

Institutional Manifestations of Music Censorship and Surveillance in Apartheid South Africa with Specific Reference to the SABC from 1974 to 1996

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*Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Music (Musicology) in the Faculty of Social Sciences
at Stellenbosch University*



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March 2013

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The current study documents the procedures used by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) from 1974 to 1996 in the censorship of music. The disquisition argues that the SABC, as a national broadcaster, served as the most prominent censor of musical production and dissemination during that time. In addition, the study attempts to show that the censorship of music by the SABC was inherently connected with apartheid ideology in both moral and political terms but also that the SABC Acceptance Committees for radio broadcasts attempted to align themselves with more general state methods of censorship (although often inconsistent). This relationship, although not directly connected with the state censorship apparatus, functioned as the state's chief censor in the restriction of music. The study reports on a visit to the SABC Radio Library and Sound Archives in February 2012 and provides an analysis and discussion of documents found in the archive as well as how these findings relate to the broader arguments supplied in the thesis.

OPSOMMING

Die huidige studie dokumenteer die prosedures wat deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie (SAUK) tussen 1974 en 1996 in die sensuur van musiek toegepas is. Die tesis argumenteer dat die SAUK, as nasionale uitsaaier, tydens hierdie periode die belangrikste agent van musieksensuur was. Verder poog die studie om te bewys dat die sensuur van musiek deur die SAUK inherent met apartheidsideologie in beide morele en politiese terme verbind was, maar ook dat die SAUK Aanvaardingskommittees vir radio-uitsending probeer het om meer formele sensuurregulasies in stand te hou. Hierdie verhouding tussen die SAUK en die staat, alhoewel dit nie die SAUK direk met staatssensuur koppel nie, het beteken dat die SAUK as die staat se hoofsensor gefunksioneer het in die beperking van musiek. Die studie doen verslag van 'n besoek

aan die SAUK Radio Biblioteek en Klankargiewe in Februarie 2012 en voorsien 'n uiteensetting en bespreking van dokumente wat in die agief gevind is, asook hoe hierdie bevindinge verband hou met die breër argument oor sensuur en musiek wat in die tesis ontwikkel word.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are numerous individuals who have assisted me greatly during the completion of this study. I would like to acknowledge Olé Reitov, Kobus van Rooyen and Michael Drewett for supplying me with interview transcripts and who have been very willing to assist me with my research. I would like to thank Kobus van Rooyen, Paul Erasmus, David Marks and Thersia Francis as well as the staff from the SABC Record Library and Sound Archives. I am greatly indebted to them all for sharing their experiences of censorship and personal memories with me. Their contributions have proved indispensable.

I would also like to acknowledge my friends and colleagues from the Stellenbosch University musicology seminar group as well as Denis-Constant Martin who never hesitated to assist me by taking the time to read through my work and provide me with helpful suggestions and comments. In addition, the staff at the Stellenbosch University Braille office require acknowledgement for making material available to me in an accessible format. I am also grateful to the Ian Fraser Memorial Fund for their financial contribution to my study (2011) and Blind South Africa for their support as well as Stellenbosch University for a laptop bursary.

My supervisor Stephanus Muller has contributed so much to the completion of this thesis in terms of academic guidance and a willingness to devote his time and energy for supervision, revision and help in the archive. Without this support the study would not have been possible and I therefore acknowledge him here with great warmth and gratitude.

Finally, I would like to thank my very good friend Brigitte Glanzmann for her endless help and support. My mother Catherine and late father Bennie instilled in me a lifelong

interest for learning. My mother has been hugely supportive of this study and made considerable sacrifices to see its completion.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Afrikaner Broederbond (literally: Afrikaner bond of Brothers)
ABC	African Broadcasting Corporation
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CD	Compact Disc
CRAC	Central Record Acceptance Committee
EMI	Electrical and Musical Industries Ltd.
GG	Government Gazette
LP	Long Play
NGK	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church)
PAB	Publications Appeal Board
PCB	Publications Control Board
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front

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INTRODUCTION

On 24 May 2011, Stephanus Muller and the present writer boarded an early morning flight to George in the Western Cape. We arrived at the plot of Paul Erasmus and his son Dylan at approximately eight o'clock. Erasmus is a former security branch policeman, who is possibly most well-known for his testimony and plea for amnesty at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in the mid-1990s. I first encountered Erasmus and his role in apartheid censorship in an article published by Michael Drewett entitled 'Stop this Filth' and the documentary 'Stopping the Music', which discussed Erasmus's role in sabotaging the music and career of South African protest singer Roger Lucey. A man of a charismatic manner, Erasmus was eager to share his experiences of being a policeman, his uncomfortable position and feelings of remorse in a changed South Africa. The visit with Erasmus was filled with numerous well-recited anecdotes of state corruption and secret information which were at times tainted with a sense of untruth or omission. Our visit lasted most of the day and was spent searching through a stack of state documents, case books and files that Erasmus had collected.

My initial purpose for traveling to George was to ask Erasmus questions pertaining to music censorship in a more general context than is presented in this study and to discover whether Erasmus had occupied himself with censoring other artists besides Lucey. It emerged that Lucey (with one or two minor exceptions) had been a singular music related incident in the career of the policeman. Initial research, the interview with Paul Erasmus and a discussion held with former Publications Appeal Board (PAB) Chairman, Kobus van Rooyen, directed the study in the direction of the South African Broadcasting Corporation or SABC.

J.M. Coetzee has noted that from the 1960s to the 1980s, South Africa 'operated one of the most comprehensive censorship systems in the world'. Censorship, as Coetzee notes, is 'not proud of itself' and in apartheid South Africa even the word 'censorship'

was censored from public discourse, and euphemistically termed 'Publications Control' (Coetzee, 1996: 34). Coetzee has gone further to argue that this censorship apparatus functioned in a 'paranoid' manner that infected society at large, censoring the press, books, plays, films, toys, t-shirts, key-rings and shop signs (Coetzee, 1996: 34).

Nadine Gordimer (1976) has described this comprehensive censorship apparatus as 'an octopus of thought surveillance' (in: Merrett, 1994: 79). This metaphor is fitting because apartheid censorship was enforced by means of a governmental web of structures which stretched out to include the services of both state and civil structures. As part of this apparatus religious, state/political and commercial censorship seem to have been present (Cloonan, 2006: 7). In short, apartheid censorship sought to curtail media which it perceived as a threat to the state ideology (political and moral) or knowledge that could give rise to a critique of this ideology.

In his article 'Exposing Silence as Cultural Censorship: A Brazilian Case', Robin Sheriff argues that communal forms of censorship 'shape the political and social landscape' and that these 'customary silences constitute "cultural censorship" . . . which is practiced in the absence of explicit coercion or enforcement' (Sheriff, 2000: 114). This definition may be applied to the South African situation. As will become evident later in this thesis, state censorship and censorship which was enforced was frequently used by the National Party state. However, this form of 'cultural censorship' as it is referred to by Sheriff, is useful because it highlights the extent and proportions of censorship and the veil of silence and paranoia under which it functioned in apartheid South Africa. As Denis Brutus puts it: 'they will see a man being beaten at the nearest bus stop because he doesn't have a pass on him, but they mustn't react to this because this is part of society about which they may not speak' (In: Merrett, 1994: 77).

The notion of silence is an important part of a discussion on censorship and it has also proved to be an important methodological consideration throughout this research. Censorship in itself is concerned with silence (or silencing) but research into what has deliberately not been said makes this notion two-fold. In Chapter Three of this disquisition I explore this notion and its legacy as it applies to field work conducted at the SABC.

In recent years researchers have begun to document apartheid censorship as it pertains to the censorship of literature, film and the media. The doctoral thesis by Michael Drewett, which is discussed in greater depth in Chapter One, serves as a seminal source on apartheid music censorship. However, the censorship procedures within the SABC (which I argue was the dominant vehicle for censoring music), remains a void in the literature on the subject. It is the purpose of this study to bring some of these processes and structures into what Max Picard¹ has termed 'the loud places of history' (Picard, 1954: 84; Sheriff, 2000: 114).

The current research argues that the SABC, as a national broadcaster, served as the most dominant censor of musical production and dissemination on the apartheid state's behalf, although the execution of this restriction was carried out in a different manner to structures that censored other media. In addition, I shall attempt to show the relationships which existed between government structures of censorship and the SABC's Central Record Acceptance Committee (CRAC). I argue, based on archival findings dating from 1986 to 1996, that the CRAC attempted to align itself with government censorship procedures but was placed in an ambiguous position with the gradual change in political climate from approximately 1990. In addition, I show that the SABC was not only concerned with what it could silence but also with what it could promote through government propaganda, particularly on the so-called 'Bantu' or 'black' radio stations.

¹ *The World of Silence* (1954)

The current research is informed by literature available on apartheid censorship and music censorship. It has been necessary to make use of correspondence and interviews. An inevitable challenge during the completion of this study has been that many government or SABC employees who possessed first-hand knowledge of music censorship are no longer alive and I have thus had to rely on interviews conducted by fellow researchers for this purpose. In addition and in accordance with censorship's legacy of silence mentioned above, many living subjects have chosen not to involve themselves with the research process for various reasons. A similar void in information has been exposed in archival sources which are silent on the nature of SABC censorship before 1986 (a concept I explore further in Chapter Three).

Chapter One of the current study is comprised of three main sections. The first provides a theoretical exploration of censorship that discusses some of the broader themes related to the censorship discourse before attempting to relate these (often problematic) concepts to the artistic product and finally music. In accordance with the definitions and forms of censorship that I discuss in this Chapter, I have used a definition of censorship in this study which includes formal forms of censorship as well as surveillance, self-censorship and the pre-censorship procedures common at the SABC. The second section of the first chapter provides an ideological contextualization for Chapters Two and Three. As J.M. Coetzee (1996), Christopher Merrett (1994) and Peter McDonald (2009) have argued, censorship in South Africa has been inextricably connected to the political and moral tenets of Christian-Nationalist ideology. The final section of Chapter One provides a literature review of sources consulted for the research project.

In Chapter Two I map the macro-structures in the apartheid censorship apparatus. Although this chapter is predominantly concerned with broader mechanisms of state censorship, such a discussion aids in the contextualization of censorship within the

SABC and the relationships which I argue existed between the SABC, governmental and civil censorship structures.

Chapter Three serves to report on a field trip to the SABC Record Library in Johannesburg and a series of photographs taken by Stephanus Muller on a separate research visit. The chapter discusses the role, internal structures and processes which appear to have existed within the SABC music acceptance committees and particularly the Central Record Acceptance Committee (CRAC). These structures, as I shall argue, functioned in an acquiescent, yet at times inconsistent manner with the censorship apparatus outline in Chapter Two. Finally, this chapter provides an analysis of the data and archival material acquired at the SABC Record Library which dates from 1986 to 1996. As I will show, the documents examined at the Record Library can be seen to show the demise of SABC music censorship rather than a system which was functioning securely during the years of 'grand apartheid'.

Chapter Four of this study provides the dissertation's conclusion and attempts to link the findings of the previous chapter with the theoretical exploration of censorship provided in Chapter One.

CHAPTER ONE

1. THEORY AND CONTEXT

1.1.1. Theoretical Exploration of Censorship

The present section provides a theoretical exploration of censorship as a discourse and what I have tried to identify as censorship's most significant philosophical, moral and legal aspects. I provide a discussion of these aspects and then examine them as they pertain to the creative and artistic product.

Censorship is, however, a vast discourse of which music censorship is only one strand. An extended investigation into these theoretical aspects therefore exceeds the scope, focus and limitations of this disquisition. Nevertheless, a framing discussion is indispensable in placing apartheid music censorship's institutional systems in a discursive and theoretical context.

1.1.2. Censorship's Problematic Definition

The concept of censorship is multi-faceted and complex and the question of censorship's exact definition has been the source of polemic debate. As Ingram in his publication *Censorship and Free Speech: some philosophical bearings* (2000) puts it, such questions are not so much concerned with defining censorship as with defining what censorship amounts to (Ingram, 2000:1). According to Williams, in 'its broadest sense "censorship" is applied to any kind of suppression or regulation, by government or other authority, of a writing or other means of expression, based on its content' (Williams, 2005: 139). Censorship serves to restrict the ideas, actions or expressions of

individuals. Ingram notes that censorship typically aims to restrict public expression and not opinions which are held privately. Censorship is therefore primarily concerned with attempting to prevent or combat the public dissemination of these opinions (Ingram, 2002: 5). An important point which is raised by Williams and which will become increasingly relevant later in this thesis, is that censorship implies a publicly recognized order of legitimacy. Therefore, activities of sabotage or interference carried out by, for example, security policemen, amount to 'something else', here classified as acts of surveillance. (Williams, 2005: 139).

However, it is precisely this 'order of legitimacy' referred to by Williams that raises additional questions. Like Williams, Ingram notes that censorship may be a rule-guided principle and aims to serve some external purpose (political or moral for example), but censorship may in practice be carried out in an arbitrary and 'self-defeating' manner by those required to enforce it (Ingram, 2000: 2). This point, as I shall attempt to show later in this thesis, bears particular relevance to the South African situation and apartheid censorship systems.

Ingram has made the distinction between censorship and a discussion on 'intolerance'. 'Intolerance', according to him, differs from censorship in that it seeks to suppress expression (and the ideas which amount to that expression) completely whereas censorship does not place an absolute restriction on expression. Rather, it seeks omissions or alterations to the subject in question (Ingram, 2002: 2). Ingram's argument seems somewhat narrow. As mentioned previously, censorship is a complex concept and I would therefore like to suggest that the term 'censorship' is viewed as enabling various interpretations. Understandings of censorship are historically and geographically contingent.² In other words, censorship in one form or another has always existed, and has adapted and metamorphosized in its various contexts.

² For more on the history of censorship see 'Censorship' in Encyclopedia Britannica Online (2011).

1.1.3. Broad Forms of Censorship: Legal and Social Restriction

It is necessary to recognize then that the term 'censorship' encompasses both direct and indirect forms of restriction. Broadly speaking, two forms of censorship may be identified, namely legal and social censorship. Legal censorship is a formulated system of censorship which often refers to the manner in which legislation is to be enforced and who the responsible authorities are for enforcing it (Ingram, 2000: 5).

Ingram has noted that a legal censorship system may give wide discretionary powers to such authorities (Ingram, 2002: 5). As will become more evident in Chapter Two and became clear in my interview with Paul Erasmus, this was certainly the case in apartheid South Africa. Absolute censorship is an impossible feat because the offensive subject relies on the censor to be exposed to it and then restrict it. J.M. Coetzee in his collection of essays *Giving Offense* (1996) has strongly questioned the moral substance and practices of censors themselves.

The institution of censorship puts power into the hands of persons with a judgmental, bureaucratic cast of mind that is bad for the cultural and even the spiritual life of the community. The point was made long ago by John Milton. If we are to have proper, professional censors, says Milton, they need to be persons "above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious."... That is to say, the people we get as censors are the people we least need. (Coetzee, 1996: 10)

Legal censorship has also been understood to consist of a so-called quasi-legal component. In such cases legal curtailment cannot be legally enforced. Examples would include the 'advice' of certain successive governments to the media not to distribute information on certain matters because they believe it not to be in the public interest (Ingram, 2002: 6). It is important to note that quasi-legal restriction may not necessarily be enforced by governmental authorities but by public bodies such as employers, political parties, societies and clubs (Ingram, 2002: 6).

Ingram has provided a discussion of social censorship as an informal form of restriction which may not necessarily require the backing of a legal authority. In informal censorship's direct form, one social group may encourage changing values amongst offending members, ostracize them, deny them self-expression, or encourage self-censorship. According to Ingram, social censorship is more likely to take place in an indirect form. Social pressures discourage the dissemination of 'unacceptable' or 'offensive' subject matter within a given community (Ingram, 2002: 7). Examples of this are common, especially as they pertain to the education of and upbringing of children (Ingram, 2002: 7). The issue of education has resulted in a number of specialized debates within the censorship discourse. It has its own specific problems and issues which exceed the limitations of this research.

According to Ingram, legal, quasi-legal and social censorship are manifested or enforced in two ways. The first is by means of penal sanctions against those who transgress from censorship restrictions and the second may take the form of prior restriction or pre-censorship. Pre-censorship would involve the censorship of given material in advance before it is publicly disseminated. In so doing and because the goal of many artists or authors is to have their work publicly distributed, such a method of restraint encourages self-restriction (Ingram, 2002: 7). As will become clear later in this disquisition, apartheid censorship structures, in the government and the SABC made use of both these methods of restriction.

1.1.4. Censorship and Human Rights

1.1.4.1. Freedom of Expression

Today, censorship in modern democracies is primarily concerned with issues relating to censorship's moral, philosophical and legal aspects (notably aspects such as freedom of expression) and their relationship to human rights. In this section, I have focused predominantly on the aspects of censorship and freedom of expression since freedom of expression affects music censorship in a more profound way than the curtailment of any other liberal freedom. Furthermore, as Ingram has identified, freedom of expression may be argued to encapsulate other rights, notably freedom of speech and communication. Larry Alexander has offered a critique of the generally assumed appraisal of freedom of expression as a human right, arguing that freedom of expression remains a moral right as opposed to a legal one (Alexander, 2005: 4). Nevertheless, many governments have accepted this freedom as a legal right, allowing it to enter the constitutions or declarations of their respective jurisdictions. Freedom of expression is generally accepted by liberal theorists to be a political good and individual right. Phrased more eloquently by Hugo Black, the American Supreme Court Judge in 1963, 'Freedom of speech means that you shall not do something to people either for the views they have, or the views they express, or the words they speak or write' (<http://www.angelfire.com/ga/page451/quotes.html>).

In the current South African 'Bill of Rights', freedom of expression is recognised in this way.

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression which includes
 - a. freedom of the press and other media;
 - b. freedom to receive or impart information or ideas;
 - c. freedom of artistic creativity; and
 - d. academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.

(Chapter 2: 16, Bill of Rights, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996)
 (<http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons2.htm>)

It may be useful at this point to recollect the writings on liberalism, utilitarianism and democracy of John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), the nineteenth-century theorist and philosopher. His two essays *On Liberty* (1859) and *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), have particular relevance to the current discussion and arguments on freedom of expression and freedom of speech. In *Considerations on Representative Government*, Mill argues for complete freedom of thought for the individual against ‘the tyranny of the majority’ (Encyclopædia BritannicaOnline, 2011). Curtailment of freedom of thought, according to Mill, cripples the development of human individuality and it is only through a ‘free market-place’ of ideas that truth can be discovered (Encyclopædia BritannicaOnline, 2011; Williams, 2005: 140). It is not the intention here to provide a thorough exploration of Mill’s work or the counter-arguments that have followed his writing on liberty. What should be noted here is that in a discussion of freedom of expression and freedom of speech, Mill’s views are important. These views can be applied not only to perceptions on human rights in their more widespread sense, but also to art and the human rights of the artist. If we were to apply them to the creative product, absolute freedom would therefore allow the artist to produce a creative product, entirely exempt from external restrictions and allowing for complete freedom of expression. I shall return to this concept in a discussion of D.H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*.

1.1.5. Censorship and the Limits of Liberty

1.1.5.1. The ‘Right’ to Limit Human Rights and Concepts of Freedom

As mentioned previously, censorship is inextricably linked with the curtailment of freedom of expression. Liberal freedoms are not always straightforward, and liberal

freedoms are not only primarily concerned with the individual's right to doing what they wish. In the extract taken from the South African constitution quoted above, the principles for freedom of expression were outlined. Subsection (2) of the same section from the Bill of Rights outlines the circumstances under which freedom of expression may be restricted.

2. The right in subsection (1) does not extend to

- a. propaganda for war;
- b. incitement of imminent violence; or
- c. advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

(Chapter 2: 16, Bill of Rights, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996)
(<http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons2.htm>)

The term 'freedom' itself raises additional questions and inherent risks. According to Swift, Isaiah Berlin's 'Two Concepts of Liberty' (1958) is one of the most influential essays in contemporary political philosophy (Swift, 2006: 51). In Berlin's essay a distinction is made between two types of liberty, namely 'positive' and 'negative' liberty. 'Negative' liberty generally refers to freedom which is entirely unimpeded by interference from others and is therefore the form of liberty which John Stewart Mill and his predecessor John Locke had encouraged in their writing on the subject (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberty-positive-negative/>).

In the opening of his discussion of 'positive' liberty, Berlin asserts that freedom is supposedly attained through the use of critical reason, the understanding of what is necessary and contingent (Berlin, 1958; 25). Therefore the main divide between 'positive' and 'negative' is found in the use of the individual's internal use of critical reason to free him or herself from certain constraints.

The player is not bound to the score as an ox to the plough, a factory worker to the machine. He has absorbed the score into his own system, has, by understanding it, identified it with himself,

has changed it from an impediment to free activity into an element in that activity itself. (Berlin, 1958: 26)

For Berlin, positive liberty was a notion easily perverted and molded into the ideology of a totalitarian state (Swift, 2006: 52).

Liberal freedoms will always have their boundaries and in most cases these rights may be suppressed if they can be proved harmful or compromise the rights of others (Williams, 2005: 140). Most theorists hold strong positions against censorship, but views on what warrants curtailment and may result in identifiable harm to other people, will vary depending on the individual views of the critic (Williams, 2005: 140). Ingram notes that because censorship is inherently concerned with restriction, it is inextricably linked with concepts of intolerance (Ingram, 2000: 2). If we are to support Ingram's view, it would seem natural to argue for what warrants tolerance or what does not.

1.1.5.2. Pornography

Although numerous early examples of pornographic material exist, J.M. Coetzee has noted the somewhat recent emergence of seditious pornography, most notably in advanced industrialized countries over the last, what would now be, two and a half decades (Coetzee, 1996: 61). Pornography has been the subject of controversy because it brings into question attempts to identify harmful effects of media on those exposed to it.

Feminist critics in particular have argued against pornography of a seditious nature, holding that it entrenches a taste amongst men for sexualized violence and in so doing equips them with the appropriate techniques for sexual sadism (Coetzee, 1996: 61). Furthermore, feminists claim that to a certain degree such attitudes are disseminated in

society and women as a social class are harmed (Coetzee, 1996: 61). Such criticism has focused predominantly on visual media and not on the written word. One such argument has been presented by Catherine MacKinnon. As Coetzee notes, feminist critique and that of MacKinnon's is not rooted in conservatism, so the concern of feminist critics is not with obscenity as it is with the violent behaviors they believe it to encourage (Coetzee, 1996: 62). More conservative approaches to pornography have often considered such material to be symptomatic of the general degradation in civil society (Copp, 1983, 26)

According to Ingram (2000: 54) there is a distinct division for liberals between the child and adult state. In legal terms at least, a person of sound mind will come of age and at this point assume an adult's responsibility and freedoms. Liberal critics argue for sexual freedom and freedom from societal taboos and are therefore free and entitled to engage with such material as they see fit (Coetzee, 1996: 62-72). Ingram has argued that children, because they are in an early stage of learning and impressionability, should not be exposed to pornographic or harmful media. This is why, in many liberal democracies where censorship is generally not enforced, pornographic media is sold under certain restrictions and/or are accompanied by age restrictions. It may be useful to note that despite these restrictions, adolescent males remain the largest consumers of pornography. However, the distinction between the pornographic and the artistic is not always clear and it is to this concept that I will turn in the following section.

1.1.5.3. Censorship and the Creative Product

1.1.5.3.1. Art and the 'Taint of Pornographer'³

As mentioned previously, the artist⁴ is entitled to the freedoms of a modern and liberal society. However, the challenge of identifying and distinguishing liberal rights and

³ Coetzee, 1996: 59.

artistic merit from its possible dangers remains uneasy moral and legal territory. Surprisingly, literature available on this issue is limited. Nevertheless, it is clear from numerous examples that this is a topic within the discourse that cannot be overlooked in the present discussion.

An appropriate example may be found in the unabridged publication of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterly's Lover* in 1960 by Penguin books. The expurgated version (British Edition) was published in 1928. Although Lawrence argued strongly against the claims of pornographic authorship made against the novel, Coetzee has noted that '*pornographer* was a word whose taint Lawrence struggled hard to escape' (Coetzee, 1996: 59). The chief grievances against the novel were that it was sexually explicit, contained swearing, depicted an adulterous relationship and a relationship which crossed class boundaries and contained explanations of anal sexual intercourse (previously illegal in Britain even between man and wife) (Coetzee, 1996: 51-52). In turn, the British Crown decided to prosecute in terms of the 1959 'British Act on Obscene Publications' (Coetzee, 1996: 49). This legislation had its most dominant tenets in nineteenth-century laws on obscenity and called into question the subject of the novel's harmful effects and ability to deprave its readers. However, for the first time in British legal history there was a call for the novel to be assessed in its entirety and in terms of its literary content and merit. In addition, the defense emphasized the 'public good' of the work, arguing that it was in the interests of literature and artistic 'learning' (Coetzee, 1996: 49). One of the expert witnesses for the defense stated that Lawrence had attempted to portray sex as something 'essentially sacred' (In: Coetzee, 1996: 50). For Lawrence, sanitizing the book for a more prudish market was to do it an indelible injustice: 'So I begin to be tempted and start to expurgate. Impossible! I might as well try to clip my own nose into shape with scissors. The book bleeds.' (Lawrence, 1930 in http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/thereporters/willgompertz/2010/11/lady_chat.html)

⁴ This term is meant in a broad sense, in other words, to encompass the visual arts, performing arts and literature.

