

INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN POPULAR MUSIC,  
THE BROADCAST MEDIA, AND THE RECORD INDUSTRY :  
1920 - 1983

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (MUSICOLOGY)  
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC  
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

BY  
MELVEEN BETH JACKSON

DURBAN  
DECEMBER 1999

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an historiographical and sociological study of Indian South African broadcasting and the music industry between 1924 and 1983. A multilevel approach which integrates empirical and cultural materialist critical theoretical methodologies reveals the relationships between the media, industry, economy, politics, and culture.

Until the sixties, Indian South Africans were denied the civic rights that were taken for granted by white South Africans. Broadcasting, for them, was to be a concession. On being declared South Africans, broadcast programmes were expanded and designed to pacify and Indianise Indian South Africans, preparing them for their role as a middle-class racially defined group, a homelands group without a homeland. South Africanised popular music, and Indian South African Western semi-classical, popular music, or jazz performance was rejected by the SABC. Ambiguous nationalisms shaped Indian South African aesthetics.

Global monopoly controlled the music industry. Similarly, disruptions in the global market enabled local musicians and small business groups to challenge the majors. In

the late forties and fifties, this resulted in a number of locally manufactured records featuring local and visiting musicians, and special distribution rights under royalty to an independent South Asian company. The local South African records were largely characterised by their syncretic nature, and generated a South African modernism which had the capacity both to draw and repel audiences and officials alike.

A glossary of non-English terms and a discography of Indian South African music have been included.

The whole thesis, unless otherwise indicated, is my own original work



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The financial assistance of the Institute for Research Development of the Human Sciences Research Council towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this dissertation and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Institute for Research Development or the Human Sciences Research Council.

I am deeply indebted to Chris Ballantine with whom I have worked for over twenty years as a student and as a colleague. He has generously shared his intellectual and academic self with me and provided unstinting support to me when times got tough.

My sincere thanks go to:

Vatsala Ramchandra (aka Maya Devi), with whom I travelled back to the forties and fifties, an astonishing time in Indian South African popular music history. Through her spirited memories and her remarkable singing voice, at times I almost felt as though I too had lived these experiences.

"Farooqi" Mehtar who shared his life's work with extraordinary honesty and concern that it lives on in archival collections for the benefit of scholars, poets, musicians, and audiences to come.

Shehnaz Tootla who assisted me in retrieving vintage press documentation, and who, with Hajra Mehtar, and Yacoob Mehtar, helped me more intimately to understand the late "Farooqi's" work.

Sushila Singh who generously shared her memories of her father's broadcast experiences.

Jugadeeshan Devar for his detailed explanation of his broadcasting principles.

Sri Gopalan Govender, and his pupil Magendiran Moodley, who, between them taught me to play the *mrdangam* and instilled in me a deep passion for Carnatic *kacheri* which will enrich my musical life as long as I live. Through them, and my performance study experience, I was able to create close ties with people of Tamil and Telugu extraction.

Deepak Ram, whose world class *bansuri* flute playing and close friendship brought me closer to Hindustani classical music and its South African exponents.

Madhavan and Krishnan Nair whose memorabilia and love of music helped me on my way.

Suksha Singh for introducing me to the dance heydays of the fifties.

Kalaimani A.G. Pillay for allowing me to use his considerable collection of historical documents and photographs.

Dr Henning, Mr Chetty, Yogi Moodley and Dolly at the Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville for accommodating me for five months in order that I could do intensive archival research.

Rob Allingham who inspired and shaped my interest in South African matrices and record labels.

Veit Erlmann who said "What about some work on the SABC?"

William and Robyn for finding things for me when my sight let me down, getting my computer operations back on line, not letting me give up when luck seemed to be looking the other way, and for just being there.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Literature Survey and Need for the Study.....	1
General Objectives and Theoretical Framework.....	5
Scope, Dissertation Structure and Reflexivity.....	8
Introduction to Chapters Two and Three.....	11
Theoretical Framework, Hypotheses and Methodology for Chapters Two and Three.....	13
Introduction to Chapter Four.....	18
Introduction to Chapter Five.....	23
Introduction to Discography.....	24
Contextualising the Study: Social, Political and Economic Factors.....	26
Immigration: "Another System of Slavery".....	27
Immigration: Imperial Prospect for Trade.....	31
Urbanisation, Industrialisation, and Assimilation.....	33
The Indian South African Press.....	46
Anti-Indian Legislation, Disunity, Resistance and Collaboration.....	49
REFERENCES.....	59
NOTE.....	65
CHAPTER TWO.....	67
LICENSED LISTENERS, SCREECHERS AND CROONERS, AND MIXED UP STYLES - THE INDIAN PROGRAMME : 1924 - 1948.....	67
Upliftment and Entertainment for an Urban Elite : 1924 - 1939.....	68
War-time CPS : 1939 - 1942.....	73
"Good" Music : 1943 - 1949.....	74
Racism and Elitism - Applesamy and Naidoo : 1943 - 1949.....	85
Protest : 1938 - 1946.....	87
NIC, IROA, and Public Protest : 1944 - 1945.....	92
Community or Race? Protest : 1946 - 1948.....	95
Indian Radio Owners' Association : 1946 - 1948.....	106
Advisory Committee Members Resign : 1948.....	108
Conclusion - Broadcasting : 1924 - 1948.....	110
REFERENCES.....	112
NOTE.....	117
CHAPTER THREE.....	120
CONCESSIONS, NEW SOUTH AFRICANS, AND INDIA CALLING - INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE BROADCAST MEDIA : 1948 - 1983.....	120
Audience Reception and Protest : 1948 - 1953.....	121
A.D. Lazarus : 1953.....	124
Ramchandra B. Jessery : 1953.....	125
Concessions to Cultural and Political Limbo : 1953.....	132
Living With Concessions : 1953 - 1961.....	135

Cultural Engineering for an Imagined Community : 1957 - 1960 .....	138
Programme Expansion - Softener for the "New South Africans" : 1962 .....	144
Further Expansion and Cultural Apartheid : 1972.....	147
Radio Lotus and Tricamerism : 1983.....	152
Beyond The Indian Programme - Enculturation with BBC and A-IR .....	153
For Indian Music Only! : 1924 - 1972.....	161
South Asian Nationalism - Record Marketing via A-IR .....	168
Conclusion - Broadcasting : 1948 - 1983.....	169
REFERENCES .....	175
NOTE .....	182
CHAPTER FOUR.....	184
OUR BROADWAY MILK BAR, PRIZED PAPAD, PICKLES, AND RECORDS ARE THE ENVY OF EVERYONE - THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN RECORD INDUSTRY : 1920 - 1970.....	184
Indian South African Record Distribution - EMI, GCI, Goshalia's and Monopoly Capitalism : 1920s - 1948 .....	184
Indian South African Record Manufacturing - Now Hear Them On the Record - Cavalcade : 1942 - 1945.....	201
Sanctions and Shalimar Record Company Distribution : 1946-1953 .....	217
Sanctions and the Fall of Goshalia's : 1946 - 1953 .....	217
Sanctions and Shalimar Young India Release Labels : 1948 - 1953.....	223
Sanctions and Shalimar Record Company Manufacturing : 1948 - 1953.....	227
A Riot of Rhythm and Hot Music.....	227
The Mogul Label .....	229
Shalimar Filmi Duniya and Shalimar Labels.....	235
Parody Style, Piracy and "The New Form" .....	247
Shalimar Young India and Young India Shalimar Release .....	252
Label Icons - Nationalism, Militarism, Love and Peace.....	252
Technology and the K Matrix.....	258
Sanctions and the Fall - Free Razor Blades, Candlewick Bedspreads and Huge Clearance Sales : 1953.....	260
Phoenix Rising – Goshalia's H.M.V. and Columbia South African Pressings .....	261
Sanctions - Indians are Worst Sufferers : 1950.....	261
H.M.V. SAD and Columbia DSE Labels : 1953.....	262
Post-Shalimar Local Manufacturing.....	265
Royalties - "They Weren't Fair!" .....	267
Conclusion - Indian South African Record Industry : 1920 - 1970.....	273
REFERENCES .....	275
NOTE .....	283
CHAPTER FIVE .....	289
THE BROADCAST MEDIA AND THE RECORD INDUSTRY : A CULTURAL MATERIALIST ANALYSIS.....	289
Modes of Production .....	290
Broadcast Media and Record Industry : Sites of Struggle .....	292
Further Research .....	297
REFERENCES .....	301
APPENDIX A.....	304
GLOSSARY .....	304
APPENDIX B.....	306
DISCOGRAPHY DECEMBER 1999 .....	306
INCOMPLETE ENTRIES: FROM RECORD SLEEVES.....	341
INCIDENTAL ENTRIES: FROM THE PRESS.....	342
NOTE .....	346

## TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Come to us for Your Radio .....	75
Figure 2: C.P.S. News – Have You Heard it?.....	75
Figure 3: Indian Radio Cavalcade.....	79
Figure 4: Some Screeches and Tom Toms and More Blah.....	101
Figure 5: Colonial Broadcast Technology Versus Immigrant Culture 1952.....	104
Figure 6: IRLA Questionnaire .....	140
Figure 7: All India Radio General Service Programme.....	157
Figure 8: Your Success is the Community's Success.....	163
Figure 9: Music from the BBC London.....	170
Figure 10: All India Radio Calling Indians in South Africa .....	171
Figure 11: Goshalia's Music Emporium .....	186
Figure 12: A Columbia Gramophone is an Investment .....	187
Figure 13: Choonilall Bros. General Merchants and Direct Importers.....	188
Figure 14: Columbia Sole Agents.....	192
Figure 15: Great Sale for His Masters Voice, Columbia and Twin Records .....	195
Figure 16: Sole Distributors of H.M.V. and Columbia Indian Records throughout the Union of South Africa and British Protectorates.....	196
Figure 17: The Music Gems on Broadcast .....	199
Figure 18: It's Fashionable to Dine at the Cosmo.....	205
Figure 19: Kardani - Fantastic Magician .....	205
Figure 20: Jazz at the Avalon .....	205
Figure 21: Nisar Quawal and the "Radio Cavalcade" Boys.....	207
Figure 22: Indian Radio Cavalcade Presents Maya Devi in Songtime .....	209
Figure 23: Now Hear Them on the Record.....	211
Figure 24: Indian Radio Cavalcade Presents Sing Baby Sing.....	212
Figure 25: Cavalcade's Deluxe Production Sing Baby Sing.....	213
Figure 26: Songtime Programme .....	214
Figure 27: Songtime Programme .....	215
Figure 28: Maya Devi .....	218
Figure 29: Cavalcade Record Label and Sleeve.....	219
Figure 30: Last Shipment of Gramophone Records .....	222
Figure 31: Shalimar Young India Release .....	226
Figure 32: I.M. Mather - The Mogul H.M. 101 .....	230
Figure 33: Publishers of "Shalimar" and "Mogul" Indian and "Nyakaza" Zulu Records .....	231
Figure 34: Every Dealer was Sold Out.....	232
Figure 35: Modern Indian South African Records .....	237
Figure 36: A Riot of Rhythm and Hot Music .....	238
Figure 37: The Well-dressed Man Gets the Best out of Life .....	239
Figure 38: Come to us for Radios and Radiograms.....	240
Figure 39: Always in Demand.....	241
Figure 40: "Be Lovelier Tonight!" .....	242
Figure 41: When the Call is for Beauty .....	243
Figure 42: Getting Around with Commando Round.....	244
Figure 43: Shalimar Filmi Duniya and Shalimar Labels .....	254
Figure 44: The Mogul 'Pakistan Set' and The Mogul Modern Qawwali Labels .....	256
Figure 45: Shalimar Young India and Young India Shalimar Release Labels .....	257
Figure 46: Exclusive Distribution Rights H.M.V. and Columbia Indian Records throughout South Africa.....	263
Figure 47: Voice of Hindustan Sleeve.....	268
Figure 48: Voice of India Sleeve.....	269
Figure 49: Parveen Sleeve .....	270
Figure 50: Taj and Salamat Labels.....	271

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Literature Survey and Need for the Study**

Scholarly writing about Indian South African music and culture has been a sadly neglected field in musicology. When I became interested in reconstructing and analysing the history of Indian South African music in the eighties, there were no studies upon which I could build my work. It was a case of starting at the beginning, and chipping away at the mountain with a toothpick. There are still very few scholars researching Indian South African music practices, but it has been heartening recently to find doctoral and masters research in Indian South African music and related Indian South African cultural spectra attracting scholars (Goodall 1991a; Veeran 1996; Annamalay 1992), international ethnomusicological and musicological journals showing interest (Pillay 1994; Jackson 1989b; 1991a), local publications seeking articles in this field (Somaroo 1989), conferences hosting papers (Jackson 1986; 1988; 1989b; 1991b; 1991c; 1994; Goodall 1991b; Gokool 1996), and cultural groups collecting biographies (Kuppuswami 1993).

Academic literature on related South African popular music and culture, conversely, has been richly propelled forward in monographs by researchers such as Ballantine (1993), Erlmann (1991; 1996), Hamm (1988), and Coplan (1985) in the past decade or so. All of

this work has been placed within the context of South African racial, political, and cultural conflict. A few, like Hamm (1991), have grounded some of their research directly on the media. Others refer to effects of the media, while focusing on relations of class, urban and rural dynamics, ethnicity, race, political-economy, historiographical reconstruction, and music style.

Literature which distinctively investigates music and the media in the Southern and other African regions includes Huskisson (1978), Stapleton and May (1987), Allingham (1992), and Andersson (1981). Huskisson's work is restricted to a photographic history of black musicians sparsely linked by information about record houses and labels. It was published by the Bureau for National and International Communication, a government mouthpiece bent on providing propagandistic information about the "successes" accruing from apartheid separate development policies. Stapleton and May provide a valuable survey of recorded popular music, musicians, labels, and the transnational record industry in East, West, North, and Southern Africa.

No-one currently conducting research on South African records and the industry dare miss tapping Allingham's (1992) encyclopedic knowledge. His familiarity with label, catalogue, and matrix periodisation; recorded musicians, their memories and feelings; and the movements of industry personnel in the corporate world is legion.

Andersson's Music and the Mix might have been published sixteen years ago, but many of the issues she raised in 1981 have not yet found resolution in the South African media industry. Stories about unfair copyright and royalties contracts still appear

regularly in the press. Coplan, in his treatise on South African black popular music, describes Andersson's contribution as

an excellent account of how capitalist media and state broadcasting combine to alienate performers from their art and their communities and exploit black performing arts and artists for economic and political profit (1985:194).

Indian South African music media relations of production also raise spectres of an uncaring racial capitalist market economy, alienation, and exploitation.

South Asian music studies have fairly recently moved away from the premise that music has existed unchanged for thousands of years in India, ruled by ineluctable, autonomous principles. The new literature and conference presentations examine products and conditions of change, including mass media-generated popular music, and relations of power, including gender, caste, class, and economy. Researchers in these fields who have profoundly affected my own work include, amongst many others, Richard Widdess,<sup>1</sup> Bonnie Wade (1982; 1986; 1990), Paul Oliver (1988), Charles Capwell (1986; 1988), and Carol Babiracki (1993).

Studies investigating South Asian music in relation to the media fall roughly into four categories: the record industry; discography; music and broadcasting; and popular music, which encompasses all of the above. Documentation of the South Asian record industry has largely been defined by the work of Pekka Gronow (1981), and developed by Vijay Verma (1992) and G.N. Joshi (1988). Michael S. Kinnear (1985a; 1985b; 1988) and Elize Barnett (1975) have compiled discographies which provide the empirical data upon which other, interpretive research depends. Literature on the South Asian broadcasting media is fairly few and far between, but Chatterji's work (1987) and Keskar's notes on "good music",



which affected All-India Radio policy (1967), give us some idea of the classical/popular music debate which influenced events in the fifties and sixties.

For me, however, the single most important work on South Asian music has been that of Peter Manuel. I started my research into Indian South African music in 1983. In 1988, I was able to present a dissertation towards a Masters degree, in which I tentatively explored some of the parameters in the history of Indian South African music. I then embarked on a second level of study in 1989, not sure for some time, of the direction in which I would take it. With access to the publication of Manuel's research in Popular Musics of the Non-Western World (1988), "The Casette Industry and Popular Music in North India" (1991), and more especially, Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India (1993), it then became clear that it would be possible to investigate a comparable media-related Indian South African music history with Manuel's work providing something of a model, but mostly offering the connecting materials intrinsic to a diaspora study. Some Indian South African cultural practices have drawn on South Asian cultural practices and have been affected by South Asian conditions. I was unable to identify, for instance, how the global record industry affected Indian South Africans without knowing how it worked in India. It was largely through his research that I was able to discover what was really happening in India. His documentation and cultural materialist analysis of film and other popular music, the phonogram industry, and the effects of changing technology confirmed my own work. Cultural materialism (based on work by Raymond Wlliams) and parody style analytical methodologies had defined the research I had been conducting in isolation (1989; 1991; 1994; 1995). Manuel also provided empirical data, based on his own and others' current research, which I had been desperately seeking.

In 1988, Veit Erlmann drew my attention to the need for a study of the Indian South African broadcast media. I voiced a concern about availability of research materials. I need not have worried. As soon as I started to explore the vintage press, I realised that broadcast issues were so contentious, hardly a newspaper went by without having something about the Indian programmes. As mentioned below, I. Kistraj alerted me to the significant role played by records in the formation of some Indian South African cultural practices. "Farooqi" introduced me to the Cavalcade and Shalimar records. With Erlmann's prompting, and Kistraj and "Farooqi's" introductions, the availability of a prolific vintage Indian South African print media, added to the release of Manuel's monograph, it was clear that a study of Indian South African music, the broadcast media, and music industry was invited. Due to the close relationship between the means of production in the broadcast media in capitalist society and that of the phonogram industry, it seemed to be essential to combine these two fields in one study.

### **General Objectives and Theoretical Framework**

My overall objective in preparing my current historiographical study of Indian South African popular music has been to contribute towards the growing body of knowledge about the relations and practice of popular music in South Africa, Africa, and the Indian diaspora. The main theoretical premise in this thesis is that all cultural production, though relatively autonomous, is shaped by political-economic material factors. Like Middleton, I interpret this Marxist principle from the position of Gramsci's insight that relationships between culture, consciousness, and experience at the superstructural level, and economically deter-

mined material factors at the base level, are always the object of ideological struggle (cited by Middleton 1990:8). Williams cautions us against reductive Marxism where

the received formula of base and superstructure ... in ordinary hands converted very quickly to an interpretation of superstructure as simple reflection, representation, ideological expression (1980:19).

Williams states that it is dangerous "to take at face value the implied relations between the state, the established cultural institutions, and the market" (1981:102). Such an approach would overlook the "asymmetry" which often shows itself as deep-seated contradictions. The need for caution is expanded by Middleton, who suggests that in avoiding a theory and practice of reductionism it is necessary to view the relationship between music and society as dialectically reciprocal, "the product of negotiation, imposition, resistance [and] transformation" (Middleton 1990:8). It is in Williams' sense (1981:35) that a cultural materialist theoretical framework in my thesis simply poses a set of working hypotheses, a starting point from which my critical analysis has been projected.

In proposing the scope for a sociology of culture, Williams suggests the following areas to be investigated:

- 1) the institutions and formations of cultural production;
- 2) the social relations of culture's specific means of production;
- 3) the ways in which, within social life, "culture" and "cultural production" are socially identified and distinguished;
- 4) the social basis of specific artistic forms;
- 5) the processes of social and cultural "reproduction"; and

6) general and specific forms of cultural organisation (1981:30-31).

Falling flexibly (i.e. redefined in Indian South African terms), within the scope of Williams' six areas to be studied in a sociology of culture and using a non-reductive cultural materialist framework, I examine aspects of Indian South African music, the music industry, the music media, and signification. The cultural practices of Indian South Africans are mediated by ideologies of language, religion, ethnicity, gender, and politics. They are also mediated by geographical and historical location. These ideologies and physical and temporal factors are the overdeterminants of South Africa's racist, class-bound, capitalist political economies of colonialism and, subsequently, apartheid.

I have attempted to bring together what once were viewed as two diametrically opposed research traditions: Marxist critical theoretical and empirical communication research. Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott have indicated that there is a fairly widespread dissatisfaction with both the 'atheoretical' liberal pluralist approach which has tended to favour empirical research, and with the 'grand-theoretical' Marxist critical analysis approach which has shunned empirical research (1982:14-16).

Williams states that

theoretical constructs derived from empirical studies and their extension or generalization are always likely to presume too much in the transition from local and specific to general concepts. On the other hand, it is only from such studies, at whatever degree of reflection or theoretical remove, that we can begin to shape, test and substantiate our conceptual descriptions (1981:34).

It is my contention that empirical research and Marxist cultural materialist theoretical analysis can with useful effect be conducted interdependently and simultaneously, though

not necessarily requiring equal emphasis. In my study, the main focus has been on historiographical reportage for two reasons.

Firstly, because this has been ground research (i.e. the first to be attempted in the field), it seemed sensible to trace the historical passage of each sub-topic in order to grasp a view of the whole, with its diachronic elements of change and continuity.

Ethnomusicology and music historiography have always relied, too heavily usually, on descriptive accounting. On the other hand, critical sociology often relies excessively on theory which does not always demand a disciplined empirical substantiation of conclusions. It relies at times on assumptions emanating from theory, rather than theory growing out of evidence. It also inhibits further debate, further interpretation, further critique, and reflexivity since it presents a terminal product. Borrowing both from ethnography and historiography, I have attempted to provide the evidence in detail which I have subsequently, if relatively briefly, exposed to aspects of critical sociological interpretive theory. This allows the possibility for future researchers to revisit this historical account with other epistemological principles, and to examine the data with new, and possibly, enlightening results. Recognising "the possibility of multiple receptions, and of relevances to several possible discourses" encourages an accountability which accepts the "full historical and political implications" of one's research projects. (Marcus and Fischer 1986:166).

### **Scope, Dissertation Structure and Reflexivity**

I have chosen to investigate the history of the broadcasting media as it pertains to Indian

South Africans in Chapter Two (1924-1948) and in Chapter Three (1948-1983), and the Indian South African record industry in Chapter Four (1920-1970). The period between 1920 and 1983 was bound by the common themes of political and cultural oppression, ambiguous nationalisms, burgeoning modernism, and growing monopoly and racial capitalism.

Chapter One introduces the discrete themes and objectives, theoretical framework, and methodologies for each of the following chapters and the discography. Chapters Two, Three, and Four offer a loosely chronological description of historical events, interwoven with critical analyses. Chapter Five suggests some cultural materialist analytical findings. The discography in the Appendix is a work in progress which, it is hoped, has an intrinsic value of its own; it also provides empirical data which, along with other source materials, informs Chapter Four.

The South African history traced in the following chapters is marked by conflict, balkanisation, and struggle for identity. Some Indian South African popular music proffered one possible solution to reducing the dehumanising effects of South Africa's racial oppression. Through discrete aspects of interculturality, some musicians and poets aimed at achieving social integration. Apartheid ideology has financially and socially ruined South Africans by relegating them to separate and unequal social, political, and financial ghettos. In his recent book Culture and Imperialism, Edward Said points out that in the struggle of the colonised against imperial powers, narratives of emancipation and enlightenment in their strongest form were also narratives of **integration** not separation. The narratives encompassed the stories of people who had been excluded from the main group but who were fighting for a

place in it. And if the old and habitual ideas of the hegemonic group were not flexible or generous enough to admit groups that were outside the circle of power, then these ideas needed changing (1993:xxx).

This, I think, is true also about narratives of the South African oppressed. But we must consider the possibility that cultural resistance in the form of cultural separation, or cultural difference, might have been seen to be necessary under certain historical conditions. Black, or in this case, Indian pride manifested in the form of cultural "otherness" has played a role in the Black Consciousness movement's struggle against apartheid. In the study of Indian South African popular music, we see both South African interculturality and cultural separation being used as means of building individual capacities for opposing hegemonic and oppressive forces, with political and economic integration as the end goal. Much, indeed I would say most, popular Indian South African music has some qualities of interculturality, but it can also be simultaneously intercultural and ethnically and/or racially exclusive.

Edward Said suggests that the historiographical investigation of culture in imperialism and the cultural resistance to imperialism "by no means exempts the aggrieved ... peoples from criticism" (1993:xxvii). There is always, he cautions, "a need to keep criticism before mere solidarity" (1993:63). Again, I think this is true also of the South African oppressed. Encouraged by the self-critical intelligence of Indian South Africans such as I. Kistranj Raghavan and "Farooqi" Mehtar, I have striven in this study of Indian South African popular music, the media, and the phonogram industry to be both sensitive to the conflicted position Indian South Africans found themselves in, and to be critical in the hopes that an

understanding of the past can enable cultural activity in the new South Africa to become a humanising force towards a shared, just, equitable South African identity.

### **Introduction to Chapters Two and Three**

The South African English and, alternately, Afrikaans service radio broadcaster programme commonly known as The Indian Programme or The Indian Session, was ostensibly designed exclusively for Indian South African listeners. Its history, especially after the Second World War, is one of hegemonic, ideological, ethnic, and class contest. It is this contest, and the historical context in which it takes place between approximately 1924 and 1972, that I seek to document and analyse in these chapters. Battle sides are drawn between Indian South African organisations, individuals and the state; between liberal-humanist educators and entertainment seekers; between Tamil and Hindi speakers; between Hindu and Muslim; between the Audition Committee, announcers, performers, listeners and broadcast officials; between working class and educated elite; and between South Asian and syncretic culture practitioners. Due to the literate qualities of the Indian South African struggle, which was facilitated and encouraged by a very competitive print media, broadcasting became an overt and highly visible site of struggle carried and constructed by the press. Between 1938 and 1972 the Indian press is pervaded by letters of protest about broadcasting concerns. "Letters to the Editor" in the Indian South African press also reveal the permeation of internecine contest for control of the media and media culture.



The titles of chapters two and three suggest five of the main contested issues to be addressed here:

- 1) the "step-fatherly" attitude of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) which perceived broadcasting for Indian South Africans as incidental to its main objectives, as "concessions", despite the growing number of licensed listeners;
- 2) the attempted forging of South African Indian middle-class culture through "classical" and "folksy/religious" policies - received and jointly characterised and criticised by many as "screeching and crooning";
- 3) the challenge to this type of "upliftment" approach or to the crude concept "upliftment" itself by the seekers of entertainment and producers of Indian South African popular syncretic culture - a culture which was seen by the indophiles and puristic educated elite as "mixed up styles";
- 4) the declaration of the "new South Africans" in the sixties which had a marked effect on broadcasting; and
- 5) the role played by India's and Pakistan's external services in the formation of Indian South African cultural identity.

Apart from the classical/popular and Indian/Western conflicts mentioned above, there were a number of programming issues around which the contest was fought. These included the question of air-time given to recorded or live music, to Hindi or Tamil music, to Hindu or Muslim music, to music or "talks" programmes, or to amateur or semi-professional performers. The lack of listening time and poor programme material, despite the payment of radio license fees, mobilised large numbers of Indian South Africans into what could almost legitimately be called "a community". This potential was, however, given the lie by the fragmentation that was incurred in attempts to address the problem. One way or another, Indian South Africans were outraged at the designed negligence with which the broadcast media refused to fulfil Indian South African radio requirements.

One of the many issues over which there was no consensus amongst Indian South Africans

was the place of Western music in Indian South African broadcast culture. In his introduction to African Stars (Erlmann 1991), Erlmann refers to Hugh Tracey's approach to the study and preservation of black South African music. Tracey denigrates all urban black South African music as "drab proletarian grey in imitation of others" (Tracey 1954:11). This analysis, according to Erlmann, "indirectly provided the scholarly underpinnings of apartheid cultural policies" (Erlmann 1991:1). Taking this interpretation of Tracey's role one step further, it will be seen that in The Indian Programme which, during the forties, was also deeply affected by, or at least harmonised with Tracey's SABC policies of cultural apartheid, any music that was not based on ethnic and preferably traditional or canonic norms, was not to be promoted. Thus there were no broadcasting possibilities for Indian South African "imitations" of Western culture. This situation persisted throughout the period under discussion. There was a large body of Indian South African musicians who were practising in the genres of Western art, church and parlour music, and Euro-American popular music, respectively. This corpus was rejected by the authorities, and by many listeners, though for different and complex reasons, as being unsuitable for their "Indianising" agendas.

## **Theoretical Framework, Hypotheses and Methodology for Chapters**

### **Two and Three**

The main thrust of Chapters Two and Three is the documentation of the empirical<sup>2</sup> and loosely chronological history of Indian South African broadcasting. A thick description, including events, people, policies, practices, and contemporary discourse subject to the constraints imposed on the data by my sources, constitutes the major part of this text. At

times, where it seemed appropriate, detailed citations of actors and research participants in their own words, have been included. My choice of this method has been influenced by, but as will be seen, not replaced by, the "de-authorisation" debate in current anthropology and ethnomusicology.

Like Hamm's work on Radio Bantu (1991), these chapters draw heavily on Tomaselli, Tomaselli, and Muller's pathfinding treatise Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa (1989) for a description of general African Broadcasting Company (ABC) and SABC programme policies and analytical models. Other sources of empirical data are the SABC-published Annual Reports<sup>3</sup> (1936-1972); letters to the editor, editorials, advertisements, and articles in The Leader (1940-1972), Indian Opinion (1924-1961), Indian Views (1924-July 1954),<sup>4</sup> Views and News (August 1954-1972), and The Graphic (1952-1970),<sup>5</sup> as well as a limited number of oral-history interviews. I have favoured the press as a source of contemporary discourse since it airs the voices of a great many listeners and musicians. This has no doubt resulted in my privileging the views of the literate middle class. But this methodology reflects an honest attempt to focus on audience reception by bringing to the reader's attention the words captured from the media that listeners themselves exploited over a wide period. No other ethnographic technique would have brought together such a diverse and widely-spanned spectrum of data in the time available for data collection. In line with current discourse on reflexivity, where I have thought the status of the extant data or the interventionist role of the researcher has had a profound impact on the research results, I have attempted to reflect this mediating role, either by introducing the context in which the data was collected, or, by using the first person to denote a departure from a "god's eye view" methodology.

Where appropriate, I have also incorporated findings from my own earlier research (Jackson 1988; 1989; and 1991). I am limited to these secondary archival and oral sources throughout this study of the broadcast media since there are, to my knowledge, no extant music recordings of broadcast material. Even when, from 1949, material was increasingly pre-recorded onto tape for use later as "canned" programmes (AR 1949:37), Indian South African broadcast tapes were recycled with no regard for the archival documentation of conceivably valuable historical artifacts (Devar 1994:Interview). Indian culture was only useful as racial ideology, not as South African heritage. There were no transcription records<sup>6</sup> made of Indian South African music before 1978 (Devar 1994:Interview). I have not yet been able to determine finally whether the tapes sent to Auckland Park after 1978 by Jugadheesan Devar were ever placed in the archive collection (Devar 1994:Interview). Martin van Staden, the librarian in the SABC archive department, told me that it was his opinion that no such transcription recording had ever been carried out. Van Staden said he had never come across any and none, to his knowledge, had ever been catalogued (van Staden 1995:Telephone Interview). The only extant material exists in the form of commercial recordings of Indian South African music, such as the Indian Radio Cavalcade records, and those on the Shalimar and The Mogul labels,<sup>7</sup> that were played infrequently over the air during the late forties and fifties. Despite the history-making nature of these recordings, they were hardly given any airplay by comparison with imported records.

Description of vintage data will be integrated with my own critical and interpretive analytical comments and, at times, those of a few research participants. The long-accepted theory in media studies that the broadcast media have been used to "legitimise the social, economic

and political organisation of society" (Hall *et al* 1978; Bozzoli 1981 cited by Tomaselli *et al* 1986:19) is the epistemological starting point for my analysis of Indian South African broadcasting relations of production and reception. This theory will be investigated against documentary archival records and oral evidence to assess the degree to which this was sought and achieved. That culture is not simply transmitted but is also generated by agencies in broadcasting (Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller 1989:10) is the second theoretical frame of reference for Chapters Two and Three.

Linked to these two theoretical axes, I have developed a number of hypotheses. The policies that shaped Indian South African broadcasting reveal the following, often contradictory, ideological aims:

- 1) to reinforce the colonial Indian South African class structure in the days of the African Broadcasting Company;
- 2) to repress Indian South Africans by inhibiting their cultural growth;
- 3) to Indianise Indian South Africans in order to forge a racial class that would fit comfortably into the racial capitalist apartheid grand plan;
- 4) to divide Indian South Africans ethnically, thus reducing the potential empowering impact of Indian consciousness and pride;
- 5) to reinforce inherent tendencies existing in some sections of Indian South African society towards new Indian South African middle-class values; and
- 6) to impose selective middle-class values on all Indian South Africans so as to reduce any revolutionary opposition to the state that might develop out of a multi-racial South African working-class culture and consciousness.

My overriding hypothesis is that the Indian programmes of the ABC and subsequently, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, are not merely reflections of Indian South African cultural practices. The Indian radio programmes intervene in the development or the attrition of cultural practices through broadcast media policies, selection of personnel,

attitudes to advisory bodies, funding strategies, air-time, and programming. The balance, however, between transmission and intervention shifts from time to time according to ideological forces at play.

My last hypothesis is developed from readers' letters to the press. I propose that despite the presence and intentions of active agencies in the guise of regional directors, audition and advisory committees, announcer/programmers, producers, and performers, the instrumental function of the Indian South African broadcast services was in some ways profoundly restricted. State and parastatal imposition of non-citizenship on Indian South Africans until 1963 was manifest in a consequential disregard for Indian South Africans' broadcasting requirements. This neglect illustrated crass and overt racism based on a political strategy designed to isolate Indians from other South Africans and from South African political, material, and cultural resources generally.

These hypotheses are linked by the notion that media culture is, in urban societies, the main source of ideology (Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller 1989:1). What appears to be "natural", "obvious", "highly realistic" in broadcasting is an ideological construct. This construct conceals as much as it reveals (ibid:18-19). Ideology obscures the productive, organisational, interventionist, or propagandistic qualities (which are themselves already ideologically vested) of cultural practices. To the insider, these practices are passively accepted as "culture", a "natural" set of common-sense semantics providing filters for interpreting the material world. By decoding and re-interpreting these semantic rules, by probing what is both included and left out, what is both manifest and non-manifest, underpinning ideological

signification can be observed, the "meanings" of which are determined by the epistemological assumptions made by the researcher.

### **Introduction to Chapter Four**

"Let's Face It!" In the late eighties, after a *kacheri* concert which I had organised for the violinist I. Kistraj and party, Kistraj said the following to me.

Let's face it! All our music was learnt from records. There was no other way for us to find out about Indian music. We listened and we copied (1988: Personal Communication).

This self-aware comment alerted me to the important role played by records in Indian South African cultural life. If the record media touched people so profoundly, there must, I argued, have been a well-established commercial organisation rich in historical idiosyncrasies and probably shifting modes of production.

Shortly before his death, and two months before I submitted my Masters dissertation, "Farooqi" Mehtar introduced me to the Indian South African Cavalcade and Shalimar record manufacturing phenomenon. I could not resist including this information in the dissertation in spite of my cursory understanding of it. I determined, at the time, to conduct a more intensive investigation into this fascinating, and incompletely researched history.

Kistraj and "Farooqi" helped to focus my attention on this current historiographical study of the Indian South African record distribution and manufacture industry. This history is largely the story of a monopolistic South Asian and South African distribution oligopoly. This monopoly is challenged by some concurrent efforts by independent distribution

companies, and threatened by periodic disjunctures in the monopoly stranglehold. At these points local and South Asian affiliates, or strictly local consortiums, took the gap. In order to trace the relationships between these forces, I investigate and describe the path of South African distribution and manufacturing agencies, record labels, music styles, musicians, poets, technological and discographic factors, and market responses. Musicians found themselves in a losing contractual position with local manufacturers where fixed fees exploited the goodwill of community musicians. Live performance practices articulated with records, and records with the film industry. These connections, in the context of South African political and cultural history, I attempt to reveal and analyse here.

The title of Chapter Four delineates two of the main issues under reflection. At a time when records were singularly scarce, Kapitan Balcony Hotel was able to declare that the records they had managed to secure were the "envy of everyone". The reasons for their being able to offer records, at a time when other dealers were really in trouble due to the temporary collapse of the conventional import monopoly, forms a large part of Chapter Four. The second issue, so theatrically captured in the advertisement from which I draw my title, is the vibrant fusion of East and West in Indian South African middle-class "modern" urban culture: Broadway milk bars spiced with Indian papad and pickles. Indian South African home-made popular music is painted with tinctures of Latin American rhythms, ballroom dancing, *boeremusiek*, Bollywood filmsong, and local Muslim and secular poetic songtexts in South Asian vernacular languages seasoned with English and South African slang. A large part of this study is devoted to uncovering the historical details expediting and impeding the viability of an Indian South African popular culture.



### **Theoretical Framework, Hypotheses and Methodology for Chapter Four**

The material data which formulates Chapter Four includes a few direct comments by musicians, such as Maya Devi, Sushila Rani, and Madhavan, who were directly involved in the recording experiences under discussion. Comments also by the poet/lyricist "Farooqi" and members of his family help to clarify and enliven the topic. At times, unnamed research participants have been quoted, the anonymity being required by the controversial nature of their information.

However, in the main, reconstruction of these historical events is deeply dependent on media artifacts themselves. I have drawn my data from the minutiae of advertisements, as well as articles in the vintage press, and the fine and other print on extant record labels and sleeves housed in private or institutional collections. This data has been underpinned by observations and suggestions made by Allingham, Director of Gallo Archives and discographer extraordinaire. Together, they make up the body of knowledge upon which I draw for my descriptive and critical analysis. I attempted, in vain and over a protracted period, to secure interviews with people who had actually been involved in the record industry, such as the Mather family. They were responsible for the Shalimar, Mogul, Young India sanctions-busting enterprise which went bankrupt. After failures in my attempts to draw in research participants from the industry, it became clear to me that I was not to retrace this history quickly, easily, or definitively. It was essential to wade through thousands of pages of press material, finding a clue in this three-line advertisement, and another in that. I was to travel, some times on goose chases, to many parts of the country, following up leads on 78 r.p.m. and 45 seven-single records which generous respondents thought were examples of

locally recorded Indian South African music. This was indeed a case for detective work and, at times, risky speculation, in the hopes that the final clues to the puzzle would at some point emerge.

This is not unusual for tasks of this nature. Malm and Wallis (1992) refer to the universal difficulty in directly sourcing data on the record industry due to an inherent need for business secrecy and suspicion on the part of the participants. Blaukopf argued for

types of activities akin to the collection of artifacts (though not totally absent from a theoretical framework) when trying to penetrate a media operation that does not normally open its doors to scrutiny (1974:231-234 cited by Malm and Wallis 1992:33).

While the "collection of artifacts", including collection of press documentation, has facilitated my reconstruction of an almost forgotten history, this study is constrained by many lacunae. It is my hope that others will take up the challenge, and take the next step towards filling these gaps, answering some of the many questions still left hanging, and challenging my sometimes speculative interpretations.

My first hypothesis in Chapter Four is informed by the unquestionable theoretical precept that the phonogram industry operates on a transnational level with the "Big Five" majors dominating the greater part of the global market (Malm and Wallis 1992:6 & 12). My investigation therefore starts from the premise that the Indian South African record industry engaged with the transnational process with marked resulting impact on music, musicians, and companies.

Since the aim of these competing economic forces is control of markets of scale, another

widely-accepted theoretical position in studies of the phonogram industry, my second hypothesis is that the controlling "major" in the Indian South African context would, as suggested in principle in another context by Malm and Wallis (1992:12), resist any moves to reproduce the music of the global superstars in a new cultural mode. Linked to this, it seems that providential forces provided the catalyst for the local manufacturing industry to emerge, independent as it was from white South African oligopolies and transnational monopolies. I also argue that as the forces interrupting transnational networks dissipated, global marketing resumed control. Andersson's discourse on urban black South African popular music and the industry also reveals the steps taken by Big Business to marginalise independents (1981:48).

A second theoretical point raised by Andersson finds synergy with the Indian South African music media. She debates the effects of what she terms "The BIG OVERSEAS", where everything emanating from abroad was considered automatically to be better and more economically viable (1981:49). Her observations are echoed in the dynamics of the Indian South African record industry. The overseas syndrome, redefined in South Asian nationalist terms and embraced by Indian South Africans finding themselves in a political and cultural limbo, was exploited in the interest of the controlling distribution business. In this instance, however, the syndrome may be seen as a redefinition of the global imperialist aesthetic which presumes superiority of the Euro-American product. Here the presumption is directed at the superiority of the Made in India product.

The theoretical view that the phonogram industry is inseparably linked to, and indeed dependent on, the broadcast media, is reflected in my final hypothesis. Malm and Wallis

(1982:93 cited by Malm and Wallis 1992:12) tell the following story.

In 1982, a senior European broadcaster described the relationship between radio and the phonogram industry as 'a marriage of convenience' ... We are like a department store where the record industry's products are on display

...

It is my contention that without the benefit of a "marriage of convenience" of this nature, Indian South African popular music was stunted in its growth. Due to the policy of cultural engineering held by the South African broadcaster, as detailed in chapters two and three, Indian South African popular music was prevented from playing the potential homogenising role that some musicians and poets imagined so clearly.

I have elected to use the "cultural/subcultural approach" to the study of popular music which "highlights the user end". In this approach, it is held that "individuals and groups use popular music for their own purposes" (Malm and Wallis 1992:18). I also take the epistemological position that cultural usages of popular music are clearly crossed by the dialectic that aside from cultural factors, what happens in the music media is also the result of technological, economic, and political occurrences (Malm and Wallis 1992:24).

### **Introduction to Chapter Five**

In my final chapter I expose some of the historiographical findings from chapters two to four to a neo-Marxist cultural materialist analysis, with special reference to selected guidelines proposed by Raymond Williams (1982). I describe the changing modes of production and their relations with formations of cultural production, reproduction of

social formations, social identification of cultural products, and their effects on cultural forms. A critical review of the Indian South African broadcast media and the record industry as sites of struggle follows. Suggestions for further research completes the chapter.

### **Introduction to Discography**

The discography in this study is the first attempt to compile a directory of Indian South African recordings. Discographies of South African music are few. Erlmann and Allingham's "A Select Discography of Isicathamiya" (1996) which uses Brian Rust's model (1980) has placed South African discography onto the scholarly research agenda. The discography in the South African Music Encyclopedia (Malan 1979:361-395) is a sad example, since it reflects only white South African classical, *volkslied* and parlour records, does not provide the matrix numbers, nor does it provide much about participating musicians or publishers.

"Towards an Indian South African Discography" is incomplete rather than selective. I have also noted partial references as starting points for future discographic quests. It does, however, reflect a wide variety of Indian South African recorded genres and most of the labels and record companies. Since the discography has been, and hopefully will in the future be, analysed with multiple objectives, I have simply organised the entries alphabetically by solo or solo ensemble names. Thereafter, I have taken all the information directly from record labels with no interpretive re-arrangement.

