery utilisation in post-apartheid South Africa required a wide-ranging approach, which recognised the multiple meanings that people produce through, and attach to, song. Interviews with struggle veterans and other activists were significant in revealing the profound significance of song in people's lives. It is seen as inextricably African. It is trans-linguistic and trans-historical and bonds people together ─ not only to their comrades, but to their history and to their ancestors.

Interviews conducted for this thesis had a significant impact on the evolution of this study. An interview with the curators of the *Singing Freedom* exhibition fundamentally changed the course of this thesis. Curator Shanaaz Galant (2016) described song as "people's stories". She said: "[I]n a sense, it really is our people's archive… of struggle, where it was, in a sense, untampered with… in a way… it was purely their expression, their response… to what was going on". Ayanda Dlodlo, Minister of Home Affairs and former MKMVA Secretary-General, viewed song in a similar way, labelling it "a mobile monument of our struggle" that was "the only thing" she had to convey her story (Dlodlo, 2016).

Their thoughts on song reveal a rejection of the history of the academy and formal heritage establishments. They express a desire for an unmediated history, free from the clutter of the official. The role-players in this case study long for the column[227] of institutionalised history to be lowered into the ground. For them, song plays the role of a potent, vibrant counter-monument (Young, 1992), which conveys the authentic story of the struggle against apartheid.

The interviews with Galant and Dlodlo first introduced the idea of the counter-monument to this study. I began to see that song operated with similar aims to the counter-monuments described by Young (1992). Song aims "… to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by its passersby but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desecration…" (Young, 1992:277).

The heritage analysed in this study differs from the counter-monuments described by Young (1992). This thesis looks at intangible heritage and not built monuments. Unlike the formal Holocaust memorial projects, the counter-monument of song is not a consciously designed one by a group of artists, but one that has evolved into being through the complex ways it is utilised and thought about by singers in post-apartheid South Africa. Nevertheless, the utilisation of the notion of the counter-monument to examine song was a productive one. It alerted me to consider two processes ─ performance and reception ─ in my analysis of song. I utilised the works of several scholars to inform my analysis of these areas, including Liz Gunner (2009), Raymond Suttner (2009b), Belinda Bozzoli (2004), Lara Allen (2004), Paolo Israel (2010), David Coplan & Bennetta Jules-Rosette (2005) and Carol Muller (2002).[228]

[227] The *Monument against Fascism, War and Violence ─ and for Peace and Human Rights*, unveiled in 1986 in Harburg is one of the counter-monuments discussed by Young (1992). It was designed by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz to disappear over time as people added their names to the twelve-metre high lead column. As sections were covered with graffiti and names, the monument was lowered into the ground (Young, 1992:274, 276). It was lowered into the ground eight times, until it was completely submerged in 1993. A burial stone remains above ground, with the column visible from a chamber below (Jochen Gerz Public Space, n.d. & Rosen, 2015).

[228] See Chapter Five, pp. 180-186 for a discussion of the methodological framework employed to examine Mangaung's songs.

Performance and reception, and in particular the unpredictable nature of reception, were rich areas to explore and revealed the capacity of song to generate multiple meanings.

I now recapitulate the findings of the three case studies presented in this thesis. The first of the three case studies – the *Dubula ibhunu* case of 2011 – demonstrated how heritage helped to drive fierce political power battles in post-apartheid South Africa. It gave me the opportunity to re-examine the rules of engagement governing these contests that took place on the heritage stage. The intersection between heritage and politics and the power issues regarding heritage have been extensively written about. However, the deployment of struggle songs shows that the relationship is not as sanitised and clear-cut as often portrayed by scholars. (See for example Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) and Marschall (2006; 2008 & 2010)). The battle between AfriForum and the ANC was anything but a clearly defined one between 'us' and 'them'. Instead it featured trade-offs, as the parties borrowed from each other's ideas of heritage, bringing different foundational myths into contact with each another, and playing different forms of commemoration up against one another. During the trial, the very words 'history' and 'heritage' became profoundly significant in the battle to demand protection for various practices and perspectives, and to defend specific ideological and political territories.

The second case study explored the deployment of song at the ANC's conference in Mangaung in 2012. Song was a significant part of the "political theatre" (Bozzoli, 2004:213) at the conference. It formed part of the victory script[229] that was being performed at Mangaung. From the first day of the conference, song signalled that ANC President, Jacob Zuma, would easily triumph over his opponent, ANC Deputy President, Kgalema Motlanthe. New songs praising the slate of Zuma and ANC Secretary-General, Gwede Mantashe, emerged with supporters passionately singing a Sesotho song, *Welewele Zumantashe* (Hail Zumantashe), accompanied by a clap movement performed with the person next to them. Song was deployed to further weaken Motlanthe's already near-silent supporters and convey and reinforce the power of the "100% Zumantashe" camp.

Instead of deploying his Machine Gun theme song at the Mangaung conference, Zuma evoked the image of the ANC's biggest struggle icon ─ Nelson Mandela. The former President was seriously ill in hospital during the conference (Sapa-AFP, 2012), which made the reference to him even more poignant. Zuma reactivated a largely unknown song, first sung during the struggle years: *Inde le ndlela*. Through the song, Zuma mobilised the collective memories (Halbwachs, 1980) of the struggle

[229] I draw here on Bozzoli (2004) who utilised the notion of 'theatre' to examine the Alexandra Rebellion in 1986. See Chapter Three, pp. 72-75.

in an extremely visceral manner. The performance of the song further amplified this mobilisation – the bodies of the singers were crucial in this mobilisation, as memory is held in the body (Connerton, 1989:72 & Muller, 2002:417).

Zuma utilised the song to convey a unity message to both his supporters and rivals. He no longer needed to deploy *Umshini Wami* to fight his enemies. He was a leader firmly in control of his party. *Inde le ndlela* was the song of a President who was gracious in victory and reaching out to Motlanthe and his supporters to reassure them that they would still be welcome in the party. Zuma was also consciously constructing a "carefully selected genealogy" (Marschall, 2006:185) for himself. He was positioning himself as Mandela's heir, who would complete the journey he had started to Freedom Day. Through his deployment of the song, Zuma revealed his ability to refashion the material for the archive: He was not merely resuscitating the song from the struggle, he was deliberately infusing it with new meanings that spoke to present-day issues.

What has been the trajectory of the song's journey since the conference? Was the song "expressing the crowd's inner essence, channelling its feelings?" or was it a "minimal common denominator that fuses all the singing voices into a collective voice?" Was *Inde le ndlela* a "window into interiority? Or… something more fleeting, an effect of surface?" (Israel, 2010:197).

Song turned out to be "something more fleeting". It became a treacherous partner that could not be controlled. Zuma has since employed the song as his new trademark song, but it has not been able to bring the ANC together behind his leadership. The case study demonstrated that song's reception and effects are as unpredictable as the counter-monuments examined by Young (1992). The journey of *Inde le ndlela* also demonstrates the significance of individual agency in a song's lifecycle, an aspect that Allen (2004:4) alerts us to consider in the interpretation of song. A leader cannot propel a song's reach alone. Unlike *Umshini Wami*, which mobilised supporters behind Zuma's successful bid for the ANC's presidency in 2007, *Inde le ndlela* did not find reliable partners to bolster its effect. As Gunner (2009) points out, the timing of *Umshini Wami's* release and the political context at the time, when large groups of people felt alienated under Thabo Mbeki's presidency, were significant allies in the song's potent effect and reach.

The third case study ─ the *Singing Freedom* exhibition ─ was initially aimed at analysing how the institution of the museum treated song as a form of active intangible heritage. However, an interview with the curators of the exhibition had a fundamental impact on, not only this case

study, but the overall direction of this thesis, as I indicated above. The curators viewed song as an archive and an unmediated channel for people's stories. They saw oral history as a better alternative to institutional history – something that would provide them with an exhibition that is authentic.

Initially I was quite critical of their views and the treatment of song in the exhibition. I thought they could have included more videos of performances, particularly in light of the analysis of Mangaung's songs, which showed the significance of performance. Seeing song as an unmediated channel also seemed to ignore the extent of the mediation and recalibration that takes place in the deployment of song in post-apartheid South Africa.

However, after thinking about how song could be exhibited in the museum and listening to the recording of the interview with them repeatedly, I have come to realise that their treatment of song could be viewed in different light. Their inclusion of the lyrics of songs – instead of multiple performances together with contextual information as an interpretative aid – can be seen as an attempt to rebel against the institutional power of the museum, as analysed by Bennett (1995). The curators did not want to tamper with the "people's stories", and wanted their "voices… singing their own songs" (Galant, 2016) to be heard. Through their treatment of song in the exhibition, the curators were in a sense returning agency to visitors to generate their own meanings from songs ─ instead of having the meanings imposed on them.

Through a study of song in post-apartheid South Africa, this thesis has attempted to extend our understanding of heritage. At the beginning of the study, I referred to two analytical frameworks that have been identified by Herwitz (2012) in post-apartheid South Africa: The reconciliation and African Renaissance frameworks. The two frameworks correspond with the dominant political ideologies developed by the governments of Mandela and Mbeki. These frameworks are valuable in reminding us that heritage is produced and not just something that is inherited from the past, remaining unchanged and separate from political ideologies. It also shows that successive regimes may try to harness heritage for their own political benefit. These frameworks furthermore hold benefit for an analysis of heritage, as they provide structure to something that might otherwise be amorphous, and as a result, difficult to examine. However, they should also be treated with caution, as they might not make allowances for other types of heritage that are not contained by them – or for the dynamism of heritage.

Two further frameworks were introduced in this study. One is associated with members of the Wits History Workshop. The Workshop calls what it does public history ─ and not heritage –

in line with a long intellectual tradition that emphasises the importance of recovering the history of so-called ordinary people and of making history accessible to those outside the academy.

The fourth framework identified in this thesis is valuable because it helps us to recognise types of heritage that, in a sense, operate on the periphery of state ideologies. Dali Tambo's idea of heritage as the "show business of history" (Partridge, 2014) ─ on display through his procession of life-size statues at the National Heritage Monument in Pretoria ─ is an example of such heritage. One could judge this form of heritage harshly for commodifying history, as Nieftagodien (2016) has done. However, one could also see it as conveying a yearning to bypass the mediation of the academy and experts. Throughout this thesis, this desire to bypass mediation by academics or specialists was reiterated by different role-players. They longed for an authentic channel through which to convey and connect with their past.

The study showed that song functions as a form of *active* intangible heritage in post-apartheid South Africa. It certainly does not fit into the analytical frameworks described above. Song not only resists containment in these analytical frameworks, but as I showed in Chapter One, it also does not fit into ideas of heritage expressed in both local and international policies and laws. In these policies and laws, heritage is largely portrayed as something delicate and fragile that needs to be protected and cannot survive in present-day society. It is furthermore often described as something which can, and should, bring people together.

This thesis has reinforced the idea, expressed through the works of other scholars, such as Gunner (2009 & 2015) and Suttner (2009b), that song matters. It has something to tell us – about the volatile political landscape, about people's ideas about history and heritage, and about which collective memories are reactivated through the shared performance of song and what this tells us about the present. This study has shown that song presents researchers with a rich range of areas to explore. The scope of this thesis did not allow me to explore all the multiple sites where song echoes. Further research might well be conducted on the deployment of song by *Fees Must Fall* activists to explore the meanings produced and evoked through its utilisation in that space. The gendered dimension of power relations, expressed and generated through the performance of song, is another area that could be studied. I have only touched on that aspect. However, this thesis has shown that such studies would require a great deal of thought as to how not to appear to be dispossessing the singers. Role-players in this study expressed frustration with the ownership of heritage: They felt that it belonged to the academy instead of to them.

As this thesis has demonstrated, struggle songs, drawing on a lineage of oral forms, operate in a dynamic way. Songs are often composed in relation to events unfolding on the political stage. In the run-up to the ANC's National Conference in December 2017, new compositions will emerge to show support for, or attack, leaders campaigning for the presidency. A brutal succession struggle is unfolding in which at least seven candidates, including frontrunners ANC Deputy President, Cyril Ramaphosa, and the former AU Commission Chairperson, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, are competing for the position (Bendile, 2017). An interesting gendered dimension could also emerge, with three female candidates – Dlamini-Zuma, Human Settlements Minister and daughter of Walter and Albertina Sisulu, Lindiwe Sisulu, and ANC Chairperson and National Assembly Speaker, Baleka Mbete – campaigning for the presidency. There will thus be an opportunity for further research to examine what such new songs tell us about the political landscape and the gendered nature of power.

Song has already become part of the battle that is being described as pivotal for the future of not only the ANC, but the broader political landscape and the election results of the 2019 national elections (Booysen, 2017; Grootes, 2017 & Manyathela, 2017c). The journey of a 'new' composition in support of Dlamini-Zuma, *We are ready for Nkosazana,* has reinforced the impression of the fluidity of song and its resistance to being controlled or owned by any one party.[230] The song seems to have appeared for the first time at a government-organised Women's Day event in Kimberley in the Northern Cape on August 9, 2017. Many attendees, including Zuma, sang it enthusiastically. The lyrics include: *On your marks, get set, we are ready for Nkosazana*. The recording shows Zuma mimicking the start of an athletics race while singing the song (eNCA, 2017b). It has since been performed by Dlamini-Zuma supporters at several events (Cele, 2017; Madia, 2017 & Mkentane, 2017).

Although it appeared to be a new song, a DA councillor suggested that it was in fact composed by the party ahead of the local government elections in August 2016. Francois Greyling, from the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality, said on Twitter: "ANC WL [ANC Women's League] copying DA 2016 campaign song replacing '2016' with 'Nkosazana'. The song originated from KwaNobuhle [in the Eastern Cape] in a taxi en route to a DA event" (Greyling, 2017). The song seems, however, to have made an even earlier appearance: It was performed by supporters of Mmusi Maimane ahead of his election as DA leader at the party's federal congress in 2015 (Hawker, 2015b). The song's deployment by various parties with multiple meanings is a sign of the dynamic, fluid political space that South Africa is entering: One in which the ANC's power is starting to be less certain and in which opposition coalitions could

[230] See Chapter Four, p. 157 where I detail how the DA was accused of stealing the ANC's songs ahead of, and during, its Federal Congress in 2015.

become much more influential on the national political stage. It is as yet too early to tell if the song will be a significant part of the Dlamini-Zuma campaign, but its journey could still prove to be a rich area to explore.

This thesis has sought to extend our understanding of heritage by studying the deployment of struggle songs in post-apartheid South Africa. Song has emerged as a form of active heritage that constantly recreates the archive as it is performed on different occasions. It strongly resists attempts to formally preserve and memorialise it. The study has tried to show that song – and the multiple meanings it produces and evokes through its performance – operates as a sonic counter-monument that defies analytical frameworks, heritage policies and institutionalised commemorative efforts – and yet it is seen by its singers as a profoundly significant part of their heritage.

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Appendices

Appendix A
Interview: Ayanda Dlodlo

RL: Tell me a bit about your own background. I know you joined MK as a teenager. I can't even imagine what that must have been like to join at such a young age so maybe you could tell me a bit about that experience and the reasons for joining.

AD: Well, I think the reasons for joining MK at a young age, especially if you were a teen of the 70s or a teen in the 80s and I come from the generation of the 80s, it was a decision that was imposed by the system rather than a conscious decision based on mature choice. The system imposed that decision and imposed that choice on you and to use the cliché… Mandela aptly put it, that it was either to submit or fight and that's the path that a lot of us youngsters chose at that point, to fight. That was a path that we thought was the quickest for liberation… As you join the ANC, a lot of us were discouraged from going to MK because we were young. That choice was given to you as to whether you want to go to school and in the event where you wanted to go to school the ANC ensured that you did go to school, and in the event you chose the military, then you were taken to MK. The choice was put to you with some people who were even younger than us, even if they made the choice to go to MK, they were dragged kicking and screaming to school. Some of us were fortunate that we were allowed to go to MK, a very difficult choice, but a choice that one had to take because the system did not allow you any other choice. I came from a family, my father was an academic, my mother was a nursing sister, middle-class black family and I got a pretty decent education. I went to a private school in Swaziland so it was a choice that really was not about me and my family. It was about the system and my people. I went through the training and I went through the deployment within the African National Congress until I got my baby and I decided the best thing now is to go to school. It was at a time when the process about the talks about talks was in progress and the Harare declaration period was in session. I thought I needed to go to school so that if we finally go into government I am able to get a job at least to look after my child, because my career choice under normal circumstances would never have been the defence and I was very clear that going back home I did not want to be a soldier. My choice was never to be a soldier. I became a soldier circumstantially, because I wanted to fight a system and ensure that apartheid is eradicated and our people are freed. For me, it was a mission and not a career choice, hence when I came back home I never joined the defence force. That choice for me was very clear. I came back home armed with a higher certificate in shipping and transport. I worked for Spoornet. I worked for Transnet head office, I worked for

Associated British Ports, I worked for the New York and New Jersey Port authority, for Telkom so basically, I was in the transport space because that was my area of interest. I found myself then veering off into the area of security where I was the Head of the Department of Safety and Security in Gauteng for some time, then joined the Scorpions as the National Deputy Head of the Scorpions. Then from there I worked in the ANC as the SG of MK. It really is an evolution from a young guerrilla to a young politician and again an accidental politician, because as a child, and I've always seen myself as an activist rather than a politician, but I'm an accidental politician born out of the struggle and out of circumstances as well, but a career choice accidental as it might have been, I really have no regrets about. It gave me a lot of experience and it gave me a lot of exposure. It put me through to people and situations that I would forever treasure, because in that I came across people from different walks of life with different perspectives to life. People that I shared views with, very strong on the liberation of all people. I shared a life with people that I did not know, but I knew that they had my back, something that I can't say today. Something that I might not even have been able to say about a sibling, because what you got in MK was that the person standing next to you will take a bullet for you and you also knew that in the event that you are attacked and a grenade is thrown at your platoon you will take the fall so that everybody else is safe and that's the type of selfless training that we got from MK as cadres… from those people that come from that era they still remain selfless and up until today. Talking about song because that's what you're about, you need to get an old LP, if they have it on CD it's even better, by Gibson Kente. There is a song there I don't know what the title is. I'm not even sure which play of his it was, but the opening line is: "Working out in the fields Africa sings and when fighting the enemy still Africa sings" and you get the perspective that Africans will sing when they are sad**.** Africans will sing when they are happy. Africans will sing when they are working. Africans will sing when they are at war. Song for Africans is everything. It keeps and boosts morale. It helps them drown sorrows. It helps them find perspectives to certain environments and life's experiences, but it also helps Africans tell the story about themselves and who they are. It's not just a South African thing, it is generally an African thing. We used to do this in the camps and once we start with what we used to call the Jazz Hour, which was a period where all we did was just sing. It was such a beautiful time that we all looked forward to, because at that point you forgot about the enemy, you forgot about the hard day that you had experienced in your training, you forgot about the morning news that had been read to you about your comrades that had been shot dead or had been arrested, you forgot about the children that had been shot in Gugulethu. All that mattered at that time was that your morale was at its highest and coming out of the Jazz Hour we all felt almost like we were renewed in terms of our commitment to the liberation of our people. Literal as the songs might have sounded they were also philosophical in their nature and when we sang *Dubula ibhunu, ibhunu* for us it did not mean an Afrikaner. It did not

mean Retha Langa. No, *ibhunu* for us as soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe meant a person in uniform, whether he is from the defence force or from the police force, that meant the enemy of our people. *Ibhunu* for us meant the person who develops and creates legislation that continues to put our people under subjugation. *Ibhunu* for us meant the farmer who made it difficult for us to cross into South Africa to fight our enemy because they too were an extension of the South African National Defence Force. For us, there was clarity on who the enemy was. The enemy was not white South Africans. That's why the ANC always said the African National Congress is a non-racial organisation. We did not fight on the basis of race. We fought a system and we were very clear on what the system … and I remember a time where we had a discussion in all of the camps about soft targets and that was after I think the attack in Lesotho where lots of people were killed where comrades were saying: "No we should also do the same things let's also just kill them indiscriminately because they are going into neighbouring countries and also killing indiscriminately". If you remember eighteen- or nineteen-year-old Andrew Zondo did exactly that and he was hanged and Andrew Zondo was very clear, even in court as he spoke what I did If I had not been arrested and gone back to ANC after this, I still would have been punished by the ANC. We were very clear of who the enemy was in the discussions around the soft targets and that was a conversation that was led, or a debate that was led, by the president of the ANC, President OR Tambo, and he always made it very clear that a soft target is not a white person. A soft target is a lone police officer, black or white. A soft target is two or three soldiers. So, let us be very clear, a soft target is not a mother and child who are white driving alone at night. Those are not targets, soft or not, they can never be targets for the ANC and so we sang our songs understanding exactly what it is that they meant.