The case of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* resonates very strongly with the South African situation and apartheid censorship. In the trial which considered the censorship of Etienne Leroux's *Magersfontein, O Magersfontein!* in 1978, the state consulted several literary experts. Akin to the Lawrence case there was, for the first time in South Africa, a call for the work to be considered in its entirety and for its literary merits to be taken into consideration by the court. As a result, the case had a significant effect on the censorship practices of the 1980s in South Africa.

In a post-apartheid context, such considerations resonate strongly with the controversy surrounding the 2012 exhibition of Brett Murray's painting *The Spear* (2010). The painting parodies South African president Jacob Zuma in a pose similar to that of Lenin in an old Communist poster (<http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/on-the-president-his-penis-and-bizarre-attempts-to-censor-a-work-of-art/>). Unlike the Lenin poster however, Zuma is presented with an exposed phallus, which the ANC (threatening legal action) considered to be 'vulgar', 'obscene' and an infringement of the president's human rights (<http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/on-the-president-his-penis-and-bizarre-attempts-to-censor-a-work-of-art/>). Opposition to the ANC's objection to the painting held that because *The Spear* was a work of art, its artistic merits should be taken into account. Pierre de Vos has argued in his article in *Constitutionally Speaking* entitled 'On the president, his penis and bizarre attempts to censor a work of art' that section 12 of the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act prohibits the use of hate speech. However, De Vos argues that in a similar way to the Film and Publications Act, the act 'explicitly makes an exception for a "bona fide"⁵ engagement in artistic creativity' (<http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/on-the-president-his-penis-and-bizarre-attempts-to-censor-a-work-of-art/>). It is not the intention here to provide a detailed examination of the controversy surrounding the painting, however it is useful to note that the tension between obscenity and artistic merit continues to the present day and remains a relevant debate in the censorship discourse.

⁵ Trans: in good faith

1.1.5.3.2. A Brief Note on Taboo

The *Lady Chatterley* case (and cases like it) brings to light an additional point on censorship. Taboo may be described as something that is restricted by social custom. Lord Gage, who was hearing the *Lady Chatterley* case, stated that the novel was in 'bad taste'. However, both he and the prosecution had to acknowledge that the problem was subjective in that the rules of decorum were dependent on some kind of social consensus and therefore 'tacit' (Coetzee, 1996: 50). According to Coetzee, swearing in nineteenth century England was seen as a sign of a fallen and depraved mind. Worse, for a woman to use swear words put her in a fallen state and it was a concern that the novel would deprave its readers, particularly female readers in this way (Coetzee, 1996: 50-51).

The subject of taboo is not exclusive to Britain. In Chapter Three of this dissertation I discuss the music censorship practices within the SABC. As will be discussed, taboo language and subjects were of particular concern to the Central Record Acceptance Committee.

1.1.5.3.3. Censoring Art: Further Concerns

The censorship of art may go further in certain cases than simply protecting society from perceived obscene material. J.M. Coetzee raises an important point in his discussion of the Soviet poet Osip Mandelstam. Coetzee has questioned why a state should concern itself so intently and laboriously with an artwork, a 'pin-prick' in the fabric of society. Coetzee's discussion of Mandelstam provides useful suggestions to answer this question. Of course, the concerns of Stalin and Soviet Russia would have been

different to a large degree to the concerns of the British Crown in the *Lady Chatterley* trial. However, Stalin's respect for the lasting impact of art deserves some mention.

Osip Mandelstam composed a poem in 1933 which told the story of a tyrant who liberally and gleefully orders the execution of his subjects like a man feasting on raspberries. Stalin's name was not mentioned, but the implication and reference to Stalin was clear enough. The poet recited his work to his friends on several occasions and although the poem was never written down, the security police raided his home in search of it and Mandelstam was arrested in 1934 (Coetzee, 1996: 40). The poet Boris Pasternak received a telephone call from Stalin. Stalin wanted to know if Mandelstam was truly a 'master' to which Pasternak replied that he was.

The significance of this question, according to Coetzee, is that if that Mandelstam was not a 'master' he could be disposed of and forgotten. Since Pasternak had said that he was a 'master', Mandelstam's work was significant, lasting and had the potential to outlive Stalin and the poet. In turn, Mandelstam was sent to live in exile in Voronezh and while he was there was placed under immense pressure to pay tribute to Stalin. Yielding to the state's persuasion, he did this by writing an ode to Stalin. Coetzee has likened this act to the 'embrace [of] a body he detests, but taking the initiative, day after day, line after line, to embrace that body' (Coetzee, 1993: 41). Shortly after completing the ode to Stalin, Mandelstam was sent to a labour camp where he spent the rest of his life (Coetzee, 1993: 41).

Coetzee's reading of Mandelstam's story directs attention to two respective yet interconnected points about censoring the creative product. Firstly, Stalin's concern with whether Mandelstam was a 'master', as Coetzee notes, did not stem from a love for art that superseded the state. As mentioned above, Stalin wanted to ensure that Mandelstam's work did not outlive its creator and Stalin himself and in so doing Stalin

did not want the sentence of the artwork to be greater than his sentence on the artist. In turn, by making the ‘master’ honour Stalin, Stalin was making him deny his writing in which ‘no private reservation was possible’ (Coetzee, 1993: 41).

1.1.6. Theoretical Reflections on Music Censorship

1.1.6.1. An Introductory Note

It is necessary to turn at this point to the censorship of music as it relates to the above discussion on freedom of expression and the censorship of art. Since the last section of this chapter provides a literature review on music censorship in South Africa, I am limiting my discussion here to some theoretical comments on the subject.

Several ancient examples of music censorship are known. In Plato’s *Republic*, Plato warns against the ‘dangers’ of music, certain instruments and modes, stating that ‘...musical innovation is full of danger to the State, for when modes of music change, the laws of the State always change with them’ and ‘...because more than anything else rhythm and harmony find their way to the inmost soul and take strongest hold upon it, bringing with them and imparting grace, if one is rightly trained, and otherwise the contrary’ (In: <http://www.goodreads.com/work/quotes/1625515>; In: Taruskin, 2008: 169). Richard Taruskin has also noted the longstanding religious distrust of music (specifically female voices in Orthodox churches). In his *Confessions*, Saint Augustine of Hippo (354AD – 430AD) discusses his enjoyment of music and his fear that his enjoyment detracts from his devotions stating, ‘I have become a problem unto myself’ (In: Taruskin, 2008: 169; Encyclopædia Britannica, 2012).

1.1.6.2. Richard Taruskin on Music Censorship

The current section relies strongly on the work of Richard Taruskin, because although much has been written on music censorship practices in various parts of the world, Taruskin has offered some critical points and arguments for the control of music, which aptly inform the current discussion.

In 2008, Taruskin presented a lecture at Oregon University entitled *Did Somebody Say Censorship?* (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v3rdqvJA0KU>). In this presentation, Taruskin critically addressed the question of censorship in music. Taruskin notes that music has been suppressed or altered by performers, composers or legal authorities in the past so that it is acceptable for performance, on the basis or anticipation of its reception (Taruskin, 2008; Rosselli, 2007). He provides several examples of musical works that have caused offense over the years and plays recorded excerpts from these works.

Taruskin has outwardly rejected the concept of what he has termed the 'poietic fallacy', or the belief that the only significant aspect in evaluating a work of art is that the 'maker's' intentions are respected. In turn, he has argued that it is important to keep in mind the views of the contemporary audience over those of the 'hallowed dead'. If Taruskin's view is to be supported then it would certainly have important implications for restrictions on the performance and distribution of music today.

Taruskin provides an example to support this view from Stalinist Russia, notably Sergei Prokofiev's *Zdravitsa*, (1939) which was composed to honour Stalin's sixtieth birthday.

(Birthday Toast to Stalin (1939))

Thou art the banner in our fortress high,

Thou art the fire in our thoughts, in our
blood,

Stalin!

(Zdravitsa, (1939))

Nashey kreposti v'skoy – znamya t'i!

Misley nashikh, krovi nashey – plamyā t'i.

Stalin!

Taruskin has noted that after the death of Stalin and a change in political climate, the *Zdravitsa* remained in the repertoire but was altered accordingly.

And our sun shines over the country,

And we sing the Praises of our beloved
Party!

Glory/Hurrah!

I siyayet solntse nashe nad stanoy,

I poyom mi slavu partiyei rodnoy!

Slava!

Following the Soviet collapse, Taruskin states that it became 'fashionable' to perform works that were composed under Tsarist and Soviet rule as musical artifacts. This trend is termed by Russians as the 'cult of personality'. According to Taruskin, such an act may be an assertion of new found freedoms, however paradoxical. Yet in the case of Prokofiev's original *Zdravitsa*, which is performed regularly under the baton of Russian pianist and conductor Vladimir Ashkenazy, Taruskin asserts he cannot help but 'draw the line'. According to Taruskin, many of Stalin's victims are still alive today and such a performance glorifies a 'mass murderer'. He holds therefore that *Zdravitsa*, in its original version, be expelled from the repertoire for the foreseeable future despite its artistic concerns. It may be stated then that the type of restriction Taruskin is suggesting is more an act of 'discretion' rather than censorship.

A similar argument is presented in Taruskin's article written for the *New York Times* entitled 'The Danger of Music', present in his collection of essays *The Danger of Music: And Other Anti-Utopian Essays* (2008). The article includes a discussion of the 'taboo'

placed on Richard Wagner's music and the criticism received by Daniel Barenboim for conducting some of Wagner's works in Israel in 2007⁶ (Taruskin, 2008: 169). Taruskin has argued that Barenboim's decision to perform Wagner's music implies that the feelings of Holocaust victims have been 'coddled' long enough (Taruskin, 2008: 171). According to Taruskin, the Barenboim debate (which he extends to post 9/11 examples) stretches beyond simple associations of Nazism and anti-Semitism but becomes a moral concern or a matter of 'forbearance' or 'mutual respect' (Taruskin, 2008: 171)

Such examples enable numerous concerns for the censorship of music discourse and are granted no immediate answers.

But who takes art more seriously? Those who want it left alone or those who want to regulate it? Moreover, the laissez-faire position entails some serious denials. Some say that art is inherently uplifting (if it is really art). Others say that art is inherently transgressive (if it is really art). The words in parentheses, designed to discourage counterexamples and make refutation impossible, merely empty the statements of real meaning. Does such a defense really show a commitment to the value of art or merely an unwillingness to think about it? (Taruskin, 2008: 170)

1.1.6.3. Explicit and Symbolic Meaning in the Censorship of Music

It may be stated that a discussion of music censorship goes further than the considerations for restrictions mentioned above. According to Martin (2011), in the material arts, such as the visual arts, film, theatre, literature and music which contain lyrics, an explicit meaning is often conveyed. It is on the basis of this explicit meaning, or at least an interpretation of it, that a work can be censored (Martin, 2011). In the case of purely sonic music, Martin suggests that music acquires an ascribed meaning by censors based on an 'interpretation of the symbolism' attributed to the sounds (Martin,

⁶ Richard Wagner's music has been associated with Nazism. Playing Wagner's music is not legally restricted in Israel.

2011). He continues further to argue that any form of symbolism is open to a multiplicity of interpretations and in turn, it is the censor's understanding of the music which ultimately dictates whether a work is 'acceptable' or not. Martin's views are supported by Jean-Jacques Nattiez's *Music and discourse: toward a semiology of music* (1990) in which he states in his hypothesis

...the musical work is not merely what we used to call the "text"; it is not merely a whole composed of "structures" ... the work is also constituted by the procedures that have engendered it (acts of composition), and the procedures to which it gives rise: acts of interpretation and perception (Nattiez, 1990: ix).

Previously in this Chapter I attempted to discuss the precarious relationship between art and restriction as well as the subject of taboo. It may be suggested that in the case of music censorship, the 'perceptions' or 'interpretations' referred to by Nattiez are inextricably linked with the censor's perceptions of what music should be or whether censors consider the music to be offensive. The subject of meaning and semiotics in music is a complex field of which the arguments presented by Martin and Nattiez provide only a few suggestions. However, the focus here is not so much on the various arguments by scholars on meaning in music, but on the way in which perception affects and presents itself in the execution of music censorship. This aspect of censorship resonates strongly with the South African situation and the censorship practices of the SABC which shall be discussed in greater depth at a later stage in this study.

1.2. Ideological Contextualization of Apartheid Censorship

1.2.1. Approaching Apartheid Ideology and Music Censorship

According to McDonald, the 1974 Publications and Entertainments Act outlined what could be considered blasphemous, morally repugnant, socially subversive, or politically

sedition by means of five central clauses which had been present in the previous 1963 Act (McDonald, 2009: 34). Censorship and apartheid ideology in South Africa are undoubtedly inextricably connected. Apartheid ideology may be seen as prompting censorship procedures to some extent.

Apartheid thinking is multi-faceted and it is necessary to recognize that apartheid ideologies were not only racially based but had nationalistic, economic and religious components. It will become evident from the beginning of this section that I am not attempting to discuss ideology specific to music censorship. Rather broader apartheid ideologies appear to have disseminated and manifested themselves into the censorship of music. As J.M. Coetzee has argued in his chapter on 'Apartheid Thinking' from *Giving Offense* (1996), this pattern was certainly the case in the censorship of South African literature. Accordingly and in a similar way to Paul Erasmus, the former SABC censor Cecile Pracher has made mention of the influence of ideology on her work as a censor (Erasmus, interview: Korpe, 2004: 73).

So you know, it's very complex. We grew up in conservative surroundings where you would belong to a church, a school and a community. Your entire world of reference was regulated by the Broederbond. There is no doubt about it because all those people, like the headmaster of the school, were Broederbond. The same people enhanced your whole world of reference, they used all communication routes. From that point I can only say we were led, we were led to believe that we were on the right path ..., and you know ..., the huge big bad wolf was communism. (Korpe, 2004: 86)

Coetzee has suggested that for decades the South African government behaved in a 'paranoid' manner, searching for unacceptable messages and representations in all media forms. As shall be seen in the discussion of censorship procedures in Chapter Two, Coetzee's suggestion here is not entirely factual. However, his notion of paranoia in censorship deserves mention. Paranoia, according to Coetzee, is 'the pathology of dictatorships' and it creates a society in which secrecy and suspicion are vehement (Coetzee, 1996: 36). As Coetzee notes, this paranoia is something which permeates society, affecting state, censors and the masses (Coetzee, 1996: 37). He has even

gone so far as to argue that a paranoid atmosphere is a tactic used by dictatorial states to gain power and promote self-censorship (Coetzee, 1993: 37). This argument may have particular relevance to the above quotation by Cecile Pracher, who notes the warnings given to her on the dangers of communism. Coetzee's discussion of paranoia may also be linked to concepts of surveillance. In *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison* (1977) by Michel Foucault, Foucault discusses surveillance as a method of enforcing collective forms of discipline. He notes that the 'individual is no doubt the fictitious atom of an "ideological" representation of society; but he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called "discipline"' (Foucault, 1977: 193). Later in his description of the *Panopticon*, Foucault describes a prison which is designed so that prisoners can be surveyed from a tower at all times by the prison guards. However, the design denies the convicted of knowing whether he is being watched or not or, as Foucault puts it, he 'is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication' (Foucault, 1977: 199). In this way the effect of surveillance or the fear of it can be used to enforce obedience and was a psychological tool present in apartheid censorship structures. In Chapter Two, I shall discuss the mechanisms involved in state censorship and shall provide a discussion of apartheid surveillance and the way surveillance was used to censor art and other media.

In the remainder of this section I shall attempt to address a number of themes which appear to have had a dominant place in the makeup of apartheid ideology. These are namely, Puritanical notions of Christianity, Afrikaner nationalism and conceptions of race and separation. As will become clear, Christianity and Afrikaner nationalism are closely related to one another and have therefore been discussed together by a number of authors on the subject.

1.2.2. Christian-Nationalism: Marrying Calvinism and State

Steven Grosby in his *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction* (2005) notes that the individual often tends to formulate his/her purpose for existence through religion and the relationship of his/her own society in relation to other societies. According to Grosby, this places the individual and his/her society in a certain place in the perceived universal order (Grosby, 2005: 82). In monotheistic societies however, this relationship becomes complex since monotheism promotes the existence of a single and universal god and in so doing 'asserts the unity of humanity, and not the distinctiveness of the nation' (Grosby, 2005: 83). To follow Grosby's argument, the 'tomb of the unknown soldier' in Westminster Abbey provides a fitting example of the intertwining that may occur between religion and nation. The fallen soldiers to which the memorial is dedicated, are not prayed to as gods because they existed as worldly figures. This is in contrast to the conceptual world of religion brought forward by figures such as the Virgin Mary (Catholicism and Christian Orthodox churches) or Christ or God as the higher power. Grosby asserts that despite this distinction the 'tomb of the unknown soldier' is surrounded by a 'religious aura'. The memorial built at Westminster Abbey may be likened to the Voortrekker Monument built in Pretoria (inaugurated on 16 December 1949) to honour the 'Great Trek' which had occurred a century earlier. In a similar way to the 'tomb of the unknown soldier', the monument holds a granite cenotaph as its focal point and provides a symbolic resting place for the Voortrekkers who died in the 'Great Trek'. The monument is designed in such a way that on 16 December the sun shines onto the cenotaph through an opening in the monument dome. On the cenotaph the words 'Ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika'⁷ have been engraved (<http://www.southafrica.com/gauteng/pretoria/voortrekker-monument/>).

Grosby notes that the blurring of this divide can be seen in both monotheism and in the conceptualization of a nation since in both there exists an 'imaginative object'. In monotheism it is the presence of an extra-worldly existence and in conceptions of nation there exists a 'temporal continuity between the present and the past' and in the kinship felt by a particular nation (Grosby, 2005: 85-86). The argument presented by Grosby,

⁷ Trans: We for you, South Africa.

resonates strongly with considerations of Christian-nationalism in South Africa, referred to by W.A. de Klerk in his book on *The Puritans in South Africa: a story of Afrikanerdom* (1975) as a 'civil religion'.

It is generally assumed throughout the literature on apartheid history that apartheid was formed out of a desire to enhance and maintain white Afrikaner interests. Dubow has argued that mass Afrikaner nationalism was rooted in the deeply distressing experience of Afrikaner defeat in the Anglo-Boer War⁸ (1899-1902) and a desire to free Afrikaners from British imperialism (Dubow, 1992: 210; www.angloboerwar.com). Coetzee has suggested that this desire became an attempt at reform, but rather became a 'deforming and hardening' force (Coetzee, 1996: 64).

As the name Christian-nationalism implies, Afrikaner nationalists upheld a system of ideas that promoted Afrikaner culture, society, nation and politics within an 'all-embracing' theocentric whole (Bloomberg, 1990: 10). According to Bloomberg, this view claimed that national principles would fall under the direction of the Christian one. Secondly, that all public affairs fell under Calvinism because it was 'universal'. Lastly, Christian nationalism implied that Calvinism was both 'worldly' and an 'open' creed. This meant that Calvinists could adopt aspects from other doctrines if they were considered valid. It was this final aspect, according to Bloomberg, that allowed for Calvinism in South Africa to be inextricably linked with nationalism and to allow elements from other orders, such as Nazi-Fascism, to be adopted (Bloomberg, 1990: 10). Christian nationalism aligned itself with the Kuyperian concept that Calvinists were the 'kernel of the nation' and had been given the task to bring the nation and keep it faithful to God's teaching (Bloomberg, 1990: 10-11). In turn, the Bible (or interpretations of it) was kept at the centre of the nationalists' political principles (Bloomberg, 1990: 111).

⁸ Also referred to as the 'South African War'.

In this way, the concept of Christian nationalism in South Africa has been summarized by Bloomberg as being comprised of a number of elements intricately connected with one another. These are namely (i) the concept of a 'sacred people' who have been granted a 'sacred' task; (ii) an emphasis on hierarchy, elitist privilege, nation, family, blood, the 'cult of force' and the religious responsibility to glorify God. Christian-nationalism outwardly rejected liberalism, Marxism, racial equality and 'sickly sentimental humanism' (Bloomberg, 1990: 1). In turn, Bloomberg has noted that Christian nationalism was essentially a theological defence for Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner political hegemony (Bloomberg, 1990: 1).

Coetzee has argued a valuable point in stating that the National Party's desire to advance and preserve the uniqueness of the *Afrikanervolk* was in accordance with doctrines developed by nationalist intellectuals in other parts of the world. According to Coetzee, what set these Afrikaner scholars apart were the methods by which they attempted to realize these goals (Coetzee, 1996: 167).

1.2.3. Apartheid Ideology and Conceptions of Race

Dubow notes that Afrikaner nationalism was initially slow to address race relations because it was occupied with issues such as language equality, republicanism and the 'poor white' situation (Dubow, 1992: 210). In addition, with the onset of the Second World War in 1939, Afrikaner nationalism was isolated from political authority, making it more 'receptive to radical ideas' (Bloomberg, 1990: 202; Dubow, 1992: 210). In the 1940s a consolidation of these ideas occurred with the National Party focusing on 'bread and butter issues' and the writing of apartheid intellectuals, notably Geoffrey Cronjé (Bloomberg, 1990: 202; Dubow, 1992: 210).

During the National Party's rise to power in the 1940s and the political activity that preceded the 1948 election, the 'colour problem' or question of total geographical and social separation for the different races emerged. Nationalists argued strongly for a system of apartheid to be put in place in South Africa and argued that such a system would benefit all South Africans. In August 1948 Dr Nicolaas Johannes Diederichs, a prominent member of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (AB), presented the following argument in favour of apartheid to the members of parliament.

On the one hand we have nationalism, which believes in the existence, the necessary existence of distinct peoples, distinct language, nations and cultures, and which regards the fact of the existence of these peoples and these cultures as the basis of its conduct. On the other hand we have liberalism, and the basis of its political struggle is the individual with his so-called rights and liberties . . . This doctrine of liberalism that stands for equal rights for all civilized human beings ..., is almost the same as the ideal of communism. (In: Bloomberg, 1990: 206)

As has already been suggested, Christian-nationalism supported the concept of language, racial and cultural separation on biblical grounds. According to Christian-nationalists evidence of this belief could be found in the Bible itself. A notable example is Genesis II (1-9) in which mankind gathers, at first speaking one language, and then is separated by God into different language groups (Bloomberg, 1990: 15):

The LORD came down to see the city and the tower, which mortals had built. And the LORD said, 'Look, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do; nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them. Come, let us go down, and confuse their language there, so that they will not understand one another's speech.' So the LORD scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city.⁹

Bloomberg has noted that this passage was taken by apartheid theorists such as J.D. Vorster, A.B. du Preez and F.J.M. Potgieter as an indication that breaking people into separate language groups indicated that God intended for people to live in separate cultural and ethnic units until the end of time. Vorster asserts that this was both God's

⁹ New Revised Standard Version. Afrikaans version available at: <http://www.bybel.co.za/search/search-detail.php?prev=-1&book=GEN&chapter=11&version=0&GO=Wys>.

plan to prevent sin but also a testament to God's mercy in that he saved man from his potential sin (Bloomberg, 1990: 16). What exactly the 'sin' was in these views is not specified. Potgieter states that 'God according to the Scriptures, mercifully intervened, with the Babelist confusion of tongues, and revealed that His will for this dispensation was pluriformity . . . in the ethnic field.' Furthermore, in his book on Christian ethics, du Preez provides a lengthy argument for separate development. Du Preez refers to the confusion at Babel and argues that despite common roots in the Babel rebellion, races will continue to exist until the end of time; each separate but a sign of divine grace and cherished by God as long as different language groups exist (Bloomberg, 1990: 16).

Geoffrey Cronjé supported this view saying that separate development and racial self-determination was important in order to prevent a mixed 'hodge-podge culture' from developing and degenerating society. However, Cronjé, with the support of other Afrikaner nationalists, took this idea further by arguing that the Afrikaner nation had been entrusted with the task of white trusteeship over other races in South Africa. This view is reflected by Strydom (1952) (Bloomberg, 1990: 204; Fredrickson, 2002: 234).

Our policy is that the Europeans must stand their ground and must remain *baas* [master] in South Africa. If we reject the *herrenvolk* idea, and the principle that the White man cannot remain *baas*, if the franchise is to be extended to the non-Europeans . . . how can the European remain *baas*? . . . Our view is that in every sphere the Europeans must retain the right to rule the country and to keep it a White man's country. (In: Bloomberg, 1990: 204; Fredrickson, 2002: 134)

Dubow has argued that a 'genetic' or 'explicit biological concept of race informed apartheid theory' and was connected to cultural and theological explanations of human difference (1992: 210). According to Dubow, Christian-nationalism played an important role in this relationship because it provided apartheid with a rationale that was different to other forms of segregation (Dubow, 1992: 209). Furthermore, he has argued that Christian-nationalism proved 'flexible and eclectic in its use of racist ideas'. As will become evident in the discussion of Geoffrey Cronjé below, apartheid theorists often

supported biological theories of racial difference in an attempt to construct and intellectually and theologically sound justification for apartheid (Dubow, 1992: 209; Bloomberg, 1990: 1). According to Dubow, these views were rooted more in cultural essentialism than in social Darwinism for pragmatic and doctrinal reasons (Dubow, 1992: 209).