I have used the following model:

Soloists' names  
Title  
Label name and catalogue number  
Matrix number where available  
Language  
Genre or style description strictly as given on the label  
Poet or lyricist (composer)  
Arranger, accompanists, band or orchestra (music)  
Producer, manufacturer, publisher, distributor  
Source

The discography includes the following labels with local and visiting musicians:

1944	Cavalcade
1948-1954	Shalimar Shalimar Filmi Duniya The Mogul Shalimar Young India Young India Shalimar Release
1956	Star Gandhi Senthamil School Swami Sarithiram <i>tevarams</i>
1960s ff.	Voice of India Voice of Hindustan Indiana Salamat Parveen Indiavoice Gallo (Africa) The Sun Mosaic Taj Gallotone Independent

It also includes a few, rare examples of South African musicians who were recorded abroad, often as "vanity records", produced with their own funds. Records that were made in India and have been noted in the discography include K. Arumugam on the Hawaiian guitar (The Twin FT 6085), A. Coomaras Nayagar (Columbia GE 22021 CEI 90562-IBTR), K.A.

Ghandi violin *ragamalika* (Hutchins SN 800), V. Nataraj Mudaliar Tamil Christian basic<sup>8</sup> (His Master's Voice SAD 1015), and Natessa Naidoo Tamil devotional (The Twin FT 6897).

There is much still to be done in tracing the Indian South African records not included here. Matrix and catalogue numbers indicate that there possibly were many more records made by Shalimar Record Company, Raj Music Saloon and others. Records of Western dance bands were made and need to be located. I hope that this initial discography will attract other scholars who will add their findings to this hitherto neglected area of research.

### **Contextualising the Study: Social, Political and Economic Factors**

In the face of ever-increasing anti-Indian legislation and the struggle for identity, Indian South Africans rarely managed to present a united front. Far from being the homogeneous group to which apartheid South Africa relegated Indian South Africans for the purposes of political control, the 'Community', as it is euphemistically called by politicians of all kinds, is plagued by sectarianism and conflict (Jackson 1991a:175). From the first instance of immigration, Indian South Africans have functioned as a very small minority racial group populated by an inordinately large number of different constituencies who formed changing alliances at various historical junctures, and only rarely presented a completely united, communal presence.

### ***Immigration: "Another System of Slavery"***

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, between 1860 and 1911, 152 184 indentured workers arrived in the British colony, Natal (Bhana 1987:21). Needing cheap labour to develop sugar, wattle and tea plantations, and incipient industry in their colonies, the British looked to India for a solution.

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the British had taken control of large areas of the South Asian subcontinent and undermined the traditional cottage and feudal industries by flooding the market with their own manufactured goods, by encouraging the growth of non-edible cash and export crops, and by weakening the princedoms. At the same time, the *zamindari* and *ryotwari*<sup>9</sup> systems of land tenure saw peasant farms become smaller and smaller with each generation of sons and escalating land taxes, incapable of providing sufficient subsistence, let alone the land revenues required. Struck also by famine and drought, an unprecedented flow of displaced agriculturists and village crafters flocked to the cities, facing starvation and death (Henning 1993:7,8, & 15). Indentured labourers for Natal were recruited from this already traumatised and uprooted band, coming (Bhana and Brain 1990:22) mostly from Calcutta in the North West, and from Madras and its surrounding areas.

A comprehensive, unbroken statistical analysis of places of origin, language, religion and caste of the indentured workers is not possible due to the incompleteness and inaccuracies of the primary data (Henning 1993:37-38). However, the study of certain ships' lists and Population Census records over selected periods has indicated the trends. The largest number of indentured labourers came from the Madras Presidency (now Madras, Andhra



Pradesh and Orissa) and from the Ganges Valley (Uttar Pradesh), but small groups came from Bombay, Goa, and even Nepal and Burma (Bhana and Brain 1990:27). Between 1860 and 1886, 17 131 labourers from Calcutta and 17 678 labourers from Madras entered Natal (Meer 1980:311-312). Recruitment for indenture in Natal continued along these lines until 1911.

The indentured labourers as a whole formed a disparate group who spoke a variety of languages (Bhana and Brain 1990:27). Immigrants recruited in Madras spoke the Dravidian languages of Tamil, the largest group, and Telugu. There were also a few speakers of Malayalam. Those from the North, via Calcutta, spoke Bhojpuri, Hindi, Awadhi, Bengali, and Panjabi languages (Mesthrie 1991:15). The language of Muslim indentured workers was Urdu (ibid:16).

Not much has been written about the religious affiliations of indentured labourers. Bhana's study of ships' lists for the period 1860-1902, when most of the indentured immigrants were on the move, has indicated that a great majority were Hindu, 1.2 per cent were Christian, and 3 per cent were Muslim (1987:82). There is some indication that most of the Christian labourers came from the South, such as those travelling on the ship *Truro* which carried immigrants recruited in the Madras Presidency. The proportion of Christians to Muslims and Hindus in this ship was relatively higher than on ships from Calcutta (Henning 1993:32).

Indentured workers came from a number of castes and occupational groups. Basing her estimations on a random sample of eight boatloads, Kuper (1960:7) indicates that approxi-

mately 2 per cent were Brahmin, 9 per cent Kshatriya, roughly 60 percent were Sudra and Scheduled Castes, and the rest were Christian and Muslim. The majority of all indentured immigrants had, prior to emigration, been occupied in agricultural activities (Bhana 1987:83), but there were also artisans and members of the landholding class (ibid:84). The ship *Belvedere* carried gardeners, brahmins, chutrees [Kshatriyas or warriors], dairymen, pig-rearers, fruit-growers, potters, clerks, herdsmen, boatmen, leather workers, policemen, messengers, laundrymen, oil pressers, ironmongers, jewellers, a weaver, a confectioner, and an earthenware dealer (Henning 1993:38).

Conditions for indentured workers in all the colonies were generally appalling. The manner of recruitment, the suffering on board ship, the ruthless appointments which split families, the accommodation in barracks unfit to house people, the sexual abuse of women, and the lack of concern for cultural needs (deculturation) has all been documented in Tinker's *A New System of Slavery* (1974). Natal was no better. Henning cites incidents of flogging, slave wages, unhygienic barracks, profoundly restricted movement, deductions of wages in the event of workers' sick leave, poor rations (mealie meal instead of rice, no ghee, no spices), inadequate medical care, and inhumanely long working hours (1993:39ff).

The fact that most indentured immigrants "came as individuals, occasionally with kinsmen or friends, frequently with complete strangers" (Kuper 1960:9) made it very difficult to create close communities in South Africa. Furthermore, the heterogeneous nature of barracks inhabitants on the outlying estates, the unwillingness of employers to grant leave of absence for cultural events, the total absence of caste and kinship networks, the harsh life-style, and the financial impoverishment of the indentured worker created a specific, doubly displaced

and deculturised Indian proletariat. The reinvention of cultural identity, political empowerment, and financial strength would occupy this group and its progeny for generations to come.

One sub-group within the indentured immigrant group as a whole was far better off than other workers. "Special servants" earned two to ten times that of agricultural workers (Swan 1985:26), were protected by the nature of the special contract they had with their employers (i.e. were not exposed to the same anti-Indian legislation as other indentured workers), received better accommodation and better rations, and received medical services (Henning 1993:98). They were recruited in Madras to work as waiters at hotels, as cooks, gardeners, laundrymen, and as domestic servants (Swan 1985:26; Henning 1993:98). Henning describes this group as an expanding Indian middle class (ibid). The special servants certainly seemed to have been better able to retain their South Asian cultural identity due to their relatively homogeneous character and stronger financial position amongst other things (Jackson 1989b:62).

When issued with a free discharge certificate, ex-indentured immigrants were free to move within the borders of Natal, hence the name "free" (Bhana and Brain:43). Very few chose the option of a paid passage to India with the result that in 1886, the Wragg Commission reported that there were 20 877 free Indian immigrants in Natal to 8 951 indentured (Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission 1887:310). By 1891, there were three free immigrants to every indentured worker (Henning 1993:123). Some left Natal with or without the required licence to settle in other parts of South Africa. Free immigrants generally became labourers, market gardeners, or small farmers of sugar, maize and tobacco spreading

along the coast far north and south of Durban. A few moved into Durban or other towns where they opened shops and dominated the seine net fishing trade. Only a few were granted Crown land after the five-year indenture period, despite its having been promised to indentured workers arriving before 1874. Some market gardeners squatted on Crown land, others bought or rented land, starting with little or no capital in an environment of increasing anti-Indian oppression (Bhana and Brain 1990:43ff).

### *Immigration: Imperial Prospect for Trade*

The third group of immigrants from India consisted of passenger settlers. They migrated at their own expense, "as British subjects and under the ordinary laws of the colony" (Bhana and Brain 1990:23) with a clear motivation for economic prosperity (Kuper 1960:15). This migration from western parts of India was, according to Bhana and Brain (ibid:16),

part of a long-standing tradition of commercial expansionism among traders in Kutch, Kathiawad, Surat and Bombay, who had trade links with Zanzibar and the coast of East Africa since the seventeenth century.

Recognising the prospects for trade in the developing colonies, families sent out one person to open a branch of an established business in India. They generally then brought others to work in the Natal, Transvaal, or Cape businesses, or to marry their sons and daughters.

Passenger Indians came, mostly in the mid 1870s, from western India, from the districts of Surat, Valsad, and Kathiawar. The major towns and villages from which they came were Surat, Rander, Khovad, Kathor, Bardoli, Baroda, Navsari, Rajkot, Kalvad, Lalpur, Gondal, Bhanvad, and Ranavav amongst others (Bhana and Brain 1990:37-41). Some came via Mauritius where they already had successful businesses.

Although there were a few passenger immigrants from South India, the majority were Gujarati-speaking Muslims and Hindus. The Muslims included Memons and Vohras, and Konkani Muslims came from the Bombay area. The Hindus came mainly after 1890, some of them engaging

in petty trade, in contrast to the large-scale business ventures of a prominent handful of the original Muslim passenger Indians; others entered the service sector as shop assistants, accountants, bookkeepers, teachers and the like. There were also Khojas and Parsees among the passenger Indians, some of whom went on to become prominent businessmen (Bhana and Brain 1990:40-41).

The early Muslim traders were called 'Arabs' which distinguished them socially and politically from indentured labourers who were called 'coolies'. All Indian traders, including the few free Indian traders, were initially busy with supplying the indentured and free Indians, but they soon saw the opportunity for retailing goods to a growing black (African) market. After 1875, 'Arab' traders, i.e. passenger immigrants, began to dominate retail and wholesale trade, with branches in Natal, the Transvaal, and other parts of Southern Africa. In the 1900s, Hindu Gujarati traders began to make their mark. The advantage of all Gujarati traders lay in the connections, often based on kinship networks, they had with businesses in Bombay, Calcutta, and other commercial centres (Bhana and Brain 1990:66-73). Gujarati passengers also "appear to have arrived in Natal with relatively large sums of capital against which ex-indentured labourers found it increasingly difficult to compete" (Swan 1985:4). 'Arab' traders generally eclipsed their ex-indentured compatriots, who faced both this competition and competition with small-scale white traders (Bhana 1985:245). It was not until 1960 that a significant share of the capital base was owned by businessmen from Tamil, Telugu, and Hindi-speaking origins, and then the proportion was still only about 25 per cent.

This was in contrast to the period from 1870 to 1930, when all the business wealth was held in the hands of Gujarati Muslims and Hindus (Kuper 1960:59). But it has remained the case that it is largely people of Gujarati descent who have controlled the Indian South African business world.

### ***Urbanisation, Industrialisation, and Assimilation***

Although the majority of Indian immigrants were brought to South Africa to develop the colonial sugar, tea, coffee, and wattle industries, by 1910, only 35 percent were still working in agricultural occupations. Increasing numbers sought employment as domestic servants or as unskilled labourers on the railways, mines, or in the municipalities, mainly in Durban (Arkin 1989:44).

By 1936, 61.8 per cent of Natal Indian South Africans lived in the towns and cities. This swing towards urban living speeded up more rapidly after 1936 with the result that by 1960, 84.6 per cent of Natal Indian South Africans were urban dwellers, and the percentage grew to 90.2 by 1980 (Brijlal 1989:32). Urban occupation in Natal was mainly commerce, where traders and hawkers equalled the size of the the white trading class by the end of the Second World War (Arkin 1989:45).

Ex-indentured peasant farmers also left the land to work in the rapidly growing manufacturing industry, especially in clothing and footwear (ibid:46). This urbanisation and employment pattern persisted into the 1980s, with an increase in commerce. By that time, 68 per cent of all Indian South Africans were employed either in the manufacturing or

commercial industries (ibid:60).

The Indian South African population has never constituted more than 3.3 per cent of the total population. The following figures, in thousands, show the relative position of the size of the Indian population in South South Africa between 1936 and 1985.

	Whites	Coloured	Indians	Blacks	Indian %
1936	2 004	770	220	6 597	2.3
1946	2 373	928	285	7 832	2.5
1951	2 642	1 103	367	8 560	2.9
1980	4 528	2 613	821	16 923	3.3
1985	4 854	2 884	866	19 203	3.1

(Brijlal 1989:27)

Although the relative proportion of Indians to South Africans is extremely small, for the purposes of this study, it must be noted that at the time of Union (1910), about 88 per cent of the Indian population lived in Natal. This had declined to 81 per cent by 1946 (ibid:29) but seems to have remained in the eighties thereafter. Furthermore, given the Durban (Natal) location in which the broadcasting service and the record industry operated, the concentration of Indian South Africans in Durban is significant. In 1951,<sup>10</sup> 45 per cent of the total Indian South African population lived in Durban. By 1960, this per centage had grown to 49.6 and by 1980, it was 60.8 per cent (Arkin 1989:57-58).

It is extremely difficult to pin-point the changing class divisions in the Indian South African population. Not only has there been very little research in this area, but it is very complex due to the multiplicity of overdetermining factors which joined or separated groups. Writing in 1960 about the contemporary class structure, anthropologist Hilda Kuper reported an Indian South African view (i.e. held by Indian South Africans), who saw themselves as

falling in two groups: *banya*, merchants and businessmen, and not-*banya*, workers (1960:60). Kuper herself also recognised two social strata: a small intellectual elite of commercial and industrial businessmen, political and religious leaders, and professionals (accountants, teachers and doctors) on the one hand, and "several thousand illiterates" who formed the working class (1960:xviii & 44) on the other. She also identified an "objective" system of three economic classes: working - many of whom were unemployed; middle - trading and white collar workers, including teachers; and upper - wealthy merchants, and independent professionals. I would suggest that the colonial Indian South African social formations were based on a pre-capitalist upper and lower class system. This social stratification was made up of traders and professionals, and of indentured workers, peasant farmers and hawkers, respectively. Towards the mid-twentieth century, however, industrialisation and urbanisation resulted in a growing, distinct middle class. There certainly were forces abroad which were bent on inventing a bourgeois consumerist class. Within these class structures, however, it is essential to identify the plethora of small social fractions across and within which class hierarchical elements are displayed. Class divisions translated at times into political systems which were organised in the interest of specific classes. Political alliances at other times were determined by the style of political activity, characterised either as co-operation/collaboration politics or protest/confrontational politics, both of which I review below. Although an upper, middle, and lower class system was present in embryonic form, it seems at least to have been matched in significance by the fragmented, often mutually hostile groupings and political alliances which are given evidence in this study of the broadcast media and the record industry.<sup>11</sup>

Settler and immigrant life always involves questions of acculturation and assimilation, more



particularly where the population is profoundly unequal in terms of social and political-economic power. Acculturation and assimilation in the Indian South African experience is extremely complex, involving aspects of North/South Indian homogenisation, capitulation to westernisation, resistance, conscious and unconscious choices, and more. I am able here to discuss a few general aspects which previous research, my own and other, has revealed. This is an area which demands more rigorous, more detailed, more critical, and more sophisticated investigation.

It is fairly clear, however, that from the earliest years of settlement, the rate of assimilation to Western world-views and life-style was determined by class and economic positioning.

Coming as labourers, not lords or even traders, the indentured Indians could not impose (or even maintain) their traditional values and social structure (Kuper 1960:20).

Passenger immigrants, and even "special servants",<sup>12</sup> were better able to withstand the assimilative onslaught by the early Christian missionary schools. Whereas caste and occupation did not really inform free Indian society, it persisted in highly modified form amongst Gujarati Hindus due to their passenger status and their "greater economic freedom". They were able to maintain relatively more ritual exclusiveness because they were not exposed to the barracks system, and because they held a privileged position in the economic organisation which allowed them "to avoid proletarianisation" (ibid:31).

Over the years, Hindus have converted mostly to Christianity, but also to other religions. Between 1951 and 1980, there was a drop of some 5.9 per cent and 1.2 per cent in the Hindu and Muslim ratios to Christian and "Other" religions". Pillay *et al* (1989:150) and other researchers (Ramphal 1989:77 & 89; Oosthuizen 1975:25, 32 & 33) account for these

"losses" in a number of ways. They refer to the traditional practices of home-based religious transference from older to younger generations, particularly in the Hindu joint family, or *kutum*, where the grandmother and mother-in-law were largely responsible for the education of the daughter-in-law and the grandchildren. Similarly, religious practices were conducted in vernacular languages, through the mediation in some social structures by a priestly caste, or based on pre-knowledge regarding Tantric ritual and/or major scriptures such as Ramayana and Bhagavad Gita.

Religious education, family structures, religious practices, and use of languages were changed by isolation from or access to South Asian Indian links, education policy, and contact with white South Africans, the rate and extent of change depending on one's socio-economic group. Clearly, for the indentured labourer, living conditions prohibited the unmodified retention of religious practices. The joint family system was not in any way considered; barracks residents spoke different vernaculars; there were no practising brahmin priests; and most indentured workers were not educated in religious knowledge. Being almost totally isolated from South Asian contact, and, from others of their religio-linguistic adherence, it was impossible to maintain religious exclusivity.

Free Indians were similarly unable to withstand the assimilating influences of colonial life. They were particularly affected by the education policies of the British colonial government. The first Christian mission school was established in 1868. In 1872 there were a few state-aided schools. State schools for Indian immigrants were established in 1878, with the introduction of the Indian Immigration School Board. However, most schools for Indian immigrants were run by Christian missionaries. Swami Dayal, the first Indian South African

to enter the Holy Order of Sannyasa (Chotai *et al* 1960:88), claimed that the Christian missionaries were spreading "a pernicious and corroding cancer" which was corrupting and eroding "our body communal" (Indian Office Records No.69-57-14 1902:768; cited by Henning 1993:158). State schools for white children only admitted Indian children if they adhered to Western standards and wore Western dress (Henning 1993:159).

Early twentieth-century schooling followed a similar pattern, a Western, christocentric ideology, but in 1918, the system was again challenged by Swami Dayal.

The system in vogue is one in antipathy to our ideals, civilisation, culture, thought, temperament and environments. It tends obviously to un-Indianize us. Our children become saturated with European ideas and notions with the unavoidable and inevitable result, that they become self-opinionated, ape in the manners [sic], customs and modes of life congenial to the Western nations (The Dharma Vir 21 June 1918:n.p. cited by Henning 1993:169).

Despite this resistance, the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, and the resulting Dyson Commission provided statutory entrenchment of measures to implement British assimilationist tendencies. The Cape Town Agreement (see below) traded voluntary repatriation of Indian immigrants to India, or assisted emigration to other colonies, for certain legal and civic arrangements which had been prohibited or withheld from Indian South Africans. Wives and minor children of Indians domiciled in South Africa were now to be allowed entry. An agent for the Government of India was appointed to South Africa as monitor and as arbitrator for Indian South African rights. The colonial administrators would see to the upliftment (education, housing, civil services delivery) of those who remained in South Africa, provided they conformed to Western standards of civilisation (Bagwandeem 1989:8; Bhana and Pachai 1984:15). The westernisation component of the Agreement resulted in the following Dyson Commission statement, in 1928.

The primary education of a country can only be organised on the basis of the official languages of the country concerned ... If the Indian community desires to teach the children Indian vernaculars, they should be permitted to do so outside school hours, and by separate teachers paid for by the Indian community (cited by Naidoo 1989:108; no reference given).

In the mid-1900s, three Hindu missionaries were brought to South Africa to re-educate free Indians who were struggling to re-group after the fragmenting, impoverishing, deculturising, and syncretising experience of indentured and post-indentured life. Sufi activities such as the Moharrem Festival attracted Hindus who had neglected their religious practices, resulting in a renewed cross-fertilisation such as that already apparent in South Asian Sufism. A visiting missionary, Swami Shankeranand, denounced Hindu/Muslim acculturation, externalising a growing anti-Muslim tension within the new-elite group which was emerging around 1905. This new group consisted of a western-educated, largely Christian component, and a Tamil-speaking South Indian Hindu petty trader and white collar formation (Jackson 1989b:61 cites Swan 1985:12-13).

Between 1900 and 1912, twelve Hindu organisations emerged where previously only one had existed. According to Meer, "the result was not only a religious revival, but also a cultural revival, in which awareness of linguistic affiliations became sharpened" (1969:143). Although missionary visits served briefly to recreate some of the broken connections with India through the Hindu, language-based associations that they established while here, it was not really until the late forties that clearly defined Hindu institutions teaching Indian vernacular languages and religious practices became prevalent (Nowbath *et al*:12) as the Tamil, Telugu, and Hindi populations started to develop a capital base. The system of indenture, and indeed the desperate conditions of free Indian South Africans and their children, must have been severely effected by the attitude endemic in the indenture system which only

recruited immigrant labourers who would serve the white colonial economy. Not having excess funds to import their own teachers, unlike passenger traders, produced a shortage of Hindi and Tamil teachers. Having a big sector of Indian South African society which was largely unable to control its cultural and financial destinies, in contrast to a small elite who could, must have contributed to a perceived ideological link between ethnic exclusivity and class superiority.

Fragmentation, and some hostility came with the re-education of the culturally displaced (ibid:22). For example, in her 1960 ethnographic study, Kuper describes a conscious separation by Tamilians who had previously been homogenised into a South African Hinduism which incorporated aspects of both North and South Indian practices. Some Tamilians now

expressed resentment against alleged claims of 'Aryan superiority', and rejected traditional interpretations of ancient history, which extolled the 'Aryans' at the expense of the 'Dravidians' ... They advocated that certain elements of North Indian ritual be deliberately expunged from South Indian practices, that Tamil instead of Sanskrit be the language of local ritual, that rituals be performed by a non-Brahminic priesthood, drawn from scholars irrespective of caste ... and that the teaching of Tamil and membership of Tamil associations be encouraged (Kuper 1960:81).

Furthermore, "Madrassesees", the name given to all Hindu immigrants from the South of India, became separated into Tamil and Telugu with the creation in India of the independent State of Andhra (ibid:86). Sectionalism, and a claim for distinct ethnic identity, such as that demonstrated in the formation of the Telugu Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa and the Tamil Vedic Society, seem to be symbolic of perceptions of upward class mobility, and growing financial wealth, in some Indian South African quarters. By 1960,

there were twenty-five major Hindu organisations, apart from dozens of temple committees, distributed throughout South Africa ... Each of these organisations had numerous branches, and they jointly commanded property assets of over R2,000,000. These included privately funded vernacular schools, secular schools subsidized by the government, recreational and social centres, medical clinics and orphanages and houses for destitutes of all descriptions (Meer 1969:143).

The privileged position held by Gujarati Muslim and Hindu passenger immigrants was responsible for other forms of ethnic exclusivity than simply the ability to retain a caste structure of sorts as mentioned above. Mesthrie (1991:16) examined Population Census records between 1936 and 1980. He discovered that by 1936, many of the Indian languages which early settlers had spoken prior to immigration were no longer spoken by sizable numbers of speakers. In 1936, the largest group still speaking an Indian vernacular was Tamil, second was Hindi, third Gujarati, fourth Telugu, and fifth Urdu. It is, however, surely extremely significant that the numbers of only the Gujarati and Urdu speakers had remained almost intact by 1980. For example, in 1936, there were 25 408 Gujarati speakers, in 1980, this number had changed to 25 120. Similarly, the number of Urdu speakers in 1936 was 13 842, and in 1980, there were 13 280. By contrast, Tamil speakers had dropped from 83 731 to 24 720, and Hindi, from 60 276 to 25 900 speakers. It seems that those groups which managed to provide copiously for vernacular education with funds provided by the linguistic community being serviced were indeed those groups which had their origins in the advantaged trader class, i.e. the Gujarati, and Muslim groups which propagated Gujarati, and in some cases (ibid:18), Urdu. Mesthrie refers to fifty private (vernacular) schools which existed in 1928, in Natal. This figure, he indicates, includes both full and part-time schools, of which about forty were madressas attached to mosques, using Gujarati and Urdu as the medium of instruction. South Asian languages which persisted in the South African diaspora were those promulgated by financially secure groups: those

which could provide extramural education and those who were not reliant on jobs provided by white structures, such as teaching and the municipalities. In Mesthrie's view, the motivation for teaching South Asian languages, including Arabic and Sanskrit, to Indian South Africans during the second half of this century has been cultural rather than linguistic. Indian languages are seen as the gateway to culture: religion, literature, music (ibid:19) rather than as a means of functional communication. Language and culture also, as may be seen below, seem to have been closely associated with political ideologies of freedom, power, financial well-being, and franchise, as much as identity. For most, however, the language of the dominant culture, English, prevailed.

Sustained contact between immigrant South Africans and resources in South Asia was at least as significant as access to funds in the efforts to retain South Asian sectoral identities. Bhana's interviews with Gujarati-speaking Hindus and Muslims whose forbears had come to South Africa as passenger immigrants (Bhana and Pachai 1990:161) revealed many return trips to India for social and business reasons. They included, for example, farming and trade interests and weddings in India. These return voyages started in the first decade of settlement (ibid:169). Those with indentured backgrounds, however, according to Bhana, "seemed to know little about their places of origin in India" (ibid:184-185). These findings too suggest that members of the merchant class were, as families, and as communities, more able to sustain their ethnic diversity than were members of the labouring class, or at least to have more control over selective, functional assimilation.

The "anglicisation" message of the Cape Town Agreement and the following state education policy served to convey the viewpoint that Western education and cultural practices were

superior and reduced the power to choose for the majority of Indian South Africans. The choice, however, to "anglicize" had been made by a few immigrants as is evident in the western-educated elite which emerged after 1905. The group comprised Tamil and Christian white-collar workers who had risen from the ranks of the underclass. Muslims were not represented in this group at all (Swan 1985:11-14). Amongst this group of Tamil-speakers was V. Lawrence, the forefather of the Christian Lawrence/Gabriel/Royeppen dynasty who led the vanguard of a widely extended network of family and their friends who were, by choice, except perhaps for cuisine, totally assimilated into a Western life-style from a very early period in Indian South African history (Jackson 1988:105-116).<sup>13</sup>

Despite the coercive or involuntary factors that compelled some measures of assimilation for most Indian South Africans, very few elected to embrace exclusively Western ways. Indeed, for the majority, often at great cost, and always with enormous variance, a combination of resistance to total assimilation and adaptation of some aspects of Western life-style has been the norm.

[A]t the moment the South African Indian is neither a typical Indian by the standards of India nor a typical Westerner by European standards (Ramphal 1989:74).

Apart from the Western school system, Ramphal brings our attention to other factors such as industrialisation, urbanisation, and general contact with Western culture in an environment where the Indian South African was increasingly being prepared to enter into the white economy (ibid:77), and the over-riding bearers of national wealth and power were indeed Western.

For many, retention of "mother culture", i.e. South Asian Indian culture, has been linked to



higher class position, wealth, and indeed, political activity. During this same period, South Asian nationalism in India promoted a sense of Indian pride as the nationalist strategies of Ghandhi, Nehru, and Jinna brought about India's and Pakistan's Independence. For other Indian South Africans, particularly in the late forties and fifties Passive Resistance period, discriminate westernisation was viewed as a modernising, progressive way of life. It seems to have been argued, at least by literate white-collar resisters, that the westernisation and assimilation into South African culture that had occurred should have ensured the granting of South African civil rights to all Indian South Africans. Smuts used the unassimilability of Indian South Africans in defending his Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill. "We must not switch over to Asiatic culture" he said when addressing the House of Assembly in 1946. In a lengthy rebuttal, an article in The Leader said the following:

Indians have at all times accepted the position that Western civilisation should prevail. That was also one of the conditions of the Capetown Agreement. All of them have been trying to live according to its ways. In fact, trouble has arisen because of it. It was the Indian demand for better living conditions that had excited the jealousy of the European [white].

If the Indian was content to follow Eastern culture; if he erected his temples and his mosques and followed his spiritual way of life, that of simplicity, of abnegation and surrender of earthly material riches, there would have been no clash.

**But his adoption of the westernways ... resulted in means being found to suppress him** [original emphasis] (The Leader 30 March 1946:1 & 7).

In the past five decades, conscientised, educated Indian South Africans have become increasingly aware that choice of social and cultural practices is a human rights issue with strong political connotations of power at domestic, regional, national, and global levels. Ramphal (1989) traces changed patterns of social behaviour which reveal "modern" aspects of Indian South African behaviour, all of which embody shifting positions of power. These include greater independence for women, rejection of traditional domestic health cures in

favour of Western medication, the nuclear family, greater economic independence for young adults, the law of majority, freedom to pursue "romantic" love rather than have marriages arranged. All of these changed social patterns are part of contemporary Indian South African life and, for the youth, are seen as more fitting for late twentieth-century South African citizens (ibid) since these ensure personal independence, better earning power, and higher status. They see forced Indianisation as a sinister political apartheid weapon associated with Tricameral collaboration politics (Pillay 1994:287-291) which I outline below.

In the pre-apartheid period, resistance to coercive assimilation pre-occupied many institutions. Westernisation was seen in the main as a sign of weakness. Resistance to prescriptive cultural re-Indianisation, though present throughout the apartheid era, and visible in some constituencies even before 1948, has not been as overt, nor as pervasive despite the increasing practice of Western ways. Apartheid ideology, however, was quick to see the opportunity for ethnic cultural co-option of a number of Indian South Africans. The desire amongst sections of the emerging Indian South African middle and upper classes for reinvention of South Asian ethnic identities was particularly intense in the aftermath of British insensitivity to Indian South African politico-cultural aspirations. British legislation which affected Indian South Africans raised spectres not only of class and economic oppression. It also rejected non-Western, and in this case, South Asian systems of value. Apartheid oppression, on the other hand, exploited the fragile cultural position in which the majority of Indian South Africans found themselves, by abusing their need to reconnect with South Asian links. State co-option of redefined Indian South African South Asian ethnicity was employed, at certain times, as a strategy to underpin a racist, capitalist ideology and to strengthen Indian South African advocates of co-operational, collaborative politics.

### *The Indian South African Press*

The two urban elites of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were responsible for the first wave of Indian South African newspapers. The press was exclusively an urban elite phenomenon with a very small readership due to the illiteracy of early immigrants. Colonial India News, 1901-1904 was the first, published and edited by P.S. Aiyer and aimed largely at the Tamil colonial-born. It closed in 1904 (Henning 1993:185), "probably for lack of funds" (Swan 1985:57). Indian Opinion was established in 1903. The editors, noted in the following, included non-Indians:

M.H. Nazar	1903-1906
H.S. Polak	1906-1916
Albert West	1916-1918
M.M. Gandhi	1918-1956
S. Gandhi	1956-1961 (Henning 19 : 185)

H. Kitchi and J.J. Doke were editors for a short time in 1906 and 1909, as was Jordan Ngubane in the 1950s, respectively (Switzer and Switzer 1979:41). It was first published in English, Gujarati, Tamil, and Hindi, but by 1905, it was in English and Gujarati only. Indian Opinion served as the spokesman of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, meaning, in effect, the merchant class, despite its claims to serve the Indian population as a whole (Swan 1985:58).

The third newspaper to be established was African Chronicle, published by P.S. Aiyer, 1908-1921 and again in 1928-1930. Published in English and Tamil, it served as the mouthpiece of the Natal Indian Patriotic Union (ibid). Indian Views, in English and Gujarati, was founded in 1914 by M.C. Anglia. It was sold in 1919 to Jeewa Brothers, and

again in 1934 to I. Meer. Although it did carry articles and editorials expressing concern for the Indian position in South Africa, it was largely concerned with the views of Muslim South Africans (Henning 1993:189) and with keeping Muslims in Natal informed of events in India. It was nevertheless a fairly active protest newspaper in the beginning. It supported the Natal Indian Congress, was pro-Arab, anti-Zionist, and, at times, anti-semitic (Switzer and Switzer 1979:42). Between 1907 and 1910, Al Islam functioned as a Muslim religious and political journal, and mini commercial directory. It was printed in Gujarati and Urdu. The Hindi Dharma Vir (1916), promoted Aryanism, Vedic religion, and published nationalistic articles about events in India, and condemnation of the Christian influence in South Africa (Henning 1993:189).

The Leader, established in 1941 and continuing at least into the late 1980s, was founded and published in English by Dhane Bramdaw in Pietermaritzburg. Bramdaw worked for The Natal Witness, eventually becoming a full-time staff reporter responsible for local Indian South African news. When he started The Leader, it was printed by The Natal Witness and "apparently vetted by white staffers" before 1952, when he died. The Witness news editor thereafter was "official censor" of The Leader. Bramdaw's wife was manager and controlling shareholder. Bramdaw was initially a supporter of the Natal Indian Congress, but was opposed, according to Switzer and Switzer, to the anti-apartheid resistance movement in the 1950s and, thereafter avoided political news (1979:108). Prior to that, particularly in 1946 and 1947, this was a powerful protest newspaper, with deeply politicised cartoons by Yusuf Kat and political articles by protesters. It seems extremely likely that the split with the Congress movement would have come with Nationalist Party rule which put pressure on the print media to comply with their legislation. Thus, as editors of a white-censored Indian

newspaper, Bramdaw and Bramdaw would have been required to toe the line.

Switzer and Switzer see The Leader's significance in pioneering an entertainment profile by introducing regular cartoons, "gossip-cum-'society' columns ('social and personal' news) and film reviews". Contrary to the other major Indian South African newspapers, Bramdaw, a Tamil, aimed his newspaper

at working-class Indians, most of whom were Tamil speakers. By 1954, for example, The Leader accounted for nearly 70% of the annual circulation of the three Indian newspapers published in South Africa at that time (Switzer and Switzer 1979:108).

The Graphic was founded by K.M. Pillay (1950-1952; 1952-1969) as a magazine offering news about all races and entertainment to a largely Indian South African readership. It became a newspaper in 1952, and a supporter of the Liberal Party in the 1960s. Its editors have included P.T. Poovalingham,, K.M. Pillay, and T. Chetty.

The strategies used by Congress in its early years were those "of polite constitutional protest": petitions and delegations to government officials, letters to the press and to prominent public figures, and editorials in Indian Opinion, amongst others (Swan 1985:60). This seems to have set a precedent for a protest style which was adopted by many literate Indian South Africans. Apart from the more radical protest incidents which erupted at certain times, the Indian South African press, within its bounds of self or other censorship, at all times provided a means of "constitutional protest" for individuals and institutions.

### *Anti-Indian Legislation, Disunity, Resistance and Collaboration*

Up to 1994, when all South Africans were liberated, Indian South African economic and educational mobility was allowed only "to the point where Indians do not compete with whites" (Maasdorp and Pillay 1979:242). Anti-Indian white attitudes were prevalent amongst the early British colonists, who, despite being enthusiastic about the contributory role of industrious but cheap labour at first, soon came to perceive established Indian communities as an economic threat (Jackson 1989b:60).

In 1893, Natal was granted Responsible Government. The now colony-based government used its new powers to implement anti-Indian legislation which manifested the fears experienced by poor white colonists regarding threatening competition from successful "Arabs" and free Indian traders and farmers. Similar anti-Indian legislation was to follow in the Transvaal and the Orange Colonies (later Orange Free State).

Indian immigrants were disenfranchised in 1894. The Franchise Bill of 1896 re-enforced the issue of dispossession. The Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill in 1896 decreed that after indenture, Indians were to do one of the following. They were to return to India; to re-indenture for a further five-year period; or to pay a "penalty" of £3 tax per annum, in addition to an annual tax of £1 for males. This tax became operative in 1902 (Henning 1993:95). The Immigration Restriction Bill of 1897 in effect prevented any further passenger immigration due to the stringent financial and English literacy requirements in the bill (Swan 1985:67). The Dealers' Licenses Amendment Bill of 1897 gave the powers to deny the renewal or granting of licenses for traders to the white municipal corporations who used their powers to curb Indian South African trade potential. No Indian South Africans were

allowed to settle, or even pass through the Orange Free State from 1903. In 1907, Act 2 requiring compulsory registration of all "Asiatics" was viewed as a deliberate, racist attempt to humiliate. The settlers' outrage was exacerbated by the compulsory finger-printing requirement which was in conflict with Muslim religious taboos. The question of the legal status of non-Christian marriage was at the least a confusing issue for early colonial administrators. But in 1913, traditional Hindu and Muslim marriages were declared legally non-valid by the Searle judgement (Henning 1993:172).

In 1894, Gandhi inaugurated the Natal Indian Congress which he claimed was set up to oppose the "legislative activity, of a retrograde character, of the first Responsible Government of the Colony with regard to the Indians" (Swan 1985:49 cites Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, i, 1958-1964:231). However, Swan argues that Gandhi and the Natal Indian Congress were initially only representative of the Gujarati trading class who distanced themselves from the underclasses (ibid:52). But Congress also included some western-educated elite in its membership, because they were valued for their fluency in English (ibid:53). Congress' strategy at first in Natal and the Transvaal was to claim exemption from disabilities on the grounds that they were British subjects who were superior to the Indian and African underclasses (ibid:60). Gandhi was the merchants' "chief strategist and tactician" from 1894 to 1906 (ibid:61 & 84-85). As mentioned above, the Congress tactics were to write petitions to governments, letters to the press and the agents of the government of India, but in the early 1900s, "the Congress cause in Natal was lost" (ibid:69). Constitutional resistance reflecting merchant interests was too tame to topple, or even to tilt slightly, British, racist, imperialist power.

The first wave of Passive Resistance was launched in 1907 with a drive of civil disobedience against the law requiring registration. Under the law, non-registered Indians were prohibited immigrants, subject to deportation. Resistance now spread unexpectedly to the popular classes despite, as Gandhi himself now acknowledged, the movement having been started by merchants for merchants (Swan 1985:144). A decision was now made to broaden the social base of the resistance movement. The universal support opposing registration unified Indian South Africans as a political community for the first time. Many were jailed, and the end result was for the movement a compromise, for some a sell-out. Smuts and Gandhi agreed on a policy of voluntary registration, being led in implementation by Gandhi who was among the first to register (ibid:162).

Passive resistance between 1907 and 1909 involved negotiation with the Smuts government, in which Gandhi relied on the appeal for the "preservation of certain rights which were fundamental to man *qua* man" (ibid:137). Gandhi's "soul force" or *satyagraha* methods (truth and non-violent suffering of the self) spilled over into confrontational Passive Resistance which was employed between 1906 and 1914 to force the Union Government (from 1910) to address the issues of anti-Indian legislation. Passive Resistance involved voluntary arrest sought by deliberate infringement of the laws, such as refusal to register, public burning of registration papers, pickets, mass meetings, marches (Great March of 1913) through the Orange Free State from the Transvaal and Natal sides, and strikes amongst the coal miners (Henning 1993:173ff), amongst other forms of protest.

The £3 tax became a rallying point around which the Indian South African working class



was once again mobilised in the 1913 Great March and Coal Miners Strike. In 1908, the Congress movement was challenged by the emerging elite, mostly colonial-born white-collar workers, many of whom were Tamil. They challenged the Congress to lower its annual dues, dues which effectively kept young colonials out. Due to Gandhi's dissatisfaction with this criticism, the Natal Indian Patriotic Union was formed, addressing itself to both the underclasses and the new elite (Swan 1985:191-193). In 1908, the NIPU compiled a petition calling for the elimination of all major grievances of Natal Indians. The priorities of the NIPU were the system of contract under which labourers were imported, the £3 annual tax, the Dealers' Licenses Act, and the barriers which prevented upward mobility in white collar occupations. The petition was endorsed by Congress, despite Gandhi's irritation with this rival political group, noting, according to Swan, the potential for mass support intrinsic in the NIPU's concern with the grievances of the underclasses. She also suggests that Gandhi's ambivalent response to the emergence of the new Christian and western-educated elite political organisation was due to their strong assimilative tendencies which were in contrast to his own Indian nationalism which was central to his political ideology (ibid:197).

The NIPU did not persist in its operation. In 1911, a new form of new elite politics emerged with the formation of the Colonial Born Indian Association despite Gandhi's again having attempted to dissuade the leaders (Swan 1985:206). Inter-provincial movement and the £3 tax were again the main concerns of the CBIA and the main achievement was to keep these issues in the political arena. The goal of the CBIA's leader, Aiyar, was to "bring massive pressure to bear on the government to force the repeal of the tax" (ibid:210-212). The method with which he planned to achieve this was unique in Indian South African politics since it sought directly to engage the ex-indentured in rural areas.

He planned a province-wide series of meetings to "deepen into activity the interest of the people", particularly in "country districts wherein reside the bulk of those who must pay the tax" (Swan 1985:212 cites African Chronicle 7 October 1911:n.p.).

In 1913, the Congress movement had difficulty in mobilising its constituencies. With the emergence of internecine opposition which resulted in a split in Congress, Gandhi widened his scope to "permit an indirect appeal to the specific interests of the elites, and a direct appeal to the underclasses" (Swan 1985:225). When in 1913, passive resistance was formally resumed, Congress cited the £3 tax amongst its grievances which gave the movement the "potential to recruit thousands of indentured and ex-indentured workers and, indeed, numbers of the new Natal elite" (ibid:242-243). The united resistance front, the second united political event, resulted in the Indian Relief Bill in 1914 which abolished the £3 tax, gave legal recognition to all marriages, and once again permitted entry to wives and children of South African settlers, although other repressive measures remained intact. Popular, united protest politics had temporarily achieved some gains.

Anti-Indian legislation continued to be passed, however, in increasingly vicious measures. For example, the Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act of 1919 prohibited the granting of new trading licences to Indian South Africans in the Transvaal. The Lange Commission led to the Class Areas Bill which proposed the segregation of Indians from other South Africans. This bill lapsed with the fall of the Smuts government. It was replaced in 1926 with the more stringent Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provisions) Bill which was introduced by Malan in the new Hertzog government (Bagwandeen 1989:7). The Malan bill proposed compulsory segregation and active reduction of the Indian population.

The Bill frankly starts from the general supposition that the Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population, and that no solution of this question will be acceptable to the country unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population in this country ... (ibid cites Hansard 1925: n.p.).

