

A STUDY OF THE LINKAGES BETWEEN
POPULAR MUSIC AND POLITICS IN SOUTH
AFRICA UNDER APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

by

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I declare that *A Study of the Linkages between Popular Music and Politics in South Africa under Apartheid in the 1980s* is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. All interviewees have consented.

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SUMMARY

This dissertation seeks to explore how the exercise of political power and the music industry impacted each other in South Africa under apartheid during the 1980s. It does so by looking firstly at the ways in which the South African government used music to promote apartheid. Secondly, it looks at the role of South African popular musicians in the struggle against apartheid in the country, specifically their role in civil society and the methods they employed to fight apartheid while avoiding censorship. It looks at key musical developments of the decade and explores their political implications, focusing on three popular genres: bubblegum (or disco), crossover and reggae. Thirdly, it explores the role of South African music and musicians in the struggle against apartheid outside South Africa. Finally, it looks at the role of music in the international anti-apartheid movement and the contribution of the international music community to the struggle.

KEYWORDS

Apartheid; bubblegum; censorship; crossover; music industry; reggae; political socialisation; political communication

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAA – Artists Against Apartheid
AAAA – Artists and Athletes Against Apartheid
AAM – Anti-Apartheid Movement
ACOA – American Committee on Africa
ANC – African National Congress
AUAA – Artists United Against Apartheid
AZACTU – Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions
AZAPO – Azanian People's Organisation
BAWU – Black Allied Workers' Union
CCOBATU – Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions
CONSAS – Constellation Of Southern African States
CORE – Congress of Racial Equality
COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Unions
CRAC – Central Record Acceptance Committee
FLS – Frontline States
FOSATU – Federation of South African Trade Unions
MK – Mkhonto we Sizwe
MDALI – Music, Drama, Art and Literature Institute
MDM – Mass Democratic Movement
NACTU – National Council of Trade Unions
NP – National Party
NSMS – National Security Management System
OAU – Organization of African Unity
PAB – Publications Appeal Board
PAC – Pan Africanist Congress
PACs – Performing Arts Councils
SAAU – South African Artists United
SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADCC – Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF – South African Defence Force
SAMA – South African Musicians' Alliance
SATUCC – Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council
SSC – State Security Council
SWAPO – South West Africa People's Organization
UDF – United Democratic Front
UK – United Kingdom
UN – United Nations
USA – United States of America
UWUSA – United Workers' Union of South Africa

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Politics and music have long experienced various kinds of linkages, affecting both the content of the music produced and the creative environment in which musicians find themselves. Music is an important medium of political communication and agent of political socialisation, and musicians have often been at the forefront of struggles for political freedom. Many new genres, such as reggae, hip-hop and blues, as well as the South African genre of bubblegum discussed here, have arisen out of times of social and economic repression. Such music may resist the status quo either with explicit messages, such as protest songs, or in subtler, more covert ways. Knowing this, governments have often sought to utilise music to further particular agendas and to censure and control those musicians whose work is seen to go against the objectives of the state.

National Party rule in South Africa, as manifested in the system of apartheid, provides a prominent example of a government attempting to interfere with the music industry to further its own aims – in this case racial segregation under the banner of “separate development” and white minority rule. Through the South African Broadcasting Corporation’s decades-long monopoly of radio and television, music was encouraged to fit into strict classifications seen to represent the country’s numerous ethnic and language groups – and therefore to promote the distinctions between them.

In time, however, apartheid began to weaken, due to numerous local and international factors. The government began to lose its strict control, opening space for musicians to play an important role in the fight for change. The Soweto uprisings of 1976 put apartheid in the international spotlight and signalled the beginning of a new, more militant period in the struggle for democracy, which eventually arrived in 1994. Sandwiched neatly between these two dates, the decade of the 1980s represents the apex of state-sanctioned repression. Midway through the decade, a state of emergency was called. It was also a decade of

continuing and escalating activism and resistance, during which the local music industry managed to thrive in terms of both sales and creativity.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study the researcher seeks to explore how the exercise of political power and the music industry – particularly bubblegum, crossover and reggae, popular non-establishment genres of music – impacted on each other in South Africa under apartheid during the 1980s.

In exploring the mutual impact and consequences of the interaction between the exercise of political power and the music industry, four sub-problems, from which the four main research questions of the study are derived, need to be explored and the applicable questions answered. The following four main research questions will therefore guide this study: Firstly, how and to what effect did the apartheid government, during the 1980s, use music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation to pursue its own interests? An underlying question is, how did the socio-economic and political context impact on music during the 1980s? Secondly, how, to what extent and to what effect did local musicians become involved in the struggle against apartheid and particularly how did they use music as a medium of political communication and political socialisation in the struggle against apartheid? Thirdly, what role did exiled and touring South African musicians play in the struggle against apartheid on the global stage? Finally, what role did the international community play in the music industry's fight against apartheid, with specific reference to the cultural boycott that was at the time sanctioned by the United Nations (UN)?

1.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following operational definitions of key terms will apply in this study:

Apartheid. An official policy designed and implemented by the National Party government in South Africa to promote and engineer racial and ethnic segregation

and white minority rule. It began officially when the National Party came to power in 1948 and came to a formal end with the transition to democracy in 1994.

Bubblegum. For the purposes of this research the term bubblegum refers to the dominant trend in South African 1980s pop music. The label was initially intended as a derogatory term to suggest that the music was disposable and/or mass-produced. It is credited with beginning in 1983 with the hit song 'Weekend Special' by Brenda & The Big Dudes. While considered by some to be frivolous and non-political, bubblegum songs often contained hidden political messages in order to beat censors and reach a large audience. While initially considered to be an imitation of American pop music, the bubblegum sound gradually evolved to incorporate local influences. The language of choice for many bubblegum artists was English (often combined with one or more indigenous languages), giving the genre a wide appeal across the ethnic groups defined by apartheid and setting it apart from other popular genres. Another feature of bubblegum was artists' and producers' innovative use of new instrumentation, such as synthesizers and drum machines, often (but not always) at the expense of traditional instruments and session musicians. By the early 1990s bubblegum's popularity had faded in favour of a new popular genre known as kwaito.

Crossover. The term used to describe music that "crossed over" between different groups – whether written in more than one language, making use of various genres (such as bubblegum, jazz, rock or mbaqanga), performed by mixed-race bands, or consumed by audiences of races or ethnic groups different from that of the artist/s themselves. Like bubblegum, the term was used primarily to describe music produced in the 1980s, at a time when "crossing over" went against the status quo and in certain cases was even deemed illegal.

Music industry. An umbrella term for all the music companies, professionals (such as producers and engineers), retailers, consumers and musicians of all genres, here specifically within the South African context.

Non-establishment music. Music that does not reflect or subscribe to the intentions and beliefs of the state, the ruling class and those that have institutional

authority within society (establishment) but also does not seek to subvert it in any obvious way. This should be seen in relation to anti-establishment music that seeks to actively subvert the official status quo – usually in overt protest song. Non-establishment music can be seen to include both more “benign” forms of music that are not associated with the establishment, as well as more “malignant” forms that do in fact question the establishment, albeit without overt criticism. In the context of this study, the establishment refers to those elements that support or conform to the prescriptions of apartheid policy.

Reggae. A genre of popular music that emerged from Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean, achieving international popularity since the 1970s thanks to the success of artists such as Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Jimmy Cliff and others. Reggae songs typically address themes such as social, political, racial or economic injustice, at times even calling for revolutionary change in favour of the marginalised, poor and disenfranchised.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are a number of reasons why a study that focuses on the interaction between music and politics during the 1980s in South Africa is important. Firstly, today, only some of the biggest artists of this era are still well-known, for example Sello “Chicco” Twala, Sipho “Hotstix” Mabuse and the late Brenda Fassie. However, the scene at the time was far more diverse and complex. The music of this era, as well as its political impact on South African history, risks being forgotten, due both to changes in technology and the fact that the 1980s otherwise offers South Africans very little to be nostalgic about. Despite facing numerous obstacles, the South African music industry managed to thrive during this time, both creatively and commercially, which highlights the importance of understanding and preserving this heritage. It is particularly important to research the nature as well as the impact of the thriving non-establishment music industry on South African society during this period in order to contribute to a better overall understanding of the history of South African music and its music industry, particularly during the 1980s, and to help preserve the musical legacy of artists

from the era. Furthermore, it is important to understand why non-establishment music thrived in spite of the restrictive socio-political environment.

Secondly, studies of South Africa's democratic transition tend to overlook the role of musicians as political messengers and music as an important medium of political communication, as well as an agent of political socialisation, at a time when most political leaders were banned, imprisoned or exiled. The participation of some of these artists in the struggle and their contribution to civil society's rise against apartheid often continues to go unrecognised. This study therefore attempts to acknowledge and preserve the contribution made by the musicians of the 1980s to bringing about democracy to South Africa. It provides valuable insights into music as an important medium of political communication and agent of political socialisation. It will also serve as a valuable case study to anyone interested in the links between music and politics, particularly the role of popular music in South African politics during this period, both for and against the status quo.

Thirdly, there is an obvious need to look specifically at the 1980s as relatively few studies focus on the decade in any detail. Despite this, many writers and musicians recognise it as the decade in which local music reached its peak in terms of creativity, popularity and political-cultural relevance (Byerly, 1998; Martin, 1992; Schumann, 2008; Ballantine, 1989; Ansell, 2004). There have been interesting interactions between politics and music during this decade, which offers a valuable case study for anyone interested in the relationship between the two.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature relevant to this study begins broadly with that on music as a social and/or political phenomenon. Some writers have explored specific aspects of this, such as music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, its role in political change and, as part of civil society, musicians' role in the democratisation process. Following this there is a need to consider the literature on South African music in general, before looking at writers who take

into account its role in South African politics – and more specifically at those who have attempted to address the specific research questions that this dissertation intends to address.

1.4.1 Popular Music as a Socio-Political Phenomenon

Various scholars have written on the value of studying music to understand society and changes that occur in it. Music's role in society has received attention from classical sociologists such as Max Weber, Theodor Adorno and numerous others to establish the field of music sociology (or sociomusicology). Towards the end of the 20th century, writers such as Joseph Kerman (1985), Susan McClary (1991) and Robert Walser (1993) gave rise to New Musicology, or critical musicology, which focuses on the connections between music, politics and identity - including gender and race. Dowd (2007) offers a comprehensive overview of music sociology literature.

Music remains, according to Byerly (2008:265), “an unparalleled site” to explore. Elsewhere she argues that music “provides analysable discourses which reveal the paths of people's histories”. To this end music has the unique ability to “borrow from the past” while predicting the future. As such Byerly calls music “the ultimate harbinger of things to come” (Byerly, 1998:37). Similarly, Attali notes that “music is more than an object of study: it is a way of perceiving the world, a tool of understanding” (Attali, 1985:4). Like Byerly he notes that music can predict what the future may hold on both a musical and political level. Therein lies the power of musicians – to authorities they are “dangerous, disturbing, and subversive”. For this reason Attali argues that “it is impossible to separate their history from that of repression and surveillance” (Attali, 1985:11).

Though studies linking music with politics have gained importance, there is unfortunately still a relative lack of literature that successfully links the musical with the political. Eyerman and Jamison (1998) note that even though music has been important in the formation and remembrance of a wide range of social movements, these “musical components of collective identity” have seldom been examined in academic literature, to the point where “it sometimes seems as if

politics and culture were pursued on different planets” (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998: 7-8).

Nevertheless, certain case studies remain helpful in this regard. For example, a book edited by Drewett and Cloonan (2006) contains analyses of state music censorship in African countries such as Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, Ghana, Zaire, Algeria as well as South Africa. Other recent works have sought to further unpack the link between music and politics all over the world – in Brazil (Stroud, 2008), Australia (Morgan and Warren, 2011), Indonesia (Weintraub, 2008), Taiwan (Ho, 2007) and in Africa in Kenya (Simatei, 2010), Zimbabwe (Eyre, 2001) and the former Zaire (White, 2008). Other writers explore the link between music and politics by focusing on music’s counter-hegemonic tendencies (Côté, 2011), the role it plays for ethnic minorities (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008) and specifically at the genre of reggae (Daynes, 2010).

For the purposes of this study it is important to look at music as a social phenomenon within an African context as South African music, while unique in some ways, can also be said to share certain characteristics with music from elsewhere in Africa, both in the ways it is created and consumed. Africa is often cited as the primary example of popular music used for political ends, whether for or against the status quo. For example, Cloonan (2006) argues that Africa offers “a rich patchwork of cases and stories which illuminate the power of music and the lengths to which opponents of certain forms of music will go” (Cloonan, 2006:18). Others such as Tenaille (2002) note the tendency of African music to focus on socio-political issues, with “pedagogical and even moralistic emphases”, suggesting its strategic value as a tool for political socialisation (Tenaille 2002:246; see also Collins, 1992:185). However, the focus of most studies of African music has been on traditional rather than contemporary African genres, which are not studied or preserved to the same extent (Tenaille, 2002:246). This gap in information on African popular music further highlights the importance of this study.

1.4.2 The Role of Music in Political Change

Scholars have sought to explain how and why popular culture can help mobilise people towards political change and build social movements. Pratt (1990) shows that popular music in particular can have a far greater reach and impact than music that is expressly protest or anti-establishment. This is because popular music helps listeners to define their identities, both as individuals and as part of a larger social group (Pratt, 1990:5; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:6).

Popular music can take its inspiration from a common goal or political experience, while social movements gain popular relevance through music. Later, music also can be instrumental as a means of remembering social movements (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:11). Eyerman and Jamison note that times of social upheaval are often times of cultural innovation, when “[c]ultural traditions are mobilized and reformulated in social movements”. Indeed this “mobilization and reconstruction of tradition is central [...] to what social movements are” (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:7). The “emergent culture” produced within social movements (such as the anti-apartheid movement) offers an alternative vision of the future to the dominant culture, a new way of life (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:170).

Pratt outlines the three ways that musicians and listeners engage with music. Firstly, the conservative or hegemonic use of music seeks to maintain the status quo – the dominant ideology, traditions, institutions and balance of power. Secondly, popular music can have an emancipatory function when it challenges the dominant social order or enables “a kind of cultural free space” (Pratt, 1990:14). Finally, the negotiated use of music results from the struggle between the conservative or hegemonic (establishment) and emancipatory (anti-establishment) functions of music. It still takes place within what is condoned from above, but nevertheless holds the potential for “a limited or partial realm of freedom” (Pratt, 1990:12).

This is the realm explored in this thesis – the “non-establishment” music condoned by authorities but employed by musicians to educate and mobilise listeners for political change, in Pratt’s words the “oppositional consciousness

growing under the very eyes of the overseer” (Pratt, 1990:13). Similar sentiments are echoed by Byerly (2008:255; 1998:31) and Schumann (2008:19), who argues that “the extent of what can be clearly defined as ‘resistance music’ or ‘protest song’ can at times be a grey area” (Schumann 2008:19). Indeed, popular songs have the potential to be far more powerful (or dangerous to authorities) than outright protest songs, provided the message can get past the censors. Artists have proven to be able to use music and lyrics to make politically subversive statements, often hiding political messages in seemingly inoffensive songs (Schumann 2008:19). To this end Eyerman and Jamison note that “even mass-produced popular music can take on a truth-bearing significance” (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:24).

1.4.3 Civil Society’s Role in Democratisation

Another aspect of musicians’ role in political change, particularly when looking at the case of South Africa during the 1980s, is their place within civil society. Scholars such as White (2004) note that civil society is central to the democratisation process because it helps to define, control and legitimate state power, often serving to undermine authoritarian governments and contribute to a more democratic governance. He outlines four distinct ways in which civil society can do so: first, by adjusting the balance of power between state and society; secondly, by enforcing standards of public morality and improving the accountability of leaders; thirdly, by functioning as an intermediary between state and society, facilitating political communication; and finally, by “redefining the rules of the political game” by creating new democratic norms which regulate the behaviour of the state and its relationship to society and individuals (White, 2004:13-15). Understanding musicians as part of civil society might therefore broaden one’s understanding of music’s links to politics.

As this study aims to illustrate, South Africa offers a valuable case study of how music can function both as a tool for the government to promote the status quo, and at the same time be used by musicians and activists in the struggle against authoritarianism and to ultimately bring about democracy. Before one can explore

this further, however, one should first consider the literature on music in South Africa in general.

1.4.4 Music in South Africa

The music of South Africa presents a rich, complex and varied arena for study. Interestingly, the majority of books on the subject are written by non-South African academics or South African-born academics based for decades in the United States of America (USA). While some claim to study South African music in general, all cover selective aspects and thus offer only a partial glimpse of its true richness. Some obvious gaps in the literature remain, particularly when it comes to pop music at the cusp of democracy.

German-American musicologist Veit Erlmann spent time in South Africa during the 1980s. His three books on black South African music (1991, 1996, 1999) focus almost entirely on Zulu music, particularly the *isicathamiya*¹ of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, and pay little attention to modern trends, except for American musician Paul Simon's role in them. Louise Meintjes (2003) is a South African-born academic based in the USA since the 1980s. She too focuses on Zulu traditional music – specifically *maskandi*², as well as the more inclusive genre of *mbaqanga*³. Carol Muller is another South African-born, USA-based musicologist. Her primary research areas are jazz, choral and traditional genres. Her book (2008) attempts to teach American students the story of South African music through key events that put it on the international map – from Solomon Linda's 'Mbube' to Paul Simon's *Graceland*, the American collaborative project *Sun City* and the popular musical *Sarafina!*. It makes no mention of the thriving pop scene of the 1980s, however, with only passing references to crossover acts like Mango Groove, before jumping straight to *kwai*to in the 1990s.

¹ *Isicathamiya* is acapella choral music, closely associated with the Zulu-speaking working class, which emerged early in the 20th century. The most famous proponents of this genre are Ladysmith Black Mambazo.

² *Maskandi* (also referred to as *maskanda*) is a type of Zulu folk music, typically played on guitar by a troubadour (also referred to as a *maskanda*) and characterised in part by an instrumental flourish at the beginning of a song, as well as spoken sections of Zulu praise poetry.

³ *Mbaqanga* is a popular genre that emerged during the middle of the century and is a blend of various popular and traditional styles, including jazz, *marabi* and *kwela*. It remains popular today.

French writer Denis-Constant Martin (1992), on the other hand, succeeds in locating the music of South Africa within the late-1980s context and tying it to the international struggle to end apartheid, while recognising the significance of emerging pop trends, in particular crossover and reggae – albeit with limited details. A recent book by Martin (2014) offers fascinating historical insight into the role of music in group identity formation using the theoretical lens of creolisation, although it chooses to focus only on Cape Town and its surrounding areas, and therefore specifically on jazz and the traditional genres of the region, rather than at modern popular genres and trends applicable to the whole country.

Of the South African writers, Christopher Ballantine's *Marabi Nights* (2012), first published in 1993, provides a comprehensive overview of marabi, a popular predecessor to mbaqanga and later bubblegum that reached its peak in popularity in the middle of the 20th century. Although focusing on a different time period, Ballantine's work shares many similarities with this study, in terms of its focus on race and politics, its consideration of the influence of American popular music, and its methodological reliance on interviews with musicians and others involved in the industry at the time. Elsewhere Ballantine (1989) reveals the extent to which South African music, despite international isolation, impressed itself on the world stage, even though "a knowledge of what this music is, or was, or means, remains elusive". He goes on to distinguish (like many others) between various indigenous genres – isicathamiya, marabi⁴, kwela⁵, mbaqanga and jazz⁶ – but largely ignoring newer popular genres such as bubblegum (Ballantine, 1989:305-308).

Gwen Ansell's *Soweto Blues* (2004) is far more comprehensive but focuses mainly on aspects of South Africa's rich and varied jazz history, largely ignoring what she calls "the flimsy pop ephemera of 1980s 'bubblegum' music" (Ansell, 2004:280). Born in the United Kingdom (UK), Ansell moved to Botswana in 1983 and only lived in South Africa from 1991. She provides important insight into Botswana's role in the struggle against apartheid, such as the Medu ensemble

⁴ Although labels tend to overlap and are sources of some contestation, for the purposes of this study, marabi is used to describe the highly rhythmic, repetitive, urban African dance music that emerged in shebeens at around the time of the First World War.

⁵ Kwela is marabi-derived pennywhistle music that emerged on the streets and became popular internationally in the 1950s.

⁶ African jazz drew heavily from American jazz and became popular among urban black listeners in the 1950s, most famously in Sophiatown in Johannesburg.

and the Culture and Resistance Festival (Ansell, 2004:248-249), as well as the impact of the cultural boycott on the local industry and the rise of trade unions and civil society.

Muff Andersson's *Music in the Mix* (1981) covers pop music of both black and white artists, including those who were banned, but was published in 1981 and so fails to cover the 1980s. Max Mojapelo (2008) offers an invaluable resource, but favours detailed documentation of artists and albums over political insight. Chilvers and Jasiukowicz (1994) are similarly concerned with categorising names and dates, with minimal political context, and with less attention to black musicians than to white rock and pop musicians. Huskisson (1992) focusses on listing basic details of black choral and classical composers. Jackson (1999) focuses specifically on the Indian popular musicians in South Africa between 1920 and 1983.

Perhaps the most thorough study of South African music and its political implications is by David Coplan (2007), an American anthropologist who moved to South Africa in the 1970s and remains here today. His *In Township Tonight!* provides comprehensive, in-depth studies of the development of black music and theatre. First published in 1985, its 2007 second edition covers more recent, post-apartheid development – but again leaves the decade of the 1980s relatively unexplored. More recently, biographies of the late pop star Brenda Fassie have been written, the first by Andrew Whaley (2004) shortly after the singer's death, the second a compilation of essays edited by Bongani Madondo (2014). These offer some insight into South Africa's pop music scene, but by focusing on one star fail to take into account the full complexity and diversity of the industry, as well as its relationship to the political context of the time.

1.4.5 The Role of Music in South African Politics

Some writers have gone beyond describing the characteristics of South African music to look at its connection to politics. For example, American musicologist Charles Hamm (1995) considers the influence of American disco music on black South Africans within the political context of the late 1970s and early 1980s, and in comparison to more indigenous genres. He touches on the multiracial appeal of

disco, albeit incorrectly suggesting that black South Africans found American-influenced music "less dynamic and less relevant" than the music of artists who instead drew on local influences and languages, such as the Soul Brothers and Steve Kekana (Hamm, 1995:209). In doing so Hamm fails to note the variety of viewpoints and the numerous grey areas that existed at the time with regard to people's perceptions of popular music, finding it more convenient to generalise.

Only relatively recently have writers begun to unpack South African music and explore the complex variety of circumstances that musicians under apartheid faced. For example, McNeill (2012), Madalane (2012) and Malisa and Malange (2013) have contributed greatly to understanding the ethnic segregation and categorisation of the music industry under the SABC's influence by looking at Venda and Tsonga music in particular.

A book edited by Olwage (2008) explores various facets of the links between music and apartheid. However, these essays favour specific artists and older genres (such as kwela, jazz and choral music) over contemporary styles. These writers and others have largely failed to comprehensively link contemporary popular genres to the popular struggle to end apartheid, which came to a peak both inside South Africa and internationally during the 1980s. While certain studies do address the role of music in South Africans' struggle for democracy, they do so only partially.

Gilbert (2007) argues that while a significant body of literature exists on the broader subject of black South African music, there has been little investigation of how music was used by political movements during the struggle, either within the country or in exile. As a result there is a need to look at the "deliberate and focused role that music was mobilised to play in the struggle" (Gilbert, 2007:157), which is exactly what this dissertation aims to do.

In exploring the literature on music's role in the struggle for regime change in South Africa, certain studies are particularly useful to addressing this study's research questions – specifically: government's use of music to promote apartheid ideology; the role of musicians in protesting apartheid, either directly through

music or indirectly as part of civil society; the role of many South African musicians overseas, whether in permanent exile and on tour; as well as that of the international music community in placing the struggle against apartheid on a global stage.

1.4.5.1 Government's Use of Music to Promote Apartheid

Music played a central role in the South African government's propaganda machine, enforced primarily through the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which had an effective monopoly on radio and television (TV) for many years. Schumann (2008:19) notes that South Africa presents "a striking example of state use of music for political ends", with the apartheid regime going beyond simple propaganda in using music to advance their policies. The apartheid philosophy of separate development was not restricted to politics but extended to cultural matters, helping to infuse the arts with political meanings.

Hamm (1991) further explores apartheid's overarching ideology of separate development, and how the state-controlled media attempted to influence people's political views as well as musical tastes, primarily through its network of radio stations to cater for each ethnic group. Importantly, the demand for music for radio encouraged indigenous music genres, and arguably helped the music industry to thrive in terms of sales. Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1989) look in more detail at how the SABC functioned. Kotzé's (1986) study of the role of the mass media (including radio) on South African teenagers of all races found that the media played a vital role in political socialisation during the 1980s, particularly for the youth (Kotzé, 1986:418-19). His research offers valuable insight into how music was used as an agent of socialisation both for and against apartheid.

Of further interest to this study is how the struggle against apartheid during the 1980s was influenced by the watershed Soweto student riots of 1976 and the state of emergency ten years later (Ansell, 2004), as well as the mechanisms of state censorship (Drewett, 2003a) and the government's various attempts to employ popular musicians for its own ends, such as the so-called 'Peace Song' (Schumann, 2008; Byerly, 1998:29-30).

1.4.5.2 The Role of Musicians in Protesting Apartheid

Just as the government had a hand in the music industry, musicians played a role in leading the fight for political change, provided they could reach their intended audience, at a time when most opposition political parties were banned. Despite the state's attempts to maintain its hegemony, musicians constantly sought new ways of overcoming this repression. Drewett (2003a, 2004b) goes into detail of the state mechanisms of censorship and various innovative "strategies of textual resistance" that were employed by musicians to beat government censors. Shoup (1997) covers a similar subject, albeit in less detail (also Byerly, 1998, 2008).

Schumann (2008) and Byerly (1998) focus on the late 1980s and how music had by then become a vehicle of resistance rather than state oppression. Schumann makes the important point that just as the apartheid era was not characterised by the same degree of political repression throughout its duration, so the musical responses changed over time, from hiding politically subversive meanings in songs to more overt challenges to the state through explicit lyrical messages and the fusion of musical styles (Schumann, 2008:19). Other writers also track the changes during this key decade and the importance of musicians in the struggle (Ballantine, 1989; Ansell, 2004).

Fusion and collaboration, popularly embodied in "crossover" music, became tools for protest – but not necessarily for study. Byerly notes that no single inquiry has concentrated on the gradual and complex integration of diverse styles that developed to "reflect the complex socio-political realities of the democratisation process". She argues that this interplay of syncretic styles, which reached a peak in the 1980s, is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored, for "it played a prominent and powerful role in the larger social and political development in the country throughout the democratisation process" (Byerly, 1998:9).

1.4.5.3 The Role of Musicians in the Rise of Civil Society

To locate the struggle of musicians within the larger democratisation context, Seo's (2008) study of the rise of civil society in South Africa during the 1980s and the role this played in defeating apartheid offers further valuable insights.

However, although Seo looks in detail at various sectors of civil society, such as sports organisations and the media, he fails to identify the music industry or musicians' unions as an important segment of civil society (Seo, 2008). Older studies by Bendix (1989), Lodge (1991), Webster (1991), Mufson (1991) and Marx (1992) also track the rise of the trade union movement in South Africa during the 1980s.

Related to the growth of civil society are other important developments that occurred during the 1980s, for example the growing role of independent radio stations (Hamm, 1991; Andersson, 1981; Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1989) and the emergence of independent record labels, music schools and multiracial live venues, often spearheaded by the youth (Ansell, 2004; Schumann, 2008; Ballantine, 1989). Also of interest is the role played by the opposition Inkatha Freedom Party (Ansell, 2004) and other new developments in the musical sphere – the emergence of crossover and reggae (Martin, 1992) and the role of coloured and white musicians in the struggle (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989; Byerly, 1998, 2008; Ansell, 2004; Smit, 1992; Grundlingh, 2004).

These developments coincided with the emergence of bubblegum, a defining sound of the decade. Yet many of the above writers have chosen to ignore this key genre. Coplan notes for example that both Ansell and Meintjes, who self-admittedly have not researched this genre, misidentify it as a term of superficial, British-style local pop (Coplan, 2007:294). Ansell reduces bubblegum to “lightweight disco”, quoting jazz musician Hugh Masekela who once said: “Disco is a social tranquiliser; you don't recognise other things” (Ansell, 2004:198). Many, however, would disagree. Coplan, for example, argues that there is no better illustration of the inappropriate labeling of genres. He notes that bubblegum is deeply rooted in popular social and political issues and even the first “infectiously bouncy recordings were not the tasteless ephemera, musically or politically, that the dismissive ‘bubblegum’ label assumed” (Coplan, 2007:294).

1.4.5.4 South African Musicians Overseas – in Exile and on Tour

During the 1970s and 1980s, culture became an important weapon of the African National Congress (ANC) in exile – in Africa and elsewhere, particularly the UK and USA. Ansell (2004) offers valuable insights into the various meetings that took place in neighbouring Botswana (and the regime's reaction to these), as well as the work of the ANC-affiliated Amandla and Mayibuye cultural ensembles (also Gilbert, 2007), while Braam and Geerlings (1989) consider the role of similar events in the Netherlands during the 1980s such as the Cultural Voice of Resistance and Culture in Another South Africa festivals (also Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989; Masekela, 1989).

As South Africa became increasingly isolated, musicians forced into exile by the ever-mounting restrictions played an important role in the struggle from outside the country led by the ANC, at that time banned in SA. In certain other cases, successful South African acts were able to tour overseas and return home. Both were able to act as spokesmen on an international stage. However, Byerly (2008) notes the trend of non-South African scholars to frame exiled musicians as the key revolutionaries in the struggle, an approach that favours a few famous names over the many lesser-known artists who remained in South Africa (Byerly, 2008:263-4), an imbalance that this study aims to address.

1.4.5.5 The International Music Community's Role in the Struggle

Internationally, South Africa was subject to the cultural boycott sanctioned by the United Nations (UN). Beaubien (1982) explores its effect on the local music industry, and the ethical implications of international artists who flouted the boycott and chose to visit the country (also Byerly, 1998, 2008). The most famous example of this was Paul Simon's 1986 Grammy-winning *Graceland* project. Meintjes' (1990) comprehensive study of this album offers practical and ethical considerations of how it was received and given meaning by various groups of people, dependent on the country of origin, race, political views and economic status (also Muller, 2008; Garofalo, 1992b).

In the UK and elsewhere, concerts were held to raise awareness and funds for the global anti-apartheid movement, usually in the name of Nelson Mandela. These events have been written about in detail by Braam and Geerlings (1989), Pratt (1990), Garofalo (1992b) and Ansell (2004). Ansell and Pratt also consider the political implications of the *Sun City* campaign that drew numerous international stars together in opposition to apartheid, while Muller (2008) offers some insight into the music documentary *Rhythm of Resistance*, which also helped raise awareness of the politics and music of South Africa. Missingham (1999) offers a more general study of cross-cultural collaboration and its ethical implications, using as examples two artists who “exploited” South African sounds for their own ends – Paul Simon on *Graceland* and Malcolm McLaren on his 1983 album *Duck Rock*. Ballantine (1989) notes how the global demand for South African music grew as the international struggle against apartheid mounted, while Beaubien (1982) and Ansell (2004) elaborate on the influence of the cultural boycott on the political and musical situation in South Africa

In conclusion, South Africa offers a unique and important example of a link between music and politics, albeit one that has not yet been adequately explored. Writers on the subject have tended to be relative “outsiders” – either visiting Americans and Europeans or South Africans based in the USA, who tend to focus on traditional and jazz genres, on the role of exiled musicians and the significance of American and British artists, such as Paul Simon’s *Graceland*. While certain writers have explored in detail the extent to which the apartheid government used music and the censorship thereof to promote its policy of separate development, too few focus on the role of musicians in contemporary popular genres (rather than explicitly anti-establishment music) that emerged in South Africa in the 1980s, when South African music was enjoying a growth in interest overseas thanks to the growing prominence of the international anti-apartheid campaign, and as part of the growing civil society movement within the country.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The aim of the study is to determine how politics and music interacted and impacted on each other within the context of South Africa under apartheid during the 1980s.

Qualitative case study methodology will be used in this study. The focus of the case would be on the interactions between the exercise of power and the non-establishment music industry during the 1980s in South Africa, as well as on the consequences of these interactions. In terms of Baxter and Jack's (2008) categorisation, the case study is largely intrinsic in nature in the sense that the case itself is of primary importance. Understanding the interface between politics and music in South Africa during apartheid and the struggle against apartheid, culminating in the eventual transition to democracy, is of particular importance from a political perspective. However, there are some elements of the case being instrumental in the sense that understanding the role of music within the struggle and the eventual democratisation of South Africa could provide additional theoretical perspectives on music as a medium of political communication and as an agent of political socialisation, as well as of musicians as political communicators.

The following issues, or propositions, are important within the case: Firstly, using the language of democratisation theory, both the incumbents and the challengers used music as a medium of political communication and as an agent of political socialisation in their attempts to further their respective agendas. Secondly, music and musicians played an important role in civil society's rise against apartheid – particularly by utilising any perceived space and opportunity within the system.

Although the study covers a variety of popular genres and the musicians associated with them, in terms of data collection the main focus is on musicians associated with bubblegum, crossover and reggae. Other popular South African genres, particularly those that made an impact overseas during the 1980s, such as mbaqanga and jazz, receive some albeit limited attention. Instead of these more established, enduring and comprehensively studied genres, the focus of this

study is the three popular genres that rose to prominence during the 1980s, and by virtue of their widespread and relatively short-lived popularity largely defined the creative mood of the day, yet which have typically been overlooked in the literature.

The chosen genres are simply meant to be a loose descriptor of the artist and music – focusing too strictly on distinguishing between genres distracts from the real questions at hand. This is especially so for the period in question, a time when fusion, appropriation, experimentation and “crossing over” were defining characteristics of much of the music. Genre labels like bubblegum and crossover are relatively loose descriptors that suggest certain similarities in sound. The labels were not necessarily employed by the musicians themselves and were instead prescribed by the media or audience after a song is written or recorded. The act of defining these labels is therefore open to a degree of debate. As a result, two songs considered to be bubblegum might well exhibit contrasting, even conflicting, characteristics. This complexity should not go unrecognized.

As stated, bubblegum (also referred to locally as disco) was a general label applied to South African pop music of the 1980s that was initially influenced by black American pop music and characterised by the use of primarily English lyrics. Key artists in the bubblegum genre include Brenda Fassie, Spho “Hotstix” Mabuse, Sello “Chicco” Twala and Yvonne Chaka Chaka. Bubblegum as a genre is important for the purposes of this study for three reasons. Firstly, it was the most popular genre of the 1980s, particularly among the youth, who played a central role in the struggle. Secondly, bubblegum emerged largely from within South Africa, while internationally audiences taking an interest in South African music were instead drawn to more established genres such as mbaqanga or jazz. Thirdly, as posited in the literature review, because most of the literature on South African music at the time comes from non-South African academics or those based outside the country, there is a large gap in the literature regarding the significance of bubblegum, particularly within the struggle against apartheid.

Crossover and reggae are popular genres (or simply descriptive labels) closely related to the bubblegum sound. Their consideration in this study allows for a

slightly broader understanding of popular music in South Africa, beyond the conventional disco sound aimed at black audiences. Crossover and reggae should not be seen as being completely distinct from bubblegum, nor from one another. The crossover label was applied to artists whose music reached a wider, multiracial audience, such as Spho “Hotstix” Mabuse and Hotline, although their music was not necessarily clearly distinguishable from bubblegum. Similarly, reggae star Lucky Dube could also be considered a crossover artist, by virtue of his popularity and reconciliatory, anti-apartheid message. Many disco artists recorded reggae tracks, for example, and both disco and reggae artists and producers typically relied on similar instrumentation, specifically synthesizers. In this way an artist might easily be associated with two or even all three of these labels.

As mentioned, the case study is qualitative, making use of a mixture of primary and secondary sources. Besides being able to draw on examples of popular music from the time (lyrics, songs and albums)⁷, the primary sources also include interviews with prominent musicians and other key role players in the South African music industry at the time.

Lyrics, songs and albums are important primary sources that are used in the study. However, there were two basic problems that had to be overcome, namely language and technology. Language is an obstacle, albeit a minor one insofar as some songs were written partly or completely in indigenous South African languages such as isiZulu or Sesotho, not English. Fortunately, much of the relevant pop music consumed by primarily black listeners during the 1980s is indeed in English, arguably to appeal to larger audiences that crossed racial and ethnic lines. The problem of language was therefore overcome by choosing songs and lyrics that were completely or predominantly in English – not a difficult task given that most indeed were. The study will show how many musicians relied on seemingly innocuous English lyrics to bypass censors.

⁷ Song titles have been written in single inverted commas, while album titles are written in italics.

Another practical problem stems from the fact that much of the music from the era is hard to find today. The majority of it was only ever released locally, has never been transferred to digital formats and is only available on vinyl, which is no longer easy to find, even in major South African cities. Collecting the music of the era has therefore been a long and difficult process. Unfortunately music companies have not done a good job in preserving their back catalogues, particularly in the current climate where music has become a less profitable commodity due to technological advances like the internet and the MP3 format. Partly as a result, most of the major South African labels who produced the pop music of the 1980s, most notably Gallo and EMI, have been bought out by larger multinational music companies in recent years and as a result no longer exist. While South Africa pop music from the 1980s is no longer readily available to listeners, this challenge was overcome by the fact that the researcher had his own personal collection to draw from, built up over the past 10 years. However, this does not solve the larger problem and it is entirely possible that some music from the era has already been lost, which further underlines the importance of this study.

Selecting the interviewees was not unproblematic, but because of the importance of the struggle against apartheid in this study the interviewees are mainly people who did not support apartheid, or who were on occasion coerced into supporting apartheid. However, not all musicians acted in the same way, including when it came to their responses to apartheid. McNeill (2012) makes the vital point that writers tend to polarise the entire music industry, distinguishing only between those who were “for” or “against” apartheid. He instead posits that musicians’ motivations were far more varied and complex, and often motivated by personal and financial reasons:

In the spaces between musical resistance and collaboration [...] we find several modes of musicianship: some rooted in struggling to make ends meet, others encouraged by making lots of money; some coming from Christian convictions that those in power had been put there by God, others upheld by the liberating confidence that musicians were ‘simply entertainers’; some motivated by a desire to actively disengage with politics, others by the thrill of developing a ‘bad-boy’, rebellious identity through a specific genre (McNeill, 2012:85-86).

Whereas it is convenient to label all musicians as either supporters or opponents of apartheid, the reality is and always has been “messy”. McNeill argues that “it is only by recognizing this that we can start to see the dynamics of the past in the present” (McNeill, 2012:95).

Bearing the above in mind, approximately 30 respondents were selected. The respondents were chosen according to the role they played at the time. The aim was not to exhaustively speak to every prominent musician and role player from the time, but rather to get a suitable variety of musicians and non-musicians, black and white, in order to get a sense of the times. Respondents were therefore not only key musicians from the era (such as Ray Phiri, Dan Tshanda, Blondie Makhene, Pat Shange, Steve Kekana, Moses Ngwenya and others), but also producers and engineers (John Galanakis, Malcolm Watson, Ian Osrin and Richard Mitchell), label executives (Mike Fuller, Peter Tladi, Orrack Chabangu, Phil Hollis and Benjy Mudie) and music video producers (Pam Devereux-Harris).

In-depth interviews were conducted at various locations in and around Johannesburg, usually at the respondent’s home or office. Each was approximately an hour, some longer. Participation was voluntarily. Respondents were informed of the purpose for which the information would be used and were all willing to be interviewed without the condition of anonymity. The interviews were loosely structured in that they followed a similar but not identical line of questioning – based on the research questions, but varied according to the respondents’ particular experiences and areas of expertise.

The interviews were recorded, transcribed, coded and organised according to the research questions. They shed light on the music industry’s experience of and response to government repression. Secondary sources are particularly important for studying the role of exiled musicians and the international music community’s role in the struggle. In this way the primary sources are used to illustrate and elaborate on the issues raised in the existing literature and other secondary sources, which will form the backbone of this study, in order to adequately address the research questions.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

From a theoretical perspective, particularly significant to this study is literature on the role of music as an agent of political socialisation. Political socialisation is defined by Kotzé (1986), Owen (2008), Rush (2013) and others as the inculcation of political information, values and practices. More broadly, political socialisation encompasses all political learning, formal or informal, deliberate and unplanned, and can continue to influence political understanding and behaviour throughout the course of a person's life (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995:3). Studies of political socialisation have placed growing importance on late adolescence and early adulthood, approximately age 14 to 25, as the period when an individual is most readily influenced by agents of political socialisation (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995:4; Owen, 2008:8, Hooghe, 2004:39). This is also the age when other writers have noted that music plays a particularly important role in terms of establishing and affirming individual and group identity (North, Hargreaves & O'Neill, 2000).

By shaping an individual's political beliefs and self-identity, as well as influencing one's reactions to the political world around them, political socialisation has an effect on groups of people and therefore on the political culture of a society, which is constantly evolving (Owen, 2008:2-4). Political socialisation prescribes rules and norms that are taught, particularly to younger members of society. It can work in two very different ways, both relevant to this research. On the one hand, it is the process by which society tries to shape the young members of society and to prepare them for successful incorporation into group life. In this way it helps to enforce the status quo. On the other hand, it can also teach people "to reject the conventional norms, values and behaviour patterns of society and as such contribute to radical change" (Kotzé, 1986:417). In this way political socialisation can drive political change. Its effects become especially evident during times of transition. Studying political socialisation can therefore provide valuable insight into political change (Owen, 2008:2).

Political socialisation is carried out by specific agents, such as parents, peers, school teachers, the church and the media (Kotzé, 1986:418). These agents may enforce one another or compete with one another. The perceived status or

legitimacy of an agent is important in this regard. There are numerous factors that may influence the effectiveness of these agents as well as an individual's reaction to political socialisation, including one's background and social status. In South Africa under apartheid, the primary factors that influenced one's receptiveness to particular agents of political socialisation were race and language (Kotzé, 1986:431). According to Kotzé, it is of particular interest to examine the agents of political socialisation in South Africa because it is through these agents that "new members of the political system learn traditional as well as revolutionary forms of political life" (Kotzé, 1986:415).

Of particular relevance to this study is the media - specifically the music broadcast on radio and television - as an agent of political socialisation. There is little in the literature, however, on precisely how young people are socialised by music into the body politic. Music can either reinforce existing beliefs and attitudes, or alter them and initiate new ones. It can thus be used as a subversive tool, with the music fraternity acting as leaders or role models in the subversion of power. Music's entertainment value and mass appeal make it particularly effective in reaching and influencing people. This strategic value can result in a power struggle between political actors looking to use it to serve their own, often conflicting aims. Attali argues that more than colours and forms, it is sound that helps shape societies. He notes that music is inextricably linked to both power and the subversion thereof. All music is therefore "a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community" (Attali, 1985:6). The promotion and reinforcement of racial and ethnic identities through music by the South African government, and the subsequent breaking down of these categories by musicians themselves, provides a good example of this. Though the South African government attempted to censor and later co-opt popular musicians, bubblegum, crossover and reggae succeeded as agents of political socialisation in initiating new beliefs and attitudes in South African society.

Elsewhere in the world, other genres of music have been similarly successful in promoting values that actively oppose the status quo and thereby changing the political culture in a society. These include American folk and soul singers in the 1960s, punk and reggae in the UK in the 1970s and hip-hop in the USA from the

1980s (Garofalo, 1992a:2; Collins, 1992:185; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:168-171; Cook, 1991), the latter two genres proving particularly popular in Africa.

Because of its ability to influence political change, music is often perceived as a threat to those in power. Governments, particularly authoritarian ones such as the apartheid regime in South Africa, have therefore tried to censor music to help restrict any potential oppositional culture. Attali notes that various theorists of totalitarianism have explained that it is necessary to ban subversive noise because it makes demands for cultural autonomy and support for marginalised groups (Attali, 1985:7).

Music is not only an agent of political socialisation but also a medium of political communication, defined by McNair (1995) as any purposeful communication about politics, undertaken by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific political objectives, as well as communication to or about these actors, for example in the media (McNair, 1995:4). Political communication is an important concept to consider when studying political change. The media, as agents of political communication, are therefore important political actors. The media – including radio stations and by association musicians that vie for radio play – transmit the messages of political organisations to the public, they transform them through interpretation and they make statements about politics in their own right, which can have a significant impact on the wider political environment.

According to McNair, the relationship between the media and the political process is a dialectical one, involving action and reaction. Political actors (in the case of South Africa during apartheid, both the state and those opposed to it) have a vested interest in understanding how the media work and how best to achieve their communication objectives through them (McNair, 1995:41-43). In both cases, the success of political communication depends not only on the content of the message but also largely on the historical context in which they appear and the prevailing political environment. Legitimacy is key – political communication is unlikely to succeed unless the audience is receptive (McNair, 1995:29). This holds

true not only for the use of music by authoritarian regimes but also for political organisations striving for regime change.

As an agent of political socialisation, popular music can have a major impact on political behaviour. Individual musicians have the power to influence the ideas or behaviour of many others (Pratt, 1990:4). As a form of mass political communication, popular music can serve to activate and mobilise the public consciousness against repression, or to justify it (Pratt, 1990:213). It is these two characteristics of music that provide the theoretical framework for this dissertation.

1.7 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The focus of this study is on the mutual interaction between the exercise of political power and the music industry during the 1980s in South Africa. Thus, it will not provide an analysis or a critique of apartheid in general or how it changed over the course of five decades. Long-standing traditional genres (such as mbaqanga or maskandi) will not be looked at in detail, nor will western-oriented styles (such as jazz or choral music) – except where these genres played a pivotal role, such as with exiled and touring musicians in the international arena. The focus is political, not musicological. Though the focus is on the decade of the 1980s, these genres of the 1980s had their roots in the late 1970s and were popular up until the early 1990s, so it is necessary to sometimes consider the music and events of the late 1970s and particularly the early 1990s.

Using music as a lens to explore a nation's politics necessitates a degree of generalisation to understand the industry as a whole. Even if one looks no further than the bubblegum genre, considering South Africa's vast and rich musical heritage, and the relatively large number of albums released during the 1980s, a study such as this cannot take into account all artists, songs and albums released at the time. Instead it draws on examples of those that can be said to represent the industry as a whole as certain new trends developed – specifically bubblegum, crossover and reggae. This requires ignoring certain artists, roleplayers or potential respondents (many of whom have since passed away) as well as certain

songs and albums (those that have not been possible to find or listen to) in favour of others.

1.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Case studies have a problem in that the findings may not necessarily be valid within other contexts. However, as indicated this case study is essentially an intrinsic study in which the case itself is of interest. Thus, the research questions only attempt to address South Africa, so any application to other settings is not within the immediate goals of this study. Nevertheless, as indicated, the case is to a limited extent instrumental in the sense that it could facilitate the development of theory pertaining to the interplay between politics and music. Though not the primary purpose of the study, it is hoped that the case of South Africa will help to shed some light on other cases of music under authoritarian rule, particularly within the African context. It should be borne in mind that the external validity of the findings may be limited largely due to the relative uniqueness of apartheid society.

With collaboration being a key feature of music in the 1980s, Byerly (2008) notes the danger of focusing too much on the “insular pockets of dissent” rather than exploring the links between them. This “camouflages” the fact that musical collaborations could give rise to collaborations between races within society at large. While focused studies help to provide pieces of a bigger picture, they may fail to reveal “the critical importance of certain antagonistic musical approaches that were taken, crossovers between genres that were adopted, or the collaborative nature of the final stage of the revolution that revealed itself” (Byerly, 2008: 264-265).

Another danger of studying music’s role in South Africa’s transition to democracy lies in assuming that musicians’ collective progress against apartheid was a steady, linear process. Rather than being always redemptive and conciliatory, any progress was hard-fought. Musicians’ struggle “occasionally lost ground, and backlashes or marginalization pushed the waves of dissent back, from where

dissidents had to regroup their energies and reformulate their strategies” (Byerly, 2008: 264-265).

1.9 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In addition to chapter one in which information is provided on the research problem and methodology, as well as the conclusion and recommendations (chapter six), the content of the dissertation will be divided into four chapters, each addressing one of the respective research questions.

In chapter two the focus is on the first research question – that is how and to what effect the apartheid government during the 1980s used music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation to pursue its own interests. The discussion will commence with a brief overview of the socio-political context of music during the 1980s. Of importance in this regard are apartheid legislation, political conflict, government reforms and the various states of emergency. This will be followed by a discussion of government’s involvement in the music industry in an attempt to further the apartheid political agenda. That was done mainly through: firstly, the role of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in promoting the government’s ideology of separate development; secondly, the censorship of music; and thirdly, musical projects that attempted to promote the government’s agenda. Finally the chapter will suggest how these laws and events influenced the creative climate for local musicians at the time. Specific emphasis will be placed on the legal restrictions on black musicians (as well as mixed-race bands), particularly in terms of touring and police intimidation.

The focus in chapter three is on the role of popular musicians in the struggle against apartheid, as political messengers whose power lay in their ability to speak to a wide audience and to tour extensively at a time when most had little freedom of association or movement. In this chapter the changes in the mounting struggle against apartheid will be highlighted – particularly the rise of civil society and the tension between various different sections thereof. This can be linked to music and the role it played in the struggle – specifically the formation of the

South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA), as well as music's role in political organisations, church, theatre and schools. Key developments in the music industry of the 1980s will also be explored: the emergence of bubblegum, collaborative "crossover" music and reggae as popular genres; the role of new independent record labels; the importance of live performances, including at new multiracial live venues and events; and the growth of independent radio stations that challenged the SABC's dominance. Once the context of musicians in the struggle has been sufficiently outlined, musician's responses to repression can be explored in more detail: their conscientisation and growing importance in the struggle, as well as the many means they employed in their songwriting to beat the censors and get their message heard, such as using double meanings, satire and positive social or moral messages, re-interpreting existing songs, and finding alternative channels for recording, performing and distributing their music.

The focus in chapter four is on the third research question, namely that of the role of exiled and touring South African musicians in the struggle on a global stage. The discussion will begin with a brief discussion of the musical and political contribution made by the network of South African musicians living in exile from as early as the 1960s. Many were affiliated to the ANC, which continued to function outside the borders of the country and for whom culture was viewed as a central part of the struggle against apartheid as a result of ongoing debates to define the role of musicians in the struggle. This will be discussed in detail before considering the role of the ANC's cultural ensembles, Mayibuye, Amandla and Medu, as well as key events that took place outside of South Africa, such as the Culture and Resistance Festival in Botswana in 1985, and in the Netherlands the Cultural Voice of Resistance (1982) and Culture in Another South Africa (1987) festivals. Despite restrictions at home and internationally, certain South African-based artists also enjoyed substantial success overseas during the 1980s. These artists will be outlined, as will the role of film and theatre in placing South African music and politics on the global stage. The experiences of South Africa-based artists who had the opportunity to tour outside the country during the 1980s will also be discussed, in terms of how touring provided new opportunities to join the struggle, while also presenting particular challenges to white artists, even those

sympathetic to the struggle. Finally, the significance of the exiled musicians' return to South Africa after Nelson Mandela's release from prison will also be explored.

In addressing the fourth research question, that of determining what role the international music community played in the struggle against apartheid, the discussion in chapter five will first consider the global context of the 1980s – the politicisation of pop music and the emergence of “mega-events” to raise funds and awareness for political causes, including the struggle against apartheid. The growth of the international anti-apartheid movement is tracked from a variety of perspectives – the UN and the international cultural boycott of South Africa, which reached its peak in the 1980s, as well as through regional bodies in Africa, the USA, UK and the rest of the world. The cultural boycott was a constant source of contestation and will be discussed in detail in this chapter. Once the international anti-apartheid movement has been contextualised, the discussion will turn to the role of the international music community's role therein. This encompasses several different aspects. Certain artists made explicit references to apartheid in their songs, several of which became international hits, both for individual artists as well as for special collaborative recording projects, such as Artists United Against Apartheid's 'Sun City' and Hip Hop Against Apartheid's 'Ndodemnyama⁸ (Free South Africa)'. Other international artists collaborated with South African musicians, some without making direct lyrical reference to South Africa. These include Harry Belafonte, Malcolm McLaren, Lizzy Mercier Descloux and Paul Simon, all of whom will be discussed. Other ways that the international music community showed solidarity with the struggle against apartheid were via live concerts and political fundraiser albums, both of which will be discussed in this chapter.

⁸ “Black man” in isiZulu.