1.2.3.1. A Note on Geoffrey Cronjé

It may be useful at this point to briefly examine the writing of the apartheid theorist Geoffrey Cronjé (1907 – 1992) whose work proved seminal in the formation of the apartheid administration in the 1940s. In addition, the ideologies conveyed in his work were paralleled to some extent in Cronjé's report to the National Party on censorship, published in the 1950s. The Cronjé report had important implications for apartheid institutional censorship structures and shall therefore be addressed in further detail in Chapter Two. J.M. Coetzee has provided two readings of Cronjé's writing in his essay 'Apartheid Thinking' from *Giving Offense* (1996) and in an independent publication 'The Mind of Apartheid: Geoffrey Cronjé (1907-)' in *Social Dynamics* (1991). A number of themes may be identified in Cronjé's work which assist in the ideological contextualization of this study and may later be applied to apartheid censorship procedures in Chapter Two.

1.2.3.2. Race, Separation, Miscegenation and Contagion

In his work Cronjé explores a notion of a 'fourfold racial typology' which includes so-called Natives, Coloureds, Asiatics and Whites (Coetzee, 1996: 170) The concept of race separation seems to have started to develop before the 1940s with the formation of a group of Afrikaner intellectuals from the Federation of Calvinist Student Associations,

based in Potchefstroom in 1933, who examined issues of race and nationality (Dubow, 1992: 211).

Cronjé deals with the subject of residential separation. According to Coetzee, racial differences are observed by Cronjé according to his 'experiences' of them. Such differences, according to Cronjé, simply exist and have no scientific basis (Coetzee, 1996: 170). In turn, he views racial groups as self-constituting, preordained and part of the Creation (Coetzee, 1996: 170).

In his reading of Cronjé's work, Coetzee has stated that Cronjé's preoccupation with 'race-mixing' can 'properly be called "obsessive"'. In Cronjé's *'n Tuiste vir die nageslag* (1945) the author addresses the issue of racial separation for which apartheid has become infamous. Racial separation, according to Cronjé, was imperative if Afrikaner blood was to be kept 'pure' (Coetzee, 1996: 168). *'n Tuiste vir die nageslag* was dedicated to Afrikaner women and mothers who, according to Coetzee, were seen by Cronjé as the protectors of pure Afrikaner blood. For Cronjé blood-purity was passed on by Afrikaner mothers and so he argued that Afrikaner women should confine themselves only to men of the *volk*. Cronjé held that children born out of a union where the father was not of pure-blood were classified as 'bastards'. If the child was male and appeared white, he would be raised amidst the Afrikaner community as a 'secret bastard' or, as Coetzee puts it, a 'viper nurtured in the bosom of the *Afrikanervolk*'. This concept goes further in that Cronjé perceived these 'secret bastards' as a great threat to the Afrikaner community since he believed they would grow up as members of the *volk* and go on to father children of their own with a woman of pure-blood. In so doing they would weaken the purity of the *Afrikanervolk* as a whole (Coetzee, 1996: 168). However, Cronjé does not view female chastity as an entirely effective way of preventing blood-mixing, since a woman has no way of identifying who is a 'secret bastard'. According to Coetzee, in this way the Afrikaner woman can only function as protectors from miscegenation if they too are granted protection by their husbands and

fathers (Coetzee, 1996: 69). In turn, Cronjé argues for mixed marriages to be legally punishable. It will become evident in Chapter Two and in my discussion of the SABC's separate 'Bantu' stations in Chapter Three, that the fear of miscegenation (and Coetzee includes contagion) can be connected with music censorship and propaganda and more widely with literature, the written word and film.

1.3. Literature Review

1.3.1. Overview

The present section reviews existing literature on music censorship in South Africa and discuss the way in which this literature has informed the present study. It will be clear from the above section that censorship in South Africa has been a topic of discussion and academic enquiry by a number of scholars. Literature on the censorship of music in South Africa and particularly in the SABC, is under-researched and it has therefore been necessary to consult sources on other aspects of apartheid censorship where relevant. Whilst these sources have not provided great insight into details on the censorship of music specifically, they have aided in the understanding of the macro-structures in which apartheid censorship procedures (and SABC music censorship) operated. Most of the literature consulted for the purposes of this study has focused on the general censorship procedures and censorship legislation implored by the apartheid state. In particular, the subject of South African literature has been the source of a number of useful contributions which include Peter McDonald's *The Literature Police: Apartheid Censorship and its Cultural Consequences* (2009), J.M. Coetzee's *Giving Offense* (1996), the database and collection *Index on Censorship*, Margret de Lange's *The Muzzled Muse* (1997) and Christopher Merrett's *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa* (1994). I shall discuss these sources in further detail later in this chapter.

Music censorship in other parts of the world has been the topic of numerous studies such as those by Korpe (2004), Dümmling (1995) and 'Cracked Notes' by Clinch in the *Index on Censorship* (1998) (www.freemuse.org; Cloonan, 2003: 3). A survey of literature on music censorship as a more generalized discourse stretches beyond the scope of the current research. It should be noted that whilst some general assumptions about music censorship can be made by observing these texts, music censorship processes in other parts of the world are mostly contingent to specific cultural, historical and political factors (Cloonan, 2003: 3; www.freemuse.org). For this reason, literature discussed in this section focuses on censorship and the censorship of music under the auspices of the apartheid state. Michael Drewett remains the most authoritative author on the subject of music censorship in South Africa and his work as proved seminal to the present study. It may therefore be useful to examine his contribution to the discourse in greater depth.

1.3.1.1. Important Aspects in the Work of Michael Drewett

The thesis by Michael Drewett entitled *An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s* (2004) has served as a point of departure for the present study. Drewett's thesis maps the way in which musicians avoided and resisted state censorship, their subjection to police harassment, action taken against musicians as well as the broader effects of music censorship on musicians and the music industry. In the introduction to his work, Drewett states that his thesis aims to 'document, contextualize and analyse all known forms of censorship and as many instances of resistance to that censorship as have been discovered during the period of research' (Drewett, 2004: 2). Drewett's doctoral thesis is to date the most comprehensive academic work on the subject of apartheid music censorship and no subsequent research projects have been undertaken into the field by other authors.

Drewett is cognizant throughout his thesis that music censorship 'was framed by, and took place within, a repressive legal-political system' (Drewett, 2004: ii). He has also focused to a large extent on the methods used by musicians, radio stations and record companies to resist mechanisms of censorship. Of particular significance to the current research project, three chapters are devoted to mapping mechanisms of censorship practices. These chapters are namely a chapter on state mechanisms of censorship which includes a discussion of formal state censorship structures, types of censorship, police surveillance and intimidation and the SABC. I shall discuss Drewett's contribution to SABC music censorship later in this literature review.

Secondly, he includes a chapter on self-regulatory censorship and anti-apartheid censorship in which he argues that state censorship structures placed pressure on the private sector (notably record companies and independent radio stations) to regulate music (Drewett, 2004: 137). Of notable significance, this section in Drewett's research notes the financial effect of SABC censorship on both international and local record companies and notes that, in many cases, record companies functioned in an acquiescent manner towards the SABC (Drewett, 2004: 143-144). I shall refer to this concept in Chapter Three of the current study.

Drewett's final chapter on the mechanisms of censorship practice is dedicated to a discussion of the effect of international boycotts (restricting the distribution of certain music in different parts of the world) during the 1980s and the pressure placed on musicians to perform 'politically relevant music' (for example to avoid and perform certain types of music with specific subject matter) (Drewett, 2004: 172-205). Drewett argues that in both instances, the creative product, freedom of expression and freedom of association are curtailed and therefore amount to a reverse form of censorship (Drewett, 2004: 173).

Drewett's research has fulfilled a significant archival function in that the material he acquired has been collected and stored in his 'Cutting Grooves' archive housed in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape. According to Drewett, a large portion of this material is reproduced and discussed in the thesis itself (Drewett, 2011). Drewett's extensive interview list of over eighty subjects and the transcripts from many of these interviews have been preserved in the archive and informed the present study. Most notably, the interviews conducted with former SABC disk jockey, Tinus Esterhuizen, and with the late chief censor, Abraham Coetzee, have provided useful information that would otherwise not have been available.

Despite Drewett's significant contribution to the study field, several opportunities for further research into apartheid music censorship may be identified. It is necessary to note that Drewett's research is approached from a sociological perspective and is not a musicological study. This indicates that there is a lack of musicological research on apartheid music censorship. In this way Drewett has approached the subject of apartheid music censorship from a different perspective to the current study, locating music censorship in the 1980s within notions of cultural struggle (Drewett, 2004: 36). Such an approach undoubtedly calls for an extensive number of interviews to be conducted (the basis of Drewett's approach); however, an approach in which institutional structures and procedures are described and analyzed may enable more generalisable conclusions than the partiality of individual interviews tends to provide. Furthermore, research into the institutional structures within the SABC is limited and the study field could benefit from a more detailed analysis of these procedures as well as an analysis of available documentation found in the SABC archives (see Chapter Three).

It may also be useful to consider Drewett's work in the light of more recent publications, notably Peter McDonald's publication *The Literature Police: Apartheid Censorship and its Cultural Consequences* (2009). Additionally, because Drewett's area of interest is centered on the 1980s, very little literature is available on the censorship of music

before 1980 and the demise of music censorship during the 1990s. This research has therefore found it necessary to consult sources that discuss the censorship of other media. In addition, Drewett has focused his study on the censorship of popular music, but does not appear to investigate the relationship between censorship and genre in any significant detail.

In addition to his doctoral thesis, Drewett has published a number of articles and books on music censorship in South Africa namely: *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* (2006) which was edited by Michael Drewett and Martin Cloonan, the documentary 'Stopping the Music' (2003), a contribution to Marie Korpé's *Shoot the Singer* (2004) entitled 'Remembering subversion: resisting censorship in apartheid South Africa' and the article published in the *South African Journal of Musicology* entitled 'Stop this Filth: the censorship of Roger Lucey's music in apartheid South Africa' (2007). Whilst these sources remain useful, they have been predominantly based on material presented in Drewett's doctoral dissertation. Of particular significance is the documentary 'Stopping the Music' and the article 'Stop this Filth: the censorship of Roger Lucey's music in apartheid South Africa'. Both sources investigate the curious friendship between former security policeman Paul Erasmus and South African protest singer Roger Lucey. These sources provide additional information on the role of the security police in censoring, surveying and sabotaging music.

'*n Naartjie in our Sosatie* (a dubbing for 'Anarchy in our Society') is an LP by Shifty Records (1985) which is a compilation of South African resistance music by various artists. Under the auspices of 'Cutting Grooves' (Michael Drewett), the collection was re-released on CD in 1999. Tracks on the album include 'Darky' by Corporal Punishment, 'Storms and Fires' by Roger Lucey, 'Hou my vas korporaal'¹⁰ by Bernoldus Niemand and 'Prayer for Civilization' by the Kalahari Surfers.

¹⁰ Trans: Hold me tight Corporal.

1.3.2. Apartheid Censorship and the Apparatus of Restriction

In Chapter Two of this dissertation, a mapping of Apartheid censorship structures is provided for the greater part of the apartheid era. As shall be discussed, such an overview allows for a contextualization of the SABC and its role in music censorship and allows for greater insight and speculation concerning the relationship which may have existed between these respective structures. For this reason, it has been necessary to consult sources on broader aspects of apartheid censorship.

As was mentioned previously, Peter McDonald's *The Literature Police: Apartheid Censorship and its Cultural Consequences* (2009) has served as a seminal source. The book considers the censorship of predominantly South African literature under apartheid and includes a number of case studies. The first chapter of McDonald's publication, entitled 'Creating Spaces, Guarding Borders' has proved to be the most informative for the purposes of the current research project and provides a detailed overview of apartheid censorship from its advent until its demise in the 1990s. Unlike other sources on literary censorship in South Africa, the chapter provides a detailed chronological account of the various censorship boards, their members and the way in which it was modified to accommodate various political, moral and artistic concerns. McDonald has limited his research to discuss literary censorship (excluding newspapers, magazines and other types of media) under apartheid, but the contribution has nevertheless proved to be indispensable due to its thorough discussion of censorship structures. Such structures include the Publications Control Board in the 1960s, the Directorate of Publications formed the following decade, the Publications Appeal Board and the role of the security police in conducting surveillance.

In a similar way to McDonald, Margaret de Lange's *The Muzzled Muse* provides a discussion of the censorship of literature under apartheid. Of particular relevance to the

current study, de Lange has also provided a brief discussion of apartheid censorship's dynamic history, but this account is somewhat limited and is confined to censorship that followed the 1974 Publications Act. In the remaining sections of the book, De Lange discusses the work and censorship of Afrikaans literature, so-called 'white' English literature and literature by so-called 'black' authors. She also provides case studies for these respective sections.

The publication *A South African Censor's Tale* (2011) by Kobus van Rooyen, the former chairman of the Publications Appeal Board (PAB) from 1980 to 1990, has provided a similar overview of apartheid censorship and procedures. However, van Rooyen's account employs a different approach in that it is largely autobiographical and refers to his experiences as chairman of the PAB. Van Rooyen refers to literature, printed media and film and he discusses a number of important cases considered by the PAB during his term of office. *A South African Censor's Tale* has informed the current study in both contributing to an understanding of state censorship structures but also in the internal activities of the PAB during the 1980s. Van Rooyen has also authored several articles for legal journals and the publication *Censorship in South Africa: being a commentary on the application of the Publications Act* (1987), which briefly discusses the censorship of several musical items by the Directorate of Publications (van Rooyen, 1987: 114).

Christopher Merrett's *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Suppression in South Africa* (1994) provides a comprehensive chronological account of censorship in South Africa dating from the 1950s to 1994. A final section in the book discusses apartheid censorship and how its effects could be overcome in a post-apartheid South Africa. Merrett's study has served to provide insight into apartheid censorship structures and its history, but in each chapter he has included information on censorship related to broadcasting as well as the banning of newspapers and film. In this way Merrett has provided an approach which is cognizant of the wide-reaching effect of censorship in South Africa and its effect on numerous media forms.

Marlene Breytenbach's doctoral dissertation, *The Manipulation of Public Opinion by State Censorship of the Media in South Africa (1974-1994)* (1997), examines the manner in which the media was used to curb political resistance and maintain political hegemony in South Africa. She refers to the propaganda and censorship of the media that dealt predominantly with literature (Afrikaans, English, and 'black' writers) the South African and international press and film. The study also examines the role of the media in the dismantlement of apartheid. Breytenbach includes a brief section on broadcasting and the SABC. However, this section does not deal with the censorship of music specifically but does provide some insight into the relationship that existed between the SABC and governmental authorities. The thesis has informed this study in that it has provided a broad account of how the media was used by the state to create a collective sense of political acquiescence.

The *Index on Censorship* is possibly the vastest resource available for any research into censorship related studies and the first issue was brought out in 1972. The magazine deals with the censorship of various media and art forms (particularly literature) and also includes book reviews. Although several contributions have been made by South African writers and scholars such as Nadine Gordimer, J.M. Coetzee and Christopher Merrett, these articles have served more to provide a background context for this study rather than information directly connected to it. In some cases, for example the article by Merrett (2001), these articles have been published both in the *Index* and in academic journals. It must also be noted that the accessing of older articles from the *Index* has not always been possible since many articles are not available electronically and hard copies of older issues are not housed in many South African libraries. Additional sources that have assisted in the contextualization of the current study and apartheid censorship structures include *Narrating the Crisis: Hegemony and the South African Press* edited by Keyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli and Johan Muller (1987), Keyan Tomaselli's paper 'Race, the Market and Changing forms of Censorship' presented in 1984 at the University of the Western Cape, and J.M. Coetzee's *Giving Offense* (1996).

1.3.3. SABC Censorship and Music Censorship

Sources that provide insight into music censorship within the SABC are not frequently encountered. Olé Reitov from the organization Freemuse has conducted some research into the censorship procedures of the SABC by means of an interview with the censor Cecile Pracher (2001) and a discussion and some extracts from the interview are provided in a contribution to Marie Korpé's *Shoot the Singer* (2004). Other important interviews include those conducted by Drewett, for example the interviews he conducted with Cecile Pracher and Tinus Esterhuizen.

As was mentioned previously, Drewett has provided some discussion of the censorship or music within the SABC. In Chapter Three I shall discuss the role of the SABC radio acceptance committees, particularly the Central Record Acceptance Committee (CRAC). Drewett's research has confirmed that respective acceptance committees existed for English and Afrikaans stations as well as for the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations (Drewett, 2004: 84). However, his discussion of the SABC is largely concerned with the effects of SABC censorship on musicians and record companies and the resistance such procedures evoked both within and outside South Africa (Drewett, 2004: 137). Drewett also confirms that an acquiescent relationship existed between the SABC and the state censorship structures (Drewett, 2004: 137).

Additional information on the SABC and music censorship has been acquired online through Aryan Kaganof's 'kagablog'. Kaganof has uploaded four photographs taken by Stephanus Muller of documents from the SABC sound archives of lyric sheets and agendas of items that were considered for airplay (<http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/contributors/stephanus-muller/page/3/>). As shall be discussed in more depth in Chapter Three of this study, these photographs which were taken by Muller in the SABC archives in Johannesburg in 2008, serve as a notable

sources on 'undesirable' music in the SABC, but also on music used for government propaganda (particularly on the radio stations intended for so-called 'black' listeners). These photographs are reproduced here with Muller's consent. The concept of the SABC as a vehicle for government propaganda is also referred to by Merrett (1994) and Charles Hamm (1991). In Breytenbach's doctoral thesis (1997), less than a page is dedicated to a discussion of censorship and the SABC. She notes only that her research has revealed that during the apartheid administration, the SABC received funding from government structures and that the SABC was used as a tool for government propaganda (Breytenbach, 1997: 96).

The article by Charles Hamm, entitled ' "The Constant Companion of Man": Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music' (1991), has been an indispensable source in understanding the SABC's racially and linguistically segregated radio stations. Hamm provides a detailed account of the SABC'S formation (absorbing the African Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)) and the SABC's first broadcasts made to African listeners, the first of which was made in 1941 (Hamm, 1991: 148). The so-called 'black' stations were available in Zulu, Xhosa (established before 1960) and Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Venda, Tswana, Tsonga (post 1960) (Hamm, 1991: 156).

Hamm's article refers to the various 'Bantu' services and broadcasts to the homelands and mining compounds. He confirms that the separate radio stations were used as a tool for government propaganda and as a means of retaining state hegemony. Hamm also discusses some technological aspects in broadcasting not directly concerned with the section provided in Chapter Three on the SABC and segregation.

An additional source which discusses the SABC's so-called 'Bantu' radio stations is found in *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities* (2011) edited by Liz Gunner, Dina Ligaga and Dumisani Moyo. The article by Sekibakiba Lekgoathi entitled

'Bantustan Identity: Censorship and Subversion on Northern Sotho Radio under Apartheid, 1960s-80's', provides information on SABC propaganda, which I argue in Chapter Three served censorship at the corporation in a significant way. Lekgoathi's article does not deal with the broadcast of music on the Northern Sotho service at the SABC, but focuses predominantly on programming, mostly news and editorial commentary. In addition, Lekgoathi provides useful insight into the volatile relationship which he argues existed between the management at the SABC and the so-called 'black' radio presenters. His research is significant because its findings are largely based on interviews he has conducted with former radio presenters.

A number of sources have highlighted the relationship between the SABC and Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), notably Hachten and Giffard's (1984) *Total Onslaught: the South African press under attack*, which states that many high-profile employees at the SABC were members of the AB (Hachten: 1984: 199-200). As I shall discuss in Chapter Three, this is a significant consideration in a discussion of the relationship between state structures and the Corporation. This aspect is further substantiated in Piet Meyer's¹¹ autobiography *Nog nie ver genoeg nie*¹² (1984) and Harrison's *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa in Perspective* (1983) (Meyer: 1984: 141; Harrison, 1983: 207).

Rudolf van der Berg's Masters dissertation entitled *Die Musiekaktiwiteite van die SAUK, 1936-1996*¹³ (1976), provides information on the history of the SABC and discusses the emergence of the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations in the early 1960s. Van der Berg also discusses the manner in which the SABC was initially modeled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Of useful significance is van der Berg's silence on the subject of SABC censorship. No mention is made in the thesis of the various acceptance committees and their selection process for music intended for airplay. In

¹¹ Piet Meyer was the chairman of the SABC between 1959 and 1980 and became the Chairman of the AB in 1960 (Harrison, 1983: 207).

¹² Trans: Not yet far enough.

¹³ Trans: The music activities of the SABC, 1936-1996.

this way, although the study does not discuss the acceptance committees, it provides a useful contextualization for the current study and study field.

The publication *Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa* (1989), edited by Ruth Tomaselli, Keyan Tomaselli and Johan Muller, provides a chapter on 'Broadcasting Policy in the SABC, 1971-1981'. This chapter provides information on television broadcasting as well as radio broadcasting and, of particular significance, information on the so-called 'Bantu' services on which there remains a significant void in the literature available on SABC music censorship.

South African Broadcasting Corporation, 1936-1996: Celebrating 60 years, was a booklet published by the SABC in 1996 to celebrate the SABC's sixty years of existence. The publication provides a history of the SABC from 1936 (initially broadcasting only in English and Afrikaans), with chapters focusing on the SABC's formation, its coverage of World War II, information on advances in broadcasting technology, the establishment of both national and regional radio stations, a section on 'Springbok Radio' and the SABC's introduction of television stations in 1976. Since this document was published after 1994 (the fall of apartheid), the publication also highlights the revised commitment of the SABC as a public broadcaster in a democratic South Africa. Of significance to the current research project, the authors confirm the notion that the SABC was used as a government propaganda tool during apartheid and that by the early 1990s the SABC as a whole was undergoing enormous reform and restructuring, which, as I shall argue in Chapter Three, ultimately led to the dismantling of the various radio acceptance committees, particularly the CRAC. The SABC Media Libraries have also produced a CD entitled *Avoid: the censored songs* (2011). The CD includes tracks that had been denied airplay, including songs by artists such as Miriam Makeba, Brenda Fassie, Jimmy Cliff, Nona Hendrix and Sipho Mabuse. Significantly it contains mostly songs that were restricted on the basis of political content rather than

‘morally’ questionable content. The cover sleeve of the CD confirms the existence of the CRAC and its discontinuation in 1996 (*Avoid*, 2011).

Finally, a number of newspaper articles located in a storeroom at the SABC Record Library have presented information on certain censorship issues and debates during the 1980s and 1990s. The majority of these articles do not deal specifically with SABC music censorship.

The set of articles published in the Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* over several days (5 to 9 June 1989) entitled ‘SAUK as sensor’¹⁴ have discussed some examples of SABC music censorship. In the article by Theunis Engelbrecht dated 6 June 1989 ‘Wat doen Oom Chris agter die ou kraalmuur?’,¹⁵ Engelbrecht discusses the songs by South African singers such as Chris Blignaut and David Kramer that were restricted from SABC radio broadcast. Engelbrecht notes that the SABC did not as a rule provide reasons for denying tracks airplay and as shall be discussed in Chapter Three, this was a significant concern for members of the record industry. Engelbrecht also notes that the SABC was not always consistent in restricting the same types of songs or songs with similar subject matter (*Beeld*, 6 June 1989). In an article from the same series entitled ‘Amine se boude te warm vir SAUK’,¹⁶ Engelbrecht discusses several songs by Anton Goosen, Clarabelle van Niekerk and Laurika Rauch. In addition, he also includes extracts from the song lyrics in the article (*Beeld*, 8 June 1989). In a similar way to previous articles in the series, Engelbrecht speculates on the reasons for SABC restriction. The final article in the series is entitled ‘Jy mag nie kreef eet onder die jakarandas!’¹⁷ and discusses songs by Johannes Kerkorrel, Leon Schuster, Coenie de Villiers and Jennifer Ferguson. Significantly, in the closing paragraph of the article, Engelbrecht notes that the SABC has maintained and continues to maintain that certain members of South African society

¹⁴ Trans: The SABC as Censor.

¹⁵ Trans: What does Uncle Chris do behind the old kraal wall?

¹⁶ Trans: Amine’s buttocks too warm for SABC

¹⁷ Trans: You may not eat crayfish under the jacarandas!

are not able to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable material. This condition applied particularly to children (*Beeld*, 9 June 1989).

CHAPTER TWO

2. MAPPING THE MACRO STRUCTURES OF APARTHEID CENSORSHIP

2.1. Introductory Note

Drewett has noted that censorship (or surveillance) in apartheid South Africa was framed by a complex institutional, government structure which included the South African judiciary, the civil service, the church, police, police agents and their security branch (Drewett, 2004: 78). It is the purpose of this chapter to map these state institutional structures diachronically and occasionally synchronically through the apartheid years. Whilst an extensive account exceeds the scope of the current chapter, it is hoped that such an approach will assist in placing the SABC in its broader institutional framework. The chapter shall provide a mapping of institutional censorship from the early 1950s (Cronjé commission report) to 1996, the year in which apartheid censorship was formally dismantled. In the current chapter I have relied strongly on the work of Peter McDonald. This is because McDonald's work is the most recent and detailed account available on the history of censorship in South Africa.

In Chapter One I outlined the dominant aspects of the apartheid ideology with reference to its puritanical, nationalistic and racial components. It is suggested in the current section that apartheid censorship and these ideological concerns were inherently intertwined. Furthermore, as has been the case in many repressive states, censorship was a means of retaining and consolidating political hegemony and possibly even attempting to achieve a perceived morally sound and racially separated utopian ideal (Drewett, 2004: 79; De Lange, 1997: 9-10; Viviers, 2012).