The South African Indian Congress (SAIC) was formed in 1923 to protest acts such as these. Together with the Government of India, Congress called a Round Table Conference, which resulted in the Cape Town Agreement already mentioned above. A second Round Table Conference was held in 1932 where the Agent-General of India proposed recolonisation for ex-indentured Indian immigrants. His proposal was not opposed by the SAIC. It was, on the other hand, vehemently opposed by Advocate Christopher who started the Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association to fight the Indian Colonisation Enquiry Committee, who were proposing Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guiana as suitable colonies where Western standards would not be a requirement for stability and growth. The proposal died for lack of active support (Bagwandeem 1989:9).

Further restrictions were placed on the Indian South African population in the Transvaal by the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act of 1936 in terms of occupation of land and trading areas. Cries of "Indian penetration" by the white separatist Dominion Party in Durban resulted in two Broome Commissions which saw the introduction of the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill in 1943. The bill was called the "Pegging Act" and helped to re-unify Indian South African protest organisations which had once again "been bedevilled by the conspicuous absence of a cohesive bloc" (Bagwandeem 1989:11). After the split of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) in 1932 when the Colonial Born and Settlers Association had been formed, in 1939 they were partially re-aligned into the Natal Indian Association (NIA). A small sector of the NIC remained

outside the NIA led by A.I. Kajeer. The "Pegging Act" brought together the remnants of the NIC and the NIA for a short while, but to no avail (ibid:12-13). The Bill became law as the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, which became known as the "Ghetto Act". The Act prohibited transactions, in certain areas, of acquisition and occupation of property between Asiatics and non-Asiatics except under permit from the government. A decisive step had been taken by the Smuts government towards segregation. Smuts' segregation policy can be viewed as apartheid in gestation, and the "Ghetto Act" as a "forerunner of the Group Areas Act of 1950" (Bagwandeen 1989:14). The Indian South African population was "galvanised into taking unified action on a national basis rather than along sectarian lines" (ibid). Passive Resistance Councils were set up throughout the country, demonstrations took place in "Red Square", in Durban. Volunteers pitched tents on municipal land where they courted arrest in violation of the "Ghetto Act".

World opinion at this point was sought to engage with the Indian South African struggle. The Indian South African protest movement and the Government of India aroused the interest of the United Nations Organisation. Although the UN passed a two-thirds majority supporting a Franco-Mexican resolution that "the treatment of Indians in South Africa had impaired the friendly relations between India and South Africa" and that a Round Table Conference must be held between the two governments (ibid:16), Smuts refused to participate. As a result of Smuts' intransigence, which clearly reflected his constituency's intention further to extend oppression of "non-whites" generally, an embargo on trade between India/Pakistan and South Africa followed which profoundly affected Indian South African traders.<sup>14</sup>

Neither the India/South Africa trade embargo in the late forties and early fifties, nor the heightened calls by the mass Congress movement for world sanctions in the fifties halted the South African Union and Nationalist governments on their paths of destruction. Anti-Indian attitudes in South Africa increased with the coming to power of the Nationalist party in 1948. Indian South African political unity was once again destroyed by internal disagreement on the effectiveness of confrontational as opposed to collaboration politics. The Natal Indian Organisation (NIO) was formed in 1947 by A.I. Kajeer and P.R. Pather in opposition to the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, and the South African Indian Congress. The new leadership in the Congress movement were opposed to "the appeasers" in the NIO, who were prepared to accept the best possible compromise, and were inclined to refrain from doing anything that might antagonise the government or white attitudes (Bhana and Pachai 1984:184). It is also probable that NIO members were responding to the threatening effects of the trade embargo on Indian South African merchants. The NIO constituted the organising body which attempted in vain to "effect rapprochement" between the Indian and South African governments (Bagwandeem 1989:16). The young confident Congress leaders sought further confrontation and were committed to a policy captured in the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact of 1947, which proposed the unification of "Indian political organisations with other black bodies in order to present a common front" (Bhana and Pachai 1984:184).

In the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the SAIC united with the African National Congress in defiance of racist laws. The worst of these to date was the Group Areas Act of 1950 which finally effected the segregation which was embodied in the Asiatic Land Tenure Act.

It was directed towards the economic strangulation of Indians affecting trading rights and the establishment of industries, their livelihood, their

p[er]ace and their security (Bagwandeem 1989:16).

In 1955, the Congress of the People proclaimed the Freedom Charter. However, the inter-race alliance of the Congress movement did not attract all Indian South Africans.

In 1960, Verwoerd granted Indian South Africans the status of permanent residents. From 1961, representation was granted through advisory bodies in the form of Local Affairs Committees (LAC), and the South African Indian Council (SAICouncil). The SAICouncil was inaugurated as a statutory body of nominated members in 1968. An electoral college comprising LACs elected members of the SAICouncil in 1974. In 1982, the SAICouncil was "almost fully" elected (Bagwandeem 1989:17-18). A tri-cameral system of governance was put in place, based on a very small "yes" Indian South African vote in a nation-wide referendum. Only white, coloured, and Indian South Africans were allowed to vote, but the referendum established representational franchise for Indian and coloured<sup>15</sup> South Africans. These bodies reflected the ambitions and tactics of collaborative politics and were not supported by large numbers of "politically conscious" Indian South Africans. The SAICouncil and LACs were severely criticised for promoting ethnicity (Bagwandeem 1989:18) and for promoting racism. The majority of Indian South Africans distanced themselves from such collaboration, including boycotting the tricameral system, arguing that by participating they would in fact be entrenching apartheid and "enhancing the instrument of their own oppression" (ibid).

Representation of class interests, the struggle of the underclasses to achieve marketable skills and mobility to advance them, selective and uneven assimilation, resistance to assimilation, popular mass political resistance, collaboration: all need to be viewed against an

unshakable backdrop which stated unequivocally that "Asiatics" were not wanted in South Africa. For one hundred years, between 1860 and 1960, Indian South Africans had been attacked by legislation curbing development, denying franchise, threatening repatriation and recolonisation in an attempt to bring this message home. Post-1960 strategy acknowledged South African status, but as a second-class race worthy only of segregated ghetto life. In 1994, with the first democratic elections and the coming to power of the African National Congress under the presidential rule of Nelson Mandela, the confrontational political strategy of the Congress alliance ultimately liberated all South Africans.

## REFERENCES

African Chronicle. 7 October 1911. n.p.

Allingham, R. 1992. The Gallo Gold Awards Brochure.

Andersson, M. 1981. Music in the Mix: The Story of South African Popular Music. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Annamalay, S. 1992. "Therukoothu: A Traditional South Indian Dance Drama Form as Manifest in Natal Since 1860." Masters thesis, University of Durban-Westville."

Arkin, A.J. 1989. "Economic Structure." In A.J. Arkin *et al*, eds. The Indian South Africans. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp. 41-72.

Babiracki, C.M. 1993. "Ideologies of Power, Gender, and Art in the Nacni Tradition of East-Central India." Unpublished paper, 38th Meeting, Society for Ethnomusicology, University of Mississippi, Oxford, 28-31 October.

Bagwandeem, D. 1989. "Historical Perspectives." In A.J. Arkin *et al*, eds. The Indian South Africans: A Contemporary Profile. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp. 1-22.

Ballantine, C. 1993. Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Barnett, E.B. 1975. A Discography of the Art Music of India. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Society for Ethnomusicology.

Bhana, S. 1985. "Indian Trade and Trader in Colonial Natal." In B. Guest and J.M. Sellers, eds. Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal. pp. 235-264.

Bhana, S. 1987. "Indentured Indians in Natal, 1860-1902: A Study Based on Ships' Lists." Unpublished manuscript.

Bhana, S. and J.B. Brain. 1990. Setting Down Roots: Indian Migrants in South Africa, 1860-1911. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Bhana, S. and B. Pachai, eds. 1984. A Documentary History of Indian South Africans. Johannesburg: David Philip.

Blaukopf, K. 1974. "Towards a New Type of Research." In I. Bontinck, ed. New Patterns of Musical Behaviour. Vienna: Universal Edition.

Bozzoli, B. 1981. The Political Nature of a Ruling Class: Capital and Ideology in South Africa 1890-1933. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.



- Brijlal, P. 1989. "Demographic Profile." In A.J. Arkin *et al*, eds. The Indian South Africans. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp. 23-40.
- Capwell, C. 1986. "The Changing Role of the Bauls of Modern Bengal." In C.J. Frisbie, ed. Exploration in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honour of David P. McAllister. Detroit: Information Co-ordination. pp. 47-58.
- Capwell, C. 1988. "The Popular Expression of Religious Syncretism: The Bauls of Bengal as Apostles of Brotherhood." Popular Music, 7, 2, pp. 123-132.
- Chatterji, P.C. 1987. Broadcasting in India. New Delhi: Sage Publications in association with The International Institute of Communications.
- Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, 1958-1964. I-XII, Government of India.
- Coplan, D. 1985. In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Curran, J., M. Gurevitch and J. Woollacott. 1982. "The Study of the Media: Theoretical Approaches." In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, and J. Woollacott, eds. Culture, Society and the Media. London: Routledge. pp.11-29.
- Erlmann, V. 1991. African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Erlmann, V. 1996. Nightsong: Performance, Power, and Practice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Erlmann, V. and R. Allingham. 1996. "A Select Discography of Isicathamiya." In V. Erlmann Nightsong: Performance, Power, and Practice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gokool, S. 1996. "Portrayal of Indian Culture in the SA Electronic Media." Unpublished paper presented at the Third Conference of the Indological Society of Southern Africa, University of Durban-Westville, 1-2 August.
- Goodall, S. 1991a. "Hindu Devotional Music in Durban: An Ethnomusicological Profile as Expressed through the Bhajan." Doctoral thesis, University of Durban-Westville.
- Goodall, S. 1991b. "The Music Teacher as an Enculturator: Lessons from Indian Music." In S. Hauptfleisch, ed. Music Education: Why? What? How? Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. pp.217-236.
- Gronow, P. 1981. "Record Industry Comes to the Orient." Ethnomusicology 25, 2, pp.251-284.
- Hall, S., C. Critcher, T. Jefferson, J. Clarke, and B. Roberts. 1978. Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State and Law and Order. London: MacMillan.

- Hamm, C. 1991. "The Constant Companion of Man': Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music." Popular Music 10, 2, pp.147-174.
- Hamm, C. 1988. Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid. New York: Institute for Studies in American Music.
- Hansard. 1925. Debates of the House of Assembly, June-July col. 6502.
- Henning, C.G. 1993. The Indentured Indian in Natal: 1860-1917. New Delhi: Promila & Co.
- Huskisson, Y. 1978. "Record Industry in South Africa." Progressus, November, pp.2-16.
- Jackson, M. 1986. "Music Education and Indian South Africans." In C. Lucia, ed. Music Education in Contemporary South Africa. Durban: University of Natal. pp.122-129.
- Jackson, M. 1988. "Aspects of Music Amongst Indian South Africans in Natal 1920-1948: Towards a Politico-Cultural Understanding." In A. Tracey, ed. Papers Presented at the Sixth Symposium on Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown: International Library of African Music, pp. 19-23.
- Jackson, M. 1989a. "The Advent of the 'Indian' Orchestra and a Local Record Company: Music into the Indian South African Economy." In A. Tracey, ed. Papers Presented at the Seventh Symposium on Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown: International Library of African Music, pp. 22-27.
- Jackson, M. 1989b. "Tiger Dance, *terukuttu*, Tango, and Tchaikovsky: A Politico-Cultural View of Indian South African Music Before 1948." The World of Music, 31, 1, pp. 59-77.
- Jackson, M. 1991a. "Popular Indian South African Music: Division in Diversity." Popular Music, 10, 2, pp. 175-188.
- Jackson, 1991b. "Democratising and 'Durbanizing' the Drums of India: Gopalan Govender's Group Teaching Method." In S. Hauptfleisch, ed. Music Education: WHY? What? How? Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. pp. 237-256.
- Jackson, M. 1991c. "Teaching Indian Drums in Durban: Gopalan Govender and the Second Generation." In C. Muller, ed. Papers Presented at the Tenth Symposium on Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown: International Library of African Music, pp.60-70.
- Jackson, M. 1994. "Defining Indian South African Recorded Music: 'Farooqi' Mehtar's Changing, Conflicting, and Multiple Identities." Unpublished paper, 3rd International Symposium and Festival, Center for Intercultural Music Arts, City University, London, 11-15 April.<sup>16</sup>
- Jackson, M. 1995. "Music Traditions in Independent India." In C. Muller, ed. Papers Presented at the Eighth and Ninth Symposia on Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown: International Library of African Music, pp.24-30.

- Joshi, G.N. 1988. "A Concise History of the Phonograph Industry in India." Popular Music: The South Asia/West Crossover, 7, 2, pp. 147-156.
- Keskar, B.V. 1967. Indian Music: Problems and Prospects. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Kinnear, M. 1985a. A Discography of Hindustani and Karnatic Music. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Kinnear, M. 1985b. "Favorite-Singer." Talking Machine, 70, n.p.
- Kinnear, M. 1988. "Columbia Double Disc - An Unusual Indian Series." Talking Machine, 73, n.p.
- Kuper, H. 1960. Indian People in Natal. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Kuppusami. C. 1993. Tamil Culture in South Africa: Endeavours to Nurture and Promote it Among the Tamils. Durban: Merebank Tamil School Society.
- The Leader. 30 March 1946. "Gen. Smuts Raises Fantastic Bogey." pp.1 & 7.
- Maasdorp, G. and N. Pillay. 1979. "Indians in the Political Economy of South Africa." In B. Pachai, ed. South Africa's Indians: The Evolution of a Minority. Washington: University Press of America.
- Malan, J.P. ed. 1979. South African Music Encyclopedia. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Malm, K. and R. Wallis. 1992. Music Policy and Music Activity. London: Routledge.
- Manuel, P. 1988. Popular Musics of the Non-Western World: An Introductory Survey. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Manuel, P. 1991. "The Cassette Industry and Popular Music in North India." Popular Music, 10, 2, pp.189-204.
- Manuel, P. 1993. Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marcus, G.E. and M.M.J. Fischer. 1986. Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Meer, F. 1969. Portrait of Indian South Africans. Durban: Avon House.
- Meer, Y.S. *et al* eds. 1980. Documents of Indentured Labour, 1851-1917. Durban: Institute of Black Research.

- Mesthrie, R. 1991. Language in Indenture: A Sociolinguistic History of Bhojpuri-Hindi in South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Middleton, R. 1990: Studying Popular Music. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Nowbath, R.S. *et al* eds. 1960. The Hindu Heritage in South Africa. Durban: The South African Hindu Maha Sabha.
- Oliver, P. "Introduction: Aspects of the South Asia/West Crossover." Popular Music, 7, 2, pp. 119-122.
- Pillay, J. 1994. "Indian Music in the Indian School in South Africa: The Use of Cultural Forms as a Political Tool." Ethnomusicology, 38, 2, pp.281-302.
- Ramphal, R. 1989. "Social Transition." In A.J. Arkin, K.P. Magyar, and G.P. Pillay, eds. The Indian South Africans: A Contemporary Profile. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp.73-92.
- Rust, B. 1980. Brian Rust's Guide to Discography. London: Greenwood Press.
- Said, E. 1993. Culture and Imperialism. London: Vintage
- Somaroo, H. 1989. "Cultural Perspective: Music." In A.J. Arkin, K.P. Magyar, and G.J. Pillay, eds. The Indian South Africans: A Contemporary Profile. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp.238-272.
- Stapleton, C. and C. May. 1987. African All-Stars. London: Quartet Books.
- Swan, M. 1985. Gandhi: The South African Experience. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Tinker, H.A. 1974. A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tomaselli, R.K. Tomaselli, and J. Muller. 1989. Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa. Bellville: Anthropos.
- Veeran, N.D. 1996. "The Orchestral Tradition Amongst Indian South Africans in Durban Between 1935 and 1970." Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Verma, V. 1992. "The Saga of Old Gramophone Records." In O.P. Joshi, ed. Sociology of Oriental Music. Jaipur: Illustrated Book Publishers. pp. 228-242.
- Wade, B.C. 1982. "Playing for Power: Drum and Naubat, the Symbols of Might." 13th Congress of the International Musicological Society, 1, 28-32.
- Wade, B.C. 1986. "Music as Symbol of Power and Status: The Courts of Mughal India." In C.J. Frisbie, ed. Explorations in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honour of David P. McAllister. Detroit: Information Co-ordination. pp. 97-109.

Wade, B.C. 1990. "The Meeting of Musical Cultures in the 16th-Century Court of the Mughal Akbar." The World of Music, 32, 2, pp.3-26.

Wallis, R. and K. Malm. 1982. "The Interdependency of Broadcasting and the Phonogram Industry: A Case Study Covering Events in Kenya in March 1980." Popular Music Perspectives, IASPM, pp.93-110.

Williams, R. 1980. Problems in Materialism and Culture. London: Verso.

Williams, R. 1981. Culture. London: Fontana.

## NOTE

1. In 1989, I spent four months at the School for Oriental and African Studies, London University, having been granted an overseas scholarship by the Institute of Research Development, Human Sciences Research Council. At the time, academic literature on South Asian music and culture was simply not available in South Africa. As a result of my working through the SOAS library holdings, on my return I was able to source much literature for the University of Durban-Westville Music Library, and for my own research. These holdings were developed later by a UD-W colleague, Michael Nixon, who had studied for many years in Madras.

While at SOAS, I was fortunate to work briefly with Richard Widdess and attend post-graduate seminars. At the time, Widdess told me, he was working on a history of raga based on the hypothesis that music systems, claimed by most current authors merely to have been extensions of ancient canons had, in fact, changed noticeably. In different regions and different periods, discrete characteristics had existed which were markedly different from the systems described in early treatises. This alerted me to the possibility of structural, and indeed other differences to be found in Indian South African music practices.

2. I interpret this as "based on observation not theory".

3. Hereafter AR.

4. Indian Views becomes Views and News in August 1954.

5. Other possible press sources not included in my search are The Post, Natal and The Guardian. Only time constraints prevented this search.

6. Acetate recordings were made of South African broadcast material from the ABC days. In 1948, there was an increased emphasis on pre-recorded material both on to recycled, locally lacquered discs, and on to tape. Due to the reduced cost of the discs, multiple copies were made and circulated through non-broadcast channels (Tomaselli et al 1989:34), including those circulated as "transcription discs" that were housed in the national sound archives such as that at Auckland Park.

7. Reference to playing local recorded music broadcasts over the air are few and far between suggesting that The Indian Programme was not an enthusiastic promoter of contemporary local syncretic music styles. But for an example of such a reference, see "Lover of Carnatic Music" 1953:2. For examples of the records see chapter four, and the Appendix, which includes a discography of Indian South African recorded music.

8. Meaning devotional.

9. In the *zamindari* system, land was granted to individuals in exchange for their

services as revenue collectors and enforcers of the law, or to valued generals or other servants of the empire. Prior to the introduction of this system, private ownership of land was virtually unknown (Wolpert 1989:196). *Ryotwari* refers to the direct taxation of peasant farmers which produced revenue for the British Raj. As taxes were raised beyond the means of the subsistence farmers, banks repossessed land resulting in the creation of absentee landlords who rented the land for cash profit (ibid:207).

10. Figures prior to 1951 are not readily available in secondary sources.

11. See also Swan (1985) for a study of the fragmentation and shifting alliances forged amongst Indian South Africans to 1914.

12. See Jackson 1989b:62.

13. For discussion of pentecostal Christian evangelical co-option of South Asian Indian cultural symbols, see Jackson 1988:150-159.

14. See The Leader 23 April 1949:4; The Leader 7 May 1949:4; The Leader 6 August 1949:6; The Leader 13 August 1949:4; Indian Views 8 February 1950:4&5; and The Leader 29 July 1950:1.

15. Mixed-race groups.

16. This is an extended version of the paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, University of Mississippi, Oxford, 28-31 October 1993.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LICENSED LISTENERS, SCREECHERS AND CROONERS, AND MIXED UP STYLES - THE INDIAN PROGRAMME :

1924 - 1948

Indian South Africans have never enjoyed a broadcast service that has met all their needs. Investigating the period between 1924 and 1948 within a loose chronological framework, I describe below the main broadcast personae and programme material that was deemed adequate for the manipulation of an urban, ethnic, South African Indian middle-class culture. The Indian Programme was to be a token, low-cost uninformed placation of a displaced, insignificant, minority racial group with scant attention to the development of performers and announcer-programmers, or to the differentiated media needs of class, cultural, or political fractions within that racial group.

This broadcasting travesty was confronted in the form of letters to the press, politically opposed listeners' organisations, an advisory and audition committee, and the boycott of the broadcast media by performers amongst others. Although my focus in this chapter is on description and direct citation in order to provide otherwise inaccessible archival material with which the reader may actively engage, analytical indicators such as class, ethnicity, race, and cultural politics are present both in the documentation, which I try to make as inclusive as possible, and in my commentary. I document the contest in some detail, indicating the tensions between the broadcast authorities, announcers-



programmers and the public; Indian South Africanism and South African Indianism; upliftment and entertainment; classical and popular music; North and South Indian and Hindu and Muslim culture; performers and officials; and between local live broadcasts and airplay of imported records. The common point of concern for all Indian South Africans was the lack of air-time accorded to them which was seen as an infringement on their civil rights. In my interpretive analysis, which plays a smaller role in this chapter than in others, I probe the ideological significance of events and choices, indicating some of the contradictions and suggesting explanations.

### **Upliftment and Entertainment for an Urban Elite : 1924 - 1939**

My sources have not yet revealed the exact date of the first Indian Programme, but by 1980 Rathnam Pillay had served fifty years with the Indian programme (Devar 1994:Interview; Annual Report 1980: 83). Thus the programme must have been under way by 1930. At this time, broadcasting was done under Schlesinger's commercial African Broadcasting Company (ABC) transmitting over a 100-200 mile radius from Durban (Hamm 1991:148). In 1936, broadcasting was taken over by the South African government under the non-commercial South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), informed by liberal idealism which sought control by government rather than by capital (Hamm 1991:148). In the 1937 Annual Report, the SABC announced that "104 programmes especially designed for the entertainment of Indian Listeners" had been broadcast (AR 1937:17).

Like the other commercial ABC programmes, which were produced for English speakers (Tomaselli *et al* 1989:28), the pre-Second World War Indian programme corresponded with

the interests of the urban elite who were most likely to be able to afford licenses and equipment. Besides, medium-wave transmission was weak in rural areas where, until the mid-thirties, the majority of the Indian peasantry and ex-indentured working class resided.<sup>1</sup> Many were employed by the sugar mills, were tenant sugar-farmers, or worked on the mines. Furthermore, like the English programmes, the ABC Indian Programme *also* included elements of both commercialism and cultural upliftment, what Hayman and Tomaselli call in their analysis of ABC English and Afrikaans programme policy "a maximisation of the audience through concentration on the most popular programmes" fused with some idealist notions of cultural custodianship (Tomaselli *et al* 1989:29). ABC English programmes were merely "a convenient distribution channel for existing cultural forms" (Tomaselli *et al* 1989:30) to an already existing British industrial, agricultural and civic colonial elite. Indian South Africans, on the other hand, were an immigrant population of which most members were ex-indentured peasants, and members of the working or small business classes whose cultural practices had been disrupted by the act of immigration, by the indentured labour system, by racially-determined repressive laws, and by rapidly changing patterns in Indian South African class formations. Indian broadcast requirements were therefore perceived by the Indian elite in a similar manner in which Afrikaner broadcast requirements were perceived after the Second World War, during the early years of Afrikaner nationalism, by the Afrikaner elite. In the absence of suitable "ready-made" cultural products, the creation of culture predominated over the transmission of culture. Culture creation was necessary in the light of rapidly changing alliances resulting in new class fractions, with upward mobility being either the aspiration of the many or the recent realisation of a few. The creation of new forms of Indian South African culture was also compelled by the dynamic nature of relationships with India and with South Asian culture.

Like Afrikaans broadcasters, Indian broadcasters too had "to create their materials 'on the job'" (Tomaselli *et al* 1989:29) as they were creating new class values, new hierarchies, and new ethnic identities. New interpretations of traditional and modern, and of Indian and South African identities were to characterise media culture well past the days of the ABC.

The ABC programmes were controlled jointly by white paternalist broadcast authorities and Indian South African professionals in the teaching and business classes from which the musicians and scriptwriters were drawn despite their not being professional poets, performers or directors.

I was a little fellow, fourteen or so... we didn't have radio at home, then, a radio was a very rare thing in Indian homes. My brothers told me when we were having the first Indian broadcast ... at quarter past six in the evening, the first Indian programme of Indian music. And both my parents were all excited because my brothers were featured in the programme ... It was only for fifteen minutes, 6.15 to 6.30. So when it was nearer the time - I lived in Mayville on a hilly place - I ran down there, right down to the Jan Smuts Highway, where it is now. On the corner, we had an uncle who had a tearoom. I stood there and waited for the programme. A lot of people knew there was this programme, and people gathered there. So, here it came on! It was so exciting and electrifying for us. On the radio! To hear Indian music! For the first time! (Devar 1994:Interview).

Jugadheesan Devar's nostalgic reminiscences direct our attention towards the intense excitement experienced by urban Indian South Africans on the occasion of the first Indian Programme. This was a highly valued commodity. These programmes are fondly remembered, and were frequently cited by post-Second World War critics of the SABC structures as a model for emulation. For example, it was thought by M.S. Naidoo that the twice-weekly, half-hourly<sup>2</sup> "pre-war Indian broadcasts were of a very high order and there was no discrimination whatever." The widely-varied programmes comprising talks,<sup>3</sup> sport reviews,

topics of general interest,<sup>4</sup> interviews with visiting "Indian notables", and "songs and music in Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, and Gujarati ... were highly satisfactory" (Naidoo, M.S. 1957:8).

The first Indian Programme announcer/programmer was Abel Peters "who made a tremendous impact on the listeners in the Indian community" (Devar 1994:Interview). Little is known about these pre-Second World War programmes, except that the first programme was devised in line with the aspirations of a growing but embryonic urban elite. "Upliftment" thinking placed emphasis in The Indian Programme on informational, educational, and cultural programming designed to generate a new class structure. The Indian South African class structure that was in the making, drew on recontextualised and redefined British colonial and South Asian ideologies.

Transition and flux necessitated an educational agenda which informed these programmes to a much greater extent than it did the English programmes despite the commercial status of the ABC. Upliftment and enlightenment required programmes of the sort described by Hamm as "largely confined to classical and religious items ... with occasional relief by semi-classical ... music of the educated classes" (Hamm 1991:148). Despite (because of?) operating in a cultural and class milieu largely bereft of a classical music tradition (Jackson 1988), the first Indian Programme comprised classical "songs, instrumental music and tabla playing". M.R. Devar played a classical violin piece, S.R. Devar and A. Govindasamy played the tablas, and Kannu Govender sang items from the South Indian repertoire (Devar 1994:Interview) despite the presence of two tablas (North Indian instruments) and the lack of an historically and regionally informed guru-sisya classical performance practice. These early modified and often severely distorted classical music programmes grew out of

initiatives, however small, already present in urban elite performance circles.<sup>5</sup> They were merely reinforced by ABC institutions rather than being imposed by them. Control of programmes was invested more in the hands of Indian educators, elite musicians, and semi-commercial entertainers than in those of broadcast "authorities". The Broadcaster apparently had no programming vision for an Indian South African audience. The programme was broadcast from the Durban City Hall (now the main Post Office).

One of the main bones of contention for radio listeners and performers, particularly in the fifties and sixties, was the playing of commercial records over the air. Records were introduced partly to cut costs generally,<sup>6</sup> and partly to avoid other problem areas such as the need to devise costly and protracted strategies to develop local Indian South African musicians. I have, however, found only one reference<sup>7</sup> to the playing of records over the air before the Second World War which suggests, especially if viewed alongside Sushila Singh's comment below, that playing records happened "much later" even than the late forties, and that the majority of Indian programmes at this time were live.

Most of the groups broadcasting in the early years involved a fairly small pool of musicians who were already patronised by urban elite audiences. Live performances took place at weddings of the wealthy, *qawwali* evenings, Muslim *urs* celebrations, "grand concert" recitals, and as part of "the drama" (Maya Devi 1994:Per telephone) None, of course, had any experience in studio or microphone techniques. At this time, no-one possessed much academic knowledge about South Asian music theory, repertoire, history, or cultural significance not least of all, the broadcast authorities. This was especially true with regard to classical music. Earlier research has revealed that classical music was learnt by a few

enthusiasts by rote from records alongside the current film numbers and devotional songs, from correspondence courses, and from short study trips to India, mostly after 1948 (Jackson:1988). It was also transmitted by visitors possessing some musical skills, including, from the fifties, *khalasees* (Maya Devi 1994:Per telephone) who were sailors in the Indian and Pakistan commercial navies.

Judging by the relatively few letters criticising broadcast performance standards, it would seem that listeners were much more tolerant than they were even a decade later after exposure to better recording technology and programming through the well-researched All-India Radio and SABC programmes of Western music.<sup>8</sup> These early Indian South African programmes provided a learning experience for script and song-writers, singers and accompanists.

By comparison with later attempts by the Natal Regional Director, the announcer/programmer, and then later still, the Audition Committee, it appears that these music programmes provided a satisfactory balance, at least for the urban elite audience, between "upliftment" and entertainment,

### **War-time CPS : 1939 - 1942**

During the Second World War, Indian South African music broadcasting was brought to a halt altogether. Abel Peters was recruited to the army with the advent of the Second World War in 1939, and the Indian Programme of music and talks was closed down, giving way to the CPS Session. In this programme, the Civil Protection Society gave war-related

directives in Indian languages. These talks were designed to educate Indian South Africans about what to do if there were an emergency, about petrol rationing, about how to create an effective blackout, and included warnings to coastal dwellers not to talk or write to friends about the ships they saw in the harbour (Mehtar 1994:Interview; Maya Devi 1994:Interview; Devar 1994:Per telephone). They were also requested by the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) to give air raid warnings in Tamil and Hindustani should the need arise (The Leader 11 April 1942:6). There was no music in this programme. According to Yacoob Mehtar, "Farooqi", who later wrote many of the song-texts and scripts for the Indian Radio Cavalcade, "was in charge of all that; he had to see that this was being done ... And his salary was half-a-guinea a week for that half-hour (Mehtar 1994:Interview).

### **"Good" Music : 1943 - 1949**

Whatever there was in the early Indian Programme that pleased the urban elite seems to have disintegrated after the war into a confused, frustrating, insulting, and highly-contested series of disasters, peppered with a few popular, but short-lived programmes. This situation was testimony to Indian South Africans' alienated and alienating life experiences. Perhaps too, the listening public changed: the war had brought the phenomenon of radio to the attention of many working-class Indian South Africans (Mehtar 1994:Interview) and more working-class people bought their radios through hire-purchase sales of second-hand radios after the war (The Leader 18 October 1947:12).

COME TO US FOR YOUR  
**RADIO**

All best makes stocked including  
**R. C. A.**


RADIOS AND RADIOGRAMS  
 and  
 PHILLIPS RADIOS AND RADIOGRAMS

We will trade-in your  
 old Radio — making  
 you a good allowance

EASY TERMS GLADLY  
 ARRANGED

WE HAVE A FEW RECONDITIONED  
 USED RADIO  
 AND RADIOGRAMS  
 ASK TO SEE THEM

REPAIRS TO AND SPARES FOR ALL MAKES



82 VICTORIA STREET, DURBAN  
 PHONES 26200, 26057      Radio Workshop Phone 27934

**C.P.S. News** — *have  
 you heard it?*

*As well as keeping in touch with  
 Local and Overseas Broadcasts*

Special Indian Music with C.P.S. News from  
 Durban every Sunday 9.30 a.m.

We Stock  
**NEW AND SECOND-HAND RADIOS**

from £5 upward  
**REPAIRS a Speciality**




Fig. One: Come to us for Your  
 Radio (The Leader  
 18 October 1942:12)

Fig. Two: C.P.S. News - Have  
 You Heard it? (The Leader  
 25 July 1942:8)



In 1942, the Indian Programme was reinstated (Devar 1994:Interview; The Leader 25 July 1942:8). P.R. Singh, - actor, *nautch* dancer, singer of Bhojpuri folk, Hindi wedding, and English folk songs, school teacher, eisteddfod adjudicator, compere, wedding adviser, turban-maker, make-up and costume artist, and general assistant in all popular cultural activities organised by Indian South Africans (Singh, S. 1994:Interview) - was brought in to run the new Indian Programme. He was the announcer and programme compiler of the now only fifteen-minute, weekly broadcast from Tribune House in Aliwal Street, and then later, from Radio House in Gardiner Street. The programme was still thought of as "Sunday's CPS Session" until the end of 1943 (The Leader 10 July 1943:3; 16 October 1943:1; and "Deepavali Supplement" 30 October 1943:iv) but soon after the programme had been resumed, it was extended to half-an-hour per week.

In 1937, the SABC had established a policy of promoting "good" music. This is demonstrated in its emphasis on "regular symphony concerts" given by the "Corporation's Symphony Orchestra"; "Sunday evening concerts by Municipal Orchestras"; chamber music which "received special encouragement"; recorded symphonies; "light orchestral music" and "fine operatic and musical comedy productions"; and "regular recitals of organ music" (AR 1937:16-17). Shortly after the Indian programme had been resumed, this policy of promoting "good" music had started to affect the Indian music radio programme. Whether this downward dispersion of policy took place by emulation or coercion is not yet known, but its impact is quite clear in post-war events.

According to Sushila Singh, P.R.'s daughter, her father's programme consisted exclusively of

local artists getting a chance to appear on the Indian Programme. It was mostly, well, singing or instrumental ... definitely, what you'd call variety programme. These programmes were not only in Hindi [P.R.'s mother tongue], one Sunday Hindi, the other Sunday we'd have the Tamil programme, and the following Sunday we'd have a Gujarati programme. It wasn't only Hindi ... Oh! he was well-versed in Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu (Singh 1994:Interview).

Sushila Singh left South Africa suddenly and unexpectedly shortly after my free-attitude interview with her so I was unable to conduct any intended follow-up depth interviews.

I was, however, able to determine that P.R. Singh's main concern was "to give everybody a chance". This also meant that at this time, no commercially recorded music was broadcast. That, according to Sushila Singh, "came much later, much, much later" (Singh 1994:Interview).

The "variety" mentioned by Sushila Singh seems to refer to her father's policy of giving each language group equal emphasis, of giving young musicians airtime, regardless of their performance ability, as well as his willingness, at least at first, to promote the new syncretic film music culture that was set to take Indian South Africans by storm. A few troupes were formed with specific radio broadcasting in mind, which held entertainment to be their primary objective, and education, secondary. They drew on and contributed to the growing vaudeville-type of variety concert that was to become the entertainment "rage" during the forties and fifties. The music in these programmes was syncretic (Jackson 1994:8-10) and the performance genre, the "sketch", is testament to one form of Indian South African accommodation to Western culture. The sketch was itself generated by the colonial broadcast media. In a report of general programmes in 1937, the SABC notes in AR that "187 sketches were broadcast, 73 of which were by South African writers" (1937:21). Over

the years 1938, 1939, and 1940, a further 188 sketches by South African writers were reported (AR 1938: 21; AR 1939:13; 1940:55). It is possible to deduce from the structure of the pre-war reports, where at this time, Indian music reporting is integrated with all other programme reports, that some of these were Indian music and drama sketches.

Although sketch broadcasts generally fizzled out during the war, Indian South African sketch programmes outlived the war. The most successful and well-known of these sketch troupes was the Indian Radio Cavalcade which was created out of the experience gained by "Farooqi" Mehtar as a war-commentator. "Farooqi's" brother Yacoob, told me that it was the war that got "Farooqi" into writing song lyrics and drama sketches for the radio.

That is how my brother got started in the Indian programme. As sub-editor of Indian Views, he was asked to write about security for the CPS during the war. After the war got finished, he continued with the programme, it got very popular. He wrote little sketches about this and that (Yacoob Mehtar 1994:Interview).

Indian Radio Cavalcade, the troupe for which "Farooqi" wrote during 1944 was directed by Yusuf Kat (Kathrada), sign-writer and producer of shows.<sup>9</sup>

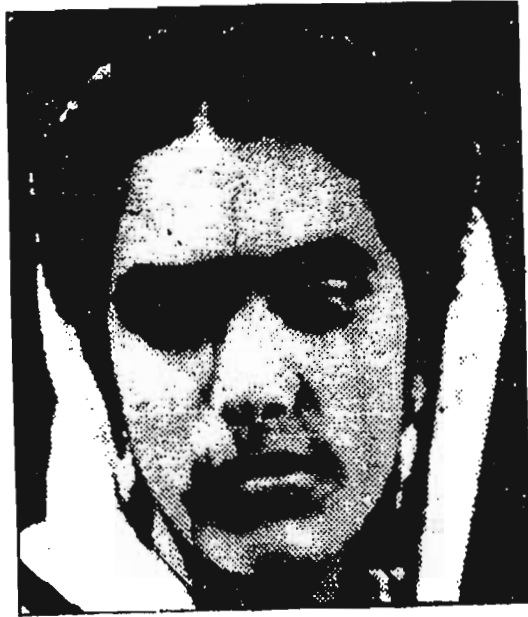
The Indian Radio Cavalcade introduced itself on The Indian Programme by way of a signature tune. This was "only music", based on a *filmi ghazal*, played on harmonium, clarinet, violin, tabla, guitar, washboard, and maraccas. The band was led by Essop Buxson and it was joined by Maya Devi and Ramchandra who became the main vocalists after the second and third Indian Radio Cavalcade presentations, respectively. Later, The Cavalcade Record Orchestra was directed by K.S. Naicker (The Leader 30 June 1945:7), who had been the leader of the Ranjeni Orchestra since 1938 (Veeran, N. 1996: 114).<sup>10</sup>

**INDIAN  
RADIO  
CAVALCADE**

presents

**MAYA DEVI**

in



**“SONGTIME”**

with

**Shanta Kumari, Baby Zarina, Master Nisar,  
Hamid, Ramchandra, Anand**

and the

**Cavalcade Record Orchestra  
SONGS .. MUSIC .. DANCES**

HINDUSTANI, TAMIL AND ENGLISH

directed by YUSUF KAT

**AVALON**

**26th November at 2.30 p.m.**

**ADMISSION BY DONATION**

**BOOKING at MEER'S RETAILERS, 76 Victoria Street**

Fig. Three: Indian Radio Cavalcade (The Leader 18 November 1944:7)

The main programme consisted of informational or comic dialogue in Hindi or Urdu, presented in the form of a secular "sketch", interwoven with local texts set to film songs, again in Hindi or Urdu, of a semi-classical-derived or "not-so-jazzy" nature (Maya Devi 1992:Interview). "Little sketches intermingled with song. I remember" says Maya Devi "the first one that I appeared in was 'Inside a Radio Station', you know, a broadcasting session. It was mostly music. Just a few words and then lots of music" (1991:Interview).

The educational component seems to have been the retention and development of Indian vernacular languages, the loss of which by the youth was becoming increasingly worrying to the older generation. Secular moral teachings and socialisation into modern urban life skills were also built into the programme design. But all this was presented under the guise of colourful entertainment, fun, and stirring emotions as genres of new popular culture which appealed to a much wider section of the Indian South African population than did language or region-specific North or South Indian classical or devotional music.

In opposition to the Indian Radio Cavalcade which was set to entertain, Sultan Khan with Miss Zubida and Party who performed North Indian semi-classical *qawwali*, saw themselves as promoters of more traditional, "classical" music. The following tale by Yacoob Mehtar vigorously encapsulates the contest between entertainment and upliftment which seems to be a sign of the times.

There was such rivalry between the two [troupes]. I think it was a clash of personality. All in Urdu/Hindi, one was a commercial artist, a creative artist. That was Yusuf Kat. He and "Farooqi" used to work together very nicely, produced some comical items. Sultan Khan was a musician. Yusuf Kat was not a musician. He could create. Sultan Khan was of the old *qawwali* group. So with the result it all started with one wanting to dominate the programmes. Instead of saying 'There's only two or three of us, let's get together'. No! No! This was no bloody good! With the result that I think

somebody got a hiding also. Somebody's head got broken. They had to go to hospital (Mehtar 1994:Interview).

Because of his attempt to create what was considered to be an unearned classical star image for himself, Sultan Khan drew the satirical techniques of Kat and "Farooqi" down upon himself through the medium of one of these radio sketches.

Sultan Khan used to call himself MIM [Master of Indian Music]. These chaps [Kat and "Farooqi"] said 'Where did you get that degree? What did you pay for that degree? I don't know any university in India that gives an MIM degree! Now all this was in the vernacular, so the SABC authorities don't know what is happening. In the meantime, it was all this in-fighting among the community (Mehtar 1994:Interview).

Although the popular Indian Radio Cavalcade continued to be broadcast until 1944,<sup>11</sup> and a few "special request" programmes<sup>12</sup> were broadcast, it was during this time that a flood of listeners' objections to a number of issues in the programme appeared in the press. In a travesty of P.R. Singh's effort to be "fair" to all, more than one group of musicians was presented on each half-hour programme and linguistic and ethnic group became increasingly the main criteria for selecting performers. The fragmentation of the outrageously short time allowed for the broadcasting of South Asian classical and devotional music, as a result, prohibited any possibility of canonic performance practice. Ranade created the term "time-shrinkage" by which he meant that South Asian musicians in India are expected to unfold their musical ideas in vastly less time than in the past. Contributing factors are early recording technology, broadcasting programme requirements, and a changing audience. AIR music programmes are confined to a thirty-minute span - a far cry from the all-night concerts and "single *raag*-presentations of long duration" (Ranade 1984:52). Thirty minutes, however, could be seen as indulgent by comparison with South African Indian Programme duration where thirty minutes had to be shared by three or four musicians and a

recorded music programme. There are South African newspaper references which remark that songs were cut off midway in order for other items, including commercial recorded items, to be jammed in (see for example Mohammed and Ramsingh 1955:13). As a result of ignorance and neglect, the new, transitional, floundering middle-class Indian South African music culture was hampered rather than developed despite the "good" music policy endorsed by the SABC.

P.R. Singh's liberal attitude to programming did not however extend to his giving equal chance to the more rural music theatre songs such as those in *therukooth* or *nachania*, lower-class *nautch* dance, domestic wedding songs, domestic Bhojpuri *birha* and *sohar*, i.e. those music genres no longer considered to be "good". These outmoded brands of popular culture, with which Singh was most familiar, were already falling into disrepute as middle-class values were changing and being changed by ideology-bearing media such as the radio broadcast. Thus, Singh's skills in these areas were of no help to him in his new custodial role. P.R. Singh's apparent lack of knowledge of classical and devotional music (which was by now required by SABC's policy on classical and light music), and his populist attitude to "giving all a chance" regardless of their suitability and preparedness for an otherwise professional licensed broadcasting service, were opposed by both the listening public and, eventually, the authorities.