RL: What do you think we can learn today if we sing and listen to the songs? What can we learn about the past and how important are the songs to tell the story of the struggle and of MK in particular?

AD: It depends on the songs that you hear, because some of the songs arise out of situations. Some of them are climate or environment specific. Some of the songs respond to national directives emanating from the January 8th statements of President OR Tambo. So, they say and depict many messages and many stories based on where they come from. Some of them actually were just spontaneous, spontaneous and repetitive. Some of them were born out of a situation where the situation was just so hard during training that that song spontaneously came up. There was a song we used to sing… meaning this task is so difficult it needs for us to unite for us to conquer. I remember starting that song one day when my platoon was punished and I mean the punishment we used to get was almost inhumane. Punishment for

various things and at the end of it all we were then taken into this hall… and we were asked to start a song and everybody was so exhausted and I started that song. It was a song that at that point we have gone through so much punishment, it was so hurtful. That song was a message to say this is so hard and I remember our platoon commander said: 'Is this about defiance or is this just a song?'. At that point when I started it, it was out of anger, but I'm sure when my comrades in the platoon joined in, they joined in because they truly believed that this is a tough life, not out of defiance, that this is truly a tough life. It wasn't easy for young children. It was a huge burden for any young child to be in the camp, training to free people that you did not even know, leaving family, loved ones and opportunities to education. Even if that education was bad and coming across a situation where you had no home, you were not sure whether you were going to get a meal the following day and there were times we went without food. There were times where there was intelligence that the enemy was advancing, whether true or not as part of an exercise. At that point, you would be out of the camp for days on end, there was no food, there was no shelter, sometimes it was raining hard, but you know in hindsight, looking back at all of that, you say I'm happy that I had to go through that experience because there is no situation that could be more difficult in life that I could ever experience than what I did. As a result of that, anything that you throw at me I will be able to deal with it. In a sense, it was a university of life on how to deal when extreme situations, whether they were physical, mental or emotional and it was a good thing. The songs kept us alive. Every situation had a song to it. Whenever we were training, whether it was a tactics class, a physical training class… the songs were always part of this, whether it was a march and drill class which was really about discipline and regimentation. It also was about song as the platoon starts to move, it moves in unison with the song, as you stop, the song also stops and you're told at ease and whilst you standing there you have to be singing, because you have to be kept busy by something and song always kept us busy. Song kept us out of thinking too hard about the hardships and the pain. Song was about morale boosting. It was a morale boosting exercise. The songs that we sang were very important to us. They kept us alive, they kept us going, they kept us sane, they refreshed us every day.

RL: Given their significant role, should we commemorate them, should we preserve them? How would we do that? It's not something like this table that we can say let's put it in a museum. Do you think songs should be commemorated?

AD: I think the songs should be preserved and the way to preserve them, because I'm not the artsy type I wouldn't know how to do it, but I like the way that Don Laka has recorded some of the struggle songs. Don Laka is a jazz musician. If you could hear his CD of the struggle songs it is so beautiful. I like how it is that some of the artists, like I'm not sure if it's Blondie Makhene

or his brother, how they have memorialised some of the songs. I like how, I don't know what this group is called, you usually see them at ANC gatherings, they wear these ZCC uniforms. They are keeping these songs alive and you now hear them at DA gatherings. The DA has become less boring, there is more vibrancy within the DA. I think having them memorialised in whatever way is the way to go, but also keeping them alive is also a way to go. When you hear Harry Belafonte who is not even South African, sing some of the songs of liberation you say to yourself: 'Wow these songs have touched the hearts of so many'. When you hear young people from the Netherlands, from Denmark, from the Scandinavian countries in general singing these songs, it is songs they identify with because they were in solidarity with South Africans during the process of struggle, but it is young people that might not even have been born at that time, but those countries have made sure that these songs are preserved…

RL: A couple of years ago after the court case you wrote that songs are the only monument and shrine to some of the heroes and heroines of the past. Can you explain a bit more, it touches on what you just spoke about…

AD: In the absence of a shrine or a museum that I could go to, or take my children or my great-grandchildren fifty years from now, the only thing I can do is to sing a song to my grandchild. If I sit with Americans and I'm talking about my history I could break into spontaneous song, but I can't give them something that says here is a book about my history. So, they are a living testimony of where we come from and who we are as South Africans. They are a mobile monument of our struggle, and that's why I say it is something that we need to keep alive and ensure that are children know…

RL: Why do you think song is so significant for parties today and have remained such a significant part of political rallies? The DA uses song, EFF uses song, why it such a significant part?

AD: It's a message that it drives, but like I said to you earlier on: Song boosts morale. You know once you start those struggle songs, at the end of the song you are different person from the person that started the song, because at that point you feel like some effervescence in you has evolved, a freshness has been injected into you, you almost want to go on in this happy, it's like a drug, it gives you this happy mood about it. If you remember this was started by Helen Zille by the way, out of sync with her dancing, but she felt that she had to do the *toyi-toyi.* Even the *toyi -toyi* in itself we borrowed it from Zimbabweans and we did it in our training, and it was difficult carrying an AK47 that weighs so much up in the air and doing the *toyi -toyi,* but it gave you that effervescence, that kick so to speak. I think that's what the DA is feeling

now as well, hence they are able to identify with song and dance as part of their campaigns. But it is an African thing and I think because people feel and know that song and dance is part of our DNA, it comes naturally. For white people, it's different because ancestrally even if they are Africans today, ancestrally they come from a different place where song is really not part of their DNA, but I think with time it will change, it will evolve.

RL: Is there anything else that you would like to add?

AD: No, what I want you to do is go and get Gibson Kente's album and just listen to that song and you will understand what song is to African people.

Appendix B
Interview: Barry Gilder

RL: In the book, right at the beginning you recall a performance in Amsterdam just after you went into exile and you speak about how singing gave you a way to connect and to communicate something that you couldn't necessarily say in a conversation. Can you explain that a bit more, what song meant to you personally and what it provided you with in that space?

BG: I don't know if you can extrapolate some sort of a bigger principle or concept. I think in my case, as I say in that anecdote in the book, I arrive in exile a young, long-haired white kid. I get myself invited or even gate-crash this cultural conference in Amsterdam, bearing in mind that culture had been my thing in my student days back home. I was head of NUSAS's [National Union of South African Students] cultural ring and so on and I find myself amongst all these great South African writers and musicians whose names were just legendary in my head and being relatively shy, but also sensitive to likely suspicion of me, I was a bit reticent to participate in the discussion. So, the anecdote I tell is of kind of gate-crashing myself into the performance programme and singing some of my struggle songs that I had composed and that kind of opening people's hearts if you like to me… I tell the story of Ronnie Kasrils coming up to me and saying: 'Are there any more like you at home?' Remember, this was the mid-seventies just before June '76 when the ANC was still trying to recover from the arrests and so on of the sixties and early seventies, but you know where it was partly individual, culture and music and writing and poetry being my thing, my entry into the struggle as opposed to a more kind of political entry if you like, and song was my particular genre, my particular medium. There were lots of other song performances on that particular evening from South African musicians, the ANC Choir, jazz musicians and I guess, as I remember, mine was the only sort of, we used to call it folk songs, I suppose political folk songs which in a way I suppose at the

time, and even subsequently, was quite unusual in the sort of exile ANC cultural music domain, that kind of song because most of the songs that we sung were what we called struggle songs, the sort of choral, marching or *toyi-toying* or whatever kinds of songs. So, as I say for me it was, it opened hearts, it opened doors and I guess because people wouldn't believe that somebody that composed and sang songs like that would be a spy (laughs). It was the only language I had at that particular moment, because I was only a couple of months, three months I think in exile, two months in Europe, so little bit out of my depth. Song was the only language I guess that I had at that particular moment.

RL: You also mentioned that during your time in London before you went to Angola you sang and performed at various meetings and gatherings. What role did song play in that type of space? I know about the Mayibuye group.

BG: That was largely either by myself or with somebody, I don't know if you've heard of him, called James Phillips and for part of my time in London at that time before I went to MK, I worked for a British agitprop theatre group and some of the songs we did in that group and we actually did a play on apartheid, but most of those performances were for anti-apartheid meetings, solidarity meetings, occasionally in folk clubs, but not often and plugged in, in some sense, to the broader sort of progressive left-wing folk scene in the UK in particular people like Ewan MacColl, Peggy Seeger, Jack Warshaw, or Sandra Kerr. These were the kind of combination of people who drew on sort of traditional folk song, but with a political, mostly sound of kind of working class. So, I straddled the sort of anti-apartheid events, singing and this kind of political folk song genre. Now in anti-apartheid meetings obviously the songs were another way of communicating about the struggle against apartheid and the songs were often chosen or sometimes even composed with that purpose in mind. At the time Solomon Mahlangu was being hanged or about to be hanged and there was a campaign to try and stop his hanging and I composed a song, a Mahlangu song. I composed a song about the Soweto Uprisings, so partly the songs were chosen and composed and presented as part of mobilising anti-apartheid support and adding to the speeches, and pamphlets and books and stuff that were distributed and obviously in that kind of context song played the sort of emotional and reinforcement kind of role, but some of the performances were also at ANC functions so they were more internal morale-building things, and some of the songs were composed or directed at fellow exiles, comrades, and then as I say I straddled the broader progressive folk music scene in the UK. So those songs would kind of fit into that repertoire and some of those performances, and in fact Peggy Seeger and Ewan MacColl used to publish a sort of song book and published two of my songs… but one example of the effect of song, quite a weird experience for me. I was invited to sing and speak, I think at an anti-apartheid meeting

somewhere in the north or central of the UK, I can't remember, but it was out of London. So here I was invited to speak, then followed by a discussion, and then I was going to perform some songs. So I spoke the ANC spiel about the struggle and so on and then a few black people in the audience started asking questions and I realised that these were people, at least one or two of them were from the so-called Gang of Eight that the ANC had expelled… the Gang of Eight was basically a group of senior people in the ANC, I think some time in the early seventies if I'm not mistaken who had taken a sort of conservative, almost reactionary position about whites in the ANC and communists in the ANC and so on and had become very sort of factional and were eventually expelled, and here a white man talking about the ANC and these guys are in the audience and they're asking these difficult questions. After the question session, I then sang some songs and one of the songs was a solo guitar version, singing of a struggle song Zulu, Sotho song and these guys came up to me afterwards and hugged me. (laughs) So song has that effect too of kind of cutting through those internal political divisions as a kind of unifying effect… songs that are sung in groups at demonstration, marching in the bush, had that kind of unifying effects.

RL: You mentioned you composed songs after Soweto and for Solomon Mahlangu. Tell me a bit more about your process to compose? Was it mostly in relation to events sometimes or how did you go about composing?

BG: I'm struggling to answer that question because you know I haven't composed since the early eighties. I stopped composing, I tried to partly explain in the book why. I got in Botswana, ANC underground and I couldn't sing in public anymore so there was no inspiration to compose. So, you asking me to remember a long time ago. Sometimes it would arise from something I read. One of my most popular songs amongst comrades is the *Makana* song and that song was inspired by reading *Time longer than rope.* I don't know if you know that book. It tells the story of Makana, so that song was basically just making, putting music almost to the text of the book, a little bit more art than that. Sometimes, I can't remember the actual composing process, but I remember some songs were inspired by something I read or something that happened or a personal thing and I just remember sitting down with the guitar and a note book and it came somehow. I can't remember, it's very hard to reconstruct, because it's partly so long ago, but partly because it happened, it happened intuitively. I don't remember to be honest. As I've implied by explaining briefly why I think I stopped writing songs, was it needed, I needed the interaction with an audience and I'm not using audience in the sort of stage, people sitting out there, but a community and that's I think where a lot of struggle songs, popular songs come from, community. In my NUSAS day, I used to be known as the NUSAS troubadour. At workshops and seminars and conferences I would play, and often improvise

depending on the issues that we were dealing with at the time, and I would compose songs then that were relevant to the time. I composed one about Johnny Vorster, the then prime minister. He went on some sort of detente campaign in Africa. I don't remember how things came, but it was the interaction with some sort of community. I used the word audience, but that might not be accurate. When I had to go deep underground and couldn't have that community, the song stopped.

RL: And then once you go to Angola and you are in the MK camps, what type of role does song play there?

BG: Ah, wow man, song is… song is everything almost. We sing when we march. We used to have what we call jazz sessions which was not really jazz as we know it, but we used to sing, just gather and sing songs and then as I mentioned in the book we used to have concerts. In our camp, we had built a stage, with sort of lighting even and those concerts used to include songs, theatre, stand-up comedy, poetry, traditional dance, everything and that was more performance oriented. So, we did almost everything to song, and certainly for me when I hear some of those songs now, years and years later, I can feel those emotions coming back and it's the nature of the form, they sung together, the choral response… that they impose a harmony if you like, which is musical, but also social and political in the case of struggle as opposed to a single person performance. Maybe one of the reasons a lot of my songs had choruses in them was precisely to involve an audience in the singing. I would always force audiences, even that anecdote at the beginning of the book about getting the audience in Amsterdam to start joining in. So, as I say the form of the kind of songs and the way we sang songs has this kind of unifying social element. People also taking old church songs, the traditional songs and giving them new words according to what was going on at the time.

RL: With some of the songs we don't know necessarily who composed them. Is it almost in the moment, or spontaneous or how did some of these songs that we even hear now get composed?

BG: I think I've been asked that question before or I've tried to think about it. I don't personally remember being present when one of those kinds of songs was composed and sometimes you wouldn't know if it was being composed on the spot, because you might not know its predecessors or so tunes might have been reused over and over again, but you might not necessarily know if you don't know the whole history of the song, as you are marching in the camp now the song is being composed. A little sort of musical group we had, that I had in the camp, there were times when we would compose little songs, but they would be more

performance songs, but those kinds of group songs I don't remember ever being aware that the song was being composed now, and often it would just be somebody in a group who's leading the song and will throw in the words and people would quickly learn and as I say often it would be a tune or an arrangement from a previous song.

RL: I remember when I presented at the Armed Struggle conference and when I spoke about culture as a weapon of struggle and referred to a scholar that said that it comes from Soviet notions of art and you commented and said when you were in university you were already talking about culture as weapon. Tell me a bit about how the ANC's view changed on culture and how this idea of culture as a weapon of struggle came about?

BG: Well, I don't know about the ANC's view changing…I think for a long time certainly before my time probably the ANC viewed culture as a weapon of struggle, but maybe it wasn't given as much emphasis until later on and perhaps it was always seen as a bit of a sort of side thing, but going back to my student and NUSAS days, as I said I headed up the NUSAS's cultural ring… we had these conferences and festivals and debates and discussions with people like Nadine Gordimer and people like Don Matera, and James Matthews, many people, sort of prominent cultural workers at that time and we had these debates about the role of arts in the struggle against apartheid and to what extent must art speak to the social political situation, and there were artists who said art for art's sake and some of us were arguing the other way around, and it was all mixed up with the political ideological developments of the time. I was on the NUSAS executive at the time when it was dominated by radical sort of Marxist students of that time in the mid-seventies. I was on the exec 74/75 with people like Charles Nupen… and Jerry Maree and Craig Williamson, people like Glenn Moss, Steven Friedman, those were all my kind of cohorts at the time and we were all sort of Marxists in one form or another I guess, so the discussion about arts and culture and struggle were also mixed up with that kind of other political ideological debates going on at the time. When I came into exile and that's why that the anecdote in the book about singing in Amsterdam or being at that conference, it was just right into my area of passion and expertise if you like. Being there with all these people, Ronnie Kasrils… and of course Lewis Nkosi, I think Thabo Mbeki was there I can't remember… debating these very issues but now, and some of the people present I remember were people from home that came out for the conference I think. I might have to go back to look at the list of attendees to be sure, but I know of subsequent ones there were and what I found there, this was May 1976, was almost identical debates to the ones we've been having at home about the role of artists in the struggle, again the arts for art's sake, a love poem is a love poem, its got nothing to do with social reality, all those kind of debates and I think, and as I mention in the book I attended a few of these cultural events, conferences, I think three

in Amsterdam and the Gaborone one in 82, there was the 76 Amsterdam one, there was Gaborone 82, Amsterdam in December 82 and then the CASA in 87, December 87 in Amsterdam. I'm trying to remember a progression. I think the progression was more people came, more people came from inside the country. The debates were more rigorous. They became more practical and focused on organising cultural workers at home on the cultural boycott, those more practical things, still had the sort of intellectual debates, but it was becoming more practical and then I think the ANC also put more effort and resources into cultural work by establishing Amandla, for example, the cultural desk, with Barbara Masekela so it became seen and treated as more of a weapon of struggle, largely for solidarity purposes if you think of Amandla, but they also had a role in mobilising ANC people… That's a long answer.