2.2. The Advent of Formal Apartheid Censorship

2.2.1. Communism and the Cronjé Commission

According to Merrett, censorship in South Africa was not introduced with the apartheid administration but had existed in South Africa before 1948 through colonialism, legislation intended to control areas where Africans resided and censorship directed at trade unions (Merrett, 1994: 9; McDonald, 2009: 21). In 1931 the Union of South Africa established the country's first Board of Censors under the 'Entertainments (Censorship) Act' of 1931 (McDonald, 2009: 21). According to McDonald, this board initially concentrated on film, pictorial media and theatre. However, in 1934 these powers were made to include periodicals and imported books (McDonald, 2009: 21). Despite these restrictions, literature by so-called 'black' authors was overlooked and not considered (Merrett, 1994: 10). As McDonald notes, the broadening of these censorship laws meant that governmental powers had effectively been strengthened over printed material by the time the National Party came to power in 1948 (McDonald, 2009: 21). In addition, the 'Customs Management Act' of 1913 restricted the importation of material that was all-inclusively and somewhat ambiguously termed 'indecent, obscene, or objectionable' (McDonald, 2009: 21). Under this legislation, censors could make recommendations to the Minister of the Interior who held the authority to make the final decision pertaining to a given item's propriety (McDonald, 2009: 21). According to McDonald, this structure was consolidated under the customs legislation of the 1940s and 1950s (McDonald, 2009: 21).

Broader and more repressive censorship structures began to be introduced after the 1948 election. In 1954, the Nationalist government conducted an inquiry into 'Undesirable Publications' headed by the Nationalist ideologue Geoffrey Cronjé (see section 1.2.3.1.). The Commission was launched as a result of an article on prostitution which had been published in two Afrikaans magazines in 1953, resulting in a court case and 'widespread moral panic in official circles' (McDonald, 2009: 22). McDonald has noted that an additional concern for the government was the issue of pornography

which was being raised by a number of Church groups. As McDonald asserts, D.F. Malan was a former Dutch Reformed Church cleric and was therefore particularly sympathetic to these concerns, but the inquiry also suited what he calls the more general political agenda of the Nationalist government (McDonald, 2009: 22). According to McDonald, the inquiry was one of many schemes introduced by the new political party, all of which combined to strengthen political control of the public sector (McDonald, 2009: 22). In addition, an inquiry into the South African press was in progress for thirteen years (1950-1963), which, according to McDonald, was primarily focused on the 'liberal' English speaking newspapers (McDonald, 2009: 22).

Amidst the surge of new legislation, the 'Suppression of Communism Act' was passed in 1950 and as both Merrett and McDonald have indicated, the act had a significant influence on censorship procedures (McDonald, 2009: 22; Merrett, 1994: 21). The Act allowed the state wider powers of restriction, banning the South African Communist Party (SACP) and many of the government's political opponents (McDonald, 2009: 22). As Robert Ross has stated, the term 'communism' came to be used as a broad term to include all the state's political opponents (Ross, 2007: 124).

As was mentioned in Chapter One, Geoffrey Cronjé's writing was predominantly concerned with the autonomous existence and protection of the 'Afrikanervolk' through the prevention of perceived racial 'contagion' and 'micegination' (Coetzee, 1996: 166-184). According to McDonald, these theories and concerns were an underlying factor of much apartheid legislation, most notably the 'Mixed Marriages Act' of 1949 and the 'Immorality Act' passed in 1950 (McDonald, 2009: 23). McDonald has suggested that Cronjé's attempt to defend public morals in these terms, was reflected in his position on censorship as well (McDonald, 2009: 23). A survey of the Report into 'Undesirable Publications' confirms McDonald's notion. In Chapter 21 of the Report, 'Bantu', 'Coloured' and 'Indian' literature is discussed. According to the Commission, literature amongst these racial groups requires encouragement and research in line with apartheid concepts of 'separate development'. The Commission claimed that whilst it is

important for the so-called 'Bantu', who previously only had an 'interest in text books', to develop according to their own traditions and improved rates in literacy. However, the Commission argued that the 'culturally confused Bantu', some of who were 'newly-literate' or 'educated' required guidance in what was 'acceptable' reading matter and literature (*Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Undesirable Publications*, 1956: 261 – 262). Similar conclusions are made by the Commission regarding the encouragement of so-called 'Coloured' and 'Indian literature' which are reminiscent of Cronjé's notions of race and racial mixing and the broader apartheid concept of 'separate development' discussed in Chapter One.

The Cronjé Commission was called by the government to find and make recommendations on 'the most effective means of combating, in view of the particular circumstances and the composition of the population of the Union of South Africa and the Territory of South-West Africa, the evil of indecent, offensive or harmful literature' (in: McDonald, 2009: 23). The Cronjé Commission collected a substantial amount of data before presenting its findings and making its recommendations two years after its formation in 1954. In 1957, the commission published its recommendations, the most notable of which suggested a system of pre-censorship in the form of pre-publication control (McDonald, 2009: 23; *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Undesirable Publications*, 1956: 163). In turn, the organization of a body to enforce censorship on a national level was formed to consider the propriety of local and international literature (McDonald, 2009: 23). In addition to the Publications Control Board, a body was created to hear appeals (Publications Appeal Board). This removed the need for appeals to be heard by the courts (McDonald, 2009: 23).

In Chapter One the notion of the apartheid government's implementation of a 'civil religion' was mentioned. Relevant to this earlier discussion, McDonald has noted politicization of censorship matters by the government in the 1950s. According to McDonald, censorship became an 'ostensibly social and moral debate' (McDonald,

2009: 24). However, he has argued that the government's desire to preserve 'European' and Afrikaner autonomy in South Africa was masked by the commission's argument that censorship was needed in order to protect the public from pornography and other morally corrupting material which would ultimately result in 'political disaster'. (McDonald, 2009: 24). In order to combat this challenge, it made several recommendations which included discussion and readings of 'a good book' on the stations of the SABC (*Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Undesirable Publications*, 1956: 269).

The notion of political ambition combined with moral concerns is demonstrated in a statement by Cronjé in which, as McDonald writes, Cronjé saw the banned book as a type of 'spiritual poison' and swearwords as signs of a depraved mind (McDonald, 2009: 24; Coetzee, 1996: 50):

As the torch-bearer in the vanguard of Western civilization in South Africa, the European must be and remain the leader, the guiding light, in the spiritual and cultural field, otherwise he will inevitably go under. The undesirable book can and must be drastically combated because it is obviously a spiritual poison (In: McDonald, 2009: 24).

McDonald has argued that the Cronjé Commission viewed culture as 'the privileged expression of a racialized *gees* ('spirit' or 'mind')'. In this way, the Commission viewed pre-censorship as an indispensable method of retaining European purity (McDonald, 2009: 24). In addition to these concerns, the Commission was concerned with 'Bantu' perceptions of 'Western culture' and 'undesirable' media which undermined this notion and therefore needed to be restricted (McDonald, 2009: 24 *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Undesirable Publications*, 1956: 262). Pornography was 'undesirable' because of its representation of white women (McDonald, 2009: 24). It placed considerable emphasis on 'the home' and the role of the parent in providing children with a secure religious education and guidance in sex (*Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Undesirable Publications*, 1956: 215). In addition, it stressed that

‘undesirable’ publications had a particularly harmful effect on children and adolescents and on Christian education (*Report of the commission of Enquiry into Undesirable Publications*, 1956: 21).

The Cronjé Commission report also reflected a concern for the effect of mass media on Afrikaans literature (McDonald, 2009: 25). It recommended the establishment of a state-supported ‘South African Institute for Literature’, in addition to the Publications Control Board. According to the Commission, such a structure would balance out the role played by the PCB. In so doing, the Commission asserted that this would mold the literary taste of the public through programmes held at South African educational institutions (McDonald, 2009: 25). According to McDonald, it was believed that such measures would counter-act mass culture (also crime novels and thrillers) and allow for an Afrikaans literature supportive of the ‘spiritual values’ of the *Afrikanervolk* (McDonald, 2009: 25). McDonald has noted that this notion was reflected in the Commission’s belief in the ‘literary artist’ as the ‘creator of literary art but also the mirror in which a community can see itself’ (McDonald, 2009: 25). McDonald asserts that this meant ‘a racialized ethno-linguistic *volk*’ which was not concerned with artistic freedom but in the writer’s ‘responsibilities as a member of the *volk*’ (McDonald, 2009: 25). Nevertheless, the Commission stressed, that ‘account must be taken of the artistic merit of the literary material’. This point was listed with a number of other points, which appear consistent with the vague and flexible apartheid censorship rhetoric, including ‘Christian outlook on life’, ‘religious character’ and the ‘racial composition of the Union’ (McDonald, 2009: 25; *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Undesirable Publications*, 1956: 145).

2.2.2. Effects on Music Censorship

Although the Commission did not make specific recommendations for the censorship of ‘undesirable’ music, it may be suggested that its concerns regarding other media spilt

over to the censorship of music. Many similarities (although not identical) exist between the censorship of music and literature for example its views on swearing, sexual references and pornography and its separation of so-called 'Bantu' literature. Like the censorship of other media, the censorship of music was likely to have been defended on similar grounds; notably that it upheld the *volk*'s moral values and 'undesirable' or 'offensive' content could offend or corrupt listeners. As I shall show in Chapter Three, the SABC music acceptance committees attempted to align themselves with the broader ideologically and politically conscious censorship apparatus.

2.2.3. Apartheid Censorship, Van Wyk Louw and the 'Volk Avant-Garde'

The '*volk* avant-garde' is a term which is borrowed from McDonald which he uses to describe an informal circle of Afrikaans writers. N.P. van Wyk Louw (1906-1970) was an important figure in this circle and as McDonald asserts was 'the governments most persistent and influential advisory' on censorship (McDonald, 2009: 27). McDonald has noted that Louw's contributions served to place literature at the center of apartheid censorship¹⁸ which may also go some way in attempting to explain music's seemingly insignificant place in these structures (McDonald, 2009: 27-28).

Although he rejected the notion of separate development, van Wyk Louw was a political nationalist, anti-communist and member of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (AB) (McDonald, 2009: 28). According to McDonald, Louw was also a 'cultural nationalist' and supported a particularly specific view of 'literature and the writer as a critical intellectual' a notion which he termed 'lojale verset' or 'loyal resistance' (McDonald, 2009: 28; Sanders, 1999: 610). As McDonald puts it, despite his commitment to Afrikaans language and literature 'Louw's own thinking was . . . consciously directed against the self-enclosed

¹⁸ McDonald does not consider the censorship of the South African press.

purism that permeated these more mainstream Afrikaner attitudes' (McDonald, 2009: 29).

According to van Wyk Louw culture was 'deeply' anti-political. However, McDonald has argued that van Wyk Louw's 'nuanced minority position' was ultimately inseparable from his political affiliations because his writing seems to endorse a type of 'metacultural discourse' (McDonald, 2009: 29). According to Francis Mulhern 'what speaks in metacultural discourse is the cultural principle itself . . . as it strives to dissolve the political as a locus of general arbitration in social relations' (In: McDonald, 2009: 29). This statement applies to van Wyk Louw's work because he perceived the political survival of the *Afrikanervolk* as not only relying on apartheid but also on a 'Republic of Letters' which allowed for an autonomous Afrikaner culture, literature and identity to flourish (McDonald, 2009: 30). As McDonald has noted, this was partly because he supported the Commission's Romantic notion of literature as a 'manifestation of the *volkgees* or 'national spirit'. However, he held that *volk* avant-garde writers and not patriotic writers, politicians or clerics were its 'true guardians' (McDonald, 2009: 30).

Van Wyk Louw's views on culture made him an opponent to apartheid censorship. Whilst he acknowledged that the state may wish to impose some limitations on children's literature, he adamantly rejected the curtailment of literature intended for adults (McDonald, 2009: 30; Sanders, 1999: 612). In line with his views on the *volk* avant-garde, he opposed censorship because he saw the *volk* avant-garde as both the 'builder' and 'critic' of the *volk* (McDonald, 2009: 31). In turn, he saw censorship as a 'national weakness' and an indication of an 'insecure culture' (McDonald, 2009: 31).

In addition, van Wyk Louw saw the literary and pornographic as not always clearly distinct from each other in the manner discussed in section 1.1.5.2. of the current thesis (McDonald, 2009: 30). From this perspective and although he did not support 'a crudely

expressivist conception of the literary', he saw censorship as having the ability to jeopardize what was 'central to the spiritual life of the *volk*' (In: McDonald, 2009: 30). Furthermore, van Wyk Louw argued that once a censorship apparatus was in place its definitions of 'offensive' material could be vastly expanded.

2.3. South African Censorship between 1963 and 1974

The Cronjé Commission's recommendations initially prompted little response from the National Party government. The Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 was followed by a nationwide State of Emergency and a general hardening of apartheid legislation. However, late in 1960, the government under Hendrik Verwoed began to take cognizance of the suggestions made by the Commission (McDonald, 2009: 32). The 'Publications and Entertainments Act' was signed into law in 1963 (shortly after the Rivonia Trials, and a statutory South African censorship board was founded, chaired by Gerrit Dekker. Dekker was a member of the AB and sympathetic to Van Wyk Louw's concept of a 'Republic of Letters' (McDonald, Podcast). The new act considered both imported books and those produced locally within South Africa (<http://www.theliteraturepolice.com/chronology>). McDonald has noted that although the government implemented the central censorship authority which the Commission had recommended, it ignored its suggestions for the promotion of literature, which would lead to future discussions concerning artistic merit (McDonald, 2009: 32).

The passing of the new act was a controversial issue both within and outside parliament (McDonald, 2009: 32). The South African writers group PEN SA was especially opposed to the censorship legislation and in particular the broadened remit of the censorship board (McDonald, 2009: 32). The organization argued that pornography was the one exception in which the courts should assess the suitability of material (McDonald, 2009: 32). In addition, PEN SA was also vehemently opposed to issues

surrounding the assessment of artistic merit. In a lengthy memorandum submitted to the relevant authorities, it stated:

... literary and artistic merit cannot be assessed, certainly by non-specialists, except through free criticism and comparison with recognized works of art over a fair period ... A censorship system which claims to exempt works of art from banning or mutilation is in effect ... claiming to determine a work's literary or artistic value, and to do so before time and professional criticism have tested it. (In: McDonald, 2009: 32)

The subject of artistic merit and its assessment by censors was an issue that would effect South African censorship structures in years to come and will be returned to later in this chapter. PEN SA's petitions had little effect. The government made some changes to the drafted bill of 1962 and after some further, moderate changes, the Act entered the statute book in March 1963 (McDonald, 2009: 33).

The implementation of the new act made the distribution (or in some cases the possession) of 'undesirable' media (a vague and subjective term) a statutory offence punishable by a prison sentence or a heavy fine (McDonald, 2009: 33). Section 26 (2) of the Act of 1963 in *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa* stipulated what type of content could be considered 'undesireable' by the board:

5 (2) A publication or object shall be deemed to be undesirable if it or any part of it:

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

the disclosure of which is likely to be offensive or harmful to public morals. (In: De Lange, 1997: 8; McDonald, 2009: 34)

It is necessary to note that censorship in South Africa at this time was not solely directed at literature, film and radio. In 1962 the government passed the 'General Law Amendment Act' or 'Sabotage Act' under which one hundred and two anti-apartheid activists were restricted (McDonald, 2009: 33). The Act increased the state's authority to prohibit organizations. Restrictions could be placed on individuals, restricting their movements, their attendance of social gatherings and preventing more than one guest visiting them at a time (www.sahistory.org.za/topic/segregationist-legislation-timeline-1960-1969). 'Banned' individuals would be listed in the Government Gazette (www.sahistory.org.za/topic/segregationist-legislation-timeline-1960-1969).

2.4. Towards the 1974 Publications Act

Formal censorship in South Africa experienced several difficulties after the establishment of the Dekker Board. Although PEN SA's petitions had had little effect, the government conceded to some degree by appointing a board consisting of at least nine members of which six were required to be versed in art, literature, language or law respectively, and one of whom would serve as the board's chair (McDonald, 2009: 39). McDonald has stated that with the 1963 act in place, van Wyk Louw focused his attention on the appointment of the respective members of the new censorship board which resulted in the appointment of Dekker to the position of chair (McDonald, 2009: 39). Dekker's appointment was an attempt by van Wyk Louw to guarantee that neither the state nor the writer's circle would seize power over the new censorship system (McDonald, 2009: 39). According to McDonald, at the time of his appointment, Dekker was the most widely respected critic on Afrikaans literature. He was the author of the

*Afrikaanse Literatuargeskiedenis*¹⁹ (1935-1973) and was a professor of Dutch and Afrikaans at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (McDonald, 2009: 38). As McDonald has noted, Dekker shared van Wyk Louw's ideas of the *volk* avant-garde. In this way his appointment was not a small concession on the part of the state, particularly because literary critics were not permitted to give expert witness in court (McDonald, 2009: 38). McDonald has argued that the Dekker compromise 'transformed the role of the censor', making the Publications Board responsible for what could enter the public domain but also 'the most powerful guardian of the literary' (McDonald, 2009: 39). According to McDonald, the new board largely comprised members sympathetic to the ideas of the *volk* avant-garde. The full-time administrative body of the board consisted of four members, namely two former magistrates and two schoolteachers (McDonald, 2009: 39). The full-time members could be assisted by secondary readers or viewers. The board consisted of several part-time members namely one professor of English, three Afrikaans literary professors (former students of Dekker), a political scientist and expert on communism and a professor of African languages as a so-called expert on 'Bantu' publications (McDonald, 2009: 39). Only four out of the eleven votes on the board were needed to pass a decision and Dekker had a casting vote. In addition, the committee was divided into subcommittees entitled 'Literature' and 'Security' (McDonald, 2009: 39).

Although the Dekker Board seemed to function adequately with what McDonald has called its 'highly politicized idea of public morals', the government experienced it as a disappointment because the average number of bannings (approximately sixty items per month) was smaller than the previous censorship apparatus which had only considered imported media (McDonald, 2009: 40). Most banned publications were restricted on moral or political grounds; however, in many cases the reasons for restriction were not clear. McDonald has argued that this decline in the number of bannings was not related to any specific sympathies on the part of the censorship board but rather difficulties in the censorship surveillance structures. The general public and

¹⁹ Trans: Afrikaans Literary History.

police, according to a memorandum discussed by McDonald, appeared not to have the knowledge or the inclination to assist by submitting material to the board for consideration. McDonald notes that the majority of submissions to the board came from customs, publishers and book sellers such as the Central News Agency (CNA) (McDonald, 2009: 40). Although efforts were made to increase the submission rate on a more active level and police were granted rights of seizure in 1967, the system was eventually seen as 'unsustainable' (McDonald, 2009: 40).

The censorship board's difficulties were not only administrative but concerned its role as the protector of literature and the *volk* avant-garde. According to McDonald, the 'protection the censors offered was neither consistent nor politically or culturally neutral' and throughout the apartheid years the majority of publications restricted by the board were English (a lesser number of African language and Afrikaans publications were submitted) (McDonald, 2009: 42). McDonald has noted that the majority of Afrikaans publications considered by the censorship board were authored by a younger generation of writers known as the *Sestigers*²⁰ such as Breyten Breytenbach and André Brink (McDonald, 2009: 43). *Sestiger* publications, notably Brink's *Miskien Nooit*,²¹ presented a number of difficult challenges as its sexually explicit content challenged consensus on what could be considered a 'serious contribution' to the *volk* avant-garde (McDonald, 2009: 43). The intricacies of the Dekker Board's inconsistencies exceed the limitations of the research presented in this thesis.²² However, it is necessary to note that the Dekker Board introduced, as McDonald puts it, 'a permanent looseness into the system, which had a lasting impact on apartheid censorship'. For McDonald, the Dekker board resulted in a 'literature police', a board which effectively would decide what was literature and what was not (McDonald, 2009: 52). Such inconsistencies', as is noted in Chapter Three of this study, were not exclusive to the state censorship board but were present in the SABC's censorship procedures as well.

²⁰ Trans: Authors of the Sixties.

²¹ Trans: Maybe Never.

²² For more information on this point see McDonald (2009) pp. 43 to 52.

In 1968 Dekker was succeeded by Johan Kruger, under whose authority the rate of submissions and restrictions began to increase (McDonald, 2009: 52). In addition, surveillance and more active methods of state censorship were enhanced and in turn assisted in this increase. Kruger, unlike his predecessor, was not as sympathetic to the ideals of the *volk* avant-garde. Despite many of the Dekker Board's members remaining on the board, the system appeared to be hardening. McDonald has attributed this to the rise of the Black Consciousness movement and anti-colonial activity in Mozambique and Angola in the 1970s. These political revolutions occurred at the same time as a campaign by the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) aimed at securing stricter censorship legislation as a means of protecting public morals and 'Christian culture in the West' (In: McDonald, 2009: 58). The government under the leadership of B.J. Vorster sought to address the constant upholding of appeals in liberal courts against the board's wishes to restrict certain material (particularly popular magazines) (McDonald, 2009: 58). In 1973 a commission suggested that the 1963 Act should not be revised but rather that a new act be put in place to improve the censorship system's efficacy. The commission concluded that 'care must be taken not to absolutise' art at the 'expense of true morality and decency' (McDonald, 2009: 59). McDonald has noted that the new act represented a shift in that it 'firmly entrenched Nationalist hegemony on the terms favoured by the Afrikaner politicians and clerics' and did not allow for the same concessions towards the *volk* avant-garde and the courts (McDonald, 2009: 59-60). According to McDonald, the new censorship bureaucracy was also intended to appear more transparent and prevent members of the literary elite who were members of the Board from enjoying the same privileges they had in the past (McDonald, 2009: 60).

2.5. The 1974 Publications Act

Despite resistance from several political parties and organizations such as PEN SA, the 1963 Act was replaced with the new 'Publications Act' in 1974. According to McDonald the Act of 1974 outlined what could be considered blasphemous, morally repugnant,

socially subversive, or politically seditious by means of five central clauses which had been present in the 1963 Act (McDonald, 2009: 34). Section 26(2) of the Act of 1963 (quoted above) in *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa* was upheld in the 1974 Act.

The new system comprised what McDonald has called a 'three-tier structure' which was formally introduced in 1975 (McDonald, 2009: 60; <http://www.theliteraturepolice.com/chronology/>). In the 1974 Act, the previous censorship Board (established in 1963) was removed and replaced with the Directorate of Publications which would be based in Cape Town and answerable only to parliament (Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview; Merrett, 1994: 79). The Directorate was to 'oversee the more devolved and theoretically more representative committees' (McDonald, 2009: 60). The 1974 Publications Act required the Directorate to make known in the Government Gazette the reasons for restricting material (McDonald, 2009: 60). According to McDonald, this 'veil of transparency did little to disguise the fact that the primary purpose of the new Act was to make the censorship system a more effective instrument of repression' (McDonald, 2009: 60).

The second level of the new system provided the necessary mechanisms for decisions to be made. Although Africans continued to be excluded, this structure allowed for so-called 'Indian' and so-called 'Coloured' advisors to indicate to an all-white committee the effects of certain books or films on their respective communities (McDonald, 2009: 60). According to McDonald, the establishment of such committees, which were consulted on an 'ad hoc' basis (presumably of members who had some knowledge of the matter to be discussed), consisted of approximately one hundred to two hundred and fifty members from an approved list (McDonald, 2009: 62). This was initially done to prevent the 'over centralized elitism' which many had felt existed in the previous board (McDonald, 2009: 62). McDonald has argued, that this process was not successful because it was difficult to manage on a practical level and thus introduced a looseness into the censorship system (McDonald, 2009: 62).

Of particular significance was the curtailment of the right of appeal to the Supreme Court with the exception of so-called mala fide²³ cases (Merrett, 1994: 79). According to McDonald, pressure from the judiciary and Afrikaner churches led to the establishment of the Publications Appeal Board (PAB), situated in Pretoria (De Lange, 1997: 8; McDonald, 2009: 60; Merrett, 1994: 79). In a similar way to the Directorate of Publications, the PAB was required to publish the reasons for its decisions. It also allowed appellants a limited amount of representation (McDonald, 2009: 60). Furthermore, the new act allowed the system to make the possession (not only the distribution) of restricted material an offence. In turn, the police were granted the authority to seize restricted items, granting them new powers of surveillance and seizure (McDonald, 2009: 60; Merrett, 1994: 79). In addition, the act allowed for committees to restrict all the work produced by a single author or publisher or publications on a certain subject (McDonald, 2009: 60). Under the new chair of the PAB, Judge J.H. Snyman, censors were required to determine an item's undesirability in terms of 'median of standards in the community' as 'represented by the average decent-minded, law-abiding, modern and enlightened citizen with Christian principles' as oppose to considering arguments of literary or artistic value (In: McDonald, 2009: 61).

The new and more stringent application of apartheid censorship legislation saw a dramatic increase in the banning of 'undesirable' media (particularly South African publications) (McDonald, 2009: 61). As McDonald states, the 1974 Act brought with it a significant increase in the number of items that were restricted by the state but also the number of publications banned on political grounds. The system also experienced a notable increase in the number of submissions to the Directorate from customs, the police and the public (McDonald, 2009: 61). Abraham Coetzee has noted that in the case of films intended for distribution (in cinemas and on home videos) a committee would be required to approve a film before it could be distributed. In some cases the film would be passed but with conditions such as that certain cuts were made and age restrictions imposed (Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview). This was different to the

²³ Trans: In bad faith

assessment of publications which could be distributed without the consent of the Directorate. However, if a complaint was submitted to the Directorate concerning a particular publication, the Directorate was legally obliged to have a committee consider its desirability (Drewett, 1998: Coetzee, interview).