A survey of musicians broadcasting at this time reveals an inordinate number of young "finds"; "pupils of" newly-launched music "schools" teaching classical and semi-classical music run by enthusiasts who had not themselves had the chance to learn via authentic teaching musicians; children representing religion and language-promoting *sabhas*; and the

unknown and never-to-be-broadcast-again, collectively referred to as "well-meaning children" ("Fed-up" 1944:3)<sup>13</sup> and "Toms, Dicks, and Harrys" (A. Govender 1944:3; "Thubla-Sarangi" 1946:7; "Tansen" 1946:2; and "A Sungeeth Master" 1946:2). P.R. Singh's programmes have also been called "a few minutes of silly prattle which habitues of Indian pubs would disdain to enter into rivalry with" in an Indian Views editorial ("Spectator" 1944:1).

Well-known broadcasting musicians popular amongst the urban upper classes were D. Roopanand, A.G. Hamid, George Harrischandra, and Polly Bharat Singh. Special programmes for religious festivals were featured such as the 1943 "Ramazan" programme which included a "reading" from the Quoran [sic] and Urdu songs by Dawood Kawal and his brother (The Leader 25 September 1943:8). Others of this type were Bakr-Eid programmes such as the "short play" entitled "Garib" written and produced by N.M. Essack (Haque) (The Leader 4 December 1943:4); Commemoration of Ramnaumi [sic], i.e. Shri Ramchandra's birthday (The Leader 1 April 1944:3); and the special Moharrum programme, "Karbala ki Ziarath" written and produced by Abdul Rahman (Harry) with Urdu songs by Miss Zeena Ara and Miss Hussenath (The Leader 15 December 1945:3).

Amongst the programme notices in the early post-war CPS Session, I also noted one Hindi sketch (The Leader 19 August 1944:5), one Urdu *mushayera* [sic] programme (The Leader 15 January 1944:6), one programme of "Shri Thyagaraja Swami Kirtanain (religious compositions)" by the members of the Chintamani Dramatic Troupe of Clairwood (The Leader 18 September 1943:7), a few orchestral programmes featuring orchestras such as the Ranjeni Young Men's Orchestra and City Star Orchestra, a number of *qawwali* programmes



featuring *qawwals* such as Shaik Ahmed, Mahomed Khan, S.D. Papa (The Leader 15 September 1944:3) and Goolam Rasool (The Leader 21 August 1943:3), and only one openly acknowledged "popular Hindi film songs" programme (The Leader 10 July 1943:3).

As we have seen from Maya Devi's description above, the Indian Radio Cavalcade, though not billed as such, was on the forefront of reinventing South Asian Indian film music as a South African popular culture. It was not, however, to find support in the broadcast media for long. In a Graphic article, Tholsy P. Naidoo accused the SABC and The Indian Programme advisory committee of having "murdered" the Indian Radio Cavalcade as a broadcast programme despite its huge following over the air and live (Naidoo, T.P. 1953:5).

Indeed, after 1944, there is no further mention of the Indian Radio Cavalcade as a broadcast troupe. Although it is impossible at this stage to tell to what extent P.R. Singh was involved in the closing down of the Cavalcade, and no reason was ever apparently given, it seems probable that its demise could have been prompted by its syncretic, popular, entertainment-directed character which were at odds with SABC official policy.

Most of the other programmes above are examples, possibly poorly prepared examples, of the "good" music that was to be predominant during this period and until the sixties. "Good" music was understood to include the orchestral programmes which presented arrangements of classical themes, folk, and devotional songs. Although it is possible to see how P.R. Singh could interpret his own selection policy as "giving all a chance", an underlying, albeit failed, middle-class aesthetic and social ethos is unmistakable in the emphasis on classical, religious, and light orchestral music which filled his programmes.

### **Racism and Elitism - Applesamy and Naidoo : 1943 - 1949**

Let us now briefly move away from the theme of Indian South African broadcasters and broadcast programmes to that of white South Africans' exploitation of Indian South African working-class culture as comic broadcast material. An explicit and reprehensible demonstration of white perceptions of Indian culture and their manipulation of it may be seen in the "comic" programme "Applesamy and Naidoo" which was broadcast sporadically but often between 1943 (if not earlier) and 1949. Although not a music programme itself, "Applesamy and Naidoo" appeared frequently on staged music variety concert programmes organised by and featuring Indian South Africans and it was broadcast on both the Indian Programme for Indian listeners and on the English service for white listeners.

It was described as "the Durban feature ... whose dialect strikes an instant and hilarious response in those who know the Natal Indian" and it was cited in the SABC Annual Report as an example of its new moves towards providing programmes of "local colour and traditions" (AR 1943:7). The characters were played by white South Africans, Roy Rich and Dusty Cracknell. They mimicked what Devar calls

the ordinary man in the street, not the educated Indian ... it wasn't representative of the normal English spoken by the Indian people, no. You get the hawkker who didn't know the English language, or the market gardener ..., or a fisherman or a boatman or a man who's sweeping the street ... They reflected working-class people's thinking (1994:Interview).

Comedy, of course, can either be a way of celebrating or of changing people's behaviour. In this case, "Applesamy and Naidoo" conveyed to white and Indian South African listeners tacit information about acceptable middle-class norms and values, and a perception that Indian South Africans failed to reach those standards. Devar, who later became the

supervisor and announcer/programmer of The Indian Programme, and who speaks impeccable educated English, "honestly ... thought that they provided a lot of fun with no harmful intentions ... there wasn't anything that was insulting or demeaning". Devar told me that there were those, more sensitive to working-class sentiments I would suggest, who did take exception to it. A lot of Indian people felt that they were being insulted and deliberately embarrassed (Devar 1994:Interview), which of course, indirectly, they were in a racist and smugly elitist way.

The broadcasting of this programme serves to display the SABC's racist and ignorant thinking under Smuts' Union Government. There was so little time allocated for Indian South African material yet they inserted this! It seems to be directly related to British assimilationist ideas that sought to "uplift" Indian South Africans by de-Indianising them. British South Africans clearly disapproved of Indian culture seeing it as the root cause of "backward" behaviour. The theory seems to have been if Indian South Africans practised British-style culture, many of their social ills would be eradicated and the purged westernised Indian South African would be rendered worthy of the same civic public resources as other South Africans. Evidence for this approach may be found much earlier in the 1927 Cape Town Agreement (Malan-Sastri) and its conditional "Upliftment Clause" (Bhana and Pachai 1984:155-162) which traded conformation to Western standards of civilisation for civic upliftment and the development of municipal services. Assimilation and conciliation politics of the thirties and forties saw a marked movement towards British cultural values amongst some sectors of the educated Indian South African elite (Jackson 1989:65).

The programme "Applesamy and Naidoo" suggests by its exclusive position in the expression of an Indian South African theme by white South Africans that white perceptions of Indian South Africans were characterised by stereotypes of illiteracy, lack of education, poor English usage, and low-class culture, i.e. "coolie" culture. By ridiculing the "Indianisms" of speech, values, and occupations on the radio, white South Africans conveyed their racism and white/European chauvinism and, with members of the Indian South African elite, voiced their disapproval of Indian working-class culture. No oppositional letters to the editor, such as those I shall describe in the next section of this chapter, were written about this programme. Perhaps this was because the letter writers in general were members of the privileged audience rather than "Applesamys" and "Naidoos" themselves.

### **Protest : 1938 - 1946**

Going back to the late thirties and to the Indian South African broadcast theme itself, I now address, in some detail, the response of listeners, musicians, broadcast authorities, and organisations to the deficient Indian Programme. The press reveals a number of issues over which sectors of the listening public protested over a protracted period of time. The first wave of these letters brought the Indian Programme controversy to a head in 1945/6. In this section, I wish to review some of the letters, and the concerns that seem to emerge from them, leading up to a crisis meeting between the NIC and SABC, and between the Indian Radio Owners' Association and SABC authorities, respectively.

What appears to be the first of these complaints, along with a clearly spelled out set of guidelines for improvement and expansion, appears in Indian Views as early as 1938 (before the war). This was one of the years during which a Passive Resistance defiance campaign was announced. Considering the close involvement of NIC members with the confrontations over both the radio and the record industry conflicts, it is not impossible that their lobby against the SABC was considered by some to be one arm of Passive Resistance. The protest over broadcasting in the press was so visible, so passionate, and so regular with frequent references to Congress or Congress affiliates between 1938 and 1970, that it is worth considering. Confused objectives and lack of unity seen between conflicting parties indicates that the controversy was, however, not the prerogative only of Passive Resistance. The first assault was sparked by the expansion of the service for white listeners in 1937 into two separate programmes, both of which were now being transmitted on the high-fidelity medium-wave band (AM): an 'A' service in English and a 'B' service in Afrikaans.<sup>14</sup> The press report prefaces the article with the comment that "at present [Natal Indians] get less than a five per cent. share of the published programmes, although they pay the same licence fee (£1 15s) as Europeans" (Indian Views 9 September 1938:7).

This article also reports a memorandum which was sent to the Natal Radio Council, in which the Natal Indian Youth League criticises the fact that "concessions have been made to the English and Afrikaans-speaking communities", pointing out that "no such privileges have been accorded to our community". The bi-weekly Indian programmes were insufficient "to serve the needs of the nine sections of the Indian community". Natal Indian programmes are compared with the Indian broadcasting service in the British Broadcasting Corporation and

the service in Rome and Paris, where daily programmes for the entertainment of Indians and Arabs "in the Colonies and elsewhere" were in place (ibid).

A five-point set of guidelines included in the Natal Indian Youth League's memorandum also appears in the press report as follows.

The [Youth League] Council feels that, in view of the increasing number of Indian licensed listeners, the following concessions should be made without further delay.

A daily one-hour communal broadcast between 5.45 p.m. and 6.45 p.m., [and one] on Sundays between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m.

A weekly South African and overseas Indian news service in English.

More talks and plays in Tamil, Urdu, Telugu, Gujarati, Hindi, Pathan, Punjabi, Marathi, and Arabic languages.

At present only certain records are broadcast during the Indian session. We feel that it is unfair to the Indian listeners, as other makes of records in the above languages should also be broadcast for us.

The [Youth League] Council further suggests that the licensing fee for all listeners should be reduced to £1 10s a year, payable half-yearly (ibid).

As we have seen, this articulate and rigorous communication to SABC authorities was to no avail. Indeed, the bi-weekly programmes were reduced to half-an-hour per week; the magazine component of the programme in which talks, interviews, sports reviews were presented was dropped; to my knowledge, not a single point suggested in the guidelines was ever implemented or even taken seriously.

The 1938 Indian Youth League report, with its memorandum, introduces a number of themes which recur assiduously in letters of complaint through the press between 1938 and 1972. Constantly we encounter letters attesting to the growing number of radio

owners paying the same licence fees as white South Africans but receiving in return an inadequate service. There were "thousands" of Indian radio owners in the Union who paid licence fees ("Radio-Fan" 1944:3).

Are we looked upon as beggars? What do we beg for? The nauseating Indian programme! No. We do not beg, we pay licence fees for our radio sets ("Disgusted Listener" 1944:3).

The most common complaint is the token amount of air-time allocated to the Indian Programme and the poor use made of that time. One letter pointed out that the "Native session" was broadcast on Sundays and on each day of the week ("Keen Listener" 1944:5). A number of correspondents compared Indian broadcasting air-time in the Union with that of other countries. Others merely saw the restricted air-time as evidence of neglect.

In Kenya, the Indian Population is less than in South Africa, yet the Government of that country gives about 45 minutes each night to Indians and the Nairobi programme includes music, news and commentary. Why could not the Government of this country also give us, say one hour each evening from Durban only ("Keen Listener" 1944:5).

They give us just half-an-hour, and they dump upon us any Tom, Dick and Harry of a singer, who does not know one note of music from another, a singer bellowing on one note, while the music is played on another and the drummer running after the two in vain endeavours to beat the time! (Govender, A. 1944:3).

Other themes range from the authorities "not understanding" the needs of Indian listeners to the more sinister one of the authorities deliberately neglecting the programme for political purposes, in order to empower white South Africans by giving them a feeling of cultural superiority and by keeping "the Indians" in their place. Many correspondents expressed their shame, embarrassment, and sense of humiliation by the stigma the programme drew upon them.

It is evident from the programmes put over the air on Sunday mornings for Indian listeners that it is regarded as an unwanted feature and therefore presented in any manner that pleases the authorities. The result is not only annoying but a stigma on the Indian community ("Radio-Fan" 1944:3).

The authorities do not understand the kind of programmes needed as a result the kind of music provided by local 'talents' on most Sundays is proving to be the best substitute, so far, for an anaesthetic ("A Listener" 1944:5).

We are required to look pleasant with the small mercies which the authorities condescend to shower upon us! We are indebted to the C.P.S. (now deceased) for the Sunday morning sessions and the Broadcasting authorities are merely tolerating this burden ... I have a suspicion that the Indian programmes are essentially meant for non-Indian ears - those who may have Indian servants in their home... If your ears tingle with shame at the funny noise at times described as Indian music, both modern and classic, have courage and bear your shame with dignity, for we have got to bear it, whether we like it or not ("Fed-Up" 1944:3).

The Corporation does not study the requirements of the Indian listeners in the least and thinks that their needs are met by hasty and puerile improvisations ("Spectator" 1944:1).

The Broadcasting authorities are 'not playing the game' (Essop Bacus 1944:5).

One letter called for the payment of artists, without which "it is ... obvious that really talented musicians are clean off the list" ("Musical" 1944:5). Performers were in fact being paid, but such a pittance that it lends credence to the perception that they were not paid at all. "Raag-Ragini" writes

I have gathered from those who have been on the air ... that an orchestra of about 10 or 12 receives only about a guinea or two. Now where is the encouragement (1946:5)?

Thus this plea for real financial rewards and inspiration for musicians to develop their craft seems to have reflected a genuine observation of repression by the SABC.



"Miss IYU" suggested that the obsession with equitable time being allocated to linguistic groupings was clouding the issue of good broadcasting.

Where are all our good singers? Is there no one to co-operate with them for the purpose of broadcasting? I am sure that if the Broadcasting authorities would take a little more interest in choosing talents, there would be no dissatisfied listeners. It would be immaterial if the programme be in any vernacular. Entertainment is what we want and the best of it. That's all (1944:5).

### **NIC, IROA, and Public Protest : 1944 - 1945**

The outrage voiced by the listening public at this time was unanimous and ubiquitous, and led to the harnessing of one political group, and the formation of one "non-political" group to confront the crisis. In July ("Musical" 1944:5), and again in August 1944 ("Spectator" 1944:1), the NIC was approached to address the dissatisfaction of Indian South African radio listeners. 'Spectator' reports that the NIC had sent a memorandum to the Adult Education Commission drawing their attention "to the high utilitarian value of the radio as an educational medium and the failure to utilise it to the full in respect of Indian citizens" ("Spectator" 1944:1).<sup>15</sup>

Non-Congress supporters established a conflicting organisation, the Indian Radio Owners' Association (IROA),<sup>16</sup> in 1945. The first request for a "Radio Listener's Union" appears in Essop Bacus's letter to the editor, Indian Views September 1944. In order to "have good programmes oftener and bad ones sometimes" since "the good programmes" like "the Indian Radio Cavalcade and a few local 'finds'... come on the air only once - 'in a good blue moon'", listeners, Bacus says, have to organise, to lobby for improvement (Essop Bacus 1944:5).

The IROA was formed with the object of ascertaining the number of Indian radio licence holders, lobbying for more air-time, and developing a plan for the education of Indian South Africans to "good" music. The association functioned from an address in Victoria Street, a membership fee of 1 shilling per annum was charged and the following officials were announced:

G.M. Agjee - chairman  
D.O.<sup>17</sup> Baran - honorary treasurer  
H.G. Thathia - honorary secretary (Indian Views 3 October 1945:3).

As a consequence of the public outcry and the availability of new grievance-communication structures, Major Rene Caprara, Director of the SABC, and Hugh Tracey, Natal Regional Director, met with delegates of the NIC in November 1945.

At the time, the press voiced the optimistic comment that an increase in Indian listening hours might have resulted from the NIC initiative (The Leader 24 November 1945:5). The NIC's main argument at this NIC/SABC meeting in 1945 was the inadequate return listeners were getting as radio-licence holders. This was countered by the SABC representatives who argued that the return was unsatisfactory because the standard of "Indian artistes was very poor at this moment" (ibid). Furthermore, they informed the meeting that Indian broadcast musicians were paid for their services. NIC's M.D. Naidoo replied that the programmes were unsatisfactory, not because of lack of talent, but because SABC structures and attitudes prevented the "normal and natural development" of performers (ibid).

A unanimous two-point resolution was taken:

- 1) to establish an advisory committee consisting of representatives from the "educational and artistic side[s] of the community, as well as one representative of the Indian Radio Owners' Association ... to probe the requirements of Indian radio-listeners and advise the S.A.B.C."; and
- 2) to change the selection policy "so that the best talent" could be broadcast (ibid).

Representatives of the IROA were not present at this meeting which had been arranged by the NIC. Association representatives had been invited, but they refused participation because they were non-political. "We could not possibly identify ourselves with or become affiliated to a purely political organisation such as the Natal Indian Congress" (Agjee and Thathiah 1948:8). Preferring to negotiate directly and in isolation with broadcast authorities, Agjee and Thathiah wrote to Hugh Tracey in October 1945 describing the complaints and putting forth suggestions "but", they said, "apart from the stereotyped acknowledgement we heard nothing from them". Although they requested an appointment with Major Caprara at the time that he met with the NIC, only Hugh Tracey was able to see Agjee and Thathiah in November 1945. Tracey invited them to submit names for the Indian Advisory Committee which they did. Agjee complained that "we learnt later that the Advisory Committee was appointed but we were neither informed as to the work and function of the committee, nor of any improvements to be made then or later" (ibid).

The IROA also took exception to press reporting which gave the impression that the NIC was the prime mover in negotiating promising changes in broadcasting time available. The IROA had "done an enormous amount of spadework" and had prepared "a plan for the mass

education of Indians" which they submitted directly to the Board. They wished to be able to continue with their work "without being called upon to submerge [their] interests in Congress, where any subject so quickly becomes a controversial political question, and which is contrary to our constitution" (The Leader 1 December 1945:7).

### **Community or Race? Protest : 1946 - 1948**

Five major consequences developed out of the meetings described above:

- 1) the establishment by the SABC, the NIC, and the IROA of an "informal" advisory committee to assist the programmer/announcer and other broadcast authorities. This committee was composed of Sylvia Lawrence, D. Seebran, A.C. Meer, Yusuf Kathrada, and M.V.G. Naidu;
- 2) the selection of artists by an anonymous audition panel which operated from behind a screen;
- 3) each programme incorporated three or four linguistic groups;
- 4) records published in India and, later, in Pakistan constituted a growing proportion of programmes; and
- 5) P.R. Singh left the position of announcer/programmer,<sup>18</sup> which was now filled by S.R. Naidoo who operated supposedly in consultation with the audition panel and the advisory committee.<sup>19</sup>

By 1947 - it is not yet clear exactly when - Tracey had left the SABC and C.D. Fuchs took over as Natal Regional Director. Judging by letters to the press, no further air-time was allocated to the programme and listeners were, if anything, less satisfied by the results than before. Protest then more overtly reflected the political and cultural divisions in the "Indian community". The only solidarity reflected in the press was manifested in letters that continued to bemoan the restrictions placed by the SABC itself on air-time (see Dunadayalu 1946:5; "Lai-Majnu" 1947:4; and The Leader 24 January 1948:9).

The concept of broadcast airtime and Indian South Africans' rights at this time started, in some quarters, to reflect a growing element of South Asian Indian nationalism in cultural solidarity with and sustained by the independence movement in India. This is powerfully expressed in a letter by Dr. S.R. Dunadayalu in which he welcomed the salutary change in bringing all Indian languages together in one programme rather than presenting one language per week as P.R. Singh had been accustomed to doing. Dunadayalu said, however, that more time was required in order effectively to "meet the needs of the Indian radio public embracing various social activities of our people." He thought that lectures on health and hygiene, stories for children, and plays, all in Indian vernacular languages would help to meet those needs.

We must intensify and develop all our national characteristics and not least by developing our music so that we can sing our songs of freedom and liberation with fervour but without fear (1946:5).

A review of all the letters at this time suggests that internecine dissension expressed itself around six inter-related issues, although the most contentious and ubiquitous issue was the last listed here:<sup>20</sup>

- 1) the inhibiting role of the audition panel;
- 2) reasons for the poor standard of music broadcast;
- 3) the suitability of members of the advisory committee;
- 4) the alleged claim that sectionalism had crept into programme selection;
- 5) the competence or otherwise of the announcer; and
- 6) the classical/popular music debate.

The question of "which/whose music" should be promoted was often tinged with overtones of sectarianism in which elitist/popular, North/South Indian language, and Muslim/Hindu prejudices overlapped. In his letter questioning the suitability of the new advisory committee, a collection made up of a teacher, a music and record dealer, a retailer, a visual artist, and a herbalist, of whom only the last was an "outstanding musician of repute", D.S.

Padarath asks

[w]hat are their qualifications on the Art of Sungeeth? Sungeeth is a Hindu Art, and I am not afraid to say that it is being abused by amateur artists, who do not know the art but just sing Kawalis, etc [sic] (1946:3).

Similarly, "Tansen" did not see any improvement after the institution of the audition committee. His/her disapproval was conveyed as anti-Muslim, middle-class prejudice.

We still hear most of these Toms, Dicks, and Harrys, who sing cheap quawalies [sic] copied from records. What we really need today is more classical music, because today our masses have better understanding and taste for classics, than what they used to have five years back, and I am sure that these cheap Tom, Dick, and Harry quarrels [*qawwals*] cannot give it to us (1946:2).

Whereas previously, the announcer/programmer was considered always to be responsible for the programme's failure, now the members of the advisory committee were constantly being criticised or being defended or defending themselves. Sylvia Lawrence, who was a Christian and the daughter of Vincent Lawrence, a leader of the early Congress Passive Resistance movement, was also a Western music teacher and performer. She was considered by some to be unsuitable because she had not "contributed to make Indian music a success" ("Metronome" 1946:4). Similarly, Yusuf Kat, who was known for his popular secular approach to culture despite being a Muslim, was also known for his expressive pro-Congress cartoons which were published frequently in the press. He was rejected by one

listener as a useful committee member because he "devoted his time to sign-writing and drawing silly cartoons of Field Marshall Smuts with full of politics [sic]". The advisory board according to this writer, R. Kanhaye, should be "reshuffled" and replaced with "responsible musicians of intellect and prestige" (1947:2).

Advisory committee members were also fiercely defended by members of the public. For instance, in a reply to D.S. Padarath's letter querying the qualifications of advisory committee members, Kat was characterised as a man who

should go down in the history of the South African musical world, because he was the first person to produce Indian records in this country (Cavalcade records) and his showmanship - "Songtime" and "Sing Baby Sing," can alone tell. Surely if he had no musical knowledge he wouldn't have been so successful in his ventures ("Thubla-Sarangi" 1946:7).

A number of letters query why experienced, well-liked musicians in popular and/or classical genres were no longer being broadcast (see for example "Radio-Owner" 1947:4). A common interpretation at this time was that they had been boycotting or otherwise rendering themselves unavailable to the SABC since the inception of the audition system.

The local Broadcasting Corporation holds regular auditions to select artists for future broadcasts. Some conceited musicians (?) feel that it is beneath their dignity to appear for audition before a listening-in committee ("Not Sectional" 1947:2).

Mr Y.M. Coppan wrote last week that many good performers have been revealed by the Natal Indian Eisteddfod. But may I ask where are they, and why are they afraid to face an audition? ... From reliable sources I learn that no one is allowed to broadcast without an audition no matter how talented he or she may be. By this method all are treated alike and no favouritism prevails. The audition committee members have been unanimously voted to the S.A.B.C. both by the Natal Indian Congress and the Indian Radio Owners' Association. We should be grateful to these members, for they have volunteered to their posts without pay ("Thubla-Sarangi" 1946:7).

Who is to blame? I am sure that our "Sungath Masters," [sic] such as Professor Sultan Khan, P.H. Narsee, Amarnath Maharaj, D. Roopanand, Harrysingh, etc. are to blame. Why don't they come forward for an audition and give us programmes with more life in them. I am sure that they cannot fail in an audition because I have heard them, and they are really outstanding. As a true lover of the "Sungeeth Art" I call upon these sleeping masters, to awake and give us what we require, and that is "Sungeeth" in the true form ("Tansen" 1946:2).

Other letters, as for example the following one, criticise the unilateral programming choices made by the unpopular announcer. The writer mimics his broken English; rejects the preponderance of classical music which, he/she implies, is almost invariably Carnatic music; accuses him of sectionalism whilst revealing his/her own Hindustani chauvinism; and comments on the lack of variety offered.

1. What has happened to the Audition Committee? Is it a one-man affair now?
2. Can the announcer not pronounce any better? His (the announcer's) A's (Yeigh, to us), M's (Yum to us), "Goot mawning yevry buddy" and "Until then goot by and goot luck" are a sore to the ear [sic].
3. Why is it that nearly seventy-five per cent of the programme is either Tamil or Telugu? Surely there are just as many Hindi, Moslem and Gujarati listeners as there are his "favourites"? In fact, there are more of the latter [i.e. Hindi, Moslem, and Gujarati].
4. Why not do the announcing in Hindustani (universal among the Indians) rather than English? If the announcer does not know Hindustani, then Tamil or Telugu will do, since most of the programme provided is either Tamil or Telugu.
5. Why is it that we hear most of the stuff week in and week out? By changing the system in the programme one could very eagerly look forward to the half-hour programme. For instance: (a) Play requests from listeners; (b) Play records of popular and latest films; (c) Play records, and invite local artists to sing songs in commemoration of holy festivals such as Eid, Ramadaan, Hindi festivals and Diwali among others.



6. Why does the man (the announcer) provide so much classical music? In South Africa it is not popular as it is in certain parts of India. If they are his favourites, then the announcer should have them played elsewhere, but for Heaven's sake, NOT OVER THE AIR. Remember that there are others who are listening and they do not like it. One man's meat is another man's ....

7. Finally, in doing good service to the Indian community why does he not give it up and give place to better organisers and people with better pronunciation? ("Fed Up and How" 1947:4).

The main pro-popular, anti-announcer, anti-Tamil/Telugu favouritism arguments of this time were enshrined<sup>21</sup> in Yusuf Kat's satirical cartoon of 7 February 1948. Kat's work mimics S.R. Naidoo's poor pronunciation of "Goot moning yavvery-buddy"; suggests a Tamil/Telugu classics favouritism which privileges "raagam" and "thalam" which passes listeners by as "X.Y.Z...Z.Y.X"<sup>22</sup> (who cares)..... Blah...blah"; hints at performance incompetence and ignorance of classical canons evident in "some screeches and Tom Toms and more Blah"; reminds the viewer/reader that this half-hour is a precious, rare broadcasting opportunity; and implies that it is as insulting as the racist Applesamy and Naidoo programme<sup>23</sup> compiled and performed by white South Africans who scoffed at uneducated and working-class Indian South Africans in their "sarcastic impersonations". The underlining of "Naidu's" also presumably signifies a double meaning: it seems to refer to both "Applesamy and Naidoo", the programme, and S.R. Naidoo, the unpopular programmer/ announcer.

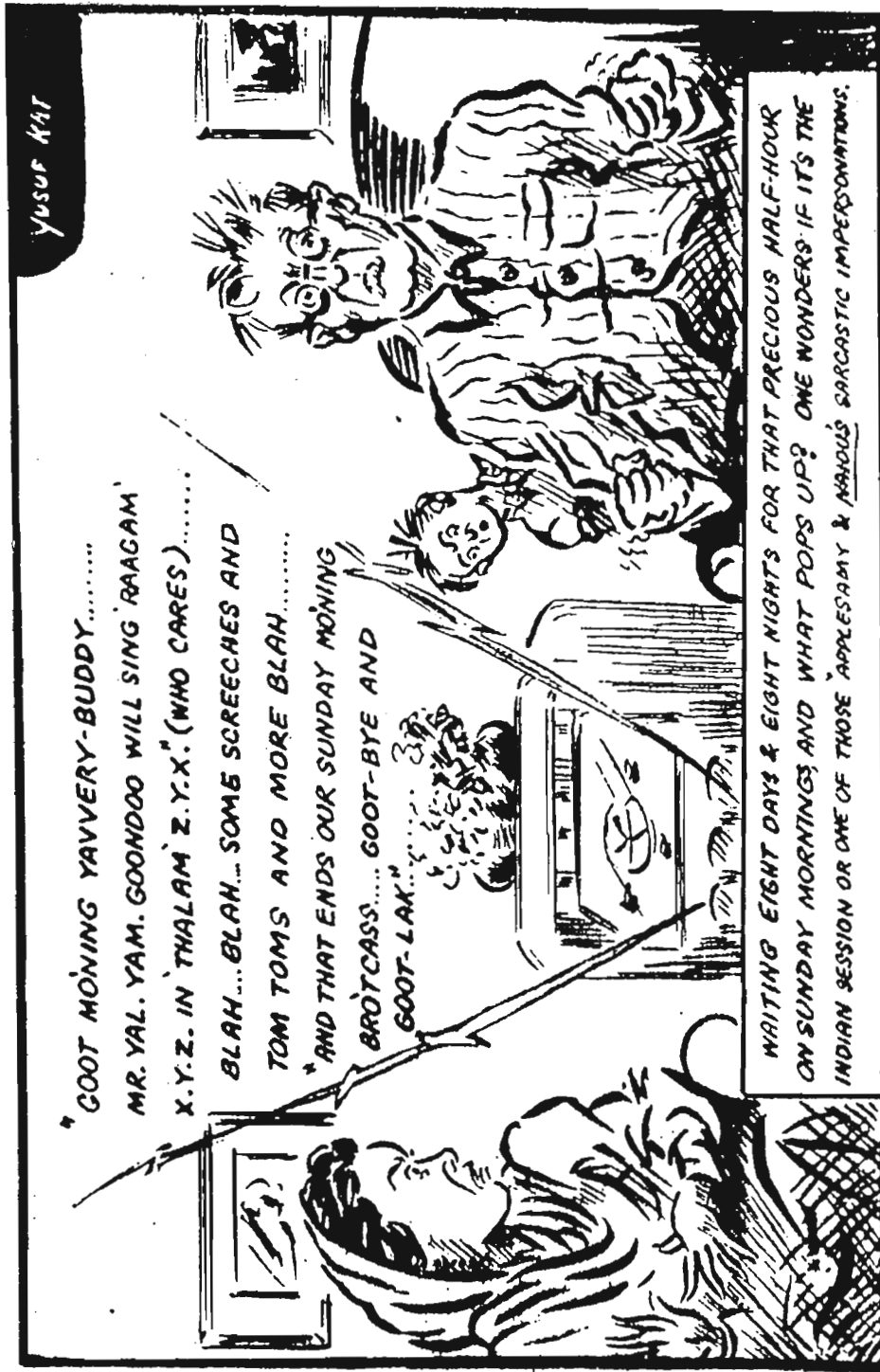


Fig. Four: Some Screeches and Tom Toms and More Blah (Yusuf Kat 1948:5)

Popular music is variously and by insinuation conceived as "*qawwali*" sung by amateurs, cheap "*qawwali*" copied from records, music promoted by people of no intellect or prestige, or, directly, as music from the latest popular films. The most clearly spelled out pro-popular and anti-classical music letter is that by "Amen" of Waschbank.

The programme, especially when some of the local "amateurs" face the microphone, in order to train and develop their "vocal cords," does not please the ears and naturally our whole physical as well as mental system has to undergo suffering as a result. India's "classical" music and songs are not required in South Africa, which makes us feel bored and annoyed. What we require is up-to-date and modern music and songs so that we could look forward to the Sunday broadcast of merely half-an-hour with eagerness and keenness. The world is rapidly changing and I hope the S.A.B.C. and the Indians responsible for Indian programmes will also change and march with the times. It is useless making a laughing stock of the Indian community by sending unwholesome and unpleasant music and songs over the air. Why not thoroughly overhaul and revise the programmes and include a decent and mixed selection of film, Kwali [sic], Nautch, Rhythmic [sic] and other "hot" Indian music and make the meagre 30 minutes' entertainment worthwhile ("Amen" 1947:4).

One correspondent at this time revealed the struggle for control that was being played out behind the scenes between the informal Advisory Committee and SABC officials. But he or she recognised that those equally responsible for the disastrous state of the Indian Programme, at least in terms of poor classical music performance, were the SABC themselves. This letter is by a musician going by the pseudonym "A Sungeeth Master" and is written in reply to criticism by "Tansen" of poor classical music performance standards. The tone of the letter suggests that "A Sungeeth Master" might either have been on the

audition panel or advisory committee, or was one of the musicians who had been hurt in some way by the iniquitous SABC policy.

The present policy of broadcasting ... will continue as long as the Broadcast authorities do not give the Audition Committee their rights to arrange Indian programmes. At the actual broadcast, the time of ten minutes allowed each person to sing a classical song is too little ... "Tansen," as the name suggests, seems to know something about classical music. Well! I would like him to convince Mr. H. Tracey who has the "Veto," as far as time limits for classical broadcast, to at least [sic], 30 minutes for each Sungeeth Master. Finally, may I ask "Tansen" not to blame Sungeeth Masters and say they are asleep. They are not asleep but wide awake. They too, dislike the present programme but everything is covered by "Red Tape" and they are in the minority. Little can be done by them, as things are, to improve the present programmes ("A Sungeeth Master" 1946:2).

The ignorance regarding South Asian classical music was displayed by the SABC in other ways which I will mention here, although the incident took place a few years after the crisis under discussion. Shortly after his return from South India where he had been studying Carnatic violin, voice, and *mrdangam*, Kalaimani A. Govindsamy Pillay passed a broadcast audition. Whilst conceding openly that classical music before the late forties and early fifties hardly featured in the cultural spectrum of Indian South Africans, and when it did, it was peppered with inaccuracies and distortions, Kalaimani Pillay was nevertheless horrified when taken into the recording studio to find the only microphone available for him and his admittedly overlarge party<sup>24</sup> was a standing one. Determined to practise what he had recently learned in India, he played his violin without a separate microphone in the canonic sitting position, holding it between his left foot and his left palm, giving his fingers the freedom of mobility to perform the *gamakas* and *niraval* (Pillay 1987:Interview).



Fig. Five: Colonial Broadcast Technology Versus Immigrant Culture 1952 (A.G. Pillay private collection)

Commercial records by North and South Indian classical and a few film and devotional musicians such as D.K. Pattamal, M.S. Subbulukshmi, D. Venkataswamy Naidu, K.C. Dey, Mumtaz Ali, T. Suryakumari, Kumari Seeta, Lalita Venkataraman, were clearly being used increasingly to oust musicians who would previously have been "given a chance". They also probably served to reduce costs of organisational and promotional labour and other resources which the SABC was less and less prepared to invest in this service.

The SABC's by now obvious resistance to developing Indian South African broadcasting services manifested the playing out of an Indian/anti-Indian, white/non-white struggle. The main theme which emerged whilst I was documenting the path of Indian South African protest against neglect by the broadcaster within that struggle thus far was its conflicted and divisive nature. Fragmentation appeared relentlessly along lines of political, ethnic, and class fractures. Congress was at odds with non-congress groups; Hindustani accused Tamil and Telugu languages and other cultural institutions of cultural hegemony; religious groupings slung mud at each other; middle-class classical South Asian and bourgeois syncretic popular cultures competed; and working-class culture was entirely overlooked, apart from Kat's graphic commentary on "Applesamy and Naidoo" and a Moharrum Festival programme here or there. And Indian South Africans of Western culture or integrated South African culture were completely excluded.

This situation was to pertain through the entire period under review underpinning the contrived racial conceptualisation of South African society which was already in place before grand apartheid took it to its crude and vicious conclusions. An Indian South African

community or racial entity? Despite repeated pleas for a united Indian South African front against anti-Indian legislation and on-the-ground prejudice,<sup>25</sup> such unity was an ever evasive goal because this was a community in imagination alone. Congress followers rejected communal franchise in February 1946, through which South African Indians would be enabled to elect representatives to Senate, the House of Assemblies and Provincial Councils. Communal franchise was viewed as a sop, was called "the sugar-coated pill", and was seen as "payment for segregation, economic spoliation and social ostracism" of Indian South Africans as legislated in the forthcoming land tenure bill, the "Ghetto Act" (The Leader 9 February 1946:1), which became law in June 1946.<sup>26</sup> But, at the same time, no single voice, in the print media at least, challenged the racial conceptualisation of The Indian Programme.

#### **Indian Radio Owners' Association : 1946 - 1948**

After Tracey left the organisation, the IROA continued its isolated negotiations with the SABC. When it became obvious that the negotiating structures set in place after the NIC/IROA/SABC meetings had produced no "useful change in the whole character of Indian sessions", and that none of the "gradual process of improvement" had taken place, the association again approached Fuchs to host a meeting with them. The IROA deputation consisted of C.M. Anglia, G.M. Agjee, H. Thathiah, Danjee, and Seebran (The Leader 6 March 1948:8).

A copy of a memorandum prepared for "the Government Commission appointed to investigate ways and means of improving Broadcasting in the Union" was given to the new Regional Director. Fuchs, according to this report, made it quite clear that "apart from

trying to improve the present half-an-hour a week programmes, there was nothing he could do without instructions received from the Board of Directors" (The Leader 6 March 1948:8).

After attempting to engage directly with the SABC, with no meaningful results, the IROA intensified their action in order to fulfil what they saw to be the broadcasting needs of South African Indians. The organisation developed two strategies, both of which emerged from their promise in 1945 to ascertain the number of Indian radio licence holders, to use that information to lobby for more air-time, and to develop a plan for the education of South African Indians via the broadcast medium. The first strategy was to release statistical evidence showing the significance of Indian South African broadcasting consumption. The second, to be addressed below (see Chapter Three), was to resort to radio transmissions beyond the SABC to invite their involvement in providing a more satisfactory broadcast service.

In January 1948, the association publicised their findings regarding the number of licensed radio owners. The Leader reported that "at the end of December 1946" 6,000 radio owners had paid £10,500 in licence fees. This information was to be taken to parliament in an effort to lobby for at least "a two-hour daily session for Indians. One hour in the morning should be designed to meet the Indian women and a second hour in the evening should be devoted to the family" (The Leader 24 January 1948:9). Like all the other initiatives, this one too proved to be in vain despite the "non-political" strategy.



### **Advisory Committee Members Resign : 1948**

The conclusion reached by the IROA that the SABC was intransigently refusing to do a single thing to develop the Indian Programme was shared by their Congress "opponents" on the Advisory Board. In February 1948, a number of board members resigned, hitting the front-page headlines of the major newspapers. The resignations were led by A.C. Meer, one of the original Congress committee members, who said that he was resigning because not a single suggestion made since the inauguration of the committee in 1946 had been accepted by the SABC. In a hard-hitting letter to the press, Meer called the board "useless and farcical". He had originally viewed the board as a sincere attempt to address the problems incurred by all the parties.

This was the main object of nominating an Advisory Board and the Audition Committee, but my experience in the past two years has proved to me without the slightest doubt that the Advisory Board and the Audition Committee were nothing more or less than the convenient instruments designed to silence the criticisms of Indian listeners, by replying that the Advisory Board and Audition Committee were responsible for everything connected with the Indian programmes. Such, as you know, is NOT the case ... I see no ... changes taking place and I can visualise no prospects of any improvement in the future by the manner in which matters are being conducted.

The members of both the Advisory Board and the Audition Committee are rendering honorary service to the S.A.B.C. ... They are sacrificing their time and pleasure to serve their country and their people, but when their service is hampered at every turn and the very advice which the Advisory Board and the Audition Committee are formed to give is disregarded as a matter of policy, the usefulness of these bodies is nullified and can serve no purpose other than providing a handy excuse for the authorities to carry on the same lines which they have continued to merit condemnation from the long suffering public [sic] (The Leader 21 February 1948:1).

The following week Sylvia Lawrence and Yusuf Kat, the remaining NIC members of the original advisory committee, also resigned. Lawrence's letter to the Regional Director of the SABC echoed Meer's sentiments. She, too, had come to the conclusion that no matter what

steps Indian South Africans were prepared to take to improve the Indian Programme, to "provide good, entertaining, and educational features", the SABC simply was not interested. Lawrence felt that her good faith involvement in the Advisory Board had been abused: the board's advice had been completely ignored.

I found that there was not to be the slightest change in the attitude of the S.A.B.C. and, therefore, all suggestions and recommendations given by the members of the Advisory and Audition Committees, although offered in an advisory capacity, were not heeded or given effect to ....

It is a pity that such good educational medium as the radio is being wasted by the authorities through an inexplicable neglect and disregard of the needs and demands of the thousands of Indian listeners in South Africa (The Leader 28 February 1948:5 & 9).

Yusuf Kat is more explicit about the divisive and political nature of the SABC's recalcitrance.

There is ... another regrettable innovation introduced in the Committee that members are referred to as Christian, Hindus and Muslims instead of as Indians. It seems that they are also required to satisfy the authorities as to their political leanings ... For instance, I happen to be a professional artist, and because I draw political cartoons for a newspaper, I was deemed to be not a proper person on the Advisory Committee (The Leader 28 February 1948:5 & 9).

He then comments on the SABC's rigid policy which dictated the thirty-minute programme restriction and the usage of the English language for Indian radio announcements. All suggestions made by the Committee were, he says, turned down since they clashed somehow with SABC policy. Minutes of meetings were initially circulated to all members, "but when the members began quoting extracts from the minutes in order to refer to the unheeded recommendations the issuing of copies of the minutes was suddenly discontinued without any explanation" (The Leader 28 February 1948:5 & 9).

### **Conclusion - Broadcasting : 1924 - 1948**

From its inception in 1924, broadcasting for Indian South Africans was devised as a racial construct with ethnic and middle-class programming criteria. After the Second World War it was reduced in scope and in quality, and failed to address the needs of the growing rural and working-class listenership. On the contrary, the "good" music policy which pervaded South African broadcasting generally also defined decisions about Indian South African broadcasting. Popular, and particularly overtly syncretic or Western music was not to be promoted.

Post-war curtailment involved the increasing air-play of imported records as a way of reducing costs and nuisance value. Populist middle-class factors influenced choices regarding who performed, resulting in sub-standard end products. Ethnicity became a pervasive and divisive issue for programmers and listeners alike. From 1938, a steady, swelling stream of voices protesting neglect by the SABC were heard. Accusations of linguistic or religious sectionalism, poor performance standards, the inappropriate predominance of classical music, unqualified announcers/programmers, and an insulting or insulted audition panel are testament to a unanimous group of South Africans who felt, for different reasons, that they were being humiliated by The Indian Programme.