RL: If we then go to 1994 and since then, why do you think these songs that were composed under apartheid, it's such a different time, why have they survived? We hear them at *Fees Must Fall*, at service delivery protests. The tradition, it might be new words, has survived.

BG: I think I answer that in the closing paragraphs of my book. You talked about your research into the AfriForum challenge to *Kill the Boer* and that's how I end of the book and I think I say something in the book like the songs and that particular song's importance or the meaning it carries is not so much an exaltation to literally kill Boers, but it's the reminder, the recapturing of the spirit of struggle and what it meant and possibly when things, and I don't just mean this racially, when things were more black and white and the struggle was clearer, what we wanted was clearer. So, the songs carry that emotion, that memory and memorising or memorialising if you like of struggle, what it meant, the values that we had at the time and of course there are also practical reasons that people know those songs. There are still many people alive who sang the songs in those conditions then and often the people that we are burying, because you mentioned funerals of people, were part of singing those songs during the struggle days and what's very interesting and I don't know if anyone has been able to do this research… is actually try and follow some of these songs, geographically from exile into the country or from country into exile and back in different forms. That would be a hell of an impossible research task I think, but it would really be interesting if one could do that… In one sense songs are like symbols, symbols of allegiance if you like, but they are much more organic and dynamic than a visual symbol or an item of clothing or a flag or whatever because they carry, they travel more easily, more widely and their form, as I said earlier, in itself is emotional.

RL: In a personal way. You talk in the book about attending the ANC's centenary in 2012 and singing with others there. How does it make you feel? Does it bring back memories?

BG: What it does is, as I've said, is reunite me with that feeling of community, of camaraderie, of memories of what we went through, people that we've lost on the way, values that we've lost on the way and that feeling of being once more part of. I mean one specific thing which I think is also important to know, which I do think I talk about in the book, relates to exiles. In exile, for most of us we were part of an ANC community, family, especially if you were in Angola, or in the camps, or even in Lusaka, or even underground in Botswana. You were part of the family, and you shared the deprivations, and the joys, and the challenges, and the culture, and the language, and, of course, songs. The singing of songs in those conditions was a kind of affirmation, a reinforcement of that togetherness. When we came back from exile we were all scattered into… villages, communities, families, work, that immediacy of community was lost. When we did get together at a funeral, or a political meeting and sing those songs, it was a – that's how it felt for me – a reaffirmation and a reminder of that togetherness.

RL: When I attended Mangaung it almost felt, I don't know if this function of song has at all changed, there was some songs ridiculing Zuma. I remember there was one calling him the shower man. Songs were very much a campaigning tool. Is that very different, is that introducing a new function? I know there was always songs of the names of leaders, but is that now in a different way that you get these almost campaigning songs?

BG: I think those kinds of songs reflect the sort of factionalism, and the slate-ism, the sort of bad things that have crept into political life. Now that the ANC is in government issues of power and resources, so you will get songs that reflect that ugly side of things. I'm trying to remember in the struggle days, I don't ever remember, but it might just be that I didn't come across them. For example, I'm thinking of the mutiny in Angola, I wasn't around so I don't know if there were songs that the mutineers used to sing or the anti-mutineers used to sing. Song has always been part of that kind of interaction so it's quite possible that there were those kind of songs too, but in the struggle days the songs that mentioned leaders, it was the good guys were the ANC leaders and the bad guys were the regime leaders. There were songs about Vorster, and Botha, and Jimmy Kruger and then songs about Slovo, and Tambo, and Mandela. It's also interesting perhaps just as a side issue to look at which leaders were mentioned in songs. I'm just trying to, I can't remember songs about Chris for example, or Joe Modise, Chris Hani that shouldn't be taken as…there might have been. I just remember Slovo and Tambo and

Mandela obviously, and Luthuli, but also some of those songs came out of the country with the ANC when it came into exile.

RL: Was there this journey of song you mentioned from the country, and from camps I know with Radio Freedom. Was there almost this cross pollination?

BG: I think there was. As I say it would be very interesting to try and research that. A lot of the early songs certainly I heard when I first came into exile early '76, it was sung by Mayibuye the ANC choir in London, were songs from the fifties and sixties. *Nants' indod' emnyama Vorster* (sings). And songs like that. And then I think as the '76-generation started coming out they would have had new songs, the songs that were being composed in that period. And then in the camps they would have composed or learnt new songs and people came back home and would have taken those songs home. I don't know if you know the story about *toyi-toyi* that we got from Zipra. It came into the country with MK people and spread like wildfire and still it's being used to protest against us now…

RL: Why do think President Zuma uses song. He used to sing *Umshini Wami*, but not so much anymore. Now he sings the song, the *Inde le ndlela* song... Why do you think he still uses song? The media also often analyses the reasons he uses song. Why do you think he still uses song so much? Is it also just part of the tradition?

BG: I think we must avoid analysing that in terms of possible attitudes towards him. He's just one of those leaders, and there are many others, but one he can actually sing and he's one of those leaders that uses song, many of them do it. He's just more in the spotlight and the particular song that became his sort of signature song *Umshini Wami*. People kind of interpreted it in terms of Zuma calling for machine guns, but it's like the *Kill the Boer* song, it's not a literally I want a machine gun, and it's the same spirit that I've been trying to describe, of reawakening that feeling, that spirit of struggle, that unity, that camaraderie, that togetherness, that's all it is really. I don't think he sat there and thought hmmm I'm not really popular I think I'd better sing some songs. The songs came first. If I think back to the struggle days and days in the camps, there were certain leaders who could sing and others who couldn't and the ones who could, would often start a speech with leading a song and you still see it even at funerals now. There are a few who can't sing and shouldn't try and still try ... I used to do it, I've chickened out now.

RL: Why do you think younger activists at *Fees Must Fall* protests they also sing a lot. Obviously, they didn't experience the struggle. Is it just a continuation of that tradition of song?

BG: When I talk about tracing songs… it's not just tracing songs from inside the country to exile and back again its tracing their history. They are part of African cultural tradition. When the missionaries came and converted people that tradition went into church music and it's still in church music and with the struggles of the thirties, forties, fifties, sixties that kind of music came into struggle songs and that passed on to the seventies, eighties period... That kind of genre or form has a very long history and has been used for different things. Even some gospel songs became struggle songs... So, it's a long musical tradition which has kind of evolved over time and been used even simultaneously for totally different purposes. So, *Fees Must Fall* people singing those kinds of songs now, and some of them I think were even singing struggle songs that we sang, but singing them against us. I'm saying us because I'm not in government anymore so I'm not an us... so that's not surprising to me at all. It can be hurtful for some of us who sang those songs in those days to have them sung against us, but it's also kind of a pleasure in having the songs still current and what fascinates me too, which is indirectly related to what you're researching, but is partly related, is other symbols of struggle or cultures of struggle sort of being used by youngsters today. I mean even burning of things, libraries and things it used to be municipal beer halls in Soweto in the struggle days and other kind of symbols of apartheid, now the form has remained, the content has changed. Violent nature of protests and so on, the burning of tyres, necklacing immigrants, it's as if, you don't know where the kids get this from, but it's as if they've seen movies of us doing those things in those days… but I don't know if there are such movies, unless it's just documentary stuff that they've seen, but I don't know if there is that much information going out… we had this conference two months back about the struggle. So, in a way I'm saying, although it's not directly related to song, it's part of the same sort of inheritance, heritage of struggle…

RL: That's it from my side. Is there anything else that you'd like to mention?

BG: Not that I can think of.

Appendix C
Interview: Noor Nieftagodien

RL: One of the first things I wanted to ask is your view on the relationship between history and heritage. I'm obviously studying heritage and I know Dali Tambo has been quite involved in all these statues that we have and he, a couple of years ago, said heritage is the show business of history and I read an article where you speak about heritage and said it is seen as something sexier than history, seen as more important. What is your point of view?

NN: I'm profoundly disturbed, if I could start there, with the kind of heritage as kind of show business, because I think that one of the big problems with that is that it reduces history to a consumable and in that way renders history as a product which has to be sold to particular clients and even though they may appear, as is the case with those statues, to be kind of spectacular and have elements of the spectacle, and even if they draw in audiences who will then engage with aspects of the past, it does represent the worst part of heritage. Fortunately, most people involved in heritage don't subscribe to the Dali Tambo idea of heritage as the show biz of history. Most people globally, but in South Africa in the last twenty years, have engaged heritage as a serious, some would claim a discipline, I think there's some debate about whether it's a distinct discipline from history, but certainly as a kind of way of, of public engagement and unsettling the way that knowledge about the past is reproduced and made available for public engagement and to different publics… I would regard heritage as a kind of, as located within the broad discipline of history. I think that it's not useful in my opinion to draw sharp distinctions between history and heritage. Certainly, in a world in which the borders between disciplines have become more porous… it is a challenge and problematic to draw too sharp a distinction. Having said that, I think that history's core is to understand the complex changes over time from different theoretical, ideological perspectives and I think that heritage incorporates aspects of that, but heritage has a particular kind of way of representations of the past and history is not only about the kind of representations of the past. It does a lot more than that… Certainly what the History Workshop has done has been to negotiate in its activities the overlap between history and heritage and certainly keeping in mind that in South Africa since the 1990s heritage has been mobilised in particular ways to reinforce dominant narratives and to transform the kind of heritage landscape and by that, I mean in particular, things such as museums, statues, and the like to reflect that dominant narrative or master narrative. I'm not sure that it's still as dominant as it was maybe seven, eight years ago, but it is certainly still the main, even master, narrative. My approach to this is therefore to look at the overlaps. Those involved in the discipline of heritage have raised important questions about knowledge production, have raised important questions about the relationship between academia and history as an academic discipline and what the relationship is between that space and that process and various publics and for me that has been important and I think it has contributed to a better understanding of the relationship between the academy and publics. The only thing that I would add as not so much defence, but as a rider to what I've just said, is that public history has in fact done a lot of this work in different ways over time and therefore I see public history as almost the kind of intellectual bridge between what is conventionally known as history and what has emerged as heritage. For me, public history

straddles those two and provides a way of engaging and articulating between those two, and that's what we do as the History Workshop.

RL: What do you think about the sort of history that is presented by Dali Tambo's National Heritage Monument at Pretoria? I visited about six months ago and spoke to some of the security guards and they said to me people will take selfies and would walk among the statues and when they drink too much they would want to get on Sol Plaatje's bicycle. What do you think about that type of history that is presented there, in a sense people are engaging with it?

NN: I don't like the monumentalisation of history. I don't like the idea of, and I know Dali's kind of wide-ranging statues is somewhat different, but it does draw on a particular practice of monumentalising history and I think that is deeply problematic and of course what statues do of all sorts, both the kind of monumental statues such as Nelson Mandela at the Union Buildings or in Sandton Square, is that it does ossify history around great men most often. The Dali Tambo's showbiz tries to do more than that and move towards representation of multiple figures, but in fact it still conforms to monumentalisation. Secondly, it conforms to a particular struggle narrative of history, as if the history of South Africa can be simply put into a box of struggle history, and that is not to discount the absolute importance of the liberation struggles, but it's also kind of inherent narrative of key individuals having played the main role and there's an inherent teleology of having started somewhere and moving towards the promise land led by Madiba and I would imagine Thabo Mbeki… so the promised land as represented by Madiba, so there's problematic teleology. Having said that, I had a very limited interaction with that process through a request by Dali Tambo's outfit for historians to do some research and we got our students involved and the like. Having made that kind of broad criticism, I do know that some historians have engaged that process in order that the plaques that are attached to them, as plaques can't say much, but are historically accurate and that the statues are as interesting, informative as they could be. So, I do want to strike a balance between my general criticism and saying that attempts have been made for those statues to be informed historically and by the involvement of historians and I know a couple of the people who have been involved in that and I have respect for them. Finally, I would say that any activity that has kind of intellectual integrity, political integrity that allows citizens of the country to engage with heritage and history I would encourage. I think that we have too little of that. Whether statues are the most appropriate way of doing that, I think probably not, but if people leave the park and leave there with questions, with critical questions, with a desire for enquiry then that would be great. I would imagine the jury is still out on whether that is the case, or whether in fact this is a vanity project of Dali Tambo's.

RL: In some of my interviews, which I didn't really expect because it's people that couldn't be more different, I spoke to AfriForum because of their involvement in the court case[232] and Ayanda Dlodlo, Deputy Minister, because of the way she reacted to the court case. I wanted to interrogate their ideas. They almost had a very similar view that their history is being ignored. AfriForum feel that it's one-sided, it's one dimensional, they speak about street names changing and Ayanda Dlodlo spoke about song as being the only thing she has about her past, saying there isn't a book or museum I can go to. It is interesting for me that there's this feeling of my history is being ignored and a very emotional reaction to that. What do you think about that kind of feeling? This sense that my history is being ignored, the curators even spoke like that.

NN: So, let me start off by saying that I have very little sympathy for the AfriForum position, in fact no sympathy... and that's because that view is about mobilising, it's a political argument to try and mobilise a particular ethnic identity and is completely ignorant of the past. The reality is that a redress is fundamentally important. The question is how does one redress. I have sympathy for Ayanda's position, also because in the work that we do we encounter that point of view all the time. There are many, many people who now express the view or express that view in ways in which they didn't, say ten years ago. It's a fascinating moment, I think that we're in, in which people even from the ANC will say that what has been done has been good and interesting. We can see Mandela's all over, OR Tambo, and other struggle icons and the people who we work with will say that's good, but we still don't see our history in that and what has happened, and I'm kind of generalising, I mean I've written about this in relation to Alexandra, what I think and I said in the kind of paper I did on this, that I, kind of six, seven years ago, I began to detect some of this in the interviews that we were doing in which people were kind of saying yes the struggle history, and they conflate struggle history with black history and I'll come back to that, although there's a huge overlap, and people also kind of saw their own histories as being represented by that history and of course, again I'm generalising, but who wouldn't want to be part of a victorious narrative to see yourself as part of that narrative and while that still remains the case, more and more individuals who may not have been directly involved in the struggle, but also people who were involved in the struggle are saying these existing main narratives don't represent us and you can take many categories. You can take women. Women are profoundly under-represented in struggle narratives. We are working with people who were involved in the underground and even in Umkhonto we Sizwe and they are saying to us we don't see our stories there. Now that is a fascinating point. Because if the ANC narrative has tried to do one thing, particularly those

[232] The interview with AfriForum's Deputy CEO, Ernst Roets, was not included as it did not reveal anything that was not already covered during the trial.

from exile, then it has been to celebrate the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe and of the exiles as the kind of, the torchbearers of the revolution and so for many rank-and-file soldiers to say we don't see our story there shows that people are beginning to peel away from that kind of main narrative. So, I think the argument for me therefore is, we are, if you think about it, we are really only out of the starting blocks in terms of writing the history of South Africa. The last twenty years many things have been done, it's not only been the last twenty years you can go back decades. Histories have been written, but it's been a particular massive effort to redress the problems of the histories of the apartheid era so if we just take the last twenty years there's been this massive surge, but it's been kind of dominated by uncovering struggle histories and we've been part of that, the History Workshop, because it's important, but we've also written other histories and more and more people are saying that we are not represented. We want other histories to be written. There are many categories. I mentioned some of them. We do a lot of work in small towns across the northern provinces and every place we go to people, they are excited, they say our community's history has not been written. Whatever community might be, but they say our community's history has not been written. So, we encounter this all the time and I'm saying it's exciting because there is far greater scope now to write histories differently and to write histories of people, communities, organisations whatever category you want to use in ways that may not have been, not allowed, but wasn't enough space to do in the last ten to fifteen years at least outside of the academy and in terms of public history. So, I'm kind of answering the question in two ways to say yes, I agree that there are histories that are not represented, but as I said we're just out of the starting blocks. This kind of shift is happening that is creating the opportunity to write histories of others not represented in the main narrative, but there's two questions I would raise. The one is that we should be careful whilst embracing the idea that people, if we take politics, people who are part of the PAC will say, for example, we are not represented and I think that one needs to do those histories, but if we only fill the gaps in the existing narrative then it will be gaps about particular kinds of political histories. What we must do as well is to write different kinds of histories that are not only framed by the struggle narrative. There's a kind of endless amount of things that one can do, education, love stories, urban, you can take your pick and that's what we've got to do in terms of thinking how we can use the opportunity being presented by people complaining that they are not being represented.

RL: You sort of touched on this, but why do you think the past has become, I guess it's always been like that, so important in our politics. If we look at the recent elections, you had EFF holding a Solomon Mahlangu lecture trying to latch on to the struggle credentials, you had the DA using Nelson Mandela in their campaigns. It almost feels like it's becoming more and more important to have a struggle connection.

NN: I think that the struggle still plays a huge role in the political credibility that one has in this country and that is why, even though the ANC has suffered a setback in these local elections, as the supposed bearer of struggle history it will take some time for any other party to eclipse the ANC and so that I think is the main reason everyone recognises that the struggle against apartheid was an important struggle. It carries enormous political and moral weight and to be connected to that in an authentic way gives enormous kudos to any individual and movement and organisation. The DA has enormous difficulty in doing that and therefore it has to latch onto icons like Mandela to try and attach itself to the ideas of Mandela, because it can't attach itself as an organisation, as a party to the struggle even though there are individuals like Patricia de Lille who was in fact involved in the struggle, but as an organisation it can't do that. The ANC does it far more easily. It doesn't have to prove itself. The EFF also does not have to prove itself. What it has to prove is that it has a tradition in the liberation struggle that it can draw on. That is in a situation where that tradition is dominated by the ANC, also because many of its members are young, it doesn't have the kind of deep roots of people in the organisation that can say I'm an EFF member I was involved in the struggle since the 1950s. The ANC has scores of people, hundreds of people who can claim that. Secondly, I found it very interesting, and I'm not persuaded that in fact there has been a resurgence in the contestations over history. I know that the elections raised the idea of Mandela and the Solomon Mahlangu issue was interesting, because of course the family challenged the EFF's claim to Solomon Mahlangu and it's interesting because the EFF comes out of the ANC so it's also drawing on the same history and credentials of the ANC and the EFF's narratives are not so much about claiming a different struggle history than kind of making the argument that the ANC has betrayed that history, its betrayed the legacy of people like Solomon Mahlangu, but for me what has been more interesting has been the critique by Julius Malema and the EFF about Nelson Mandela to say that Nelson Mandela sold out. I think that is far more interesting because what that does is to kind of open a can of worms in terms of understanding history in which the main narrative, the accepted narrative is being challenged rather than simply claiming a particular part of history, as Ronnie Kasrils has said there was a Faustian pact in the early 1990s. That for me is far more interesting and of course it's very brave. Some people will say stupid, I think it's brave to say that Mandela sold out. I think it's the right thing to do. I'm not sure whether the word sell-out is appropriate because I think that sell-out is used to liberally without kind of, it's meant to demean, it's meant to cast aspersions on people's morality, on where people stand on a barricade and sometimes that's necessary, but there's a problematic history about the use of the word sell-out that goes back to the 1980s and when you were called a sell-out you could be burnt and Ronnie Kasrils's recent victory is important in pushing back against people who use those kind of terms too easily and therefore even though I think the EFF's critique of Nelson Mandela, whether one agrees with it or not, but the

idea of critiquing the kind of icon and questioning what happened in the early 1990s, is very important, because I think it allows us further publicly to think about the past and to think about not only the recent past. If you say Nelson Mandela is a sell-out, then you've got to go back and say what does this mean about the ANC, what does it mean about negotiations, what does it mean about the 1950s, what does it mean about the 1940s? Then that's interesting, whether one agrees politically with the statement is something else, but I think that is far more interesting.