2.6. Surveillance

There is no doubt that the improved submission rate experienced by the censorship apparatus after 1974 was largely a result of improved methods of police censorship and surveillance. In my interview with former security policemen Paul Erasmus, Erasmus confirmed that policemen who worked at John Vorster square, the security police headquarters in Johannesburg, would intercept mail (particularly the mail of political activists and the like). He notes that the police confiscated private post, publications, videos, tapes and other media for both political and moral concerns. Erasmus's case books, which he still keeps in his possession, depict extensive surveillance tasks detailing for example the surveillance and eventual sabotage of Roger Lucey's music, the attendance of UDF (United Democratic Front) gatherings in the 1980s and other events (Erasmus, interview).

Abraham Coetzee, appointed as the state's chief censor in 1981), has noted that additional apartheid legislation 'ran concurrently with the Publications Act' and 'became operative automatically', in some cases effectively resulting in censorship. This meant that items could be banned under legislation other than the 1974 Publications Act (Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview). A notable example was the 'Internal Security Act' of 1976 which granted the security police the right to detain without trial and banned numerous organizations and political parties such as the ANC, SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) and PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) as well as all media emanating from such organizations (Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview; Lipton, 1989: 28;

Merrett, 1994: 96). Furthermore, Abraham Coetzee notes that the security police often asked the Directorate to reach a final decision on material which they submitted when he states:

...the police or the security department ... they were shrewd those people. You see under the Internal Security Act, you could ban something or you could charge somebody. But proof of evidence and some of the things were automatically censored. If charged in a court of law you had to submit proof, you had to submit evidence, the proof. They didn't want to do that because that wasn't always the easy way to follow. So they always wanted to make use of us because the Publications Act did not require proof of evidence. If something was found to be undesirable by a committee, they could not be charged to submit evidence in a court of law. That was final and that was legally binding. So they often tried to offload things on us ..., (Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview)

This quotation is significant because it serves to provide a link between police and civil structures of censorship. With this link as evidence, it seems plausible to ascertain that the SABC fulfilled the same kind of function for the police in terms of music censorship. The links that existed between these respective structures will be examined in further depth in Chapter Three of this thesis.

2.7. Etienne Leroux's *Magersfontein*: Amending the 1974 Act

By early 1978 the apartheid censorship system was in crisis again as a result of the PAB overturning a committee's decision to pass Etienne Leroux's *Magersfontein*, *O Magersfontein!* (1976). Members of the NGK approached the Minister of the Interior in protest, who in his turn appealed the decision and according to McDonald, 'opened up the old divisions in the *volk*' (McDonald, 2009: 72). Anna Louw, Merwe Scholtz and Etienne Malan, who were censors on the committee, defended the novel on artistic grounds particularly because they considered Leroux to still be a member of the *volk* avant-garde (McDonald, 2009: 72). Unlike Breyten Breytenbach's novel *Skryt* (1972), the three censors argued that Breytenbach, as McDonald puts it, 'had broken with all officially acceptable forms of Afrikaner dissidence' (McDonald, 2009: 72). In late 1977

the PAB finally concluded that *Magersfontein, O Magersfontein!* was 'undesirable' because of obscene and blasphemous content, a decision which resulted in the resignation of Merwe Scholtz and Anna Louw (McDonald, 2009: 72). The PAB stated:

The writer built into [his] novel excessive filthy language, excessive idle use of the Lord's name, vulgar references to excretion, masturbation ... [This novel is] highly regarded by literary experts. The broad public, however, as personified by the average man, regards the use [of such language] as an infringement of the dignity of the individual and an invasion of his respect for sexual privacy (In: Coetzee, 1996: 196).

The novel's publishers Human and Rousseau objected to the PAB's ruling and in early 1978 the *Magersfontein* case was heard by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court did not uphold the appeal, stating that the PAB's case for obscenity was unconvincing but supported its concern that the views of the average Christian reader needed consideration in terms of what constituted blasphemy (McDonald, 2009: 72).

Magersonfontein, O Magersfontein was unbanned in 1980 under the new Chairman of the PAB, Kobus van Rooyen (<http://www.hts.org.za/index.php/HTS/article/view/1030/1519>).

The state's response to the *Magersfontein* case was unexpected. According to McDonald, changes on a ministerial level and pressure on the government by the Afrikaans Writers' Guild led to the amendment of the 1974 Publications Act (McDonald, 2009: 73). The new amendments were intended to protect literature but at the same time not to give it exemption (McDonald, 2009: 73). A significant reform was a state approved list of literary experts to be at the disposal of the PAB's chair. Publications could also be passed by the PAB with an age restriction, conditionally or with curtailed marketing rights (McDonald, 2009: 73).

2.8. The 1980s: an era of 'Repressive Tolerance'

Snyman was succeeded by Jacobus van Rooyen as the new head of the PAB in 1980. The appointment of van Rooyen and Abraham Coetzee marked what has been termed an era of 'repressive tolerance' in literature on apartheid censorship (McDonald, 2009: 74). Van Rooyen was a professor of criminal law at the University of Pretoria and had published *Publikasiebeheer in Suid-Afrika*²⁴ in 1978, which he would follow with the publication *Censorship in South Africa*²⁵ in 1987 and *A South African Censors Tale* in 2011 (Coetzee, 1996: 185). J.M. Coetzee has noted that in principle van Rooyen was not opposed to censorship but rather concerned himself with applying the 'Publications Act' in a rational and equitable manner and interpreting it with greater consistency (Coetzee, 1996: 186). Coetzee has noted that van Rooyen's appointment marks the start of a 'more rational, less confrontational dispensation' (Coetzee, 1996: 187; Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview). It is not the purpose of this section to examine van Rooyen's writings on censorship in detail. However, it may be useful to briefly note several prominent aspects related to his tenure which came to an end in 1990 and may assist in placing the SABC in its broader structural context.

According to J.M. Coetzee, van Rooyen saw the PAB as a body which should function as an independent and objective arbiter which 'weighs all the relevant interests against each other' (in: Coetzee, 1996: 187). In accordance with this, Coetzee has suggested that van Rooyen favoured the concept of the 'likely' reader or viewer as a probabilistic and value-free method over the Snyman administration's ideologically charged construct of the 'reasonable' reader (Coetzee, 1996: 189). In Abraham Coetzee's interview with Drewett it is clear that Coetzee shared van Rooyen's uneasy sentiments with the 1974 Publications Act as it applied to the assessment of public morals when he states that 'morality cannot be something that you maintain by way of legislation, it is

²⁴ Trans: Publications Control in South Africa

²⁵ For a detailed reading of this publication see J.M. Coetzee, *Giving Offence* (1996).

something that you do by way of teaching, learning, leading your people and not in any other way ..., ' (Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview). According to van Rooyen, the concepts of indecency, harmfulness or obscenity are not objective and therefore do not exist apart from considerations of the likely reader or viewer (Coetzee, 1996: 188). For van Rooyen the idea of the 'likely' reader could allow the censor the ability to reach a decision 'independent of his own, subjective response to the question of whether the publication offends against the putative standards of the specific sector(s) of society (demarcated perhaps by age and social class) likely to read it' (Coetzee, 1996: 189). In this way, van Rooyen notes that the PAB's concern was not so much with identifying a 'reasonable man' but rather establishing 'a solution which is reasonable in the light of all competing interests' (Coetzee, 1996: 189).

Although van Rooyen acknowledged that such an approach could not be the sole criteria for assessing potentially offensive media, McDonald has argued that van Rooyen's more 'scientific' approach was not able to make the apartheid censorship apparatus any less arbitrary (McDonald, 2009: 80). Coetzee has noted that one of the greatest criticisms the van Rooyen and Abraham Coetzee era evoked was that the system was not able consistently to live up to its theoretical ambitions (Coetzee, 1996: 189, 194). Gilbert Marcus argues that the PAB's 'commitment to these guiding principles [was] often fragile' and its proposed position as a mediator was flexible in both the consideration of potentially harmful political and moral material (in: Coetzee 1996: 195-196).

Nevertheless, the 1980s saw the unbanning of numerous media which had previously been deemed 'undesirable' and van Rooyen's reputation as a liberal reformer continued to grow throughout the decade (McDonald, 2009: 82). These unbannings included Nadine Gordimer's *Burger's Daughter*, Jack Cope's *The Dawn Comes Twice* and Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical *Jesus Christ Superstar* (passed with one cut and an age restriction) (van Rooyen, 2011: 98, 108-109). Merrett has argued that the same

leniency was not applied to publications by so-called black authors because of the supposed black readership and potential for the incitement of political resistance (Merrett, 1994: 80).

South Africa's uncertain political climate in the 1980s as well as pressure from various Christian groups and the government after the State of Emergency to tighten up censorship procedures (particularly in the media), had begun to cause rifts within the censorship apparatus (van Rooyen, 2011: 125; Drewett, 1998: Coetzee interview). In 1988, the PAB passed Sir Richard Attenborough's film *Cry Freedom* which recounted the relationship between Steve Biko and Donald Woods, after an appeal by the Ministry of Home Affairs (McDonald, 2009: 82; van Rooyen, 2011: 129). The police ignored the PAB's ruling and seized over thirty copies of the film from cinemas under 'emergency legislation'. Van Rooyen himself was the victim of a great deal of contempt, as he was viewed as a liability by the state and his contract was not renewed in 1990 (van Rooyen, 2011: 129). With the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and the start of apartheid's unwinding in the 1990s, apartheid censorship was gradually dismantled. Abraham Coetzee remained in office until 1997. As both McDonald and van Rooyen have noted, both Coetzee and Van Rooyen were involved in the drafting of the new South African constitution and Publications Act (1996) (McDonald, 2009: 82).

2.9. The SABC as a Cog in the Apartheid Censorship Machine

The current chapter has mapped the structures of the apartheid censorship apparatus in an effort to provide contextualization for the SABC's censorship procedures pertaining to music. As Merrett has noted, apartheid ideology was well entrenched in the SABC (Merrett, 1994: 90). Yet music featured so insignificantly in state censorship efforts that music historians have been slow to connect the repressive censorship regimes of apartheid South Africa to musical production in the country during that time. With regard

to music, the SABC functioned as the most important extension of the government apparatus of censorship, despite the frequently indirect and inconsistent nature of the relationship between the SABC and other structures of surveillance and repression. Nevertheless, it may safely be stated that the SABC functioned on what it assumed the government expected from the national broadcaster and it is to the procedures enabling these functions that I will turn in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

3. A DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL FOUND IN THE SABC RECORD LIBRARY AND SOUND ARCHIVES

3.1. Description of Field Work

Descriptions of field work are commonly associated with ethnographies. Despite the fact that this thesis is not an ethnographic project, a brief description of my field work at the SABC archives in Johannesburg is provided here to assist in the understanding of how the conclusions made in this chapter have come about. As was noted previously, the notion of secrecy plays an important role in the investigation of censorship procedures. The legacy of secrecy has remained embedded in the structures visited during my research at the SABC archives.

On my arrival at the SABC radio library on 16 February 2012, my supervisor and I were met by five members of staff to discuss our research needs regarding the archive and the information we were seeking. The staff in question were friendly and willing to assist with fetching the documents we had previously requested, but an uneasy situation emerged when we were informed that our research was of a highly sensitive nature. 'Sensitive' was a term not elaborated upon in any detail and we were told that no photographs could be taken and no photocopies could be made of any of the material from the memo and agenda files without legal approval (despite previous authorization from the SABC legal department). This announcement meant that data from the archive had to be typed out. The consequence of this arrangement was that we had to work less thoroughly than would have been possible otherwise (scans and photographs would have assisted in making analyses once back in Stellenbosch), but is also the explanation for the limited number of photographs provided in the present chapter. One

example, which is provided below, was photocopied at our request once its reproduction had been legally approved.

On visiting the Record Library, an air of uncertainty and even fear seemed palpable. The fact that legal authorization was deemed necessary for accessing material which I had assumed was part of the public domain, enhanced my feeling that my research was being treated with suspicion and that there was still an attempt to keep what was silent in the past, silent in the present. Furthermore, it became increasingly clear during the two days that were spent at the SABC archives that a large portion of archival material could not be located. No assurance could be given that memorandums or agendas before 1986 were either present in one of the store rooms or had been destroyed. The lack of documentation predating 1986 has meant that the analysis provided here reflects the demise of a censorship system rather than a system functioning securely in the years of grand apartheid. The radio library was more than willing to photocopy newspaper cuttings present in the library's store room.

3.2. Description of Material

3.2.1. Material from SABC Record Library

A number of different source types were examined during the visit to the SABC. Notably, tapes and CD recordings from the Sound Archives of previous broadcasts and interviews with musicians such as Abigail Kubeka, Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Abdullah Ibrahim and band members from Mango Groove. Regrettably, these interviews did not yield a great deal of information relevant to the current study. Newspaper clippings on censorship and the SABC were found in a storeroom at the back of the library and were consulted.

Of chief significance, a number of large ring binder files held in an office/storeroom in the Record Library revealed four types of documents relevant to this study: (i) the Agendas used for the meetings of the Central Record Acceptance Committee (CRAC); (ii) Internal Correspondence within the corporation ('Huishoudlike Korrespondensie') which appears to have been sent by the Chairman of the committee to the General Manager of the Central Record Library. This was an official document that informed the Manager of the decisions taken in the meetings of the CRAC; (iii) Faxes from the Record Librarian of the Central Record Library (Thersia Francis) to respective music companies, informing them of the CRAC's decisions and (iv) transcripts of lyrics with remarks and indications marked on the lyric sheet.

Attached to the Agenda for the record meeting held on 15 February 1990 (memo no. 302), was a separate sheet which outlined the chief objections to 'offensive' musical items:

1. Swearwords are unacceptable
2. The lyrics contain blatant unacceptable sexual references, which will cause offence
3. The lyrics are in bad taste and will cause offence
4. The occult elements in the lyrics are unacceptable
5. The lyrics may inflame public opinion
6. Unfair promotion of a political party or movement is unacceptable
7. Lyrics propagate the usage of drugs
8. Glorification of the devil is unacceptable
9. Blasphemy is unacceptable
10. It is forbidden to use the national anthem in this way
11. The SABC believes this song is open to misunderstanding. The song has no positive message or statement against AIDS
12. The impression of a Christ-figure, different to Christ is found in the lyrics and therefore unacceptable
13. The total nihilistic approach is unacceptable

Many of the agendas and lyric transcripts had comments written by hand on the pages. In the case of agendas and memorandums it was common for a word to be written next to the title of a song. The words 'skoon', 'goedgekeur' or 'afgekeur'²⁶ (sometimes represented in the form of a tick or cross) appeared next to song titles. Next to 'afgekeurede' transcribed lyrics, words appeared indicating reasons for this decision. Such reasons include 'sex', 'struggle', 'geweld'²⁷, 'polit propaganda', 'godsdienst'²⁸, 'drugs', 'polit', 'bad taste', 'vloek'²⁹, 'jah'³⁰, 'anti-capitalistic', 'negative: loves devil', 'message', 'ANC, vloek', 'regard this song as not a positive statement against aids open for misunderstanding'. An example of both an agenda and internal correspondence letter is provided on the following page.

Finally, it is necessary to note that the documents which were encountered had not been subjected to any archival process. As mentioned previously, the files were kept in an old office and were not part of the SABC written archive section. On examining the files themselves, it appeared that the documents and the original filing order of the documents had been maintained.

²⁶ Trans: 'clean', 'accepted' or 'not accepted'

²⁷ Trans: 'violence'

²⁸ Trans: 'religion'


²⁹ Trans: 'swearing'

³⁰ Rastafarian word used for 'God', commonly found in Reggae music ('Rastafari' in Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online)

<u>PLATEKEURINGSVERGADERING</u>		<u>MAANDAG</u>	<u>12 FEBRUARIE 1990</u>	15:30
<u>RECORD MEETING</u>		<u>MONDAY</u>	<u>12 FEBRUARY 1990</u>	
<u>SPEZIALE VERGADERING ; MANDELA</u>				
<u>AGENDA</u>				
<u>MEMO NR. 301</u>				
1.	TITLE : ARTIST: LP TITLE:	ASIMBONANGA JOHNNY CLEGG AND SAVUKA JOHNNY CLEGG & SAVUKA	(J. Clegg) MINC MINC(O) 4051461	
2.	TITLE: ARTIST:	CRY FREEDOM - ORIGINAL SOUNDTRACK VARIOUS ARTISTS	(G. Fenton/J. Gwangwa) MCA LMCA 6224	
3.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	DANCIN' TO BE FREE CLUB NOUVEAU LISTEN TO THE MESSAGE	(J. King/D. Crosley) WARNER BROS. 25687-1	
4.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	FREEDOM NOW TRACY CHAPMAN CROSSROADS	(Tracy Chapman) ELEKTRA EKC 6178	
5.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	GOOD BLACK WOMAN BRENDA TOO LATE FOR MAMA	(S. Twala) BREN(V) 4064231	
6.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	JAIL TO JAIL BRENDA TOO LATE FOR MAMA	(B. Fassie/S. Twala) BREN(V) 4064231	
7.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	MANDELA (F. Farian/L. Mitchell/T. Pemberton) LIZ MITCHELL NO ONE WILL FORCE YOU	CBK 7119	
8.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	MANDELA SIPHO MABUSE CHANT OF THE MARCHING	(Sipho Mabuse) GALLO GRC HUL 40185	
9.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	MANDELA MAZE SILKY SOUL	(Frankie Beverly) WBC 1673	
10.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	NOMZAMO - MOTHER OF THE NATION SATHIMA BEA BENJAMIN NOMZAMO - MOTHER OF THE NATION	(Sathima Bea Benjamin) ROTM 002	
11.	TITLE: ARTIST: LP TITLE:	SUPERSTARS IPI TOMBI CAST IPI TOMBI	(B. Egnos/G. Lakier) DGR 1130	
2/.....				

Figure 1 Example of Agenda for CRAC meetings. This was a specially arranged meeting to discuss songs referring to Nelson Mandela. It is dated 12 February 1990, the day following Mandela's release from prison.

CONFIDENTIAL



S1

HUISHOUDELIKE KORRESPONDENSIE/INTERNAL CORRESPONDENCE

Ons Verw.: JRJ/rjo/PD 2.11
Our Ref.:
U Verw.:
Your Ref.:

AAN: SUPERVISOR: CENTRAL RECORD LIBRARY
TO: DATUM: 28/11/1986
DATE:

ONDERWERP: RESTRICTED RECORDS : MEMO NO 209
SUBJECT:

There will be NO OBJECTION to the following vocal items being broadcast:

✓1. "ONE OF THESE NIGHTS" (D HENLEY/G FREY)
BY: THE EAGLES ASYLUM AUC 4510
LP: ONE OF THESE NIGHTS

✓2. "MAGGY MAY" (STEWART/QUITTENTON)
BY: ROD STEWART MERCURY DAR 206
LP: SWEET LITTLE ROCK 'N ROLLER

✓3. "SEXY BOYS" (D KRAMER/T PETERSEN)
BY: ORIGINAL CAST PRIORITY PRYB 4007
LP: DISTRICT 6 - THE MUSICAL

Note: This item is NOT for broadcast on THE BLACK SERVICES.

Kindly note that the undermentioned vocal items MAY NOT BE USED IN ANY
PROGRAMME OF THE SABC's SERVICES:

1. "MOEILIKE MIKE" (J GROENEWALD)
BY: MIKE SCHUTTE DECIBEL DCB(0) 161
LP: EK/I LIKE MIKE

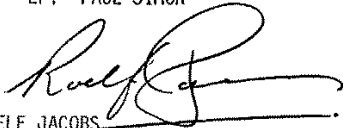
2. "THE LAW THE LAW" (D KRAMER/T PETERSEN)
BY: ORIGINAL CAST PRIORITY PRYB 4007
LP: DISTRICT 6 - THE MUSICAL

3. "GALIEMA" (D KRAMER/T PETERSEN)
BY: ORIGINAL CAST PRIORITY PRYB 4007
LP: DISTRICT 6 - THE MUSICAL

4. "HESTER'S COMPLAINT" (D KRAMER/T PETERSEN)
BY: ORIGINAL CAST PRIORITY PRYB 4007
LP: DISTRICT 6 - THE MUSICAL

5. "SEVEN STEPS OF STONE" (D KRAMER/T PETERSEN)
BY: ORIGINAL CAST PRIORITY PRYB 4007
LP: DISTRICT 6 - THE MUSICAL

6. "DUNCAN" (P SIMON)
BY: PAUL SIMON CBS ASF 1651
LP: PAUL SIMON


ROELF JACOBS
GENERAL MANAGER: ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS RADIO GROUP

Room 601
Ext 2700

Figure 2 Example of internal correspondence sent out after a CRAC meeting.

3.2.2. Photographs by Stephanus Muller³¹

On a separate research visit to the SABC in 2008, Stephanus Muller took numerous photographs of documents that inform the present study in a significant way. Left alone by SABC staff in a store room to search through documents relating to personnel files, Muller discovered several stacks of unordered documents which he photographed in order to keep a record of their existence. Due to the enormous amount of material at the SABC which still needs to undergo archival procedures, there is currently no way to locate these documents or others like these, or even to establish whether the documents photographed by Muller have subsequently been destroyed. It is significant that the staff at the SABC archives were unaware of these documents and despite being very helpful in producing documents pertaining to the period from 1986 to 1996, could not assist in locating or providing earlier examples of how censorship at the SABC functioned. Muller's photographs provide a tantalizing glimpse of this lost or inaccessible documentary evidence.

These photographs, which date from 1957 to 1960 and 1971, provide a collection of committee meeting agendas, lyric sheets, distribution lists, memorandums and internal correspondence sent out by departments of the SABC. Significantly, a large portion of the one-hundred and fifty photographs was used in the assessment of music on the so-called 'black' or 'Bantu' radio stations which I shall discuss in further detail later in the current chapter. In addition, these photographs are significant because they provide an impression of SABC censorship processes and their functioning before the political instability experienced in South Africa during the 1980s.

The photographs taken by Muller may be categorized into several types of documents. A series of photographs dating from August to December 1957 and some documents

³¹ Used and reproduced in this study with Stephanus Muller's knowledge and consent.

from 1960 (kept in a file dated 'Banned Music, Memorandums (1958 – 1959)' consist of various agendas, memorandums and internal correspondence notes with distribution lists of approximately ten to twenty employees at the SABC from respective departments and provinces. These documents appear to have been used for the assessment of music on Springbok Radio and Capital Radio (at this time the so-called 'Bantu' stations were not in use). Based on these photographs it is possible to ascertain that censorship at the SABC was functioning securely before state censorship structures established a more concrete and comprehensive censorship apparatus with regard to other arts. This is highly significant, as it shows that the censorship of music by state authorities was largely pre-empted by the strictures already applied by the SABC. Therefore the picture that emerges in the literature of a formal state censorship largely indifferent to music censorship (comparatively speaking to other arts), is qualified by the knowledge that music censorship was so stringently and effectively applied by the SABC. As I shall attempt to show later in this Chapter, the reinforcement of apartheid ideologies as well as moral and religious concerns seem to have been important in the auditioning of tracks for broadcast. In the internal correspondence note dated 4 December 1957 which was sent to various departments at the corporation, the Afrikaans song 'Kom Kwela vanaand met my'³² is restricted. This may provide some indication that the SABC was attempting to reinforce apartheid's broader notion of racial separation through what it chose not to broadcast. The photographs show a shift in rhetoric used by the corporation. In the example mentioned, a heading reads 'Plate wat in die ban gedoen word'³³ whereas in the later years, bans were euphemistically termed 'undesirable' or 'afgekeur'.

Another significant aspect of some of the documents photographed by Muller, are agendas and memorandums which ban the broadcast of tracks on Sundays. This explicit puritanism does not appear to have been a feature of the CRAC committee in the late 1980s and 1990s. Due to the fact that many of the documents relating to

³² Trans: 'Come Kwela with me tonight'. 'Kwela' is a musical genre which was popular in South Africa during the 1950s and early 1960s, particularly in the so-called 'black' townships (Kubik, 2012).

³³ Trans: 'Records that have been banned'.

committee meetings cannot be located, it is not possible to state when or why this approach changed.

In Figure 3 on the following page a memorandum dating from 1957 is reproduced and shows items that were not passed for airplay on Sundays. It has not been possible to establish exactly what motivated this kind of restriction. However, an examination of the lyrics from some of these items confirms that it was likely due to content that was deemed too secular or even blasphemous from a Christian point of view. For example, Little Richards' 'She's got it' refers to a 'pretty girl' with 'ruby lips' and 'shapely hips', while his 'Rip it up' is about spending all his wages on a Saturday night party (<http://www.lyricsty.com/little-richard-shes-got-it-lyrics.html>; www.lyricstime.com/little-richard-rip-it-up-lyrics.html). Both songs were not deemed suitable for broadcast on Sundays. In accordance with many apartheid censorship processes, the song restrictions for Sundays appear to be inconsistent at times and such decisions were possibly reliant on the personal sensibilities of the respective committee members.

118/5 CONT.	<u>REJECTED RELEASES</u>	118/5
"Holiday in the Alps POLYDOR LHM. 46024 (L.P.)	All cuts acceptable	
"Hi-Fi-Fiddle Helmut Zacharias POLYDOR LHM. 46018 (L.P.)	All cuts acceptable	
Gipsy Serenade Budapest Gipsy Orchestra POLYDOR LHM. 46021 (L.P.)	All cuts acceptable	
Hornpipes by the Mulcays LONDON LHM. 1046 (45 rpm).	All cuts acceptable	
"Sweetheart Please Don't Go" (Williams) The Gladiolas LONDON PD. 8071.	Acceptable	
✓ "Little Berlin" (Williams) The Gladiolas LONDON PD. 8071.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
✓ "Long Tall Sally" (Johnson) Little Richard LONDON PD. 8065.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
✓ "Tutti Frutti" (La Bostrie, Penniman, Lubin) Little Richard LONDON PD. 8065.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
✓ "Rip It Up" (Blackwell, Marascenko) Little Richard LONDON PD. 8067.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
✓ "The Girl Can't Help It" (Troup) Little Richard LONDON PD. 8067.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
"Gone" (Rogers) Slim Whitman LONDON PD. 8068.	Acceptable	
"An Amateur In Love" (Whitman, Wayne) Slim Whitman LONDON PD. 8068.	Acceptable	
"The Meaning of the Blues" (Troup, Worth) Julie London LONDON PD. 8069.	Acceptable	
✓ "Now, Baby Now" (Broderick, Cahn) Julie London LONDON PD. 8069.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
✓ "She's Got It" (Penniman, Nevinscalco) Little Richard LONDON PD. 8068.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
✓ "Ready Teddy" (Nevinscalco, Blackwell) Little Richard LONDON PD. 8068.	NOT FOR SUNDAYS	
"C'est Magnifique" (C. Porter) David Lockersie LONDON PD. 8066.	Acceptable	
	/CONT.....	

Figure 3 Photograph of SABC Acceptance Committee Memorandum, 1957, showing items banned for airplay on Sundays. Photograph by Stephanus Muller.

The second group of photographs taken by Muller date from 1971 and appear to be a collection of songs (lyric sheets) used for a Republic Festival Competition. The title of the file/booklet refers to this collection as music by so-called 'Bantu' composers. Songs/compositions are separated according to language and exist in Tsonga, Northern and Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. These songs were presumably broadcast on the respective so-called 'Bantu' radio stations which I shall discuss in further detail later in this Chapter.

Amongst the various lyric sheets are songs based on folklore tales, in some cases set out in acts (presumably dramatized), some are Christian worship songs, songs intended for the education of children (for example information on crossing the road safely and adding up money) and others appear to be based on perceived and encouraged traditional customs. It becomes clear through a survey of these photographs that government propaganda was a significant part of broadcasting on the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations. Due to the fact that references to the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations were found in the archival material dating from 1986 to 1996, a more comprehensive discussion of these photographs and SABC propaganda and censorship is provided later in this chapter (see section 3.4.).

3.3. Structures of Silence and Silencing: The Central Record Acceptance Committee (1986-1996)

3.3.1. Overview

According to Hamm and Merrett, the introduction of the SABC³⁴ as a single state broadcaster and the Broadcasting Act of 1936 went hand-in-hand with the formation of a radio acceptance committee (Hamm, 1991: 148; Merrett: 1994: 11). Hamm's statement is supported by the Muller photographs, which show documents dating

³⁴ Replaced the African Broadcasting Company (ABC).

between 1957 and 1971 and therefore indicate that some form of record meeting had been in existence for or at least the larger part of the apartheid era. According to Merrett, at the time the Broadcasting Act was introduced, the committee focused mostly on broadcasting that encouraged 'nation-building' between white South Africans (Merrett: 1994: 11). As shall be discussed later in this chapter, this focus would change with the National Party's rise to power in 1948 and its introduction of separate committees for 'black' radio services under 'separate development' (Hamm, 1991: 152; Merret, 1994: 38; Francis, interview).

As far as can be asserted, the Central Record Acceptance Committee (CRAC) was re-established in 1985 as a combination of the Central Record Library ('classical' and light music) and the Commercial Record Library (commercial/popular music) (Francis, interview). According to Thersia Francis,³⁵ it was the role of the CRAC to assess the lyrics of potentially 'offensive' musical items before they were considered suitable for broadcast. For this reason, popular music (containing lyrics) was the most commonly assessed musical genre by the committee. An exception appears in the agenda for the record meeting held on 12 March 1987 (memo no. 220), in which John Simon's *Threnody* (dedicated to Steve Biko) by the Claremont Chamber Orchestra is referred to Roelf Jacobs for a final decision. Beside the title is the inscription 'NO LYRICS' and in blue ink a note reads 'nie binne jurisdiksie van komitee – verwys na Roelf Jacobs'.³⁶ This was the only example of art music which was mentioned in the memorandums I was provided for consultation at the SABC.

Francis has estimated the average number of members in the central committee to have been between five and nine people and consisting of various station managers, the heads of the respective music departments and the heads of the various record

³⁵ Thersia Francis began working at the SABC in the early 1980s where she served as the Librarian of the Record Library. Francis attended a number of CRAC meetings during the 1980s and 1990s. She currently holds a position at the SABC Record Library in Johannesburg.

³⁶ Trans: not within the jurisdiction of the committee - refer to Roelf Jacobs.

libraries (Francis, interview). The agendas consulted in the Record Library support statements by Drewett that the CRAC, in general, met once a week to discuss questionable musical items. In contrast to the state censorship boards discussed in Chapter Two, Francis has indicated that the CRAC did not include music critics or academics and it therefore seems reasonable to conclude that artistic merit was not a consideration for restricting music from airplay (Francis, interview). In this sense, restrictions applying to the broadcast of music by the SABC were perhaps more sensitive to political imperatives than the more elaborately conceived structures designed to control and restrict literature. The CRAC was dissolved in 1996, two years after the ANC's assumption of political power (Avoid, 2010).

Of course, acceptance authorities are a feature of most broadcasting establishments. Today, in some of the largest and most respected broadcasting companies (for example the British Broadcasting Corporation) authorities may choose to deny potentially offensive or harmful material broadcast (Born, 2004: 362-363). In a similar way, Francis has noted that to protect the interests and sensibilities of listeners and children, the SABC continues to restrict certain items from receiving airplay to the present day (Francis, interview). I would therefore like to suggest that the presence of the CRAC at the SABC per se was not unusual. However, the context of censorship and political repression outlined in Chapter Two and the degree of restriction and what the committee deemed morally and politically offensive as testified by the extant documents, was unusually stringent and at times repressive.

3.3.2. Internal Structures and Processes

As has been noted previously by Drewett and Korpe, record meetings would take place at the SABC in the Piet Meyer (later named the Radio Park building) and an agenda for the meeting as well as lyric sheets for the songs would be distributed ahead of time.

According to Francis, new records at the library often included the lyrics to the songs in the cover sleeve. If they did not, Francis affirms that a request would be sent to the record company for a copy of the lyrics. In some cases, where lyrics could not be acquired, an employee of the record library would type the lyrics out manually. This was a task often given to Francis. In addition, Francis has noted that all music which came into the record library would be listened to before it was broadcast on the radio. This was done for the purposes of classification, to establish song duration as well as listening to the lyrics (Francis, interview). In a case where the lyrics seemed potentially 'offensive', the item would be referred to the CRAC for a decision that was considered final unless it was resubmitted at a later stage or the lyrics were modified (Francis, interview).

Once the meeting had taken place, an internal letter would be sent by the Chairman of the CRAC to the Manager of the Central Record Library to inform him of the decisions that had been taken (signed off by Roelf Jacobs and later Bennie Bierman). The librarian of the Record Library would follow this with a fax to the relevant record companies informing them of the outcome of the CRAC's meeting. In his interview with Drewett, Tinus Esterhuizen³⁷ noted that in the case of some radio stations (for example Springbok Radio) presenters were required to submit a play-list to the record library several days before a broadcast for approval (Drewett, 2004: 122). Further measures were taken to enforce committee decisions, for instance the placing of stickers next to 'offensive' titles on album covers which read 'Avoid' (Drewett, 2004: 121). In some cases the title itself was crossed out with a black pen and made illegible (Drewett, 2004: 122). In addition, the record itself was scratched with a sharp object so that if a presenter wanted to play an 'offensive' track, the needle would jump to the next song on the album (Drewett, 2004: 121).

³⁷ Former Music Manager of the SABC Commercial Services.

It is clear from the documents consulted, my interview with David Marks and from Drewett's work, that decisions on certain items could be a subjective matter. Record companies were often unable to establish why tracks had been denied airplay and would often request that the committee reconsider the tracks or inform them of what could be omitted from the music so that it could be broadcast. This aspect has been discussed extensively in Drewett's thesis, and I shall therefore not bring it forward as a central point of focus in this chapter. The letter by TUSK music on the following page and the response by Roelf Jacobs, the General Manager of the CRAC, confirms Drewett's research in relation to this point. However, it allows for additional speculation on the relationship between the CRAC and the Directorate of Publications.

TUSK Music

22 November 1989

Dear Mr Jacobs

Tracy Chapman 'Crossroads' album

The SABC has recently restricted two tracks from the above album being 'Freedom Now and 'Material World'

Whilst we acknowledge the SABC's right to make decisions on behalf of their listeners, we do wish to appeal the restriction for the following reasons.

1. Both tracks are being played by the independent stations and have charted on those stations.
2. No reasons were provided by the SABC for the restrictions. This has caused confusion and has allowed unlimited speculation as to the reasons why. In fact international media recently distorted the issue claiming that Chapman had been banned in South Africa. This caused a great deal of embarrassment to our company and has raised a large number of queries from our overseas licensors. As you are probably aware we are continuously under the threat of artists refusing their product to be sold in South Africa.
3. The Publications Control Board has found all the tracks on the album to be NOT undesirably. A copy of their decision is enclosed for your information.
4. 'Freedom Now' whilst dedicated to Nelson Mandela, is actually a statement made Chapman on all political prisoners worldwide, and the song itself was included on the 1987/88 Amnesty Tour concert.
5. 'Material World' has lyrics which are directed at the artists' experience as a musician in modern-day America.

We would urgently appeal to you to re-consider the restriction. The lifting of it will be seen by many of our overseas licensors and artists as part of the Government's new initiatives for freedom of expression and the creation of a just South Africa

Yours sincerely MA Oldfield

Cc B Mudie

1 December 1989

Dear Mr. Oldfield

Re: Tracy Chapman 'Crossroads' album

I wish to advise you that the two tracks 'freedom now' and 'material world' had been re-submitted to the Record Committee as requested. Regrettably both cuts were again found to be undesirable. And the SABC will therefore not be playing these two items. The other eight numbers on the album are acceptable and can be played on all services.

Regarding your letter of 22 November 1989, requesting that the SABC should feature the two undesirable songs, I will reply in the order in which you have listed your requests:

1. I am unable to comment on why the two independent stations have playlisted the songs and not the SABC other than stating that the SABC has found the material undesirable within the context of the SABC's mandate.
2. The SABC does not as a rule give reasons why musical material is not acceptable for broadcast. As indicated previously, Tracy Chapman as an artist had certainly not been banned. The two songs in question were found to be undesirable because the Committee was concerned that the songs would offend, for different reasons, certain sections of the community. You must realize the SABC's various media provide programme material for the full spectrum of South Africa's extremely diverse community. Because of the nature of the diversity the SABC in general, and this Committee in particular, has to be sensitive to material which may even offend sections of this community. The Record Committee is therefore structured in such a way that all the SABC's various television and radio services are represented and all decisions are taken by way of a democratic voting system.
3. There is no parallel between the Publications Control Board and the SABC. The Board's decision to find the two tracks NOT UNDESIRABLE still leaves the decision to purchase or to listen to the items up to the choice of the individual. The SABC as a Public Utility Corporation, has to provide programming to the full spectrum of the community. Such programmes have to comply with certain programming standards and requirements and it is the contention of the Committee that both songs did not meet these requirements. Like you we work towards 'new initiatives for freedom of expression and the creation of a just South Africa'. In order to achieve this however we still have to consider the sensitivities of a large section of the SABC's total audience. If we don't, we may negate the very goal which we are trying to achieve.

Signed: J.R. Jacobs (General Manager: Afr. Eng Radio Group)

3.3.3. Structures of Acquiescence: the CRAC and State Censorship Structures

Point three (see letter on previous pages) by Roelf Jacobs notes the independence of the SABC in assessing the suitability of music for airplay. It is clear that in this case, although the Directorate of Publications had not objected to the songs in question, the SABC chose not to accept them for airplay. This kind of decision, as Drewett has convincingly argued, had a financially detrimental effect on musicians and record companies, but also resulted in self-censorship (Drewett, 2004: 119).

As was discussed in Chapter Two, the 1980s saw a moderate and controversial relaxation of censorship legislation in South Africa (particularly literature and film) with the appointment of Kobus van Rooyen as Chairman of the PAB and Abraham Coetzee as the state's Chief Censor. Due to the general absence of earlier documents used by the CRAC, it is difficult to establish whether the CRAC underwent the same process of liberalization in comparison to previous decades.

Drewett has noted that fewer than one-hundred records were legally restricted by the Directorate of Publications in the 1980s (Drewett, 2004: 119). Examples of songs which were banned by the Directorate included Pink Floyd's 'Another Brick in the Wall' in 1980 (the PAB considered it to be a contravention of the security paragraph and could incite further school boycotts), Roger Lucey's 'Lungile Tabalaza' and 'You Only Need Say Nothing' in 1982 (van Rooyen, 114; Drewett, 2003: Stopping the Music; Paul Erasmus, Interview: 24 May 2011). Drewett has attributed this figure to the low number of sales made on certain titles, particularly those by South African musicians (Drewett, 2004: 119). According to Drewett, the majority of political music which was locally recorded did not enjoy a great deal of popularity and rarely sold more than one to two thousand copies and therefore posed no great threat to state hegemony (Drewett, 2004: 119). Warrick Sony, the founder of the Kalahari Surfers states:

One of the key reasons that the state unbanned my fourth LP 'Beachbomb' was the fact that I never sold more than one thousand copies of any of my records. If the system works on its own there is no need to ban records or anything. (In: Drewett, 2004: 120)

Drewett has argued that the 'system' to which Sony refers was a combination of radio play, retail support and record company structures. In accordance with Drewett's argument I would like to suggest the presence of an additional factor for the Directorate's approach to musical material. According to van Rooyen, government censorship structures were aware of the orthodox values held by the SABC radio committees and in turn, were able to entrust them with the task of restricting undesirable music from airplay. Van Rooyen has mentioned that granting the SABC this task allowed the Directorate and the PAB to focus its attention on literature and film (van Rooyen, personal correspondence, 27 April 2011; Hachten, 1984: 212). This statement is significant because it implies that the SABC, which was the dominant medium for music broadcasting, served a more prominent role in the censorship of music than has previously been thought. In addition, van Rooyen's statement serves in the understanding of how the SABC and governmental bodies existed in an independent, yet acquiescent relationship rather than a relationship of direct line functioning. This notion is supported by Cecile Pracher in her interview with Michael Drewett:

Many other sections in the SABC, especially the news departments, were highly politicised and often had visits from intelligence, but we did our work so efficiently no-one had to interfere, neither intelligence nor the publications board ..., bothered us. (In: Drewett, 2004: 134)

The documents examined in the SABC Record Library support this concept. In one example a copy of the Government Gazette dated 2 May 1980 is filed with the agendas dated 1986 to 1990. In the gazette Pink Floyd and Marianne Faithfull's 'Zappa in New York', 'The Wall' and 'Broken English' are respectively deemed 'undesirable', which suggests that the nature of the interaction between the SABC and the government was one of obedient independence. Francis has indicated that she was not aware of any interaction between the CRAC and the government censorship structures. However,

she has noted that government gazettes were used (she believes they were sent to the SABC) so that the committee could restrict the appropriate material (Francis, interview). In a similar way, Abraham Coetzee has noted that the SABC sent lists of restricted titles to the Directorate on a regular basis for the sake of 'interest' (Drewett, 2004: 134).

Figure 1 (memo no. 301) indicates that a specially organized CRAC meeting was held on 12 February 1990, the day following Nelson Mandela's release from Victor Verster prison (www.sahistory.org.za/dated.../mandela-moved-victor-verster-prison: 20 June 2012). The meeting was called to consider and reconsider songs which refer to Mandela and his cause. 'Cry Freedom' (original soundtrack) by Fenton and Gwangwa remained restricted by both the Directorate and SABC even though the film had controversially been passed by van Rooyen in 1988 (van Rooyen, 2011: 47; *Citizen*, 10 September 1988). However, songs such as 'Freedom Now' by Tracy Chapman, 'Mandela' by Sipho Mabuse, 'Winds of Change Mandela to Mandela' by Nona Hendryx and 'Bring him back home' by Hugh Masekela were all found to be suitable or 'clean' ('skoon'). The calling of the special meeting as well as the passing of a number of songs for airplay implies that despite the SABC's conservative approach, the CRAC attempted to align itself with general political and governmental trends.

An important additional consideration in the relationship between the state and SABC lies in the influence of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (AB) or 'League of Brothers', the secret society which was established in 1918 to advance Afrikaner interests (Hachten, 1984: 203, 205). According to Hachten, the influence of the National Party on the SABC undoubtedly increased after the 1948 elections but was heightened by the infiltration of AB members to senior positions in the Corporation (Hachten, 1984: 205). In an article from *Time Magazine U.S.A.* dated 21 November 1977, the AB is described as being the most 'powerful organization in South Africa' and as acting as a nerve centre that keeps Afrikaner nationalism alive through the National Party, South Africa's Dutch Reformed churches and innumerable cultural and educational institutions'

(<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,915731,00.html#ixzz1zG6DbPvB>)
Hachten has argued that the influence of the AB was especially significant through the SABC, as the latter was one of the 'strongest opinion-forming' institutions in South Africa (Hachten, 1984: 205). The appointment of AB members in the SABC is believed to have begun with the succession of SABC Director-General Gideon Roos by AB Chairman Piet Meyer (1960-1972) to Chairman of the SABC in 1959 (Hachten, 1984: 205; Meyer, 1984: 130;
<http://www.tvsa.co.za/default.asp?blogname=shugasblogiwood&articleid=3920>, 30 June 2012).

Finally, both Paul Erasmus and David Marks have indicated that members of the secret service (policemen/agents) liaised with both the Directorate and SABC. Erasmus indicated that employees at the SABC were also on the payroll of the security branch and were reporting to the security branch on the SABC's internal activities (Erasmus, interview). Unfortunately, more extensive details on this point could not be acquired.

3.4. Structures of Separation: Propaganda and Censorship on 'Radio Bantu'

In *Total Onslaught: the South African Press under attack* (1984), Hachten and Giffard state:

... for the present and foreseeable future, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and television in particular, should be viewed as an integral part of 'total strategy,' or the continuing attempt by the Afrikaner power structure (including the Broederbond, Afrikaner churches, National party, Afrikaans press, and Afrikaans universities) to exercise semi-totalitarian control over all of South Africa (Hachten, 1984: 229).

This statement bares particular relevance to the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations which Hamm, Lekgoathi, Tomaselli and Hachten argue served as a vehicle for Nationalist

government propaganda up until the end of apartheid. In addition to the Corporation's role in party politics, so-called Radio 'Bantu' functioned as the handmaiden of SABC censorship. According to Lekgoathi, the establishment of the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations was done at vast expense to the Verwoed government, used new developments in broadcasting technology and was done solely for the purpose of creating a platform for government propaganda and encouraging the concepts of separate development amongst so-called 'black' listeners (Lekgoathi, 2011: 117).

In Chapter One of this dissertation, the concept of language and racial separation was outlined in a discussion of apartheid ideology. In a similar way to the treatment of public amenities under apartheid and the conceptualization of the homelands, the SABC radio services were divided into seven separate stations (Northern and Sotho, Venda, Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Tsonga) for the respective language and ethnic groups and were fully functional in all these languages by 1960 (Hachten, 1984: 204; Lekgoathi 2011: 117; Merrett, 1994: 83). Drewett, Marks, Merrett, Francis, the documents photographed by Muller and correspondence lists examined in the Record Library, all confirm the existence of separate committees for the so-called 'black' stations in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Furthermore, it emerges from my interview with Marks and the correspondence sheets (see Appendix B) that these 'black' stations were under the auspices of 'white' SABC employees who were often members of the Afrikaner Broederbond (Hachten, 1984: 205). This suggests that in a similar way to the National Party's reluctance to allow blacks a significant amount of political representation in South Africa's political arena, the SABC catered for black listeners but did not allow black representatives to work on the respective acceptance committees. Rather, these committees used white representatives who were familiar with the various African languages. Francis has stated that this decision was based on the need for committee members to be able to speak the respective South African languages because it was important for them to

understand the lyrics of the music (Francis, 2012). However, because the black services were used as a propaganda tool and did not appear to employ black committee members, it is difficult to argue that this was a purely apolitical decision on the part of the SABC (Merrett, 1994: 83). Furthermore, the agenda for the meeting held on 28 November 1986 (memo no. 209) shown in Figure 2, reveals that 'Sexy Boys' from the musical 'District Six' by Peterson and Kramer was restricted for broadcast on all black stations of the Corporation. This curtailment did not extend to the English and Afrikaans services. Drewett has suggested such decisions were based on the assumption that both black DJs and listeners were more likely to be incited by items of a political or anti-governmental nature and therefore warranted particular caution (Drewett, 2004: 123). In addition, Lekgoathi has noted that the relationship that existed between black radio announcers (employed in the hope of increasing 'Radio Bantu's' popularity) and SABC management, was volatile. He states that SABC management 'kept them [black announcers] on a short leash so as to have control over their utterances' and in turn their choice of music for broadcast (Lekgoathi, 2011: 117). As Hachten and Giffard note, the so-called 'Bantu' services were undoubtedly used to reinforce apartheid policies and the government's policies of ethnic separation through the emphasis of perceived, distinct cultural values and practices as well as the curtailment of 'undesirable' content (Hachten, 1984: 229). According to Hachten and Giffard, the managers behind the SABC's 'Radio Bantu' services held an extremely paternalistic view of the services' respective audiences (Hachten, 1984: 229).

Although examples of documents from the late 1980s and 1990s pertaining to the 'Bantu' radio stations were not located in the research visit to the SABC Record Library, the photographs taken by Muller (see section 3.2.2.) assist in the understanding of the relationship between censorship and propaganda at the SABC during that time. These photographs and the work by Hachten and Giffard, suggest that although the Muller photographs are examples of documents from earlier meetings for the so-called 'Bantu' services, it seems likely that these services were functioning in a similar way in the 1980s and 1990s. Nevertheless, due to a lack of archival evidence, it has not been

possible to establish the exact extent or nature of SABC propaganda in the emergency years and in the 1990s with the gradual demise of apartheid. Such insight would undoubtedly inform the concepts surrounding the SABC's relationship with government structures markedly.

As was mentioned previously, the photographs taken by Muller and that can be dated to 1971 appear to be a collection of songs by so-called 'Bantu' composers. Hachten and Giffard have noted that along with an extensive collection of cultural materials pertaining to the 'major ethnic groups' stored at the SABC, the Corporation would draw on this kind of material in its radio programming (Hachten, 1984: 230). In addition, the SABC supplied broadcasting bursaries for so-called 'Bantu' writers, actors, musicians and composers to supply original and new works for radio (Hachten, 1984: 230). According to Hachten and Giffard, these works included representations of African legends, praise and Christian worship songs, plays, documentaries and serials and would serve to encourage government policies and ideologies (Hachten, 1984: 230).

In Figure 5 a photograph of a document used for the Xhosa service is reproduced. At the time that this document was in use (c. 1971) the apartheid homelands under the 'Bantu Self-Government Act' of 1959 had been in existence for over ten years. As the photograph reflects, 1971 also marked the ten-year anniversary of the Republic of South Africa which was celebrated in a number of festivals. It was for this occasion that 'Bantu' composers mentioned above seem to have received their respective places on the airwaves.

It is clear from reading the lyrics of the song in Figure 4 that SABC propaganda served to present separate development as being in the best interests of the respective cultural groups in South Africa. Emphasis is placed on the 'benefits' of separate education,

'Bantu' radio and 'progress'. Finally, the song encourages people to cooperate with the state in order to help South Africa 'progress'.