Protest strategy was divided in 1945 into the Natal Indian Congress resistance activity, on the one hand, and the Indian Radio Owners' non-politically-aligned insistence that South African Indians were merely owed a service for which they had already paid in the form of

---

radio licences, on the other. The NIC stance at this time focused on the developmental and educational roles of the SABC which were not fulfilled due to a general anti-Indian political ploy by white South Africans which denied their civil rights. It also opposed the "good" music policy which prevented the promotion of popular, entertainment music. At this time, the NIC and the IROA were polarised due to the IROA's wish to sustain its apolitical image. The NIC, on the other hand, seems to have been willing to act at least in caucus with the IROA, although not in the adoption of IROA objectives.

Surprisingly, despite the 1946 "Ghetto" Act which prompted the commencement of the third passive resistance campaign, participation politics won in 1946 when the NIC, IROA, and SABC authorities amalgamated to form a broadcasting advisory committee. This participatory forum lasted until 1948 when all the Congress members resigned having recognised it as a stalling mechanism which acted only to silence their criticism. Political events of 1948 must surely also have influenced their decision to resign: the Nationalist Government came to power, and the reactionary Natal Indian Organisation had recently been formed in opposition to Congress, fragmenting Indian South African resistance to repressive laws.

By 1948, all hopes of a vibrant, professional, varied, inclusive broadcast service for Indian South Africans were dead.

## REFERENCES

Agjee, G.M. and H.G. Thathiah. 1948. "Radio Association Alleges S.A.B.C. Cannot Satisfy Indian Public." The Leader, 6 March, p.8.

"Amen." 1947. "Indian Radio Programme." The Leader, 2 August, p.4.

Annual Report (AR). 1936-1980. Johannesburg: South African Broadcasting Corporation. (Housed in Department of Music, University of Natal Library.)

Asvat, El Haj E.M. 1937. "The New Moon Broadcast." Indian Views, 17 December, p.2.

Bagwandeem, D. 1989. "Historical Perspectives." In A.J. Arkin, K.P. Magyar, and G.J. Pillay, eds. The Indian South Africans: A Contemporary Profile. Pinetown: Owen Burgess, pp.1-22.

Burrows, R. 1959. The Population and Labour Resources of Natal. Pietermaritzburg: Natal Regional and Planning Commission.

Colonial Broadcast Technology versus Immigrant Culture. 1952. Photograph, A.G. Pillay private collection.

Devar, J.R. 1994. Interview, House of Delegates, Truro House, Durban, 15 June.

Devar, J.R. 1994. Per telephone, 8 December.

"Disgusted Listener." 1944. "Letters from Our Readers." Indian Views, 28 July, p.3.

Dunadayalu, S.R. 1946. "Broadcast Changes." The Leader, 25 May, p.5.

Erlmann, V. 1991. African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Essop Bacus. 1944. "Indian Broadcast." Indian Views, 15 September, p.5.

"Fed-Up." 1944. "The Indian Programme." Indian Views, 14 July, p.3.

"Fed Up and How." 1947. "'Goot Mawning Yevry Buddy' Causes Ear-ache." The Leader, 9 August, p.4.

Freund, B. 1990. "The Rise and Decline of an Indian Peasantry in Natal." Unpublished paper presented at the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 6-10 February.

Govender, A. 1944. "Annoying." Indian Views, 14 July, p.3.

Hamm, C. 1991. "'The Constant Companion of Man': Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music." Popular Music 10, 2, pp.147-174.

Indian Views. 1924 - July 1954. (Housed in the Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville.)

Indian Views. 2 September 1936. "Broadcast by Dr. Sheldrake." p.8.

Indian Views. 9 September 1938. "More Broadcasts Wanted." p.7.

Indian Views. 9 September 1938. "Items from Everywhere." p.7.

Indian Views. 7 July 1944. "Indian Broadcast." p.2.

Indian Views. 8 September 1944. "Indian Broadcast." p.3.

Indian Views. 3 October 1945. "Items from Everywhere." p.3.

Indian Views. 12 March 1947. "AIR Broadcasts." p.5.

Jackson, M.B. 1988. "An Introduction to the History of Music Amongst Indian South Africans in Natal 1920-1948: Towards a Politico-Cultural Understanding." M.Mus. Thesis, University of Natal.

Jackson, M.B. 1989. "Tiger Dance, *terukuttu*, Tango, and Tchaikovsky: A Politico-Cultural View of Indian South African Music Before 1948." The World of Music, 31, 1, pp.59-77.

Jackson, M.B. 1991. "Popular Indian South African Music: Division in Diversity." Popular Music, 10, 2, pp.175-186.

Jackson, M.B. 1994. "Defining Indian South African Recorded Music: 'Farooqi' Mehtar's Changing, Conflicting, and Multiple Identities." Unpublished paper presented at the Third International Symposium and Festival held by the Centre for Intercultural Music and Art, City University, London.

"Jason." 1953. "Radio Listeners' Complaints." The Graphic, 4 July, p.2.

Karim, G. 1947. "AIR Broadcasts." Indian Views, 12 March, p.5.

Karim, G. 1947. "Broadcast from India." The Leader, 8 March, p.7.

Karim, G. 1948. "No Radio Pakistan." The Leader, 24 January, p.4.

Kanhaye, R. 1947. "Satisfied with Broadcast." The Leader, 24 April, p.2.

"Keen Listener." 1944. "Zulu and Indian Sessions." Indian Views, 14 July, p.5.

"Lai-Majnu." 1947. "Radio Entertainers Absent." The Leader, 15 November, p.4.

The Leader. 1940 - 1973. (Housed in the Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville.)

The Leader. 9 August 1941. "Indian Broadcasts Soon." p.5.

The Leader. 11 April 1942. "Air Raid Broadcasts." p.6.

The Leader. 25 July 1942. Victoria Furniture Mart Advertisement. p.8.

The Leader. 13 March 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.7.

The Leader. 10 July 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.3.

The Leader. 7 August 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.4.

The Leader. 21 August 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.3.

The Leader. 18 September 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.7.

The Leader. 25 September 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.8.

The Leader. 16 October 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.1.

The Leader. 30 October 1943. "Indian Broadcast." "Deepavali Supplement", p.iv.

The Leader. 4 December 1943. "Indian Broadcast." p.4.

The Leader. 15 January 1944. "Indian Broadcast." p.6.

The Leader. 11 March 1944. "Indian Broadcast". p.3.

The Leader. 1 April 1944. "Indian Broadcast." p.3.

The Leader. 19 August 1944. "Indian Broadcast." p.5.

The Leader. 15 September 1944. "Indian Broadcast." p.3.

The Leader. 9 December 1944. "Indian Broadcast." p.1.

The Leader. 3 March 1945. "Indian Broadcast." p.5.

The Leader. 13 May 1945. "Indian Broadcast." p.14.

The Leader. 30 June 1945. Sing Baby Sing Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 24 November 1945. "Indian Broadcast." p.2.

The Leader. 24 November 1945. "Broadcast Change Possible." p.2.

The Leader. 1 December 1945. "Good Listening." p.7.

The Leader. 15 December 1945. "Indian Broadcast." p.3.

The Leader. 2 February 1946. "No Unity." p.5.

The Leader. 9 February 1946. "The Pill: Indian "Ghetto" Segregation Zone." p.1.

The Leader. 23 March 1946. "Another Bid to Secure Unity." p.1.

The Leader. 23 March 1946. "Unity is Now the Keynote." p.1.

The Leader. 18 October 1947. Victoria Furniture Mart Advertisement. p.12.

The Leader. 24 January 1948. "Indians Pay £10,500 for Half-hour Broadcast." p.9.

The Leader. 21 February 1948. "India Broadcast Session Resignation: Advisory Board: 'Useless and Farcical.'" p.1.

The Leader. 28 February 1948. "More Broadcast Resignations: S.A.B.C. Policy Criticised." pp.5 & 9.

The Leader. 6 March 1948. "Radio Association Alleges S.A.B.C. Cannot Satisfy Indian Public." p.8.

"A Listener." 1944. "Letters from our Readers." Indian Views, 14 July, p.5.

Maasdorp, G., and N. Pillay. 1979. "Indians in the Political Economy of South Africa." In B. Pachai, ed. South Africa's Indians. Washington: University Press of America, pp.209-254.

Maya Devi. 1989. Interview, Parlock, 24 January.

Maya Devi. 1992. Interview, Parlock, 12 November.

Maya Devi. 1994. Interview, Parlock, 17 February.

Maya Devi. 1994. Per telephone, 13 December.

Mehtar, Y. 1994. Interview, Department of Music, University of Durban-Westville, Durban, 30 May.

"Metronome." 1946. "Broadcasting." The Leader, 29 June, p.4.

"Miss IYU." 1944. "Letters from our Readers." Indian Views, 28 July, p.5.



- Mohammed, A.H. and B. Ramsingh. 1955. "The World of Entertainment: Disgusted." The Leader, 22 July, p.13.
- "Musical." 1944. "Letters from our Readers." Indian Views, 28 July, p.5.
- Naidoo, M.S. 1957. "Indian Radio Programmes Criticised." The Leader, 11 January, p.8.
- Naidoo, T.P. 1953. "Auditions Criticised as Tongue Twisters." The Graphic, 24 July, p.8.
- Padarath, D.S. 1946. "Indian Broadcasts." The Leader, 1 June, p.3.
- Pillay, A.G. 1987. Interview, Shallcross, 22 March.
- "Raag-Ragini." 1946. "Broadcast Talent is There." The Leader, 8 December, p.5.
- "Radio-Fan." 1944. "The Indian Programme." Indian Views, 7 July, p.3.
- "Radio-Owner." 1947. "Boring Songs." The Leader, 2 August, p.4.
- Ranade, A. 1984. On Music and Musicians of Hindoostan. New Delhi: Promila and Co.
- Singh, S. 1994. Interview, North Beach Durban, 15 June.
- "Spectator." 1944. "Current Comment: Indian Radio Programme." Indian Views, 4 August, p.1.
- "A Sungeet Master." 1946. "Views on Indian Broadcasts." The Leader, 22 June, p.2.
- "Tansen." 1946. "Where Are the Masters." The Leader, 15 June, p.2.
- "Thubla-Sarangi." 1946. "Broadcast Changes." The Leader, 8 June, p.7.
- Tomaselli, R., K. Tomaselli, and J. Muller. 1989. Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa. Bellville: Anthropos.
- Tracey, H. 1954. "The State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa." African Music, 1, 1, 8-11.
- Veeran, N. 1996. "The Orchestral Tradition Amongst Indian South Africans in Durban Between 1935 and 1970." M.A. Thesis, University of Natal.
- Yusuf Kat. 1948. Cartoon. The Leader, 7 February, p.4.

## NOTE

1. Burrows (1959), Maasdorp and Pillay (1979), and Freund (1990) all point to 1936 as the turning point in Indian South African employment patterns in which there was a major shift from rural to industrial employment.
2. The extent of British hegemonic repression of Afrikaans culture can be seen in the proportion of air-time given to Indian South Africans in 1931 by comparison with that for Afrikaans speakers: following a campaign by the Broederbond, the ABC introduced half-an-hour of Afrikaans programmes at the time that Indian South Africans were allocated two half-hourly programmes per week. The Afrikaans programme was only later increased to an hour-and-half (Tomaselli, Tomaselli, and Muller 1989: 29)
3. See for instance the talk given by Dr. Khalid Sheldrake (who held a D.Litt) at the Durban Rotary Club on "Country of the White Rajah", which was then broadcast (Indian Views 2 September 1936:8).
4. For example, the "brilliant effort ... in broadcasting the news of the new moon at Eid-al-Fitre" which was seen as being especially useful for people in far-off rural districts, who were cut off from religious organisations and information circulated amongst their members in the cities (Asvat 1937:2).
5. For further information on early efforts to create a classical music practice see Jackson 1988 and 1989.
6. A general reduction in live programmes and an increased use of recorded or canned music in all SABC programmes was reported in AR (1956:4) along with other cost-cutting measures such as the curtailment of maintenance work.
7. In 1938, the Natal Indian Youth League complained that "only certain records" were being played over the air (Indian Views 9 September 1938:7).
8. In a letter complaining about the poor quality of the Indian Programme, one listener wrote "we also listen to All India Radio, Radio Pakistan, London, Ceylon and Springbok Radio" ("Jason" 1953:2).
9. The Radio Crackers Club is another example of a group that came together specifically for the purpose of radio broadcasting (Indian Views 13 May 1945:14).
10. I will trace these developments in more detail in chapter four.
11. See for example the announcement in The Leader (16 October 1943:1) of the "fifth edition", and The Leader (11 March 1944:3) for the "seventh edition of Prof Jhundu of Radio Cavalcade".
12. See for example The Leader (13 March 1943:7).

13. See for example broadcast notices of "pupils of Abdul Rahman" (Indian Views 8 September 1944:3); the Overport Tamil Welfare Society and the Krishna Band (Indian Views 7 July 1944:2); Nav Yuvuk Sungeeth Mundal (The Leader 7 August 1943:4); Daya Nana and Party, pupils of Kaloo Kamalashah (The Leader 9 December 1944:1); K. Kannu Govender and his pupils (The Leader 3 March 1945:5); and pupils of the Surat Hindu Education Society Gujarati School (The Leader 24 November 1945:2).

14. For a breakdown of this expansion see Hamm (1991:148).

15. The commentary does not mention the word "classical" but refers favourably to "stars of Indian Stage and Screen in India [who] make a fair comparison with Hollywood luminaries" ("Spectator" 1944:1). We can infer from this that the use of selected popular culture for this purpose, similar to that introduced in the pre-war years by Congress affiliated artists such as Yusuf Kat, and not necessarily classical or religious culture, is being recommended here.

16. Also called the Indian Radio Listeners' Association. I will use Indian Radio Owners Association except when it appears conversely in direct citations.

17. D.C.? illegible in original source.

18. There was some suggestion by research participants who wished to remain anonymous that P.R. Singh was requested to leave due to his inaccurate handling of SABC funds and to his general incompetence. Perhaps the most compassionate interpretation of these circumstances would be that the broadcasting authorities placed people in positions for which they had not been trained and then did not give them in-service training or informed managerial guidance and support.

19. These points were deduced out of fragments of press sources conveying indirectly related data. There were no sources overtly reporting these occurrences per se

20. Like the five points above, these points were reconstructed from multiple fragmentary sources, some of which will be described below.

21. Collections of Yusuf Kat's cartoons are frequently exhibited at Indian Congress functions by the staff of the Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville.

22. Mocks the singing of *kalpana svara*, i.e. sa re ga, rather than *geetham*, lyrics, in improvisational passages such as *pallavi*, in Carnatic classical performance.

23. See below for further information on Applesammy and Naidoo.

24. Testament to Kalaimani's own brand of "giving all a chance", the party included a random collection of pupils and interested friends, as well as a few musicians

25. See for instance the press articles "No Unity" (The Leader 2 February 1946:5), "Another Bid to Secure Unity" (The Leader 23 March 1946:1), and "Unity is Now the Keynote" (The Leader 23 March 1946:1).

26. Communal franchise was never implemented due to the united rejection voiced by the entire Indian South African population. It was eventually withdrawn by the Nationalist Government in 1948 (Bagwandeem 1989:14).

## CHAPTER THREE

### CONCESSIONS, NEW SOUTH AFRICANS, AND INDIA CALLING - INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE BROADCAST MEDIA :

1948 - 1983

During the period between 1948 and 1983, The Indian Programme was transformed from a totally underfunded, undeveloped, uninformed concession to a fully fledged station offering considerable variety, including specified forms of popular music: and it was presented with some expertise. Although I continue to document the letters of protest, the discursive press articles and the comments of research participants in this chapter, I focus more on the analysis of the politics and ideology underpinning this expansion, and other issues. For instance, I look more closely at ethnicity and nationalism as ideological constructs. Researching this period revealed triangulations not available in earlier documentation and oral evidence. The increasingly congruent flow of historical evidence in the press and through research participants who themselves experienced issues under discussion makes the period more amenable to critical analysis.

Linked to the questions about ethnicity, nationalism, and apartheid, syncretism - or fusion as it was called by the actors - became a huge issue for practising musicians and ideologues.

Indianisation, westernised Indian South African culture, and changing Indian South African

government structures also occupied the political cultural arena. Programme material and policy is viewed with these issues in mind.

### **Audience Reception and Protest : 1948 - 1953**

After the resignation of key members of the Advisory Committee in 1948, some letters to the press became more conciliatory, more resigned, and seem to reflect an attempt to bring about change through encouragement and positive reinforcement. For instance, performers and organisers were congratulated on a "touching" Tamil Pongal (New Year) programme which was welcomed as an achievement since it was "typical of the ceremonies carried out in India" ("Radio Listener" 1948:1). The Taj Radio Entertainers were complimented by A.E. Paruk on "The Story of the Martyrs" Moharrum broadcast, which could be used as a model, since it was "well-balanced and carefully planned". Paruk said that "given the opportunity, they could do even better" (1949:4).

However, vehement complaints about the lack of adequate air-time continued to be voiced through the press. For the first time, requests were made for more records in place of poor local live broadcasts (Govender, B. 1953:8). Conversely, there were requests for fewer or no records to be played in order to develop local classical or, more frequently, local orchestral musicians by giving them a chance (Reddy 1952:4). Letters alleging a pro-Tamil/Telugu bias, at the expense of Hindi and Gujarati (see e.g. "Northern Star" 1952:4) increased noticeably during this period, and letters complaining about performance practices and standards, especially by Qawwali and North Indian classical "screechers" and "crooners" and "big-noise makers" (see e.g. Gilbert 1952:4), were common. "It is high time" said one

listener "that not only the Quawalis [sic] but also the Hindustani classics and some of the South African Mukeshs and Latas should retire for a while" (The Leader 6 February 1953:4). The secret audition panel, "whose members' names we do not know" (Naidoo, T.P. 1953:8), was still being blamed for keeping away popular musicians and for not publicising their policy and procedures (Kadwa 1952:4). Listeners were also calling increasingly for more Hindi film songs to be broadcast, both live and recorded (see e.g. "Northern Star" 1952:4). Comments swung between "be satisfied" and "compromise" ("Durbanite" 1949:4) on the one hand, and "close down" or "suspend" the Indian programme on the other (Kadwa 1952:4).

Examples of comments on performance practice and standards also addressed the syncretic genres which were now being seen as controversial and undesirable by many (see e.g. "Jason" 1953:2). Most early Indian South African music was unconsciously syncretic. As sectors of Indian South African society became deliberately and consciously more Indian or more South African, middle-class mobilisation was associated with contrasting expressions of ethnic identity. Middle-class Indian South Africans constructed themselves in one of three ways. They associated themselves with discrete ethnic (i.e. linguistic and religious) groupings with a conscious effort to develop either pure South Asian classical and devotional music or pure Western classical and devotional music. The third option, which was more common, was to embrace a mixture of South Asian Indian and Indian South African cultural essentials. Elements of these contradictory moves towards South Asian Indian and Indian South African nationalisms could be seen in the innovative syncretism that was being developed and promoted via Indian orchestras which parodied South Asian Indian film orchestral melody and form, though not the film orchestration. It was also

promoted by the recently formed Indian South African record manufacturing industry on the Shalimar label, and given very tentative air-play by the SABC.<sup>1</sup>

Standards and performance practices were often conflated in the minds of viewers. For example, "Interested" wrote that he was very glad to hear Tamil artists and orchestras playing Hindi types of music, "but ... they never played the correct tunes as they should have been played". He felt that there were "some mistakes in the rise and fall" and some incorrect words were included. This was not acceptable for broadcasting, where performances must be "perfect", the audition committee should be stricter, and not let musicians go on the air too soon ("Interested" 1951:4).

On the few occasions that Shalimar recordings were played over the air, the music was described by some listeners as "mixed up styles" ("Music Lover" 1951:4). This term was further qualified by "Music Lover" as "two dozen different types - all jumbled up in one to make but a sound similar to that of Victoria Street 'machamee'" - market noises. Syncretism was often seen as contra-indicated for the promotion of Indian nationalism. It was seen by some as a betrayal of fellow Indian South Africans.

I would be much obliged if some-one would kindly tell me why Western music is being introduced into the Indian music. Aren't we Indians proud of our music just as we are of our race? Don't we want it to remain pure? ... I have heard quite a fair amount of local records and I am afraid that the English music does not at all blend with our Indian music ... Indian music should be left pure ("Maritzburg Teenager" 1952:4).

Week before last I heard a recorded programme of Indian Music (Shalimar). What a terrible misfortune that Shalimar music is gradually sinking in the depths of degradation. What an insult to Indian tradition and art that music which has developed so graciously in our country has to succumb to cheap attraction of foreign melodies which, as history would inform us, have been derived from the culture of the cannibals and which Western composers call it [sic] Boogie-Woogie or jazz! How deplorable also that musicians born



and bred here have to sacrifice true Indian music for South American Rhumbas or Tangos which have no novelty and no permanency with Music Lovers! ("Lover of Carnatic Music" 1953:2).

### **A.D. Lazarus : 1953**

Following the "Yavvery Buddy" letters to the press and Kat's cartoon<sup>2</sup>, for a short while the SABC separated the role of announcer from that of programmer. S.R. Naidoo was retained as programme compiler, planner, and supervisor, whilst Dr A.D. Lazarus was appointed announcer (Fuchs 1953:2). His first encounter with radio broadcasting came in the guise of reading the three-minute talk on nutrition and hygiene compiled by the Department of Health (Varachia and Colleagues 1953:2).

This change failed to impress many listeners. Lazarus was also the principal of Sastri College, in which position he was highly respected. However, being western-educated, having no experience in, and not even a great love for Indian music, no Indian language facility, and no empathy for "modern" popular Indian music, there were few defenders for Lazarus. His deplorable pronunciation of music terms, song-titles and musicians' names seemed "to be derived from some European language" (Naidoo, T.P. 1953:8). He was thought to be patronising, sounding like a person "relating a bed-time story" ("Worried" 1953:2) and reading the "same old stereotyped announcements which are dished out like boiled cabbage to a sick patient" (Naidoo, T.P. 1953:8). Lazarus' only value was seen by some as his potential to "remedy the 'Western element' that has crept into our music", a concern about which he had publicised his disdain (Abman 1953:2).

Again it was suggested that SABC policy and its henchmen in the guise of announcers or

producers were deliberately selected as tools of oppression. "Worried" wondered whether Lazarus had come "as an announcer or a wolf in sheep's attire to eradicate the half an hour a week Indian programme" by substituting talks ("Worried" 1953:2), called lectures and sermons by C.S. Pather (Pather 1953:8), for music and entertainment. Some felt that this was just another area in which Indians were not to be democratically represented (Varacharia and Colleagues 1953:2). Using part of the thirty-minute programme for educational talks was one of the main changes in 1953. Taking away part of what was clearly a precious half hour of potentially interesting and entertaining music for pedantic talks underlines even more overtly the SABC's rather cold and joyless "upliftment" policy. Working-class tastes and even bourgeois film-centered pleasures were not yet to be promoted with tax-payers' money in any meaningful way.

The Graphic carried numerous letters complaining bitterly about Dr Lazarus between June and July 1953.<sup>3</sup> I have not encountered any references to Dr Lazarus as radio announcer after July 1953, which suggests that he retired at that time.

### **Ramchandra B. Jessery : 1953**

In September 1953, Tholsy P. Naidoo, well-known promoter of the arts and later to be director of the Indian Academy of South Africa, argued for the appointment of Ramchandra B. Jessery as organiser and announcer for The Indian Programme. Ramchandra, he pointed out, was a respected musician himself and was the musical director of the Cavalcade Indian Radio programme "which was murdered by the SABC. His name spelt magic to famous Shalimar Record numbers ..." and "lifted shows such as 'Song-time' and 'Sing Baby Sing' to

thundering box-office heights whose gate crashing successes have never been repeated" (Naidoo, T.P. 1953:2). Naidoo reiterated this argument in The Leader (Naidoo, T.P. 1953:8) saying that Ramchandra was one-time assistant to the music director of the Young India Recording Studio in India. According to Ramchandra's wife, singer Maya Devi, her husband was not the musical director of Cavalcade but he worked very closely with Essop Buxson with whom he shared the musical arranging. Neither was Ramchandra an assistant at the Young India Studio: he **studied** between 1948 and 1950 under Guruji Krishna Rao who was the director of and a performer for the record company. Ramchandra also recorded jingles for Young India, Bombay (Maya Devi 1995: Telephone Conversation).

Ramchandra was not appointed to the position of announcer/programmer on The Indian Programme. By 25 July 1953, S.R. Naidoo had presented two programmes, and was to continue as unpopular presenter until 1959. Why was Ramchandra not appointed despite auditioning for the post and despite holding a position of respect in the eyes of many Indian South Africans? He was amongst the exceptionally few India-trained musicians with a long record as a self-trained musician before that; he was one of the most experienced broadcasting musicians; he was currently deeply involved in developing Indian South African records; he had a reputation as musical arranger, accompanist, and performer in extremely successful live productions. In short, despite some inflation of his qualifications, T.P. Naidoo was right: he would have been eminently suited to the job! T.P. Naidoo suggests that he failed the audition because he was not a "linguistic parrot" (Naidoo, T.P. 1953:2). He argued that the "queer, baffling, abominable test" applicants had to pass, a combination of English commentary and Indian vernacular song-titles, was inappropriate.

What's the point in writing everything except the song title in English? Why not stick to the medium of presentation in English?... The names of singers

were all faked, difficult tongue twisting nerve wracking combinations. One Telugu name was bewildering. It had, you will surely laugh, ten syllables... Examine a few of our artists' names, Lata, Mukesh, Rafi, Thiagaraj, Nagiah, etc. They are short and sweet not long and awful... We want a man who knows how to organise and present a programme. Nobody except an artist who has been in shows, on the air and himself a practising musician can accomplish this (ibid).

I suggest that the reasons for his being rejected could be more profound. Within a fairly clearly defined Indian South African social, political and cultural framework, Ramchandra Bikraj Jessery's philosophy was integration and inclusivism. This philosophy was "glaring" in his life and his music (Maya Devi 1992:Interview). From an early age this was apparent in his formative music experiences. As a very young student of Master Shanker who was patronised by the Gujarati community, his first public performance was playing his mandolin alongside his teacher's violin accompaniment for Shafee Qawwal from Baroda<sup>4</sup> in the early thirties (Maya Devi 1992:Interview). Although a Hindi-speaking Hindu, Ramchandra Jessery's first performance was accompanying a Muslim singer of Muslim devotional music for a largely Gujarati audience. In the early years, intercultural Indian South African music experiences were not exceptional. They were a natural consequence of urban minority settler life where neighbours and friends were not threatened by religious, class and linguistic differences.

Ramchandra made interculturalism a central part of his whole life even when others were forming aggressive sectoral alliances. For example, his controversial marriage with his singing partner, Maya Devi (Vatsala Jessery, nee Naidoo), crossed language barriers of Hindi and Telugu respectively. Imitations of Hindi filmsong, especially, but not exclusively, the Urdu *ghazal* filmsongs of Pankaj Mullik, K.C. Dey, and K.L. Saigal were his early models for his own vocal repertoire, and many of his arrangements "were based on ragas"

and "others were hard to classify as they were his own creation" (Maya Devi 1991:Interview).

The Cavalcade Radio team was an intercultural group of Hindi, and Gujarati Muslims and Hindus and the programme itself was secular. It did reflect a North-Indian bias due to its Hindi-Urdu songtexts. But Cavalcade gave rise to the live shows mentioned in T.P. Naidoo's article and they were attended by "a very mixed audience ... all sections of the communtiy" due to the inclusive programme "of all the most popular numbers" from the current films on circuit including parody settings of local Urdu poems by Muslim poets, and a few Tamil semi-classical songs sung by Samadhanam (Maya Devi 1992:Interview).

And Ramchandra also arranged his wife's filmsong parodies of Muslim *naats*, *shaams*, *salaams* on the Urdu poetry of "Farooqi". Despite being a Telugu-speaking Hindu, from her teens, Maya Devi too chose Hindi film songs and North Indian Muslim devotional music as her metier. He and Maya Devi frequently performed Hindu *bhajans* written by the Muslim poet "Farooqi". Ramchandra's diversity on the Shalimar records includes arrangements of S.M. Pillay's Tamil poems such as "Kanne" and "Aaduvai" sung by Janakie (Shalimar T619: Discography). Later on, Ramchandra and Maya Devi specialised in semi-classical *ghazal* based closely on raga, a *bandish* (a set composition) and original improvisation which was keenly appreciated by an audience of largely Gujarati and Hindi/Urdu Hindu and Muslim elite at private *mehefils* and public *musha'iras* (Maya Devi 1992:Interview).

In 1951 and 1952, The Graphic and The Leader published a number of letters debating the

question of ownership and purism in Indian music which are possibly even more relevant to this discussion. Letters from local public figures were juxtaposed with articles from Yehudi Menuhin, B.V. Keskar, and Alfredo Campoli arguing for or against fusion, the North/South divide, and the vulgarity or popularity of film music. Ramchandra was closely linked with those like I. Soosiwala of Shalimar who argued for the fusion which was definitive in the 1950s Shalimar recordings because "the trend today is all the Western inspired orchestration" of lighter genres (The Leader 7 September 1951:4). In a later article, Soosiwala described fusion of musical styles as the "internationalisation" of music which has been common in many previously discrete styles (The Leader 30 May 1952:1 & 5). Ramchandra arranged much of the music for the modern boogies, waltzes, marches, and Latin American dance forms which comprised a large component of these local recordings (see Discography).

In a fairly lengthy article in 1952, Ramchandra's contribution to the debate in the press reminded the listening public that in "light music ... the South Indians have followed the Hindustani fashion for many years". For him, "a happy fusion" between "the two great" classical systems of Hindustani and Karnatic [sic] was "most desirable". He described Hindustani music as "a beautiful monument of the fusion between Hindu and Islamic culture". He argued for "the progressive" quality of music: "the music of today will be the music of the past in a few years more" (Jessery 1952:4). It is surely significant that in this spate of letters/articles A.D. Lazarus and J.R. Devar, who was later to become long-standing Indian Programme announcer/programmer (see below), both argue vociferously against syncretism of any kind (Lazarus 1952:7; Devar 1952:4).<sup>5</sup> For Lazarus, who, for a short time, was also an Indian Programme announcer, local Indian music was a degenerate

cross between "Latin-American swing, the throb of the African jungle and jingle of the Indian Nautch." Fusion, and thereby integration for Ramchandra, in contrast, was clearly a goal for which to strive.

Ramchandra's (and Maya Devi's) music and audience reflected an admittedly North and North-West Indian tendency with some accommodation of the Tamil language which was set to music in the Bombay film-style. It also tended in the later years to fall into a more classical vein with a small and elite audience. However, it is impossible to ignore the intercultural and other syncretic aspects of his life, music, and social philosophy. If one were to add that to the almost exclusive Congress political alliances of his classical music audience and members of his wife's family,<sup>6</sup> and the fact that he and Maya Devi were flown to the Transvaal on occasions to sing at Congress functions (Maya Devi 1992:Interview), it becomes clear why Ramchandra was not a successful candidate when auditioning for The Indian Programme post. His integrationist, syncretic stance would have been welcomed neither by the broadcast officials of 1953, nor by the remaining conservative members of the Audition Committee.

Hugh Tracey's policy which denigrated all urban Black South African music as "drab imitation" (Tracey 1954:11 cited by Erlmann 1991:1) would have discouraged the promotion of non-traditional or non-canonic music. Although Tracey had by this time left the SABC, his policy would have lived on, given its harmonisation with SABC policies of cultural apartheid. Any overt acts of cultural integration would have been loathsome to supporters of an ideology of separation as were the Broederbond dominated SABC committees. White Afrikaner concerns with eugenics and 'purity of blood', and the

moralisation of its poor whites from the beginning of the twentieth century (Marks and Trapido 1987:28) were impelled by social Darwinism in the pre-Nazi era. This ideology produced white leaders who assumed that "mixing" was equated to civilisation's decline (Dubow 1987:75-76). Social segregation was a founding feature of Nationalist rule, enforced largely through the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act of 1949 which prohibited marriage across the colour bar and the Population Registration, and Group Areas Acts of 1950, which legislated segregation. Stated philosophies of integration and non-purity were not to be encouraged, even if unconscious, unidentified syncretism was actually the norm. An assimilable Indian South African population in the late 1940s was not to the advantage of white political structures, where repatriation and recolonisation was central to plans of solving "the Indian problem" due to their being declared unassimilable.

In a similar vein, during the late forties and fifties, fragmentation amongst Indian South Africans along ethnic and political lines was fast becoming the norm. On the one hand, as I have argued in chapter one, assimilation of Western culture could possibly have been viewed as a symbol of financial and class inferiority. This might have been particularly true in the time when colonial born Indian South Africans were attempting to emulate the ethnic exclusivity of Gujarati Muslims and Hindus who formed the wealthiest and the most politically articulate sector of society at the turn of the century. As Tamil and Hindi Indian South Africans started to develop their capital base as traders, it seems that some of them, and aspiring members of the underclasses, chose ethnic sectionalism as a form of resistance to British assimilationism, as a tool for contesting upper-class Gujarati elite interests, and as a strategy for negotiated conciliation politics. Furthermore, nationalism in India in the late forties posited a symbol of South Asian ethnic pride for many Indian South Africans. There



would thus have been many Indian South African cultural leaders, and I would guess that the remaining conservative Audition Committee members would be amongst those, who wanted the Indian Programme to be more Indian than South African, and more ethnically "pure" than syncretic. Film and popular music propagated in India and Pakistan would not have been exposed to the same energetic criticism as were the more experimental South African versions of that same music and as were South African "Indianised" interpretations of American and South African music. Selective criticism was forced by the financial, political, and cultural crisis in which people found themselves in an abnormal society.

In the 1950s, co-option of sectional Indian South African South Asian culture as an Indianising strategy had begun, whilst awaiting the repatriation or recolonisation of "Asiatics". The decision to "cleans" South Africa of most of the Indian population was rationalised by the claim that "Asiatics" were unassimilable. Thus, Jessery, who embodied the very essence of educated cultural tolerance, aware political consciousness, and universalist "civilisation", would have been an intolerable candidate for the job.

### **Concessions to Cultural and Political Limbo : 1953**

The dissatisfaction regarding the Indian Programme escalated during the fifties, indicating even more marked divisions in the "Indian Community". But it was only in 1953 that Indian South Africans were at last to be given a more-or-less direct public answer to their pleas for expansion, improvement, and for a more inclusive, popular broadcast service. Prompted by yet another confrontation by the NIC, Fuchs' attention was drawn to the fact that "Indian South African citizens" constituted almost one third of the Durban population; the number of Indian radio owners had continued to grow; and that daily broadcasts were featured for

English, Afrikaans, and Zulu Natalians, yet, the Indian Programme was still most unsatisfactory (The Leader 1953:1). A letter from the SABC, reflecting the "careful consideration of the board of Governors" and answering Congress' protestations, was published in The Leader. Citing article number 14 of the Broadcast Act, No. 22 of 1936, the letter stated:

1) ... the Corporation cannot consider undertaking regular broadcasts in any but the two official languages of the Union. The only exception to this rule is a limited number of broadcasts in certain Native languages indigenous to the Union.

2) Any broadcasts in Indian dialects must, therefore, be considered as concessions from time to time, and not as forming precedents for the future .... (The Leader 1953:4).

What was not owned to in this letter, was the ideological position held by Broederbond-dominated broadcast decision-makers, which determined that "Indians" were not in fact South Africans. Although this was not stated openly in relation to broadcasting, it was not until 1961, after a century of residence in South Africa, that the Prime Minister, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, granted Indians in South Africa "the status of permanent residents" (Bagwandeem 1989:17). During the sixties, no longer a people in transit awaiting repatriation, Indian South Africans were referred to as "the New South Africans" (Fiat Lux May 1966:44).

But, due to their relative financial stability and strength, Indian South Africans were not easily to be pushed into their own "bantustan" or "homeland" and controlled there by ideological and military means. For this reason then - and besides in 1953 they were not South Africans - an effective broadcast service at that time that developed the cultural practices of Indian South Africans would not have been to the state's advantage. Therefore,

any media service that required substantial state resources in order to render it effective would inevitably be sidelined. Indeed, there was no evidence in the vintage press of any single example of development funding such as commissioned works or competitions with purses that could inspire and fund young musicians. There was no expenditure on training personnel or the acquisition of already-qualified personnel. Similarly, the funding of expanded broadcast hours, was not to be considered. Anything more than a broadcast "concession" was more than non-South Africans could really expect. All significant funding or promoting of local talents was being invested in creating Afrikaner culture to reinforce the state's ideology of white Afrikaner superiority and domination after 1948.

The challenge to English cultural hegemony had started in 1938 when the Afrikaans programme department formed a *boereorkes* (Afrikaner orchestra). Later, classical European dramatic works were translated into Afrikaans for radio, Afrikaans drama was commissioned, and competitions for Afrikaans works were instituted (Tomaselli et al 1989:39). Similarly, Afrikaans music theatre works were commissioned. Examples of Afrikaans media affirmative action include the following. In 1948, "the young Afrikaans composer", Arnold van Wyk was commissioned to write a "Christmas Cantata". The "well-known Afrikaans poet", I.D. du Plessis' "Ode to South Africa" with music by Blanche Gerstman was also commissioned in 1948. In the same year, a competition for South African composers was introduced (AR 1948:10). Aimed largely at the Afrikaans sector, or at white South Africans in general, these culture-generating activities deliberately by-passed Indian South Africans.

The SABC was also financially invested in developing black radio. From a benign

paternalistic approach in which radio was used as a substitute for the written word (Hamm 1991:148-149), to one which later sought to suggest that ethnic boundaries between the black "tribes" were not to be breached (Hamm 1991:169), the SABC was more concerned with "selling ideology" to "Bantu" South Africans than to Indian South Africans. The black African sector of South African society was far more threatening to the regime than was the Indian sector, which has been described by Moodley as "an intermediate caste" lacking the numerical power of the African population (1989:94). Indian South Africans were, in any case, for much of the time in question, not considered to be permanent. The comparatively small size of the Indian South African sector, its links with India and its growing middle-class culture was of less concern to white South Africans than was the potential challenge of the emerging black working class. Thus for Indian South Africans, radio broadcasting was to be a "concession" until 1962.

### **Living With Concessions : 1953 - 1961**

The news about Indian South African broadcasting being, generously, a "concession" rather than a right or a financial exchange was received by Indian South Africans with pain and shock at first. Manickam David called upon the NIC to monitor the drawing up of a petition that would harness "the people's strength" to continue the fight (The Leader 1953: 12). Thereafter, a sort of numb silence overcame listeners.

The Indian Programme workers set about trying with their limited resources to bring about the "improvements" to the "present half-hour programme" that Fuchs referred to in the 1948

Indian Radio Owners Association/SABC meeting. And these attempted modifications were noticeable in the press releases in a number of ways.

1) Recorded music was alternated weekly with live broadcasts or integrated with them, resulting in a greater total emphasis on recorded music generated in India.

2) More popular local orchestras were featured such as the Golden Lily, Ranjeni, Ranjith, and Linghum orchestras respectively. Most of these orchestras favoured filmi reductions of semi-classical and devotional song tunes which they arranged for the whole orchestra or which they performed as accompanied trumpet or banjo solos. These can be easily recognised in the broadcast notices as "from the film ...".

3) There was a marked attempt to spread the focus over North Indian and South Indian languages and their music more evenly. This was made more possible as the number of Tamil films coming onto the circuit balanced out this area of cultural hegemony slightly more evenly.

4) More film music generally, including Indian rhumbas, sambas and ballads<sup>7</sup> was broadcast live or as recorded programmes. Whole thirty-minute programmes were now devoted to film and devotional music by Lata Mangeshkar, Asha Bhosle, Mukesh, Geeta Dutt, K.C. Dey, K.L. Saigal, Pankaj Mullick, Mohammed Rafi, P. Susheela, T. Suryakumari, T.M. Sounderarajan, T.S. Bhagavathy, or J.P. Chandrapabu. Apart from orchestral film music, many local musicians broadcast vocal and instrumental arrangements of film music.

5) There were more "returns" of better-known more accomplished musicians such as I. Kistraj, Bell Munsami and Party, R. Balakrishnan and Party, George Surrendra, R. Nagiah, C. Ganas, Kamala James, P.H. Narsee, Nisar, Mognambal, Polly Bharat Singh, and Manickam David.

6) Publicity for these broadcasts showed some effort to popularise musicians. Notices were issued with photographs at times, biographical details were described generally giving domestic history since none really had any musical accreditation, especially not of the *gharana* type.

7) Press notices attempted to "name" the music to be broadcast live in an attempt to talk about it in an informed way. These notices reveal a plethora of solos, trios, duets, quartets, choruses, and choirs. At this stage, it is not yet clear whether these European terms are an indication of the extent to which the South Asian styles had been modified or whether the terminology was simply being used inappropriately.<sup>8</sup> I also found notices mentioning the original composer/singer or perhaps the poet/lyricist, as in "one of P.U. Chanappa's songs", "Nazaa's composition", "composed by Nargis", "a Mahraji's composition", or "one of Anwar's works". Works were also "named" by raag such as "a mohana". Later, in the sixties, there are Meera bhajans, Thiagaraja "songs", Kalyani "ragamalikas", and a "tenor banjo solo in Yaman Kalyani".

8) A few "own compositions" by local musicians such as Tony Moon and Dasrath Singh are included in the repertoire.

9) Once or twice a programme might reflect "mixed" constituencies such as a Diwali programme shared by two *sabhas*. Classical music, film music and a ballad, or a Hindi *bhajan*, an Urdu *qawwali*, and a Telugu classical song might be mixed in one programme.

10) Eid, Diwali, Krishna Janmashamee, Pongal, Bethesda Christmas and Easter programmes and the like seem better prepared now.

At first, press correspondence reflected an appreciation for these developments, with the added tacit agenda always of persuading other listeners and readers, and presumably members of the audition and advisory committees, to appreciate "their" music be it *qawwali*, film music, orchestra/band music, religious/moral music or Thyagaraja *kritis*. Protest, however, soon started to well up in a now familiar cycle of complaints and contestations. Many letters now appear advising listeners to turn to the South African commercial station, Springbok Radio, either simply to listen to entertaining music, or to request them to present a daily Indian programme sponsored by an advertiser (The Leader 17 April 1953:8). Others referred to a majority who were listening to Lourenco Marques Radio, because they despised the Indian Programme. LM was a popular commercial station broadcasting from the neighbouring country, Mocambique. (The Graphic 22 April 1960:11). These concerns will be addressed more fully below.

S.R. Naidoo was vehemently denounced as announcer/programmer. For example Dawood M. Seedat mimicks him as knowing "only a few words of the English language ... `Unthil den we wis you a good lisnink'" (The Graphic 30 August 1957:6). After a particularly angry flood of letters criticising Naidoo, he left the position in 1959. Despite the anguish of the public, Naidoo said in a Leader interview he had no regrets about his time with the SABC. He had been appointed after an audition conducted by Hugh Tracey thirteen years earlier.