RL: And perhaps we can talk now specifically about the Workshop and how it got involved in different types of projects after 1994. Apartheid Museum, Con Hill and the Alex project. How and why did that come about?

NN: So, I'd say the History Workshop through a type of combination of factors found itself in a position where it became involved in a number of heritage/public history projects and it really kind of grew out of the work undertaken by the History Workshop since the 1970s so that by the early 1990s the History Workshop was seen as one of the leading research entities involved in strong, sometimes pioneering historical research and simultaneously involved in public history. And when… even in the early 1990s the History Workshop was amongst the first kind of research entities that began a project informally in fact of interviewing people as they returned from exile so we've always been involved in that kind of engagement and public history and I think as a consequence of the reputation of the History Workshop as well as the actual work been done on the ground, there were times when the History Workshop was called on to be the kind of research arm in particular projects. That was certainly the case with the Apartheid Museum in which Phil Bonner played the kind of leading role as the lead historian in that project and our role has been kind of multiple, complex, overlapping things, but if I can identify a few things and in no particular order. Sometimes we were invited to be part of projects where our skills as historians were called on and of course when you get involved in heritage projects, say, for example, like the Apartheid Museum you kind of brought on as the historian to participate in the conceptualisation, but you can also get drawn in to work on other aspects of what happens there, the kind of visual dimensions, but the kind of key role as the lead historian to advise, to bring to bear on those projects a kind of critical historical eye. Secondly, we were involved in a number of projects such as the Alex project, the Katorus project and a range of other projects that drew on our work as historians and our involvement in public history. We worked with communities and created with communities, mechanisms in which public history developed and then we've also at times been involved in, or we've been called on, simply to advise the development of this or that project or we would contribute papers. We were involved initially as an example in the Freedom Park project where we were

part of a large committee involving academics from across the country and we contributed papers that was kind of then used by the curators and so on…. I sometimes get asked by people to just have a discussion with them about what they're thinking about, often with communities. At the moment, we are involved with a group of people in Dobsonville and they simply want to write the history of their township and we are helping them to do that and encouraging them to do this themselves and we will play a role when they need us. I'm using those examples to give you a sense of the kind of wide range of involvement. The History Workshop is also, and I suppose our view on this has largely been determined by a couple of things. When we've been approached to be involved in heritage projects we generally say yes because we think that we can make a contribution based on our role as academic historians and the experience we have in public history. Of course, that doesn't mean that we say yes to everything, but where we think we can make a contribution and it is in the field that we operate in then we will play a role. Linked to that is the fact that like many other scholars across the country we believe that the heritage landscape has required overhaul. Of course, a lot has been done in the past twenty years and we would say that we have contributed somewhat to that, but people like Cynthia Kros and Luli Callinicos, who are members of the History Workshop, they are far more actively involved in the heritage field. Our involvement as the History Workshop has been significant, but people like them have played a leading role in this kind of work. So, it's a kind of believing that we've been asked to make a contribution and where we can make a contribution, we participate in those and secondly, and linked to that point, a kind of commitment to the broad project of overhauling the heritage landscape and then, thirdly, and again this is the point I made in the beginning. For us, this space of heritage allows us to develop our public history work so I'd say our principle entry point into this has been to engage in public history, to think about or public history engagement and also to constantly self-critique and therefore hopefully advance our ideas and practices of public history. So, it's this kind of amalgam of issues that have allowed us to participate and also has been the main kind of imperative behind our commitment to assisting in the broad field of heritage.

RL: What influence has that also had on the Workshop?

NN: I make two points. First of all, it has meant that we are terribly busy... we are at any one time, we are involved in between five and fifteen projects of different scales and that's exciting because it gives us some sense, even though people complain about the decline of history, in fact in the broader public domain there is an appetite and I would say a growing appetite for history, for heritage, celebrating the past, not in a kind of narrow political way although sometimes that happens, but in ways that allow organisations like the History Workshops to

be hugely active. The second one is really to repeat the point I've made and that is it has allowed us to think about what is a core element in our work and that is public history. We work with history educators as an example and what we've done is to kind of learn from the work that we've done, but also from other scholars, for example, inform how history is taught, the history curriculum, how we work with multiple communities across the country in fact. So that I would say that if you look at what we did at Katlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus in the late 1990s and what we do now is fundamentally different. There we went in, we work with some people and we kind of wrote and we published a book. Now, we work much more slowly, we pause, we try and get communities and individuals we train, help them train, get them to do their own histories and develop with, we've always tried to do this, but we do this in a more concerted way, in order to together with communities think about how we do these histories. So, I would say the main influence has been to assist us in reformulating, rethinking, self-critiquing and a critical part of our work which is public history and all of this is not just about practice, it's also about the underlying ideas, the theories of public history and shifting our focus from public history as part of a project of uncovering struggle histories to doing various other aspects of historical research which may be informed by politics, but is not simply about politics and increasingly moving away from pure politics.

RL: Specifically, in terms of the Workshop's involvement in a museum like the Apartheid Museum and some people could then say it is in a sense the version of history of the Workshop being told in museums like that. What would you say about the influence of the Workshop?

NN: I think that's maybe a fine criticism and I would say and certainly, if you look at the Apartheid Museum, I would say there's a combination of what has animated the History Workshop's kind of focus, which is kind of working class history, social history, so, *ja*, that's fine. Then the only thing I would say is that, first of all, is that it's not only the History Workshop, that kind of collaboration did other things to that, but that's in the nature of things. You can take maybe another museum, you can take Freedom Park, and say that's driven by a particular kind of political approach and you could make similar comments. I'm not even sure, I know you're not saying this, I wouldn't even see that as a criticism, it's in the nature of this. Different historians bring different things to bear on projects and that's the outcome. The only thing I would say in relation to that is that I hope that we have more… not stodgy museums interesting, exciting museums to have multiple voices, to have multiple approaches and maybe in any one museum a particular approach will predominate so be it. Then I think rather, and again I know you're not saying this, rather than dismissing, because it's dominated by one or other historiographical approach is to kind of critique it on its own terms in terms of what it has

achieved and if criticisms arise from that, I'm happy with it. I'm all for criticising as much as possible, and even for auto-critiquing, so I don't see a problem with that.

RL: One last question particularly on the Alex project, you mentioned how communities got involved, and as far as I understand almost an advisory committee of elders from the community. How did that also change the Workshop? Was the Alex project quite important in that?

NN: It was pretty important, certainly for me and I regard the Alex project as a kind of important turning point, because it was a turning point but, it was also peculiar because the Alex project was a multi-year project in which one could give attention to things over many years and one could reflect on that process over many years. Many of our other projects last six months, a year, eighteen months, so time is important and one can't always do the things in the way that one wants to in those short periods of time. Nonetheless, I think that what the Alex project did was to allow us to create, we had a community advisory group, reference group, that's what it's called, community reference group and I met them almost monthly to get feedback, to engage with them, to shape the project and so on and we tried to do something similar in Orlando West, but that was a shorter project, and, in fact, our attempt to create such a committee did not fully succeed, partly because of the time. So, what I would say the Alex project did, notwithstanding the peculiarities of the project, was that it allowed us to think about how mechanisms could be created in partnership with communities that allowed for a kind of both formal engagement by the community, but also to allow for other informal engagements. So, I think sometimes when you create a structure, the structure is important, but the structure can also exclude other voices and therefore one needs to be sensitive to contestations and allow those things to work out. So, when we now, when we became involved in the Dobsonville project, there was a pre-existing organisation and they are doing the work, but what we have is different from the Alex project, but draws on that experience, is we have public meetings. So, you have kind of hundred people coming to the meeting and telling us what they want us to do. So of course, we can't do everything, but it's not public engagement, but it's part of public history. We won't be able to have those meetings every month, but the fact that those meetings can happen means that we are finding different ways of getting publics to be involved, and the one thing that I have avoided to do, although there is always a temptation to do it, is to regard the Alex project as having established a template. Rather I see it, and sometimes I think it's a template, but I also realise it was peculiar because of the reasons that I've given, but to draw the lessons from that. I think that we've advanced the way we do public history and we kind of draw on that experience, but we also draw on other subsequent experiences. So, I would say that we are in an exciting period where we constantly

experimenting and I want to just emphasise this point, when I say “we” in the first instance I mean the History Workshop, but I also mean at the same time the people who we collaborate with. So “we” is always the History Workshop and its different publics in particular projects, because even though we have the experience and we have time to reflect on these, we always try to do it, with varying degrees of success, we always try to kind of think through these things, talk about them with the people who we work with and for me that’s what is quite exciting about where we’re at in terms of the various public history projects we’re involved in. When we do exhibitions, they’re sometimes very small kind of Prestik-on-the-wall kind of exhibitions, sometimes they are more elaborate, they are always done in collaboration with the people who we work with rather than us sitting around in my office and kind of thinking about the curatorial issues separated from the people that we work with...

Appendix D

Interview: Albie Sachs

RL: As I mentioned I particularly wanted to talk to you because of your piece “Preparing ourselves for freedom” in which you spoke about culture and that members should be banned from saying that it’s a weapon of struggle for a period of five years and I wanted to know, at that stage in 1989, why did you feel the need to say that? Why did you feel it was necessary at that stage of the struggle?

AS: I’d been blown up. I’d lost my arm and one of my first public events was at the Kulturhuset in Stockholm where they had four South African artists, four Mozambican artists, four Zimbabwean artists and I think four Angolan artists and I was asked to speak and I flew there and in the end, I was just given five minutes and I watched all the other speakers and everybody, all the Swedes, said art is a weapon of struggle, culture is an instrument of struggle. They slightly changed the words, arts and culture and instrument and weapon, but they all said the same thing and they said nothing, they said nothing about the work, they didn’t engage with the work. It was carrying us no further forward and for years I’d been saying art is a weapon of struggle. Clearly it was, so it was a bit tongue in cheek. I said I’m against banning orders, but let’s stop saying that for five years and the objective was to deepen the understanding of culture, to get rid of the oversimplified and ultimately very banal instrumentalisation of culture and to explore more deeply and more richly, tragedy within the struggle, within the movement, joy, exaltation, betrayal, when instead all we were getting was beautiful looking heroes on the one side and ugly villains on the other side, so that was my main kind of objective. I remember seeing my children… they would visit me in Mozambique and join the ANC Young Pioneers and they would learn to recite the Freedom Charter, ‘South

Africa belongs to all who live in it. No government' and then they'd forget and they are learning off by heart to recite and you'd have a bit of culture before the meeting and a little bit of culture at the end, maybe a gumboots dance and that was it and I just felt there was a richness and a depth, and one of the images I used was that a weapon has to fire straight and its strength comes from that, but culture deals with contradiction, with diversity, it goes all over the place and we needed, we needed that, that deeper, richer more profound expression of culture and I felt we in the ANC was strong enough and South Africa as a country was strong enough to require, and withstand and benefit from these deeper explorations so that was the context. I had no idea… the paper itself would become an instrument of struggle. One of the questions I asked was: 'Do you cease to make love when you join the ANC?' but we never had anything about love. There was love of struggle, love of heroes, but nothing about love, with all its passion, complexities, perversities, it wasn't there at all. When comrades go to bed at night do they just discuss the future of the white working class? And that was based on somebody who was complaining about she never had a chance to talk to her husband. They would just get together and discuss the future of the white working class. I was told that night at the conference when the couples went to bed together, instead of making love, they discussed the Albie Sachs paper so that was the background to that.

RL: Do you think, you said the art lacked that richness, looking at the contradictions that it needed to expose. Do you think in the early 1990s it moved a bit past just focusing on struggle, and having fists and spears? Do you think this debate that your article sparked helped to take art into different phase?

AS: There was an extraordinary rich reception to the paper and I think the fact that it came from an ANC conference was vital. This wasn't a university literary critic. This was somebody right at the heart of the struggle, speaking out and using imagery and developing a voice that people could respond to and Barbara Masekela, who actually heard me make these points in Stockholm, insisted that I prepare the paper. I didn't actually myself go to Lusaka for the conference. I gave the paper to Gillian Slovo who never reported back to me and months later I heard from somebody who'd been there, I was actually in New York and she told me that it split the conference right down the middle. For years I'd been saying art is a weapon of struggle and we achieved that. The idea of the lonely, genius, self-referential, introverted, brilliant artist, completely divorced from what's going on in the world around him or her. We'd controverted that and we found we were getting enormous support from musicians, poets, playwrights, painters, critics who wanted to be involved in the anti-apartheid struggle so we'd achieved that sense of cohesion and developing, I wouldn't call it a unified, but a comprehensive and well-directed cultural force to challenge and undermine apartheid and to

rally and get support for the freedom struggle. I mean a huge moment for me was watching, I was shortly out of hospital, the Free Mandela concert at Wembley. 70 000 young people and the song was *Free Nelson Mandela* (sings) and that was a weapon of struggle if you like. An immensely attractive and vivid and 70 000 young people singing like that at a time when youth was supposed to be yobbos not interested in politics was very exhilarating, but we needed in our movement something that went beyond simply extolling our heroes and denouncing our enemies.

RL: You also said in another interview that it was time for the ANC to shed its skin, that it was time for a different idea of culture, that it was no longer necessary to bring artists together around this idea of a weapon of struggle…

AS: No, I wouldn't, I wouldn't put it like that. I felt that if one kept the image of a weapon of struggle, the weapon would actually be much more powerful, much more significant, much more meaningful if it had a richness, if it picked up on contradiction, complexity, diversity. It would reach out more profoundly and it would help us to discover ourselves, what does it mean to be a South African and enable us to take pride in, and benefit from our diversity of our nation, rather than simply rallying around a particular sloganised view… Certainly some people were excited, they said Albie Sachs has suddenly discovered that you must separate art from politics and I think you can't do it. I think it's a ridiculous notion and in fact I wanted to see more art and politics and very happy to see more politics in art, a kind of symbiotic, interactive relationship… I think one interesting experience I had when I came back after twenty-four years of exile was opening an exhibition by the potter Hyme Rabinowitz, now known as the father of Nik Rabinowitz, and I commented when I went into exile twenty-four years earlier Hyme Rabinowitz was making beautiful pots, with his friends coming in and collecting the fire wood and using local soils and materials and so on and I come back twenty-four years later and he is still making beautiful pots and I found this quite moving in a way. That's what he was good at, that was his contribution, but meanwhile the country is in turmoil, we're getting democracy, everything's changing and yet there was a continuity of his producing beautiful objects and we needed all of that.

RL: If we fast forward a bit to a piece you wrote in the *Sunday Times* last year on the Freedom Charter and you specifically referred to music at the beginning of the piece. Tell me a bit about that day and the role that song, music played at Kliptown.

AS: Well, what I remember specifically we always had music, singing at our meetings and I encountered that at the meetings on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, in front of the City Hall

every Saturday afternoon and it could be fifty people, 500, occasionally 5000 and one of the constants was the singing and that came very much from the African community, African people and it was amazing four-part harmony. New songs, somebody starting, and then somebody else joining in ─ and the music wasn't an add on. It was a very rich form of expression and it was important for me. We had music at school we would have once a week music lessons and looking back I'm sort of quite amused. Our woodwork teacher who was in charge of the music, he was a Mr Weideman. He apparently composed *Saai die waatlemoen* which we all sang and there was a competition because the other songs we were learning were *There will always be an England* (sings) and then he would get us to sing *Saai die waatlemoen* and then *Heart of oak are our ships, jolly tars our men, ready, steady boys, steady* (sings), sort of British patriotic songs during World War II and he's getting us to sing sort of *boere musiek* so that was song as a weapon of struggle if you like, in this whites only, boys only school SACS. Now I'm out there in the open. It's not a singing lesson. People are not trained in singing and I'm learning to sing in public and also to feel moved by the emotion. When I give interviews like this, I always comment on the change. The songs were mostly very sad songs. *Mayibuye, Mayibuye, Mayibuye iAfrika, Mayibuye, Mayibuye, Mayibuye iAfrika* (sings) and *Senzeni na*, it's the only one that survives to this day. *Senzeni na, Senzeni na, Senzeni na, Senzeni na* (sings) and then suddenly it's the Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign. *Dr Moroka, Dr Dadoo, JB Marx, Kotane… volunteers obey the orders, be ready for the action now* (sings) and it's a whole different dynamic from the kind of rather sad hymn-like church music of the oppressed people to people now defying the law and expressing themselves in a different way. And I'm finding myself sometimes up on the platform, sometimes in the audience. I'm getting out of my tight white skin and I'm learning to move with the music. So, at Kliptown then in 1955. It was I think in the afternoon of the second day and we're adopting the Freedom Charter, section by section. People up on a makeshift platform. We're all sitting on hard ground. It's a winter's day if I remember correctly, there was some sun shining, fairly cool and suddenly we're surrounded by armed, heavily armed police, paramilitary they were, on horseback and then paramilitary police marching in, carrying we called them sten guns and that's when the singing started. If one stone had been thrown people wouldn't be speaking about the Sharpeville Massacre, it would have been the Kliptown massacre and it would have been terrible, but the singing united. There were 2300 of us and it was dignified, it was resonant, it was quietly defiant and it showed terrific discipline and control.

RL: And in the article, you did say it was a weapon on that day to face down the guns. On that day it was almost a tangible weapon?

AS: It was really, there's a saying the soft answer turneth away the wrath, it was another thing would be like beauty and the beast. The beast in that sense came in the form of racist might, armed to the teeth, dominant, powerful, expressing its supremacy through superior force, and now the oppressed people responding with what they had, their voices, the emotion coming through in four-part harmony on a massive scale. I forget even what the particular song was, but it was immensely unifying and very affirmative and very strong, much more than a slogan would have been.