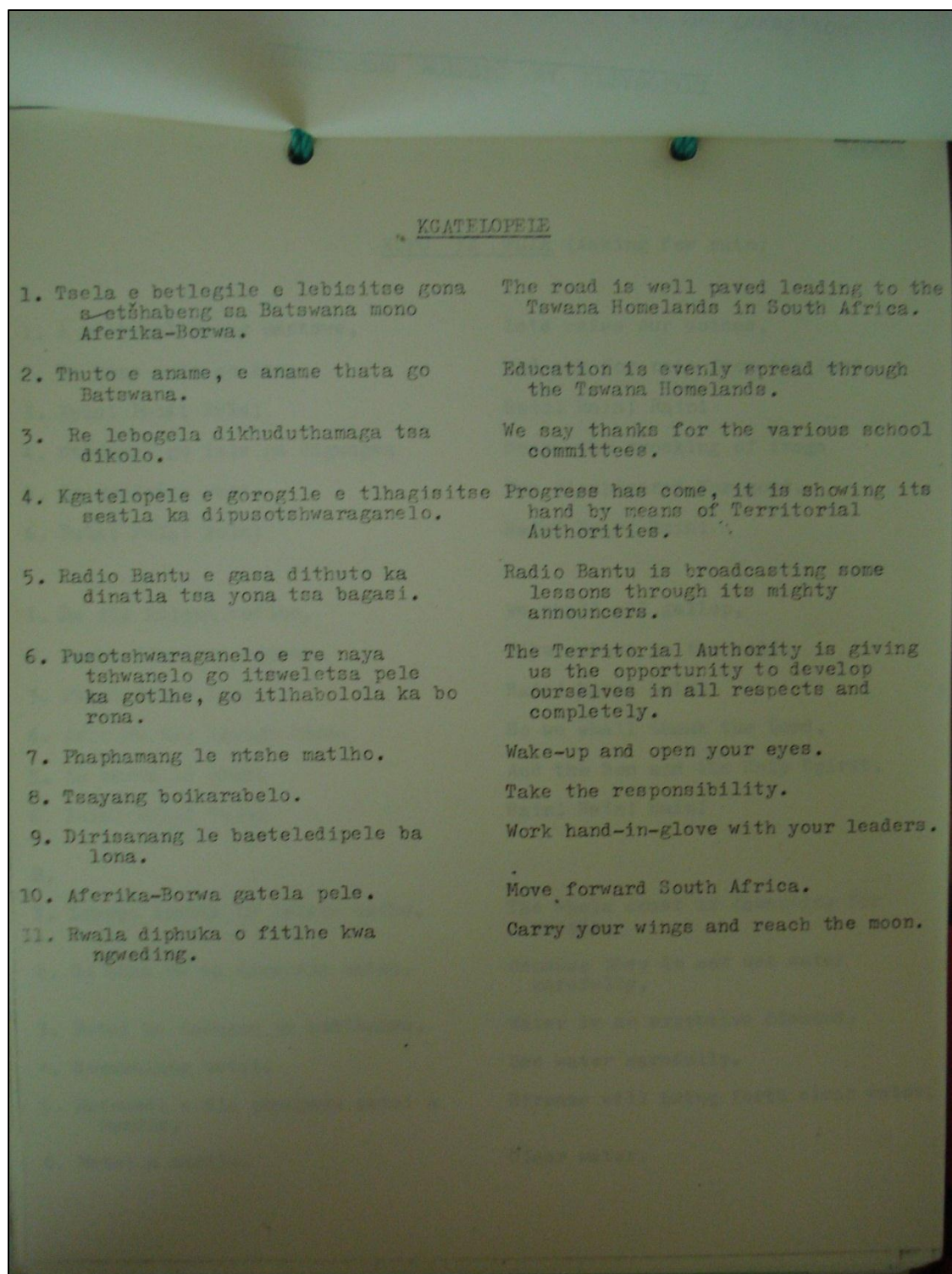


Figure 4 SABC lyric sheet (Tswana), c. 1971. Photograph by Stephanus Muller.

An interesting aspect that emerges from an examination of these SABC propaganda documents is the use of biblical language or religious texts. In Figure 5 phrases such as 'Exactly what was in the beginning is now and shall be till the end of the world' is reminiscent of the 'Glory be to the Father' or *Gloria Patri* doxology in Christianity which contains the words 'as it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be, world without end'. As was discussed in Chapter One, the mingling of Christianity³⁸ and state is a significant consideration in a discussion of apartheid thinking. In a similar way, the example combines the notion of religion and state with phrases such as 'Today the Nationalists are under the hand of the One Who cannot be opposed even by kings'. It would seem that the somewhat unobvious implication in this song is that the Nationalist government has a kind of divine right over the South African people and should therefore not be opposed and to do so would oppose the will of God.

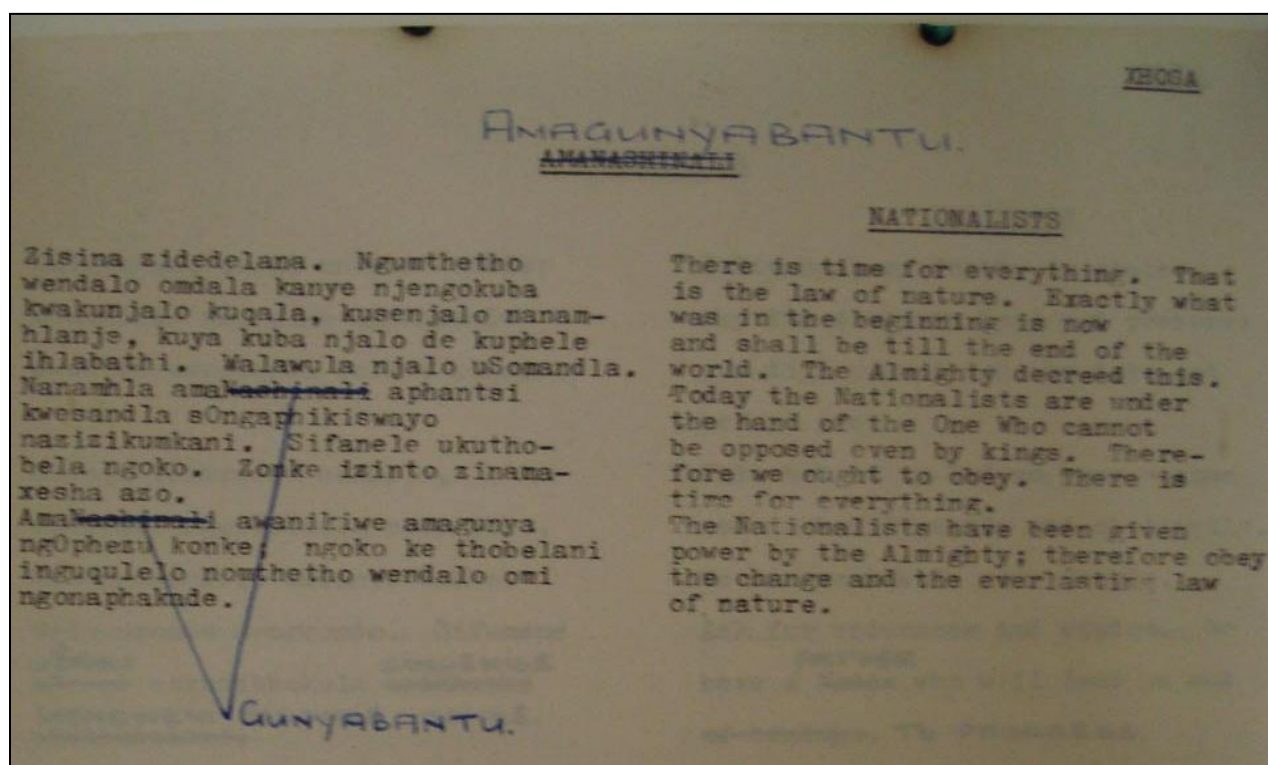


Figure 5 SABC lyric sheet (Xhosa), c. 1971. Photograph by Stephanus Muller.

³⁸ Practised by a large portion of the South African population as a result of mission education in South Africa.

From the correspondence examined during the research visit to the record library, it emerges that the Chairman of the CRAC also sent information about black songs (presumably broadcast on the various black services and vetted by black functionaries) that were not to be used in any programmes of the SABC. In a letter dated 18 July 1990 it is stated specifically that 'The following records have been restricted by the Nguni-Sotho Radio Service and may not be used in any programmes of the SABC'. This separation appears not to have been extended to musical sounds or instruments. As has been noted previously the committees were predominantly concerned with the restriction of offensive or subversive lyrics (Drewett, 2004: 85; Francis, interview; Reitov, Cecile Pracher, interview). According to Francis, songs that contained lyrics not in English or Afrikaans (for example Springbok Radio) were not considered in committee meetings unless they were examples of 'crossover' music (Francis, interview). In addition, she has emphasized that because music was only restricted by the CRAC on the basis of its lyric content there was no relationship between 'unsuitable' musical items and musical genre (Francis, interview)

From this perspective, it may be stated that the apparatus of control used by the government and SABC not only silenced the distribution of material, but promoted state ideology. In this way, the notion of propaganda intersects the notion of censorship in a significant manner and made the SABC's task in censorship and propaganda very specific. In more general terms, propaganda as the handmaiden of censorship, served as another cog which made up apartheid's comprehensive censorship machine.

3.5. Analysis of Material

3.5.1. The CRAC and the 'Emergency Years'

For the graphic representation below (Figure 6), data was acquired by examining all CRAC memorandums available between 1986 and 1996. For the years 1986 and

1996³⁹ respectively, memorandums of several meetings are missing. This accounts for the low numbers reflected by these respective years in the graph. Furthermore, the representation cannot be considered entirely accurate as a small number of memorandums could not be found. However, such a survey is not present in any research I have encountered on the SABC and I would like to suggest that it provides, at least, an indication of the general trend of censorship procedures in the SABC during these years.

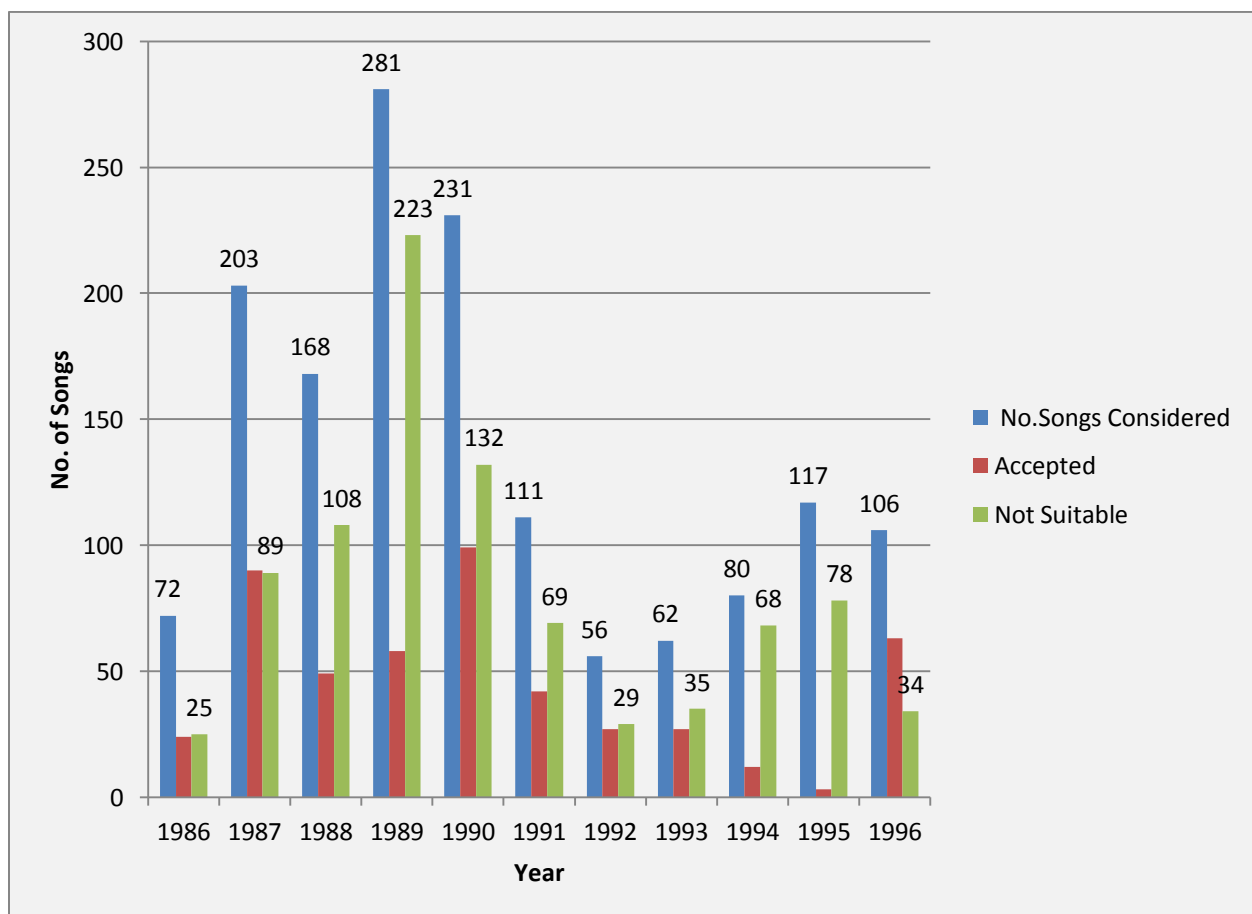


Figure 6 Summary of data obtained at SABC Record Library (Memorandums, August 1986 to June 1996)

In Chapter Two, the macro structures and context of apartheid censorship was discussed. As has already been suggested, the documentation consulted at the SABC

³⁹ Memorandums present from 28 August to 11 December in 1986 (memo nr. 199 to 211) and 16 January to 28 June in 1996 (memo nr. 371 to 378).

record library indicates a notion of collaboration or awareness of general political trends between the CRAC and state censorship structures. The earliest memorandum that could be located during my field trip to the SABC was dated 28 August 1986, only a month after the National Party had declared a nationwide 'State of Emergency'.⁴⁰ It may be suggested that in the same way that emergency legislation was an attempt by the state to retain control in the light of increasing resistance to its policies, the rise in song restrictions by the CRAC appears to have increased. Although data could not be acquired for earlier years and therefore no comparison may be drawn between the first and second half of the 1980s, there remains a definite upward trend in the data leading up to 1990 (the year in which South Africa began to dismantle apartheid). It is possible to entertain the notion that global trends in popular music during the late 1980s may have had some effect on these results. According to Middleton, popular music experienced the emergence and popularity of a number of new styles within the genre, such as punk, rap, gangster rap, reggae, country music and metal (Middleton, 2012). A number of agendas suggest that the lyrics and subject matter often found within these styles, were not consistent with the committee's moral sensibilities. It appears that a portion of the objections made by the CRAC to certain items were based on puritanical moral principles, rather than political considerations per se. However, it is possible that in the mind of the committee these considerations had over time morphed into indistinguishable categories.

A notable example is the use of the word 'Jah' (meaning 'God') which is most commonly associated with the Rastafarian movement and is most notably employed in reggae music. Examples include the memorandum from 16 November 1989 (memo no. 297) in which six out of eleven songs are restricted from airplay because they contain the word 'Jah'. In the memorandum from 28 September 1990 (memo no. 316), nine songs are restricted and are listed under the heading 'Die volgende titels bevat die woord 'JAH', lirieke word nie ingesluit nie.'⁴¹ In addition, during the meeting held on 14 June 1990

⁴⁰ 'State of Emergency' was lifted in 1990.

⁴¹ Trans: The following titles contain the word 'JAH', lyrics are not included.

(memo no. 309) seven out of fifteen titles are deemed unsuitable because they contain the word. Finally, a memorandum from a meeting held on 4 October 1990 (memo no. 317) reveals that a special discussion of the word 'Jah' took place. During this meeting both 'JAH Say' by Burning Spear on the album *Resistance* and 'Stop em JAH' by Jugh Mundell on the LP *Black Man's Foundation* are found to be unsuitable for airplay.

In addition to religious concerns and as can be seen in the list of reasons for banning on page 72, songs that carried sexual meaning, were sexually explicit or referred to drugs or drug usage were considered 'undesirable'. Examples include the lyric sheet from 9 February 1989 for 'You are my Heroine' which was restricted by the committee for reference to narcotics. In the agenda dated 1 November 1990, one song is restricted with an inscription in green ink beside the title reading 'blatant and unacceptable sexual reference which will cause offence'. On 9 April 1987 (memo nr. 222) 'You Sexy Thing' by Hot Chocolate is approved for airplay by the CRAC as a 'her-voorlegging'⁴². Attached to the agenda for this meeting is a letter dated 3 April 1987 from Kim Saville (International Label Manager) EMI Music:

Due to problems arising from certain sections of the lyric content of this song, we have received a re-mixed and edited version of which I enclose a cassette dubbing plus revised lyrics. This is to confirm that no further copies of the original version are available or will be pressed and distributed by the Company, and that this will be the only version available for Radio play and Retail Sale in South Africa. Thank you for your co-operation.

As was mentioned previously, the aspect of record companies and their efforts to acquire airplay for certain tracks has been discussed extensively by Drewett. However, several additional aspects deserve mention. Firstly, the letter demonstrates that songs were reconsidered for airplay or a specific TV broadcast even if they had initially been considered 'undesirable'. This aspect is significant in examining a letter sent to Cecile Pracher by a colleague at the TV broadcasting unit at the SABC. The note indicates that

⁴² Trans: resubmission.

requests were sent to the CRAC from within the SABC as well as other members of the industry and general public. This particular request was denied in the meeting held on 22 June 1989 (memo no. 283):

Ek is een van drie regisseurs wat besig is met 'n nuwe Afrikaanse musiekreeks wat Vrydagaande om 22:00 uitgesaai gaan word. Ek wy een van my programme aan die musiek van Anton Goosen en wil graag die ballade 'Lucy Jennifer Jefferson' gebruik. Ek, en almal wat saam met my hierna geluister het, vind dit 'n musikale belewenis en beslis een van die heel beste liedjies uit Goosen se vroeë tydperk. My enigste probleem is dat ons diskoteek-kopie van die plaat die 'AFGEKEUR/AVOID' plakkertjie dra. Is dit moontlik dat hierdie beslissing van baie jare gelede gunstig heroorweeg kan word? Die samelewing se verdraagsaamheid, waardes en norme het oor die afgelope dekade heelwat verander. My program word ook nie in die spitsyd uitgesaai nie en suiwer op die meriete verdien hierdie liedjie om opgeneem te word in 'n program oor Goosen se musiek. Myns insiens is daar ook geen laster, godslater, opruiende uitsprake of 'n aanval op die huidige bestel in die lirieke nie. Aangeheg hierby is die lirieke van die liedjie onder bespreking. Sal dit dalk moontlik wees om dan ten minste toestemming te verleen dat hierdie liedjie eenmalig op TV gebruik mag word? U gunstige oorweging en spoedige antwoord sal waardeer word. Geteken: GJ Potgieter.⁴³

In the song 'Lucy Jennifer Jefferson' mentioned in Potgieter's letter, Goosen describes an American gospel singer visiting a South African township for a concert and being shot whilst she is on stage. It is likely that the fifth verse of the song which begins 'Lucy Jennifer Jefferson se hande strek omhoog/ Sy predik 'vryheid, mensereg', en sy roep 'n oog vir elke oog!⁴⁴', posed the greatest difficulty for the CRAC in passing the song because of its reference to 'freedom' and 'human rights'

⁴³ Trans: I am one of three editors who are working on a new Afrikaans music series which will be broadcast on Friday evenings at 22:00. I am basing one of my programmes on the music of Anton Goosen and would like to use the ballad 'Lucy Jennifer Jefferson'. I, and those who listened to this found it to be a musical experience and found it to be one of the best songs from Goosen's earlier works. My only problem is that our record library copy of the record is marked 'AVOID'. Would it be possible to reconsider this decision, taken many years ago, in a favourable light? Society's tolerance, values and norms have changed considerably over the past decade. My programme is also not broadcast in peak times, and purely on merit this song deserves to be included in a programme about Goosen's music. In my opinion, there is no slander, blasphemy, incitement or an attack on the present dispensation in the lyrics. I attach the lyrics of the song under discussion. Would it at least be possible to grant permission that this song is broadcast once on TV? Your favourable and speedy answer would be appreciated. Signed: GJ Potgieter.

⁴⁴ Trans: Lucy Jennifer Jefferson's hands reach up high / She preaches 'freedom, human rights', and she shouts, "an eye for every eye!" (<http://www.sois.uwm.edu/afrikaans/culture/music/goosena/lucyjenniferjefferson.html>)

(<http://www.sois.uwm.edu/afrikaans/culture/music/goosena/lucyjenniferjefferson.html>).

In addition, the biblical phrase 'an eye for an eye', could possibly have been seen by the CRAC as having the ability to incite further political resistance. In addition, Potgieter's letter argues for the broadcast of Goosen's song on musical grounds in that he states that the song should be broadcast because it is an example of one of Goosen's best early songs. This serves to emphasize further the consideration of artistic merit in censoring literature which was not the case in the censorship of music by the SABC where the song appears to have been restricted solely on the basis of its lyric content.

In light of these quotations it may be suggested, that the CRAC appears to have had a particularly conservative approach to musical material, even in comparison to other departments at the SABC. In addition, both Drewett and van Rooyen have indicated that there were instances where items were restricted because the CRAC received requests not to allow these items airplay. Examples include the first SABC broadcast of 'Jesus Christ Superstar' by Andrew Lloyd Webber (1970) on Springbok Radio and George Michael's 'I Want Your Sex' (1987) (Drewett, 2004: 94; van Rooyen, 2011, interview).

It is evident then that items were restricted on both moral and political grounds by the CRAC in the late 1980s. It may be stated that the conservative approach to material on the part of the CRAC could imply that the committee was trying to maintain its firmly conceived notion of suitability in the wake of political uncertainty. In the distribution lists located in the archive, there is further evidence to support this statement. Distribution lists seem to get larger and the chain of communication more extensive (see Appendix A). This may suggest that attempts were being made to ensure that the CRAC's decisions were enforced and remained impermeable to possible deviation. Paul Erasmus has indicated that the secret police were experiencing a similar situation in that they were attempting to curb political resistance (Erasmus, interview). This resulted in an enormous amount of paper work that served to allow information to be lost in the chain of correspondence rather than enhance the system's efficacy. Erasmus claims

that by the early 1990s the floor where documents were stored at the infamous John Vorster Square, began to cave in from the weight of the paper (Erasmus, interview).

The agendas and other documents encountered at the SABC suggest that although it considered the respectability of non-political items, political material was of particular concern to the CRAC at this time. This is supported by Pracher when she states:

And in the 1980'ies (sic) it became a much more political thing than obviously before that. And you can see it from the memos as well. Previously politics also played a role, but as you know, all the movements against apartheid got momentum. So the protectors of apartheid became harsher in their laws. And I think that [this] was reflected within this committee as well. I think it became more conservative. The interesting [thing] for me was, when looking back at it, it was not only in the political sphere, but in all spheres. There was no lee way for any room, whether it would be religion, a moral issue. All the different spheres were clamped down on, which was bad news. (Reitov: Pracher, interview)

3.5.2. Democracy and the Upkeep of Morality: The CRAC from 1990 to 1996

It is apparent in the graph that after 1990 there was a decrease in the number of songs considered and restricted by the CRAC. However, it appears that the number of songs and restrictions began to rise significantly again in 1993/1994 (i.e. in the run-up to the first democratic elections) and continued to increase in 1995. The documents consulted may indicate that with the gradual relaxation of apartheid policies in the 1990s, apartheid's final abolition in 1994 and the passing of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill in 1993,⁴⁵ the committee was forced to allow some political material airplay (Breytenbach, Francis, interview). In addition, Francis has noted that South African musicians (particularly those involved in Afrikaans music) were becoming increasingly apolitical (Francis, interview). In this way, the rise in the number of restrictions from 1993 to 1995 cannot be attributed to 'offensive' political material.

⁴⁵ SABC became independent

As was discussed previously in Chapter Two, the Directorate and PAB began reforming censorship legislation and unbanning items that had previously been censored. A newspaper article from *The Star* dated 13 March 1993, notes that the SABC was undergoing a similar process but refers mostly to SABC television (*Star*, 13 March 1993). Further newspaper articles from the 1990s reveal that South Africa was in the midst of a controversial debate on legalizing the sale of certain types of pornography in the country, for example the sale of *Playboy* in 1993 (*Weekly Mail*, 14 January 1993). In an article from *The Star* entitled 'Censors Twiddle Thumbs', Janet Smith reports that the tolerance levels of the Directorate and censors are increasing (*Star*, 13 January 1995). From this perspective, these articles may imply an increased (albeit controversial) sense of moral, religious and political freedom (*Citizen*, 20 June 1995). In turn, Francis has attested that this had a bearing on the music the CRAC was considering for broadcast (Francis, interview).

Both Francis and Pracher have credited the increase of 'offensive' musical items in the 1990s to a general rise in the use of swear words and sexual references in certain categories of popular music (particularly rap music) (Francis, interview). Pracher states:

And obviously the rap songs had a lot of swear words in them. Swear words were out anywhere. That was the easier part of looking at lyrics because it is so blatant. So you pick it up rather quickly and that is it. You do not even have to look at the rest of the lyrics. (Reitov, Pracher interview)

This notion is supported by the documents viewed in the record library. In the agendas dating from 1992 onwards items are separated into songs that contain swearing and 'other'. In comparison to the 1980s, such a division implies a shift in focus from political to moral concerns on the part of the CRAC. To recall the particularly conservative values of the CRAC even in relation to other sections of the SABC, it may be stated that the committee was attempting to retain its conservative grasp on the airwaves whilst

attempting to adapt to South Africa's new political landscape. The advent of democracy may have removed a dominant impetus for the committee's original formation. As was argued previously in Chapter One, the notions of apartheid ideology, religion, state and morality are intricately intertwined. From this perspective, it may be argued that removing political censorship from the CRAC's authority left it unsure of its exact purpose and may even have meant that moral censorship assumed an added importance (Francis, interview). This concept is substantiated by Pracher when she is asked by Reitov to describe the final meetings held by the CRAC.