During C.D. Fuchs' term as regional director, Naidoo felt that improvements had occurred due to "a more sympathetic and understanding approach to the needs of the Indian listening public". Consequently, Naidoo's efforts to raise artists' fees "generally and particularly when religious programmes were put over the air ... in order to encourage talent" had been favourably received. Naidoo felt that "both Mr. Tracey and Mr. Fuchs had given him advice, assistance and co-operation in his work". He felt that the audition system had been successful, and he had built a library of records. Naidoo said he was optimistic about the future of the Indian programme (The Leader 1959:6).

Devi Bhagwan, M.A. graduate in drama and "lecturer" in English at Clairwood Indian High School, was chosen as announcer to replace S.R. Naidoo. She was selected from "several hundred applications at an audition held firstly by a committee comprising members of the Hindi, Telugu, Tamil, and Urdu communities, and finally by the Regional Director, Mr. J. Crafford". She had been asked by some "leaders" to audition because they felt that a woman's voice would be a pleasant change" (The Leader 1959:6).

### **Cultural Engineering for an Imagined Community : 1957 - 1960**

In 1957, M.S. Naidoo of the South Indian Musical Association started off a new wave of protest. It is reported that his organisation was preparing a memorandum for the SABC in which they were protesting the "dull and excruciating" programmes. The SABC was a "public utility corporation and as such should serve the legitimate needs of the listening audience". Naidoo's organisation saw this audience as "five sections of the Indian community", presumably referring to five of the languages spoken by some Indian South

Africans. The memorandum was to propose the division of the programme into two sections: one hour for North Indian and one hour for South Indian programmes weekly (The Leader 1957:8).

The consequential flood of letters to The Leader was summarised in an article by a reporter (The Leader 15 February 1957:9). It was agreed that the SABC was "definitely not playing the game". It was not value for money, no other section of South African society would accept this "deplorable state of affairs", no other corporation would treat its listeners in such a "shabby manner". M.I. Tootla, circuit manager of the Naaz Cinema, is reported in The Leader article to have said the audition committee and advisory board was "outmoded".

At the same time, P.R. Pather tried to resurrect or recreate an Indian radio listeners club. Citing again the "phenomenal" number of radio owners, he called upon them to address the serious reflection the programme had "on our community as if we have no talent". It was time, he said "that the Indian community put its foot down to the utter balderdash that is put over the air in the name of music". It was another case of "pay but no say". Consequently, an Indian Radio Listeners Association of South Africa was formed and a questionnaire was published (The Graphic 16 August 1957:1). A meeting was to be announced in the 7 March 1958 issue of The Graphic, but I was unable to trace any further mention of the organisation.



# Indian Radio Listeners Association of S.A.

## MEMBERSHIP FORM

Following the numerous complaints and dissatisfaction expressed by the Indian radio owners and listeners over the Indian Programme of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the "Graphic" is conducting a referendum to collect data and to ascertain the exact number of Indian licensed Radio owners.

All Indian Radio Owners and Listeners co-operation is essential. If proper representations have to be made to the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Please fill in the Form and Post immediately

Indian Radio Listeners Association of South Africa  
To the Editor, The Graphic, P.O. Box 2339, Durban.

1. If you are a licensed radio owner, state number of sets.....
2. Licence Numbers..... (also complete 3, 4, and 5.)
3. If you are a listener, state :
  - a) Are you satisfied with the present programme ?.....
  - b) If not what improvements do you suggest ?.....
  - c) Are you satisfied with the present half-hour per week ?.....
  - d) What do you consider to be the reasonable time per week, per day and what days and time.....
  - e) Do you support the idea of the formation of an Indian Radio Owners and Listeners Association.....
  - f) If you do, are you willing to become a member and abide by its rules and regulations.....
4. Full Name and Address.....
5. Date..... Signature.....

Fig. Six: IRLA Questionnaire (The Graphic 16 August 1957:7)

The impact of Indian South African protest against the SABC's intransigence and plain bungling in The Indian Programme was reduced by the protestors' confused and contested objectives. There was no consensus regarding the desirability of ethnic, nationalist, popular or classical culture. Indeed, the protest itself could be viewed as evidence of the success by the ideology-bearing media of their objectives to divide and demean, rather than as evidence of mass protest action during these years of grand apartheid. Contradictory perceptions regarding the role and objectives of the broadcast media in cultural production, who Indian South Africans were, what cultural products they wanted, and what the influence of Indian South African cultural workers was in the broadcast media is well illustrated in The Leader editorial of 1959 (10 July:8).

The editor states that *there is little "original talent" in the "Indian community"* and that *"there are no [Indian South African] musicians of note in South Africa"* [my emphasis]. The editorial is symptomatic of a growing general belief that this was so, as can be inferred from the growing number of letters that were increasingly critical of local broadcasting musicians. Due to his perception that there were no local skilled musicians, the editor suggests that an alternative is for the SABC to buy "canned" music programmes from All-India Radio and Radio Pakistan for broadcasting from the Durban studios, as it did with programmes purchased from the BBC. The other alternative would be to "disc out" [sic] totally to commercial film records,<sup>9</sup> which would not satisfy all, and which the editor said would not be ethically correct.

Furthermore, the editorial continues, being approached as a "concession", (i.e. not a right), resulted inevitably in poor quality programmes which had to be accepted "without demur". Not having any broadcast rights resulted in performances by all kinds of unknown "artists" and bands which, according to the editor, did not provide

Indian music or song, but a cross between Indian and Western music. The result is often novel, even if it is jarring and exceedingly flat. Some practising QUAWWALI or imitation LATA MANGESHKAR or budding MOHAMMED RAFI takes to the air. And the effect is shocking, when a beautifully rendered original film piece is literally murdered (The Leader 10 July 1959:8).

The editorial accounts for the reasons underlying the failure of the Indian programme in the observation that

THE BASIC DRAWBACK OF THE INDIAN PROGRAMME APPEARS TO LIE IN THIS - THAT IT IS ARRANGED ON A PART-TIME, NON-PROFESSIONAL BASIS, AND BEING IN THE NATURE OF A "CONCESSION," THE AUTHORITIES SEEM TO THINK ANYTHING WILL DO [original emphasis] ... It appears to be a left-over from the United Party days, and perhaps the present Government does not see why the Programme should exist at all (The Leader 10 July 1959:8).

The editorial does not however probe the reality that an "Indian Community" with a unified culture and class solidarity was an ideological myth perpetuated by apartheid planners, and by conservative and progressive Indian South African politicians and "cultural leaders" alike. It was a construct being exploited either to reinforce the racial otherness of "Indians" in order to alienate them from other South Africans, or to create an Indian nationalist middle class that could fight for Indian South African middle-class rights. The broadcast media in effect divided Indian South Africans while seeking to perpetuate the myth of a unified Indian class as well as a racial group.

An editorial featured by The Graphic, which had strong links to Alan Paton and the Liberal Party, takes a different stance from the nihilistic one in The Leader. Hinting at the ideological basis of the Indian Programme, The Graphic presents the only challenge to the idea of an "Indians Only" radio programme. By implication, the editorial seems to suggest that if Indian South Africans had been employed by and catered for in "the general broadcast programmes" as South Africans, there would have been no need for an "Indian programme" at all.

*It is sometimes explained that broadcast programmes and policies are designed to meet the needs of the whole population, and that to set aside daily periods for Indian broadcasts would tend to introduce a feature of separatism, apartheid is the right word, to which Indians are opposed. There would be more substance to this explanation, however, were any opportunities provided for Indians in the general programmes and any opportunities provided for Indian artists, musicians, or script writers, few though they be. The point is that on the one hand the fare offered Indians as a community is totally inadequate, and on the other hand they are permitted no part in the general [white] broadcast programmes (original italics; The Graphic 1960:11).*

The editorial points out that generally the SABC deliberately underpromoted Indian South African musicians. The SABC neither developed the South Asian heritage of Indian South Africans, nor did it foster the new multifaceted Indian South African Western culture. The SABC was a snake with a doubly and paradoxically forked tongue: it claimed, in this instance, to distance itself from separatism in not promoting a South Asian Indian broadcast theme fully, while all the time exploiting it by forcing all Indian South African cultural production, neglected and underfunded as it was, into an Indianised mode of expression.

### **Programme Expansion - Softener for the "New South Africans" : 1962**

The Indian programme was indeed run "on a part-time, non-professional basis" (The Leader 1959:8). The only full time employee between 1931 and 1981 was Ruthnam Pillay. He was "the general factotum ... doing everything, office work, running errands, taking messages, answering calls, dealing with the public, arranging programmes, working out schedules, gathering records for the programme". The announcers were also the compilers, they chose the records, recommended artists from the community, and prepared the programmes (Devar 1994:Interview).

After S.R. Naidoo left, Bhagwan was appointed as temporary announcer only, whilst Ruthnam Pillay took over the selection of music and musicians, bought records from local suppliers, and compiled the programmes. When the SABC could not find anyone to appoint as permanent part-time announcer after Bhagwan left,<sup>10</sup> Ruthnam Pillay took over some of the announcing as well. "He was a simple man, may not have been very knowledgeable in the area of music, but he was very interested. He did his researches that were relevant to that kind of programme, very systematic" (ibid).

Broadcasting for Indian South Africans was not expanded in any way until 1962 although, even then, it was still run on a part-time basis. It was during M.P.O. Burgers' term as Regional Director that the Indian programme was extended to one hour on Sundays from 8.30 to 9.30 a.m. still broadcast on the medium-wave English service from Durban (The Graphic 1962:1). A Saturday afternoon Sports Review for Indians was introduced transmitting on medium-wave and FM from Durban and Pietermaritzburg from 1.45 to 2.00 p.m. (AR 1963:29). The Sunday programme was now no longer just "the music

programme". It included music, talks, and "matters of general interest to Indian listeners" (AR 1964:37). Although SABC's 1964 Annual Report claimed that "the reaction from Indian listeners remained very favourable" (ibid), letters to the press, editorials and reports revealed a different scenario. Along with the usual complaints about the "coughing croons" (The Graphic 1963:6) who were allowed to broadcast, there were complaints about the undemocratic way programmes were selected and changes were introduced. Listeners were most disturbed by the way the expanded programme was being exploited to broadcast talks: "we did not request this extra half an hour to be interfered with items [sic] that have nothing to do with plain entertainment ... this is our programme and we want musical entertainment" (Laljeith Ramlall 1963:3). Some politically conscious listeners went even further, complaining in interviews to a Graphic reporter about the exploitative use that was being made of the extended programme to present propagandistic talks on the new local government structures "preparing the Indians for self-government in their own areas" (The Graphic 1963:4).

This was the ideologically-determined reason behind this "sudden" expansion of the Indian programme. Verwoerd created the "New South Africans" in 1961 (Bhagwandeem 1989:17): broadcasting for them was no longer a concession. The programme was expanded generically as well as temporally. There was an increased emphasis, at last, on popular local orchestras such as Golden Lily, Genga Devi, Hi-Lite Entertainers, and Ranjeni, as well as a focus on popular local *qawwali* groups. There is also evidence of a wider though never quite up-to-date selection of South Asian commercial film records due to the sanctions imposed on South African importers of Indian records. A housewives' programme was introduced and the sports review, which was dropped with the reintroduction of the

post-war programme, is now reinstated. The expansion and popularisation of the programme follows too comfortably the creation, in 1961, of the Local Affairs Committees, advisory bodies put in place by the regime to inject Indian **South Africans**, as they were now deemed, into the grand plan of apartheid. It was through the LACs, and from 1964, the South African Indian Council, that apartheid was to be made statutorily acceptable to the "new South Africans". It was through ideology-bearing media such as broadcasting that the statutory mediators were to be made acceptable. The SAICouncil and LACs were non-elected statutory bodies put in place, against great opposition from Congress and other left-wing groups, to implement apartheid policies. It was not until 1982 that the SAICouncil members were "almost fully elected" (Bagwandeem 1989:17-18), and then it was done strictly along racial criteria, and, perhaps in anticipation of the apartheid Tricameral system.

The first series of changes in 1962 to the Indian Programme were clearly part of the "softening-up" process to persuade Indian South Africans to accept and co-operate with these new bodies. The palliative approach seems to have had some success. Letters now appear claiming that "99 per cent of the listeners are in favour" of the new arrangement (The Leader 11 May 1962:6). This was no longer simply a left-over from the CPS programme or from the United Party days. It was now ideologically useful to re-Indianise this sector of South African society. It was a cynical political act to take what had been Indian South African nationalist tools for liberation during Passive Resistance, and to twist it for legitimising, in the words of Tomaselli *et al*, "the social, economic and political organisation" (1986:19) of South African apartheid society.

By 1966, it was thought to be important by the SABC to report that "Programmes for Indians ... [were] presented by Indian broadcasters, and Indian musicians made regular appearances" (AR 1966:36). Fitting now into its "own affairs" policy, the "Indianness" of these programmes was now overtly the SABC's only objective.

### **Further Expansion and Cultural Apartheid : 1972**

In 1969 (AR 1969:23), J.R. Devar, a school teacher in Clairwood, was approached to do some part-time broadcasting on the Saturday afternoon "Sports Review". He did this until 1972, when he was made full-time announcer/producer, only the second full-time employee for the Indian radio programmes in more than forty years. Later Devar was promoted to principal announcer/producer, and then Indian programmes supervisor. Devar's promotion to full-time announcer/producer came as the result of expansion of the Indian programmes from January 1972. This included an additional national magazine programme on Saturdays from 7.15am. to 8.am. on all English transmitters. It was this programme for which Devar was appointed. It comprised talks, music, features for women, children, and young adults, regional notebooks, news and interviews. The one-hour Sunday morning programme, previously heard only in Natal, was now also extended to national coverage. It was now exclusively a music programme presenting both live and recorded music. Both the magazine and the music programmes were carried by all F.M., medium-wave, and short-wave transmitters of the English service. The 15-minute Saturday afternoon Sports Review continued unchanged over the Natal medium-wave transmitters of the English service (AR 1972:32). Fiat Lux, the journal of the Department of Indian Affairs, seemed especially pleased to announce that now, a special news bulletin in the Saturday morning magazine



programme was compiled for Indians, giving news items "affecting Indians" (February 1972:7).

By 1974, the Indianising function of the Indian South African broadcast media had become quite specific. Devar's magazine programme was described in Annual Report as having

talks on subjects such as Indian wedding customs, the origin of Indian names, Indian music, [Indian] travel, Indian architecture and the history of Indians in South Africa... and a selection of recorded music in the five languages, Hindi, Telugu, Tamil, Urdu, and Gujarati (1974:33).

Devar was also responsible for the Sunday music programme. It is evident that the tendency to give as much air-time to imported records as to local musicians that we have observed since the sixties is applicable during Devar's fourteen-year period of service. "We didn't allow the records to supplant the local musicians. We didn't allow a larger degree of local talent into our programme. We tried to keep matters on an even keel" (Devar 1994:Interview).

Programme material was taken "from records coming from India" bought from local dealers. But some of the records came from London, from France, from America, "Indian music recorded from [sic] those countries" (ibid). The reason that records were sought by the SABC from local dealers, and from the countries mentioned, was, of course, the reinstated cultural and economic embargo placed on South Africa, and especially on state institutions such as the SABC, by India. Local dealers were accessing records, at elevated costs, through Singapore at the time or buying them on personal visits to India.

In addition to the records, Devar "called in local musicians, any number of them. If they

were ready they came and auditioned, if they pleased us and satisfied our norms they were put on the air" (ibid). Devar did the auditioning at this time. There was also an advisory board

initiated by the community in terms of linguistic representation ... some community representatives sitting on it, but they met ever so seldom. They didn't meet on programme matters, once in a while they were invited by the SABC at that time, sit down have a cup of tea with us, tell us what you feel, and there was hardly any debate or any discussion and so on (ibid).

Devar experienced more autonomy than did any of his predecessors. He created the magazine and music programmes. It seems that the reason for this "freedom" was Devar's own philosophy of Indianisation, which he saw as empowering his "community" and informing "the country about Indian practices" along strictly acknowledged ethnic linguistic and religious lines. It would, however, given the political history of the sixties and seventies, be naive not to interpret this autonomy as a display of the state's deliberate co-option of Devar's perhaps well-meaning ideas, as ideology for its own racist political ends. It was not difficult to re-interpret and co-opt South Asian Indian nationalist ideology in South Africa. Here, as opposed to in pre- and post-Independent India and Pakistan, where Indian nationalism served to mobilise anti-British activism that successfully overturned a colonial power, South African Indian consciousness during the fifties and sixties was more obsessively, and less appropriately, articulated with South Asian ethnicity and middle class culture. This obsession was homologous with Verwoerdian cultural and racial apartheid. The Indian Programme did not develop Indians in South Africa as South Africans by sharing their South Asian heritage in both its historic forms and transformed by its South African experience with other South Africans as South African culture. Neither did it value Indian South African working class culture which could have been embraced to develop working class communities. The programme also ignored the rich jazz and ballroom dance culture

enjoyed by many Indian and other South Africans together, crossing racial lines. Through his SABC activities, Devar, no doubt unintentionally, since he saw his work as part of "a lovely blend", contributed to media ideology that divided South Africans culturally and racially. Devar's media policy supported the ideology that simultaneously aimed at creating an Indian South African middle class and perpetuated the myth of a uniform Indian community, in order to govern them.

Devar describes his approach.

If there were visitors from overseas, not necessarily from India, anywhere else and it had some relevance to Indian life and Indian culture, Indian thought, Indian literature, Indian art, and if I thought that there was some potential here to make a little item or programme, I used it .... But all my thought was to give the country, the listenership in the country an insight into the Indian cultural background, Indian thought, Indian philosophy, Indian moralities, Indian art and architectural principles, Indian musical thoughts and theories and what have you. Just to give them, I believed, this component of Indianness coming through the radio and offering the information, disseminating the information to the listeners at large will satisfy that Eastern flavour, together with everything else that was flowing from other sources made up the total spectrum of our cultural milieu and things .... From the African programmes, from the white radio programmes I'm talking about, it is all a lovely blend (ibid).

The extent to which there was intervention by SABC authorities took the form of censorship of what seems to have been potentially politically threatening material.

When it came to music, nobody interfered, just nobody. They left it to my discretion. But when it came to other materials they did have a look at things first. For instance, if I interviewed someone, not always, someone would sit in the studio and monitor that interview and if there was anything to be corrected, but they were such rare occasions, if they didn't like something that was said, they came and told me "Can you edit that out?" (ibid).

Devar saw his role as a unifying one: uniting people from North and South Indian language backgrounds, and Hindus, Muslims, and Christian and universalist Indians.

When I got in there I had an idea. I spoke to my programme organiser and others and I told him "Why don't we now just blend, mix up the linguistic content so that nobody feels that his is a special language or that language is focused for this week and so on?" And we did that. It solved the problem, quietened them down I felt. It died out eventually that kind of grouse and complaint (ibid).

The melting pot approach to the language issue was also applied to unite Indians on religious grounds.

I treated Hindus, Muslims, Christians as equally important. When it was an Easter weekend, there was a Christian programme; when the Deepavalli, or the Pongal or some other Hindu [event], there was a programme to match that. When the Bakkr Eid came, everybody got satisfied. And then I used to take a weekly thought for the week, a little expression or a statement or a little proverb or a slogan. It came from all sources: Muslim and Hindu people, and Christian, the Bible, and the Talmud, the Jewish writing, the Buddhist writings and all that. So it all levelled out (ibid).

The question of the selection process for local artists has already been hinted at above: it was done by audition. It seems that some time after 1953,<sup>11</sup> the hated screened audition panel collapsed, and the programmer/announcer ran the audition himself, as did Ruthnam Pillay when he took over as programmer/announcer. Despite his total lack of musical expertise, he auditioned potential broadcasters and Devar took over when he joined the permanent staff. Artists were auditioned on a Sunday or Saturday afternoon. Devar felt that sometimes, local programmes were not of a high calibre. He felt that local musicians must be allowed "to evolve". There would inevitably be flaws, imperfections, "but let them go on and in time they'll improve" (ibid).

The popular/classical contest seems to have played out at this time in favour of popular orchestral music. Devar told me that there were fifty Indian orchestras being broadcast

during the seventies. This could also be interpreted as part of the palliative approach to sell the new apartheid Indian political structures. These orchestras fitted in with the Indianising philosophy since they were patronised only by Indian South Africans and they drew on Indian film melodies but were clearly of Indian rather than Western character unlike the Shalimar recordings of the fifties. But they were also "modernised" such as to shape their audience's sense of enhancing an upmarket, "with it" identity and were thus extremely popular.

### **Radio Lotus and Tricameralism : 1983**

Although the creation of Radio Lotus falls outside the main period under review, it seems necessary briefly to address the context of its existence here. This seems necessary, firstly, for reasons of continuity, since the inception of Radio Lotus can be seen as the climax in a fifty-year-long chain of events. Secondly, the similarities between political change and broadcasting in the sixties, and again in the eighties seem too close to be coincidental. The sequence of political change in the eighties, followed closely by change in the Indian broadcast media, reinforces my interpretation of the ideological web underpinning expansion of the Indian Programme in 1962.

In January 1983, a new station devoted exclusively to Indian South African listeners was created. At first, Radio Lotus was transmitted within a 40-kilometre radius of Durban, between 16h00 21h30, Mondays to Fridays; 12h00 to 21h30 Saturdays; and 12h00 to 24h00 on Sundays (AR 1983:116). In 1984 its transmission area was increased to include Northern Natal and the PWV area. Programmes included breakfast shows, a hospital

request programme, an Eastern hit parade, weekly interviews with prominent Indian personalities, programmes for women and children, popular music programmes for young adults, music quiz shows, devotional music programmes, and *qawwali* and classical programmes (AR 1984:150-152).

In Radio Lotus we find a mature state-controlled but commercial radio station constructed along racially exclusive lines. We still hear complaints about Hindi-language bias (AR 1983:116). The SABC Annual Report complains of having to rely on local businesses which acquired records through intermediaries [Singapore], and on individuals buying records on their travels, due to the renewed trade embargo between India and South Africa.

But Radio Lotus had captured forty per cent of its potential target audience and was broadcasting for seventy-six hours per week within one year of its inception (AR 1984:150).

Can this massive expansion in broadcasting time and programme material in 1983, so soon before the inauguration of the Tricameral Parliament in 1984 be coincidence? I would suggest not.

### **Beyond The Indian Programme - Enculturation with BBC and A-IR**

Having traced the chronological development of The Indian Programme, and its derivative, Radio Lotus, I now look briefly at foreign broadcast services that made a striking impact on Indian South African culture and social life. The Indian South African vintage press reveals interest in British and South Asian external services from at least the early forties onwards.

These programmes were sought to serve many purposes, but the central one was to act as alternatives to the frustrating, humiliating, and disempowering SABC Indian programme.

Initially, it is the BBC to which listeners and musicians turned (see for example The Leader 7 April 1945:1), possibly much earlier than the forties. But my first documented reference to the more influential All-India Radio external service comes from an article in The Leader, which refers to attempts by the Indian Radio Owners Association (IROA) to resolve the problems experienced by Indian South Africans regarding their unfulfilled broadcast needs. In the light of the poor results achieved by the Advisory Committee in the mid-forties, in which the IROA shared one member, and in evidence of a growing sense of desperation due to their own inability to negotiate independently with the SABC, the IROA took a completely new path in its effort to develop a plan for the cultural education of Indians in South Africa. In early 1946, "owing to the very restricted number of hours which the South African Broadcasting Corporation devotes to Indian listeners", Seebran approached the BBC Indian Service and All-India Radio requesting them "to cater specially as they do to Malaya and Burma and other Far East countries to the Indian listeners in South Africa". It is claimed in The Leader, that All-India Radio agreed to provide a programme of news and music for South Africans (The Leader 9 March 1946:1).

In order to capitalise on this initial contact with A-IR, the president of the IROA went to India in 1947 "to make known the viewpoint of the Indian listeners" to A-IR regarding "the cause of better listening for Indians, whether from the local station or from overseas" (The Leader 15 March 1947:4). In The Leader report of January 1948, mentioned above, the IROA stated that they were planning to suggest that the daily air-time for which they were lobbying via South African parliament could be relayed directly from India or from the Durban station (The Leader 24 January 1948:9). It is difficult to interpret what was really meant by this reported initiative. Seemingly, the IROA was hoping to persuade A-IR to

create **specific** programmes for South Africans, possibly to substitute for the failed Indian Programme. The IROA, it seems, was hoping that a formal agreement between the South African and Indian governments could be reached to accommodate these transmissions that were to be targetted directly at South Africans.

In 1948, there was a cultural and economic embargo in place which prohibited all official and commercial exchange between India and South Africa. It was therefore unlikely that this visit would have had much impact, particularly in the case of attempting to harness India's broadcasting from a South African state broadcast station. However, All-India Radio external service programmes were broadcast on short-wave bands to Mauritius, Africa, and the West Indies and were received in South Africa, possibly inadvertently, due to the gross physical area spanned by short-wave bands.<sup>12</sup> In 1950, India announced that it was to relax its trade sanctions against South Africa because, in some regards, it found that Indian South Africans ("resident Indians") were the "worst sufferers" resulting from sanctions deprivations. As a result, articles such as films, medicines, and books were removed from the sanctions lists (The Leader 29 July 1950:1). Under this dispensation, it **might** have been possible that some arrangement was made between the two governments, but I have not encountered any evidence of it.

The transmission of A-IR programmes to South Africa, though probably unplanned, was significant. Programme schedules were published regularly in Indian Views, Indian Opinion, The Leader, and The Graphic from March 1947, starting with four-and-a-half hours per week (Indian Views 12 March 1947:5), then swelling to daily transmissions. It is not yet clear whether the IROA did indeed have any impact on the A-IR external service or whether



the service would have been transmitted on South African air-waves regardless of their mission.

From 1949, the press gave regular notification of A-IR programmes under the by-line "India Calling" in The Leader (see for example 24 December 1949:12) as Indian South Africans turned increasingly to outside broadcast stations to allay the frustrations they felt over their own. Although I have no evidence of this, it seems likely that the SABC relied on foreign service transmissions to pick up the broadcast duties that they refused to discharge since Indians in South Africa were not **their** people. This interpretation is consistent with the nature of A-IR programmes at the time. Building a middle-class nation was the conservative aim of A-IR ideology. Despite its close ties with Indian citizenship after independence had been achieved, A-IR was never a mediator of revolution, neither before nor after Independence. South Asian middle class nationalism could possibly have been viewed as useful ideology by white nationalist South Africans: South Asia was where South African Indians belonged; if they did not go there, i.e. repatriate themselves, at least they were being enculturated to fit more comfortably into separate development in South Africa.

During the fifties, there is more press coverage of A-IR programmes than of The Indian Programme, with Indian Opinion publishing a full-page detailed schedule of daily programmes in Hindi and Gujarati being transmitted between 9.50 am. and 10.45 pm. (Indian Opinion 3 September 1954:414). Programmes were also transmitted in English (The Leader 24 December 1949:12) and probably in Tamil and Telugu.<sup>13</sup>

## ALL INDIA RADIO GENERAL SERVICE

For Listeners In Africa, Mauritius and the West Indies  
HINDI AND GUJARATI

Morning Transmission 19 and 25 metres (15 and 11 Mc/s bands)	Evening Transmission 12 and 25 metres (15 and 11 Mc/s) bands
0930 News in Gujarati	2115 2125 News in English
0940 News in English	2125—2200 Programme in Hindi
0950—1040 Programme in Hindi	2200—2245 Programme in Gujarati

<b>Monday, Sept. 6</b>	
0950 Karyakram Ki Roop-tekha	2125 News in Hindi
0955 "Khubsurat Korh" Play by Shivsagar Misbra	2135 Aurton Ki Duniya Durga Mausi— <i>Coffee House Men</i> Sawan geet Swadishi Pakwan— <i>Sheer Khurma</i>
1025 Song of the Week	
1030 News in Hindi	2200 News in Gujarati
1040 Close Down	2210 Patra Ane Pasaandgi Listeners' requests with replies to their letters
2125 News in Hindi	2215 Close Down
2135 Bharat Men Duniyadi Shiksha	
Talk	<b>Thursday, Sept. 9</b>
2145 Vidyanath Seth Geet aur Ghazal	0950 "Aashooraa" Special programme on Moharram) Quran recitation Suz-Khwani by Chaud Khan and Party Martyrdom of Hussain —Talk in Urdu
2200 News in Gujarati	1020 Anul Mukerji Bhajan
2210 Akhbaroni Atariethi Weekly Review of Indian Press Comments	1030 News in Hindi
2215 Yah Suniye (Hindi Programme) Mahakavi Surdas Ke Pad	1040 Close Down
2230 Guitar Vadan Hazarasingh	2125 News in Hindi
2245 Close Down	2135 Jutbika Ray Geet aur bhajan
<b>Tuesday, Sept. 7</b>	2150 Soz Khwani by Chaud Khan and Party
0950 Malika Pukhraj Ghazlen	2200 News in Gujarati
1000 Mohammed Ali Sursagar recital	2210 Sthanik Samachar Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutchluni Khabaro
1015 R. R. Choudhury Geet aur Bhajan	2215 Ek Varta Short Story
1030 News in Hindi	2230 Imam Hussain Talk on the significance of 'Moharram'
1040 Close Down	2235 Natia Kalaam
2125 News in Hindi	2245 Close Down
2135 Bharat Ke Samachar Patron Se	<b>Friday, Sept. 10</b>
2140 R. R. Choudhury Geet	0950 Reba Banerji Geet
2145 Mohammed Ali Sursagar vadan	1000 Mera Priya Grauth Pracheen Sahitya Talk by Dahirath Ujha
2200 News in Gujarati	1010 Sobhan Singh Shastriya Sangeet
2210 Bhajan Bhai Tarun Namaj Chhe (Venibhat Purohit)	1030 News in Hindi
2215 "Pranayani Parakasha" Play by Sanat Kumar Vin	1040 Close Down
2245 Close Down	2125 News in Hindi
<b>Wednesday, Sept. 8</b>	2135 Ghazlen
0950 Prakash Kaur Geet	2145 Sohan Singh Khatay Darbari
1000 Begum Akhtar Thumri	2200 News in Gujarati
1015 Boodu Khan Sarangi recital	
1020 Prakash Kaur Punjabi geet	
1030 News in Hindi	
1040 Close Down	

2210 Saptahik Samalochana  
Weekly Review of Current Affairs

2220 Geet

2230 "Ram Ban Vagya Hloy  
Te Jane"  
Malikina Gharman  
Talk

2240 Ek Naat

2245 Close Down

**Saturday, Sept. 11**

0950 Punjabi Geet

1000 S. N. Gulati  
Violin vadan

1010 Sain Diwana  
Sohini Mahawal aur Susti  
Panna recitation

1020 Manna Bai  
Dadre

1030 News in Hindi

1040 Close Down

2125 News in Hindi

2135 Jag-Biti

2140 Shabd

2150 Sain Diwana  
Heer aur Mirza Saheem  
recitation

2200 News in Gujarati

2210 Vadyavrund  
AIR Carnatic Orchestra  
Conducted by T. K. Jairam Iyer

2215 STREE SABHA  
Conductor: Arvinda Dave  
Vishesh Vinanti Ke  
—Replies to Listeners' Letters

"GANGANA LAGNA"  
—Feature written by Prag  
Dosa

LAGNA GEETO  
Recipe

Chalo Banaviye

2245 Close Down

**Sunday, Sept. 12**

0950 Filmi Gauc

1000 Balsabha  
Aao Bachcho Kaben Kaban!  
Ek Tha Raja Ek Thi Raqi  
—Tamilud Ki Kahani  
Sehgan  
Hamaro Adivasi—Toda

1020 Apka Patr Mila

1030 News in Hindi

1040 Close Down

2125 News in Hindi

2210 Film Tunes  
ROOP-REKHA  
Programme Preview

2215 Close Down

Imported American Residential and Commercial Fluorescent fittings, substantial discounts given.  
New Era Lighting Industries (Pty.) Ltd., 4th Floor, 127 Anderson Street off Von Weizsack Street, Johannesburg.

# BONES WANTED

We Pay  
£7 PER TON  
F.O.R. your  
Station or Siding

BAGS RETURNED RAILAGE PAID

For Full Particulars write to:

THE  
**BULLBRAND FERTILIZERS LTD.**  
SARNIA, NATAL.

Fig. Seven: All India Radio General Service Programme (Indian Opinion 3 September 1954:414)

In January 1948, immediately after partition, there were hopes amongst some that Radio Pakistan would start broadcasting. Goolam Karim, who seemed to have an insider's view of occurrences in India and Pakistan, hastened to dispel this rumour, saying that such a project would take a great deal of time before being launched (Karim 1948:4). By 1957, M.S. Naidoo was able to say that "the majority of Indian listeners in Natal were tuned in to All India Radio and Pakistan (Naidoo, M.S. 1957:8).

Whatever the position regarding Radio Pakistan, we do know that All-India Radio played a significant part in radio listeners' lives and in shaping the controversy around The Indian Programme policy. A-IR was established in 1935 and its External Service in 1939 (Chatterji 1987:43). From the inception of broadcasting under British rule in 1927, and thereafter for the first two decades of A-IR, radio had been a mass-medium for propagating art music (Ranade 1984:52). The most obvious connection between A-IR and The Indian Programme lay in the latter's attempts to emphasise classical music at the expense of film music. As we have seen above, Indian South African class, nationalist, religious and ethnic social fractions were also pitted against each other in the popular/"good" music contest.

Under the A-IR directorship of B.V. Keskar, film music was banned on the grounds that it was "vulgar, both musically and in respect of the texts of the lyrics" (Chatterji 1987:142). Manuel implies that apart from the perceived vulgarity of popular music, the banning of film music stemmed also from Keskar's Indian nationalism and Hindu chauvinism: film music was seen as being "excessively Westernized, and too steeped in Urdu" (Manuel 1993:39) which was the language of Muslim film *qawwali* and *ghazal* songs. Classical music, on the other hand, seems to have been seen as a homogenising force, one which could build a nation

along middle-class lines. Keskar stressed his perception of the unity of Hindustani and Carnatic classical music, "variants of the same music" (Keskar 1967:12-13). Film music was later re-introduced when it was discovered that the Commercial Service of Radio Ceylon was capturing the listening audience by beaming film music programmes to India. Under Keskar, the "light music" channel, Vividh Bharati, was started in 1957, carrying film music for ninety per cent of its programme time (Chatterji 1987:142). In all likelihood, the South African anti-film music lobby was informed by early A-IR broadcasting and A-IR programme policies.<sup>14</sup>

Keskar also set up an audition and grading system in the early fifties (Singh 1967:vi) with the idea of establishing a national standard of classical music performance (Chatterji 1987:142). This, however, was not so much a source of policy for South Africans as a possible reinforcement, since The Indian Programme audition system was already in place in 1946 as general SABC policy. It is interesting to note that I did not find any complaints about the audition system in the newspapers circulated after 1953.

Post-independence development of the broadcast media in India and Pakistan was linked by South Asian Indian leaders to freedom, self-rule, citizenship, and cultural pride. For instance, Keskar said that "with the freedom of India from British rule, and with the obstacle of foreign cultural influence largely removed, a new and welcome tendency towards the patronising of Indian culture activities appeared" (Keskar 1967:9). For some Indian South Africans, the relationship between self rule, citizenship, nationalism, and access to the broadcast media involved Indianising culture. South African print journalists, however, seemed to be more interested in independent India's rapidly spreading areas of transmission

and growing numbers of radio stations. The local press is filled with reports closely monitoring each new development in the Indian broadcast network after 1947.<sup>15</sup>

Letters to the press, once again, are the most useful source of data on the direct influence of A-IR on Indian South Africans. By far the majority urge local musicians and broadcast authorities to refer to A-IR for guidance on how to direct Indian broadcasting and local radio performance. Members of the public took it upon themselves to inform others about good programmes in advance as part of a mission to educate Indian South Africans to the value of classical music. For instance, an A-IR programme of Vidwan Chembai's music was publicised in The Leader as "the type of programme that we require" (12 December 1952:5). Similarly, Goolam R. Karrim seems to have acted purely independently to inform and assist Indian South Africans in accessing the A-IR external service programmes, the South African session times, and transmission wave bands of which Karrim published in Indian Views and The Leader, along with his assurance that he would undertake to furnish any further details on application (Indian Views 1947:5; The Leader 1947:7).

But not all Indian South Africans looked to A-IR as the model for Indian South African broadcasting. Indeed, some took great exception to "the 'Aah's' ... and 'Blahs' from A.I.R." where the music is monotonous, and singers drag words such as 'ah-' for minutes" ("B.A.N." 1950:4). Critics of A-IR's classical and religious music programme policy spoke out directly against the programmes' "crude" and "ancient song matter" which belied "modern India's ... very modern films and latest hits" ("Jack Pin" 1950:4). But proponents or critics notwithstanding: A-IR played an important role in informing Indian South African broadcast policy and debate.

### **For Indian Music Only! : 1924 - 1972**

Indian South African musicians who were not practitioners of South Asian-derived culture were left largely unrepresented by the ABC and by the SABC non-commercial service. I have encountered only two references to "purely Western" programmes aired over The Indian Programme between 1924 and 1972. The first, in 1952, was a programme of English ballads performed by the Indian Women's Friendly Choir, which comprised members of the well-known Christian families such as the Joseph, Peters, Sigamoney, Jacob, Anthony, and Saunders families (The Leader 8 August 1952:1). Whilst there was no apparent response to this broadcast, there was a vociferously indignant objection to the only other programme of "English" music on The Indian Programme. In 1969, T.P. Naidoo voiced the understanding that "The S.A.B.C.'s Indian programme is ostensibly for the presentation of Indian music" (Naidoo, T.P. 1969:9). Naidoo declared that although the school choir "items were very good the Indian session is definitely not the place for such a programme". He ends his letter by saying that he hoped that "what has always been regarded as a highly satisfactory state of affairs in the S.A.B.C.", would persist (ibid), namely the broadcast only of "Indian" music.

This Indian chauvinism was not shared by all Indian South Africans. C.G. Moodley, The Leader journalist and writer of "Around the Capital" describes himself as being

of the generation that Charlestoned, waltzed and foxtrotted its way through the roaring thirties but just for the sake of joining in the fun, I listen [...] to rock 'n roll on the radio or watch it on the cinema screen (Moodley 1960:8).

C.J.Faman also confesses to having been raised in an atmosphere of waltzes and foxtrots. He/she says that he/she appreciates and is proud of Indian music although he/she does not understand it, but says

I am quite certain there are many Indians among us ... who would open wide their arms to a programme, once or twice a month, of Western music played by one of our own Indian dance bands, the "Blue Jewels" for example (Faman 1953:2).

Indian South African Western musicians were caught tragically by the "Indianising" policy of The Indian Programme and the non-Indian policy of the A-programme and the commercial services. They were not consistently patronised by either. Two cases display this dilemma.

The first is that of Francesca Joseph, nee Lawrence. One of the well-known "Lawrence family", all of whom were musicians of the Western tradition, Francesca was a trained opera and light-classical singer.<sup>16</sup> She performed in Teddy Browne's Gilbert and Sullivan productions, sang regularly in the Anglican church and at weddings, taught singing in schools, and was admired widely for her well-developed voice. She was, however, never given the opportunity to broadcast over any South African radio programme. When she did get to perform over the air, it was at the invitation of the director of broadcasting (whom she did not name), Radio Lourenco Marques, 1943. Bolstered now by a reference written by the director and translated into English by Robert G. De Norman, in which he refers to Joseph's "gifted voice", and possessing now some studio experience, Joseph hoped to be able to do some work for the SABC (Joseph 1987:Interview). This was not possible, it would seem: Francesca Joseph was not "Indian" enough for The Indian Programme, not "European" enough for the English programme, and not popular enough for Springbok Radio, the only other programme marginally interested in Indian South Africans.

LOURENÇO MARQUES, GUARDIAN DO SABADO, 30 DE JANEIRO DE 1943

To Sing at Radio Clube.—Miss Francesca Lawrence, of Durban, pupil of Madame Belmas and Dr. Kitchine, will sing the following numbers at the local Broadcasting Station, on Monday, the 11th, inst, at 8 p.m. 1. "Ciribiribin," 2. "Indian Love Call," 3. "Garden of Happiness". She will be accompanied on the Piano by her sister, Miss Sylvia Lawrence, A.R.C.L., L.L.G.M.

It was with pleasure that we received in our studio Miss Francesca Lawrence, who seems to possess a gifted voice, which should enable her to achieve success in any cultural competition.

Translated by, *[Signature]*

Lourenço Marques. January, 1943.

C.P. No. 512 - Tel. No. 142  
ROBERT G. DE NORMAN  
CONTABILISTA : AUDITOR  
Rua Dr. Oliveira Salazar, 33  
LOURENÇO MARQUES

P.T.O

Radio Clube de Mocimboa  
Lourenço Marques, 18-1-43  
*[Signature]*

1. Heartiest Congratulations for being the first Indian to broadcast from Lourenço Marques. Your success is the Community's success.
2. I wish you all that you wish yourself in the new life you contemplate. But may I just say "a nagging wife will break up a happy home."

Lourenço Marques  
11th January, 1943

*No justice*  
You should thank your besting sister for her sincere and faultless accompaniment; she was as much interested in your success as you and never, never, for your dear father

Fig. Eight: Your Success is the Community's Success (Excerpts from Francesca Joseph's Autograph Book: Lawrence Family private collection)



The second case is even more disturbing since the incumbent was exploited and not simply overlooked. Lionel Pillay, alias Lionel Martin, started his career in approximately 1955. Performing in a jazz and variety show at The Lido Mermaid in Umkomaas, Lionel launched a three-piece band including Gambie George (also known as Gambie Pillay) (drums) and Dalton Kenville (tenor sax). The trio shared the programme with and accompanied Sonny Pillay ("popular man of the blues"), Vivienne Kensley, Roy the Black Boy and Lucas Mthembu (The Leader 15 April 1955:13). Lionel Pillay's trio became known for a while as The Lido Trio. He later went on to form the very active and well-supported Modern Jazz Sextet which was a multi-racial ensemble with Dalton Kenville, Gambie George, Allan Harris (alto sax), Claude (double bass), and Jonathan (alto sax) (The Leader 10 February 1956:12).

