Early Radio Broadcasting in South Africa

Culture, Modernity & Technology

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Abstract

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Early Radio Broadcasting in South Africa: Culture, Modernity and Technology

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This thesis tells the story of the events that led to a broadcasting culture in South Africa. It then proceeds to show how listeners were gradually brought into the radio community, notwithstanding all the prejudices of the time. Africans were the last ones to be considered for broadcasting, this was now in a time of crisis, during the Second World War. Through a look at the cultural landscape of the time, the thesis uncovers the making of radio in South Africa, and shows how this process of making was deeply contested, often with vexing contradictions in ideas about race, segregation and point of view.

The thesis is useful to scholars of history, culture and, more importantly, of music, as it lays the necessary groundwork for in-depth explorations of music styles played and the African artists who grew out of broadcasting activities. In its appeal to a broader audience of literate and illiterate, it sparked the formation of a South African listening public. It also facilitated the presence and domestication of the radio-set within the African home. Radio could account for a whole world out there in the presence of one's home, therefore actively situating African listeners into a modern-global imaginary of listeners.

By bringing news from faraway places nearer, radio was a new kind of colonial modern encounter as it sought to redefine the nature of the local. The thesis therefore understands broadcasting as part of those technological legacies through which, in line with V Y Mudimbe (1988: xi), "African worlds have been established as realities for knowledge." Technology therefore appears as a recurring theme throughout this thesis.

The primary material was gathered using archival methods. In the absence of an audio archive of recordings of the early broadcasts, the thesis relies to a large extent on written resources and interviews.

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TIMELINE

- 1910: Union of South Africa is formed
- 1920: Native Affairs Act
- July 1920: Regular amateur broadcasts of music began in Johannesburg
- 1923: Experimental broadcasts by Western Electrical Company
- 1924: Cape Town and Durban broadcasts begin
- 1927: Stations incorporated into African Broadcasting Company
- 1927: Native Administration Act
- 1934: Reith visits South Africa, advises Hertzog government to take over broadcasting
- 1936: Hertzog Native Bills (which removed Africans from the voter's role in the Cape)
- 1936: Broadcasting incorporated into state, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)
- 1938: Outbreak of the Second World War
- 1939: Every province had established schools broadcasting programs, most white schools participated, one coloured school, and native schools were not allowed to participate. South Africa goes into the Second World War.
- 1940: Loudspeaker broadcasts to Africans in the Witwatersrand
- 1941: Loudspeaker broadcasts to Africans in Natal were already underway by the beginning of
  this year.
- 1941: First African-aimed broadcasts on the airwaves take place in December, from the SABC Durban Station, in Zulu in December.

Chapter 1: Zoooloo!

"Zoooloo!", K E Masinga exclaimed, standing below the microphone. The sound of his greeting streamed through the electric wires of the machinery. It sine-waved through the ether and eventually shot through the radio-receiver in someone's home. But who was he greeting? There were no listeners of Zulu broadcasts in those days.

It did not matter that it was two days before Christmas; no one expected to hear Zulu on the radio that evening. The drawn-out greeting seemed to express an invitation to someone who was far away.

Masinga must have stood still for the cue to speak.[1] Any sudden movement or change in breathing could cause a big 'pop' in the sound. Although loud, his greeting is deadened by the sound-absorbing foam that lines the walls of the recently built Durban studio.[2] But by now it is too late to pause and ask the engineer 'Did it work?' or to say 'Can we try it again, *baas*?'

They bent metal into a complete cylinder and squashed thin pieces of wire into it. The now delicate-looking thing was shoved in the face of the radio presenter, and he was told to speak to it. It required a showy hopefulness to buy-in to the idea that 'I could speak here and be heard all over the place?'—in the home, at a factory, wherever there was a radio-set.

From the 1900s to the 1920s, microphone design was more haphazard. It was bulky and cumbersome, with visible wires and springs. As a result, it was usually hidden from view of the singer or performer by a piece of silk fabric draped over the device. Later in the 1920s came the carbon microphones that were made out of a small circular box filled with granules of carbon, which would jump up-and-down inside the box when sound was produced, by the aid of a small electric current. The carbon vibrations would pass through a series of valves and were then transformed and reproduced through a loudspeaker.[3]

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[1] 'Cue for speech' is a term a "broadcaster encounters many times in the course of his or her work. It is the signal given either vocally, or in the script or by light or hand signal, to start talking". McCormack, Dewar (1989). *Cue for Speech*. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, i.

[2] Dawes, H E (1973). " *Durban calling": the formative years, and beyond*. Durban: Town Clerk's Department, 124-125.

[3] Lockheart, Paula (2003). "A History of Early Microphone Singing, 1925-1939: American Mainstream Popular Singing at the Advent of Electronic Microphone Amplification." *Popular Music and Society,* 26/3, 367-370; also see

But that was no longer the case during Masinga's time. Masinga's device was sleek. His were the days of the first ribbon microphones. They were called 'ribbon' because the internal workings were constructed of a thin corrugated, aluminium element, which like a ribbon, suspended a strong magnetic field. The ribbon element generated a tiny electric current that was an exact representation of the sound-waves. The small signal was stepped up by a transformer so it could be sent down the cable to the equipment it was connected to.[4]

Considered high-performance microphones of the time, ribbons changed the world of broadcasting as they made the voice sound more 'real'. [5] Masinga's naturally beautiful tenor voice became 'bassy' on radio. Perhaps for this reason, the voice on radio could sound even more convincing than the natural voice. Some listeners would wonder, "Is this K E who speaks over the radio become a ghost now?"[6] Revolutionary improvement in microphone technology only made the mystery of the Zulu voice on radio more resonant.

Masinga was not only greeting, he was also summoning the Zulu listener to life.

Telling 'Our' Stories

This thesis, entitled *Early Broadcasting in South Africa: Culture, Modernity and Technology*, tells the story of radio in South Africa, with a particular interest in the first African-aimed broadcasts. These happened in Zulu in 1941, before extending to other African languages by 1942.

But before we get into the story of Masinga, let me start by introducing the teller of this story. My name is Thokozani Mhlambi. The Mhlambi's are the clan "who crossed the river that is never crossed." I grew up in Madadeni in Newcastle, which is part of the province of KwaZulu-Natal. It

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Robjohn, Hugh (2010). "A Brief History of Microphones." Accessed 26th November 2014 <*microphone-data.com/media/filestore/articles/History-10.pdf*>

[4] "Ribbon Microphone Keeps Noises Out of Sound Movies", *Science News Letter,* 24th October 1931. Pioneered by Harry Olson, ribbon microphones became industry standard for broadcasting and cinema from the 1920s to 1950s. They were groundbreaking in their strong directional response, compared to the pressure operated microphones of the time which were non-directional in response. Olson, Harry F (1931) "Mass Controlled Electrodynamic Microphones: The Ribbon Microphone." *Journal of the Acoustical Society*. 3/56, 59.

[5] Ribbon microphones bring out the lower-middle ranges, and taper off on the treble sound frequencies.

[6] K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.

This was not the first time superstition was invoked in the experience of radio technology, J S Mills writing on radio in the British Commonwealth in 1924, already declared the advent of radio as a time where science had "achieved wonders of wizardry". *The Press and Communications of the Empire* (vol. 6). London: W Collins, 132.

was named in this way as a signifier of the eventual marriage of Natal province and Zululand homeland reserve in 1994, after a long courtship dating as far back as the 19th century.[7]

I would have written myself out of this document, by employing third-person voice, but that would be dishonest, because this is my story. Yes, it talks of Masinga, and about radio, but it is actually about me.

The motivation for the story began with a compulsion: a sense that 'Our Stories Must be Told.' But as I started writing, I became less certain about who was involved in this 'Our'. At times I felt we were blacks, or Africans, or Zulu-speakers. But at other times, I believed we were citizens or even (dare I say) human beings. So the 'our' in Our Story seemed to be addressing a different level of community in each frame.

Such a shifting frame divested me of the opportunity of always seeing myself as a victim in relation to the primary material. For when I was no longer a victim, it meant that I should be willing to take responsibility. Robbed of the convenience of speaking *for* the victim, I sensed an urgency to find another locale in the world from which I could speak, but I also recognized in the archive a deliberate effort to make me believe what others have said about me.

It frightened me and yet it felt right, for I knew that the archive and the beliefs it encoded bore witness to the interlocking of power, law and bureaucracy in segregated South Africa.[8] I no longer wanted to be controlled by the vision of that world and those who upheld it. But I also understood that there was no limit to where I could go. By dwelling on the authorial specificity of the story and the factual events it unfolds, the method of writing employed in this thesis is aware of the injustice of that vision and offers a way out by giving primacy to the story unfolded than to the paradigmatic impulses that academic techniques of representation (in archive and manuscript) replay. In this sense, it deviates from the preceding postcolonial exegesis that strove to show the

[7] "In the nineteenth century, Natal was a British colony; for much of the century, Zululand was an independent kingdom. Yet from the beginnings of colonial settlement in the region, white settlers and, increasingly, black peasants were locked into the world economy". In 1910 Natal became incorporated into the Union of South Africa. Marks, Shula (1986). *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: class, nationalism, and the state in twentieth-century Natal*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 9-11.

[8] Stoler, Ann Laura (2002). "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archival Science*, 2, 9; also see Breckenridge, Keith (2005). "The Biometric State: The Promise and Peril of Digital Government in the New South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31/2, 267-282.

replicability of colonial moments. I have here in mind: (1) V Y Mudimbe's explication of the discourse of the "Same" that resulted in the Western invention of Africa,[9] (2) Carolyn Hamilton's demonstration of the resilience of the colonial archive's narrative on Shaka,[10] and (3) Premesh Lalu's meditation on the colonial "recurring past" and how it frames the way we have come to know Hintsa.[11] This is not to say that such accounts are without their merit, but rather it is to recognize a different urgency, a sense that 'Our stories must be Told.' This particular focus could not be derived without the milestones achieved in these pioneering works. Its urgency arises from popular demands from South African people to know about themselves and their past, that is receiving currency in contemporary debates.[12]

The story unveiled here is mended out of the 'survivals' of the archive. Some of the terms that appear were useful at a particular time in history, to install and to secure control for those who had it, to challenge power and call-to-order its inflexibility for those who didn't have it. Terms such as 'native,'[13] 'colonial'[14] or even 'liberal' (or friend-of-the-native),[15] are all words that have been

[9] Mudimbe, V Y (1988). *The Invention of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, see especially the Introduction.

[10] Hamilton, Carolyn (1998). *Terrific Majesty*. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press.

[11] Lalu, Premesh (2009). *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts*. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

[12] The recent #RhodesMustFall movement and the demands for revision in the curriculum is but one example. See IZITHUNGUTHU: Southern African Pasts before the Colonial Era, Their Archives and Their Ongoing Present/Presence Colloqium Report, Archives and Public Culture, University of Cape Town, July 2015; McNulty, Grant (2014). Custodianship on the Periphery: Archives, Power and Identity Politics in Post-Apartheird Umbumbulu, KwaZulu-Natal. Phd thesis, University of Cape Town; Buthelezi, Mbongiseni (2012). "Sifuna umlando wethu" (We are Looking for our History): Oral Literature and the Meanings of the Past in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Phd thesis, Columbia University.

[13] As suggested by Carolyn Hamilton, the term 'native was a "key aspect of the discourse of nineteenth-century colonial administration". The designation sought to infer the indigeneity of those who were under colonial subjection, whether directly or indirectly. "The term was inherited by later administrations and acquired a distinctly pejorative inflection through its use in segregationist and racist discourses." Hamilton, Carolyn (1998). *Terrific Majesty*. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, xii.

[14] Although I use the term segregationist to describe the South African state between 1910-1948, I do invoke the designation of 'colonial' at strategic moments. It is an intentional framing of the thesis within postcolonial studies, where the colonial project is understood, according to V Y Mudimbe (1988) as a "historical accident" through which "African worlds have been established as realities for knowledge." During this accident, a discourse appears in which "an explicit political power presumes the authority of a scientific knowledge and vice-versa. Colonialism becomes its project and can be thought of as a duplication and a fulfilment of the power of Western discourses on human varieties." *The Invention of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, xi, 16.

Historians such as Sekibakiba Lekgoathi (2009) believe that "the term 'colonial' appropriately describes the nature of the relationship between the white scholar and his African subjects" even after 1910. "'Colonial' Experts, Local Interlocutors, Informants and the Making of an Archive on the 'Transvaal Ndebele', 1930-1989," *Journal of African History*, 50/1, 61-80.

[15] Liberals were individuals who were self-styled as experts in their fields, who entered into debates on native policy in South Africa. Liberalism became a specific social doctrine in the country and was not necessarily equitable with universal definitions of liberalism in free-market economic discourse. So integrated is the liberal perspective in

deployed at different times to awaken fear in those who refused to be defined by them, or to restore confidence to those who believed in them.[16]

So for every vantage point I have chosen to employ, there was a price to pay—even in the contrivance of confidence and certainty over my subject (the touchstone of academic ways of writing!) when I felt I had none. It may very well mean that the thesis feels emaciated of that authorial confidence of academic argumentation, but this is the price I have had to pay. If truth be told, European traditions continue to produce knowledge with relative ignorance of non-Eouropean counterparts, in ways which do not seem to affect the quality of their work.[17] Those of us who are students of Africa cannot exercise the same ignorance without taking the risk of appearing 'unanchored' or out-of-touch with the academy. So there is in this thesis a dual recognition of the *indispensability* of the academic tradition as well as its *inadequacy* in framing the experiences of myself and those who are represented in this thesis—both in terms of theory and fact. It thus contributes to the project of provincializing Europe, but while remaining conscious of its own impossibility. For as, Dipesh Chakrabarty has noted, this is "impossible within the knowledge protocols of academic history, for the globality of academia is not independent of the globality that the European modern has created."[18] As will be shown in this thesis, Africans using radio fashioned subjectivities that drew on symbols of collective memory, that were 'imaginary' of the past and which ran contrary to 'progress' as defined by Europe. In this sense, their subjectivities became a rebuke to modernity and its aspirations, whilst operating within the instititutions (such as broadcasting) that paraded modernity.

Technology and the Fear of Wrong Ideas

The technology of radio was introduced into a context of interracial mistrust. The opening up of radio to African listeners in the 1940s, was paired with a foreclosure, that insured that conditions for Africans using technology were contained. Through out this document it will be evident that

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the social structure of South Africa, that it becomes critical to an understanding of the situation in the early 20th century. Legassick, Martin (1975). "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism: Its Assumptions and its Social Base," African Studies Faculty/Graduate Seminar, University of Sussex, 1.

[16] As will be later discussed in the thesis, some African intellectuals eschewed designations of themselves as 'native' or 'Zulu' and preferred the designation of Natal intellectuals or Durban-based intellectuals instead. See Masilela, Ntongela (2007). *The Cultural Modernity of H.I.E. Dhlomo*. Asmara: Africa World Press Inc, 86.

[17] I mean in the sense that peer-review and other policing mechanisms do not seem to hold that against them.

[18] Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.* Oxford: Princeton University Press, 46.

often when it came to issues of technology, white authorities feared that Africans would take over if they were exposed to technology. One manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department, for example, confessed that although he was in favour of a radio scheme for Africans, other Europeans felt it would "teach the Natives wrong ideas."[19]

This was not limited to radio technology on its own, even during the Second World War, despite the calls made for Africans to be involved, they were barred from learning military technology. Resolutions taken by the ANC, the Transvaal Non-European People's Conference and similar organizations emphasized that Africans should not take part only as labourers, but that they too should be armed in battle. The ANC noted that "the territorial integrity of the Union of South Africa can only be effectively defended if all sections of the population were included in the Defence System of the country on equal terms."[20]

There was a strong association between technology and modern progress. But when limitations were imposed on some in terms of how far they could go in exploring technology it went against the idealism of European Enlightenment and its celebration of progress. So progress for African listeners was a "waiting-room," for that is what modern consciousness was: "a recommendation to the colonized to wait."[21] Aspiring to be technological, and thus modern, was also to master this art of waiting. Engaging with radio technology for Africans therefore became part of that "locus of paradoxes that called into question the modalities and implications of modernization in Africa."[22] Indeed, in the 1930s to around 1940s, we see many competing elements in the constitution of a South African publicity that was fitted in accordance with racist limitations of the time. As the segregationist regime solicited the consent of African intellectuals for its listening measures, it did so in ways that gave them no real choice. The efforts of collectives such as the Zulu Society, who managed to be involved in the first loudspeaker broadcasts to Africans in Natal,[23] reveal to us somewhat of an unrealized project, as the foundations of the racist order of South African society

[19] Kuper, Hilda; Vilakazi, B W & Westphal, E. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

In the 1950s this scheme was eventually implemented in the Radio Rediffusion, which operated from Orlando, in Soweto.

[20] "Resolutions Passed at the Annual Conference of the ANC," 15th-18th December 1939, cited in Grundlingh, *The Participation of South African Blacks*, 11.

[21] Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 8-9.

[22] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*, 5.

[23] Papers re. Chief Native Commissioner (1939), A1381, IV/2/2, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

could not be altered. It is this ongoing interaction between broadcasting and the layered social realities in which it was performed that informs my engagement with the politics of technology.

Radio cannot therefore be viewed outside of the discourse of colonialism and its authority over technology (scientific knowledge). As Frantz Fanon observes of radio in Algeria in the 1940s, "the technical instrument is rooted in the colonial situation where, as we know, the negative or positive coefficients always exist in a very accentuated way."[24] Early radio, as a result symbolized a European presence. As a material representation of colonial configuration and the almost exclusive acquisition of radio sets by whites strengthened the impression of a closed and privileged world that characterized colonial news.

Chapter Outline

Before the consolidation of broadcasting into the SABC, there was a vibrant interest in technology and broadcasting from amateurs and small players. From the initiatives of these players, South Africa loosely constructed its own means of wireless audio production, and was considerably ahead of other countries in the field. These are highlighted in the first part of the thesis. The key aim in these short, brisk chapters is to show how the South African population demonstrated vast and improvisatory capability in the growth of radio technology. It is also to show, especially in the Chapter 4, how radio technology intersected with other existing communication technologies, such as the railways. Radio's mingling with the railways demonstrates the ways in which broadcasting ritualized in accordance with notions of modern progress in architecture and technologies of mobility. In Chapter 5, I show how public interest mixed with entrepreneurial drive in the shaping of broadcasting in South Africa.

The middle section of the thesis, from Chapter 6 to Chapter 9, lays out the changes in broadcasting when it was taken over by the state. It also brings out the role played by liberals, these were those individuals who were aware of the legal and institutional frameworks that segregationist rule introduced into the country. They were also aware of the fact that Africans desired access to these frameworks, and thus positioned themselves as dispensers of those frameworks to Africans in

[24] Fanon, Frantz (1965). "This is the Voice of Algeria" in *A Dying Colonialism*. Translated by Heakon Chevalier. Grove Press.

ways that systematically withheld the full privileges of the frameworks. The last section zooms-in to the radio life of K E Masinga and the music and radio-dramas he created.

The chapters are followed by a Conclusion that summarizes the key events and major themes of the entire project, I argue that, notwithstanding the impressive infrastructure of radio masts, bandwidth, the technical sophistication of its engineers and producers of content; the fact remains that we have inherited an industrial and political infrastructure anchored in the privilege of a minority. As long as this arrangement remains intact, it will hinder us from holding a technological imagination, which is so crucial for the empowering and self-definition of citizens in the 21st century. The thesis end with an Epilogue where I begin to probe some of the implications of the research findings for analysing contemporary events, I argue that the heart of technology is when citizens discover their power through its mediums.

The first part of this thesis zooms in on the technological developments that characterized this exclusive configuration of broadcasting as a white affair. The second part of the thesis unravels what happened when the configuration met African responses. Africans had to weigh the pros and cons of liberal patronage, and collaborating with the state. We will see the creativity of those responses in the character of K E Masinga as well as the risks of complicity as demonstrated in the Zulu Society's involvement.

Chapter 2: Amateurs

It was the meddling of amateurs that gave birth to radio in South Africa.

Radio was first introduced in the country in the early 1920s. The fact that in Britain it had just been introduced in 1920, meant that South Africa was ahead of the game in comparison to many other countries.

"Broadcasting at last. Is it a dream or is it real?" is the title of an article in the *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine* in January 1924.[1] The writer, going by the abbreviation 'H L', describes his experience of listening to the first broadcast of the station at the Railway Headquarters in Johannesburg on the 18th of December 1923.[2] The South African Railways, in partnership with Western Electric Company, assisted by wireless amateurs and local musicians, organized a series of broadcasts to raise funds for the British Empire Exhibition which was to take place in Wembley, England in 1924.

The exhibition was a way of increasing cooperation and stimulating trade between the states under the British Empire. The African craftwork on display there was to provide creative inspiration for the British manufacturing industry. The main focus of the exhibition was on industry, engineering and the arts. While, paradoxically, the interests of the viewing public were on the native villages, which included the actual display of people; from Nigerian Hausa embroiders, to Sierra Leone weavers, and South African Ndebele, Venda and Zulu craftspeople.[3]

Railway companies competed through their display stands by showcasing their latest locomotives and coaches. The South African Railways, too, stood to gain in being involved in the exhibition.

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[1] H L, "Broadcasting at last. Is it a dream or is it real?" *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*, January 1924.

[2] This is not to say that this was the first time radio technology was used in the country. There are numerous accounts of radio having existed as early as the late nineteenth century in South Africa. Eric Rosenthal (1974) links the beginnings of South African radio to a man called Edward Alfred Jennings, who is believed to have invented wireless telegraphy in South Africa and he is reported to have transmitted a record distance of eight miles as a early as 1899. It was through a wireless facility at the Royal Navy base in Simonstown that radio communication began in South Africa, in 1904. In 1910, another transmission station was established in Durban to communicate with ships at sea. In 1921, the first proper station for wireless telephony was established in Port Elizabeth. Rosenthal, Eric (1974). *You have been listening…The Early History of Radio in South Africa.* Cape Town: Purnell, 2-6; Also see Mkhize, M (1992). A comparative study of Radio Metro and Radio Zulu, an ethnic cultural service. Masters thesis, University of Natal, 52.

[3] Woodham, Jonathan (1989). "Images of Africa and Design at the British Empire Exhibitions between the Wars". *Journal of Design History*, 2/1, 15-33.

Native exhibits translated into increased tourist traffic in the country, while the advances in engineering meant potentials in industrial investments that would naturally boost the use of rail services.

However, in order to raise funds and stimulate publicity for their participation in the exhibition, the South African Railways became involved in the first official broadcasts in the country. It was a chance for them to communicate to citizens that they were a technologically advanced locomotive company. For their partner in the venture, Western Electric, it was a marketing exercise, to display their new mobile-broadcasting paraphernalia—they provided the one-kilowatt medium-frequency transmitter.[4]

The broadcast was aired to a large outdoor audience at Cape Town station, and a loudspeaker system was installed outside the station in Johannesburg. Those few who were already fiddling with radio sets in their homes could also tune-in. Tuning-in four miles from the Headquarters, H L found the experience "very favourable" in relation to the London broadcasts he had once heard. There were mistakes made. A musician had to be told to "sh-sh!" He had interrupted General Smuts' first speech on radio. But can you blame the musician? Who knew how to behave on radio back in 1923? Aside from the glitch, every word of Smut's "high-pitched, squeaky voice" "was heard on two pairs of Brown's 8000 ohm 'phones, which speaks well of such a set".[5]

News reporters in Johannesburg whinged the next day about the poor sound quality of the loudspeaker system at the station. They could not hear Smut's speech very well, lightning from an approaching thunderstorm had caused interference.[6] It was an oversight for which engineers could be excused for the first broadcast. But from then on violent thunderstorms (a unique feature of summer in the Highveld) had to always be kept in mind. Radio had to respond differently in South Africa; as a result, once fully-fledged, radio sets came standard with an earthing system.[7] Broadcasts would frequently end with the injunction: "Don't forget to earth your Aerial".[8]

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[4] Rhodes, T A F (1956). *Report on Broadcasting before the SABC was created, 1924-1936.* Submitted to the Chairman of the SABC, 1.

[5] *The South African Institute of Electrical Engineers*, Accessed 10th September 2012 <www.wattnow.co.za/article.php>; *S A Railways & Harbours Magazine*, January 1924; General Smuts was speaking at the Pretoria Military Hospital via a special telephone connection.

[6] *The Star*, 19th December 1923

[7] *Radio-Week*, 2nd January 1948; "The high concentric mountain ranges still militate easy communication between Johannesburg and the coastal areas however, and even on the Veld itself, lightning, electrical interference

More than the details of what happened on the night, the focus of H L's article was on the technology of listening-in. Details of the headphones, mentioned above, were just the start. Readers were also told that most people who tuned-in to the service from their own houses did so with crystal radio receivers; a basic reception device, which most people made themselves at home—usually in a cigar-box. Crystal radios did not require an electric current to run, but would use the frequency itself for their power. Crystal sets were about creating ones own device, and then marvelling: 'Ah! It actually works!' That was the fun of radio. A Miss M B Patterson from Natal recalls her experience as a little girl:

> Eagerly we sat round this new 'toy'. The menfolk, wearing important looks of deep concentration, fiddled with tantalizing knobs and gadgets, whilst weird noises such as d-d-d-ddah, d-dah-d-dah, frolicked in one's ears.
> I wondered what the famous 'cat's whisker' was; why, we didn't have a cat. All very puzzling. But I soon learned. [9]

Crystal sets were known informally as cats-whisker sets, because of a thin wire that resembled a cat's whisker which was attached to make contact with the most sensitive part of the crystal. A general of the U S Army had discovered in 1906 that carborundum (a chemical compound of silicon and carbon) could be used as a wireless detector. The material was durable and inexpensive compared to previous contenders, while proving successful in eliminating most of the unwanted wave frequencies. The carborundum crystal was then placed between two copper points with the cats-whisker acting as a contact point. The inventors themselves were unsure what made the crystal system work. But it did.[10]

Unlike the costly valve sets which had amplifiers and, in that sense, could fill the room with sound, crystal sets could only be listened to using headphones. The fulfilment you got from it was private and intimate, although you did have the opportunity to talk about it with friends and family.

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and sunspots present radio engineers with problems. South Africa's frequent static storms tend to be extremely violent. One such storm in the Transvaal was carefully measured and results obtained showed that the AM signal as received on an average home radio could be interfered with up to 80% of the time." Blythe, Peter (1968). The South African Broadcasting Corporation: An historical survey and contemporary Analysis. Doctoral thesis, Wayne State University, 4.

[8] "Listener Reflections," in *Souvenir Programme: Twenty-First Anniversary of Broadcasting in Natal, December 10th 1924-December 10th 1945*. Durban: Published by SABC.

[9] "Listener Reflections."

[10] Douglas, Susan (1987). *Inventing American Broadcasting 1899-1922*. London & Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 196.

Approaches to listening in the days of the crystal sets was very different from our days. Today advertisers may sell the promise of "high-definition" listening, with "crisp, clear sound" and "without compromised quality,"[11] but H L explains a very different orientation. In describing *his* days, H L tells us that often "the owner of the set prefers quantity to quality, and sometimes noise to harmony".[12]

That the article dwells little on the content of what was being broadcast than on the gadget of intrigue tells us where the interests of his readership laid. "To hear a wireless set working, to revel in the glamour of this twentieth-century miracle was pleasure enough. On this account the listener did not demand much in the way of programme matter." A Mr Salvage from Durban proudly confessed. "I used to amuse myself by listening to Morse signals."[13]

There was a hunger for more noise in listening, which simply could not be quenched. Listeners would go to bed with their headphones on and wake-up the next day with what they called a 'Wireless Hangover'.[14] Headphones were frequently marketed as the best way of getting "the truest reception."[15]

"Good, better, best, I will never rest.
Till the good is better, and the better is best," was a common invocation which radio fanatics would chant, as they referred to the crystal set as "more precious than many rubies".[16]

The kind of headphone listening of the crystal sets was reminiscent of early orientations to listening as technology, which came not by way of music, but from medical science. When the stethoscope was invented, by French physician Rene-Theophile-Hyacinthe Laennec, he published an entire treatise explaining the act of listening to the body of a patient in 1819. The treatise's aim was to teach doctors how to listen but also how to think about the act of listening to patients. The

[11] See for instance, "Wireless TV Headphones," Accessed 25th November 2015 http://www.hdhearing.com/tv/tvproducts.htm; and *Sennheiser*'s "The Headphones you Want," Accessed 25th November 2015 http://www.hdhearing.com/tv/tvproducts.htm.

[12] H L, "Wireless Notes," *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*, January 1924.

[13] "Listener Reflections."

[14] "Listener Reflections."

[15] We are told this by Jonathan Sterne (2003) of radio listening in 1920s, United States. *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 87.

[16] "Listener Reflections."

stethoscope went on to become the single most influential medical invention of the 19th century. Listening therefore played a tremendous role in the creation of a new medical epistemology. By the time the pre-occupation with listening entered the field of radio it was not necessarily a new thing, it emerged with its own sense of "intuitive knowledge" about how to listen and how to think about listening.[17] The fact that H L for instance chooses to mention that a musician had to be told 'sh/sh', presumes that listeners themselves would have understood that moment as a mistake, even though there was no precedent to broadcasting until that evening. It was as if through the headset, amateurs entered into a specialized field of listening. Just like the doctor plugging the ear-pieces of the stethoscope, so did the amateur listener put on the scientist's look and shut out the room sound to hear the faintest sonic details, to enter a private world of sounds:

> When we had visitors they were naturally asked to listen-in, and would put on the ear-phones and there followed the weird phenomenon of the silent party! Not a word would be spoken for nearly an hour as listeners must not be disturbed.[18]

The components that crystal radios involved were often found in the home, "The small snap-fasteners which are used for ladies' dresses may be put to a great many uses by the wireless amateur." [19] Other parts could be purchased at a local dealer, these are parts listed in the article:

> 2 pieces of ebonite, 4 terminals, 1 piece bornite, 1 piece of zincite, crystal cup and plunger, cotton-covered copper wire, plus headphones, aerial and earthing wire.[20]

We are also given a visual demonstration of the set, which was drawn to exact size (see Figure 1 below). This shows that the intention of the article was not to merely fascinate or inform, but also to convey practical motives. It wanted to encourage the readers to go and try it at home. In this sense, the article was trying to stir the unacquainted readers beyond their technophobia, by showing them how easy it is.

[17] An argument made very clear by Sterne in *The Audible Past,* 89-101.
[18] "Listener Reflections."
[19] H L, "Broadcasting at last. Is it a dream or is it real?" *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*, January 1924.
[20] H L, "Broadcasting at last. Is it a dream or is it real?" *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*, January 1924.

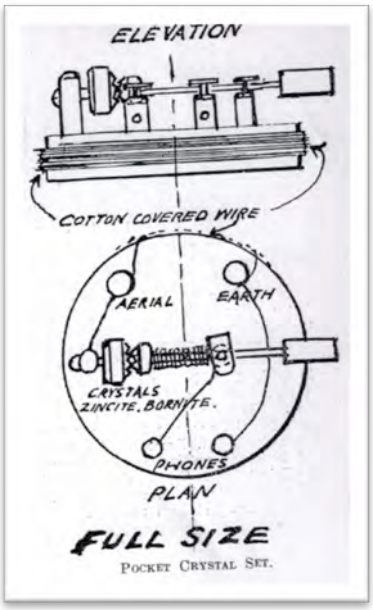

Figure 1: Pocket Size Crystal Set.[21]

Concerning the future of broadcasting, the article mentions that Madame Tetrazzini, a world famous singer, was to sing on radio in Britain the following month. "The engagement of one of the world's great singers is a good omen for the future; it is another step forward… to break down the hedge of prejudice, built up mainly by concert managers, since the idea was originated that broadcasting was to become harmful to existing interest in the concert world".[22] So it seems in the 1920s, radio's arrival was met with resistance. Concert managers saw the potential impact of radio as harmful as it put *their* own jobs at risk. They had no doubt radio would become popular, they only feared that it would take over. The fears that people expressed of radio were not just superstitious, they had material consequences of job security.

To return to the question posed in the title of the article: 'Broadcasting at last. Is it a dream or is it real?'[23] Judging by the content of the article itself, radio was not a dream. It was tangible, one could spin it off at home; it was feared by concert managers; and even the prime minister of the Union spoke on it. It also had its own brand of scientists, the amateur listeners: isolating and extrapolating sounds in the ether.

[21] H L, "Wireless Notes," *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*, January 1924.
[22] "Broadcasting at last. Is it a dream or is it real?" *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*, January 1924.
[23] H L, "Broadcasting at last. Is it a dream or is it real?" *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*, January 1924.

With the silent parties, people started to engage differently in their homes in the presence of the new medium. Advancement in technology and science changed the meaning of listening: the stethoscope, telegraphy and the gramophone were all instances which revolutionized the notion of listening. Radio was to become a late-boomer in this listening renaissance.[24]

[24] As a Durban listener recalled: "The Musical Box and the gramophone were made to appear mundane and paltry by the side of that 'cat's whisker' set". "Listener Reflections."

Chapter 3: Techno-junkies

You didn't have to be a nerd or a techno-junkie[1] to take advantage of the crystal radio system. The real techno-junkies of the 1920s were hacking[2] into radio stations as far as the United States (from radio KDKA),[3] and Britain (from radio 2LO). As these transmissions were on shortwave band they could carry over long distances.[4] Particularly on those clear Highveld winter nights, it would be easy to pick up broadcasts thousands of kilometres away.

Naturally these overseas broadcasts required more sophisticated receivers than the simple homemade crystal radios, and these were rare and expensive. Hobbyists looking for a bit more edge saved up money to buy shortwave receivers; sometimes they shared devices, forming communities of radio enthusiasts. Radio junkies progressed at such a high-tech rate that they became organized into civic movements, like the South African Radio Relay League, the Transvaal Radio Society and the Scientific and Technical Club.[5]

These developments were not so different from the United States computer hobbyists' communities in the 1970s, like the Homebrew Computer Club (a community, which included Steve Jobs, Paul Allen and Bill Gates, and pioneered the personal computing industry).[6] Radio development in South Africa took on the character of these civic movements. Its discoveries were casual and serendipitous.

In Durban, for example, it was after the installation of a floodlighting system on the beachfront (in 1922), that John Roberts, a radio hobbyist and city engineer took a stroll on the beach one evening. While walking on the now lit beach front, Roberts glanced at the top of the 75 feet steel

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[1] "n. colloq. a person having an obsessive interest in or compulsive desire to acquire the latest technological equipment." *Oxford English Dictionary,* Accessed 26th June 2013 http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/Entry.

[2] "hacking" in the technological sense is a relatively new meaning of the term, with origins in the United States in the 1970s. I have used the new understanding of the term in order to cast the situation of the 1920s in a different light. *Oxford English Dictionary,* Accessed 25th November 2015 http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/Entry/83050?rskey=WsAf7D&result=1#eid.

[3] KDKA was a Pittsburg radio station, which had "fired the minds of the public" in 1920 with the broadcasting of the presidential election of that year. Rhodes, T A F (1956). *Report on Broadcasting before the SABC was created, 1924-1936.* Submitted to the Chairman of the SABC, 1.

[4] Dawes, *"Durban calling"*, 1; Stern notes a similar trend in the United States in the 1920s where "picking up faint, faraway stations was one of the holy grails of amateur radio listening", *The Audible Past*, 87.

[5] Rhodes, *Report on Broadcasting before the SABC,* 5; Dawes, *"Durban Calling"*, 1.

[6] Audia, Pino & G, Rider, Christopher I, (2005). "A Garage and an Idea: What more does an Entrepreneur Need?" *California Management Review*, 48/1, page number unavailable.

masts holding the lights. He thought of how simple it would be to use those same masts for wireless antennae. And this is how the idea of local broadcasts in Durban came about. Of course, as a municipal employee, Roberts soon convinced his colleagues, and they approached the Postmaster-General in Pretoria for a license.[7] Bureaucracy delayed the whole thing; Durban began its municipal broadcasts two years later.[8]

A few years before Roberts (in 1919), two friends, John Samuel Streeter and Reginald Hopkins began experimenting in their homes in Cape Town. They transmitted gramophone records and pianola music to each other and built up an exchange of broadcast material. Newspapers wrote about their initiative and soon other amateurs bought-in to the idea, and built their own 'cat-whisker' receivers. The two private radio stations started attracting attention from dispersed parts of the Western Cape.[9]

But by far the most popular hobbyist of the time was Toby Innes and his Johannesburg 2 OB transmitter. ('OB' because it was located in Innes' home in Observatory.) Innes began by exchanging messages with his fellow techno-junkies on the Rand. Soon he was communicating with Streeter and his crowd in the Cape. His infectious charm was shortly picked up by enthusiasts in remote parts of the Union. By the end of 1920 many even 'ordinary' people who wanted to listen on the crystal sets were now part of his regular audience. Most of the programme was dedicated to playing gramophone records. Frequently Innes would interrupt the music for speech: he would make jokes and tease friends whom he knew were listening. When he closed his evening broadcast he would salute his mother "Good night, Mum."[10]

In those "good old go-as-you-please days there was no censorship of scripts and no rehearsals as there is to-day".[11] Innes and his crew had no specialized training; they had no clue about the ins-

[7] John Roberts, Letter to Town clerk, 8th September 1922, 4/1/2/394 vol. 1, *Suggested Wireless Broadcasting*, Durban Archives Repository.

[8] Dawes, *"Durban calling"*, 1 ; Rhodes, *Report on Broadcasting before the SABC*,12.

[9] Rosenthal, *You have been* listening, 18.

[10] Rosenthal, *You have been* listening, 19-20.

[11] "Listener Reflections," in *Souvenir Programme: Twenty-First Anniversary of Broadcasting in Natal, December 10th 1924-December 10th 1945*. Durban: Published by SABC.

and-outs of studio engineering nor of broadcast etiquette. They were simply going with the flow, and became celebrities "through mechanical tinkering."[12]

By 1922, home-made radios had become so widespread that the Postmaster General (Colonel Sturman) warned that wireless amateurs needed to be controlled. He felt that an audit of the adventures of amateurs was necessary and went on to say that "some restrictions would probably have to be imposed on the installations when arrangements were made for a broadcasting service".[13] The Postmaster General continued:

> Owing to the progress recently made in this branch of Electrical Science […]and the extension of Wireless Telegraphy to Aviation, it was felt that the issue of licences for private installations in the Union needed special care. It has been decided to grant licences to persons who are likely, by the use of their wireless apparatus, to promote scientific investigations. In this way a feeling of responsibility on the part of the amateur investigator has been engendered and so far the privilege has been exercised with restraint.[14]

Radio was to become formal and licenses were to be collected for radio transmission as well as for reception. Whereas in 1919-1920 wireless communication was only considered in the context of aeroplanes, airships and maritime activities by the state,[15] in 1922 the scene had changed drastically. They knew that if radio was formalized it would create demand for listening sets; business was to benefit from the selling of radios, but so was government who were to receive licence fees for every radio set.

Suddenly, a flood of advertisements appeared in the press to capture the attention of people who wanted to own receivers. The implications were devastating for the amateur radio experimenters who had now formed 'virtual communities' in different parts of the country. Uninhibited by regulation, the cult-like following of Innes in Johannesburg and Streeter in Cape Town stimulated a vibrant underground interest in broadcasting. For most people, however, radio came across as a part-time devotion of the techno-savvy.

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[12] A phrase Douglas uses to describe American amateurs, but that is equally appropriate to Innes and his crowd. *Inventing American Broadcasting,* 188.

[13] Colonel Sturman (1922). *The Report of the Postmaster General*. South Africa.

[14] Colonel Sturman (1922). *The Report of the Postmaster General*. South Africa.

[15] See the September 1919 "The Future Development of the Postal Telegraph, and Telephone Services of the Union of South Africa," *The South African Journal of Industries*, 2/9, no author.

It was now time for the amateurs to step aside, and let the big boys of business take over. "Although some citizens objected to this government meddling with their 'sport', the new regulations were either grudgingly accepted or blissfully ignored by the listening public and certainly did not diminish interest in radio."[16] So fierce was the competition among the business players, that the United States firm Western Electric started loaning out transmitters free of charge for public use over short periods. The Wireless Agency Limited, the official-agents for Marconi in South Africa, also went on a roadshow nationwide demonstrating wireless receivers in public gatherings like the Rand Show and the Western Province Agricultural Show.[17]

A lady from a village outside Pietermaritzburg remembered how a general dealer announced a 'Grand Wireless Concert' 2/6 pound entrance, in their local hall in 1924. "Everybody arrived to hear the marvellous relay from Durban, but for about 45 minutes we heard nothing but a terrific din (atmospherics) coming from the wonderful old horned wireless." They were then told, "Owing to unsuitable weather conditions, the relay could not be made. So would the audience please clear the hall—for a dance instead."[18] So even general dealers in remote areas understood the financial spin-offs in radio broadcasts.

The experimental broadcasts paved the way for new players in the broadcasting field, by increasing popular interest in radio transmission. The Union government finally decided to regulate the service in 1923, requesting applications for licenses from anyone wishing to broadcast in the country. They were then all placed under the control of the Postmaster-General, who had the power to decide who could obtain a transmitter and who could own a receiver.[19] This signified the end of unstructured broadcasting in South Africa.

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[16] Blythe, *The South African Broadcasting Corporation*, 62.

[17] Rosenthal, *You have been listening*, 29, 21.

[18] 'Listeners Reflections'

[19] In our days, one may wonder what was the relevance of broadcasting to the postal services. In those days broadcasting was associated with telephone lines, and telegrams. The Department of Posts and Telegraphs was responsible for telegrams, telegraphy and telephones. It made sense. All forms of information distribution using technology were regarded as extensions of the postal service, which are now under ICASA (Independent Communications Authority South Africa).