CHAPTER 2

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, MUSIC AND THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus in this chapter is on the South African government's role in music and the music industry during the 1980s. Of particular importance is the government's use of music as a medium of political communication and as an agent of political socialisation in order to further its own political agendas of apartheid and separate development. The effects of the government's policies on the creative environment of the music industry are, furthermore, of importance.

In exploring these linkages between politics and music, it is necessary to firstly understand the socio-political context of the time. Secondly, attention is paid to the government's direct involvement in the music industry. Of particular importance in this regard is that the government, in its strategy to use music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, made use of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), censorship and various musical projects to further its political agenda. Lastly, the personal experiences of various musicians of how government policies affected their creative environment during the 1980s are discussed.

2.2 THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CLIMATE OF THE 1980s

Apartheid created a unique, segregated society that emphasised differences. During the 1980s, resistance and repression mounted, creating a climate of volatility and uncertainty. To understand the socio-political context of the time, it is first necessary to understand apartheid in general, its key legislation and the impact of the student uprisings in 1976, a turning point for both the regime and the struggle. It will then be necessary to look at key developments in the decade, in particular the regime's "total strategy", the government's attempts at reforming the political dispensation, the states of emergency, and how all of this affected the lives of musicians.

2.2.1 An Overview of Apartheid

The foundation of apartheid, which became official government policy after the National Party came to power in 1948, was the enforced separation, segregation and separate development of people of different races, ethnicities and languages – and with the white minority afforded greater rights and access to resources than the rest of the population. This amounted to a large-scale social engineering project, which required for its implementation appropriate legislation, policies, political communication and political socialisation.

Central to apartheid ideology and policy was the notion of separate development, which proposed the classification of all South Africans into race and, where applicable, ethnic groups. The notion was promoted that the interests of such groups were best served by keeping them separate. Thus it was necessary for the government to exercise control over public life and culture, because for the implementation of separate development, culture had to be expressed along prescribed traditional and tribal lines (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:172). For this purpose the government adopted several pieces of legislation. A fundamental piece of legislation in this regard was the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, which required that all inhabitants of South Africa be classified according to their racial characteristics. It paved the way for the classification of all people into the categories⁹: white, coloured, black and Indian, as well as various subcategories. Race was reflected on identity cards and also in an individual's identity number.

In addition to the Population Registration Act, various other apartheid laws impacted on the music industry. The Natives Laws Amendment Act No. 54 of 1952 restricted the rights of blacks to live in or move to urban areas unless they

⁹ The words used to designate these categories of the population are controversial, often pejorative, not consistently used and have changed during the years. The term "white" usually refers to those of Caucasian or European ancestry and who have retained some degree of their European identity and heritage (the term "European" is often used as a synonym). "Coloured" refers to people of mixed racial heritage, including European, African, Khoisan and Asian. The terms "African", "Native" or "Bantu" were often used to refer to a black person. "Black" can be used narrowly to describe this group, or more generally to all those that are not white, otherwise labelled "non-whites", "people of colour" or "non-Europeans". The term "Asian" is sometimes used to refer to Malays and Chinese. "Indian" refers to South Africans of Indian descent. For the purposes of this study, unless otherwise indicated the following main categories and labels will be used: whites, coloureds, blacks and Indians. Collectively the latter three will be referred to as non-whites (see Seo, 2008:2).

were employed. The Natives Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act No. 67 of 1952 required all blacks to carry “reference books” (colloquially referred to as “dompas”) containing their photographs, information about their places of origin, employment records, tax payments and their encounters with the police. Both laws made it difficult for musicians – both professionals, who were not always considered formal “employees” of their record label, as well as aspiring musicians who came to the city in search of work.

The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 transferred control of black mission schools to the state and ensured that black children gained an inferior education compared to white children. Black schools were under-resourced, thereby limiting opportunities for children to study subjects such as music.

Several other laws served to restrict the freedom of movement of musicians to perform or record, as well as their ability to collaborate with musicians of other race groups. The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 enforced racial segregation within urban areas, while a series of other laws (such as the Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No. 46 of 1959, and the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act No. 26 of 1970) denaturalised black people and instead made them citizens of semi-autonomous ethnic homelands often referred to as Bantustans. With freedom of movement restricted, collaboration between musicians of different races or even ethnic groups was difficult. The Reservation of Separate Public Amenities Act No. 49 of 1953 segregated public areas and services. Music concerts and live venues, for example, were segregated. The Riotous Assemblies Act No. 17 of 1956 ensured that gatherings in open-air public places could be prohibited if the Minister of Justice considered that they could endanger the public peace. The act was amended in 1978 – all references to public gatherings were deleted in order to curb gatherings also on private premises, to make provision for the dispersal and prohibition of unlawful gatherings. The Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1962 heightened the powers of police to act against perceived enemies of the state. Section 46 of the Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982 enabled magistrates to prohibit gatherings in the interests of “public peace”.

Together these laws created a repressive climate for musicians. Non-white musicians were in particular affected by apartheid policies, but white musicians also faced restrictions in their creative space, for example by being prohibited from interacting and cooperating with musicians from other races. It was likewise prescribed who could perform before whom. This in turn determined who could communicate with whom through the medium of music, as well as who could act as an agent of political socialisation for whom. Another consequence of the regime's policies was a racially and politically divided civil society, with some sectors supporting apartheid and others opposed to it. The contribution of the antagonistic part of civil society to the struggle against apartheid and the rise of the union movement will be discussed in chapter three, particularly the role of musicians within it.

2.2.2 The 1976 Student Uprising and its Aftermath

Though the struggle against oppression and apartheid has a long history, the 1976 student uprising in Soweto is considered as a defining moment. On 16 June, police opened fire on Soweto schoolchildren protesting against language policies forcing them to be taught in Afrikaans. The uprising set the tone for the 1980s, ushering in a more confrontational and militant phase of the struggle as the state grew harsher and more repressive. The students' militant spirit defined much of the struggle during the subsequent decade (Mufson, 1991:8). The uprising that began in 1976 did not stop – instead it became “an integral part of township life into the 1980s” (Ansell, 2004:164). It was not only about political rights – the uprising against Afrikaans was also a cultural action, and culture became central to both resistance and repression. Non-establishment musicians, painters and poets took on “a new role of activism” (Ansell, 2004:165) against apartheid's attempts at social engineering, and joined the section of civil society that was at the forefront of the struggle.

By 1980, a campaign of resistance to every aspect of apartheid was being waged throughout the country, using both violent and non-violent means. While the ANC had long been banned, its armed wing Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) continued to operate within the borders of the country, usually targeting strategic government

sites, while based in camps in neighbouring states. Thousands of students fled into exile, many joining MK. Inside South Africa, black people started forming local groups and neighbourhood committees in the townships to protest high rents and bus fares, poor municipal services and education, and other local conditions. Other methods of protest included mass strikes, boycotts, and individual refusals to conform (Ansell, 2004:180). Black and coloured student protests and boycotts against inferior education became a common occurrence in the 1980s and led to the formation in December 1985 of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), which coordinated the responses of the student movement (Pampallis, 1991:272).

Seen in this light, the Soweto uprisings of 1976 thus changed the tone of both the struggle and government repression, with the youth – for whom music often holds particular significance (North, Hargreaves' & O'Neill, 2000) – and culture in general playing increasingly important roles.

2.2.3 The Idea of the Total Onslaught and the Total Strategy

During the 1980s the government was led by Mr PW Botha, first as prime minister and later as president. The 1976 student uprisings played an important role in the conception of the “total onslaught” during the Botha era. The total onslaught was the perceived threat posed by the Soviet Union and the spread of communism on “free enterprise” in South Africa. The total onslaught in turn gave rise to the government’s counter-revolutionary “total strategy”, which resulted in a shift in political power to the security establishment. The total strategy was intended to serve many purposes: ideological, political, economic, military, psychological and cultural. It was an attempt to win the acceptance of Western governments in a Cold War context, to justify repression of the non-white population, to brainwash the white population into closing ranks (particularly within the security forces and judiciary), to justify its military aggression in neighbouring states (particularly the military invasion of Angola that began after the withdrawal of Portugal from the country in 1974), and to justify its support of forces such as Renamo in Mozambique and Unita in Angola (Pampallis, 1991:279; Meredith, 1988:182; “The Unfolding of Total Strategy”, no date). The resultant rise in political power of the

security establishment led to a more repressive environment in which there was little tolerance of dissenting voices. A more repressive environment provided fertile ground for counter-action by the oppressed in a variety of ways, including a stronger anti-establishment sentiment in music.

2.2.4 Constitutional Change and Reform

Another defining aspect of the political context of the 1980s was the framing of a new political dispensation and a new constitution in an attempt to ameliorate the effects of many of the key apartheid laws with the purpose of appeasing some of the internal and external opposition to the government's apartheid policy¹⁰. These efforts had limited success, however, particularly due to the exclusion of blacks from any formal representative dispensation.

The Constitution Act No. 110 of 1983, which came into effect the following year, made provision for the establishment of a "tricameral" parliament under a new executive presidency, which was intended to accommodate the political aspirations of those defined as coloured, Indian and white in separate houses of parliament. It thus made provision for separate racial groups' affairs, assuming that each group had interests, particularly cultural interests, that were exclusive of other groups. However, the "white" parliament was the most powerful, while the black majority was still excluded and remained disenfranchised and unenfranchised by the new constitutional arrangements (Pampallis, 1991:281; "Botha's Deal", no date).

A major thrust of the proposed new political dispensation was reform. Amendments were made to some of the key apartheid laws outlined above, including those that restricted black people's freedom of movement and their right to own land and live where they chose. For example, black unions were legalised and job reservations loosened, while spending on housing and education for blacks was increased (Meredith, 1988:173). Citizenship was restored to black South Africans who had lost it when the homelands were declared independent.

¹⁰ This was commonly referred to as Botha's "new deal" and was also known as the Koornhof Bills, after Piet Koornhof, the cabinet minister who formally presented them to parliament.

Most importantly, the pass laws and influx control measures were scrapped – these were once considered to be “a vital protection for the white population and [...] a crippling burden for the African population” (Meredith, 1988:210).

The government introduced these reforms for a number of reasons – including international and local pressure, and a desire to attract the support of non-white sympathisers and create “a stable black middle class with a vested interest in the status quo” (Meredith, 1988:172). There was little respite for musicians, however, as the government acted to tighten the state’s power over public gatherings. There were increased penalties for illegal “documents” and the government even attempted to coerce musicians into promoting apartheid through specific musical projects (see section 2.3.3). These “liberalising” measures had little effect on appeasing the non-establishment music fraternity.

2.2.5 Militarisation and the States of Emergency

During the 1980s Mr PW Botha, by becoming an executive president, increased his own powers and further militarised and securitised the state. Military and police expenditure increased dramatically (Pampallis, 1991:280). The Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982 established the National Security Management System (NSMS) across the whole country. The NSMS was presided over by the State Security Council (SSC) and assumed much of the power of the government. Army numbers were boosted by extending conscription and the military presence in townships and homelands was increased (Meredith, 1988:183-185; Kotzé, 1989:185-188; Pampallis, 1991:290-291; Ansell, 2004:197). The government used those troops as well as Askaris (activists recruited by the security forces to work against their former comrades – thus turncoats), mercenaries and disguised soldiers (sometimes referred to as “the third force”) in “a war of destabilisation” against anti-apartheid activists of all races, one which affected “the entire fabric of black communities” in particular (Ansell, 2004:181).

By the mid-1980s, a popular uprising was underway, with exiled and underground leaders calling for people to render black communities ungovernable. A state of emergency was declared on 20 July 1985 in 36 magisterial districts, mainly in the

then provinces of Transvaal and the Cape. Organisations, as well as meetings, could be banned, and thousands of people were detained for reasons of “public safety”, without any right to appeal. The Commissioner of Police could impose a blanket prohibition on media coverage of the emergency, and the names of those who had been detained could not be revealed. The state of emergency was lifted in March 1986, one of the reasons being to appease the regime’s overseas critics (Meredith, 1988:211). A few months later, on 12 June 1986, just before the 10th anniversary of the student uprising, another state of emergency was declared, this time throughout the country. The government restricted political funerals (during which music often played a central role), imposed curfews (affecting, inter alia, musicians performing, recording, rehearsing or traveling at night) and banned certain indoor gatherings, including music concerts. Television cameras were banned from “unrest areas”, preventing international and national coverage. Only official news of the unrest, released by the state’s Bureau of Information, was allowed (Pampallis, 1991:286,290; "State of Emergency in the mid-1980s", no date).

For musicians and music consumers, the states of emergency had serious consequences. Punishment for “subversive statements” and banned publications, including albums, was stepped up. The state, particularly the Commissioner of Police, was further empowered with regard to censorship. The regulations also curtailed freedom of movement, especially in and out of townships, and public gatherings. Acquiring a permit to enter an area and to perform was difficult, especially given the ad hoc nature on which they were granted. Individual police officials could decide whether or not an event was acceptable without necessarily having to provide a reason. Even when reasons were given, they would often be very vague. The emergency regulations put police at a localised level in a position of power over musicians, who were at their mercy if they wanted to get permission to perform. Concerts and other cultural events were often prohibited as a result. The arbitrary nature of many refusals made these regulations difficult and frustrating for musicians to deal with. Not only were music performances affected by permit requirements, but even meetings to plan musical events or band practices could be declared illegal gatherings, particularly if held in townships (Drewett, 2003a:92-93).

Outside the country, the government aimed to assert South Africa's position as a regional power, putting pressure on neighbouring states to stop aiding opposition forces. They did so militarily, through cross-border raids in Mozambique, Lesotho and Botswana (including cultural centres, discussed in more detail in chapter four) and economically, by restricting trade opportunities to neighbouring states (Meredith, 1988:185-189; Pampallis, 1991:291).

As the end of the decade drew nearer, the regime began to lose its grip on power, despite the counter-revolutionary strategy (in which music was a factor) and the states of emergency. As resistance to apartheid grew, the foundations and assumptions upon which it was built began to give way (Norval, 1996:219). The state of emergency continued until 1990. President Botha's reign ended early that year and he was replaced by FW de Klerk. The new president soon unbanned the ANC and began dismantling the remaining pillars of apartheid legislation.

The militarisation of the state during the 1980s, culminating in the states of emergency, made it harder than ever for musicians to practice their craft without interference from the state. While this may have deterred some musicians from making political statements, it also inspired many of them, particularly black musicians, to do so using subtler, disguised means. The state's tightening control of the media served to silence dissenting political voices, the relative absence of which would have pushed musicians to assume an increasingly significant role as political communicators. Similarly, the state's increasing crackdowns on political gatherings and the ongoing banning and arrest of political activists led to musicians assuming a more significant role in the political socialisation of many South Africans who desired change. Cross-border raids by the military, particularly in Botswana where many exiled musicians and artists were based, would have further inspired musicians to join the struggle against apartheid.

2.3 DIRECT GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN MUSIC

In the previous section the government's project of establishing an apartheid society stands out. However, legislation and its implementation are not the only

requirements for large-scale social engineering. To be successful it is important for members of society to buy into a social engineering project and political socialisation is often an important process in this regard. Governments often use the process of political socialisation in order to achieve some of their goals. The National Party government also attempted to utilise the process of political socialisation, particularly the role of political communication, to promote apartheid and the perceived distinctness of South Africa's many cultural groups. Music, as a vital source of culture for all of these groups, was adopted and manipulated by the government to further its apartheid agenda (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:147). This was done primarily through two channels: firstly, by promoting "ethnic" music through the SABC's Radio Bantu network, and secondly, through the various mechanisms of state-sanctioned censorship. The government went further by becoming involved in various projects that attempted to use popular music and musicians to influence public sentiment in favour of apartheid policy. Thus, music became in the hands of the government a tool for social engineering.

At the same time, however, the government's involvement in music and the music industry created the need for strategies to circumvent the government's restrictions and prescriptions regarding music. Among those in the non-establishment and anti-establishment music scene, a more organised anti-apartheid stance began to develop (see chapter three).

2.3.1 SABC Radio, Music and Separate Development Propaganda

How did the government use the SABC to further its apartheid agenda? One underlying assumption of separate development was that there was an insurmountable cultural gap between white and black populations, and even between different language groups (Hamm, 1991:156). To instill the ideology of apartheid in the people, the National Party government used radio, and specifically music, as part of its policy to promote separate development by encouraging and enculturing a sense of cultural separation, as well as nurturing a spirit of ethno-cultural pride. Every attempt was made to prevent dissenting voices from being heard. Radio listeners were fed messages and music custom-made for their racial and language group. Television also had a similar function, although

for a number of reasons radio played a more prominent role. The SABC thus played a central role in the government's attempts to promote apartheid, and indeed had done so ever since the regime first came to power.

The use of radio by the government predates the 1980s and in order to analyse the use of music by the government it is necessary to go back in history. The SABC was established with the Broadcasting Act No. 22 of 1936, which established a single state radio service. In 1940, radio broadcasts to "natives" were initiated by the Native Affairs Department as an emergency war measure to dispel disruptive rumours concerning the progress of World War II and South Africa's role in the conflict. By the late 1940s, heightened racial tensions under the new National Party government brought renewed attempts to use the Bantu Services for social control (Hamm, 1991:149). Important in this regard is the Broadcasting Amendment Act No. 49 of 1960, which made provision for the establishment of a Bantu Programme Control Board to set up separate radio stations for each of the major black language groups of the homelands (Clegg & Drewett, 2006:128).

Already by that stage, according to Ballantine (1989:308), music had become an important instrument for government to promote separate development in South Africa. Realising the value of radio in exercising social control, government rushed to provide radio transmission to the entire black population in all major indigenous languages. The cost of installing and operating an enormous new broadcasting network was no object. FM transmission of Radio Bantu, as the collective services for blacks were now called, began on 1 January 1962 – with Radio Zulu, Radio Sesotho, Radio Lebowa (northern Sotho), Radio Tswana, Radio Xhosa and the combined Radio Venda/Radio Tsonga. Expansion was rapid. By 1963, it had over a million listeners. By the end of the 1960s, Radio Bantu was broadcasting to 2.3 million people on full-day schedules. By the late 1970s, Radio Bantu had an audience of more than 5 million and radio penetration of the total black population had reached 97.7% (Hamm, 1991:156-159).

The idea behind the separate language services of the SABC was to convince the South African population, in general, that separate development was self-

development through the medium of their own language and that, by this means, there would be progress in all spheres of life (Drewett 2003a:121). For this purpose, SABC radio was divided into separate departments whose role was to provide each ethnic group with music that was supposedly “theirs”. There was also very little communication between white and black departments (Martin, 1992:198-199). Radio Bantu had thus set itself the task of inducing, through politically controlled messages, the majority of black South Africans to accept their “homeland” status and to view it as independence and development, while at the same time socialising the urban black population into a work ethic that upheld the status quo (Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1989:100-1). The government of course was eager to deny this, claiming Radio Bantu simply aimed to attract people to listen to what was offered (Hamm, 1991:159). At the same time, whites were equally indoctrinated, through English and Afrikaans radio services, into accepting their own place in apartheid society. The SABC’s broadcasting monopoly, determined by law, was thus more than a mere financial arrangement. According to Kotzé, it enabled the organisation as an instrument of the state to “monopolize opinion” in order to gain support and restrict criticism (Kotzé, 1986: 422).

To succeed in its mission, the SABC needed to record enough music in the vernacular languages to supply the new radio stations. At the time, most of the existing black music at their disposal was recorded between 1936 and 1947 by Hugh Tracey¹¹, a vast collection of traditional music from across the country. There was relatively little contemporary music, however. To solve this problem, the SABC established recording studios, often within the actual radio stations, in the homelands or large towns, to record musicians in their mother tongues. Using Venda as an example, McNeill notes that musicians were typically paid cash-in-hand (R1200 for 12 songs in 1979), for which they gave up copyright and royalties (McNeill, 2012:86). In this way the SABC’s role in the music industry was not only a regulatory one; it also actively promoted the recording of certain new music to serve its own ends (McNeill, 2012:94). By actively going out looking for artists to record for Radio Bantu, the apartheid government, via the SABC, exerted an authority over record labels and black producers to conform to the ethnic genres it

¹¹ Hugh Tracey (1903-1977) was a British ethnomusicologist and founder of the International Library for African Music (ILAM) who collected and archived music from South and Central Africa from the 1920s to the 1970s.

had created, and thus the music-making process itself (Madalane, 2012:31).

The success of the strategy depended not only on the physical infrastructure that had been set up and the attractiveness of the content, but also on the absence of alternative radio services. The vastness and remoteness of the country ensured that the SABC had almost total control of the airwaves – at least until the late 1970s (Hamm, 1991:169).

In order to be acceptable for play on Radio Bantu, it was necessary for a piece of music to satisfy two conditions. Firstly, it had to be ideologically correct – complying with Christian ideals, never undermining “the safety and interests of the country” and reflecting “a positive and healthy view of the South African way of life” (Hamm, 1991:160). To promote separate development, all music on Radio Bantu had to relate in some way to the culture of the specific group at which it was aimed. Secondly, it had to be accessible and attractive to as many listeners as possible. Radio Bantu therefore projected an image of a positive alliance with black musicians and of offering music for all tastes (Hamm, 1991:160).

Listeners still only had a limited degree of choice. In essence, all music selected for programming on Radio Bantu fell into three large genres, namely traditional, choral and popular (Hamm, 1991:160). Initially, popular music was shunned on both black and white stations in favour of classical and traditional genres – mainly to further the government’s agenda. While the English and Afrikaans services could take a moral stand against certain types of popular music under the pretence of educating or “uplifting” their audiences, Radio Bantu’s mission was simply to attract as many black people as possible and then persuade them of the “naturalness” of separate development. By the mid-1960s it became clear that if the SABC was to attract and hold a mass audience of black listeners, traditional music was of limited and decreasing effectiveness. Popular music thus became central to the SABC’s needs. It was at this point that the SABC first began to utilise popular music and by the late 1960s, the bulk of music programming on Radio Bantu had been given over to popular genres (Hamm, 1991:163).

Popular genres among black South Africans included established genres that had emerged in the first half of the century, such as marabi, isicathamiya, African jazz, kwela and mbaqanga. In the 1960s with the growth of SABC radio, a new genre known as “jive” emerged as the most popular style of the decade. While the other genres originated and were shaped by live performance and later appropriated by the media, jive was appropriated by Radio Bantu and record companies almost from the outset, and came to be identified so closely with radio performance that it was sometimes called msakazo (broadcast) or “radio music” (Hamm, 1991:166-167; Ballantine 1989:309). Martin refers to radio music as a “standardised and impoverished mbaqanga” (Martin, 1992:198-199). Later, in the 1980s, popular bubblegum and collaborative crossover music drew influence from these genres, as well as contemporary international trends, and became increasingly popular on local radio – when not deemed undesirable by censors.

By the early 1980s, with the addition of Radio Swazi and Radio Ndebele to the Radio Bantu network, each of the ten homelands was blanketed by a radio service transmitting in the official language of that homeland. In addition, one or more services of Radio Bantu were being broadcast in urban areas where black people were living. For example, Radio Zulu, with an audience of over two million at the time, was also broadcast in the townships and mines around Johannesburg, as well as in Durban. Radio Bantu was even expanded to the sparsely populated former South-West Africa (now Namibia), which was at the time administrated by South Africa and by the early 1980s covered much of the country. The purpose of these services, which included Radio Ovambo and Radio Herero, was similar to those of Radio Bantu in South Africa (Hamm, 1991:167-168).

By the mid-1980s, the grand strategy to promote separate development through broadcasting, first conceived in the early 1960s, had been realised. Thus, for more than 20 years, the South African government had succeeded in having its entire population, black and white, listen to its own radio service, to the virtual exclusion of other radio programming – a radio service “whose most important business was selling ideology” (Hamm, 1991:147,169). Significantly, the majority

of programme time was dedicated to music, chosen for its ability to attract as large an audience as possible within that particular ethnic group.

With members of the influential but secretive Afrikaner Broederbond¹² occupying senior positions at the SABC (as well as other government-affiliated institutions), the SABC became a tool to further Afrikaner nationalist interests (Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:89). Jansen van Rensburg's analysis of lyric sheets in the SABC archive finds that biblical language was employed to assert that nationalist rule was an act of god and therefore could not be opposed. By promoting state ideology, propaganda was thus a central function of the SABC and worked hand in hand with censorship (Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:97).

Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1989) also argue that Radio Bantu fulfilled a number of basic ideological functions: it promoted a coherent apartheid-based reality that underlined the importance of ethnic values; it restricted alternative views, particularly in rural areas; it promoted the benefits of capitalism over other economic systems, particularly following South Africa's invasion of Angola in 1975; and it remained sensitive to shifting class alliances and the state's attempts to gain the support of the black middle class, modifying its content accordingly (Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1989:103).

While the SABC succeeded in setting up an elaborate radio network, it was only in 1976 that it officially launched its television service. The decision to do so had been delayed by uncertainty as to whether television would help to reinforce the existing status quo or act as an accelerator for social change (Corrigan 1974:28; Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1989). Ansell argues that some black musicians were able to find a proving ground at the SABC, especially after 1983, when two black TV stations were established in addition to the radio bouquet, which offered some degree of "work and training" (Ansell, 2004: 201). However, more money was still spent on white artists and international music (Ansell, 2004:203-204).

¹² The Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) – translated as 'League of Brothers' - was a secret society established in 1918 to advance Afrikaner interests that continued to play an influential role in South African politics, business and cultural life throughout the apartheid era.

Later in the 1980s, popular music also began to be featured more regularly on SABC TV. Due to its reach, however, radio broadcasting by the SABC played a more important role than television in the government's strategy to establish a political dispensation based on the apartheid ideology of separate development. Popular music assumed a growing significance in this regard and reached a peak during the 1980s.

2.3.2 Music Censorship

Another way in which the government was directly involved in the music industry was through censorship. While the government used the SABC to encourage music that promoted separate development, it also censored music that did not. The government's policy on censorship was therefore a key aspect of the government's utilisation of music. One of the earliest songs to be banned was the hymn 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika'¹³, the anthem of the ANC, at the beginning of the 1960s (Flat International, 2013). Censorship structures were enabled through legislation such as the Publications and Entertainments Act No. 26 of 1963, which established a central body, the Publications Control Board, to either allow or to censor publications (excluding newspapers) such as music albums, according to certain standards of indecency and obscenity. This act was amended in 1969 and 1971 and later superseded by the Publications Act No. 42 of 1974, which established the Directorate of Publications. It declared the production, distribution or, in some cases, possession of works declared undesirable to be a criminal offence. Appeals could be heard by the Publications Appeal Board (PAB), but not in a court of law. The Publication Act No. 18 of 1978 and the Protection of Information Act No. 84 of 1982 further strengthened government's grip, the latter allowing for fines of up to R10 000 or up to ten years in prison, or both, for those in possession of prohibited documents that included music recordings, or for musicians performing banned songs live.

Censorship took many forms: blacklisting by authorities at the SABC; direct banning by government via its Directorate of Publications and the Publications Appeal Board; by the South African Police; by the industry and music labels; and

¹³ Translated as "God Bless Africa", written in isiXhosa by Enoch Sontonga in 1897.

even by musicians themselves. As all of these became more entrenched, government could afford to relax “official” censorship.

2.3.2.1 Directorate of Publications

The Publications Act No. 42 of 1974 provided for the establishment of a government-appointed Directorate of Publications (replacing the former Publications Control Board). The Directorate responded to complaints from the police, civil society (in the form of religious or moral groups) or any member of the public. It had the authority to ban the publication, production, import or display of any publication and public entertainments, including music. Decisions were carried out by a committee appointed by the Minister of Internal Affairs (Ansell, 2004:166-167; Drewett, 2003a:77,154).

On receiving material for review, the Directorate would decide whether a publication was either “undesirable” or “not undesirable”. In terms of Section 47(2) of the Publications Act No. 42 of 1974, a publication, object, film or public entertainment, or any part thereof, is deemed to be undesirable if it:

- a) is indecent, obscene or offensive or harmful to public morals;
- b) is blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic;
- c) brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt;
- d) is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic;
- e) is prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order;
- f) discloses with reference to any judicial proceedings –
 - (i) any matter which is indecent or obscene or is offensive or harmful to public morals;
 - (ii) any indecent or obscene medical, surgical or physiological details, the disclosure of which is likely to be offensive or harmful to public morals.

Of these categories of censorship, the Directorate mostly cited four as reasons for banning music, namely obscenity (a), blasphemy (b) and political threats (e), and on occasion for being deemed harmful to sections of society (d). In addition to banning music because of the lyrics, the Directorate sometimes banned albums because of their covers – usually for reasons of nudity, but also for political

reasons¹⁴. Only a change to the design of the cover would see the album unbanned¹⁵ (Drewett, 2003a:79-82; 2008:115).

Many commentators, including Hamm, Gwangwa and Van Aurich (as well as notable intellectuals such as Nadine Gordimer and JM Coetzee), are inclined to portray the Directorate as omnipresent surveyors of all material and of acting independently of the rest of society. However, the Directorate did not review all music released – only music that was submitted to it for review. It thus functioned within existing power relations, working with certain members of the public or civil society (such as religious groups) to perpetuate the dominant discourse. Censorship was not carried out in a monolithic manner by the state, against the will of the entire public. At least partial public support was needed (Drewett, 2003a:78,128). However, censorship was not by the consent of all; it was instead an instrument of the state to promote apartheid.

Objections were referred to the Publications Appeal Board (PAB), also a government-appointed committee, which either set aside or confirmed the decisions of the Directorate. The Board was thus another gatekeeper in the state censorship process. The State President appointed the chairman of the PAB for a period of five years. Drewett argues that the Board often took a relatively lenient stance (particularly under chairman Jacobus van Rooyen who took charge in 1980), but because of this and its relative autonomy, it often became a site of conflict between state censors and more conservative forces within government (such as the Ministers of Home Affairs and Law and Order), the SABC and the police (Drewett, 2003a:126). Partly as a result, its decisions were not consistent (Drewett, 2003a:77,89,91). Nevertheless, the Directorate was a central pillar of government's censorship apparatus, and as such in its overall means of influencing the music industry for its own ends.

¹⁴ These included the cover of albums by overseas acts – such as the Special AKA's *Free Nelson Mandela* (1984) and Eddy Grant's *Give Me Hope Jo'anna* (1988).

¹⁵ Some musicians were able to use the covers of their albums to put out a political message against apartheid (Drewett, 2008:129) – discussed more in section 3.4.5.

2.3.2.2 SABC Censorship

Besides the Directorate of Publications, the SABC also had the power to ban music through committees whose job it was to decide what was permissible on SABC radio and television. Based at the SABC headquarters in Johannesburg, this culminated in the establishment of its Central Record Acceptance Committee (CRAC) in the mid-1980s as a combination of the Central Record Library (containing the SABC's classical and "light" music) and the Commercial Record Library (containing popular music). Its job was to assess the lyrics of potentially "offensive" musical items before they were considered suitable for broadcast¹⁶ (Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:81).

In addition, each service of Radio Bantu, often based in the homelands, already had their own review boards, made up of white rather than black censors, who effectively also had censorship power over music played on Radio Bantu (Hamm, 1991:160, Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:91). The SABC's own censorship procedures were therefore often stricter and even more arbitrary than those of the Directorate of Publications (Ansell, 2004:167).

Drewett (2003a) lists the most common reasons for songs being banned from airplay by the SABC. Firstly, many songs were banned because they were deemed rebellious, too political or promoted political struggle. Included were the misuse of the national anthem, lyrics which might inflame public opinion or songs which unfairly promoted a political party or movement. Secondly, many songs were banned from airplay for reasons of blasphemy or because the censors decided that the songs were religiously offensive. Thirdly, many songs were affected by the SABC's conservative approach to sexuality, drug use and swear words. Fourthly, some were banned for referring to the brand name of products (such as car or beer brands), presumably because they constituted free publicity or perhaps sometimes might have led to charges of libel. Fifthly, performers who sang in a variety of languages suffered as a result of the SABC's policy of cultural purity – no slang or mixing of languages was allowed (Drewett, 2003a:118-121).

¹⁶ Interestingly, unlike state censorship structures, the CRAC did not employ music experts to assess the artistic merit of a given piece of music. Instead, the station managers, record library managers and librarians who made up the CRAC chose to restrict music exclusively on the basis of lyrics (Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:111).

Lyrics were scrutinised beforehand by the manager in the record library before being passed on to a weekly meeting. Between 1980 and 1990, there were an estimated 15 sets of lyrics reviewed every week, from about 480 albums every year. The committee would then vote on whether or not to ban the music in question. In this way the SABC record committee was able to ban thousands of songs from the airwaves. Through regular memos to staff, the committee made it clear when pieces of music were not to be played – by placing “avoid” labels on music for white stations, while often in the case of music for black stations going to the point of physically damaging the vinyl to ensure that radio DJs could not play the track (Reitov, 1998:16-17; Drewett, 2003a:126). Black popular music with political content, unless disguised to escape censorship (see chapter three), could thus not be heard on radio. The censors’ act of physically scratching the vinyl ensured that their decisions were final.

As with radio, the SABC maintained tight control of what information was televised – news, music or opinion – and was careful that it fit into the dominant discourse (Sapa, 1997). Musicians appeared on television either in live performances or in music videos of certain songs. The lyrics and content of music videos were carefully screened during the production stage, as the SABC was the only potential customer of local music videos (Devereux-Harris, 2009:interview).

Faced with the prospect of a song being banned from airplay, labels and musicians would often have to adjust songs according to the SABC’s reaction, then resubmit a new, acceptable version (Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:83). For example, PJ Powers and Steve Kekana’s 1982 duet ‘Feel So Strong’, hinting at forbidden love across the colour line, was only able to get airplay after the offending lyrics “Your love has made me feel again that I belong” were changed to “Your help...”. According to Kekana, “That’s the only way the song could get out,” (Kekana, 2009:interview). Similarly, the song’s video had to be edited before it could be screened on TV, cropping out images of the pair holding hands (Fuller, 2009:interview). Other artists employed more subtle tactics to retain political messages in their music while still gaining approval from the censors (see chapter three).

The SABC also banned the music of international artists, not only for offensive song lyrics but also those who took a public stand against apartheid. For example, in 1985, all of Stevie Wonder's music was banned by the SABC after the singer dedicated an Oscar to Nelson Mandela. Wonder's music videos were pulled from TV and even mention of his name was edited out (AP, 1985; Drewett, 2003a:127).

The SABC's willingness to censor music¹⁷ obscured the extent to which the government was banning it through other means. Indeed the SABC tried to conceal the fact that it was effectively banning music on the government's behalf. The general public was unaware of the extent to which radio play was controlled in this manner. In fact, relatively little music was being banned directly by the Directorate of Publications. Despite all the mechanisms in place, the Directorate only rarely banned music and fewer than 100 music records were actually banned during the 1980s¹⁸ (Drewett, 2003a:125,154). By the late 1980s, the Directorate had become increasingly reluctant to ban material. In 1988 and 1989, most albums submitted to it were declared "not undesirable". One reason for this is that banning an album could have the effect of drawing public attention to it, so if something was unlikely to reach more than a marginal audience, the police tended not to draw attention to it (Drewett, 2003a:91-93). Instead, the state relied on the SABC radio service to refrain from playing undesirable songs (Schumann, 2008:19-20). In this way authorities could deny that songs were banned – they simply were not played (Drewett, 2003a:125). As artist Warrick Sony explains,

¹⁷ Songs banned by the SABC include numerous tracks by white South Africa artists, such as: 'No Football' (1980) by Flash Harry, Falling Mirror's 'The Crippled Messiah' (1981), Neil Solomon's 'Little Friend' (1981), 'Schoolboy' (1981) by the Asylum Kids, Bernoldus Niemand's 'East Rand Blues' (1984), Johannes Kerkorrel and the Gereformeerde Blues Band's 'Sit Dit Af' ('Turn it off'), 'BMW' and 'Hillbrow' (1989), 'Shot Down' (1985) by The Cherry Faced Lurchers, numerous songs from Jennifer Ferguson's *Hand Around the Heart* album (1985) and Edi Niederlander's 'Mabel' (1985). Other censored tracks by popular South African acts include 'Behind the Bars' (1986) by Mzwakhe Mbuli, 'Struggle' (1986) by The Genuines, 'Asimbonanga' (1987) and 'One (Hu)man One Vote' (1989) by Savuka, Siphosiphiso Mkhomo's 'Chant of the Marching' (1989) and Brenda Fassie's 'Room of Horror' (1989) and 'Jail to Jail' (1989). Songs by artists who mixed languages in their songs, such as Sankomota, Johnny Clegg and David Kramer, were also frequently banned from the air. Banned songs by international artists include: 'Defenders of the Flag' by Bruce Hornsby and The Range, Aswad's 'Set Them Free' and Iron Maiden's *Seventh Son Of A Seventh Son* (Drewett, 2003a:118-124).

¹⁸ Some of the songs or albums banned by the Directorate include: William Dube's *Take Cover* (1981), Mzwakhe Mbuli's *Change is Pain* (1986) and the Kalahari Surfers' *Bigger Than Jesus* (1989). A number of songs by international artists was also banned. These include popular protest songs such as Pink Floyd's 'Another Brick in the Wall' (1979), 'Biko' by Peter Gabriel (1980), 'Free Nelson Mandela' by Special AKA (1984) and 'Sun City' by Artists United Against Apartheid (1985). Also banned were songs that broke the censor's rules regarding blasphemy and sexual content, such as Marianne Faithfull's *Broken English* (1980), *Christ the Album* by Crass (1982) and George Michael's 'I Want Your Sex' (1986) (Drewett 2003a:82-87).

If the system works on its own, there is no need to ban records or anything. Without access to the means of proper promotion, especially broadcasting, it will effectively die its own death (Sony, 1991:115).

The SABC had a vital role to play in government's attempts to influence the music industry in general, and its efforts to censor music, compared to the 'official' channel of the Directorate, were more widespread, less obvious and more effective than any other means of censorship.

2.3.2.3 Police Censorship

By the time of the turbulent mid-1980s, the South African Police also had the power to censor music, independently of the Directorate of Publications and the SABC (Reitov 1998:15,17; Ansell, 2004:197). The 1986 emergency regulations made it an offence for any person to make, write, record, disseminate, display, utter or possess a "subversive statement". The Commissioner of Police was empowered "without prior notice to any person and without hearing any person" to issue an order "prohibiting any publication, television recording, film recording or sound recording" (Drewett, 2003a:92-93). Police had the power to not only censor recorded music but also live performances. In terms of the Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982, as well as emergency regulations, a concert that did not have a valid permit could be declared an illegal gathering and shut down. Similarly, any meeting between two or more people with a common purpose could be declared an illegal gathering. As a result, many live performances were declared illegal and prevented from taking place. For example, when the progressive South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA) planned the non-racial Human Rainbow Concert to mark the launch of SAMA in late 1988, the concert was banned under the Internal Security Act (Drewett, 2003a:95).

Besides banning recordings and preventing concerts, the police had other means of influencing the music industry. The Security Police communicated with both the Directorate and SABC and were said to have paid informers within the SABC (Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:90). In certain cases, the security police were even tasked with harassing musicians, most famously the white protest musician Roger Lucey, whose music was banned after officers monitoring the radio station Voice

of America (VOA) heard an interview with the artist and some of his songs performed live. Security police disrupted Lucey's shows, intercepted his mail, tapped his phone and warned venue owners to not book him (Drewett, 2003a:100-101).

The police had the power to override other channels of censorship. However, any "official" banning not executed through the Directorate had to be defended in a court of law in the case of an appeal, where proof of evidence was required, which was not the case with the Publications Appeal Board. To make matters easier, the police often tried to influence the Board to ban something, although the Board was not obligated to do so, causing disagreements between these two channels of censorship. For example, the Directorate decided not to ban the 1987 film *Cry Freedom*. Under appeal, the Publications Appeal Board also decided not to ban it. Government was determined to ban it, however, and did so under the Internal Security Act. Board chairman Jacobus van Rooyen allegedly received death threats (from an unknown individual or group who presumably wanted the film banned) and had his house set alight following the incident (Drewett, 2003a:91). The degree of disagreement and even conflict serve to underline the complexity of the state censorship apparatus.

2.3.2.4 Industry Censorship

Given the extent of the SABC's control over the music industry, there was pressure on musicians and record companies to gain their approval – only by doing so could they get the airplay and exposure they needed to survive. Censorship policies therefore placed heavy demands on musicians and labels to keep musical messages within the dictates of the approved moral and political discourse (Drewett, 2003a:126). In this way the recording industry itself also became part of the censorship machine (Reitov, 1998:20). Record labels often attempted to pre-empt the censors and "self-censor" their productions to suit SABC programme formats and ethnic-based genres (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:155-6).

Given the SABC's policies, record companies could only be assured of airplay by conforming to the prescribed ethnic categories. Record companies would therefore routinely label albums by black artists on their covers according to the ethnic group of the artist, such as "Zulu disco", "Sotho vocal", "Shangaan disco" or "Tswana traditional". These albums effectively "marketed ethnicity" to consumers, perpetuating the ethnic divisions of apartheid policy in general (Drewett, 2008:128). By conforming, the music industry restricted musicians' creative freedom and forced them into line according to apartheid regulations.

Major labels such as Gallo and EMI, who were estimated to control up to 90% of the local market, had a different role to play in this regard from the many independent labels that were springing up. Bands with an overt political character or message usually encountered barriers at major labels but sometimes found success with independent labels (see section 3.3.4) and word-of-mouth publicity (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:155). Furthermore, even workers at South Africa's two record pressing plants were known to refuse to press controversial songs in fear of government reprisals (Sony, 1991:114; Drewett 2004b:191). Also allegedly influencing what music was played on radio was the persuasion and influence exercised by larger labels on DJs – colloquially referred to as payola – often at the expense of music released by smaller labels (Galanakis, 2009:interview).

For musicians, a further frustration was the lack of explanation from authorities when their songs were censored. According to Ray Phiri, "You did not know whether you did something wrong or not and it stifled the growth of a creative person" (Reitov, 1998:15). Musicians were frustrated at not knowing why their songs were banned, or more generally at not knowing what was required of them, and at the fact that government-sanctioned forces had control over the process.

Censorship within the music industry affected certain artists differently to others. According to Siphos Mabuse, one of the biggest stars of the era, some found it harder than others within the same company. Established, influential artists, he argues, had more freedom than upcoming acts, who would not be allowed to record if their music was deemed subversive in any way (Reitov, 1998:19). Industry censorship was, like other forms of state censorship, inconsistent and

unpredictable. It can be seen as a direct result of government policies, and evidence of the government's success in controlling the music industry.

While the state censorship apparatus was made up of individuals with at times conflicting interests, government's censoring of certain music – through the Directorate of Publications, the SABC, the police and its influence over record companies and artists – was motivated by what it regarded as the public interest, which included the promotion of separate development. The government therefore regarded it as being in the interest of society to avoid any messages that were seen to contradict or challenge the status quo – whether political or moral. Music in South Africa had become so politicised that the state came to view musical preferences as a political rather than a personal choice (Schumann, 2008:33). While authorities came to suspect even the most innocuous songs of having politically subversive content (Garofalo, 1992a:10; Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:146), many bubblegum songs, traditionally defined by non-political lyrics about love and parties, were often able to escape the censors, and in doing so deliver carefully hidden political messages that opposed apartheid (see chapter three). Musicians and censors were engaged in a constant game of cat and mouse, with each forced to adapt its tactics. The entire censorship process was therefore inconsistent, incohesive and dynamic, complicated by divisions between the various mechanisms of state censorship.

Censorship of music within the South African context was born from the realisation that music is a powerful medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation. Through censorship the government exercised control over who communicated what and to whom, through the medium of music. However, it was also obvious that there were factors that affected the political socialisation of an individual. One important factor was the legitimacy of those that exercised control, as well as the acceptability of the message to the receiver. Political socialisation is not a one-way process. New information is processed by interacting with the receiver's existing knowledge, ideas and attitudes. The outcome is not always predictable because the new message may reinforce existing perceptions, even if it is opposed to those embodied in the message, or it may modify existing perceptions. Even in the latter instance, it can be counter-

productive when an original pro-government stance could be modified into an anti-government stance.

2.3.3 Government-Led Music Projects

The government also used music as a tool for social engineering by attempting to influence public sentiment through various musical projects. These included funding the performing arts establishment and supporting stage musicals that promoted separate development; attempting to attract international stars to the state-sanctioned venues, including the Sun City resort; producing and funding large collaborative recording projects; and sanctioning “official” events such as music industry award ceremonies, National Song Festivals and private sector-funded talent searches.

2.3.3.1 State Funding for the Performing Arts

The performing arts establishment in South Africa has been state-funded for many decades. During apartheid, government funding for the performing arts came via four performing arts councils (PACs), one in each of the four provinces at the time. These were the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (PACT), the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB), the Natal Performing Arts Council (NAPAC) and the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State (PACOFs). Together they were part of the South African Coordinating Performing Arts Council (SACPAC), which functioned in an advisory rather than an authoritative capacity. PACT, established in 1963 and based in Pretoria, comprised six departments, each covering a particular art form: ballet, drama, opera, orchestra, music and (from 1989) contemporary dance. The PACs were established to serve the cultural interests of the white population, as an “ideology production centre” tasked with promoting Afrikaner nationalist interests. It did so by promoting Afrikaans-medium performances and European “high art” over indigenous African art. PACT’s board was overwhelmingly white, Afrikaans and male from 1963 until 1987. After the adoption of the tricameral constitution, non-white board members were co-opted. Similarly, PACT had to follow a government directive barring blacks from the

stage or the audience, until 1987, when it was then required to cater for all races (Steinberg, 1994:2-8).

Prior to the 1980s, the state had sponsored stage productions, including “tribal musicals” that tried to promote separate development for both black and white audiences, for example by reinforcing cultural stereotypes or promoting a traditional, rural way of life. Black theatre had flourished in the 1970s but remained a terrain of not only commercial but also political and ideological rivalry. Government-sanctioned “tribal musicals” like *uMabatha* (1973), *Meropa* (1973), *Ipi Tombi*¹⁹ (1975) and *King Africa* (1987) effectively celebrated the apartheid status quo (Gilbert, 2007:438). Tomaselli notes that these “innocuous musicals” were supported by ambitious marketing and advertising campaigns. Anything that challenged the status quo, however, was suppressed (Tomaselli, 1980:53-54). These musicals did at least expose white audiences to aspects of “the other”, however idealised or misrepresented, as well as offer opportunities for black and white actors and musicians to work together. For this reason, conservative whites criticised government’s support of these musicals as an attempt to promote change.

Although established as non-governmental organisations run by boards of directors, the PACs were still controlled by government, who provided the funds and appointed the boards. Government interference was common. In 1981 a Commission of Inquiry into the Promotion of the Creative Arts was established to consider the entire arts infrastructure in South Africa in light of its growing politicisation and the artistic community’s distrust and widespread boycott of the PACs. It was chaired by Dr. Jan Schutte, retiring Director-General of the SABC, who in his 1984 report recommended that the PACs be replaced by a National Arts Council, singling out the lack of opportunities and facilities for black performers to become professional²⁰. Instead government implemented the “Stumpf formula”, which provided financial incentives for European “high arts” by

¹⁹ Originally known as *The Warrior* and also produced as *Ipi Ntombi*.

²⁰ The Schutte Commission followed the Commission of Inquiry into the Performative Arts in South Africa, also known as the Niemand Commission, which had been commissioned in 1975 to report on the development of the performing arts as a means of cultural enrichment of the South African society and to enable the PACs to work within their budgets (“Niemand Commission”, 1975).

increasing subsidies for opera, ballet and symphony orchestra performances (Steinberg, 1994:9-12,35; "Schutte Commission", 1981).

Throughout the 1980s, musical theatre and other performance was suppressed by what Orkin calls "overt government and ruling class interference" that served to "obfuscate and marginalise awareness" of apartheid power relations and material conditions, and thus "the very existence of the subordinate classes" (Orkin 1991:2). Attempts by playwrights to fight apartheid were thus deliberately undermined by the state's determination to obscure opposition views and promote only plays that "provide a coherence for the spectator structuring views offering apartheid fixities", done so "through legislative and hegemonic process" (Orkin 1991:250). In time, however, it became clear that the government's strategy with regard to musical theatre was not working. Despite its privileged position in terms of funding and resources, numerous alternatives to state-sanctioned performances existed for musicians and other performers.

As opposition to the regime mounted, government-sanctioned plays were often met with protest and boycott overseas, most famously in the case of *Ipi Tombi*, although calls to boycott the play were by no means unanimous, with some people denying that it actively promoted separate development. Despite the confusion and disagreement that surrounded much of the cultural boycott in general (see chapters four and five), following successful protests in New York and in Europe, it was no longer possible for pro-apartheid theatre groups to tour abroad with the play, described by the ANC as "a creation of the regime" (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:177; "Boycott 'Ipi Ntombi'?", 1977).

2.3.3.2 Sponsoring International Artists to Perform in South Africa

Another way in which the state employed music for its own ends was the covert funding of international performers. According to Ansell, "Money was no object for the state in creating an acceptable cultural image" (Ansell, 2004:204). While most American artists were guaranteed at least \$250 000 for a tour, Roberta Flack was allegedly offered as much as \$2.5 million, which she turned down (Beaubien, 1982:13). Many others agreed, however, including Frank Sinatra, Ray Charles,

Tina Turner, The Beach Boys, Elton John, The O'Jays and Rod Stewart. The government arguably used these performances to convince South Africans that there was no international boycott and to bestow legitimacy upon the homeland system in the eyes of the rest of the world (Beaubien, 1982:5-6,12; Fleshman, 1982:3).

An important venue for state-sponsored tours, particularly in the first half of the 1980s, was the luxurious Sun City resort, opened in 1979 in the relatively poverty-stricken homeland of Bophuthatswana (Ansell, 2004:181). At the Sun City Superbowl, visiting artists could perform to mixed audiences, "blithely assured that they were 'not really in' South Africa" (Ansell, 2004:204). Most artists who were invited, however, declined, and those that agreed to perform often denied the political implications of doing so (see chapter five). Whatever the government's intentions were, the popularity of Sun City performances among white South Africa ensured that they also served to erode a belief in apartheid among some whites – being part of mixed audiences exposed whites to the idea of what a democratic society could be like.

Not all visiting performers were invited by government to perform at Sun City, although this venue played host to the majority of them and came to be synonymous with any visiting artists. Even before Sun City was completed, government was interfering in artists' tours, being extremely wary of the potential political implications of artists touring the country, perhaps particularly of visiting black musicians becoming involved in the struggle. For example, when soul singer Percy Sledge toured the country in 1970 – becoming the first black American entertainer to be granted "honorary white" status in South Africa – it is alleged that the government had a black South African intelligence agent hired as a "girlfriend" to spy on him (Beaubien, 1982:14).

Granting "honorary white" status to visiting black artists was one of the ways that government bent the rules of apartheid to further its own ends. While Sun City's location within a homeland allowed for multiracial concerts, when non-white international artists performed within segregated South Africa itself, venues such as hotels or restaurants, usually reserved for whites only, had to be granted

“international” status to allow their performance to be deemed legal, or even to allow local non-white musicians to perform. As with government’s other attempts to use music to further its own ends, however, the strategy was counter-productive in that it ultimately compromised the tenets of apartheid ideology.

International and local protests mounted against government’s tactics. By the mid-1980s, Sun City and the location had become synonymous with the international struggle against apartheid (see chapter five). Overseas artists, now made aware of the political implications of their actions and pressured by the threat of boycotts in their own countries, were no longer performing at the venue. Far fewer and less notable artists were persuaded to tour South Africa in the second half of the decade.

2.3.3.3 Bureau of Information ‘Peace Song’

By 1986, the government had recognised the growing popularity of collaborative “crossover” music, as well as the international success of charity song projects such as ‘We Are The World’ by a group of prominent international musicians under the name USA²¹ for Africa in 1985, and decided to release a song that promoted its own agenda. As part of their Operation Optimism, the state’s Bureau of Information attempted to relay a message of co-operation to as wide an audience as possible by sponsoring an official ‘Peace Song’, entitled ‘Together we will Build a Brighter Future’. The government offered lavish payments to musicians to join the ‘Info Song’ project. Some 47 prominent musicians were hired to sing in English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana and Pedi. R4.3 million was reportedly spent on the project (Schumann, 2008:33-34; Ansell, 2004:198; Byerly, 1998:29-30; Torchia, 1986). Popular black artists such as Blondie Makhene, Abigail Khubeka and Steve Kekana were among those involved in the project.