Lionel Pillay is arguably the best Indian South African jazz pianist before Melvin Peters. Indeed, it was he who inspired Peters, who had been trained in classical piano by Sylvia Lawrence, to redirect his music education towards jazz piano. During an interview with the Lawrence sisters, they pointed out to me the name Lionel Martin in a programme, telling me that this was in fact Lionel Pillay. During the fifties, Pillay started to refer to himself by his mother's maiden name because, according to Francesca Joseph, Pillay was "too Indian, I suppose" (Joseph 1987:Interview). The significance of this escaped me until when doing field work in 1994 and 1995, I became aware of the extraordinary contribution made by Pillay/Martin to South Africa's jazz history and the implications of his being an Indian South African. Pillay performed widely from the mid-fifties onwards, playing with many South African jazz musicians and performing South African compositions. He made four records which have added an identifiable quality to South African jazz. For example, in 1979, he

recorded "Cherry" (Lionel Pillay 1979) featuring Basil Mannenberg Coetzee playing compositions of Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim); in 1980, Deeper in Black featured his own compositions (Lionel Pillay' 1980); and in 1987, in Shrimp Boats he plays "Yakhal'inkomo" by Winston Mankunku (Lionel Pillay 1987).<sup>17</sup> He was broadcast regularly over Springbok Radio, and, in the eighties, over South African Television (SATV).

Melvin Peters spontaneously, i.e. unprompted by me, corroborated Joseph's interpretation of Pillay's name change. He said that he believed that not only did Springbok Radio require Pillay to use a non-Indian name, since it was not to be publicised that "Indians" could succeed in the "European" tradition of jazz, SATV seldom, in Peters' memory, revealed the physical picture of Pillay on the TV screen. Pillay often performed in and directed TV jazz programmes, but, in Peters' interpretation, SABCTV went to some lengths to keep his "Indianness" secret or at least unstated. In Peters' opinion, Pillay's suffering and struggle to find a place for his exceptional jazz musicianship in an apartheid-ridden society has caused much of the substance abuse and mental disability with which Pillay is afflicted today (Peters 1995:Interview).

Perhaps Peters' comments and interpretations reveal as much about his own racial and cultural identity crisis as a jazz pianist in an apartheid society as they do about Lionel Pillay. Other observers have disagreed with Peters' comments. But, even if his interpretation is more about Peters than Pillay/Martin, it clearly demonstrates that being an Indian South African and a jazz musician during the apartheid era was a disquieting experience to say the least, and the ill offices of the South African broadcaster seem to have some responsibility in this.

To a very small extent, Springbok Radio promoted Indian South African musicians. It ran a Springbok Radio Talent Show in which they could enter Indian "vernacular" (singing what they termed "exotic" songs) or "Western-style" performances. The "Hunt for Talent Show" for "non-whites", was a live show which was not to be broadcast.<sup>18</sup> Clearly attempting to break down the barriers between South African "Indian" music, performers, and listeners and other "non-white" Western pop music, performers, and listeners, to create an inclusive market for their commercial product, the Springbok Radio Talent Show did break down some barriers. It also provided a limited platform for "non-Indian" Indian South African music. But the Talent Show could not escape the white/non-white, racially-determined nature of all SABC music initiatives.

After 10.00 pm., once per fortnight, Indian South African "Indian" musicians (performing music that was recognisably South Asian in style) would be broadcast by Springbok Radio presenting one piece in between other programmes (Pillay, A.G. 1994: Telephone Conversation). But this was felt by many to be totally insufficient with an enormous loss of potential listenership and advertising power to Lourenco Marques Radio. An editorial in The Graphic in 1960 (reviewed above) reveals a growing awareness, at least amongst Indian South African liberals, of the dilemma in which the majority of Indian South African musicians and listeners were caught. On the one hand, the programme for Indians "as a community" (i.e. as a racial group) was "totally inadequate", and on the other hand, they were "permitted no part in the general broadcast programmes" (The Graphic 22 April 1960:11). Springbok Radio planners were just as bound by racially-determined cultural engineering as were the non-commercial supervisors and policy makers.

The true extent of Springbok Radio's involvement with Indian South African musicians is not yet clear, but I can say that I have not encountered a single piece of evidence that Roy the Black Boy, Sonny Pillay, George Gambie, Lionel Pillay, or any of their non-Indian music colleagues were ever broadcast on The Indian Programme or its successors. The rich vaudeville tradition which occupied the majority of Indian South Africans, with musicians such as "coon" song and dance "blackboy" comedians Chico and Roy, was simply not represented on the programme. Indian South African Western "jazz" groups such as Blue Jewels, Jazz Minstrels, Goodwill Orchestra, all of whom included covers of Latin American, South African, American, and "continental cabaret" social dance music, such as "the mambos, the creep, [and] the Quela [sic]" (The Leader 27 May 1955:3) in their repertoire never found their way into The Indian Programme studio. In these cases, the music was not remotely shaped by South Asian idioms.

All of the jazz musicians promoted by Peter Steinbank or Alfred Herbert, with their multi-racial philosophies, would certainly have been anathema to the SABC authorities. This would never have been allowed despite the well-patronised jazz concerts at the Bolton Hall (The Leader 10 February 1955:16), or the Clairwood "jazz and variety" shows which were presented regularly throughout the late fifties and early sixties that brought together popular Indian *qawwali* (Dawood Suleiman) and Indian film music (Linghum Orchestra) on the same stage as The Modern Jazz Sextet and Vivienne Kensley (The Leader 10 February 1956:12).

These shows were not only inter-racial, they were inter-cultural as well, a quality that would have offended many defenders of "pure" Indian culture.

Similarly, the Nishaan Entertainers, an Indian film music ensemble that presented concerts in aid of the Treason Trialists in the late fifties (The Leader 15 February 1957: 16) would not have suited the SABC ideological position. Neither would the abundant "imitation Presleys and Little Richards" (The Leader 6 February 1959:3) who were probably contributing to the "whole lot of shakin" that "woz goin on" at the Himalaya Hotel with its "crooners, swooners, red hot mommas, [and] rock 'n rollers" (The Leader 5 December 1958: 3). Suffice it to say, The Indian Programme, particularly after the late forties, was not designed for Indian South Africans. It was a cynical political structure that was kept in place for ideological reasons alone. The wealth of musical energy that was being invested in vaudeville, variety, jazz, jive, rock 'n roll, Latin American, twist, opera, Gilbert and Sullivan, Western church or light-classical music by Indian South Africans simply did not correlate with the cultural and racial engineering of apartheid.

### **South Asian Nationalism - Record Marketing via A-IR**

An early Roopanand Brothers<sup>19</sup> advert introduces us to the direct relationship between the BBC external service and Indian South African listeners, and also to the exploitation of this highly-valued service by record shops to advertise and boost their own record sales. In this advertisement, Roopanands informs the public about the music and talks programme hosted by Princess Indira of Kapurthala, giving the time and metre bands upon which the daily programme may be found. Here we have an alternative to the daily programme which the SABC obdurately refused to provide until 1983. Relying on the tremendous need and subsequent high value placed on such a programme and the music disseminated by it, Roopanands also advertises its ability to acquire these highly sought records "that you hear

daily from London and Delhi". The advertisement also informs us that Roopanands supplies records for the SABC programme heard "on Sundays from Durban" and that (in these pre-sanctions days), they have been granted a "small quota [of records] by the government of India" (The Leader 7 April 1945:1).

Using foreign external broadcasting services to advertise their records for sale became a fairly common occurrence, referring in the fifties to the far more significant All-India Radio external service to Mauritius, East and Southern Africa. For instance, Bharat Music Saloon and Booksellers claims that "we have all records in H.M.V. and Columbia that you hear from ALL INDIA RADIO SERVICES" (Indian Opinion 20 August 1954:384) and "Latest Records you hear from All India Radio always in Stock" (Indian Opinion 4 March 1955:100). From the 1950s, it was considered useful advertising by shops selling radiogrammes and gramophones to sponsor the publication in the press of the regular A-IR programme schedule (The Leader 3 September 1954:12).

### **Conclusion - Broadcasting : 1948 - 1983**

Many of the themes which emerged between 1924 and 1948 are displayed again between 1948 and 1983. But the progression of time reveals not only new treatment of the issues, but also changing meanings. Still the most visible point for discussion, the scope of broadcasting for Indian South Africans takes on new dimensions. From a weekly, half-hour programme, a concession for a minority group of foreigners awaiting repatriation, three phases of expansion took place, each of which was closely associated with changing, and more entrenched systems of apartheid governance for the "new South Africans", resulting in a discrete radio station operating from five to twelve hours per day on a daily basis.

**MUSIC**  
from the

**B.B.C.**  
in  
**LONDON**



**PRINCESS INDIRA, of Kapurthala**

who broadcasts from the B.B.C. every morning between 6.15 to 6.45 a.m. on the 25- and 19-metre bands. She, in the course of a letter to us, sends greetings to all Indian listeners in this country.

We have some of the latest

**INDIAN GRAMOPHONE RECORDS**

*Just Arrived*

We have been granted a small quota by the Government of India, and for all Records that you hear daily from London and Delhi and on Sundays from Durban, try us first.

We have the latest Film Instrumental Records.

**JHOOLA      BASANT      KHANNAAN**  
8/- each      Packing Extra 2/8

**ROOPANAND BROTHERS**

**VICTORIA STREET      DURBAN**

**Music Saloon and Booksellers**

Phone 20707

P.O. Box 2824

Fig. Nine: Music from the BBC London (The Leader 7 April 1945:1)

"All India Radio calling Indians in South Africa from New Delhi daily from 5.30 to 7.30 p.m. in Hindustani, Tamil and Gujrati and B.B.C."

## RECORDS



Played over these Stations are now on sale with us as follows:--

Basant ... ..	56/-
Ramrajha ... ..	56/-
Jwar Bhutt ... ..	46/8
Lagan ... ..	46/8
Sougand ... ..	46/8
Banphool ... ..	37/4
Chandhara ... ..	37/4
Takdir ... ..	37/4
Wapas ... ..	37/4
Bhanwara ... ..	28/-
Tansen ... ..	28/-
The Will ... ..	18/8
Shree Ramanuja ... ..	18/8
Kashnath ... ..	18/8

## TAMIL FILM SETS

Meera ... ..	37 4
Shiyakavi ... ..	37 4
Ashook Kumar ... ..	46 8
Hirschandra ... ..	46 8
Sukumtala ... ..	68 0
Savritrie ... ..	56 -
Gana Soundri ... ..	56 -
Alli Arjuna ... ..	65:4
Nallathangal, drama ... ..	56/-
Kovillan, drama ... ..	93 4
Thooku Thooki, drama ... ..	46 8
Kannagi ... ..	18 8
Madanakumarajan ... ..	18 8
Seva Sadnam ... ..	46 8



QUAWLI: Film Tone Instrumentals. A good range of loose numbers which you hear over these stations are with us.

### BOOKS AND MAGAZINES JUST ARRIVED

The Original Gital, by R. Otto ... ..	21/6
Krishnamurti and the World Crisis ... ..	12/6
The East and West ... ..	8/6
Moslem Mentality ... ..	8/6
Tagore's Works, in 30 Different Titles ... ..	£7, 10/-
Amrita Bazaar Patrika ... ..	7/6
Puja Oriens ... ..	4/9

Etc.

Indian-made Pocket Purse, very well made of leather ...	10/6
By NEHRU: Glimpses of the World History ... ..	16/9
By Gungubee: The Constituent Assembly for India ...	22/6

### OTHER BOOKS:

Wanted, a Child, 4 9; Same Sex, 15 6; Woman's Change of Life, 4 9; Son or Daughter, 4 9; Secrets of Love and Marriage, 6 6; etc.

## D. ROOPANAND BROTHERS

Music Saloon and Booksellers

Phone 2070; 85 VICTORIA RD., DURBAN P.O. Box 2524

Fig. Ten: All India Radio Calling Indians in South Africa (The Leader 4 January 1947:3)



Programmes more overtly constructed a South Asian middle-class ethnicity where Indianisation became an alienating criterion supported by broadcast policies determined by white apartheid officials and conservative Indian South Africans alike.

Related to the theme of ethnicity, we see nationalism being a philosophy that mobilised Indian South African cultural pride in the forms in which it was borrowed from the emerging free South Asian subcontinent. We also see it being co-opted by apartheid forces to smooth the way for separate “development”. Nationalism was also harnessed to stem the South African tide of modern, Indian-language social dance-related recordings and the integrationist tendencies of the Shalimar Record Company and its broadcasting links generally. As a consequence of the growing separatist Indian ethnic policies of this period, there is a clear picture of Indian South African music genres and musicians that were completely ignored or rejected as potential broadcast performers, and in the case of Ramchandra, as announcer/programmer as well. In 1948, Yusuf Kat wrote that the committee insisted on talking about Muslims, Hindus, and Christians instead of Indians. Later on, SABC officials insisted on talking about Indians instead of Indian South Africans, and certainly not about South Africans per se. The creation of a racially defined middle class (a community), or an ethnically divided racial group became contradictory goals. Western music, jazz, and deeply syncretic music (i.e. music which did not demonstrate an obvious, unsubtle South Asian flavour), found no “home” in The Indian Programme, and what seems to have been only a reluctant home in commercial programmes.

Entertainment and upliftment changed their hue towards the end of this period. Upliftment

was no longer related to language development through humour and light-hearted music sketches, as in the early Indian Programme days. Nor was it seen as the development of classical music, semi-classical, or devotional music as in the forties and fifties. "Upliftment" from the sixties was represented by talks on health, child-care, and political propaganda. From the seventies, entertainment occupied a large percentage of airtime with frequent broadcasts of popular music of the Hindi and *qawwali* film styles by local orchestras and a few popular modern *qawwali* groups, and through airplay of imported records. Entertainment became the carrot for good political and social behaviour.

The whole question of broadcasting for Indian South Africans has not yet been resolved. Throughout the post-apartheid course of 1995, a debate raged around whether the retention of Radio Lotus, which was initially conceived in racial and ethnic terms, was compatible with the new non-racial constitution of liberated South Africa. During 1995, and after many meetings with the Save Radio Lotus group, the station was closed by the Independent Broadcasting Authority and relaunched as a public broadcaster. The declared policy to define the new Radio Lotus was a stronger community profile, "with emphasis being placed on information, education and entertainment" and with the ratio between North and South Indian music from now being equal. Programmes include women's magazine and other interest programmes, light music, Drive time, oral chronicle of South African Indians, religious programmes, music featuring local artists, and cultural programmes in Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, and Telugu. Current Affairs and news bulletins are now regular features. Indian movie reviews and "up-tempo" music programmes indicate a commitment to popular music. In the run-up to the resolution of these policy decisions, the station manager was vociferously accused of being sectionalist, one of the popular presenters was

suspended after confronting the station manager, and the station manager was then transferred to SABC Auckland Park in Johannesburg (Devan 1995:4; Naidoo 1995:14).

Conflicts inherited as unfinished business: or indicators of continued divisive attitudes?

It remains to be seen to what extent Radio Lotus has been transformed into an Indian **South African** broadcaster and what music will be promoted thereby. In the new constitution ethnicity and South African nationalism are not viewed as mutually exclusive. Minority rights are to be protected and nurtured and as we have seen, Indian South African society is comprised of multiple cultural, or community groupings. These communities were forced by the oppressive laws and attitudes of early colonial, and then by apartheid powers, to be defined, and to define themselves, as a politically-determined "community". Singh and Vawda refer to the subversion of ethnicity as one of the constitutive categories of apartheid (1988:12). Perhaps now, in a democratic South Africa, all Indian South African cultural expression will find its place in the sun and the riches of Indian South African canonic, folk, film, popular, syncretic, Western, jazz, devotional, and whatever music is still to be born will be treasured by all South Africans as part of **their** cultural heritage. The ambiguities, however, remain: can the rights of ethnic communities be protected in a newly, nationalising state without reinforcing historical divisions, and without creating new divisions with the potential for political and social conflict? And, what is the role of ethnicity in harnessing working class culture, a fundamental element in any developing capitalist society? Can ethnicity, in the form of cultural reconstruction and development, enable commitments to building the social, political, and economic capacities of the nation's greater majority? Is the New South Africa prepared to confront these contradictions?

## REFERENCES

- Abman, B.A. 1953. "Radio's New Voice." The Graphic, 27 June, p.2.
- Annual Report (AR). 1936-1980. Johannesburg: South African Broadcasting Corporation. (Housed in Department of Music, University of Natal Library.)
- Bagwandeem, D. 1989. "Historical Perspectives." In A.J. Arkin, K.P. Magyar, and G.J. Pillay. eds. The Indian South Africans. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp.1-22.
- "B.A.N." 1950. "The `Aah's'... and `Blah's'... from `A.I.R.'!" The Leader, 2 December, p.4.
- Chatterji, P.C. 1987. Broadcasting in India. New Delhi: Sage Publications in Association with The International Institute of Communication.
- David, M. 1953. The Leader, 11 December, p.12.
- Devan, Y. 1995. "Fireworks for Station Relaunch." Sunday Tribune, 1 October, p.4.
- Devar, J.R. 1952. "Irrelevant Comments." The Leader 13 June, p.4.
- Devar, J.R. 1994. Interview, House of Delegates, Truro House, Durban, 15 June.
- Dubow, S. 1987. "Race, Civilisation and Culture: The Elaboration of Segregationist Discourse in the Inter-war Years." In S. Marks and S. Trapido, eds. The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth-century South Africa. London: Longman. pp.71-94.
- "Durbanite." 1949. "Be Satisfied." The Leader, 24 December, p.4.
- Erlmann, V. 1991. African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Excerpts From Francesca Joseph's Autograph Book. Lawrence family private collection.
- Faman, C.J. 1953. "Western Music on Radio." The Graphic, 10 October, p.2.
- Fiat Lux. May 1966. "Whither the New South Africans?" pp.44-47.
- Fiat Lux. February 1972. "The Indian Radio Programme." p.7.
- Fuchs, C.D. 1953. "Radio Chief's Statement." The Graphic, 4 July, p.2.
- Gilbert, Y. 1952. "Indian Music Disappointing." The Leader, 28 November, p.4.
- Govender, B. 1953. "Points from Readers Letters." The Leader, 13 March, p.8.

- The Graphic. 1952 - 1970. (Housed in the Natal Society Library, Pietermaritzburg.)
- The Graphic. 16 August 1957. "Listeners Condemn Radio (Indian Session) Programme." p.1.
- The Graphic. 23 August 1957. IRLA Questionnaire. p.7.
- The Graphic. 30 August 1957. "'Dismiss Announcer' Say Radio Owners." p.6.
- The Graphic. 22 April 1960. "Indian Broadcasts: Editorial." p.11.
- The Graphic. 5 January 1962. "Longer Radio Time for Indians, Coloureds." p.1.
- The Graphic. 5 July 1963. "'Killing Us Through the Ears': Indian Programme Strongly Criticised." p.4.
- The Graphic. 5 July 1963. "Radio Programme." p.6.
- Hamm, C. 1991. "'The Constant Companion of Man': Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music." Popular Music 10, 2, pp.147-174.
- Indian Opinion. 1924 - 1961. (Housed in Killie Cambell Library; and in Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville.)
- Indian Opinion. 20 August 1954. Bharat Music Saloon and Booksellers Advertisement. p.384.
- Indian Opinion. 3 September 1954. "All India Radio General Service." p.414.
- Indian Opinion. 4 March 1955. Bharat Music Saloon and Booksellers Advertisement. p.100.
- Indian Views. 1924 - July 1954. (Housed in the Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville.)
- "Interested." 1951. "Sunday Broadcasts." The Leader, 9 March, p.4.
- "Jack Pin." 1950. "Programmes are Boring." The Leader, 16 December, p.4.
- Jackson, M.B. 1988. "An Introduction to the History of Music Amongst Indian South Africans in Natal 1920-1948: Towards a Politico-Cultural Understanding." M.Mus. Thesis, University of Natal.
- Jackson, M.B. 1989. "Tiger Dance, *terukuttu*, Tango, and Tchaikovsky: A Politico-Cultural View of Indian South African Music Before 1948." The World of Music, 31, 1, pp.59-77.
- Jackson, M.B. 1991. "Popular Indian South African Music: Division in Diversity." Popular Music, 10, 2, pp.175-186.

Jackson, M.B. 1994. "Defining Indian South African Recorded Music: "Farooqi" Mehtar's Changing, Conflicting, and Multiple Identities." Unpublished paper presented at the Third International Symposium and Festival held by the Centre for Intercultural Music and Art, City University, London.

"Jason." 1953. "Radio Listeners' Complaints." The Graphic, 4 July, p.2.

Jessery, Ramchandra B. 1952. "Indian Music is NOT Monopoly of any Particular Section." The Leader, 14 November, p.4.

Joseph, F. 1987. Interview, Reservoir Hills, 13 March 1987.

Kadwa, A.H.I. 1952. "Indian Broadcast." The Leader, 10 October, p.4.

Karim, G. 1947. "AIR Broadcasts." Indian Views, 12 March, p.5.

Karim, G. 1947. "Broadcast from India." The Leader, 8 March, p.7.

Karim, G. 1948. "No Radio Pakistan." The Leader, 24 January, p.4.

Keskar, B.V. 1967. Indian Music: Problems and Prospects. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Laljeith Ramlall. 1963. "Disgusted with Broadcast." The Graphic, 8 February, p.3.

Lazarus, A.D. 1952. "It is NUTS, Says NITS, President of `Indian Music.'" The Leader, 4 July, p.7.

The Leader. 1940 - 1973. (Housed in the Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville.)

The Leader. 7 April 1945. Roopanand Brothers Advertisement. p.1.

The Leader. 7 April 1945. "Music from the B.B.C." p.1.

The Leader. 9 March 1946. "India to Broadcast to S.A." p.1.

The Leader. 4 January 1947. Roopanand Brothers Advertisement. p.3.

The Leader. 8 March 1947. "Broadcast from India." p.7.

The Leader. 15 March 1947. "Radio President for India." p.4.

The Leader. 21 August 1948. "India's Radio Stations." p.11.

The Leader. 24 December 1949. "India Calling." p.12.

The Leader. 29 July 1950. "Sanction Against S.A. Relaxes." p.1.

The Leader. 29 July 1950. "All India Radio." p.4.

The Leader. 19 August 1950. "India Now Ranks Third in the World of Frequency Users." p.6.

The Leader. 7 September 1951. "Trends in Indian Music." p.4.

The Leader. 30 May 1952. "S.A. Indians Differ from Yehudi Menuhin: Fusion of Eastern and Western Music." pp.1 & 5.

The Leader. 8 August 1952. "Broadcast over S.A.B.C." p.1.

The Leader. 14 November 1952. "All India Radio Programmes." p.3.

The Leader. 14 November 1952. "Segregation: Pretext to Destroy Economic Life of a People." p.3.

The Leader. 12 December 1952. "A.I.R. Programme." p.5.

The Leader. 6 February 1953. "Points from Letters." p.4.

The Leader. 17 April 1953. "Points from Readers' Letters." p.8.

The Leader. 23 October 1953. "Plea for Daily Broadcasts." p.1.

The Leader. 11 December 1953. "No Daily Broadcasts." p.4.

The Leader. 11 December 1953. "Points From Readers' Letters." p.12.

The Leader. 3 September 1954. Radios and Gifts Advertisement. p.12.

The Leader. 15 April 1955. "World of Entertainment." p.13.

The Leader. 29 April 1955. "Jazz Show." p.16

The Leader. 27 May 1955. "World of Entertainment." p.13.

The Leader. 10 February 1956. "Jazz and Variety." p.12.

The Leader. 11 January 1957. "Indian Programmes Criticised." p.8.

The Leader. 15 February 1957. "Monotonous Weekly Broadcast Bores Listeners: More and Better Programmes Urged." p.9.

The Leader. 15 February 1957. "Jewel Night." p.16.

The Leader. 5 December 1958. "A Whole Lot of Shakin' Woz Goin On." p.3.

The Leader. 30 January 1959. "Familiar Voice Goes Off the Air." p.6.

The Leader. 6 February 1959. "Star-Studded Show for Clairwood." p.3.

The Leader. 10 July 1959. "'The Leader' Editorial: An Unwelcome Programme." p.8.

The Leader. 26 August 1960. "Love, Love, Love." p.4.

The Leader. 11 May 1962. "Drop Dead Says Indian Programme Defender." p.6.

Lionel Pillay. 1980. "Blues for Yusuf." In Deeper in Black. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786149A, ABC 10072A. (Lionel Pillay). Rash Pub. UND Music Department Library.

Lionel Pillay. 1987. "Yakhal'inkomo." In Shrimp Boats. Independent Record Company. Mandla 001B. (Winston Mankunku). Laetrec Music. Produced, Marketed and Distributed by Independent Record Co. UND Music Department Library.

Lionel Pillay & Basil Mannenberg Coetzee. 1979. "Cherry." In Plum and Cherry. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786146A, ABC 9696A. (Dollar Brand). Rash Music. Produced by Rashid Vally. UND Music Department Library.

"Lover of Carnatic Music." 1953. "Indian Music Degraded." The Graphic, 22 August, p.2.

Manuel, P. 1993. Cassette Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

"Maritzburg Teenager." 1952. "Indian Music." The Leader, 12 December, p.4.

Marks, S. and S. Trapido. 1987. "The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism." In S. Marks and S. Trapido, eds. The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth-century South Africa. London: Longman. pp.1-70.

Maya Devi. 1995. Per telephone, 3 April.

Moodley, C.G. 1960. "Around the Capital." The Leader, 17 June, p.8.

Moodley, K. 1989. "Cultural Politics." In A.J. Arkin, K.P. Magyar, and G.J. Pillay. eds. The Indian South Africans. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp.93-102.

"Music Lover." 1951. "Broadcast Appreciated." The Leader, 1 August, p.4.

Naidoo, M.S. 1957. "Indian Radio Programmes Criticised." The Leader, 11 January, p.8.

Naidoo, T.P. 1953. "Do Something Now about Indian Broadcasts." The Leader, 24 July, p.8.

Naidoo, T.P. 1953. "Auditions Criticised as Tongue Twisters." The Graphic, 5 September, p.2.



- Naidoo, T.P. 1969. "Indian Programme Criticised." The Graphic, 12 December, p.9.
- Naidoo, Y. 1995. "Impressions Should Have Dealt with 'Goings-on' at Radio Lotus." Sunday Tribune, 15 October, p.14.
- "Northern Star." 1952. "Recorded Hindi Music Wanted." The Leader, 14 November, p.4.
- "Not-Sectional." 1947. "Satisfied with Broadcast." The Leader, 26 April, p.2.
- Paruk, A.E. 1949. "Broadcast Pleases." The Leader, 12 November, p.4.
- Pather, C.S. 1953. "Points from Readers' Letters." The Leader, 17 April, p.8.
- Peters, M. 1995. Interview, University of Durban-Westville, 4 April.
- Pillay, A.G. 1994. Per telephone, 27 June.
- "Radio Listener." 1948. "Thanks for the S.A.B.C." The Leader, 1 May, p.1.
- (Ramchandra - see Jessery, Ramchandra B.)
- Ranade, A. 1984. On Music and Musicians of Hindoostan. New Delhi: Promila and Co.
- Reddy, R. 1952. "Give Local Artists a Chance." The Leader, 12 December, p.4.
- Roopanand Brothers. 1945. Advertisement. The Leader, 7 April, p.1.
- Singh. 1967. "Foreword." In B.V. Keskar, Indian Music: Problems and Prospects. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Singh, R. and S. Vawda. "What's in a Name? Some Reflections on the Natal Indian Congress." Transformation, 6, 1-21.
- Tomaselli, R., K. Tomaselli, and J. Muller. 1989. Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa. Bellville: Anthropos.
- Tomaselli, K., A. Williams, L. Steenveld, and R. Tomaselli. 1986. Myth, Race and Power: South Africans Imaged on Film and TV. Bellville: Anthropos.
- Tracey, H. 1954. "The State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa." African Music, 1, 1, 8-11.
- Van Staden, M. 1995. Telephone Conversation, 6 April.
- Varachia, M.M. and Colleagues. 1953. "Radio Listeners' Complaints." The Graphic, 4 July, p.2.
- Views and News. August 1954 - 1972. (Housed in the Natal Society Library.)

"Worried." 1953. "Radio's New Voice." The Graphic, 27 June, p.2.

Yusuf Kat. 1948. Cartoon. The Leader, 7 February, p.4.

## NOTE

1. The question of diverse interpretations and expressions of nationalism in music will be explored in Chapter Four.
2. see chapter two
3. For example 27 June 1953:2; 4 July 1953:2; 11 July 1953:2; and 25 July 1953:2.
4. Shafee Qawwal was a South African who had married and was living in India. He returned to South Africa fairly frequently where he presented live and broadcast performances and made some recordings.
5. It is surely also significant that Ramchandra's article follows one entitled "Segregation: Pretext to Destroy Economic Life of a People" (The Leader 14 November 1952:3).
6. Maya Devi's sister, Anne Naidoo, was a passive resistance detainee.
7. Melodies, forms, and rhythms were borrowed from Latin-American (especially Cuban) and Euro-American genres and set to Indian-language texts.
8. That is, the terms simply refer to the number of musicians performing simultaneously rather than indicating genres and styles.
9. Presumably meaning to play only imported South Asian film records.
10. Date unknown.
11. Tholsy P. Naidoo's articles "Do Something Now about Indian Broadcasts" (1953:8) and "Auditions Criticised as Tongue Twisters" (1953:2) were the last references to the committee that I encountered.
12. Chris Ballantine brought to my attention the gross quality of short-wave bands. It is technologically impossible to direct them precisely to a defined area.
13. See letter "All India Radio" in which a reader complains of the poor transmission in South Africa of the Madras Section of A-IR (The Leader 29 July 1950:4).
14. Middle-class, literate Indian South Africans were directly but briefly informed about the popular/classical music debate taking place in New Delhi. See for example an article in The Leader (14 November 1952:3).
15. See for example the The Leader article "India's Radio Stations", in which it is stated that since Independence "every province in [the] Indian Dominion can now boast a radio station" (21 August 1948:11). See also "India Now Ranks Third in the World of Frequency Users" (The Leader 19 August 1950:6).

16. For more information on the Lawrence family see Jackson 1988.
17. For complete reference to Lionel Pillay's recordings see discography below.
18. See for example The Leader 26 August 1960:4.
19. Known colloquially as Roopanand's.

## CHAPTER FOUR

OUR BROADWAY MILK BAR, PRIZED PAPAD, PICKLES,

AND RECORDS ARE THE ENVY OF EVERYONE -

THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN RECORD INDUSTRY :

1920 - 1970

The history of the Indian South African record industry is largely the story of a transnational network and its alliance with one Indian South African dynasty which controlled the distribution of monopolised products throughout Southern and East Africa. This oligopoly was challenged at times by a group of musicians, poets, and small commercial producers with remarkable, but temporary effect. In reconstructing this history, I trace the connections between the phonogram industry, and political, cultural, technological, economic, and music factors.

### **Indian South African Record Distribution - EMI, GCI, Goshalia's and Monopoly Capitalism : 1920s - 1948**

In 1905, Amulakh Narbheram Goshalia, born in Rajkot, Kathiwar, India, came to South Africa "as an educated entrant"<sup>1</sup> (The South African Indian Who's Who and Commercial Directory 1936-37,<sup>2</sup> 1935:108). He "introduced a new class of business among Indians in South Africa" (SAIWWCD 1936-1937, 1935:108), namely that of Indian music dealer,

whereby he imported "the BEST of Indian Music and the Latest Records which give Pleasure to the whole of India" (SAIWWCD 1936-37, 1935:vii).

The term "Indian Music"<sup>3</sup> refers to South Asian musical instruments such as vara and sardar harmoniums, and tablas, as well as Euro-American instruments such as violins and banjos which were, with imported South Asian music records, the basic stock-in-trade of the Indian South African music business from the beginning of the century and continue to be so today.

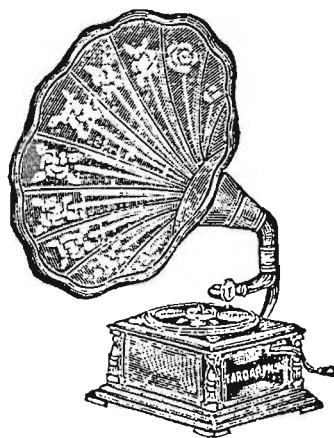
But the term also goes beyond that: the advertisement offers "All makes of instruments" including gramophones to play the "latest records". We see here what appears to be an Indian South African interpretation of the international business practice of selling talking machines and records in tandem (cf. Gronow 1981:252), with big companies using their trademarks, like Columbia and His Masters Voice, to sell record players of the same name.

Specialist retail dealers such as Goshalia's Music Saloon<sup>4</sup> (erstwhile Emporium), Bharat Music Saloon, Manhattan Music Saloon, Kamal's Music Saloon, Manickum Pillay's Music Saloon, and The Premier Music Saloon all stocked the same combination of instruments, records and gramophones with certain makes being stocked distinctly in certain outlets such as H.M.V. in Goshalia's and Columbia in E.A Tyeb and then Orient Music Saloon in the twenties and early thirties.<sup>5</sup> There were also general retail dealers which did a large proportion of their business in retailing records supplied, from the late thirties, largely by Goshalia's, or which did a small part of their trade as importers of records, instruments, gramophones and radios themselves.

# For the BEST of INDIAN MUSIC

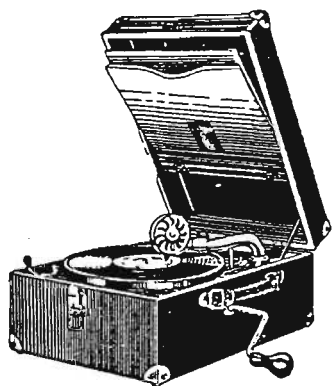
AND THE LATEST RECORDS

which give Pleasure to the whole of  
India, try



## GOSHALIA'S MUSIC EMPORIUM

*(Owned by those with Practical Experience of Music)*



H.M.V., Columbia, Twin, Megaphone, Shanshai.

Latest Records in Indian, Afrikaans,  
English and Zulu.

---

Every Indian Mail brings something New  
in Records—there's always the latest 'Hit.'

---

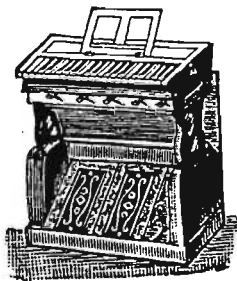
All makes of Instruments: Gramophones, single  
and double springs; Harmoniums; Violins;  
Banjos; Mandolines; Tablas; etc., stocked.

*Repairs also Undertaken.*

P.O. Box 460

131 Queen Street,  
**DURBAN**

Phone 1653 Central



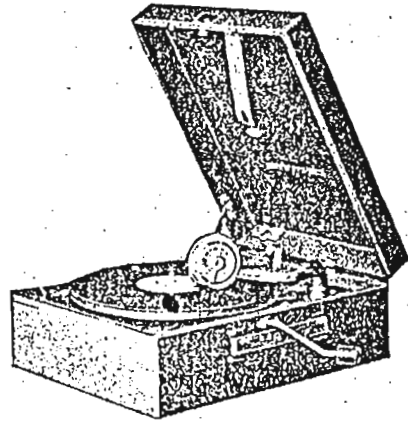
*Sole Agents for:*

**VARA AND  
SARDAR  
HARMONIUMS,  
BOMBAY**

Fig. Twelve: A Columbia Gramophone is an Investment (Columbia Records/Radio Record Trading Company Brochure 1938, A.G. Pillay private collection)

COLUMBIA'S LATEST PORTABLE

No. 56



CHEAP  
YET  
MOST  
RELIABLE

OTHER AVAILABLE COLUMBIA NEW.  
RANGE GRAMOPHONES

- No. 200 Portable (Double Spring) ...
- No. 212 Portable ( " " ) ...
- No. 220 Portable ( " " ) ...
- No. 553S Table Grand ( " " ) ...
- No. 115 Table Grand ( " " ) ...

A Columbia Gramophone is an Investment

RADIO RECORD TRADING CO.

DURBAN

DIOCESAN PRESS, MADRAS-C4382

*This month's new records*

MARCH, 1938



SRIMATHI  
RAJAM PUSHPAVANAM  
South India's Star Artiste

SPECIAL  
FEATURES

SRIMATHI RAJAM PUSHPAVANAM  
MR. PAPANASAM SIVAN  
MR. K. RAMASUBBA IYER  
SRIMATHI T. P. RAJALAKSHMI

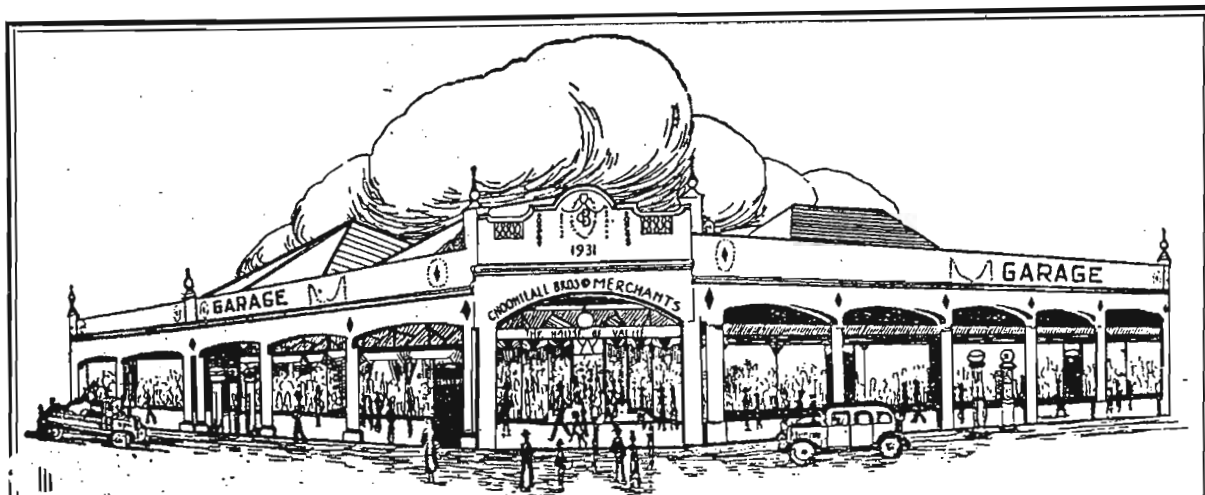
Telugu Bala Yogini Song Hits

Eucharistic Congress Record

**Columbia**  
RECORDS







# CHOONILALL Bros.

*General Merchants and Direct Importers*

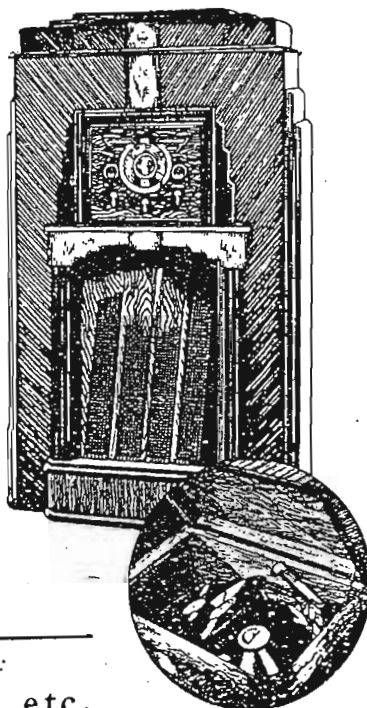
Head Office : 141, GREY STREET, DURBAN

Stockists of Musical Instruments, Harmoniums, Tablas, Violins, Banjoles, Guitars, Musical Strings, Gramophones, Records and all — Musical Accessories —



*'Thrill to the Voice of the World'*

SOLE DISTRIBUTORS FOR:  
**MIDWEST RADIOS, etc.**



also at 53, Wick St.,  
— VERULAM —



Direct Importers of all Indian Foodstuffs, Hardware, Piece Goods, Fancy Goods, Stationery, etc.

*Inquiries from Overseas  
Manufacturers Invited*

Fig. Thirteen: Choonilall Bros. General Merchants and Direct Importers (SAWWCD 1936-1937, 1935:xxviii)

Choonilall Bros. is an example of most general dealers, which traded in records and imported Indian food, spices, textiles, ceremonial goods, magazines, and stationery for religious festivals: further examples of portable culture which helped Indian South Africans to maintain their South Asian cultural ties. E.A. Tyeb & Co, Moosa Kharsani, Roopanand Brothers, N. Manickum, Kapitan Balcony Hotel, Padbro Stores, Pyramid Stores, M.M. Sulaman, and Saraswati Stores were all advertising a combination of mixed goods from India in the Indian South African press.

Specialist music and general dealers were a small but important part of the local Indian South African autonomous economy, by which I mean that they were not reliant on white capital and their business interests consisted largely of serving the needs of an immigrant society in search of maintaining cultural ties with "home". Being an area of South African trade which did not threaten white economic domination, licenses to deal in Indian goods seem to have been readily granted where other types of licenses were refused on the basis of "overtrading".

The big music import businesses were established initially by passenger immigrants. However, between 1911 and 1946, Indian labourers, no longer tied to indenture, left the agricultural field of occupation both as labourers and then as small farmers due to "rising rents, lack of finance and for more attractive opportunities in commerce and industry in the urban areas" (Arkin 1989:46). It is highly probable that many of the smaller record and instrument retailers were prompted by this general trend and were settlers who had completed their indenture service, or were the children of farmers who had left agriculture.

Large sums were not required for capital investment by the retailers since the major cost of importing was born by one or two companies which then distributed stock in small quantities to small regional dealers.

By 1936, 69.5% of Indian South Africans resided in urban areas (Arkin 1989:57). It was to this urban population that imported Indian records were being sold through an astonishingly large number of dealers. There were at least thirty-one retail dealers advertising intermittently between 1930 and 1970. If all these dealers were selling the records they were advertising in great numbers and varieties, then records were being sold in relatively large quantities considering the small size of the population - a total of 219 691 Indian South Africans in 1936, 285 260 in 1946, and 366 664 in 1951 (Brijlal 1989:27).

Advertisements of imported records appear in South Asian vernacular languages and scripts from at least as early as 1930 (see e.g. Moosa Kharsani, E.A. Tyeb's, Shahenshahi Music Saloon, and Goshalia's advertisements in Indian Views and Indian Opinion). But from the forties advertisements were almost exclusively in English, rendering them more accessible for the purposes of this study. It is not clear exactly when the first records were imported, partly because of the vernacular nature of these early advertisements,<sup>6</sup> but I have received reports of Indian His Masters Voice and Columbia labels being purchased in the 1920s.<sup>7</sup>

The significance of Amulakh Narbheram Goshalia goes beyond simply his being one of the earliest music merchants. The record importing and distribution of His Masters Voice and Columbia was dominated, with one or two dramatic interruptions, almost exclusively by the Goshalia family from the late 1930s. Amulakh Narbheram Goshalia's business was

developed extensively by his son, Ramniklal Amulakh, into one which affected many record and film retailers. Goshalia, in partnership with the Johannesburg-based C. Kamaludin, operated as sole agent for Columbia (Indian Views 21 April 1933:18) from 1933, and from 1938, for Columbia, H.M.V. and The Twin (Indian Views 24 June 1938:23).