RL: Why do you think it is so much stronger than a slogan? Is it that singing together does something to a group of people?

AS: There is a resonance. It gives scope for individuality. You choose the part you want to sing. It represents a kind of continuity, a cultural continuity. The songs were in African languages, which generally in terms of public life were being suppressed, marginalised, pushed to the margins. I think all these factors played a role. You can ban us… When Oliver Tambo was sent to the Old Fort prison, as one of the Treason Trial detainees within minutes, I was told, he organised a choir... and if you see the film *Mapantsula* I think that's got some really beautiful music from the eighties, prison music.

RL: Why do you think post-94 song has survived? We see it at political rallies, service delivery protests…

AS: You know what I found interesting, looking at the ANC conference, the DA conference and the EFF conference. In that sense, the ANC established the tone, the, what's the word you use, the language of struggle, it's the modality and insignia and in their different ways the DA are attempting to do the same, it doesn't have the resonance, reverberation. They were even shouting the slogan *Amandla Ngawethu* and then the EFF is a new younger generation, not steeped in the musical struggle in the same way, but effervescent, ebullient and what thrills me as a South African, I find elsewhere in the world music and dance have been almost totally commercialised, so you pay to watch performers and you're kind of passive and if you're active you stand up and shout and wave your arms and so on, but it's not participatory. In South Africa that participatory role of musical and body expression has survived industrialisation. I'd say it even survived democracy and some of it happened in Parliament, fairly early on, breaking some of the cultural British style… with some different things, having a praise singer coming in at one stage. There was some singing at the time of Mandela, not a lot, but some, and even Pieter-Dirk Uys coming in and entertaining the MPs was destroying the reverence and what I find very striking when workers are on strike and they are marching there will be

people moving and singing and provided it's not death threatening chants, which can be very ugly and very worrying, I think it's extremely healthy. There's a vitality and an energy. The *toyi-toyi* was an interesting variant. It was actually picked up by MK combatants by ZIPRA from Zimbabwe and it caught on. It's quite aggressive, but it's got a humorous side to it. It's not just sheer anger and venom and watch out. There's something to my mind, a bit masculinist which is a worrying aspect of it and it can be, if it's intended to induce terror, it can actually be very worrying, but there's something joyous, ebullient and almost, almost, I find self-mocking in the vigor of the *toyi-toyi* that people like smile. They scowl when they're doing it and they smile afterwards.

RL: You touched on the opposition parties, in particular the DA and the EFF. Why do you think they try to use similar performances than the ANC? Shouting *Amandla*, singing songs, EFF had a memorial lecture for Solomon Mahlangu just a couple of weeks ago. Why is a struggle past so important for opposition parties?

AS: Well, it's to identify that they are real South African and if you like African-based parties and it draws in the audience. They all join in the singing where if it's just slogans, you might shout for a minute 'viva' or 'down with' and it's fun, but I think it's mainly a persona they want to project. Helen Zille was interviewed recently and she said her sons are really happy that she's taking a much quieter position now, because they couldn't bear to see her dancing in public, but she had to dance in public to show that she is a South African, and if you like Africanised, leader.

RL: You touched on the role of song when workers strike, the *toyi-toyi*, singing. How would you describe the role now of song at service delivery protests? In a sense, almost a similar role than before. It's aimed at a government that people feel don't deliver, is it a similar role or do you see it very differently?

AS: My connection is a different one. Then I was a participant and I'd be surrounded by it. I would be joining in as best I could. I remember marching once in Mozambique, we were singing a song and I'm saying all the words that I can hear and Trixie Mabuzela, she's walking next to me and she's laughing to say Albie you're singing about what we going to do to the white man. I'm singing away, singing away, but I wasn't singing the words as such, I was singing the singing. I was joining in the ebullience and the affirmative character of what it all was, so that continues now. I don't think it's consciously passed on. I think there are people in the DA, in the EFF who consciously work on these different things. We had one activist, Vuyisile Mini, who was famous for composing songs, trade union leader who was executed,

singing one of his own songs when he went to the gallows, but it was very rare to hear of a composer. It was just songs that you heard and people kind of joined in so that tradition continues. I remember after we'd signed the text of the Interim Constitution in 1993 at Kempton Park, long speeches, it was about two in the morning. We're all exhausted when it's over and Cyril and Roelf said let's have a little party to celebrate and we're bleary-eyed, we're exhausted. It's been very emotional, but there's maybe 50, 150 of us there so music is put on and I remember saying to the journalists: 'Do you want to know who's going to win the next elections? Look at who's dancing and look at who's standing by the wall too embarrassed to move'. And, of course, the ANC people were dancing and the NATS, that included Roelf and Leon Wessels and the others, smiles on their faces, but they couldn't just go out and shake and move and I said, you can't win elections in South Africa if you can't dance. We weren't singing then, but it was part of that same project if you like.

RL: President Jacob Zuma is an incredible good singer. He often starts a speech with a song, or ends with a song. There is so much analysis about why he sings *Umshini Wami* and *Inde le ndlela*. Why do you think song is such an important part of political performance? Not just for him, but for other ANC leaders.

AS: In his case, he would have seen Samora Machel in Mozambique. Samora was a brilliant orator and he sang a lot. He connected up very powerfully with the audience with humour and the singing so Zuma was the ANC chief rep in Mozambique for a number of years. I think that would have influenced, him consciously or unconsciously. And he can move. I can't think, you know Mandela never tried anything like that. He would give a little kind of shake. Very, very graciously, gracefully, it would be very nice, but it wasn't with any persona to connect up in that way. That's certainly a personal strength that Zuma had, an ability to sing, to move, to connect with an audience in that way. Through doing that, he's also making powerful political points, the continuity of struggle, a reminder that he was in Umkhonto we Sizwe, that he was on Robben Island, he's not just a political pundit making political speeches so all of that's conveyed directly and indirectly.

RL: Is that perhaps also why song till remains so much part of the political context? Because it gives you a way to convey all those things without having to say it. I saw it at Mangaung.

AS: Yes, I don't think it's because of Zuma that it remains. I think Zuma continues and exemplifies a certain current, it's a, you know maybe one can even go back to aspects of the Zulu tradition of the singing before battle, maybe singing after battle. I saw an extraordinary presentation of *Umabatha* put on by the Royal Shakespeare Company or at the Royal

Shakespeare Company Theatre in London. It was the last play of the last world theatre season that they put on. The place was packed and I think Welcome Msomi was the director of the play. Standing ovation from very sophisticated London audience. It just showed the tableaus of Zulu cultural expression, for battle, after battle, coming through quite strongly, fitting in very well with the Macbeth theme and the costumes were quite extraordinary, but it was the movements and the sounds and the only weak part was the Shakespeare, when they were reciting in English some words from the Shakespeare, that didn't really resonate very well. So, one could see on the stage in London now, somebody had choreographed elements of traditional Zulu cultural expression and it ended up with a spear planted on the stage and then the curtain came down and of course the spear was Umkhonto we Sizwe and it was making a very strong cultural point through a weapon of struggle, through the spear, but doing so in a very cultivated, sophisticated and deep and beautiful way that made it meaningful. So, in that sense I would see somebody like Jacob Zuma growing up in a semi-rural part of, it was then Natal, a soldier, not going out with the spear to do battle barefoot, but in the trade union movement, in Umkhonto we Sizwe, using, with a different particular ideology. And pan-tribal, pan-racial if you like, but drawing on an element of tradition, of that participatory expression of culture, your claims, your demands, through movement, through body, through voice and through combining with others.

RL: You touched on the vibrant nature of song. You opened the *Singing Freedom* exhibition about two years ago at the Iziko Slave Lodge. During the AfriForum and Julius Malema trial there was some arguments about how song could be commemorated and that maybe the museum is the right place for song to be kept. How do you take that vibrancy of song that we spoke about earlier and then commemorate in the museum? Do you think song can be commemorated and is the museum a suitable space for such a vibrant…

AS: No, I think, I think, I think there are many spaces, the problem with some of the songs was you translate the language, you translate the time and the place and to say *Kill the farmers*, or *Kill the Boers* it takes on a different meaning and it's a bitter vibrancy and it can be used very opportunistically. I believe it was done opportunistically by some people to shock and to get newspaper headlines and a form of self-promotion. I won't mention any names and then a judge hears it and says how can you in a non-racial, democratic South Africa sing a song *Kill the farmers, kill the Boers* and then the answer isn't to say well, you know if you actually look at the words it's not actually killing the boers as farmers, it's killing the oppressors and it's not actually killing them, it means fighting back against them, but that becomes a legalistic kind of an argument. My own view was it was totally, totally inappropriate to sing the songs in that language at that time when it could be taken up and manipulated by people on

the other side who's saying look we're victims of their attack. It was very opportunistic and political leadership should have said don't do it and in the end political leadership said don't. Then the clever response is to say *Kiss the farmers, Kiss the Boer*, that's a very South African way of turning the thing around. It's better. So, I don't think that people should use cultural mechanisms to insult, to wound, to offend other people because they are who they are. I think that's wrong. Whether or not, it's unlawful is another matter and even being unlawful, there are different ways of being unlawful. You could be restrained, but not punished. You don't have to be sent to jail or ordered to pay money, then if you break the restraint that can be something that can lead you to other kinds of penalties. It's amazing actually how that issue was so prominent at the time and it faded away. It's come up in a much more sophisticated form with the *Rhodes Must Fall* and the other student movements. I don't know if they've been singing a lot, if they've been creating their own songs, they haven't caught on in the same way, maybe they've spread to one university to another. I wouldn't know, but their language, their vocabulary is different. They would claim it's a decolonisation language, rather than a fight to kill and destroy sort of a language. I don't know enough about it to really comment.

RL: What can we then do with these songs that speak about *Kill the Boer* in a society where we are a democratic society? What do we do with these songs? Do we say don't sing them?

AS: I think the main debates, discussion and dialogue should be inside the political movements and leadership should be very firm and very clear that context is all important and don't use songs in an opportunistic way. At the same time, legal suppression is a very blunt, very clumsy way and there are devious and not even so very devious mechanisms of getting around that legal control and suppression...

RL: Do you think then in such a context some people could argue that song can be a weapon. I know you touched on it with the *toyi-toyi* that sometimes turn into masculine… it can sort of become this combination that can form a potent combination...

AS: It can be used as a provocation and then people respond to the provocation and then the press gets involved and it becomes a whole big issue in itself and I find that theatrics. I don't find that serious politics, serious struggle. It's headline hunting and it's very easy for individuals to clock themselves in a kind of bravado through using songs like that. The issue of *Umshini Wami* of Jacob Zuma is a very particular context, personality, I won't comment on that. It's the kind of issue that could come before the courts. It's politically very loaded and I think it's better that I don't weigh in on that at all.

Appendix E
Interview: Portia Serote

RL: Does song play an important role in the TAC or when you are marching, is it important?

PS: A song, it tells a story. Through songs we can tell how we feel, we can express our feelings, and we can tell of what is it that we want. By singing we feel energetic, we feel like we are taking whatever that is bothering us and sharing it to the world outside, because when you hand a memorandum you just hand the memorandum to a specific person, but when we are singing our slogans, as we will be marching tomorrow, everybody is listening to us. It is like you are sending a message across to say this is the struggle, that people are living with HIV or women or whatever work that we are doing and the challenges we are faced with, with music we are able to tell whatever that is within us.

RL: Tell me a bit about how song changes. How does that happen, will you be marching and someone will there and then compose a song?

PS: *Ja*, we have very creative people in the TAC. Maybe, for an example, there is this song that we like, that we know all of us, but it's a church song. Because of the beats and the rhythms and stuff what we'll do [is] just change the wording, but the beats and the rhythms still it's the same. So, it makes it easy for everybody to be easily following whatever we are singing because once you get the beats and the rhythms so it becomes easy for one to catch up.

RL: Why do you think song is still so important? We had it in the struggle. Why has it survived post-1994?

PS: I'm telling you, singing and dancing it's a healing on itself, because through singing, like I said, that we are expressing your feelings, you are expressing whatever that is bothering you, you are telling a story. Through singing we get so energetic and it is a powerful weapon that activists are using in order to make sure that they release their stresses and in making sure that they are sending the message of whatever they are coming across. Ja, so singing and dancing is very powerful.

RL: Do you also sing to educate people about HIV?

PS: Yes, we do that. Sometimes for example for me as… a trainer sometimes when I teach people something, especially when you are teaching older people they get bored, when we

facilitate the scientifics, the life cycle of HIV and all of those things. So, through teaching and singing and doing some scenarios, it becomes very easy for them to capture some of the things you educate, and then after you give them the space just go, be it sing, dance, create whatever, and come back and tell us. So, through that it becomes easy for them to be able to capture information. Even tomorrow when you ask them what is it that we were learning about, somebody cannot remember exactly the exact words that you said, but through singing she will stand up and then sing the words yeah, you were talking about this and that and that. So, you could see that singing at that time it has played a very important role for one to easily capture whatever that a person has been taught.

RL: You said it brings energy, that it is a way to make sure your message is heard. What do you feel when you hear or sing songs?

PS: Oh, my word. I talk about myself, I feel very good because really sometimes when you have this thing within you that is bothering you and you're not talking to somebody about it and sometimes you talk but somebody is not listening to you, but if you come together as a collective and a group then we sing. It feels so good to say, you know what, the stresses that you have as an individual, the things that are bothering you as an individual, the questions that you have that you don't have answers, when we sing… it makes you feel good, feel strong, feel empowered, you feel like you know what you can do almost everything by yourselves with the group that is there. For me, no, singing is good for me. *Toyi-toyi's* and marches and all, without singing, really, it will be very much boring. It won't be the same.

RL: You describe song as a weapon. Tell me a bit more. Why do you feel like that?

PS: Most of us within TAC even though we are having people that are not HIV positive, most us we still have questions that we are dealing with them in our own spaces that we don't have answers for and we are struggling to get out of the closet, the challenges that we are faced with as individuals, but when we come together: I don't know her issues, I don't know her stresses, but when we come together singing those songs it's more like you get healed, it's more like taking out whatever that you have that is within you. For example, singing HIV does not have power it won't kill... when we sing a song that comes to the reality of her analogy then that on itself it makes one feel good to say, you know what, we are going to conquer. HIV does not have power, we are not going to die, that's how for us singing and dancing, it is assisting us

RL: Does it in any way link with how song was used during the struggle? Is there a sense that it is now a different struggle?

PS: The struggle is different, but the singing I don't think there's a difference from the manner in which our activists and comrades were singing. I think, because I was not there at that time, that whatever that they were doing is how we are feeling. Even right now hence we are not changing into saying you know what we are demonstrating without singing and stuff. Hence, we are continuing on singing and singing and singing, because really something happens once you start singing those songs. Even if sometimes when you are alone as a person in your bedroom and something triggers some kind of disturbing when you sing that song, its either you cry after singing it because of the message that is coming from that struggle song, or it is either you laugh, either you feel like I will do it. So, the power is in the singing.

RL: Something like tonight, with the night vigil, will there be a lot of singing?

PS: Definitely. There is no way we can do a night vigil or a march without singing. We will be dancing. You know the night won't be long, it will be very short, because we will be dancing the whole night you will never even see anyone sleeping, because you will be feeling the spirit of activism. That's what reminds us that we are activists, we are comrades. Without those comradeship is not comradeship …

RL: Is there anything else you would like to add?

PS: Apart from saying it is a very powerful weapon that we use as activists to release stress, to express our feelings and for us as individuals as well to cope with other things because we have issues within ourselves that sometimes we don't feel comfortable to share with anyone, but when you sing, you know when you sing, you see light when you sing… It's good sometimes that we don't take our stresses and hide them forever, because they cause us mental health challenges, so it's good that you cry about it, that you talk about it, even if it's painful. It's good that you sing that song or you listen to that song. It triggers whatever that it is bothering you... You cry, it's good to cry, because it's healthy for your mental health so whatever song, whether it's of good memory or bad, but at end of the day it is playing a very important role.

Appendix F

Interview: Fanyane Tshabalala

RL: Tell me about song. How important is song in terms of your advocacy work?

FT: You know when you can speak, you can dance, either way that you can do it, but other people they understand or they hear you properly when you sing. Music it's something else that can unite, that can speak, to those who are deaf also it can be used, to those who cannot sing, music can be used, to those who are voiceless, music it's a voice to them. So, we are using the struggle song… there are a lot of songs that we use as TAC …. We use those songs in terms of to advocate for us… There are plenty of songs I can quote to say the meaning... The struggle songs also it reminds of where we come from as an organisation during olden days in 2001/2000 where there was neither of any ARVs in the country until 2008 when South Africa started to give us anti-retrovirals.

RL: Are there people that are composing while you are marching? How does it work? You have old songs from before 1994 and it changes?

FT: When you sit down… we understand that to say creativity is acceptable... in the space whereby there are many people, people they start to be creative. They start to compose songs and then they will start to teach one another and then we'll start to say, this is the rhythm of the song, this is the beat of the song, this is the way we should take that song, and the song that is being composed you look at the current situation or the current status to say which song is relevant, which song is relevant to this struggle where we are currently. That's the way that people, they become creative and when they become creative and you start to ask yourself, when did they start to compose this song and the manner that they sing it.

RL: How important is song to TAC? In those early days before ARVs was song an important tool?

FT: Song it's our tool that we use, it is our secret weapon that we use as TAC, to say whereby we don't have access… the MEC's office, the MMC's office, the minister's office and also the presidential office. In terms of their protocols, they will tell you, you didn't make an appointment and so forth, but when we are outside starting to sing and we can send the message loud and clear as I've said previously to say we sing songs, we look at the current status of that situation at the present moment and we become creative and we compose songs and then we sing

those songs. Whether the minister in the office, but the message will go, except the written one, but in terms of the music itself they can actually get the message loud and clear.

RL: How do you feel when you hear or sing songs?

FT: It's a mixture of feelings. Some it reminds them olden days, some it reminds them our fellow comrades who passed on, some reminds our brothers and sisters who we left them at home sick or bedridden that's why I'm saying it's a mixture of feelings. Some they just sing it because of I can sing, I can compose, I can be creative. That's why I'm saying it's a mixture of feelings. Personally, there are few songs that when we sing the song I become emotional. It reminds me where we come from, it reminds me our fellow comrades, our fellow colleagues that have passed on, that today they've got disability, because of HIV and AIDS. There was no proper care, there was no proper treatment, it brings lot of mixture of feelings.

RL: Is there a song for you that is particularly important or special or a favourite song?

FT: Uh (laughs).

RL: I know it's difficult.

FT: It's not difficult. There is a special song, well that every time they sing that song it reminds me when I start to join TAC. It reminds me in olden days when there was no treatment at all. It reminds me where we come from, the originality of the TAC when TAC was established there are, if not two, there are three songs that reminds me.

RL: Do you think songs from before 1994, do you think those songs should be sort of protected or do you see it as part of heritage? What do you think about song?

FT: When I can say let's scrap other songs, automatically I'll be saying let's scrap the history of our country, let's scrap the heritage of our country, let's scrap, let's say people who have fought for this liberation of today, today we have managed to get ARVs. They are not important if I could say there are songs that need to be scrapped. What I can say all the songs of the struggle particularly that are used by TAC, used by NAPWA, used by Positive Women, those are the songs that need to be protected, those are the songs that can tell the history, where we come from, that can narrate the present situation, that can say to the upcoming generation if it was not by this songs, if it was not by this fellow comrades, colleagues and friends, mark my words to today we will be having a blind nation in terms of no access to medication.

RL: Is there anything else you would like to add about song?

FT: The long and the short, I could say protecting songs, we protect our heritage. Protecting song, we protect the history, protecting song, we will be writing the relevant history… History is a referral point, it's a referral system whereby we can refer to say yes, in olden days there was this problem, there was this challenges, but because of those songs we have managed to conquer, we have managed to see the other side of the mountain. In short, I'm trying to say life it's a journey, it's not a destination whereby you can say I arrive today. No ways, particularly when speaking to issues of HIV and AIDS. If we don't protect those songs, we'll be saying life it's not a journey, but a destination.

Appendix G

Interview: Paul Tichmann and Shanaaz Galant

RL: So, basically, I just wanted to talk to the two of you about the exhibition, specifically how you put it together, the designs, some of the decisions you made and some of the difficulties in exhibiting something like song the intangible, dealing with sound in the museum, dealing with something that's incredibly active. I was actually just outside and there were people protesting about UIF payments outside parliament, singing *Senzeni na* and some of the other songs. It was just interesting to see that just before talking to you... Why an exhibition on music? How did it come about that there was, that you decided to do this exhibition on music?

PT: I was asked to work on an exhibition which, and the idea was really to rehash an exhibition that had been done before, which was a kind of overview on the history of music and it ranged from various pop groups through to *goema* and jazz and that kind of thing and I went across to look at the panels, which were stored at the Castle and when I looked at it, actually, it looked a little dry and I just thought one could do something that would be more relevant, and so in a staff meeting I proposed that we actually look at, at that stage I think I used the term 'music and liberation', and because I'd worked in this NGO, SACHED Trust in the eighties, where we were heavily involved in trade union education, so running workshops with trade unions and music was always part of it. So, I knew quite a bit about that aspect of it and also working with various community groupings, and I gave a little motivation on the different aspects that one could look at and that was accepted. We then discussed the… Shanaaz, Fiona Clayton was still a staff member at that stage, and the three of us then began to work on it. We put together a concept document. I mean we'd basically looked at what literature there was… realised that oral history was going to actually be an integral part, that we really needed to speak to people who had been active in the struggle, but also speak to musicians so that was the process and

once the concept document was accepted, it was then just the question of the funding to be able to start putting things together.

RL: You said music and liberation was the first suggestion. How did it come about that it was called *Singing Freedom*?

SG: If I can pick up from what Paul was saying. For Fiona and I, Paul was the one, like I always say, this is mainly Paul's project in the sense that Paul lived through a lot of, should we say Paul from the sixties like the Black Consciousness at the University of Natal and then through trade unions, FOSATU…

PT: The seventies, I'm not that old…

SG: *Ja*, the seventies, *ja, ja* and then of course Fiona and I were only born in the seventies... where we were able to work really closely together and to understand it and the need for it was because we worked, our collection was oral history, that's our focus…. So, for us, it was always going to be working with him and helping with collecting the oral histories, now from people connected to *Singing Freedom*, and *Singing Freedom* really came about, one could say all of us, I think it was maybe me in a sense, I'm really obsessed with this whole thing of voice and agency. Paul too, and bringing in the stories of people whose stories wasn't there before. That was the basic thing. I did not have the experience of, of actual struggle on the ground, because I was too young. Paul did, but for me it was just, and that's what we're about, it's about access and that's why intangible heritage is crucial, and so voices and singing, and you know people singing their own songs and their own voices so that's how in that sense, I think, hey, Paul… and titles are always like a strange thing you know, so I don't know, I always wanted it to be music and liberation, but I think they thought it was so maybe a bit too generic. They wanted it a bit more, not sound gimmicky, but it has to be more catchy.

PT: And also, I suppose more focused and we found as we talk to people they would say, oh why don't you then also look at, for example, issues of gay rights and it became… we felt we were looking at a particular stage in the history of South Africa and that if we went too broad it wouldn't really have any meaningful message, and so looking at it from the perspective of freedom then became a way of doing that. But, also I think for us we felt it was important to be able to not just to have it as this history that looked at, at freedom songs and the role of music, but also that we looked at how does it, what's the relevance today… how do we interpret freedom? So, we saw it as an opportunity to really make that link.

RL: How did your own background… how did that influence putting this together? Do you think that gave you a context that if you weren't there that you wouldn't have had or did it make it hard?

PT: I think it certainly did impact and shaped the way we approached it, because I think one of the things was the eighties what was really interesting, the formation of the Federation of South African Trade Unions. You had this really strong non-racial ethic developing. So one of the things we wanted to, that we felt was important, was that that was recognised, because it's so easy for us to become polarised and also the, the different political tendencies and groupings, because that was the other thing and Professor Phil Bonner had made a remark about how history has been airbrushed, and how we're almost slipping into a dominant narrative again of the ANC, and forgetting that there was a whole range of organisations and I think that also came out out of my experience of the Black Consciousness Movement and their impact that had been made there. I'd worked with people, who are from the Non-European Unity Movement. It was a time of such, so much debate inside SACHED itself we used to, it was a national organisation and we had people from all over, based in Cape Town, East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban and we would get together and there would always be these debates really fierce sometimes, but all, in the end of it, we were the best of friends and we would go and have a beer together kind of thing, but there was this rich culture of debate which I think we've kind of lost as well. Strangely enough we haven't become that tolerant and so I think that was important in a sense in shaping the way, the way I approached, we approached it. I mean Shanaaz raised, for example, as we were identifying people to interview she was saying actually there are very few women. We also, so as we went along I think we began to bring a whole lot of different ways of thinking to the project.

RL: Maybe for both of you, can you give me a sense of a little bit of your own background, your political background, the different experiences that you've had?

PT: I started university in 1977, it was just after Sharpeville and the first really big political event I attended was actually a memorial service in commemoration of Sharpeville and it was at the Alan Taylor residence which is in a coloured township, Wentworth in Durban, and the residence where Steve Biko had actually been based when he was a medical student. It was really interesting experience, not many of the people that I was at university with had attended, in fact there was just two of us… the two of us went along and it was a bit of an eye-opener, because the hall was pretty crowded but then the riot police arrived and they kind of just encircled this hall, but there was such an air of, of defiance, and I remember this priest actually standing up and saying that it's really if you, if you were serious about what you believe in then

you have to stand up for your neighbours and you can't allow things to happen that are happening if and one of the points he said there are jails in South Africa to hold every one of us and at that point it became pretty scary and he said if there's anybody who's not ready to make that sacrifice then please leave now while you can. So, it was that kind of, but I remember the singing there, and *Senzeni na* and it was really, we were looking out these Casper's or Saracens whatever they called, were rumbling all the time so there was this background and there was the singing which really in the end just drowned out those sounds and… it was just the power of that music and I think, I certainly felt at that point that I was ready. Ok, we could all end up, as the guy was saying, we could all end up in jail, but that you had to really be prepared to stand up. So, as a student on a white campus… University of Natal there was just a whole lot of issues. One of the things, there were no busses for black students that went out to the campus so we would walk up this hill, up the road from the King Edward Hospital to get to campus and it was only black students walking… There were a whole lot of other issues, of course, the fact that the hostels were for white students only and for any black student who needed to get into a hostel it was really having to go to the medical school hostel, the Alan Taylor residency, which was already fairly crowded, difficult to get in, so we got together and we said we had to do something, a lot of debate. Should we form an organisation? People were saying you were going to get arrested... You can't do this on campus, but we set up the Black Student Society and I was elected on to the committee, very at that stage strong black consciousness leanings and so for me the black consciousness movement I learnt a great deal from it and just the fact what was preached was really bringing, having unity, African, Indian, coloured and that was and for me to have this to see myself as black rather than coloured was something that I was totally committed to and then I think as I went on to Honours, I kind of, my thinking began to shift a bit. I was reading on Marx and I began to see some limitations in the way the Black Consciousness Movement was going and then just became very interested in the workers' movement and the potential for trade unions in terms of bringing about change. After graduating, worked at the University of Durban-Westville, in the Institute for Social and Economic Research. University of Durban-Westville was a bush campus. There were just always problems. I'd be driving in and then there's an army roadblock because there's a student boycott and and so you know there was always action. It was quite funny at one stage the students borrowed my vehicle because I had a pass as a staff member and they were able to smuggle in pamphlets and I'm sitting in the… offices as I'm just thinking if they get caught I didn't know what they were going use the vehicle for. At one stage, we had Kumi Naidoo, who was on the Student Representative Council was being chased by the police and he came running to the office. We opened the door and let him in and then we basically locked it closed, all the blinds and the riot police were hammering on the door and I mean everybody there, we had this great Professor, John Butler-Adam, and

he was quite happy to not give Kumi up, try just to pretend that there was nobody in the building so there was all of that going on. After, the next job I was a little crazy, because I left this campus job to go work in an NGO, that was SACHED Trust. My involvement, initially I was working in their literacy project, which was running literacy for FOSATU affiliates and I'd been doing that in my spare time for a while and the one day I got a call and they see we need somebody to come in as a course writer and to run workshops and I thought about it and I agreed and that was that. I was there for six or seven years, very interesting time, I mean quite a turbulent time, working with the unions, assisting during strikes. We would go in and run education programmes as a way to kind of keep workers together, because there was always the problem of of people kind of scattering around and so the unions always wanted to have things happening and it was also an opportunity, people weren't working really, run education and some of the things that were happening in FOSATU, already at that stage there were people in the economics department at various universities, who were actually running workshops on the economy and getting workers, shop stewards to try to understand basic economics almost… really interesting debates about what kind of economy should we have after liberation, that kind of thing… There were workshops around education. I remember researching education with production, looking at what was happening in some of the neighbouring countries, looking at what had happened in New Zealand, Australia, how they'd approached. So, there was a lot of time devoted to actually researching, looking at how can one build a better economy, a better educational system and then as I said, of course, there was always the music. Virtually any trade union event you went to. If it was a rally during the strikes, just the meetings we would go. We would attend meetings, sometimes it was just with the educational sector of FOSATU and there would always be the singing, even in that and then working with community organisations, some interesting work there as well. I remember running organisational skills training workshops with community groups things, that looking back, it sounds probably silly, but things like how to take minutes, how to run meetings, the role of a chairperson et cetera, which were all very important, in a sense, skills for people who had never exposed and had been elected onto a leadership positions and needed to know how to run meetings. So, it went from that to a more advanced, we had somebody who would talk, how do you ensure that that you keep proper records, for example, and how important it is particularly if you are getting funding you were going to be audited you need to make sure that you've got all of your invoices in place et cetera. So… *Ja*.

RL: And Shanaaz? You said you were born in the seventies?

SG: In '76 when he was in matric, I was born. I was born in Athlone, Cape Flats in July 1976. The thing that that was important in where I was born and the people, our neighbours and

things, is people like for District Six, but it was the same in Athlone, where we were a very strong community, very close the way we were raised, and the way we grew up and I realised from Plender Avenue, Athlone alone started to realise my parents didn't talk about apartheid in our home, but there were things that I remember that stood out. For example, our one neighbour… she was African black, Xhosa-speaking, she owned three houses in our road. She was the wealthiest person in the road. African, black, African in a coloured area, which was technically not, it wasn't allowed. I don't know, I still don't know how she got it right to sort of stay under the radar with nobody like sort of messing with her and forcing her to leave, but she was different and we got to understand that. I was very close to her two grandsons and then I got to realise that they were sort of affluent African family. She was a nurse, her husband was a principal. They ended up in Athlone and they ended up never leaving and we got on very well… So, from the time I was young I understood, you understand the importance of people and the value of people beyond colour. We knew about apartheid. We knew we couldn't go to certain beaches, we knew we were only supposed to only be in certain areas... We were raised knowing these things and all of that and my father, in fact, was a printer who then went into business with Ali Parker. People in the ANC would know him. He actually did a lot of the printing for the ANC while they were banned and that kind of thing. So, between him and my father they did the printing and they worked on that in Elsies River was their factory. He was on the top floor, my father was on the ground floor and the security police would often raid. Ali was taken in many times, detention and when that happened they would obviously, the police would then look for the plates, but they could never find the plates. They had this shoot, they would throw the plates down the shoot and my father would then get it at the bottom and hide it. So, we knew about all those things, but I was very much politically educated in the sense at uncle Ali's house. He was PAC, but he worked for the ANC. I knew about organisations, learn from my family and family friends. Dullah Omar was also a very close family friend, sort of schooled in that sense. It wasn't like, it was almost like it wasn't something special it was just life, right Paul? And you kind of knew that the bad things that were happening and you knew it was wrong and I always knew it was wrong. My grandfather, for example, I mean my family is completely working class which I'm totally proud of. My grandfather on my mother's side, he worked in the Council for the Council, he used to work in the sewers or something. My grandfather was in fact a brilliant cricketer in the coloured leagues and of course his potential could never, because he was black and there was write-ups and I got that of him in the coloured newspapers, of how great he was. He was kind of a legend amongst, so not on the level of Basil D'Oliveira and he was much older than him, but same thing, he was a spin bowler… and all my uncles then were good cricketers, but they played in a coloured league and my uncles were always very bitter about it, the fact, you know, that they were not recognised and second-class citizens, they used to call it. So, we knew

about that kind of thing and as a result of that my grandparents had a hard life, that type of thing. So, there was always that kind of thing and we were always aware of it… So *ja*, I went to UWC. I started a law degree. I went halfway... LLB degree, and then I wanted to do a History and English and I ended up doing that and that's how I ended up in museums of all places, at Robben Island Museum, which was an amazing experience. It was wonderful. I was in the education department on the Island. Deirdre Prins-Solani was my boss at the time. She launched, wanted to launch this public forums unit which I was part of, and then I had to do make sure the travelling exhibition goes around, which I took around the country, but not physically, because we couldn't move it, but I would just organise all the legal stuff, the aspects of that but the most important job was the seminars coordinator, which was basically to then get people on to the Island, set up seminars largely of an academic nature, but to get people onto the Island for free, over on ferries and take them around and get everybody involved in our education department, to sort of, to take, to get people involved and get them to understand the narrative and that type of thing and then I ended up at Iziko as an educator and then eventually in social history as an assistant curator and curator, but the main thing for me is, and I've always worked with education, and I think it's really important because for me, it really is about transformation, freedom and transformation, because we have not achieved it. I don't know how far we from achieving it, very far, but that is what I am dedicated to and I think in a museum space, it's a crucial space, because it's a public space and we do have the power and I think with *Singing Freedom* that was the most, we almost got the most freedom in a sense to actually do that Paul, in a way. We had a terrible time constraint and I'm going to say that. I don't care we were kind of… that was the big limitation that almost, I almost got a nervous breakdown, because it was… the story is massive so Paul, Paul was the person… I mean he saw the potential… that was a story that he wanted to tell and then after that we got involved and we were like no, we should tell the story and of course it shouldn't just be us. I mean I didn't even know freedom songs other than reggae and stuff, because I'm much younger, but we need to speak to the people who will know the songs and it wasn't and then of course what we found was like where I come from Athlone, and workers, and people, who just wanted a decent life and everybody should have the right to a decent life. It was about people's stories, the songs are people's stories… Ronny Nyuka that we spoke to in Paul's office that was, that was like for me, that it was the biggest interview. He's not a big guy in the struggle, but he was part of MK, he came from… Oudtshoorn, Bongolethu. He spoke about how his parents were struggling, who would be in church with their children on a Sunday, they would sing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and he would see his parents crying and that's when he knew something was wrong. Well, not something, but there was, something was drastically wrong and, hey Paul, it was that kind of thing… I guess I'm just one of those people that when I feel something is wrong, I'm always going to be unnerved and I'm always going to be upset with it

and trying to do something about it, so, *ja…* but I don't know if that answers your question. That's where I'm from and you know so where you come out of a protected environment like Athlone, where we only mixed ever with our own people and then I go to UWC and I'm still with my own people. Robben Island is a bit bigger for me, my world becomes a lot bigger, because even though it's like a very narrow nationalist narrative, the people that I worked with were doing big things public outreach… Paul like you were talking about it was always about debate, the discussion and nobody was scared to say anything to anyone. We were free to say whatever we thought about whoever, you know, so whatever political debates… I still don't know how we managed to get that story, how did we manage to do it in the time that we had, but that was the main problem. I'm jumping now, but that was the main problem. Our greatest resource was the people and Paul, and I want it on record, Paul's research and the people. That's the main sources. That was, that was the best that we had and then, of course, the songs although of course being important, the songs is almost like an aside, not in a way, right Paul, because for a lot of them talking about their life stories they'd forgotten the songs they said oh, we forgot. But then it would come back to them, which was nice also, but it was about the struggle. It was always about the struggle. We're still struggling today, so it still relevant, so it's like… it's a perpetual thing.

RL: What comes first? How do you tell the story of song in a way that makes sense dealing with something that it is not well documented, that sits in people's heads?

PT: That was tricky. I mean, and I think, it was shaped partly by the interviews we had, because it's true that people wouldn't… there were poignant moments where, where people would tell us a particular incident and then the song would really stand out. So, you did have moments like that which were, but it was, *ja*. The oral histories, because we did quite a lot of reading and for example… what's it called, is it lies and secrets? … *Songs and secrets.* I'd read that and I found it really interesting and we make some reference, but what was interesting was really when we had James Ngculu, this MK Commander who was sharing with us his recollections and *Swem Makana, Swem* is one of the things he remembered clearly. So, it was nice to be able to have that, to tie things in that way sometimes. Talking to Ben Turok and his recollections of Vuyisile Mini and his comrades going to the gallows. That was just, it was really moving. It was, so there were moments like that, that kind of just put it, the history, in a way that we could never have… and one of the things that I'd always felt about oral histories was that, that sometimes it was a way to really get to the heart of the narrative, without having to, to go through this whole academic kind of narrative and I found that in a number of cases. When we interviewed Zubeida Jaffer about the launch of the UDF. I'd read about all of the different figures, Johnny Issel, the meetings with Trevor Manuel and other

people, and the debates over whether to have it in Cape Town or Durban or Joburg, and I mean she captured it… in just two or three paragraphs describing the launch and I thought this is great… it brings it across from somebody who was really actively involved in a way that's really powerful. I always remember her saying how it for her, it was something almost magical as she looked back she was saying, something almost spiritual, all these people coming together and *ja*, so and at moments like that I think that's when people kind of do then remember the music, because of the atmosphere that was created through that singing, the kind of unity, people almost brought together through the singing.

SG: O *ja*, Retha, the question again?

RL: How to tell the story of song?

SG: You know in terms of the exhibition and putting it together, because we had such a little time, right, thank the powers that be that Paul had done the research, a lot of that book work about a year before, hey Paul.

PT: *Ja.*

SG: Just as you came in, as you started at Iziko, and he started, so we had that and then, of course, it was a matter of getting people… and then it was also like the issue of… how we were going to cull it. So, it does come across, the way it's designed, is kind of, of linear. We're moving through time. That was not the way I saw it. I wanted to do it, and it could possibly have been done, if we had more, we needed more time, where I wanted to do it like where we have people tell their stories and talk about the songs as it developed according to different groups, so women and youth, you know, to let the people lead it and, sort of, have it look like that, but it wasn't possible, because we had too little time.

RL: How much time did you have? I'm assuming it had to open on…

SG: It had to open when it opened, because of the whole financial year end, and all that stuff. So, that was the big terrible thing hanging over us, this burden in a sense, time, it was, because Paul, and that's how we, I would moan and I would say we don't have enough women, because we didn't. And I mean it was important, it's still important for those voices to be heard and for those voices to be recorded, but we simply did not have enough time, so we therefore had to go the more conservative route, in a sense and sort of guided by Paul's research, which make sense, and are our interviews, which we did. So, and then of course, like Paul was saying,

there were these moments that just happened… and that was the beauty of song and intangible heritage, and like Ronny's interview, again like Ronny was actually singing the songs. As he recalls it, he recalls the event and then the song and then he sings and to the point where he broke down, because it was so painful, his recollection of things, and and it's just that simple. In a sense, the struggle was that simple. As much as it was hard for the people who fought it, it was just about people wanting to improve their lives and wanting to better their lives, that's what it was. Everybody said it from Zubeida to Ronny to Ben to Rob… and when we bring it back to the present, and I think *ja* that's also important, hey Paul, always, because that is what you, that's what makes it oral history when you root it in the present. It has to make sense too. What's the question, right? What's the issue now? What is the issue? And that was the issue and it was like perpetual, like with Cecyl Esau, Cecyl Esau. I don't know if you want to talk a little bit about Cecyl's interview and the whole BCM things and the *Freedom isn't free* song, that whole perpetual cycle or line of struggle that he spoke about.

PT: One of the questions we had, was we put to the people we interviewed, was how they defined freedom and whether they still see a relevance for freedom songs today. And with Cecyl Esau it became really interesting, because he then quoted from a Black Consciousness song, *Freedom isn't free.* So, we end with that, because we then raise questions about how do we define freedom, and how far are we along that path. Almost we were trying to get people to think about what do we still need to do in order to really have freedom, and so he quoted this *Freedom isn't free.* You have to pay the price you have to sacrifice and then it goes something like for each generation anew. They've got a deal with and it's so true. We finding that more and more and… when I think back… someone like Ben Turok, and some of the things he said when we asked about the role of freedom songs today. One of the things he was arguing that they're being used, really, in a way that divides, rather than unites. He was saying during the days of the struggle, it was very much to unite people, to get them kind of focused against the common enemy. And he actually said that for the president and the way in which he was using songs like *Awuleth' umshini wami*, that in fact, that it was about bolstering the power of particular people and it was something that he expressed, and in fact I got a bit nervous, he was a member of parliament and he said no that's fine let the camera run. That was his attitude, he was saying this is really how things stand.

RL: How did you deal with that, almost the current role of song. Like I said, I was just outside people were singing, protesting about something outside parliament. How do you deal with this very active dynamic character of song… it has this dynamic character to it. How do you deal with that in the museum space, where people kind of think you must be quiet?

PT: One of the things we ask people specifically how they felt about the *Dubula ibhunu* and whether they felt, they felt it was ok to sing it and it was interesting, the responses were interesting, because some of the, some of the people, some of the activists actually said no for the sake of reconciliation we shouldn't really be, we should try not to sing it too much in public places and others were saying this is, this is just singing. I remember one of the people were saying worst things were done to people and you want to make a big noise about singing… which was an interesting comment and then we also asked people how they felt about *Alweluth' umshini wami*. And there as well it was divided opinions. Some people feeling that it was a historical song, and that the president was part of that history, and that it was fine for him and then people like Ben Turok saying, actually it's been used to divide within instead of actually really looking at what are the challenges and how we going to move forward. It was really, when I look back at his interview, he was actually warning about the danger, that, in fact, that we were heading into the situation where we going to become more and more divided.

SG: Which has happened.

PT: And then we also we felt, we really had to have the music there. It wasn't just about writing about it, but that people should be able to listen to it. So, that was one of the things we fought quite hard for, to be able to put in these listening stations, to have freedom songs playing. One of the things we wanted, we didn't get around to it, because of the budget, we actually wanted to have a documentary based on the interviews where there'd be a lot more, and a whole range of people and there we thought it would be a great opportunity to then follow it in a thematic way, because a whole lot of range of issues come up. I remember one of the questions we'd ask people was around the songs about leadership, because you had for example during the Defiance Campaign you had a *uLuthuli Somlandela,* whether we go to jail etc, you have that kind of applied, of course Sisulu, Mandela, and it's became a kind of trend and one of the questions we asked can you recall any songs of women leadership, and *ja* people would either fall silent or they would change the topic.

SG: That's a problem, that's a gap.

RL: Shanaaz, you said you also had something to add about the dynamic…

SG: Paul is kind of desk bound at the moment … I still take school groups. I help where I can, school groups...

RL: Into the exhibition?

SG: *Ja*, I had a very good experience. I was telling him on Tuesday. A group from John Ramsay, a school in Bishop Lavis, it's a township. It's quite a poor area and they were history students, forty-free students, Grade 12. The teacher basically it was an essay question … and she wanted me to use *Singing Freedom* in a sense, the exhibition to help them. The question was basically they needed to, to answer about the liberation struggle and how it changed, if at all, after Sharpeville and the Langa March, so 1960. It is really good, because it's contemporary man, like the struggle is always happening. It's always happening. One could argue it's happening all over, everyone is struggling in some way, but it's just in some places more people are struggling with basic things than other areas. So, *ja,* I was able to answer the question using the panels and I was saying to Paul. 1961 MK is launched and teaching them and telling them you must use your mind, you must apply your mind when you're reading historical documents, the power of interpretation and that type of thing, and then we went through the different stages, the 1980s and the mass uprisings and action, like everything that we worked on, and it all helps and then she said, this teacher says to me, in terms of it like the contemporary and the importance of the museum, a public space, addressing issues like having a space, like Paul, the question is are freedom songs still relevant? Yes, it is. It's always going to be. The answer for us is an emphatic, yes. She says the reason why we have problems today, the problems we having today, the terrible racist people saying horrible racist things on social media. She was saying as a history teacher, she's saying, I believe and I feel history should be compulsory up until Grade 12 so that everybody must know and learn everyone's history. They need to know what happened to people and that is what the exhibition is about. At Iziko, for me, the first time at Iziko museums, it's about what happened to people, that their histories have never been addressed in our museums. So, it's so important and the fact that I can now walk through there and these kids and I can point to a wall and I can say here's the information, this is the problem, so that for me is important. It's helping the kids today and when I ask them: 'What are the issues? What did Ashley Kriel start? What was his protest about?'. It was about civics, they all know what civics, and workers problems, Paul, the union when we got to the panel on the unions, it was amazing. All their parents got problems at work… so they said… I asked: 'What was workers problems that you could identify?'. And all the hands go up, too little money, too much hours that they're working, they could say and they know that. That's important… it's helping, it's a resource that can be used, and they can understand it, and that history is not in vain.

RL: An exhibition like this, because it about something like song that people still hear, there's a service delivery protest, there's song, there's a strike, there's song. Does that help, that there's sort of a clear, people can almost hear the connection?

SG: Yes, yes absolutely. Like, Paul, like, with the freedom songs, like I was telling the one teacher Paul… the one song, the one where they talk about and Ronny in his interview. No, this is like an amazing thing. Paul will remember. When Ronny speaks about how they were recruited by Oscar Mpetha. He tells us where it was. I can't remember the details now, hey Paul, as a young, as a kid, him and a lot of other kids. It was like a rally kind of... they are recruited by Oscar Mpetha and Oscar Mpetha start singing that song about them going and their parents don't understand what's going on. So, we've got that lyrics, right, that is translated. I don't know *sobashiya* or something like that.

PT: *Siyobashiy' abazal'.* We will leave our parents.

SG: I read that to them, right, these youngsters, I mean part of teaching when you're walking, when you, because when you're walking through a museum, it's not like you're sitting in a classroom, and that I learnt from our amazing educator Nadjwa Damon, who's very good. She's so proud of that exhibition, because she was also an activist, a young activist in the eighties, but anyway, so it's got the Xhosa and it's got the translation, and I was saying to them the last line that we've got there, Paul, is *we are following freedom,* and it's just perfect. It's just perfect and that whole thing of, I mean, that was something Paul, that like my parents maybe didn't even understand at the time, you know. So, it's that timelessness of song, it's that timelessness of that voice that's there, that really captures for me what this freedom song is about, and what these people were struggling for, what their struggle was, and what they were facing, because you've got Ronny who's like a seventeen-/ eighteen-year-old and Ashley and them who were being taken out of the country, that they didn't know what they were going into, but they knew what they had here was terrible. It was dreadful and what is this freedom? But it wasn't what they knew and it wasn't what their parents knew and it's that of kind of moment man, and, yes, it is in the exhibition, it is there, and through song, and through the interviews, and the intangible, you're able to convey that message and that is a triumph in a sense.

RL: You've touched on the intangible. In my research, I've looked at other exhibitions and music and a lot of people mention the challenges of dealing with music in a museum and dealing with intangible heritage. Was it difficult to deal with something like that… was it difficult to deal with intangible heritage?

PT: It was. It was tricky and I mean there was some areas that I would really have liked us to have been able to explore where some of the people, and I won't mention the person's name who came out of a particular political tendency, the Cape Action League, actually didn't want to say that she actually wasn't prepared to speak to us, and what she did was she would set the appointment and then not pitch, and then her PA would call her and it would be well, she was sick, the one time there was another crisis, and then we realised there was no way… and I'm not sure. I think there were some cases people, where, it was really people were maybe not all that willing to share because whether they felt they were going to be attacked, and I mean there were some aspects like Shanaaz was saying with Ronny, where it was really very emotional. It was difficult, and you kind of question whether they you should continue. We actually stopped at one stage, because we wanted to give Ronny an opportunity to compose himself… we wanted to be sure that he was ok to continue, so you are dealing with aspects of pain and the emotion that comes through then dealing with the intangible, dealing with Zubeida Jaffer was really very difficult. Initially, I didn't think I was going to be able to be part of that, because it kind of brought back issues for me that I hadn't really dealt with… there is that… and in some senses as well it's not, it's not like kind of … you are out there, you put the questions and you can't really, it's not like you're doing research from in the archives or a book or something… Here it's kind out of your hands… and in some ways, it's good too. It helps, I think, to bring in an element of debate that you otherwise wouldn't have, and I just think of, there were times when people's responses kind of threw us. There was a musician, I won't mention his name, you think, well, people are in this because they've got a way of thinking and they see the problems, and his whole thing was like oh, no it was just a way to meet women…

SG: *Ja*, a particular group of women that he would otherwise not have access to, like kind of love across the colour lines, kind of vibe. I think that really annoyed Paul in a big way… because I knew him already, it didn't surprise me, but *ja* I think he did care about the other issues on a deeper level, he did, Paul, but that was like something that he almost boasted about. I think that annoyed Paul in a big way.

RL: How did you deal with the interviews and you've just touched on not enough women. How did you decide who to interview people, people didn't always want to talk, making sure you've got women, you haven't just got ANC people. How did you deal with getting the people to interview?

SG: It was difficult.

PT: What we did, we sort of spoke about who we thought would be able to, would be good. We kind of looked at people's experiences, in the reading as well, and then we also kind of opened it out and... we canvassed with a number of other people and that was quite useful because... then there were, at times people that we weren't really aware of and people would say have you considered talking to so and so, but with oral history it's really, the difficulty is people don't, I mean it's our project, but it's not necessarily important in their agenda particularly when people are working and they're dealing with a whole range of issues. So, it was difficult to really tie some of the people down and there were cases I mean…some of the PAC people just were not all that willing to talk to us and *ja*… so we managed to get for example through people like Geoff Mamputha whose father had been in the PAC but there were *ja*… given more time also.

SG: it was a time issue. In a big way.

PT: In a sense, we were fortunate though people like Priscilla Jana. I didn't, I was, I was a little worried about how it was going, I mean she'd been a high-powered person in a sense and she was busy with a range of things, but when she did make the time I was amazed, because as we went deeper and deeper into the interview…

SG: It was seriously emotional man. I mean she represented Solomon Mahlangu and so she was there in that courtroom… For me, like with oral history also a lot of people can dispute what kind of source it is. For me, it is a primary source. It is as close to the event as you can get. Yes, people's memory goes up and down, it's like a wave, we all know that, but that was strong… and we felt like we were there with her, and I remember, and for me, I think on two occasions when we were doing the interviews it was her and Ronny, Ronny, when he was talking about his parents and he started crying and Priscilla when she was talking about Solomon Mahlangu that I had to hold my tears down. I was lucky to be behind the camera. Paul was conducting the interview which he gave me the opportunity to go through and add any questions and also while we were interviewing he would give me a chance to ask anything if there was anything else that I wanted to ask and then there were sometimes… that was the hard interviews for me. It really was. With Priscilla, also besides the people that she knew, like the big guys that she knew very well, it was also like her struggle as a woman and what you don't often hear about her struggle as a female advocate or attorney, that was heavy. The fact like how she could, so you sitting in a court and it's all white males like during apartheid that was heavy… we always seem to focus on other areas and whatever, but as a woman alone, a Indian woman, alone sitting in a room with just white men during apartheid, and white people

that's all against you, in a sense, and she could feel it, right. She was always fighting. *Ja*, that was heavy, that was seriously heavy. Ja, Priscilla.

RL: You alluded to this earlier, to the dominant narrative that we see in our heritage sector. How did you make sure in terms of getting people to say yes to interviews, that it doesn't feel like it is the ANC's freedom songs. How did you sort of deal with that?

PT: I think, probably it was good that we'd started off with the concept document because one of the things in that research was that a whole lot of organisations came up and we actually then tried to make sure that we were as representative as possible. One of the things that I really, I regretted that we were not able to travel, because there were people in other provinces that would have been great to have interviewed, because we did, we were quite ambitious when we started off and identify… but I did also communicate, I sent emails to some of the people and some of them actually responded, which was quite interesting. So, I had some information that come via email… It was awkward to build it in, but what it did was to help us to see where the research was going, it kind of, also kind of helped to balance it. People that could remember and say things about… the Non-European Unity Movement and I think, also when we, as we put questions to people, we kind of, we started off probing into their background. We even asked about their parents and what work they did and what that did was also kind of bring in sometimes so with people like Geoff he could tell us about his father, his PAC activism, but also what emerged at times was, people like Cycel Esau who spoke about his black consciousness background and that's not what we were… in doing some background research on him what had come up was his years on Robben Island, his involvement in MK and that aspect rather… I think the questions were important, because they gave that opportunity and he spoke about his years on campus for example and so you got a whole lot of information coming in, that we had not necessarily not planned for, in the sense of, we knew that from him we were going to be able to learn about singing on Robben Island, aspects of that, his imprisonment, participation in the UDF, and I think of Marcus Solomon… his response was quite interesting, because he said it's like, he'd done interviews before and people don't really bother to ask you about your parents. It's actually important, because that's what shaped you and then he spoke about how in his opinion, his parents had really shaped his thinking, and that the kind of influence of his mother, his father had kind of led him to a Unity Movement tendency and taking it from there, and the interesting thing though also is that people, sometimes we tend to just compartmentalise history, but people had come out of various traditions. Marcus was an interesting person, because you know Unity Movement, he ends up on Robben Island, he goes and becomes active after his release in the UDF organisations and actually ends up as an ANC supporter, and on Robben Island of course

there's all of this discussion that goes on between people from various political tendencies, Black Consciousness, Unity Movement, ANC, PAC, this rich exchange, which influences some people, and also gets them to change their ideas, in a sense, or develop them further, or however you want to put it.

RL: How many did interviews did you do?

PT: Twenty-six.

RL: When you walk in you see the anthem and you specifically refer to the fact that it's a combination of *Nkosi* and *Die Stem* and the word reconciliation pops us. I know the exhibition was opened on Human Rights Day. It was during that 20-year democracy after 1994. Did that at all influence it? This idea of reconciliation that we often now see in our museums? Or not really, that idea of the rainbow nation?

SG: Definitely not for me.

PT: No, not, the same here. Not, I think sort of principles of non-racialism certainly of looking at democracy, how do we understand democracy, of looking at transformation, freedom.

SG: Our Constitution, our Bill of Rights. That was it for me. I just wanted to say something about what Paul was saying about the interviews, on the people, with oral history and this one wasn't really different to any of the other projects that I have been involved in, people only speak to you if they know you, if they know you. There has to be something that they know, that they trust. So, in many cases it was Paul, who knew like, Paul, you knew Marcus, I knew Uncle Lionel… I had some people, connections from the Island, we both were close to Ronny, because I used to know Ronny from the Island. He was always a very generous person with his life experiences and stuff so they would not… and that, I mean, it was personal man hey, Paul, that history, like a lot of people, there's some people would say and like one in the visitors' book, someone said, what was it Paul, when someone said this is propaganda s*** or something.

PT: This is kitsch propaganda.

SG: Kitsch propaganda, right and that couldn't be further from the truth, because I can say somebody was involved in this, it was based on people's stories and people's struggles. There's no propaganda, that's not propaganda, in any way, nothing and like Paul was saying,

we weren't guided by ANC principles, our government or anything. It wasn't about that and I'm thinking of uncle Lionel Davis's interview, which was brilliant when he says, when Paul was asking biographical things, which is very important, and for me with a lot of the activists, you can tell me if I'm wrong. For them, it does start off with right and wrong. It's not, no kid starts off by being like ANC *boetie,* right, it's about encountering these things around you, and he'd grown up in District Six and he goes to the shop, the little cafe in District Six, and it was owned by a Jewish person. He says he goes in, and he's completely innocent and he's going to buy whatever he has to buy, his mother gives him money, and he goes in and he's said somebody had taken something before he'd entered the shop or something, and then a shopkeeper thought that it was him who had stolen whatever and then he accuses uncle Lionel of doing it and uncle Lionel says he got so angry, because this man is basing this crap on nothing, he did not take it. It's wrong what he's doing, and then he basically tells uncle Lionel to get out of the shop, as he's leaving the shop he picks up something, and he throws it against this man's head. He's like damn you, you're not going to accuse me of something. Why, because I'm a kid? Because I'm black? Because I'm poor? He's not thinking that in his mind at the time his thinking it's wrong what this man is doing to me, and he's berating me, he is cursing me. I've done nothing wrong and he kind of says to us that's where it started, hey Paul, where he realised his strength, his strength in a sense. You're not going to mess with me and that's how Lionel is. So, it's again those moments, it was like very powerful in a sense.

RL: Having such an exhibition in the Slave Lodge in that building where there are still lots of things from the colonial and apartheid era. How did you take such a different type of exhibition and put it in that building that's got its own story, its own dynamic that it brings to an exhibition like that? The history of that space almost.

PT: The theme of the lodge is 'from human wrongs to human rights' so the exhibition fits quite well with that theme. I think we also, we were quite clear that we wanted an exhibition that was going to be quite dynamic and in fact we had to fight, because there was a particular designer that we wanted to do the layout and design and Iziko had, social history, had worked for a long time with one particular person. I think our director at that stage was very keen for that person to come in and we were not, because we knew that she was not going to be able to make it as interactive as we wanted, because she'd worked very much along the lines of fairly sort of flat exhibitions…

SG: And objects.

PT: *Ja,* and objects, that was the other thing. We were constantly under pressure of what objects we are going to have…

SG: And this is intangible heritage, it's intangible, almost completely.

RL: Now that you mention objects, I was going to ask, I know there's some old radios, there's album covers, so was there pressure to get something?

SG: There was, there definitely was.

PT: There was. It became ridiculous to some extent, because it was things like a jukebox, we were pressurised to actually borrow a jukebox from… what's the museum… Ditsong and we were saying that a jukebox it's a different…

SG: Not a single person that we spoke to mentioned anything about a juxebox. It was like the furthest…. I remember, I remember, I remember having a meeting with designers, because the thing is in our museums, intangible heritage, for them it's like weird, in a sense, they can't understand it and I mean I don't see what the issue is. If you're a human being, you have emotions and if you've got emotions, you can relate, because with the song and the lyrics and your experiences, life experiences or not. You don't have to experience Ronny's story to understand and to feel what Ronny's talking about… so I remember somebody asking us almost like in a tone that was almost like swearing at us: 'Where are your objects?' or 'What are your objects?' And I just got angry and I stood up and I think I just tried to harness every single freedom fighters' energy, because I'm actually very introverted… because it's also meant to, that's what we are also trying to get, not install, but to say look at how brave these people, under some of the most horrible conditions, so we should take some of that and use it in your fight now. For me, that's what I took from it, right, in my own little way. And I said, you know, this is not about objects. This exhibition is not about objects. In front of everybody, I just got so annoyed, because I felt I was being bullied… There is this tendency where our history is undermined, in a sense, and our people's heritage... and legacies are undermined. Is it James La Guma that you've got? Right, Alex La Guma's dad. I mean that was important and I meant Paul was taking these guys who were completely overlooked, completely ignored as early composers and we've got their stories there. So, no we don't have James La Guma's shoes, which would have been great. We don't have James La Guma's suit and we don't have that, and it didn't even occur to us to go and ask the La Guma family for his socks or some, that kind of remnant, because the most, the more important thing was the songs, his life, his struggle, what he'd managed to achieve which was like a union, right Paul, an organisation,

establishing organisations, fighting and being part of this big movement. I mean that was the thing right, and then, of course, we got some photographs. That's important. For us, that was important, so like Paul was saying from the beginning, the research is guiding this exhibition, and the people are guiding this exhibition, not the objects, right…

PT: And what was interesting though, as we spoke to people like Simon Allen. He was very taken with the idea, and he kept on sending me little snippets of information, because he is very much into music and he had promised, and I didn't really think he would come through with it, said he's got a whole lot of old albums. People we'd interviewed spoke about Miriam Makeba and how they'd heard freedom songs for the first time through listening, through having the opportunity to hear that album which was actually banned. Makeba and Belafonte, and we get this box that he actually couriers through from the US and there's the Belafonte and Makeba album is in there. One of the first albums, in 1964 in the US where an American woman, wo had actually worked quite closely with the ANC. I think it was Elaine Hooper. She actually records these young exiles singing songs, some of them ANC, some of them PAC songs. Just the album. It was amazing, it was great to be able to put some of that on display. I mean it ties in with the stories that people told us.

RL: How did you decide which objects to include? Was it just then to find that balance? Find things that work with the story…

PT: *Ja, ja* that's what it was, the badges we put in, because they are about the organisations and some of the people.

RL: The installation artwork, the purple dye?

SG: That's an amazing story. Do you want to tell it, or should I?

PT: You go ahead.

SG: Well, this is the beauty of intangible heritage and the way we kind of approached it, Paul and I… so that is a hell of a big story, so Paul and I are struggling now. We're cool with the research and people, the most important things, we're fine with that. We all sorted, we're working on it, setting up dates, interviews that kind of thing and then we're like, ok cool objects, right, objects, objects, ok cool. T-shirts, posters, Mayibuye Archives. The people who have been working here forever, because Paul and I are very new, very young and we didn't have any collection. These people work here that own there, whatever, it's guns or whatever. We

don't, that's not our background, so we're like, we're speaking to people, some of the people who know that stuff and they're like you know you must get T-shirts from my Mayibuye Archives, we don't have political stuff here. Ok, makes sense, ok cool, and then I speak to, speak to my very good friend, and my colleague Fatima February, one of the conservators and we're like chatting and she's saying like in 1976 and you know where we were speaking about it what you doing, what you working on then you'll say what it is, and then they become nostalgic about it so you know in 1976, so she says in 1976, I was in matric, I was part of the whole Black September thing, and we were running down the streets here running from the police and they were shooting purple dye. And she's telling me all these things and I'm like Fatima don't you want to call Paul, let him come up quickly, because I'm thinking maybe we should capture what you're saying maybe you can do something, you can try to represent it yourself? Like you know, voices, but like hers, is like her voice, plus she's a conservator right and she knows the collection, so she comes up and were chatting and Paul is like, no that's a good idea we should think of something, and I don't know how we get to it, but amongst the three of us we get to this idea where she can do like an installation and she's cool, I can do it and then somebody says something about the T-shirts and it's a pity we have to get it at Mayibuye Archives, because it takes so long. And she says like what do you mean? But we don't have T-shirts. Who told you there's no T-shirts in our collection? Know, you know, so I'm so I'm so, I'm so, and she's like no, let me take you there now. Our T-shirts are in our collection. So, she then knows where everything is. This is somebody who has worked here for very long, she knows the collection, she takes us there, she saves the day. There's like over fifty or so T-shirts and we select… and this guy makes it for us and she is sort of like, like does the whole thing and we get a quote, and she saves the day… that was a major victory really.

PT: It was a really nice element to have, because people identified. We've had people come through, Oom Hennie Van Wyk, one of the Khoisan leaders, he walks through there and he says oh, I've got a T-shirt from my activist days and it's to do with, with the housing action for Steenberg and those areas, Retreat, et cetera and he's given us a whole bunch of T-shirts and people, so there's that kind of thing, particularly with the older people they look at it and immediately triggers things…

SG: And then with kids. The other day I get them to read the T-shirts to see what I can learn from the T-shirts so we'd already spoken about the eighties and Ashely and Anton and I asked them do you know Ashley Kriel. They don't know, our own kids don't know these people, and it was quite sad and shocking, anyway so now they know who they are. So, we get to the T-shirts, so there's this one *Hamba Kahle* Ashley Kriel. So that's to do with, his dead and then we actually, they read it, they were like what does it mean? It means farewell, comrade, it is

his funeral and then they would see others… it's beautiful and that's again that a historical source, and then all the union T-shirts which was like totally cool and there's one domestic workers union and they're like maids, ah, they were worker, workers they still workers, they are people, they struggle. It was just really very good. It is very good.

RL: One of the major elements, you also mentioned that earlier: Sound. Dealing with sound, you're exhibiting on music and how do you deal with the sound. There's other exhibitions, you're sharing the space. You have headphones, the one plays and the interviews in the other room. How did you decide how to use sound?

SG: Preston's advice, Preston, our designer who's brilliant. Freedom Park, he designed, they are so very dynamic and cutting-edge, him and his wife.

RL: So, that's the designer?

SG: *Ja, ja.*

PT: Mayibuye Archives they were very, very generous, they produced together with Steve Gordon, the CD with freedom songs and they gave us permission to actually use that. And we said to Preston, and we wanted to be able to play that out, to have and so his radio was a brilliant idea, he came up with the idea, he actually looked at one of the old radios, and then he built this sort of replica with an MP4 player inside and the music saved onto there. They were, I mean at one stage somebody down, if you go through the Egyptian room, there's an office, the person who occupied that office moaned about the music, and we had to turn it down a little, because people would go in and would be really taken by some of it and some of the staff members would then increase the sound, and in fact some of the staff members were crazy over the music, so we had to say to them, don't, just be considerate. We wanted to play as a kind of background, but not too loud.

SG: For me, for me, it was like, I really didn't like the upstairs, I don't like the old collections. I don't care for it, because you know besides needing to be like the re-interpreted or whatever, but just, for me, it's a bit too problematic and I do think a space should not be, you shouldn't have something in a space forever. It's just we can, and we should change things and things can be moved out and new things can be moved in… I even feel *Singing Freedom* eventually has to go. We're not going to keep it there, forever as this kind of… we'd have to do new things, as and when we can afford it, but I hated the silence in that space before, before *Singing Freedom* and especially the old, that old room where *Labels* is and the musical

instruments, that was like the worst room, one of the worst rooms, because there's no sound. It's a music room, right? A music exhibition, the old one now. You got the pianos, and you got all that stuff, but it is dead quiet and it's just weird, and I always find it weird from the time when I started working at Iziko. There should be some sound, at least some sound. It's like this mausoleum type of thing and it just does not work for me and it does not work for a lot of people, and youth especially. It's like dead man. So, for me, there had to be sound. We could not just have earphones, there had to be sound, and constant sound, and of course, we've got the interviews going all the time, so there's voices and that's really great, and the quizzes is working again… That was Preston, they were very good for the sort of limited budget we had, they'd try to make it as interactive as possible, to give us that kind of product that wasn't too complicated, that was operational... so that was good, there's life.

RL: At the beginning of this exhibition, one of the first panels, I think, song is described as a weapon. I know it was often said during the 1970s and 80's, culture as a weapon of struggle. Why did you specifically phrase it like that? How did you see it as you did the research, the interviews? Why that phrase? Did you feel as you did the interviews that people expressed that idea? How did people view the role of song?

PT: Yeah, that came through quite powerfully, actually in most of the interviews, but also just in some of the, you know, the published material that people would talk about, I mean, for people in detention, you know, just drawing sort of strength from the songs. Then we had somebody talking about how, in fact, when faced with armed soldiers with guns, how the singing actually almost unnerved them, and in spite of the fact that they had, you know, they had the firepower that they could see the impact, which gave them courage to continue, that came through, I think several times. How in a situation where people might actually have given up, but just the singing kind of got people almost to focus on their common goal. So, I think it came through quite strongly. You know talking to people like Ben Turok responding to the controversies around songs like *Dubula ibhunu,* that was a song he sang himself certainly wasn't about shooting white people. He said it would have been ridiculous to, for him to be singing as a white person and he was saying how there was this, there was almost this collective consciousness. You knew that the enemy was this apartheid system and that it was about dismantling the system. It wasn't about hating individuals or hating people and just the power of that. Here you were, you didn't really have, if you analysed it, you didn't have the firepower to actually go up against the army machinery of the state, but you persisted anyway.

SG: But you had your voice, but you had your voice and there were a lot of voices and it becomes a collective and that is powerful and that's exactly what it was… the Makeba quote

that we used that was like for me, that's the most powerful… because whites owned everything, that was their, that was their form of journalism, sort of like a journal and a means to move and communicate, and I'm thinking of … you know what, it's voice, and it's agency, that's for me, like again the most important thing, and again it's about right and wrong and you know Retha like for me, all this divisiveness that's going on at the moment like with this racism and things, it's takes you right back to apartheid and it's like we're going back when people say hateful things about other people on social media and whatever and then I think of Albie Sachs, man and I think of Uncle Lionel and I think of Luvuyo, like the way you get past... For me, the exhibition is not about race, like in a way apartheid was about race, racism, but it's not about race, it's about right and wrong… in a sense it's about right and wrong, so if wrong things were done or wrong things are being done, try to do the right thing and try to help because that's what they all what they all had in common. It was communal, it was helping each other helping each other, right Paul, like the network between the Jaffers, and Issel and Esau because they were all in Worcester. There was a Worcester connection. It was that kind of thing, and the only way you get that kind of information, besides reading people's biographies, is through oral history and that's how you learn how they are all connected, because they then tell you with their own mouths and it's not about race. It was about doing the right thing and it was about helping people if somebody is in trouble, if somebody is struggling. *Ubuntu* didn't just exist among the Africans, it existed among us too, community. If you didn't have sugar go next door to get sugar, if you don't have bread, go ask your neighbour, so that's the thing and that's the message for me, and that's how I connect to struggle, born in '76 and coming from Athlone, the Cape Flats, that's how I connect with it.

RL: One last question. It's almost that idea of song as a weapon. We see it now... Julius Malema, how opposition parties use it. I'm looking in my studies how people talk about heritage on social media. When there is a DA rally, people will say it's ANC songs. How can they sing songs? The EFF just had a Solomon Mahlangu lecture. The song is still so very much part of our political environment. How would I say, it's almost, it's… an exhibition about something very much with us?

SG: Absolutely. Absolutely.

PT: *Ja*, I would agree and I think that's how song has worked. If you look at, if you think of the 1913 Land Act and Caluza's *iLand Act* and you look at *Thina Sizwe* and you can kind of see the link and from then all the way through, and I think, *ja,* also think of leadership and people who have sacrificed and that also comes through in some of the songs, and I think of songs, I mean, I didn't know much about people like Chief Albert Luthuli. There was a song about him

and it kind of motivated me to learn to learn more. If you think of the song about Robben Island, you know Mandela was shut away there but we could sing about him, we couldn't quote him, we couldn't read about him, but through the music, and it's kind of, and I think, today still people can actually through the music, can link with what happened in the past and the challenges of where we are going to… and some of the songs, what's interesting about the songs, they are history in a sense, and they were recording history, and also about how people saw the future whether it was singing about the Freedom Charter etc. and there are still those gaps today, there's still the divisions, the inequalities.

SG: For me, it's addressing the wrong. For me, that's what it's doing, it's addressing the wrong and as long as there's wrong things that's happening people have the right to struggle and fight against it, and that's what it's about for me, it's current, it's happening, it's now, it's that freedom that we're following. We still following… money, Paul touched on that, not that's not what they were for struggling for, and that's not what they were singing about. It hasn't, it hasn't been attained. No, that's not, what they wanted in the songs, we're not there yet, so when we sing it now and when we read those lyrics, it makes me angry, and it makes me emotional, and it gives me strength and I think in terms of a weapon it's that, where it empowers people, if you in that position, it will, you will feel it's empowering, it's helping you, and that song, that song, the following freedom that is like, that's just amazing on so many levels, and real, and true. So, when kids read that today and even me when I read it today. I'm like we're not there...

RL: Is there anything else? I think we could spend the whole day. Is there perhaps anything you feel you want to add?

PT: I like to look at the comments that people have left in the book. I found that really interesting. Some of the people have been really touched by going through the exhibition. I mean Vuyisile Mini's family came through, daughters I think and grandchildren, and they left a little message how moved they were to find the Vuyisile Mini story... So, that kind of thing, but also the person who said my history has never been regarded, but today I find it here, and for the first time I feel like a true South African, and that was quite…

SG: And what was the one, where they said something about Ronny's interview and I could feel his tears, that was quite, because that told me that that person was sitting there because it's long, it's like the whole interview and to sit there like that and be taken that was like, yoh.… You know it's so funny Paul… I was listening, when growing up also in our communities UB40 was very popular, so I have this old UB40 CD and I then I found a song… I heard the song, I

don't know what it's called, but you know they actually had a sort of, they commiserated, back then in the eighties with South African struggle, because they were working class English, and then these lyrics and I've been singing it now for the past few days... I've got my own kind of freedom songs and everybody's got a song or songs that they love. They used *Amandla Awethu* in the song. I must play it for you, I have to play it for you. I actually have it on my memory stick and the chorus is: *We will sing our own songs, we will sing our own songs, and we will fight for the right to be free, and we will fight for the right to build our own society.* It's actually very powerful, it's very beautiful. *The time for Africa has come.* You know, it's very powerful Paul, and I was thinking that's exactly what freedom songs is about, it's about people singing their own songs and saying we will sing our own songs by singing their own songs. I thought I was just so cool and I was thinking if ever we could add onto the exhibition, this is now just like dream talk, that would be a cool thing to do, to have that thing where you say completely without political affiliation, without anything, in some weird way, because that's what it was about, and Rod saying: 'I will sing what I want to sing, they're not going tell me what I must sing. If I want to sing Shoot the Boer, I'm going to sing it and then he said they've done so much worse things to us, they spat on us, they hit us, they killed us. If I want to sing I'm going to sing'. And Zubeida Jaffer said the same thing: 'I want to see them stop me. How will they stop me from singing? What are they going to do to me?' It was a weapon and it is defiant, in a sense.

PT: Just the language and the fact that you could, some of the people were talking about the fact that you could actually be singing in a language that the jail wardens, or the police, or whoever it was, didn't understand, so you could keep spirits up, you could pass messages…

SG: I mean, music is medicine, right, whether it's freedom songs or whatever you listen to, electronic music, it's medicine, and I mean in a sense, it really is our people's archive… of struggle, where it was, in a sense, untampered with, like in a way, in a way, you know like, it was purely their expression, their response, their response to what was going on. So, in that way it's like *ja.*