The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) is the regulator for the South African communications, broadcasting and postal services sector. ICASA was established by an Act of statute, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa Act of 2000, as Amended. ICASA's mandate is spelled out in the Electronic Communications Act for the licensing and regulation of electronic communications and broadcasting services, and by the Postal Services Act for the regulation of the postal sector. Enabling legislation also empowers ICASA to monitor licensee compliance with license terms and conditions, develop regulations for the three sectors, plan and manage the

The techno-junkies did not just start radio broadcasting in the country, they grew it. Many of the things which they did by intuition (like supplementing gramophone records with live music by local Johannesburg artists) became broadcasting conventions later on, when wireless was made official.[20] The emphasis was on self-discovery rather than the making of scientific knowledge. They cultivated a pre-institutional sense of broadcasting. But in so doing they also influenced the direction which broadcasting would take. Many of them ended up as radio personnel, studio engineers and advisors in the official broadcasts.

It has been easy to ignore the contributions of ordinary people in the technological development of South Africa, precisely because their efforts were not institutional. In some ways, the activities of the techno-junkies preserved a closed space for radio access. It could not readily allow for people to respond in numbers to the possibilities of the technology. But at the same time their informal practice became the necessary groundwork for the shaping of a broadcasting future.

One can conclude based on the outcome of their past-time activities that tinkering (to busy one's self with small mechanical works) is an important step citizens must undertake in order to pave the way for future technological innovation.

The First Official Broadcasting Station

In 1923, Johannesburg became a regular broadcaster in South Africa. In fact, in the entire British Commonwealth, excluding the United Kingdom, this was the first regular radio service. [21]

Broadcasting took place at Kelvin House in the city-centre and was run by the Scientific and Technical Club, functioning under the name AS&T Broadcasting Company Limited.[22] The same one-kilowatt transmitter used in the broadcasts series done by the South African Railways was

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radio frequency spectrum as well as protect consumers of these services. Accessed 23rd October 2013 <http://www.icasa.org.za/>

[20] Rosenthal, *You have been* listening, 20.

[21] Official broadcasts in the United Kingdom began in 1922. Vermuelen, D J (ca.1986). 'A brief history of radio in South Africa,' *Old Timers Bulletin of the Antique Wireless Association*, 15.

[22] *The South African Institute of Electrical Engineers*, Accessed 10th September 2012 <www.wattnow.co.za/article.php>. According to the website, of whom AS&T Broadcasting Company is part of its lineage, the broadcasts in Johannesburg began in 1923. The information contradicted Rosenthal, *You have been listening* who says the broadcasts began on the 1st of July 1924, 20. Dawes in *"Durban Calling"* also speaks of experimental broadcasts already happening in Durban in 1923, 1-12. Presumably, these were all experimental until July 1924.

acquired from Western Electric. Kelvin House was only a temporary home though, on the 1st of July 1924 the Johannesburg Broadcasting Station (JB) was officially opened.[23]

At 8:30pm the first note was strummed by musicians crammed in the new studio at the Stuttaford's Building on Rissik Street. They played 'God Save the King' and were heard coming through the phones, within a 100 mile radius to the station.[24] To get to the station one would have to take a lift to the third floor of the Stuttaford's building (a pink building, which still exists today, now home to McDonald's fast-food on the ground floor). Upon landing on the third floor, you would have to make a pass through an ante-room, which also served as the station's comprehensive and compact music library. Peeping into the studio, you would have seen heavy sound-absorbing material extended around the walls, like a curtain, from the ceiling to the floor. The ceiling itself was made of decorated draping, which was also sound absorbing. Furnishing the room would be an announcer's desk, a grand piano, a movable microphone, chairs and music stands. There was also an empty space, left vacant, in the studio.[25]

In terms of the layout, the piano sat some nine paces from the microphone; the other instrumentalists would take up their positions in relation to the loudness of their respective instruments. This was all carefully marked out on the floor in squares; the outer sections were marked alphabetically, whilst those on the side were marked numerically.[26] In the arrangement, there were no advance building plans or 20 year strategic plans. The whole thing was rather makeshift; using what is there, and going with it, until another need arose.

Programming would start at 12:30pm everyday (except on Sundays). It was split into three sessions, morning from 12:30pm-2pm, the afternoon session at 4:30pm-6pm and the evening session from 7pm-11pm. Most of the content consisted of classical music played by the in-house string quartet, and other guest musicians, as well as some gramophone records of symphonic concerts. There were also regular 'Markets and Share Reports' throughout the day, demonstrating the increasing sophistication of Johannesburg's booming business. On a weekly basis there were lectures on topics such as Ancient Egyptians', South African colonial history, and the 'Birth of

[23] Rhodes, *Report on Broadcasting before the SABC*, 5; Dawes, *"Durban calling"*, 5.
[24] Rosenthal, *You have been listening*, 59.
[25] "Hello! Hello! Hello! The home of JB. A peep behind the scenes", *S.A. Railways and Harbours Magazine*, February 1925.
[26] "Hello! Hello! Hello! The home of JB. A peep behind the scenes".

Drama' presented by guest speakers. At this point there was only one Afrikaans programme, by Tommie Beckley, a 'selection of Afrikaans Recitations and Readings' and there were no broadcasts in African languages. In terms of music, by the week of the 16th April 1925, there were now English folk song nights, presumably a welcomed variation, from the classical programme.[27]

By the end of 1924, three stations had begun broadcasting officially under the new license agreement. These stations were based in the three main urban centres, namely Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.[28] The three broadcasting collectives were allowed to collect licence fees from listeners within a designated radius.

The three fledgling radio stations soon ran into financial difficulty. Advertising over the radio was almost non-existent back then, and so they had to rely completely on licensing fees. The purchasing of radio receivers was also slow, as the receivers were unusually large, awkward and not completely reliable.[29] Naturally with the DIY crystal radio-sets that were prevalent, there were also many pirate listeners (who did not pay license fees), who sprang up within reception range.

[27] 'Johannesburg Official Programme', *A.S. & T. Broadcasting Company Limited,* 7th September 1924, 1/2.

[28] "The Durban Municipal Broadcasting Website" <http://pumamouse.com/SABbrbDurban.html > Accessed 18th September 2008. Durban was the first municipally operated station.

[29] *The South African Institute of Electrical Engineers*, Accessed 10th September 2012 <www.wattnow.co.za/article.php>.

Chapter 4 Trains, Radios & Technology

From the early days of broadcasting at the Railway Station in Johannesburg in 1923 onwards, radio had a criss-crossing relationship with the Railways.

I think if you asked anyone living in Johannesburg in the 1930s about lifestyle entertainment and they would certainly mention the Blue Room restaurant. Situated on Eloff Street downtown. The Blue Room captured a Hollywood-style imagination in South Africa. Its counters were ornamented with solid silver beams and tables set with the finest china. It was the premier hangout spot for enterprising whites in Johannesburg. It became the Blue Room because it was where passengers who were travelling on the luxury-class Blue Train would wait. Here, the movers-and-shakers of the City of Gold converged—a combination of mining and industrial businessmen.

The restaurant was part of the newly built Park Station, a large concourse building of the South African Railways. Building commenced in 1928, with George Leith as the architect. Park Station was to be the destination where all of South Africa's railway traffic from the port cities of Durban and Cape Town would enter the gold-belt of the Witwatersrand. The rise of new building technology corresponded so timeously with Johannesburg's growth, that buildings sprang up "virtually ready-made".[1]

By 1930, the Railway building was already operational. The Blue Room became the sophisticated venue, for New Year's Eve dinners or for enjoying a night out in town. In much the same way the Gautrain now appears as a feature in television adverts, local soap-operas and movies, the 1930s concourse too, featured in short-stories, novels and local periodicals, with its swirling main arches, green- and grey-coloured marble and state-of-the-art lighting, ushering in the Movie Age.

On the walls of the station concourse were 32 mural panels of South African landscapes done by Leith's primary school friend J H Pierneef, alongside the dangling 'Whites Only' signs. The panels were originally commissioned by the Railways Administration in 1929, and were to become

[1] Chipkin, Clive M (1993). *Johannesburg Style: Architecture & Society, 1880s-1960s*. Cape Town: D Philip Publishers, 18, 80, 82.

Pierneef's most famous collection.[2] "Leith and Pierneef, it seemed, were standing on the threshold of a new cultural renaissance".[3]

It was an awkward combination of art (beauty) and engineering, giving dignity to science. How wonderful that radio too was to become part of this renaissance! Here, for the first time radio was to achieve a new significance, no longer as a Navy instrument for transmitting scientific data to ships at sea, but as a cultural instrument, for entertainment and public taste.

The station entrance was the focal ending-point of the corridor of retail outlets on Eloff Street. The main shopping street of South Africa, stretching from Motortown at its south-end, where stunner models of the latest American cars were showcased, past the Carlton Hotel on Commissioner street, all the way to the concourse entrance at the north-end. It boasted a wide range of retail stores, diamonds from De Beers, Parisian high fashion, Savile Row suits:

> evolved to meet the aspirations of the modern high-end shopper, sustaining its renowned understated sophistication […] from 'trendsetter' to the definitive standard for fashion-conscious boutique shopping. The Grande Dame of South African retail…the definitive destination centre for discerning shoppers […] rich legacy and timeless European elegance translate into a light, spacious centre that has modernised over time, while preserving old world charm and exclusivity[…] the world's foremost international brands can be found within this landmark shopping centre.[4]

The description above of present-day Hyde Park Corner in Johannesburg, could easily be ascribed to Eloff Street in the 1930s. Eloff Street had fast become the upmarket shopping street on the continent, a reputation extending as far as Kenya, with the railways as its gateway.

> It was the arrival of the railroad that would transform Johannesburg, leading to the more rapid introduction of advanced technology, new ideas, new stylisms, a cosmopolitan flavour and a surfeit of imported materials. Johannesburg in the Age of Steam was now clearly within the ambit of Europe, barely more than three weeks' travel distance away.[5]

Today, the Blue Room is a vacant building, with dilapidated walls, virtually unused since the restaurant closed down. But a lot can be deduced of its grandeur from how it looks now.

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[2] Transnet Heritage Library, Accessed 9th November 2014 <http://www.transnetfoundation.co.za/heritage.html>

[3] Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style,* 82.

[4] Hyde Park Corner, Accessed 1st August 2013 <http://www.hydeparkshopping.co.za/info_about.htm>

[5] Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style,* 22

For instance, on the walls there are tiles that were sketched by hand of ten thousand different images telling the history of South Africa. Some tiles have images of early settler Dutch carts, images of Khoi-san hunting, Tswana men around a fire, images of the city hall in Cape Town, and many others. This was an endeavour that must have taken time and money. From this gesture of grandeur we begin to get a sense of the perceived centrality of railways, of how the railways understood itself as the central agent in the making of history in South Africa.

By the middle of the 19th century the railways were established enough in the Western world to be seen as an important part of life in the industrial era. Railway stations, in turn, took on an increasingly representative appearance. Architects turned to more traditional facades, much like churches, city halls, museums, and concert halls, rather than the industrial look. Stations became embellished with stained glass windows, mosaics and paintings, much like these traditional buildings.[6]

Train-stations, however, brought the possibility of a more diverse audience for the artworks, and offered different possibilities in subject matter than say the museum or concert hall. In France, proposals were made for art which depicted the history of French industrialization. "Stations seemed the ideal place to celebrate not only the mere 'geographical' beauty of the French landscape but also the achievements of French engineers and workers." This enjambment of art on engineering was seen as a way in which art could really live. Artists were given the mission of depicting not only isolated landscapes, but the life of the people, as steel and metal workers, and coal miners; a programme in which landscape was woven into industrial history.[7]

Railway companies in Europe themselves were not too interested in the discussion of the creative angle of the works shown. Such details were left to architects and critics. They just wanted "impressive buildings, gateways to the cities they served, and those buildings had to be embellished to underline the power of the company."[8]

[6] Buch, Asta von (2007). "In the image of the Grand Tour: Railway station embellishment and the origins of mass tourism," *Journal of Transport History*, 28/2: 252.

[7] Buch, "In the image of the Grand Tour," 253.

[8] Buch, "In the image of the Grand Tour," 254.

So there were European precedents to the displaying of artwork at the Johannesburg station. But somehow the story, although of the same end (that is the celebration of achievement, and underlining of power), was depicted differently. Here, the emphasis was far more on pre-industrial depictions of white society and pre-colonial depictions of African society rather than on mechanized illustrations.

That these paintings would be seen lining the walls of the South African railways in the early 20th century is significant. The development of the railways transformed agriculture, by opening up markets in the Rand. It transformed agrarian social relations. The expansion of the agricultural economy made landowners very wealthy. In Natal, there were a number of land-owning African families, who being educated, Christian converts, were well positioned to benefit from the boom. The Luthuli, Kambule, Dube and the Africa families were part of a tiny group of African wealthy landowners in Natal by the turn of the 20th century.[9] William Africa owned 1600 acres of land, while Simeon Kambule is believed to have owned 796 acres of land by 1917. The African farmers extended their entrepreneurial activities to include shoe-making, artisanship and stone masonry.[10] They combined their Bible faith and modern education, with diligence and hard-work, establishing progressive communities skilled in commercial activity. Out of the technological development of railways they benefited.

This happened at a time when Afrikaner inland populations were swept into poverty, following the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The lifespan of Pierneef, from 1886 to 1957, covered that period of fierce struggle for a white Afrikaner identity in South Africa. This was a group which Pierneef self-recognized as a proud member of and had sympathy for. Afrikaners suffered tremendous persecution under the hand of the British, who wanted to claim the Transvaal due to its gold deposits. The outcome of the war was that Afrikaner solidarity rose to a new height. Devastation as a result of being removed from the land was translated into a vision of cultural unity among the now displaced group. Poets, painters and historians came to the forefront in producing an artistic narrative to the movement. Pierneef was a leading member of a group called the *Afrikanering* in

[9] Marks, Shula (1986). *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: class, nationalism, and the state in twentieth-century Natal*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 59, 63.

[10] La Hausse de Lalouviere, Paul (2008). " 'Death is not the End' Zulu Cosmopolitanism and the Politics of the Zulu Cultural Revival", in Benedict Carton, John Laband & Jabulani Sithole (eds) *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present.* New York: Columbia University Press, 258; see also Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa.*

1914, a collective of educated Afrikaans men who held monthly discussions on art, science and the like. He gave several lectures on the role of art.[11]

Generally, displaying artworks in the railways appealed to the communicative function of art than to the decorative/ornamental function. Artistic production had to serve the image of the new technology of the railways as pioneering. It promoted the railways' "capacity to literally mobilise society".[12] South African Railways chose to do this unusually, not by displays of machines and industrial images, but by a pre-occupation with sanitized illustrations of pre-industrial and traditional people. They did this in much like the way banks make multiple-digit profits from risky ventures and investment banking, rather than the predictive environment of day-to-day retail banking. Yet when banks characterize their brands it is not the industrial images of new power stations in the Democratic Republic of Congo or new mining deals in the Karoo they draw from, rather they depict happy faces of people (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 From United Bank for Africa (UBA)[13]

The Blue Train was precisely that symbol of a sanitized, quiet form of travel. It spoke of aspiration rather than practicality. The fact that most passengers travelled in ordinary cabins is under-represented. In the case of South Africa, one may also imagine the thousands of black, Indian and coloured passengers that are completely written away in train-travel depictions. Perhaps the most consistent visual statement can be seen in the monthly *S A Railways and Harbours Magazine*. The same magazine that proudly announced the first official broadcasts in 1923, collected (between

[11] Nel, Petrus Gerhardus & Pierneef, J H (1990). *J. H. Pierneef His life and his work.* Cape Town & Johannesburg: Perskor.

[12] Buch, "In the image of the Grand Tour," 267.

[13] "UBA Positions for Pan-African Banking Leadership," Accessed 25th November 2015 http://paymentsafrika.com/live/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Africabusiness1-642x430.jpg.

1906 and the 1960s) a wealth of articles on engineering, technology, popular science, history, business management. But alongside these articles, were images used as space fillers depicting Africans in rural and homestead settings. There were also postcards circulating through the South African Railways of people in rural settings, and of life in and around homesteads. Many of these images appear staged, as Andrè Croucamp has suggested, with people wearing traditional attire and using objects that were part of that traditional material culture.[14]

Prior to the arrival of the railways, the inner territories of South Africa remained relatively untapped by Europeans. The Dutch East India Company, which first held the trading post of the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, actively discouraged the spread of European settlements into the interior. The landscape was considered "barren, inhospitable, and sparsely peopled by primitive" people.[15] In fact in many parts of the British Empire this was the case; from Australia to Nigeria, we may say, roughly, that down to the middle of the 1800s, "the British Empire was an affair mainly of islands and coast lines, and that it scarcely became continental or began to deal with its vast hinterlands." The arrival of trains increased penetration of interior Africa. "The railroad is letting the light into the Dark Continent with a vengeance," wrote a Commonwealth publication in 1924.[16]

What was of the rural order that the South African Railways wished to preserve on its walls? Pierneef's work remains very popular in the South African art canon. His were idealistic images of African landscapes, uninhabited by people. His work belongs to one of the dream topographies of the white South African "pastoral project," a project that relied for its basis on depicting the South African landscape as empty and unoccupied. All one sees in the pastoral imagination are hills and slopes with no Africans residing on them, pastures as empty aside from the animals that graze on them. Regularly, one comes across "a network of boundaries crisscrossing the surface of the land, marking off thousands of farms, each separate kingdom ruled over by a benign [white] patriarch with, beneath him, a pyramid of contented and industrious children, grandchildren, and serfs."[17]

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[14] Croucamp, Andrè (in press). "The Natal Government Railways, Tourism, Photography and Stereotypes of the Zulu," in Carolyn Hamilton & Nessa Liebhammer (eds) *Tribing and Untribing the Archive.* Durban: KwaZulu-Natal Press.

[15] Coetzee, John Maxwell (1988). *White writing: on the culture of letters in South Africa*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1.

[16] Mills, *The Press and Communications of the Empire,* 13. "The federal Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, the fusion of Northern and Southern Nigeria under a single administration have been due likewise to the 'shining parallels'. The railway has, indeed been a wonderful state-builder."

[17] Coetzee, *White Writing,* 6-7. He continues:

With the rising strength of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, Pierneef's paintings depicted the ideal setting upon which claims on the land could be made. More than the simple desire to fit into the landscape, the aim was to make moral claims on the land. Such were the implications of the pastoral trope. But making claims on the land also implied violence, that the presence of original inhabitants of the land must be uprooted, if not denied altogether. It effectively affirmed narratives of land invasions and seizures that wrote away the violent nature of those occupations.

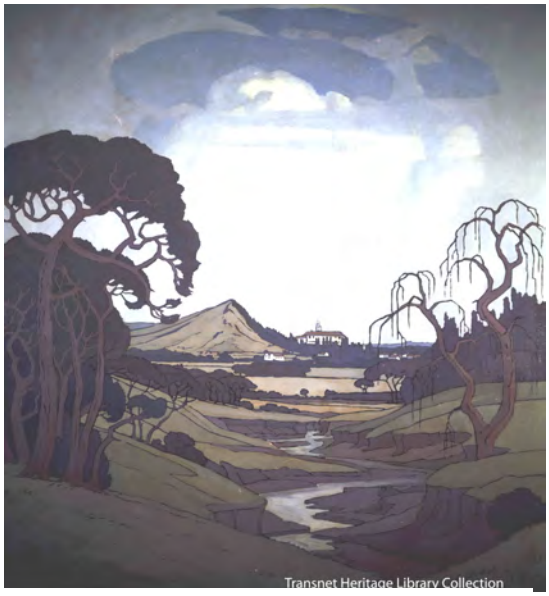
I want to suggest that it is to this same topography that the railways contribute. Those shiny parallel rims that crisscross the land, from coast to deep interior; upon which the sustenance of the farm relies. The South African Railways was in those days a technologically-advanced institution. As it expanded its tracks, it reshaped the landscape, engraving upon it new grids, marking-off its dimensions as well as its limits.[18]

Aside from depicting nature, there is something mythological in Pierneef's paintings The trees are taller than usual, the hills and valleys extend inwardly to a far greater horizon than one would expect of the South African landscape. His clouds take on a heavenly vortex (see Figure 2 & 3). Somehow in Pierneef's painting, considering his active involvement in Afrikaner nationalism in the making, it seems as if he was trying to establish a spiritual basis for the presence of the Afrikaner in Africa, an order which would overwrite the facticity of history itself; the kind of appeal to the imagination that would appeal through the visual text of legitimacy, legitimizing the relationship with the land.[19] His was not an ugly Africa, as suggested by more common European early landscapes of the interior in the Cape. But it was a hard landscape, a land of toil and blood.

"Pastoral therefore has a double tribute to pay. To satisfy the critics of rural retreat, it must portray labour; to satisfy the critics of colonialism, it must portray white labour. What inevitably follows is the occlusion of black labour from the scene: the black man becomes a shadowy presence flitting across the stage now and then to hold a horse or serve a meal […] For how can the farm become the pastoral retreat of the black man when it *was* his pastoral home only a generation or two ago? [...] If the work of hands on particular patch of earth, digging, ploughing, planting, building, is what inscribes is as the property of its occupiers *by right*, then the hands of black serfs doing the work had better not be seen. Blindness to the colour black is built into South African pastoral."

[18] See Mrázek, Rudolf (2002). *Engineers of happy land: Technology and nationalism in a colony*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[19] I am reminded by Andrè Brink's (1983) suggestion that "Apartheid, which defines Afrikaner unity since 1948, needs an image of historicity, preferably of eternity for its success; dissidence exposes it for what it is." *Mapmakers: Writing in a State of Siege*. London: Faber & Faber, 17.



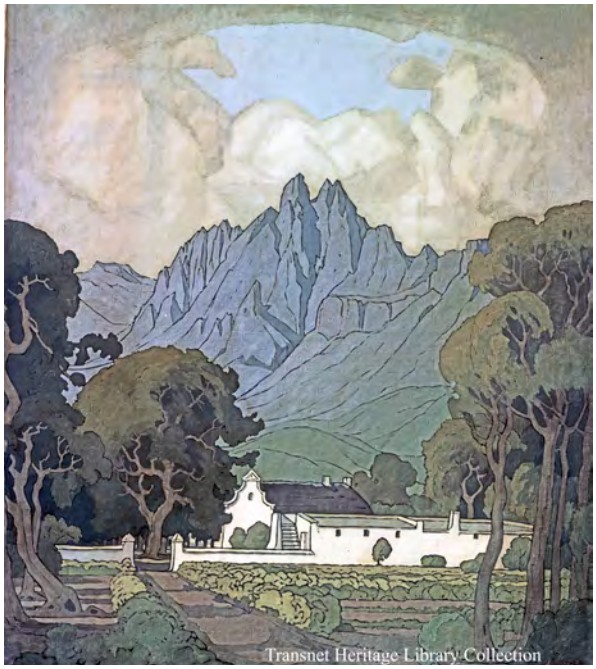


Figure 2 & 3 Apies River (left),[20] Stellenbosch (right)[21]

If we were to consider Pierneef's artistic narrative in this context, we could say then that the South African Railways eagerly told the tale of what happens next, after Pierneef's paintings. As if the South African terrain literally laid waiting for the tracks, railways became another way of discovering the land, paving the way for new entrants into African territory. It was a demonstration of power and progress and backwards landscapes, all at once; in short it summed-up the history of the colonial pioneer.[22]

The Pierneef/ Railways/radio network was proof of the stability and reasonableness of the Afrikaner nationalist future (after 1948) as opposed to the sagging British Empire future or the African franchised majority nightmare. As Lewis Nkosi puts it:

> Even for Afrikaner nationalism, which will later seek to dominate all other emergent nationalisms, the past leads not to some Eden idyll of boundless bliss and wellbeing but to great enmity and misery, to continual attempts to elude Compagnie (Dutch East India Company) rule at the Cape and evade later British administrations in the Colony, only to re-encounter them in a particularly brutal form in the Boer Wars. In

[20] Pierneef, J H. Apies River, Pretoria. Pierneef Station Panels. Negative Photo of artwork-filed Artwork, Pierneef Panels 1-File 075*Transnet Heritage Library Collection*. Transnet: Johannesburg

[21] Pierneef, J H. Stellenbosch, Pretoria. Pierneef Station Panels. Negative Photo of artwork-filed Artwork, Pierneef Panels 2-File 076*Transnet Heritage Library Collection*. Transnet: Johannesburg

[22] In many parts of the world, "the works of engineering displayed were increasingly seen as 'sublime' and endowed with meanings once found only in the wonders of nature". Pacey, Arnold (1999). *Meaning in Technology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1.

> South Africa it was not the past but the future which was said to hold promises of happiness.[23]

The biggest issue here was not power in the present, but securing power in the present by owning the future. Given the Railways delight in hosting the first radio broadcasts, radio then was used as part of a series of 'technologies' to demonstrate power and progress, and in so doing to lay claim to the future. Radio mixed with already happening technological trends (of railways and architecture) in South Africa, transforming into wider social phenomena.

I decided to take an experimental visit to the Railways (now called Transnet) old headquarters on Rissik Street in Johannesburg, Park Station. I did not know what to expect. After the end of apartheid in 1994, Transnet was one of those state-owned companies (parastatals, as they call them) that were unbundled. Its assets and functions, from Spoornet freight rail, to harbours, were split into small companies, for better efficiency. It had also been one of those companies that the Hertzog presidency targeted to employ poor white Afrikaners, who had been displaced through the transition from an agricultural towards industrialized economy in the country in 1920s. Getting off a taxi at the Bree taxi rank, a few blocks from the building, I then made my way through the hustle-and-bustle of downtown Johannesburg towards Park Station. I walked looking at the women selling freshly roasted mielies, as well as the young men selling pirated DVDs of the latest movies on the circuit. These were all people playing with technology, not so different from the pirate radio listeners who meddled with radio frequencies in the 1920s. They differ in one respect, these DVD traders are outside the archive, not only physically but also ideologically, as discourse on technology continues to disregard their efforts.

[23] Nkosi, Lewis (2002). "The Republic of Letters after the Mandela Republic." *Journal of Literary Studies*, 18/3-4, 250.

Chapter 5 The Role of Business in Broadcast Development

Meanwhile, Johannesburg's savvy businessman I W Schlesinger watched the growing medium of radio with much enthusiasm. He then offered to take over the three broadcasting stations, with the aim of investing in radio as a commercial venture. Everyone knew that Cecil Rhodes had caught the ultimate prize in imperial exploitation, but many believed there was still a lot to be tapped-into in terms of business ventures.[1] Johannesburg in those days was the hub of these edgy entrepreneurs. This crowd would invariably 'chill' at spots like the Blue Room, rubbing shoulders with the Rand's mining tycoons. Schlesinger was one of those people. He understood the art of getting in early and making money.

Barely ten years after starting his first company in South Africa, Schlesinger was already in insurance, hotels, advertising, retail trade and catering. He was popularly known as the 'Little Man' amongst his colleagues, but nothing was little about his plans. When broadcasting became a viable proposition it seemed for him ideal that he should take over the three broadcasters and put all the radio stations on a business-like model. [2]

Born of Jewish Hungarian immigrant parents in New York, Schlesinger came to Johannesburg in 1894, at the age of 23. The persecution of Jews in Russia had led to an influx in the 1880s of Lithuanian and Latvian Jews to South Africa. By the time of his arrival, Johannesburg already enjoyed the lively presence of Yiddish tradespeople.[3] He introduced American methods of selling insurance and marketing products and rejected Edwardian sensibilities. In fact, legend has it that he was mostly responsible for promoting "the American way of life in this country".[4]

But Schlesinger was not alone. When Anglo-American entered the South African mining market, with its peculiar Americanism 'corporation' in its title, it foreshadowed the powerful links with U S financial capital that were to characterize Johannesburg's boom in the 1920s and 1930s. "To look to America as a source of capital for South African development had not been done before," as

[1] "The success of men like Cecil Rhodes reinforced the myth of an African treasure house and appealed to young and ambitious potential colonists". Mudimbe, V Y (1988). *The Invention of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 46.

[2] Dawes, *"Durban Calling"*, 110.

[3] Beavon, Keith (2004). *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City.* Pretoria: UNISA University Press, 11.

[4] Kaplan, Mendel (1986). *Jewish Roots in the South African Economy*. Cape Town: C. Struik, 133.

Harry Oppenheimer would later recall.[5] The 'American' in the Corporation's title represented finance capital channelled through J P Morgan & Co. It also foreshadowed the major involvement of American capital in South Africa in the coming decades.

Indeed, even before the commencement of the municipal broadcasts in Durban, we see U S companies making inroads via the consulate. The American Consul, Lewis V Boyle, wrote to the Town Clerk of Durban as follows:

> I have received recently, a communication from the Paramount Electric & Manufacturing Company of Paterson, New Jersey, manufacturers of Radio Apparatus. I have noticed in the press of Durban that there is some possibility of the Durban Corporation establishing a broadcasting station in conjunction with the Union Government. Such being the case, would you therefore be kind enough to submit the enclosed material received by me from the Paramount Manufacturing Company to the proper official of the City of Durban who would be interested in this subject? I would appreciate having an expression of opinion from this official as soon as convenient.[6]

Anglo-American Corporation's entrance into the South African market in 1917 heralded the inrush of American companies like Western Electric and Paramount Electric & Manufacturing Company who were investing in the radio field in the 1920s.

But more than mining companies and telecommunication firms, it was Schlesinger's involvement in the entertainment field that stirred South Africans to regard all things American with more enthusiasm than all things British.[7] This was especially so in the Rand.

For a long time, Johannesburg operated like a British outpost. After the Anglo-Boer War, the city began to take on an essentially British mode of governance. It was quickly made into a municipality so as to reduce the influence of the Afrikaners, who controlled the Transvaal region as a whole. Johannesburg adopted British town-planning ideas and Edwardian architectural styles.[8] But by the 1920s, the British system began yielding to Wall Street. The dollar's financial strength was underpinning Europe, and U S production was on a rise at astonishing levels,[9] which

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[5] Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style,* 84

[6] Lewis V Boyle, Letter to Town Clerk, 15th September 1923, *Suggested Wireless Broadcasting*, 4/1/2/394 volume 1, Durban Archives Repository.

[7] Kaplan, *Jewish Roots,* 135.

[8] Beavon, *Johannesburg*, 71.

[9] Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style,* 83.

can be compared to China in the present day. By the 1930s, the new art deco clung side-by-side with the Edwardian and neo-classical styles "all the way from the frontage of Johannesburg's Park Station at the northern end of Eloff Street to the Carlton, the city's premier hotel."[10]

While the reserved manner of Britishness retained its hold on the missionary field of Natal and the Eastern Cape—something more brash had swept over the crowded population in the Rand. American apparel clothing, Cadillac models, twangs on hip words, like jazz and swing—became the marks of an African who had been to the Rand. This is testified by the springing up of music groups with American conscious names, like the Jazz Maniacs, Merry Blackbirds, the Rhythm Kings, Jazz Revellers and the Harlem Swingsters. This is not to say that this was the first time an American presence was felt. The entrance of vaudeville troops in the late 1800s in Natal (and other ports) established an American cultural-entertainment influence on Africans; the impact of the visits of Orpheus McAdoo and the *Virginia Jubilee Singers* in the 1890s is well documented.[11] African choirs modelling themselves on his group sprang up rapidly in Natal, with a strong repertoire of spirituals (longing for freedom, justice) and other songs. But it was the boldness of the Rand and its sense of a growing metropolis in the 20th century that truly instilled Americanism in South Africa. Here, influences from:

> the United States on black city culture—present long before the 1920s—found new outlets during and after the 1920s, notably through the sale of gramophones, American-made records and American films. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, black dance bands started to appear, modelling themselves directly on American prototypes.[12]

They mixed tunes in the marabi style (a cyclical song format, similar to blues, but local in its origins) with popular ragtime and jazz styles.[13] Singers perfected their *singin'* by rehearsing the latest American gramophone records.

Schlesinger's influence was strongly felt in his company, the African Theatres Trust, later called the African Consolidated Theatres Ltd, a chain of cinemas across the country, with its identical

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[10] Beavon, *Johannesburg,* 94.

[11] See Erlmann, *African Stars,* Chapter 2; Ballantine, Christopher (2012). *Marabi Nights: Jazz,'race'and Society in Early Apartheid South African*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 5.

[12] Ballantine, *Marabi Nights,* 7.

[13] The origins of the term *marabi* is not clear, "a possible source is *ho raba raba* (Sotho: to fly around)…Some Africans identify the word with Marabastad, the… Pretoria location where African domestic workers lived as early as 1880," in David B Coplan (1985). *In Township Tonight*. Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 94.

branding at the different theatres (another first in South Africa!). The movies were shown even in small towns through a touring cinema, as well as at the government native institutions such as the Bantu Social Centres and mine compounds.[14] Its movies "changed fashions, the attitude towards make-up (which became the norm)". Young people adopted American ideas they saw on cinema as well as in magazines about film stars; 'flats' made way for 'apartments,' as the American kitchen became part of the standard fitting of the latest built homes on the Parktown ridge.[15] "The popularity of 'junk food', cola drinks and ice-cream" were first served by his other company, the African Caterers, who provided refreshments at the cinemas.[16] Against the backdrop of the Anglocentric flair of Parktown, in Killarney "he established an entrepreneurial apartment estate as an alternative to the mining ascendancy's Parktown." He planned to make it the Hollywood of South Africa.[17] His companies were the first to use billboard advertising.[18]

Every time he travelled to New York, Schlesinger came back with a new idea. East of the Eloff street intersection he built a national Broadcasting House, to accommodate his new purchase of radio stations. A cluster of major cinemas (in buildings seven stories high), as well as a large new theatre he built there as well. "The area was dubbed Johannesburg's Great White Way because of the abundance of illuminated signs (in a style cribbed from Radio City in New York) and the crush of headlighted motor vehicles at night".[19]

These held the imagination of the South African public in wonder. Even though African, Indian and Coloured consumers of lifestyle were restricted, it did not prevent them from being seduced by it. From the explosion in jazz in the locations and slums, to the naming of groups such as the Jazz Maniacs, the Harlem Swingsters, it was clear that a cosmopolitan imagination was spreading over the South African interior landscape. Among African intellectuals, newspaper articles tell that there was hope that Johannesburg would "one day develop a Harlem of its own which will compare with New York Harlem".[20] Not only as a space for creative exploration, but also as a space where people could live and exist as legitimate residents of the city.

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[14] Native Joint Council Minutes, 14/6/40, Durban Archives Repository.
[15] Kaplan, *Jewish Roots,* 134.
[16] Kaplan, *Jewish Roots,* 134.
[17] Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style,* 104.
[18] Kaplan, *Jewish Roots,* 134.
[19] Beavon, *Johannesburg*, 94.
[20] *Umteteli wa Bantu* (date unknown) cited in Ballantine, *Marabi Nights*, 20.

Although the 1930s were boom times from the point of view of investors, for the majority of South Africans the situation was one of poverty, blight and persecution. Afrikaners were moving into the city in great numbers as a result of drought conditions, economies of scale and commercial-technological modes of farming that became less labour-intensive. The reality faced by many dwellers in the city is that they lived in temporary accommodation in shacks and slums in areas declared 'insanitary' by city officials. Africans paid more for inferior accommodation than their white and Indian counterparts. The locations where Africans were being moved to did not fall within municipal boundaries. So although African citydwellers were driving its economic engine, they were invisible in population statistics.[21]

Schlesinger was granted a ten-year concession from the government in order to operate broadcasting, as from the 1st of April 1927, under the ambitious name: the African Broadcasting Company (ABC). The name was ambitious in the sense that it hints to a person with the intention of penetrating the entire African continent's airwaves. He was a big dreamer. Most of the Schlesinger companies were prefixed 'African', which was perhaps indicative of his continent-wide aspirations.

Challenges of Commercial Broadcasting

ABC's broadcasts increased entertainment content, provided well-presented news bulletins and daily morning exercise programmes. Although ABC was operated as a business, its license was granted by the government under specific terms and conditions: One of which was that it should be registered as a public company, with shares offered at One Pound each for public subscription (especially for listeners). Following this process, Schlesinger would underwrite the remaining shares. Only 10% of the profits of the company could be allocated to shareholders, the rest were to be divided equally between government, the company and listeners. The listeners' share of profits could be used for the purpose of reducing broadcasting license fees within the area.

At the beginning, ABC owned only the Johannesburg station, but purchased the Cape Town station on the 5th of May 1927, and the Durban station shortly after. The move to centralize broadcasting was considered of public benefit. By the end of 1927, listenership had increased from 13 114 to 15 509 in a period of about six months, but by the end of 1929 only 1600 listeners were added

[21] According to Beavon (2004), whites paid 10-20 shillings for room and board in a house, while blacks paid 20-30 shillings for a private room for the whole family and used it for cooking. *Johannesburg*, 87, 78.

to the number (see Table 1 below). The disappointing listener numbers posed a threat to the sustainability of broadcasting.

ABC requested a bailout from government. They felt they had a strong case, as they believed piracy was the cause of their profit fall, as revenue was derived from listeners' licensing fees, and that government should intervene, as it was the only one that could enforce the law. The bailout was declined by government. ABC then went into a scheme with wireless retailers in 1930, called the Blue Free Voucher Scheme, as a way of generating revenue. Retailers were to add an amount to cover the license fee on the selling price of radio sets, and they would pay over the amount to the Broadcast Company. The results of the Scheme in increasing initial license fees was dumbfounding. From its profits ABC was able to meet its revenue expenditure and carry out some infrastructural improvements; these included the erection of a 10 kw transmitter in Johannesburg (1929), the old Johannesburg transmitter was then reconditioned and installed in Bloemfontein (1931), a 10 kw transmitter was installed in Cape Town (1934), and lastly a 10 kw transmitter was installed in Pietermaritzburg. Following the installation of the Pietermaritzburg transmitter most of South Africa was within broadcast reception.[22]

The commercial nature of the ABC was however criticized by important sections of both the Afrikaans and English communities.[23] Despite introducing Afrikaans broadcasts in 1931, it was felt that the ABC had very little programming in the Afrikaans language, while at the same time, ABCs commercialism was perceived as being against widely-held notions of elite culture amongst the English-speaking communities.[24]

Seeing that the broadcasting license issued to ABC was due to terminate in 1937, speculation began to arise within ministerial circles whether broadcasting should still remain in private hands. Many South Africans were kept abreast of the successes that were being accomplished by a public broadcaster in the United Kingdom; they began to wonder if South Africa would not do better with the same.

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[22] Rhodes, T A F (1956). *Report on Broadcasting Before the SABC was Created, 1924-1936.* Submitted to the Chairman of the SABC, 28-29.

[23] Ngubane, Zwakele B (2006). The Governance and Regulation of the South Africa Broadcasting Industry: A case study of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa. M A thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 37.

[24] Horwitz, Robert Britt (2001). *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 56.

Early in 1934 the then Minister of Posts and Telegraphs (Senator C F Clarkson) asked:

> If it would be in the best interest of the people and the Government to renew the license of the ABC and permit a commercial company to continue broadcasting which had now become something quite different to what it was in 1927 when that company was promised a license for ten years by one of his predecessors in office. If not, what form should it take?[25]

In September of the same year, Sir John Reith of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was invited to South Africa in order to advise on the state of broadcasting.

[25] Rhodes, *Report on Broadcasting*, 47.

Table 1 Wireless License Figures[26]

Year	Wireless Licenses	Absolute Increase	Percentage Increase	Broadcasting Operator
1927	15509			
1928	16380	871	5,62%	ABC
1929	17225	845	5,16%	ABC
1930	25121	7896	45,84%	ABC
1931	39689	14568	57,99%	ABC
1932	50644	10955	27,60%	ABC
1933	66611	15967	31,53%	ABC
1934	98562	31951	47,97%	ABC
1935	132283	33721	34,21%	ABC
1936	161767	29484	22,29%	ABC & SABC
1937	180227	18460	11,41%	SABC
1938	212914	32687	18,14%	SABC
1939	249199	36285	17,04%	SABC
1940	283119	33920	13,61%	SABC
1941	311051	27932	9,87%	SABC
1942	342497	31446	10,11%	SABC
1943	352654	10157	2,97%	SABC
1944	365244	12590	3,57%	SABC
1945	373411	8167	2,24%	SABC
1946	397383	23972	6,42%	SABC
1947	445710	48327	12,16%	SABC
1948	497428	51718	11,60%	SABC
1949	531300	33872	6,81%	SABC
1950	554863	23563	4,43%	SABC
1951	584489	29626	5,34%	SABC
1952	620085	35596	6,09%	SABC
1953	653152	33067	5,33%	SABC
1954	707622	54470	8,34%	SABC
1955	730176	22554	3,19%	SABC

[26] The data used here was obtained in the Rhodes, *Report on Broadcasting* document, upon which percentages increases were derived by the author of this thesis.

Chapter 6: The Reithian Dictum

Later in 1934, Prime Minister J B M Hertzog invited the Director-General of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Sir John Reith[1] to South Africa in order to re-structure broadcasting. John Reith—that towering figure of broadcasting in the Commonwealth—led the race for broadcasting in South Africa, Australia and Canada. His visit to South Africa was as widely covered abroad as locally.[2]

Many scholars of radio in South Africa have suggested that the SABC was created as an identikit of the BBC, based on the fact that Reith was called to advise on its initial establishment.[3] I argue against this common understanding, by looking at Reith and the changes he recommended, in relation to what the SABC was to become. The SABC took its form rather from a mixed-position: (1) of mild acceptance of Reith's vision, and (2) balancing of tensions that were now strong between the English and Afrikaans political constituencies, as well as (3) the imminent outbreak of the Second World War and (4) silences on native rule. Although Reith's recommendations were received with enthusiasm, the viability of the SABC involved a selective reading of Reith's points.