In the early years, the monopoly was much less monolithic. For example, the Bombay-born merchant Fidahusen Mahomed Ally was responsible for the importing and distribution of His Masters Voice. Initially, a partner in the firm E.A. Tyeb & Co. which first added a department selling His Masters Voice records and musical instruments, Ally later established The Orient Music Saloon (SAIWWCD 1936-1937, 1935:56).<sup>8</sup> E.A. Tyeb advertised exclusively His Masters Voice on a regular basis through 1930. The Orient Music Saloon advertised itself as "Agent for HMV" in 1933 (Indian Views 10 March 1933:24) and in 1934 (Indian Opinion 2 November 1934:n.p.). But by February 1938, by which time the effects of the 1931 EMI merger would have been well in place, Goshalia, via the Radio Record and Trading Company, had gained the sole agency for His Masters Voice, Columbia and The Twin. Orient Music Saloon continued to challenge Goshalia's by importing records made by companies in India that were independent of The Gramophone Company of India, such as those on the Young India label which, between 1935 and 1948, were distributed by Orient Music Saloon (Indian Views 17 April 1942:4). They also developed a line of gramophones called Orento (Indian Views 16 February 1940:10). A large part of The Orient Music Saloon's record business, however, seems to have remained as the retailing of H.M.V. (see Indian Views 16 June 1939:15) records which they now clearly had to buy from the Radio Record and Trading Company.

# Columbia

## સ્પેશીઅલ રેકોર્ડ

ઓરીએન્ટ રેકોર્ડ ૪)૬



નં. L.B.E. 50 હિંદ માટે  
મહાત્માજીનો આસ  
સંદેશો. કીમત ૭/૬



અચતાક હુશેન



મીસીસ અરોજીની નાયકુંબો 'હિંદમાં અધકાર'  
વિષયનો હૃદયભેદક સંદેશો.  
નં. L.B.E. 51 કી. ૭/૬



MAGIC NOTES  
TRADE MARK



હાજીમીયાં કમાલશાહ

ઈન્ડિયન મશહુર ગવઈયા હશન ખાન

245037 દમરી તોરી કદાં અનેગી 245048 ખુદા કે વારને ડીને ખખર  
245071 ગવઈયા કયા ખખર હે. 245102 મુજબો મીટાકે નેન આયા  
245042 ગમે મુસવ્વરોમે બનર હેને કોને

હાજીમીયાં કમાલશાહ

રાંદેર અને ગુજરાતનો નામીયા ગવઈયા

245050 દમ આગેસ વોહ માહે વકા દોરવા હે 245117 ન ખુદા કો અવસો શબ્દને  
245051 હામને એકમર લોખ લોકકે વગે. 245100 વખતે રૂબરૂન યીનેમે મુજ  
245176 એક સંગે દીલ દસીનકો દિલબર ખનાએગે

મુસ્તાક હુશેન

ખરેલીનો મશહુર કબ્વાલ, જેણે મુખ્યમાં પાતાના રેકોર્ડોથી હુમ મચાવી લીધી  
છે અને દુન્યા આ મુશતાકની મુશતાક છે.

245101 જલાવને તો જલા કરોને. 245044 દોહરે ખીલવાહ હે પ્રસ બુને ખેપીરને  
245034 હમ તો ફરખાનદેવે આંખ ઝાલકે 245075 શીર તલ હ દોને બગી તલવારકી  
245048 દેખ દેખ મન લલચાયે.

માસ્તર ગુલ મોહમદ

મતખારને ચાર ગવઈયા

GIT:8 અપ મંજે ફગમે કુદરત GIT:25 તદિ ધનતા ખ્યારી સતાયા કરો.

માસ્તર ગેશી

N501 લુમ ખી-ય આલીશાદ હો. N502 દેવ ધડી વસ્કો ન મીલી તમામ રાત

હાજીજા હીલમીના મીશરી અરખી ગાયન

અને ઍન્ટ રેકોર્ડો

13251 13288  
13252 13211  
13253 13314

SOLE AGENTS:

**C. KAMALUDIN**

35 Commisioner Street,  
Johannesburg.

&  
**Goshalia's Music Saloon**

131 Queen Street.

Durban.

Goshalia's, on the other hand, seems to have limited their imports strictly to The Gramophone Company of India products, i.e. mostly His Masters Voice, Columbia, and The Twin<sup>9</sup> labels. My study of vintage press advertisements and collections of surviving imported Indian 78 r.p.m. records, such as those held in the South African Broadcasting Corporation archive, the University of Durban-Westville Documentation Centre, the University of Durban-Westville Music Library, and private collections, has revealed the overwhelming predominance of H.M.V., Columbia, and The Twin, over other labels imported to South Africa. The commercial strength of these labels was not limited to the South African setting. Verma (1992:228) suggests that the "story of the old gramophone records in India is, to a very large extent, the story of operations of The Gramophone Co."

It is not yet clear whether Goshalia's sole agency also controlled the importation of Odeon records, which was also a Gramophone Company of India product. Records on the Hutchins, Regal, Star Hindustani Record, New Theatres, National, Awaz, Shahenshahi, Dilruba, and Senola labels which I have also found in local record collections, though with much smaller representation, were probably produced by subsidiaries of The Gramophone Company of India, or the relatively rare independents, and imported by smaller dealers such as D. Roopanand Brothers and Shahenshahi Music Saloon.

In 1938, with a "great sale" to launch them, Indian records with the EMI-produced His Masters Voice, Columbia, and The Twin labels were distributed under the monopoly of the Radio Record and Trading Company which was the wholesale branch of Goshalia's (Indian Views 23 February 1938:23). In 1940, the Radio Record and Trading Company advertised

itself as wholesalers and retailers of H.M.V. and Columbia records, "all kinds of musical instruments", "Hindustani, Gujarati, Tamil, Arabic, English, Afrikaans and Native records", and as "distributors to other shops" (The Leader 14 December 1940:2). During the fifties, Goshalia's partnership controlling the import of H.M.V. and Columbia included Goshalia's, Durban; Radio Record Trading Co., Durban; and Raman and Co., Johannesburg. They were the "sole distributors in Union of South Africa and British Protectorates" [sic] (The Leader 22 October 1954:5), i.e. with a sole agency to supply much of Southern and East Africa.

Goshalia, through the Radio Record Trading Company, was able to establish extensive control over the record importing business due to his position as a passenger Indian who had "wealth that could be converted into capital", and "friends and partners" (Maasdoorp and Pillay 1979:240) in India who could provide an infrastructure and facilitate a flow of goods. His other areas of commercial interest included the importation, distribution and screening of Indian films, the latter through Mayville Theatres Ltd., Naaz Cinema (Pty.) Ltd., and Indo-African Film Distributing Agency. The first Indian film, it was claimed, was brought to South Africa by Goshalia senior (SAIWW 1960:84).

Indian records being distributed by the Radio Record and Trading Company represented a repertoire generally in circulation in India. Gronow characterises that corpus as art music, military bands, comedians, "acculturated songs with European instruments - in fact anything that might interest the primarily urban record-buying public" (1981: 274). This description could well describe the type of records being imported to South Africa in the early years.<sup>10</sup>

**GREAT SALE  
FOR**

# His Master's Voice, Columbia, AND TWIN RECORDS

3/-                      3/-                      3/-                      3/-

ਇਸ ਵੱਡੇ ਵੇਚਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਡੀ ਖਾਸੀ ਸੰਚਾਲਕ ਨੰ. 6933 ਕਾਨਸਟੈਂਟ ਡੈਂਜਰ ਆ ਫਿਰਮਾ ਦੀ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਵਾਲੀ ਰੀਡਿੰਗ  
ਜਾਂ ਪੌਰੀਆ ਦੇ ਤੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਸੰਚਾਲਕ ਦੇ ਸੰਚਾਲਕ ਸਿੱਧਾ ਹੋ ਤੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਕਾਰੀਰ ਸੁਝੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਚਲੇ. ਇਸਦਾ ਨੰਬਰ 6932  
ਸੰਚਾਲਕ ਪੌਰੀਆ ਨੂੰ ਉਸਦੀ ਆਵਾਜ਼: "ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਵਾਂਗ ਆਈਸੀ ਕਰਮੀ". ਵੀਲੀਆ ਸੰਚਾਲਕ ਨੰ. 6931  
"ਮਾਮੀ ਸਾਡੀ ਆਰੇ ਕਾਲੀ ਕਾਰੀ ਸੇਕ ਪਿਯਾਰ". ਇਸਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਨੰ. 6931 ਦੇ ਉਪਰੋਕਤ ਸੰਚਾਲਕ ਸੰਚਾਲਕ ਸੁਣੇ  
ਤੇ ਪੌਰੀਆ ਦੀ ਸੁਣ ਰੀਡਿੰਗ ਨੰ. 6931 ਦੇ ਨੰਬਰ ਵਾਲੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਰੀਡਿੰਗ ਹੋ.

6810 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ }  
6816 ਖੇਡ ਰੁੱਖੇ ਗੋਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਕੌਣੇ ਸੋਝੇ } ਨਵੇਂ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਰੀਡਿੰਗ.  
6910 ਕੁਝ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਣੀ ਆਖਣੀ ਆਖਣੀ }  
ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ }  
ਖੇਡ ਰੁੱਖੇ ਗੋਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਕੌਣੇ ਸੋਝੇ }  
ਕੁਝ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਣੀ ਆਖਣੀ ਆਖਣੀ }

**ਮਾਸਟਰ ਈਕੋਰੀਡੀਨ**

- 6774 ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਮੁੱਠੇ ਮੁੱਠੇ ਮੁੱਠੇ ਮੁੱਠੇ ਮੁੱਠੇ ਮੁੱਠੇ
- 6804 ਮੇਰੇ ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6820 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6829 ਮੇਰੇ ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6829 ਮੇਰੇ ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6920 ਮੇਰੇ ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**ਮੋਹੰਮਦ ਅਲੀ ਕੁਵਾਈ**

- 6835 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6845 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6832 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6771 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6547 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6881 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**ਪ੍ਰਾੜ ਕੁਵਾਈ**

- 6787 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6815 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6836 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6772 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6882 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**ਗੋਲ ਕੁਵਾਈ**

- 6475 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6719 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6866 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- 6912 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**ਮੋਹੰਮਦ ਅਲੀ ਕੁਵਾਈ**

ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
6857 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
6828 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**ਮੁਰਦ ਅਤੇ ਆਲੋਚਨਾ**

6864 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**ਗੋਲ ਕੁਵਾਈ ਦੇ ਆਲੋਚਨਾ ਰੀਡਿੰਗ**

- P.E. 27 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- P.E. 30 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- P.E. 7 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- P.E. 23 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- G.E. 4710 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- G.E. 4711 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- G.E. 4705 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- G.E. 1410 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ
- G.E. 4723 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**ਮੋਹੰਮਦ ਅਲੀ ਕੁਵਾਈ**

ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
G.E. 743 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
757 ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ  
ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕੁੱਝ

**RADIO RECORD TRADING CO.,**  
88 VICTORIA STREET, DURBAN.  
SOLE INDIAN AGENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Fig. Fifteen: Great Sale for His Masters Voice, Columbia and Twin Records (Indian Views 4 February 1938:23)



Hear Them on . . .

**"HIS MASTER'S VOICE" and "COLUMBIA"**

The *FINEST* Recording in the World



**GREETINGS!**

THE DIRECTORS AND STAFF WISH ALL THEIR CUSTOMERS & FRIENDS A HAPPY DEEPAWALI AND A PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR



**DIWALI RELEASES**

POONAM	4 Rec.	1 11 0
POOJA	3 Rec.	1 3 3

**TAMIL FILM RECORDS**

SYAMALA	5 Rec.	1 18 9
CHINADORAI	5 Rec.	1 18 9
JATHAKAM	2 Rec.	15 6
KAJGAL	3 Rec.	1 3 3
AULUV	2 Rec.	15 6
NALWAR	2 Rec.	15 6
CHANDRAHARAM	4 Rec.	1 11 0
MAUGAMAH	1 Rec.	7 9
AMARAKAABI	5 Rec.	1 18 9
AMMA	3 Rec.	1 3 3
ITHAYA GEETHAM	2 Rec.	15 6
KANNIKA	6 Rec.	2 6 6
KRISHNA BAKTHI	6 Rec.	2 6 6
LIFE	6 Rec.	2 6 6
MADMAN	1 Rec.	7 9
MANTHRI KUMARI	3 Rec.	1 3 3
GNANASOUNDARI	4 Rec.	1 11 0
NALLATHAMBI	6 Rec.	2 6 6
ONE NIGHT	6 Rec.	2 6 6
PAVALAKODI	2 Rec.	15 6
VANASUNDARI	2 Rec.	15 6
VALAIKARAN	5 Rec.	1 3 3

**HINDUSTANI FILM RECORDS**

POONAM	4 Rec.	1 11 0
ANARKALI	6 Rec.	2 6 6
AAN	5 Rec.	1 18 9
AMBER	6 Rec.	2 6 6
ALBELA	6 Rec.	2 6 6
ANHONEE	3 Rec.	1 3 3
AFSANA	5 Rec.	1 18 9
AWAARA	5 Rec.	1 18 9
AAH	5 Rec.	1 18 9
BAAZI	4 Rec.	1 11 0
BALJU BAWRA	7 Rec.	2 14 3
BARI BEHEN	4 Rec.	1 11 0
DAAG	4 Rec.	1 11 0
DEEDAR	5 Rec.	1 18 9
HAMLOG	4 Rec.	1 11 0
JAAL	4 Rec.	1 11 0
JUGNU	5 Rec.	1 18 9
NAUJAWAN	3 Rec.	1 3 3
SANGEETA	5 Rec.	1 18 9
SAGAI	5 Rec.	1 18 9
SAQI	5 Rec.	1 18 9
SAJAN	4 Rec.	1 11 0
TARANA	5 Rec.	1 18 9
SUPNA	5 Rec.	1 18 9
SURDAS	4 Rec.	1 11 0
APNA DESH	4 Rec.	1 11 0
BARSAAT	5 Rec.	1 18 9
RAMZAAN KI BARKAT	1 Rec.	7 9
NAU JAWAN (Indl)	1 Rec.	7 9
POOJA	3 Rec.	1 3 3

**LOOSE RECORDS**

TAMIL : D. K. PATAMMAL AND DEVANARAYANAN

HINDI: NEW NUMBERS BY PANKAJ MULLICK

**QAWALI RECORDS**

ISMAIL AZAD QAWAL

- \* MOHAMED RAFI \*
- \* HABIB PAINTER \*
- \* ABDUL REHIMAN \*
- YOSUF AZAD - ISMAIL AZAD
- \* EBRAHIM IQBAL \*
- \* SHAIK LALL \*
- AND MANY OTHERS

7/9 EACH

YOUR FAVOURITE ARTISTS SING FOR YOU ON

**FUTURE RELEASES IN TAMIL**

LUKSHMI	2 Rec.	15 6
MAN AND THE BEAST	3 Rec.	1 3 3
THAYULLAM	2 Rec.	15 6
LOST LOVE	1 Rec.	7 9
ASAI MAGAN	1 Rec.	7 9



*The Sound of Quality*  
GREATEST ARTISTS - FINEST RECORDING

Coshalla's specialise in Musical Instruments and Film Records in Hindustani, Tamil and Telugu. Always in stock: Latest Hand and Leg Press Harmoniums, Silver Earrings, Silver Bangles, Brassware, Ivoryware, Leather Goods.



SOLE DISTRIBUTORS OF  
**H.M.V. AND COLUMBIA INDIAN RECORDS**  
THROUGHOUT THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND BRITISH PROTECTORATES  
TRADE INQUIRIES:

**Raman & Co. (Pty) Ltd.**  
GENERAL WHOLESALE MERCHANTS  
179a GREY STREET, DURBAN  
Phone 2-5806

**COSHALLA'S**  
179a GREY STREET, DURBAN  
Phone 2-5806 Tel. Add.: "Coshalla's"

Depots:  
RADIO RECORD TRADING Co.  
38a MARKET ST., BARCLAY'S ARCADE  
JOHANNESBURG  
Phone 33-7255

RAMAN & Co. (Pty) Ltd.,  
90a VICTORIA STREET — PHONE 2-1843  
DURBAN

Fig. Sixteen: Sole Distributors of H.M.V. and Columbia Indian Records throughout the Union of South Africa and British Protectorates (*The Leader* 22 October 1954)

But from the 1940s, film music had come to dominate the record-producing industry, with advertisements in South Africa increasingly announcing new releases "from the film ...". H.M.V. and Columbia records coming into South Africa also included devotional songs (called "basics" on record labels) and dramatisations of religious and mythological epics (Jackson 1988:162). H.M.V. was the most important label in India between 1940 and 1960, attracting all the top singing artists and having the largest repertoire in classical and popular music (Manuel 1993:66).

The "Afrikaans and Native records" being advertised by the Radio Record and Trading Company in 1940 probably included Zonophone and Columbia Afrikaans and black South African recordings. Zonophone was recording music performed by black migrant workers on the gold mines and music performed by black middle-class choirs in Johannesburg from 1912 (Stapleton and May 1987:259). By the end of the twenties, Zonophone had recorded "records in Xhosa and Sesotho alongside the Zonophone collections of dixieland, waltzes and Sousa bands, and Afrikaans piano and vocal music" (Stapleton and May 1987:263). From 1929, Columbia was also recording Afrikaans and "native" music (Stapleton and May 1987:264). It seems that Goshalia's network was also substantially responsible for the distribution of non-Indian South African recordings to Indian South African retail dealers at least until the forties, and possibly even later.

Through the Radio Record Trading Company, the Goshalia family was importing its Indian music records directly from the British-owned Gramophone Company of India.<sup>11</sup> As separate United Kingdom-based multinational rival companies, the Gramophone Co. (His

Masters Voice), and the Columbia Graphophone Co. had dominated wholesale and retail sales in the Indian South African record distribution industry until 1931. In 1931, Gramophone and Graphophone merged to form EMI (Electric and Musical Industries) (Gronow 1981:251), which, through GCI, thereafter controlled distribution through Goshalia's until the end of the forties.<sup>12</sup>

The Gramophone Company of India was established in 1908 in Calcutta and moved to a bigger factory in Dum Dum in 1929. For seventy years GCI "enjoyed a virtual monopoly in India". It did so, according to Manuel, "by establishing exclusive distribution arrangements with most retailers, and by owning the only record-pressing factory in the country" (1993:37). As we have seen above, the Radio Record and Trading Co. was GCI's, and thus EMI's exclusive distributor to British Southern and Eastern Africa, material evidence towards Graham's observation that EMI, along with Decca, "controlled not only the British market but that of the entire British Empire" (1988:13; cited by Manuel 1993:23).

Manuel observes that from 1908 to the late sixties, Gramophone Company of India had few indigenous rivals. These included the shortlived Binapari, the more successful Ramagraph, Viel-o-phone, the "classical music label" Broadcast Records, and the "more overtly nationalistic" Young India which was founded in 1935. Apart from the Young India records which were manufactured by the National Gramophone Company in Bombay,<sup>13</sup> all of these small independent companies had their records pressed by GCI. GCI also issued records under the labels of various subsidiaries (Manuel 1993:38).

THE  
MUSIC  
GEMS


ON

*Broadcast*  
RECORDS

The Eastern Music Emporium  
General Merchants  
Direct Importers  
100 Victoria St., Durban, Natal

MAY

1937.



RAJAMANIKAM PILLAI

Fig. Seventeen: The Music Gems on Broadcast (Broadcast Records/The Eastern Emporium May Brochure 1937: A.G. Pillay private collection)

Apart from the independent Young India records which were circulated by The Orient Music Saloon, independent Broadcast<sup>14</sup> records, which were more expensive "heavy" classical records of high quality, seem to have found their way into South Africa as samples given to some of the small importers/retail distributors, such as The Eastern Music Emporium (General Merchants and Direct Importers), and Manicum Music saloon. These were then given without charge to a tiny circle of friends who were passionate lovers of classical music. There was no viable market for the more expensive classical records in South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s (Pillay, A.G. 1994: Per telephone).

Apart from these few independent Indian labels being circulated in South Africa, it may be seen that EMI, which was to become the largest record company in the world (Manuel 1993:38), had extended its monopolistic capitalist grip on the third world by restricting the importation of GCI Indian music records into the Indian diaspora in the British colonies to exclusive distribution outlets, thus creating expedient monopolistic holdings in the countries of destination. Goshalia's was the exclusive South African importer/ distributor of H.M.V., Columbia, and The Twin, and as such, up until 1946, Goshalia's was to benefit enormously by sharing in EMI's great wealth-generating monopoly. To a smaller extent, GCI also gained by the circulation and sales in South Africa of labels produced by its subsidiaries. However, as will be seen later, Goshalia's group, the other small importers, and all their dependent small retailers, i.e. all businesses reliant on GCI products, were also temporarily almost to be destroyed by their monopolistic dependence on the Indian giant of the record industry.

## **Indian South African Record Manufacturing - Now Hear Them On the Record -**

### **Cavalcade : 1942 - 1945**

Imported Indian records and films were never really easily accessible to the majority of Indian South Africans. Indeed, at certain junctures, it became extremely difficult and at others, completely impossible to keep up with the current repertoire in India.

It was so difficult for us to get music from there. I mean you'd see one film, a good film in six months, it was difficult, and then money, and then the venue, you didn't have so many theatres and cinemas and things like that, you didn't get so much of music coming out, so we made our own music here, we sort of improvised (Sushila Rani<sup>15</sup> 1994:Interview).

Apart from the lack of venues, the financial difficulties of the Indian South African working class and petit bourgeoisie, the first major constraint to the importing of films and records was caused by the restrictions on cargo shipping imposed by the British and Union governments during the Second World War.

Before the war, from 1933,<sup>16</sup> according to my earliest vintage press reference (Indian Views 23 June 1933:11), Indian talkies had joined imported Indian records as the most significant sources of recreation and Indian cultural renewal. Prior to that, only "European"<sup>17</sup> films had been available for Indian South African viewers. Press cinema advertisements from the period leading up to the war indicate a growing emphasis on Indian films.

However, from 1941, as war shipping conditions started to affect import trade, there were signs that a great number of "European" films were being shown exclusively, or alongside "returns"<sup>18</sup> of Indian films, war films, and war documentaries. Between 1941 and 1943, Sonja Henning, Al Jolson, Carmen Miranda, Betty Grable, Gene Autry, Lilian Russell, Paul Robeson, and Benny Goodman were the most commonly featured film actors. They

appeared in films like "Rose of Washington Square", itself a twenty-year-old film, (The Leader 6 September 1941:7), "South of the Border" (The Leader 6 September 1941:7), "Saunders of the River" (The Leader 13 September 1941:7), "Down Argentine Way" (The Leader 22 November 1941:7), and "Song of the Island" (The Leader 13 March 1943:7). They were increasingly replacing Sabita Devi, Ashok Kumar, and M.S. Subbulakshmi, and films like "Chingari", "Kangan", and "Seva Sadhanam". Cinema houses such as the Avalon Super Cinema De Luxe and Krishna Theatre were forced to resort to this film repertoire despite the passionate following that Indian films were evoking (The Leader 30 November 1940:2). Optimistically, the Mayville Theatre was developed as "The Only All Indian Picture House in South Africa" whose policy was "to exhibit Indian Pictures which virtually BRINGS INDIA to the Indian people of this country" (The Leader 25 July 1942:6), but all Indian South African cinema houses were having to bill re-runs. Due to the difficulties in importing current films during the war, advertising slogans such as the "Great Return Show" (The Leader 17 January 1942:7; 13 March 1943:7), the "last return show" (The Leader 13 March 1943:7), "brought back by general request" (The Leader 17 January 1942:7) appeared frequently in the press, and, rarely, "a new copy available in this country" (The Leader 29 November 1941:7). Or there were simply unacknowledged re-runs such as the showing of "Nandakumar" in September 1941 after having already been shown in May 1941 (The Leader 10 May 1941:7; 13 September 1941:7).

Similarly, records became increasingly difficult to import. Although Roopanand's, Goshalia's, and Orient Music Saloon were publishing large advertisements regularly in The Leader during 1940 and 1941, in 1942, these advertisements were reduced to two or three-line announcements, and between 1943 and 1945, they dwindled completely. A similar

scenario can be seen in Indian Views where the flow of Radio Record and Trading Company, Orient Music Saloon, Kohinoor Cafe, and Kismet Music Saloon advertisements started slowing down in 1942. There were few advertisements of imported records in 1943, 1944, and 1945.

In the absence of off-the-shelf popular culture, i.e. films and records, due to the war disruption of shipping, and thus ex-India imports, there was, instead, a dramatic upsurge of local live performances. Live music activities were also encouraged by the desire amongst Indian South Africans to contribute to war comfort funds. Even though some institutions like the Society for the Advancement of Music (i.e. the organisation which promoted the Indian South African eisteddfod)<sup>19</sup> donated money to war funds as opposed to comfort funds, most people were passionately opposed to promoting the government in its war effort (Indian Views 9 August 1940:9).

A steady increase in directly or indirectly war-generated activities such as the following can be seen, for example, from 1940:

- 1) variety concerts such as the Avalon "Happy Nights" series in aid of "the campaign for social reconstruction" (The Leader 30 January 1943:7; The Leader 18 March 1944:7);
- 2) Kardani (The Leader 7 February 1942:7; The Leader 22 January 1944:7), and Professor Ally (The Leader 1 April 1944:4), magic shows supported by local orchestras;
- 3) *qawwali* concerts by Shaffee Quawal (Indian Views 29 August 1941:4); Nisar Quawal (Indian Views 16 April 1943:21), and by Sultan Khan (Indian Views 17 March 1944:4);
- 4) shows entertaining returning troops on leave (e.g. by City Indian Rhythmics and City Indian Musical Club (The Leader 18 January 1941:6);
- 5) live shows to raise war comfort funds, hosted by cinema houses which were being largely



confined to showing war films and old westerns (e.g. Avalon "Grand Variety Concert in aid of Gifts and Comforts Fund for Coloured Troops, TIP-TOP TALENT plus a TIP-TOP PICTURE" (The Leader 13 December 1941:7);

6) live performances before film screening and during interval (e.g. Jazz Pirates and Rhythm Rascals at the Avalon Theatre The Leader 2 October 1943:7);

7) social club ballroom dancing entertainment at "Peter's Palais De Danse" (The Leader 7 13 November 1943:8), the "Ritz Palais De Danse" (The Leader 4 December 1943:4), and college student dance clubs (The Leader 27 May 1944:7);

8) dining out (The Leader 2 October 1943:6); and

9) beauty contests (The Leader 10 June 1944:4).

Even neo-traditional forms of devotional entertainment like the "21 well-sharpened ladder climbing" by M. Sunny Govender (The Leader 27 May 1944:7), and the performance of "old-style Hindi songs accompanied by traditional dancing" by the Riverside Dancing Company were brought back from the edge of oblivion at this time (The Leader 22 April 1944:4).

The Years 1944 and 1945, in particular, could be described as the time in which local "modern" Indian South African popular culture started to blossom. These popular cultural events are extremely significant for my discussion of the Indian South African music industry because the first Indian South African records, recorded and manufactured in Johannesburg, originated from this war-generated, active cultural growth.

In August 1944, the Cavalcade Record Company advertised a set of four records in Hindustani and Urdu (Indian Views 11 August 1944:2). The Cavalcade identity of these records is the key to a whole chain of events that served to focus popular culture at the

Introducing—

**HOTEL COSMO**  
71 BEATRICE STREET — DURBAN

*The Modern Non-European  
Residential Hotel . . . . .*

IT'S FASHIONABLE TO DINE AT THE COSMO

Phone 2-0070. Open till 2 a.m.

Fig. Eighteen: It's Fashionable to Dine at the Cosmo (The Leader 2 October 1945:6)

**CITY HALL  
DURBAN**

**KARDANI**

M.I.B.M. (U.S.A.), N.C.M.B. (PARIS)  
**Fantastic Magician**  
on  
**MONDAY, 24th JAN., 1944**

Doors open 6.30 p.m.  
Commencing 7.30 p.m.

**Net Proceeds in aid of the  
India Famine Relief Fund**

Music by the Famous Ranjeni Young-  
men's Orchestral Club (Gold Medallist  
Indian Eisteddfod 1939-1943). Prin-  
cipal: S. P. Reddy, Esq.

**All New! Startling! Amazing!  
Thrilling! All Different!**

Fig. Nineteen: Kardani - Fantastic Magician (The Leader 2 October 1943:7)

<p><b>DAILY</b> at 2.15 p.m. Phone 22612</p>	<p><b>AVALON</b> <i>Super Cinema De Luxe</i></p>	<p><b>NIGHTLY</b> at 7.45 p.m. Phone 22612</p>
<p><b>corner VICTORIA and ALBERT STREETS</b></p> <p>Clean, Cool, Comfortable, Perfect Sound, Perfect Projection.</p>		
<p><b>Monday, Tuesday &amp; Wednesday</b> October 4th, 5th and 6th</p> <p>A Striking Double Feature—</p> <p><b>Picture No. 1:</b> Killing is a man's game, but she made it a woman's profession.</p> <p><b>Who is Hope Schuyler</b></p> <p>With Joseph Allen (Junior), Mary Howard, Sheila Ryan Midnight Special: Sunday, October 3: <b>THUNDER BIRDS</b></p> <p><b>Picture No. 2:</b> GENE AUTRY in his greatest Western triumph—</p> <p><b>South of the Border</b></p>	<p><b>Thursday, Friday &amp; Saturday</b> October 7th, 8th and 9th</p> <p>A Feature Film—</p> <p><b>Little Tokyo U.S.A.</b></p> <p>The column behind the Fifth Column. Axis spawned traitors in a strange, sinister city within a city, right in the U.S.A.</p> <p><b>Starring Preston Foster and Brenda Joyce</b></p> <p><b>On the Stage—</b> Introducing something new for the evenings only— <b>"THE SWING METRONOMES"</b> (Jazz Pirates and Rhythm Rascals, Inc.) will delight patrons with music and songs—something new—before the commencement of pictures and during intervals.</p>	

Fig. Twenty: Jazz at the Avalon (The Leader 2 October 1943:7)

time. Durban's Thanksgiving Cavalcade was organised, it seems, to boost ethnically defined solidarity and morale during the Second World War by a loosely collaborative fund-raising drive for various worthy causes, some war-related, and some not. The joint Cavalcade itself, which included representation from all South African sectors, spread over one week in July 1944. Cavalcade Week included exhibition and market stalls at Albert Park, where the Indian sector would be positioned "between the Free French and Doll's section". Indian South Africans were encouraged to offer articles "of oriental nature" for display or for sale. Requests were made for "oriental" dancers and fortune tellers to come forward. Over months before and after that week, they would also be involved in physical culture and life-saving displays, and boxing, soccer and hockey matches. Prizes, including a free trip to Bombay and a full lounge suite, were being offered for lucky ticket holders by businesses such as Victoria Furniture Mart. Eddels shoe factory ran a Cavalcade Queen competition. Even the Friends of the Soviet Union presented a Russian war film in Aid of the Soviet Pavilion Cavalcade. Avalon Cinema offered the house takings for the showing of an Indian film. Films were advertised as "a thrill-packed cavalcade"; "a cavalcade of rhythm"; "a star-studded Cavalcade of the world's gayest blade".<sup>20</sup>

Live music performance Cavalcade events included a Sari Dance at Sastri College with the Ellington Swingette Orchestra of Johannesburg; a Cavalcade Ball at Peter's Palais de Dance [sic]<sup>21</sup> with the Six Swingster's Band; and a Grand Variety Concert By Leading Indian Artists at the Avalon (The Leader 22 July 1944:7).

And, of course, the Indian Radio Cavalcade, with director Yusuf Kat and lyricist/script-writer "Farooqi", was broadcasting its immensely popular Indian Programme radio editions

Fig. Twenty-one: Nisar Quawal and the "Radio Cavalcade" Boys  
 (Indian Views 16 April 1941:21)

# Grand Singing Concert

## Nisar Quawal

AND THE

### "Radio Cavalcade" Boys



Come And Hear This Party of Eight Artistes  
 Entertain You with Quawals & Latest  
 Film Songs.

Springbok Hal. Sunday 25th April at 9-15 p.m.  
 23rd St. VREDEDORP. JO'BURG.

For Booking and Particulars See Posters !

સંગિતનો જલસો  
 નિસાર કવાલ અને "રેડિયો કેવલકેડ" બોય્ઝ

આઠ સંગિતકારોની આ પાર્ટી તમને કવાલીઓ અને લેટસ્ટ ફિલ્મના ગાયનો સાંભળાવી તમારા મનોરંજન કરશે. આવી સાંભળવા ચુકશે નહિ.

સ્થળ : સ્પ્રિંગબોક હાલ, ૨૩મી સ્ટ્રીટ, ફ્રીડોર્પ, જોહાનનબર્ગ. રવિવાર તા. ૨૫ એપ્રિલના રાત્રે સવાનવ વાગે.

વધુ વિગતો અને બુકિંગ માટે પોસ્ટરો જુઓ !

of "Professor Jhundu" with Maya Devi, Ramchandra, Master Nisar, and the Indian Radio Orchestra. The Indian Radio Cavalcade was also presenting sell-out live shows, the first being Songtime featuring Maya Devi and the Cavalcade Record Orchestra with Hindustani, Tamil, and English songs. The performances took place in Johannesburg and Pretoria in the December/January season of 1943/1944 and again in November 1944 at the Avalon in Durban. "Current Comment By Spectator" in Indian Views reported that the hall was packed to capacity long before the start of the show. All artistes, he said, without exception, showed a high standard. He called it "the most outstanding Indian stage enterprise witnessed in this town." K.S. Naicker's orchestra "was a revelation to all" (Indian Views 1 December 1944:3).

The Durban showing appears to have been a repeat performance, with some changes, as a contribution to the general 1944 Cavalcade fund-raising exercise, having been commissioned by the Students' Bengal Medical Relief Committee of Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls School. Exploiting the multi-media performance experience of Indian Radio Cavalcade, Songtime advertisements (Indian Views 17 December 1943:6) invited fans thus:

You've Heard Them On The Air .....  
Now Hear Them On The Stage!

Stirred by all the Cavalcade activity in the absence of imported records, and stirred by the popularity of the Indian Radio Cavalcade broadcast programmes, and, more particularly, of Songtime, in August 1944, the Indian Radio Cavalcade Artistes released the first Indian South African-made records. In doing so, "a few enterprising Indians" established "a company in Durban for the production of gramophone records of Indian music in South

# MAYVILLE THEATRE

Daily at 2.30 and 7.30 p.m.  
MONDAY, 28th AUGUST

## DHIRAJ

(Hindi)

A RANJIT SUPER SOCIAL HIT

Dhiraj is a schoolmaster, his wife goes mad . . . He marries a deaf and dumb mute . . . Dhiraj is arrested for aiding smugglers . . . returns home to find the best possible solution . . . What was that solution?

Starring

Sitara, Ishwari, Khatoon, Noorjahan  
AND OTHERS

### COMING ATTRACTIONS

#### NAJMA

The mighty production  
for Eid.

#### DASIPEN

September 4.  
(in Tamil)

DAILY  
at 2.15 p.m.  
Phone 22812

## AVALON

Super Cinema De Luxe

NIGHTLY  
at 7.50  
Phone 22812

Monday and Tuesday

(August 28 and 29)

Morning Matinee: Monday at 10.30  
A DOUBLE PROGRAMME

Picture No. 1—

### The Lone-Star Ranger

Starring

John Kimborough, Jonathan Hale  
and Sheila Ryan

Picture No. 2—

THE

### Great Train Robbery

with

Bob Steele, Clair Carleton  
and others

Plus Serial, Episode 6—

Hawk of the Wilderness

Wed., Thurs., Fri. and Sat.

(August 30 and 31, Sept 1 and 2)

A long-awaited bombshell with  
plenty of thrills and spills.

### SPITFIRE

Starring

LESLIE HOWARD

DAVID NIVEN

and Pilots and Personnel of the  
R.A.F. Fighter Command.

NOTE: The Serial will be  
shown again at the Morning  
and Afternoon Matinees on  
Saturday.

## INDIAN RADIO CAVALCADE ARTISTS

NOW  
SINGING  
ON



## Cavalcade Records

24/- Set of Four Records  
(Hindustani and Urdu)

ASK YOUR RECORD DEALER

Trade Enquiries:—

CAVALCADE RECORD CO.

148 GREY STREET

DURBAN

TAMIL RECORDS UNDER PRODUCTION

Fig. Twenty-two: Indian Radio Cavalcade Presents Maya Devi in Songtime (The Leader 18 November 1944:7)

Africa." This was the Cavalcade Record Company, which intended "producing 100 per cent. South African Indian records introducing local Indian musicians, singers and composers" (Indian Views 25 August 1944:2).

The first advertisement modestly announced a set of four records in Hindustani and Urdu for twenty-four shillings (Indian Views 11 August 1944:2).<sup>22</sup> The second, with more flair, announced that Indian Radio Cavalcade Artistes were now available on Cavalcade Records, were "Made in South Africa", and that Tamil Records were under production.

You've Heard Them on the Air!  
You've Heard Them on the Stage!!  
Now Hear Them on the Records!!!

(Indian Views 25 August 1944:2)

Cavalcade records seem to encapsulate a sense of modernity which certain sections of the Indian South African population were celebrating. Having been exposed now to two decades of a rapidly industrialising capitalist economy, which included continuous reference to modern icons in press advertisements, modern metaphors in Euro-American films and records, modern technology in urban occupations, modern objectives in education and reform religions, it would have been strange indeed if Indian South African cultural practices had not reflected a modernising influence. The glamorous modern theme of "hot jazz", a term sometimes used to describe the popular "swinging" Eastern and Western film-derived music of the time, and which conjured images of a "hot" way of modern urban life, was central to the redefined Bollywood filmsongs that were parodied on the Cavalcade records. The *filmi ghazal* songs<sup>23</sup> on the Cavalcade records seem to have been drawn from the Songtime programme, which consisted largely of covers or parodies from films such as "Ali Baba", "Kapal Koondla", "Jhoola", and "Kismet". Most of these films had been shown



Indian Radio

**CAVALCADE**

Artistes



Now Singing on

**CAVALCADE  
RECORDS**

Made in South Africa.

**24/-** Set of 4  
Records  
(Hindustani & Urdu)

You've heard them on the Air !  
You've heard them on the Stage!!  
Now hear them on the Records!!!

Trade Enquiries :

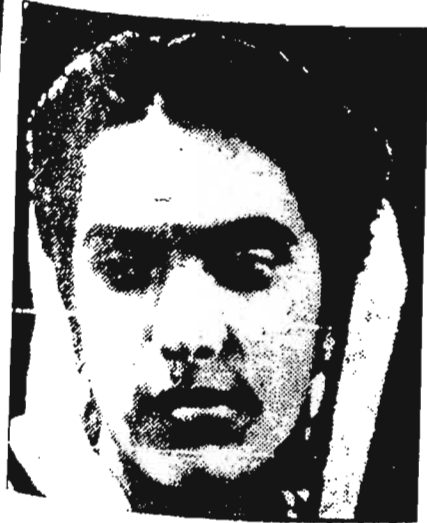
**CAVALCADE RECORD Co.,**  
168 Grey St., Durban.

Tamil Records Under Production - 1

Fig. Twenty-three: Now Hear Them on the Record (Indian Views  
25 August 1944:2)



Fig. Twenty-four: Indian Radio Cavalcade Presents Sing Baby Sing (The Leader 30 June 1944:7



**DONATION CARDS**

Obtainable at:—  
**CAFE DE LUXE,**  
Stalls 11 & 12, Indian Market  
**VICTORIA FISH &  
CHIP SALOON,**  
Opp. Avalon.

**IN AID OF INDIAN EDUCATIONAL FUND**

INDIAN RADIO CAVALCADE presents

**SING, BABY, SING**

STARRING 4 GREAT GIRLS

Maya Devi      Samadhanam      Gnanam Devi      Sushila Rani  
Master Nisar      Hamid      Ramchandra      David      Subbiah  
and the CAVALCADE RECORD ORCHESTRA led by K. S. NAIKER

Plus APPLESAMY and JAZZBANGH, the two South African Nuts.

**EVEN GREATER THAN THE GREAT "SONGTIME"**

**AVALON,**

**SUNDAY, 8th JULY, at 2.30 p.m.**

SPONSORED BY: VICTORY SOCIAL CLUB

**MAYA DEVI** SINGS FOR YOU ON **CAVALCADE RECORDS** FROM ROOPANAND, PYRAMID, ORIENT

CAVALCADE'S  
DE-LUXE  
PRODUCTION

# 'SING BABY SING'



**AVALON SUN. 8<sup>TH</sup> JULY AT 2.30 P.M.**

IF YOU DON'T BOOK  
YOU'LL MISS THE  
SHOW

**MAYA DEVI SINGS FOR YOU ON CAVALCADE RECORDS**

Dealers: ROOPANAND BROS.  
ORIENT MUSIC SALOON  
PYRAMID STORES.

Fig. Twenty-five: Cavalcade's Deluxe Production Sing Baby Sing  
(Maya Devi private collection)



Fig. Twenty-six: Songtime Programme (Maya Devi private collection)

## SOUVENIR.

1. C.R.C. ORCHESTRA ..... Film : "ALI BABA"
2. HAMID ..... SONG ..... Film : "UJALA "
3. RAMCHANDRA ..... SONG ..... Film :  
"KAPAL KOONDLA"
4. PROF. JAZBANCH ..... IMPERSONATION
5. MAYA DEVI ..... "MALAN" ..... Comp.:  
Advocate HAZAREE
6. RAMCHANDRA ..... SONG ..... "I.R.C."
7. MAYA & HAMID ..... DUET ..... Film : "JHOOLA "
8. PROF. JAZBANCH ..... IMPERSONATION
9. SHANTA KUMARI ..... SONG ..... TAMIL
10. HAMID ..... "MOTOR DRIVER" ..... Comp.: "KAT"
11. Master NISAR ..... SONG ..... Comp.: "BEHZAD "
12. PROF. JAZBANCH ..... IMPERSONATION
13. BABY ZARINA ..... RHUMBA ..... TAMIL
14. MAYA DEVI ..... SONG ..... Film : "KISMET "
15. C.R.C. ORCHESTRA ..... "IN THE MOOD "
16. I.R.C. AT THE BROADCASTING STUDIO.
17. SHANTA & ANAND ..... DUET ..... TAMIL
18. RAMCHANDRA ..... SONG ..... Film : "DOCTOR"
19. MAYA DEVI ..... SONG ..... Film : "ARMAN"
20. APPLESAMY & JAZBANCH  
"SOUTH AFRICAN NUTS "
21. Master NISAR ..... SONG ..... Comp.: "AHMAD "
22. BABY ZARINA ..... DANCE ..... Film : "ZAMINDAR"
23. MAYA DEVI ..... SONG ..... Film : "ZAMINDAR"
24. RAMCHANDRA ..... BHAJAN ..... Film : "DURGA"
25. SHANTA & HAMID ..... DUET ..... Comp.:  
"FAROOKI "
26. MAYA DEVI ..... SONG ..... