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SOUNDING POPULAR RESISTANCE

An analysis of the socio-political role of music during Apartheid in South Africa

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SUMMARY

ABSTRACT – KEY WORDS

Abstract:

"Art is not a mirror held up to reality, but a hammer with which to shape it" (Bertold Brecht in Askew, 2003, p. 633).

Art has always been a tool for emotional and ideological manifestation. It can be considered the highest expression of human feelings. Therefore, the study of Apartheid should not overlook the role of popular creative expressions because they are the key to understanding the people's sentiments. Among them, music is one of the earliest ever discovered and developed by humans. It played a significant role in creating a sense of identity and community among the Black South Africans in the fight against the social injustices of the 1980s. The thesis aims to analyze the socio-political role of music during Apartheid in South Africa. Music had a major role in the life of South African communities and had a strong political influence in shaping social changes. A brief overlook of the history of Apartheid and the establishment of segregationist policies will be provided. Particular attention will be paid to the opposition between regime propaganda and popular resistance. On the one hand, there was the organization of national radio services and the establishment of censorship preventing dissent from emerging. On the other hand, there was the African National Congress's cultural resistance. The second chapter will be devoted to a detailed analysis of liberation songs, from the debate on their definition to the primary textual, structural, and musical elements. The last chapter focus on the case study of Vuyisile Mini considered the "father of protest songs". After briefly introducing his contribution to the struggle, an analysis of "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd" will be conducted based on the theoretical background constructed in the previous chapters.

Keywords:

Protest Music; Apartheid, South Africa, Struggle; Freedom; Community; Togetherness

INTRODUCTION

Art has always been a tool for emotional and ideological manifestation. It can be considered the highest expression of human feelings in creative ways. Among the numerous artistic expressions, music is one of the earliest ever discovered and developed by humans. Many studies have been conducted on the birth of music, but it is pretty challenging to identify the moment in history when music was created or when someone started to sing for the first time. However, it has been found that since the birth of human beings, our ancestors had the vocal anatomy to sing. The closest thing to music they may have done was clapping hands or banging stones and sticks in caves used as a sounding board.

Protest music has been existing for centuries. Since the beginning of time, it has been recognized as an instrument to express and communicate something to others. As long as there had been social problems, violations of human rights, or, more generally, societal turmoil, music was used to show discontent. These helped bring people together, motivate to take action, and make them aware that they were not alone in expressing outrage about specific topics. As a result, music has consistently been recognized as an effective way to get people's attention.

Already in Ancient Greek, music was understood as a mean to mobilize people and rebel against authority. Indeed, Plato was the first to catch the political value of music and the consequent danger for a state. In "The Republic", he warned the reader about the necessity to prohibit music because "when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them" (Plato, 375BC, cited in Schumann, 2008, p.1). In other words, he realized the amount of power music had in shaping reality and influencing people's thoughts. It is a vital component in influencing society's actions and providing people with the necessary tools to cope with battles. Among them is the reassuring feeling of not being alone but being linked to a community. Music may carry significance that transcends the mere musical level and may even influence the political milieu. According to Gramsci, it is a crucial factor in maintaining the social order. Music, and more generally culture, is used by rulers to legitimize the harsh social order. Based on this premise, he claims that the proletariat's capture of culture is a resumption of the class struggle (Gramsci, 1978, cited in Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, 1194). Moreover, popular music can be perceived as a commodity in that it undertakes a top-down development through pre-defined frameworks

(Adorno, 1994, cited in Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, p. 1194). According to Scott (1990, cited in le Roux-Kemp, 2014, p. 251), the power of struggle music lies in the oral character. Orally transmitted songs provide a level of control, isolation, and anonymity, making them excellent weapons for social resistance. Moreover, the transmission by word of mouth contributed to enhancing the accessibility to this form of ideological expression even by low-educated and economically needy South Africans. Songs mirrored people's reality and constituted an effective instrument for opposing the unjust regime. They encouraged a sense of togetherness and perseverance during protests and court trials. In 1998, Eyerman and Jamison, two of the most eminent scholars in the field of protest music, pointed out the role of songs in the identity creation process within a community up to the point of being capable of sustaining a movement *"*even when it no longer has a visible presence*"* (cited in Damodaran, 2016, p. 10). In other words, music can maintain alive organized social actions even when they cease to be visible. Moreover, the two scholars highlighted the vital role of music in preparing the ground for the emergence of another subsequent movement. In this regard, Bourdieu points out that music can only be accessed by those who have the necessary instruments, like shared cultural preferences, political beliefs, and moral standards (Bourdieu, 1980 and 1998, cited in Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, 1195).

Music, as a sound that conveys emotions altogether, had different roles over the years. Entertainment, communication, and religious ritual are just some of the purposes served by music in history. Among them, there is also the spread of music as an instrument for social battles. It has encouraged musicians to express themselves through the sound of different musical genres like jazz, rap, and rock. Protest music is an essential element in studying the socio-political transformations of a country in that it plays several essential roles. First of all, the cultural role of portraying the suppressed culture through traditional rhythms and dances. The second, the political role is worthy of attention since all struggle songs are written to spread a political message. The mobilizing role is the third one. It is the element drawing the difference with general politically motivated songs. The message of the songs aims at reaching the widest audience possible to encourage them to join the liberation movement. Lastly, the narrative role serves to keep track of the succession of the events (Msila, 2011).

This thesis aims to study the socio-political role of protest music during Apartheid in South Africa. For the sake of simplicity, this work has attached an equivalent meaning to the terms

"liberation songs", "struggle songs", "protest songs", and correspondents with the word "music". Regarding songs' lyrics, the translations in English provided for this study have been as literal and verbatim as feasible. Understandably, much meaning may have been lost throughout the process because the original languages, isiXhosa, and isiZulu, can return a specific political and linguistic meaning that cannot be fully stated in a few English words.

The analysis will start with the introduction of the historical context. Firstly, Lara Allen's "model of situational change" will be presented. In this way, she provided a different study perspective on the historical evolution of events. Then, a timeline of the most critical moments in history, from the beginning of colonization to the birth and fall of Apartheid, will be provided. Finally, a brief outlook on censorship during the segregationist regime and the state's attempt to counterbalance popular culture through propaganda will be given at the end of the first chapter.

The second chapter will be focused on the theoretical background. First and foremost, the debate on the definition of protest music between different theoretical productions will be presented, and the difference with politically motivated songs will be highlighted. Secondly, the main elements of a liberation song will be investigated one by one by applying the three Aristotelian rhetorical techniques to the song "Senzeni Na?". In this way, the skills of the orator, the role of the audience, and the powerfulness of the speech will be studied. Although not part of the original Aristotelian tradition, the investigation of the performative nature of protest songs is included. Then, the chapter will focus on the song's lyrics by looking at the choice of language and the roots of the different Bantu languages existing in South Africa. Worthy of attention are the tools resorted to conceal messages and avoid censorship. In this regard, it must be pointed out that the openness of the political message varied during the years of repression. Indeed, just as the same level of governmental repression did not characterize the authoritarian regime of those years throughout its course, so did the musical reaction (Schumann, 2008). The last part of this second chapter will be devoted to the musical genres of South African culture and the music structure of struggle music.

The last chapter undertakes the specific analysis of a case study. In this way, the solid historical and theoretical background built in the first two chapters will be applied to the song "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd". Before entering the heart of the study of the song, the history of the writer Vuyisile Mini and his role in the social mobilization will be

presented. Finally, the last section of this dissertation will closely look at one of the most important mobilization songs in the history of South African struggles. In this regard, it will be introduced the history of Verwoerd, the "architect of Apartheid". Then, the research will examine the peculiarities of the song through a textual and musical investigation.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

"Apartheid" is an Afrikaans word literally meaning "separateness". It is fully explicative of the system of segregationist rules enforced during the second half of the 20th century. South Africa's history is distinguished by establishing one of the most brutal regimes of segregation and discrimination there has ever been. The "separate development" principle made South Africans foreigners even in their own land. The Afrikaners built an ideology of white racial supremacy that purposefully barred non-whites from achieving any power. Apartheid laws caused millions of people to live in poor townships and bantustans, denying their fundamental rights. After hundreds of years of oppression, South Africa was "divided on nearly every conceivable level" (Clark and Worger, 2007, cited in Vershbow, 2010, p. 2). Racial grouping segregated people based on race, language, occupation, and income.

In 46 years of Apartheid, the racial policies evolved, and the popular resistance changed accordingly. Music was present throughout all the stages and emphasized Apartheid's injustices. However, liberation music emerged a long time before establishing this segregationist government.

Firstly, the historical background will be introduced through an innovative model developed by Lara Allen in "Drumbeats, Pennywhistles and All That Jazz" (1996). It relies on the adaptation of Gramsci's theoretical productions to the Apartheid context in order to understand the three significant critical moments of South African history. Then, it will be given a brief overlook of the most crucial moments characterizing the shift from colonialism to the establishment of Apartheid and its collapse. Finally, a quick overview of how the regime related to music. Either in terms of censorship or for prompting the state's ideology.

OVER 300 YEARS OF OPPRESSION

1. A Model of "Situational Change"

This model, developed by Lara Allen (1996), is based on Gramsci's theorization linking the economic base of both culture and society [1]. To fully understand Allen's work, the concept of "situational change" and "conjunctures" must be clarified. The former refers to the periods in which the majority of the population contests the structure of political power and its modes of production. The latter identifies the historical moments of relative stability between the situational changes.

Three moments of crises can be listed if this model is applied to the South African context. The first started in 1652 and coincided with the years of colonization. In this era, the method for allocating power was race. It means that political, social, and economical power distribution depended on racial discrimination. The second corresponded to the industrialization era that started in 1886 due to finding gold on the Witwatersrand [2]. This period led to the establishment of a class-based distribution of power. Finally, the '40s were characterized by the overlap of the last two unsolved situational changes and the emergence of another, named Apartheid. The latter strengthened the race-based policies among the population groups. While within them, class divisions persisted and were manifested by disparities in job allocation, education, and, most importantly, housing locations. Thus, the '50s were characterized by a triple negotiation (see Annex 1). In other words, since the history of South Africa is marked by the emergence of situational crises that remained unsolved over the years, the third one, named the Apartheid, should be understood as the sum of the three into one major issue to be addressed. The struggle for majority power aimed at inversing the previous trend of power distribution based on race and class. It means that the fight against Apartheid was a battle intended to face the whole system of inequalities rooted in the first, second, and third moments of crisis.

Often, when situational changes follow each other in a short period, at times even overlapping, individuals may face some difficulties in making sense of their lives and, therefore, manifest their inner disarray through arts. Consequently, it is crucial to fully

[1] This basis is then adapted to the South African historical context through Chantal Mouffe's "articulation theory" as modified by Richard Middleton (1985, cited in Allen, 1996, p. 52).
[2] The Witwatersrand (also known as the Rand or the Reef less popularly) is a 56-kilometer-long scarp in South Africa.

understand this evolutive model because it is reflected in people's identity creation. This dissertation focuses on how South Africans dealt with the last period of critical change through music. Historical events directly influenced individual and community's identity. Indeed, the birth of the ANC (1944) led to the development of a philosophical and literary movement, the "New Africanism" (Couzens, 1985, cited in Allen, 1996, p. 57). Positively valuing their South African nationality, people demanded equal recognition. This ideology mainly spread through arts, such as music.

2. Timeline: from Colonialism to Apartheid

The history of exploitation of South Africa started in 1487 when the two Portuguese, Bartolomeo Diaz, and Vasco da Gama were looking for new routes to reach India. The Dutch arrived for the first time in South Africa in 1652 and started exploiting the natural reserve of the Cape of Good Hope as a port for ships traveling between the European and the Asiatic continents. Local people were pushed to the borders, and commercial farms replaced their pastoral semi-nomadic grazing lands. After the British arrival in the country in the 19th century, the Dutch migrated to inland African territories. Slavery's abolition (1833) was one of the numerous causes behind the migration of the Boers, also known as the Great Trek (Watson, 2012). Indeed, the change in the social status of slaves and the enforced equality among the Coloureds, introduced by Ordinance 50, were perceived as a challenge to the Dutch rule (Keegan, 1996, cited in Watson, 2012, p. 131). Therefore, this led Boers to migrate, accompanied by "willing" Coloureds slaves and apprentices (Keegan, 1996, cited in Watson, 2012, p. 133).

The shift toward the industrial "situational change" happened in two moments: 1867, when diamonds were found on the national territory, and 1886 when gold was discovered (Thompson & Berat, 2014). First, it changed South Africa from an agrarian society to a country integrated into the global economy. Second, it inherently increased the need for low-wage labor. Non-white South African ethnic minorities were now commodities, named Blacks (natives), Indians (those brought into the country as servants to work on sugar), and Coloureds [3] (Thompson & Berat, 2014). Third, it enhanced the internal inequalities. In terms of salary, white workers earned eight times what was given to the other minorities (Thompson & Berat, 2014). Regarding living conditions, non-white workers could not stay

[3] Coloureds were the progeny either of white men and slave women, or whites and aboriginal people, mostly Khoi-Khoi (who were not enslaved). They may also descend from slave families coming from Indonesia, India, Madagascar, Mozambique, and West Africa.

within cities' boundaries. Men from different ethnicities lived in awful circumstances in ghettos surrounding urban centers. While some "townships" were built by the authorities, many others emerged from the squatting regions outside mining hubs.

At the turn of the 20th century, after the South African Wars [4] lasted between 1879 and 1915, the British obtained absolute rule over the country. Their practices perpetuated racial discrimination. The approval of Pass Laws controlled the presence of Black Africans in metropolitan areas. Increasingly restrictive voting rights policies brought to 1905 [5], the year that marked the time when local people entirely lost their right to vote. "No native shall vote in the election of any member or candidate for whom a European has a right to vote" (SANAC, 1905, cited in Vershbow, 2010, p. 2). It ensured a wholly European-based government and made it impossible for other ethnicities to pursue official positions, especially sitting in Parliament. 1913 Natives Land Act set the ground for skin color discrimination. It divided the territories of the rural area into "black" or "white" lands and diminished black-owned lands to 7% of the whole national region. Africans were often given the worst and most unproductive territorial sections (Vershbow, 2010). The situation worsened with the Urban Areas Act (1923) in that it permitted black people to live in urban areas exclusively because they contributed to assisting whites' needs.

In 1931, with the approval of the Statute of Westminster by the British Parliament, South Africa gained complete independence (Posel, 1992). This event marked the achievement of a historic milestone for the Afrikaner Broederbond, the secret organization founded in 1918 whose objectives were the detachment from the British through the proclamation of the Republic of South Africa, the protection of the social status of Afrikaners and the Afrikaans language.

While the rest of the western world advanced toward recognizing fundamental human rights and national sovereignty, Europeans in South Africa were about to establish one of the cruelest authoritarian regimes of history. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was approved in the same year in which the National Party was elected in South Africa. Daniel François Malan was the first Prime Minister of the Apartheid regime until 1954. Driven by a strong antipathy toward both the British (who prevailed for much time) and the Africans (who were considered a threat to the purity of the Afrikaans), he conducted a political

[4] The First and Second Boer Wars, the Anglo-Zulu War, the Sekhukhune Wars, the Basotho Gun War, the Xhosa Wars, and other conflicts are part of the broader group of South African Wars.
[5] South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) report of 1905.

campaign on the diffusion of the "black danger" (*swart gevaar*). Malan created a cabinet of solely Afrikaners. Among them, Hendrik Verwoerd would rise to power ten years after, until 1966, when he was killed. He is recalled as the "Architect of Apartheid", for he was the mind behind the implementation of racial rules for a "systematic program of social engineering" (Thompson & Berat, 2014) and the enforcement of a system of separate development already when he was a member of the first all-Afrikaner government (Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, 2022).

The African National Congress started making opposition to European racial politics already in 1912. Initially, civic opposition to Apartheid was founded on Gandhian principles, which spread when he worked as a lawyer for an Indian commercial enterprise during the 21 years spent in the country (Kurtz, 2010). Rallies were based on manifesting within the limits of the law (Mandela, 1995). Then, under Alfred Xuma (1893 to 1962), a more powerful resistance was mobilized, built on the politics of non-cooperation with the national government. Thirty-two years later, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu founded the ANC Youth League to develop "forceful popular protests against government segregation and discrimination" (Clark & Worger, 2007, cited in Vershbow, 2010, p. 3).

The Group Areas Act (1950), the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951), and the Bantu Resettlement Act (1954) divided the country into one-race zones and forced black people to leave their homes. 60.000 people moved from Sophiatown [6] which turned into a white city called *Triomf* (Afrikaans translation of triumph). This event triggered the composition of the song "Meadowlands" taking the name from the township where people were sent to live. The latter, become famous also abroad; it provided foreign audiences with a glimpse into South Africa and exposed the injustices faced by subjugated race minorities. As popular resistance strengthened, numerous demonstrators were arrested, the ANC and the PAC [7] were banned, and almost 170 political leading figures were imprisoned. This atmosphere of terror led to one of the cruelties events in the history of Apartheid which led to the shift from peaceful to armed demonstrations.

The Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960, represents the historical starting moment of the years of repression (Schumann, 2008). Radio service experienced an ethnic-based separation and black musicians were prevented from playing on the same stage as white ones (Ballantine, 2012). Concerts were reduced because of the Riotous Assemblies and

[6] A neighborhood in the west of Johannesburg.
[7] Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was founded in1959.

Suppression of Communism Amendment Act (Act No 15, implemented on April 15, 1954)[8]. The latter authorized the Minister of Justice to prohibit meetings of certain organizations. Moreover, he/she was conferred also the powers of banning public gatherings and outlawing publications encouraging enmity (South African History Online, 2011). All these restrictions transformed music into an even more vital weapon because every other means of expression was forbidden. Through music, urban blacks showed themselves and the world that they had to be recognized for the same rights as those entitled to white people.

Being banned, the ANC and the PAC continued to operate through covert organizations and started military training. *Umkhonto we Swize* ("Spear of the Nation") was the name of the armed wing which always acted following the precept of avoiding civilians' deaths. The reason behind the foundation of the military was stated in the Manifesto:

> "The time comes in the life of any nation where there remains only two choices - submit or fight. That time has now come in South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom" (Manifesto of Umkhonto, 1961, cited in United Nations [UN]).

As time passed, more protest leaders were arrested, including Nelson Mandela on June 12, 1964 (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2008). Sentenced to life in Robben Island Prison, Mandela became a symbol of the battle for equality in a country racked by fear and violence. On this ground, music started to become increasingly important as a weapon for the struggle. The rhythm became more energetic to accompany the marching steps of the people during rallies. It was sometimes complemented with the performance of the military dance called *toyi-toyi* (Vershbow, 2010).

In 1962, the United Nations General Assembly approved Resolution 1761, condemning the South African government's Apartheid policies. In the same year, it requested UN members to cut political, monetary, and communication connections with South Africa. The year later, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 181 in support of an embargo on the sale of weaponry to South Africa, which at the time was a member state of the organization. However, these measures were primarily symbolic, given the financial interests of the other UN member states (Burya, 1993). In 1967, the United Nations established the Special Committee on Apartheid, which declared Apartheid a crime against humanity.

[8] Section 73 of the Internal Security Act (Act No. 74, 1982) repealed it.

In the succession of presidencies, after a scandal involving Vorster, Botha took his place (Prime Minister 1966-1978). His mandate was characterized by the toleration, albeit with limitations, of trade unions and popular protests. Consequently, the '70s and the '80s were marked by increased militancy. In 1973 Durban workers strike evidenced the government's weakness in terms of economy in that it relied on black labor to sustain the country. First brick workers, then transport and industrial employee, started a demonstration that led the whole black community of the city, almost 30.000 people, to join the strike by the beginning of February. This event inspired further manifestations such as the "Soweto Uprising", which saw the participation of many students manifesting against the Bantu Education Act of 1974.[9] In 1985 a young man, Mkhuseli Jack, organized several boycotts in Port Elizabeth, voicing blacks' requests, such as the evacuation of the military from black neighborhoods and the elimination of labor discrimination (Ackerman & DuVall 2000, in Kurtz, 2010). The regime answered by declaring a state of emergency for the first time since the establishment of the Apartheid [10]. The aim was to repress people's anger, but what they obtained was a general protest that lasted three days, in 1988. One year later, it was succeeded by another mass demonstration. It paralyzed the national industry and engaged over three million employees and youths.

These open confrontations were complemented by the establishment of a democratic movement and the creation of alternative black institutions. On the one hand, informal cooperation between the ANC, the UDF "United Democratic Front", and the COSATU "Congress of South African Trade Unions" was established. It also permitted them to gain some support from white people because, among UDF's leaders, Archbishop Desmond Tutu benefitted from the support of the South African Council of Churches (Kurtz, 2010). On the other hand, local institutions, such as health centers or judicial centers, supplanted national officials. The authorities replied by prohibiting such groups from receiving overseas funds, although this had little effect on their operations. Instead, it overtly showed that the regime had lost its control over the oppressed (Zunes, 1999, cited in Kurtz, 2010). Widespread protests resulted in the peace marches spreading throughout the country as part of the 1989 Defiance Campaign. Even white people, such as the major of Cape Town, joined the initiative (Smuts & Westcott 1991, cited in Kurtz, 2010). The wide, black, and non-black, popular protests paved the way for the opening of negotiations with the government in 1991,

[9] It introduced the education of Afrikaans as an official language in half of the subjects in high school and lower secondary schools.
[10] The state of emergency was in force from July 20, 1985, to March 7, 1986.

which saw the meeting between members of the Nationalist Party and delegates from "independent" *bantustans* (not internationally recognized).

In 1994, during the first free elections, Nelson Mandela was elected President of South Africa with the support of 62.7% of the population. This battle freed the country and resulted in a new political and legal system founded on a Constitution and a Bill of Rights.

3. Censorship

Music was adopted by the people as an instrument to arm resistance and by the government as a propaganda tool. In this way, black people's musical composition was censored, and state songs were promoted for propaganda. To fully understand the state's role in the design of songs ideologically backed by the regime, it must be pointed out that Apartheid and its objective of "separate development" were not circumscribed to politics but aimed at also including the culture. Therefore, the use of music instills even art with political values.

Censorship was introduced in South Africa during colonialism. However, more repressive policies were enforced from 1948 onward. The body in charge of the censure decision was the Directorate of Publications, established in 1974 through the Publications Act. It was entitled to decide whether to ban some material provided by the police force or the general public (Drewett, 2003). Surprisingly, less than one hundred recordings were officially banned, and most of them were during the '80s when music production became more aggressive and direct. Therefore, the state started relying on its South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) to avoid playing music that was considered inappropriate in accordance with the government and the Dutch Reformed Church's standards, and promote an ideologically sided radio service. The SABC was the most influential branch of the censorship apparatus. Aware of the numerous spoken languages, the state surpassed the obstacle by guaranteeing everyone access to the government-run radio station in their native language (Hamm, 1991). In the words of Clarence Ford, a broadcaster at SABC, radio was carefully manipulated to assist the state's ideology. Broadcasted songs were chosen accordingly, and music was composed to achieve political pervasiveness.

In the middle of the '80s, two groups named Malombo and Harari, or other local bands, such as Tananas, Bayete, and Savuka, were at the origin of the momentum of musical innovation. The regime caught this revolutionary musical trend and used it to compose a propaganda song. The Bureau of Information, the body entitled to deal with effective communication,

launched a song called “Together We Will Build a Brighter Future”, sang in Afrikaans and English and other Bantu languages such as Zulu Sotho, Xhosa (Schumann, 2008). It raised much concern because it was a clear attempt to cover the reality and convince the oppressed of the possibility of a brighter future. Musicians perceived this propaganda act as a usurpation of their culture and talents, especially considering that those years were characterized by everything but harmony (Byerly, 1998 cited in Schumann, 2008, p. 34).

CHAPTER TWO: THE MUSIC THAT BEAT APARTHEID

The previous chapter provided a brief overview of Apartheid in South Arica. Apartheid and its imposition of unhuman policies restricted every kind of freedom, especially expression. It was in this segregated condition that people expressed themselves in creative ways. Despite being prohibited by the national government, people never stopped signing and expressing their anger through music. Protest songs constituted the most powerful tool to face the cruelty of those years. Music was the instrument that created cohesion among the people of the same community against the common enemy.

This chapter aims at providing a detailed analysis of the literature on the music that beat Apartheid. The first section will look at the debate on the definition of the subject under study, focusing on the distinction between struggle music and politically motivated songs. Subsequently, the attention will be shifted to the peculiar elements of protest music. Over the years, many scholars and researchers have studied this subject and identified recurring patterns in all protest songs, not only during Apartheid and not only in South Africa. Therefore, the second section will be devoted to analyzing four essential elements according to the Aristotelian theorization: the orator, the audience, the speech, and the performative nature. Then, the following section will focus on language and vocabulary. After a brief overlook of the ethnolinguistic groups existing in South Africa, the choice of language and wording will be addressed. Finally, the last section of this chapter will be devoted to an overview of the most diffused musical genres and the recurrent songs' structure. That is, antiphony, cyclical repetition, and rhythm.

DEFINING THE SUBJECT

Music played a vital role in South Africans' battles for independence. One of the most influential activists of the time, Steve Biko, who was imprisoned and died in 1977 while in detention, portrayed South African music as a fundamental tool for communication. Some songs were used to speak about a joint life condition. However, sometimes even love, disco, or dance songs played a crucial role in the creation of a common narrative of oppression. Through a variety of music styles, a culture of resistance, self-consciousness, collective identity, and solidarity emerged among the people. It was the key to the protest's success because it restored faith and hope.

Protest music has been extensively studied in the previous literature. This section will bring together a selection of the essential works on the subject matter, starting from the general and going more specifically in-depth into the South African context.

1. What is Protest Music?

Historically speaking, protest music traces were already found during the French revolution in 1789. Lately, at the beginning of the 20th century in the United States of America, protest songs to the beat of blues were composed by white singers to criticize some aspects of American society. However, much protest music emerged during the second half of the 20th century, more precisely in the '60s, during the anti-war movements in the USA. It also spread in concomitance with the anti-colonial struggles for independence. A recurrent pattern in protest songs was the influence of some of the most popular ideologies of the time, such as nationalism, anti-fascism, and anti-colonialism. Nevertheless, they all managed to create cohesion among the people using the same system of political ideas. This new form of music awareness narrated people's routines and traditions to create a shared identity. For instance, South African struggle music was characterized by the necessity to reproduce people's daily lives through the modes of expression and the choice of rhythms. "People say I sing politics, but what I sing is not politics, it is the truth" (Makeba, 1985, cited in Schumann, 2008, p. 22).

Protest music often referred to as the music of resistance, is a subgenre of political music that encompasses the use of music in politics and as a tool for spreading political messages.

(Damodaran, 2016). Typically, this kind of music emerges as a direct consequence of periods of societal turmoil. In its most comprehensive definition, protest music conveys dissatisfaction with perceived societal ills, encompassing a wide range of causes from the individual to the global. Generally speaking, songs can be written either to collect popular support or to broadcast social conditions that create discontent. For this reason, protest music has been defined in a teleological way through a functional model (Denisoff, 1968). According to this functional model, their classification depends on the function they perform, which is the objective they seek to fulfill. According to Denisoff, it is primarily the lyrics that achieve this aim. Indeed, he distinguished magnetic and rhetorical protest songs. The former refers to the capacity of the songs to easily attract people, like a magnet does with metal, and directly communicate a political message through simple musical and textual structures. On the other hand, the latter includes less straightforward songs that address specific issues through rhetoric and emotional appeal. The mentioned distinction relies on a purely textual analysis; however, it must be pointed out that the variety of protest songs proves the necessity to look at many other characterizing elements. Firstly, the functional model can also be applied to musical composition. According to Brecht's plays composer, Hanns Eisler, music should be suitable for the purpose. It means that orchestral songs, or more in general music without text, cannot fit class struggles because they would not be accessible to the proletarians. Secondly, the performance of struggle songs can be carried out by a single person or a group, which can be identified either with a political community or organized musical movements.

However, from the studies of Pring-Mill (1987) conducted in Latin America, it emerged that not all the protest songs must be against something or someone. Indeed, the attention should not be exclusively paid to the "combative" feature of struggle music but also to the "constructive one". It means that these songs are not always intended to be in opposition to an entity, but they can also have a propositive character aimed at changing life's conditions (le Roux-Kemp, 2014). Therefore, "songs of socio-political commitment" would be the best solution, to sum up all these said. They can also be called "songs of hope and struggle" when the aim is to bring hope to the oppressed, as Nkoala (2013) reported. Moreover, according to Denisoff (1970), protest songs are essentially means of ideology reaffirmation within a community that already shares those ideas, rather than being a tool of attraction of the outsiders. In other words, this music is capable of strengthening internal ties and not of creating new adherents to the cause.

In this regard, le Roux-Kemp (2014), considers persuasiveness as the most relevant feature of a struggle song. It refers to the capacity of the song to be functional for a purpose, educative and inspirative on a subject, ideologically and politically committed (Groenewald, 2010). Gilbert's definition (2007) of struggle music sums up all these characterizing features as "propaganda-focused cultural activity". Moreover, the fluid and flexible character allowed these songs to be responsive to people's emotions (Gray, 2004). Indeed, in Groenewald's words (2010), struggle songs were composed by ordinary people, often low-educated, to sing their daily existence. He also refers to these songs as "literature from below" because the music was orally handed down from one group to another and often textually, structurally, or musically modified. This change was due to the necessity to adapt songs to a specific circumstance.

However, it must be pointed out that much of the literature overlooked many of the composed protest songs, for they presented standardized structures on the lexical and musical levels. Stereotypical thought led to the voluntary neglect of this branch of music, labeled as "mere sloganeering" by those musicians non actively committed to social battles. The reason may lie in the old but shared perspective that popular music was considered inferior. Indeed, many recent studies pointed out that it was widespread to distinguish "high" or "low" categories while judging the seriousness of a particular kind of music (Frith, 2007). This practice represents an ideology of "superior" listening, which envisages the independence of musical works from social processes because otherwise, it would prevent songs from connecting with "higher" human perceptions. Although this trend had been prevalent for many years, critical musical scholarship subsequently emerged and set the base for structural listening. Among the most eminent scholars in this field, Ballentine argued that rock music of the '60s could have been explained: "only in relation to the protest and possibilities for social change that were the lived experience of young people during that decade" (Ballantine, 1984, p. 5). If this perspective is generalized, it is possible to understand the cornerstones of this new branch of scholarship. It emphasized the importance of studying the historical background to fully understand songs' birth and the other way around. It was the turning point in that protest music started to be investigated on its own terms. Indeed, in civilizations where most protest music was not written down, it was crucial to look at songs as an end in themselves.

2. Struggle Music VS. Politically Motivated Songs

The previous subsection provided a general definition of protest music. However, a fundamental distinction must be drawn between struggle music and politically motivated songs to understand the concept thoroughly. This distinction does not regard the textual content of the songs, but it is rather about the capacity to trigger popular resistance and the collective character of the performance. At the base of the emergence of this theorization, there is the consciousness that struggle music is not the only genre of music emerging from periods of turmoil (Gray, 1999), and the necessity to draw a distinctive line between collective resistance songs and individual political ones.

The core difference lies in their aim. Struggle music is intended to create cohesion and persuade the people to be united to achieve a common objective, which usually is more radical. In other words, the triggering of popular resistance is the distinctive character of struggle music in opposition to other politically motivated songs. While the former intentionally aims at creating resistance, this is not true for the latter, where the composers do not have the objective to develop this feeling among the people. As a result, the audience may not necessarily interpret the song in terms of resistance. Nevertheless, these songs still play a crucial role in criticizing political regimes or voicing social problems (Allen, 2003).

Moreover, collectiveness draws another distinctive line between protest songs and individual political music. For instance, during Apartheid, many singers contributed to voicing the living conditions of the black community. However, the substantial difference with protest music was that individual political songs were committed to Apartheid as much as they were protesting against many other social causes. Therefore, even when these songs ran the world and conquered the people's hearts, they were still attached to the singer and not owned by the people.

For instance, according to le Roux-Kemp (2014), "Meadowlands" (see Annex 3) is often erroneously included among the struggle songs. Indeed, in "Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song", she explains to what extent this song cannot be considered as such. Composed in 1956 by Strike Vilakazi, it emerged in response to the forcible displacement of the black community living in Sophiatown to Meadowlands, from which the song takes its name. Initially performed by Nancy Jacobs and Her Sisters, it became an anthem of the protests. Famous in South Africa and popularized outside the country by Miriam Makeba and Dorothy Masuka. In terms of literal meaning, the song could have been interpreted

variously. Formally, supporting the removal program but practically intended to protest against the eradication of the people from their land. It is in this way that censorship was avoided. It is one of the main reasons this song cannot be fully considered a piece of struggling music. Despite being very popular, it never addressed political issues directly. Moreover, this song served a commercial as well as a political purpose. Indeed, popularity among the people does not necessarily entail belonging to the group of struggle music. It is precisely for these two reasons that it is often misconceived.

However, it is equally important to consider the other side of the coin. Many scholars of the popular music field have criticized this perspective as too rigid and not empirical. In this regard, it has been argued that protest music must be studied in relation to the context and to a specific situation. It follows that the frequent techniques used to hide the real messages of the songs were also part of the struggle in times when the alternative would have been censorship. Indeed, many compositions may fall into the group of struggle songs, even if not strictly political. To gain a political dimension, music must be at the core of symbolic systems that operate on ting people together through common emotions and understandings (Martin, 2020).

THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF A "LIBERATION SONG"

"The sound of song is described as a blow at the invader, a rampart in defense, a weapon against injustice" (Pring-Mill, 1987, p. 182).

In Mill's words, liberation songs are a powerful tool serving the purpose of facing social problems and fighting for freedom. However, until now, this analysis has not provided any element for understanding how these songs can be persuasive and resistant enough to serve this purpose. Therefore, this section explores the essential characteristics of a protest song.

The effectiveness of these songs can be explained through Aristoteles's Rhetoric. First and foremost, it is crucial to understand that Aristoteles's understanding of rhetoric matches the "modes of persuasion". Therefore, what is persuasion? Persuasion must be conceived as a type of demonstration. People are thoroughly convinced when they believe something has been demonstrated. Thus, liberation art can be considered adequate as far as it can persuade. Following Aristoteles's techniques for rhetorical analysis, three elements will be considered for the investigation: the personality of the orator, embodied in the singer, the mindset of the audience, when songs require the interaction of the masses, and finally, the wording of the speech, corresponding to the lyrics of the songs. Moreover, detaching from the Aristotelian analysis *stricto sensu*, a focus on the performative nature of some of these songs will be proposed. Just thinking of the symbolic value and the power the famous dance called *toyi-toyi* conferred on popular marches, it is possible to understand why it cannot be overlooked.

1. Orator, Audience, Speech

The Aristotelian analysis of protest songs will be conducted by comparing the performance of classical speech and liberation songs based on the three categories mentioned above.

For what concerns the song's delivery, it is crucial to consider that both, the classical speech and the performance of a protest song, almost always require the physical presence of a group of people in the same place. Indeed, while the orator carries out the speech in front of an audience, protest songs occur in a community situation, and more precisely, during demonstrations or funerals. However, when protest songs were played on radio or tv, the mere awareness of the presence of other people listening to the same song, at the same time

but in different places, was able to create a sort of "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991). In this sense, it is possible to say that, in some circumstances, the collectiveness can be physically mobilized. The community is characterized by energic cohesion and commitment toward a social cause. It allows more than one person to join the singing and fight for a common struggle. The communal nature can be defined as a *conditio sine qua non* because these songs need to be collectively interpreted. Moreover, it must be noted that the collective nature of protest songs enabled the establishment of a sort of shared responsibility and allowed the individual performers to seek anonymity (Scott, 1990). In addition to that, many songs emerged from popular creativity; therefore, it may be challenging to identify the song's composer.

The second element worth considering is the role of the audience. In "Songs that shaped the struggle: A rhetorical analysis of South African struggle", Nkoala states that "when groups gathered to sing struggle songs, they were in essence singing to themselves" (2013, p. 53). In the common imaginary, the audience is a physically present entity that listens to the orator. However, in the protest environment, the figure of the audience coincides with that of the orator. Suffice it to say that the place where most of the protest songs were sang was during public manifestations, funerals, or in the communities. In the former, with the intent of singing against the regime's authority, they were singing for themselves. In the latter two, the practice of singing was carried out to exorcise pain, create a kind of safe zone where it was possible to express personal emotions and at the same time establish mutual support. In this sense, the group of people engaging in singing was the same as those assisting the performance.

Finally, the lyrics of the song is the last element of analysis. Being oral works, they were often not written down and, consequently, subject to frequent textual and structural change. In this way, people were able to shape the wording of the song according to the historical moment. Furthermore, since protest songs had the scope of voicing people's sufferance, they repeatedly changed to convey the moment's feelings. Therefore, to conduct a reliable analysis of struggle songs, the evolution of the lyrics must be taken into consideration as it could completely change the conclusions of an investigation.

2. Performative Nature

The power of protest music was not only in the musical composition and the textual meaning but also in its performative nature. The musical and the physical performance of a song contributed to enhancing its persuasiveness. In this way, watching these songs being played could help catch the type of emotions felt by the people. The latter can be considered an element of commonality of a speech and a protest song. Similarly, the orator must be watched to have a complete understating of the message because body language consciously or unconsciously contributes to the spread of collateral meanings.

The *toyi-toyi* dance constitutes a concrete example of how the people actively performed liberation songs. Historically speaking, the ANC exiles acquired this dance from the Zimbabwean insurgents of the ’60s. However, the first performances of the *toyi-toyi* were linked to the Algerian or Moroccan MK training camps. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Southern African English on Historical Principles, it can be defined as a quasi-military dance marked by the high-stepping march (sometimes done also on the site) and the raise of the fist in the air, complemented by the singing of liberation songs and the chanting of slogans. Groenewald (2005) lists four components that must be found for the performance to be successful. The first is the context, identified with a social, cultural, or political circumstance. Thereby, he narrows the scope of the dance. Secondly, it must be performed during a special event, such as a popular manifestation, a wedding, or a funeral. Finally, it requires, like every other kind of song, some performers, a sung text, and an audience watching the exhibition, either physically or remotely present.

Unarmed demonstrators in this guise terrified the Apartheid government and the police. The *toyi-toyi* was the weapon of the people not equipped with any military arm. “We did not have the technology of warfare, the tear gas, and tanks, but we had this weapon” (Vershbow, 2010, p. 5). It was precisely the manifestation of togetherness contrasting with the daily experienced brutality that frightened the authorities.

3. Case study: Senzeni Na?

This subsection is intended to demonstrate that it is feasible to analyze struggle songs through the Aristotelian rhetorical analysis.

"Senzeni Na?" [11] is a practical example of how the Aristotelian rhetorical analysis can be applied to music. Usually sung at funerals and protests or marches, this song confirms the collectivity character and the correspondence between the orator and the audience. For what concerns the typology of performances, the documentary "Amandla!" proposes the scene of a funeral. "Even when people have died, if you mourn them for too long it demoralizes your spirit, so as a result […] we never used to cry, we used to sing" (Hirsch, 2004). This quotation is explicative of the fundamental role played by this song in everyday life. From the moment of rallies to the painful funeral occasions, it was part of the repertory of the struggle.

From a textual point of view, it is characterized by three rhetorical questions. It aims at obtaining an unconscious answer from the audience. The efficacy of the song lies precisely in the power of rhetorical questions because they manage to deliver a more intensive message than if it was delivered through statements (Burnkrant & Howard, 1984, cited in Nkoala, 2013). Moreover, the power of the message resides also in the repetitive nature of the verses. After having asked three times, "what have we done" to someone, he/ she will undoubtedly catch the message (Hirsch, 2004). Contrarily to the first three, the last two verses differ, for they take the form of instruction. They acknowledge that black people are being killed. It contributes to creating a sense of frustration due to the experienced injustices.

From the English translation of the song, it seems that the lyrics uses the Aristotelian enthymeme, or rhetorical syllogism, developed in the following way according to Nkoala (2013): atrocities are committed against mean people, but being black does not inherently make the person wrong; so, they do not deserve the committed atrocities.

Senzenina? (x4)	What have we done? (x4)
Sonosethu, ubumyama? (x4)	Is our sin the fact that we are black? (x4)
Sonosethuyinyaniso? (x4)	Is our sin the truth? (x4)
Sibulawayo (x4)	We are being killed (x4)
Mayibuye i Africa (x4)	Come back to Africa (x4)

[11] Lyrics as performed by the Bangor Community Choir (Nkoala, 2013).

LANGUAGE AND HIDDEN MESSAGES

1. Ethno-Linguistic Roots

Protest songs are often composed in a variety of languages. The reason lies in the numerous ethnolinguistic roots grouped under the name of Bantu. Indeed, the folkloric composition of South Africa is pretty complicated. Bantu refers to more than 400 ethnic groups spread over sub-Saharan Africa, spanning from Cameroon to central, eastern, and southern Africa. The vast majority of South African people speak a language belonging to one of the two major Bantu branches. The first is the Sotho–Tswana branch, which formally includes Southern and Northern Sotho, Tswana languages. The second refers to the Nguni branch, which officially comprises Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, and Ndebele idioms. Being part of either one of the two groups means that all the other languages connected to that group are quite easily understandable (Shoup, 1997). However, the two groups are partially mutually incomprehensible between them. The former is primarily diffused in the northern part of the country, while the southern-eastern people mainly speak the latter.

Generally speaking, among the numerous indigenous languages diffused in South Africa, ten are officially recognized: Zulu (spoken by 23% of the population), Xhosa (16%), Afrikaans (a Dutch-based creole, 14%), and other minor idioms like Tswana, Sotho, Venda, Ndebele, Swati, Pedi, Tsonga. English (9.6%) is the eleventh official language used in legislative and state discourse. Juridically speaking, all the official languages have equal legal standing, and the South African Constitution preserves all the unofficial ones.

In the half of the 19th century, after the construction of coal mines and the migration of African workers, a new language known as *Fanakalo* evolved (Shoup, 1997). It was created to overcome the problem of the heterogeneity of spoken languages by employees in the workplace and allow mine commanders to deliver information more quickly. *Fanakalo* includes terminology from the main Bantu languages, English and Afrikaans. Moreover, another example of a newly derived slang is *Tsotsi Taal* or “gang talk”. (Shoup, 1997) It is typically connected with teenage townships’ crime. However, neither *Fanakalo* nor *Tsotsi Taal* is a suitable language for music lyrics. For example, *Fanakalo*, a work lingua franca, cannot articulate and express complex emotions.

2. Choice of Language

After the establishment of the Apartheid regime, the choice of the language employed in song lyrics became much more political. Indeed, in 1974 through the Afrikaans Medium Decree, Afrikaans became the national language, introduced into the Bantu educational system. In this way, the African population was prevented from qualifying for higher positions and interacting with the rest of the world, where English was swiftly becoming the leading international language. The imposition of Afrikaans was perceived as a further manifestation of the racial rules. Part of the population, the so-called Coloureds, spoke Afrikaans (today called "Afrikaaps")[12] as their native language because descending from a mix of Europeans, Khoi [13], and Bantu unions (Shoup, 1997). However, they had their unique musical heritage, heavily inspired by 19th-century American minstrel performances and by Dutch old songs, which will not be analyzed throughout this dissertation project.

For the majority of the black South Africans, English constituted the tool for resistance. Afrikaans was often rejected, and their local languages were not always comprehensible outside national borders. Since the primary aim was to reach as many people as possible to gain international consent, nothing better than English could have contributed to achieving this goal. Indeed, the second half of the 20th century was characterized by the emergence of rock 'n roll and the spread of English or American English on the international pop music scene. Therefore, inspired by western pop, Black Africans started to adopt English in their lyrics. Nevertheless, it did not exclude the adoption of Bantu languages for pop songs. In fact, many of them used Bantu, like in *Seshoe*, and *Shangaanjive*. This choice is explained by the fact that Bantu idioms are often more musical and expressive. The soft and rounded tones of isiZulu and Sesotho improve the charm of *mbube* and can communicate complex ideas to the audience while discussing abstract themes (Shoup, 1997).

In the years of Apartheid, the isiZulu was the primary chosen language for artistic expressions like drama and music. Several reasons lie behind this decision. First of all, the Zulu were an ethnic group conquered mainly by Europeans. Their history of resistance

[12] In 19th Century, Afrikaans spoken by coloured people, particularly in the Cape, was heavily impacted by Malay languages, the native languages of Indonesian slaves.

[13] The Khoekhoen or Khoikhoi (literally 'real men') is an ethnic group from southwest Africa, also known as Hottentots, which means "stutterer" in the Cape Dutch dialect. The term refers to a peculiar set of sounds in the Khoisan languages, characterized by clicking, pop-like consonants and transcribed with signs such as "|" or "/". Currently, the term 'hottentot' remains in use mainly in naming plants and animals, such as the hottentot fig (Carpobrotus edulis). While it is considered highly derogatory when applied to people.

against both the British and the Dutch was very long and troubled. It was characterized by a series of victories against the Europeans who, although reluctantly, recognized them with some respect. The figure of the King who founded the Zulu Empire, Shaka, became a legend even among non-Zulu people and those who feared him when alive. Secondly, historically speaking, the Zulu dominated many other Bantu groups and spread their language even among them. For instance, they spread their influence in the neighboring territories of Zimbabwe, Swaziland, and Mozambique. Thirdly, the historical background of the Zulu made this language the most diffused Bantu idiom in South Africa (Shoup, 1997).

3. Delivery of Messages

"I could not afford the luxury of just being a singer who sings about happy things and love" (Miriam Makeba, 2004, cited in Schumann, 2008, p. 28)

Protest songs during Apartheid were the expression not only of the shared feelings but also of the political context. In this way, the text of the songs was shaped accordingly. Therefore, it is possible to register an evolution in the way messages are delivered. In the first moment, militant messages were hidden to avoid being censored by the state, while successively, critiques were made openly. As the situation got more extreme, most of these lyrics became more aggressive. (Hirsch, 2004).

Firstly, during the '40s, songs were not written with a confrontational aim but rather to address common problems such as exploitation or night pass[14]. When no political organizations were fighting for people's rights, musicians became the leaders of this battle (Pheto in Schumann, 2008). Therefore, especially in the first years of Apartheid, musicians sang about daily issues they suffered and the essential circumstances of their life. However, thanks to the ANC's effort in making the masses politically aware by the '50s, songs started to be charged with a political meaning (Allen, 2003). In this period, many political songs recorded individually by singers overlapped with popular struggle songs (Schumann, 2008). Therefore, it is hard to distinguish between protest music and other politically motivated songs, as defined in the first section of this chapter. There was no unique path; some songs were first recorded and then became famous resistance anthems; on the contrary, some other songs emerged from the people and were then recorded by singers.

[14] The "night passes" refer to the police common practice to stop musicians from coming home from work at night. Therefore, many songs complained about police harassment.

Despite the strict censorship, many artists managed to bypass state control and spread anti-regime messages through the use of metaphorical texts. "Universal Man" by Juluka [15] (a music group formed by Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu) is an explicative example of how messages were diffused through textual stratagems. The song formally describes the fight between two bulls, one larger and stronger against a smaller and more brittle one. The battle description implies that the smaller bull beats the bigger one. "The bull does not stab with his horns but with his fighting knowledge" (Marre & Charlton, 1985, cited in Schumann, 2008, p. 26). This Zulu proverb effectively summarizes the song's story and suggests a hidden message of confrontation. The lyrics subtly refer to the inevitable victory of the oppressed Black Africans over the oppressor, despite the different military equipment. Another example is "Woza Moya" (Shoup, 1997). Composed by the group Zia, it can be translated as "Waiting for the Wind". In this case, there is a word game between the two meanings of the isiZulu word "woza", which are "to rise" and "to stand up". Despite the many incomplete images, the audience is given a reference to the "wind of change". The latter alludes to the British prime minister's speech, Harold MacMillan, to the South Africa Parliament on February 3rd, 1960. He metaphorically criticizes Apartheid and its policies of segregation (Alistair, 2019). Furthermore, the apparently harmless lyrics and melody of "This Place is Boring" by Lazarus Kgagudi conceals the reality of life in the township and the homelands (Shoup, 1997). The sound already locates the listener in an urban/rural place through the mix of *Seshoe* drum and guitar at the beginning, followed by the *Soweto* tune. The verse "I want to go home. To Soweto" further clarifies the emotional state of the singer, who found himself in a village yearning for his old life in town. It expresses a feeling of disappointment that joined together many people forced to leave their former life and move to another place.

The irony was frequently used to diffuse messages and avoid state control. For example, the comic tone of the song "Don't Call Me Le Ja Pere" (Don't Call Me a Horse Eater) managed to cover the deep anger felt by the singer Sox (Shoup, 1997). It narrates the condition of a rural man who had just arrived in the township and was not respected by the others. Alternatively, "Mr. No Vacancy" also alludes to the stereotype of lazy black people. However, he ironically proves that this idea does not hold anymore since a person cannot be accused of not working if there are no jobs available. Indeed, with the Apartheid regime, these people lived a hopeless life where no chance of employment was offered to them.

[15] By the '80s, Juluka was the most popular South African Band in the country (Shoup, 1997).

Live concerts were effective methods to spread the real meaning of censored songs. Even when commercials studios organized those concerts, they were platforms of protest music dissemination. For instance, when presenting the word "power", even a love song was transformed into a song for struggle. First, the singer raised the fist, then everyone else in a "Black Power" gesture accompanied by a responding scream of *Amandla awenthu* [16] (Coplan, 1979, cited in Schumann, 2008). It proves that there was no longer a clear divide between love and revolutionary songs since everyday life fights and political struggles were considered part of the same battle. In this regard, an emblematic example is Vusi Mahlasela, who attached political meaning to love songs he had written. In this way, songs that textually talked about entirely different topics became politicized on a symbolic level. Equally, another group called Malombo, despite the rare presence of explicit political allusions, communicated a sentiment of pride and consciousness in their culture through the distinctive features of their highly original music. Indeed, they became the expression of cultural nationalism in South Africa and were soon affiliated with the Black Consciousness Movement [17] (Coplan, 2008).

The pianist Abdullah Ibrahim was a master at incorporating political messages solely through melodies. Instrumental music infused with the tunes of independence songs developed political significance for South African listeners who heard by heart the unspoken text (Drewett, 2003). "Mannenberg", composed by Ibrahim, is one of the most emblematic examples of how music can be charged with deep meanings even without the support of the lyrics (Schumann, 2008). In fact, it was not initially "charged" with political meaning by the composer. Instead, the listeners attached political interpretations to some cultural symbols in the recording. The melodies of the songs were shaped by local church music, *marabi* style, blues, and jazz. He can be considered very adept at composing melodic political songs. However, the effort put into hidden political messages was not always reflected in the tiles of the songs. Some had overt political titles like "Anthem for the New Nation".

Liberation songs reflect all the possible ways to escape state control and censorship. However, many artists, mainly since the '80s, decided to risk their life and career to attack the state through their songs openly. As musicians publicly opposed the administration, the

[16] Power is ours.
[17] The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was an anti-Apartheid activist movement that arose in South Africa in the second half of the 20th century, filling the political void left by the imprisonment of the leaders of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress following the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.

latter retaliated viciously. Roger Lucey, a white singer who boldly opposed the administration through his lyrics, had his career crushed by the secret police. His goal was to reach a wider public, all those who were not necessarily capable of catching hidden messages either because they were indifferent or low educated. For example, in the song "Longile Tabalaza", he tells the story of a young guy who was detained and died in captivity within days. This song openly refers to police violence in the national prisons and directly addresses both the state and security branches. Its linguistic approach is evident and combative. It is just one example of the many songs written by Lucey before giving up on his professional career due to frequent intimidations (Erasmus, 2004, cited in Schumann, 2008). In those years, just possessing one of his prohibited music might have resulted in up to five years in jail. His albums and songs were confiscated from music stores, gas was poured during one of his concerts, and armed police officers entered his house in the middle of the night. The ensemble of all these things led him to abandon his goal. In the words of the singer Sipho "Hostix" Mabuse, white musicians supporting the black cause were even more in danger since, behind them, there was not a community ready to fight for life (Reitov, 2004, cited in Schumann, 2008). Another relevant figure who experienced even worse attacks was Mzwakhe Mbuli. He was a musician and a speaker at manifestations. Having addressed the state directly, in his songs "Behind the Bars" and "Shot Down", he experienced a grenade attack in his house. After releasing the 1986 album "Change is Pain", he was barred from publishing by the Directorate of Publications, and he was seized, jailed, and tortured (Drewett, 2003). While in "Universal Man", the Juluka group adopted an overt style of delivery of information, it completely changed in "One (Hu)' man One Vote". This song echoed the ANC's demand for universal suffrage in South Africa. Indeed, it openly declares that either this right is recognized, or the "young boys" armed with "homemade weapons" will reestablish order (Shoup, 1997).

As time flowed and the regime gained more power, the protest became more radical. If the black resistance of the '70s constituted the base for change, the several rallies of the middle '80s "made the process difficult to reverse" (Beinart, 1994, p.236). 1984's inauguration of the tri-cameral parliament triggered a wave of popular insurrections protesting the non-representation of the blacks, resulting in an open confrontation with the police. The subsequent State of Emergency declared by the government contributed to the aggravation of the country's internal dynamics. All this created the need to sing a new urgency. The wording of the songs changed and aligned to the historical period. "Changing a word here, changing a word there, putting in an AK[47] here, taking out a Bible there" (Hirsch, 2004). For example, the lyrics of "Shona Malanga" were changed to be more appropriate to the time

(Schumann, 2008). The song's title meaning "Sheila's Day", refers to the servants' day off. Therefore, instead of saying "we'll meet on Thursday, on Sheila's day", it turned into "we'll meet where we would rather not meet, in the bushes with our bazookas" (Hirsch, 2004). Often, these songs were complemented by the *toyi-toyi* dance. The combination of the two gave birth to an unexpected powerful weapon. The only weapon possessed by the Black South Africans to counteract police brutalities. Music was used to foster change and build a fair political class in South Africa.

Mandela's release marked the last stage of the evolution of freedom songs. Finally, songs celebrating his freedom and the faith in a better future started to spread (Ngema & Ndlovu in Schumann, 2008). It was a period characterized by the liberation of many prisoned political leaders and the return of many exiled activists and artists. It paved the way for a wave of optimistic songs genuinely hoping for a socio-political change. An example is "Peace in Our Land", produced by Chicco Twala, and several other artists.

FOCUS ON MUSIC

1. South African Popular Music

To understand the musical foundation of protest music, it must be clear that South Africa experienced several decades of colonization, leading to a mélange between the colonizer's culture and the local one (Ballantine, 2012) and giving birth to a creative fusion of styles in the music sector. Among the other things, South African popular music was strongly influenced by the blackface minstrel shows. The latter was introduced in the first half of the 19th century by the American troupes and became very popular among the white audience of the country (Ballantine, 2012). It was among the first type of theatre performances comprising dance, music, and comedies. It drew on racial stereotypes both in terms of contents and in the performative nature in that the role of black people was played by whites applying burnt cork on their faces.

At the beginning of the 20th century, during WWI, a style called *ingoma busuku* [18] emerged, and it was mainly performed during competitions in small-town or rural weddings (Coplan, 2008). The term *ingoma busuku* refers to any working-class choral music originating from church choirs and shaped by Afrikaans, black Americans, Zulu-Swazi, and European performances (Coplan, 2008). It has subsequently undergone several changes under various names and is still widely known today as *isicathamiya*[19]. The latter is a type of *a cappella* choral music originating at the beginning of the 20th century in Natal Midlands. It was forged by the American minstrels, Hollywood tap dance, Christian hymnody, and Zulu traditional styles (Ballantine, 2012), and it was typically performed by a variable number (from four to twenty) of urban but non-western males (Coplan, 2008). Choirs were made up of bass singers and a few upper vocalists, among which the tenor. The main vocalist and the accompanying bigger group typically perform through a call-and-response sequence. In terms of aesthetics, the groups often wore synchronized fine apparel, such as coordinating suits, white gloves, and two-colored shoes. The dancing steps are refined and coordinated and typically executed on the toes, including the stomping action typical of the Zulu dance, *ingoma*,[20] originating from Zulu male migrants working in factories or mines (Coplan, 2008). Despite being widely spread in the communities, this genre knew world popularity thanks to the choral group

[18] It means "night music" in Zulu (Coplan, 2008).
[19] It means "a stalking approach" in Zulu (Coplan, 2008).
[20] It means "dance song" in Zulu (Coplan, 2008).

Ladysmith Black Mambazo [21]. Founded in the '60s by Joseph Shabalala, they worked with Paul Simon and were often released by the SABC because the songs were more allegorical and religious than openly critical (Ballantine, 2012).

In the '30s, South African music was influenced by the spread of city life. Consequently, *ingoma busuku*, despite preserving the competitive rural traditions, was assimilated into middle-class culture (Coplan, 2008). Among the numerous groups that emerged at the time, Solomon Linda and his group, Evening Birds, stood out as the most innovative (Coplan, 2008). In 1939, they composed the song "Mbube" (Lion) from an "old Msigna district wedding song" (Coplan, 2008). The name of the song gave birth to the musical genre *mbube*. Generally speaking, *mbube* can be considered the evolution of *isicathamiya* despite being more potent and less harmonizing. This musical genre is a fundamental part of the history of the Zulu working class. They performed these songs *a cappella* and relied on them to foster brotherhood and a sense of community. Indeed, weekly competitions were staged. The peculiarity is the vocal combination of the lead singer and the accompaniment supplied by lower vocalists. This musical style is often openly political in terms of lyrics and in that it was connected to workers' organizations. As far as the national regime did not prohibit this kind of gathering, *mbube* choirs were always present at widespread protests organized by the COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Union[22] (Ballantine, 2012).

Since World War I, another music genre spread among black people in city ghettoes, primarily in Johannesburg. *Marabi*, translatable as the "hot", spread after the arrival of many unschooled South Africans in the cities hoping for a better working future (Ballantine, 2012). Notwithstanding the Apartheid regime will be established almost 30 years after, the enforcement of the 1913 Natives Land Act already set the ground for skin color discrimination. It contributed to the quick creation of working-class culture, mainly spread in the *shebeens* [23] (Coplan, 2008). *Marabi* symbolized the urban workers' culture and was the response to the second situational crisis, industrialization (Allen, 1996). In the words of the saxophonist Peter Mokonotela "the marabi […] is our jazz, our kind of jazz. It was […] our interpretation of the music of the great" (2005, cited in Martin, 2020, p. 337). It is characterized by the endless repetition of the same harmonic pattern. They often mixed

[21] "Ladysmith" is the hometown of the founder Shabalala, "Black" refers to the black bull and ties to Shabalala's childhood spent on his family's farm, "Mambazo" signifies axe in Zulu and represents the group's vocal power.

[22] The Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) is South Africa's most extensive trade or labor union confederation.

[23] A *shebeen* (Irish word) was originally an illegal bar or club where alcoholic drinks were sold without a license.

pieces of any songs from folk to religious music, jazz, and dance music. It was mainly performed through pedal organs and pianos, accompanied by percussions like stone-filled cans (Coplan, 2008). *Marabi* structure was often the base for improvised performances on political themes and provided the ground for further musical innovations. Unfortunately, no pure *marabi* recording has been inherited since it was underground music, and tapes were not very diffused at the time, if not among white people (Ballantine, 2012). Nevertheless, *marabi* influenced the emergence of other styles such as *mbaqanga*, jive, and *kwela*.

Mbaqanga is a Zulu word that means "African maize bread" (Coplan, 2008). It was a generic term referring to the commercial African jazz of the '50s developed from a mix of *marabi* and American jazz. With "African Jazz", it was meant that a specific style or genre of music, while inspired by foreign genres, is undeniably South African in its performance. It provided a venue for African jazz lovers to mix Western instrumentation and the South African vocal style. "It was the 'daily bread' of musicians playing for the popular classes" (Coplan, 2008, cited in Martin, 2020, p. 349). But more than anything else, it was a response to the denial of the universal principles of justice, democracy, and human rights by the Apartheid regime (Martin, 2020). The "township jazz", or *mbaqanga*, spread in the South African *shebeens*, and it soon became the world-recognized sound of resistance (Shoup, 1997). However, in the '60s, it started to indicate a new genre of music derived from *marabi* and urban neo-traditional music (Coplan, 2008). It was mainly performed through electric guitars, drums, violins, saxophones, *et cetera*.

Kwela flourished in the mid-'50s, years of incredible musical innovation. It is a music genre deriving from *marabi* and influenced by American swing and jazz (Coplan, 2008). The endless repetition of the same harmonic pattern, the melodies recalling village songs mixed with swing, created a thoroughly modern style (Allen, 1996). It emerged as the music of black slums' children who creatively imitated their favorite jazz players through the pennywhistle when they could not afford any other instrument (Ballantine, 2012). *Kwela* emerged from the amalgamation of two different traditions, the Afro-American and the pre-colonial South African. The degree of Americanization directly depended on the place occupied by the class consciousness in the national hierarchy. The more elitist, the more American (Allen, 1996, see Annex 2). In the first years, this new music genre's life was characterized by the exclusive support of the urban black working-class. However, during Apartheid, when the elite and masses united for universal acceptance, *kwela* spread more.

2. Music Structure

"Music can deliver its message without words". (Feldman & Birch, 2004 cited in Schumann, 2008, p. 29)

Struggle songs influence protestors' experience before, during, and after participating in a rally. It happens through a framework of participative music-making that includes the antiphony (call-and-response), the cyclical repetition, and the embodied rhythm. During protests, they are interdependently displayed. This subsection explains the three elements as theorized by Jolaosho (2019).

The first thing worth considering is the use of antiphony in protest songs. It must be understood as a crucial organizational component for strikes' singing. Antiphony, also known as call-and-response, is the establishment of a sort of conversation between the people engaging in the manifestation. The leading person or group of people may pose a question, comment, or give an unfinished opening phrase or answering line that the rest of the people need to complete. In South African group singing, the call-and-response pattern is characterized by the overlapping of the solo and choir parts and by the introduction of various vocal parts at different times in the cycle, named "staggering cycles" (Coplan, 2008). Being a spontaneous interaction, it does not need a coordinator but just a leading line starting the practice. It enables to create syntony among the people and find their place in the song's musical structure. Moreover, it emphasizes the interdependence of individuals and the formation of a common sentiment. Since everyone can engage in the singing conversation and no one has the leading role, it is said that antiphony democratizes protest songs. An additional pattern is the strength of the collective response. Indeed, the sensory perception by the answering line provides crucial information on the degree of cohesion among the people and support for the cause. Clearly, an absent or a cold response indicates a lack of support. These said it derives that antiphony is significant in power creation and expression. An explicative example is the *Amandla-awethu-call*, frequently used in many ANC manifestations, celebrations, or even funerals. It consisted of the speaker calling *Amandla* (which means power) and the rest of the people answering *awethu* (which means ours). In this way, a close relationship is established between the speaker and the mass of people. It aims to create cohesion among the protest participants to intimidate the "other", which can be identified with the police or some regime officials. On top of being one of the most emblematic sounds of Apartheid for the oppressed people, the *Amandla* call contributed to spreading the "Black danger" among the whites.

The second element refers to the cyclical repetition of verses in the lyrics of a song. In the words of John Miller Chernoff, this is a common feature among African protest songs. It plays the same role as European popular and protest songs' refrain. Repetition can present itself through antiphony. A dominating moment of repetition in which a defined alternation between solo and chorus is established (Chernoff, 1981). However, this "swinging back and forth" is just one possible manifestation. Some songs are entirely composed upon the repetition of a single sentence, like in the case of the song "Senzeni Na?" (Analyzed above). The power of repetition lies in the unsettling call to action (Hirsch, 2004) accompanied by the never-ending repetition of the tonal harmony based on the chord progression I-IV-V. The latter is the foundation for improvisation. Indeed, this musical structure allows leaders to develop a song through words, melodies, or rhythm as long as they cannot break the shared connection. Even for hours, repetition can be performed (Small, 1996). In these cases, it is possible to have repetition with variations where leaders improvise, and the group delivers a responding refrain. Repetition with variety increases the adaptability of music to evolving sociopolitical situations.

Finally, the embodied rhythm must be understood as the "way through which music moves" people (Jolaosho, 2019). When the song catches the emotions of the protestors, it can be said that it moves them. Either old or young, rhythm sways them together. Moreover, it creates a unified sentiment among the demonstrators. Since protest songs are usually characterized by polyrhythmic layering [24] (Agawu, 2003, cited in Jolaosho, 2019), rhythmic perception may differ from one person to another. Therefore, the use of the body to highlight perceived rhythms and generate new ones (through the stomps or the clapping of the hands) contributes to song development. It helps create collective energy and entertain people.

[24] The employment of two or more opposing rhythms at the same time.

CHAPTER THREE:
"NAANTS'INDOD'EMNYAMA VERWOERD"

This chapter is devoted to a specific case study. It will focus on the figure of Vuyisile Mini, firstly by looking at his history and his role in the fight against Apartheid, then by analyzing in detail one of the most important songs in the history of the South African struggle music: "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd".

Vuyisile Mini is remembered more than everything else for being an activist committed to union life. He belongs to the group of black people sentenced by the regime because of their beliefs and actions; executed for their role in the battle to free South Africa of class and ethnic tyranny. Vuyisile Mini was among these people and was their leader. He brought his music and voice to prison to keep his protest from behind bars and never stopped even when the singing of revolutionary songs was forbidden and punished. However, his bravery never wavered, even while marching with his fist raised, singing liberation songs to the gallows (RMT Ngqungwana, n.d., cited in Vuyisile Mini | South African History Online, n.d.). In the words of Nelson Mandela, every day, Vuyisile Mini led the group in singing liberation songs while staying at Johannesburg's Prison, also known as "The Fort". It "kept our spirits high" (Mandela, 1994, cited in Schumann, 2008, p. 23).

After his death, the song "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd" kept his memory and his unrelenting courage alive by becoming a true anthem of South African protest music. Until today, the song unified the people and fostered a pervasive political culture.

The analysis conducted until now is the necessary basis for the case study. The first chapter, being devoted to the history of Apartheid, is fundamental for the textual analysis and the contextualization of the song. While the second chapter, being focused on the characterizing features of protest songs, will be the basis for a more detailed analysis of the song in terms of musical genre, language, and Aristotelian rhetorical techniques.

THE FATHER OF PROTEST SONGS

There is a figure in the history of Apartheid in South Africa who penned numerous liberation anthems against the regime and committed himself to the socio-political life of the 20th century that will surely be remembered for a long time. He was one of the most influential political leaders and a thriving musical composer of the early years of resistance.

Vuyisile Mini also remembered as the "father of protest songs", was born on the 8th of April 1920 in Tsomo in the Eastern Cape. He was the child of a dockworker actively involved in labor and social struggles. His father was an inspiring figure for Mini, so already, at the age of 17, he started to participate in some early protests. He was also involved in initiatives to stop the forced deportation of Black people from the place where he lived. After finishing elementary school, he committed himself to labor organizations and started working as a trade union organizer. He was known as the "organizer of the unorganized" due to his bravery and never-ending attempts to organize workers during the increasingly oppressive regime of the '50s. In the word of the poet Jeremy Cronin, Vuyisile Mini was described as such: "Songs had become an organizer, and he was the embodiment of this reality" (cited in le Roux-Kemp, 2014, p. 255)

His life in trade unions led him to become the Union Secretary of Metal Workers. Together with Stephen Tobia, he also founded the Union for African Painting and Building. The Port Elizabeth Stevedoring and Dockworkers' Union, created by Mini, was at the origin of one of the biggest rallies of the '50s, demanding a wage increase and fighting against cheap employment of prisoners. His militant life started when he decided to join the African National Congress (ANC). Imprisoned for the first time in 1952 in Rooi Hel [25] for participating in the "Campaign of Defiance Against Unjust Laws". Due to his incarceration, he lost his job as a battery plant packer. He continued his activist life by purposefully infiltrating railway land exclusively for whites. He combined his trade union activities with political engagement. Therefore, it allowed him to rise through the ANC ranks quickly. He was appointed Cape region Secretary for the ANC. However, in 1956, suspected of treason, he was among the 156 black people arrested during an assault. Among them, there was also Nelson Mandela. It has been remembered in history as the legendary Treason Trial of 1956. Mini was released for the second time in 1959 due to a lack of evidence. Given his profound

[25] "Red Hell" or North End Prison, Port Elizabeth.

commitment to the cause and the great help provided in organizational terms of the unions, in 1960, Vuyisile mini was appointed as the Eastern Cape Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Thanks to him, SACTU was more than an ordinary trade union "it became an institution of and from the people" (Luckhardt & Wall, 1980, cited in Msila, 2011, p. 5). In 1961, he was among the first to be recruited into the military wing of the ANC, the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), and became a component of the High Command for the Eastern Cape. During this period of devoted activism, Mini and his family suffered numerous harassments from the local police because he had been framed as a militant by the national government (RMT Ngqungwana, n.d.). He was arrested two years later for political crimes and brought to Pretoria Central Prison. Mini and other two activists, Zinakile Mkhaba and Diliza Khayinga, were given seventeen charges for sabotage and for the assassination of Sipho Mange, an accused police informant. The three were offered life in return for information on the clandestine political activity in Port Elizabeth. However, Mini refused and documented the episode by writing:

> "They then said there was still a chance for me to be saved as they knew I was the big boss of the movement in the Eastern Cape. I must just tell them where the detonators and revolvers were, and they would help me. I refused […] When they asked would I make the Amandla Ngawethu salute when I walked the last few paces to the gallows, I said yes". (Vuyisile Mini | South African History Online, n.d., see Annex 4)

After police officers had approached Mini to persuade him to testify against his colleague (Wilton Mkwayi) and faced his refusal, Mini was sentenced to death (Ngqungwana, n.d., cited in Vuyisile Mini | South African History Online, n.d.). On the 6th of November 1964, Mini walked to the gallows singing liberation songs he had written. Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkaba, and Wilson Khayinga's execution sparked worldwide outrage and requests for forgiveness of the black population either by the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein, or by Maha Thray Sithu U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN). They were among the regime's first combatants and unionists to be killed.

His comrade in jail, Ben Turok, who completed a three-year sentence for being involved in MK activities, reported Mini's last day in Pretoria's prison. He portrays him courageously heading to the gallows while singing "Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd" (Watch out Verwoerd). Mini's bass voice rang loud and distinct, sending his farewell Xhosa departure message to the jailed fellows. The melodic bass voice of Mini spread through the cells of the prison until

late in the night and then began again early in the morning. He spoke about the fight and his total certainty of victory, charged with passion yet defiant. It was November 1964 when:

> "unexpectedly, the voice of Vuyisile Mini came roaring down the hushed passages […] his unmistakable bass voice was enunciating his final message in Xhosa to the world he was leaving. In a voice charged with emotion but stubbornly defiant he spoke of the struggle waged by the African National Congress and of his absolute conviction of the victory to come […] Soon after, I heard the door of their cell being opened […] then the three martyrs broke into a final poignant melody which seemed to fill the whole prison with sound and then gradually faded away into the distant depths of the condemned section". (Vuyisile Mini | South African History Online, n.d.)

After his execution, Mini was secretly buried in a poor grave at Pretoria's Rebecca Street Cemetery and reburied at New Brighton's Memorial Park in 1998. The choice of the song "Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd" aimed to warn the regime of black's might. After his death, the latter became a famous anthem, a symbol of determined resistance. It was one of the most popular songs in the Apartheid years. Indeed, he is considered the father of protest songs because he managed to unite a protest message and a homage to the freedom's strength in "Pasopa Verwoerd".

During his life, in addition to being an activist, he devoted part of his days to being an actor, singer, poet, and composer of songs. Mini is remembered not only for the energy and resilience brought to the fight but also for the musical contribution. His bass voice can be considered his hallmark, belligerent at times and wistful at others. As he was very passionate about choral and classical music, he performed in various choirs in New Brighton and Port Elizabeth, such as the Male Voice Choir and the United Artists Choir, both of them directed by Fikile Gwashu (Msila, 2011).

Mini enthralled the audience with his creative abilities and rhetorical skills. He was ahead of his time in realizing that music can organize and deepen opposition to oppressive laws. After the ANC and the PAC were banned, black people continued listening to songs and got convinced that triumph was imminent even in the face of Apartheid's force. "Radio Freedom" was the concrete implementation of this practice. An ANC station broadcasting music that reminded audiences of the only objective to pursue, liberating the country.

Many of Mini's songs were about Verwoerd or named him in the lyrics. "Izakunyathel'iAfrika" was composed during the Treason Trial of 1956. In saying, "Africa

is going to trample on you, Verwoerd. Verwoerd careful! You are going to get hurt" [26] he fully demonstrated how the subjugated felt about the architect of Apartheid and the regime in general. Since the figure of Verwoerd is frequently cited, it must be understood not only as of the name of one of the most influential politicians of those years but also as the personification of the entire system of racial segregation. Therefore, the warning is often directed not only to the single person but to the whole apparatus.

The song "Thath' umthwalo" was composed by Mini during the Treason Trial. It took new connotations as soon as the authoritarian regime forced black people to move from their homes and feel like refugees in their own country. Mini yearned to come back home to his family. This melancholy is typical of songs regretting life before colonialism (Msila, 2011). When he composed the song, 1956 trialists had already been in prison for a long time and had missed the families a lot. Therefore, with his lyrics, Mini wanted to spread the familiar feeling of loneliness "Take up your luggage brother and let's go home. Our mothers and fathers are waiting back there" [27].

Every song written by Mini pursued a different objective. The first two aimed at warning the regime, while some others serve the purpose of spreading the message around the world. Through the two-verses songs, he wanted to raise awareness also abroad: "Let this gospel spread. Around the whole world it should be heard" [28]. Clearly, the international interest in the black cause frightened and destabilized the regime. It was precisely for this purpose that songs of this kind were written. Indeed, it must be remembered that English was banned as a language for the lyrics precisely to prevent songs from spreading even outside the borders.

These are a few examples of Mini's numerous compositions. However, the following subsection will focus on one of the songs that made South African history and music. It was popularized by Miriam Makeba and Harry Belafonte, who collaborated on a record called "An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba" in 1965, which even won a Grammy Award the following year for 'Best Ethnic or Traditional Folk' recording. Released a year after Vuyisile Mini's sentence, it included a fantastic rendition of "Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd". The attractive beat was due to the mélange of the musical genres of *marabi* and jazz to deliver a powerful call-to-action of dancing and protesting.

[26] Original version: *"Izakunyathel'iAfrica, Verwoerd. Verwoerd shuu! Uzakwenzakala"* (Msila, 2011).
[27] Original version: "Thath'umthwalo bhuti sigoduke. Balindile oomama noobab'ekhaya" (Msila, 2011).
[28] Original version: "Mayihambe le Vangeli. Mayigqib'ilizwe lonke" (Msila, 2011).

SONG ANALYSIS

This section is devoted to analyzing the song "Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd". Firstly, the song will be contextualized in the years when it was written, and a focus on the figure of Verwoerd will be provided. Then, the musical genre of the song will be described. Since the earliest recording available on the internet is the song registered by Miriam Makeba, the analysis will refer to this version. Next, the song's structure will be explored in reference to Jolaosho's theorization of the main elements of protest songs (2019). Finally, the last subsection will be devoted to the textual analysis of the song. It will be based on the theoretical background built in the second chapter. Therefore, the three Aristotelian rhetorical techniques will be applied to the specific case of the song. Finally, the choice of the language and the intrinsic message will be examined. Below is the lyrics of the song in isiXhosa, the original language, and the English translation (le Roux-Kemp, 2014).

Nantsi'ndodemnyama, Verwoerd (x4)	Here is the black man, Verwoerd (x4)
Pasopa nantsi'ndodemnyama, Verwoerd (x4)	Watch out here comes the black man,
Nantsi'ndodemnyama, Verwoerd (x4)	Verwoerd (x4)
	Here comes the black man, Verwoerd (x4)

1. Who is Verwoerd?

The song is a direct warning to Hendrik Verwoerd, who is considered the "architect of Apartheid".

Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd was born in Amsterdam, on the 8th of September 1901, to a Dutch family. They moved to South Africa, Wynberg, when he was two years old because the father was a sympathizer of the Afrikaaners. Boer of adoption, he was involved in his community's strong nationalism against the United Kingdom from an early age. After ten years living there, they went to Bulawayo in Rhodesia to move back to South Africa, Brandfort, after four years. He studied at the University of Stellenbosch's Faculty of Psychology, where he graduated with honors in 1922 and earned his Ph.D. in 1924. Then, he stayed a few years in Germany to continue his studies. Some scholars realized that his stay in Berlin coincided with the spread of the German National Socialism and suggested that his racial and political ideas could have emerged during those years. However, at the time, Verwoerd was more influenced by American Sociology in that he was convinced that racial groups do not have

substantial differences; therefore, he thought that it was "not really a factor in the development of a higher social civilization by the Caucasians". (Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd | South African History Online, n.d.)

In the second half of the 1930s, Verwoerd began a political career within the National Party, becoming director of the nationalist journal *Die Transvaler*. In this position, he became a supporter and spokesman for the party's conventional, Christian, and social side, emphasizing the protection of workers in an anti-capitalist and anti-UK society. For what concerns the national affairs, Verwoerd began to support a system of segregated community development that was considerably distinct from the one already adopted by General Jan Smuts. While the latter created boundaries between various ethnic groups, Verwoerd offered a philosophical explanation for the Apartheid. At the base of the racial project, there is the awareness of the ethnic diversity of the country, where each group owns a distinct social, economic, and geographical setting. Therefore, he concludes that each of them should grow independently of the others, clearly reserving the position of superiority to the white Boer ethnic group in that they had an obligation to control the separate development. In other words, he justified his idea by emphasizing his aim to foster a project of "harmonious" rather than "mutually corrupt" development of people. This gained him plenty of new white sympathizers.

He is considered the father of Apartheid because he was instrumental in socially building the country's system of enforced racial segregation and bringing the far-right National Party to power in 1948. The new Malan government accepted most of the racist principles exposed by Verwoerd and laid the groundwork for implementing Apartheid. The first step was the introduction of rules prohibiting mixed marriages and sexual relations between people of different ethnic groups, turning them into a limitation of the freedom of movement and the establishment of separate areas for each of them.

In addition to the theorization of the doctrine, his practical contribution to the segregationist system was made as Minister of Native Affairs (between 1950 and 1958) and as Prime Minister of South Africa from 1958 to 1966. It can be considered the Union of South Africa's last Prime Minister because, during his mandate, he declared the establishment of the Republic of South Africa.

After an assassination attempt in 1960, Verwoerd was killed in parliament in 1966 by the Greek-Mozambican parliamentary employee, Dimitri Tsafendas, who escaped the death penalty with a declaration of mental instability.

2. Musical Analysis

For the purpose of analysis, several South African music research centers, institutions, universities, and experts on the matter were contacted. What can be derived is that it does not exist an original recording of the song by the composer Vuyisile Mini. He appears to have sung with several choirs; however, commercial record companies in the 1950s and 1960s were not particularly interested in African Choirs' productions. Furthermore, he resided in Port Elizabeth, where recording chances for local musicians were limited unless they traveled to Johannesburg. The Transcription Service of the South African Broadcasting Corporation recorded many choir materials since its establishment in 1953. However, being a state entity with a strict censorship regime and broadcasting monopoly, the SABC never recorded anything that projected anti-government sentiment. Therefore, the first recording of "Nantsi'ndodemnyama, Verwoerd" was made by Belafonte and Makeba in 1965. In general terms, it can be assumed that this song's recording is somehow faithful in musical style and lyrics to the original version handed down orally. Clearly, it must be considered that both, Belafonte and Makeba, did not sing in the popular South African languages, and were more projected toward an international audience, the former being American, and the latter given the years spent in exile in the USA. Surprisingly, "Nantsi'ndodemnyama, Verwoerd" differs from other liberation songs in that it was composed by a known person rather than being written anonymously by groups of activists or masses.

"Nantsi'ndodemnyama, Verwoerd" can be generally classified as a freedom song in all its executions. It is not relevant to confine this song to a specific musical genre when it comes to struggle music. However, it is somewhat more important to reveal the various facets and peculiarities through styles of interpretations of the song as part of the broader category of protest music. Therefore, the theoretical background built in the previous chapter suggests that the song undoubtedly falls under the term liberation music. It is significant to highlight that it was collectively performed during protests and funerals. Moreover, it adheres to the structure of South African popular music in that the tonal harmony is based on the I-IV-V periodic chord progression. It means that the solo part and the choir's answer overlap in a cyclic call and response structure. As a matter of fact, the lyrics is made up of only three

repeated sentences repeated over and over. Moreover, listening to the song, it is possible to perceive the power of the rhythm from the very first second. Indeed, the rhythmical base is so engaging that it is impossible to remain impassive and unmoved throughout the song. In fact, the sound and the beat drag movements of the body even unconsciously.

In this regard, it is possible to practically understand what the "appropriateness of a song" means. The second chapter demonstrated that Denisoff's functional model (1968) could be applied to musical styles as well, as proved by Brecht's composer. What can be said is that the style of the song manages to combine tradition and innovation and create an engaging beat. Furthermore, this song lies under the label of "African Jazz", a broad term implying that a specific style or genre of music, although influenced by foreign forms and styles (as mentioned in chapter II, section 4.1), is unmistakably South African in its execution. Therefore, the musical choice was not only spot-on for the popular audience but was also essential in enhancing the energy of the strikes.

3. Textual Analysis

The song's lyrics is basic and repetitive, making it easy to be orally handed down. It was written in the '50s by Vuyisile Mini to foster action and commitment to the cause, and since its composition, it spread only by word of mouth until Makeba recorded it one year after his death, in 1965. In this sense, it perfectly complies with the notion of "literature from below" (Groenewald, 2010). The simplicity and the directness of the text positions the song in the magnetic protest songs as defined by Denisoff (1968) in that people are quickly engaged, and a political message is communicated immediately. Moreover, this song can be placed in the group of protest music, as defined by Denisoff, since it aims to broadcast widespread dissatisfaction and anger against the regime. It differs from a general politically motivated song because it aims to mount strong popular opposition. In addition to that, it was written by Mini, who was primarily recognized as an activist and not as a musician generally committed to social causes (Allen, 2003). Furthermore, it perfectly reflects Groenewald's theorization: it serves the purpose of warning the government, it is educational and inspirational for what concerns racial segregation, and it is ideologically and politically line-up for equality (2010).

Taking up Aristotelian textual analysis, it is possible to derive that this song's lyrics fall into the category of deliberative rhetoric. Indeed, there is a concern for prospective future events, and the objective is to advise and express disproval about them. It uses instances from the past to anticipate future results and demonstrate that a specific action or policy may be damaging (or helpful) in the future. In other words, the song warns Verwoerd that the establishment of the Apartheid regime may cause and justify an act of future revenge by the black people. Applying the three Aristotelian rhetorical techniques to this song, it is possible to state that it fulfills all three elements. First, collectiveness is met in that there is coincidence between performers and spectators, it is a popular song performed at rallies in groups without distinction between the singer and audience. For what concerns the speech, it was unwritten for the first decade of circulation, as stated above; therefore, it fully complies with what was theorized by Nkoala in 2013 (see chapter 2, section 2.1) in applying Aristotelian rhetoric to music.

The chosen language for the song is Xhosa belonging to the Nguni branch of Bantu languages mainly spoken in the southeast part of South Africa. It is worth noting that despite using the Xhosa word "lumkela" which can be translated as "lookout/ watch out"; was chosen "pasopa", a word remarkably similar to the Afrikaans corresponding "passop". The decision was not without any fundament; on the contrary, the deliberate choice of a word that the Apartheid authorities could have easily understood was in the writer's aims. Unlike many other protest songs, Mini decided to openly accuse the state without resorting to linguistical devices to cover the message. In this way, the government was fully aware of the song's meaning and the open confrontation made through it. Indeed, since Verwoerd symbolically represents the whole white population repressing the black community, the direct attack on the author of Apartheid needs to be intended as a strike against all those collaborating. While marching, this song guaranteed that the authorities or the police understood that a warning was being delivered. Singing "Ndodemnyama we Verwoerd" was a real protest statement (Vershbow, 2010). In the words of Thandi Modise (Hirsch, 2004), a member of the ANC National Executive Committee:

> "When you really, really wanted to make the Boers (Afrikaaners) mad, you sang Pasopa Verwoerd because you were almost daring them" (cited in Nkoala, 2013, p. 59).

During the Apartheid years, black people lacked real access to guns. This song was the only armament they possessed; it was an essential aspect that encouraged the people that triumph

was guaranteed despite the bans, executions, and imprisonments. When political leaders were in jail, the songs kept spreading the faith, reminding the people that liberation was certain despite the difficulties and assured them of fighting for a worthy cause.

CONCLUSION

"Politics can strengthen music but music has a potency that defies politics". Through these words, Nelson Mandela in The Hidden Years (cited in Schumann, 2008, p. 35) efficaciously highlighted the dissertation's core. Politics may help the composition of music and strengthen it, but it must be recognized that music has a power that transcends the political context.

This thesis aimed to analyze the role struggle music had socially and politically during the years of Apartheid in South Africa. As it was structured, the analysis provided a complete and multisectoral understanding of the subject matter. It helped the examination of the soundscapes of South African liberation music both with a more general perspective and a more practical focus. Generally speaking, protest songs, thanks to their transmissive and emotional character, are an instrument of transcendence for the single individual and a tool for creating an intersubjective relationship. In this way, at the end of the 20th century, disparate South African groups came together to establish a unifying movement to oppose Apartheid. Struggle songs have become part of shared memory, they have formed part of a long past of resistance to cultural and political dominance. Indeed, many people continue singing them nowadays.

Indeed, this dissertation project married Adorno's perspective of the necessity to root the study of music in a social context (Ballantine, 2012). As a matter of fact, ethnomusicology adopts a comparative approach because it uses a variety of academic subjects to study music. Indeed, this field derived from what was called "comparative musicology". Music is studied as a social practice rather than a mere product to understand what it signifies for the composer and the audience. In this way, the study of music envisages not only the focused analysis of a song in its textual and musical structure but also a broader approach based on the adoption of a more global perspective, the recognition of music as a human activity, and the importance of the ethnographic and historical research.

However, how can it be really studied and examined a culture if not compared with something different? Is it really possible to have complete knowledge if no comparison is adopted?

In addressing these questions, a more comparative branch of ethnomusicology has developed over the years. The attention paid to the international study of popular music from diverse countries is increasing, although there is not yet a comparative methodology for carrying out global comparisons due to the substantial differences in musical genres.

What can be said for Apartheid can be applied to the whole history of South Africa and to every period of social turmoil that ever broke out in the world. Music has always had this role and this power. However, scholars sometimes neglect cultural productions while investigating the causes and results of a historical moment or a social transformation. The protest music served as a method of political communication, expressing the desire for justice and peace. Liberation songs went hand in hand with liberation politics. If we assume art as a tool of expression and communication, then nothing better than it can provide essential information about what was actually experienced by the people.

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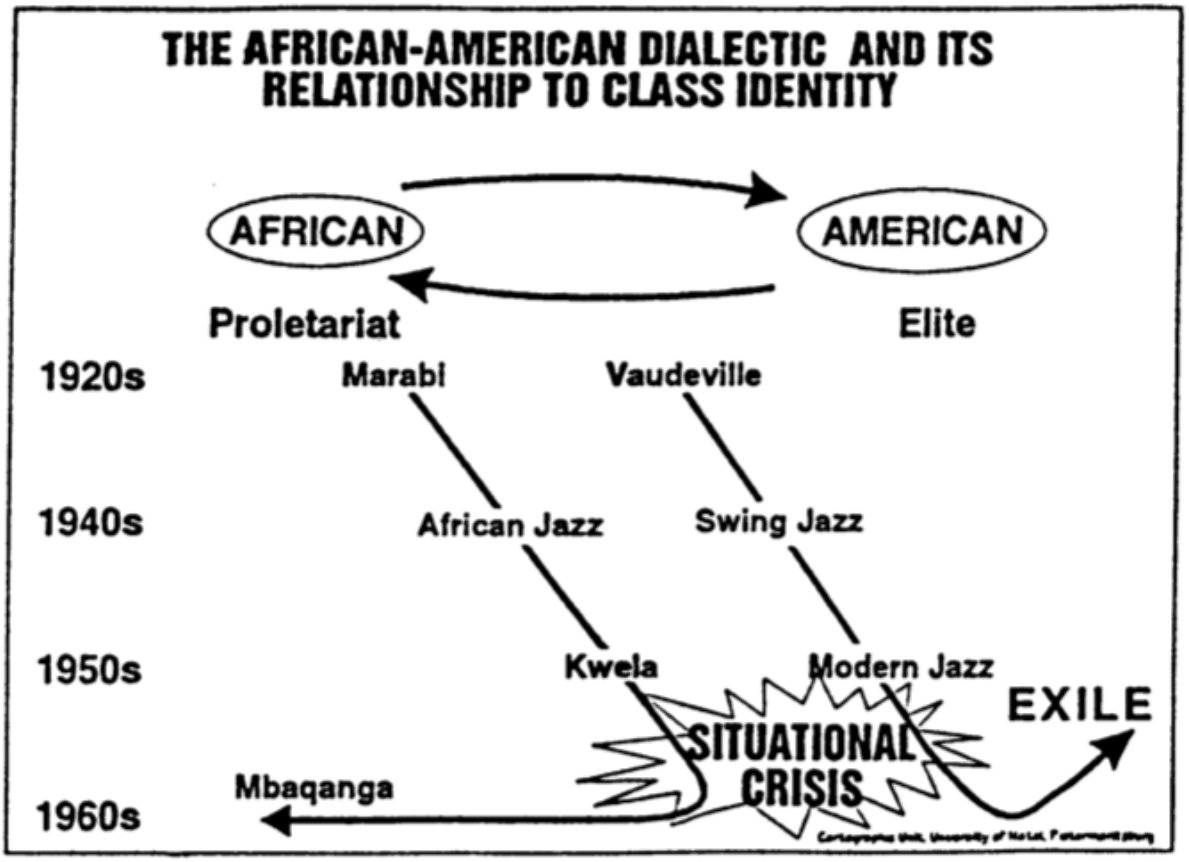
TABLE OF ANNEXES

Annex 1

The African-American Dialectic and its Relationship to Class Identity

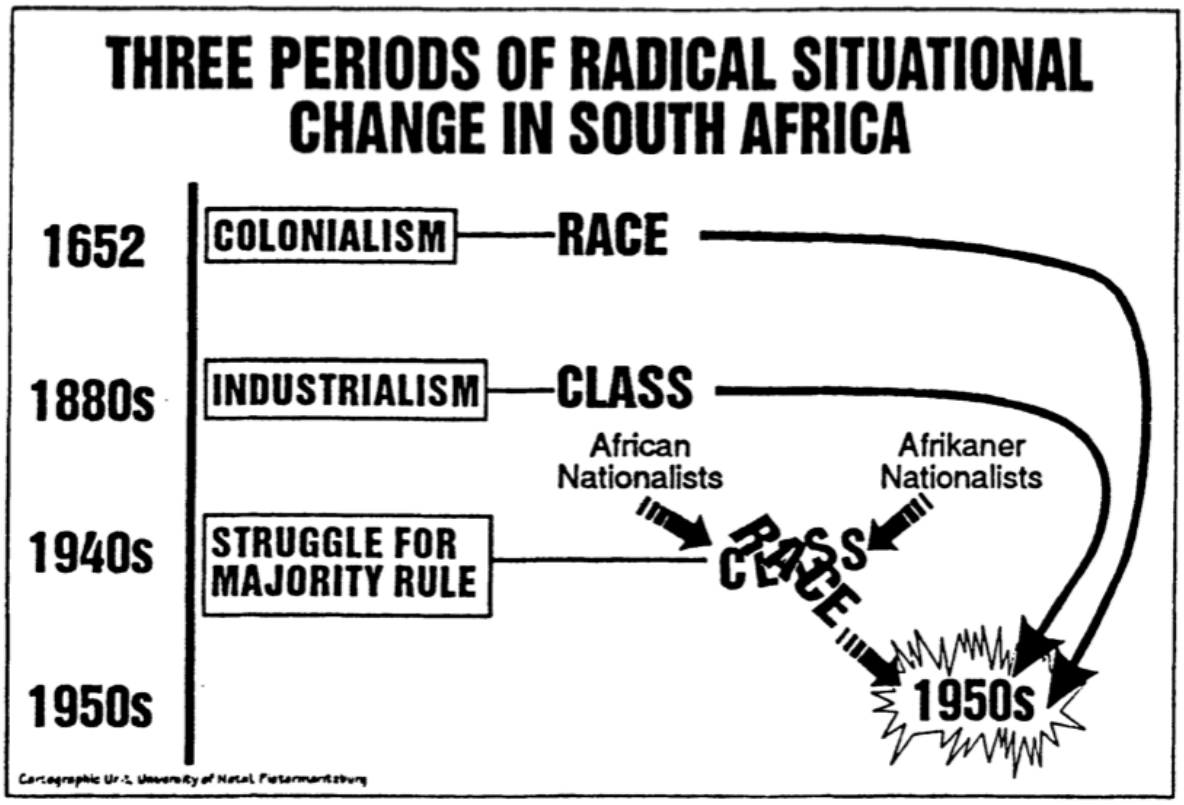
(Allen, 1996, p. 53)



Annex 2

Three Periods of Radical Situational Change in South Africa

(Allen, 1996, p. 56)



Annex 3

Meadowlands Lyrics (le Roux-Kemp, 2014)

Otla utlwa makgowa arei	You'll hear the whites say
Are yeng ko Meadowlands	Let's move to Meadowlands
Meadowlands Meadowlands	Meadowlands Meadowlands
Meadowlands sithando sam	Meadowlands, my love
Otlwa utlwa botsotsi bare	You'll hear the tsotsis say
Ons dak ni ons pola hier.	We're not moving, we're staying here.

Annex 4

From the Death Cell (Kumalo, n.d.)

I am presently awaiting execution at Pretoria Central Gaol, having been sentenced to death at the beginning of the year.

On October 2nd, 1964, Captain Geldenhuys and two other police- men came to see me. They asked me if I had been informed that my appeal had been dismissed. I said, 'Yes'. They said, did I know that our advocates admitted in Court that we were guilty of all the other cases except the murder. I told them I was not interested to know from *them* what my advocates said.

They then said that there is still a chance for me to be saved as they knew I was the big boss of the movement in the Eastern Cape. I must tell them where the detonators and revolvers were, and they would help me.

I told them that if they studied the evidence against me they would understand that I was only implicated about the detonators indirectly, but I wasn't there. I told them that if they wanted to know about the revolvers, they could go to Kholisile Mdwai-he would help them best and would be happy to do so-as he had done at the trial. They then asked me about Wilton Mkwayi-they said I saw Mkwayi in January 1963 - I said, 'yes' - they asked me if I was prepared to give evidence against Mkwayi, whom they had now arrested. I said, 'No, I was not.' They said there is a good chance for them to save me from the gallows if I was prepared to assist then. I refused to assist. They then said, would I make the 'Amandla' salute when I walked the last few paces to the gallows. I said, 'Yes'. After a few more jokes of that nature they left.

Vuyisile Mini

SUMMARY IN ITALIAN

“L’arte non è uno specchio cui riflettere il mondo, ma un martello con cui scolpirlo” (Bertold Brecht in Askew, 2003, p. 633).

L’arte è sempre stata uno strumento di manifestazione emotiva e ideologica. Può essere considerata la massima espressione dei sentimenti umani in chiave creativa. Tra le numerose espressioni artistiche, la musica è una delle prime mai scoperte e sviluppate dall’uomo. Infatti, è stato provato che fin dalla comparsa dell’essere umano sulla terra, i nostri antenati avevano l’anatomia vocale per cantare. Di conseguenza, è possibile affermare che la musica di protesta, in quanto strumento di espressione e comunicazione, esiste da secoli. La musica ha costituito uno strumento necessario per le popolazioni nel corso della storia, ha reso possibile l’unione di gruppi di persone per combattere una causa comune, le ha motivate ad agire e le ha rese consapevoli di essere parte di una comunità.

Già nell’antica Grecia, la musica costituiva un mezzo di mobilitazione e ribellione contro l’autorità. Infatti, Platone fu il primo a cogliere il valore politico della musica e il conseguente pericolo per lo stato. In “La Repubblica”, Platone avvertì il lettore della necessità di proibire la musica poiché quando vi è un’evoluzione musicale, anche “le leggi fondamentali dello Stato cambiano” (Platone, 375BC, citato in Schumann, 2008, p.1). In altre parole, si rese conto del potere che la musica aveva nel plasmare la realtà e nell’influenzare i pensieri delle persone. Infatti, essa costituisce una componente essenziale per la società in quanto fornisce alle persone gli strumenti necessari per affrontare le battaglie. Le canzoni possono avere un significato che trascende il mero livello musicale e possono persino influenzare l’ambiente sociopolitico.

In tal senso, lo studio dell’Apartheid non può prescindere dal ruolo delle espressioni creative popolari in quanto chiave di comprensione dei sentimenti del popolo. Tra queste, la musica ha rivestito un ruolo significativo nel creare un senso di identità e comunità tra i sudafricani nella lotta contro le ingiustizie sociali degli anni ‘80. L’Apartheid e la sua imposizione di politiche disumane hanno limitato ogni tipo di libertà, specialmente d’espressione. Fu in questa condizione di segregazione che le minoranze trovarono nell’arte e in particolare nella musica uno strumento di comunicazione. Nonostante la censura e le varie limitazioni nazionali del governo segregazionista, la gente non ha mai smesso di esprimere la propria rabbia e dissenso

attraverso la musica. Essa era capace non solo di creare coesione tra le persone della stessa comunità ma anche di raccogliere consenso e supporto internazionale.

La presente tesi si propone di studiare il ruolo sociopolitico della musica di protesta durante l'Apartheid in Sudafrica. Storicamente, la musica di liberazione è emersa molto tempo prima dell'istituzione del governo segregazionista. Già con il colonialismo il Sud Africa aveva conosciuto la diffusione di canzoni di dissenso. Tuttavia, la più grande produzione musicale di protesta è avvenuta nella seconda metà del 1900. In 46 anni di Apartheid, l'evoluzione delle politiche razziali ha portato ad una conseguente risposta della resistenza popolare. La musica, essenziale in tutte le fasi di oppressione, ha subito un'evoluzione in termini contenutistici e di struttura musicale. In tal senso, le ingiustizie vissute e la crudele quotidianità sono state raccontate in vario modo a seconda del periodo e delle limitazioni nazionali.

L'analisi inizia con l'introduzione al contesto storico. In primo luogo, la storia è stata introdotta attraverso un modello innovativo sviluppato da Lara Allen in "Drumbeats, Pennywhistles and All That Jazz" (1996). Si basa sull'adattamento delle produzioni teoriche di Gramsci al contesto dell'Apartheid per comprendere i tre momenti critici della storia sudafricana e l'evoluzione da un momento all'altro. In ordine, il colonialismo, l'industrializzazione e l'Apartheid. Poi, attraverso una linea temporale i momenti più significativi della storia del paese africano, a partire dal colonialismo fino all'instaurazione dell'Apartheid e al suo crollo, sono stati presentati. Il primo capitolo termina con una rapida panoramica su come il regime si è rapportato alla musica sia in termini di censura che di diffusione ideologica. Infatti, la musica non fu adottata solo dal popolo come strumento di resistenza, ma anche dal governo come strumento di propaganda. In questo modo, la composizione musicale degli oppressi fu censurata, e le canzoni di stato furono promosse per fini propagandistici. Bisogna, dunque, sottolineare che l'Apartheid e il suo obiettivo di "sviluppo separato" non erano limitati alla sfera politica ma miravano a includere anche il settore culturale. Di conseguenza, perfino l'arte di quegli anni è pervasa da significati politici. Tuttavia, la resistenza politico-culturale dell'African National Congress, iniziata già nel 1912, si è dimostrata essenziale ed efficace.

Il secondo capitolo è incentrato sul background teorico. Lo scopo è di fornire un'analisi dettagliata della letteratura sulla musica di protesta. Tuttavia, essendo un settore in constatante evoluzione e molto dibattuto tra gli stessi studiosi, una selezione delle teorie è stata fatta. In primo luogo, è stato presentato il dibattito sulla definizione di musica di protesta ed è stata

evidenziata la differenza con le canzoni a sfondo politico. Considerato che, come già detto, la musica di protesta non è un fenomeno recente, nel corso degli anni molti ricercatori hanno identificato dei modelli ricorrenti delle canzoni di protesta, non solo durante l'Apartheid e non solo in Sudafrica. Pertanto, la seconda sezione del capitolo è dedicata all'analisi degli elementi principali della canzone di liberazione, basata sulle tre tecniche retoriche aristoteliche. In questo modo, sono state studiate le abilità dell'oratore, il ruolo del pubblico e la potenza linguistica del discorso. Dopo averli definiti a livello teorico sono stati applicati alla canzone "Senzeni Na?". Sebbene non strettamente parte della tradizione aristotelica originale, l'indagine sulla natura performativa delle canzoni di protesta, il *toyi-toyi,* è stata inclusa nel capitolo. La terza sezione è dedicata alla scelta linguistica delle canzoni ed a un *excursus* sulle radici delle diverse lingue bantu esistenti in Sudafrica. Particolare attenzione è stata prestata alle tecniche linguistiche utilizzate per nascondere i messaggi ed evitare la censura. A tal proposito, bisogna sottolineare che l'ovvietà del messaggio politico nelle canzoni è variata nel corso degli anni. Infatti, così come il livello di repressione si è acuito durante l'Apartheid, allo stesso modo la risposta musicale è diventata più diretta. L'ultima parte di questo secondo capitolo è dedicata ai generi musicali della cultura sudafricana e alla struttura musicale degli stessi: l'antifonia, la ripetizione ciclica e il ritmo.

L'ultimo capitolo è dedicato all'analisi di un caso studio specifico: Vuyisile Mini e la canzone "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd". Lo studio è stato condotto sulla base delle conoscenze storiche e teoriche costruite nei primi due capitoli. Il primo, dedicato alla storia dell'Apartheid, è fondamentale per l'analisi testuale e la contestualizzazione della canzone. Mentre il secondo capitolo, incentrato sui tratti caratterizzanti delle canzoni di protesta, è la base per un'analisi dettagliata della canzone in termini di genere musicale, linguaggio e tecniche retoriche aristoteliche. Prima di entrare nel vivo dello studio della canzone "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd", sono stati presentati la storia dello scrittore Vuyisile Mini e il suo ruolo nella mobilitazione sociale. Vuyisile Mini è ricordato più di ogni altra cosa per essere un attivista impegnato nella vita sindacale. Appartiene al gruppo dei militanti condannati dal regime a causa delle loro convinzioni e azioni; giustiziati per il loro ruolo nella battaglia di liberazione del Sudafrica dalla tirannia bianca. Vuyisile Mini era uno dei leader politici più influenti e un fiorente compositore musicale dei primi anni della resistenza. In seguito all'arresto, ha portato la sua musica e la sua voce in prigione per mantenere viva la sua protesta anche quando il canto di rivoluzione fu proibito e punito. Secondo quanto raccontato da Nelson Mandela, ogni giorno, Vuyisile Mini guidava i prigionieri del carcere di Johannesburg al canto di liberazione

(Mandela, 1994, citato in Schumann, 2008, p. 23). Il coraggio e la sfida lo caratterizzavano; infatti, si ricorda che prima di essere giustiziato, percorrendo i corridoi della prigione, ha raggiunto il luogo di morte cantando "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd" con il pugno alzato. (RMT Ngqungwana, n.d., citato in Vuyisile Mini | South African History Online, n.d.). Dopo la sua morte, la canzone "Naants'indod'emnyama Verwoerd" ha mantenuto vivo il suo ricordo e il suo implacabile coraggio, diventando un vero inno musicale di protesta sudafricana. Essa è stata capace di unificare il popolo e favorire la diffusione di una cultura politica pervasiva.

Nelson Mandela in The Hidden Years (citato in Schumann, 2008, p. 35) scrive: "La politica può rafforzare la musica, ma la musica ha un potere che sfida la politica". Le sue parole evidenziano efficacemente il fulcro di questo progetto di tesi. La politica può aiutare la composizione musicale e rafforzarla, ma bisogna riconoscere alla musica un potere che trascende il contesto politico. Lo stesso Adorno ha evidenziato la necessità di radicare socialmente lo studio della musica (Ballantine, 2012). Nel corso degli anni, infatti, l'etnomusicologia, precedentemente chiamata "musicologia comparata", ha assunto un approccio multidisciplinare al fine di condurre uno studio musicale comparato. La musica viene studiata come pratica sociale piuttosto che come mero prodotto. Il significato della musica per le persone e per l'autore diventa, dunque, il vero oggetto di ricerca. In questo modo, lo studio della musica prevede non solo l'analisi mirata di una canzone nella sua struttura testuale e musicale, ma anche un approccio più ampio basato sull'adozione di una prospettiva più globale, sul riconoscimento della musica come attività umana e sull'importanza della ricerca etnografica e storica.

L'analisi condotta in merito al periodo dell'Apartheid, può essere, dunque, applicata a qualsiasi momento storico del Sudafrica o ad ogni periodo di tumulto sociale. La musica ha sempre avuto questo ruolo e questo potere. Le canzoni di liberazione si sono evolute in contemporanea alle politiche di liberazione. Poiché l'arte è strumento d'espressione umana, ne consegue che essa può fornire informazioni essenziali su ciò che è stato realmente vissuto dalle persone in un dato momento storico.