Released at the end of 1986, the song soon turned out to be a controversy. The video of the song was shown regularly on television and the song played on radio, but sales of the single failed to get off the ground, due to being boycotted by the

²¹ An acronym for United Support of Artists.

public. The project was abandoned in December 1986, when all copies of the song were recalled (Drewett, 2003a:196; Byerly, 1998:30). The problem lay not so much in the conciliatory message of the song as in the source of the song, which again highlights the importance of the legitimacy of the sender of a political message. As the government was never seen to be constructively promoting peace and racial harmony, the song was, therefore, dismissed as a propaganda scam. While many popular non-establishment musicians were trying to construct an alternative, democratic social reality through their music, government's attempt to use music to manipulate or dictate public sentiment was acceptable to neither audiences nor musicians. Other objections came from taxpayers who were angry that so much had been spent on the project (Byerly, 1998:29-30; Schumann, 2008:34). The government's lack of legitimacy in the eyes of the public saw their attempts met with skepticism, anger and renewed opposition, effectively undermining its own efforts at social engineering.

Considerable friction developed between musicians who had previously seen themselves as kindred spirits in the struggle. A division emerged between those who were involved in the project (seen by many as government pawns or sellouts) and those who refused to be involved (seen as the true protest artists) (Byerly, 1998:30). Participating musicians such as Kekana, Makhene and Khubeka received death threats and their houses in Soweto were burnt, allegedly by the militant group AZAPO. Khubeka had to go to hospital for her burns, while Makhene fled to Lesotho (Phakoe, 2009:interview). Besides the physical risk, their music and concerts were boycotted and for a while few concert promoters would book them, fearing reprisals (Ansell, 2004:198; "Missing Information", no date). Thus, artists who did participate initially defended their participation, but later admitted they had made a mistake (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:156).

The boycotts, protests and media controversy surrounding the song highlighted the futility of the government's attempts to manufacture propagandistic musical events in such an abnormal society. This clearly demonstrates the limitations of social engineering by a government that does not enjoy legitimacy. Although listeners and anti-apartheid lobby groups did not have the state's ability to ban the song, they were able to undermine and eventually silence it (Drewett, 2003a:196).

2.3.3.4 Music Industry Awards

Another way in which the government influenced the music industry was through organising awards ceremonies. The local industry awards was the Saries, originally known as the SARI (South African Record Industry) Awards, which had been run by the SABC since 1965. While aimed mainly at white artists, black musicians performing in established white genres, such as the young pop singer Jonathan Butler, won Saries in the late 1970s and 1980s (English, 2005:274-275). These “official” awards can be seen as the industry-sponsored, state-controlled alternative to local informal contests at hostels and clubs, for example between isicathamiya choirs (English, 2005:273).

The state, via the SABC, effectively sponsored and administered the awards. They were broadcast on Springbok Radio, the SABC's English/Afrikaans “third station”, until the late 1970s. In the late 1980s the industry awards became known as the OKTV²² Awards. Other industry accolades included the Scotty Awards, for top producers, engineers and artists, and the Autumn Harvest Personality of the Year award. All served as a means of rewarding musicians who were seen to conform to the government's model for the music industry – either by performing for their designated ethnic group, or for white and coloured artists such as Butler, for making music that corresponded with the SABC's prescriptions for popular music (English, 2005:276; Mojapelo 2008:78, 202; Meintjes, 2003:80).

2.3.3.5 National Song Festivals

In 1986 the SABC launched an ambitious annual project known as the National Song Festival, with each of its 15 radio stations represented by an artist (Mojapelo 2008:78). The selection of artists would be released annually as a compilation album celebrating the organised segregation of the music industry.

Interestingly, at the Second National Song Festival in August 1987, a white artist (Vernon Roux) was selected to represent Radio Swazi, while mixed-race acts

²² Pronounced “octave”.

represented Radio Zulu (Lorraine Staple and Karleen Kane), Radio Highveld (Malie Kelly, Kim Kallie and Felicia Marion), Radio Port Natal (Friends First) and Radio Sesotho (Isaac). Complicating matters further was that certain artists represented different stations in 1986 compared to 1987, such as Yvonne Chaka Chaka, who represented Radio Ndebele in 1986 and Radio Lebowa in 1987, and Lorraine Staple, who represented Radio Xhosa in 1986 and Radio Zulu the following year (Mojapelo, 2008:78-79). These trends reveal how the government adapted its policy with regard to popular music to embrace the crossover trend (see chapter three) for its own ends. It also highlights the difficulty of restricting artists to a single audience – and arguably by extension of classifying all individuals according to a single racial group. Nevertheless, as a tool of the regime the National Song Festivals attempted to legitimise and promote government's involvement in the music industry through the SABC.

2.3.3.6 Sponsored Live Events

The government tried to coerce popular musicians to perform at the centenary celebrations of the city of Johannesburg in 1987 and 1988. By then, however, musicians were more mindful of their actions and sensitive to political pressure from other musicians and anti-apartheid organisations. Many chose to boycott the event, including Siphosiphiso "Hotstix" Mabuse, recognising the hypocrisy of being paid to perform in a part of the city – and in aid of the city itself – where black people were ordinarily not allowed to be at night (Drewett, 2003a:196; Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:156).

Big business, closely affiliated to the government, also became involved in the music industry by sponsoring talent searches in the late 1980s. Petrochemical multinational Shell sponsored the Shell Road to Fame, which launched the careers of several pop stars including Rebecca Malope, Sharon Dee and Ringo Madlingozi. South African Breweries sponsored the Lion Lager Road Show, which promoted large live shows and developed new talent. The concerts were staged in various parts of the country and were seen as "the biggest gig of them all" for many of the top bands of the day, such as Juluka, Hotline, Supa Frika, Brenda

Fassie, Rebecca Malope, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Ebony, Mercy Pakela, Stimela, CJB and Thetha (Mojapelo, 2008:80-81). Despite their popularity, however, these events were organised by companies that were happy to do business with the apartheid government. By the mid-1980s, Shell was suffering increasing international criticism for not disinvesting in the country (“Campaign to Boycott Shell”, 1986). Coca-Cola, similarly criticised for not disinvesting during the 1980s, went on to sponsor the similar Full Blast Music Show in 1993 (“Coke Continues Investment in South Africa”, 1986; Mojapelo, 2008:316).

These are the major ways in which the apartheid government attempted to use music to promote apartheid and restrict alternative voices. Together they reflect a complex, wide-ranging and pragmatic set of policies on the part of government to control or at least influence the local music industry in order to use music as an agent of political socialisation and a medium of political communication, which had a significant effect on the creative climate for South African musicians at the time.

2.4 THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT FOR THE CREATIVE CLIMATE FOR MUSICIANS

The combination of repressive laws and government interference in the music industry made it difficult for musicians to create, record and perform their music as they wanted and to perform where they wanted. The creative climate was fraught with political and financial restrictions. Intimidation at the hands of police was relatively common, with touring – an important source of income and exposure for professional musicians – being particularly difficult. To be able to understand these consequences it is important to take note of black musicians’ experiences in this regard.

2.4.1 Political and Financial Restrictions

Musicians in South Africa for long had to deal with political restrictions placed on them. As discussed earlier in this chapter, education and training for black artists were limited. Musicians’ freedom of movement was restricted by pass laws and

their freedom of expression by the threat of censorship. Cultural collaboration was hampered by the tightening of the homeland system²³.

The policy of separate development promoted particular kinds of music among blacks, defined along ethnic lines. Establishment musicians conformed to the government's prescriptions, while anti-establishment musicians sought to actively undermine them. Non-establishment musicians, on the other hand, sought to find a compromise between their own creative intentions within the government-controlled context of the SABC. In doing so, many were drawn into the struggle against apartheid, sometimes becoming identified as outright anti-establishment artists. The situation of Indians and coloureds was more complicated. Whereas traditional Indian music was promoted to Indian audiences (Jackson, 1999), no designated radio stations were established for coloureds. Coloured musicians therefore had to find a place in the black and crossover scene, and came to play a significant role in the bubblegum scene (see chapter three).

Black musicians, however talented and successful they were, had to fight to earn a regular income within the confines of Radio Bantu and other government-sanctioned musical events. They could rarely obtain permits to perform as professional musicians throughout the country and were therefore almost always at the mercy of white promoters, who were often more concerned with their own profits. For decades, black musicians were neither permitted to join a white musicians' union nor to form their own. It was not until the end of the 1950s that copyright and royalty arrangements were introduced, and for many years after that, these served primarily the interests of the white-owned record companies. In order to earn a living, black musicians often had to turn to other odd jobs or hire themselves out as session musicians (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:149).

Many found this situation untenable. Following forced removals in cultural hubs like Sophiatown in Johannesburg and District Six in Cape Town in the 1960s, as well as increasing crackdowns at live venues, particularly for racially mixed groups

²³ Although most black South Africans objected to the homelands, the system nevertheless provided some opportunities for circumventing some of the apartheid prescriptions and proscriptions for both musicians and their audiences, as will become obvious in chapter three.

or audiences, many top musicians chose exile. There they were exposed to a new creative environment, free of government interference, and were able to join the international fight against apartheid (see chapter four). In South Africa their music was frequently banned by the SABC, although their albums were still available for purchase, and assumed a particular significance in the struggle context.

For those musicians who remained in South Africa, the extension of apartheid to radio and the recording industry, as well as with the banning of non-segregated concert venues, made artistic life “nightmarish” and had “tragic consequences for the development of music”. Martin argues that as a result of these obstacles, it took approximately twenty years – from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s – for South African music in general “to come back into its own” (Martin, 1992:198).

For black South African artists, music represented an opportunity to find a certain degree of wealth, fame and power, despite the obstacles. Many were at the receiving end of labels’ quest for profits. The recording industry invested very little money in South African artists and cheap productions were the norm. For example, in 1980 only R2 000 was spent on a record by the very successful Steve Kekana, while annually R100 000 was earmarked to retain foreign artists and their labels (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:155). According to Neo Maphaka from the popular bubblegum duo CJB, black musicians were paid less than their white counterparts (Maphaka, 2009:interview). Former Harari frontman and solo artist “Funky” Masike Mohapi recalled:

We were slaves in disguise... Apartheid killed us, man, it killed us. I’m telling you, if it was not for apartheid, I’m sure most of us would have gone far, very far (Mohapi, 2009:interview).

Government interference in terms of both prescriptions and proscriptions had a major impact on South African music. Music in general was negatively affected, including traditional and even Afrikaans music, albeit to varying degrees. While it was black musicians who suffered most, all establishment and non-establishment musicians had to toe the line to some extent, including whites, who eventually also played a role in systematically eroding apartheid, particularly during the 1980s.

2.4.2 Police Intimidation

With the heightened militarisation of the state during the 1980s, police officers were given increased powers to censor musicians, either by canceling concerts or banning music in terms of the Internal Security Act, as discussed earlier. Musicians such as Roger Lucey were put under strict police surveillance. His was perhaps the most extreme example of a wider trend of police intimidation affecting many musicians, particularly successful black musicians. For musicians in the 1980s, police intimidation was commonplace and underlined their lack of freedom of movement and speech, as well as providing them with a common enemy. Neo Maphaka claims to have been subjected to government surveillance before being detained for a year in 1986, during which physical abuse was common (Maphaka, 2009).

Producer John Galanakis remembers the Venda Kids, a group of teenage musicians from the homeland of Venda:

After a recording session, they were going to catch a taxi and go home. It was quite late at night, around 9 o'clock, after we'd finished recording. As they were going to the taxi, police raided them and started beating them up, in the taxi. They were really heavy – beating them up with batons and things like that. I had to come and explain to the cops, "No, they're not terrorists or anything like that, they're kids! These guys are musicians and they're just going home!" (Galanakis, 2009:interview).

While using public transport at night was often a problem, wealthier musicians who could afford their own cars often drew even more attention from the security establishment, particularly the police. Pat Shange and Dan Tshanda, both successful bubblegum frontmen and producers at the time, remember the difficulties they faced in buying and driving a car. Police officers would be suspicious of a black man driving a relatively expensive car. They would stop them, sometimes even take them to a police station, and demand proof that it was not stolen (Shange, 2009:interview; Tshanda, 2009:interview).

Such examples of police intimidation are common. Even before Shange had the money for a car, he had other encounters with police. Label owner Phil Hollis recalled police arresting musicians such as Shange who did not have permits to

travel, for example between Durban and Johannesburg, to record or perform (Hollis, 2009:interview).

Galanakis tells the story of another bubblegum artist, Dan Nkosi, enduring frequent beatings at the hands of police for walking home at night from practicing with musicians in a designated coloured area in the town of Ermelo (Galanakis, 2009:interview). Producer Ian Osrin recalls musicians being injured at the hands of police and jailed for singing banned songs:

It's bizarre to live through those kinds of war times. I remember doing sessions with people who arrived coughing because they'd been teargassed on their way to work. I had musicians chucked in jail for singing 'Free Nelson Mandela'. That was the time that if you had a picture of Mandela on a coffee cup, you could be locked away for seven years. If you were that blatant, you could get banned (Osrin, 2009:interview).

Police, wary of blacks and whites working and socialising together, would raid the offices of record labels. Benjy Mudie recalls police raiding the offices of WEA/Tusk:

There were times when it became hairy. The raids started at the office, because we had these mixed parties [...] We got raided a couple of times at the office. I was raided once by the Security Police, and then once at home (Mudie, 2009:interview).

Musicians black and white got involved in violence that was flaring up in the townships between Inkatha and the ANC, believed to be spurred on by a government-sponsored "Third Force". Producer Ian Osrin remembers being caught several times in riots that erupted during concerts, and knowing of white sound engineers who were stabbed (Osrin, 2009:interview). Mike Fuller, another white person who spent a lot of time at township concerts, usually as manager of Hotline, remembers:

I had a pick put in my bonnet. I had my kombi stoned around us. I got rescued by the army once from the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville [in Pretoria]. I had sound systems burnt, cars smashed (Fuller, 2009:interview).

The experiences of musicians and others involved in the music industry underline the fact that government interference – in this case police intimidation and violence spurred on by the state – affected popular, non-establishment musicians of all races and was a defining characteristic of the creative climate of the 1980s.

2.4.3 Touring Difficulties

Touring, an essential part of any professional musicians' livelihood, was particularly problematic, especially when artists had to cross borders into homelands or neighbouring countries. Pat Shange recalled being interrogated by border guards while on tour and treated with suspicion to the point of having their vehicles searched in case they were smuggling weapons for the struggle (Shange, 2009:interview).

Galanakis recalled being stopped at a roadblock coming back from the Orange Free State with the band Pure Gold and Blondie Makhene. Police made the black musicians lie "face down on the ground" while Galanakis was made to open the boot at gunpoint so that the car could be searched. On other occasions he also remembers artists having to perform for border police to prove that they were not freedom fighters, and perhaps simply for the guards' entertainment (Galanakis, 2009:interview).

Blondie Makhene remembers how musicians came to accept the repression as part of their job:

The repression – anybody who didn't feel it must've been dead by then. Take for instance when you're on tour – it's after 10pm and you're coming from a concert. You're going to sleep in jail because you haven't got a pass. So basically, you're driving, and you know you're going to sleep in jail. They stop you, they put you in jail, you wake up the next day, you pay your fine, you're on your way again. I experienced jails when I was young, all the time, any time (Makhene, 2009:interview).

Despite the political climate, non-establishment musicians somehow found a way to get by, united against a common enemy and inspired to find creative means to negotiate government interference in the music industry. Some musicians became outspoken political activists, while even those who appeared to ignore politics managed to find more subtle approaches to show their commitment to the struggle. In this way, popular musicians of all genres and orientations were drawn into the political realm.

With the SABC ensuring that the South African music industry was fractured into various ethnic- and language-based target markets, radio stations and record

labels, the repressive circumstances shared by musicians created a sense of unity that flourished in the mid-1980s – formalised initially with the organisation of South African Musicians Against Apartheid in 1986, and two years later with the formation of the South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA), which took its place within the increasingly well-organised and powerful civil society struggle against apartheid (see chapter three).

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the role of the South African government in the country's music industry during the 1980s is explored, particularly how the government used music as a medium of political communication and as an agent of socialisation in order to further the apartheid agenda. A brief look at the socio-political context of the 1980s brought to light how apartheid policy per se restricted the creative environment of artists in general. Government had the power to prohibit public gatherings such as music concerts, ban publications such as music albums, and punish those who produced, distributed or possessed such "undesirable" works. For musicians of all races, there were severe restrictions on movement, often making recording, rehearsing, performing and touring difficult, particularly when trying to collaborate with artists of different races. Apartheid thus had an impact on the creative environment of musicians in general and non-white musicians in particular, through legislation that prescribed and proscribed a number of activities both regarding their daily lives as well as their professions. This impact of apartheid on music can be regarded as a consequence of apartheid policy, whether intended or unintended.

Apart from the consequences that apartheid per se had on music, music was also explicitly utilised by authorities for its strategic value. Culture was a central aspect of separate development, a foundation of apartheid that attempted to encourage the separation of various racial, ethnic and linguistic groups, and the promotion of differences through, for example, homelands designated for particular groups.

Government attempted to use music to actively promote apartheid through several means. The first of these was the SABC, particularly its Radio Bantu

network of ethnic radio stations, each aimed at a particular ethnic or linguistic group. The SABC influenced the music industry in two ways: firstly, by playing and promoting music that fitted into Radio Bantu's ethnic categories, often even recording the music itself, and secondly, by censoring music that did not. The SABC's relative dominance of the airwaves – challenged in the 1980s by the emergence of smaller, independent stations – meant that professional musicians were largely forced to conform to the corporation's prescriptions (or at least appear to do so) in order to be heard by the general public on radio, or to be seen on television. Those barred from airplay struggled to maintain their careers.

Censorship functioned on a number of levels: in government, with the central Directorate of Publications and the Publications Appeal Board, which could ban “undesirable” music submitted to it; at the SABC, by its central committee, at many of its individual stations, and even by the DJs themselves; in the police, who had the power to ban music and stop concerts and were even tasked with harassing particular musicians; and within the music industry itself, as labels and artists attempted to accommodate or even pre-empt the state's prescriptions. Together these various censorship mechanisms restricted musicians and influenced their creative output, by seeking to control the messages that were sent via music. While anti-establishment musicians were largely silenced from widespread public airplay, popular non-establishment musicians were forced to create music that did not offend authorities, at least until the early part of the 1980s. The music industry's self-censorship and the SABC's power to remove certain songs or artists from the airwaves effectively hid the need for the government to ban songs outright through its directorate, which played a diminishing role in the second half of the decade. Censorship was inconsistently applied and conflict between the various censorship bodies was frequent, highlighting the complexity and difficulty of government's attempts to control the music industry and use it for its own ends.

Besides prohibiting certain kinds of music, government also took a more active role in encouraging new music that could be used to further its own agenda. The primary means of doing so was by funding the performing arts via provincial performing arts councils, which favoured Afrikaans-medium performances and

European “high art” such as opera and symphony orchestras over African or contemporary popular genres, and which only opened their stages to black performers in 1987, following a government directive. The state also sanctioned “tribal musicals” that attempted to promote the apartheid status quo, and which were met with increasing opposition locally and internationally in the 1980s, the most famous example being *Ipi Tombi*. By channeling financial and other resources into certain types of music and not into others, the state helped to create an arts industry that was skewed in favour of productions that promoted separate development. In this way, as with the SABC, the state attempted to dictate to South Africans of all races what they should be listening to or watching on stage, and attempted to create an environment in which professional performers were encouraged to conform to certain state-prescribed ideals. Another method by the government to use music for its own ends was paying international stars to perform in South African, in urban areas as well as at venues in homelands such as Sun City. This was a way to counter South Africa’s isolation, particularly the cultural boycott of the country, to validate the homeland system and to disprove critics of the regime. Due to increased mobilisation locally and internationally, however, by the mid-1980s this strategy had been exposed and Sun City itself had become synonymous with the international struggle against apartheid.

By 1986 the government had begun to adopt new methods of using musicians to promote separate development. Recognising the power of popular musicians, particularly collaborative “crossover” projects, it paid nearly 50 of the country’s most popular artists of all races to record a ‘Peace Song’, ‘Together we will Build a Brighter Future’. The project was immediately identified and dismissed by the public as government propaganda and had to be aborted. The government was also firmly entrenched in the music industry in three other ways. The industry’s official annual awards, the Saries, rewarded artists in established white genres but neglected traditional black genres, highlighting the second-class status of black musicians and genres. Launched in 1986 by the SABC, National Song Festivals rewarded artists representing each of 15 SABC stations and released them together on a compilation album. The festivals promoted artists seen to conform to the prescriptions of the SABC and thus served to legitimise and promote

government's involvement in the music industry. The government also paid local artists to perform at sponsored live events, such as the centenary celebrations of Johannesburg, although this was less successful than its indirect involvement in sanctioning popular roadshows and talent searches in the late 1980s, the most notable sponsored by Shell, a multinational that had ignored pressure to disinvest in the country.

The government's involvement in the music industry, as well as apartheid legislation in general and other factors such as the cultural boycott, created a difficult climate for South African musicians during the 1980s. Besides political and financial restrictions, respondents noted that police intimidation was common, while touring posed many difficulties. Dissenting voices were often silenced.

The government's use of music as a medium of political communication and an agent of socialisation in the context of apartheid during the 1980s provides a good example of Pratt's notion of the conservative or hegemonic use of music – that is to maintain the dominant ideology, traditions, institutions and balance of power. Given that musicians were also using music for emancipatory purposes (discussed in the next chapter), this notion also illustrates the "negotiated" use of music, which takes place within what is condoned from above but nevertheless holds the potential for "a limited or partial realm of freedom" (Pratt, 1990:9-14).

The government's use of music as a medium of political communication and as an agent of political socialisation had several consequences. It created a demand for particular kinds of music, but the restrictive nature of this creative environment stimulated a desire among both establishment and non-establishment musicians for a freer environment. As a result, many musicians sympathised and even joined the struggle. Some went into exile, where there were opportunities for more exposure in a freer creative environment and they were able to join the international fight against apartheid (see chapter four).

Despite its intentions and some success until the early 1980s, the South African government ultimately did not succeed in its attempts to use music as an agent of political socialisation and a medium of political communication, as well as in its

counter-revolutionary strategy. As the popular struggle against apartheid mounted over the course of the 1980s, the government's attempts to co-opt musicians proved increasingly futile. As the case of the government-sanctioned 'Peace Song' illustrates, for example, legitimacy is an important factor in social engineering. Without it, government's attempts to use music to further its own ends eventually unraveled as musicians refused to be co-opted. Similarly, other methods to promote separate development through music, such as inviting international artists to perform at racially integrated audiences at Sun City or promoting "tribal musicals" on stage, at times had the opposite of their intended effect – by exposing white South Africans to a wider, multiracial South African culture. Many non-establishment musicians of all races found inspiration in the repressive conditions, and musicians gradually came to the forefront of the mounting struggle against apartheid. Their role in this fight within South Africa will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

LOCALLY-BASED MUSICIANS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The 1980s was the decade in which the struggle against apartheid matured and gained unprecedented momentum. Non-establishment and, particularly, anti-establishment musicians were not going to sit idle in this regard. In the previous chapter it was indicated how the government used and interfered with music and how this affected the music industry, but it is also necessary to determine how musicians reacted to that, and how music was used as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation against apartheid. The focus in this chapter is therefore on the second sub-problem of this research: to determine how, to what extent and to what effect local musicians became involved in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa²⁴.

In order to understand the role of non-establishment and anti-establishment musicians in the struggle, it is important to briefly outline the struggle context of music in general, as well as the rise of civil society in particular. Thus, the discussion in this chapter will begin by outlining the struggle context of music during the 1980s, as well as the rise of civil society against apartheid, which gained momentum during the 1980s and was one of the defining features of the struggle during the decade. As the struggle mounted, so too did the role of popular music within it. By the mid-1980s, music was used to confront the state and its organs directly and to advance political change (Schumann, 2008:31-32). It is therefore important to outline the key developments in the struggle during the 1980s: the rise of the union movement and the subsequent establishment of the United Democratic Front, COSATU and the Mass Democratic Movement, and to consider the role of musicians within each. Music played an important role in the union movement, a role ultimately formalised with the establishment of the South

²⁴ The term "struggle" is sometimes associated with the ANC in particular. However, in this dissertation it is used more generally to describe the fight against apartheid and an unjust political dispensation in general.

African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA) to promote a unified front in the face of severe repression, as well as to help negotiate the cultural boycott.

Once the political context, particularly the struggle context, of the 1980s has been discussed, key musical developments of the decade will be explored. These are the emergence of bubblegum, collaborative "crossover" music and reggae as popular genres, as well as the role of new independent record labels, live performances and venues, and the growth of independent radio stations that challenged the government's own attempts to influence the music industry. After outlining the musical context of the 1980s, musicians' responses to repression can then be explored in more detail, beginning with their conscientisation and growing importance within the struggle. The various methods they employed in their songwriting to beat the censors and get their message heard will then be outlined, such as double meanings, satire, positive social and moral messages, re-interpreting existing songs, album covers, and alternative channels for recording, performing or selling their music.

This chapter ends with a consideration of how the repressive circumstances for musicians and the steps they took to further the struggle began to change at the end of the 1980s with the gradual onset of democracy. It also briefly outlines their new role within civil society during the process of negotiations and the transition to democracy, as well as the resulting changes to popular music genres within this new and rapidly changing context.

3.2 THE STRUGGLE CONTEXT OF MUSIC IN THE 1980s: CIVIL SOCIETY, TRADE UNIONS AND MUSICIANS

The struggle against apartheid had many facets and was among other things a popular uprising organised by civil society, with the aid of international pressure. Music had an important role to play on every level, as indeed it did in other social movements around the world, for example in the USA during the civil rights movement of the 1960s; in the UK with the Rock Against Racism movement in the late 1970s; in Chile, where musician activist Victor Jara was arrested, tortured and

killed in 1973; as well as in China, Argentina, Hungary, Nigeria and Jamaica, among many other examples (Pratt, 1990:199; Garofalo, 1992a:10). The link between music and social movements was particularly strong in the 1980s, a time when “the alliance between politics and popular music” had become closer than ever before (Pratt, 1990:3).

The 1980s in South Africa was characterised by the growth of the struggle into an organised mass movement incorporating the newly formed black workers’ unions and large sectors of civil society. Musicians played a role in this part of the struggle, organising themselves into alliances to coordinate their political viewpoints and voice their grievances against state repression. Music also played an increasingly important role in various political organisations and churches, as well as theatres and schools. At political meetings, rallies, protests and funerals, musicians often took centre stage, and music was used to unite all participants under a common goal to end apartheid.

Civil society in general could be divided into state-endorsed and “disobedient” sectors thereof – often a cause of tension. In the church, for example, the Nederduits Gereformeerde (NG) Kerk²⁵ historically had close ties to apartheid and the ideology of Afrikaner supremacy. The South African Council of Churches, on the other hand, led by inter alia Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naude (a former minister of the NG Church) and Frank Chikane, were part of the fight against apartheid and aligned to the ANC. Similarly, sports unions were divided along racial lines. The creation of separate race- and ethnic-based civil societies would eventually make it extremely difficult for government to control all of them. The growing power of the section of civil society that was opposed to apartheid social engineering – in which musicians often played a role, either central or peripheral – played a key role in the struggle. While musicians played an important role in opposing the apartheid state through their recordings and performances, they also played a role within the larger civil society struggle (Drewett 2003b:163).

²⁵ Translated as the Dutch Reformed Church, but not to be confused with the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk (NHK). Along with the Gereformeerde Kerke (GK), the three form the Dutch Reformed group of churches.

In order to understand the role of civil society in the struggle and of musicians within this, it is important to pay attention to the rise of the union movement, the UDF, COSATU and the MDM, as well as the establishment of SAMA.

3.2.1 The Rise of the Union Movement

Of particular importance in the rise of civil society against apartheid was the union movement, which used an increase in strike action, demonstrations, stay-aways and mass actions to win union demands (Marx, 1992:195-197; Seo, 2008:259). The 1980s saw the consolidation of much of the black workforce into an organised body capable of effectively combating apartheid. With the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act No. 94 of 1979 and the Labour Relations Amendment Act No. 57 of 1981, black unions were legally recognised (Mufson, 1991:8). Unions arose in important industries with large workforces and were soon linked together in a national trade union body, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), established in 1979. It emerged as the main union federation advocating transformation and maintained a strong non-racial position (Marx, 1992:195).

Importantly, FOSATU did not represent all unions. There were major differences between the various competing blocs in the union movement. Together these organisations represented the entire political spectrum and ranged from exclusively white organisations to multiracial, nonracial and exclusively black organisations²⁶ (Bendix, 1989:197). This reflected the increasing polarisation of South African society into the white exclusivist camp, the black exclusivist and black national camps and the non-racial movements (Bendix, 1989:211). This polarisation fuelled heightened violence during the mid-1980s, much of it between rival black groups (Lodge, 1991:142).

One black union alliance in opposition to FOSATU was affiliated with Inkatha, the

²⁶ The Black Consciousness faction of the union movement was established in the 1970s by the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU). This led to the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), established in 1977, to seek the support of the Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions (CCOBATU), from which the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) later emerged. In 1983, the National Forum was launched, with AZAPO as its leading constituent. In May 1984, Black Consciousness-oriented unions launched the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU). AZACTU and CUSA merged in October 1986 and later became known as the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) (Bendix, 1989:199,205-208; Lodge: 1991:142).

Zulu movement established in the mid-1970s, initially as a Zulu cultural organisation. Its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, helped establish the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA) on May Day 1986 to promote Inkatha's involvement in the union movement (Bendix, 1989:208). Under Inkatha's influence the messages of Zulu music began to be redefined, so that "authenticity" ruled out anti-apartheid sentiments. Maskandi musicians involved in the struggle, such as Phuzekhemisi, received death threats and beatings (Ansell, 2004:197-198).

Despite the intentions of UWUSA and others, FOSATU remained the largest and most significant of the federations²⁷. At first it tried to distance itself from political affiliations, but with its increased prominence and the circumstances of the time, it was obliged to play a greater political role. FOSATU's leadership adopted a sympathetic view towards the pressures experienced by its members, particularly in townships. Unions engaged in mobilisation and protest actions in support of political demands to weaken the regime, for example by supporting disinvestment. The call for national liberation, particularly by the ANC, was supported by many workers. FOSATU's gradual politicisation provided an important boost to civil society's struggle as trade unions developed closer links to black civic organisations (Webster, 1991:50, 54-55; Seo, 2008:257-259; Bendix, 1989:201; "Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)", no date). In this way FOSATU laid the foundation for civil society's fight against apartheid, one in which musicians came to play an increasingly important role.

3.2.2 United Democratic Front (UDF)

Another important force in civil society's struggle was the United Democratic Front (UDF), formed in 1983 in Cape Town as a reaction to government's proposed reforms, as discussed in chapter two. The UDF was essentially a non-racial umbrella federation linking a large number of organisations varying in function, size, political orientation and social impact, including trade unions, civic bodies, youth organisations, religious agencies and cultural groups. These affiliates often had diverse ideologies and functions, but were united in their opposition to the

²⁷ FOSATU membership grew from 45 000 in 1979 to 95 000 by 1981. By 1980 "the building blocks for an unprecedented surge of black political opposition were in place" (Mufson, 1991:8). In the period between 1982 and 1985 FOSATU experienced a slower yet still substantial growth (Seo, 2008:259).

government's reform program. At its peak, the UDF claimed about 700 affiliates covering every major concentration of population in the country, with a membership of close to three million²⁸ (Lodge, 1991:51-52; “Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) Begins their Defiance Campaign”, no date).

Underlining the significance of music within the movement, when the UDF was launched, a new band was invited to perform for the occasion, the African Jazz Pioneers²⁹, a multiracial, multi-generational band playing a “national music”, jazz that was strongly influenced by marabi (Ansell, 2004:189). With the UDF’s launch and the African Jazz Pioneers sold-out concert, “things did not look the same afterward” for both the struggle and music’s role in it (Ballantine, 1989:309). The event united various generations of South African musicians and presented a united front against apartheid authorities, connecting contemporary musicians with surviving members of the Sophiatown era of the 1950s that the government had put an end to, and creating an inclusive South African sound that served to break down the ethnic barriers of music that the government promoted through the SABC.

Building on this, trade unions and the UDF established “cultural desks”, while individual union branches set up “cultural locals” to organise cultural activities and help members develop their writing and performance skills. The desks emerged from discussions with the ANC in exile, which had established its own Department of Arts and Culture in 1982, and which felt the need for information and policy feedback from home. The first was the Durban Cultural Workers’ Local (DCWL), established in 1984. As well as plays and poems, the cultural locals provided a support base for *mzabalazo*, struggle songs sung by workers’ choirs. Workers from individual unions and even large companies such as Clover and Kellogg’s established their own choirs. Building on the existing tradition of choral music, a

²⁸ Essentially the first mass political movement since opposition parties were banned in 1960, the UDF called for a “culture of resistance”. Between 1984 and 1987, answering the exiled ANC’s call to “render South Africa ungovernable”, the UDF saw to it that pupils boycotted classes, householders refused to pay rent to township councils and workers stayed away from work on days of mourning. Civic associations organised down to the level of street committees began to take over the functions of local government such as street cleaning (Ansell, 2004:189-191).

²⁹ The African Jazz Pioneers are an influential South African band playing jazz associated with the sounds of the 1950s, specifically marabi and big band jazz. The band’s original members were active in the 1950s and decided to reunite as the African Jazz Pioneers in the early 1980s using both veterans and younger musicians. The Pioneers have toured the world since the late 1980s, performing all over Europe as well as Australia and Japan. They released a string of albums in the 1990s and continue to perform today. Saxophonist Ntengi Piliso led the band until his death in 2000, after which guitarist Albert Kumalo took over.

new genre was created – choral music with lyrics that focused on workers’ rights rather than religious issues (Ansell, 2004:191). One of the most famous recorded examples of this was Shifty Records’ release of the Fosatu Worker Choirs in 1985. Mbube/iscathamiya choirs also sang regularly at mass rallies (Ballantine, 1989:306). Toyi-toyi, a syncopated march that had developed decades earlier, began to be seen widely at funerals, meetings and marches, accompanied by freedom songs and chanted poems. For many people, music and dance were inseparable from public protest. Protest itself became a form of musical expression. Music was thus a tool to unify and mobilise people in the struggle against apartheid. These songs in turn were incorporated or sampled by some popular musicians (Ansell, 2004:194-195). An example is Sipho Mabuse’s 1989 hit ‘Chant of the Marching’ (recorded in London), which though banned by the SABC was still readily available to record buyers. The song opens with the sampled sound of marchers toyi-toying and the shouts of crowds (Ansell, 2004:194-195), before Mabuse’s lyrics tell a story of fervent resistance in the face of violent oppression:

I remember the day,
When I heard the sound of the marching feet from a distance,
Rising all the way,
From the sound of the stomping feet to the sound of resistance.
Then there was fire and insurrection,
Rocks and stones, and action.
Bullets and pellets from every direction,
Sirens and silence, unnatural oppression.
People chanting, people rising.
You know, someday when it's part of our history,
Our children will learn from the past.
Someday when they tell our story,
Children will learn from our past.
Teach our children,
Human rights sacrificed, security fortified, authority satisfied,
In a brutal state of anger.
Someone is dead, with a hole in his head.
A mother is crying, another is trying,
To explain, why a nation is dying.

The themes of workers’ protest songs and poems were also incorporated by churches, another sector of civil society, many of which had become centres of resistance, where new struggle-oriented hymns were being composed and sung (Ansell, 2004:195). With government clamping down on live performances,

popular musicians often used church halls or university campuses as venues, affirming the link between musicians and civil society.

New independent music schools were also established in the second half of the 1980s as part of the UDF's mission to establish structures that were autonomous from apartheid, at a time when government-controlled black schools, already scorned by many teenagers since 1976, offered no formal music education, and unrest in the townships made the traditional route of apprenticeship in a neighbourhood band more difficult. The new music schools were created around community arts centres, such as the Funda Community College's Arts Centre in Diepkloof, Soweto, the Federated Union of Black Artists' (FUBA) School of Dramatic and Visual Arts in Newtown, Johannesburg and Music Action for People's Power (MAPP)³⁰ in Cape Town. In Durban, American jazz musician Darius Brubeck headed the university's multiracial School of Popular Music and Jazz Studies (Ansell, 2004:217; Martin, 1992:201; Mojapelo, 2008:81). While seeking to make themselves independent of government, the schools also helped to mobilise musicians in the anti-apartheid struggle.

3.2.3 COSATU and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)

With the growing union movement still divided along ideological lines, individual unions realised that they would be more effective if they were united. Unity talks began as early as 1979 and accelerated from 1981 to 1985, during which time differences of opinion and policy were ironed out ("Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)", no date). FOSATU had become one of the central advocates of building a broad unity among the emerging unions and helped in November 1985 to engineer the creation of a "super-federation" – the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest trade union in South African history³¹.

³⁰ MAPP started in 1986 as a loose collective of jazz musicians affiliated to the UDF and determined to use music as a vehicle for liberation and to undermine the government. It held cultural workshops with trade unions, community organizations and youth groups before opening a school in 1989, when its name was adjusted to Music Action for People's Progress (Martin, 2013:243).

³¹ COSATU became, and remains, a powerful bloc on the South African political landscape (Seo, 2008:260). COSATU consisted originally of about 450 000 members in 33 unions, including all previous FOSATU affiliates (Bendix, 1989:207).

Following the State of Emergency, COSATU and the UDF started to form closer links, formalised in 1989 with the launch of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). The formation of the MDM signalled the consolidation and unity of civil society bodies opposed to apartheid with the union movement and the popular struggle against apartheid as a whole, and allowed for powerful, coordinated action to be taken against the regime. For example, acts of civil disobedience were encouraged throughout the country³² (“Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) begins their Defiance Campaign”, no date).

During the 1980s civil society organisations increasingly began to exercise a coordinated stance against an unjust political dispensation. Even those traditionally aligned with the government became critical of it. In this way, trade unionism in South Africa assumed the role of a social movement concerned with broader issues of social justice, not only economic ones. It forged alliances with community groups and sought to mobilise members against wider social injustice, not only within the workplace. The music fraternity also became part of this dimension of the fight against apartheid. In this way, the rise of civil society during the 1980s had a profound effect on the struggle for democracy in South Africa. The political pressure that civil society, in combination with international economic sanctions, was able to exert through mass mobilisation and stimulating a spirit of ungovernability effectively forced the state to adopt measures of political liberalisation and to consider negotiations as an option to ending endemic political strife (Marx, 1992:159-163; Seo, 2008:256).

For musicians, the MDM provided another platform, outside the commercial music industry, to play a part in mobilising popular support for the struggle and promoting unity within the anti-apartheid movement as a whole.

³² For example, protests against segregation in hospitals led to the admission of over 200 black patients to formerly whites-only hospitals. The result of the Defiance Campaign was that police restraint was used during civilian marches and protests for the first time in the history of apartheid. Permission for the MDM to stage further protest marches was granted, marking a major turning point in the apartheid government and their reaction to anti-apartheid movements (“Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) begins their Defiance Campaign”, no date).

3.2.4 South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA)

The role of musicians in the larger civil society struggle against apartheid during the 1980s was formalised with the formation of the South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA) in September 1988, with Mara Louw as president and Johnny Clegg as vice-president (Clegg & Drewett, 2006:134). It signified the culmination of numerous similar efforts that preceded it. The first was the Union of South African Artists (also known as Union Artists), which in 1954 organised a farewell concert featuring 200 musicians for Trevor Huddleston, ahead of his return to Britain. With the proceeds of this concert the Union could make a start with the payment of royalties to black musicians (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:150-151). For many years after that, however, musicians of all races lacked a platform to organise themselves. Some attempts were made to organise and protect the rights of artists, particularly black artists. For example, in 1978 an attempt was made to unite black musicians under the banner of Black Artists Management, the first black-owned recording label, founded by Kolozi Lebona and Babsy Mlangeni. In 1985, Lebona, Jimmy Mojapelo, Sipho Mabuse and Alec Khaoli convened a meeting of more than 200 musicians to exchange ideas on how they could stop the perceived exploitation of musicians by labels and the SABC. An interim committee made up of Mabuse, Abigail Khubeka, Steve Kekana, Johnny Clegg, Khaoli, Khaya Mahlangu and Johnny Dimba was elected to draft a constitution and find ways and means of addressing musicians' challenges (Mojapelo, 2008:22-23), which laid the foundations for a permanent musicians' union.

In January 1986, over 50 top popular musicians, both black and white, had united as South African Musicians Against Apartheid. They took out advertisements in major South African newspapers denouncing apartheid and calling for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the withdrawal of troops from townships and the lifting of the state of emergency. They also noted "the extreme difficulties" that were experienced by musicians "in their attempt to further South African culture in the immensely oppressive atmosphere pervading our country" (Miller, 1986:9). According to signatory Johnny Clegg, the aim of the new group was not to reflect international sentiment or gain overseas recognition, but

simply to unite a fragmented group of musicians and apply pressure for change (Miller, 1986:9; "South African Musicians Band Against Apartheid", no date).

Another similar effort was the Musicians' Association of South Africa, also called the Musicians' Alliance, founded by journalist Derrick Thema. It too sought to negotiate the cultural boycott, and would later give its approval to Paul Simon's *Born at the Right Time* tour in early 1992 (Mojapelo, 2008:23).

It was only with the official formation of SAMA in 1988 that musicians finally had their own political union through which they could channel their efforts and receive guidance (Drewett, 2003b:163). The alliance's aim was to support musicians' rights in general, including both their economic and political interests. It appealed to progressive musicians of all races who were sympathetic to the struggle. In order to accommodate divergent political positions, the alliance did not affiliate itself to any particular political organisation – but it did put forward its own political position based on the political needs of musicians (Clegg & Drewett, 2006:134).

Former SAMA vice-president Rashid Lanie explained in an interview:

All cultural structures in our country unfortunately have been working in a vacuum [...] in the sense that firstly there is no finance to ensure that there are strong infrastructural elements within these cultural structures to ensure that when certain positions are taken, that those positions are taken effectively, because there are channels or structures through which those positions could then be made popular in the community or throughout the country (Schreiner, 1991:138-139).

After much discussion, SAMA was developed around three freedoms: freedom of association, freedom of expression and freedom of movement. These were crucial for the livelihood of musicians because they had to move around, they had to be able to sing about what they wanted to, and they had to be able to associate with people of other races and ethnic groups to do their work. This political position was debated and accepted by the UDF, giving SAMA important influence within the anti-apartheid movement. In exchange, musicians who became members of the alliance had to subscribe to SAMA's political position (Clegg & Drewett, 2006:134).

SAMA was able to assist the UDF in taking a position on the international cultural boycott (see chapter five) and together give clearance to musicians wanting to perform overseas or to international artists wanting to come to South Africa. One of the advantages of joining SAMA was thus to get help in navigating their way around the obstacles created by the cultural boycott. The union realised it was important that there be a mechanism for the organisers of the boycott to distinguish between the culture of the oppressed masses and the culture of the ruling elite. The argument from progressive musicians was that they were the ones who were being boycotted, censored, banned and having their shows stopped. After negotiations with anti-apartheid groups it was agreed that members of SAMA were considered acceptable for overseas performance (Clegg & Drewett, 2006:134-135; Drewett, 2003b:163). However, disputes over who could perform where and when still abounded. SAMA's role in negotiating the cultural boycott was complicated by other bodies who attempted to do the same, such as AZAPO³³ and MDALI³⁴ (Beaubien, 1982:14-16; Fleshman, 1982:5), as well as international pressure groups³⁵ (discussed in chapter five).

In 1990 SAMA artists recorded 'The People Want Mandela' to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release. Written by Jennifer Ferguson, Rashid Lanie, Victor Ntoni and Ray Phiri, the song was recorded by numerous top South African artists. However, due to a number of reasons, the song and its accompanying video were never released or broadcast in South Africa, although it was released and screened in the USA. According to the video's director, Nic Hofmeyr, the song was only performed live twice, at a club in central Johannesburg and at the Human Rainbow concert at Ellis Park, held in honour of Nelson Mandela's recent release³⁶ (Hofmeyr, 2013).

Regardless of the difficulties it faced, SAMA was an important initiative taken by musicians wanting more security and control over their lives and careers in the

³³ The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was a political movement established in the late 1970s in line with Black Consciousness ideology.

³⁴ The Music, Drama, Arts, and Literature Institute (MDALI) was affiliated to the Black Consciousness Movement. Founded in the early 1970s, it represented the interests of black artists in South Africa.

³⁵ SAMA's efforts within South Africa dovetailed with those of similar organisations overseas, such as South African Artists United (SAAU) made of exiled musicians (discussed in chapter four) and Artists United Against Apartheid (AUAA) made up of international musicians who supported the struggle (discussed in chapter five).

³⁶ The initial Human Rainbow concert, planned for 1989, had been banned by the government.

repressive context of the 1980s. Even though SAMA did not officially affiliate itself with the UDF, musicians were drawn into the broader struggle when they performed at political rallies for the UDF, as they were at rallies for COSATU and the End Conscription Campaign, as well as at protests and funerals of activists, for example (Clegg & Drewett, 2006:135; Drewett, 2003a:285; Drewett, 2003b:163). All serve to underline the contribution of music and musicians to the struggle movement, officially embodied by the UDF and MDM, as well as trade union organisations such as FOSATU and its successor COSATU – and not only within the music industry itself, which will be discussed in the following sections.

3.3 KEY MUSICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE DECADE

While local musicians played a valuable role within civil society and the trade union movement, the 1980s also saw numerous musical developments taking place that enabled musicians to fight apartheid in new ways. These include the emergence of bubblegum, crossover and reggae and the growth of independent record labels, a thriving live circuit and new independent radio stations.

3.3.1 The Emergence of “Bubblegum” Music

As a form of black pop music, bubblegum³⁷ succeeded the western-oriented “Soweto soul”, funk, Harari’s Afro-rock and R&B³⁸, all of which emerged in South Africa at the end of the 1970s. The genre that came to be known as bubblegum emerged out of these popular genres and is largely credited with beginning with Brenda & The Big Dudes’ 1983 hit ‘Weekend Special’ (Coplan, 2007:294-295).

Bubblegum as a label for South African pop music is a slightly more recent invention. It reportedly first came from the media to differentiate certain commercial acts from more serious or cerebral music, such as Stimela and Sakhile (Hollis, 2009:interview). However, bubblegum as a label is a source of

³⁷ Outside South Africa, the term “bubblegum” was also used to describe pop music in the late 1960s and 1970s in the USA and UK that was aimed specifically at teenagers and even pre-teens. In the late 1990s, the term “bubblegum dance” came to be attached to a style of European dance music, particularly from Scandinavia, characterised by relatively cute or childish lyrics.

³⁸ Soul, funk and R&B (rhythm and blues) are labels for successive forms of American popular music during the 1970s and 1980s, particularly popular with black audiences, with the exception of disco which enjoyed wider success.

constant contestation. It is a label given to pop music produced during the 1980s in South Africa. It was initially intended to be derogatory, implying that the music was sweet but short-lived, to be disposed of after losing its flavour. There was some truth in this. At a time of state repression and censorship, many artists (such as Brenda & The Big Dudes, Mercy Pakela and Cheek To Cheek) chose to write fun, escapist music to entertain the masses. But many other artists used this misconception about bubblegum to veil their political messages in seemingly innocuous lyrics or melodies, which became increasingly common in the second half of the decade.

Misconceptions and prejudices regarding the genre remain. Because the label bubblegum is considered to be derogatory, many in the industry never used it, instead preferring labels like township pop, disco or Afro-pop (Tladi, 2009:interview; Kekana, 2009:interview; Maduna, 2009:interview). Despite the initial intentions, the label stuck. Most involved in the music industry accepted the term as a descriptive label. Malcolm Watson, prominent producer at CCP Record Company, the black music division of major label EMI, of artists like Brenda & The Big Dudes, CJB and Cheek To Cheek, sums it up: “We didn’t really care what it was called, so long as it sold. You can call it anything” (Watson, 2009:interview). According to Neo Maphaka,

It’s how people identified our music, so there’s nothing wrong with ‘bubblegum’. It doesn’t do me any harm, because we sold more than the rest (Maphaka, 2009:interview).

Criticism of bubblegum’s perceived lack of musicianship stems from the fact that advances in technology during the 1980s made the role of the producer and engineer more important in crafting songs, often at the expense of traditional instruments. Bubblegum was the start of machine-made (electronic) commercial music in South Africa – but this characteristic was part of an international trend in popular music that continues today. As with most pop music, following the success of certain artists, a host of imitators followed. According to Peter Tladi,

They call it bubblegum because it’s something that you can chew and then throw away. Some of the songs would come in, after two months it’s finished, then another one comes in. We were churning them out like bubblegum (Tladi, 2009:interview).

Bubblegum set itself apart from other popular genres in that it was not associated with any particular ethnic group. Unlike other genres, English was frequently used in bubblegum songs, especially when the genre first emerged in the mid-1980s, often combined with one or more vernacular languages. Musicians who stuck to “pure” use of a single indigenous language, on the other hand, were easily categorised, and album covers labelled, according to the language group of the artist³⁹. This was also a result of where they came from. The music of artists based in homelands was often “ethnicised”, relegated to specific ethnic markets, whereas many bubblegum stars came from multi-ethnic families in and around cosmopolitan Johannesburg, particularly Soweto. Bubblegum by comparison was not ‘ethnicised’ and its musicians were therefore able to tap into a larger audience (Madalane, 2012: 93,98-99). Bubblegum thus provided artists and listeners a glimpse of what might be possible in a non-racial and non-ethnicised, democratic South Africa.

Adding to this image of bubblegum as an inclusive genre, the bubblegum sound was the result of numerous influences, not only black local and American sounds, but also coloured musicians and songwriters and white producers and engineers. For example, the landmark single ‘Weekend Special’ was written by a coloured musician, Melvyn Matthews. Other coloured funk musicians, such as The Rockets, Neville Nash, Supa Frika (Henry Maitin) and Al Etto⁴⁰, were popular with black audiences. Coloured musicians were effectively forced to cross over to a broader audience due to there being no SABC radio station aimed specifically at coloured audiences. Most of the early bubblegum hits were recorded by a small group of white producers and engineers, such as Malcolm Watson, Attie van Wyk, Richard Mitchell, John Galanakis, Ian Osrin, Ron “Bones” Brettell, Selwyn Shandel, Ronnie Robot, Sam Wingate and others, who played a large part in creating the bubblegum sound. Despite this, however, the vast majority of bubblegum music was aimed at and consumed by black listeners.

³⁹ Tsonga music is one example of this, developed by the need for music for the Radio Bantu service in the 1960s. It became “Tsonga Traditional” with the emergence in the 1980s of “Tsonga Disco”, which came to describe any dance music sung in Tsonga. Pop music sung by Tsonga artists such as Paul Ndlovu was thus labelled “Tsonga Disco” instead of just “disco” or bubblegum. Despite the music itself being very similar to bubblegum, the language of the lyrics dictated how the music was categorised and defined the genre used to describe it (Madalane, 2012:93-99).

⁴⁰ Etto was one of the first to “discover” a teenage Brenda Fassie in Cape Town before she left for Johannesburg and in this way also contributed to the bubblegum scene.

By the end of the 1980s, the appeal of the sound was waning. According to John Galanakis,

A lot of the records were starting to sound the same, copying the same style and the same beat, and the same rhythm, the same three-chord sequence that everybody was using (Galanakis, 2009:interview).

Moses Ngwenya, influential keyboardist of mbaqanga stars The Soul Brothers, said:

Sometimes if one artist comes with a certain type of music, then the rest will follow – using the same keyboard, the same drums, the same everything. There were too many musicians copying, doing the same thing, trying to sing like Chicco or Brenda (Ngwenya, 2009:interview).

Because it is produced for a mass audience, popular music in general, not only South African music of the 1980s, could arguably be labelled bubblegum. Understood in this way, bubblegum is simply a derogatory term for any pop music. Orrack Chabangu, who worked for CCP/EMI during the 1980s and later became the company's general manager, felt that bubblegum was a label not only for South African music, but rather for any music that “would come and go”, including American disco artists such as Donna Summer. A feature of this music was that it was quickly consumed and then disposed of in favour of the next popular song (Chabangu, 2009:interview).

While some criticise the music for its “bubblegum” characteristics – its western influence, commercial nature, relative lack of originality or musicianship, its sense of fun and escapism, and particularly its apparent lack of political outspokenness (because political messages were typically disguised in seemingly innocuous lyrics to escape censorship) – these are a reflection of the political context of the time, as well as international musical trends and technological⁴¹ and political factors. Bubblegum artists dominated the industry in the mid- to late-1980s and influenced subsequent popular genres such as kwaito and gospel⁴². Due largely to

⁴¹ Bubblegum's innovative use of new electronic instruments reflected a trend among international pop music of the time, where synthesizers and new studio production techniques came to replace traditional instrumentation.