When he arrived in South Africa, on the 24th of September 1934, the importance of broadcasting for national consciousness was little understood in South African public life. According to Eric Rosenthal, who was involved in broadcasting at the time, many people seemed unaware of the

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[1] John Charles Walsham Reith (1889-1971), was the first Director-General of the BBC. Reith was born as the youngest of seven children of Reverend George Reith, a minister in the Free Church of Scotland. From a young age he had the reputation of having a short temper. His biographer, Ian McIntrye, in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography shares an anecdote that his childhood nurse often dealt with his temper by holding him upside down by the ankles. As a teenager, Reith worked as an apprentice at the North British Locomotive Company. In 1914, he became a transport officer in the 5th Scottish rifles and that he worked in the Royal Engineers. He had the best time working as an engineer in the military and at the end of the First World War he continued to work as an engineer. His engineering expertise meant that he really understood the technicalities of broadcasting. (This is evident in the technically detailed recommendations he makes to the South African government in 1934.) McIntry, Ian. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed 5th August 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/article/31596?docPos=1>

[2] Reported in Canada and Singapore: "South Africa's Broadcasting Service," *Ottawa Citizen,* 5th April 1935; "Broadcasting in S Africa. J Reith's Sir Report," *The Straits Times,* 4th July 1935.

Reith came to be "accepted not only in the United Kingdom but also abroad as the most authoritative and reliable expert in his field." Rosenthal, E (1974). *You have been listening…The Early History of Radio in South Africa.* Cape Town: Purnell, 150.

[3] See for example: Louw, P. Eric & Milton, Viola C. (2012). *New Voices Over the Air: The Transformation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation in a Changing South Africa.* New York: Hampton Press, 17; Hamm, Charles (1991). " 'The constant companion of man': Separate Development, *Radio Bantu* and music", *Popular Music*, 10/2, 148.

importance of broadcasting, aside from providing entertainment.[4] The medium remained at the realm of fascination, and thus people had not begun to think of the medium for its full implications as an innovation as important as the railways, for instance.

So the first observation Reith made on broadcasting in South Africa was:

> That the subject is of immense importance to the Union; that while in some parts the public were interested in broadcasting as entertainment—as is proved by the increasing number of licensed listeners—there was no widespread or considerable appreciation of its potentialities; that among responsible people interest and concern have been aroused.[5]

Reith spent 39 days in the country, which he spent preparing his report. In the final version of the report (submitted on 2nd of November 1934) he declared, "With the exception of a week-end visit to the Kruger National Reserve, the time has been occupied on the business which brought me here".[6] He also demanded no fee for his work. The reasons for this may have been political, as later Reith would rise to unrivalled prominence in matters related to broadcasting in Britain and the whole Commonwealth.

When he first landed the job as the general manager at 'The British Broadcasting Company (in formation)' in 1922, the pace of broadcasting development, particularly in those pioneering days in Britain, "full of bustle and improvisation", was electrifying to him. The challenge, as he would later write, of:

> being confronted with problems of which I had no experience […] Copyright and performing rights; Marconi patents, associations of concert artists, authors, playwrights, composers, music publishers, theatre managers, wireless manufacturers.[7]

At this stage in his life, he knew very little of what broadcasting actually entailed. But the uncharted territory was a fertile environment for him and the fact that the directors of the broadcast company gave him full liberty in his role as the general manager was an added advantage. He did not like being told what to do, he preferred creating to conforming. "Over the

[4] Rosenthal, *You have been listening*, 150.

[5] Reith, John (1934). *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa.* Pretoria: Union of South Africa.

[6] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

[7] McIntry, Ian. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed 5th August 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/article/31596?docPos=1>

next fifteen and a half years he would become a major public figure and preside over the shaping of what quickly became a national institution" in Britain. [8]

The South African assignment was equally exhilarating for him as he was given freedom to approach the investigation the way he saw fit. During his visit, Reith had conversations with over 200 representatives, including:

> Ministers and Members of Parliament, including leaders of all shades of political opinions; with Administrators and Mayors and Members of Provincial and City Councils; with Editors and Managers of newspapers (Afrikaans and English); the heads of staff of Universities and Colleges; Government officials, Religious Leaders and prominent business men; and with representatives of the Radio trade.[9]

It all culminated in a detailed report on the state of broadcasting in the Union, along with recommendations.

British Broadcasting in its Early Days

The early days of transmitting news in Britain meant that Reith had to deal with turf-wars with the print-media. Upon having a stand-off with the Newspaper Proprietors Association, Reith eventually decided to launch *Radio Times*, the broadcast company's own print publication. Reith also came into confrontation with the Postmaster General over the issuing of licenses and licensing fees. The Postmaster responded by establishing a committee that would look into the "whole question of broadcasting" (known as the Sykes Committee, April-August 1923). Reith was himself a member of this Committee. At the very first meeting of the Committee, Reith quickly steered the ship in his direction, recommending that broadcasting should become a public service. He must have received considerable support from the members of the Committee as his proposal materialized three years down the line. In 1926, the British Broadcasting Company was turned into a public corporation, and became the British Broadcasting Corporation (now commonly known as the BBC). The conversion of the company into a corporation was timely, as when the Great General Strike of 1926 took-off many newspapers and other media were shutdown for months. The BBC, now being a public entity, was well positioned to increase news coverage.[10]

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[8] McIntry, Ian. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed 5th August 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/article/31596?docPos=1>

[9] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

[10] McIntry, Ian. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed 5th August 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/article/31596?docPos=1>

From this point, the BBC came to hold a pivotal position in the dissemination of news not only in Great Britain, but also in the entire British Commonwealth. Reith became an international figure holding "virtually unchallenged control of everything that the powerful broadcasting body did."[11] Reith had a distinctive style of leadership; as Harold Laski (a political writer who worked under Reith for many years in those early years) observed of Reith, "he seems to talk as though he was in charge of the national well-being."[12] Indeed, the BBC's understanding of the purpose of broadcasting, as 'instruction and entertainment,' was predicated on this notion of being in charge of the nation's well-being.

South Africa's Leaders of Public Opinion

It is not surprising, therefore, that Reith's immediate recommendation, upon landing in South Africa in 1934, was for broadcasting to be taken over by the State. There is evidence that he had already drawn this conclusion prior to conducting any of his fieldwork.[13] Reith then went on to pay special tribute to Schlesinger and the work of the ABC. He commended the work undertaken by the Company, given its financial and operational constraints. But added "that neither the maximum benefits, nor even a considerable increase in benefit, can be secured under any commercial system; that this is no reflection whatever on the Company". Reith stresses the point in his report that "the State ownership implicit therein should not entail State control or intervention in any way other than in accordance with the terms of the Statute." Presumably, he had already lobbied the proposal in the conversations he had held, as he assuringly stated that this move would be well supported by "leaders of public opinion".[14]The suggestion was received with much enthusiasm in South Africa, by both English and Afrikaans constituencies. It was assumed that a public corporation would allow for more Afrikaans programming.[15] However, the self-regulation model of the Corporation would hinder too direct an interference on the part of government in the broadcasts. Self-regulation entailed the selection of influential individuals who would be seemingly unrelated to any interest or pressure groups.[16] Given the English-speaking

[11] Rosenthal, *You have been listening,* 150.

[12] *Daily Herald*, 31st March 1931 cited in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[13] Reith claims to have undertaken extensive research on the Union prior to his arrival. Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa.*

[14] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

[15] Ngubane, Zwakele B (2006). The Governance and Regulation of the South Africa Broadcasting Industry: A case study of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa. M A thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 38.

[16] Hayman, G & Tomaselli, R E (1989). "Ideology and Technology in the Growth of South African Broadcasting, 1924 – 1947," in R Tomaselli, K Tomaselli and J Muller (eds) *Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa.* Bellville: Anthropos, 31.

community's public prominence in civil society, Afrikaans broadcast interests would remain in its background.

Having laid down this great shift in broadcasting in South Africa, the rest of Reith's report describes how it would work.

> That the responsibility and authority should be vested in a Board of six or seven members appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for five-year terms; that they should not be executive nor highly paid; that their control should be free from political motive; that they should be such as to command the confidence of the community; that they should devolve authority in considerable measure on their Chief Executive.[17]

Reith then suggested that radio coverage issues should be urgently remedied. More transmitters were needed to cover vast parts of the country, and these transmitters had to be strong enough to provide reception on comparatively simple apparatus. He felt that such national coverage should be subsidized by the state through Treasury. These technological improvements would raise the general standard of broadcasting in the country. Transmitters were, through the headquarters, to be linked together by telephone circuits, with opportunities for separate regional broadcasting at certain times. He went into a lot of detail on the engineering possibilities of installing these new transmitters; here his background as a former employee of the Royal Engineers was brought to bear.

Assuming that these coverage issues would be addressed, Reith then went on to advise on the radio programmes themselves; that policy should account for the supply of "good things well presented"; and that "without minimizing the purely entertainment obligations, it should be remembered that broadcasting is the *royal road to enlightenment and responsibility*"(my emphasis).[18] Here again we see Reith's special focus on high standards, and the moral responsibility implied by radio. What precisely does 'good things well presented' mean? Or the 'royal road to enlightenment and responsibility,' for that matter? Reith touches here on responsibility, which calls those who are in authority to act in accountable ways in relation to the power inherent in broadcasting. Such a framing of broadcasting culture was in a sense pre-empting the possible propagandistic directions which broadcasting could take if allowed to simply roam freely. He believed a "conscious social purpose (without any prejudice to the essential

[17] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*
[18] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

function of healthy and satisfying entertainment) should be given to the exploitation of the medium." Judgement of this function of broadcasting would be determined by "not only the contentment of the community, but of its responsibility and of its intellectual and ethical standard".[19]

The sense we get from Reith's comments is that it is possible for listeners to be content with the mere presence of radio, without necessarily implying that they endorse the ethical standards of the medium. (In the case of the African-aimed broadcasts that were to follow, one may imagine that Zulu speakers would be swept into the listening public of Zulu broadcasts: who welcomed the fascination of hearing their own language on radio but without necessarily buying-into its intellectual and ethical impulse.)

Presumably, Reith would have been aware of German Nazi broadcasting as well as Italian Fascist broadcasting under Mussolini, which were happening at the time. Interestingly, these were both systems that the Minister of Posts & Telegraph, C F Clarkson, surveyed before implementing the state-owned broadcasts.[20] Albeit lofty in appearance, what Reith was invariably doing was guiding the development of broadcasting away from this kind propagandistic turn and more towards a civic culture.[21] In what appears to be a foretelling statement regarding the apartheid SABC, Reith warned, "Broadcasting is something *sui generis*—unique; and among the things which it does not need is use of a transmitter for the pushing of one's wares or ideas, which is a fundamental mistake (or misbehaviour) of irresponsible small proprietors or large propagandist organizations, Governments included."[22]

In his view broadcasting was the most effective way of sending information. "The microphone", he believed:

> can achieve what the printed word and the philosophic formulation of doctrine have failed to bring about. We can familiarize the public with the central organization which conducts its collective business and regulates its inner and outer affairs. It establishes a quiet and secure linkage of the stoep or fireside audience;

[19] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*
[20] Rosenthal, *You have been listening,* 155.
[21] Perhaps the presence of the people like Reith in British public life, was comforting, against the moral violation that colonialism implied.
[22] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

> for it is not the printable scheme of Government but the living and doing which interlocks governors and the governed in a real ensemble.[23]

From this, it is clear that Reith's ideals were pushing towards a democratic understanding of broadcasting, in fact he believed that broadcasting would make "democracy safe for the world"; perhaps in ways in which the segregationist state of South Africa was not yet willing to undergo. He further wrote, "A closer understanding within the nation and with other nations is to be accomplished, not by static abstention from controversial matter (as has been, by order, the practice in the Union), but by the dynamic bringing of unrelated persons into relation."[24] What Reith was suggesting is that for nation building purposes addressing controversial issues may be a good thing. Such openness to controversial matter went against what the Union government sought to do. Even before the first broadcasts of the newly formed SABC had materialized, reservations were already being expressed regarding news content. Here is a quote from an early policy statement:

> Political news shall be deemed to be *prima facie* controversial, and shall not be broadcast…All news reports, whatever their nature, shall conform to the S.A.B.C.'s interpretation of good taste. This shall apply particularly to physical handicaps, deformities, racial or colour questions, medical details or references to part of the human body, sordid details of drunkenness or drug addiction, lotteries and gambling, Details of tortures, the execution of death sentences and of human or animal suffering shall not be broadcast.[25]

That political news were deemed *prima facie* controversial stands in stark contrast to Reith's suggestion of a 'dynamic bringing together,' even of controversial matter. Viewing political news as controversial pointed to the breakpoint that was happening between Hertzog's party and the English opposition. Why should details of state-enforced killings be under-reported if there was nothing to hide? Reports of executions and suffering were seen to be potentially explosive to a population already prone to protests, strikes, and so forth which had become common place at the docks of Durban and on the mines around Johannesburg.

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[23] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

[24] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

[25] "General Policy and Code of Ethics," South African Broadcasting Corporation, TAB NTS .9728/839/400(1), National Archives Repository, Pretoria. Compare with statements made the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs a few years later: "Broadcasting as laid down here is for the purpose of instruction and entertainment, and we want to keep it in that sphere, and not to interfere with the feelings of either section of the community". Assembly Debates, 21st September 1938, 3230.

It becomes clear that the grounds for establishing the SABC were tailored to South Africa's sensibilities. Keeping in mind that this policy statement was released even before the commencement of the broadcasts, we begin to get a sense of a pre-emptive kind of rigidity and anxiety in the regulation of broadcasting. These feelings were, of course, covalent with the sense of 'crisis' brought by the looming outbreak of the Second World War, and the political divergence concerning South Africa's position in the war. But the suggestion that content shall be determined on the basis of "good taste" is vague and unspecific. On whose point of view are items to be deemed good or bad? Does this good taste used in this context match-up with Reith's perspective of good taste? Good taste is a theme we see in Reith's characterization of broadcasting. But I cannot help but feel that here in the policy statement Reith's views were somehow distorted. His democratic ideal had tumbled into a system of propaganda and secrecy. Therefore, Reith's views were not wholly accepted, the state was hesitant as a result of the war and silences on 'racial and colour questions' as implied in the policy statement above.[26]

SABC Founded

Following Reith's visit, South Africa founded its own public broadcasting institution in 1936, known as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Although Reith's sterling report included a draft bill to give Parliamentary approval to the founding of the new broadcasting corporation, it took almost a year before real debate in parliament could begin on the subject (in April 1935). The report was enthusiastically read even in civil society. The South African Institute of Race Relations, for example, would later use Reith's report in its advocation of African listeners.[27]

Ridding broadcasting of its ABC legacy as quickly as possible was parliament's greatest concern.[28] Clarkson announced that: "the potentialities so far as Broadcasting is concerned. I felt that it was a matter which could not remain any longer in private hands for private profit and gain, but that it

[26] This is also in contrast with other parts of the British Commonwealth, such as Canada, where Reith's South Africa report was taken as a blueprint. See Allen, Gene & Robinson, Daniel (2009). *Communicating in Canada's Past: Essays in Media History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, chapter 3.

[27] "As a result of a report by Sir John Reith of the BBC the South African Institute of Race Relations appointed a committee, in 1935, to investigate the matter. However nothing positive was developed." Kuper, Hilda; Vilakazi, B W & Westphal, E. *Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[28] Schlesinger's name was not to vanish completely from radio broadcasts, although the Minister of Posts & Telegraphs, C F Clarkson, did not agree with Reith's suggestion that the businessman be invited to join the future board of the SABC. The premises housing the SABC remained under the ownership of Schlesinger, and the state broadcaster signed a ten-year lease agreement with Schlesinger for the purpose. This was much to the disgruntlement of members of parliament (see Assembly Debates 21st September 1938) who felt over-charged by the businessman, and also saw a potential threat in keeping the broadcast ownership and control fully in state hands.

should be in the hands of a public utility trust."[29] Such a suggestion was received with much enthusiasm in South Africa, by both English and Afrikaans constituencies. It was assumed that a public corporation would allow for more Afrikaans programming.[30] Speaking for the Nationalist opposition, Paul Saur, lauded the move,"I want to say that, after a very long and hard struggle, the Afrikaans language has come partly into its rights. I trust that, so far as this is concerned, we shall have no more complaints when the new Corporation is established." Notwithstanding this almost unanimous agreement on the de-privatization of broadcasting, reservations were also expressed. Saur, in the same speech, objected to the heavy reliance on the BBC model as a precedent, which he perceived to be implied in Reith's scheme. "There has always been a subtle Imperialistic propaganda to which many people in South Africa strongly object. I hope that when we have our own service in South Africa as regards the broadcasting of news, it will be done in an objective manner."[31]

Saur's objections held no sway. So seriously were Reith's insights taken by the English-speaking public as a blueprint that radio presenter Dewar McCormack described it as the "Reithian dictum." This he said as he distanced himself from the term 'entertain' as "to provide a diet of escapism, with some belly laughs thrown in for a good measure". Such was the demand of, "someone with the intellectual horizons of a Mills and Boon novel sitting doggedly in an armchair and saying 'Entertain me'." If to entertain is understood as in the general sense as "to occupy agreeably," he adds, then the SABC more than meets Reith's requirements of radio as to inform, educate and entertain.[32]

What the SABC and the BBC had in Common

But there are similarities between the SABC and BBC. The first similarity is that both broadcasting corporations were preceded by private/commercial ventures; the African Broadcasting Company in the case of the SABC, and the British Broadcasting Company in the case of the BBC. Both companies were run by fiercely ambitious men, namely Schlesinger in South Africa and Reith in Britain. This similarity is significant as the two were not influenced by each other in this genealogy. In understanding the history of a South African broadcasting culture it has been too easy to

[29] Assembly Debates, 21st September 1938, 3230.

[30] Ngubane, The Governance and Regulation of the South Africa Broadcasting Industry, 38.

[31] The Minister went on to mention that Britian spent 750 000 pounds a year on programmes and Australia had spent 450 000 pounds, while South Africa only had 75 000 pounds allocated for this purpose. Cited in Rosenthal, *You have been listening,* 155-156.

[32] McCormack, Dewar (1989). *Cue for Speech*. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 39.

conclude that broadcasting was modelled on the BBC. This is also unlikely given the fact that the BBC had hardly been in existence (a mere 7 years) when Reith made his recommendations to the Hertzog government.

If anything, what can be said is that the two corporations were informed by the thinking of the same person. But even with Reith's report, there are a number of recommendations that the South African state chose to simply ignore. One that stands out for the interests of this thesis is Reith's vision for the new South African broadcaster, which imagined not only equal representation of Afrikaans and English views, but also representation of African as well as Indian perspectives from its inception.

> 66. The part which broadcasting can sooner or later play in amelioration and development of the social life of the native races will doubtless be appreciated. From the point of view of broadcasting, they may be divided into three classes—those living in kraals in the reserves or on farms, those in schools, colleges or mission institutions and urban natives living for the most part in locations, barracks or quarters.
> 67. As the number able to buy receiving sets and licences is negligible, even in towns, the development would need to be subsidized and specially organized and on occasions a native language used. For the kraal native it might be possible to develop the use of wireless at the local trading store, in church or mission building, and in schools which are also community centres. Apart from anything else this would form a valuable means of communication between Departments of Government and the rural native population for such special purposes as anti-locust activity.[33]

Clearly this was an aspect of Reith's vision that the segregationist state of the time was not yet willing to embark on. In fact, for the state at the time the mere "presence of backward races especially natives" was seen to hinder the success of broadcast initiatives.[34] African-aimed broadcasts, which took place later (in the 1940s), arose very tentatively, out of particular needs of the moment (including the outbreak of the Second World War). Reith would not have anticipated these needs at the time of his visit. So in fact the viability of the SABC involved a very selective reading of Reith's recommendations.

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[33] Reith, *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa*

[34] UNESCO (1949). Broadcasting to Schools: Reports on the Organization of School Broadcasting Services in Various Countries, volume 661. Paris: UNESCO, 135. Cited in Van der Veur, Paul R. "Broadcasting in South Africa: The politics of Educational Radio" Accessed 10th August http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin

It would be wrong therefore to say that the SABC was like a South African version of the BBC (as many have suggested). On the contrary, the relationship between the two broadcasters seems to have been quite reciprocal, particularly during the Second World War. During the war, while the SABC would broadcast up to 12 hours of BBC content on its stations, the BBC often relied on the SABC for its own war programming, especially in events happening in North Africa.[35]

In some ways the SABC was, in its own right, a trendsetter in terms of broadcasting cultures. Most of the equipment it used was manufactured in its own workshops, for example. This was in part the 'serendipity' of the outbreak of the Second World War, which made it increasingly difficult for the broadcaster to procure equipment abroad.[36] According to the South African Institute of Electrical Engineers, the SABC was one of the first corporations in the world to use its own self-made transistorized equipment. It later also built its own tape recorders, turntables and studio control desks.[37]

The evidence thus far presented may even suggest that the Union government opted for a growth path for broadcasting that explicitly deviated from the standards set out by Reith, of 'responsible' and 'social purpose' driven broadcasts. Not even writers like Rosenthal are able to pick up on the prophetic nature of Reith's comments; precisely because democratic visions were unsayable within the grammar of apartheid, the established doxa of white citizenship was predicated on being blind to African-inclusive perspectives.

Following Reith's visit, the state was quick to chart its own line of development.

[35] Briggs, Asa (1970). *The War of Words vol III. The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom.* New York: Oxford University Press. Here Briggs notes the return of power to Haile Selassie in May 1941 and the Battle of Mahda Pass as instances in which the BBC relied on SABC reporting. Also see Van der Veur, Paul R."Broadcasting in South Africa: The politics of Educational Radio" Accessed 10th August http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin

[36] See SABC *Annual Report* 1940-1942.

[37] *The South African Institute of Electrical Engineers*, Accessed 10th September 2012 <www.wattnow.co.za/article.php>.

Chapter 7: Radio & Afrikaner Enlistment

A carnival atmosphere clung to the dusty roadways of South Africa's small towns, as recruitment drives went through them in the late 1930s. Crowds were greeted by the roar of anxious engines, marching bands, military vehicles and airshows: The war could not simply be sold as a fight against Nazism to the semi-literate Afrikaans-person, many of whom, particularly in rural areas were still not connected to the radio reception network.[1]

Attitudes towards South Africa's participation in the war remained mixed; while African organizations, like the African National Congress (ANC) and the Transvaal Non-European People's Conference offered only conditional support for the country's war efforts, Afrikaans civic organizations such as the *Ossewabrandwag* (Oxwagon-fire brigade) and the Greyshirts vehemently opposed participation in what they considered as yet another war on behalf of the British Empire.[2] In fact this was the prevailing sentiment among ordinary inhabitants until the Afrikaans programmes came.[3]

For Afrikaner nationalists, the past had immediate ramifications in the present atmosphere. It was not just the memory of the war against Britain (1899-1902) and the concentration camps, but it was also the dominant influence that English continued to have over Afrikaans. This was the case in broadcasting as well. Given the English-speaking community's public prominence in civil society, Afrikaans broadcasts continued to have nominal inclusion in the radio programmes, despite stipulations in the 1936 Broadcasting Act, which required equal representation of both languages.

The continued sidelining of Afrikaans incited defiance; Afrikaners did not want to be recruited for the war, they did not want to listen to the SABC. A Commission of Enquiry reported that because Afrikaners were not being reached by the SABC, "many of these are induced to 'tune-in' to *Zeesen*."[4] *Radio Zeesen* was a German shortwave radio transmission constructed at Zeesen in

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[1] Transmission distribution figures in 1939. See SABC *Annual Report* 1939.

[2] Marx, Christopher (1994). "The Ossewabrandwag as a Mass Movement 1939-1941." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20, 195-219.

[3] In Parliament, the decision to participate was taken by a narrow margin, a mere 13 votes. Grundlingh, Albert (1999). "The King's Afrikaners? Enlistment and Ethnic Identity in the Union of South Africa's Defence Force during the Second World War, 1939–45." *The Journal of African History*, *40*/3, 355; Grundlingh, L W F (1986). The Participation of South African Blacks in the Second World War. Phd thesis, Rand Afrikaans University, 10-12.

[4] *Report of Commission of Enquiry into the Operations of the South African Broadcasting Corporation*, 1941. Union of South Africa: Pretoria, 5

Germany in 1931. It targeted Nazi sympathizers in South Africa and Namibia, and exploited anti-British sentiments within the Afrikaner communities in Southern Africa.

But in 1938, the SABC established a self-contained Afrikaans service, known as the 'B' programme system. And it initiaited aims to reach out to rural areas through these transmissions.[5] But what led to this sudden change of heart for those in charge of the SABC? What made the need so urgent at this time? In order to answer these questions, we have to backtrack a bit.

The Anglo Oligarchy

When the public grew disinterested in the broadcasting company operated by Schlesinger (the ABC) in 1931 it was because of its business-driven model.[6] Although Schlesinger had done a great job in consolidating the various small broadcast initiatives into one, and had also succeeded in building world-class transmission infrastructure in the country, there remained a bias in his scheme. Like any profit-led venture, Schlesinger wanted to supply transmissions where there was a perceived need. This invariably privileged the major cities over the rural areas in-between. Many Afrikaners at the time were still based on farms and other rural towns or in places like Maraisburg in the outskirts of Johannesburg.[7] Such communities were often semi-literate to illiterate and spoke solely Afrikaans. It therefore meant that they were excluded in the English entertainment broadcasts that typified the ABC. With Schlesinger being a New Yorker himself, the format for a lot of the shows was inspired by American commercial broadcasting; they came across as parochial to those who were not native English speakers. Even many of the highbrow English South Africans found the programmes distasteful.[8]

Some of the imbalances were beyond the doing of Schlesinger. The early adoption of a British-style municipality for Johannesburg gave the English relative autonomy in relation to the rest of the Afrikaans-controlled Transvaal. Any businessman would want to win the favour of this influential class and to match the service to its aspirations first.

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[5] See SABC *Annual Report* 1938, 6.

[6] see Assembly Debates 21st September 1938, 3212-3244.

[7] Andrè Brink relates of one such rural town (Vrede) in the Free State in the 1930s, "It was a town of wide dusty streets, the pavements overgrown with thorns (which we called, with good reason, *duwweljies*, little devils) in a predictable grid around the tall spire of the Dutch Reformed Church." Ben Williams, "Andrè Brink: Literary Giant, Social Activist and Teacher," *Sunday Times*, 8th February 2015.

[8] As most of this information has been covered in previous chapters I will not be providing citations here.

In addition, many of the early experimenters of broadcasting in the 1910s and early 1920s, such as John Roberts in Durban, John Streeter and Reginald Hopkins in Cape Town, and Toby Innes in Johannesburg were English-speaking, which meant that the friends they attracted to listen to them were often English.

Initial calls for transformation of broadcasting, and forming of the SABC, were based on the understanding that things would be different once the reigns were in the hands of the State; that the developmental need for broadcasting infrastructure would be prioritized and that there would be better representation of English and Afrikaans interests. Indeed, when John Reith gave his recommendations for broadcasting he suggested that radio coverage issues be urgently attended to. More transmitters were needed to cover vast parts of the country, these transmitters had to be strong enough to provide reception on comparatively simple apparatus.

Reith had also suggested that the Headquarters of the Broadcaster be based in Bloemfontein, which is more equidistant to far reaching territories of the country.[9] Bloemfontein would also dilute the hegemony of capital and mass communication implied in the Johannesburg setting. These are all recommendations that the SABC did not deal with hastily, some (like the one about the Headquarters) it simply chose to ignore.

As the SABC opened its doors in 1936 the government held the view that changes would happen organically since the Board consisted of 50% English and 50% Afrikaans representatives. Much similar to broadcasters in other parts of the world, the SABC adopted a self-regulation model. Self-regulation entailed the selection of influential individuals for the board who would be unrelated to any interest or pressure groups.[10] The self-regulation model of the Corporation would tend to hinder direct interference on the part of government in the broadcasts; this is even though the broadcasting framework was structured in a way that gave government ultimate control. The SABC had to be issued a licence by government, which placed certain restrictions in terms of what

[9] Reith, John (1934). *Report on Broadcasting in South Africa.* Pretoria: Union of South Africa.

[10] Betzel, M., & Ward, D. (2004). "The regulation of public service broadcasting in Western Europe." *Trends in communication*, *12*/1, 52-53; Hayman, G & Tomaselli, R E (1989). "Ideology and Technology in the Growth of South African Broadcasting, 1924 – 1947," in R Tomaselli, K Tomaselli and J Muller (eds) *Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa*. Bellville: Anthropos, 31.

it was allowed to do or not do.[11] Although the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs was responsible for giving information to Parliament, he was not directly responsible for the actions of the Board.

For a long time the Board believed that there would come a point where English and Afrikaans would meet harmoniously on a single transmission service. In 1937, it "came to the conclusion that it would be a mistake, with view to the true South African spirit which the service must further, to separate Afrikaans from the rest of the programme and to set aside a special time for it. The service would aim at satisfying the respective cultural needs of both of these sections of the population and the Afrikaans section of the programme would thus naturally fit in with the entire programme." However, later in the report the Board would contradict itself, by stating "Despite these considerations the Corporation did not set about increasing the number of Afrikaans items in its programmes except where such increase was warranted by the figures."[12]

Such contradictions displayed the sway that English-speaking Board members had over Afrikaans. The oversight of the Broadcasting Act of 1936 is that it had assumed a shared consensus between English and Afrikaans whites, but given the English-speaking communities public prominence in civil society, Afrikaans broadcast interests remained in its shadows. The point was reiterated in the Assembly Debates to the frustration of some members of the House. On the 21st of September 1938, an argument ensued over appointments of Board members. It was felt by Mr Warwick (the member for Illovo) that the appointed board "has completely failed to handle the affairs of the board in a business-like manner, and in a manner that would command the respect of people like Mr Schlesinger."[13] P Eric Louw and Viola C Milton (2012) have aptly named this early period of the SABC as the age of the "Anglo Oligarchy" in order to illustrate the sheer salience of all things English during this time of the SABC.[14] But in 1938 things began to change.

Radio as News Source

The outbreak of the war turned radio into a news source. It changed the way the news were told. For the first time, *how* soon news were reported counted more than the fact that they were

[11] Rosenthal, E (1974). *You have been listening…The Early History of Radio in South Africa.* Cape Town: Purnell, 156.

[12] SABC *Annual Report* 1937, 5.

[13] Assembly Debates, 21st September 1938, 3225-3226.

[14] Louw, P. Eric & Milton, Viola C. (2012). *New Voices Over the Air: The Transformation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation in a Changing South Africa.* New York: Hampton Press, 17.

reported.[15] Everyone now understood why it was important that people have access to broadcasting, and that the news be made available regularly during the day in the listener's own language. The SABC responded accordingly. The Board changed it's tune by adding a second transmission, the 'B' programme, whose medium would be Afrikaans and recognized that "although it operates in a land which contains two distinct peoples, its service is directed to the South African nation." [16] So although English remained dominant in broadcasting in South Africa, there was by the time of the war recognition of the potential dangers in the nominal inclusion of Afrikaans content in the SABC.

With the sense of war looming it soon became clear that white South Africa depended on Afrikaaner agreement in order to enter the war, especially since the country opted for voluntary enlistment of soldiers over conscription.[17] The SABC annual reports began to register this sense of uncertainty and urgency fitting to the demands of the 'breaking news' factor and of 'crisis' brought by the outbreak of the war. It was now prepared "to give listeners as much European broadcasting as possible" during the war.[18] And a new Diversity Receiving Station was built, which was noted as "the most important single factor in the 1939 programme development," this station would enable the broadcaster to keep in touch with overseas sources constantly. War events were already considered in theatrical terms: it was the "dramatic events of those fateful days" through which "public demand for news grew."[19] But this did not prevent creative production from thriving. "Curiously enough a greater number of plays was broadcast in 1940 than in 1939".[20] In addition to this:

> the Corporation has during the last few years, been devoting special attention to the development of South African music. The results have been so encouraging that they have more than justified the time and labour devoted to the scheme.[21]

[15] In contrast, newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s were never about getting information fast. "Because the newspapers appeared weekly they relied less for their impact on the immediacy of their news than on comment. Journalists tended to be philosophical and moral commentators rather than reporters in search of contentious local items". Couzens, T J (1976). "A Short History of 'The World' (And other Black South African Newspapers)," African Studies Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 18.

[16] SABC *Annual Report* 1938, 6.

[17] Grundlingh, "The King's Afrikaners," 354.

[18] SABC *Annual Report* 1939, 5.

[19] SABC *Annual Report*, 1940, 9.

[20] SABC *Annual Report*, 1940, 9.

[21] SABC *Annual Report* 1941, 8.

Why did a seemingly chaotic time as this trigger such a revival in creative productions in the SABC? Well, the obvious reason is that creative content from abroad became difficult to obtain during this time: "the Corporation's production staff was naturally affected by the war…music [from overseas] was particularly difficult to procure".[22] But creative productions also did something else.

If the news broadcasts were there to report directly on war matters, then creative productions were there to ensure that the remainder of the time was filled with material of a similar vein. We are told, "The actual time […] spent in dramatic production was less. Producers very soon found that lengthy plays were not in keeping with the spirit of the times."[23] There is a sense in which creative productions themselves acquired a sense of urgency during war times. The function of creative productions was to heighten the reality of the war news, by giving it dramatic license in the case of radio plays. They wanted to give the listener a vivid picture of the battlefield. But real-life accounts were themselves injected with the vivacity of drama:

> The first war programmes naturally enough came from overseas—vivid accounts, incorporating personal experience and reconstructions of incidents […] With the air attacks on Britain and the bombing of London, the radio documentary programme achieved unprecedented heights of realism. Few there must be who heard unmoved that quiet voice speaking words of courage and endurance amid the ruins of the thousand-year old Coventry Cathedral on Christmas Day.[24]

Listeners were moved by events happening in London through the radio documentary. The value of the documentary, as a means of keeping the essential issues of the war before the public, was recognized. Note in the above quote the emphasis on vocal qualities ("quiet voice speaking"; "words of courage"). The radio documentary was the meeting of reality and drama. Frequently sound effects were used to make these worlds real; bolts were shot, footsteps on gravel were faked.[25] The events in London were given special status by virtue of *how* they were reported rather than in the fact they were reported. From the broadcaster's point of view, we get a sense that the accomplishments was in the dramatic-effects used in the delivery of war news than in the news themselves.

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[22] SABC *Annual Report* 1939, 6.
[23] SABC *Annual Report* 1940, 5.
[24] SABC *Annual Report* 1940, 7.
[25] "It is impossible to bring an army into the studio but the sound-effects man is able to persuade listeners that a battalion is marching past." "Sound Effects", *Supplement to Personality,* 9th May 1968.

Thus, the war condition evoked a particular consciousness on the radio. Not only did the war hasten the formation of a white national consensus on the radio in South Africa, but it moulded it in a fierce battle for the dominant broadcasting language (English versus Afrikaans).

Apart from the greater representation of Afrikaans material, the results of the new national consciousness were seen in the outpouring of creative content.

Public Avowels

In the late 1930s and early 1940s the SABC became involved in the recruitment shows that the military did in small towns across the country. A kind of sweet nostalgia arose as names of former Afrikaans war heroes boomed through loudspeakers: De la Rey, De Wet, Botha! "The call to arms had to be presented in such a way that it could be construed not as oppositional but as complementary to Afrikaner political and cultural interest."[26] Although South Africa was to enter the war on behalf of the British Empire, the call of Afrikaner nationalist heroes gave to the Second World War a local flavour of patriotism. In doing so it projected a model for an English-Afrikaans integrated South African future.

Meanwhile in the metropoles, public spats ensued over the loyalty of Afrikaners in the war. A Johannesburg newspaper alleged "pro-Nazi sympathies on the part of members of the staff of the Corporation."[27] This created havoc in the corridors of Broadcasting House as suspicions and faction fights created hostility among colleagues.

When newspapers began to suggest that the Nazi had an 'annexation plot' for South Africa, tensions escalated.[28] The Government then decided to take decisive action on the opinions expressed in the broadcasts. A committee of four members was set-up to examine the allegations, with Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg as Chairman. It was given the following terms of reference to investigate:

> a> The manner in which the South African Broadcasting Corporation has conducted its operations in relation to the war in which the Union is involved.

[26] Grundlingh, "The King's Afrikaners," 356.
[27] SABC *Annual Report* 1939.
[28] "German Intrigue in the Union Disclosed," *The Star*, 3rd September 1940; See Monama, Frankie Lucas (2014). Wartime Propaganda in the Union of South Africa, 1939-1945, "Chapter 1: National Security Risks and Threat Perception." Phd thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1-56.

> b> The question whether the Corporation's operations have been and are being so conducted and controlled that the interests of the Union as a country involved in war have been and are adequately safeguarded.
> c> The relationship between the Corporation and its servants in respect of matters connected with the war.[29]

It took the committee over two years to release its findings, as its terms were hotly debated. To establish a committee to investigate is a 19th century invention in the modern state which arose as nations invested in their own public accountability. Such commissions were also widely viewed as moral authorities as they claimed independent scrutiny of the state and the ability to reveal bureaucratic oversights of the state. But to stand as a member of a commission of enquiry or committee of investigation, as a person of independent reputation, was to also validate the state's ability to carry out public interest and its commitment to public good. In this instance, the call to establish a committee to investigate the SABC was saying to the public that the state actually wants to see change, by investigating what was already known.[30] Indeed, the conclusions of the committee were unsurprising. They reported that the SABC had not done enough to ensure that the listening needs of Afrikaner communities were being met. Latest figures revealed the distribution of transmitters in the Union in 1939 as follows:

> **'A' (English) Programmes**
> Johannesburg: 10kw medium wave transmitter
> Johannesburg (Maraisburg): 0.2kw short-wave transmitter
> Pretoria: 0.25kw medium wave transmitter
> Bloemfontein: 2kw medium wave transmitter
> Kimberly: 0.6kw medium wave transmitter
> Grahamstown: 10kw medium wave transmitter
>
> Pietermaritzburg: 10kw medium wave transmitter
> Durban: 0.5kw medium wave transmitter
>
> Cape Town (Klipheavel): 0.5kw short wave transmitter
> Cape Town (Milnerton): 10kw medium wave transmitter
>
> Total: 44.55kw
>
> **'B' (Afrikaans) Programmes**
> Johannesburg: 0.2kw short wave transmitter
> Johannesburg (Maraisburg): 0.2kw medium wave transmitter
> Pretoria: 2kw medium wave transmitter

[29] *Report of Commission of Enquiry into the Operations of the South African Broadcasting Corporation*, 1941. Union of South Africa: Pretoria, 1

[30] Stoler, Ann Laura (2002). "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archival Science*, 2, 106-107.

> Cape Town (Milnerton): 2kw medium wave transmitter
> Cape Town (Klipheuvel): 5kw short wave transmitter
>
> Total: 9.4kw[31]

From the figures given above it is clear that the distribution patterns did not accommodate Afrikaans as much as it did in English. Although the 5kw shortwave station at Klipheuvel could be received anywhere in the Union, this was not a reliable connection as shortwave tends to be prone to changing weather conditions. If broadcasting was to be used to promote a sense of co-operation between Afrikaans and English then it *had* to take into regard both sections of the white population.

But some of the challenges experienced were beyond the means of the SABC. As one rural listener, a Mr Krog Scheepers from Boesmansriviermond , remarked in a letter to the editor of *Radio-Week* (the SABC magazine):

> *Dit sal vir luisteraars baie gerieflik weeks, as person wat uitsaai so af en toe meld van waar hulle uitsaai, daar ons in die binneland nie heeldag die radio kan aanhou nie, weens tekort aan elektrisiteit. Wanderer ons 'n stasie (kortgold) kry wee tons baie maal nie watter stasie dit is nie.*[32]
>
> It will be more convenient for listeners if the person who is broadcasting could occasionally report the station from which they are broadcasting. It isn't always possible inland to keep the radio switched on as it uses too much electricity. When we receive a (short wave) signal we are not always sure which station it is from.

Although Mr Krog Scheepers' letter was intended as a complaint, its presence in the magazine corroborated the sense that people from everywhere were listening and were part of that imagined community of listeners. In Mr Scheepers' letter, the reader was being asked to identify with the listening conditions of his or her fellow listeners elsewhere. This one in particular, had limited supply of electricity, but was prepared to make the sacrifice of listening. Wouldn't you want to listen then?

The publishing of such public avowals from Afrikaans speakers was unimaginable a few years before for the war. They promoted a sense of unity within South Africa's white community. This

[31] *Report of Commission of Enquiry into the Operations of the South African Broadcasting Corporation*, 1941. Union of South Africa: Pretoria, 5

[32] "Op die Platteland," *Radio-Week*, 9th November 1945. [English Translation by Thokozani Mhlambi)

unity was also portrayed in industrial terms. Instilled in the spirit of the recruitment drives was the sense that the equipment displayed was made local: these are the weapons that 'our' factories produced.[33] The SABC built their own masts, they opened new workshops where broadcasting equipment was to be made from scratch—in part the 'serendipity' of the outbreak of the Second World War, which made it increasingly difficult for the broadcaster to procure equipment abroad.[34] But building it 'ourselves' also helped the SABC to position its image according to the needs of the country. Industrialization for the ordinary Afrikaner did not just mean patriotism, it also meant jobs. People felt proud to be contributing to the country, but they were also happy because they were employed. As already mentioned, the SABC was one of the first corporations in the world to use its own self-made transistorized equipment. This was in the middle of a war. It later also built its own tape recorders, turntables and studio control desks.[35]

So although the "brutalizing" sound of warfare was a basis for distress and trauma in places like Europe and North Africa,[36] in South Africa it was a time of boom in the economy. Local productions of steel, copper and chrome manganese went up—all of which were useful in weapon making. The price of minerals (such as coal) in general across the globe increased. The increase of production meant much needed relief to the financing of South Africa's war operations.[37]

The Second World War in South Africa had to be fought on two fronts, the battleground in North Africa and elsewhere, as well as inside the country as constituents had to be won over to the cause. As Afrikaner populations were brought into the range of a broadcast-able community, it opened the door for other languages (and marginalized communities) to be considered in the near future. Afrikaans thus laid a foundation for considerations of African-aimed broadcasting, which were by the 1940s beginning to take off.

