

Acknowledgements

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Abstract

Struggle songs have continued to pulsate in South Africa after the advent of democracy in 1994. This study examines the deployment of song as a form of intangible heritage. It looks at why the songs originally composed under the oppressive conditions of apartheid continue to be deployed with such vigour in a democratic South Africa, and what the effects and meanings of this deployment in different spaces are. It also explores what it means for the field of heritage as well as the performance of song if struggle songs are considered a form of intangible heritage. This thesis draws on the seminal work of James Young (1992) on the notion of the counter-monument to examine the deployment of song, and the multiple twists and turns it takes during its performance journey. Three case studies are presented to examine the utilisation of song: The court transcripts of the 2011 *Dubula ibhunu* trial between 'Afrikaner' civil rights organisation AfriForum and Julius Malema, at the time President of the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC), the ANC's National Conference in 2012, and the *Singing Freedom: Music and the struggle against apartheid* museum exhibition at the Iziko Slave Lodge. This thesis shows that the notion of heritage has become enormously potent in post-apartheid South Africa. It concludes that song operates as a sonic counter-monument that defies containment in heritage frameworks, local and international policies and formal memorialisation projects. It is a form of *active* heritage – one that is deeply felt by its singers.

Keywords: song; struggle songs; performance; history; heritage; counter-monument; Julius Malema; Jacob Zuma; *Dubula ibhunu*; *Inde le ndlela*

List of abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AMCU	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
APF	Anti-Privatisation Forum
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Cooperation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CASA	Culture in Another South Africa
CDF	Ciskei Defence Force
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
COSAW	Congress of South African Writers
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDAF	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MKMVA	Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association
MP	Member of Parliament
NEC	National Executive Committee
NGC	National General Council
NHC	National Heritage Council
NMU	Nelson Mandela University (formerly known as Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University)
NP	National Party
NRF	National Research Foundation

NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NWC	National Working Committee
OHASA	Oral History Association of South Africa
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PEC	Provincial Executive Committee
PLAAS	Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies
RU	Rhodes University
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACHED	South African Committee for Higher Education
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARChI	South African Research Chairs Initiative
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UFS	University of the Free State
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNISA	University of South Africa
WCOHP	Western Cape Oral History Project
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People’s Union
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army

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