⁴² Gospel artists began to enjoy huge sales in the late 1980s and continue to do so today. One of the earliest gospel stars, Rebecca Malope, started as a bubblegum singer, while other popular singers such as Peta Teanet and Nana “Coyote” Motijoane recorded gospel songs.

their mass appeal, bubblegum artists assumed a central role in the popular struggle against apartheid, along with “crossover” and reggae artists.

3.3.2 The Growth of Collaborative “Crossover” Music and the Role of White Musicians

The label “crossover” refers more to an approach to songwriting than to a particular sound. This approach, emphasising collaboration between musicians of different genres or races, became increasingly popular during the 1980s. Musical fusions were achieved in several ways: by mixing genres or languages within one song or album; by the collaboration of musicians of different races or backgrounds; or by virtue of being appreciated and consumed by audiences of different races or backgrounds (Byerly, 1998:24). Given the context outlined in the previous chapter, collaboration between artists of different races and cultural backgrounds had a powerful political significance.

While some multiracial bands did exist before the 1980s, many more emerged during the decade, such as Johnny Clegg with Juluka and Savuka, Mango Groove, Zia, Ozila, The Dynamics, Winston’s Jive Mix-Up, Friends First, Chess, Louis & The Jive, Lappaside, Walk This Way and Wozani. White bands like Hotline developed loyal black followings, while certain black artists also managed to break into the white market, for example Spho “Hotstix” Mabuse, Margaret Singana, Joy, Stimela and MarcAlex. Before the 1980s, certain bands fused various genres, most notably Harari and Malombo, but by the mid-1980s this emphasis on fusion gained new momentum, with groups such as Sakhile, Bayete, Sabenza, Tananas and others mixing contemporary and traditional genres (Schumann, 2008:33). Doing so went against the prescriptions of the SABC and the government, making it difficult for them to get airplay, but they remained popular due to their live performances and albums.

Besides bands, groups of artists combined to record specific projects with a cooperative, anti-apartheid message. For example, in 1985, pop musicians of all races put their weight behind the struggle via charity Operation Hunger, the express aim of which was to fight malnutrition rather than apartheid, but which

also espoused a strong anti-apartheid message. The collaborative single 'Living Land', written by Des Lindberg and Zane Cronjé, featured a large cast of prominent black and both English and Afrikaans white musicians, including Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Johnny Clegg, Brenda Fassie, Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse, Neville Nash and Hotline's PJ Powers and Alistair Coakley, among many others. The album's liner notes reveal the extent to which the participating musicians were conscious of their role in the struggle and the ability to influence listeners:

Living Land is an expression of hope, and a gesture of musical solidarity in a time when many in South Africa are in despair. We have all pooled our capital – the only capital we have – our talents, our voices, our imagination, our ears, our energy, our time, and our skills, our minds and our hearts, to produce a statement about life and living in our land, South Africa. We are a microcosm of our society: child, adult, young, old, black, white, brown, pink and everything in between. We are South Africa. Sing with us, please. It helps!

Another early example of South African musicians banding together for a political cause also occurred in 1985, when Ray Phiri and Sipho Gumede gathered other top South African musicians, including Lionel Peterson, Mara Louw, Lloyd Lelosa, Nana "Coyote" Motijoane and Katie Pennington to record an album, titled *Give Praise Where Praise Is Deserved*, in tribute to notable anti-apartheid activist Bishop Desmond Tutu's recent Nobel Peace Prize, and to raise funds for the African Bursary Fund⁴³.

This newfound quest for fusion had political implications: it was part of "striving for an authentic South African culture" within the repressive circumstances of the time (Ballantine, 1989:309). Given the diversity of South Africa's population, Martin notes that the music of that time was fundamentally mixed (Martin, 1992:204). However, fusion is not necessarily an essential feature of all South African music – not that one can even define a singular "South African music" at all. Some viewed the increasing focus on collaboration as diluting and simplifying the variety and depth of local genres. According to Rashid Lanie, vice-president of SAMA during the 1980s,

By doing that fusion you are almost saying that we must lose the innocence of individuality. Although we are in a group, we still want to

⁴³ Information on this album is from the writer's personal music collection.

maintain our individuality and it is the contribution of the different individuals that create the power for the group (Schreiner, 1991:138).

Genres emerged with elements from diverse cultures that were received differently by various communities and social classes. The racial aspect of “crossing over” is perhaps particularly relevant in addressing how music helped to fight apartheid. Martin argues that we can speak of white or black music, or music consumed by either the petty bourgeoisie or by the proletariat, albeit while acknowledging that they have all been cross-fertilised (Martin, 1992:204). Music was in the apartheid context inherently racialised, ethnicised and politicised – giving collaboration a political significance. According to Pratt⁴⁴, for whites to identify with any aspect of black culture was to call into question racism as one of the main tools for the “ideological legitimisation” of prevailing exploitative power relations (Pratt, 1990:205). A widening of one’s musical tastes – as signified by the growing popularity of the “crossover” tag – can initiate an acceptance and appreciation of “the Other” (Martin, 1992:204). Music has the power to bridge divides between groups because of its mobility, its ability to express and engage a multitude of diverse voices simultaneously, and its accessibility to all – not only to those who are “born into a genre” (Byerly, 1998:36), such as the SABC’s prescribed target markets.

The power of crossover to bridge gaps was a threat to apartheid authorities. Indeed crossover was a means of protest in itself. Until the early 1980s, crossing over was politically subversive and at times dangerous. It negated decades of apartheid ideology and practice (Schumann, 2008:35; Ballantine, 1989:309-310). Multiracial performances or employing various languages and genres in a song challenged the status quo that sought to keep artists and genres separated, in line with separate development. Crossover’s frequent merging of intercultural musical components increasingly suggested the desire for non-racial nationalism and gave listeners a glimpse of what could be possible in a new, democratic South Africa (Byerly, 1998:265; Drewett, 2004b:200; Martin, 1992:206).

⁴⁴ Though writing about the connection between race and music in the United States, Pratt’s words are also relevant to South Africa under apartheid.

Since popular music is a commercial product, the growing focus on combining different genres and artists signified the widening of potential audiences and therefore profits. From being a politically subversive act, to a visionary, mobilising force, by the late 1980s, particularly with the success of Mango Groove, the commercial possibilities of going beyond race were realised. As indicated with regard to bubblegum in general, once the commercial value had been proven, imitators followed and quality declined. With crossover music, record labels and artists attempted to find common elements in the tastes of distinct groups to appeal to everyone, which ran the risk of standardising the product and being governed by the interests of the market rather than the creativity of artists (Martin, 1992:204-205). Nevertheless, record labels' success in getting people to listen to crossover music was an important political accomplishment in the fight against apartheid and one that undermined the government's ideology.

While black musicians were certainly the driving force in the popular music industry, the contributions of coloured and white musicians should not go unrecognised (Byerly, 2008:263-264; Martin, 1992:206-207). Although many white musicians had distanced themselves from politics and played music derivative of international sounds, this began to change after the 1976 student uprising, when white students organised solidarity actions and protest music began to emerge, albeit reaching fairly limited numbers (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:154).

As the 1980s progressed, white audiences were increasingly drawn to musicians with political messages and/or African influences, such as Johnny Clegg, Hotline, eVoid and Mango Groove (Ansell, 2004:205). Punk acts made more overt political statements. Already in the late 1970s, multiracial band National Wake had taken on the government – for example in their track 'International News', which addresses South Africa's invasion of Angola. One of the most outspoken white musicians during the 1980s was Robbie Robb, first with the Asylum Kids and then with Tribe After Tribe, who emigrated to the USA in the mid-1980s. Benjy Mudie recalled Robb standing on stage at Joubert Park in central Johannesburg, shouting objections directed at apartheid authorities, as police officers started firing teargas to disperse the crowd. Mudie and his colleagues had to escape by

climbing out of a bathroom window and rushing to their car (Mudie, 2009:interview).

Another example of white musicians joining the struggle for political change was the Voëlvry⁴⁵ movement established by alternative Afrikaans musicians in the second half of the 1980s, which drew a large following from disenchanted Afrikaner youth. Most of the performers adopted satirical stage names like Johannes Kerkorrel (church organ), Koos Kombuis (kitchen) and Bernoldus Niemand (nobody). Another popular Afrikaans artist was satirist David Kramer, who was able to deliver stinging criticism hidden beneath a carefully cultivated image of a small-town everyman (Drewett, 2004b:197-199). These and other artists recognised the power and significance of using Afrikaans, the language of the National Party, to attack the government (Ansell, 2004:205-206; Grundlingh, 2004; Smit, 1992). Most of these white artists managed to gain loyal and relatively large followings, but by virtue of their audiences being almost exclusively white, these numbers still pale in comparison to the reach that black, coloured and crossover musicians had in terms of their audiences. However, they were still important in eroding support for apartheid among previously loyal National Party supporters. Their success in doing so showed that by the late 1980s, music had the power to mobilise all races against apartheid, a trend reflected more broadly in the boom in crossover music in general.

3.3.3 The Emergence of Reggae as a Popular Genre

Another important trend in South African popular music during the 1980s was the emergence of reggae as a popular genre. Reggae first penetrated South Africa in the 1970s. By the late 1980s, artists such as Carlos Djedje, Colbert “Harley” Mukwevho, Lucky Dube, Jambo and the band O’Yaba had become reggae stars. There were numerous other lesser-known reggae artists, such as Izakka, Pongolo, The Slaves, Prince & The Buffaloes, The Rasta Kids, Angola & The

⁴⁵ Literally translated as “free as a bird” but here meaning “outlaw” – someone whose rights as a citizen have been revoked, a fugitive who has been declared “dead or alive”. The name itself has significant political symbolism.

Groaners and Joe Silo, while many other bubblegum and mbaqanga artists recorded reggae songs⁴⁶.

These artists were influenced by the Jamaican originators of the genre, some of whom they had been able to see perform live in the early 1980s. Jimmy Cliff was the first Jamaican reggae star to visit South Africa, performing to a multiracial audience at Orlando Stadium in Soweto in May 1980 after gaining permission from black organisations responsible for negotiating the international cultural boycott of South Africa. Bob Marley performed that year at Zimbabwe's independence celebrations, while Peter Tosh performed in neighbouring Swaziland in December 1983. These performances helped inspire musicians and turned local listeners on to reggae. With its crossover appeal and revolutionary message, reggae would have been seen as a threat by the apartheid government (Chawane, 2012:173-174; McNeill, 2012:84,93; Martin, 1992:202; Djedje, 2012:interview; Siluma, 2010:interview).

Martin argues that the black origins of the genre, which was perceived as less Westernised than African-American genres, counterbalanced the fact that it came from outside. Even without direct musical references to South Africa, reggae was relevant and appealing to the youth. The tone of contestation in its lyrics appealed to audiences frustrated by the political situation and the lack of rebellious music due to censorship (Martin, 1992:202). In this way South African reggae musicians and listeners were able to incorporate foreign sounds in ways that were counter-hegemonic (Garofalo, 1992a:9).

The first reggae star in Africa was Alpha Blondy from the Ivory Coast. In 1985, he released his third album, *Apartheid is Nazism*, which made direct reference to the situation in South Africa. Similar to the visionary and inspirational power of crossover music, and typical of many reggae musicians, Blondy's listeners –

⁴⁶ Another early reggae release was by the Dread Warriors, who put out their self-titled album on Gallo in 1983. In the band were the Khoza brothers Gary and Punka Khoza, who had previously played in the multiracial punk band National Wake. The white band Kariba also put out cover albums of popular international reggae hits, further highlighting reggae's crossover character. Steve Kekana recorded the reggae song 'Sound of Africa' as early as 1981 and wrote 'Reggae Music' for the Dread Warriors' album. Later, reggae became an entrenched part of local pop music, with artists of other genres at least referring to reggae in their lyrics, for example mbaqanga stars Mahlathini and The Mahotella Queens' hit 'I'm in Love with a Rastaman' (1990) and Benjamin Ball's bubblegum hit 'Flash a Flashlight' (1984).

many of them youth – were encouraged to imagine “solutions within their reach” – social, practical and political (Tenaille, 2002:154).

Even though it was a foreign genre, South Africans adopted reggae as their own. By the late 1980s, South Africa had become one of the countries outside Jamaica where reggae was most alive (Martin, 1992:202). Here, as elsewhere, contemporary social problems as well as liberation politics are central to reggae’s lyrical message. For example, Jambo’s album *Bad Friend*, released on the Cool Spot label in 1990, featured the song 'No Man Kill Another Man', a call to end the violence erupting in KwaZulu-Natal and around Johannesburg between the IFP and ANC supporters.

Carlos Djedje is considered by many to be the father of South African reggae. His style, although addressing local issues and aimed at local audiences, borrowed heavily from Jamaican reggae (Martin, 1992:202). Djedje, whose albums included *Remember Them*, *No Apartheid* and *Ahoy Africa*, saw his role as inextricably linked to the struggle, and his lyrics frequently referred to apartheid injustice. While some activists left the country to join the armed struggle, inside the country, according to Djedje, “We were doing it musically” (Djedje, 2012:interview).

Interestingly, from the outset, reggae in South Africa had a multiracial audience. Djedje remembers that when he started, the majority of his audience would often be white, while in time, as reggae became more accepted, his audience reflected a more equal balance between races. With its mixed audience and political message, reggae had a particular power to mobilise people of all races against oppression. As a result, however, Djedje’s music attracted the attention of censors.

My music was not commercial; it was political. So they needed to ban it at the SABC... I didn’t have airplay, like others. On television it was also like that. I remember one of my [DJ] friends was [in trouble] for playing one of my songs, ‘Jah Give Us This Day’, after he was told not to play it (Djedje, 2012:interview).

The case of another South African reggae originator, Colbert Mukwevho, shows that the SABC’s role was more complicated than simply censoring political music and promoting ethnic genres. Mukwevho began recording reggae in the early

1980s with the help of the SABC, which needed content for their radio station in Venda. Starting in a band with his father and uncles, The Thrilling Artists, whose third album, *Ha Nga Dzule* (She Did Not Stay), recorded in 1983 featured one of South Africa's earliest attempts at homegrown reggae, 'Luimbo Lwa Reggae' (The Reggae Song). Mukwevho fronted his own group, The Comforters, who released the four-track EP *Month End Lover* in 1987. By the end of the decade, Mukwevho had come to the attention of Sello "Chicco" Twala, one of the top producers of the time, who produced *Lion in a Sheep Skin* (1991), with Mukwevho and his band adopting the name Harley & The Rasta Family. He also wrote and performed a duet with SA's biggest pop star, Brenda Fassie, named 'Hero's Party' (1990). The song had been originally titled 'Reggae Party', but Chicco allegedly "felt the word 'reggae' would make him look political, so it was dropped" (McNeill, 2012:91-92).

Inspired by watching Jimmy Cliff perform in Soweto, producer Richard Siluma managed to convince his younger cousin Lucky Dube, then a mbaqanga artist, to record some reggae songs. Those songs proved so popular at live shows that soon Dube was recording only reggae songs. Although Dube was not the first reggae artist in South Africa, he was the first to popularise it on a mass scale, and to define a unique South African style, influenced by the bubblegum sound. Dube's reggae career began with the four-track album *Rastas Never Dies* (sic) in 1984, followed by *Think About The Children* in 1985. It was followed by *Slave* (1987), *Together As One* (1988) and *Prisoner* (1989), some of the biggest selling albums in South African music history, cementing reggae's popularity and launching Dube's international career. Throughout his career and until his tragic death in 2007, Dube continued to denounce discrimination, segregation and exclusion, and advocated unity among all people – both in his music and as a public figure (Siluma, 2010:interview; Dagnini, 2011).

Reggae even found support on Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela and other struggle leaders were imprisoned. Jailed MK commander James Mange⁴⁷ was a

⁴⁷ James Mange was an MK commander who trained in Angola. He was one of the founders of the cultural committee at the ANC base in Nova Katenga which was destroyed in 1979 by the South African Defence Force. He was sentenced to death for treason in 1979. He spent one year on death row in Pretoria Central Prison before his sentence was changed to 20 years on Robben Island. On the island he turned to Rastafarianism, refusing to cut his hair to grow dreadlocks. After his release in 1991, Mange and his band the Whiplashes released numerous albums and performed all over the world. He

reggae musician who formed a band and taught music to the inmates on the island. Mange became known as the Bob Marley of Robben Island, with his band playing for the political prisoners on special occasions like New Year celebrations (Dreisinger, 2013; "Reggae Moonshine Festival", 2013).

Part of reggae's appeal lay in its ability to link people to the rest of the African continent and diaspora – particularly significant in the context of South Africa in the 1980s due to the country's growing isolation from the rest of the world and the restrictions on movement for black South Africans. Reggae therefore offered an opportunity for black South Africans to identify with black people who had already achieved independence in other parts of the world, inspiring them in their own struggle against apartheid. Tenaille argues that reggae holds a special place in Africa, unlike other imported genres (such as Cuban, R&B, rock or jazz) that had stylistic influences on African music, "the reggae influence was on another level: that of identity" (Tenaille, 2002:152). Reggae was particularly problematic for censors – although considered "revolutionary" by authorities, it was widely circulated (Martin, 1992:202). Many of Bob Marley's songs, however, were banned, highlighting the lengths the state was prepared to go to in order to prevent potentially revolutionary music from being played on the airwaves (McNeill, 2012:84). Until the early 1990s, reggae songs were frequently banned not for their political content but for their use of the word "Jah" (meaning God), which upset the censors' religious sensibilities (Jansen van Rensburg, 2013:99-100).

Reggae artists continued to play a political role into the early 1990s. In May 1991 South Africa's top reggae artists, including Dube, Djedje, Mukwevho, O'Yaba and Sister Phumi performed at a festival called Reggae Strong For Peace. The proceeds of the concert, as well as the subsequent live album and video, went towards charity work in Soweto.

The emergence of reggae as a popular genre in South Africa during the 1980s reflects listeners' readiness to embrace music with a revolutionary political

started his own political party in 1994, the Soccer Party, and later joined the ANC (Dreisinger, 2013; "A Night Of Political History With James Mange", 2013; "Reggae Moonshine Festival", 2013)

message, as well as to identify with the broader culture of the African diaspora, both of which offered a direct affront to apartheid ideology.

3.3.4 New Independent Record Labels

New innovations such as the emergence of bubblegum, crossover and reggae were major musical developments of the 1980s. Elsewhere in the music industry, other notable changes were also taking place. Historically, two companies, Gallo and EMI, controlled the majority of music recorded and released in South Africa. Other established labels included Teal and WEA (Warner Elektra Atlantic), later known as Tusk. But during the 1980s, a host of smaller independent music companies came to the fore, established by astute entrepreneurs – most motivated by the growing interest in South African music both locally and abroad, others by a need to deliver a political message or promote new artists that major labels shied away from⁴⁸ (Ansell, 2004:206-7, Pietila, 2013:174). New labels such as Dephon (under Phil Hollis), RPM, Mike Fuller Music (MFM) and Hit City (under John Galanakis) enjoyed huge sales largely due to bubblegum acts. Other successful independent labels included On Record, David Gresham Records, Third World, Black Talent, Sounds of Soweto and Eric Frisch. Labels such as As-Shams/The Sun, Mountain Records, 3rd Ear, Shifty and Mkhonto we Sizwe (the same name as the ANC's military wing) released innovative acts, often with a strong political message (Drewett, 2003a:273-276).

Shifty Records, run by Lloyd Ross and Warrick Sony, was arguably the most well-known and influential example of a label that prioritised political protest and artistic innovation over commercial success. According to Benjy Mudie from WEA/Tusk,

Warrick successfully navigated the minefield... He and Lloyd Ross put stuff out there that mattered. In terms of cultural effect, Lloyd is perhaps the most important person in the 80s, in terms of the bands that were signed that had direct, overt political stances or opinions. Lloyd didn't care about the money, or publicity, or commercialism. Lloyd just put the records out, and along the way he made great cultural statements (Mudie, 2009:interview).

⁴⁸ This was especially true up until the mid-1980s. By 1990, even releases on major labels like Gallo contained strong anti-apartheid messages, such as those of Stimela and Alec "Om" Khaoli.

The significance of this was that Shifty proved how independent labels were able to assume a more outspoken political stance and even build their reputation on this. The label's success is evidence of musicians and producers taking a place on the front line of the struggle, actively promoting anti-apartheid music without fear of the commercial or political repercussions, because they were not dependent on SABC airplay to promote their products. This set an example for other independent labels, and even major labels, to follow.

Sony, who released several albums on Shifty as the Kalahari Surfers, makes the radical argument that any musician getting SABC airplay was somehow complicit with the regime:

There were two streams. There was the record industry, and people who made a living out of music at that time. In my view, it was collaborating with the enemy... If the SABC played your music, it meant that however clever you were, you were collaborating, in my view (Sony, 2009:interview).

Sony's views are certainly not held by the majority of popular musicians, most of whom had no choice but to try to make a living through music within the constraints of the SABC-dominated industry. Nevertheless they show that musicians and music labels did not share the same understanding of their role within the struggle, even when they had a common enemy in the apartheid government. Despite their disagreements, the boom in independent music labels during the 1980s opened up space for this diversity to be represented in the music industry, outside the confines of government and major label approval.

3.3.5 Live Performances

Popular musicians were able to earn money outside of the confines of their labels and the SABC through live performances. The most successful toured extensively throughout the country, often to other countries, particularly South Africa's neighbours. Live concerts were a way of speaking directly to the people, circulating the intended messages of political songs that had been altered to beat censors or censored outright, and ultimately mobilising listeners in the struggle. In this way musicians' live performances were as important, perhaps even more so, than recorded albums or radio play (Schumann, 2008:27). In the live setting their

music acquired another set of meanings through the process of popular participation. In the words of Ansell, “What the censors barred, the people created” (Ansell, 2004:199-200). According to Blondie Makhene,

Bands used to politicise people, in a way. Not aggressively, like ‘viva Mandela!’ – just singing a song that has a strong statement. It was more live than anything else, though the recorded ones came in now and again... Repression was strong but musicians never stopped conscientising through music (Makhene, 2009:interview).

Besides original compositions, cover versions of international songs were also popular, and assumed new meaning under the context of apartheid. Examples include the American civil rights anthem popularised by Pete Seeger, ‘We Shall Overcome’, Brook Benton’s ‘Oh Lord, Why Lord’ and The Brotherhood of Man’s ‘United We Stand” – all songs that call for unity and hope in the face of oppression, a message that black South Africans could relate to (Makhene, 2009:interview). That South African artists incorporated these songs into their live performances underlines the similarities in the struggle against racial oppression in the USA and in South Africa, as well as the musical ties between the two countries, and more generally the power of music in inspiring and mobilising social change all over the world.

Making use of a thriving live and festival circuit, as well as opportunities in neighbouring countries, musicians were hugely powerful within the unenfranchised and disenfranchised black community while most political leaders were languishing in jail or exile. While still restricted under apartheid laws, musicians enjoyed far more freedom of movement than other black people. This was because their work necessitated touring. Whereas ordinary black South Africans’ movement was effectively restricted to between the places where they lived and worked, whether in urban areas or homelands, successful black musicians performed all over the country, some in neighbouring countries or even further afield. Wealthier musicians often could afford their own cars. Musicians in general were thus far more mobile than the rest of the black population. According to Pat Shange,

Musicians were acting like politicians sometimes – because it was easier to move from point A to point B as a musician than as a politician (Shange, 2009:interview).

In this way, musicians – and civil society in general - assumed the role of politicians in the absence of a formal political society that forms a bridge between society and the state, and with most black political leaders imprisoned, exiled or underground.

Besides touring and festivals, permanent venues also offered musicians a platform to conscientise and proselytise music listeners to join the struggle against apartheid. In the early to mid-1980s, disco nightclubs became increasingly popular with black people wanting to escape the injustices of society, as well as for record labels to market, and even for comrades to meet (Madalane, 2012: 72,94). During the second half of the 1980s, several new venues emerged, especially in major city centres, where audiences could socialise and enjoy music that would not be carried by the SABC, at established venues or by major labels. The venues “offered a home to the new pop and jazz and – through a range of legal dodges or outright law-breaking – to mixed bands and audiences” (Ansell, 2004:206,209-210). These clubs included Jameson’s, Kippies, Bela Napoli, Plum Crazy, The Roxy and Midnight Star in Johannesburg, as well as The Rainbow in Durban, Scratch in Cape Town and many others (Schumann, 2008:34; Ansell, 2004:209-210; Drewett, 2003a:105). Some of these venues, such as Jameson’s, possessed a special “Kruger” liquor license, issued in the previous century by the president of the Transvaal Republic, Paul Kruger, which enabled them to bypass modern laws concerning liquor sales and segregation (Ansell, 2004: 211). Other venues were able to apply for “international” status – special permission from government to cater for patrons of various races. Others simply broke the rules.

The Pelican nightclub in Orlando, Soweto, was another important live venue for musicians⁴⁹. Coplan calls it a “besieged outpost of township musical and political creativity”. He argues that “unlicensed” music clubs such as the Pelican played a major part in keeping professional black urban music alive during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Lucky Michaels, the owner of the Pelican, at times had to pay off

⁴⁹ Established by Lucky Michaels in 1971, the Pelican was a popular nightclub offering cabaret, jazz and popular music shows. During the 1970s and 80s it was a meeting place for those opposed to the apartheid regime, as well as a training ground for top musicians and producers.

the police to not raid the venue or stop shows. Open mic nights and occasional screenings of local films allowed for political subject matter to be discussed, while the venue also hosted more formal political meetings (Coplan, 1985:305).

Musicians also made use of alternative venues such as university campuses, church halls and civic centres (Ansell, 2004:193). Festivals were staged regularly and drew large audiences. As discussed in chapter two, some of these were organised by large corporations and were thus sanctioned by government. However, many others were not. For example, the landmark Concert in the Park at Ellis Park in central Johannesburg in 1985 drew a mixed audience of over 100 000 to enjoy music by South Africa's biggest black, white and coloured musicians. The musicians, along with the engineers and technical crew and those in charge of the venue itself, had all offered their services for free after being approached by producer Hilton Rosenthal and Issy Kirsch, who ran the independent radio station 702. The stated aim of the concert and the accompanying album was to raise funds not for a political cause but for Operation Hunger, a local charity (Durbach, 2010).

The growing popularity of live performances was utilised by musicians to deliver political messages in their music, straight to the people and free from direct government interference via the SABC. It serves as a good example of musicians' effectiveness as both a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation. That many such events were mixed in terms of the races of both performers and audiences reflects the growing demand of listeners for music by artists of different backgrounds from their own, and the ability of musicians to cross over to a wider, non-racial audience. Live events with multiracial audiences or artists of different races would have exposed listeners of all races to the music of the "other", helping to break down the prejudices and stereotypes engrained on them by apartheid and the SABC in particular. In doing so, they would have helped to erode the government's control over the music industry, particularly regarding public gatherings, and thus challenge the ideology of separate development upon which apartheid was based.

3.3.6 The Growth of Independent Radio Stations

As already discussed in chapter two, the effectiveness of government's radio strategy depended not only on the physical infrastructure and the attractiveness of the content, but also on the absence of alternative radio services. The 1980s saw a marked growth in independent radio stations. Already by the 1960s, LM Radio in Mozambique was broadcasting the latest American and British pop and rock hits to much of South Africa, unlike the SABC. The reasons for its popularity were musical, not political. Mozambique was still under Portuguese colonial rule and no criticism of South African policy was aired (Hamm, 1991:169-170). By exposing South African listeners to alternative music, the station was a thorn in the side of the establishment, who attempted to discredit those who listened to LM Radio.

As separate development progressed to the point where several of the homelands opted for nominal independence, each was allowed to establish its own radio service as a token of its supposed autonomy. These included Radio Transkei in the mid-1960s; Radio Bop in Bophuthatswana in 1977, Radio Thohoyandou in Venda in 1979 and Radio Ciskei in 1981. Although carefully overseen at first by the SABC, these new services gradually developed programming patterns that ran against the policies of the SABC's Radio Bantu. English was introduced as a second language on all four stations. Considerable airtime was given to European, American and Caribbean (including reggae) pop songs, and to music by South African popular performers of backgrounds different from that of the designated homeland audiences. By the 1980s, Top 10 charts mixing international hits with songs by popular South African performers had become standard on the homeland services. Even though none of these stations broadcasted music banned by the Directorate of Publications, they sometimes played music barred by the review boards of certain Radio Bantu stations, highlighting the complexity of the various official censorship mechanisms and the relative flexibility that musicians and DJs were therefore sometimes able to negotiate (Hamm, 1991:170; Andersson, 1981:95-96).

There was also nothing to stop black people from listening to the SABC's "European" services, and the extent to which they did so was determined largely

by musical programming. By 1980, blacks made up almost half of the audience of Springbok Radio – a commercial SABC station funded largely by advertising and aimed at a white audience of both English and Afrikaans speakers – and two-thirds of that for Radio 5, LM Radio’s successor, which was still largely devoted to pop music (Hamm, 1991:169-170). This suggests that already by the beginning of the 1980s, listeners had begun to defy the SABC’s prescribed channels, which limited the effectiveness of government’s intentions to promote separate development through music. For both black and white listeners, those who were interested in listening to music beyond the genres and languages prescribed for them by the SABC, popular music on radio provided an ideal opportunity to be exposed to the culture of the perceived “other”, challenging the stereotypes inherent to separate development, as well as bringing into question the SABC’s methods and motives.

Privately owned stations proliferated in the 1980s. Capital Radio went on air in December 1979 using transmitters in Transkei. In May 1980, Radio 702 began broadcasting from Bophuthatswana to Johannesburg and much of the Transvaal. It was preceded in the 1970s by Swaziland Music Radio, originally known as Swaziland Commercial Radio, which offered services such as Radio SR (Super Rhythm), programmed for black audiences with an emphasis on funk, soul and disco, Radio Truro for Indian audiences, Radio Paralelo 27 in Portuguese and The Jewish Sound. There were also independent Christian services such as Southern Sounds from the Transkei and Trans World Radio from Swaziland, which offered religious programmes in indigenous languages. In addition, a powerful relay station for Voice of America went into operation in Botswana in the mid-1980s, making it possible for many South Africans to receive this service on AM frequencies for the first time⁵⁰ (Hamm, 1991:171). Radio Moscow’s Africa Service was also available.

The exiled ANC had set up Radio Freedom in the late 1960s. It eventually broadcast bulletins, interviews, speeches and music to most parts of South Africa from studios in Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Luanda, Madagascar and Ethiopia. With

⁵⁰ It had previously been possible before the 1980s to access the station, but reception was poor.

funding from Sweden and elsewhere, by the mid-1980s the ANC had set up “radio clubs” within the country where activists could listen, record and redistribute the broadcasts (Sellstrom, 2002:603-604). Recordings were also released outside the country. For example, Rounder Records released the compilation album *Radio Freedom: Voice of the African National Congress and the People's Army Umkhonto we Sizwe* in the USA in 1985.

With the growth of these stations, the SABC's monopoly of the airwaves ended. Audiences across the country were no longer restricted to news and commentary reflecting government ideology or music selected to perpetuate separate development. They could choose from a wide range of radio programmes unaffiliated to the government, on easy-to-receive FM or AM channels. The carefully constructed myth of separate development, perpetuated by the SABC for two decades, was challenged by everyday empirical evidence, and radio audiences could choose and appreciate music created by artists from other ethnic backgrounds (Hamm, 1991:171; Mojapelo, 2008:79). In this way music was able to fight and ultimately overcome apartheid ideology, helping to pave the way for the fall of apartheid itself.

However, the demise of the SABC's control was not so straightforward. Capital in Transkei and 702 in Bophuthatswana initially both had fairly limited regional audiences (Drewett, 2004b:191). Faced with the SABC's elaborate network, smaller stations struggled to compete and stay on air, with several forced to close down. Homeland-based stations such as Capital were still largely dependent on the system of apartheid, and still censored their news coverage of South African affairs, seldom if ever criticising the homeland government (Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1989:139-140).

Fully aware of the threat posed by rival stations, the SABC was forced to adapt or lose its audience. When Mozambique became independent in 1975, the SABC managed to take control of LM Radio, renaming it Radio 5 (later 5FM) and bringing its programming more into line with SABC policy (Hamm, 1991:170; Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1989:138). In a gradual reversal of policy, the SABC

began to follow the example of other stations, programming more overseas black pop, including reggae, albeit after careful screening, and music by local pop stars of an ethnicity different from that of the station's target audience. The inauguration of Radio Metro in 1986 acknowledged the existence of a permanent urban black presence, using English to appeal to a diverse audience (Hamm, 1991:171-172).

All these musical developments outlined above – the emergence of bubblegum and the related genres of crossover and reggae, as well as the growth of independent record labels, live performances and independent radio stations – served to challenge and ultimately erode the state's power to control what people listened to and its ability to use music to further its own agenda. The developments of the 1980s empowered musicians and listeners alike, strengthening the role of music in the struggle.

3.4 MUSICIANS' METHODS OF FIGHTING APARTHEID

As the 1980s progressed, musicians of all races and genres increasingly felt that they could no longer afford to remain silent on the state's repressive and racist policies. Failing to speak out in some way against the government's policies was a tacit acceptance of the status quo (Ansell, 2004:193). Musicians were faced with a choice: to conform to the system or to fight it. Those who were determined to fight were faced with another choice – to openly protest against authority, or to use subtler techniques while continuing to entertain. Over time, artists devised effective methods of getting their message heard and escaping the censors and security forces (Shoup, 1997:78; Reitov, 1998:16). Importantly, musicians realised that their mission was not to preach to the converted, but to convert. They also had to negotiate changes in the government's policies and actions towards musicians in an ever-shifting cultural landscape (Byerly, 2008:267,270).

Apartheid oppression and suppression gave non-establishment and anti-establishment musicians and the population in general a common inspiration and purpose. Many musicians also found that the relative isolation of the country resulting from the international cultural boycott offered a source of creative

inspiration, influencing musical development within South Africa (Ansell, 2004:182; Reitov, 1998:21). Those working in the music industry found a common enemy in the apartheid authorities. This was stressed by producer Ian Osrin, who recalled,

There was good and evil... The lines were clearly delineated. Because of that, the music was relatively simple to make. You adopted a stance and you went with it (Osrin, 2009:interview).

Ray Phiri expressed similar sentiments,

We had one common enemy, whether you were a liberal, a moderate or whatever... Music is not only a career – it's a conviction. It is your word. It's your virtue (Phiri, 2009:interview).

Through their conscientisation and subsequent formulation of tactics to educate people while evading censors, musicians effectively wrested control of their art and industry away from the government, which for decades until then had used music to encourage racial separation. Music in South Africa went from being a mirror that reflected the status quo to a mediator for inter-cultural communication, a prophet of South Africa's impending democracy and ultimately a "hammer with which to shape it" (Schumann, 2008:19; Byerly, 2008:29; Shoup, 1997:86). There was no clear turning point, but the change coincided with the rising popularity of bubblegum, crossover and reggae in the mid-1980s. As musicians' confidence, understanding and songwriting skills grew, mounting popular pressure, along with economic and international factors, made it increasingly difficult for the government to use music for its own ends, whether through the SABC, censorship or the specific projects outlined in the previous chapter.

Outright protest songs by artists such as Mzwakhe Mbuli and Roger Lucey levelled stinging critiques at the government, and were usually banned, although they could still be heard by those willing to risk buying a copy (Schumann, 2008:29-30; Byerly, 1998:32). In most cases, however, the more direct the message, the less likely it was to be heard by a large audience. Conversely, the more disguised the message, the less likely the audience was to read it as subversive or resistant. The most innovative of musicians were therefore those who devised "methods that somehow managed to be both overt and in some way subtle" (Drewett, 2004b:204).

Musicians devised various innovative textual strategies for avoiding censorship. In doing so they were able to use their music to reveal the stark realities of existing power relations, promote resolutions to the conflict, and predict optimistic visions of the country's future (Byerly, 1998:32). These methods, as discussed below, included the use of double or hidden meanings, satirical humour and positive social or moral messages, the re-interpretation or subversion of existing songs, using album cover art to portray a message of racial co-operation and establishing alternative channels to record, perform and distribute their music.

3.4.1 Double Meanings

Musicians often camouflaged their lyrics with double meanings, symbolism and cryptic messages (Drewett, 2004b:194). Later their lyrics could be adjusted in live performances, revealing the true meaning (Drewett, 2004b:204). One of the most common ways of doing this was to reframe political issues as personal or domestic stories, so as to avoid controversial political statements. According to Blondie Makhene,

Musicians used to be poetic about the struggle. Like “my father’s cows will be returned to his kraal”. So it’s not just about cows going back to the kraal; actually it’s that land will come back to its owners. So it’s not like we were just fun people... we were actually right up there [in the struggle] (Makhene, 2009:interview).

Another example, the recorded version of Lucky Dube’s reggae hit ‘Slave’ (1987) spoke of a “liquor slave”. But during live shows, he and his fans sang about a “legal slave” (Schumann, 2008:27). Other popular hits contained powerful but hidden political messages. For example⁵¹, in 1982 Steve Kekana had a hit with ‘The Bushman’, a disguised appeal to exiled freedom fighters. CJB’s ‘The Boss is Back’ (1987) concerns the long-awaited return of a leader, at a time when most political leaders were exiled or imprisoned. Stimela’s ‘Whispers in the Deep’ (1986) is considered one of the defining songs of the era, although its lyrics too do not make overt references to politics, instead urging listeners: “Don’t be afraid, don’t whisper in the deep. Speak out your mind, stand up”.

⁵¹ Unless otherwise specified, the information in these sections on specific South African albums and songs comes from the researcher’s personal music collection.

A less subtle way of disguising political messages was simply to change the names of the subjects in a song. Chicco's 'Miss You Manelow' (1987), for example, was a not-so-subtle play on 'Mandela' that managed to escape the censors. Another famous example of hiding political figures' names in seemingly innocuous lyrics was Yvonne Chaka Chaka's 'Winning My Dear Love' (1987), a tribute to Winnie Mandela co-written by Chicco. Q-Tex released 'My Della' (1987), another obvious reference to Mandela, with the lyrics: "My Della, the children want you. My Della, the children need you".

The intended messages of the most popular songs could be further disguised by music videos. According to Pam Devereux-Harris, who produced the video for 'Miss You Manelow',

In those days, the artists used to change the lyrics, like Chicco doing 'We Miss You Manelow'. Then we made the music video, and it wasn't anything to do about Mandela, it was about this poor young girl that was leaving her home because her father kicked her out because she was pregnant. But that's how it got onto air. There were lots of songs like that (Devereux-Harris, 2009:interview).

Another similar method was to disguise the lyrics not in recordings but on the lyric sheets that were submitted to the censors, or simply to try to fool the censors. Benjy Mudie remembers having to argue his case in front of the SABC board and changing printed song lyrics in order to convince them that a song was not undesirable, often simply by lying about the intended meaning of a song, changing words like "Christ" to "Chris", and even trying to distract censors so that they passed over offending lyrics:

I was well known for arguing. I lost a lot of them... Anyway, you'd do what you had to do to get your record played or reviewed. You would have to think on your feet (Mudie, 2009:interview).

By giving double meanings to their songs – by using domestic stories as metaphors, disguising names of politicians in seemingly innocent lyrics or manipulating the written lyrics submitted for review by the censors – musicians were able to deliver powerful political messages against apartheid to listeners, while managing to escape the criteria for censorship. If ever accused by

authorities or critics of delivering controversial political messages, the musicians could simply deny the hidden meanings and claim their innocence.

3.4.2 Satire

Satire was another powerful tool (Shoup, 1997:78), specifically the use of humour and irony to expand meaning and outwit censors. Many dissenting musicians played the proverbial fool to outwit the authorities, delivering “insightful commentary in the guise of idiocy” (Byerly, 2008: 265-266).

Powerful examples of satire are those artists who adopted Afrikaans alter-egos to poke fun at authorities and at Afrikaner cultural stereotypes more generally. For example, before he became a famous reggae star, Lucky Dube adopted the name Oom Hansie (Uncle Hansie) and sang in Afrikaans. A black musician singing in the language of the government went against the policy of separate development. English singer James Phillips⁵² released an album on Shifty Records in 1983 as Bernoldus Niemand, entitled *Wie Is Bernoldus Niemand?* (Who is Bernoldus Niemand?), an Afrikaans alter-ego who ridiculed the ruling class in songs such as ‘Hou My Vas Korporaal’⁵³, a humorous attack on compulsory military service for white males, ‘Snor City’⁵⁴, about the capital city Pretoria, and the reggae-inspired ‘Reggae Vibes Is Cool’. David Kramer also blended Afrikaans and English lyrics and adopted the persona of a small-town everyman, delivering powerful satirical messages on albums like *Bakgat!* (1980) and *The Story of Blokkies Joubert* (1981). His songs often made fun of Afrikaner stereotypes but were hidden deeply enough for many of his own fans to not realise his intentions (Drewett, 2004b:197-199). Groove Station’s ‘She Don’t Like Boerewors’⁵⁵ (written by Al Etto) also made fun of Afrikaner stereotypes, while Sotho star Daniel “Sox” Phakoe’s hit ‘(Don’t Call Me) Le Ja Pere’⁵⁶ attempted to dispel the stereotype of Basotho as horse-meat eaters (Shoup, 1997:78, 80). These and other artists thus made use of

⁵² Phillips had previously taken on authorities in a more direct way, fronting punk band The Cherry-Faced Lurchers, whose songs included ‘Shot Down’, ‘Detainees’ and ‘The Branch’, about the police’s Security Branch. With another band, Corporal Punishment, he recorded songs such as ‘Darkie’.

⁵³ Afrikaans for ‘Hold Me Tight, Corporal’.

⁵⁴ Afrikaans for ‘Moustache City’.

⁵⁵ Boerewors is a traditional South African sausage in this case associated with Afrikaner culture.

⁵⁶ Sesotho for ‘Horse Eater’.

humorous cultural stereotypes to deliver political messages against separate development.

The message had to be deeply hidden, however, to get past the censors.

Producer Ian Osrin remembers,

You had to be creative to get your message across, so that people understood what you were saying. So censorship was something to get around, rather than anything we took very seriously. I mean I got banned for one silly song we did, it was called 'The Incredible Dance'⁵⁷. We said, 'Dance, the incredible dance, dance in Afrikaans', and then manic laughter afterwards. That got banned from the airwaves. We were told we were making fun of the Afrikaner (Osrin, 2009:interview).

Although satire risked being misunderstood by audiences, many effective satirical songs were written about the South African situation, making salient comments on class, race, ethnicity, sex, tradition, language, culture and other central aspects of life in South Africa (Drewett, 2004b:199). For songwriters, satire offered an effective means of outsmarting censors and delivering political criticism, while also affording the safeguard of being able to avoid potential criticism or punishment by referring to a song's literal meaning rather than its satirical message.

3.4.3 Positive Social and Moral Messages

Artists also fought against apartheid's social injustices by promoting positive social messages. Instead of using overtly critical statements that might risk censorship, or deeply hidden meanings that might not be understood, songs that promoted positive issues, if worded correctly, offered "softer" literal meanings that were not perceived as confrontational. For example, Ozila's 'Lifesaver (I'm Suffering)' (1985) and Lazarus Kgagudi's 'This Place is Boring' (1987) both criticised social conditions without making direct reference to politics.

Specific themes emerged. One of the most common was songs that promoted education, particularly relevant considering the impact of the 1976 student uprisings as discussed in chapter two. Such songs include Muntu's 'ABC Insimbi' and 'Mr Dum Dum' (1983), written by Condry Ziqubu; Vusi Shange's 'Teacher we

⁵⁷ The song is 'It's Amazing (The Incredible Dance)' by Pocket Lips, released in 1987.

are the Future' (1986); Makhweru's 'Education' (1987); Chicco's 'We Love You Teacher' (1986); and Tools & Figs' 'Education' (1991). The title track of reggae act Jambo's album *Calling All Children* (1991) encouraged the youth to return to school following the student boycotts of the 1980s.

Other songs attempted to promote a positive, inclusive South African or even pan-African identity – in contrast to the apartheid government's determination to divide South Africans along racial, ethnic and linguistic lines, as well as South Africa's isolation from the rest of the continent. Such songs include: Kamazu's 'The African Man' (1986); Sabela's 'Africa' (1988), containing the refrain, "Africa, you really are my homeland", possibly a subtle criticism of the homeland system; Sister Cool's 'Ma Afrika' (1989); coloured funk act The Rockets' 'We are all African People' (1989); Yvonne Chaka Chaka's 'Be Proud to be African' (1989); and Steve Kekana's 'All I Need (Is Right Here in Africa)' (1986), also recorded by white crossover act Hotline as 'All we Need is here in Africa'. Pat Shange's 'We are all the Same' portrayed a similar message, while Chicco appealed to a black pan-Africanism in the song, 'Where's a Black Man's World' (1989):

In America we fought for our rights,
In Zimbabwe we fought for independence,
In Namibia we fought for our freedom.
Where's our world?
Where's a black man's world?

Other songs addressed social problems such as poverty and unemployment. One of the most famous examples of this was William Mthethwa's 'Cost of Living is too High' (1987). Early examples of this were Steve Kekana's 'Working Man' and 'Raising My Family' (1981). Other examples include Zasha's 'No Job (Isipani Asikho)' (1986); Chicco's 'I Need Some Money' (1986); 'Money Money Money' by Rufaro (1987); 'No Job No Cash' by The Big Dudes (1988); 'No Money No Job No Pay' by Q (1989); Sammy's 'Give Me My Wages' (1989); and 'Working Man' by El Pedro (1991). By writing about the material conditions of daily life, artists were able to criticise the effects of government policy without directly addressing apartheid, thus avoiding censorship.

Other artists sang of freedom, seldom referring to specific politics but rather to freedom in a vaguer sense. Examples include Siphon “Hotstix” Mabuse’s ‘Path to Freedom’ (1986), Yvonne Chaka Chaka’s ‘I Cry for Freedom’ (1988) and Cheek To Cheek’s ‘Total Freedom’ (1991), with lyrics such as:

Every day and night we are hoping,
Our dreams will come true one day.
All we need is total freedom, just a peace of mind.

These common themes show how artists could choose how to deliver political messages – if worded correctly, softer, direct messages could be just as effective as veiled, indirect messages.

3.4.4 Re-interpreting Existing Songs

Another way of fighting apartheid through music was by making use of existing songs that audiences were already familiar with. For example, bands such as Blondie Makhene’s African Youth Band recorded instrumental versions of popular struggle songs that drew on specific “resistance melodies” that carried a strong message to audiences, but because there were no lyrics, censors did not ban the songs (Drewett 2004b:204; Chabangu, 2009:interview). The precedent was set by the jazz anthem ‘Mannenberg’ by Dollar Brand (later known as Abdullah Ibrahim), released in 1974, a song that remained one of the most powerful struggle anthems during the 1980s. The song had no words, but simply referred to styles of music that were influenced by black culture, drawing on church organ music, marabi, jazz and the blues (Schumann, 2008:29; Mason, 2007:25-26).

The use of established folk themes or traditional instrumentations could signify group desires for autonomy or social change by challenging the SABC’s ethnic categorisation (Byerly, 1998:265). Innovative artists like The Kalahari Surfers (Warrick Sony) even went to the point of using recordings of apartheid leader’s speeches, cutting them up and putting them to music (Sony, 1991:118). In this way Sony could poke fun at apartheid’s leaders, without having to use his own words. For example, on ‘Township Beat’ (1985), the voice of PW Botha states: “I want to state this categorically: this government is a tool!” Another strategy was the adaptation of anthems, whether the official national anthem (‘Die Stem’) or the

banned African anthem ('Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika'), which many bands recorded as instrumentals. For example the band Bright Blue famously adapted the melody of 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika' in their 1988 hit 'Weeping' (Byerly 1998:32).

In these ways, artists were able to make strong political statements not by writing new music, but by referencing and re-interpreting existing songs and melodies that audiences were already familiar with.

3.4.5 Album Covers

Some musicians used visual imagery on their album covers to subvert and resist apartheid ideology (Drewett, 2003a:253-264; 2008:129). They had to be careful when doing so, however, as the Directorate of Publications was known to ban albums with covers they deemed offensive (Drewett, 2008:115). Mixed-race crossover bands frequently made a point of putting the band members on their covers. For example, Juluka albums such as *Universal Men* (1979), *African Litany* (1981), *Ubuhle Bemvelo* (1982) and *Work For All* (1983) included photos of Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu together, sometimes wearing traditional Zulu dress. Similarly, Banjo's *No No No, No More* (1985) shows the band's two members, John Galanakis and Banzi Khubeka, shaking hands. Other examples include Victory's *Let The Groove Begin* (1987), Lappaside's *Colourblind Fever* (1987) and Walk This Way's *Best Friends* (1990). Hotline's album *Wozani* (1985) shows the band striding happily through the streets of a township, followed by a crowd of black fans. When not showing the musicians themselves, other covers depicted black and white children together, a sign of hope for a non-racial future for South Africa. Such examples include the 1985 collaborative project *Give Praise Where Praise is Deserved*, Children of Africa's 1986 maxi-single *People of Africa* and, a few years later, Yvonne Chaka Chaka's *Rhythm of Life* (1991), which shows the singer sitting with two babies, one black and the other white.

This method of fighting apartheid visually was particularly difficult to censor, and therefore offered musicians an extra opportunity to communicate a message of racial co-operation and integration. Covers with images of multiracial bands immediately delivered a message of non-racialism and co-operation to anyone

looking at the album, before they could even listen to the music – or perhaps to people who would not have listened to the music at all. For example the exposure of whites to images of popular black musicians, or to their music itself, could undermine racial stereotypes regarding “tribal” blacks, important to the idea of separate development. Similarly the exposure of black listeners to images of white crossover artists or multiracial bands would have helped to dispel racial stereotypes of whites.

3.4.6 Alternative Channels to Record, Perform and Sell Music

Certain artists managed to find or construct alternative avenues for recording and selling their music, as both conscious black pop music and alternative white rock could not rely on the state broadcaster, established venues, or the big record labels to get their music out (Ansell, 2004:206). For example, Venda reggae artist Colbert Mukwevho’s early recordings with The Comforters, such as the popular *Month End Lover*, were recorded in Johannesburg in one night. He would return to Venda immediately with the master tape, make copies and start to sell them from the boot of his car, promoting his music by performing informally at beer halls and in remote villages. The recording was never sent to the Directorate of Publications for approval, as Mukwevho knew it would be banned. As a result of using these informal, alternative channels, people could buy his music in the knowledge that it was not illegal – but nor was it particularly legal. It existed on the fringes of the music industry and could be distributed under the radar (McNeill, 2012:91-95).

Mobile recording studios were another means of recording music outside the constraints of the music industry. These were often set up across the border in Botswana by independent labels such as Shifty and Priority, enabling exiled musicians to record with South Africa-based musicians (Drewett, 2003a:276).

For musicians such as Mukwevho and many others, censorship in the homelands was less rigorous than in urban areas. Much of their music was not subject to approval by the Directorate of Publications and was in wide circulation out of the surveillance of state censors. In the homelands, laws were less strict regarding

public gatherings, the police were less likely to arrest musicians and police surveillance of performances was less frequent and more relaxed. This was part of a wider trend in which the homelands served as sites for vices that were banned in the Republic, such as gambling and pornography, which were popular at resorts like Sun City (McNeill, 2012:83-84).

While music recorded by major labels and the SABC was heavily scrutinised by the state, homeland performances often – but not always – provided a space for “undesirable” music to meet the masses (McNeill, 2012:85). So while censorship played a major role in some musician’s careers and helped to define, restrict or inspire their work, for musicians relying primarily on live performances⁵⁸ in homelands such as Venda, “life went on without too much regard for them at all” (McNeill, 2012:94-95).

Internationally, Warrick Sony of the Kalahari Surfers, after numerous run-ins with censors, secured a deal in the UK that enabled him to send his music overseas to be manufactured and released, after which it would then be imported back into South Africa (Sony, 1991:114, Drewett, 2003a:276). Sony recalls,

I didn’t make commercially viable albums because I didn’t really want to restrict myself to trying to make a living from it. It was more the expression, the artistic freedom. And then the guys in England put it out, Recommended Records, so I had an outlet. Once one has an outlet it changes things (Sony, 2009:interview).

Musicians such as Sony and Mukwevho were thus able to operate outside the conventional, state-sanctioned music industry, bypassing censors and getting their music heard. This can be viewed as another way in which musicians fought against the apartheid government and the music establishment and in doing so played a role in making apartheid unattainable. Those exposed to their music and message were able to gain new insight into apartheid injustice and were exposed to new genres they would not otherwise hear via state-sanctioned channels.