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[33] Grundlingh, "The King's Afrikaners," 356.

[34] See SABC *Annual Report* 1940-1942.

[35] *The South African Institute of Electrical Engineers*, Accessed 10th September 2012 <www.wattnow.co.za/article.php>.

[36] Tournes, Ludovic (2004). "The Landscape of Sound in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." *Contemporay European History*, 13/4, 493-504. See also Birdsall, Carolyn (2012). *Nazi Soundscapes: Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933-1945*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 15.

[37] Mahosi, Nkadimeng Theodore (1998). The Influence of the Second World War on Black Labour in the Witwatersand area, 1941-1947. MA thesis. Rand Afrikaans University, 20-21, 4.

Chapter 8: The Era of Loudspeaker Broadcasting

Before the days of K E Masinga, broadcasts of the news of the day could be heard pouring out of loudspeakers in the open air. The loudspeakers attracted the interest of of Africans living in the cities of Natal.

Masinga's time was in the near future, but already a man was rising, whose voice on the speakers would appeal to the ears of the people. This man was Charles 'Chas' Mpanza.

A Man of Opportunity

Mpanza was born in the district of Eshowe in Zululand. His father was a believer, one of the first people to turn to the Christian faith in Eshowe under the Norwegian Missionaries.[1]
And his grandfather was the great Mpanza, who Dingane persecuted in the 1830s. The young Charles, together with his brother M J Mpanza, also received their education through the Norwegian Missionaries.[2]

Before he started the work of broadcasting, he was already being asked by the SABC to recite lines in different Zulu dialects. He spoke in the Royal Zulu dialect, the Northern dialect and Southern dialect in programmes on the English service. This was much to the appreciation of those who were in charge who continued to use him very much. He was also asked to say the *izibongo* of Shaka on the radio. Soon, Mpanza was admired all over, in far-reaching areas of Natal and Zululand, by whites and Africans alike. He was seen as a devotee of the Zulu legacy.

When it happened that the Natal Bantu Teachers' Union started the Zulu Society in 1936, he was chosen as the Secretary.[3] An opportunity he could not refuse as the aims of the Society matched his own, which were to create knowledge and to preserve rapidly disappearing wisdom of Zulu culture and language. His passion for the language was already demonstrated in his early published novel, *Umendo ka Dokotela* (The Marriage of the Doctor).[4]

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[1] The Norwegian missionaries arrived in Eshowe in 1861. Hale, Frederick (1982). "The 1882 Norwegian Emigration to Natal," *Natalia*, 12, 35-45.

[2] La Hausse, *Restless Identities*, 129.

[3] 1936 Zulu Society Conference, A1381, I/3/1, Pietermaritzbrug Archives Repository.

[4] Mpanza, C J (ca1937). *Umendo kaDokotela*. Lovedale Press: Alice.

The Society was formed at a meeting that was held in Durban. The first members to join the Society were the well spoken of in the African newspapers in Natal. They included Chief Albert Luthuli (who became its first president), John L Dube and Herbert I E Dhlomo. The making of the Society allowed "the compiliation and authentication of literary matter on Zulus by Zulus in culture, history, customs and usages" and the "Encouragement of Zulu authors, particularly for School reader."[5] After just a few years of its existence, Mpanza was chosen to be part of advisory boards on Zulu language matters. At the time the committees who decided on Zulu literature for schools and the spelling of words were made up entirely of "white gentlemen." Mpanza and other founders of the Society felt this job could not "adequately be done by any other than the Zulu himself."[6] Liberal 'experts' who held leadership positions in institutions at the time could no longer dominate Zulu language affairs. They had decided to unite as a Society precisely for these reasons. Mpanza was then appointed as 'spokesperson' for the Zulu, in the committees.[7] A notion which played into the mindset of white segregated rule and its promotion of patriarchal formulations of African societies, as if they were a monolithic group, who needed a spokesperson.

When the instant came where the Native Affairs Department together with the SABC wanted to start broadcasts on loudspeakers, they wanted a Zulu-speaker to present. Mpanza was asked to do the job. It happened that Mpanza was already working under the Chief Native Commissioner, where he was an officer in the Pietermaritzburg office.[8]

About Loudspeaker Broadcasting

Mpanza could not let the invitation to broadcast pass-by. It promised to strengthen the work and the reputation of the Zulu Society. He agreed to be an announcer. The appointment was even included in the Society's Auditor's Report, saying one of its achievements was "the privilege to assist in the dissemination of the Departmental News of the War to Zulus through the Radio and the press." [9] He then introduced the name of Herbert I E Dhlomo as one who he could work within

[5] Mpanza, Charles. "Letter to The Chief Native Commissioner, Natal," 25th June 1945, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers,* A1381, VII/4, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[6] A W Dhlamini (President of the Zulu Society), Letter to Charles Mpanza, 9th May 1939, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers,* A1381, VII/1/1, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[7] Letters Received 1938- 1941, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers*, A1381, VII/1/1, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository. There is a gradual increase of letters requesting to engage Mpanza's services for committee representations and attendance of important public meetings.

[8] Papers re. Chief Native Commissioner (1939), A1381, IV/2/2, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[9] Zulu Society *Auditor's Report*, 1945, A1381, V/1, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository; see also Mpanza, Charles. "Letter to The Chief Native Commissioner, Natal," 25th June 1945, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers,* A1381, VII/4, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

the broadcasting scheme. He trusted Dhlomo and knew of his talents in writing and speaking. Dhlomo had just moved back to Durban from Johannesburg where he had been the Library-Organizer at the Carnegie Non-European Library Service.[10] But apart from this, he was a well-known writer of poetry and plays, and increasingly as a cultural critic.[11]

That is how Mpanza started broadcasting with his equal Dhlomo. The leaders in the initiative raced to connect loudspeakers everywhere: hostels, beer halls and factories where Africans worked. An amplifier and loudspeaker were also connected at the Native Village in Pietermaritzburg; these were installed by a J H Cliff at a cost of 24 pounds. The superiors in the municipality considered the price reasonable given the short notice in which it had to be done.[12] A total of 60 areas were wired-up in Durban and a few in Pietermaritzburg.

The broadcasts were 30 minutes and divided into three segments. First was the news, then the playing of music, and lastly a special talk of some kind.[13] Mpanza sourced the musicians to use on the show and also paid them. He prepared the scripts and arranged for guest speakers. All the scripts and talks given by guest speakers had to be translated into English and given to the Studio Manager of the SABC in Natal to approve beforehand.[14] So although, Mpanza presented the Pietermaritzburg broadcasts and his friend Dhlomo the Durban ones, the Studio Manager (who was Hugh Tracey at the time) was ultimately in charge.

Mpanza spoke once of the visit to Zululand by Major van der Byl, the then Minister of Native Affairs. He reported on the occasion using the already established oral forms of *izibongo* praise poetry. At first, Mpanza explained the occasion in plain speech and said that all the important dignitaries in Nongoma were present for the momentous occasion. Then he reported how the Zulu *izimbongi* (praise poets) suddenly appeared on the scene and they praised the Minister. The tone of Mpanza's voice then began to rise as he started to perform the praises that were supposedly

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[10] Everts, R Alain (1993). "The Pioneers: Herbert Isaac Ernest Dhlomo and the Development of Library Service to the African in South Africa," *World Libraries*, 3/2, online edition. Accessed 3rd February 2015 http://cybra.p.lodz.pl/Content/1175/vol03no2/everts_v03n2.html

[11] See Couzens, Tim (1985). *The New African: a study of the life and work of HIE Dhlomo*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Masilela, Ntongela (2007). *The Cultural Modernity of H.I.E. Dhlomo*. Asmara: Africa World Press Inc.

[12] "Letter to the Town Clerk," Pietermaritzburg Municipal Native Administration Minutes (1940). 4/4/2/299, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[13] "Broadcast of Information to Natives", Pietermaritzburg Municipal Native Administration Minutes (1940), 4/4/2/299, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[14] Hugh Tracey, Letter the Secretary of the Zulu Society, "Broadcast Performances," 6th May 1941, A1381, IV/8, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

rendered. He spoke with excitement as if he was there right then. But he was not; he was now in the studio. The excitement in his voice suggested that the theatrical intrusion that formed part of his news report was just as important as the facts themselves. He paused for a while, only to break away into the praises again, that were then left to linger in the air, for the audiences to absorb.[15] It is not easy to distinguish between fiction and truth in the report, given that entertainment and factual reporting combined. The leaders at the SABC and Native Affairs Department seemed to have liked this, as it later became the official instruction at the SABC for all communication aimed at Africans.

In 1942, the Head of Bantu broadcasting services, C D Fuchs, wrote a letter to the Controller of Programmes at the SABC, where he encouraged the use of 'indigenized' modes of address. "As a gem is an ornament among Europeans," he wrote, "so praises are among Abantu and have been from time immemorial." [16] Fuchs then gave as an example how Field Marshall Smuts could be praised:

> Field Marshall Smuts, the Hero of our Country,
> Thunder that thundered from the Union of South Africa to Kenya,
> Thence to Abyssinia, on to Eritrea,
> Yea onward still, to distant Libya,
> And was even heard by birds beyond
> Heard reverberating over the sea named Mediterranean.[17]

By the time of the issuing of Fuchs' decree, Mpanza was already doing this on the loudspeaker broadcasts. It may very well be that the declaration was prompted by the successes of people like Mpanza. Indeed, Mpanza received a letter from the office of the Field Marshall conveying "his appreciation of the eulogy of him, composed by yourself."[18] The letter arrived a year before Fuchs' instruction, so the example could have been taken from Mpanza's rendition. If that was the case, why did Fuchs not credit Mpanza in the letter?

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[15] "Izibongo Praises," South African Music Archive Project, mus1943-12-20.036.018.AC0004-234A1 Accessed 3rd February 2015 <www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/samap/content/izibongo-praises-southern-african>

[16] C D Fuchs, Letter to Miss Dickson (SABC Controller of Programmes), 2nd December 1942, TAB NTS .9655/520/400/13(1), National Archives Repository, Pretoria.

[17] C D Fuchs, Letter to Miss Dickson (SABC Controller of Programmes), 2nd December 1942, TAB NTS .9655/520/400/13(1), National Archives Repository, Pretoria.

[18] Department of Native Affairs Pretoria, Letter to officer Chief Native Commissioner, 30th July 1941, A1381, IV/2/2, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

There is an irony in the letter that claims authority in the knowledge of Bantu languages but is written in English. And the example of praise speech it gives is also in English. This may suggest that the person to whom the letter was addressed could be better communicated to in English. It is also a reminder of the fact that all items to be broadcasted had to be translated into English for the Studio Manager before going on air. But in the translation of poetic speech so much of the rhythmic and tonal devices of the rendition are lost. In its inability to express the very idea it seeks to illustrate Fuchs' instruction betrays its own credibility.

Fuchs had thought about what could be the intellectual history of praise poetry in Africa, and concluded that it was from "time immemorial", in other words, of ancient origin. The 6-lined verse was meant to explain an entire civilization and how it should be addressed in broadcasting. We can conclude, that such a pronouncement may have been premature (if not a little hasty) given the substantiation offered. But perhaps Fuchs was rushing to do something else. He wanted to present the poem as if it were written by himself, a device which would allow him to surreptitiously enjoy speech otherwise foreclosed to him as a person in the confines of white administrative authority: that is speech with the power to decree, in the language reminiscent of a different time, perhaps of monarchs and rulers. Presenting the praise poem as if it were written by himself provides Fuchs with a platform to demonstrate his authority on Bantu matters in terms that are not his own, in a manner that is otherwise unsayable within the confines of 20th century administrative speech, with its language of facts and figures.

This is the world that Charles Mpanza had to navigate. It went on like that for some time: negotiating with singers, inviting speakers, transforming hard facts into *izibongo*. Mpanza showed very little difficulty juggling the different positions he held. They certainly earned him a lot of respect among the African teachers, clerks, and other readers of the newspapers.[19] But listeners of Zulu broadcasts came from the dockworkers, rickshaw pullers, industrial/commercial workers, waiters, motor-car drivers—these are the jobs which were open to Africans who worked in the cities in Natal in those days.[20] But the SABC soon recognized that "any attempt to reach that

[19] See "Marginal Notes," *Natal Witness*, 21st January 1939; "Society to Preserve Zulu Culture," *Mercury*, 23rd January 1939; "Iqholo Ngobuzwe," 14th January 1939.

[20] La Hausse, *Restless Identities,* 114. These labourers were the fertile constituents of political mobilization (as seen in the activities of the ICU and Natal African Congress in the late 1920s).

object by the means suggested [broadcasting] could only be of doubtful value" if the service itself was not convincing.[21]

The Role of Hugh Tracey

Hugh Tracey said he got the idea of the loudspeaker broadcasts to Africans in Natal when he discovered that a rumour was spreading among Africans that every Zulu speaker would earn 10 shillings a day when Hitler arrived.[22] Similar broadcasts had been launched in the Witwatersrand a few months before.[23] Tracey found the rumour very disturbing. He felt that all means should be made to counteract it through the provision of a simple information service.

The relationship between Mpanza and Tracey seems to have been purposeful. Years later, Tracey would speak fairly of Mpanza, saying "his voice is as resonant as Paul Robeson".[24] Robeson was the African-American actor/singer who starred in Hollywood hits like *Showboat* (1936), and *The Emperor Jones* (1925). He had the kind of baritone that could penetrate even the most stubborn of hearers, across racial lines. [25] If Mpanza's voice was as that of Robeson, it must have been emotionally compelling to any listener of the loudspeaker. He seems to have been equally formidable in meeting administrative affairs related to the broadcasts, which included the submission of programme sheets, paying the exact fees for artists and managing the budget.

It was only Tracey's boredom with Mpanza's musical taste that got in the way. Tracey said,

> We have come to the conclusion that the material offered by most of the location choirs is of very little value and not worth the money we are paying out. We have decided that we will pay for only genuine Zulu material of the special high standard

[21] SABC *Annual Report* 1940, 7.

[22] Couzens, *The New African*, 208.

[23] This took place in July 1940. "Broadcast to Natives", Department of Native Affairs (1942). TAB NTS .9655/520/400/13(1) and TAB NTS .9653/520/400(9), National Archives Repository, Pretoria.

[24] See Couzens, *The New African*, 208.

[25] Before Robeson, African-American actors had been confined to comic roles in films. "More than any other single figure, Paul Robeson accepted as a personal responsibility the problem of bridging the gap between the 'race movies' of the ghettos and the commercial movies of Hollywood. In a dozen films, most of them produced outside of Hollywood, he attempted to create strong black characters who provided important elements of plots rather than merely backgrounds for predominant white stories." He therefore was a significant figure in an awakening of a respectable black identity in American cinema. A graduate of Columbia University, Robeson's prominence also spoke of African-American aspiration. Cripps, Thomas (1970). "Paul Robeson and Black Identity in American Movies," *The Massachusetts Review*, 11/3, 468-469.

He spoke and sang in a rich baritone voice, with very precise pronunciation of words. See Accessed 28th March 2014 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eh9WayN7R-s>

> to be recorded […] Psuedo-European music in future will not be paid for, and entertainment of this nature will be provided on gramophone records only.[26]

Tracey's disinterest fell short of the hopes of Mpanza and the Zulu Society as many of the choirs and small ensembles showcased on the loudspeakers were conducted by its influential members. A W Dlamini, who was the President, conducted the LTD Singers. Others, such as, John L Dube also had choirs.[27] The Zulu Society probably used the money generated from the broadcasts to supplement its own income.[28]

The retort was nothing personal on Mpanza, though. Tracey was often outspoken in his distaste for the urban hodgepodge that educated Africans enjoyed musically. Many challenged him publicly on his views. Cultural critic, Walter Nhlapo wrote against the African-aimed broadcasts. He said:

> But we deserve the heavier art of Caluza, Bokwe, Tyamzashe, Mohapeloa and others. These works demand concentrated attention and frequent repetition before digestion is completed, and even then at each new hearing reveal some fresh facets, some nuance, some subtlety that had escaped previous notice. It is in this varied music, I feel certain, lies the spirit of both old and new Africa.[29]

The composers, Nhlapo mentions here were the leading innovators of new musical forms. At this time, the cultural imagination of African middle-classes was evolving from church halls and the mission schools to a concert-tradition. Within these middle-class gatherings developed a distinct repertoire of musical performance. The music no longer comprised just Western hymns, but increasingly, a fusion of African traditional singing with ragtime tunes—derived from the minstrel songs and British provenance music halls songs which were sold as sheet-music at shops in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.[30] Mohapeloa for instance, and to some extent Caluza, wrote syncopated numbers in the 1930s and 1940s that were clearly jazz-band inspired.[31] Although remaining in four-part singing, the tunes were groovy, with dance steps involved.

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[26] Hugh Tracey, Letter to Charles Mpanza Secretary Zulu Society, 15th June 1943, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers*, A1381, VII/1/3, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[27] "Society to Preserve Culture," *Mercury*, 23rd January 1939.

[28] In a letter, Hugh Tracey told Mpanza that the SABC would "not be in a position to make a donation towards the Society over and above this amount". Hugh Tracey, Letter to Charles Mpanza Secretary The Zulu Society, 25th February 1944, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers*, A1381, VII/1/3, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository

[29] "SABC Bantu Broadcasts", *Umlindi* 4th August 1945.

[30] Erlmann, Veit (1991). *African stars: Studies in black South African performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 123.

[31] See Lucia, Christine (2011). "Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa and the Heritage of African Song," *African Music*. 9/1, 56-86.

Dhlomo describes a typical concert event:

> There was no formal programme. The programme was spontaneous, dictated by circumstance, and rich in novelty. The stage choir would open the performance […] by singing two or three songs. Immediately after, the chairman would get down to business and ask the audience to 'buy' what choir (or favourite song) they liked. The people were also free to buy off the choir, soloist and song they did not like […] As would be expected, this procedure led to all kinds of novel situations.[32]

The process of music making in these gatherings was sustained by an energy dependent on the audience. Such interactions between audience and performers broke concert-going etiquette and prompted audiences to feel like active agents in the entertainment they saw. It also brought opportunities for aesthetic judgments of performances through the consensus of the community. Moving with spontaneity over formality, the gatherings incorporated audience-performer interactions that resembled African traditional performance. The atmosphere created in the intercourse between music and the public was only overturned by the prominent role of the chairman, whose interventions between the audience and the stage suggests modern-style constitutional culture. Although the intercourse seemed to be retrieving a past where music was spontaneously social, the role of the chairman reminds us that this is no longer an 'untainted' African traditional performance. Such a complexity of form and delivery is rendered inaccessible by Tracey's assertion which tries to splinter music into European versus non-European binaries.

Audiences, managers and composers of these concerts were motivated by a cosmopolitan flair rather than strict obedience to any European form or African tradition, for that matter. That Tracey was not able to get the logic in this complexity is revealed in his own description of the concert gatherings, as "an organized yell,"[33] which suggests something chaotic rather than precise. To call these shows an organized yell disrespects not only the stylized rituals of the chairman and audience-performer interactions, but it also undermines the intentionality of the compositional process and the rehearsal effort put in by many of its performers.

Many of the African composers did not necessarily resent tradition and yet they respected Tracey's perspective. Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa, for one, was an African composer *par*

[32] "Evolution of Bantu Entertainment," KCM8290Z- MSDHC 1.08- D58/280, Killie Campbell African Library, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

[33] Tracey, Hugh (1948). *Zulu Paradox*. Silver Leaf Books: Johannesburg, 50.

excellence.[34] He wrote in his native language of Sotho, but his music circulated well among choirs and song-groups all over.[35] Indeed, he was popular in Natal too and held Tracey in high regard. So much so that he was one of the three African composers who agreed to join Tracey's African Music Society (AMS) in 1947. AMS's goal was to preserve and study traditional music. Tracey had a special category for 'African Members'—that was separate from 'Members' who were white. This special categorization appeared as a slap in the face of university-trained composers such as Caluza and Mohapeloa. Mohapeloa had studied music under Percival Kirby at Wits University, who was also a 'Member' of the AMS.[36] Certainly, Mohapeloa understood his own craft as preserving Sotho music rather than being 'pseudo-European', as he composed songs using traditional melodies.[37] But the special (if not demeaning) designation within AMS did not seem to diminish Mohapeloa's regard for Tracey.

When Mohapeloa made an application to the Lesotho government for a study tour grant in the 1960s, he put Tracey's name down as a referee in the application. He wanted to explore music composition in England, Germany, Kenya and the United States. Naturally, the Lesotho government sent his application to Tracey for review. Tracey, however, dismissed the study on the grounds of its merits to the composer. He said that the study would "be altogether confusing for him, and indeed might undo any good work which he undertook on the African continent." He suggested that Mohapeloa:

> first becomes steeped in the music of Africa, from both a scientific and artistic point of view […] freed from his present leanings toward the mixing of African and European musics in his compositions.[38]

So it would appear that over twenty years after his rejection of music ensembles that Mpanza employed, Tracey's views had not changed. This is despite him having gone deeper in the recording and preservation of music in Africa after his tenure at the SABC.

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[34] "SABC Bantu Broadcasts", *Umlindi* 4th August 1945.

[35] Mohapeloa, J P (1951). 'Preface' in *Khalima-Nosi tsa 'Mino Oa Kajeno : Harnessing Salient Features of Modern African Music.* Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot.

[36] See "A: Minutes & Correspondence of African Music Society," 2nd February 1949, *P R Kirby Collection*, BC750/A, Manuscripts & Archives Department, University of Cape Town; "List of Members," 30th April 1948, *P R Kirby Collection*, BC750/A, Manuscripts & Archives Department, University of Cape Town.

[37] See Lucia, "Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa and the Heritage of African Song," 67-80.

[38] International Library of African Music's Hugh Tracey correspondence files, cited in Coetzee, Paulette (2014). Performing Whiteness: Representing Otherness: Hugh Tracey and African Music. Phd thesis, Rhodes University, 83-88.

While Mpanza could swerve his way around the challenge of working with strong-willed men like Hugh Tracey, Dhlomo eventually found it unbearable. Tracey wrote to Reverend Dr Ray Phillips in Johannesburg, who had been Dhlomo's previous employer at the Carnegie Library, in order to find out why Dhlomo had left. Phillips told Tracey that Dhlomo had left his wife and that he thought it was inappropriate given the high public position Dhlomo held for him to be living in separation from his wife. Tracey told Dhlomo that he should bring his wife to Durban so they could settle the issue. Dhlomo however replied, do "not take up Dr Philips' attitude, which is a missionary attitude to their Christian employee."[39] This was the end of Dhlomo's career as a broadcaster.

Dhlomo's worldview, with many other African intellectuals, shared a strong belief in self-reliance and independence.[40] So he saw Tracey and Philip's intervening as a form of meddling. Dhlomo and Mpanza, aspiring perhaps to similar ideals, were of very different temperaments. Dhlomo was outspoken and uncompromising, and a bit difficult, at times. Mpanza was a skilled tactician. He held three offices simultaneously; the secretary of the Natal Bantu Teachers Union, an officer in the Chief Native Commissioner, and of course, as the secretary of the Zulu Society, this is in addition to his broadcasting activities.

The Zulu Society

Apart from rapid urbanization and the transformation of state apparatus, the early 20th century saw the culmination of a growing African intellectual sensibility in South Africa. This was achieved through the establishing of print media (newspapers, journals and books),[41] opportunities for education and gaps in agricultural and property-owning economies.[42] Accompanying this sensibility was a flourishing of creative productions, such as the publishing of the first drama

[39] Herbert Dhlomo, Letter to Mpanza, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers*, A1381, VII/1/1, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[40] See Masilela, *The Cultural Modernity of H.I.E. Dhlomo*; unfortunately this book has no chapters, but this theme carries out through most of the second half of the book.

[41] Early African independently owned newspapers in South Africa include: *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1884), *Izwi la Bantu* (1897), *Ilanga lase Natal* (1903).

Black-authored books emerging at the time: Plaatje, Sol T (1916). *Native life in South Africa.* PS King & Son; Fuze, Magema (1922). *Abantu abamnyana: lapa bavela ngakona*. Pietermaritzburg: City Print Works; Dube, John (1930). *Insila kaShaka.* Durban: Marianhill Mission Press.

[42] After the gold rush in Johannesburg and subsequently the building of a railway line joining the Durban port with the interior in the last decades of the 19th century, there was a boom in agriculture. In Natal, there were a number of land-owning African families, of the educated, Christian convert background, who were well positioned to benefit from the boom. The Luthuli, Kambule, Dube and the Msimang families were part of a tiny group of African wealthy landowners in Natal by the turn of the 20th century. Simeon Kambule, for instance, is believed to have owned 796 acres of land in 1917. Marks, Shula (1986). *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: class, nationalism, and the state in twentieth-century Natal*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 38, 48.

written in Zulu, *UGubudule Namazimuzimu* by N N T Ndebele[43] and the publishing of the Zulu-English dictionary by B W Vilakazi and Clement Doke,[44] as well as increasing secular public political/social engagement in for example the Bantu Social Centres in Johannesburg and Durban. The radio broadcasts in Zulu took place against a backdrop of a growing modern sensibility to being Zulu, which was spearheaded by the African intellectual class in Natal and Johannesburg. As a result, African broadcasts had to be framed within an existing discourse of a coherent Zulu public.

Farseeing intellectuals like Dhlomo 'invented' ways of avoiding a formulation of identity, as Zulu. He for example never referred to the intellectuals influential in the forming of the African National Congress (such as Pixley kaSeme, Alfred Mangena, Richard & Selby Msimang) as 'Zulu intellectuals'. He preferred the designation of Natal intellectuals or Durban-based intellectuals instead.[45] His choice tells us two things: (1) that he perceived the rapid spread of this ethnic formulation and (2) that he understood the potential dangers of its use—which become very obvious in apartheid's ethnic mobilization agenda. Dhlomo's trepidation however did not stop 'Zulu-ism' from catching-on.

A Zulu national genre emerged, which expressed itself in distinct ways from the seemingly more inclusive African national expression of those days. In the term 'Zulu national' I am inspired by the paradoxes of the concept 'nation' highlighted by Benedict Anderson (1983) as he observes the tension between, "The objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists." It is to this antiquity in the subjective eyes of its adherents that 'Zulu nationalism' finds its basis and validity as a term, based on the myth of a unified Zulu past.[46] And (as Anderson suggests of nationalism in general) it belongs more appropriately with older configurations like 'kinship' and 'religion' than to modern ideologies such as 'liberalism' and 'fascism'.[47] African and Zulu nationalism did not necessarily oppose each other, but rather the Zulu

[43] Ndebele, N N T (1941). *UGubudele namazimuzimu*. Bantu Treasury no 6. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

[44] Vilakazi, BW & Doke, Clement (1948). *Zulu-English Dictionary*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

[45] Masilela, *The Cultural Modernity of H.I.E. Dhlomo*, 86.

[46] The centrality of Shaka in expressions of unified Zulu past in South Africa is well documented. See Hamilton, Carolyn (1998). *Terrific Majesty*. Cambridge & London: Harvard U.P., xii; Golan, Daphna (1994). *Inventing Shaka: Using history in the construction of Zulu nationalism*. Lynne Rienner Publishers; Wylie, Dan (2000). *Savage delight: white myths of Shaka*. Durban: University of Natal Press.

[47] Anderson, Benedict (1983). 'Introduction', *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism.* New York: Verso Books, kindle edition.

national genre was moulded politically through the Natal-Zululand divide that shaped most Natal Africans' identities.[48] It also created a foundation for the enthusiastic reception of creative production in Zulu. It gave a new fixity to the language, which, in turn, solidified that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation. Zulu speakers understood the language as a relevant agent in communication traditions.

The formation of the Zulu Society came at a time when there was an attempt to bring the Zulu monarchy into the fold of state administration. It was a time when concessions had been made between the white powers and the Zulu royal family. The collaboration of the Zulu monarchy with the State sent mixed messages to Zulu-speakers. The newspaper cuttings in the Zulu Society archives capture this.[49] There are articles on Prince Mshiyeni and the advice he offered to Zulu-speaking people. There are articles on the state policies that had the potential to restrict movement. These are articles discussing the New Native Law Code of 1932, and its impact on how blacks were to be ruled in the Union.

One article appears as part of an ongoing series of issues discussing the second chapter of the new code as it "concerns the personal rights of Natives in Natal, Zululand, Transvaal and Orange Free State." The article quotes important sections of the code in detail. The new code appoints the Governer-General as Supreme Chief of all natives in Natal. The code grants him the power to call "upon chiefs personally to render military or other service and to supply armed men…for the suppression of disorder or rebellion." Furthermore, it authorizes officers below Supreme Chief to execute the code.[50]

Although introduced in 1932, such a law, it would seem, anticipated the Second World War that was to follow in 1938 and its need for native labour in its war industry. Not only did the Second World War need natives as assistance at war sites, but also the gaps that were created by the war

[48] An observation to be made about the Zulu national articulation is that it came about as a way of establishing agency for African voices, as a result it was not ethnocentric, but rather Africanist in its undertaking. This is an argument presented brilliantly in Mokoena, Hlonipha (2011). *Magema Fuze: The Making of a "Kholwa" Intellectual*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

This is a key distinction to make, for the kind of mobilizations of Zulu that intensified in apartheid era were ethnicist in their leaning, driven by the propaganda of retribalization and separate development of the Boer republic. Here the term Zulu became used as a form of torture, intended to imprison Africans within rigid and narrow forms of expression. These moments are significant in the understanding of the genealogy of the moments of articulation of a Zulu consciousness amongst early Christian converts in Natal.

[49] 'Newspaper Cuttings,' A1381, IV/7, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[50] *Um-Afrika* October 21st 1932.

in the economy, as white men took on military service, boosted the demand for African workers,[51] particularly in the docks of the Durban harbour. As the harbour grew as the place where British warships were serviced and cleaned, the war industry created the economic boom of Durban as a port.

The vivid elaboration of the code in the newspaper clips would imply that the possible effects of implementing the code were well understood by the readers. The articles on the code interlink with articles in the collection which are about Prince Mshiyeni in the fact that both types address the issue of chieftaincy. In an article titled "*Isimemezelo Sika Mshiyeni Ka Din'uzulu*" (an announcement made by Mshiyeni of Din'uZulu), Mshiyeni announced that he will be forming a regiment of Zulus, which was to be trained and given guns by the English, the regiment would then fight for the country in the unfolding war. He called on the legacy of Shaka and Dingane to be upheld, as well as the name of King George VI, the grandchild of Queen Victoria and went on to say, "*Musani ukulalela amagwala namavaka alokhu ekhuluma sengathi likhona izwe elingatholwa ngaphandle kokulihluphekela nokulifela*" (Stop listening to cowards who talk as if there is a nation that can be attained without suffering and dying for it).[52] Mshiyeni's call must be taken in the context of the prevailing attitudes towards the war.

Prevailing Attitudes towards the War

Resolutions taken by the African National Congress (ANC), the Transvaal Non-European People's Conference and similar organizations emphasized that Africans should not take part only as labourers, but that they too should be armed in battle. The ANC noted that, "the territorial integrity of the Union of South Africa can only be effectively defended if all sections of the population were included in the Defence System of the country on equal terms."[53]

Some Africans who supported the war, held millenarian visions of a better future, through a possible German or Japanese victory.[54] The rumour that Hitler would give every Zulu 10 shillings should he win, that was mentioned by Tracey as his reasons for initiating the loudspeaker

[51] Mahosi, Nkadimeng Theodore (1998). The Influence of the Second World War on Black Labour in the Witwatersand area, 1941-1947. MA thesis. Rand Afrikaans University, 20-21, 4.

[52] *Ilanga Lase Natal*, Year Unavailable, in Newspaper Cuttings, A1381, IV/7, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[53] "Resolutions Passed at the Annual Conference of the ANC," 15th-18th December 1939, cited in Grundlingh, L W F (1986). The Participation of South African Blacks in the Second World War. Phd thesis, Rand Afrikaans University, 11.

[54] Grundlingh, *The Participation of South African Blacks*, 12.

broadcasts, seems to fit to this millenarian view; however this was only a segment of the African population, it did not reflect the sentiments of everyone. Others like Z K Matthews were of the opinion that history "has taught them that to support one European group against another brings upon them the enmity of the group to which they were disloyal without earning them the friendship of the group to which they were loyal." It did not matter who won, as Hitler would probably treat them no worse than how they were being treated by the whites in the country.[55] This attitude of indifference was the most prevalent. Perhaps concealed under the authority's apparent concern over hearsay were fears over this attitude. It had the potential to undermine South Africa's war plan.

Some African elites saw inclusion in the military squad as a legitimization of their claims to full citizenship, regardless of race. Government was very aware of this and chose instead to differentiate military force according to race. The outcome of the government's tip-toeing around race was a ludicrous situation where blacks were used for certain war duties, in order to free whites for actual combat. But now because black soldiers were not allowed to carry firearms, white soldiers had to be used to protect black soldiers. The exercise was self-defeating.[56]

In cases where the rhythms of warfare in North Africa proved impossible to overcome with colour-bar policies, Africans were given rifles. This was however kept from public knowledge. The success of the military units from other African countries (such as the King's African Rifles, which incorporated soldiers from East and West African British territories) was also kept out of the media. This was motivated by the "fear that public recognition of the part played by African troops might give material for political criticism here in the Union, or might perhaps seem to detract from the glory of the white South African troops."[57]

Foreign black troops were prevented from staging public processions in the country, as there was fear that if local blacks saw them parading with weapons in their arms, they would use this to argue against the logic of the government in denying them weapons. In 1940, the Director of the Non-European Army services refused to send the assistance of a band for black-targeted recruitment parades in Northern Transvaal. He felt that the means of recruiting Africans ought to

[55] Grundlingh, *The Participation of South African Blacks*, 14, 17.
[56] Grundlingh, *The Participation of South African Blacks*, 'Summary', 27,29.
[57] Alfred Hoernlè cited in Grundlingh, *The Participation of South African Blacks*, 20.

be "unostentatious".[58] 76 000 African men, mostly from the Northern Transvaal, enlisted in the Defence Force during the Second World War, but little is known of their activities.

So while the state was embarking on a campaign to have loudspeakers connected for Africans to listen, another effort was also underway to de-signify the presence of Africans soldiers in the war. As Dhlomo later remarked in a newspaper article, "Thanks to the war, the SABC has discovered the African listeners." [59] The collection of newspaper clippings in the archive of the Zulu Society suggest that Mpanza was aware of the war controversy. Despite such heated contestation on war affairs among the African elite, Mpanza managed to draw considerable support for the Zulu Society cause.

The Quiet Builder

In the archive of the Zulu Society, there are a number of letters written by family members in rural areas, thanking 'Thabekhulu' (Mpanza's *isithakazelo*, clan name) for sending them money for travelling on the train**.** There are also accounts of him offering advice on personal, family and social issues, to teachers and friends in far-away places. These testify to someone who was well respected in his constituency and also really cared for his family.[60] The Society was endorsed and financially supported by the government, which demonstrated Mpanza's skill as a diplomatic negotiator.[61] Even among Africans themselves, Mpanza was able to draw the support of even the most conservative members of the population, such as the Zulu Royal House.[62]

Clearly Mpanza possessed a skill in convincing those who were in power to assist him, and he did so with remarkable success. But there was a cost. He had to compromise his own ideals, and the ideals of the Society. His ideals are evident in the material he collects in the newspaper clippings, showing a deep interest in prevailing representations of black people at the time and the restrictions imposed on them. That being said, by collaborating with the State, the Zulu Society found itself in a tricky position.

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[58] Grundlingh, *The Participation of South African Blacks*, 19.

[59] "Busy Bee", *Ilanga* 16th June 1945

[60] Letters Received, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers*, A1381, VII/1/3, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[61] Dhlomo was unhappy about this collaboration, accusing the Society of having "delivered itself to the Native Affairs Department in Maritzburg for a paltry grant of 250 pounds a year," thereby risking complicity. Couzens, *The New African*, 293.

[62] 'Newspaper Cuttings,' A1381, IV/7, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

The place in which Mpanza was working was highly political, and must have required some tenacity. But as he spoke on those loudspeakers the minds of the people were drawn away from the politics, away from the war and into the captivating world he created with his voice. Nevertheless, both his and Dhlomo's broadcasting careers were short-lived (Dhlomo a couple of months, Mpanza only two years). Perhaps they were both too politically interested for Tracey's project.

Despite the state's malicious intent in broadcasting for Africans, it is not surprising that the Zulu Society saw the loudspeakers as an achievement. By being able to mobilize congregations of African listeners, it demonstrated the confidence of its constituencies—a confidence which African people clearly did not have towards the state. It showed the white rulers that they needed the leadership of African intellectuals, but in the process, it made the Society allies with the segregated government.

For African intellectuals power was an aspiration, collaborating with the state in broadcasting was striving for those means of the state (its power, its authority) that it did not own. It was not the realization of this power. They had to present their interests as the common interests of African people in general, in order to give its ideas universal acceptance. This was done by appealing to the Zulu monarchy, as a symbol of self-knowledge and precolonial independence.[63]

Amidst growing internal pressure, Mpanza left the Zulu Society in November 1945. He then went to work for the South African Railways and Harbours.[64] Little is known of his life from then onwards.

Nonetheless, when K E Masinga began his broadcasting career on the wireless system, on the 24th of December 1941, he was following in the footsteps of Mpanza. He would not conform to the standards of the violent and hot-headed, but would instead be faithful to the vision of this quiet

[63] The use of the trope of Zulu monarchy in assertion is an argument very well presented in Peterson, Bhekizizwe (2000). *Monarchs, Missionaries & African Intellectuals: African Theatre and the Unmaking of Colonial Marginality*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 6-7.

For an international example of how an indigenous elite strove for power through nationalistic elements see Guha, Ranajit (1997). *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, especially the chapter entitled "Discipline and Mobilize; Hegemony and Elite Control in Nationalist Campaigns".

[64] Society President, Letter to Mpanza, 30th January 1946, A1381, ZS II/7, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

builder. Masinga would himself acknowledge this a month after launching his broadcasting career. In a letter to Mpanza, he wrote:

> *Ngijabulile kakhulu Mnumzane Mpanza ukuzwa ungincoma ngokufunda izindaba zakoMkhulu. Sebengincomile bonke abanye, nokho, umoya wami bewusalinde wena ngcwethi yazo. Phezu kwezincwadi eziningi esezifike lapha koMkhulu wami zingincoma, nokho bengilinde ingqinisela ephuma kuwe. Awunamona, uyiqhawe ngempela, uyisihlabani soqobo. Ukudla izikhali zenye indoda 'bugwala lobo. Wena awuzidlanga ezami neze neze.*
>
> I was really happy Mr Mpanza to hear you congratulate me on reading the news of the SABC. All others have congratulated me, but my spirit was eager for yours, you the expert of news announcing. Above all the letters that have arrived here at the SABC congratulating me, I was however waiting for the assurance that comes from you. You are not envious, a real hero, a star indeed. To eat the weapons of another man is cowardice. You did not eat mine at all.[65]

In the early years of his broadcasting career, Masinga continued to keep in touch with Mpanza. Even when Mpanza lost his mother in 1942, Masinga wrote him a letter of condolence, and closed his letter with "*Yimi ohlupheka nawe*" (It is me, who is grieved with you),[66] again here Masinga revealing a subservient humility towards Mpanza as his forerunner. So although to some Mpanza grew out of favour in the collaboration with the state, Masinga saw someone of reputation. The successes he would accomplish were as a result of the efforts of Mpanza, who was the herald of African-aimed broadcasting, not for Natal alone, but for all of South Africa.

[65] K E Masinga, Letter to Chas Mpanza, 23rd January 1942, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers*, A1381, VIII/1/2, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi]

[66] K E Masinga, Letter to Mr Mpanza, 8th July 1942, *Charles Mpanza's Personal Papers*, A1381, VIII/1/2, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

Chapter 9: Broadcasting and the Liberal Perspective

The beer hall on Victoria Street was one of the most popular venues for Africans to gather in the city of Durban in the early 1940s. It was municipal owned and provided a permitted environment for entertainment purposes and the sale of alcohol. The sounds coming out of the loudspeaker were background noise to those mingling with friends, they were also a reminder of the fact that this was a government controlled environment.[1] The news delivered by government representatives on loudspeakers were thus part of the audio-markers of regulation.

The Victoria Street beer hall was also an *isicathamiya* performace venue. Some of the African middle-classes patronised these venues, as they were more orderly than the illicit entertainment venues in the slums. But Victoria Street beer hall was more than just a recreational centre, it was a gateway to other venues that were less government controlled.

The 'real' *isicathimiya* took place at the shebeens in the Samseni area, which were conveniently located by a direct bus line from Victoria Street. Here, people could purchase stronger concoctions of liquor and things other than the low alcohol-content beer sold at the municipal-operated venues.[2] They could also dance for much longer into the night, although this would have to be done quietly so as to not provoke the Indian landlords. It is in this context that *isicathamiya* acquired its delicate gestures and hushed voices that have become the most distinctive features of the musical genre.[3]

The movements of African men between regulated city spaces and less controlled fringe areas, between urban areas and rural homelands, as they sought to bring to life the realities of migrant existence provided some of the most vexing challenges for white rule in the 1920s to 1940s.[4]

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[1] Municipal owned beer halls were established in 1938 in order to control the sale of liquour in the cities of South Africa. Maloka, Eddy (2004). *Basotho and the Mines: A Social History of Labour Migrancy in Lesotho and South Africa, c1890-1940*. Codesria: Dakar, 116.

[2] Maloka, *Basotho and the Mines,* 126.

[3] Erlmann, Veit (1991). *African stars: Studies in black South African performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 83-83; Gunner, Liz (2008). "City textualities: isicathamiya, reciprocities and voices from the streets." *Social Dynamics,* 34/2, 156-173.

[4] This is precisely the argument in Couzens, Tim (1985). *The new African: a study of the life and work of HIE Dhlomo*, "Chapter Three: 'Moralizing Leisure Time': The Transatlantic Connection and Black Johannesburg (1918-1936)." Johannesburg: Ravan Press; See also Erlmann, Veit (1989). " 'Horses in the Race Course': The Domestication of Ingoma Dancing in South Africa, 1929-39." *Popular Music*, 8/3, 259-273.

Uncertainties over the behaviours and past time habits of Africans became a genre on its own in the era of segregated South Africa. Responses to this challenge of governance and control were as diverse as the populations themselves and became known as the 'native question'. Foremost in the mission of addressing the 'native question' with a passionate single-mindedness were the white liberals.[5]

It is not to say that all liberal individuals were the same, but that they were embedded in a whole network of ideas, civic organizations and collectives; most notably the Joint Councils and Welfare Societies, which were meeting points for African intellectuals and their white counterparts. The first Joint Council was formed in Johannesburg in 1921. Similar Joint Council's were subsequently established in other centres.[6] Soon after the founding of the Joint Councils, civil society organizations were formed under the same imperative; these include the Bantu Men's Social Centre (1924), the South African Institute of Race Relations (1929) and the African Music Society (1947),[7] to mention a few. By the time the SABC was created in 1936, liberal collectives were well-positioned to make representations and, in turn, recommend their members onto the institutional boards, commissions of enquiries and advisory panels on public broadcasting.

For sometime, little was known about the responses of audiences to the broadcasts which government created for Africans. Until, in 1943, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), one of the early prominent Johannesburg-based liberal organizations, conducted a study,

[5] But were liberals only white? I would argue that under segregation in South Africa, yes. As will be shown in this chapter, liberalism relied on particular kinds of freedoms of movement and freedoms of association that were only available to whites at the time. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 1, liberal individuals were aware of the legal and institutional frameworks that segregationist rule introduced into the country. They were also aware of the fact that Africans desired access to these frameworks, and thus positioned themselves as dispensers of those frameworks to Africans in ways that systematically withheld the full privileges of the frameworks themselves.

Africans, for example, were restricted in the kinds of gatherings they could have. In addition, under the Slums Act (1934) people could be removed for whatever reasons, including for re-zoning from residential to industrial area, to upgrade area before re-accomodating. In the most extreme cases, settlements could be demolished even prior to municipal authorities establishing what the land was going to be used for. Beavon, Keith (2004). *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City.* Pretoria: UNISA University Press, 96; See also Parnell, Susan (1988). "Racial Segregation in Johannesburg: The Slums Act, 1934-1939," *South African Geographical Journal*, 70/2, 112-126; La Hausse de Lalouviere, Paul (2000). *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity, and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c. 1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c. 1936)*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 143-144.

[6] Legassick, Martin (1975). "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism: Its Assumptions and its Social Base," African Studies Faculty/Graduate Seminar, University of Sussex, 8.

[7] "A: Minutes & Correspondence of African Music Society," 2nd February 1949, *P R Kirby Collection*, BC750/A, Manuscripts & Archives Department, University of Cape Town; "List of Members," 30th April 1948, *P R Kirby Collection*, BC750/A, Manuscripts & Archives Department, University of Cape Town.

which was published as a *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal*.[8] The Institute positioned itself as a thought-leader in race related matters in the country, and devoted most of its attentions in conducting social scientific research. The role of the social sciences and its experts must be emphasized because it created a hybrid language of facts and figures that mediated the apparatus of power, but without undermining it.

The SAIRR wrote a number of reports on the reception of the early broadcasts for Africans.[9] One cannot therefore understand the African-aimed broadcasts and responses to it, without considering the white liberal perspective, from which broadcasting operated with as well as against. To an extent, white liberal actors provided a vision for segregationist and later apartheid regimes by suffusing power through elaborations in scholarly knowledge and civil society initiatives in South Africa, in the early 20th century.

Foundations of Liberalism

South Africa's social-political situation after 1910 was no longer that of a colony proper, and can be best described as a segregated state.[10] The nature of the segregated state received its first sustained scholarly analysis in the 1970s through the work of Martin Legassick. In a series of papers presented in London from about 1973 to 1975, Legassick began to unpack some of the dynamics of South Africa under segregation.[11] Apart from tracking the development of segregationist policy, Legassick also elaborates on the role played by white liberals (mostly English-

[8] (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg

[9] Namely: Kuper, Hilda; Vilakazi, B W & Westphal, E. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg; Kuper, Hilda *et* al. *South African Institute of Race Relations Memorandum of Evidence Submitted to the Commission of Enquiry into Broadcasting Service*, 28 November 1946, AD.1715/36.3ii, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[10] With the passing of the Act of the Union in 1909 and the consolidation of the two republics and the two self-governing colonies in 1910.

[11] Legassick's papers were however never published. That they are available in the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town says something about their significance, even in their unpublished form.

In discussing Legassicks work, Christopher Saunders (1988) notes him as "The single most important figure in the radical challenge of the early 1970s". Legassick begun his formal training in Marxism from the British Marxist Thomas Hodgkin at the University of Ghana in the early 1960s. He then went on to study under Leonard Thompson (who was the leading South African historian at the time) at the University of California, Los Angeles in 1964. While completing his Phd he was quite influenced by the work of Eugene Genovese, of the University of Rochester, on racism and slavery in the Southern region of the United States. Apart from this, Legassick was involved in politics, as a member of the African National Congress (ANC) in Britain. *The Making of the South African Past, Major Historians on Race and Class* (1988) now online: Accessed 10th August 2012 <www.marxist.org/subject/africa/saunders/making-past/ch16.htm>

speaking) in informing segregation, who were also known as the 'friend of the native.'[12] Liberalism became a specific social doctrine in South Africa. It was not necessarily the same as universal definitions of liberalism in free-market economic discourse. In the international case, liberalism was applied to those who believed that market forces should be allowed to operate without restraint. The term was sometimes applied to those who emphasized the rights of the individual, and who as a result, prioritized democractic institutions of an independent judiciary, a free press and civil society, that were seen to safeguard individual freedoms.

In the context of South Africa under segregation, these individuals were self-styled as experts and opinion-makers who thrust themselves into debates around native policy in the country.[13] So integrated is the liberal perspective in the social structure of South Africa, that it becomes critical to an understanding of the situation in the early 20th century.

South African liberalism developed:

> in some sense as a critique of the 'official consensus' about 'native policy' which emerged with the formation of the South African state in 1910 and whose main tenets were implemented by 1923. The name given to this policy as a whole—though within its framework there are many different interpretations—was 'segregation': significantly […] many of those who called themselves 'liberals' or some similar words ('friends of the native') in that period supported segregation in some form.[14]

Unlike their African contemporaries, liberals never saw the attempts at expressing native concerns as strategies aimed at eventual non-racialism. Segregationist notions by liberals arose out of the self-conscious attempt to address 'native policy' in ways relevant to capitalist economic growth that was happening at the time.[15] Suggestions were then brought forward that Africans should be assimilated into segregationist government through the means of 'civilized native' voters. However concerns were raised about the possible consequence of allowing Africans to vote; that,

[12] What must be mentioned is that Legassick's major contributions on the politics of the 'frontier zone' as well as on the development of segregation in South Africa were written while he was exile in United States and the later on Britain. This meant that he had somewhat limited access to local archival material and given that he has not re-visited most of this work since his return to South Africa in the early 1990s, one cannot read his material outside of the exile frame. This is evident in his heavy reliance on periodicals, pamphlets, journals and newspapers for example, rather than official state documents.

[13] Legassick, Martin (1972). "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,' 1902-1923: The Origins of 'Segregation,'" Institute of Commonwealth Studies Postgraduate Seminar, University of London, 1.

[14] Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 1.

[15] Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 2.

since their numbers were larger than European numbers, there may come a time when they would eventually vote out a white government. Lord Selbourne, for one, was certain that that would not be the case. In a farewell letter written in 1910 to the editor of *The State* periodical, he wrote "for many years to come the number of native voters under the civilization test would be very small compared with the number of voters of European descent."[16] What Selbourne would not mention was that given the repressive codes implemented in the preceding decade or two many Africans would effectively be hindered from getting an education or finances, which were understood as the keys to civilization. Legassick then uses this as a basis for making the argument that:

> No white at the time [around 1908-1912] envisaged that the means of 'native' political repression should do anything but ensure the supremacy of the whites. Specifically, it is quite fallacious and ahistorical to argue that proponents of a common-roll franchise for 'civilised natives' saw this as a means of political transition towards a non-racial society.[17]

Thus, non-racialism was advocated alongside a racialist notion, that the white race must retain its responsibility of governance based on its superior intellectual endowment. The "ideology always tried to transform the historically contingent into the 'naturally' necessary."[18] This also manifested in the shift from overtly racist discourse to a discourse of sanitation and urban renewal. In Johannesburg, for instance, the first major infrastructure development for sewerage, stormwater drainage and electrical lighting was done in exclusively white areas. The inner areas of slums (with a concentration of Afrikaans, black and mixed races) were declared 'insanitary areas' and thus demolished. Scientists and bacteriologists were called in to bring evidence that such areas (Burghersdorp, Brickfields) were dangerously polluted, with the potential outbreak of bubonic plague. Although the fears seemed to hold a scientific basis, they paved the way for the commercial development of Newtown. For the undiscerning white public these narratives expressed in newspaper coverage and general conversations evoked fears that only verified racial suspicions.[19] Liberals found themselves somewhere between these racialist notions and non-racial

[16] 16th May 1910 cited in Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 4-5.
[17] Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 4.
[18] Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 5.
[19] Beavon, Keith (2004). *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City.* Pretoria: UNISA University Press, 75-76.

undertones. They often shifted the emphasis of the debate towards defining the rights and terms of urban dwellers who were African, and elaborations of the specifics of native policy.[20]

Legassick believes it was capitalist industry that provoked special imperatives. Although gold and diamond were already being mined, demand for gold was high on the global markets and to keep the diamond "price up a rigid monopoly" a supply of "cheap easily controllable labour was essential." From this point, Legassick goes on to assert that the "policy of segregation was an attempt to devise a 'native policy' appropriate to the conditions of capitalist industrialization".[21] F S Malan, a Cape liberal, was the architect of 'native policy' and strongly endorsed conditions favourable to industrialization. The Afrikaners' Nationalist Party, on the other hand, was not in favour of segregation of this kind, as it seemed to go against the interests of their support base, of poor and working class whites.

> Laissez-faire capitalism would either have (a) refused to employ such people at the expensive rates demanded by organized white labour and sanctioned by the state (b) employed these at low wages, depressing them to the 'native' level and thus blurring the line between the two sections (black and white) of the working class. [Therefore] Under the Hertzog government such people were absorbed in state enterprise (chiefly the railways) and their preferential employment at 'civilised' rates was encouraged in private industry.[22]

But for liberals, non-racial transactions never implied the imminent arrival of self-rule for Africans. Instead, liberal thinking, which was to be a driving feature of white-native engagements of the period from about 1900 to 1920 (and onwards), sought to withhold precisely the possibility of Africans dominating the political sphere.

And on this point, Saul Dubow challenges Legassick:

> it is misleading to believe that liberal ideologists were somehow able to see beyond their immediate historical context so as to dupe the forces of popular opposition. Segregation appears in this light as an act of trickery, wilfully imposed by liberal ideologues in a conspiratorial attempt to secure the hegemony of capital. This form of argument neglects the extent to which ideologies are believed in by their creators. Ideologies are not merely conceived in order to obscure the truth and to deceive others. They are also acts of self-deception, rationalizations invented not so much to obscure the truth as to boost the moral rectitude and self-confidence of

[20] Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 11.
[21] Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 14.
[22] Legassick, "The Making of South African 'Native Policy,'" 14.

> those who stand to benefit materially from them. Indeed, the very effectiveness of an ideology depends at least partly on the extent to which those who subscribe to and propagate its terms also believe in them.
> Undoubtedly, liberal segregationists, by acting to defuse actual or potential class conflict, functioned as agents of social control. But this is not to say that they consciously or consistently saw their role in these terms. [23]

Dubow then draws the perceptive conclusion that the "success of segregation as a hegemonic or dominant ideology is measurable to the extent to which it was able (for a time at least) to draw on the support of most whites and some Africans as well."[24]

Indeed the success of the liberal atmosphere drew on the involvement and advancement of some Africans. Commenting on a subsequent re-print of Sol Plaatje's 1913 book *Native Life in South Africa*, Njabulo S Ndebele makes the following observations of the editorial about the book which originally appeared in the *Pretoria News* newspaper, and had now been made the preface of Plaatje's book.

> Discovering in Sol Plaatje an intelligent, articulate, and accomplished African writer, the editor of the *Pretoria News* seeks to promote Plaatje as a symbol of what Africans might be, given a more intelligent, liberal atmosphere in South Africa. But since this is a risky task, the editor must devise a promotional technique by which to advance Plaatje while, at the same time, containing the advancement within strict limits of what was acceptable. The editor comes up with a technique of containment, the essence of which is to show that the likes of Plaatje, while making legitimate claims, are really not a threat to the white man. On the contrary, and more fundamentally, the likes of Plaatje are essentially on the side of 'civilisation'.[25]

From the observations made by Ndebele here, even with Saul Dubow's defence, it becomes clear that the entire liberal perspective was predicated on a 'technique of containment', that while seeking to give attention to the native it undercuts itself by refusing to give up anything of its privilege.

African Listeners' Response and Responsibility

The Native Affairs Department was given a report written by Hilda Kuper, B W Vilakazi and E Westphal on the broadcasts, entitled *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the*

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[23] Dubow, Saul (1990). "Liberalism and segregation revisited." In Collected Seminar Papers, 38. London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 8.

[24] Dubow, "Liberalism and segregation revisited," 8.

[25] Ndebele, Njabulo S (1991). *Rediscovery of the ordinary: essays on South African literature and culture*. Johannesburg: Cosaw, 77.

Transvaal submitted on the 2nd of March 1943,[26] seven months after the commencement of the radio broadcasts in Zulu and Sotho alternately in Johannesburg. It was also almost three years after the launching of the loudspeaker broadcasts in compounds and townships in the Witwatersrand area.

The "Native broadcasts" on radio were 30 minutes in length at this time, and were aired at 9:45 in the morning, three days of the week. According to the report, the programme consisted of three components: (1) a short summary of war news, (2) a few musical items and (3) a talk on a general topic. The report begins by noting the fact that to the educated Africans radio is one amongst many forms of instruction, such as cinema, books, newspapers and the theatre. But to the illiterate, who form the majority of the African population "radio can be the main channel of education—and its squint-eyed sister, propaganda." Further, the report expresses doubt on whether the subjects covered in the mainstream radio programming approached from the angle of white middle-class listeners could spark a keen interest even for the educated minority of Africans.[27]

The writers of the report contend that "no Europeans, however well they 'know the African', can judge offhand of his reaction to the broadcasts." [28] A schematic effort to understand African listening interests had yet to be made. So far, the content of the broadcasts was based purely on presumption rather than on empirical research findings. Invariably, content that emerged out of presumption rather than 'evidence' spoke more to the expectations and desires of white superiors (what natives ought to like!) rather than genuine native listening interests.

For the report, three categories of natives were interviewed: (a) the educated listener (which included teachers, preachers and a trade union organizer), (b) the semi-literate (which consisted of a nurse-maid, chef, waiter and a chauffeur), (c) the completely illiterate, those who could

[26] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[27] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[28] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

neither read nor write English or vernacular language (which included domestic servants, a gardener and flat boy).[29]

As these were preliminary investigations, the writers hoped that the report would form a basis for a more comprehensive study (which never took place). The problems in broadcasting to Africans were categorized into two broad fields: technical issues and social issues. On the technical side, the most obvious hindrance to native listening was the availability of radio-sets. Of the Africans living in Transvaal and the Free State it was estimated that 98% of them did not have access to radios. Most of the population, 70%, lived in remote rural areas such as Native Reserves and farms, while the remainder lived in mine compounds, locations, barracks and townships. Access to electricity was a problem faced by those in rural areas where, the report writers believed, less than a dozen Africans had wireless sets. Not even many Europeans in these areas had access to radio. In the homes of wealthier European farmers, administrative officials, traders and mission stations radios could be found. In those rare instances where Africans did own radios in the rural areas, it was those who were traders or chiefs.[30]

African urban populations were only slightly better than their rural counterparts, as electricity was non-existent in most black locations. In Johannesburg, for example, none of the municipal locations housing 73 000 Africans had electric wiring into the houses. Estimations were that not more than 10 occupants per location had wireless sets. In Alexandra Township, where some of the wealthier Africans resided, out of a population of 40 000, there were no more than 30 sets. A few sets were to be found in Sophiatown and Martindale. There were no wireless sets at the WNLA (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) where 3000 men from all southern Africa would gather every day.[31]

Battery-run radio machines were at this time too expensive for the average city-dwelling African, considering that s/he would still have to pay annual license fees and for the machine's maintenance. The problem was further exacerbated by the fact that the Johannesburg Municipal

[29] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[30] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[31] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

Council reported that installing electricity in the townships would not be possible during war time. But there was also a private venture that proposed to install a system of reception in each home for which the occupants, if they wished to tune-in, would pay 6d per month in the slot. This was a system apparently in operation in parts of the Netherlands. Although the manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department was in favour of such a scheme, other Europeans felt it would "teach the Natives wrong ideas."[32]

But where technical problems were overcome, Africans did purchase radio sets. In Atteridgeville, Pretoria, for example, "where each house has its own lights and the population is only 6000 roughly 30 houses have wireless sets."[33]

Although, the loudspeaker open-air system had been operating for three years by this time, it was dismissed by most native respondents of the study. Firstly, because there were technological difficulties in the system. The "transmission is often poor for the people to hear distinctly. Moreover from the point of view of the authorities, the use of loudspeakers worked from the phone line—the NAD [Native Affairs Department] system—is unsatisfactory because during the period of the broadcast no telephone message can reach the office."[34]

Secondly, in what appears to be an act of defiance, respondents said that "it is not worth their while to walk a long distance and stand in the open in any weather to listen to half an hour's broadcast. 'We are tired with our work; we want to rest at home.' 'Would you stand in dust and rain to listen to some one talking of things you do not understand properly?'" The loudspeaker system had been spearheaded by the Native Affairs Department rather than the SABC. Its manner of address was overtly governmental, rather than social in its orientation. Africans were well aware of this, and found the system humiliating, as "whites were never required to stand in the open-air to be addressed by the government."[35]

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[32] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

In the 1950s this scheme was eventually implemented in the Radio Rediffusion, which operated from Orlando, in Soweto.

[33] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[34] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[35] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

The report says that Africans suggested that the loudspeaker speaker system be installed in schools, communal halls, administrative offices, shops and railway stations.[36] With regards to rural areas, they suggested the homesteads of chiefs and headmen. Presumably, these venues would be less humiliating than standing in the open-air. [37]

Notwithstanding all the technical difficulties, the report suggests that the social problems were equally vexing. The timing of the broadcasts was called into question. Unlike their white counterparts, Africans began work earlier in the morning and returned later as their locations were usually on the peripheries of urban life. The 9:45am broadcasts were deemed unsuitable by most of the respondents. Not even mineworkers found the broadcasting times suitable as their work shifts were from 6am—2pm , 2pm—10pm and 10pm—6am. One man is reported to have said, "The Europeans are playing with us. They pay someone to talk our language when we can't hear." Most Africans preferred a timeslot sometime after 6pm and before 9pm, with the hour between 7 and 8 as the most ideal. A number of respondents also suggested between 2pm and 3pm as this was the time they usually took their lunch.[38] Of course the lunchtime slot would only suit domestic servants, since other jobs did not have radios on the operating site.

On the issue of language, respondents agreed that while Zulu and Sotho make sense as broadcast languages suitable for Africans in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, but that the two languages alternate was not useful. It produced the effect "that each group of listeners receives only one and a half broadcasts per week and not 3," as authorities may like to believe.[39] This observation is consistent with Dhlomo's comments on the Radio Rediffusion service in Orlando a decade later, he found the government's insistence on using an African language for the broadcasts rather than English upsetting, as the population in the area spoke many different African languages.[40]

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[36] Evidence suggests that in white rural towns loudspeakers in cases emergencies were available in such areas, and post offices, already in the 1920s. Durban Municipal Broadcasts, 4/1/2/394 volume 1, Durban Archives Repository.

[37] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[38] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[39] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[40] Ilanga, 16th August 1952.

The report then recommended that both transmission lines (the 'A' and 'B', or English and Afrikaans service) be used for the broadcasts each time, in addition to this they recommended that the broadcasts be held daily.[41]

The report stressed that Africans are a heterogeneous group in terms of education, occupation and interests, "there is an increasing number without any contact with the land, and others who have no knowledge of the city." But at the same time the urban-rural divide is misleading, as this distinction does not correspond to the distinction between educated and illiterate.[42] We must keep in mind that most educated Africans at this time had gone to mission schools, which were themselves located in rural or peri-urban areas. In addition to this, "Between town and country there is a constant movement, and many educated men live in isolated homesteads as teachers, parsons, farmers, while on the other hand a large number of location dwellers are unable to write their own names." Educated Africans, though, were easier accommodated by the existing system in terms of material; where listening facilities were available they would tune-in to the mainstream English and Afrikaans broadcasts, in fact a number of them were reported to have outrightly dismissed the vernacular broadcasts, as one man reportedly said, "lest we are told one thing, and the Europeans are told another."[43]

With this in mind, it can be concluded that the native broadcasts were aimed mainly at the semi-literate and illiterate African adult. The report adds:

> That they are adult and intelligent, albeit limited in their knowledge and experience must be constantly kept in mind. They are not children; they see through fairy tales and call them lies; they are awakening to the problems of a world that has broken down tribal barriers to a considerable extent; they are implicated in the war in which they are being invited to participate. Granted then that the program is for the African masses, what type of matter is required? Music and folklore appeal to the people—but the aim of the present broadcast, introduced at the present crisis in world history—is not to repeat tribal culture, but rather, to extend it. Political events, war news, labour movements, the Atlantic Charter for Africa, these are the events that concern the African. The African masses have not yet been blunted by

[41] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[42] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[43] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

> the use of slogans and isms. They are eager to understand, not merely to follow. They are looking for a lead.[44]

Clearly at this point, the report has shifted its tone of impartiality and reportage to a tone of exhortation, if not instructive. The authors reveal their own passionate appeal in the direction in which native broadcasts should take. They even tell us what they ought to be, but styled in a language of the present; "the aim of the present broadcasts […] is not to repeat tribal culture, but rather, extend it."[45] But does this understanding of the aims of the broadcasts correspond to the point of view of the authorities in the SABC and government? If this report is directed to government (Native Affairs Department) why do the authors of the report feel the need to *instruct* them on the aims of their own initiative? Having earlier in the report criticized the SABC for assuming they 'know the African' and that they can speak for the African, the authors of the report, too, begin to claim the right of speaking for the African. Why is that so? Can the evidence presented not speak for itself without the authors intruding? Why is it important that the native be spoken for? Why does the disproving of the right of white authority's capacity to speak for the native necessitate a transferal of that authority to the hands of the report writers?

"Any innovation by Europeans sprung on the Africans without warning or explanation meets with suspicion." In other words, the report is implying that it is not the intentions of the government that are fraught in the first place, but rather it is how those intentions are carried out that awakens suspicion. "No preliminary propaganda prepared the people", the report goes on to say.[46] In this sense, the report is insisting that propaganda should have preceded the native broadcasts in order for them to be received successfully. The implication is then that certain forms of propaganda are exonerable for the sake of success in other means (in this instance the success being an African listening public). The report does not seem to be denouncing oppressive tendencies (such as propaganda) of segregationist rule *per se* but rather it seems to be lobbying for a mere sophistication of the craft of oppression.

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[44] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[45] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[46] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

The reason for this could be the imagined recipient of the report, which is the state itself. So although it appears to be problematizing the state-led broadcasts, it does that to the extent that its point of view remains admissible as evidence to an already segregationist state. Indeed a number of years after the report, changes take place in the broadcasts, which are in line with the recommendations arising from the report. The burden of this imperative of speaking to the state is that the report must carry with it certain moral assumptions that are in harmony with the state's own standards; the overriding moral claims are that (1) natives are different from whites, and radio should approach them differently, (2) that segregation is right (and its means of being achieved, including propaganda are exonerable).

Although the report seems to note that Africans view the broadcasts as a recruiting drive for the war rather than as a means to educate and entertain; that propaganda seems to be the wave, as an illiterate Zulu speaker is reported to have remarked, "They tell us pretty things in our ears that we cannot see with our eyes. I'm afraid of this new thing— (the broadcasts),"[47] and another said, "The things the Europeans promise us are wind"[48]—the report says nothing to condemn these actions by the broadcaster. Instead the report focuses on how the broadcasts can be made to better appeal to native listeners, but without changing the motives of the broadcasts altogether.

The sincerity of the remarks brought forth by the African listeners, that "it is hard to fight something that you don't know", that "why did the European bring in this thing now? Before the war we could have listened with pleasure; now the things they tell us make us wild. That is what is wanted. They want us to be angry and ready to fight." [49] The report leaves these issues without the questions: Is it true that broadcasts are for recruiting natives in the war? Is it fair to fight in a war that you know nothing about? Is it fair to expect Africans to fight in a struggle against discrimination elsewhere in the world, while discrimination persists in this country?

The suspicion suggested in illiterate responses, is confirmed in educated responses, a waiter is reported to have said "when I told chef what I heard he said he knew that days ago. It was in the

[47] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[48] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[49] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

papers" and another said "Unimportant matters are spoken while big things seem to be forgotten or hidden—why do they tell us only these things when Europeans see from the papers what is the truth?"[50]

The truth-value of the broadcasts was exposed by their inability to convince. An educated Sotho man is reported to have said of a broadcast on the 24th of October 1942 "Item 2. Broadcast by two soldiers giving their reasons for joining. If propaganda, which seems to be the thing aimed at here, is to be effective something less childish and unconvincing will have to be provided e.g. One speaker said that he had been taught from his childhood to hate the devil and when he heard that Hitler was like the devil he decided to enlist."[51] For the report writers this evidence was used to draw the conclusion that the tone of the broadcasts was patronizing. And yes, while this conclusion is true, it only tells part of the truth. Why was there an urge to convince in the first place? Why did it matter that Hitler was interpreted as the devil for native listeners? The report touches only the cream, without getting to the actual *amasi* of these questions. Their explanation for the responses was that "The semi-literate and illiterate were without the fundamental knowledge required to make any sense of the isolated information given in the broadcasts."[52] How true was the information that was handed down to native listeners, is a question that was not asked.

The report writers' position has become that of moral outrage, but unlike the position of the authorities behind the broadcasts, their position is incontestable—due to its claim to be based on evidence. The conversation with the Sotho man, if we are to believe that he indeed existed, is potent with all kinds of suggestions of its world, a world where blacks, whites, devils, are realities for him. Yet the treatment accorded the African during the Second World War, the demand for him to go fight for his country, a country which continued to deny the African soldier his full rights to citizenship, suggests a different kind of devil. The African had to contend with this reality, while still appreciating the goodwill rendered to him in the broadcasting service.

[50] Unlike newspapers, books and other forms of information, broadcasting did not demand a literate audience.

[51] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[52] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

If we remember Reith's understanding of broadcasting, as a culture which should leave the responsibility of interpreting the given information to the listener's conscience, then it is clear that African listeners were understood as without responsibility—here lies the foundational differentiator of white listenership and African listenership. Africans were presumed to be without responsibility, as a result information had to be dumbed-down for them and conclusions were drawn too quickly on their behalf without fostering a culture of active and responsive listenership.

The report's inability to attend to the questions which the African responses seemed to be raising shows that the moral assumption of its authors (of what the native listener is) was not at variance with that of the state.

African listeners were accidental listeners for whom radio was only a privilege not a right, their construction as a radio-minded public was outside of the rights of modern citizenship, of which media is a part. They did not belong to that class of people deemed modern citizens. The form of the state, which South Africa inherited from colonialism had forged into it a distinction between 'native' and 'settler', to the extent that each political identity carried with it a different set of assumptions of citizenship. Civic citizenship was racially defined. It spoke the language of rights, equality and civil law, and was the terrain of whites. There was also a limited citizenship, which was ethnically bound, of which African populations were deemed as its subjects. It spoke not of rights but of culture and customs. It too was enshrined in the power of the state.[53]

One listener is said to have "described Africa as the centre of the world with other countries around it in a great sea." Most of the African listeners had no pre-basis of the cultures of the different peoples who were now being discussed, including "their historical relations, their national ambitions."[54] War on the other hand was a country-by-country led response, citizens are generally presumed to respond somewhat uniformly on the overarching issues. But in a country where citizenship itself had levels, a uniform response could not be generated—not even by propaganda. Radio came into this field where citizenship was ambiguous, and it made this

[53] This argument is now familiar. See Mamdani, Mahmood, "When does a Settler become a Native? Reflections of the Colonial Roots of Citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa," AC Jordan Professor Inaugural Lecture, 13th May 1998, University of Cape Town; and Mamdani, Mahmood (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[54] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

ambiguity hyper-visible by attempting to speak to people at different levels all on one frequency. Unlike hotels, restaurants and public areas that could have a separate door for Africans, radio could not. So those who did not have the cultural and historical means to consume what was being fed to them, had to be fed by force; the responsibility endowed to the listener to make-sense of information had to be withdrawn.

In Pursuit of Relevance

Apart from the news on the war, a short talk of 10-15 minutes on a general topic would also be given. The talks were generally on 'upliftment' topics such as manners, money, or hygiene. The writers criticism of the topics is that "the moral note seems to be strong" and that sometimes "the moral misses its mark,"[55] with topics such as African men are rude in Johannesburg because they like whistling at girls; such topics founded on mere generalizations, tightened the grip of the instructive as a mode of broadcast. In topics such as these, Africans were already presumed guilty and were not given the opportunity as listeners to make their own deductions.

In the broadcasts, two slots were allocated for a musical item: at the beginning of each programme and after the war news. The choir singing were the most well received of the items aired, while Zulu lullabies the listeners felt, according to the report, "They are a thing of children. We don't want them."[56] The reactions towards jazz, crooning and spirituals were also mixed. But given the broad nature of the term jazz, it is not very clear what was the actual content of the music aired under this label. Interestingly, African-American spirituals were sometimes even played on the mainstream English 'A' programmes, so here is a musical component which was already cutting across the racial lines. As the report notes that a number of Africans were already listening-in to the 'A' and 'B' programmes, that there is great potential in inserting items of interest to Africans in the mainstream programme. The report suggested African literature, African culture and the lives of leading Africans, as topics which "could be made of interest not only to the African but to the European."[57]

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[55] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[56] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[57] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

Indeed, by 1947 we see this recommendation being implemented, and it is through the South African Institute of Race Relations itself that the talks were arranged by their Editor of Publications, Oliver Walker. They were broadcast on the English 'A' programme, and were aimed at white and African educated audiences. In a letter to the controller of programmes at the SABC in Johannesburg (Miss Nan Fletcher), Walker sends a list of 14 experts to present a talk series titled 'Meet the Bantu'.[58] Kuper and Vilakazi are on the list of presenters of these talks as well as Hugh Tracey, and the first presenter of the outdoor broadcasts in Natal, Charles Mpanza.

The whole series was to have 'Nkosi Sikelela i-Afrika' as its signature tune, to play-in and fade-out. From there, Walker would start off each talk with a 5 minutes general bird's eye view of the subject, as a prelude to the "specialist" talk of 15 minutes.[59] They were aired every Friday night. Topics ranged from broad discussion on "Who are the Bantu?", "Etiquette in Native Life" (presented by J D Krige); to historical subjects such as "Bantu Leaders, Past and Present", "Laws and Customs"; and social topics such as "Effects of Urbanisation", "Family Life, Polygamy" to arts-related subjects like "Poetry, Folklore and Proverbs" and "Music and Arts and Crafts."

Presentation of these talks by white speakers was consonant with the rise of Bantu Studies departments at the various universities such as the University of Cape Town in 1918, and the University of the Witwatersrand in 1923. These were the same group of people who formed the Joint Councils, out of which grew other liberal institutions.[60]

Concerning Mpanza, he was lauded by one of Walter's advisers, Carl Faye from the Native Affairs Department who said, "he is a Zulu, and of course his people are the Zulus—be assured that you have chosen well. He will give a good account, that is certain, and from me will receive every help and encouragement. But you should let him make a second broadcast, entitled 'The Zulu Society'—a talk that would be of inestimable value here in South Africa and through records in all English-speaking countries."[61] Later-on, slightly more personalized subjects were added; Selope

[58] Oliver Walker, Letter to Nan Fletcher, 11th December 1946, SAIRR AD 1947/11.1, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

[59] Oliver Walker, Letter to James McClerg (Regional Director, SABC), 30th of October 1946, SAIRR AD 1947/11.1, Wits Historical Papers.

[60] Couzens, Tim (1985). *The new African: a study of the life and work of HIE Dhlomo*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 90.

[61] Kuper, *et* al. *Preliminary Report on Broadcasting for Africans in the Transvaal* (South African Institute of Race Relations), 1st April 1943, AD 843/RJ, Wits Historical Papers, Johannesburg.

Tema (of *The Bantu World* newspaper) presented a talk on "What I have seen of the Advance of Native Education in South Africa" as well as Reverend Dr Ray E Phillips' talk on "The Story of the Endeavour of Christian Missions to Natives in Southern Africa."[62]

In Durban, similar broadcasts were being aired. Amongst those who gave talks from the Natal studios was Killie Campbell, a daughter of a sugar-cane magnate and bibliophile who nurtured a passion for collecting rare books and histories on Africa for well over 50 years of her life. Through her valuable work she gained a reputation as a specialist on early colonial life and won the approval of academic communities—both the University of the Witwatersrand and the then University of Natal gave her honourary degrees in the 1950s.[63] She became an influential-player in the liberal collectives in Natal. In her personal notes, there are radio scripts that were prepared for the Durban broadcasts, entitled 'Broadcast Talks on Natal.' There are scripts on the story of Al'phonso Torkington, a Natal colonialist, who took the first troop of Zulu performers in the 19th century to go perform in London.[64]

Judging from the elaborateness of the series of talks given by white liberals, we can conclude that reporting on the native broadcasts paved the way for liberals to rise to prominence as advisers and presenters on the airwaves.

White liberalism as a system of thinking was most influential in shaping the Union's approach to African affairs. It elaborated segregation by providing it with a social-scientific language. So in terms of radio, the urgent interventions of equipping Africans with the technology were bundled with a scientific instrumentality that, at the same time, kept Africans at-bay. The confidence conveyed in the broadcasting report reminds us that these kinds of reports were in fact "redemptive texts," through which liberals rehearsed to the segregated state affirming visions of itself, which were told through "moralizing stories" that chronicled the resolve of its civilizing mission.[65] The liberal project of improvement was altogether interventionist in character. "There

[62] Oliver Walker, Letter to James McClerg (Regional Director, SABC), 30th of October 1946, SAIRR AD 1947/11.1, Wits Historical Papers.

[63] Duggan, Jenni (1981). "Killie Campbell 1881-1965." *Library News Supplement*, 23, no page number. Accessed 15th November 2015 http://campbell.ukzn.ac.za/?q=node/43.

[64] "Broadcasts Talks on Natal," *Killie Campbell Papers*, Killie Campbell Library, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

[65] Stoler, Ann Laura (2002). "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archival Science*, 2, 97-98.

was nothing about it that was not entirely governmental in concept or practice."[66] The aims of the reports were never to eliminate principles of segregation towards non-racialism, but were (as in the case of broadcasting) to structure responses of the African interviewees through prescribed formats, that revealed more the mindset of liberal institutions themselves than the actual views of African listeners.

So although radio was to become an apparent boon for Africans, the knowledge produced around it contributed to the status quo and guaranteed its replicability. It promised technological advancement, but brought along with it a diffused culture of social control. In effect culture was being used to socialize Africans into accepting segregationist domination.

[66] Guha, Ranajit (1997). "Discipline and Mobilize; Hegemony and Elite Control in Nationalist Campaigns," *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 100.

Chapter 10: A Man for His Time

At the top of the challenge of leading Africans into the era of broadcasting stood K E Masinga. Devoted, inventive and respectful, knowing no fear of authority—Masinga was the man for his time. Through him, was to be accomplished great strides in the bringing in of African languages into the world of broadcasting in South Africa.

Like Mpanza, the herald of the broadcasting, Masinga sprung from the ranks of educated Africans from Natal-Zululand. His early years were spent in the humble home of an Inanda lay-preacher. Masinga's father was a man who at a young age moved from Zululand to the mission station of Inanda, in order to assist Reverend Dr Lindley of the American Board of Missions. His sterling good sense led him to leave the comfort of a family support structure in Zululand for the isolation of the mission station under formation.[1] Growing up in Inanda was a blessing for Masinga, as it gave him the chance to attend Ohlange Institute, which was considered one of the premier schools for African students in those days.[2]

By the daily washing of clothes of whites in the city of Durban, his mother earned the money for his education. His plan was to be a teacher, but life purposed him a builder in the broadcasting era that was rising slowly through the years. Cattle herding, traditional flute playing and the discipline of missionary life was the school in which Masinga was prepared for the important task of his life.[3]

On the 23rd of December 1941, King Edward Masinga, they called him 'u-K E' for short, let us call him this for now, it happened this way: u-K E had taken a train ride to the city to go and buy his mother groceries for Christmas. It was in the thick humidity of the Durban summer, that time of the year where your skin feels like its sweating but it's actually the tiny water droplets in the air that have found home on your skin cells.

There stood a pair of soldiers in front of a strange building in the middle of Durban. u-K E, passing by enquired, "What is happening inside this building?"

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[1] K E Masinga, Interviewed by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban.

[2] This was a school founded by John L Dube, founding president of the South African Native Congress (later named the African National Congress) in 1912.

[3] Cited in Lewis, Lesley (1992). *Against the Wind: Five South Africans follow their Dreams.* Durban: New Readers Project, 20.

"These are broadcasting studios", they said. He asked to get in, they refused. *"Awukho umsebenzi womuntu omnyama ofundile la"* (There is no job for an educated black person here).[4]

You see, the law simply did not allow it. According to the Job Reservation Act of 1924, the advanced employment market (of which broadcasting was considered a part of) was restricted to the white minority only.[5] So according to the law, Masinga should not have been there.

Something stirred in Masinga to persist: a mixture of guts and foolishness if you ask me. He spoke to the guards over and over again, until they relented. Little did they know…

That on that very same night, Masinga would read the first radio *War Bulletin* in Zulu, and would do so for many other nights to come. That these gates which had once refused to open, would open for him everyday for the next 30 years. That as they were opening on that usual summer's day, he would be paving the way for many other Africans to enter. His persistence would change the course of history.

When Masinga went into the building he spoke to the receptionist. Again here, he encountered resistance. The receptionist told him there was no work for him. Masinga protested, "Where there is a white man doing intelligent work, there has to be a black man doing the same."[6]

Eventually he was granted permission to speak to the Studio Manager, Mr Hugh Tracey. Tracey quickly deferred him to the offices of the Native Affairs Department on Ordinance Road in Durban. (These premises were probably where the outdoor broadcasting scheme which Mpanza and Dhlomo had been doing since April of the same year were arranged.) In what now seemed like a battle that was won and lost, Masinga thanked him and left.

It was only as Masinga was leaving Tracey's office that things changed. He reared backwards in a slow gesture as though he were tip-toeing. Tracey saw this and asked, "Why are you walking like that"?

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[4] Selby Goba, Interview by Thokozani Mhlambi, 25th September 2012, Durban. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi]

[5] Khumalo, Vusumuzi (1996). King Edward Masinga: The first black radio announcer. B A Honours thesis, University of Zululand, 6

[6] Masinga Tapes, Interview 1980, SABC Archives, Durban cited in Khumalo, King Edward Masinga, 6.

"It is a sign of respect to walk out like this when you are with royalty/important people."[7]

Tracey was now intrigued. This was no usual educated man. The vagaries and interrogations of Dhlomo had proved un-useful (he had labelled the African-aimed broadcasts as 'rubbish').[8]

Masinga told him that according to Zulu custom, when a commoner leaves the king's court with this type of gesture it is viewed as a sign of respect. Tracey was himself a lover of Zulu culture and folklore. He had to find out more. He then showed Masinga a set of images related to Zulu custom which he had just been researching. Masinga displayed great ease in responding to the questions Tracey had. Tracey then played some Zulu folks songs on glass records.

Masinga might have recalled his childhood days when he heard the music on Tracey's glass records, his herdboy days "on the hills and slopes of eNdwedwe".[9] He sang for him some of the folk tunes he had sung as a herdboy, and showed him some traditional dance moves. They had a long conversation. He was also very fluent in the choral repertoire, so popular with the educated black folks in those days, as well as concert music that Rueben Caluza and his contemporaries pioneered.

Having spent the last 15 years teaching in remote schools all over Southern Africa,[10] this was the kind of conversation to Masinga that was long overdue. He must have recalled his early days as a student at Ohlange Institute and later Adams College. These were schools with a strong reputation in music, performance, drama and poetry. Singing and being well versed in the repertoire of the "school singing style", was seen as 'progressive' and epitomized being 'cultured' within educated black societies in the whole of Southern Africa.[11]

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[7] K E Masinga, Interviewed by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban.

[8] "Busy Bee", Ilanga, 31st August 1946.

[9] K E Masinga, Interviewed by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban.

[10] He was 37 years old (in 1941) and had taught in Zimbabwe as well as Swaziland, before returning to Natal. *Umlindi*, September-October 1947

[11] Turino, Thomas (2008). *Nationalists, cosmopolitans, and popular music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 124.

Upon completing his Junior Certificate (now the equivalent of grade 10) at Ohlange Institute, Masinga went on to Adams College.[12] The school was established through the funds given by the American Board of Missions and placed a lot of emphasis in music education. And later, under the leadership of Reuben T Caluza (from 1936-1948) Adams gained a reputation in African 'traditional' performance. But even as a pupil in the 1910s, Caluza was influential in the school's musical offering which included Zulu drum-and-reed ensembles and Western-type choral works. He also introduced dance steps to the otherwise plain stand-still concerts of the mission school.[13] Here Masinga studied for his matric as well as his teaching certificate. It is likely that during his time there he came into contact with this diverse musical offering.

Masinga and Tracey probably also reflected on one another's experience at Adams College, where Tracey was now part of the advisory committee on music. By this time music at Adams began to take on some of the preservationist tones of Tracey and other white liberals.[14] At a speech given in 1942 at the inauguration meeting of the Natal Bantu Music Association in Durban, Caluza spoke of the "urgent need for the recognition by the Bantu of merits of their own music." Caluza appealed "to the newly-formed Music Association for the preservation and development of indigenous Music." Through doing so, he believed, "African Music shall receive the recognition that is its due."[15] His efforts culminated in the reworking of the syllabus at Adams, using black folk traditions, namely indigenous Zulu music and Negro Spirituals.[16]

Notwithstanding this evolution happening behind the scenes, Masinga and Tracey had struck a chord of common interest. Masinga was then asked to come in that very evening at 7pm for his first broadcast. He had danced his way onto radio!

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[12] Just to give you a sense of the caliber of graduates who attended Adams College, Joshua Nkomo (once vice-president of Zimbabwe) and Dr Hastings Banda (former Malawian president) were some of Masinga's contemporaries at Adams. Khumalo, King Edward Masinga, 4; *Umlindi*, September-October 1947

[13] Erlmann, Veit (1991). *African stars: Studies in black South African performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 150, 140.

[14] Erlmann, *African Stars,* 149. Apart from Tracey, Percival Kirby and Edgar Brookes were also part of the advisory board at Adams.

[15] Caluza speech, *Ilanga lase Natal*, 5th December 1942.

[16] For a detailed discussion of this speech and the changes it demanded on African music in Natal see, Chapter 2 in Mhlambi, Thokozani Ndumiso (2008). The Early Years of Black Radio Broadcasting in South Africa: A Critical Reflection on the Making of Ukhozi FM. Mphil diss, University of Cape Town, 23-38.

So on that evening, in 1941, Zulu made a historic entry on the airwaves.[17] Despite the bombing explosions in Europe, and the anxious atmosphere in the distant lands of the world, there was another explosion. Radio was exploding and it was doing so increasingly as a black affair. People were in disbelief. Africans with radios in the urban centres speculated, 'Maybe the announcer is not black'. 'It must be an old white man who speaks Zulu fluently' others said.[18] All of them though understood this as a historical moment.

By 29th September 1942, the African language broadcasts were launched nationally, in Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu.[19] So Masinga's broadcast on that night opened the door for all African-aimed broadcasts.

But it happened by accident.

[17] It is also possible that Mpanza may have had a bulletin broadcast on the airwaves before this. In the Ukhozi Celebrations Discussion, his name is mentioned as the first black person to have his voice on radio. It may have been a reference to the loudspeaker broadcasts, we are not certain of this. "40th Anniversary Celebrations", *Ukhozi FM*, June 2003, SABC Archives, Durban

[18] K E Masinga, Interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi]

[19] "The success of the native broadcasts […] on summer time showed how readily native listeners respond to these opportunities and how much they can benefit from them," in *The Star,* 24th September 1942.

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Chapter 11: First Night of Broadcasting

After greeting his audience "Zoooloo" on the microphone that evening, Masinga then said, "*siyanibingelela mabandla kaMjokwana kaNdaba"* (we greet you nations of Mjokwana of Ndaba).[1] That he used the plural in *siyanibingelela* (we greet you) rather than the singular *ngiyanibingelela* (I greet you) left the greeting open-ended: who is this 'we' he was referring to since he was the only man speaking?

The collective 'we' is often used as a sign of respect in Zulu, used especially to express respect to elders, and people of importance. But by using 'we', Masinga could also have been including himself, as well as the technology that allowed him to be heard on the airwaves. He may in fact have been referring to the entire apparatus of engineers, studio managers and personnel who were hidden from view in the singular voice that spoke; those for whom he spoke on their behalf. He explained his opening greeting in English like this:

> I am greeting you Zulus on behalf of the early Zulu kings, Mjokwana and Ndaba. Whom the Zulus up till this day are very proud of. Those were the first Zulu kings before Shaka was born.[2]

So when he spoke as 'we' he was also invoking the ancestral lineages that have come to shape the spread of the Zulus. Those who lie asleep, but are believed to be awake and amidst.[3] He was recalling their existence on the terrain. It was their legacy that paved the way for the reality of radio in Zulu. But the ether (a term commonly used to describe radio-wave travel) is a close relative of ethereal, which suggests an otherworldly dimension. It makes sense then why the ancestors would be mentioned as joint witnesses to the unfolding of the new affair. But there is another question we must address: Were all the people listening necessarily people who belong to the genealogy of Mjokwana and Ndaba, that he was invoking here? By this time, in the 1940s, an eclectic mix of black people spoke Zulu as their home language.

At the turn of the 20th century, Zulu was a language existing loosely across the Natal and Zululand area. It had no uniformity, in how words were used, how spellings were done, nor did it have any

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[1] K E Masinga, Interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi]

[2] K E Masinga, Interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi]

[3] Kopytoff, Igor (1971). "Ancestors as Elders in Africa," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 41/2. Cambridge University Press: 129–42.

centre of coherence outside of literate culture (that was embryonic at that stage). "The term 'Zulu' remained the designation exclusively of members of the royal house that dominated the new state. Members of other descent groups would have been actively prevented from claiming an identity as Zulu". Even as late as the 1880s the basis for a broad Zulu identity was nowhere to be found amongst African populations.[4] So where did it come from? How did Masinga come to identify the loosely joined African populations under one genealogy?

From the time of the early contact with Shaka and his dominion Europeans brush-stroked all the populations under the king's rule as Zulu. "By the mid-1830s the word was well established in a growing English-language literary discourse."[5] It was the demand of European perspectives, in their understanding of African populations, that there be a Zulu population that is deemed. Masinga's pronouncement 'Zoooloo' was not only calling on those who are Zulus but it was also telling people that they are Zulu. The broadcasting service had to be framed within the discourse of a coherent Zulu nation for it to be understandable (and receive wide acceptance) to a white population, upon whose endorsement the service relied. His ability to draw from the legacy (of Mjokwana and Ndaba) is viewed as a performative accomplishment by his authorities, those who are in the studio with him who must also approve his address. The basis of a radio broadcast for African listeners demanded that it be designated as a Zulu broadcast for its legibility within the white community. In other words, there is a silent dependence on a Western episteme lingering behind Masinga's call. It reminds us of who holds the technology itself.

Changes in the Apprehension of Time

But radio was only a late feature to an operation that was already being fulfilled in other ways. Discourses of Zulu ethnic coherence were fulfilled practically through colonial capitalist developments of migrant labour. The gradual encroachment of native lands by whites in Natal and Zululand led to overcrowding and overgrazing of land in the native reserves. This hastened the migration of men from the region to city-centres. Upon arriving in urban complexes like Johannesburg, Natal and Zululand migrants encountered men from other regions, (who probably also spoke languages they could not understand). As a result there was solidarity amongst those

[4] Wright, John (2008). "Chapter 3" in Benedict Carton, John Laband & Jabulani Sithole (eds) *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present.* New York: Columbia University Press, 35-36

[5] Wright, "Chapter 3", 36, 40.

who spoke similar languages and came from the same regions.[6] Migrants then actively began identifying themselves as Zulu.

Clearly, there were assumptions Masinga seemed to be making about who was listening here. There were modes of speaking he was using to imagine a Zulu nation for radio. We see the national imagination at work in Masinga through the way he treated time; the movement from the world inside the studio to the world outside, from the immediate Zulu (the listener who identifies with Masinga's call) and gradually to the distant time of Mjokwana and Ndaba. It established continuity in the listener's mind between the voice that was now heard on radio (an entirely new medium) and the forefathers of Mjokwana and Ndaba, even to those who did not readily belong to this genealogy. Here, contemporary radio listeners and Mjokowana and Ndaba, were all brought together into one temporality. The aspirations of nationalism meant that, as Benedict Anderson has suggested, "genealogies were being conceived which could only be accommodated by homogenous empty time."[7] Only this time was capable of accommodating the diverse listeners of Zulu precisely because their commonality was not based on historical accuracy but on newly found ties.

Notice, too, the didactic tone of Masinga's explanation. He spoke as though with certainty over his listeners' identities. As if the relationship between him and his radio imagined community were unproblematic. In that casual movement from 'Zoooloo,' interior time of the present, to the exterior (perhaps even mythological) time of Mjokwana and Ndaba, a fundamental change was happening in the apprehension of time. Because we know the transaction of engineers, studio managers and authorities Masinga had to navigate to be where he was, the voice that was heard was not at one with the indigenous order of apprehension, of which he claimed to speak on its

[6] As Jeff Guy and Motlatsi Thabane (1988) have shown, through the study of Basotho mineworkers: "The vast majority of mineworkers have been drawn from clearly-defined regions in the rural areas, very often from amongst young men from the same district, or sharing the same cultural and linguistic background. Control, both in the compounds and at the work place, has often been facilitated by dividing mineworkers into discrete groups whose members appear to share similar geographical or social backgrounds—according to 'tribe'—or if necessary dividing authority and privilege amongst members of different groups thereby diverting hostility from management towards other workers. Popular consciousness in Southern Africa is replete with ethnic judgements and generalisations on the essential nature of the Zulu, the Xhosa, the Basotho, the Mpondo, the Shangaans—statements which, although reflecting minimal social insight, do have considerable social weight." "Technology, Ethnicity and Ideology: Basotho Miners and Shaft-Sinking on the South African Gold Mines," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14/2, 258-259; see also Marks, Shula (1986). *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: class, nationalism, and the state in twentieth-century Natal*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

[7] Anderson, Benedict (1983). "Old Language, New Models," *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism.* New York: Verso Books, kindle edition.

behalf. Perhaps as he was speaking, he might as well have been preoccupied with the question of whether he would meet the allocated minutes of airtime for his show, for example. These tensions are elided in the voice that addresses with a sense of familiarity and certainty over its recipients.

Music Playlist

For Masinga going on air that evening happened so suddenly that there was not even music to play on the show. There was only one record available in the library of the SABC for Masinga to play, he relates:

> I remember the first record was by Mameyiguda. Mameyiguda had the first group that recorded the zonophone records. There are no zonophone records now, they are extinct. The first record that was heard over the air was *'Alubuye ukhamba lwami'*, that is the drinking song of the Zulus as they drink around when this earthenware dish goes around those to whom it has not come will say, *'malibuye ukhamba lwami, malibuye ukhamba lwami'*. Meaning to say it must take its round until it comes to me again.
>
> That record became very much exhausted. I had to think otherwise. The manager of the SABC had told me that I was the organizer of what was known as the Zulu broadcasts. I spent a lot of my time outside trying to organize my choirs to come and broadcast every evening at 7:30.[8]

This challenge brought Masinga's childhood as a herdboy in Inanda Mission Station back to life. "I was always the *igosa*, the song and dance leader" of the herdboys, he relates, "so I remembered the words and tunes well".[9] From a young age, Masinga was popular among his peers as an entertainer and maker of songs. He then decided to bring his three nieces from the countryside, Nomsizi, Badudule and Ndondo to the broadcast facilities.

> I taught them the traditional Zulu songs as I used to teach the herd-boys right out in the mountains. I taught them how to dance them.
> I brought them to the SABC studios, where they were recorded. Those were the first records that I made here, which were being sung by my three nieces. Well, they were not paid anything, as children they were just given sweets. A Zulu child or a Zulu man really does not need, traditionally, does not need any pay for any little bit of the mercies and kindness that he does, he always has some satisfaction that he has done good to other people.[10]

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[8] K E Masinga, Interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi]

[9] Lewis, Lesley (1992). *Against the Wind: Five South Africans Follow their Dreams*. Durban: New Readers Project, 21.

[10] K E Masinga, Interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi]

Masinga's first meeting with Tracey suggests that he got the radio job based on his status as an educated African, who is in touch with his tribal roots (his 'insider status'). But the voice Masinga seems to be adopting here says something else, it speaks from the margins of traditional culture. He refers to the Zulu as 'he does', 'he always', as opposed to 'we do', 'we always.' It recalls the defining factor behind this cultural situation—that is his status as a Westernised African, a product of mission education. The sensibility associated with this education conditions his broadcasting practice, to the extent that it even affects his reconstruction of his own past. By distancing himself from the Zulu he is describing, he reveals an underlying disconnection from the indigenous background that he seeks to recover and explore in radio. That even his childhood memories are brought up alongside this narrative of the Zulu (as 'he does', 'he always') calls into question the authenticity of his 'Zulu voice' and by extension its cultural and interpretative authority.

The longest serving Archivist at the SABC in Durban, Selby Goba described Masinga as "*waye ngumuntu wabantu"* (a person of the people).[11] It is as if to say Masinga was very aware of the limits of his own voice—vis-à-vis the structure of domination, the pervasiveness of whiteness and its insatiable appetite for darkness (which Africans must satisfy). The voice then had to be mended from the ruins of that limit; it reveals itself in a vernacularity and preoccupation with oral forms such as song and dance. It is also interesting that Masinga not only taught the girls to sing, but to dance, despite the fact that this was an audio recording they were to make. Again here these additions can be thought of as ways of elaborating the indigenous culture for which he must perform as its authority, both for the Studio Head and for his listeners.

After Masinga had recorded his nieces, he soon travelled far-and-wide all over South Africa, pleading with leaders and musicians to allow them permission to record their music. He relates his experience:

> *Ngangiyengiphume ngiyekwaZulu, ngithi masengibuya ngibuye sengiphuma ngasemampondweni. Ngiya ezinkomponi, ngiya emaceceni, ngiya ezikoleni, ngiya ko-Chief, ngiya kuyona yonk'indawo ngibuye nama record azinhlobonhlobo, ehlukene.*
>
> I would go out, travel to kwaZulu, and then on my way back, come back via Mampondoland. I would go to compounds [presumably in the urban areas], I

[11] Selby Goba, Interview by Thokozani Mhlambi, 25th September 2012, Durban.

> would go to schools, I would go speak to Chiefs, I would go all over the place and bring back recordings of all sorts.
>
> *Ngiyabonga kumntwana uNkosazana uMagogo ozala umntwana wakwaPhindangene. Maningi ama-record ayenginika wona ngiwenza kwakhe. Ngibonge nakumntwana oqobo lwakhe wakwa phinda ngene wayeba phakathi kwawo l'oma record. Ngihambe nakoGqokinstimbi, oChief Gqokintsimbi.*
>
> I thank you Princess Magogo [Buthelezi] the mother of the Prince of kwaPhindangene [Mangosuthu Buthelezi]. There are many records which she would allow me to make at her home. I also thank the Prince himself very often he would be inside those records. I also went to Prince Gqokintsimbi.[12]

The field recordings mentioned here would then be played on the Zulu service. By quoting music from remote territories, Masinga's war news bulletins would smoothly transform into sound-travel series', mapping interior landscapes through sound. Played on radio and on loudspeakers, these travelling sounds would integrate the territories (and their populations) into the immediate. Experienced alongside World War news, these territories would seamlessly be integrated into a whole world *out there*.

Notice here how Masinga expresses his gratitude to Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his mother in the present tense, as if they themselves were listening. This was part of the performance of achieving an imagined community of listeners. It gave listeners confidence in the radio voice, that even their traditional leaders were listening to it; as if to say that the traditional order of being was perfectly symmetrical to the modern world and its radio.

Masinga's suggestion here, that he often visited the Prince Mangosuthu, are corroborated by the images in the leaflets of Hugh Tracey's recordings of Magogo, which show a young Mangosuthu backing his mother.[13] But Masinga's reverence for the Zulu chieftaincy can be traced to a wider trope in creative productions, particularly of the early 20th century, which focused on the monarchy and was common in the Natal-Zululand context.

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[12] K E Masinga, Interview on Radio Zulu, 16th June 1980, SABC Archives, Durban. [Translated by Thokozani Mhlambi] The particular acknowledgement of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his mother echo Zulu royal lineage complexes (and the conquests that accompanied them) that were to later characterize the Natal-specific public sphere.

[13] Tracey, H (1939/1972). The Music of Africa Series 37: *The Zulu Songs of Princess Constance Magogo kaDinizulu.* International Library of African Music (ILAM): CDMOA37. <http.ilam.ru.ac.za>

Between the 1920s to the 1940s, the Zulu monarchy was frequently inserted in the middle of narratives of plays and novels written by the emergent African intelligentsia. It was the rejection of white tutelage and the adoption of principles of self-definition and determination themes by the African intelligentsia that translated into increasing representation of the Zulu king in creative productions. As suggested by Bhekizizwe Peterson, "The monarch, significantly, was the personage regarded by all as the icon *par excellence* in the battle for the hearts and minds of Africans." For Africans, the monarchy encapsulated qualities of self-assertion and independence. In instances where the king himself was unseen or marginal, his interests permeated in the many patriarchs who populated the stories.[14]

But even very early in his career, Masinga adopted the trend in his radio productions. For one, the play *Inkosi yangaphezulu, Inkosi yangaphansi* (English Title: *Chief above and Chief below)*, which he co-wrote with Tracey. Subtitled "a musical play for Africans based on a Zulu legend", the play is an *inganekwane* (children's tale) fused with music and song based on traditional folk sources.[15] It is a short-play lasting hardly 3 minutes (4 pages print) in length.

Ironically, the story of Masinga's *Inkosi yangaphezulu, Inkosi yangaphansi* is remarkably similar to Magogo's own lifestory.[16] It is about two chiefs, one Above and one Below. Chief Above had a very beautiful daughter, whom Chief Below now sought in marriage. The father said they should ask her first, and when they asked her, she refused.[17] The play's innovation lies in its fusion of different artistic forms (mainly storytelling, music and drama) and can be considered as influenced by traditional African creative forms.[18] But there was also an urban precedent to the mixed form used by Masinga here.

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[14] Peterson, Bhekizizwe (2000). *Monarchs, Missionaries & African Intellectuals: African Theatre and the Unmaking of Colonial Marginality*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 6-7.

[15] Masinga, K. E. & Tracey, Hugh (1944). *Chief Above and Chief Below.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

[16] Buthelezi was born into royalty (in 1900). She was the daughter of King Dinuzulu (son of King Cetshwayo) and much loved by her father. As the clans of the Buthelezi and the Dinuzulu's had been fighting for many years, Magogo and Mathole, the Buthelezi Prince were asked to marry. As was customary in Zulu tradition, marriage between the two clans that had been in conflict was used as a symbol for unity. As they were now family, the assumption was that they simply could not fight ever again. But from her songs we get a sense that Magogo had another lover prior to her marriage, and she did not want to get married to Mathole. Buthelezi, Mangosuthu Gatsha (1988). "Princess Constance Magogo," *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction*. Pietermaritzburg: Federation of Women's Institutes of Natal and Zululand in association with Shuter and Shooter; Huskisson, Yvonne (1969). *The Bantu Composers of South Africa* Johannesburg: South African Broadcasting Corporation.

[17] Masinga & Tracey *Chief Above and Chief Below*, 6.

[18] This is something Gunner discusses in detail. Gunner, Liz (2002). "Wrestling with the present, beckoning to the past: contemporary Zulu radio drama." *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 26/2, 236

The vaudeville troupes were companies in a variety-show of musical and theatrical routines, instrumental performances, tap dancing, mime, comedy and recitations, these would form part of all-night entertainment productions called concerts in the cities.[19] The Zulu used in this genre did not resemble the 'deep' Zulu evident in more rural performance styles.[20] Instead, the songs used a hybrid kind of urban Zulu, which incorporated a lot of English words. Sometimes the subject matter itself was of a contemporary metropolitan nature. A group that performed this genre and were regularly featured in Masinga's radio broadcasts was Nimrod Makhanya's *Bantu Glee Singers*. They sang a humorous song with piano accompaniment, called 'Ndiyi Traveller' (I am a Traveller), the lyrics were as follows:

Manene namaLedi alapha klendlu
Zintombi nezinsizwa zendawo ngendawo
Ngiyabona ukuba aningiqondi
Kusukela kulemini seningiqonda.
Ngingu George mina!
uGeorge omkhulu kaMaqanda
Nginjenje ngenziwa ukunxila
Phansi eMdubane bayangazi.
eKapa bayangazi.
eLusuthu bakhala ngoGeorge/
eMapondweni bakhala ngobuti.
Eshowe bakhala ngoGeorge.
Yimi lowo osho njalo ngenziwa ukunxila.
Angisi mfundisi natishela
Ngiyinto ezinxilelayo.

Gentlemen and Ladies in this hall
Boys and Girls from everywhere
I can see you do not know/understand me.
From today on you will know/understand me.
I am George!
Big George, son of Maqanda
I am like this because I am a drunkard.
Down in Durban they know me.
In Cape Town they know me.
In Lesotho they yearn for me.
In Mampondoland they yearn for the brother.

[19] Ballantine, Christopher (2012). *Marabi Nights: Jazz,'race'and Society in Early Apartheid South African*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 7. *The Pitch Black Follies* were the most famous troupe in the 1930s and 1940s. B W Vilakazi (1942) later suggested that these mixed-genre shows originated in Mariannhill monastery, where many of the African writers and musicians were educated including himself, Dhlomo and Caluza. He accorded these experimentations special status they represented "the birth of Zulu drama." "Some Aspects of Zulu Literature", *African Studies*, 1, 270-274.

[20] Erlmann, Veit (1991). *African stars: Studies in black South African performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 141.

In Eshowe they yearn for George.
That is me who says so because of drinking.
I am not a preacher nor a teacher.
I am just a drunkard.[21]

Obviously the mixture of English and Zulu-Xhosa inflections even in the title of the song hints at educated African audiences for which the song was aimed. The song is filled with a hybrid of English and Zulu-Xhosa words. But one could argue that the use of a language interspersed with Zulu-ized English terms show a genre that strove to satisfy the mission-graduate as well as the low-level city worker who could only speak basic English. This is why this music worked so well on radio, and was so popular with listeners. By fusing the listening appetites of African middle-class audiences with those of working class groups, it accomplished an early consolidation of African modern identity.

Notice here too the mapping of different territories. It is not just rural territories that were mentioned, but modern cities like Cape Town and Durban. In the broadcasting of songs like these, radio integrated a whole world out there, a world that consisted of rural and urban places. The song registers an emergence of a cosmopolitan sensibility of Zuluness.

Going into radio turned Masinga into an instant hit in the Bantu social circles. He was invited to parties, weddings and other gatherings. People often asked him to give speeches. He never prepared for a speech; such was the spontaneity and charisma he exuded. When the Bantu Social Centre was established in Durban, Masinga participated in a lot of its activities. This was a public centre for creative engagements for Africans. It was here that Masinga met many township artists.[22]

Masinga's role in broadcasting was not only in announcing, he was also a scriptwriter of radio plays, and an actor as well. He would often even act the part of Africans in plays designed for white listeners on the mainstream 'A' and 'B' programmes.[23] All these were unprecedented fields in the entertainment world for Africans.

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[21] HMV GU 78, no. 95 in Tracey, Hugh (1948). *Lalela Zulu. 100 Zulu Lyrics.* Johannesburg: African Music Society, 118.

[22] Khumalo, Vusumuzi (1996). King Edward Masinga: The first black radio announcer. B A Honours thesis, University of Zululand, 9.

[23] *Umlindi*, September-October 1942.

So although in the radio broadcasts in Zulu, Masinga invoked the names of Zulu ancestors such as Mjokwana and Ndaba, the radio voice was in fact depicting an altogether new phenomenon. What was at work, then, was not, in fact, a primordial awareness, but the national imagination. As he spoke exclaiming 'Zoooloo!' over the air, he was actualy inviting people into the imagined community of Zulu listeners.

Chapter 12: K E Masinga & the Radio Voice

Masinga continued his radio broadcasts as a one-man show. When he started he had only been given 3 minutes for the programme, but by 1945 his broadcast was extended to 30 minutes four-times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays.[1]

In 1947, he was then joined by Mr A A Khumalo as a co-broadcaster, who had been previously employed by the Municipal Native Administration in Durban. Masinga, though, continued undiminished in his sense of personal initiative. He was writing plays for his audiences and collaborating with white collegues on dramas in the A and B English and Afrikaans services. [2]

Broadcasting had given him a chance to explore his creative imagination. As a result of his regular appearance in productions in the English and Afrikaans service, white listeners themselves took a keen interest in his celebrity-status. In the 1950s, one of the English broadcasters in Durban decided to do a special programme on him, where he was interviewed about his life and the early stages of his broadcasting career.[3] The special programme provides a lot of detail on Masinga's life and, as a result, deserves a close-reading.

Masinga the Storyteller

From the beginning of the interview, we get a sense of Masinga as someone who is a storyteller. His responses are filled with vivid details about his childhood.

> I grew up in the Bantu homeland of the Ndwedwe district. My parents were tribespeople of that hinterland. My parents were amongst the first converts of the Christian religion [...] Then they settled in the mission station called Inanda Mission station, where there is a big Inanda Seminary and the big native school Ohlange Government High School.
> I grew up as a herd-boy, something which people found peculiar about me, not knowing I was being prepared for broadcasting […] I used to be the conductor of the herd-boys in the singing of traditional songs, and dancing the traditional dances on the hills and slopes of Inanda Native Reserve, right out in the Ndwedwe. I

[1] *Radio-Week*, 21st December 1945.

[2] "African Broadcasters," *Umlindi*, September/October 1945.

[3] I obtained the interview from the SABC Durban Archives. We know very little about its contextual detail, like the name of the woman who was conducting it, and the date on which it took place. But we can speculate that this was in the late 1950s or early 1960s. This we can tell by the fact that the interview makes no mention of Radio Bantu, which only started in 1962. Given that the interview was in English, there is a high likelihood that it was broadcast on the 'A' English programme of the SABC. K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.

> became the conductor, I became their leader, I became their all really, along the slopes of Bantuland. What strikes me really is that when I started broadcasting here there was not, there was hardly any Zulu song on the shelf of the SABC.[4]

Through the way he describes his upbringing, we get a sense of a historical subject. A subject who not only exists, but is contingent, has a place of birth, of origin, and understands his past as a condition that determines who he now is. He is very aware of what he is doing in the process of making history. He situates himself in the modern configuration of definite time rather than the time of relics and legends. This is even though he is simultaneously drawing on the empty time of relics and legends (of Mjokwana and Ndaba) in imagining the community of listeners. The precolonial therefore appears as a springboard from which Masinga fashions modern subjecthood.

His storytelling devices are evident in the picturistic imagery of the 'hills and slopes', which really draw the listener in, as if they were *there*. He often begins his sentences with phrases such as "once upon a time" and "I remember when…", something we normally associate with storytelling rather than with a factual interview. Occasionally he uses repetition such as "over and over again", as well as "it was encored and encored", all of which make the interview sound like a story being unfolded to the person listening. He poses a lot of rhetorical questions in his responses, that serve to heighten the suspense—that 'what happens next' kind of feeling.

A Skilled Communicator

Throughout the interview, Masinga displays skilful command over the interviewing process. He directs the conversation where he wants it to go.

> Interviewer: What about writing stories for radio? Surely you must have had many Zulu legends and material of this kind?
> Masinga: Oh don't talk about that! Legends. I had a lot of legends that I'd been told by my grandparents and my parents. Before I go to that, I would like to say that I had been used by Mr Hutting who was the first Afrikaans announcer. I told him these Zulu tales in English, he wrote some plays in Afrikaans. Those plays went over the air.[5]

Upon being asked a question, he answers briefly and shoots-off into the direction he would like the conversation to go. Masinga's insistence that before he talks about legends, which the

[4] K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.

[5] K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.

interviewer has asked about, he wishes to talk about something else, demonstrates someone who is very comfortable in the radio-space. He is not willing to compromise what he wishes to express to whatever the interest of the interviewer may be. In all these we get a sense of Masinga as a highly proficient communicator. Although he is being interviewed, it is he who controls the conversation.

Masinga's tactful control of the conversation is revealed below:

> Masinga: In that way I went along and I made the records, records were still made on glass records. They were cut directly onto the glass records, even when we went out for outside broadcasting, we carried the blank glass records, recorded on them.
>
> Interviewer: Really? Those were the primitive days. Tell us some more of those primitive days for the Zulu.[6]

So radio had its own primitive? As a modern technology, it seems like a contradiction to use the term primitive. But perhaps the interviewer was doing something else here. By using the term primitive she manages to cast the scene of Masinga's early broadcasting practice under a different eye. The term primitive instantly recalls a tribal scene. We, as the listener, are forced not only to think of the practice of early radio, but the practices of the 'backwards' people who are now using the technology. In this sense, the term 'primitive' becomes a language effect, a paradox, that re-directs savagery on the African using the very technology that implies his progress.

What becomes evident in the paradox presented by the interview reminds me of Mudimbe's coinage "double representation". He explains double representation using Burgkmair's 16th century Italian painting as an example:

> What is important in Burgkmair's painting, as well as in similar drawings, is their double representation. The first, whose objective is to assimilate exotic bodies in sixteenth century Italian painting methodology, reduces and neutralizes all differences into the sameness signified by the white norm […] that is, the same origin for all human beings, followed by geographical diffusion and racial and cultural diversification […]
> There is another level, a more discreet one. It established a second representation that unites through similitude and eventually articulates distinctions and separations, thus classifying types of identities. Briefly, I can say that in Burgkmair's painting there are two representational activities: on the one hand, signs of an

[6] K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.

> epistemological order which, silently but imperatively, indicate the processes of integrating and differentiating figures within the normative sameness; on the other hand, the excellence of an exotic picture that creates a cultural distance, thanks to an accumulation of accidental differences, namely, nakedness, blackness, curly hair, bracelets, and strings of pearls.[7]

So the presence of accumulated differences, which appear as accidental, occur alongside a wider operation of integration, thereby establishing a sameness-difference tension. In our case it is the juxtaposition of primitivism and radio technology that brings about the tension. It is the 'accidental differences' of blackness that the interviewer's use of the term primitive recalls.

As a symbol of progress used across the globe, technology is in no way primitive.[8] The cultural innovation in radio, the act of listening for instance, situates African listeners in a global relevance, which cannot be primitive in the 20th century.[9] In a sense then, the virtues of technological resemblance "erase physical and cultural variations", while the idea that radio could be primitive (as suggested by the interviewer) when it comes to African listeners posits "surface differences as meaningful of human complexity."[10] This ordering of signs seeks to accentuate similarities between Africans and Europeans, while at another level, it articulates their differences. So in other words it is determined by a moral imperative, that 'all men are the same in God's eyes', and at the same time, the eagerness of converting the inferior people. It is the second imperative that is useful for the exploitative dimension of colonialism. But, simultaneously, it locates its settlement in the moral imperative, under which it embarks.

Her question ('So those were the primitive days?') seems to address a point which has been lingering in her mind: how to superimpose the 'acceptable' African characteristics onto the norms of contemporary radio in Zulu? If she succeeds, then African-aimed broadcasts should be, in their originality, a celebration and a reminder of the natural link connecting human beings and, at the same time, an indication of racial or cultural difference. There is an emotional excitement, a mingling of the true with the false, evident here—it is well adapted to mislead. Responses to

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[7] Mudimbe, V Y (1988). *The Invention of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 9.

[8] The term "technology" itself only came into common use in the 1950s in the English language. "Oxford English Dictionary", Accessed 11th August 2014 <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/Entry/198469?redirectedFrom=technology#eid>

[9] Roland Barthes suggests that listening in this way is an entirely modern phenomenon, which does not mean it supplants other ways of listening. It "does not aim at—or await—certain determined, classified signs: not what is said or emitted, but who speaks, who emits: such listening is supposed to develop in an inter-subjective space where 'I am listening' also means 'listen to me.'" Roland Barthes (1985). "Listening," *The Responsibility of Forms,* online edition.

[10] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa,* 9.

African ways were not only inscribed through propaganda policies, but there were also prefigured in ways of speaking. Speaking became central to broadcasting and shaping listening imaginations.

It is significant that the discussion underway here is related to technology. As we have seen in Chapter 4, on the Railways, that South Africa from early 20th century industrialization found a way of casting Africans at bay of technological transformations. One of the ways it did so was by placing side-by-side images of engineering progress with photographs of Africans dressed in 'tribal' attire. As explained there, most of these images were staged rather than authentic portrayals of people's daily lives. So the apparatus at work in the interviewers question, precisely because it pertains to technology, had a well-established basis in the Union's conception of itself.

Now let us see what Masinga says a few seconds later in the interview.

> Masinga: The earliest days for the Zulus, the Zulus were surprised to hear the voice of a Zulu speaking in Zulu speaking over the air. And the thought that well the white people *abathakathi*.
> Interviewer: What does that mean?
> Masinga: *Umthakathi* means a wisened person, a very wise person. In other words, it means a wizard. And a wizard is so wise that he can do things other people cannot do. Those who listened were very much astonished to hear someone speaking in Zulu over the air.[11]

Here, we see that as soon as the term primitive is brought up in the interview, Masinga now starts talking about '*umthakathi*' and magic, things that are associated with primitive behaviour. But Masinga's response is both tactful and reveals a nuanced understanding of language (in translation). An unconcerned response would easily say *umthakathi* is a witchdoctor; *abathakathi* (witchdoctors) are believed to work their magic in the darkness of the night, they also can use animal parts (even body parts) in their medicine making.[12] Masinga's choice of description softens the blow somewhat, and ascribes a degree of dignity to the divination practices of *umthakathi*. Viewed in this way, Masinga's response to the question invoking primitivism gives to the interviewer the evidence of savagery which her question seems to be demanding. Primitivism and myths about beastly savages "had been useful for opening the African continent to European

[11] K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.

[12] Comaroff, Jean & Comaroff, John L (1999). "Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony". *American Ethnologist*, 26/2, 279-303.

interests".[13] In its appeal to the white imagination, the question reminds us that this is not a conversation we are simply over-hearing, like a conversation taking place between two people sitting behind you on a bus. But that this is a staged conversation; that even though Masinga's vivid storytelling ability finds intimacy in our hearts, there is a false familiarity between the interviewer and Masinga. It seeks to gratify the expectant listening appetites of the white radio audience.

But in choosing his words carefully, Masinga lightens the character of those who are being subjected in the process, by being very particular even in the way he chooses to explain Zulu words. By explaining *umthakathi* as a 'wisened person' rather than a witchdoctor (so often used by other people),[14] Masinga gives to the interviewer what she wants, without giving away too much. He seems to be gratifying the love for what is weird and barbaric; but by withholding a particular emotional excitement of colonial reasoning, something of the sensational character of colonial reporting on Africa is undercut here. Primitivism becomes then something which Masinga is very aware of, and which he has learnt to skilfully navigate, in such a way that does not antagonize white interest in the early Zulu broadcasts, while retaining elements of respect for those who are viewed as 'primitive.'

Masinga the language expert

> Interviewer: Now Masinga you also translated Shakespeare into Zulu?
>
> Masinga: Yes, I translated Shakespeare after I had exhausted all the resources of folk-tale, Zulu history, literature, creative stories that I wrote about. I wrote about many subjects in Zulu history and literature. I wrote some biblical stories. I wrote about road safety. I wrote the 'crime does not pay' serials. Those plays I think are still there, the manuscripts are still there. I even translated the serial *The Men of God*, which was a serial on the prophets of God which had recently been broadcast in the BBC. I translated them, put them over the air.
> Mr Fuchs [the successor of Hugh Tracey as director of SABC Durban studios, ca. 1947] was very proud of me. Mr Fuchs was very, very happy about it. Mr Fuchs was my push-wind, by that meaning to say that he was my chief encourager. During the time of Mr Fuchs, I felt as though I was doing something, I felt loving my work because really I had somebody who was encouraging me every day […] And then after that I thought that there are great white man stories which my people had never heard, except those people who had the privilege of having gone to the colleges, and that is Shakespeare. I took my Shakespeare book, I read about *Shylock*. I thought *Shylock* was very good. I started translating *Shylock* into a play. I

[13] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*, 20.
[14] See blog discussion. Accessed 15th November 2015 <https://occultzulu.wordpress.com/tag/umthakathi/>

> put it over the air. Ooh the people loved it a lot; schools, the hospitals, the secondary schools and the high schools and the teachers felt as though it was a very good idea to teach *Shylock* in Zulu. It was encored and encored every time in the air.
> Seeing that I had scored there, I thought of writing some more, I wrote about *Tempest*, they liked it again. I have wrote about *The Merchant of Venice*, I wrote about *Hamlet* the prince of Denmark. After that I wrote about *Macbeth*, after that I translated *Julius Caeser*—*Julius Caeser* was one of the favourites. And *Romeo and Juliet* took Johannesburg locations by storm. Because on their Rediffusion service, it was replayed over and over again, that was *Romeo and Juliet*. And yet I thought that I liked the *Comedy of Errors*, also I translated *Antony and Cleopatra*. And my last one was *King Lear*.
>
> Interviewer: Would you say that there was one ultimate favourite amongst all these Shakespeare?
>
> Masinga: The favourite for the schools was *Julius Caeser*. The favourite for the elite class of Johannesburg townsfolk and Durban was *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Macbeth* was the favourite of the rank-and-file of the Zulus…
>
> Interviewer: Did you encounter any particular problems with any of these plays. Was there any one of them that was perhaps more difficult than the others to translate?
>
> Masinga: Well, I wouldn't say that. I think *Antony and Cleopatra*, there was some difficulty until I had to go and buy a special Shakespeare dictionary and commentary.
>
> Interviewer: That was the old history, before Christ, and perhaps because it went so far back that here-and-there there were things that one had to look up. That's very interesting. There's another questions I want to ask you about this translation. Did you actually translate it word-by-word, or sentence-by-sentence, or were they adaptations?
>
> Masinga: No, I didn't translate word-by-word. Shakespeare has got a style of his own in writing English. He writes more idiomatically as Zulu is spoken—a person who knows high Zulu, will just speak in idioms, Shakespeare writes like that.
>
> Interviewer: So actually it was not too difficult to translate the Shakespearean idiom into Zulu idiom?
>
> Masinga: Yes. One thing I would say that it will only take a person who is good at his language to translate Shakespeare and any other language of course. One must know his language very well and love it.[15]

The above quote is from the section of the interview where Masinga discusses his experience in translating Shakespeare's plays into Zulu.[16] Many of these plays were very well received by Zulu-speakers across the board. Now the interviewer inquires about what translating the plays into Zulu

[15] K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.
[16] K E Masinga, *Unpublished Radio Plays for SABC*, Harold Strange Africana Collection, Johannesburg Public Library.

demands. Masinga's response that "one must know his language very well and love it," tells us something about his personality. Masinga loved language, and he loved the creative possibilities available to him through language.

Apart from a mere love for language another thing Masinga says is needed is the ability to know 'high Zulu', to be familiar with an idiomatic kind of speech in Zulu. So when he translated Shakespeare he was going beyond a simplistic word-for-word translation, he tried to understand the meaning of Shakespeare in its context, and then translate not only the technical language, but to make Shakespeare's world become his own world, to transform Shakespeare's world into the world of Zulus. The genius displayed in this attempt was very advanced, and is unlikely to be surpassed. But what does making Shakespeare's world into his world mean? What does it imply for listening habits? For in order to do so in a way that does the plays justice, Masinga also needed to understand the world of Shakespeare, the language of Shakespeare, just as he understands his own language.

We have to think of the unequal relations that exist between the language of Shakespeare (which is English) and Masinga's language, which is Zulu. Fanon has suggested that, "To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture."[17] There is the political problem of language that is raised here. First of all, writing is never innocent. It is activated and performed under specific circumstances, which also determine its scope and limit. One cannot simply write having no archive of words available to his/her disposal, or a sense of an imagined audience who would receive the writing along conventions of speech. Secondly, which pertains particularly to the writing of plays, and Shakespeare's plays in this regard, there is an imagining of the vernacular; as a writer understanding vernacular ways of saying things enlivens your writing so that your protagonists speak as the people speak. I sense that it is to these aspects of vernacular usage that idioms become a relevant device in the expression of Shakespeare's characters and scenarios. In this way, idioms become familiar ways of speaking to the masses, but which, due to their particularist nature, may appear bewildering to a person who is not from there. We can imagine for instance Europeans who are second language English speakers, and hold a basic communicative grasp of the language may have difficulty understanding idiomatic speech.

[17] Fanon, Frantz (1967). *Black Skins, White Masks*. Grove Press, 38.

Now one may say that such a translation of Shakespeare implies a kind of mimic of pre-existing European literary tradition. And that this kind of reliance on Shakespeare fosters the relationship of dependency, of African creative production on Western antecedents, rather than a creation of something new altogether. The exercise of translating Shakespeare, for instance, seems a bit superficial, that the demands it places on African life to conjure up a past may have no bearing in the present. In this way, Shakespeare becomes but another mode of integration.

Mudimbe notes a prevalence of an emergent activist discourse amongst Africans, using biblical reinterpretations. Where Africans have used biblical narratives as a dialectic to their own quests for liberation. The idea of the 'black Moses' being a classic example of this discourse. In pursuing an Africanizing project, the emphasis is, then, put on new premises: negritude, blackness, African heritage and experience. It tends to present conversion in terms of critical integration into Christianity; that is, on the one hand, asserting cultural autonomy and, on the other, defining Christianization as a way of accomplishing in Christ a spiritual heritage authentically African.[18]

Masinga himself started with using biblical stories for his radio plays. But then at some point he decided to turn to literature narratives, like those of Shakespeare. Why did the Shakespeare plays gain such wide popularity amongst Africans, as mentioned by Masinga above, in contrast with the biblical narratives?