... there was a sense of finality, almost a road that came to an end. Because whatever we looked at that particular stage, the only real problems were swear words ... So it was a sense of this is over and done with, actually. We did not need to play this role anymore ..., (Reitov, Pracher, interview)

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CONCLUSION

4.1. Understanding Apartheid Music Censorship

In Chapter Two of this dissertation it was argued that music censorship held a particularly insignificant place in apartheid state censorship structures and processes. The doctoral thesis by Michael Drewett (2004) has revealed that despite the perceived silence on the subject of music censorship during that time, the censoring of music took place on a significant scale. The current research has argued for the recognition of a connection between the state censorship apparatus and the music censorship structures previously used by the SABC, but has gone further in suggesting that state interventions in music censorship was made less urgent and necessary because such stringent control was exercised on music broadcasts by the SABC.

A mapping of censorship structures following the 1974 Publications Act (amended in 1978) has indicated that the apartheid censorship bureaucracy comprised a three-tier structure that consisted of appointed committees, a body that would assess committee recommendations and the PAB. In addition, Chapter Two has sought to highlight the role of the security branch or secret police in surveying and censoring 'undesirable' media, either by submitting material to the Directorate, harassment and/or intimidation. Drewett has noted the involvement in the curtailment of various artists and their music by the secret police and in some rare instances the Directorate of Publications.

It may be necessary at this point to recall Kobus van Rooyen's statement (discussed in section 3.3.3.) that government structures entrusted the SABC with the task of restricting 'undesirable' music and focused its attention on the restriction of literature

and film. As was noted previously, the corporation was in a strong position to perform this function as musicians and record companies (as the correspondence examples and Drewett's research indicate) were often prepared to modify their music so that it could be accepted for airplay and in so doing, enter a broader market. In addition, Abraham Coetzee has indicated (section 2.6.) that because the security branch was not required to submit evidence for items deemed 'undesirable' by the Directorate and PAB, they often tried to 'offload' items on the Directorate so that evidence would not be required for presentation before a court. With this statement in mind, it seems reasonable to argue that a connection existed between the corporation and government structures as well as civil structures and the security branch. This notion has been supported by Cecile Pracher, who notes that the CRAC performed its task so well that they were never visited by the security branch (section 3.3.3.). Ironically, then, the absence of evidence of formal contact between the SABC and other apartheid censorship structures confirm (rather than cast into doubt) the importance of the SABC in those structures.

Indeed, from this perspective, the SABC may be viewed as the most significant extension of the apartheid state in repressing musical production and distribution. In addition to more explicit forms of censorship, the financial implications for artists not to have their work broadcast on radio were severe and prompted a culture of self-censorship. As was noted previously, the nature of the relationship between state and SABC censorship structures was not direct and was often inconsistent in that SABC censors were not experts in the field of music (as was the case in the censorship of literature) and artistic merit does not appear to have been part of the CRAC's criteria when considering music for radio broadcast. Despite these inconsistencies, the SABC music acceptance committees certainly functioned within a perceived ideologically and politically assumed framework so as to align themselves with other forms of government censorship. However, as the Muller photographs indicate, the national broadcaster had a history of taking the notion of censorship further by broadcasting music which was

propagandistic, (particularly on the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations) thereby enforcing the state's notion of separate development.

The example of the SABC as an extension of government censorship structures and vehicle of propaganda is by no means a singular example of a national broadcaster functioning as the music policeman of a repressive state. However, the current study contributes perspectives on how apartheid music censorship and the SABC can be understood in relation to broader apartheid structures.

As was indicated in Chapter Three, memorandums and agendas located in the SABC Radio Archives (dating from 1986 to 1996), suggest that although apartheid as a general system of repression was starting to fail by the late 1980s and early 1990s, the CRAC continued attempting to align itself with general governmental trends. The start of South Africa's gradual move towards democracy in 1990, saw a shift in emphasis on the part of the CRAC, from political to moral concerns. This, as I have argued in Chapter Three, left the CRAC unsure of its exact purpose and possibly even saw moral concerns take on an added impetus. It also shows, I argue, that there was a seamless connection between the CRAC's ideas of the political and moral unsuitability of material. The line between political and moral opposition to specific parties, political programmes and communism had been blurred to the extent that it was unclear in many instances whether the censorship decisions derived from political or moral grounds. Puritanical religious thinking was at least as strong an influence in censoring material as were political acquiescence.

At the onset of this dissertation I provided a broad theoretical exploration of censorship as a term that encapsulates numerous methods of restriction. In addition, the chapter focussed these notions of censorship on the artistic product and restriction of music. In

the light of the discussion of SABC censorship provided in Chapter Three, it is necessary to consider the CRAC in relation to these theoretical concepts.

4.2. Theoretical Conclusions Based on Field Work Data

4.2.1. The SABC and Theoretical Placement

In Chapter One of this disquisition it was noted that censorship implies a rule-guided set of principles that serve an external purpose (notably moral or political) and may be executed in an 'arbitrary' and 'self-defeating' manner (Ingram, 2000: 2). This statement by Ingram appears to hold relevance to the South African censorship system and SABC's CRAC. As the discussion provided in Chapter Three suggests, the CRAC used censorship to serve a political or moral purpose which it based on a set of principles (represented in the list of reasons for restriction in section 3.2.1.).

The CRAC's set of principles was not, as became clear from the discussion provided in Chapter Two, legally binding. Nor were they an example of purely social censorship. To recall the discussion on legal and social censorship, it may be stated that the CRAC was an example of quasi-legal censorship because it actively attempted to curtail the distribution of morally and politically 'offensive' material and promote a specific ideology within a given community both in terms of what it chose to curtail and by means of propaganda. Yet, as I have shown, at the same time the corporation functioned as an extension of a broader and legalized censorship apparatus and aligned itself with this broader structure. The SABC may be recognized as predominantly enforcing restriction on music by means of pre-censorship in CRAC meetings. This in turn (as discussed in Chapter Three), perpetuated a pattern of self-censorship amongst musicians and record companies.

To recall the discussion of Michel Foucault's work 'Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison' in Chapter One (section 1.2.1.), I argued that the fear of censorship or surveillance can be used to enforce compliance. It is not clear from the documents consulted during the course of the current research whether the CRAC used the fear of censorship knowingly. It is however clear from Drewett's study that self-censorship in the way Foucault describes, took place in the censorship of music. These relationships between record companies, musicians and the CRAC are also apparent through the various letters reproduced in Chapter Three that show how efforts were made to appease the CRAC so that music could receive airplay.

4.2.2. The SABC, Silencing Musical Liberty and the Archive

In the theoretical exploration of censorship provided in section 1.1.4.1., the concept of freedom of expression as a human, moral and/or legal right was discussed. It will be apparent from the discussions provided in Chapters Two and Three that the apartheid censorship system greatly curbed this right because of moral and political concerns and that artists were not able (either because of legal censorship or self-imposed forms of censorship) to practice their various forms of creativity freely. Moreover, the freedom of access to information has become an additional concern in an investigation of censorship or what has been intentionally silenced. The legacy of censorship, as I have mentioned previously, remains embedded to some degree in structures such as the SABC. However, the findings presented in the current study allow for some additional points concerning the SABC and its archives (including the Radio Library and Sound Archives) to be made. Because archival systems are created within various contexts, archives often 'reflect the societies that created them' (Lambrechts, 2012: 91-92). The SABC music acceptance committees, as I have argued previously, seem to have subscribed to the state's ideological principles and more specifically its notions of censorship and secrecy and seem to validate Lambrechts's claim. From this perspective, the state ideology and thought on censorship at the corporation seems to

have been disseminated to the degree that it influenced what documents were stored in the archive and which documents were discarded. According to Lambrechts, a large portion of broadcasting material (for example tapes and LP's), were not stored by the Record and Radio Libraries at the SABC because they contained 'unacceptable' content (Lambrechts, 2012: 101). As Harris puts it, 'a key element in this exercise of hegemony was the state's control over social memory, a control which involved both remembering and forgetting' (In: Lambrechts, 2012: 101).

4.2.3. On Artistic Merit and Aesthetic Position

Following the 1974 Publications Act and the *Magersfontein* case, the state censorship bureaucracy made efforts to take 'artistic merit' into account in the consideration of potentially 'offensive' media (mostly literature and film). In addition, the system appointed literary experts to determine whether items should be passed on these grounds whilst still attempting to retain apartheid's essential character. In accordance with Berlin's concepts of positive and negative liberty (see section 1.1.5.1.), the apartheid censorship structures seem to have employed the notion of positive liberty. As was noted previously, Berlin saw positive liberty as having the most potential for being molded into the ideology of a totalitarian state (Swift, 2006: 52).

A significant consideration in the censorship of music under apartheid is that unlike state censorship structures, the CRAC did not employ music experts to assess the artistic merit of a given piece of music. Instead, the station managers, record library managers and librarians who made up the CRAC chose to restrict music exclusively on the basis of 'offensive' lyrics. From this perspective, it is possible to suggest that if the SABC is seen as the main body responsible for censoring music under apartheid on the state's behalf, music may have been the most repressed art form because it was at the mercy of a particularly musically illiterate structure. It is this realization that also informs

the fact that little art music was censored by the apartheid state. If the SABC was the main mechanism of music censorship during apartheid and the censorship was conducted without any musical programme or aesthetic position in mind but rather by looking at possible offensive titles and lyrics, it is clear that no interest existed in censoring art music per se.

This conclusion ties to a wider debate on the importance of music to the apartheid state. In his unpublished doctoral thesis, Stephanus Muller has argued that apartheid was faced with the difficulty of needing to define a concrete Afrikaner identity which set Afrikaners apart from Europe (particularly Britain) (Muller, 2000: 40). At the same time it sought to present a 'united white front' (English and Afrikaans) which could be connected with a shared European heritage and in turn juxtaposed with a 'supposedly African heritage' (Muller, 2000: 40-41). With this in mind, Muller argues that the Afrikaner cultural establishment viewed literature as an assertion of the *volk* and the performing arts as maintaining South Africa's cultural ties with Europe (Muller, 2000: 41). Muller's notion may go some way in explaining the inconsistencies in the censoring of literature and music and the CRAC's seemingly hands-off attitude towards art music, which was always-already a signifier of European sophistication. This highly ideologised indifference towards art music could well have been the source of the complete lack of an aesthetic position on all music censored by the CRAC, most notably popular music.

4.2.4. Censoring Pornography, Blasphemy and Taboo in the SABC

An additional aspect in the consideration of artistic merit on the part of the state censorship structures was its approach to pornography, taboo subjects and swearing. As has already been mentioned, state structures did occasionally 'pass' items with perceived 'offensive' content because of artistic merit or what the Directorate considered to be an item's 'likely' readership or audience (see Chapter Two). With the

appointment of Kobus van Rooyen and Abraham Coetzee the state censorship structures' sympathies towards this type of material seems to have increased gradually into the 1990s. As a general statement, however, given the Puritanical tenets in apartheid ideology that had a direct influence on apartheid censorship systems, government censorship structures saw pornography, swearing and blasphemy as depraved and feared the effects of this kind of content on those exposed to it. The quotation on page 65 concerning the *Magersfontein* case supports this statement. The novel was initially regarded as infringing on the individual's right to sexual privacy through 'excessive' references to masturbation, excretion and the use of 'filthy' and blasphemous language.

Recalling the data presented in Chapter Three, which recorded the number of banned items by the CRAC between 1986 and 1996, it appears that the concepts of blasphemy, taboo subjects, pornography (or explicit sexual content in music) and swearing held a significant place in the censorship of music in addition to political concerns. As I have shown, the leniency experienced by other media during that time by state censorship structures was not reflected in the censorship of music. In the discussion provided above of taboo and the *Lady Chatterley* case in 1.5.3.1.2, Lord Gage (who was hearing the case), considered the novel to have been in 'bad taste' but had to admit that the rules of decorum were subjective. The term 'bad taste', as has already been noted, appears on several memorandums which were examined at the SABC. It was a broad term that seemed to have made provision for the censorship of music (with taboo content) which could not be restricted on the grounds of other criteria set out in the CRAC's list.

In this way, whilst it is clear that apartheid censorship structures respected the lasting effects of art (see the discussion of Osip Mandelstam in section 1.1.5.3.3.), the CRAC's disregard for artistic merit may suggest that its concern was not so much the lasting impact of art and whether art would outlive its censor as in the Soviet example, but

more superficially with material that could offend listeners or undermine apartheid ideologies. In Chapter One (section 1.1.6.3) the concept of explicit and symbolic meaning in music was discussed. As has already been mentioned, the CRAC seems to have restricted music predominantly on the basis of lyric content, which implies that it only considered what Martin calls the ‘explicit’ meaning in music. The ‘sonic’ aspects of music, which Martin notes refer to the interpretations ascribed to sounds in music, do not appear to have been a dominant concern of the CRAC in restricting music (Martin, 2011).

4.2.5. Music Censorship in the Post-Apartheid Context

In section 1.1.6.2. of this thesis, the restriction of music was discussed in accordance with Richard Taruskin’s work on the subject and his publication *The Danger of Music: And Other Anti-Utopian Essays* (2008). Taruskin presented several arguments for the control of music in certain cases (for example Prokofiev’s *Zdravitsa* and Barenboim’s performance of Wagner’s music in Israel). It is not the intention here to argue for or against the control of music but rather to point out that despite the vast change in South Africa’s political climate in the last two decades, censorship and the censorship of music remains a relevant subject.

In 2010 the Afrikaner heritage group Afriforum took legal action against Julius Malema, the former president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), for singing the anti-apartheid struggle song *Aw dubul’ibhunu* or ‘Kill the Boer’ at a gathering in Johannesburg (<http://www.afriforum.co.za/english/2011-04-08-commencement-of-hate-speech-hearing-of-julius-malema/>). The word *boer*, meaning ‘farmer’ or more generally ‘Afrikaner’, was of particular concern as Afriforum argued that it served to incite hatred for white South Africans and exacerbate the regular murders of white farmers (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-04-14-struggle-lyric-threatens-afrikaners-national-identity>). The ANC has continually held that this is not the intention of the song, that

there exists no causality between farm murders and the singing of the song, and that the song is an indispensable part of South Africa's oral heritage (<http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/968b47804869da798183d5bc6b3aba18/ANC-applies-for-leave-to-appeal-against-hate-song-ruling-20110921>). In a similar way to the *Zdravitsa* and the controversy surrounding Barenboim's performances in Israel, arguments for and against the performance of 'Kill the Boer' have emerged.

In September 2011 the singing of 'Kill the Boer' was formally banned by South African High Court judge Colin Lamont because the court ruled that it constituted hate speech. This was a significant event because it was the first legal restriction of a musical product since the abolishment of apartheid in 1994 and the abolishment of apartheid censorship structures in 1996.

In section 1.1.5.3.1. of the current thesis, the controversy surrounding the painting by Brett Murray entitled 'The Spear' (2012) was discussed and serves as an additional example of censorship in the post-apartheid context. The controversy surrounding the painting and the ANC's claims that it was 'obscene' highlight once again the uneasy relationship that exists between censorship and art. Moreover, these temporary moments of censorship may be seen to signal that, despite legal structures being in place, the limitations of art and what is deemed permissible can never be entirely and unambiguously settled. Yet, it may also be suggested that the reoccurrence of these moments of censorship signal the unfolding of uneasy political developments which may be controlled by the state to some extent through restriction and censorship.

4.3. Recommendations for Further Research

Future research into the subject of apartheid music censorship may wish to explore the censorship processes undertaken by music acceptance committees besides the CRAC, in particular those of the so-called 'Bantu' radio stations. Such a study may choose to compare these processes to those of the CRAC and possibly other sections of the corporation and would certainly assist in allowing a more comprehensive history of apartheid music censorship and the SABC to emerge. A history of pre-1986 music restriction by the CRAC would serve a similar function.

Additional research into music censorship at the SABC will however be faced with a number of difficulties. As was mentioned in Chapter Three, much of the archival material which may add insight into these aspects of music censorship cannot be located in the SABC's vast archive. In addition, there is also no concrete information available to establish whether many of these documents have survived. Of course, future research may wish to trace members of these committees and gather interviews. However, as far as could be ascertained in this research, very few censors are still alive today. Most also left no record of their activities at the corporation.

From this perspective, it seems that there is a substantial amount of documentation and personal memory on music censorship in South Africa that has remained silenced and that, as Picard puts it, will never enter the 'loud places' of South Africa's musical history (Picard, 1954: 84).

APPENDIX A: SABC DISTRIBUTION LISTS AND DOCUMENTS

The material in this section provides examples of distribution lists and documents which were found at the SABC Record Library with CRAC agenda and memorandum documents. Due to restrictions placed on the photocopying, photographing or scanning of these archival sources, documents have been typed out.

* * *

Pasted in the hard cover of a file named 'Memo No 189', there is a red note that reads:

Verspreiding van geel kaartjies: 1. Streeksdirekteur: Wes-Kaap (1 stel) 2. Streeksdirekteur: Oos-Kaap (1 stel) 3. Streeksdirekteur: Natal (1 stel) 4. Streeksdirekteur O.V.S (1 stel) 5. Streeksdirekteur: Noord-Tvl (1 stel) 6. Johan Coetzer (1 stel) 7. Cecile Pracher (2 stelle)⁴⁶.

These 10 sets of yellow cards were presumably the summarized decisions taken at the meetings of the CRAC, signed off by the Chairman of the Committee and distributed for implementation nationwide.

* * *

Additional internal correspondence indicates a more comprehensive distribution list. One example is Memo 634 dated 29/06/83 entitled "Plate voorgele vir keuring/records under consideration'. It reads as follows:

⁴⁶ Trans: Distribution of yellow cards:

‘Neem asseblief kennis dat die volgende sangnommer/s aan die komitee vir keuring voorgele is, en mag dus, tot verdere kennis, in geen programme van die SAUK gebruik word nie.

Please note that the following song/s have been submitted to the committee for consideration, and therefore may not be used in any programme on the SABC transmission, until further notice

Elton John – ‘Religion’ – LP Title Too low for Zera – Rocket Star 5313

Climax Blues Band – LP Title Sample and Hold – Virgin VNC5036

1. Sign of the times 2. Walking on sunset 3. Heaven and Hell

Signed off by Tinus Esterhuysen (Hoofopsteller/Chief Compiler
Handelsdienste/Commercial Services)

Afskrifte/Copies:

Adjunk-Direkteur-Generaal: Nguni, Sotho & Buitelandse Dienste (Radio, TV 2 & 3)

Senior Direkteur: Afrikaanse & Engelsedienste

Programdirekteur: Afrikaanse & Engelse Radiodienste

Programdirekteur: Sotho-, Vena- en Buitelandse radio

Programdirekteur: TV 1 (Engels)

Programdirekteur: Sentrale Dienste (TV2/3 en swart radiodienste)

Programdirekteur: Nguni- en Tsongaradiodienste

Programdirekteur: Handelsdienste

Programdirekteur: TV 2/3

Programdirekteur: TV1 (Afrikaans)

Programadviseur

Hoof: Buitelandse Dienste

Hoof: Springbokradio

Hoof: TV1 (Engels) (5)

Hoof: TV2 (Programme) (5)

Hoof: Sentrale Nguni- en Sothoradiodienste

Hoof: TV1 (Afrikaans) (5)

Hoof: TV 3 (Programme) (5)

Hoof: Musiek (3)

Hoof: Afrikaanse radiodiens

Hoof: Engelse radiodienste

Hoof: Bestuursdienste (SWAUK)

Hoof: Radio Hoefeld & Radio 5

Hoof: Handelsdienste Kaap

Hoof Handelsdienste Natala

Streekbestuurder: OVS (2)

Streekbestuurder: Wes-Kaap (2)

Streekbestuurder: Natal (2)

Streekbestuurder: Noord-Transvaal (2)

Streekbestuurder: Oos-Kaap (2)

Superintendent: Musiek & Radiodienste (Bantoe)

Superintendent: TV 2 (Programme)

Superintendent: TV 3 (Programme)

Organiseerder: Oudioteke

Organiseerder: Programadminstrasie

Organiseerder: Keuring

Organiseerder: TV 2 (Musiek)

Organiseerder: TV 3 (Musiek)

Programopsiener: Radio 5

Organiser: Audio libraries (radio services in black languages)

* * *

An even more expansive internal correspondence list is dated 1985 and lists sixty distribution points:

Adjunk-Direkteur 121eneral: Nguni, Sotho & Buitelandse Dienste (Radio, TV 2 & 3)

Programdirekteur: Sotho-, Venda-, en Buitelandse Radio

Programdirekteur: TV 1

Programdirekteur: Sentrale dienste (TV 2/3 en Swart radiodienste)

Programdirekteur: Nguni- en Tsongaradiodienste

Programdirekteur: RAE

Programdirekteur: TV 2/3

Programdirekteur: TV 4

Streekdirekteur: OVS (2)

Streekdirekteur: Wes-Kaap (2)

Streekdirekteur: Natal (2)

Streekdirekteur: Noord-Transvaal (2)

Streekdirekteur: Oos-Kaap (2)

Hoof: Buitelandse dienste

Hoof: Springbokradio

Hoof: TV 1 (English)

Hoof: TV 2 Streekdienste

Hoof: TV 3 Streekdienste (Pretoria)

Hoof: Radio Allegro & Musiekprod. Dienste

Hoof: Afrikaanse Radiodiens

Head: English Radio Services

Hoof: Bestuursdienste (SWAUK)

Hoof: TV 2/3- Musiek en Verskeidenheid

Hoof: TV1A, Dokumenter en Joernaal

Hoof: TV1A, Drama, Jeug en Verksiedenisheid (4)

Hoof: Radio Xhosa (King Williamstown)

Hoof: TV 2 Kultuurprogramme

Hoof: TV 3 Kultuurprogramme

Head: TV1E Drama, Youth & Variety (4)

Head: Sport, Magazines & Religion

Hoof: TV 2/3 Joernaal en sport (3)

Hoof: Radio Goeie Hoop

Hoof: Radio Port Natal

Hoof: Radio Algoa

Hoof: Radio Oranje

Hoof: Radio Jakaranda

Keuringsbestuurder: TV 1 Radio

Programbestuurder: Radio 5

Programbestuurder: TV 4

Programopsiener Keuring: TV 4

Manager: Variety

Bestuurder: Diskoteke, Musiekproduksies Musiek: Nguni- en Sothodienste

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Lebowa

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Venda

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Tsonga

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Tswana

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Ndebele

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Swazi

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Sesotho

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Zulu

Bestuurder: Musiek en Verskeidenheid – Radio Xhosa

Bestuurder: A & E programme (3)

Bestuurder: Programme: Radio Oranje (3)

Diskotekaris: VNT

Diskotekaris: NT

Diskotekaris: Natal

Diskotekaris: KWT

Opsiener: Diskoteek (JHB)

Opsiener: Diskoteek (Wes-Kaap)

Assistant-opsiener: diskoteek (OVS) (3)

* * *

An undated list of functionaries was found at the back of a folder in the Record Library and reads as follows:

WM van N Luwes (Regional Director: Natal), SABC Durban

HS Meyer (Regional Director: Western Cape), SABC, Cape

DC Kleinschmidt (Regional Manager and Editor: News Services), SABC, Pietersburg

JC Leonhardt (Regional Manager and Editor: News Services), SABC Bloemfontein

DJ Joubert (Regional Manager and Head: Radio Xhosa), Kind Williams Town

AD Elliott (Tony) (Regional Manager: Eastern Cape and Head: Radio Algoa) SABC PE

Hardus de Beer (Regional Manager and Head: Radio Swazi/Radio Ndebele), SABC Pretoria

MJ Louw (General Manager: Nguni- & Sotho Radio Group), for information, 1608

HPN Jordaan (General: TV1), for information, TV-gebou, 511

IHJ Kern (General Manager: TV2/3/4), for information 1701

HJ Pietersen (Head: Radio Port Natal & Radio Lotus), SABC Durban

PCA Crous (Head: Radio Good Hope), SABC Cape Town

PG Kohler (Head: Radio South Africa & Radio Allegro) 701

Pietie Lotriet (Head: Radio Highveld and Radio 5), 849

Derik Wulfse (Head: Radio Jacaranda) SABC Pretoria

Christo Oliver (Head: Radio Oranje) SABC Bloemfontein

Andre Terblance (Head: Radio Suid-Afrika & Radio Orion) 607

BD Bierman (Head: Orchestra & Music Productions) 501

Eddie Reitmann (Head of operations: Radio) 548

Dougie Haine (Head: Educational Programmes RTV1) 1345

Dr PF Erasmus (Head: Educational Programmes RTV2/3/4) 1745

AJ Watson (Head: Radio Sesotho) 403

DF Eksteen (Head: External services) 301

PJ Lemmer (Head: Radio Lebowa) SABC Pietersburg

ALW Pretorius (Head of programmes: TV2/3/4) (Dries), 526 Broadcast Centre

E Hilder (Head: Radio Zulu) SABC Durban

L Seegers (Head: Radio Venda/Radio Tsonga) SABC Pietersburg

K van der Merwe (Head: Radio Tswana) SABC Pretoria

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RJB Wilson (Production Head: Music and Variety) 511 Area 10

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Henk Hugo (Production Head: TV drama) 1241

KKJ Radebe (Programme Manager: Radio Metro), 435

MJ Esterhuizen (Music Manager)

Cecile Pracher (Supervisor: Central Record Library) 19-A1 Radio Block

Roelf Jacobs (General Manager: English and Afrikaans Radio Group) 601

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