⁵⁸ The same cannot be said of musicians in homelands who were recorded by the SABC for Radio Bantu. Here artists were compelled to conform to SABC standards of singing only in one language, and avoid political or overly critical statements. Artists who were based in homelands and who were recorded by the SABC for Radio Bantu as early as the 1960s, such as Tsonga artist General MD Shirinda, avoided political lyrics and even praised radio in some songs. In this way, artists who complied with censorship laws and the apartheid categorisation of music were able to sustain their careers, while those who did not, struggled (Madalane, 2012:31,56-57).

3.5 THE FALL OF APARTHEID AND THE END OF BUBBLEGUM

Towards the end of the 1980s, it gradually became clear that apartheid was coming to an end. Amidst confusion, uncertainty and violence, by the turn of the decade it was clear that a new South Africa was being born, both musically and politically. Though many apartheid laws and provisions had been dismantled under President PW Botha, some of the pillars of apartheid, such as the Population Registration Act, remained in place. Mr FW de Klerk replaced Mr Botha in 1989 as President of South Africa and immediately set out to finally dismantle apartheid. His plans were clearly unveiled during his landmark speech of 2 February 1990. These included the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the release of political prisoners, most notably Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990, the repeal of apartheid laws that were considered obstacles. Secret and “open” political negotiations between the National Party and the ANC also gathered momentum and changes could be seen in the programming of the SABC. The realisation that apartheid was finished brought about changes in individual behaviour as well as commercial strategies, both of which had an effect on popular music (Martin, 1992:204).

With apartheid being steadily dismantled, censorship relaxed and artists’ lyrics became more overtly political. Outright criticism of apartheid became more commonly used by popular musicians. Political lyrics no longer had to be hidden in the ways mentioned above to get past the censors. These confrontational lyrics were sometimes even printed on album sleeves. On one such album, Stimela’s *Trouble in the Land of Plenty* (1989), the title track contains obvious criticism of the government, with lyrics such as:

Singin’ with the brave is a crime they say,
Weepin’ with the wise, gets you jailed for life.
The young generation has a choice, they can say ‘no! no! no!’
They are the tide, they are the braves.
Who can stop the tide from rising?
In the land of plenty there’s no justice.
You can get a life sentence for questioning the system.
Don’t you know, there’s no justice in the land of plenty.
What’s goin’ on, what’s goin’ on?

The most popular of all bubblegum stars, Brenda Fassie, was seldom known for making political statements early in her career with her American-influenced, English-language and white-produced albums. This changed with the Chicco-produced album *Black President* in 1990. The title track celebrated the recent release of Nelson Mandela and detailed his arrest in 1963 “by security men, all dressed in the uniform of brutality”. Another track on the album, ‘Shoot them before they Grow’, includes the lyrics:

Sixteen-year old kids protest, say they want freedom
Black children crying, say ‘Give us better education’.
The good white man say, ‘Give them a good education’
The bad white man say, ‘Shoot them before they grow’.
Who’s gonna save them? ‘Cause they got no rights.
Where can they run to? ‘Cause they don’t know who to trust.

The album signalled a new phase in Fassie’s career and arguably in local pop music in general, as many other artists followed her and Chicco’s example. As a successful solo artist in his own right, Sello “Chicco” Twala became known for the political content of his songs, such as ‘Miss You Manelow’, ‘Soldier’ and ‘Living in Exile’. According to engineer Richard Mitchell, who also worked closely with both Fassie and Chicco,

Brenda certainly started pushing the envelope. I think by then apartheid had probably had it. Everybody was kind of anticipating that the end was close (Mitchell, 2009:interview).

With the threat of banning no longer a deterrent as censorship became far less strictly enforced, there was no longer a need for artists to disguise political messages. For the first time in South Africa, artists could record outspoken political tracks that would still be heard by audiences. Examples include Alec “Om” Khaoli’s ‘Apartheid Must Go’ (1989), MM Deluxe’s ‘Be Free My People’ (1990) and ‘Free At Last!’ by Choice! (1990), the cover of which shows a clenched black fist – an international symbol for black power – over the colours of the ANC flag. Zapp’s ‘Woza Year 2000’ (1990) looked to a future with “no more apartheid”, while Lucky Dube’s ‘Together as One’ (1988) included the lyrics, “Too many people hate apartheid, why do you like it?” – a blunt rhetorical question that was still allowed by the SABC (Goldstuck, 1997). With apartheid already largely over, however, their music soon became merely a reflection of the times, rather than a call for revolutionary change.

The political events of the 1980s had consequences for musicians in the early 1990s. Though apartheid was on its last legs, political tension was mounting and violence broke out in townships across the country, particularly in the early 1990s and most notably between supporters of the ANC and IFP (Malisa & Malange, 2013). Musicians responded by writing songs urging for an end to violence. These include Chicco's 'Papa Stop the War' (1989); Sammy's 'Stop the Fight' (1989); Jambo's 'No Man Kill Another Man' (1990); Sankomota's 'Stop the War' (1991); and Small's 'Stop the Fire' (1991).

Despite the violence that threatened to derail South Africa's transition to democracy, other musicians chose to take on a celebratory tone, such as Monwa's '1990' (1990), which contains the lyrics:

We are marching on the frontline,
United we stand, divided we fall.
In 1990, fulfill your dreams.
1990 - year of liberation...
1990 - I will get what I want.
1990 - fulfill all your dreams.

Inspired by the changes that had come about in the late 1980s, artists and producers were inspired not only by a desire to participate in making history in the early 1990s, but also to take advantage of the re-organisation of the entertainment industry resulting from the erosion of segregationist barriers (Martin, 1992:196). Within civil society, new organisations emerged to discuss the role of culture in a new, democratic regime. These included the Performing Arts Workers' Equity (PAWE), as well as the National Interim Cultural Coordinating Committee (NICCC), both established in May 1990, the latter leading to the Federation of South African Cultural Organisations (FOSACO) in December 1990. In 1991 the Association of Community Art Centres (ACAC) was established, also claiming to represent the interests of marginalised cultural workers (Sirayi, 2012:119-135). While relatively short-lived and not able to represent artists in all parts of the country, these new organisations added to the debate around the role of

musicians in the transition to democracy, now that the struggle against apartheid had finally been won⁵⁹.

By the early 1990s, the radical and rapid transformations in the country brought about new forms of creative expression (Martin, 1992:196). New genres began to gain popularity as bubblegum's popularity began to wane, although typical bubblegum music was released into the early 1990s. By then pop music had already become more dance-oriented and more electronic, due in part of the influence of new international genres such as house and hip-hop. The emergence of kwaito around this time arguably signaled the end of the bubblegum era. As an expression of the politics of the time, the music of the 1980s had largely been concerned with overcoming apartheid injustice, whereas the kwaito soundtrack of the 1990s was more concerned with forging a new, post-apartheid identity. New, black-owned labels emerged, such as Kalawa Jazmee and 999 Records, and starting in 1992 and 1993 soon dominated the market. Many of the most influential early kwaito artists first emerged during the bubblegum era, such as Mdu Masilela, Mandla "Spikiri" Mofokeng, Arthur Mafokate, Senyaka and Spokes H. While the musical influences of bubblegum on kwaito can be heard, the lyrical content of kwaito moved away from calls for political change, whether hidden or overt, as musicians focused increasingly on entertaining listeners rather than educating or mobilising them.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the role of locally-based musicians in the struggle against apartheid is explored. This is done by outlining the political and musical context of the 1980s and looking at the specific methods employed by musicians to mobilise popular support for the struggle.

The government's decision to legalise black trade unions in the early 1980s set in motion the development of a powerful mass movement opposed to apartheid, culminating in the formation of the United Democratic Front, COSATU and the

⁵⁹ In 1994, SAMA evolved into the Musicians Union of South Africa (MUSA), officially affiliated to COSATU. In 2007, MUSA merged with PAWE to become the Creative Workers Union of South Africa (CWUSA).

Mass Democratic Movement, which ultimately brought South Africa to a standstill through co-ordinated protest action. Music often played an important role in these and other political organisations, through dedicated cultural desks and choirs, at meetings, rallies and funerals, as well as in other parts of civil society, such as the church, theatre, schools and universities. Although musicians had made efforts to organise themselves in the past, their role within this civil society struggle against apartheid was only cemented with the formation of the South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA) in 1988. This gave musicians a unified voice against apartheid repression and attempted to protect their interests as well as to clarify and negotiate the cultural boycott.

The 1980s saw several key musical developments taking place. Chief among these was the emergence of bubblegum or disco music as a popular genre that appealed to a mass audience not restricted to specific language or ethnic groups, due in part to its largely English lyrics and international influences. Closely related to this was the growing popularity of crossover music, which celebrated collaboration between artists of different racial, linguistic or musical backgrounds, offering listeners a vision of a future democratic South Africa and disrupting the status quo until then enforced by government through the SABC. By the second half of the decade, however, crossover had become a commercial strategy in its own right and was incorporated into the government's own attempts to use music for its own ends. While black musicians took the lead, coloured and white artists, producers and engineers made important contributions to bubblegum, while even progressive Afrikaans artists joined the struggle as part of the Voëlvry movement. Another popular genre, reggae had by the 1980s become popular with audiences of all races, many of whom were drawn to its revolutionary messages and pan-African appeal. These three new popular genres enabled musicians to deliver powerful political messages to a broad multiracial audience, despite the repressive context of the time.

New independent record labels that emerged in the 1980s offered artists further options to get their music heard outside of the major labels that had traditionally dominated the industry, while new independent radio stations challenged the

SABC's monopoly of the airwaves, further freeing the music industry from government control. Meanwhile a thriving live circuit emerged that allowed musicians to speak directly to the people, free of censorship and increasingly often to multiracial audiences. All of these developments helped to erode the barriers put in place by apartheid, exposing listeners to new sounds, cultures and messages, and providing new opportunities for artists to get their music and message heard.

Popular musicians grew increasingly politicised over the course of the 1980s as they realised the power they had to inform and mobilise the public, and found inspiration and a common enemy in apartheid oppression. When censorship was at its strictest, they devised several methods of beating censors. Those who did not want to make outright protest statements that were likely to be banned instead used double meanings (for example metaphors, disguising names of politicians or manipulating the written lyrics submitted for review by censors), satire and "softer" literal meanings or positive social themes (such as education, pan-Africanism, work or freedom). Their intended meanings usually managed to escape censors but were largely understood by listeners, particularly in a live setting. Other artists adapted existing songs and struggle melodies, often in instrumental form. Some used images on their album covers to portray a message of racial reconciliation and co-operation, particularly crossover and multiracial bands. Other artists were able to find alternative channels through which to record, perform and distribute their music, either by taking advantage of the relative lack of censorship in the homelands or by finding help overseas, to bypass the conventional avenues of the music industry in which government was deeply involved.

Their efforts show that music can be used as a powerful tool for political communication, to deliver political relevant messages, and as an agent of political socialisation, to create awareness of various injustices and to mobilise the public to oppose apartheid. Non-establishment musicians had an advantage over the establishment in that they were regarded as legitimate communicators who communicated messages of acceptable content, largely largely due to the fact that they were familiar with the real life socio-political context of non-whites. The

government, on the other hand, apart from lacking legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of non-whites, tried to promote an ideal with which few people could identify – apartheid offered very little reason to celebrate.

During the 1980s, the government's actions were restrictive and its suppression of anti-apartheid actions became increasingly violent. However it also attempted to ameliorate the social impact of apartheid and apartheid legislation. In terms of transition theory, this amelioration provided a necessary "opening" for a transition to democracy. Musicians were able to take an increasingly outspoken stance against authorities, to the point where outright political protest was no longer censored. By the end of the decade, opposition to apartheid had become so widespread that the government's new leadership was forced to relent. Apartheid restrictions, including censorship, were no longer strictly enforced, and many laws were soon dismantled. Political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela were released and in a very short space of time, the political context for South African musicians changed drastically. By 1990, with apartheid already largely defeated, musicians no longer had to urge for revolutionary change in their songs and could instead celebrate victory over apartheid, relocate themselves within civil society for the process of negotiations, and look forward to a democratic future. New genres emerged within this new context, most notably kwaito, and the popularity of bubblegum and crossover music soon fell into decline, marking the end of an era.

Through their role within the civil society struggle, the union movement and the mass political movements of the 1980s, as well as the opportunities presented by new developments in the music industry during the decade and the specific methods they devised to fight apartheid while escaping censors and be heard by the people, the music fraternity was able to challenge and ultimately help defeat apartheid. To people who may have been supportive or indifferent towards the regime, the efforts of musicians would have helped to erode the legitimacy of the government, challenging acceptance of apartheid as the founding ideology of the political dispensation. Those already critical of apartheid, both black and white, were educated and mobilised by musicians, thus strengthening the struggle movement.

As agents of political socialisation and a medium of political communication, musicians acted as role models, inspiring confidence and showing people that it was acceptable, and indeed necessary, to oppose the government and embrace the possibility of a democratic future. Their success in doing so meant that government's attempts to promote apartheid and separate development through music ultimately failed, underlining the fact that social engineering in the absence of legitimacy is questionable and often destined to fail. Indoctrination has limitations and will typically only succeed if people stand to gain something from it. Moreover it shows that popular musicians in South Africa played a central role in the struggle against apartheid. Their efforts, however, do not represent the entire contribution of musicians to the struggle against apartheid. South African musicians outside the country, whether in exile, touring or releasing their music overseas, also played an important part, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

SOUTH AFRICAN MUSIC OVERSEAS AND ITS ROLE IN THE EXILED

STRUGGLE MOVEMENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The struggle against apartheid was not only fought inside South Africa. It also took place outside the country, where various activists played a role in nurturing international sympathy for the struggle against apartheid and mobilising opposition to the South African political system and government. Non-establishment and anti-establishment musicians played an important, but often overlooked, role in this dimension of the struggle against apartheid. It is therefore also important to consider the role of exiled and touring South African musicians in this global struggle against apartheid.

There are four focus points in this chapter. Firstly, there is the political and musical contribution made by the established community of South African jazz musicians exiled since the 1960s, many of whom drew on contemporary trends such as bubblegum during the 1980s. Secondly, there is the use of music by the ANC in exile, for example through performances by cultural ensembles like Mayibuye and Amandla, which was framed by ongoing debates on the role of culture in the struggle. Thirdly, there are the contributions made by South African music overseas – on the charts, on stage and on film – in promoting awareness of South Africa and apartheid, as well as the opportunities that touring internationally offered locally-based musicians to learn more about apartheid and to get involved in the struggle. Finally, the significance of the exiles' return to South Africa after Nelson Mandela's release from prison, culminating in the Unity Concert in Johannesburg in 1991, will also be explored.

4.2 BACKGROUND TO SOUTH AFRICAN MUSICIANS IN EXILE

While most South African music, particularly non-establishment music, was produced within the borders of the country under repressive circumstances, South

African musicians outside the country worked in a different, less restrictive environment and played to a wider audience, many of whom did not have any experience of apartheid. While these musicians were concerned primarily with music and not politics, most could not avoid addressing the issues that forced them into exile. This diaspora of exiled musicians spread throughout Africa, the USA and Europe, representing "another South Africa outside South Africa" (Ansell, 2004:221).

The community of exiles' involvement in the struggle against apartheid predates the 1980s and gained momentum during the 1960s. Due to the political context at home that restricted the creativity of musicians, combined with the increasingly repressive measures against those who opposed apartheid, many musicians were forced to seek greener pastures outside the country. In 1958, Todd Matshikiza had written the "jazz opera" *King Kong*, which featured an all-black cast of South African talent, including Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and trombonist Jonas Gwangwa. While *King Kong* was touring London in 1960, Sharpeville erupted on 21 March that year, followed immediately by a government crackdown. Prominent musicians were banned and denied the chance to return home (Mojapelo, 2008:267).

Examples of musicians who were affected by the government crackdown include singer Miriam Makeba, who had already appeared in the anti-apartheid documentary, *Come Back Africa*, and attended its premier at the 1959 Venice Film Festival. Instead of being welcomed home in 1960, when attempting to return home for her mother's funeral, she was refused entry. She took up refuge in London and met Harry Belafonte, who helped her emigrate to the USA, where she built her career, recording a string of hits in the 1960s. In 1963, after testifying against apartheid before the UN, her South African citizenship was revoked. In 1966, she became the first South African to win a Grammy Award for the album *An Evening with Harry Belafonte & Miriam Makeba*. Her marriage to civil rights activist and Black Panthers' leader Stokely Carmichael in 1968 caused controversy with authorities and conservative white listeners in the USA, and her record deals and tours were cancelled. The couple moved to Guinea. Nicknamed "Mama Africa", she twice addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations,

performed at the launch of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa and met numerous world leaders, including Haile Selassie, Fidel Castro and John F. Kennedy (Mojapelo, 208:263-265; Drewett, 2003a:280). Throughout her career in exile, Makeba remained a prominent and vocal activist in the fight against apartheid.

Hugh Masekela came to the USA via London in 1960 after Sharpeville, with the support of Makeba, Belafonte and Trevor Huddleston. In New York he studied at the Manhattan School of Music. For much of the 1970s and 1980s, Masekela lived in Africa – in Guinea, Zaire and Botswana, as well as spending time in Nigeria with Fela Kuti, the famed originator of Afrobeat and an outspoken critic and target of Nigeria's military regime. Many of his songs addressed life under apartheid, including 'Bring Him Back Home' (1987), a call for Nelson Mandela to be released (Mojapelo, 2008:267-269).

Trombonist Jonas Gwangwa also toured England with *King Kong* in 1961 before heading to the USA and the Manhattan School of Music, with the help of Harry Belafonte. Gwangwa lived in the USA for 15 years and toured all over the world. During the 1980s he served as director of the Amandla Cultural Ensemble, discussed in more detail later. In Botswana he narrowly escaped death in 1985 when South African forces attacked his home during a cross-border raid ("Jonas Mosa Gwangwa", no date).

While some musicians were quick to move abroad after *King Kong*, Abdullah Ibrahim (then known as Dollar Brand) returned home to Cape Town. By 1962, however, he and his soon-to-be wife, jazz singer Sathima Bea Benjamin, found the political situation untenable and left for Europe, settling in Zurich, Switzerland. Impressed by a live performance in February 1963, Duke Ellington produced their first album, *Duke Ellington Presents the Dollar Brand Trio*, which ensured the band became regulars on the European jazz circuit. Brand and Benjamin married in London in 1965 and moved to New York. They returned to Cape Town in 1968 and converted to Islam. After time in Swaziland, they again returned to Cape Town in 1973. The following year, Ibrahim released the iconic 'Mannenberg', inspired by the forced removals from District Six. In 1976, shortly after 16 June,

the family left South Africa for New York. Ibrahim openly joined the ANC and his South African citizenship was abruptly cancelled (Mojapelo, 2008: 278-280; Drewett, 2003a:280). In 1978, Ibrahim formed a group called the South African Freedom Committee (SAFCO), featuring a group of South African musicians as well as Americans such as Max Roach, Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee. The group held a benefit concert at Madison Square Garden in New York on 16 and 17 June 1978 to mark the anniversary of the 1976 student protests. They also set up a record label, SAFRO Records, to release an album that year entitled *Liberation: Freedom Songs*, including songs such as 'Guiding Light', 'Mandela', 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika' and 'Anthem For The New Nation' (Flat International, no date).

Singer Letta Mbulu also returned briefly to South Africa after her stint in *King Kong*, still in her teens. In 1965 she left for New York with her husband, musician Caiphus Semenya. They performed together that year in the Sound of Africa concert at Carnegie Hall, after touring with American jazz musician Cannonball Adderley, Mbulu and Semenya joined Hugh Masekela in California (Payne, 2010). Mbulu released numerous albums in the USA, most produced by Semenya, and featured on Michael Jackson's 'Liberian Girl' on *Bad* in 1987.

While musicians such as Mbulu, Semenya and Hotep Idris Galeta (formerly Cecil Barnard) spent most of their time in the USA since leaving South Africa in the 1960s, other exiles settled in London. The most notable of these were members of the Blue Notes. As a "mixed race" sextet, they had been especially prone to police harassment in South Africa, soon realising that the only way they could play freely was by going into exile. After an appearance at the 1964 Antibes Jazz Festival in France, the group decided to stay in Europe, later taking up club residencies in Zurich and Geneva, at the famous Ronnie Scott's in London, and in Copenhagen. Members such as Mongezi Feza, Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana and Johnny Dyani remained in Europe, passing away before apartheid came to an end in South Africa. Feza, Louis Moholo and Dudu Pukwana played in London-based afro-rock band Assagai. The trio was also part of the similarly styled jazz-rock outfit Spear with Julian Bahula, who had come to London in 1973 and became a popular musician, bandleader and promoter, also as part of Malombo with Philip Tabane and Abbey Cindi. Also among the exiled community based

largely in the UK were pianist Bheki Mseleku, guitarist Lucky Ranku, singer Pinise Saul, trumpeter Claude Deppa and many others (Mojapelo, 2008:282-284, 289).

Together these and other musicians exposed international audiences to South African culture and the politics of the anti-apartheid movement. Although their music was often banned in South Africa, it was still available and musicians such as Makeba and Masekela remained sources of inspiration both to listeners and musicians in South Africa. They laid the foundation, starting in the 1960s and culminating the 1980s, for the exiled liberation movement's music projects. The exiled struggle movement, led by the ANC, was able to incorporate musicians into their own efforts to raise support for the fight against apartheid.

4.3 MUSIC IN THE EXILED STRUGGLE MOVEMENT

The ANC, banned in South Africa since 1960, the year of the Sharpeville massacre, continued to function from outside the country. Throughout its history the ANC has attached great importance to culture and education and as early as the 1950s, with the initial intensification of apartheid, "artists gave expression to the resistance" (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:172). With many artists and activists forced into exile, it is understandable that many of South Africa's community of exiles were affiliated with the ANC. As the struggle against apartheid progressed into the 1980s, music came to play an increasingly important role in the struggle – a role defined through ongoing debate within the struggle movement, particularly the ANC. Officially sanctioned groups, such as the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble and later the Amandla Cultural Ensemble, used music to spread awareness of apartheid all over the world. The Medu Art Ensemble in Botswana provided support for exiled musicians and artists and also served to incorporate them into the struggle. This section looks at how the role of musicians in the struggle came to be defined, as well as the emergence and significance of the Mayibuye and Amandla ensembles in Europe and the Medu ensemble in Botswana.

4.3.1 Defining the Role of Musicians in the Struggle

Already in the 1970s, the issue of culture had begun to rise steadily in prominence within the anti-apartheid movement. The 1980s saw the emergence of an increasingly sophisticated discourse within the movement about the ways in which culture could contribute to national liberation (Gilbert, 2007:156).

In January 1985, ANC President Oliver Tambo made prominent reference to the role of cultural workers:

Let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage (Masekela, 1989:253).

Tambo's words reveal the importance placed on the arts within the struggle movement. Art – popular music in particular – had the power to educate and mobilise "the broad masses" in order to bring about political change. Following Tambo's call, the movement launched its own cultural journal, *Rixaka*. This growing interest in culture also saw rising numbers of ANC-affiliated workshops, festivals, seminars and publications devoted to the issue, interviews and public pronouncements by leading ANC figures, as well as clandestine work with performers based in South Africa, meetings with various governments on aspects of the cultural boycott, and arts education for refugees (Gilbert, 2007:165-172).

As an increasingly coherent conception of culture and its role in the struggle emerged across a variety of forums within the ANC, it was widely agreed that the ideal art, while connected to the people and not elitist or exclusive, offered more than just entertainment for the masses. True revolutionary art served to educate, conscientise and mobilise people to action. It was a vehicle for condemning the regime and informing the world about apartheid. Culture was thus considered a valuable weapon in the struggle for national liberation (Gilbert, 2007:172). This was accomplished through a number of means that are outlined in the rest of this chapter – for example, within the ANC, through the various ensembles affiliated to the organisation; as well as attempts to engage South African musicians touring outside the country to get involved in the struggle. The efforts of the ANC and the local struggle movement in general were greatly aided by the increased exposure

and success of South African musicians overseas on pop charts, as well as stage and film. The ANC also worked closely with the international partners in the anti-apartheid movement, engaging international musicians to play a central role in public rallies, conferences, concerts and exhibitions, as well as gaining support and funds through fundraising albums (both discussed in chapter five).

The international anti-apartheid movement thus opened further opportunities for exiled and visiting South African musicians to debate culture's role in the struggle and how the cultural boycott (also discussed in chapter five) had to be negotiated. To this end the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement organised the conference Cultural Voice of Resistance: Dutch and South African Artists against Apartheid in December 1982 in Amsterdam (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:177). As the musical struggle against apartheid gathered momentum, exiled musicians had the opportunity to meet with visiting South Africa-based artists⁶⁰, as well as members of the international anti-apartheid movement, at the Culture in Another South Africa conference in December 1987, also in Amsterdam. The conference gave further direction to the role of progressive musicians in the struggle (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:157; Braam & Geerlings, 1989:179).

In her keynote address at the conference, Barbara Masekela, head of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture, spoke of how inextricably linked music and politics had become. Not only had musicians played a central role in the struggle as cultural activists and solidarity workers but it was the struggle itself and the involvement of the masses that had pushed South African culture onto the global stage, despite the internal and international obstacles. Masekela said the situation in South Africa "dictates that we cultural workers are freedom fighters first, that political reality be the mirror in which we reflect our creativity". Artists, she said, were an integral part of the overall struggle. To mobilise people against apartheid most effectively, it was not enough for them to merely write about political problems or try to prescribe to their listeners; to effectively mobilise people against apartheid, Masekela argued, musicians also required patience and creativity to

⁶⁰ Performers at the conference included The African Jazz Pioneers, Tina Schouw, The Children from Soweto, The Cosatu Choir, The Genuines, Zila, the Thami Mnyele Quartet, Sabenza, Arekopeneng, Abdullah Ibrahim, Ntsikane and the Amandla Cultural Ensemble (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:157).

persuade rather than coerce people into listening and believing them (Masekela, 1989:250-255).

Masekela's resolutions on behalf of the ANC were the result of many years of debate and disagreement within the movement. Beginning in the late 1970s, specific cultural groups began to be established – namely the Mayibuye, Amandla and Medu ensembles – which offer practical examples of how the ANC's policies regarding the role of music in the struggle against apartheid were implemented and how they evolved over the course of the 1980s.

4.3.2 The Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensembles

The exiled and touring musicians of the 1980s were able to build on what had already been put in place during the 1970s and earlier. The ANC in exile, wanting to integrate artists into the struggle and promote international solidarity, had formed the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble in London in 1975⁶¹. The group's performances incorporated poetry, agitprop narrative and freedom songs, and usually comprised a cast of six to eight South African actors telling a story of life under apartheid and the struggle for liberation under the ANC. After 1976, the group also incorporated songs that had grown out of the Soweto uprising. Mayibuye was primarily an agitprop group, intended to raise awareness about apartheid, strengthen solidarity and obtain financial support for the ANC. In almost 200 performances over five years, the group was able to strengthen relationships with European representatives of the anti-apartheid movement. In 1978, Mayibuye released an album, *The Spear of the Nation*, in the Netherlands. The album consisted of poetry and struggle songs, with liner notes detailing the history of apartheid and the June 16 uprising, as well as justifying the armed struggle. By the late 1970s, with requests for performances pouring in, the part-time organisation could not keep up with the administrative and performing demands, and the ANC saw the need to start a professional group (Gilbert, 2007:156-164).

⁶¹ The establishment of Mayibuye – the name drawn from the popular struggle slogan “Mayibuye Afrika” (“come back, Africa” or “let Africa return”) followed the success of a live performance at the book launch of the poetry anthology *Poets to the People* in London in November 1974 (Gilbert, 2007:158-159).

The World Black Festival Of Arts And Culture (FESTAC) in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977 saw artists, poets and musicians from all over Africa, Europe and the USA perform, many under the banner of the ANC. Inspired by the diversity of talent at the festival, exiled musician Jonas Gwangwa put together a temporary ensemble that he called Amandla⁶², which included other notable exiled musicians Dudu Pukwana and Julian Bahula. They were soon invited to perform in Tanzania and Zambia (Gilbert, 2007:166; "Amandla Cultural Ensemble", no date).

In 1978, at the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana, Cuba, a small group of ANC representatives put on a performance that proved popular with the young international audience. On the basis of this success, a decision was taken to formally establish the Amandla Cultural Ensemble and maintain its activities. In the following months, cultural activities under the banner of Amandla were developed in MK training camps in Southern Africa, particularly Angola. In its first few years of existence, performances were limited to the local scene around Luanda and in the camps. Most members lacked training and struggled to balance their activities as cultural workers and soldiers. Amandla's first international exposure came in 1980, when a 32-member group toured Scandinavia. Under the leadership of exiled trombonist Jonas Gwangwa, over the following decade Amandla became a popular ambassador for the ANC, touring throughout Africa, Europe, South America, the Soviet Union, Canada, Southeast Asia and Australia. The group also released several albums, discussed in more detail in the next chapter (Gilbert, 2007:156,167,171; "Amandla Cultural Ensemble", no date).

Unlike Mayibuye, Amandla offered larger, increasingly professional performances incorporating theatre, dance and music, including an instrumental jazz band that grew to 14 members. A segment towards the end of the show was devoted to a regularly updated discussion of current events in South Africa. Instead of the open antagonism and sarcasm of Mayibuye, Amandla offered a more positive, forward-looking representation of black South African culture. Musically the group offered a diverse selection of South African genres, in line with the group's goal of exposing indigenous South African culture to the world. Beginning with freedom

⁶² Meaning "power" and, like Mayibuye, drawing on a popular liberation slogan.

songs and new jazz and choral compositions, the group's musical repertoire grew to include popular genres, such as kwela and mbaqanga (Gilbert, 2007:168-170). Amandla's performances were intended not only to raise international awareness about apartheid and funds for the struggle, but also to present an alternative vision of a more dynamic, inclusive, democratic South Africa. The songs they performed and recorded, such as 'Umkhonto'⁶³, 'Siyalila'⁶⁴ and 'Vukani Mawethu'⁶⁵, carried a revolutionary message, confronting colonial ideology, rejecting ethnic segregation and promoting a multicultural future, while never losing sight of the need to entertain. Amandla adopted a strong political position and advocated the total isolation of South Africa (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:156,158).

Through music, theatre and dance, Amandla was thus able to depict black South Africans not as mere victims of apartheid, nor simply portray their plight, but to articulate their hopes and aspirations, encourage commitment to the struggle, and affirm the values of a democratic South Africa. As a result, Amandla came to be regarded within the struggle movement as one of the ANC's greatest successes during this period (Gilbert, 2007:165,170-171; "Amandla Cultural Ensemble", no date).

4.3.3 The Medu Art Ensemble in Botswana

Botswana had long been home to a large community of South African exiles. In 1978, the Medu Art Ensemble was founded in Botswana's capital, Gaborone, near the South African border, with the aim of providing an organisation for refugee writers, artists and performers and a point of contact for those still living in South Africa. There had been some tensions between early refugees and local people, so another aim was to build a platform for collaboration with local counterparts, and in Southern Africa more broadly. Medu ran art classes in schools and prisons, staged plays, concerts, and exhibitions, held discussions and published a regular newsletter containing graphics, poems, stories, reviews and debates. By the 1980s, both Jonas Gwangwa (a founding member of Medu) and Hugh Masekela

⁶³ A reference to the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

⁶⁴ Zulu for 'We Are Crying'.

⁶⁵ Zulu for 'Rise Up People'.

had homes in Gaborone, while the Medu musical collective had two bands: Kalahari (led by Masekela) and Shakawe (led by Gwangwa), making use of both South African and Botswanan musicians (Ansell, 2004:248). Although Medu was formally unaffiliated with the ANC, by the early 1980s its members were largely committed to the ANC (Gilbert, 2007:165).

In 1982, the same year that the ANC established its Department of Arts and Culture, Medu organised the Culture and Resistance Festival in Gaborone with the help of international funding. The event attracted 5000 delegates, the majority from inside South Africa, for a weekend of exhibitions, performances and seminars. Performers and panelists include Abdullah Ibrahim, Jonas Gwangwa, and veteran bandleaders Kingforce Silgee and Ntemi Piliso. The theme that emerged from discussions was that culture was an integral part – a site and a weapon – of the struggle. Again, music was central, albeit in a context where public speaking, song and dance are not rigidly separated. After the festival, thousands of South African artists returned home with a shared vision and direction that made them more prominent and effective in the struggle. The festival also garnered considerable anti-apartheid publicity overseas (Ansell, 2004:192-194).

The community established under Medu and strengthened by the Culture and Resistance Festival became so well-organised and influential that the South African government saw it as a major threat. Already adept at cross-border raids and cracking down on musicians within the country, on 14 June 1985, shortly before the first State of Emergency was declared, the South African Defence Force (SADF) attacked Gaborone, targeting in particular the homes of Medu artists and cultural activists, including Masekela and Gwangwa. The state-controlled media in South Africa and government apologists claimed the Gaborone raid had been against MK military bases and that cultural organisations and activities existed merely as camouflage for these. Yet while one of MK's several infiltration routes into South Africa was via Botswana, the SADF raid failed to hit this clandestine activity. Artists and organisers were among those killed, and homes owned or rented by artists were destroyed. After the attack, refugee artists

were forced to move elsewhere. Medu was disbanded and its formal activities relocated to London and Lusaka (Ansell, 2004:193-194,249).

A later effort by the ANC to raise support through music was the ANC Choir, which released *Toyi Toyi Mix* in the UK in 1991, an album of protest songs along with versions of 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika', co-produced by Dali Tambo, son of ANC leader Oliver Tambo⁶⁶.

The Mayibuye, Amandla and Medu ensembles and the ANC Choir embodied an important strategy of the exiled ANC, namely the use of music as a weapon of the struggle. With the ANC being the primary force in the struggle against apartheid, these groups played a significant role in gaining international support for the struggle against apartheid around the world – particularly in the first half of the 1980s. At the same time, another group of musicians, usually with more commercial intentions, were making use of the growing international interest in South Africa to bring South African popular music to the world. Several South African popular musicians, both exiled and locally-based, enjoyed some degree of international success, particularly in the second half of the decade.

4.4 SOUTH AFRICAN POPULAR MUSIC OVERSEAS

While exiled musicians' work was often banned in South Africa, locally-based musicians faced obstacles to getting their music heard overseas. Despite the boycott and apartheid's restrictions, several South African popular musicians still managed to find success overseas. In doing so they raised South Africa's international profile and helped draw attention to the country and its plight. Ironically it was during the 1980s, a time synonymous with the peak of internal repression and international isolation, that South African artists enjoyed unprecedented success overseas. The struggle against apartheid was strengthened by international hits by South African artists, as well as successful musical theatre productions and international films in which South African musicians featured prominently. Locally-based musicians who had the opportunity

⁶⁶ The album is from the writer's personal music collection.

to tour internationally and then return to South Africa played a particularly important role in the struggle. This continued until the end of the 1980s, when it became clear that apartheid would end, and the exiled musicians began to return home.

4.4.1 South African International Hits

Since the 1950s, South African songs such as 'Tom Hark'⁶⁷, 'Skokiaan' and Solomon Linda's 'Mbube' (also known as 'Wimoweh' and 'The Lion Sleeps Tonight') had been recorded by top international artists, even making it onto international charts⁶⁸. The degree of international attention was relatively minor, however, until the 1980s. This growth in the international popularity of South African music began in 1978, when rock band Clout's⁶⁹ version of 'Substitute' sold over 600 000 copies and reached number 1 in Germany, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand, the top 5 in the UK, the Netherlands and France and the Billboard top 100 charts in the USA. Clout toured Europe for four years ("Cindy Alter Biography", no date; "Charting the Charts", no date).

One of the first black artists to cross over to white audiences, Steve Kekana had a hit in Europe with 'Raising My Family' in 1980, which even led to a tour of Scandinavia. The song reached the top 10 in charts in Sweden, Switzerland and Finland in the early 1980s. Another track from the album, 'Colour Me (Black)' went to number 8 in Finland, while the album went to number 2. The song's innovative use of new studio production techniques foreshadowed the bubblegum sound and was significant for having black and white co-producers, Tom Vuma and Mally Watson ("Charting the Charts", no date; Watson, 2009:interview).

Harari pioneered an Afro-rock fusion that made them one of the most popular local acts of the late 1970s and early 1980s. They supported American stars

⁶⁷ 'Tom Hark', written by Jack Lerole, was covered by UK pop band The Piranhas in 1980, reaching number 6 in the UK charts.

⁶⁸ South African artists also made it onto international charts with more conventional music – for example Danny Williams had a number one hit in the UK in 1961 with his version of 'Moon River'.

⁶⁹ One of the most popular white pop acts of the late 1970s, Clout also had hits with 'Save Me', 'You've Got All of Me' and 'Under Fire'. The group disbanded in 1981.

Percy Sledge, Brook Benton and Wilson Pickett on their South African tours. An invite from Hugh Masekela to tour the USA in 1978 was cancelled due to the death of leader Selby Ntuli, leaving Sipho “Hotstix” Mabuse to take over. Their 1980 album *Heatwave* earned them a deal with A&M in the USA. In 1982 their single 'Party' entered the American Disco Hot 100. The original formation of Harari split later that year. Mabuse and bassist Alec “Om” Khaoli continued to make inroads overseas, the former with 'Burnout' in 1985, which reached Number 70 on the Billboard Disco Top 80; the latter with his band Umoja, who released 'You are the One (Bambo Wangu)' around the world in 1984 ("Charting the Charts", no date).

Trevor Rabin was one of several South African musicians to find success overseas with established acts. Rabin joined rock band Yes as a guitarist in the early 1980s and was the primary writer of their biggest hit, 'Owner of a Lonely Heart' in 1983, which reached number one on the US Billboard Hot 100. Other South Africans who joined well-known international acts included Blondie Chaplin and Ricky Fataar with the Beach Boys, Duncan Faure with the Bay City Rollers during the 1970s and Jean-Michel Byron du Plessis, who became the lead singer of Toto in 1990. All helped to boost the prominence of South African musicians on the world stage and to raise interest in the country.

After spending most of the 1960s and 1970s in exile in the USA, Hugh Masekela returned to Africa in 1980, arranging for a mobile recording studio to be shipped from California to Botswana. Working with his new band Kalahari and Clive Calder's⁷⁰ Jive Afrika Records, he released the album *Techno-Bush* in 1984. The single 'Don't Go Lose it Baby' spent 12 weeks in the Top 20 of the American dance charts, peaking at number 2⁷¹ ("Charting the Charts", no date).

⁷⁰ Calder is a South African who established Clive Calder Productions (CCP), which became the black division of EMI in South Africa and released Brenda & The Big Dudes' landmark hit 'Weekend Special'. Later in the 1970s he moved to the UK and established Zomba Records, going on to become one of the most successful music executives in the world. In a 2001 interview with *Billboard* magazine, Calder's former business partner, Ralph Simon, said that when the pair were starting out in the 1970s, they became involved in the struggle against apartheid by helping to send money from the exiled ANC into South Africa to help pay the legal costs of anti-apartheid activists who were on trial. Some of this money was even used to help set up the Zomba business (White & Coetzer, 2001).

⁷¹ The song's success was a surprising comeback for Masekela, coming 16 years after he had a number 1 hit in the USA in June 1968 with 'Grazin' in the Grass'.

First released in South Africa in 1983, Brenda & The Big Dudes' landmark single 'Weekend Special' was remixed three years later in New York by Van Gibbs and released by Capitol Records in March 1986. It entered the Billboard Hot Black Singles chart, where it remained for 8 weeks, and was promoted by concerts in the USA, UK, Europe, Brazil and Australia ("Charting the Charts", no date). The song's success prompted some in the media to question the implications for the effectiveness of the cultural boycott. *Billboard* magazine wrote in April 1986: "There has been no reaction yet, negative or positive, to the signing from members of the anti-apartheid lobby. The group claims it has supported boycotts by anti-apartheid groups in recent years" (George, 1986). The success of 'Weekend Special' showed that exceptions could be made for songs that were deemed good enough for the international market.

Johnny Clegg has arguably had more international chart success than any other local artist. 'Scatterlings of Africa', first recorded with Juluka for the 1982 album of the same name, charted in the UK, USA and Sweden. Re-recorded with Savuka for their debut album *Third World Child*, the song charted again in the UK in May 1987. The album was followed in 1988 by *Shadow Man*, which sold over a million copies in Europe, charting in Switzerland and the USA. Savuka subsequently embarked on a world tour, opening shows for Steve Winwood in the USA and George Michael in Canada. The title track to the band's third album, *Cruel, Crazy, Beautiful World* (1989), charted in the UK and Switzerland, while the album also charted in the USA, Switzerland and Sweden ("Charting the Charts", no date).

R&B, jazz and gospel musician Jonathan Butler signed to Jive Records (part of Calder's Zomba group) and moved to the UK in the early 1980s, where he remained for many years before moving to the USA. His first international album, *Introducing Jonathan Butler*, reached 101 on the US Hot 200 Albums in May 1986. His international breakthrough came in 1987 with the hit 'Lies', which charted in the USA, UK and New Zealand. The song was nominated at the 30th Grammy Awards in 1988 for Best Male R&B Vocal Performance, while another track from the album, 'Going Home', was nominated that year for Best R&B Instrumental Performance. The self-titled double album spent 33 weeks in the American charts, peaking at 50 and reaching gold status with over 500 000 copies

sold. It also charted in Sweden. The album was followed by *More Than Friends*, which also made it onto American and Swedish charts ("Charting the Charts", no date). Butler also released prominent political statements like *Heal Our Land* in 1990.

Another band, the Malopoets, signed to EMI in 1983, recorded their eponymously titled debut album in France (released in 1985) and subsequently toured Europe and the USA while basing themselves in Switzerland. Members Kenny Mathaba and Bruce Sobiso returned to South Africa in the late 1980s, while Pat Sefalosa and Sam Tshabalala remained, choosing exile (Mojapelo, 2008:72,130). One of their most famous anti-apartheid songs was 'The End Is Near', featuring excerpts of a speech by struggle leader Allan Boesak, released internationally in 1988.

Other exiled South Africans to find success overseas include jazz band District Six, led by Brian Abrahams, who recorded 'Woza Wena (A Calling To Rise)' in 1985. Another jazz act, Kintone, led by exiled Tony Cedras, released *Going Home* in 1985 and 'State Of Emergency' in 1986. Other recordings by exiled musicians include Uwandile's *Apartheid* in the UK and Authority's *Against Again Apartheid In South Africa* in Switzerland, both from 1987. Exiled reggae singer Aura Msimang released *Azania* in 1988, while Audrey Motaung recorded 'Mandela' in Germany for the 1989 album *African Sun*. Later, long-time exile Manfred Mann, an influential figure in the UK for decades, released 'Sikelele' in 1991.

Unlike the earlier exiles who were not allowed to return to the country, some locally-based artists were able to tour the rest of the world before returning home. These include black artists like Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse and Steve Kekana and whites like Johnny Clegg and Warrick Sony of the Kalahari Surfers.

After the success of *Graceland* in 1986 (discussed in chapter five), American musician Paul Simon produced Ladysmith Black Mambazo's first release in the USA, *Shaka Zulu*, in 1987. Featuring tracks like 'How Long?', 'Hello My Baby', 'Rain Rain Beautiful Rain' and 'uNomathemba', the album won a Grammy Award for Best Traditional Folk Recording in 1988, the first South African act to do so since Miriam Makeba in 1966.

Other local stars to make inroads overseas during the 1980s include Yvonne Chaka Chaka's 'Umqombothi', penned by Sello "Chicco" Twala and Attie van Wyk, was remixed by Norman Cook, later known as Fatboy Slim, for international release. Mahlathini and The Mahotella Queens worked with Art of Noise in the UK on *Yebo!* in 1989 and performed on the American popular talk show *Late Night With David Letterman* the following year. Child star Ricardo's 'I Love You Daddy' was released in 1986 in Portugal, the Netherlands and elsewhere and saw the child star tour Denmark and Japan with songwriter Al Etto. Etto also wrote 'Children of the World', a benefit song for UNICEF chosen as the theme song for the final World Popular Song Festival in Tokyo in 1989, where it was performed by Stevie Wonder and other stars (Arendse, 1989). Other coloured artists also had some success overseas: Richard Jon Smith's 'She's the Master of the Game' reached number 63 on the UK charts in July 1983 while Neville Nash narrowly missed the charts in the Netherlands with 'It's a Real Good Feeling' in March 1981 ("Charting the Charts", no date).

Jazz band Sakhile, an influential force at home in the early 1980s, reunited and in 1987 toured Switzerland, Italy, Britain, Germany and several African countries. Featuring bassist Sipho Gumede, Sakhile represented South Africa at the Meeting of the World music festival in Finland and in the Soviet Union. In the same year, Gumede performed at the famous Montreux Jazz Festival with exiled stars Semanya, Mbulu and Masekela in *An African Evening* produced by American musician and producer Quincy Jones. Gumede also toured the Americas with Harry Belafonte and Mbulu ("Sipho Gumede", no date).

Another locally-based musician who toured the world was Philip Tabane, founder of Malombo⁷². Unlike many of his contemporaries who chose exile, Tabane remained based in Mamelodi, Pretoria. By the mid-1970s, Tabane had signed an international recording deal and was touring extensively in the USA, as well as Europe, Japan and Southern Africa, returning regularly to his home in South Africa (Galane, 2009:67-68).

⁷² Since the mid-1960s the band recorded using various line-ups and names, include the Malombo Jazzmen.

South African music was given a further boost overseas by the release of the critically acclaimed *Indestructible Beat of Soweto* compilation series⁷³. This series focused entirely on mbaqanga, with no attention given to bubblegum bands. Influential American music critic Robert Christgau named the first volume his favourite album of the 1980s (Christgau, 1990). Partly as a result of the success of this and other similar international compilations⁷⁴, it was mbaqanga rather than bubblegum that became synonymous with South African music overseas during the 1980s, including as a musical symbol of the anti-apartheid movement (Shoup, 1997:86). As discussed earlier, mbaqanga had emerged long before the 1980s and enjoyed a revival thanks to the international interest. Mbaqanga stalwarts Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens made a comeback in the mid-1980s, releasing and touring in Europe and the USA (Tenaille, 2002:81). Whereas in South Africa, many turned to contemporary bubblegum, crossover and reggae sounds that appealed to all ethnic groups, it was mbaqanga that proved more appealing to overseas audiences, who arguably wanted something that sounded more “authentic” than American-influenced bubblegum (or Jamaican-influenced reggae), the hidden political messages of which would have largely been lost on those outside the country.

The success of these and other South African artists overseas is evidence of South African popular music's rapid rise on the international popular music scene during the 1980s, spurred by the growing interest in “worldbeat” or “world music” and the politicisation of popular music (discussed in chapter five). Many of these artists used the opportunity to speak out against apartheid to international audiences. Those that did not refer directly to politics still helped to draw international attention to South African politics, simply by virtue of being South African artists on the world stage at a time when the struggle against apartheid had become a global movement. Despite the cultural boycott, their music found

⁷³ The first album in the series was released in the UK in 1985 on the Earthworks label, and later in the USA on Shanachie. It was compiled by UK-based South Africans Trevor Herman and Jumbo Vanrenen.

⁷⁴ Other international compilations of South African music released during the 1980s and early 1990s that focused on mbaqanga include *Duck Food: African Female Vocal Mbaqanga Classics* (1986), released in the USA as *Soweto Never Sleeps: Classic Female Zulu Jive* (1986); *Thunder Before Dawn (The Indestructible Beat of Soweto Vol 2)* in 1987; *The Heartbeat of Soweto* (1988); *Freedom Fire (The Indestructible Beat of Soweto Vol 3)* in 1990; *The Kings & Queens of Township Jive (Modern Roots Of The Indestructible Beat Of Soweto)* in 1990; and *Bringing It Down: South African Sax Jive* (1990). Other international compilations included *Sounds Of Soweto* (1987), which showcased bubblegum and crossover artists; and *African Horns* (1989), which focused on jazz.

an international audience not only because of the growing support for the anti-apartheid movement, but also because the music itself resonated with listeners around the world, particularly those disillusioned with their own leaders, as many indeed were (Ballantine, 1989:310; Meintjes, 1990:40; English, 2005:279). Their political legacy was that they helped many around the world to realise that apartheid was an unjust dispensation. Even those musicians who were not involved in politics at all helped, through their talent alone, to reinforce a growing perception among Europeans and Americans that apartheid was unjust.

4.4.2 Film and Theatre

South African musicians also made an impact elsewhere in the entertainment industry in the 1980s⁷⁵. One of the most successful efforts to promote the plight of apartheid South Africa through music and film was the BBC documentary *Rhythm of Resistance: Black South African Music*. Produced by British filmmaker Jeremy Marre, who had traveled to South Africa in the late 1970s, the film dealt with the politics of musical performance and production under apartheid and featured performances by Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Juluka, Babsy Mlangeni, Mpharanyana and the Cannibals, the Mahotella Queens and Malombo. First released in 1979, the film used music as a means of educating people at anti-apartheid gatherings, especially on college campuses in the UK and USA during the 1980s (Muller, 2008:56). The soundtrack was also released as an album in the UK in 1978. The 1981 documentary, *You Have Struck a Rock*, on the struggle of women against apartheid pass laws, was narrated by exiled singer Letta Mbulu. It was co-produced by the United Nations and distributed internationally.

South African musicians even rose to prominence in the Hollywood mainstream. Jonas Gwangwa's role in the struggle was recognised with a standing ovation at the 1987 Oscar ceremony, where he was nominated for his work on the music for *Cry Freedom*, the story of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. The finale saw a South African choir singing 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika', the anthem of the struggle movement and part of the end of the movie version of the song (Mojapelo,

⁷⁵ The earliest example of South African musicians using film to reveal apartheid injustice to the world was American filmmaker Lionel Rogosin's 1959 documentary *Come Back Africa*, starring Miriam Makeba.

2008:275-276; Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:158). Caiphus Semenya worked with prominent American producer Quincy Jones on the soundtracks of *Roots* in 1977 and the Oscar-nominated *The Color Purple* in 1984 (Mojapelo, 2008:272-273). Ladysmith Black Mambazo appeared performing in Michael Jackson's seminal music video *Moonwalker* (1988) and contributed to the soundtrack of Hollywood movies such as *Coming To America* with Eddie Murphy (1988) and the Oscar-nominated *A Dry White Season* starring Marlon Brando in 1989 ("Our Story", no date). In 1988, Savuka's 'Scatterlings of Africa' featured on the soundtrack of the Oscar-winning film, *Rain Man*⁷⁶.

In 1988, Oliver Schmitz's movie *Mapantsula* was seen by audiences in Europe, North America, Australia and Japan. The story of a gangster living under apartheid, the film served to reveal to international audiences what life was like for black South Africans, and in so doing gain sympathy and support for the struggle. Music features prominently in the film and the soundtrack includes bubblegum songs from the era. Stimela vocalist Nana "Coyote" Motijoane performs in several nightclub scenes, while the cast includes singers Dolly Rathebe, Thembi Mtshali and radio DJ Mesh Mapetla⁷⁷.

Musical theatre, outside of government-sanctioned theatre as discussed in chapter two, also played a part in the international struggle against the apartheid government. In 1986, Caiphus Semenya and other exiled musicians (including Gwangwa, Mbulu, Masekela and Makeba) formed South African Artists United (SAAU) to present a unified political voice for the exiled artists who had been living in major international cities and promoting awareness of South African politics for decades. The group formed the nucleus of a musical theatre show, SAAU's major initiative, called *Buwa*⁷⁸. By the middle of 1986, Semenya had finalised the script and secured the participation of some 40 prominent South

⁷⁶ This fact was verified using the Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com).

⁷⁷ Information on the film *Mapantsula* was taken from the film itself and verified using the Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com).

⁷⁸ Translated as 'speak out'.

African musicians, dancers and actors from both inside and outside the country⁷⁹. (Sellstrom, 2002:769-771).

They gathered in Harare from late October 1986. *Buwa* opened in Harare in January 1987, attracting huge crowds of anti-apartheid activists and music lovers from Zambia, Botswana and South Africa. By public demand the intended one-off show was extended for a further three nights. The show chronicled South Africa's political history through music and featured prominently the imprisonment of political leaders such as Nelson Mandela. After its successful start, *Buwa* was affected by internal problems and went on a less successful international fund-raising tour in late 1987. Although the initiative did not attract the funds expected, it played a significant role in building relationships between the ANC and anti-apartheid movements throughout Europe, as well as other liberation movements in Africa, and further underlined the central role of musicians within the struggle. The show did not openly advocate support for the ANC. This was to include artists from different political backgrounds, and also to prevent problems for the younger popular artists involved who still lived and worked inside the country, such as Stella Khumalo, Condry Ziqubu and Siphon Gumede (Sellstrom, 2002:769-772).