For Mudimbe, biblical reinterpretations by Africans represent a "struggle for an orthodoxy defined in terms of historical and cultural difference," "one sees that the new discourse on African difference conveys an ambitious and explicit will to truth. As such, it generates and explicates its own presence in both history and the present knowledge about African realities."[19] This reinterpretation involves the Africanization of some external aspects to an African setting. I believe that Masinga's translations of Shakespeare were engaged in a similar struggle albeit in a secular frame. By drawing on African systems of kingdoms, earls, dukes, the Zulu translation of Shakespeare for radio brought to bear the values of the past in terms of present relevant exigencies.

[18] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa,* 56, 60.
[19] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa,* 62, 63.

In fact, it goes a step further, it brings to bear an evaluation of past African ways of life (viewed as inferior by the present colonial system) but in a way that subjects them to the moral standards inherent in the logic of English 'high' literature. Unlike the biblical reinterpretations, Shakespearean reinterpretations carry the same initiative without slipping into a "sort of demagogical spiritual activism."[20] In this way, it incites a meditation upon the moral basis of segregation itself by undermining the classic colonial narrative of pre-colonial native societies as unsophisticated. In this way, it becomes activist by rendering incredulous the myth of white colonialism in Africa.

Masinga's radio style

Masinga possessed all the right qualities for creation of a radio style in Zulu. His storytelling approach of speaking made things reported on radio seem more immediate. It is small wonder that listeners were swept into confusion when they saw him at home, while his bulletin was being aired on radio.

> Masinga: They were very curious to know. And when I went out, at home they used to come to my home and ask me a lot about broadcasting. About how a white man does this. And whether I had stopped being a black anymore. 'Are you Masinga a black-white man now? How can you be heard over the air?
> And especially when my record was played when I was at home. That is something that really confused them a great deal.[21]

Masinga's storytelling made the voice on the radio closely connected to the listener in terms of time. When the listeners saw him in real-life while his broadcast was playing it disrupted their perception of time. The storytelling abilities of Masinga gave a sense of someone who was in the immediate vicinity in terms of time. When people listen to radio they feel that they know the personalities of those speaking to them and that they are present, at least in terms of time, where the broadcast is taking place or where it claims to be taking place.[22] The accomplishment of radio is that even in its non-human appearance it suggests a physical encounter with the voice that is being heard. Seeing Masinga in real-life while his voice was playing on radio, betrayed the listeners

[20] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa,* 62-63. Let us also remember that Shakespeare, among other early modern English writers, was groundbreaking, as he signified a break with Latin as a language of spiritual and literary expression in Britain. See Anderson, Benedict (1983). "The Origins of National Consciousness", *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism.* New York: Verso Books, kindle edition.

[21] K E Masinga interview by English Presenter [Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban. See full transcript in Appendix 2.

[22] Adorno, Theodore W cited in Mowitt, John (2011). "Facing the Radio", *Radio: Essays in Bad Reception*. Berkeley: Univesity of California Press, kindle edition.

confidence in this transaction; as well as the contingency of that imagined community of radio, which was based on its actors playing their roles.

If we remember (as discussed in Chapter 8: The Era of Loudspeaker Broadcasting) that the first broadcasts took place in the context of the Second World War, and were means of counteracting rumours among African population, then it becomes apparent that the immediateness Masinga achieved through his storytelling style, gave the news events which were being reported credibility. It was very important for the wartime SABC to be seen as a credible news source, even to an African population—who were increasingly doubtful of the country's role and position in the war. Let us keep in mind that these broadcasts were taking place alongside recruitment drives in the compounds, and homelands. Even Prince Mshiyeni had been enticed to assist the government in encouraging Africans to sign-up for the war as soldiers.[23] The space Masinga held then was slowly shaping a way of speaking to Zulu on radio.

The content of what was being broadcast, not only served the interests of reporting the war, but strove to erode doubt and to ensure confidence in the nation. Radio played a central role in shaping a new vision of a South African nation during the war years. Indeed these sentiments are evident in the SABC *Annual Report* 1940, "War is an experience new to broadcasting, and the Board had to make far-reaching decisions with no precedents to guide it."[24] The idea of a 'new experience' awakes uncertainty and allows experimentation. The notion of "far-reaching decisions" is underpinned by a demand: that decisions *must* be made. When one is placed with the demand of making a decision, haste is often a feature. Carelessness and prejudice overrides, over objectivity. Decisions that must be made are reactive to the moment, rather than responding to the overarching objectives of the organization. Far-reaching decisions are made when there is doubt. 'Far-reaching decisions' cut deeply into the realm of consequence. They are decisions with impact. The suggestions made in the annual reports would reflect the changes that were to arise in the war era of broadcasting.

[23] 'Newspaper Cuttings', A1381, IV/7, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.
[24] SABC *Annual Report* 1940, 5

This was not unique to South Africa. Susan Douglas says that in the United States, the immediacy of radio "rendered newspaper 'extra' all but obsolete—people didn't run out to the street for the news; they tuned their dials, and they listened." [25] She further suggests that:

> a struggle over how men would deliver the news—which included a struggle over radio oratory—and a pushing out of horizons as listeners added new maps to their mental geographies. There were experiments with the use of sound—the use of ambient sound from the scene of the news story, the more contrived use of sound effects in the studio—to convey a sense of immediacy and urgency. News listening on the radio, as broadcasting styles were being invented, moved people between cognitive registers—informational listening, which was more flat and less imaginative as people took in brief, factual reports, and dimensional listening, as people were compelled to conjure up maps, topographies, street scenes in London after bombing, a warship being dive-bombed by the Luftwaffe. We also hear certain radio reporters subtly leading public opinion toward a less isolationist stance, a worldview more sympathetic to mobilization and, eventually, engagement.[26]

But with Masinga the opposite occurred, in his storytelling style factual news appeared less informational and more conversational. This was helping a population who knew little about locations beyond the ocean to familiarize with places they did not know, which many had not even seen in pictures/photographs. There were also too many technical terms, words that did not exist in the Zulu language, of ships, anchors, rightwings and leftwings, all of which had to be made-up.

From this it becomes evident that radio in Zulu took its shape in accordance to the demands of authorities, what Europeans designated Africans to be, and what Africans knew they were (i.e. that they were not primitive, for example). Masinga juggled this ambiguous position through devices of storytelling, Shakespeare reinterpretations, and playing with language. These devices gave to radio a conversational tone that defied its own machine-ness. Slippages became apparent when listeners saw him in real-life while his show was being played over the air. In that moment radio's ability to convince was exposed.

The Radio Voice

On radio, it is as if the voice has disappeared from the field of the visual, and made a come back in a ghostlier form. Unlike other noise machines (like the violin, for example, that takes as its shape the female body) the radio machine is as mechanical as possible. It does not try to resemble a

[25] Douglas, Susan J. (1999). *Listening-in: Radio and the American Imagination,* "Chapter 7." University of Minnesota Press, kindle edition.

[26] Douglas, *Listening-in*, Chapter 7.

human being. Its fascination lies in how something so non-human can produce human effects. But like the human, radio presents us with a unity, something that integrates psychological, sociological and technological elements. It exhibits voice, a voice that can be understood as a sign of something or someone behind it. This can give the illusion that this is the same voice as the human voice—but it is not.

Theordor Adorno points out that the 'radio voice' has nothing to do with the voices or sounds that are played over the radio, but it has more to do with the 'how' of radio.[27] Put simply, the radio voice is different from the music and voices it plays because it emanates from somewhere that neither voice nor music can capture.

> What actually 'speaks' through radio is man: by his voice or by his musical instruments. Thus the term 'speaking' appears to be a purely metaphorical one. One attributes to the instrument what is due to man merely because of his invisibility and remoteness. Still, when the phenomenon is analysed, man's remoteness from the loudspeaker and his invisibility are part of the phenomenon.[28]

The accomplishment of radio is in its non-human appearance, though it is truly remoteness than absence. The radio voice, then, acts more as a filter, it emulates and at the same time consolidates among its fragments human produced sounds, static caused by atmospheric conditions and electricity. Human produced sounds would of course include music and talk. The result is that:

> Whenever one switches on his radio, the sounds pouring out bear an expression all their own, an expression which related to the men behind it, only by reflection and not by the primordial awareness of the phenomenon.[29]

So although Masinga seemed to be invoking something familiar by calling-out the names of Zulu ancestors like Mjokwana and Ndaba, the radio voice was in fact depicting an altogher new phenomenon. The strategy of bringing in the ancestors smoothes over the discomfort of being remote. Listeners became hyper-aware of this remoteness when they heard Masinga speaking on the air, while he was at home with them.

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[27] See Adorno, Theodor W (1945/1996). "A social critique of radio music," *The Kenyon Review*, 18/3&4, 209. In this paper Adorno addresses the following questions: "Does a symphony played on the air remain a symphony? Are the changes it undergoes by wireless transmission merely slight and negligible modifications or do these changes affect the very essence of the music? Are not the stations in such a case bringing the masses in contact with something totally different from what it is supposed to be, thus also exercising an influence quite different from the one intended?"

[28] Adorno, Theodor W cited in Mowitt, *Radio: Essays in Bad Reception*, kindle edition.

[29] Adorno, Theodor W cited in Mowitt, *Radio: Essays in Bad Reception*, kindle edition.

What was happening, then, when listeners felt that they *knew* the radio voice was that they had unconsciously deflected the attention due to the medium itself to the personality of the one speaking on radio.[30] This attribution of the radio voice to Masinga's personality was simply a sign of radio's ability to convince of human presence. It is this attribution that was disrupted as they saw him in real-life while they submitted to the sounds pouring out of the radio.

Yet, through Masinga's captivating personality, radio in Zulu achieved an unprecedented success and gave him international recognition.

In 1956, the United States government invited Masinga on a tour of the U S for two months. His tour captured the attention of the South African population, and was covered even in the apartheid white media. He was also made an honorary member of the International Mark Twain Society, alongside names such as Winston Churchill, D Eisenhower and C Atlee, to mention a few.[31]

When he reached the age of 65, Masinga officially retired from the SABC, but was then re-employed on a contract basis. He made his final exit at 80 years old in 1984.[32] In the later years of his life, Masinga developed eyesight problems, causing him to be nearly blind.

Masinga died in 1990, at the age of 86.

[30] Mowitt, *Radio: Essays in Bad Reception*, kindle edition.

[31] K E Masinga, Interview by Malcolm Fleming, 24th January 1958, E86/97, SABC Archives, Johannesburg.

[32] "Radio Zulu's Masinga is dead", *Sowetan,* 15th June 1990; Khumalo, King Edward Masinga The first black radio announcer, 13.

Conclusion: Another Life Altogether

"Hundreds of thousands of white South Africans are concerned only with holding on to white privilege. They believe that they would rather die holding on to it than give up the smallests part; and I believe they would. They cannot imagine a life that would be neither their life, nor the black man's life, but another life altogether."[1] These are the words spoken by Nadine Gordimer in 1991, they were true then, and they remain true today.

The ongoing interaction between broadcasting and the layered social realities in which it was performed informed my engagement with the politics of technology unfolded in this thesis. It is my story, in the sense that, as I am increasingly thrown into the quest for self-knowledge, I have found our new enthusiasm for science and technology troubling, as it does not seem willing to engage with historical inheritance of exclusion. We can become so fascinated with 'new' things, that we do not improve on the strides our ancestors made.

Much of the relevance of the events presented here lie in the recasting of the past in light of the present struggles for recognition and development. Just as Dhlomo and other intellectuals did in their time, as they studied precolonial cultures in the service of modern conditions, so do we need to understand their struggle in the service of a better future. It also highlights the paradoxical effect of access to modern technology, whilst at the same time being denied it in practice. This resulted in a situation of aspiration without power, where many Africans became complicit in the ideas of segregation/colonialism. The thesis recognizes the fact that the reasons for African complicity may have (in varying degrees) been valid, despite our privileged perspective (as readers of the past) from which we can assess them differently.

Citizens Playing with Radio; The era of the Techno-junkies

I have shown how radio grew in South Africa through the mechanical tinkering of individuals. Through the clubs, they shared information and equipment as well as scientific knowledge on how to overcome technology problems. Owing to their persistence and unregulated freedom, their efforts spilled over to a wider population, who started making the DIY radio sets, known as crystal radios. This happened over a short period of time (1919-1922).

[1] Gordimer, Nadine (1999). *Living in Hope and History: Notes from our Century.* London: Macmillan.

Up until this point, only the techno-savvy could get into the whole radio thing. It required technical know-how to build a full transmission at home. In a sense, the casual movements of the techno-junkies preserved a closed space for radio accessibility that could not readily allow for people to respond in bigger numbers to the possibilities offered by the technology. So, on the one hand, the entrance of business and government was a good means of achieving greater penetration of radio broadcasting. But, at the same time, the informal practices of the citizens that preceded it formed the necessary groundwork for the shaping of a broadcasting future. By the time government and business started taking seriously the potentials of radio, the early techno-junkies were well placed to influence the direction which broadcasting in South Africa would take. Many of them ended up as producers, engineers and studio managers in the official broadcasts.

My interest in drawing out the early adventures of citizens playing with radio, the mechanical tinkering that took place in different parts of the country in the 1920s, is to show the latent potentials in people making their own 'junk', 'hardware', objects of amusement, and as a consequence shaping their destinies too. But I wanted to show that history in its 'ordinariness', so that its silence can speak for itself to the black reader of South Africa's past. It is a history that is mostly silent (in its content and intent) on African populations that surround its formation, who, one might add, had a bearing on that technological accomplishment.[2]

From the geographic organization of settler society, in the coastal areas, and their late entrance to interior regions of the country—these all had an influence in how far sonic spectrums could project in the ether, and who could listen-in. (One may even recall the invention of FM-radio sets in the 1960s. These were meant to hinder connectivity and access of material across borders that AM signals, and their wide-reaching reception, would allow.) Sound was bound up in power, race and conquest. I wanted to show that silence in the very creation of a South African culture of technology. This silence exists not only in the archive of early radio, but also in the imagination. The archive of early radio institutionalizes the invisibility of African populations. In so doing it creates a silence in the memory of the nation itself. As long we continue to draw from the same archive the stories we tell are stuck. Even as we may claim to equally enjoy the fruits of that inheritance, they remain shackled in the white self-engineered world, that thrived on its own ignorance and separateness.

[2] For example, it is very likely black people were involved in the steel masts that were installed to floodlight the beach front in Durban; the steel masts were then used for the first radio antenea in Natal.

Radio and the Railways

I also showed how radio technology was integrated into a growing Afrikaner futurism through the South African Railways. That the technological milestones were juxtaposed against preindustrial depictions of African societies shows how the early broadcasting climate was intentional in its configuration that relegated Africans to a preindustrial setting/mindset. So it established a vision for innovation that would simultaneously account for its own exclusion of African respondents. Indeed, hidden behind the claims of the achievements of the railways and of state broadcasting are the labours of Africans that have advanced that cause.

Masinga's Persistence and Disconnection with Indigenous Order

In December 1941, K E Masinga spoke on the radio and became the first black person to be aired on the wireless radio broadcasts. He spoke in Zulu, at the Durban SABC studios. Masinga thrived in the formative stage of African-aimed broadcasting by taking personal initiative. He invited his nieces, for one, to do the first recordings for radio, and later he attracted many of the performing musicians in Durban and Natal. He played a critical role in informing African musical tastes on radio. His educational background in places like Ohlange and Adams College that were renowned for their calibre of music productions, especially in the choral music and vaudeville variety shows, influenced his own musical interests. Hugh Tracey, the then studio manager of the SABC in Durban, also had a strong influence. Tracey had strong opinions on the preservation of traditional music. Traditional musicians were thus highly appreciated in the broadcast studios, such as Zulu bow-player Princess Magogo as well as Mameyiguda an *ingoma* practitioner.

As already mentioned, the radio broadcasts in Zulu took place against a backdrop of a growing modern sensibility to being Zulu, which was spearheaded by the African intellectual class in Natal, Zululand and Johannesburg. African broadcasts had to be expressed within that prevailing discourse of a Zulu public. Masinga used his storytelling abilities to style himself (and the radio presenting position he now occupied) as a modern subject in the genre of a Zulu national imagination. This is demonstrated in his opening greeting, which drew on the legacy of Mjokwana and Ndaba (who were supposedly the Zulu kings before the time of Shaka), despite the fact that by the 1940s a variety of people in Natal and Zululand spoke Zulu as their primary language, people of very mixed lineage. Masinga's pronouncement, therefore, was not so concerned with

the genetic validity of this claim, but rather exploited its mythic qualities. It was, in this sense, a staging of the past in order to presume authority in the present; the past brought to life for its contemporary value, its ability to enable new radio conversations.

Masinga vacillated between the oral discourse of traditional culture and the objective narrative voice of broadcasting. Such a shifting register pointed to the fact that his radio personality was composed out of a consciousness that was no longer one with the indigenous way of apprehension. We are made aware that the traditional, for Masinga, acted not as an objective source of knowledge, but was instead used for imaginative intents. It acted as a library of imaginative symbols and stories that did not require those listening to correspond to its myth of origin for its credibility. The appeal of the traditional was in its affective value. So despite Masinga's deep sense of cultural involvement and interest in indigenous material, there is an underlying quest to maintain distance to the very world he seeks to present.

It is the distance he is required to retain with his subject, for the sake of legitimacy in the new broadcast context. This tone is evident in the accounts of Zulu customs and beliefs about *abathakathi*, superstition about the radio voice having become a ghost and other discussions related to traditional ways of life.

Masinga's courage and persistence in approaching Tracey came out of a dissatisfaction with the social ideal of an educated African (i.e. being a teacher). He no longer wanted to be a teacher, even though this was a honourable position for an African to hold. He had a personal yearning for a new challenge. But this was no place for a black man! This tension between the social ideal (which favours the group) and his personal ambition characterizes the existential challenge that affects educated African persons in the wake of modernity. In a way his defiance of the social norm (of the successful educated African as a teacher) is in itself an act that installs a new dispensation. We are pointed to the fact that radio is enacted out of new challenges arising from modern conditions of being.

This theme is at the heart of African postcolonial imaginations. Abiola Irele describes this as a moment where the African agent's "intellect, sensibility, and sense of artistic integrity has entered into contention with his primary affections for his cultural antecedents, thus bringing into peril his

conscious project of bearing witness to the poetic quality of the universe in which they are rooted".[3] To insist on the disconnectedness of Masinga to the culture of the people he represents strips naked the presumed cultural authority of the radio voice. It also troubles its claim to insider-hood.

That a concerted effort to bargain as vigorously on the mechanical engineering side of radio as Masinga did on the user dimension is a loss for which we are still paying the price for even today.

The undercurrent of the history of broadcasting unfolded in this thesis is a deep-seated contestation for technology. It is a history of resistance to technology change, while also being of acceptance. From the early meddling of techno-junkies out in the Cape as well as in the Rand, citizens were experimenting with new technologies, often in seemingly ludicrous ways, like listening to Morse Code signals from ships at sea. But this fiddling with devices became of great benefit when broadcasting for wider society became possible. In K E Masinga's entrance, on the other hand, Africans were now granted their own presence over the air. However, in all the technological aspects of radio transmission, and of life in general, they remained restricted. Until they overcome this legacy, Africans are complicit in its exclusion—even as they may see more of themselves represented—they may not be able to imagine another life altogether.

[3] Irele, Abiola (2001). *The African Imagination: Literature in Africa & the Black Diaspora*. Oxford University Press, 144.

Epilogue

My initial interest in telling this story came from a childhood fascination I had for the radio. The sounds of Zulu pouring out of my mother's bedroom window or from taxis driving by.

I wanted to explore the early responses to radio and what they meant for those who sat in their homes in a way that accommodated the new medium in the 1940s.

I wanted to explore the lives of those who initiated and hosted the broadcasts themselves. I believe it tells an important story about our past, in a way that we can be proud of as South Africans of all kinds. I also believe this ability to tell our own stories and to own them can remove the haze of oppression that tried to define the totality of that reality.

Masinga, and to some extent Mpanza before him, thrived in an environment where there seemed to be much against them from a political and social front. Their broadcast careers were characterized by a creative imagination that transcended the boundaries of traditional and modern which seemed to be held up against them.

Like John Streeter and Toby Innes, who were the early experimenters of the technology of broadcasting in the 1920s, they used what they had. It was a business of continuous experimentation and innovation. Where Innes and his crowd used snap-fasteners from women's dresses and other objects in the home, Mpanza and Masinga had their voices. They would use their voices to bring to life places that neither they nor their listeners had ever been to. Words and language were the tools by which they organized their practice.

This facilitated a new kind of critical library of African realities and was central to Masinga's creative imagination. The fact that, having perceived the disinterest of the SABC in preserving African creative legacies, he created two backup copies of his Shakespeare plays which he sent to the Johannesburg Public Library and the University of Manchester,[1] attests to the foresight and serious historical consciousness he held. His sense of initiative in leading the broadcasting wave was by no mere happenstance, he was aware of the task of making history, and thus knowledge.

[1] In my correspondence with the University of Manchester, though, I was unable to locate his works.

When Chief Albert Luthuli later wrote, reflecting on the founding of the Zulu Society, "I believed then, as I do now, that an authentic, comprehensive South African culture will grow in its own way. This will not be determined by cultural societies, but they may influence it,"[2] although he may not have known it, he was actually passing the reigns of the role that the Zulu Society played to broadcasting. Broadcasting was to carry on the work of preserving and contesting Zulu language matters, and not some administrative office of a cultural society. Through broadcasting, Zulu-speakers themselves, in the homes and in the public, would have a say in their own culture—in their personal conversations in buses and dinner tables, listeners would frequently answer back to what was being said on the radio. Listeners could also make aesthetic judgments and contest new formats, much like the audiences at the concert-gatherings described by Herbert Dhlomo of the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed listeners demonstrated their capacity to do so when they demanded that K E Masinga be removed from Zulu radio in 1984. He was at this time running a marriage guidance show called "*Mkhulule*" (let him go). Women found the show offensive, as Masinga would almost always defend husbands in their disputes with their wives.[3]

The people had decided that their culture was no longer going to be one that upholds patriarchy, and they were not prepared to tolerate a spokesperson for their culture that did. The SABC dismissed Masinga. And the people won.

So the very people who had made Masinga who he was, and established him as a prominent man in the area of broadcasting had changed. It is this change that ended his career.

It cannot be doubted that the crisis of apartheid repression by 1984, which made the state expedient in dealing with criticism it did not need, hastened the decision to dismiss Masinga quickly—but perhaps that would be to give to apartheid too much sway. Crisis is, after all, the natural order of the day when an idea whose time has come causes friction with the old.

By this time South Africa's broadcasting culture had shifted, with the introduction of television in indigenous languages in 1982[4] and the transmitting of Radio Freedom. Radio Freedom was the ANC radio station it operated in exile. By the 1980s, its programmes were being flighted over a

[2] Luthuli, Albert (1962). *Let my People Go.* Collins: London, 37.

[3] Sipho Jacobs & Bancroft Hlatshwayo, "Listeners don't want his advise anymore so SABC gags K E Masinga," *City Press*, 18th March 1984.

[4] Louw, P. Eric & Milton, Viola C. (2012). *New Voices Over the Air: The Transformation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation in a Changing South Africa.* New York: Hampton Press, 23.

number radio stations owned by different states on the continent, which meant that it could be received on more than one frequency channel for listeners locally to tune-in. Although it was banned in South Africa, this did not stop it from capturing listeners' attentions. Word-of-mouth played a major role in the townships in making people find out about it. Many listeners enjoyed international tracks they would not otherwise hear on SABC and were inspired to join the struggle. Listeners also recorded programmes on audiotape, recirculated them and discussed what they heard.[5] It taught them the value of debating things they heard, which meant that they could also question the validity of information they were given by the SABC.

These changes in the broadcast culture generated a social rhythm that was increasingly intolerant of things that did not resonate with its own terms. The listening community whose imaginative universe of meaning had once held a devotional reverence for all things Zulu on radio was gone. As listeners turned their attentions elsewhere, Masinga's inability to adapt became the basis of his own downfall. But for listeners, in that moment of Masinga's public defeat, they rediscovered something they always had, but thought they no longer owned—their own power.

The power to choose their own content. The power to choose the radio personalities they liked. But most importantly, the power to decide what kind of modern Zulu culture they were willing to be identified with. When we understand that every human being in a position of leadership is capable of erring, or becoming irrelevant, we also become mindful of the reciprocal duty we have as citizens to hold them accountable in their role—even if it means removing them from their position.

This is an important lesson to learn for South Africa in the present and in the future. From Masinga's initiatives when he first came on to the radio we learnt (1) how to be inventive and creative in the midst of oppression and limited resources, and from his ability to consolidate his affinities for tradition and the modern technology of radio we learnt (2) how to be led by personal conviction, and lastly when we removed him from his position in 1984 (3) we understood the dynamics of power—that although it can sometimes evade us, it remains in 'our' hands.

[5] Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba Peter (2010). "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991." *Journal of African Media Studies*, 2/2, 143-145, 151.

Appendix 1: Selby Goba, Interview by Thokozani Mhlambi

25th September 2012, Durban

Thokozani Mhlambi: Soqala ngama *questions* nje a- *obvious* mhlambe ezinye izinto besesizixolile vele.

Selby Goba: Ok.

Thokozani Mhlambi: Bese ke sesiqala singena kuma *main reasons*, sengisho ukuth`ungamangali masengibuza izinto besengizibuzile.

Selby goba: Aayi!! Bengingeke, akukona phela esixoxa kona.

T.M: Ngizofuna ube as *natural as possible* kungabi ngathi sikhuluma emsakazweni.

S.B: Oh! Aayi!!

T.M: Sikhulume ngoba sixoxa nje.

T.M: So….Bengicela ungikhumbuze baba ukuthi ubani igama lakho?

S.B: Igama lami ngingu Selby Goba, ngangisebenza emsakazweni kusewu *Radio Bantu*.

T.M: Wazalwa ngamuphi unyaka?

S.B: Kwaku umhlaka 14 *June* 1941.

T.M: So wazalwa ngesikhathi sempi?

S.B: Ngangisemncane.

T.M: Wazalelwa kuphi?

S.B: Ngazalelwa eMaqadini aseNcwane e-*Deepdale*.

T.M: Ingakuph i-*Deepdale*?

S.G: Iphansi kwesifunda saseMpendle, mawuya ngako Bhulwa.

T.M: Mawuya ngako Xopo?

S.B: Aayi!! Sekukude ke kodwa ko Xopo, mawudlula nje eMgungundlovu uthi nje uthathe ulayini waseMpendle.

T.M: Oh!! Oh!!

S.G: Eehhe!!

T.M: Oh! Sekuyazwakala ke.

T.M: So…ku *SABC* uze wayeka ngamuphi unyaka?

S.G: Ngayeka mhlaka 30 ku-*June* 2004.

T.M: Sesiside lesikhathi osisebenzile?

S.G: Cha!! Aayi!! Inkosi ingiphe isikhathi eside impela, ngabonga kakhulu ngalokho.

T.M: Kuleminyaka oyisebenzile khona wen`ungathi….siqale nje ngento eh!……*from top down* iziphi izinto ozikhumbulayo?

S.G: Engizikhumbula emsakazweni?

T.M: Mmhh!! Kuleyo mnyaka yakho uthe u *50 years*, imaphi ama *highlights* nje owakhumbulayo?

S.G: Aawu!! Kuningi nje emsakazweni engikukhumbulayo ngoba phela luningi ushintsho nje oluqhamuke ngikhona ngoba ngingena emsakazweni yonke into yayisaphethwe abelungu abamhlophe. Njengoba sekujika nje sewuthola nje ke manje eehh!!...abantu abamnyama sebegcwele nabo sebe sezikhundleni, into yayingekho leyo. Yabona nje emsakazweni ekuphathweni komsakazo i-administration wawungeke umthole umuntu omnyama, umuntu omnyama nje wayengekho yabona mawungena nje wawungeke umthole umuntu omnyama lutho.

T.M: Manje, ukuziphatha kwabantu abamnyama ababesebenza emsakazweni ngaleso sikhathi, kwakuhluka ngani kunesikhathi samanje?

S.G: Umuntu omnyama ekukhuleni kwethu ukuhlonipha bekuyinto enkulu, ngaphandle nje yokuhlonipha eyomlungu. Umlungu ke ngoba umuntu ophethe, umuntu omnyama wayekwazi ukuhlonipha umuntu ophethe, njengoba uthola izinduna, amakhosi, umuntu

omnyama wayekwazi ukuhlonipha. Kwakuhlonishwa ngaleso sikhathi kakhulu nakubelungu sahlala kahle ngoba kwakuhlonishwa kakhulu.

T.M: Bekuwu-*affect* kanjani umsebenzi lokho kunesikhathi samanje, ukuhlonisha kwabelungu?

S.G: Ukuhlonipha ke kwakunento engangiye ngiyithande; yabona umuntu mayehlonipha, ukuhlonipha ukwenza into efanele. Ngenxa yalokho ukuhlonipha kwakudala ukuthi umsebenzi uhambe kakhulu futhi ube sezingeni eliphezulu, ngoba akekho owayedonsa abheke le, wonke umuntu wa'yazi ukuthi ngidinga sihloniphane sodwa bese ngihlonipha abaphethe.

T.M: Kodwa manje sengicabanga ama-*decisions* afana nama-*news* izinto ezinjalo, uma ngabe kukhona laba abaphethe kwesinye isikhathi ezinye izinto kwakumele zenziwe zazinga hambisani nezimfuno zenu njengabantu abamnyama.

S.B: Ake ngithi nje yabona ezikhundleni abantu ababengekho ezikhundleni yabona saqala thina siqala….ngiqale mina ngesikhathi ke impela kwenziwa amalungiselelo wokuthi kuzoba khona ehh!!...umsakazo wabamnyama nje ngokugcwele eqinisweni abantu abamnyama emsakazweni babe ngebaningi kakhulu singena thina, ngoba phela umsakazo uqalwe ubaba uShobane [K E Masinga]. UShobane uke waba nesikhathi eside eyedwa kuleso sikhundla, okwaya kwaya kwathi emva kwaba khona omunye umsakazi u Herbet Sishi, kwathi emva kwakhe kwaba khona umsakazi u Gibbon Bart, yilabo bantu ababe sebenza umsebenzi lo impela nje esingathi i-*world class*,ehh!!...kwakungakagcwali kakhulu ngaleso sikhathi. Esikhathini sakudala bekungafani ngoba manje uthola o-*news department* bese uthola amanye njengo *UKhozi*. Angithi kuqala thina sila umsakazo wawuba nabasakazi bawo yonke inhlobo. Nabezindaba nabama *programmes* kodwa ngaphansi komphathi oyedwa ,yabona nje indaba yokuthi kubekhona I –*news*, yabona manje kune *department* ye news nje engathintene nezitetshi, yayibona leyonto? Sekuyaziwa ukuthi nje kune news yesiteshi esithize, abe-*news* baba ndawonye, kungaba umsakazo we- *English*, *Afrikaans*, isiZulu, *Lotus*, abe-news bonke babandawonye. Bese kuzoba khona ke indawo yabasakazi abasakaza lezinhlelo.

T.M: Ooh!!

S.G: Kodwa leyonto iqala manje, kodwa kuqala angithathe njengo *Ukhozi* kwakuthiwa u-*Radio Bantu*. Wawuthola ukuthi umsakazi emunye wenza yonke into kwakungekho umsakazi wezindaba hhe ee!!!...nowama *programmes*. Kuqala umsakazi ebenza yonke into. Ubenza ama programmes afunde izindaba. Phansi komphathi oyedwa.

T.M: Ooh!! Ayi! Kuyazwakala mawubeka ngaleyo ndlela. So manje cela ungicacisele ukuthi wena iyiphi indima owawuyidlala emsakazweni ?

S.G: Yabona mina ngaqala kwi *admin* kodwa lapho ngaba nenhlanhla ngathola umsebenzi, kusho ukuthi kwase kungukuqala kwami nje ngangena khona kwi *admin* ngaba yi-*clerk* khona isikhathi esiningi ngaqhuba kakhulu….

T.M: Wenzani mawuyi *clerk*?

S.G: Mangiyi clerk yimi engangimukela izincwadi ngoba singama *province* ahlukene kukhona i-*correspondence* yama *province* ahlukene, enye iyangena kanti futhi la e- *clerkini* kwakuyimi engiqondana nayo yonke ke leyonto, yimi obevula izincwadi ezifikayo nokuthi yonke into ihambangendlela, isikhathi eside impela.

T.M: Bese kulowo msebenzi mawuba i- *correspondent* wena yiziphi izinto ezazifinyelela kuwe ezazi *affect* umsakazo?

S.G: Angithi kukhona izincwadi ezibhala mhlampe imikhonzo, abathumela imikhonzo na noma yini msakazweni. Ziningi nje izincwadi ezazingena .Ehh! ake ngithi mhlambe wona ama *region* athumela izinto, zaziza kimi bese ngizisa kubantu abehlukene ngokwehlukana. Neziphumayo mhlambe ngithi izincwadi kuphendulwa abantu, angithi umphathi uyabhala kakhulu, yonke

leyonto yayibonwa yim. Yimi osezokufaka ke kube yimi obona izincwadi ezifikayo nokuhambayo kuhamba kahle ngendlela. Isikhathi eside impela.

T.M: So manje baba ngifuna siqale ngokungafuna ukuba nzimana ngoba ngikukhumbuza ngesikhathi ungakasebenzi emsakazweni, kodwa ngiyacabanga waqala kahle umsakazo usushintsha. Usebenze nabantu ababesebenza *before. You might have* i-*sense* yokuthi uguquko olalenziwa ngo 1962 seliguqukela ku *Radio Bantu* ukuthi izinto zazinjani *before that*?

S.G: Ngaphambi kwalokho ukuthi kungene bese kuthiwa kufuneka kungene u-*Radio Bantu* uqale ehh!! Ngo 1960.

T.M: kwase kuhluka ini ku-*Radio Bantu than before*?

S.G: Angithi kuhamba kuhambe kube noshintsho lwama gama kungene kwa *Radio Bantu* kwakuyindlela yokuthi bese kubaluleka umsakazo wabantu abamnyama, indlela ya balula ngawo ukuthi lo owabantu abamnyama njengoba nakubelungu wawuthola i-*English service* bese kuba I-*Afrikaans service* kwase kuqala leyonto ke.

T.M: Manje ngamanye amazwi *before* kuqale u-*Radio Bantu* umsakazo wabantu abamnyama wawungabalulekile?

S.G: Wawubalulekile ukuthi indlela yokuqala komsakazo wabantu abamnyama ehh!! Mntaka Mhlambi watholakala ngenhlanhla emangalisayo. Watholakala nge qhawe lika baba u- King Edward Masinga, uShobane.

T.M: Awungixoxele ke lokho.

S.G: Yabona nje masekukhulunywa ngempela ngempela ukuthi abantu abamnyama bakwazi ukuzwakala emoyeni kwavela lokho ngobuciko futhi ngiyaye ngithi umuntu wayethunyelwe iNkosi ukuthi azovula umsakazo wabantu abamnyama, noba okokuqala nje kwakungekho ukuthi kubekhona umsakazo wabantu abamnyama. Ehh! ubaba u-King Edward Masinga wayihambela nje wayewuthisha efundisa, kwathi ngo *December* ela eThekwini wayethola ukuthi ubuthisha sebuthanda nje ukumcika….

T.M: Wayefundisaphi?

S.G: Noma izikole ngingakwazi ukuzibalula zikhona kodwa ngiyazazi zibhaliwephansi zikhona kodwa la KwaZulu-Natal ma ngingaphosisi angazi noma uMzumbe. Uthi wezwa efikelwa ukucikeka ukufundisa kubo kwaku la eMaqadini eNanda. Uthi wathi ezihambela nje edolobheni kwafika nje ukuthi ayi, Akasathandi ukufundisa. Uthi wayedlula la nje wayeyothengela umama wakhe inyama kakhisimuzi, kwakuzoba ukhisimuzi ngezinsuku ezilandelayo, uthi wezwa nje ecikeka. Uthi nje uthe ehamba ku *Aliwal Street*, umsakazo wawuku *Ailwal Street* ekuqaleni njengoba usulana nje manje.

T.M: U-*Aliwal Street* usebizwa ngan manje?

S.G: Bengingakaze nginake sebewubiza ngobani. Kodwa lona, la kukhona khona umsakazo sewabizwa ngaye u K E Masinga. Uthi wathi ezihambela nje, wabona ibhilidi ngaleso sikhathi kwakuyisikhathi Sempi Yesibili ngo 1941. Wathi esuka nje lapho wabona ibhilidi ligadwe amasosha angithi umsakazo agadile amasosha. Uthi wezwa nje ukuthi akangene khona. Uthi wavele waqonda khona. Uthi mayebona nanka amasosha ayamvimba , awatshele ukuthi ufuna ukukhuluma nomphathi bathi bayamxosha waba nenkani wathi ngifuna ukukhuluma nomphathi bathi bayamxosha waba nenkani wathi ngifuna umphathi, “ngicela ukukhuluma nomphathi walo msakazo.” Uthi baze bashaya ucingo bamshayela ephezulu kwi *first floor*, bathi khona umuntu omnyama ofuna ukukhuluma nawe unenkani, lo mlungu ongumphathi kwakungi Mr Tracey wathi abam’lethe kuyena phezulu. Nangempela bam’letha mayengena la ehhovisi ehh!! Angithi uyazi isikhathi sakudala ke sasingahloniphekile, wakhuluma wambuza umlungu wathi ufunani la wena, uthi wamtshela wathi ngifuna umsebenzi, wathi noma iyiphi inhlobo kodwa ke ngingumuntu ofundile ngoba uyezwa nje angitolikelwa, uthi umlungu wavele wathatha lula waze waqhiyama esihlalweni wathi aawwwuu!!!! Aw! Wathi

awukho umsebenzi womuntu omnyama ofundile la, yabona abantu abamnyama obathola la abakhanda itiye, nabashanyelayo leli bhilidi, kodwa leli umuntu omnyama nje akangeni.

T.M: So ebeyofuna umsebenzi womuntu ofundile?

S.G: Wathi umuntu ofundile kodwa.

T.M: Ohh!!

S.G: Uthi wathi umlungu lutho! Lutho! Wathi uyafundisa wathi eehhe!! Uthi wathi awu! Ayi! Uthi ukhuluma naye akamhlalisile naphansi yabona, ngoba lento uyithatha lula uyabona naye ukuthi ngeke kuze kwenzeke angene. Uthi into eyamhlaba lo mlungu ngenhlanhla naye wayeyinhlobo efundile, wabuza inhlobo ethile yomculo ka Shobane [Masinga] wathi awu!! Aw! Wathi lo mculo ke inhlobo yami leyo. Wayisho uShobane umlungu waqala ukuxwaya manje ulungile lo muntu, uthi wabe esemhlalisa phansi. Wathi uyayazi le nhlobo yomculo wathi aawwu!! Wambuza umlando othile, wathi phela mina ngiyimboni yomlando.

T.M: Imboni yomlando onjani?

S.G: Umuntu onolwazi oluningi kakhulu kuthiwa imboni.

T.M: Mawungase ucabange nje wena kwakuwuhlobo olunjani lomculo njenge *jazz* noma….?

S.G: Kwakuya la ngako *classic*, wathi ngiwazi wonke. Uthi umlungu mayembona enjalo wasecabanga ngalomuntu onolwazi olungaka ngomculo. Uthi wathi yaz la kukhona into engiyicabangayo, sinenkinga abantu abamnyama abawatholi amaqiniso angempela ngokwenzeka ezweni ngoba kunempi nje. Ngiyacabanga ukuthi mhlambe ngingakuthatha, wambuza ukuthi angakwazi yini ukuhumusha? Wathi awu! Akuyona inkinga leyo. Wathi bengicabanga ukuthi ngikufake kube uwena ofundela abantu izindaba, wazise abantu ukuthi kwenzenkani ezweni. Ngoba manje abantu banikwa izindaba ezingewona amaqiniso laba abanye bazikhulumela into abayithandayo nje.

T.M: Bachaza ukuthini ngalokho? Kuchaza ukuthini ukuthi abantu banikezwe amaqiniso?

S.G: Angithi ukuthi kwenzekani empini kuyaliwa angithi uyabona, *so they must get first hand information about the war that was taking place*.

T.M: Ngoba kwenzenjani?

S.G: Angithi makuliwa mele lazi izwe ukuthi kwenzekani, angithi uyayibona leyonto? Bezwe izindaba zangempela eziyiqiniso.

T.M: Khona ezinye izimpi abantu abamnyama abangazizwanga kwase kuhluka ngani kulokhu?

S.G: Angithi ke phela manje sekuyisiqalo sawo ke leso. Yonke phela into inesiqalo sokuthi manje sikhona isidingo sokuthi nabantu manje baziswe. Ngoba amabhunu ayezwa ngesiNgisi ayezwa ngesiBhunu, abantu abamnyama abezwa lutho. Angithi uyabona lokho? K'shuthi sekuqala ke lokho kokuthi kuntwele ezansi fanele kwenzeke njalo. Ngoba kwathi besenza lento yikona okuqhubeka umsakazo emvakwalokho yonke into yimbi nje eyenzekayo kwadinga ukuthi abantu bazithole izindaba.Aayi abantu bazixoxele nje, angithi enye into yenzeka le kude abantu aba la abazi kodwa manje uma ezovula i-*Radio* uzothola.

T.M: Manje ucabanga ukuthi kukhona izinto ezazingahambisani yini nalololwawulo lezwe ngaleso sikhathi ezazishiwo ngabantu.