Another theatre production that highlighted the plight of South Africans under apartheid was *Sarafina!*, a musical depicting students in the 1976 riots, written by Mbongeni Ngema with the help of Hugh Masekela. After launching at the Market Theatre in Johannesburg in June 1987, Ngema took the production to Broadway in New York, where it ran from January 1988 until 2 July 1989 for approximately 600 performances. Lead actress Leleti Khumalo was nominated for a Tony Award as well as a NAACP⁸⁰ Image Award. The production of the play was chronicled in the 1988 documentary *Voices of Sarafina!* and was also adapted into a film in 1992 starring American actress Whoopi Goldberg, all helping to tell the story of life under apartheid to a global audience ("Sarafina!", no date).

⁷⁹ Two of the most notable absentees were Abdullah Ibrahim (formerly known as Dollar Brand) and Miriam Makeba, who was replaced by Dorothy Masuka from Zimbabwe (Sellstrom, 2002:770-771).

⁸⁰ National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an American civil rights organisation formed in 1909.

Theatre and film thus provided alternative platforms for musicians to highlight the plight of South Africans living under apartheid, both overtly and covertly, to a global audience and in doing so gain support for the struggle. However their contributions were still regulated by playwrights, directors, producers and promoters. Those who performed live on stage to international audiences were able to use the opportunities provided by touring to become actively involved in the struggle. By the 1980s, these theatrical successes outstripped those of earlier, similar attempts by the apartheid government, such as *Ipi Tombi* (discussed in chapter two). International success nurtured sympathy abroad for black musicians who were severely restricted in their creative endeavours within South Africa and thus also facilitated an increasing awareness of the repressive conditions created by apartheid. Their success also helped to erode apartheid mindsets within South Africa, by establishing a sense of pride among local black people and proving that being black did not mean that one was necessarily inferior, as was often asserted by apartheid. It also proved to some white audiences that black performers could be creative and successful, and even instilled a sense of pride in their accomplishments among certain whites.

4.4.3 Musicians' Politicisation while Touring

Despite restrictions on movement and the intended effects of the cultural boycott, popular South African musicians were able to find an audience in other countries. Particularly in nearby African countries, album sales and live performances provided artists with an extra source of income. Yvonne Chaka Chaka proved particularly successful all over the continent, earning the nickname “Princess of Africa”. Respondents spoke of a vibrant live scene in Botswana, aided by its close proximity to South Africa and its established community of exiled musicians and activists. South African music fans of all races would make the trip across the border, enjoying the relative freedom of mixed audiences, free of police surveillance. According to Neo Maphaka,

Whites would go across the border, and come with black chicks, also South African. Because there they were free, it would be fine. But over here, nothing was like that (Maphaka, 2009:interview).

Attending such events outside the country would have reminded musicians and music fans alike of the relative lack of freedom in South Africa and ideally mobilised them to join the struggle by giving them a glimpse of what was possible if apartheid could be defeated.

Namibia, considered part of South Africa throughout the 1980s, was another popular market for local artists. Daniel Phakoe, better known as Sox, was part of a group of South African artists (including Yvonne Chaka Chaka and William Mthethwa) who in 1989 were flown unknowingly from Lanseria airport in Johannesburg to Ondangwa in Namibia to support a political rally in aid of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance⁸¹ shortly before Namibia's elections. He recalls,

We didn't know anything, but we are wearing t-shirts saying 'Vote for Turnhalle'. I said to William, 'Look at this, are we going to vote there or what? We have never even voted in our own country!' (Phakoe, 2009:interview).

Namibia was also a source of inspiration to some South African pop musicians. For example, bubblegum duo Oshakati was named after the northern Namibian town that was used as a military base for South African forces in Angola. Their 1987 debut album, *Fire*, was dedicated to the people of Namibia (Mojapelo, 2008:120). In 1989, singer Nana "Coyote" Motijoane recorded 'Namibia 435', the number of the UN Security Council Resolution adopted in 1978 that ultimately led to the independence of Namibia, on the album *Vuka Zenzele*⁸² (UN: S/RES/435(1978)).

An important, but often overlooked, consequence of musicians touring overseas was that it provided musicians with an opportunity to learn about South African politics from the international media and other observers, given that information within the country was so tightly regulated by the SABC. Respondents recalled having to field questions from foreign journalists asking them to comment on South African politics, but knowing that doing so could jeopardise their careers after they returned home. Some musicians chose to ignore politics in interviews

⁸¹ The DTA was an alliance of Namibian political parties that was one the contenders for power in the 1989 elections. After Namibia became independent in 1990, it was the main opposition to the ruling South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO).

⁸² Translated as 'Wake up and do it yourself', a common plea for people to take action to improve their lives, for example by becoming politically active and joining the struggle against apartheid.

and instead focus only on their music. Phumi Maduna said that at the time she chose to ignore political questions from journalists because she felt too young to have "enough understanding" of the political situation. Instead she was simply trying to make a living by entertaining people. Because she needed the support of the SABC to do so, she did not want to anger authorities (Maduna, 2009:interview).

Similarly, blind singer Steve Kekana, who toured Europe twice in the early 1980s, remembers trying to avoid political questions. "It was just about fun," he said of his first time overseas as a young man in his early 20s, coming from a rural background. The next time he went overseas, with the white band Hotline in 1984, he started to realise that things in Europe were very different from South Africa. In London he was asked by journalists for his views on apartheid and felt reluctant to speak openly for fear of encountering problems from authorities after returning home.

I answered that question very simply and said, 'You know, to me, apartheid affects those who recognise it. I don't recognise apartheid. As you can see, I'm here with an all-white band. I'm the only [black] one, and I hope I'm not window-dressing. But I don't recognise apartheid, I don't respect it, so it doesn't affect me' (Kekana, 2009:interview).

Clearly, musicians had to tread a fine line neither to anger authorities nor alienate their fans, while still trying to be honest. Pat Shange remembered that while touring outside the country,

The first thing, before they can even talk about your music and your appearance, is, 'What is apartheid like in South Africa?' In most cases I think it was paying to be honest. Because if you lie... You can lie today, but somewhere along the line, the lies of yours will catch up with you, so it's not wise. It was not a matter of criticising the government, it was a matter of telling the truth (Shange, 2009:interview).

Other musicians became actively involved in the struggle movement as a result of touring outside the country. Richard Siluma, who toured extensively with reggae star Lucky Dube, remembers being called by authorities before leaving on tour, warning them of what they could and could not say about apartheid. At first, given how little people were permitted to know, for example about Nelson Mandela, Siluma would usually respond to reporters' questions by saying he did not know. In time, however, this changed. Touring enabled him and those with him to gain a

better understanding of apartheid through meeting exiled freedom fighters, who would often come and seek them out (Siluma, 2010:interview; Maphaka, 2009:interview; Phakoe, 2009:interview). In this way, some South African musicians only became fully politicised after they left the country. Siluma remembers,

When we first left Joburg to go to Europe, we never knew anything about South Africa. We just knew that we were black people, living with white people, but not in the same house. That's all we knew. We never knew whether there was anything wrong in it, or anything right in it. We just went as musicians. Then we learnt more when we were on tour in Europe. We started to know what was good and what was not. That's when we started joining the struggle in South Africa. We learned that outside (Siluma, 2010:interview).

Upon returning to South Africa from tours, musicians and band members agreed to not reveal too much of what they had learned overseas to avoid raising the attention of authorities. Instead the challenge was to tell people through their songs, often by disguising the meaning of lyrics. They were thrust into the struggle movement within South Africa, used as instruments by the ANC to relay information and even letters and clothes into and out of the country, and to maintain links between the exiled ANC and the underground struggle within the country (Siluma, 2010:interview; Maphaka, 2009:interview; Phakoe, 2009:interview). According to Siluma,

Some of the ANC members we spoke to were very clever. They would tell you exactly what to do, and don't do anything wrong – 'We want you to go in and out, because it gives us more information.' So that's how we actually started... And we started writing songs about it (Siluma, 2010:interview).

Musicians who toured neighbouring countries like Botswana, where exiled South Africans were training in MK camps, were incorporated into the struggle. "We were like couriers", remembers Neo Maphaka of his frequent trips to perform in Botswana, where he would bring updates of life in South Africa to exiled MK soldiers, then return with letters to their loved ones, usually hidden in a drum or a guitar to escape detection at border posts. By doing so, musicians like Maphaka became deeply involved in the struggle, risking their own safety and careers. "We never ran away," he said. "We fought with our music" (Maphaka, 2009:interview).

Another popular bubblegum musician, Siphon “Hotstix” Mabuse, expressed similar sentiments regarding his politicisation while overseas. When he visited the USA after signing with Virgin Records, he met exiled members of the ANC and PAC and learnt about the struggle from them, before bringing information from them back into the country when he returned (Ansell, 2004:211-212).

Travelling overseas thus provided an opportunity for black musicians to learn more about apartheid and how it was perceived by the rest of the world, and to become active as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, by teaching international audiences about South African culture and politics, and by becoming directly involved in the struggle by meeting and helping exiled freedom fighters.

4.4.4 Difficulties Facing White Musicians

While touring offered new opportunities for black musicians to join the struggle, it posed particular difficulties for many white musicians. Many faced open hostility due to the stigma of apartheid, regardless of their political stance. For example, Mike Fuller, who traveled with Hotline and Steve Kekana to Europe in the early 1980s, recalled having difficulties touring with European musicians or getting coverage from major TV shows simply because they were white South Africans at a time of growing anger towards apartheid (Fuller, 2009:interview).

Holding many touring white pop acts back was the stigma attached to apartheid and the UN-sanctioned cultural boycott. Jarrod Aston of pop band Cinema remembers that during the band's heyday,

We had several big publishers and managers interested in the band but they wanted us to leave SA and pretty much denounce our association with the country in order for them to sign us. We weren't keen on that as we would have been "selling out" [...] One never knows what may have happened if we did go (Aston, 2012:interview).

Other white musicians did try to leave the country to find success overseas, but many of them failed. Robbi Robb left South Africa for Los Angeles in the mid-1980s and later found some success in the 1990s. eVoid escaped conscription and left for the UK, but their second album, *Here Comes The Rot*, recorded in

London in 1986, was poorly received. Ella Mental also moved to the UK, where Warner Brothers spotted them and arranged a six-month trip to Los Angeles, where an eponymous album (including the song 'Freedom Jive') was recorded and released in 1989 in the USA, Australia, England and all over Europe, but it did not sell well and would never be released in South Africa (Maas, 2002). Clout's lead singer Cindy Alter formed multiracial group Zia, who after enjoying some success in South Africa, supported the Bee Gees in France and were invited to tour the USA with them, only to see the tour fall through. Alter later moved to Los Angeles, but never found the same success ("Cindy Alter Biography", no date; "Charting the Charts", no date).

Two white dance acts also enjoyed a degree of international success. Café Society had minor hits with 'Somebody to Love' (1984), 'I'm On The Loose', and 'Relight my Fire', featuring vocals by Lolly Peterson and Anneline Malebo⁸³, and 'Woodpeckers From Space' in 1985, a cover of the hit by Italo-disco act VideoKids who refused to release the song in South Africa. People Like Us's 1986 hit 'Deliverance' made them famous in clubs in Europe and all over the world, although people didn't at first know that they were a South African act, something their UK-based record label Passion were reluctant to acknowledge. In South Africa 'Deliverance' was also popular, although albums were only available through import and people only found out that they were South African at the height of the song's popularity ("People Like Us", 2010).

The experiences of these white artists show that apartheid affected South African musicians differently, depending on their race and which side of the struggle they were perceived to be on, as well as other factors. They show that while apartheid may have provided certain opportunities to South African artists to find success overseas, particularly black and coloured ones, white artists were largely excluded from this, with the exception of those who embraced black South African music and culture, such as Johnny Clegg. While black artists within South Africa had more restrictions placed on them than their white counterparts, outside the

⁸³ Malebo is perhaps best known as the singer from Joy, who toured London in 1981 on the back of their hit 'Paradise Road'.

country it was white artists who were at a particular disadvantage compared to their contemporaries of other races. These experiences overseas could have served to politicise certain white artists who might otherwise have not become involved in the struggle to the same extent if they had remained within the country, by making them question their place within the political and musical landscape in South Africa.

The differences between the experiences of white and non-white musicians overseas underline how apartheid affected the South African music industry in general, by dictating the opportunities for musicians largely according to the colour of their skin. It also provides evidence of the complexity of apartheid's influence on the music industry, where restrictions were not placed equally or consistently on musicians, regardless of their race or political conviction. The experiences of individual artists are therefore particularly important in shedding light on the effects of apartheid on the music industry and understanding more generally the linkages between politics and music.

4.4.5 The End of Apartheid and Return of Exiles

As international interest in South African music grew during the 1980s, so did opportunities for South African musicians overseas. By the late 1980s, more opportunities had become available for South African artists, particularly non-white artists, to work and study overseas, facilitated by the international anti-apartheid movement and the ANC in exile, partly to garner international support for the struggle. As the apartheid regime came under increasing international pressure and was beginning covert talks with the liberation movement, it became slightly easier to obtain travel documents, although the process was still "arbitrary and secretive" and many known activists continued to be denied permits (Ansell, 2004:254). Nevertheless, the division between exiled and locally-based musicians was slowly falling away.

While debates around the role of musicians and the cultural boycott continued, pressure against the regime mounted⁸⁴, culminating at the end of 1989 in President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and repeal of remaining apartheid laws, as discussed in chapter three. These changes led to resulting adaptations in the ANC's policies regarding culture. At an ANC seminar that year in Lusaka, Zambia, lawyer and activist Albie Sachs, in a talk entitled "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom", called for an end to the phrase and policy of "culture is a weapon of struggle". Sachs, who had survived an assassination attempt in Maputo in 1988, acknowledged that he had long endorsed the notion of art as a weapon, but no longer agreed with it. At the beginning of the decade, it had been necessary to mobilise artists in the struggle, an important focus of the ANC's ideology and agenda. By the end of the decade, however, the political context had changed to such an extent that the struggle movement had to broaden its view on the role of music and culture (Gilbert, 2007:421-422). The change reflects the ongoing pragmatism of the ANC and other struggle organisations, as with the government itself, to adapt to the continuously changing circumstances that defined this volatile period in South African politics.

The ANC could no longer prescribe appropriate subject matter or behaviour to musicians, who in turn had to re-evaluate their role within the changing political landscape. This had important implications for the music industry. With anti-establishment and many non-establishment musicians' aim of garnering popular support for the struggle having been achieved, musicians now had more freedom to decide for themselves the degree to which politics should be part of their music, if indeed at all. As it became increasingly clear that apartheid was coming to an end, the need for the cultural boycott soon diminished, and the South African music industry became less isolated from the rest of the world.

Another important development resulting from the changes in the political landscape was the return of the majority of exiled musicians to South Africa. With the apparent relaxing of the boycott, however, confusion and debate, for example

⁸⁴ The homeland system was crumbling, with coups in both Transkei and (unsuccessfully) Bophuthatswana. A costly war in Angola, together with international negotiations and pressure, led to the signing of a peace accord in December 1988 with Angola and Cuba. Provision was made for a road map for Namibian independence and the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and Namibia. Furthermore, the Mass Democratic Movement's Defiance Campaign brought parts of the country to a standstill (Ansell, 2004:218).

between the ANC and SAMA, still surrounded how best they were to be welcomed back. Nevertheless, Abdullah Ibrahim returned with Sathima Bea Benjamin, as did Hugh Masekela, Hotep Galeta, Jonas Gwangwa, Letta Mbulu, Caiphus Semenya and many others. Together with local performers like Mzwakhe Mbuli, Brenda Fassie, the African Jazz Pioneers and Sakhile, they performed at the landmark Return of the Exiles: Unity '91 concert in Johannesburg on 23 March 1991, the first time they had shared a stage at home for 30 years (Davis, 2003:241-242), so marking the end of a turbulent chapter in the history of South African music and politics.

The exiles' return signalled that with the changing political dispensation, musicians were no longer considered enemies of the state. It also revealed their willingness to be part of the transition process and the forging of a new South African society, something they had been fighting for in their music for so long. One of the most powerful and longest-lasting effects of apartheid policy on the South African music industry – that of separating musicians between those based within the country and those in exile, and limiting opportunities for communication and collaboration between them – had come to an end, bringing a newfound unity to the music industry. This mirrors the changes to the struggle movement as a whole, as exiled freedom fighters also returned to the country and political prisoners were released, breaking down divisions within the struggle movement ahead of the transition to democracy.

4.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the third sub-problem of this research has been addressed: to understand the role of South African music and musicians outside the country in the struggle against apartheid. This was done by looking at the contribution of the community of musicians living in exile, as well as at the role of music within the exiled struggle movement, and at the success of South African music and musicians overseas during the 1980s. The evidence presented above shows that South African musicians played a vital role overseas in the struggle against apartheid, largely due to the success that South African non-establishment musicians enjoyed internationally. Although South African musicians made an

impact internationally since as early as the 1950s, the 1980s saw a marked increase in international attention given to South African music, despite the cultural boycott. This happened for a number of reasons, including the growing international popularity of “world music” during the 1980s and the growing global prominence of the anti-apartheid struggle. Interestingly, much of this international attention was centred on mbaqanga, an older popular genre often associated with Zulu culture specifically, rather than the bubblegum sound that was popular within the country and appealed to listeners across all language and ethnic groups.

A key contributing factor to the prominence of South African music abroad during the 1980s was the role played by exiled musicians, many of whom had left South Africa in the early 1960s and by the 1980s were popular and established musicians in the USA and Europe. They had left the country to escape the repressive and discriminatory circumstances that non-whites in particular had to endure, which made it difficult for them to be creative, as well as the political clampdown on people who did not agree with the political dispensation in South Africa – both white and non-white. Musicians abroad and at home would have further objected to the government's attempts to use music as part of its social engineering and counter-revolutionary strategies. By going into exile, these musicians were not seeking to escape the political context of the time, but rather to find a freer environment in which to address it with the hope of bringing about change in South Africa. Politics therefore remained an integral part of their music. Most famously, Miriam Makeba was an outspoken political activist, addressing the United Nations on the plight of South Africans living under apartheid. Others such as Caiphus Semenya and Jonas Gwangwa made major contributions to political pop music through their work on television and film soundtracks in the USA.

The ANC, operating in exile since the 1960s, utilised music to spread awareness and raise funds for the struggle, again underlining music's ability for political communication and political socialisation. Following much debate, by the mid-1980s the ANC came to view culture as a weapon of the struggle, with musicians afforded particular significance in this regard. The ANC set up its own Department of Arts and Culture and established the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble and then the Amandla Cultural Ensemble, which used music, dance and poetry to raise

awareness of apartheid in performances all over the world. In Botswana, the Medu Art Ensemble was set up in the late 1970s and provided the large community of exiled South African musicians and writers with a link to home, before a violent cross-border raid by the South African government effectively ended Medu in 1985. The raid would have proved a temporary setback but ultimately spurred musicians and other artists – as well as the rest of the community of exiled freedom fighters and even their families in South Africa – on to further action, by providing further evidence of the ruthlessness of the apartheid regime and reminding them of their importance in the struggle movement.

The efforts of exiled musicians and the various ensembles affiliated to the ANC in exile helped to pave the way for a boom in international attention given to South African popular music in the 1980s. Ironically it was during the 1980s, a time synonymous with international isolation and the cultural boycott, that South African artists enjoyed unprecedented success overseas, including popular black artists like Steve Kekana, coloured artists like Jonathan Butler and white crossover acts like Johnny Clegg's Juluka and Savuka. Various projects on screen and stage also used music to raise global awareness of the struggle, most notably *Sarafina!*, *Buwa* and *Mapantsula*. Touring offered black South African musicians an opportunity to become actively involved in the struggle and communicate with MK comrades in neighbouring countries, as well as to learn more about apartheid and to voice their concerns to the international media. However, many white pop acts attempting to tour outside the country faced difficulties due to the international stigma attached to apartheid, which limited their opportunities but could well have made them more aware of the political implications of their music and therefore their own role in the struggle.

By the end of the 1980s, more opportunities had emerged for local artists to travel overseas. Following the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, exiled musicians began to return home, uniting the long-divided music industry in South Africa. Together with local stars they performed at the landmark Unity '91 Festival in Johannesburg, the first time they had shared a stage with their fellow musicians on home soil for 30 years. The event marked an emotional end to a sad chapter in South African history in which South African musicians had been divided, due to

apartheid, into two groups: those who were locally-based and others who were exiled. Though able to enjoy little contact or opportunities for collaboration with each other, the efforts of those outside South Africa complemented the work of those inside the country, and together both groups of musicians played a vital role in the struggle against apartheid. Indeed both groups of musicians were at the forefront of the struggle, not only artistically but also often sacrificing their personal safety in the process, just like the soldiers they fought alongside.

The contribution of exiled musicians and the various ensembles affiliated to the ANC in exile, as well as the international success of popular South African musicians, underlines the power of music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation. Musicians were able to tell the world about apartheid at a time when few others could, to change people's values and thinking towards the apartheid regime, and to aid communication within the anti-apartheid movement between those inside and outside the country.

The contribution of musicians to the struggle was not limited to those from South Africa, however. Musicians from other countries, including many of the most popular artists in the world, helped to raise awareness of South Africa to a larger, global audience and were thus also part of the struggle. Their role within the international fight against apartheid will be the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MUSIC COMMUNITY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

5.1 INTRODUCTION

South African musicians played an important role in conscientising people and mobilising sympathy and support for the struggle against apartheid, both locally and internationally, as discussed in the previous two chapters. A significant number of international musicians also played a crucial role in this regard. The focus of this chapter is therefore on the fourth research question, namely determining the role that the international music community played in the struggle against apartheid. There are two different aspects to their contribution, firstly the role of music in the various organisations and groups that made up the international anti-apartheid movement, and secondly the role of popular musicians in raising international awareness of apartheid through their songs.

In the first part of this chapter, an overview is given of the various organisations and campaigns established around the world as part of the anti-apartheid movement, with particular attention on the role of music and musicians within them. This will lead to a discussion of the obstacles they faced, specifically disagreements over the UN-sanctioned cultural boycott of South Africa, which was a key factor influencing the decisions and actions of the international music community during the 1980s.

The second part of this chapter covers the efforts of the international music community, particularly American, British, Caribbean and other African artists, to raise awareness of South African culture and politics – either by addressing apartheid injustices in their lyrics or by drawing on South African musical influences, often through collaborations with South African musicians, in defiance of the cultural boycott. Certain artists, albums and song lyrics serve as good illustrations in this regard. Other vehicles that used music to promote the struggle will also be discussed, specifically live stadium concerts and compilation albums

released internationally by political organisations to raise funds for and awareness of the struggle.

5.2 MUSIC, THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT AND THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT

The anti-apartheid movement comprised various different organisations, from multinational and continental institutions to local community groups, in all parts of the world, with particularly strong organisations emerging in the UK, USA and Scandinavia. Their efforts date back to the beginning of apartheid and reached a peak in the 1980s. They revolved primarily around the implementation of sanctions and a cultural boycott of South Africa, initiated by the United Nations. Despite their common goal to end apartheid, the efforts of these various groups were not always co-ordinated and instead functioned largely independently of one another. Music played an important role for most groups and organisations in the anti-apartheid movement, specifically in raising awareness of apartheid through public events, and at times by giving exposure to South African artists. Some anti-apartheid groups had to protest against their own government's apparent lack of support of the anti-apartheid movement, most notably in the USA and UK. Even after this battle had been won and governments universally began to reject apartheid, confusion and disagreement remained over how to implement the cultural boycott.

To understand the role of music within the international anti-apartheid movement, it is necessary to look at what measures were put in place to combat apartheid by the United Nations (UN), in Africa, in the USA, in the UK and in other parts of the world, paying particular attention in each case to how musicians were involved. It is also important to consider how attitudes to the cultural boycott differed, and how disagreements over the boycott affected the struggle movement.

5.2.1 The United Nations, the Struggle against Apartheid and the Cultural Boycott

The United Nations played a sustained role in the fight against apartheid since its establishment in 1945 (even though South Africa was one of the founding members⁸⁵) and until South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994. The UN's most significant steps against the apartheid regime were firstly in the form of moral judgements, for example condemning apartheid and declaring it a crime against humanity⁸⁶; and secondly, sanctions and boycotts⁸⁷, including a cultural boycott that also applied to music and musicians, both locally and internationally. Thirdly, it initiated awareness campaigns and provided information on apartheid, which assisted people to make informed decisions about their involvement in the anti-apartheid movement⁸⁸.

As the UN's fight against apartheid gained momentum, culture came to play an increasingly central role in boycott actions against South Africa. In December 1968, the General Assembly passed Resolution 2396, requesting inter alia all states and organisations "to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practise apartheid" (UN: A/RES/2396 (XXIII)). Similar resolutions followed. In 1972 the General Assembly invited "all organizations, institutions, and information media" to intensify and coordinate, among other measures, a "boycott of South Africa in sports and in cultural and other activities" (UN: A/RES/2923 (XXVII)). Resolution 3324 of the General Assembly, adopted in 1974, requested

⁸⁵ Apartheid was on the agenda of the UN in 1946 because of concerns over the treatment of Indians in South Africa (UN: A/RES/44(I)) and in 1966 over the question of South West Africa, later known as Namibia, which was ruled by South Africa from 1915 until 1990, despite the UN terminating its mandate to do so in 1966 (UN: A/RES/2145(XXI)).

⁸⁶ Shortly after the killing of 69 peaceful black protesters in Sharpeville by the police on 21 March 1960, the UN Security Council on 1 April 1960 adopted Resolution 134, which deplored the policies and actions of the South African government and called on the South African government to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination (UN: S/RES/134(1960)). In November 1973, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was approved by the General Assembly (UN: A/RES/3068(XXVIII)), eventually coming into force in 1976, also the year that the UN Centre Against Apartheid was established ("UN: Partner in the Struggle against Apartheid", no date).

⁸⁷ For example, on 6 November 1962, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 1761, which called for the initiation of sanctions and boycotts against South Africa. It also made provision for the establishment of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, later renamed the Special Committee Against Apartheid, which met for the first time in April 1963 (UN: A/RES/1761(XVII)). In November 1963, the General Assembly, in Resolution 1899 on the question of Namibia, urged all states to refrain from supplying petroleum to South Africa (UN: A/RES/1899(XVIII)). An arms embargo was made mandatory on 4 November 1977 (UN: S/RES/418(1977)).

⁸⁸ For example, in Resolution 2923 of 1972 the UN General Assembly "requests the Special Committee on Apartheid to follow the situation and take appropriate steps to promote an international campaign for an end to repression, maltreatment and torture of opponents of apartheid" and "invites governments and organizations to encourage information media to contribute to the campaign against apartheid by the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and on the international efforts towards the eradication of apartheid" (UN: A/RES/2923(XXVII)).

all governments to prohibit “all cultural, educational, scientific, sporting and other contacts with the racist régime” and recommended that South Africa be suspended from all UN activities (UN: A/RES/3324(XXIX)). By 1980, specific mention was made of musicians in the General Assembly’s Resolution 35/206, which called on them, as well as writers, artists and “other personalities”, to boycott South Africa, while commending those who had already done so (UN: A/RES/35/206).

With the year of 1982 designated by the UN as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa, the Special Committee Against Apartheid’s 1981 report to the General Assembly proposed to “initiate a register of cultural contacts with South Africa in order to promote an effective boycott” and to “organise in 1982 an international conference of cultural personalities for action against apartheid and to sponsor international and national arts exhibits and other events against apartheid” (Beaubien, 1982:7-8). In 1983 the UN began publishing its Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa, which was circulated by local anti-apartheid groups. By 1985, the list consisted of approximately 100 artists who had visited the country since 1981. The invited performers included many black American artists such as Rufus Thomas, Percy Sledge, The Temptations, George McCrae, Brook Benton, Ray Charles, George Benson, Curtis Mayfield, Isaac Hayes and Tina Turner, Jamaican reggae musician Jimmy Cliff, as well as older white stars like Frank Sinatra and Tom Jones, filmmakers, actors and dancers. Artists were only taken off the blacklist after making a public apology (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:175; The Africa Fund, 1987; “Boycott the Chick Corea Concert”, no date).

Conferences on apartheid increased during the 1980s, many of which provided a space for further discussions on the cultural boycott. For example, the UN highlighted the plight of South Africa at the World Conference Against Racism in 1983 in Geneva, Switzerland, as it had done in 1978. Later, in June 1986, the World Conference on Sanctions Against Racist South Africa took place in Paris, France, organised by the UN in co-operation with the OAU and members of the

Non-Aligned Movement⁸⁹. The role of musicians and artists was addressed at the Symposium on Culture against Apartheid in Athens, Greece in September 1988 (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:180; “UN: Main Conferences and Seminars on Apartheid”, no date). Numerous other resolutions and declarations regarding South Africa were adopted during the 1980s. In August 1984, the Security Council declared null and void the new constitution introduced by PW Botha (UN: S/RES/554(1984)). In December 1989, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, calling for negotiations to end apartheid and establish a non-racial democracy (UN: A/RES/S-16/1). Later, as it became increasingly clear that apartheid was coming to an end, the UN maintained a close interest in South Africa into the transition period⁹⁰.

Of the UN’s actions against South Africa, the campaigns for sanctions and boycotts, particularly the cultural boycott, were the most controversial. The cultural boycott should be understood within the context of the UN’s broader policy of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, and indeed within the entire spectrum of campaigns that had sprung up around the world to give practical aid to anti-apartheid activists (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:179-180). Although the cultural boycott was just one of the international campaigns to impose sanctions against South Africa, the power of cultural workers was such that it became of key importance (Beaubien, 1982:12). Even though it was not a legally binding agreement and was interpreted differently over the course of several decades, the cultural boycott helped to govern foreign relations between South Africa and the rest of the world – particularly international musicians’ involvement in the country and the role of South African musicians in the rest of the world. Although its ultimate intention was to bring about political change in South Africa, the boycott largely had a restrictive and arguably negative effect on musicians themselves.

⁸⁹ Established in 1961, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of states that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.

⁹⁰ In June 1990, Nelson Mandela addressed the Special Committee Against Apartheid in New York, his first appearance before the UN since his release from prison a few months earlier. In 1992, with mounting political violence threatening to derail negotiations, the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa was established by the Security Council at the request of Mandela (“UN: Partner in the Struggle against Apartheid”, no date).

The ongoing actions by the UN helped to legitimise the international anti-apartheid movement and all those who were opposed to apartheid, as well as those who suffered under apartheid. They therefore made it easier for people outside of South Africa, including musicians, to join the anti-apartheid movement and to express their opposition to apartheid. These actions also had implications for South African musicians, greatly restricting (although not effectively prohibiting) opportunities to tour or release their work overseas, and for international artists to tour or release their work in South Africa.

5.2.2 The Struggle against Apartheid in Africa

While the United Nations played an important role in coordinating the international struggle against apartheid, within Africa too, states worked together to put pressure on the regime. The most significant group in this regard was the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which strived for unity and solidarity amongst newly independent African states to advance their economic development and to accelerate the liberation of African nations still under colonial or minority rule – of which one of the few remaining examples by the 1980s was South Africa. Through its Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, otherwise known as the Liberation Committee, the OAU provided diplomatic, financial, military and logistical aid to liberation movements, including the ANC and PAC, while helping to isolate the apartheid regime internationally⁹¹ (“OAU”, no date; Tambo, 1988). In August 1989, the OAU adopted the Harare Declaration, reiterating its ongoing calls for apartheid to be replaced by non-racial democracy and pledging its support for the anti-apartheid movement (OAU, 1989).

The promotion of African culture was another important priority of the OAU and therefore not unrelated to its calls to end apartheid. This had been the case since the OAU’s launch on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where one of several musicians invited to perform was Miriam Makeba, already by then a prominent anti-apartheid activist. Later, at the OAU-organised All African Cultural Festival in

⁹¹ African harbours were closed to the South African government and South African aircraft were prohibited from flying over the rest of the continent. The OAU also managed to convince the UN to expel South Africa from bodies like the World Health Organisation (“OAU”, no date).

Algiers in August 1969, Algerian leader Houari Boumedienne spoke of how “African culture definitely intends to put itself to the service of the liberation of Africa” (Boumedienne, 1969). In October 1970, the OAU organised the first workshop on African Folklore, Dance and Music in Mogadishu, Somalia, which was attended by scholars and artists from its member states (AU, 2013:7). In July 1976, the OAU’s members adopted the Cultural Charter for Africa, which entrenched the importance of culture and highlighted the need for member states to devise national cultural policies that promote “life-long” cultural education and training (OAU, 1976).

Besides the OAU, another significant regional organisation was the Frontline States (FLS). The FLS first emerged around 1976 as a diplomatic coalition of independent Southern African states consisting of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and later Zimbabwe. This was partly in reaction to President Botha’s plan for the apartheid regime to assume greater regional influence in Southern Africa through a Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS). The two groups engaged in an ongoing struggle for diplomatic supremacy in the region, one that CONSAS ultimately lost. The FLS was largely responsible for blunting South Africa’s CONSAS strategy. It was fully committed to the anti-apartheid movement and succeeded in having a profoundly destabilising effect on the apartheid regime (Evans, 1984:1,5,14).

The Frontline States became synonymous with the international struggle against apartheid, inspiring a music and arts exhibition in Scotland, for example. Musically it inspired songs such as ‘Children of the Frontline States’ by Zimbabwean group Black Umfolosi released internationally in 1990. It had earlier been given musical relevance by British reggae star Eddy Grant’s songs ‘Living on the Frontline’, which urged: “Stop this brother killing brother, over in our land in Africa”, as well as ‘Frontline Symphony’, both from 1979.

The FLS was the driving force behind the establishment in April 1980 of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)⁹², which was

⁹² In 1992, the SADCC was transformed into the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

formed in Zambia with the adoption of the Lusaka Declaration, titled *Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation*. It was the culmination of a long process of consultations during the late 1970s between the leaders of Frontline States, culminating in a meeting in Arusha, Tanzania in July 1979 (“About SADC”, no date). The SADCC was established with four principal objectives: firstly, to reduce member states’ dependence, particularly, but not only, on apartheid South Africa; secondly, to implement programmes and projects with national and regional impact; thirdly, to mobilise member states’ resources in the quest for collective self-reliance; and fourthly, to secure international understanding and support (“SADC”, no date). The efforts of musicians, as powerful agents of political socialisation and mediums of political communication, dovetailed with the intentions of the SADCC.

Building on the rise of an oppositional civil society and trade union movement within South Africa, the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council (SATUCC) was established in 1983 as an umbrella trade union body within the SADCC region. During the 1980s and early 1990s, its key focus was on supporting liberation struggles in the region, particularly against apartheid⁹³ (SATUCC, no date). It can be seen as a regional extension of the growing oppositional civil society and trade union movements within South Africa outlined in chapter three, within which musicians played an important role.

5.2.3 The Struggle against Apartheid in the USA

While Africa played a leading role, organisations and governments from the rest of the world remained steadfast supporters of the cultural boycott and played an important role in coordinating anti-apartheid activities (Beaubien, 1982:16; Braam & Geerlings, 1989:179-180). In the USA, Americans For South African Resistance (AFSAR) was formed in 1952 as a result of correspondence between the leaders of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the ANC. Out of this grew the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), founded the following year by sympathisers of the anti-apartheid movement. The ACOA investigated the USA’s

⁹³ Later, following the political liberation in the entire region, SATUCC’s political focus shifted to promoting and defending democracy and good governance.

involvement in supporting authoritarian regimes in Africa and put pressure on the government to support liberation movements instead. In the 1960s, ACOA confronted private American investment and initiated a successful disinvestment campaign amongst banks and companies (Boehm & Lester, 1993:vii-viii). From early on, musicians and other artists were at the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement in the USA. The ACOA took a strong stance in favour of the cultural boycott and in 1965 presented a star-studded list of 65 performing artists and actors who joined together to sign the pledge entitled “We Say No To Apartheid”. Signatories included musicians such as Harry Belafonte, Leonard Bernstein, Sammy Davis Jr. and Nina Simone. They pledged to refuse any personal or professional association with South Africa “until the day when all its people – black and white – could equally enjoy the educational and cultural advantages of this rich and lovely land” (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:175).

This historical context reveals the ongoing contribution of the anti-apartheid movement in the USA, which reached a peak in the 1980s with the widespread involvement of musicians and others in the entertainment industry. In 1981, the world’s largest performers’ body, the Associated Actors and Artists of America – an umbrella organisation of all major performers’ unions in the USA, with close to 250 000 members – unanimously voted that its members should not perform in South Africa (Ansell, 2004:181). In 1983, Artists and Athletes Against Apartheid (AAAA) was established under the leadership of Harry Belafonte and Arthur Ashe. Musician Steven van Zandt took this co-operation a step further with the creation of Artists United Against Apartheid (AUAA), who in 1985 recorded the influential single ‘Sun City’ (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:179-180). Following these examples, prominent Hollywood filmmakers formed the Filmmakers United Against Apartheid (FUAA) in 1986. In late 1987 notable directors⁹⁴ urged American president Ronald Reagan, a former actor himself, to support a cultural boycott of South Africa that would include American-made movies, claiming boycott and divestment were the only peaceful methods available to achieve social change and prevent civil war in South Africa⁹⁵ (Taylor, 1987).

⁹⁴ These included Martin Scorsese, Woody Allen, Spike Lee, Steven Spielberg, Oliver Stone and Jonathan Demme.

⁹⁵ Bringing the proposed film boycott into question, however, was the fact that South Africa’s dominant cinema company, Ster-Kinekor, had earlier that year already opened each of its 185 theatres to all races (Taylor, 1987)

The register of entertainers who had performed in South Africa, compiled by the UN Centre Against Apartheid from the early 1980s, was implemented in the USA by organisations such as The Patrice Lumumba Coalition, The Africa Fund, Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism in New York and Unity in Action in Los Angeles. They used and redistributed the list as a means of keeping track of artists who had performed in South Africa and encouraged the American public to boycott these artists. The campaigns typically urged people to refuse to patronise musicians and other artists who by accepting "blood money" to entertain apartheid were effectively taking the side of the oppressor, and to instead support the liberation struggle ("Picket Shirley Bassey", 1985; "Support the International Cultural Boycott", 1984; "Boycott the Chick Corea Concert", 1982). For musicians themselves, the international anti-apartheid movement grew to include so much of the world that American artists who travelled to South Africa "are confronted with the possibility of being banned from a significant portion of their potential overseas market" (Beaubien, 1982:14-16).

Public pressure resulted in South Africa's increasing isolation. Congress defied President Reagan and passed the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act that promoted disinvestment ("South Africa – Total Strategy", no date). Multinational record companies scaled back their presence in South Africa, with the exception of EMI, which dominated the market along with local label Gallo. In 1986 Warner Elektra Atlantic (WEA) sold the company to its local employees, who renamed it Tusk Music Company. Tusk continued distributing WEA records in South Africa, as well as releasing local music (Pietila, 2013:174-175; Mudie, 2009:interview). This serves as a good example of how the cultural boycott remained open to interpretation, but nevertheless had an important influence on the South African music industry.

5.2.4 The Struggle against Apartheid in the United Kingdom (UK)

The anti-apartheid movement in the UK grew to become hugely influential in the international struggle against apartheid, particularly in terms of its efforts to incorporate musicians into the struggle. It developed along similar but separate lines to the USA, also emerging long before the 1980s. In 1954, a British priest

working in Sophiatown, Trevor Huddleston, a man influential in launching the careers of musicians such as Hugh Masekela, wrote an article in the *British Observer* newspaper calling for a cultural boycott of South Africa. In 1956, members of Equity, the British actors' union, adopted what was effectively an instruction to members not to work in any theatre in South Africa (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:174). The Boycott Movement was formed in 1959, renamed the following year the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). It resolved to work for the total isolation of South Africa and to support the struggle against apartheid (McCann, 2002). Following the actors' example, the British Musicians' Union called a similar ban in 1961 (Ansell, 2004:181). The effect was visible when in 1964 the Rolling Stones called off a tour of South Africa. Writers were drawn into the cultural boycott in 1963, when 40 playwrights announced, at the initiative of the AAM, that they would refuse performing rights for their plays in South Africa if they were performed under racially discriminatory conditions⁹⁶ (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:174).

Musicians assumed a central role within the movement, particularly during the 1980s, with British artists regularly recording songs with an anti-apartheid message. In April 1986, Artists Against Apartheid (AAA) was established by musician Jerry Dammers and Dali Tambo (son of exiled ANC leader Oliver Tambo) to help co-ordinate efforts between musicians and other cultural workers. Together they helped organise the famous anti-apartheid concerts in London (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:179-180).

In Scotland, the local anti-apartheid movement organised the "Free Mandela at 70" campaign that led a march from Glasgow to London and a rally of 30 000 people in Glasgow Green in 1988 (Stevenson, 1999). In 1990 the *Frontline States* exhibition was held at Mayfest in Glasgow. A team of curators had visited the countries in the region and invited artists and musicians to exhibit and perform in Glasgow. The event saw theatre, film, poetry, photography and a performance by six bands, one from each of the frontline states: Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Belcher, 1990). A few months later, the

⁹⁶ The AAM was succeeded by Action for Southern Africa (ACTSA) in 1994.

Scottish Committee of the AAM organised the Sechaba Festival, billed as an “international conference of cultural resistance to apartheid”, in Glasgow in September 1990. The festival saw African and Scottish musicians taking part, with a keynote address delivered by Govan Mbeki, recently released from prison, who spoke of the role of culture in the struggle (Filling, 2001).

5.2.5 The Struggle against Apartheid in the Rest of the World

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain worked closely with the exiled ANC, as well as another important international group, the Commonwealth of Nations, which South Africa had left in 1961. Though espousing a policy of non-interference in members’ internal affairs, the Commonwealth became increasingly vocal against apartheid in South Africa, as well as minority rule in what was then Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), establishing a Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa that coordinated members’ attempts to promote sanctions. Commonwealth members, including nations in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, succeeded in pressuring British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher into ending her co-operation with the South African government. In 1985 the Commonwealth established an Eminent Persons Group, which became the first international delegation to meet with Nelson Mandela in prison and helped to begin negotiations between the apartheid government and the ANC (Robertson, no date).

Elsewhere in Europe outside the UK, many local municipalities in Scandinavia and the Netherlands accepted the UN Register and declared themselves closed to artists defying the boycott. Public pressure on governments led to tentative measures in the European Community (EC) to embark on a policy of selective sanctions. In September 1985 the EC agreed to a 10-point plan of action to counter apartheid in South Africa. Meanwhile, popular musicians in Sweden, Poland and other countries organised benefit concerts (discussed later in this chapter) and sought ways to contribute to the struggle (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:176,180). In the Netherlands (as discussed in chapter four), the Dutch anti-apartheid movement organised the Cultural Voice of Resistance (1982) and Culture in Another South Africa (1987) conferences, which drew together locally-based and exiled musicians and helped to co-ordinate their role within the ANC

and the anti-apartheid movement in general (Gwangwa & Van Aurich, 1989:157; Braam & Geerlings, 1989:177-179).

By the late 1980s, the international movement against apartheid had spread all over the world, including Nigeria, Congo, Venezuela, Uruguay, Poland, Romania, India, Nepal, Australia and New Zealand (“A-Z list of organizations”, no date). As a result, South Africa had by then come to be seen almost everywhere as a pariah state, with whom normal diplomatic relations could not exist (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:177). The longstanding and widespread coordination of international efforts to fight apartheid shows that the anti-apartheid struggle was not a local, South African movement but rather a complex network of international and local organisations. Given the unique power of popular musicians to appeal to a mass audience and to function as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, it also helps to explain why music often played central role within this struggle, not only in South Africa but also internationally, and how musicians came to be seen as the public face of the struggle against apartheid.

5.2.6 Disagreement over the Cultural Boycott

Internationally and locally, there was little consensus on the objectives and effectiveness of the cultural boycott. It was called for and supported by various local and international organisations and personalities, including those in the music industry, while others chose not to recognise it. Within South Africa there was a degree of confusion and disagreement over the boycott, despite the fact that it was called for by the ANC itself. For example, several black South African artists publicly stated their fears that isolation from foreign artists would further impoverish the lives of blacks in South Africa (Beaubien, 1982:16). Supporters of the boycott were accused of practicing censorship, of endangering academic freedom, cutting off the black population from contact with the West, driving the white population into a corner and thereby strengthening the “laager mentality”⁹⁷, which would have a counter-productive effect. The UN Register was criticised by

⁹⁷ Named after the way in which Afrikaner pioneers (Voortrekkers) set up camps using their wagons, here the term denotes a tendency to close ranks and develop insular perspectives or uncooperative approaches.

some as a blacklist similar to Senator McCarthy's anti-communist crusade in the USA decades earlier (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:175).

As international demand for South African music and culture grew during the 1980s, people began to question why contact between locally-based artists and the rest of the world was being restricted – not by authorities but by the anti-apartheid movement itself. This led to much confusion, particularly for the progressive South African artists who felt excluded from these contacts. Activists began to question whether the boycott had been applied too strictly and was threatening to have negative consequences for the struggle itself. The boycott, intended to deny exposure to artists sympathetic or indifferent towards the government, was arguably making the “alternative culture” embodied by many progressive popular musicians invisible to the rest of the world (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:177). Barring black American artists, for example, from touring South Africa prevented them from being exposed to the daily reality of apartheid and thus potentially becoming more actively involved in the struggle, while preventing certain South African artists from touring abroad denied them exposure to non-racial societies that might inform their work.

Those overseas artists attempting to visit South Africa would first seek the approval of local organisations. Two rival groups emerged, however, both attempting to represent the interests of local musicians, but with different views of the cultural boycott. On the one hand, AZAPO often resorted to violence against offending artists and those involved, taking it upon themselves to disrupt tours in the name of the cultural boycott. For example, when the O'Jays visited in 1981, the tour collapsed due to AZAPO's calls to boycott. The South African promoter Victor Mazibuko lost money and had his home stoned and petrol bombed. The band's manager had his passport and air ticket impounded and was forced to remain behind pending legal action. Another organisation, also affiliated to the Black Consciousness movement, was the Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute (MDALI). It would also call on American artists to cancel tours, but was less likely to resort to violence. There were substantial differences between the two organisations over their implementation of the boycott, with MDALI more willing to compromise and reach some accord with foreign artists, for example by

ensuring the use of black promoters, guaranteed rates for local black artists and donations to black charities (Beaubien, 1982:5,14-16; Fleshman, 1982:5).

With questions mounting over the effectiveness of the boycott, in May 1987 ANC president Oliver Tambo announced in London that the ANC had modified its 30-year commitment to a blanket boycott of all cultural and academic links to South Africa. The boycott would continue, but the ANC would become selective in its choice of targets. Tambo pointed out that inside South Africa there had emerged a democratic “people’s culture” with alternative structures brought about by the struggle that needed to be supported rather than boycotted. Several days after Tambo’s speech, the UDF publicised its viewpoint in a resolution that formulated general criteria for selection. From then on, tours both to and from South Africa would only be exempt from the boycott if they were supported by the democratic movement in South Africa, approved by overseas solidarity groups and contributed to the advancement of the struggle and the building of a democratic South Africa (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:178). This apparent pragmatism reflects a growing recognition of the potential power or importance of musicians, both local and foreign, to the struggle – and arguably of the relative ineffectiveness of the cultural boycott as it was originally conceived.

As with the perceived role of musicians in the struggle, as was discussed in chapter four, the gradual striving for consensus regarding the cultural boycott evolved over the course of years through discussions, festivals, publications and speeches (Braam & Geerlings, 1989:178). It was informed not only by political actors and cultural workers inside the country but also by the growing international demand for South African music and culture – generated by South African musicians’ success overseas, the international music community, both artists and audiences, as well as the various organisations outlined above that made up the international anti-apartheid movement, in which music often played a central role. Although consensus was never reached over the cultural boycott, there was general agreement over the power and importance of cultural workers in the struggle, both in South Africa and abroad. It was therefore not only South African musicians at home and abroad who joined and came to lead the struggle against apartheid; popular and protest musicians from all over the world also played a

vital role. They did so not only through the contributions to anti-apartheid organisations outlined above, but also more generally through their music, which is outlined in the following section.

5.3 THE INTERNATIONAL MUSIC COMMUNITY'S ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

Musicians from outside South Africa became involved in the struggle against apartheid in a number of ways. Some used music as a medium of communication to convey political messages about South Africa's political dispensation and therefore addressed apartheid directly in their lyrics. Others collaborated with South African musicians to create South African music for an international audience, albeit sometimes without referring to apartheid. Massive live concerts held to raise awareness of political causes were a feature of the 1980s, particularly in the UK, while political organisations used music to raise awareness as well as funds by releasing records. In order to understand the role of the international music community in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, it is necessary to look at all these aspects.

5.3.1 Artists Addressing Apartheid in their Music

Many international popular artists chose to record songs critical of apartheid in an effort to raise international awareness and support for the struggle. Examples of such efforts had already begun to emerge by the late 1970s, became frequent during the 1980s and continued into the early 1990s. They come from most parts of the world, including the Caribbean, Africa, the USA and the UK. They also cover a wide range of genres⁹⁸. Some songs inspired other musicians and were therefore recorded by more than one artist.

5.3.1.1 Caribbean Artists

It was Caribbean musicians, particularly reggae artists, who led the way in

⁹⁸ The information on the albums and songs referred to in this section were collected from Discogs (www.discogs.com), a comprehensive, user-generated database of more than 5 000 000 recordings and 3 400 000 artists.

addressing apartheid in their music. Many did so using it as a symbol of oppression throughout Africa. These politically inspired songs of the 1980s followed earlier songs, the lyrics of which addressed apartheid issues and the struggle against apartheid. Among the first songs to do so in the late 1970s were Bob Marley's 'War' and Jacob Miller's 'Forward Jah Jah Children' in 1976 and Peter Tosh's 'Apartheid'⁹⁹ in 1977. Other Jamaican reggae artists such as the Twinkle Brothers¹⁰⁰ ('Free Africa'), Hugh Mundell ('Africa Must Be Free by 1983'), The Abyssinians ('South African Enlistment') and Tappa Zukie ('Tribute to Steve Biko') followed in 1978.

Apartheid remained a common subject for Caribbean artists throughout the 1980s, particularly in the second half of the decade. Most of these were Jamaican reggae artists, but many other Caribbean artists recorded songs dedicated to the struggle, covering other local popular genres such as dub¹⁰¹, dancehall¹⁰², calypso¹⁰³, soca¹⁰⁴ and zouk¹⁰⁵, and representing islands such as Guyana and Trinidad, as well as the French Antilles and Martinique¹⁰⁶. Following the example set by the likes of Bob Marley and Peter Tosh in the late 1970s, almost all of the most recognisable names in reggae recorded at least one song dedicated to the struggle against apartheid during the 1980s. These include: Mad Professor ('South African Crossfire' in 1982); Augustus Pablo ('Struggle in Soweto' in 1984); Johnny Osbourne ('Wipe Out Apartheid' in 1985); the Wackies Rhythm Force (*Free South Africa* in 1986); Junior Mervin (*Apartheid* in 1986); Burning Spear ('Mandela Marcus (Free Nelson Mandela)' in 1987); Don Carlos (*Deeply Concerned* in 1987); Bunny Wailer ('Botha The Mosquito' in 1988); Yellowman ('Ease Up President Botha' in 1988); Mikey Dread ('Nelson Mandela' in 1988); Jimmy Cliff and Josey Wales ('Pressure On Botha' in 1989); and Admiral Bailey

⁹⁹ Peter Tosh reworked the song as 'Fight Apartheid' on his 1987 album *No Nuclear War*.

¹⁰⁰ The Twinkle Brothers recorded other similarly themed songs, including 'Africa For Africans' in 1981.

¹⁰¹ Dub is a subgenre of reggae that first emerged in the 1960s. It typically removes the vocals from a reggae production and adds experimental studio effects such as echo and reverb.

¹⁰² Dancehall is a dance-oriented variation of reggae that emerged in the 1970s and remains internationally popular today.

¹⁰³ Calypso is a genre of Trinidadian folk music associated with carnival celebrations that was popular in the early 20th century and has recognisable roots in Africa and the French Antilles.

¹⁰⁴ Soca is a modern offshoot of calypso, incorporating Indian and American soul influences, often with electronic instrumentation, that first became popular in the 1970s and remains so today.

¹⁰⁵ Zouk is another genre of West Indian dance music, typically with a faster tempo than its predecessors. It emerged in the 1980s from the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe and Martinique and remains popular today.

¹⁰⁶ French Caribbean artists include Sun-Light ('Apartheid' in 1979); Malovoi ('Apartheid' in 1986 – re-recorded by popular singer Edith Lefel in 2002); Denis Kiayilouca ('Kolboko (Apartheid Not)' in 1986); Guy Fanfant ('Soweto (Gueto Black)' in 1987); Odissey ('Songe (Ethiopia-apartheid)' in 1988); Georges Tayalay Et La Groupe Alveol' ('Crash for Apartheid' in 1988); Annick et Jean-Claude ('Pou Soweto' in 1988); and Franck Balustre ('Apartheid No', released in 1997).

(‘Bawling For Mandela’ in 1989). Musicians played their part in putting pressure on international leaders to take a stronger stand against apartheid. For example, in 1985, Trinidadian calypso musician The Mighty Duke released ‘How Many More Must Die?’, in which he asks President Reagan: “How many more must die, Mr Reagan, before you set South Africa Free?”. These are just a few of the most prominent Caribbean artists to record songs promoting the struggle against apartheid. Numerous other lesser-known musicians followed suit¹⁰⁷.

Several reggae artists recorded more than one song with an anti-apartheid message that created awareness of apartheid and the struggle against apartheid. Some of these artists also later celebrated the release of Nelson Mandela in their songs. Artists with more than one song include Trinidadian calypso singer The Mighty Sparrow, who released ‘Isolate South Africa’ in 1981, followed by ‘Invade South Africa’ in 1985, revealing the growing impatience of the international community towards South Africa. He followed this with ‘I Owe No Apology’ in 1991. Others to record more than one track include: Reality (‘Nelson Mandela’ in 1982 and ‘Soweto’ in 1987); The Mighty Duke (‘Apartheid’ in 1985 and ‘How Many More Must Die?’ in 1986); The Mighty Diamonds (‘Mr Botha’ in 1987 and ‘Apartheid’ in 1988); Sugar Minott (‘Apartheid (That Nuh Right)’ and ‘Nelson Mandela’ in 1988). Brigadier Jerry (‘Invasion SA’ in 1988 and ‘Mandela For President’ in 1990); Carlene Davis (‘Winnie Mandela’ and ‘Nelson Mandela Chant’ in 1987, ‘Welcome Home Mr Mandela’ in 1990, and ‘Rise Up (President Mandela)’ and ‘Viva Mandela’ in 1994); and Israel Vibration (‘Don’t Want Apartheid’ in 1988 and ‘Racial Discrimination’ in 1991).

Black Uhuru’s ‘Freedom Fighter’ (1990) was written shortly before the release of Nelson Mandela and contains lyrics that attempt to mobilise international support

¹⁰⁷ The list goes on: Tyrone Taylor (‘Free South Africa’ in 1980); Carlton Livingstone (‘Soweto’ in 1981); Tommy McCook (‘Mandella’ in 1981), Michael Smith (‘It A Come’ in 1982); Knowledge (*Na Buy Apartheid* in 1982); Bro Valentino (‘Free Up South Africa’ in 1985); Jaaguu Peke Yanguu & E. Bird (*Apartheid Lives* in 1985); Ricky Lewis (‘Apartheid In South Africa’ 1985); Jah Woosh (‘Fight Apartheid’ 1985); Leroy Sibbles (‘South Africa’ in 1985); Ras Menilik DaCosta (‘Free South Africa’ in 1985); Rev Danny Dread (‘Free Mandela (Shank I Sheck)’ in 1986); Yami Bolo (‘Free Mandela’ in 1986); Mystic Revelers (*Mash Down Apartheid* in 1986); Jerry Jetto (*Apartheid* in 1986); Empress Akelia (*Apartheid Is Wrong* in 1987); Donovan (‘Abas Apartheid’ in 1988); Nitty Kouchie (‘Free Mandela’ in 1988); The Reggae Philharmonic Orchestra (‘Sharpeville’ in 1988); Sandra Cross (‘Free South Africa’ in 1988); Shelley Thunder (‘Apartheid Fe Conquer’ in 1988); Charlie’s Roots ft Tambu (‘How Many More Must Die’ in 1988); Roy Shirley (*Abolish Apartheid Now* in 1989); Hugh Griffiths (‘Free Mandela’ in 1989); Tippa Lee and Rappa Robert (‘Apartheid Must End’ in 1990); Prince Buster & The Trojans (‘President Botha’ in 1990). Floyd Lloyd (‘Tear Up (Apartheid)’ in 1990); The Potato 5 (‘ANC’ in 1990) and Bankie Banx (‘Soweto’ in 1991). Other reggae releases from the late 1980s with unconfirmed dates include Blacka Devon’s ‘Free Mandela’; Mikey Mystic’s ‘South Africa’; Ras Michael & The Sons of Negus’ *Stop Apartheid* and Super Cat’s ‘Mandela Land’.

for the struggle, such as:

I'm calling on all you conscious freedom fighters,
We've got a mission to go to South Africa...
The world is displeased...
Free Nelson Mandela,
And my African brothers,
And my African sisters.

After Mandela's release, a more celebratory tone was adopted. Examples of artists to do so include Shabba Ranks ('Mandela Free' in 1990); David Rudder ('Victory is Certain' in 1990), Denyse Plummer ('Welcome Home, Mr Mandela' in 1991), Barrington Levy ('Mandela Free' in 1992) and Ras Pidow ('Apartheid had to Go' in 1992)¹⁰⁸.

5.3.1.2 African Artists

In Africa, musicians from all over the continent regularly released songs dedicated to the struggle in South Africa. In Côte d'Ivoire, reggae star Alpha Blondy released *Apartheid is Nazism* in 1985. Another Ivorian reggae act, Ismael Isaac and les Freres Keita, released 'Nelson Mandela' that same year. Ice T Cool released 'Liberate Nelson Mandela' in 1989. Later, in 1993, Jean Papy et Kass Kass released 'Shaima Soweto'.

In Senegal, international star Youssou N'Dour released 'Nelson Mandela' in 1985, and 'Soweto' later in 1988. Idrissa Diop released 'Apartheid' in 1985. They were followed by Xalam's 'Apartheid' in 1986, Super Diamono de Dakar's 'Soweto' (1987) and reggae artist Max Adioa's 'Soweto Man' in 1989.

In Cameroon, Tala Andre Marie released 'Soweto' as early as 1978, while Abia Mukoko released 'Aux Enfants de Soweto'¹⁰⁹ the following year. During the 1980s, Hermanou Essi released 'Africa (Soweto)' in 1983. Francis Bebey released the songs 'Soweto Long Soupir Rouge'¹¹⁰ and 'Anti-Apartheid Makossa' in 1985. In 1986, Koko Ateba released 'Nelson Mandela (Will Never Give Up)' and B. Binam

¹⁰⁸ Other reggae artists to record anti-apartheid songs in the 1990s include Jean 'Binta' Breeze ('Arising (for the Youth of Azania)' in 1991); Adjin O'Neal ('Father and Son Apartheid Done' in 1995); Ras Sam Brown ('Apartheid Vanquish (South Africa a Fight)' in 1991); Earl Sixteen ('Apartheid System' in 1993); Abbasani ('Apartheid No' in 1993); Tucker Rainbow ('Yoke of Apartheid' in 1994); and The Congos ('Apartheid' in 1997).

¹⁰⁹ French for "To the children of Soweto".

¹¹⁰ Loosely translated as 'Soweto Long Red Sigh'.

'Steve Biko'. In 1987, Marcel Tjahe released 'Free Mandela' and JK Mandengue 'Nelson Mandela'. Other Cameroonian anti-apartheid songs released in the 1980s include Uta Bella and Eimen's 'M'bote Mandela' and Tamne Pios' 'Les Services De L'Apartheid'¹¹¹. In 1990, Sam Fan Thomas released 'Zimo (A Nelson Mandela)'

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (then known as Zaire), international star Papa Wemba released 'L'Esclave'¹¹² in 1986. The following year Bovick Shamar released 'Soweto (Road)'. Mbilia Bel and Tabu Ley Rochereau released 'Sisi Mandela' in 1988. Popular guitarist Sam Mangwana released two songs, 'Yamba Nga Soweto' in 1986' and 'Soweto' in 1989. In 1989 there were songs by Ray Lema ('What We Need' with South Africa's Mahotella Queens) and Bozi Boziano et L'Anti-Choc du Grand-Pere ('Nelson Mandela')¹¹³. In nearby Congo-Brazzaville, Casimir Zao released 'Apartheid' in 1988.

In Mali¹¹⁴, Guinean-born guitarist Kante Manfila in 1986 released his debut solo album, *Musicale Mandingue*, which included the anti-apartheid track 'La Honte De L'Humanité'¹¹⁵.

Nigerian artists had already begun to take on apartheid before the 1980s. For example, in 1978 Nigerian reggae singer Sonny Okosun had an international hit with 'Fire in Soweto', in which he decries violence throughout Southern Africa. In 1979, Dr Orlando Owoh and his Afrikan Kenneries released 'Apartheid' and Andre and Josi released *Amandla*. Later, Onyeka Onwenu released 'Winnie Mandela' in 1988, while reggae singers Ras Kimono's 'Kill Apartheid' (1988) and Majek Fashek's 'Free Africa Free Mandela' (unknown year) were also popular anti-apartheid songs. Another Nigerian song released in the 1980s was Eric Kol's 'Children Of Soweto' (unknown year). Later, Nigerian reggae band The Mandators released 'Apartheid' in 1994.

¹¹¹ French for 'Apartheid services'.

¹¹² French for 'The slave'.

¹¹³ Later, Belgium-based Congolese artist Zap Mama released 'Guzophela' (1991) and Lutchiana Mobulu released 'Nelson Mandela Free' in 1994.

¹¹⁴ Malian star Salif Keita later released 'Mandela' in 1995.

¹¹⁵ French for 'the shame of humanity'.

In Zimbabwe, musicians took their place on the frontline of the struggle against apartheid, releasing a string of popular songs dedicated to the struggle, the lyrics of which were typically far more direct and aggressive than those by South African artists. In 1986, Thomas Mapfumo & The Blacks Unlimited released 'Tongosienda', in which Mapfumo blames PW Botha for instability in the Frontline States, warning: "Zimbabwe refuses to be intimidated". Also in 1986, Robson Banda and the Black Eagles released 'Soweto', a plea to God to rescue Soweto's suffering people. Ilanga released *Botha* in 1987 (recorded at Frontline Studios), the title track of which contains the lyrics:

Botha, what you gonna do when Azania is free?
You just have to jump into the sea.
Time is running out for you.
Where you gonna run?
Where you gonna hide?

In 1988, another popular Zimbabwean group, The Sungura Boys, released 'Soweto', while The Zig Zag Band released 'Va Mandela' in 1989. The song summed up the concerns of millions of black South Africans:

Mandela is tired of living in the wilderness.
The Children of Azania are tired of living under the oppressor.
We Africans will no longer be ruled by the white man (Mberi, 2013).

Zimbabwean musician Lovemore Majaivana was a prominent activist in the international anti-apartheid movement. Recorded with his Zulu Band, made up of exiled South African musicians from the Amandla ensemble, Majaivana released *Amandla!* in 1985, featuring 'Prayer for Mandela' and 'Ngugama', in which he laments the killing of black South Africans and calls on ANC leader Oliver Tambo for help (Mberi, 2013).

Numerous other African artists recorded songs of solidarity for the struggle. Zambia's star Rikki Ililonga released 'Soweto' as early as 1977. In 1981, Kenyan artist Bakambi N'kela released 'Soweto's Voice'. In Gabon, Madama released 'Soweto' in 1986, before Pierre Akendengue released 'Espoir à Soweto' (hope in Soweto) in 1988. Guinean star Mory Kanté released 'Nonsense (Apartheid)' in 1986, the same year that Tchangodei from Benin recorded 'Soweto' with the Archie Shepp Quartet from the USA. In 1987, Danyel Waro from the island of Réunion also released a song called 'Soweto'. In 1989, Kaba Mane from Guinea-

Bissau released 'Apartheid', while German-based Ghanaian reggae band McGod and The People's Band released '25 Is More Than 5', a reference to the ratio of blacks to whites in South Africa. In Mauritania, Khalifa Ould Eide and Dimi Mint Abba released 'Oh Lord Bring Apartheid Crashing Down!' in 1990.

The majority of these songs were by prominent African musicians and as such were released not only in Africa but on international labels in Europe and the USA, guaranteeing them a broader audience of listeners in the growing market for “world music”.

5.3.1.3 American Artists

In the USA, anti-apartheid songs had been released before the 1980s but grew more frequent during the decade¹¹⁶. Notable songs with anti-apartheid content from the early 1980s include 'Biko' and 'Chile Your Waters Run Red Through Soweto' by American acapella group Sweet Honey On The Rock from their album *Good News* in 1981, the latter covered in 1988 by British folk musician Billy Bragg. In 1982, R&B singer Clarence Carter released 'Girl from Soweto', around the same time as his tour of South Africa.

Perhaps the most successful example of musicians addressing apartheid was the 1985 single 'Sun City', recorded by a group of concerned musicians calling themselves Artists United Against Apartheid¹¹⁷, under the leadership of Steven van Zandt. Other artists who participated in the project included Jimmy Cliff, Bob Dylan, Miles Davis, Lou Reed, U2, Hall & Oates and George Clinton. The target of their project, Sun City, was a luxury resort in the former homeland of Bophuthatswana, as discussed in chapter two. The lyrics of the song were a direct attack on apartheid, for example:

We're rockers and rappers united and strong,
We're here to talk about South Africa, we don't like what's going on.
It's time for some justice, it's time for the truth.

¹¹⁶ Examples from before the 1980s include American disco musician Hamilton Bohannon, who released 'South African Man', 'South Africa 76' and 'Zulu' between 1974 and 1976, and Gil Scott-Heron and Brian Jackson, who wrote 'Johannesburg' for their 1975 album *From South Africa to South Carolina*, a title hinting at the similarities between apartheid in South Africa and segregation in the southern USA. In 1979, vibraphone player Jay Hoggard released 'May Those Who Love Apartheid Burn In Hell.'

¹¹⁷ Besides 'Sun City', Artists United Against Apartheid also released tracks such as 'Let Me See Your ID' and 'Silver And Gold' in 1985.

We've realised there's only one thing we can do.
I ain't gonna play Sun City.
Relocation to phoney homelands,
Separation of families, I can't understand.
23 million can't vote because they're black,
We're stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back.

The track had the desired result. Soon after the song's release, international musicians could no longer be lured to perform there, and the Sun City Superbowl stood empty over the 1985 holiday season. After 1985, few artists were willing to break the boycott, and many of those who did were already past their prime. The song's success was due not to the message itself but the fact that it reached a massive audience – because of the popularity of the artists involved, the song's high production quality, as well as its music video, which was played frequently on MTV (Ansell, 2004:204-205; Beaubien, 1982:5-6,12; Pratt, 1990:187).

As the popular music industry embraced the anti-apartheid struggle, numerous other artists dedicated songs to the struggle in the second half of the 1980s. In 1985, Stevie Wonder's 'It's Wrong (Apartheid)' compared apartheid to slavery and the holocaust. With lyrics in English and Zulu, the song delivered a message of hope and solidarity, that "freedom is coming" and "the whole world is with us". Also in 1985, the Pointer Sisters released 'Freedom', which was received as an anti-apartheid song even though the lyrics made no direct reference to the country, instead simply urging communication and understanding. The song's music video includes images of Archbishop Tutu and anti-apartheid protests, as well as American civil rights leaders and politicians. The band, better known for fun, non-political music, later told an American newspaper:

It sort of fit in with the other things, such as 'We are the World' and 'Sun City' ... This was just speaking up, too. [The song] has a lot to do with the South Africa situation. I don't believe in apartheid. I never will. That's why I won't go there. But there's got to be hope, because so many people don't agree with apartheid (Campbell, 1986).

In 1985 there were also releases by other popular American soul acts: The Winans' 'Let My People Go', Kashif's 'Botha Botha (Anti-Apartheid Song)' and El Espada's *Apartheid Man*, while Bernie Hamilton and The Inculcation Band released a single with the tracks 'Apartheid, Free All South Africans' and 'Apartheid Music Die'.

In 1986, jazz icon Miles Davis released the album *Tutu*, the title track of which was dedicated to prominent anti-apartheid activist Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Davis was the most notable of numerous American jazz musicians to write songs for the struggle¹¹⁸. American R&B singer Jeffrey Osborne released 'Soweto', which urged the world to "send a message to your brothers in Soweto: You are not alone". In 1987, Nona Hendryx released 'Winds of Change (Mandela to Mandela)', while Little Steven (Van Zandt of Artists United Against Apartheid) released 'Pretoria' on the album *Freedom – No Compromise*. In 1988, the Neville Brothers and Carlos Santana recorded 'My Blood In South Africa' live in Jamaica, while rock singer Michael Anderson released 'Soweto Soul'. In 1989, Miles Davis followed *Tutu* with *Amandla*, another reference to the anti-apartheid struggle, American R&B singer Will Downing released 'Come Together as One', blues-rock band The Kinsey Report released 'Free South Africa' and Tracy Chapman 'Freedom Now'.

American hip-hop artists also found inspiration in the anti-apartheid struggle. These range from obscure acts¹¹⁹ to more established performers such as New York hip-hop group Stetsasonic, who recorded 'A.F.R.I.C.A.' in 1987¹²⁰, featuring the voice of Reverend Jesse Jackson, a prominent anti-apartheid campaigner in the USA. In 1988, Public Enemy referred to apartheid oppression in 'Show Em Watcha Got'¹²¹. Following the example set by Artists United Against Apartheid, a collective of rappers calling themselves Hip Hop Against Apartheid recorded 'Ndodemnyama (Free South Africa)' in 1990. The project was organised by Afrika Bambaataa, who rose to fame in the 1970s fronting The Universal Zulu Nation, a hip-hop collective promoting political issues in New York, and featured established acts such as Queen Latifah, Jungle Brothers, Brand Nubian and French rapper Lucien Revolucien. 'Ndodemnyama (Free South Africa)' and its accompanying

¹¹⁸ Other American jazz musicians include Jayne Cortez ('For The Brave Young Students in Soweto 1976' in 1980); Horace Tapscott ('Shades of Soweto' in 1982); Chico Freeman ('Soweto Suite' in 1983); Always August ('Soweto' in 1986); The Art Ensemble of Chicago ('Soweto Messenger' in 1982 and *Art Ensemble of Soweto* in 1990); Tony Williams ('Soweto Nights' in 1982); the Robert Watson Quartet ('Dark Days (For Nelson Mandela)' in 1988); the Ralph Peterson Quintet ('Soweto 6' in 1989); the Ralph Moore Quintet ('Song For Soweto' in 1989); Larry Coryell ('Sunset On Soweto' in 1989); Terence Blachard ('Sing Soweto' in 1991); and Mario Pavone ('Monk In Soweto' in 1992).

¹¹⁹ Lesser-known American hip-hop acts to record anti-apartheid songs include the Rap Riot Crew and the Santa Ana Crew (who both released tracks called 'Apartheid' in 1985); C. Chris and Rich E. Rich with Rudy Purdee ('Apartheid! (You Know it's a Crime)' in 1986); Kid Flash ('Apartheid' in 1988); and K-9 Posse ('Apartheid' in 1991).

¹²⁰ The B-side of this single was 'Free South Africa' by Tackhead.

¹²¹ Public Enemy also referred to apartheid on 1987's 'Timebomb' and 'Who Stole The Soul' in 1990.

video showing images of police brutality in South Africa helped raise further awareness and funds for the ANC at the time of Mandela's release from prison. Its lyrics call for black unity in the face of apartheid oppression:

We've got to struggle and fight for what's right,
Government's got a good grip and they're holding on tight.
I know the grip will slip, if we strive for perfection in the right direction.
Freedom, justice and equality, for you and me,
It's plain to see, what we need is black unity.

American reggae bands followed the example of their Jamaican contemporaries in recording anti-apartheid songs and albums. These include Jah Big's 'Stop Apartheid Now' and the Boss Skank Band's *Smash Apartheid*, both in 1986. Numerous punk, metal and experimental bands also recorded songs against apartheid¹²². Some contributed to the 1987 compilation *Viva Umkhonto*, dedicated to the ANC's armed wing (Pareles, 1987). Influential punk band White Flag released *Freedom Fighters* in 1988 (released in South Africa on local label Power Noize) with the disclaimer: "This is a charity record. All money from this EP goes against apartheid".

Later, in 1990, Mexican-born guitarist Carlos Santana wrote 'Soweto (Africa Libre)', while funk group Earth, Wind & Fire's album *Heritage* contained short tracks called 'Soweto (Reprise)' and 'Interlude: Soweto'.

5.3.1.4 British Artists

In the UK¹²³, British reggae band Steel Pulse released 'Biko's Kindred Lament' in 1979, dedicated to Black Consciousness leader Steven Biko, who had died in police custody two years earlier, on the album *Tribute to the Martyrs*. Also in 1979, The Clash released the seminal punk album *London Calling*. One of the songs from the recording session that was omitted from the album was 'Where You Gonna Go (Soweto)', which was finally released 25 years later on the

¹²² American punk and metal bands include: Annie Anxiety ('Soweto Suntan' in 1985); MDC ('South Africa is Free' in 1986); Beefeater ('Apartheid' in 1986); Agent 86 (*Apartheid American Style* in 1986); and PMS ('Crush The Apartheid' in 1987). Later efforts include Resist ('Corporate Apartheid' in 1991) and Autonomy ('Abolish Apartheid' in 1995). Christian rock band Resurrection Band released 'Afrikaans' (1979) and 'Zuid Afrikan' (1985). House producer Lenny Fontana released 'Soweto Stomp' in 1993 under the name Funky Fusion Band. Folk musicians Sabia released 'A Song For Soweto - Una Cancion Para Soweto' in 1986.

¹²³ Two of the earliest anti-apartheid songs by British musicians were Ewan Maccoll's 'The Ballad of Sharpeville', written shortly after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, and Bert Jansch's 'Anti-Apartheid' from 1965.

anniversary edition of the album.

While reggae and punk musicians led the way, one of the first tracks to gain popularity with a broader audience was Peter Gabriel's 'Biko' (Byerly, 1998:31). The song remained prominent for much of the decade following its release in 1980, when it reached number 38 on the British charts. Later, a live version recorded in the USA was released in 1987, reaching number 49 in the UK. A version of the song was used to promote the movie *Cry Freedom*, also in 1987, and included excerpts of the banned anthem 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika'. The song's music video was played on heavy rotation on MTV during the film's run, even though the song itself was not included in the film or its soundtrack. 'Biko' was covered by numerous artists, including Robert Wyatt (1984), Patti (1986), Joan Baez (1987), Simple Minds (1989) and Cameroonian star Manu Dibango (1994).

In 1984, the Specials (also known as the Special AKA) recorded 'Free Nelson Mandela', which reached number 9 on the British charts. Songwriter Jerry Dammers was a central figure in the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and helped to organise major anti-apartheid concerts in the UK. It is significant that music was at the centre of organising the actions of the AAM as a whole. A less successful but far more aggressive song released that year was 'We Hate You South African Bastards' (later renamed 'Love Your Enemies') by Irish punk band Microdisney.

In 1985, prominent British musician Robert Wyatt recorded 'The Wind Of Change' and 'Namibia' with a choir affiliated to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), then the national liberation movement of Namibia. The song was a strong statement against South Africa's dominance of the region. Madness recorded 'The Coldest Day', with the lyrics, "Tell me what's the word: Johannesburg", reflecting the global music industry's interest in South Africa. Also in 1985, the limited-edition compilation *Livingstone Rap* was released, the proceeds of which were donated to the anti-apartheid movement.

In 1986, acid-jazz band Working Week released 'South Africa', while popular reggae band UB40 released 'Sing our own Song', which included the anti-

apartheid rallying cry 'Amandla'. Punk band Public Image Ltd recorded 'Rise', which issued a warning to apartheid authorities and a rallying cry to anti-apartheid protesters: "Anger is an energy". This song reached number 11 in the UK.

In 1987, Latin Quarter released 'Nomzamo (One People, One Cause)' and The Housemartins released 'Johannesburg'. The most successful anti-apartheid song of 1987 was British musician Labi Siffre's '(Something Inside) So Strong', which reached number 4 in the UK, accompanied by a video of the British singer in an apartheid-era jail cell. The song earned Siffre an Ivor Novello Award for Best Song Musically and Lyrically and was covered by American country star Kenny Rodgers in 1988 and gospel singer Vanessa Bell Armstrong in 1989. Its inspiring lyrics call for hope in the face of oppression, for example:

The more you refuse to hear my voice, the louder I will sing.
You hide behind walls of Jericho, your lies will come tumbling.
Deny my place in time, you squander wealth that's mine,
My light will shine so brightly, it will blind you 'cause there's,
Something inside so strong,
I know that I can make it,
Though you're doing me wrong, so wrong,
You thought that my pride was gone,
Oh, no, something inside so strong.

The song was followed in 1988 by another hugely popular anti-apartheid song, 'Gimme Hope Jo'anna' by British reggae musician Eddy Grant. A thinly veiled reference to Johannesburg and apartheid in general, the song reached number 7 in the UK. Although banned, it was widely heard in South Africa (Drewett, 2003a:83) and was popular with listeners both black and white, thanks in part to its catchy, upbeat reggae rhythm. The song's lyrics call for pressure on the regime and make reference to several important aspects of apartheid and the struggle, including riots in Soweto, cross-border raids, government's attempts to lure artists to Sun City and the role of struggle icon Archbishop Desmond Tutu. For example:

Well Jo'anna she runs a country,
She runs in Durban and the Transvaal.
She makes a few of her people happy, oh,
She don't care about the rest at all.
She's got a system they call apartheid,
It keeps a brother in a subjection.
But maybe pressure will make Jo'anna see,
How everybody could a live as one...
I wanna know if you're blind Jo'anna,
If you wanna hear the sound of drum.

Can't you see that the tide is turning?
Oh don't make me wait till the morning come.

Also in 1988, British rock singer Ian Gillan released 'South Africa', a call for action against state oppression and censorship. In 1989, Simple Minds' 'Mandela Day' celebrated Nelson Mandela's imminent release. Numerous other songs were written by British musicians during the 1980s, including reggae¹²⁴, punk¹²⁵ and more experimental¹²⁶ artists.

5.3.1.5 Other Artists

Anti-apartheid songs were written regularly during the 1980s throughout much of Europe, including France¹²⁷, Belgium¹²⁸, Germany¹²⁹, the Netherlands¹³⁰, Italy¹³¹, Spain¹³², Portugal¹³³, the Nordic states¹³⁴ and Eastern Europe¹³⁵. Many of these

¹²⁴ Other British reggae musicians to record anti-apartheid songs include Merger ('Biko' in 1980); Jah Warriors ('Apartheid' in 1984); Tetrack ('Smash Apartheid' in 1985); Macka B ('Apartheid' in 1987 and 'Proud of Mandela' in 1990); Black Roots ('Apartheid Dub' in 1987); Akabu ('Apartheid' in 1989); and Progression ('Apartheid', unknown date).

¹²⁵ British punk or metal bands to record anti-apartheid songs include Sacilege ('Apartheid' in 1984); Satanic Malfunctions ('Smash Apartheid' in 1986); Blue Siege ('Like Red Rages to the Bull (Soweto)' in 1986); Ripcord ('Crush Apartheid' in 1986); Redskins ('KO!KO! (Kick Over Apartheid) in 1986); Sore Throat ('Anal Intelligence Apartheid' in 1989); Alias Ron Kavana ('Soweto Trembles (The Jo'burg Jig)' in 1989); and Irish band Pink Turds In Space ('Apartheid Kills' in 1990). Later releases include 'Soweto Votes' by dance act That's How It Is! (1994); and Scottish band Oi Polloi's 'Apartheid Stinx' in 1995.

¹²⁶ Other artists include Rory McLeod ('Stop the Apartheid Fascists' in 1980); Barry Adamson ('Samplers Against Apartheid' in 1989); Grand Union Orchestra ('No More Apartheid' in 1989); Pounding System ('Freedom is Coming' in 1991); M.A.D. (*Vex About Apartheid* in 1992); and Pretoria-born Robert Calvert ('Soweto' in 1992).

¹²⁷ Some examples of French musicians opposing apartheid include Lizzy Mercier Descloux ('Mister Soweto' in 1982); Son Of Sam ('Anti-Apartheid' in 1985); Wylsper ('Stop Apartheid Now' in 1989); Les Ejectes (Soweto's Burning' in 1990); Psychose ('Apartheid' in 1991) and hip-hop act Original MC ('No Apartheid' in 1991).

¹²⁸ Belgian bands included Scraps ('Apartheid' in 1986); Heibel ('Apartheid' in 1986); Hiatus ('Apartheid Must Stop' in 1989), hip-hop artist Defi-J ('Apartheid' in 1990) and later Comrade ('Apartheid Ain't No History' in 1995). Another band took the name Apartheid Not, releasing *Love Africa* in 1983.

¹²⁹ German acts included Wut ('Apartheid', 'Sudafrika' and 'Botha is a Murderer' in 1986); Rafael Und Damian ('Der Tod In Soweto' in 1986); Lovely ('Apartheid' in 1987); The Idiots ('Revolution (Smash Apartheid)' in 1987); South Africa-born singer Carpendale ('Der Junge Aus Soweto' in 1987); Cadavre Exquis ('Tranen Von Soweto' in 1990); and Schulcore ('No Apartheid' in 1991). German pop band Neu! recorded 'La Bomba (Stop Apartheid World-Wide!)' in 1986, but the album *Neu! 4* was only released in 1995, later remastered and released as *Neu! '86* in 2010.

¹³⁰ Dutch acts included Suriname-born flautist Ronald Snijders ('Soweto Friend' in 1980); reggae bands Reality ('Nelson Mandela' in 1982 and 'Soweto' in 1987) and Revelation Time ('South Africa' in 1988). Rock acts include Larm ('South Africa' in 1984); Rapt ('Apartheid' in 1985); Hei Pasoep (*Zingt Tegen Apartheid* in 1986); Meer Staal ('100% Soweto' in 1987); Poppi UK ('Disco Soweto' in 1987); D-Xtreme ('No Apartheid' in 1990); The Partners ('Down With Apartheid' in 1990) and later Besmet ('Apartheid Inc.' in 1994). In 1988 The Ex released *RaRa Rap*, in support of the Dutch RaRa militant action group, who fought against Dutch companies' involvement in South Africa during the 1980s. The album included a booklet with political statements and lyrics.

¹³¹ Italian releases included punk band The Sphere's 'Apartheid' in 1986, reggae band African United's 'Apartheid (No More)' in 1987; Franti's 'Every Time... A Soweto' (1987); Crom's 'No Apartheid' (1990); Eugenio Finardi's 'Soweto' (1990); ZAM's 'Africa Free (Beat Apartheid Version)' in 1991; and punk band Kina's 'Biko' in 1992;

¹³² Spanish examples include GNR's 'Apartheid Hotel' and Kortatu's 'Desmond Tutu' in 1985; Tecnica Material's 'Not Apartheid' and Comando 9mm's 'Soweto' in 1986; and Ataud Vacante's 'Soweto' in 1987.

¹³³ Portuguese punk band HHH released 'Apartheid' in 1986.

¹³⁴ In Norway, African reggae musician Pape Seye recorded 'Damn South Africa's Apartheid Regime' in 1983, while in 1987 punk band Data Morgana released *En Nasjon I Sorg*, which comes with a note dealing with Shell's involvement in the apartheid in South Africa. In 1988, Norwegian band Tomboy released 'Saints Of Soweto'. In Denmark, the Kenn Lending Blues Band released 'Soweto Girl' in 1981; Kalashnikov released 'Civiliseret Apartheid' in 1985 and Anne Grete 'Apartheid' in 1986. In Finland, Pelle Miljoona & Linnunlaulu released 'Soweto Blues' in 1987, while punk bands Kivuton Kuolema and Traitor released tracks both called 'Apartheid' in 1987 and 1990 respectively. In Sweden, rock bands contributed to the concert compilation *Svensk Rock Mot Apartheid: ANC Galan* in 1986, while reggae artists Dr Alban ('Free Up Soweto' in 1994) and Pygment ('Apartheid Struggle' in 1997) released songs during the 1990s.

were hard rock bands that were relatively unknown outside their own countries, such as Swiss band Dark Age, who released 'Remember Soweto' in 1987. One of the exceptions was prominent French musician Jean Michel Jarre, who in 1988 released 'September', dedicated to Dulcie September, the exiled activist who had been assassinated outside the ANC's office in Paris earlier that year.

The trend of musicians supporting the struggle extended to South America. In Chile, Quilapayun released 'Free Nelson Mandela' in 1987 and De Kiruza released 'Olinka Vive En Soweto' in 1988. In Brazil in 1987, Liberdade Condicional released 'Folclore Apartheid', Djavan 'Soweto' and punk band Grinders 'Ruas De Soweto'. In 1989, Afro-Brazilian group Olodum released 'Hino Do AMC', dedicated to the ANC, as well as a version of 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika'. In 1990, Beth Carvalho released 'Apartheid Nao', while Paralamas do Sucesso recorded a cover version of The Special AKA's hit 'Free Nelson Mandela'¹³⁶. In Argentina, rock band Todos Tus Muertos released 'No Mas Apartheid' in 1988, as well as 'Mandela' later in 1995.

In Australasia, New Zealand reggae band Herbs released 'Azania (Soon Come)' in 1981, coinciding with the controversial 'rebel' Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand in 1981 that defied the international sports boycott of South Africa. Australian punk band Death Sentence released 'Anti-Apartheid' in 1986. The following year dance duo Ground Level released 'Ring Down Apartheid'.

Artists from other parts of the world also wrote songs promoting support for the struggle against apartheid. In Canada, jazz band C'est What?! released 'Soweto' in 1984, while Jo Jo Morocco released 'Apartheid' in 1989. Mexican bands to record anti-apartheid songs, albeit somewhat belatedly, include Sedicion ('Apartheid' in 1992), Tijuana No! ('Soweto' in 1993) and reggae band Antidoping ('Mandela' in 1996).

¹³⁵ In Poland, punk band Abaddon released 'Apartheid' in 1986, while various artists contributed to the *Solidarnosc Anti-Apartheid 13.12.1989* concert and album. In the former Czechoslovakia, punks bands Kratky Proces ('Apartheid' in 1992) and My-Lai ('N. Mandela' in 1992) also wrote songs for the struggle. Later, Hungarian punk band Akela released 'Apartheid' in 1996.

¹³⁶ Later, in 1995, Brazilian artists Nelsinho Correa and Grupo Sambar released 'Apartheid No'.

Other artists, particularly in the UK, did not write songs dedicated to apartheid but nevertheless promoted the struggle with disclaimers on the back covers of their albums stating that the band was opposed to apartheid or supported the anti-apartheid movement, often donating profits from sales to charities or anti-apartheid organisations. This was particularly the case for the South African editions of their albums. Examples include The Style Council's *Home And Abroad* (1986); Phil Collin's album *...But Seriously* (1989); Texas' *Southside* (1989); The Mission's *Carved In Sand* (1990); the South African pressings in 1991 of U2's albums *The Joshua Tree* (1987) and *Rattle And Hum* (1988); the 1992 South African pressing of Wet Wet Wet's *High On The Happy Side* (1991), as well as other lesser known acts¹³⁷.

As revealed above, at least 450 songs with anti-apartheid messages were recorded by non-South African artists, beginning in the late 1970s, peaking in the second half of the 1980s, and continuing into the early 1990s. These songs were written, performed and recorded by artists representing a wide variety of genres and regions of the world. While some were obscure, others were recorded by some of the most prominent artists in the world at the time. The frequency and regularity of these releases ensured that South African politics remained a common and consistent theme in international popular music throughout the 1980s. Apartheid became such a popular topic that it could be considered a reliable trope for songwriters to ensure some degree of public and media attention as well as credibility.

By writing songs about apartheid, musicians were able not only to raise awareness of the issue in their music, but also to later speak directly to the media about it when promoting their music. Most of the lyrics of the above songs carry messages of hope and inspiration, suggesting that history will ultimately favour the side of the oppressed. These songs, particularly when recorded or performed by well-known popular artists, had the power to spread the anti-apartheid message to a mass audience of people who otherwise might not have been

¹³⁷ Other artists to print messages of support for the struggle on their album covers include Hillsboro' Crew (*Steel City (Move On Up)* in 1986) and Shriekback (*Go Bang!* in 1989) from the UK, as well as Canadian punk band DOA's *True (North) Strong & Free* in 1987.

exposed to the subject, gaining their support for the struggle against apartheid. They also provided legitimacy to the anti-apartheid movement and the struggle against apartheid.

5.3.2 Artists Collaborating with South African Musicians

Certain American and European non-establishment artists focused on the musical rather than only the political, recording albums that drew heavily on South African influences and even employed some local musicians in an attempt to create an authentic South African sound. These were innovative artists and such efforts at collaboration were extremely rare, due in part to the cultural boycott at the time. These albums successfully promoted South African music and culture to the rest of the world, provided opportunities for local musicians to be heard internationally, raised awareness and interest in the country that would have led some listeners to join the struggle against apartheid, as well as encouraged debate over the cultural boycott and apartheid itself.

The first to do so was Malcolm McLaren, who was initially known as an influential manager in the British punk scene of the 1970s. Already in 1981, as manager of the Afro-punk act Bow Wow Wow, McLaren had allegedly copied the Mahotella Queens' 'Umculo Kawupheli' for their track 'Jungle Boy'. The following year McLaren came to South Africa to record with local artists at RPM studios in Johannesburg, with the help of local executive Phil Hollis. In 1983 he released his debut solo album, *Duck Rock*. Widely credited for introducing hip-hop to the British mainstream, other tracks on the album like 'Double Dutch', 'Jive My Baby', 'Punk It Up' and 'Soweto' (and the B-side 'Zulus on a Time Bomb') relied almost entirely on South African sounds. Controversially, no songwriting credit was given to any local musicians. McLaren took the Boyoyo Boys' hit 'Puleng'¹³⁸ and turned it into 'Double Dutch', which reached number 3 on UK charts, the highest charting single of his career. Claiming credit for himself and British producer Trevor Horn, it was only after a lengthy legal struggle that the Boyoyo Boys received their dues. Bayete's Jabu Khanyile, pennywhistle player Aaron "Big Voice Jack" Lerole and Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens were all reportedly involved in *Duck Rock*,

¹³⁸ Also released as 'Pule'.

though little written evidence exists (Missingham, 1999:67). While McLaren did little to promote individual South African musicians overseas, his efforts nevertheless promoted South African music and culture in general on the world stage.

Shortly after McLaren, French singer Lizzy Mercier Descloux traveled to Africa in 1983, starting in Ethiopia and ending in South Africa, where she performed at the Pelican nightclub in Soweto and teamed up with local artists to record the album *Mais où Sont Passées les Gazelles?*¹³⁹ (also released as *Zulu Rock*), which was released in 1984. Descloux called on a host of local musicians, including Brenda Fassie's backing band, The Big Dudes, to record at Satbel Studios in Johannesburg. The album is a hybrid of mbaqanga and punk, with the French title track an obvious rehash of Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens' 'Kazet'. Local musician and producer John Galanakis, credited as the album's musical co-ordinator, was hired for his knowledge of local sounds. However he claims he had very little creative control over the project and lost contact with Descloux and her team as soon as the project was finished (Galanakis, interview:2009).

Largely overshadowing the work of the abovementioned artists, but stirring widespread debate regarding the political implications of all of their albums, was Paul Simon's 1986 album *Graceland*. The Grammy-winning disc eventually sold 16 million copies and is regarded as a pivotal album on the 1980s and one of the defining contributions to the category of "worldbeat" or "world music" (Garofalo, 1992a:1).

Inspired by South African music, not politics, Simon ignored the cultural boycott and with the backing of the black musicians in South Africa (but not the exiled ANC), as well as Quincy Jones and Harry Belafonte in the USA, came to Johannesburg to record with musicians from top groups like Stimela, Thetha and Ladysmith Black Mambazo and established township jazz saxmen such as Barney Rachabane, with the help of local producers like Hilton Rosenthal and

¹³⁹ French for "But where have all the gazelles gone?".

Koloi Lebona. Unlike McLaren and Descloux, Simon shared songwriting credits on most tracks with local musicians (Meintjes, 1990:47).

Simon faced ongoing accusations, not only of breaking the cultural boycott but also of so-called “musical colonialism” – appropriating African influences without really engaging with them – and of exploiting South African musicians. Critics claimed the relationship between the white star and black backing band reflected the existing power relations that upheld apartheid. Simon himself was vulnerable to the charge of avoiding political content, due to the absence of direct lyrical references to the country and aided by the lack of clarity in Simon’s public stance towards South Africa¹⁴⁰ (Meintjes, 1990:38-39; Garofalo, 1992a:1).

While opening up room for debate on the cultural boycott, no consensus could be reached regarding the album’s perceived contribution to the struggle against apartheid. Politics is embedded in the music of *Graceland* but its orientation remains highly ambiguous, allowing for multiple interpretations. These are tied to the listeners’ sense of themselves and sociopolitical positioning in terms of race, class, language and political orientation. This permits multiple and even conflicting views of the album, which can serve the interests of various and even opposing sociopolitical groups. As a result, listeners both for and against apartheid employed a variety of arguments both in favour and against the album. Ironically, for some white South Africans it took a white American to get them to acknowledge and appreciate black South African music (Meintjes, 1990:38-67).

The interests of the ANC and the broader liberation movement were arguably not served by the album and tour, due mainly to the confusion and disagreement it caused. ANC supporters voiced various conflicting opinions regarding *Graceland*, all claiming ANC backing, while the position of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was also contested. While the PAC supported Simon for exposing the culture of oppressed people, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid announced that anyone buying the album was violating the trade embargo. Similarly, while the Black Consciousness movement in the USA supported *Graceland*, the leadership

¹⁴⁰ For example, Simon had refused to participate in the more radical ‘Sun City’ project around the same time (Garofalo, 1992a:1).

of the ANC was against it. The confusion and controversy surrounding *Graceland* exposed the need to clarify how the cultural boycott was managed, suggested structural weaknesses in the liberation movement and fuelled the ongoing debate, but did not necessarily do anything to help solve those problems (Meintjes, 1990:65-66).

The political implications of the album only became obvious after its release, with the international promotional tour that followed. Threatened with blacklisting by the UN until he agreed not to perform in South Africa, Simon subsequently toured the world with *Graceland*, adding explicitly anti-apartheid performers in exile, such as Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela to the line-up, under considerable international pressure, in an apparent attempt to dispel the criticism and validate the political correctness of the project. He also made substantial financial contributions to the tour¹⁴¹ (Meintjes, 1990:43; Garofalo, 1992a:4).

Within South Africa, *Graceland's* success was credited with encouraging a renewed interest in musicians to develop local music styles rather than imitate foreign genres (Martin, 1992:195,202). However, besides launching the international career of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, the success of *Graceland* did not bring about the global success that many had believed was imminent. According to engineer Richard Mitchell, who worked closely with Ray Phiri, among many others,

I think initially everybody thought, "OK, that's the floodgates opening. We're going to have this deluge of local talent flooding the world markets." But it didn't happen (Mitchell, 2009:interview).

Despite the confusion and controversy surrounding the cultural boycott, the accusations of exploitation and shying away from politics, the ambiguity of interpretations and the lack of future opportunities presented to South African artists following the album and tour, *Graceland* did undoubtedly lead to more

¹⁴¹ Simon brought Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Stimela to the USA for recording and promotion at his own expense. He sponsored the world tour himself, including concerts in Africa, Europe, North America and Asia. Prior to the two concerts in Zimbabwe's capital Harare (one of the closest possible venues to South Africa), *Graceland's* management and the Zimbabwean government agreed that no money would leave Zimbabwe. Simon's promoters agreed to pay the shortfall out of a special account opened in London for that purpose. Simon paid all the musicians but received no remuneration for the concerts, other than the profit from the sale of the video of the event which was distributed internationally. The South African-based musicians also gave free concerts in black townships prior to the tour. The second US leg of the tour included venues and cities that drew a largely poor, black audience to venues usually ignored by touring stars. The *Graceland* participants also donated some proceeds from the tour to African and African-American charities such as Children of Apartheid and the United Negro College Fund (Meintjes, 1990:42-43; Pareles, 1987).

publicity and debate about conditions in South Africa. As a result the overall effect of the album can be seen as progressive (Ansell, 2004:218; Garofalo, 1992a:4).

In 1988, long-time apartheid activist and South African music supporter Harry Belafonte released his first album in 15 years, *Paradise in Gazankulu*, a showcase of South African music and politics. The album's title was a reference to the Shangaan homeland of Gazankulu. It employed a host of top South African-based musicians, both black and white, and addressed apartheid directly on songs like 'Amandla', in which freedom is personified in lyrics such as: "I know someday that I am going to have you; some day you'll have to give yourself to me".

Belafonte, a prominent critic of the apartheid regime for decades, was unable to enter the country to record the album, so his vocals had to be added in American studios after the music was recorded in Johannesburg. Belafonte's album set itself apart from previous efforts by McLaren, Descloux and Simon in that it combined political activism with authentic South African music. Significantly, while taking his influences from existing South African songs¹⁴², Belafonte credited all South African artists involved in songwriting.

Though only Belafonte incorporated political content into his lyrics, all four of the artists mentioned above, by defying the cultural boycott to varying extents and employing South African musicians, exposed the world to South African music and musicians. In doing so they enabled some degree of debate and awareness of South African culture and politics. Because of this, their contribution to the international struggle against apartheid should not go unnoticed. Compared to McLaren and Descloux who had collaborated with South African musicians before him, Simon was more prominent internationally and had been since the 1960s, including amongst white South Africans. The success of *Graceland* provides a good example of the power of musicians as cultural messengers – the bigger the artist, the larger their potential audience for their music and their perceived message. This was arguably aided by *Graceland's* lack of outright political

¹⁴² 'Amandla' lifts from the title track of Abakhwenyana's 1986 album *Zabalaza*, while 'Monday to Monday' draws from 'Mngani Wami' off the same album.

content. *Paradise in Gazankulu*, on the other hand, had also been recorded by an internationally prominent artist, but proved less successful both commercially and in terms of raising awareness of South Africa, due in part to the fact that it contained outright political messages expressing opposition to apartheid.

5.3.3 Live Concerts in Aid of the Struggle

The 1980s was an important decade not only in South Africa in terms of popular music. Around the world it was a time of rapid technological innovation and the growing politicisation of pop music. One of the key features of the music industry during the 1980s was the emergence of huge concerts involving major stars in order to raise funds and awareness for particular political causes¹⁴³. These concerts, which Garofalo calls “mega-events”, used popular music to conscientise and mobilise people around a specific political cause (Garofalo, 1992a:7).

While hundreds of millions of dollars were raised by these concerts, these amounts were not necessarily enough to transform the issues addressed. More important was the impact they had on the consciousness of the audiences and the participating musicians. The concerts created opportunities for music to be used to aid significant political and economic causes, particularly significant “in an era generally exalting privatisation, ‘incentives’ and sheer greed.” With its power to promote potentially oppositional, utopian and revolutionary themes, popular culture had by the mid-1980s become “the primary means of resistance and the most widely used channel for expression of emancipatory political perspectives” (Pratt, 1990:212).

¹⁴³ The concerts began in the UK in the late 1970s with Rock Against Racism, which drew over 80 000 to Victoria Park in London in 1977. In 1979, Musicians United for Safe Energy (MUSE), a collective of American musicians opposed to nuclear power, recorded the live triple album *No Nukes: The Muse Concerts For a Non-Nuclear Future*, followed by a film in 1980. During the 1980s, the star-studded Band Aid collective recorded the single ‘Do They Know It’s Christmas?’ in 1984, and again in 1989. The Live Aid concerts in the UK and USA in July 1985 helped to raise funds and awareness for famine victims in Ethiopia. It was followed soon after in the USA by the similar “supergroup” USA for Africa’s ‘We Are The World’ – also for African famine relief – and the Farm Aid concert in September 1985 to raise money for American farmers. Following Band Aid’s example, African artists banded together to release a similarly styled album for famine victims in Ethiopia in early 1985. It featured two tracks, ‘Starvation’ and ‘Tam Tam Pour L’Ethiopie’, recorded by separate collectives using the same names as the songs themselves. ‘Starvation’ was recorded by prominent British reggae artists, while the latter featured a host of top artists from all over Africa (including Manu Dibango, Youssou N’Dour, Salif Keita, Ray Lema and King Sunny Ade, as well as Hugh Masekela and the Malopoets from South Africa) and reached number 33 on the UK charts. Later in the decade, the Amnesty International Human Rights Now! Tour in 1988 attempted to raise awareness for the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights on its 40th anniversary (Pratt, 1990:211-212).

Amongst the most prominent and popular of these political causes was the fight against apartheid. South Africa was thus central to this growing trend of international music activism. The second half of the 1980s saw three major concerts held in the UK, all in the name of raising awareness for the struggle against apartheid. The first, known as Freedom Beat, took place in summer 1986 and attracted an audience of 200 000 to Clapham Common in London¹⁴⁴. Although it lost money, it paved the way for The Nelson Mandela Seventieth Birthday Tribute at Wembley Stadium in London on 11 June 1988. Some 72 000 music fans attended the live event, which was broadcast whole or in part to an estimated 600 million people in over 60 countries. This time the concert was not billed as a general anti-apartheid event, but rather to celebrate the 70th birthday (on 18 July 1988) of Nelson Mandela and to call for his release from jail. The success of the event and the calibre of the artists involved¹⁴⁵ was proof of the power of the anti-apartheid movement. This was made more remarkable by the fact that the event was held at a time when the government of the country hosting it, as well as those of several countries where it was broadcast, had still not officially endorsed the ANC, which was still officially banned in South Africa. This contradiction was not lost on supporters of apartheid in Britain, who were quick to protest against the broadcast of the event on public television (Garofalo, 1992b:56-57).

Despite the event being held in Mandela's name, it was later criticised for failing to deliver a forceful political statement. This was particularly true in the USA, where the concert was televised nationally by Rupert Murdoch's Fox Television Network as *Freedomfest*, a five-hour edited broadcast. This version was widely criticised for having depoliticised the event in three ways: firstly, it added a lot of advertising, often by firms doing business in South Africa; secondly, the political messages given by some of the more outspoken performers were edited out; and thirdly, most of the African performers were excluded from the broadcast (Garofalo, 1992b:57). Nevertheless, while the political depth of the event may have been sacrificed, 600 million people around the world gained a greater

¹⁴⁴ Freedom Beat's line-up featured Peter Gabriel, Sting, Sade, Boy George, Gil Scott-Heron, The Style Council, Elvis Costello, Billy Bragg and Hugh Masekela. It was originally the brainchild of Jerry Dammers of Special AKA, who wrote 'Free Nelson Mandela' and was one of the founders of Artists Against Apartheid (AAA) in London.

¹⁴⁵ The line-up of the Mandela Birthday Tribute included Dire Straits, Simple Minds, George Michael, Tracy Chapman, Whitney Houston, the Bee Gees, Eric Clapton, Stevie Wonder, Salt-n-Pepa, the Eurythmics and reggae acts Aswad, Sly and Robbie and UB40. South African acts included exiled stars Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Jonathan Butler, and locally-based Amampondo and Mahlathini and The Mahotella Queens.

awareness of the issue of apartheid than they had previously. It also aided the work of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, who used it to generate interest in their 'Nelson Mandela: Freedom at Seventy' campaign (Garofalo, 1992b:60-61).

Two years later, on 16 April 1990, a third big concert was held. An International Tribute for a Free South Africa, also at Wembley Stadium, marked the recent release of Nelson Mandela. Involved in its preparations were Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement and the International Reception Committee, established by the ANC to maximise the political value of Mandela's release and convened in Britain by the exiled Bishop Huddleston. As before, there was a degree of tension between the artists who could draw the crowds and those lesser-known acts with a proven track record of commitment to the cause¹⁴⁶. The 72 000 tickets for the concert sold out faster than for any other event in the history of Wembley, and broadcasters in some 63 countries signed on to broadcast the four-hour concert. Even South Africa proposed to show the event, a decision eventually vetoed by the ANC out of support for the cultural boycott. However, not a single American broadcaster could be persuaded to air the event, with a small Canadian broadcaster, MuchMusic, the only one to show the event in North America. Partly as a result of this, while the 1988 Mandela concert eventually distributed over \$1 million to six charitable organisations chosen by Bishop Huddleston, the 1990 event is reported to have not made any considerable financial profit (Garofalo, 1992b:62-63). Politically, however, it still succeeded in raising further international awareness of apartheid and solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement.

Nelson Mandela, released from prison two months earlier, attended the event and delivered a moving speech between the musical acts. He told the musicians backstage:

Over the years in prison I have tried to follow the developments in progressive music... Your contribution has given us tremendous inspiration... Your message can reach quarters not necessarily interested in politics, so that the message can go further than we politicians can push it... We admire you, we respect you and above all, we love you (Garofalo, 1992b:65).

¹⁴⁶ Many of the artists from the previous events returned, such as Peter Gabriel and Tracy Chapman, while others like Bonnie Raitt, Anita Baker, Neil Young, Natalie Cole and Lou Reed also performed. South African artists included exiles Caiphus Semenya, Letta Mbulu, Dudu Pukwana and Jonas Gwangwa, as well as South Africa-based Johnny Clegg.

Mandela's words highlight the power of popular musicians to communicate and socialise listeners who are receptive to their message, often to a greater extent than protest musicians or politicians themselves. This is something that political leaders both for and against apartheid were well aware of, and therefore often eager to utilise for their own ends. It also reveals another way in which musicians were involved in the struggle – by being a source of inspiration to politicians languishing behind bars. All this underlines music's potency as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, and therefore its significance to the struggle against apartheid.

While the three UK concerts were perhaps the best known and most successful live events to raise funds for the struggle, other similar events were held. Afrika Bambataa organised another anti-apartheid concert at Wembley in 1990, coinciding with the release of 'Ndodemnyama (Free South Africa)' and featuring British and American rappers. ANC members including Winnie Mandela appeared on stage, and money was raised for the ANC (Cook, 1991).

In America, one of the first anti-apartheid concerts was the Amandla Concert in July 1979 at Harvard Stadium in Boston, a show of support for the liberation of southern Africa and a call to end racism in the city. The lineup included Patti LaBelle, Jamaican star Bob Marley, Nigerian drummer Babatunde Olatunji and South Africa band of exiles Jabula (Emmerich, 1979).

Elsewhere in the USA, however, efforts to recreate the successful efforts in Europe did not find the same degree of success. The Bishop Tutu Peace Concert was scheduled to take place in September 1987 but was cancelled not long before due to a number of reasons – including an apparent shortage of funds, slow ticket sales and a lack of superstar talent. With producer Quincy Jones coordinating, the line-up was to have featured top pop musicians such as Roy Ayers, funk band Mtume, Barbra Streisand, Paul Simon, Chaka Khan and Kool & The Gang. South African artists Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Johnny Clegg and Savuka were scheduled to perform along with Nigerian musician King Sunny Ade and Jamaican reggae stars Jimmy Cliff and Burning Spear. Billed as "the biggest concert event in history" it was to have been broadcast on American

TV and radio and to 50 nations worldwide in aid of the African Bursary Fund, an organisation contributing to South African children's education (Britt, 1988). The cancellation of the concert exposes the difficulties of organising such a large-scale event, although press coverage ahead of the event would have still helped to promote awareness and support for the anti-apartheid struggle in the USA.

In Scandinavia too, music concerts promoted the cause of the struggle. The ANC Gala – two concerts at the Scandinavium Arena in Gothenburg, Sweden on 29 and 30 November 1985 – saw the Swedish anti-apartheid movement attract 20 of Sweden's leading rock and popular musicians to perform for some 25 000 people in a major show of support for the ANC. The aim was to raise as much money as possible, so the musicians, promoters, technicians and others involved worked for free. Funds were raised through ticket sales, TV rights and the subsequent sale of a live album, issued only a few weeks later (Sellstrom, 2002:763-4).

Following the success of the event, the Swedish artists involved were invited by the ANC to spend time in Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe in March 1986, where they continued to collaborate with southern African artists. In October 1986, the first Frontline Rock concert tour was organised – in five cities around Sweden, featuring top Scandinavian artists along with Zimbabwean musician Lovemore Majaivana and members of Amandla. Again a live album was recorded, from the first Frontline Rock concert in Gothenburg. The second leg of the tour was staged in 10 townships and cities in Zambia and Zimbabwe between 24 March and 5 April 1987. Financed by proceeds from the Gothenburg gala, its intended goal was not to raise funds but rather to show popular support for the ANC and the two Frontline States of Zambia and Zimbabwe caught up in the regional conflict. More generally the efforts of Scandinavian popular musicians served to consolidate the ANC's broader popular support in Sweden (Sellstrom, 2002:766-769).

Another project, the Human Rights Now! tour, saw a host of top international and South African stars perform 20 concerts on six continents between September and October 1988, including Harare, Zimbabwe and Abidjan, Ivory Coast as well as India, Hungary and Brazil. Besides the performers, human rights activists and former political prisoners from around the world, including former Robben Island

inmate Sonny Venkatrathnam from South Africa, participated in the tour. Johnny Clegg's Savuka was one of the bands to perform (Ballantine, 1989:305).

In Poland, local trade union Solidarity staged an anti-apartheid concert at Gdansk Shipyard in December 1989, later released as an album. The event featured local musicians, African artists like Mamadou Diouf and reggae artists such as Benjamin Zephaniah, Linton Kwesi Johnson, the Twinkle Brothers, Denis Bovell and Aswad.

These concerts were perhaps the most effective method employed by the international music community to show their support for the struggle against apartheid, and to mobilise large numbers of music fans from around the world to join their cause. Without the popular and media interest generated by the musicians involved in these events, it would not have been possible to reach such a large global audience and encourage them to take an active interest in South African music and politics, ultimately fostering greater empathy and support for the struggle against apartheid and putting further pressure on the South African government.

5.3.4 Political Fundraiser Albums

Another means by which the international music community fought against apartheid was the numerous anti-apartheid records¹⁴⁷, released primarily in Europe during the 1980s¹⁴⁸. Many of these were released in the name of the ANC by local partners. In Sweden, for example, the Amandla ensemble released an album in 1980 with funding from the Swedish Labour Movement Record Company and recorded at Radio Luanda and Radio Zambia Studios. In 1982 Amandla released an album to coincide with their tour of the Soviet Union, titled *African*

¹⁴⁷ The albums referred to in this section come from the writer's personal collection, the only exceptions being Amandla's 1982 and 1983 albums (from the Soviet Union and Sweden respectively) and the Radio Freedom compilation released in the USA in 1985, the information on which comes from www.discogs.com.

¹⁴⁸ An earlier ANC-dedicated album released in Germany (in approximately 1975), *Uhuru wa Afrika* (Freedom for Africa) was written and performed by Longfellow Martin Magarula, a Tanzanian musician and freedom fighter, and recorded for the Vereinigung Internationaler Kulturaustausch (Association of International Cultural Exchange). Songs include 'Africa Shall Win' and 'Let Me Tell You White People of South Africa', written at the International Student Conference in Helsinki, Finland in 1970. As already mentioned in chapter four, the ANC's Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble released *The Spear of the Nation* on Dutch label Varagram in 1978.

National Congress Cultural Group. The album was recorded in Russian studios and released on the state-owned Melodiya label. Though concentrating on struggle-related songs such as 'Lead Us, Tambo' and 'The Call Is Heard', the album also includes a jazz composition ('Soweto By Night') and the kwela-styled 'Penny Whistle Song'. In 1983 Amandla released another album in Sweden, titled *First Tour Live*. Tracks include 'Nkosi Sikelela' and 'Umkhonto'.

Through its Radio Freedom, the ANC recorded an album of freedom songs called *Voice of the African National Congress*, released in 1985 on the American label Rounder Records. The album was recorded in Lusaka, Zambia and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Included in the album cover are a sheet of lyrics and a Radio Freedom funding appeal.

In Germany in 1983, a band of South African exiles, Sounds of Soweto, released *How Long Must We Suffer?* The album was part of an anti-apartheid awareness campaign by the German Catholic Bishops' Organisation for Development Cooperation, Misereor. The album includes a catalogue for a number of booklets, posters, buttons, postcards and craftwork on sale to raise funds for the struggle.

In the Netherlands, the co-operative Stichting De Konkurrent recorded and released the compilation *Remember Soweto '76-'86 / Bullets Won't Stop Us Now!* to mark the 10th anniversary of the June 16 student uprising in Soweto and show support for Umkhonto we Sizwe. Music was performed and recorded in a squatted concert hall by Dutch punk bands alongside other bands consisting of musicians from Surinam, Morocco, Swaziland, Mozambique and the USA. The album includes a 19-page booklet, *High Time*, containing eyewitness accounts of Soweto on the day of the protest and of life in South African townships in the subsequent decade, as well as photos, press clippings and a copy of the Freedom Charter¹⁴⁹. It explains the ANC's decision to resort to violence and calls for material support. It also details numerous "solidarity actions" – successful violent protests in the Netherlands – and threatens further action against multinational companies making profits in South Africa. Notes printed on the album cover

¹⁴⁹ The Freedom Charter is the statement of core principles of the struggle movement, officially adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, Soweto in June 1955.

capture the desperation that followed the declaration of a state of emergency in June 1986:

This situation has reached a climax, there is no way back. The liberation struggle has to continue. There's no prospect for change unless other countries stop the regime in South Africa. They need to hurry up, and we need to force them to do so.

German label Piranha released *Beat! Apartheid* in 1987, a collection of songs from top African musicians, including South African artists from the Shifty label, Mzwakhe Mbuli and the Kalahari Surfers, and others from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Again the intention was to feature popular artists representing Africa in general to attract widespread public support for the struggle against apartheid.

Though seldom available in South Africa and not reaching the mass audience that the live concerts did, these albums nevertheless spread South African protest music and information about life in South Africa under apartheid to a wider international audience, as well as serving to raise funds for various anti-apartheid organisations.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The anti-apartheid movement was truly an international one. In this chapter the fourth sub-problem is addressed, that of the role of musicians from outside South Africa in the struggle against apartheid. This has two aspects - their role in the various organisations that made up the international anti-apartheid movement, and the contribution of prominent popular musicians, from the USA, UK, Jamaica, other parts of Africa and elsewhere, to the struggle by writing songs about South Africa or drawing on South African musical influences.

Arguably the most important and influential body in the international struggle against apartheid was the United Nations, which first endorsed a boycott of South Africa in 1960. By the 1980s, music played a central part in the boycott, with the UN's Special Committee Against Apartheid keeping a blacklist of musicians who had performed in South Africa. In Africa, continental bodies such as the OAU

prioritised ending apartheid and minority rule, a goal that gained momentum in the early 1980s following the independence of most other African states. The OAU had long recognised the importance of promoting African music and culture in the struggle for liberation throughout the continent, culminating in the adoption of the Cultural Charter for Africa in 1976, which influenced its actions into the 1980s. Regional bodies such as SADCC and SATUCC were established during the 1980s and put further pressure on the apartheid regime by aiding liberation movements and co-ordinating sanctions within Southern Africa. Outside Africa, anti-apartheid groups emerged as early as the 1950s and developed separately but along similar lines, with particularly strong movements in the UK, USA, Scandinavia and the Netherlands. In each case, musicians played a leading role, helping to turn the issue into a mass social movement.

Despite the global reach of the various anti-apartheid groups, their combined efforts were hindered by disagreements and inconsistencies regarding the implementation of the cultural boycott, with a number of different stances emerging both internationally and within South Africa. The success of South African musicians overseas (discussed in the previous chapter) suggests that the cultural boycott worked mainly to prevent international artists from performing in South Africa, while doing little to stop international demand for South African music or to circumscribe opportunities for South African artists overseas.

Not only did music play a central role in the actions of political organisations opposed to apartheid; South African politics and culture informed the actions of numerous international artists. Many international musicians promoted the struggle by referencing apartheid injustice in song, either directly through lyrics or indirectly by drawing on South African artists and influences. Anti-apartheid pop songs first rose to prominence in the late 1970s, with prominent Jamaican reggae artists taking the lead. During the 1980s, particularly in the second half of the decade, several of the most popular American, British, Jamaican and African musicians released anti-apartheid songs that enjoyed widespread sales, reached international charts and were accompanied by music videos that were widely watched. A host of lesser-known acts also released singles or albums dedicated to the struggle against apartheid. The success and regularity of these songs

ensured that South African politics remained a common and consistent theme in international popular music throughout the 1980s. By writing about apartheid injustice, musicians were able to spread awareness and support for the struggle to a global audience of millions of listeners, as well as to speak directly to the media about it when promoting their music.

Music functioned as a medium of political communication for a variety of stakeholders, including both artists and those involved in the anti-apartheid struggle. The lyrics of songs were important because they conveyed the message that apartheid is wrong, that the oppressed were right to stand up against apartheid and that in the end, justice would prevail. Music was also important as an agent of political socialisation for artists and those opposed to apartheid. Internationally prominent musicians were able to instruct and motivate a large number of listeners all over the world to support the struggle against apartheid, adding further legitimacy to the movement.

A smaller group of international artists embraced South African music itself, collaborating with locally-based musicians, though with limited degrees of political context in their lyrics and some without crediting local artists. This music was less effective as a medium of direct political communication, although it would have still functioned as an agent of political socialisation insofar as it created awareness of South African culture. Most famously, Paul Simon's 1986 album *Graceland* put South African music firmly on the world stage and encouraged debate about the cultural boycott, even though Simon's own political agenda was at times ambiguous and reactions to the project varied greatly. Despite the ambiguity of these artists' intentions, their efforts to embrace South African music further raised the international profile of both South African culture and politics. They also provided opportunities for South African musicians to perform on the world stage, albeit usually in a supporting role.

A more widespread phenomenon in the 1980s was the substantial increase in the use of popular music to achieve political ends. Large concerts were staged that used performances by top international pop stars to raise funds and awareness for political causes, not least of which was the struggle against apartheid in South

Africa. The most notable in this regard were three concerts in the UK during the second half of the 1980s, while similar projects were staged elsewhere in the world. These concerts were often televised to an even larger international audience, or accompanied by compilation albums that raised further funds and awareness for the struggle against apartheid. Other projects include political fundraiser albums released by anti-apartheid groups in various European countries, usually in the name of the ANC. These further served to raise international awareness and funds for the struggle and to highlight atrocities committed by the apartheid regime.

Musicians as part of civil society played an important role in the global struggle against apartheid. Through the work of the international anti-apartheid movement, for whom music played a central role, and many members of the international music community, the struggle against apartheid by the 1980s had become a mass social movement on a global scale. This contributed to the eventual fall of apartheid by heightening pressure on the regime and raising the international profile of the ANC. However, the official means devised to govern relations between international artists and South African audiences, as well as between South African artists and international audiences, the cultural boycott, complicated and at times even stifled this process by causing disagreement and confusion within the struggle movement. The cultural boycott helped to prevent international artists from touring South Africa, particularly to turn down invitations to Sun City in the second half of the 1980s, but did little to stop South African music, particularly by black artists, from being heard by the rest of the world. Indeed it was during the 1980s that South African artists enjoyed unprecedented success overseas. The contribution of the international music fraternity to the struggle against apartheid that has been outlined in this chapter serves as a further example of music's power as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In exploring the linkages between politics and music in South Africa under apartheid in the 1980s, this dissertation has sought to address both how the South African government used music to further its aim of separate development, and how musicians influenced the anti-apartheid struggle. In doing so it explores how music can be used as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, as well as how musicians make up an important part of civil society that is often overlooked, particularly in terms of their significance and contribution to the broader struggle movement. It shows that despite government's attempts to use music to enforce separate development, music was a central feature of the struggle against apartheid, both locally and abroad, and ultimately proved to be a substantial contributor to its success.

6.2 GOVERNMENT'S USE OF MUSIC TO PROMOTE APARTHEID

The first research question has been to analyse the nature of the socio-economic and political context of music during the 1980s, specifically how the apartheid government used music to pursue its own interests, such as widespread public acceptance of separate development, white superiority and Nationalist rule among South Africans of all races.

In chapter two it was revealed how culture was a central aspect of separate development, one of the foundations of apartheid. Music therefore assumed a strategic value for authorities. Particularly following the heightened repression that marked the 1980s, the government had the power to prohibit public gatherings such as music concerts, ban publications such as music albums, and punish those who produced, distributed or possessed such "undesirable" works. For musicians of all races, there were severe restrictions on movement, often making recording, performing and touring difficult, particularly when trying to collaborate

with artists of different races. Apartheid thus had an impact on the creative environment of musicians in general and non-white musicians in particular, through legislation that prescribed and proscribed a number of activities both regarding their daily lives as well as their professions.

The South African government used music as a medium of political communication and as an agent of political socialisation. They were aware of the importance of music in this regard and tried to control who communicated what to whom through the medium of music, censoring music that was deemed inappropriate and sanctioning artists to record songs deemed appropriate. They also used music on its radio stations to complement its other political communication through, for example, its news reports. The government was aware of the power and effectiveness of musicians and others in the music industry as agents of political socialisation and therefore tried to coerce musicians into getting involved in government-sponsored projects. They were also aware of the problem of legitimacy and that is why they tried numerous different ways of getting musicians on board. Imitation, instruction and motivation were all important in the process of political socialisation. As a result of the government's control of the media, particularly radio, the music scene was ethnicised and by implication racialised, much like South African society in general.

Government used music to promote apartheid by both actively promoting certain music that was seen to encourage separate development, and by censoring music that did not. Its primary means of doing both was the SABC, particularly its network of ethnic radio stations designed at specific language groups. The SABC played and promoted music that fitted into Radio Bantu's ethnic categories, often even recording the music itself. Its dominance of the airwaves meant that professional musicians were largely forced to conform to the corporation's prescriptions (or at least appear to do so) in order to sustain their careers.

Censorship functioned on a number of levels: in government, with the central Directorate of Publications and the Publications Appeal Board, which could ban undesirable music submitted to it; at the SABC, by its central committee, at many of its individual stations, and even by the DJs themselves; in the police, who had

the power to ban music and stop concerts and were even tasked with harassing particular musicians; and within the music industry itself, as labels, producers and musicians attempted to accommodate or even pre-empt the state's prescriptions. Together these various censorship mechanisms restricted musicians and influenced their creative output. The music industry's self-censorship and the SABC's power to remove certain songs or artists from the airwaves effectively hid the need for the government to ban songs outright through its directorate, which played a diminishing role in the second half of the decade. Censorship was inconsistently applied and conflict between the various censorship bodies was frequent, highlighting the complexity and difficulty of the government's attempts to use the music industry for its own ends.

Besides prohibiting certain kinds of music, government also took a more active role in encouraging new music that could be used to further its own agenda. The primary means of doing so, other than the SABC, was by funding the performing arts via provincial performing arts councils, which favoured Afrikaans-medium performances and European "high art" over African or contemporary popular genres, as well as "tribal musicals" that promoted the apartheid status quo. Another method was paying international stars to perform in South Africa. By the mid-1980s, however, this strategy had been exposed and the government adopted new methods. These included paying the country's most popular artists of all races to record the failed 'Peace Song' and to perform at events such as the centenary celebrations of Johannesburg, launching the annual National Song Festival, sanctioning roadshows sponsored by big business, and overseeing the music industry's annual awards.

The state thus attempted to dictate to South Africans of all races what they should be listening to and to create an environment in which professional performers were encouraged to conform to certain state-prescribed ideals promoting separate development. The government used music as a tool for political socialisation in an attempt to manipulate the thinking and values of the public, indoctrinating them to create loyal and obedient citizens in order to engineer an apartheid society based on separate development. Government's involvement in the music industry, as well as apartheid legislation in general, created a difficult climate for South African

musicians during the 1980s. Besides political and financial restrictions, police intimidation was common, while touring posed many difficulties. The government's use of music in the context of apartheid during the 1980s provides a good example of the conservative or hegemonic use of music as an agent of socialisation and a medium of political communication in order to maintain the dominant ideology, traditions, institutions and balance of power (Pratt, 1990:9-10).

The government's involvement in the music industry often had the opposite effect to its desired consequences, for example by stimulating a desire among musicians for a freer creative environment and compelling many to join the struggle. Other methods to promote separate development through music, such as inviting international artists to perform at racially integrated audiences, particularly at Sun City or promoting "tribal musicals", at times had the opposite of its intended effect by exposing white South Africans to a wider, multiracial South African culture. Another important unintended consequence of government policy was that its legalisation of black trade unions provided fertile soil for a segment of civil society that included musicians to oppose apartheid, and in turn to create a mass movement against apartheid. In these and other ways, many non-establishment musicians of all races found inspiration in the repressive conditions and gradually came to the forefront of the mounting struggle against apartheid.

Despite its intentions and some success until the early 1980s, as well as its willingness to adapt its strategy and embrace new trends such as the demand for crossover music, the government ultimately did not succeed in its attempts to use music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation – aimed to achieve indoctrination and social engineering – as well as in its counter-revolutionary strategy. As the popular struggle against apartheid mounted over the course of the 1980s, government's attempts to co-opt musicians proved increasingly futile. Despite the government's attempts to use music to promote apartheid, by the late 1980s it had become apparent that the government would not succeed. People had grown increasingly aware of the brutality and futility of the government's actions, both specifically with regard to musicians and more generally in terms of enforcing apartheid and punishing dissent. As the example of the government-sanctioned 'Peace Song' best

illustrates, legitimacy is an important factor in social engineering. Without it, government's attempts to use music to further its own ends eventually unraveled as musicians refused to be co-opted. Indoctrination has limitations and its success depends on whether or not people stand to gain something from it. In other words, political communication is unlikely to succeed unless the audience is receptive (McNair, 1995:29) – and by the late 1980s in South Africa, it no longer was.

6.3 MUSICIANS' ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The second research question has been to determine how, to what extent and to what effect local musicians became involved in the struggle against apartheid. This has several aspects, the first being musicians' role in the rise of civil society and the union movement. Government's decision to legalise black trade unions set in motion the development of a powerful mass movement opposed to apartheid in the early 1980s, culminating in the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), COSATU and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which ultimately brought South Africa to a standstill through co-ordinated strikes. Music often played an important role in these and other political organisations, through dedicated cultural desks and choirs, at meetings and rallies, as well as at funerals and in other parts of civil society, such as the church, theatre, schools and universities. Although musicians had made efforts to organise themselves in the past, their role within this civil society struggle against apartheid was only cemented with the formation of the South African Musicians Alliance (SAMA) in 1988. This gave musicians, conscious of music's power as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, a unified voice against apartheid repression. They attempted to protect their interests as well as negotiate the international cultural boycott.

The 1980s saw several key musical developments taking place, all with significant political implications. Chief among these was the emergence of bubblegum or disco music as a popular genre that appealed to a mass audience not restricted to specific language or ethnic groups. Closely related to this was the growing

popularity of crossover music, which celebrated collaboration between artists of different races, linguistic backgrounds and genres, and of reggae, which had by the 1980s become popular with audiences of all races, many of whom were drawn to its revolutionary messages and pan-African appeal. These three new popular genres enabled musicians to deliver powerful political messages to a broad multiracial audience despite the repressive context of the time. These non-establishment genres were condoned by authorities but employed by musicians to educate and mobilise listeners for political change – an example of what Pratt calls an “oppositional consciousness growing under the very eyes of the overseer” (Pratt, 1990:13). As opposed to expressly anti-establishment protest or resistance music, popular non-establishment songs have the potential to be far more powerful (or dangerous to authorities), provided their message can get past the censors (Byerly, 2008:255; 1998:31; Schumann, 2008:19; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:24).

New independent record labels that emerged in the 1980s offered artists greater options to get their music heard outside of the major labels that had traditionally dominated the industry, while new independent radio stations challenged the SABC’s monopoly of the airwaves, further freeing the music industry from government control. Meanwhile a thriving live circuit emerged that allowed musicians to speak directly to the people, free from censorship and increasingly often to multiracial audiences. All of these developments helped to erode the barriers put in place by apartheid, exposing listeners to new sounds, cultures and messages, and providing new opportunities for artists to get their music and message heard.

As a result of the political context and the musical developments of the decade, popular musicians grew increasingly politicised over the course of the 1980s as they realised the power of music to communicate political messages and socialise audiences into joining the struggle. Finding inspiration and a common enemy in apartheid oppression, popular non-establishment musicians devised several methods of avoiding censorship. Those who did not want to make outright protest statements that were likely to be banned instead used double meanings (for

example metaphors, disguising names of politicians or manipulating the written lyrics submitted for review by censors), satire and “softer” literal meanings or positive social themes (such as education, pan-Africanism, work or freedom). Their intended meanings usually managed to escape censors but were largely understood by listeners, particularly in a live setting, where artists could adjust or elaborate on the lyrics of the recorded version of a song, and listeners could share their interpretations of songs. Other artists adapted existing songs and struggle melodies, often in instrumental form. Some used images on their album covers to portray a message of racial reconciliation and co-operation, particularly crossover and multiracial bands. Other artists were able to find alternative channels to record and distribute their music, either by taking advantage of the relative lack of censorship in the homelands or by finding help overseas, to bypass the conventional avenues of the music industry in which the government was deeply involved. Their efforts show that music can be used as a powerful tool for political communication (to deliver political relevant messages) and political socialisation (to create awareness of various injustices and mobilise the public to oppose apartheid). This power of musicians to influence individual thinking and public sentiment dovetailed with their growing significance within civil society’s fight against apartheid.

Despite mounting repression and conflict during the 1980s, the government also attempted to ameliorate the social impact of apartheid and apartheid legislation, which provided a necessary “opening” for a transition to democracy. Musicians were able to take an increasingly outspoken stance against authorities in the second half of the 1980s, to the point where outright political protest was no longer censored. By the end of the decade, opposition to apartheid had become so widespread that the government’s new leadership was forced to relent. By 1990, with apartheid already largely defeated, musicians no longer had to urge for revolutionary change in their songs and could instead celebrate victory over apartheid, relocate themselves within civil society for the process of negotiations, and look forward to a democratic future. New genres emerged within this new context, most notably kwaito, and the popularity of bubblegum and crossover music soon fell into decline, marking the end of an era.

The 1980s was clearly a key decade, although it is important to recognise the ever-changing context of oppression and resistance over the course of the decade, which influenced the actions of both authorities and musicians. The apartheid era was not characterised by the same degree of political repression throughout its duration, so the musical responses changed over time, from hiding politically subversive meanings in songs to more overt challenges to the state through explicit lyrical messages and the fusion of musical styles (Schumann, 2008:19; Byerly, 1998; Ballantine, 1989; Ansell, 2004). By the late 1980s, state censorship had diminished and musicians no longer had to “hide” their messages. Music had largely become a vehicle of resistance rather than of state oppression. Soon after that, when it became clear that apartheid was being dismantled, again the role and context of musicians within the struggle for democracy changed, and their tone became more celebratory rather than revolutionary.

During the process of political socialisation, new beliefs and attitudes can be initiated (particularly when people lack prior information on an issue), while existing beliefs and attitudes can be altered or reinforced. Whereas the government, recognising the power of musicians as agents of political socialisation, had attempted and ultimately failed to coerce musicians into supporting the status quo while also restricting and censoring those who opposed it, many non-establishment musicians in South Africa were able to successfully initiate, alter or reinforce political beliefs so that a growing number of listeners of all races were actively opposed to apartheid. To people who may have been supportive or indifferent towards the regime, the efforts of musicians would have helped to erode the legitimacy of the government, challenging acceptance of apartheid as the founding ideology of the political dispensation. Those already critical of apartheid, both black and white, were educated and mobilised by musicians, thus strengthening the struggle movement. Musicians acted as role models, inspiring confidence and showing people that it was acceptable, and indeed necessary, to oppose the government and embrace the possibility of a democratic future.

Through their role within the civil society struggle, the union movement and the mass political movements of the 1980s, as well as the opportunities presented by new developments in the music industry during the decade and the specific methods they devised to fight apartheid while escaping censors and be heard by the people – all of which illustrate the power of music as an agent of political socialisation and a medium of political communication – the music fraternity was able to challenge and ultimately help defeat apartheid. Its success in doing so meant that government's attempts to promote apartheid and separate development through, inter alia, music ultimately failed, underlining the fact that social engineering in the absence of legitimacy is questionable and usually destined to fail. It also shows that popular musicians in South Africa played a central role in the struggle against apartheid. Their efforts, however, do not represent the entire contribution of musicians to the struggle against apartheid. South African musicians outside the country, whether in exile, touring or releasing their music overseas, also played an important part.

6.4 SOUTH AFRICAN MUSICIANS OVERSEAS

The third research question has been to consider the role of exiled and touring South African musicians in the struggle on a global stage. This was done by looking at the contribution of the community of musicians living in exile, as well as at the role of music within the exiled struggle movement, and at the success of South African music overseas during the 1980s.

The evidence presented in chapter four shows that South African musicians played a vital role overseas in the struggle against apartheid, largely due to the success that South African non-establishment musicians enjoyed internationally. A key contributing factor to the prominence of South African music abroad during the 1980s was the role played by exiled musicians, many of whom had left South Africa in the early 1960s and by the 1980s were popular and established in the USA and Europe, such as Miriam Makeba, Caiphus Semenya, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa. By going into exile these musicians were not only seeking to escape the political context of the time, but also to find a freer environment in

which to address it with the hope of bringing about change in South Africa. Politics therefore remained an integral part of their music.

Music also played a vital role in the exiled struggle movement, led by the ANC, which used it to spread awareness and raise funds for the struggle. Following much debate, by the mid-1980s the ANC came to view culture as a weapon of the struggle, with musicians afforded particular significance in this regard. The ANC set up its own Department of Arts and Culture, while the Mayibuye, Amandla and Medu ensembles were established to use music, dance and poetry to raise awareness of apartheid in performances all over the world. The efforts of exiled musicians and the various ensembles affiliated to the ANC in exile helped to pave the way for a boom in international attention given to South African popular music in the 1980s. Ironically it was during the 1980s, a time synonymous with international isolation and the cultural boycott, that South African popular artists of all races enjoyed unprecedented success in the rest of the world. Various projects on screen and stage also used music to raise global awareness of the struggle, most notably *Sarafina!*, *Buwa* and *Mapantsula*. Touring offered black South African musicians an opportunity to become actively involved in the struggle and communicate with MK comrades in neighbouring countries, as well as to learn more about apartheid and to voice their concerns to the international media.

The contribution of exiled musicians and the various ensembles affiliated to the ANC in exile, as well as the international success of popular South African musicians, underlines the power of music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation. Musicians were able to tell the world about apartheid at a time when few others could. In doing so they were able to initiate a new awareness of apartheid and the struggle against it in people who had previously been unfamiliar with it, to alter the attitudes of those who may have supported or been apathetic towards the government, and to reinforce the attitudes of those who already supported the struggle against apartheid, all of which strengthened the anti-apartheid movement and put pressure on the regime. Importantly, unlike politicians, musicians were able to influence the attitudes of people by persuading rather than coercing them.

6.5 THE INTERNATIONAL MUSIC COMMUNITY'S ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE

The contribution of musicians to the struggle was not limited to those from South Africa. Musicians from other countries, including many of the most popular artists in the world, helped to raise awareness of South Africa for a larger, global audience and were thus also part of the struggle. The fourth research question has therefore been to determine what role the international community played in the music industry's fight against apartheid, with specific reference to the UN-sanctioned cultural boycott at the time.

The anti-apartheid movement was truly an international one. Arguably the most important and influential body in the international struggle against apartheid was the United Nations, which first endorsed a boycott of South Africa in 1960. By the 1980s, music played a central part in the boycott, with the UN's Special Committee Against Apartheid keeping a blacklist of musicians who had performed in South Africa. In Africa, continental bodies such as the OAU prioritised ending apartheid and minority rule, a goal that gained momentum in the early 1980s following the independence of most other African states. The OAU had long recognised the importance of promoting African music and culture in the struggle for liberation throughout the continent, culminating in the adoption of the Cultural Charter for Africa in 1976, which influenced its actions into the 1980s. Regional bodies such as SADCC and SATUCC were established during the 1980s and put further pressure on the apartheid regime by aiding liberation movements and co-ordinating sanctions within Southern Africa. Outside Africa, anti-apartheid groups emerged as early as the 1950s and developed separately but along similar lines, with particularly strong movements in the UK, USA, Scandinavia and the Netherlands. In every case, musicians played a leading role, helping to turn the struggle against apartheid into a mass social movement.

Not only did music play a central role in the actions of international political organisations opposed to apartheid; South African politics and culture informed the actions of numerous international artists. The 1980s saw many of the world's most popular musicians release anti-apartheid songs that enjoyed widespread sales, reached international charts and were accompanied by music videos that

were widely watched. The success and regularity of these songs ensured that South African politics remained a common and consistent theme in international popular music throughout the 1980s. By writing about apartheid injustice, musicians were able to spread awareness and support for the struggle to a global audience of millions of listeners, as well as to speak directly to the media about it when promoting their music. A smaller group of international artists embraced South African music itself, collaborating with locally-based musicians. Despite the ambiguity of these artists' political intentions, their efforts to embrace South African music further raised the international profile of both South African culture and politics. They also provided opportunities for South African musicians to perform on the world stage, albeit usually in a supporting role.

A more widespread phenomenon in the 1980s was the drastic increase in the use of popular music to achieve political ends. Large concerts were staged that used performances by top international pop stars to raise funds and awareness for political causes, not least of which was the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The most notable in this regard were three concerts in the UK during the second half of the 1980s, while similar projects were staged elsewhere in the world. These concerts were often televised to an even larger international audience, or accompanied by compilation albums that raised further funds and awareness for the struggle against apartheid. Other projects include political fundraiser albums released by anti-apartheid groups in various European countries, usually in the name of the ANC, which further served to raise international awareness and funds for the struggle, and to highlight atrocities committed by the apartheid regime.

Through the work of the international anti-apartheid movement, for whom music played a central role, and many members of the international music community, the struggle against apartheid in the 1980s became a mass social movement on a global scale. The musicians involved were able to use their songs as a medium of political communication to educate people around the world about apartheid, and furthermore as an agent of political socialisation to mobilise international support for the struggle and to build pressure on the South African government and its

sympathisers. This contributed to the eventual fall of apartheid by increasing pressure on the regime and raising the international profile of the ANC.

However, the official means devised to govern relations between international artists and South African audiences, as well as between South African artists and international audiences, the cultural boycott, complicated and at times even stifled this process by causing disagreement and confusion within the struggle movement. The boycott helped to prevent international artists from touring South Africa but did little to stop South African music, particularly by popular black artists, from being heard by the rest of the world. Indeed it was during the 1980s that South African artists enjoyed unprecedented success overseas.

6.6 ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

This dissertation has sought to provide an overview of the linkages between politics and music using as a case study South Africa under apartheid during the 1980s. It serves as a good example of the political power of popular music and its uses both for and against the status quo, particularly in authoritarian states. Understanding music's power as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation is the key to understanding the role it can play in political change. Although music was used by the government to promote apartheid, its attempts to manipulate communication and socialisation processes failed in comparison to those of the struggle movement. Widespread opposition to state-funded music projects, as well as the eventual fall of apartheid itself, reveal the limitations of a government's attempts to use music for its own political objectives. Without legitimacy and support from the people, these attempts were likely to have unintended outcomes and ultimately to fail.

This study has revealed some of the complexities and contradictions inherent in the relationship between music and politics in the apartheid setting. For example, apartheid did not only restrict musicians, it also provided unique and valuable opportunities and contributed to a thriving local music industry. Despite being a tool of the state to enforce conformity, censorship was not consistently applied, with some musicians experiencing more problems from authorities than others.

Outside South Africa, the various organisations that made up the global anti-apartheid movement, despite their common goal, were divided and did not operate in a coordinated or consistent manner.

The cultural boycott was a source of constant contention and disagreement within the anti-apartheid movement, with no consensus ever reached regarding how it was to be implemented nor its effectiveness. Despite the relative ineffectiveness of the boycott, its ultimate intention – to defeat apartheid – was better communicated through the songs that were heard than by the songs that the boycott attempted to prevent from being heard. This underlines the power of music as a medium of political communication and an agent of political socialisation, to reach parts of society that political rhetoric would otherwise not be allowed to reach due to the repressive circumstances of the day.

6.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Future studies could look in more detail at specific South African artists, producers, albums and songs, and attempt to link the genres addressed here – bubblegum, crossover and reggae – to other popular genres such as mbaqanga, as well as jazz, traditional genres, experimental music and expressly anti-establishment protest music. The SABC's vast archives offer a potentially invaluable resource for research in this regard. Other studies might also consider the emergence of new genres that became popular in the early 1990s, such as kwaito, hip-hop and house and their role in the democratisation process and the establishment of a new, post-apartheid South African identity.

As a case study there is a risk that the findings of this dissertation are not necessarily applicable to other contexts. Further studies could therefore analyse and compare the situation in South Africa to that in other African nations, particularly under authoritarian rule, to draw further conclusions on the role of music in political change in Africa, for example. Further studies could also look in more detail at political communication and political socialisation in South Africa and Africa, specifically with regard to music or other related cultural expressions such as theatre, film and dance.

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SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION

Listed in chronological order

Immorality Act No. 5 of 1927

Broadcasting Act No. 22 of 1936

Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950

Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950

Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951

Natives Laws Amendment Act No. 54 of 1952

Natives Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act No. 67 of 1952

Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953

Reservation of Separate Public Amenities Act No. 49 of 1953

Riotous Assemblies Act No. 17 of 1956

Immorality Act (Sexual Offences Act) No. 23 of 1957

Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No. 46 of 1959

Broadcasting Amendment Act No. 49 of 1960

Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1962

Publications and Entertainments Act No. 26 of 1963

Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act No. 26 of 1970

Publications Act No. 42 of 1974

Publication Act No. 18 of 1978

Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act No. 94 of 1979

Labour Relations Amendment Act No. 57 of 1981

Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982

Protection of Information Act No. 84 of 1982

Constitution Act No. 110 of 1983

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BIOGRAPHIES OF INTERVIEWEES AND KEY ARTISTS

Listed alphabetically according to the names by which they were known in the music industry.

** denotes an artist who was not interviewed for this dissertation but who is mentioned in the text and regarded as an important figure during the 1980s.*

Aston, Jarrod

Aston (real name Assenheim) was one of the most prominent white pop musicians of the 1980s as part the bands Face to Face, Chess and Cinema, who had numerous number one hit songs on local radio. Cinema went on to secure a hit in Asia in 1996 with the song 'Strangers Again'.

Chabangu, Orrack

Chabangu worked for EMI during the 1980s and later became the general manager of the company's local black music division, CCP, where he oversaw the careers of artists such as Brenda Fassie.

Chaka Chaka*, Yvonne

Born Yvonne Machaka in Dobsonville, Soweto in 1965, she appeared on SABC television as early as 1981. She first hit the South African music charts as a teenager in 1984 with the smash hit 'I'm in Love with a DJ' on the Dephon label. As the bubblegum era took off, Yvonne Chaka Chaka was one of its most popular stars. In 1988 she had a hit with 'Umqombothi', a celebration of African sorghum beer. By the late 1980s Yvonne Chaka Chaka was becoming popular all over Africa, playing stadium concerts in Nigeria, Kenya and Zaire. Inspired by her extensive travels on the continent, she shed her disco image, and embraced her new image as the "Princess of Africa", releasing albums such as *Be Proud To Be African* (1990) and *The Rhythm Of Life* (1991).

Clegg*, Johnny

Johnny Clegg's crossover music merging western pop/rock with traditional Zulu influences has made him one of SA's most celebrated artists and greatest exports. The musician and anthropologist first rose to prominence when he

formed Juluka with Siphso Mchunu, releasing albums like *Universal Men* (1979), *African Litany* (1981), *Scatterlings* (1982) and *Work For All* (1983). Juluka split up in 1985. Clegg formed another crossover band, Savuka (meaning “we have risen”), employing a broader African and international sound. Savuka found success both at home and abroad with albums such as *Third World Child* (1987) *Shadow Man* (1988) and *Cruel Crazy Beautiful World* (1989). Clegg has received numerous honours, including three honorary doctorates, a Grammy nomination (1993), a Billboard Music Award (1994) and a Kora Award (1998).

Devereux-Harris, Pam

One of the pioneers of music video production in South Africa, Devereux-Harris was responsible for the music videos of most of the top stars of the bubblegum era, such as Chicco, Brenda Fassie and Lucky Dube.

Djedje, Carlos

Considered by many to be the father of South African reggae, Djedje began performing reggae in the late 1970s. His music addressed local political issues on albums such as *Remember Them*, *No Apartheid* and *Ahoy Africa*, and his lyrics frequently referred to apartheid injustice.

Dube*, Lucky

Arguably the most famous African reggae artist of all time, Dube began his career as a mbaqanga singer. Though not the first reggae artist in South Africa, he was the first to popularise it on a mass scale, and to define a unique South African style, influenced by the bubblegum sound. Dube’s reggae career began with the four-track album *Rastas Never Dies* (sic) in 1984, followed by *Think About The Children* in 1985. It was followed by *Slave* (1987), *Together as One* (1988) and *Prisoner* (1989), some of the biggest selling albums in South African music history, cementing reggae’s popularity and launching Dube’s international career. Throughout his career and until his tragic death in 2007, Dube continued to denounce discrimination and segregation.

Fassie*, Brenda

Arguably South Africa's most influential and loved popular musician, Cape Town-born Brenda Fassie first emerged in the early 1980s, establishing herself in Blondie Makhene's backing band, with whom she recorded 'Weekend Special' as Brenda & The Big Dudes, the single that launched the bubblegum era. Later in the 1980s she teamed up with producer Chicco, releasing outspoken political songs such as 'Black President' and 'Too Late For Mama'. In the 1990s she re-invented herself as a kwaito artist on albums like *Memeza*. Never far from controversy, "MaBri" passed away in 2004, aged 39.

Fuller, Mike

Fuller established himself as a musician in bands like the Dealians before starting his own label, Mike Fuller Music (MFM). He was instrumental in launching the careers of internationally successful group Clout, as well as crossover icons Hotline and a host of top bubblegum stars, such as Casino, Mercy Pakela, Rebecca Malope, Zone 3, Ali Katt and others.

Galanakis, John

Producer of leading artists in bubblegum and other genres, as well as a successful musician in his own right, in the late 1980s Galanakis started his own record label, Hit City. He has worked with bubblegum acts like Dan Nkosi, The Venda Kids, Sunset, Future and Vusi Shange and also been part of crossover bands Banjo and Vibe Talk.

Hollis, Phil

Hollis grew up in KwaZulu-Natal and was interested in black music from an early age. In the 1980s he started his own label, Dephon, which soon became one of the leading labels of the era, launching the careers of stars such as Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Kim "Margino" Kallie, Sello "Chicco" Twala and kwaito pioneers Senyaka and Spokes H. More recently Hollis has been involved in organising the successful Macufe concerts, featuring many of the top stars of the 1980s.

Kekana, Steve

Blind vocalist Steve Kekana was one of the most prolific artists of the 1980s, releasing tracks in a range of different languages and genres, including mbaqanga, bubblegum and reggae. In the early 1980s he recorded 'The Bushman', a disguised appeal to exiled freedom fighters. His album *Raising My Family* (1981) was an international hit and led to two tours of Europe in the early 1980s. He appeared in early crossover collaborations with Hotline and PJ Powers, also featuring on Siphó "Hotstix" Mabuse's hit 'Burnout'. Some of his many albums include *Umenziwa Akakhohlwa* (1980), *Ngiyadlisa* (1986) and *Makhombo* (1988). He later qualified as a lawyer.

Mabuse*, Siphó "Hotstix"

Siphó Mabuse has been a central figure the entertainment industry for many years. Born in Johannesburg in 1951, Mabuse began playing the drums from the age of 8, later earning the nickname "Hotstix". Since then he has mastered other instruments, including flute, piano and saxophone. At age 15 he formed The Beaters, which evolved into Harari, one of the most successful acts of the 1970s. In 1978 the group was invited to perform in the USA with Hugh Masekela, but the band's leader Selby Ntuli died, leaving Siphó as the new frontman. Harari backed touring American soul stars like Percy Sledge, Brook Benton and Wilson Pickett. After Harari's original lineup split in 1982, Mabuse launched his solo career, releasing the crossover hit 'Burnout' in 1985 and the anti-apartheid anthem 'Chant Of The Marching' in 1989. Over the course of his long career, Hotstix has performed all over Africa, as well as the USA, Europe and elsewhere.

Maduna, Phumi

After finding fame as part of bubblegum duo Cheek To Cheek alongside Madoda Malotana, singer Phumi Maduna went solo, initially in a similar musical direction, on the 4-track album *Bad Guy* (1987). Later she turned to reggae – in Lucky Dube's band and solo as Sister Phumi, one of South Africa's only female reggae artists.

Makhene, Blondie

Blondie Makhene is a prolific musician and producer who was one of the key figures of the bubblegum era. As part of the duo Blondie and Pappa, he emerged as one of the most popular acts of the 1970s, performing the American-influenced soul that later gave rise to bubblegum. He helped launch the career and Brenda Fassie when musicians in his travelling entourage, known as the Family, recorded the landmark 'Weekend Special'. His solo albums include *Communicate*, *Working Overtime* and *Spreading Love*. Later he teamed up with producer John Galanakis to form the Hit City label. In the 1990s Blondie started recording struggle songs with an instrumental band known as the African Youth Group. Later with Amaqabane, he released albums of traditional healing and revolutionary songs. As a producer he has worked with internationally renowned group Pure Gold.

Maphaka, Neo

Neo was a popular figure in the local music industry during the 1980s, first as part of the Sound Busters before forming CJB, who had hits with 'Tonight I Need Somebody', 'The Boss is Back', 'Your Love is Power' and 'Happy Birthday'. He also helped launch the career of solo star Benjamin Ball and produced acts such as Sugar & Spice

Mitchell, Richard

Regarded as one of South Africa's foremost sound engineers, Mitchell worked closely with the likes of Brenda Fassie, Spho "Hotstix" Mabuse and Yvonne Chaka Chaka in the 1980s, as well as a host of lesser-known acts like Elegance, Bones Delight, The Cannibals, The Angels and many others.

Mohapi, Masike "Funky"

Masike Mohapi was the lead guitarist and vocalist for Afro-rock band and bubblegum precursors Harari before embarking on a solo career in the early 1980s. His distinctive vocal style and rock-inspired guitar skills made him a popular performer. He had solo hits with 'Standing On The Top' (1984), 'My Love Is Yours' and 'Ndoyenda' (1985), 'Babe', 'Hamnana' and 'Pimville People'. His solo albums include *Back Forever* (1988) and *Hand To Mouth* (1990). Much of his solo work was produced by former Harari bassist Alec "Om" Khaoli. Though he never

quite reached his potential as a solo act, Funky's powerful vocals found many imitators. He passed away in August 2014.

Mudie, Benjy

Benjy Mudie has been an influential figure in the local music industry for decades. During the 1980s he worked for WEA, later known as Tusk, discovering and guiding some of the biggest names in the business, including crossover acts eVoid, Mango Groove and MarcAlex. He currently runs his own label, Retro Fresh, which re-releases classic albums from the 1970s and 80s.

Ngwenya, Moses

Moses Ngwenya started with Soweto soul group The Crocodiles before joining the Soul Brothers in 1976. There he made a name for himself as arguably the most talented keyboard player in the country. Along the way he has released solo albums under the name Black Moses, starting with *M1* and including *M10* in 2011. Though considered a mbaqanga artist and never part of the bubblegum scene, he is recognised as one of the pioneers of synthesizers in popular music.

Osrin, Ian

One of the leading producers and engineers in the country, Osrin worked with a host of top acts in the 1980s, including Zasha, The Dynamics, Prophets of Da City and Jabu Khanyile, both in studio and at major live events. He later established the first digital recording studio in the country, Digital Cupboard, in Johannesburg.

Phakoe, Daniel “Sox”

Daniel Phakoe, nicknamed Sox, started his music career as a drummer for a group called Joyco from Maokeng in Kroonstad, where he grew up. He later performed with the Hot Soul Singers. As a solo artist he is best known for his 1988 hit ‘Don’t Call me Le Ja Pere’ (literally “Don’t Call me a Horse Eater), a plea to avoid the stereotypes associated with the rural Basotho.

Phiri, Ray

Guitarist Ray Chikapa Phiri formed Stimela with Isaac Mtshali, Lloyd Lelosa and Jabu Sibumbe, his former bandmates in The Cannibals, the backing band for

popular 1970s soul star Jacob “Mpharanyana” Radebe, who died in 1978. They changed their name to Stimela (meaning steam train) after finding themselves stranded in Maputo, Mozambique, eventually returning by train. Phiri and his bandmates featured on Paul Simon’s *Graceland*. During the 1980s, Stimela, nicknamed “The People’s Band”, released big-selling albums such as *Fire, Passion and Ecstasy* (1982), *Shadows, Fear and Pain* (1985) and *Trouble in the Land of Plenty* (1989). The band’s sound drew on influences ranging from traditional African music to Afro-beat, funk and jazz, complemented by Phiri’s sophisticated lyrics that often confronted apartheid repression. The band split in the early 1990s but have re-emerged occasionally since then to record or perform.

Powers*, PJ

Born Penelope Jane Dunlop, PJ Powers was the lead singer of the popular crossover group Hotline, formed in the early 1980s under manager Mike Fuller. Early in their career they switched from their initial rock influences to embrace South African sounds, leading them to become arguably the most successful white crossover band, performing frequently in townships to a loyal following of black listeners, who gave Powers the nickname “Thadeka” (loved one). Their albums include *Help* (1982), *Jabulani* (1984), *Wozani* (1985), and *Jive* (1987). Powers later embarked on a successful solo career and remains a popular figure in the music industry.

Shange, Pat

Pat emerged in the late 1970s as a mbaqanga artist before joining the Dephon label under Phil Hollis. He went on to establish himself as one of the most popular bubblegum stars of the era, even finding fame in other parts of the continent. Amongst his successful albums are *Man Oh Man*, *Undecided Divorce Case*, *Love is like a Bank Account*, *I Love Africa*, *Accused* and *Sweet Mama*. Some of his hits include 'Casanova', 'Marriage Is Not For Stars' and 'Just a Friend of Daddy'. Since 1997 he has been running Ezomdabu Records in downtown Johannesburg.

Siluma, Richard

Producer, manager and musician who started off in mbaqanga band The Love Brothers. Siluma worked his way up from being a warehouse packer at Teal

Records to being a successful producer. He helped launch the career of his cousin Lucky Dube, persuading him to change from mbaqanga to reggae, producing all of Dube's major albums and touring the world with him as a producer and manager. He also produced other notable bands such as Stimela, and as Richie S had a solo hit in 1985 with 'African Dance'. He continues to perform and record as a reggae artist under the name Saggy Saggila.

Sony, Warrick

A pioneer of electronic music in South Africa, Warrick Sony (born Warrick Swinney) released numerous albums in the 1980s under the name The Kalahari Surfers, most with an explicit anti-apartheid message. He gained an international following and was invited to perform all over the world, including in the former Soviet Union. He was also one of the key figures behind the influential label Shifty Records.

Tladi, Peter

Peter Tladi began in the record industry as a PR manager at RPM Records, which later became part of Gallo. He then moved to Mike Fuller Music and then to EMI as Marketing Director. During these years he helped develop the careers of popular artists such as Rebecca Malope, Mercy Pakela, Brenda Fassie, Vuyo Mokoena and Sankomota. Seeing a gap in artist management, Peter left EMI after two years to start T-Musicman in 1989, today recognised as one of the leading concert promoters in the country.

Tshanda, Dan

Born in Chiawelo, Soweto, Dan Tshanda was forced to leave school at young age. While working as a taxi driver, he started his own group, Flying Squad, releasing the album *Mr Tony* on Gallo Records in 1985. Ray Phiri of Stimela was impressed with the band and wanted them as support act, suggesting they change their name to Splash. They soon hit the big time, releasing albums such as *Peacock* (1986), *Snake* (1987), *Money* (1988) and *Tshokotshoko* (1989). Tshanda later launched his own label, Dalom Music. He continues to perform, record and produce regularly. He remains a popular drawcard both in South Africa and in neighbouring countries like Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Twala*, Sello “Chicco”

Arranger, producer, singer and instrumentalist, Sello “Chicco” Twala was born in Soweto in 1963. In the early 1980s, Chicco featured in bands such as Umoja, Harari and Image. Joining the Dephon stable in the mid-1980s, he quickly learnt production from the likes of Attie van Wyk. Soon he was producing major stars, leading Brenda Fassie in a new, more political direction by writing and producing ‘Too Late For Mama’ (1989) and ‘Black President’ (1990), as well as ‘Winning Mr Dear Love’ (1987), a tribute to Winnie Mandela, for Yvonne Chaka Chaka. As a solo artist Chicco released albums such as *Soldier*, featuring ‘Living In Exile’, and *Thina Sizwe Esimnyama* in 1989. As a bankable solo star and an innovative producer, Chicco has made an indelible on bubblegum, kwaito and gospel.

Watson, Malcolm

One of the most influential producers of the bubblegum era, “Mally” Watson began as a session guitarist before becoming a producer for EMI, including on influential tracks such as Steve Kekena’s ‘Raising My Family’ and Brenda & The Big Dudes’ ‘Weekend Special’, as well as other leading acts like CJB and Cheek To Cheek. In the late 1980s he left EMI with Ken Haycock to form Cool Spot, which quickly emerged as one of the leading independent labels, with acts like Jambo and Monwa & Sun.