S.G: Angithi nje kwamanje abantu bathanda kabi ukuxoxa into kodwa engenaqiniso avele ayicabangele, lapho kubalekela ukuthi umuntu akhulume nje into ayithandayo engenasiqiniseko ngayo angithi uyayibona leyonto? Kwamanje nje kuhle kabi into uyizwe ngomuntu, ungathi ngoba uzwe into yenzeka ngale itholwe omunye mayisifika kuwena ayisafani, injalo yayibona leyonto?

T.M: Kunjalo.

S.G: Sekukhona okufakwe opelepele noshukela kuleyonto ufuna uyizwe indaba njengoba injalo.

T.M: Kunjalo.

S.G: Yes, uyazi umlungu wavele wam'thatha ngaleso s'khathi uShobane [Masinga].

T.M: Aawu!!

S.G: UShobane inyama ayeyithengele umama wakhe kwadinga ayoyiphathisa abantu baseNanda amabhasini, kwadinga ubaba u-King Edward Masinga ngo *half past seven* afunde izindaba emoyeni zokuthi kuhamba kanjani ukulwa kwempi.

T.M: Aawu!! Masinyane kangako?

S.G: Ngaleso sikhathi, cabanga nje.

T.M: Aawu!!

S.G: Kwavele waqala, ilapho ke uyabona imisakazo yaqala kubamnyama ke yonke ke, nasoke isiqalo sabasakazi sabantu abamnyama.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Ngoba umuntu omnyama wayengacatshangwa nje.

T.M: Usho nako Goli nako Kapa yayingekho eyomuntu omnyama?

S.G: Umsakazo? Aayi!!

T.M: Aawu!!

S.G: Kwakukhona owesiLungu kuphela. UShobane uyena umsakazi wokuqala emoyeni

T.M: Mmhh!! Mmhh!!

T.M: Manje wena wayizwa kanjani le ndaba, noma kwakuyindaba ayehlale eyixoxa vele?

S.G: Cha umlando ukahle impela, umi kahle kakhulu. Ukhona emlandweni naye wayexoxa, naye futhi ukhona kuwo umlando bekuthi noma kunezinto ezithile mhlambe ebungazwa abaphethe beze nama records empilo yakhe ukuthi wangena kanjani yonke into wayiqhuba kanjani. Cha yinto nje enesiqiniseko leyo.

T.M: But ngisho ukuthi yena, ngoba uthi wena *I guess* nawe une-*first hand information* kwesinye isikhathi unokubhala kuyaye kungafani ncamashi nalokhu ayekusho yena ngqo ngomlomo. Yena ngokukhuluma kwakhe uyamkhumbula exoxa lendaba kanje?

S.G: Kakhulu bengimkhumbula kakhulu. Futhi kuhambelane nemibhalo.

T.M: Mmhh!! Manje yena bese athi…….manje laba abanye okwakuthiwa o-Charles Mpanza bangenaphi bona no Dhlomo?

S.G: U-Charles Mpanza eehh!! Ngeke ngasabalala kakhulu ngaye wake wavela wezwakala izwi lakhe lake lavela.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.M: Kodwake ngeke bandla bese ngilanda ukuthi lavelaphi ngayiphi indlela. Cha bandla ngeke ngikwazi ukwenaba lokho kodwa ema rekhodini kukhona yonke into iphansi. Ngisho ungaya kwi *Archive*,ama *Archives* ayaku *note* kakhulu,ungafice uyibone ibhaliwe. Ngisho abaphathi angithi ubaba uMasinga wayewumuntu weciko lezinto ubewina imikomelo emangalisayo kodwa wonu umphakathi ubethi mayefika, ngisho ungaya emsakazweni bayofike bakudlalele yonke leyonto, uzofike utshelwe ngoShobane.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: *The first black radio announcer*.

T.M: Manje kodwa u Charles Mpanza bemazi kanjani ukuthi wayekhona?

S.G: UMpanza emlandweni wakhe ngeke ngingene.

T.M: U-K.E wayengakaze axoxe ngaye?

S.G: Cha akaze.

T.M: Wayevele azixoxele ngaye?

S.G: Ngifike nje sekuxoxa yena, yabona ngisho emlandweni yakhona kunezinto phela futhi okuhle umsakazo imina bengenza lento khona, ama *archives* aqalwa yimi ayengekho kuqala. Kodwa umuntu kodwa owanikelwa lowo msebenzi ukuthi akawenze ngenhlanhla ke bathi angikwenze isikhathi sasivuma ayi! Agcwele nje. eehh!! sinezinto ezibhalwe phansi, sinezinto eziqoshiwe ziqoshwa khona abaphathi. Futhi bonke abaphathi abake baphatha ikhona lento.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Yes.
T.M: Zikhona nje la izinto zibhaliwe phansi?
S.G: Aaw! Ezibhalwe phansi namazwi akhulumayo ayayisho lento. Yabona nje izinto ayezenza ezinye zazo zikhona lapha.
T.M: Mmhh!!
S.G: Zikhona impela.
T.M: Awu! Uyazi mina angikaze ngizithole ke.
S.G: Awukaze uzitholephela zisemsakazweni.
T.M: Ngicabaga ukuthi nasemsakazweni abanye abanalo lo lwazi wena onalo.
S.G: Khona impela ngiyakuvumela, yabona umsakazo unothile ikhadi yakhona aay! Aay! Angifun ukuk`khohlisa unothile yabona nje walelizwe la ushona kaZulu unothile aay! Unothile. Futhi ukuqala komsakazo aayi! Kwakhuthalwa zasebenza izinsizwa, into ongayithola lapha kungakhathala wena.
T.M: Usho?
S.G: Aayi!Kungakhathala wena baba, into nje elapha ungamangala.
T.M: Manje koda ke mina engifuna uku-*understander* ukuthi nawe ngokukhula kwakho wawusesemncane ngaleso sikhathi sempi, manje ngifuna ukuthola o K.E babedlala mculo mini ngaleso sikhathi?
S.G: Yabona umculo ka K.E. ubesho umntaka mlondo ebengafihli, yabona uShobane mayeqala angithi ke eqala la enza lo msebenzi wakhe wempi, angithi ke impi yabanga khona kwaze kwaba isikhathi eside kakhulu, angithi uyabona? kwabuye kwatholakala manje ukuthi uthi ma eqeda izindaba mhlampe kube nesikhashana ebese efaka ingoma.
T.M: Mmhh!!
S.G: Angithi awekho ama *record* ayikho leyonto, waqala ke manje ukuthi kufanele ayo rekhoda, a-rekhodisa abantu ngoba manje ukuthi kufanele ayo rekhoda, arekhodisa abantu ngoba emsakazweni phela kwaku rekhodwa. Waqala manje wathatha imishini arekhodise abantu. Yabona izinhlelo azikhuthalela zabantu kwakukhona uhlelo lwakhe olwalubizwa ngokuthi Ezibomvu olwaluludlala i-traditional music.
T.M: So umculo ayewuthanda kakhulu uK.E. i-*traditional music*?
S.G: Wayeyithanda kanti ke wayensipho nje ukuthi uShobane noma ungamfaka kuphi wayefika ayenze into yenzeke, aay!! Cha wayephiwe.
T.M: Manje engizama ukuk'thola ukuthi ke kulama *records* ayewadlala wayekhetha nhloboni yomculo mawukuthi uyo rekhoda?
S.G: Yabona ayebuye ahambisane ne *taste* yabantu ukuthi bathandani, yabona izingoma zakhe ezinye ayezidlala enye oMameyiguda.
T.M: oMameyiguda.
S.G: Eehhe!!
T.M: uMameyiguda angimtholi u *sounder* kanjani?
S.G: Wake wamfunaphi wangamathola?
T.M: Ngake ngamcela la e *SABC*
S.G: Aay! Angazi ke baba, wazi rekhoda lezo zinto oMameyiguda ezazidlalwa uShobana lezongoma.
T.M: Ngoba ngezwa nanoNontombi Dlamini.
S.G: No Ntombi Dlamini, ibika lakh eke lelo.
T.M: Ibika lakhe lelo?
S.G: Eehhe!!
T.M: Awulicule mayelicula nje.
S.G: Yabona nje eyokucula ingoma eyayithi…ngizosho amagama ayo yayithi angithi amadoda akuqala ebeganwa isithembu?
T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Yabona waye cula ingoma ithi umfazi mayebona indoda iganwa ufika abe musha angithi phela usezamamanje ukubangisa lo nkosikazi omusha osefikile

T.M: Mmhh!! Yabo kube ungu K.E ubezoyicul, ngoba wayethand ukucula….

S.G: Ehhe, iyona ngoma yakhe ke leyo. Wabhala ama *drama* nama *series* uShobane wawabhala. Ikhona nje i -*drama* yakhe yokuqala angazi noma ikhona yini aqala ngayo ngqa kwakuthiwa *Yase Izoshada* kusho ukuthi kwathi seyizosha kwakhona okonakalayo le ntombi isizoshada.

T.M: Eehh!! Mmhh!! Kuthiwa igama layo *Yase Izoshada?*

S.G: I-*title* yayo, isihloko saleyo *drama* yakhe.

T.M: Manje yini laba abanye bathi i-*drama* yakhe yokuqala kwaku u *Chief above, Chief below*.

S.G: Amanye awo lawo.

T.M: Mangase ungichazele wena kabanzi, ku khona owake wathi u K.E wayeyigagu,

S.G: Ay! Wayeqinisele njengoba ngithi ubumfaka yonke into nje phela angithi uzwile ngithi ubungamfaka kuyo yonke into ayenze ubugagu ke leyonto, akubona ubugagu lobo?

T.M: Kunjalo vele, kodwa manje u Tracey….i –*relationship* ka K.E. no Tracey yayinjani?

S.G: Yabanhle kakhulu phela u Tracey wathola ukuthi ayi bo eyi kunobuchopho la. UTracey wamsebenzisa impela. Kodwa ke owathi wafika, naye wafukula kwabonakala, ku khona insizwa eyayi *director of programmes* kodwa yaqala iwu-*director* la eThekwini u-Mr C.D. Fuchs lowo ke wayemuhle ngoba wayehlala phansi futhi naye.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Ezwe uvo lwake, uyena owadala ukuthi kube nomsakazo wabantu abamnyama lo ow*Ukhozi* namhlanje ube khona. Yabona eqala uShobane engena izindaba zokuqala zaziwi 3 *minutes* yasibona leso skhathi?

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Zaziwu 3 minutes kodwa wadudula ke u Mr Fuchs kwa uyena odala izindaba zenyuke, wadudula u 3 *minutes* kwaya ku 30 *minutes* kwaya ku 1 hour, kwaya ku 1& *half*, kwaqhubeka njalo.

T.M: Kwakulokhu kudlala kuyo I-*English service*?

S.G: Kwaku *medium wave* uShobane…

T.M: Kwaqala kwi *medium wave*?

S.G: Kwakuyi *English service*.

T.M: Bese I-*Afrikaans service* yayiku…..

S.G: Ay!!Kwakuyiziteshi zabo laba abanye abahlukene. Kodwa la uShobane wayefake ihlombe kwi *English service*.

T.M: Yayingakhali kwi *Afrikaans service*?

S.G: Cha.

T.M: Ok, so ke solokhu sibuyela nje kwezinye izinto kodwa siqhubeka sibe sikhuluma sibe sibuyela.

S.G: Khululeka.

T.M: Ngoba le ndaba imnandi iya ngokuya nje iyajula.

S.G: Khululeka baba usekhaya.

T.M: Manje kodwa ngizama ukuthola ukuthi…..yabo ngendlela u K. E. aba umuntu wokuqala ngayo, ngizama ukuthola ukuthi iyiphi ingqondo yakhe, i-*mind set* yakhe yayinjani ngoba i-*mindset* kaMasinga. Manje mangibona ukhuluma ngento yobugagu ngicabanga mina ukuthi mangilalela laba be-*English service* ukuthi babe naleyonto e-*formal*. Bese kuba khona u K. E. ozoba noku phapha, umuntu oyigagu mina ngokuzwa kwami umuntu ophaphile. So awungichazele lokho nje ukuthi…..

S.G: Ngingakubeka ngokwami nawe angikuphikisis indllela yakho, umuntu oyigagu umuntu oyiciko.

T.M: Eehhe!!

S.G: Ehhe!ukuphapha ehh!!....kuye kulumele mawuthi umuntu uphaphile nje kuyalumela, yabona nje omunye ngeke ngeke nizwane mawungathi uphaphile, angith`uyabona? ukuphapha

ukuthatha into kodwa aayi ngendlela uyithathe ngamawala nje uyithathe ngendlela engenasizotha ukuphapha ke lokho, yayibona leyonto? Indlela enganambitheki, yena wayeyigagu, wayeyigagu yena, yabona nje igagu umuntu onesu lokubeka into ibe mnandi inambithek ithandeke, igagu ke lelo.

T.M: Oohh!!

S.G: Yabona ukuphapha kuthi akusho enye into.

T.M: Ooh!!

S.G: Njengengane uyaye uzwe kuthiwa uphaphile wena, kusho ukuthi khon`izinto ezenzayo ezingahambi kahle.

T.M: Manje koda ke ngobugagu bakhe wena mawungaqhathanisa nabantu ababekhuluma isiNgisi kwakuyini eyayenza o Tracey bak'thande ubugagu kuye, koda ubugagu kungasiyo indlela abesiNgisi ne *Afrikaans* benza ngayo, kwakuyini lo mqondo lo?

S.G: Ubugagu obukanje Mr Mhlambi. Ubugagu ukuthi mawuya kumuntu umbuke umuntu ukwazi ukwenza enye into azoyithanda aayi uziqhamuke ngalendlela oyiyona, angithi uyabona kunalowo mehluko. Ukuthi ungumZulu unalento ayeyiyo, kodwa wayekwazi ukuyi *presenter* ngendlela emnandi. Ubugagu bufana nomuntu wesifazane okwazi ukupheka kahle, osukela amaklabishi eluhlaza, kodwa apheke ngendllela yokuthi ukudle ukudla akudlayo uze ukhotha i- *plate*, ubugagu ke lobo. Wayengenzi into akufunze into ayiyo uShobane, wayaye abone ukudla okudlayo ukuthi yini ozozwana nayo uyithande. Nayi into eyamdalela udumo phela akekho umuntu owayengafuni ukulalela uShobane, ngisho ehamba ngoba iziphongo kwaku' uflathela zimbuke nje, wawungeke ubheke le edlula ungamboni.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Aayi, angifuni ukukhohlisa, umuntu obeyigagu enobuciko lokwenza izinto, eyazi into efunwa umuntu. Nasemoyeni ubona aduma kangaka kwathatha isikhathi esingaka emoyeni ngoba wayeyazi into emnandi kubantu ababem'lalele bayithathe ngendlela .Yabona bayithande wayazi ukuthi yini abazoyithanda mayeyenza. Wayeneciko ngalendlela yokuthi yabona, yabona ngangike ngihlale mina ngi record naye. Yazi….

T.M: Cela ukufaka lokhu emehlweni ube ukhuluma ngilalele.

S.G: Yabona wayekwazi uShobana wayeye abe nenkulumo ibe mnandi yomculo ubuthi uzowudlala ugcine ungawudlalanga umculo ngoba manje uyabona mangithi akayeke ukukhuluma ngiqhubeke nelokhuza, ngizophazamisa okuncono kune *record*. Wayephiwe bandla.

T.M: So…wayekuthanda ukukhuluma yena?

S.G: Wawumlalela ungaqondile ngoba into azoyisho uzosho into emnandi ngalendlela.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Yes.

T.M: Manje enye into engizama ukuyithola ukuthi ke mawuthi wayenobugagu, wayehluka ngani ngoba ngiya *understander* abanye abantu kukhona abanye abantu abangawathandi amasiko bethanda kakhulu izinto zokuphucuzeka. Kubekhona laba abathanda izinto zokuphucuzeka kakhulu abangayithandi nhlobo izinto zokuphucuzeka bathande izinto zamasiko kuphela u K.E. wayemephi yena lapho?

S.G: Yabona uShobane ngobe besengike ngachaza ekuqaleni ngisho ungamusa kuyiphi inhlobo yombuthane wayefika a-*fit*. Ngoba uyabona la emculweni njengoba ngikutshela kwakune *traditional music* yonke into ewumculo uShobane wayazi ayikho wayengayazi esontweni waye aziwa into azofika ayisho esontweni waye naleso sphiwo nje bandla.

T.M: Ooh!!Wayesonta?

S.G: Eehhe, wayesonta e-*UCC*.

T.M: Yini i-*UCC*

S.G: Kwakuthiwa i-*United Congregational Church*.

T.M: Ooh! Ok.

S.G: Yabona njegoba ngisho futhi khona into wayephiwe yona ukuhlonipha into yomunye muntu yonke into, aayi!! Njengamanje la umuntu mayethi ungenzi into enthandwa uye kube ngathi awenzi lutho ayenza yonke into ibe nendawo yayo yabona nje kumanje sekukhona o-*Heritage* day kwenziwa izinto zokuletha wonke umuntu azokwenza angakwenza uShobane kwakuyinto yakhe ke leyo. Yazi uShobane wayenesiphiwo esiyisimanga wawungamthatha umuse kube Suthu bayo ncama baze bangafuni, ahambe umuse emaXhoseni. UShobane nje umuntu waye dalwe ngenye indlela lento okuxoxwa ngayo kubekhona kwabanye uzwe kuthiwa kuyabandlululwana. Ehh!! Bakhona abantu abawuhlobo oluthile abashawayo kuShobane yayingekho yonke leyonto, wayemukeleka ngisho ungamusaphi……

T.M: Manje lokho kakungasho ukuthi nepolitiki yakhe yayiyithanda kwesinye isikhathi ukushayisana nabantu ababelwela inkululeko?

S.G: Yazi lapha nginento ngoba sila, kukhona into ngeke ngayilokhuza engiyaziyo elapha emsakazweni engathi mangikukhombisa yona nimbone uShobane wayenjani. UShobane wayengezwani nobandlululo wayenenkani uShobane, waye ngayena uvuma zonke uShobane

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Yes kunenkulumo yakhe elapha emsakazweni eyake yakhulunywa omunye umuntu umlungu owayephethe wake watshelwa uShobane wathi yazi umhlaba uyonakala nje akufanele wathi yazi abantu uNkulunkulu ngoba abadala nje abantu banjengo *piano*.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Abantu bonke abamhlophe aba *brown* abamnyama abanjani wathi uNkulunkulu wayenenhloso enhle kabi ngokudala abantu abehlukene kanje. Wathi uyabona u-*piano* ngeke uthole umculo omuhle mawuzoyeka ama-note amhlophe uyeke amnyama ngeke uwadlale ama-*note* amnyama ushiye amhlophe. Cabanga ke ngezikhathi zakudala zobandlululo wathi manje koniwa umhlaba ngalento yokuthi uthole kuthiwa kukhona omhlophe khona onjani wathi umhlaba… yabona uNkulunkulu wayedale ukuthi sibe ndawonye sonke, makuyilawo mazwi kungawafela kanjani, mayekwazi ukutshela umlungu?

T.M: Eehhe!!

S.G: Yes uthi uyazi Mhlambi makungaziwa leyonto umhlaba unganokuthula. Wathi ngeke udlale u *piano* udlale ama-*note* amnyama ushiye amhlophe noma ushiye amhlophe udlale amnyama, wathi lowo mculo awupheleli.

T.M: Kodwa manje sengisho mina ngokwe…ngenxa yokub`iskhathi se…isikhathi sepolitiki senza ukuthi…sesiyaphetha manje ngicabanga ukuthi isikhathi sethu…mmmhhh…ngizama nje uku *manage* isikhathi… ngenxa yokuba isikhathi sepolitiki naso sisho ukuthi indlela owawu *negotiater* ngayo nabelungu yayenza ukuthi kwesinye isikhathi izinto ogcina uzenza ugcine futhi zikuxabanise nabo noma zikuxabanise nabantu abamnyama abathize, yena akazange ashayisane nalawo makhanda?

S.G: Aayi! Yena waba nenhlanhla, azange yabona uShobane wayenenhlanhla engandile ngoba angikhumbuli ngisho ephepheni kuliwa ngendaba yakhe ukuthi unje, uthanda ukuchoma wenza yonke leyonto…

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Cha ay! Ngabe ngiqamba amanga.

T.M: Ubani umuntu ongacishe umfanise noShobane esimaziyo manje odumile?

S.G: Ehh!! Cha! Ay!Badumile bonke Mhlambi.

T.M: Ngisho ukuthi umuntu nje mhlampe ay! Osemsakazweni kodwa nje ongacishe umfanise naye…..

S.G: UShobana eeh! Ngiqhele kabi Mhlambi ngingakacabangi bakhona abantu beNkosi abakwaziyo ukwenza izinto….

T.M: UZuma yena ungathi unjani?

S.G: Eeh! Cha uyasebenza u [Jacob] Zuma, uyakwazi ukwemukeleka uyemukeleka bandla aa!! Ngeke ngidle amandla akhe aay! Ay! Eeh! Ikhona into engiyithandayo futhi kuyena nje nge ka Shobane unenhlonipho loyamuntu yazi.

T.M: Mmhh!

S.G: Yazi uMsholozi mangingaqhathanisa nabanye angazi ngingamthini yazi uMsholozi ngeke umbone ephoxa umuntu angikaze ngimbone ephoxa umuntu. Kufana nomuntu ekhuluma into ozwayo ukuthi ayinambitheki eyiqondise kuyena, uyiphendula ngendlela eyisimanga yabona uMsholozi uyilenhlobo yomuntu eeh othi yena uyithela ngobumnyama yena abe ekuthela ngokukhanya.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Uphila impilo eyodwa uMsholozi ngiyayithanda kabi lento yakhe. Ngisho ungathi kuMsholozi kodwa uMsholozi akayena lomuntu eeh o-*correct* into e-*wrong* nge-*wrong*, akakwenzi lokho uMsholozi, uMsholozi u-*correct* into e-*wrong* nge-*right*.

T.M: Ooh!!

S.G: Nansi into engingayibeka kuyena.

T.M: So u-K.E wayecishe abe kanjalo naye?

S.G: UShobane wayecishe abe njalo, yabona uMsholozi ungamthumela ngishophi. UShobane ngiyambeka kulelo zinga. UShobane ungamubeka nomaphi futhi mawuhamba naye wawungafiki lapho uya khona ngoba nanivinjwa.

T.M: Aw!

S.G: Aayi! uShobane uma kuke kwazakal' ukuthi ula abaphathi baleyo ndawo edlula uyozwa sebem'vimbile ukuthi ayi, ngeke ake sikubone kancane, ake ubonwe abantu kancane. Waye ne siphiwo lowamuntu eeh! Mntaka Mhlambi ngeke impela ngize ngimkhohlwe

T.M: Awu!

S.G: Ay! Wayenesiphiwo, engenamona.

T.M: Mmhh!

S.G: Engena nhlizembi impela.

T.M: nam ngiyadabuka ukuthi angizange ngimbone kodwa ke….

S.G: Zikhona izithombe zakhe wake wazibona?

T.M: Aa! Mawungangikhombisa…..

S.G: Ngizoke ngikukhombise, asingaqedi la sothi ngelinye ilanga sibuye sihlangane.

T.M: Eehhe!!

S.G: Ayi! Asibuye sihlangane kuningi okukhona lapha ongamangala mawungakubona.

T.M: Ee!!

S.G: Eehhe!!

T.M: Ayi! Kodwa ke lokhu osungitshele kona nje la nami usumenze waba umuntu engimhalelayo nje kanti bekwenzeka ukuthi izinto bekade ngizithola zakhe kwabanye abantu nakwezinye izindawo bezithanda ukunga nambitheki kahle.

S.G: OK aay!!

T.M: Bezimenza umuntu ongathi uvuma zonke.

S.G: Mmh!! Aay! Kanti wayenenkani lowa muntu angifuni ukukukhohlisa into nje mayi ngeyona asiyona, wayaziwa futhi ngalokho.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Yabona ubaba uMasinga, mntakaMhlambi ngokwami akabongwanga ngokwanele.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Yabona isikhathi sakudala Mhlambi kuye kwakhona isikhathi la ubandlululo lumi ngenhla kubantu wathola ukuthi umuntu omnyama uzibona ukuthi uncono mayengez`ukugqama ngokuthi ngoba unguMhlambi nje wazi umuntu oyisiZulu nje efake eziningi ngoba khona into

ayeye ayisho nje izi *mara-mara*, umuntu umfice elona ulimi lwakho khona kuzomukeleka kubengazathi uncono.

T.M: Wayeyisho into yokuthi *mara-mara* yena?

S.G: Isi *mara-mara*, wayethi isi *mara-mara* leyonto.

T.M: Ooh!!

S.G: Lento yokuthi umuntu abenamahloni ngolwimi lakhe. UShobane phela izilimi zabantu abamnyama nangoke umuntu owamela wavikela izilimi zabantu abamnyama baziqhenya ngobumnyama babo. Njengoba uye uzwe kukhulunywa ngo Steve Biko.UShobana waye yileyo nhlobo yomuntu, uyena muntu ke loyo owavikela izilimi zabantu abamnyama ukuthi umuntu akaziqhenye ngo limi lwakhe uShobane ubungeke ukhulume into ebukela phansi….wayengakufuni lokho lutho hhaee!!!

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Khona nasesilungwini wayegingqika. Wawumbiza emhlanganweni aawu! Wayevele aginqike cha yayikhona leya nsizwa.

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: Impela baba.

T.M: Aayi! Asiyibambe lapho ke baba ngibonge kakhulu, ngibonge nange sikhathi sakho, nakho konke nolwazi olujulile osunginikeze lona.

S.G: Aw! Bantu nami ngiyabonga siphinde sibonane baba uyezwa?

T.M: Mmhh!!

S.G: INkosi ikubusise *amen*.

Appendix 2: K E Masinga Interview by English Presenter

Transcription of Audio by Thokozani Mhlambi
[Date unknown; circa 1953-1962], SABC Archives, Durban.

Lady: We introduce King Edward Masinga. First Zulu announcer of the SABC and many years Chief Zulu announcer at our Durban studios

K.E: Zulu!! *Ngiyanibingelela mabandla ka Mjokwana ka Ndaba*. From the Zulus up to this day are very proud of those were great Kings are greeted by our own people when they start to address them in any sort of am meeting. Which simply means to say "I am greeting you Zulus on behalf of the early Zulu Kings Mjokwana and Ndaba."Of whom the Zulus to this day are very proud of. Those were the greatest and the highest Zulu kings before Shaka was born.

Lady: Mr Masinga for many many years you've been a broadcaster

K.E: Yes

Lady: But we would like you to tell us of those early years before you became a broadcaster. Where did you grow up, where did you receive your schooling?

K.E: I grew up at the ehh! Bantu Home Lands of the Indwedwe District. My parents were the type people of the Hinterland as the matter of fact my father was born at ehh! The place now called Dingaan Stad right in the heart of Zululand, my mother too was just born in those places. My parents were amongst the first converts of the white ministers missionaries, the Reverend Doctor Ling Lee who ministered to the Dutch people in the Orange Free State, had some trips to Zulu-Land to come and preach the Gospel of God to the Zulus. It was during that time my parents were Christianised they were taught the three Rs of education and they became the teachers of the time, by the method of teaching the others the way they were taught themselves and when the Ministers or the Missionaries of the Legion marched down across the Tugela, my mother and my father were there. But they were still girls, they were not married yet not even engaged one another. So when they came and settled at Mission Station which they afterward called the Inanda Mission Station, where today there is a very big ehh! Girls College known as Inanda Seminary and thereafter there was ehh! The big college which is still there today called Ohlange Government High School. That is during the time when I was born. First of all I was a heard boy as all the Zulu boys did, something which people use to call peculiar about me not knowing I was being prepared for broadcasting as I think today. I used to be a conductor of the boys singing the traditional songs and dancing the traditional dance s on the hills and the slopes of Inanda……ehh! Native Reserve right out in the Indwedwe. I became the conductor, I became their leader. I became their all really along the slopes of Bantu Land. What strikes me really very deeply is that when I started broadcasting here, there was hardly any Zulu song on the shelves of the SABC library.

Lady: How did you go about collecting this?

K.E: I remember first record was by Mamey Guda. Mamey Guda had the first group that recorded the xenophone records. There are no xenophone records now I think they are extinct. The first record that was heard over the air was *Alubuye Ukhamba Lwam*, that is the drinking song of the Zulus as they drink around this earthin were round dish goes around those to whom it has not come will say "*malubuye ukhamba lwami*" meaning to say well it must take its round until it comes to me again, let it takes its round until it comes to me again. Well that record became very much exosted Ehh! I had to think otherwise. The manager of the SABC had told me that I was the organiser of the Zulu office the what was known as the Zulu programme, I spent a lot of my time outside trying to organise my quares to come and broadcast every evening at 7:30. I had three nieces right out in the country, I went out to

them the first one the eldest one was Badudulile, the second one was Nomsizi and the baby of them all was Ntonto, two of them are late now. I taught them the traditional Zulu songs as I used to teach heard boys right out in the mountains, I taught them how to dance. I brought them to the SABC studios where they recorded. Those were the first record I made here, which were recorded being sung by my three nieces. Well oh! They were not paid anything as children they were just given sweets. A Zulu child or Zulu man really does not need traditionally does not need any pay for any little bit of the mercies and kindness that he does, he always has satisfaction that he has done good to other people. In that way I went along made records. The records were still made on glass records.

Lady: Were they cut directly on to the glass record

K.E: They were cut directly on the glass records, even when we went out for outside broadcasting we carried the blank glass records recorded on them.

Lady: As those were the primitive days before…..

K.E: Really those were the primitive days

Lady: tell us more about those primitive days the very early days of broadcasting for the Zulu.

K.E: Eerh! The earliest days for the Zulus, the Zulus were surprised to hear the voice of a Zulu man speaking in Zulu over the air and they thought that well the white people *abathakathi*.

Lady: (Laughs)What does that mean?

K.E: A *mthakathi* means a wise person a very wise person in other words it means a wizard.

Lady: Yes.

K.E: a wizard is a person so wise that he can do things that no other people cannot do. They were very much astonished to hear somebody speaking in Zulu over the air, they were very curious to know, and when I went home and they will ask me a lot about broadcasting about how white man does it, and whether I had stopped to be a black man anymore:"are you Masinga a black white man now."How can you be heard over the air and especially when my record was played when I was at home, that is something that really confused the a great deal when my record was played there and they heard it at home. I thank the white people of the time although some of them now are not there, they helped me in the organisation of broadcasting. Some of them brought sets for their kitchen girls and garden boys, they allowed them to listen into this and I used to go to the compounds. When I visited the compounds, I visited the hostels, I went as far as Empangeni, I went around all those hostels and compounds collecting the reactions of the people. I wrote them my replies each day at nine o'clock. I used to bring to the manager the reports of my reactions the people were saying. The very difficult people were the chiefs. I remember once upon a time talking to a chief right out at the Empangeni ehh! The chief said to me "its not good to make people speak over the air because they would be spooks.

Lady: (Laughs)

K.E: I will never again forget a person who passed me at Allwal street and said to me "Masinga have you joined the club of few of the fools all the people who get into this hear fools because I have always heard them at home when *Nkosikazi* has allowed me to listen in, I have heard the laughing at nothing and talking a lot." Well I believe he heard some drama being played. As the matter of fact the aim opening the Zulu programme for the *bantu* which afterwards became a bun and a blessing up until this day, it was during the war when the government wanted the people to hear the correct news of the war and really the correct news not to hear just subversive propaganda from ehh! Man in the street first of all I would read the news about how the war was going on after reading the news the few minutes then I would play one record or two records. It went on like that, I remember when war was declared finished, well I thought that was the end ehh! Of my career as a broadcaster I thought I was going to be terminated. I went to my manager and said to him yes bas tell me

now what am I going to do now that the war is finished, is it the end of my appointment? He only Masinga I really don't know, but I'm still going to find out. I don't know whether he found out but the following morning he told me that well we can just go on until we are told that we must stop. And now what we are going to do we are just going to entertain the people and tell them the news as we are going to give them to you. It went on like that. The time was just undersized to 5 minutes. We started with hardly with 5 minutes and now when the war was over the manager told me that we are going to take 5 minutes every morning and 5 minutes every evening from 7:25 to evening 7:30 you must have finished all your broadcasting oh! Well I was very happy I thought I was doing something .It went on like that and again I went to him when my people got used to the broadcasting they liked it really they loved it now, they were getting used to it. I has organised the quares they said look here my chief ehh! My people would like to have their time extended. The time was extended up to 10 minutes. After that now is seemed as if I was talking to the rock if I respectfully demonstrate it for the extension of time. Time couldn't be extended, I tried all my best went to my chief to send my representation of my people my chief said well this is all a think Masinga we can get. I had organised the quaers, I had organised the schools but time was rather too short. And not very long from there my shifts were changed. Now came the era of ehh! Regional directors. That was the time when I met Mr CD Fuks. I had never met Mr CD Fuks, I remember the first day when I met Mr CD Fuks I saw him coming in the foyer, quiet looking man with a nice round face it was still his younger days than today. I went to him without being told, I was afraid to greet him as my very senior. I just took his to the potmentals, I led him upstairs. I don't know whether I did right or wrong. But I had already been told somehow that he was my new chief. I took him up and I placed him at the office of ehh! Secretary who was a lady by the way who is the lady Cole Mrs Cole

Lady: Yes

K.E: As you may remember Mrs Cole was very thankful she took Mr Fuks to his office, Mr Fuks smiled at me and thanked and I was very much encouraged and happy. I went back to my work and worked as usual.

Lady: I wanted to ask when was the time when half hour programme for Zulu started.

K.E: The time foe Zulu for half hour Zulu programme that was during the time of Mr Fuks. Mr Fuks had worked a lot for that half hour. Before it was half hour it became 15 minutes and went on with 15minutes for a very long time. I went to Mr Fuks again and I asked him to extend the time Mr Fuks is a wonderful man, he is a person of wonderful fair play and fair game. He would telephone the SABC headquarters in Johannesburg when I was in his office, he talked to them while I was there, I heard them speaking myself. They used to tell him as I heard that the time was not opportune yet. It went on like that until one good day Mr Fuks called me to his office and told me that well Masinga now you can prepare your programmes for 30 minutes, you got 30 minutes now. It was announced over the air to the Zulus who were very much delighted to know that they were going to have half an hour every day, and for that reason I have always thought and I said that Mr Fuks was the father of Radio bantu but Mr Fuks well I wouldn't say he didn't like to say he was the father of Radio Bantu because really he liked Radio Bantu a great deal and he is the man who has worked for Radio Bantu as I say he has when I was there he felt that today I am the father of Radio Bantu.

Lady: Yes. So when the programmes were extended for 30 minutes, you obviously had provide much more materials?

K.E: Yes.

Lady: So how did you go about getting the materials and the artist?

K.E: That was the time when Mr Fuks gave me the duties to go out into the country. I went out for six weeks. Once upon a time it was a recording engineer and myself only we went right up to Zulu-Land, Northern Natal ehh! Western Natal right down to the boarders of Ponder land, We used to make this ehh! Glass recorded music records and we sent them back to Durban each time whenever we had made some many and so much we railed them to Durban and SAR was very careful not break those records, so that as we record, we recorded in the country those records were brought down to Durban where they were being played so that when we tuned there we heard the results of our recording.

Lady: What about writing stories for radio, surely you must have heard many Zulu legends and materials…..?

K.E: Oh! Don't talk about that legends. I heard a lot of legends that I had been told b my grandparents. Before I go to that, I would like to say that I had been used by Mr Hutting ehh! Who was the first Afrikaans announcer. I told him this Zulu tales, Zulu tales in English. He wrote some plays in Afrikaans. Those plays went over the air. In the course of time, there was a lady announcer who was known as ehh! Mrs Swan, she came here from overseas during the war she was appointed as the announcer. Having seen and heard of the ehh! Of the plays that we made over the air with Mr Hutting she asked for some stories too I gave her some stories in Zulu some Zulu legends she dramatised them I participated in those stories I saw how this plays were written and how when before the sweeping boys threw away the papers, I used to pick the papers with the…..the scripts that were being lost. I didn't only read them I studied them. I read them really over and over again. I saw how plays were made that helped me a great deal when I looked how the plays were made. After that I enrolled to a certain college for drama and radio journalism in Johannesburg they sent me a lot of materials to read and how to write drama, and how to write plays and radio drama and all that journalism. I was not interested in the news paper journalism seeing that I wanted to broaden up my scope in broadcasting. I wanted to know a lot about broadcasting. One day Mrs Swan recommended to me a certain college of drama I English. I wrote to that college. I enlisted as a student of drama they sent me lectures I remember paying 25 Pounds and then they sent me lectures for a year. Now it dinged to me how plays were being written and my first play that I wrote was about a girl who was about to get married who was engaged and she was getting ready to get married by the following day but the previous day, the bridegroom visited the girl when she visited the girl e didn't find the girl misbehaving at all. He was really passing to play a football game at Amanzimtoti. The man asked for his suit which was coming from the laundry. The girl didn't like her husband to go to that football match which was going to end in a very big socialising in the evening with the lot of ladies from many institutions and hospitals and then the girl sat on the suit which was coming from the laundry from the dry cleaner the boy tried his very best to say where is my suit Jumaima? She denied the knowledge of the suit when at last he pulled Jumaima by the hand to find that she was sitting on his suit and the engagement was broken. I wrote some drama on that. It was very interesting, the heading was *YASE IZOSHADA*.

Lady: And what does the title mean?

K.E: Meaning simply means to say that the girl who was about to get married.

Lady: Now Masinga you also translated shake spear into Zulu?

K.E: Yes, I translated shake spear after I had existed all the resources of folk tale, Zulu history, Zulu literature, creative stories that I wrote about. I wrote about many subjects in Zulu history and literature and I wrote biblical stories. I wrote about road safety. I wrote about the crime does not pay cereals. Those plays I think they are still there the manuscripts are still there. I even translated the man of God which was a cereal of the prophet of God which has recently broadcast in the BBC. I translated them put them over the air, Mr Fuks was very proud of

me. Mr Fuks was very very happy about it. Mr Fuks was my push wind by that meaning to say that he was my chief encourager during the time of Mr Fuks, I felt as though I was doing something. I felt loving my work, because really I had somebody encouraging me every day.

Lady: Yes

K.E: Mr Fuks made more than that. Nobody has ever been entrusted with a cheque book. I have got that pride in my life concerning the SABC and Mr Fuks. The SABC well I am not sure of other places, I feel like saying it's the only place which can entrust a man, an ordinary servant with a cheque book. I made cheques. I issued cheques to my artists. I made small cheques and big cheques at the end of the year the government ehh! What will I call him ehh! Book keeper….

Lady: Yes

K.E: Yes, I may call him a book keeper and checker came and didn't find anything that had gone wrong ehh! With the cheques that I had made. And then after that I thought that there are great white men stories which my people have never heard except those people who had the privilege to go to the colleges and that is shake spear. I took my shake spear book. I read about Shilock, I thought Shilock was very good. I started translating Shilock into a play, I put it over the air. Oh! the people would love it a lot. The schools, the hospitals, the secondary schools and the high schools and the teachers felt as though it was a very good idea to teach Shilock in Zulu.

Lady: Yes.

K.E: It was encored every time over the air. Seeing that had scored there. I thought of writing some more. I wrote about ehh! The Tempest, they liked it again. I have said that I wrote about the Marhant of Venis. I wrote about Hamlet a Prince of Denmark. After that I wrote about Macbirth. After that I translated Julius Ceaser. Julius Ceaser was one of the favourites, and Romeo and Juliet took Johannesburg location by a storm because an their……..what was that again……televi……no no it was not television.

Lady: Ready fusion.

K.E: Ready fusion, on their ready fusion it was peapet over and over again that was Romeo and Juliet, and yet I thought that I liked the comedy of eras, and also I translated Enthny and Cleopatra and my last one was King Leah.

Lady: Yes, would you say that there was one out and out favourite amongst all this shake spear that you translated?

K.E: Ehh! The favourite for the schools was Julius Ceaser. The favourite for the ehh! The elit class of Johannesburg town folks and Durban was ehh! Romeo and Juliet. And Markbirth was the favourite of the rank file of the Zulu.

Lady: That is very interesting. There is another question I want to ask you about this translation: Did you actually translated shall we say word by word or curtain spice added or were there adaptations rather?

K.E: Ehh! No I didn't translate it word by word. Shake spear has got a style of his own in writing his English. He writes more idiomatically as Zulu is spoken. A person who knows high Zulu will just speak in idioms. Shake spear writes like that.

Lady: So actually it was not too difficult to translate the shake spear an idiom into Zulu idioms……..?

K.E: ……Zulu idioms, yes one thing I would say that it will only take a person who is good at his language to translate shake spear and any other language of course one must know his language very well and love it.

Lady: Yes .Did you encounter any particular problems with any of this plays or there was any one of them that was perhaps difficult to translate?

K.E: Well I wouldn't say ehh!.....I think Enthny and Patlas there were some difficulties there are a bit until I had to go and buy a special shake spear dictionary and commentary.

Lady: Yes. That was the old history of course before Christ?

K.E: Yes.

Lady: And perhaps it was when so far back that they were hearing their thing that one has sort of look up?

K.E: Yes

Lady: Yes. Now let's talk about the artists that got to help and the other announcers there were appointed later on surely you couldn't have done all that by yourself I know you did for many years?

K.E: Yes.

Lady: When did you begin to get more staff to help you?

K.E: I began to get more staff….I don't know what year Sishi was employed. I had to work for about four years without any annual leave because when Mr Fuks mentioned to me that I was entitled to a leave I didn't like to leave my work just by itself. I was partly afraid that when I had gone my bosses would prove that ehh! Bantu broadcasting could be done without.

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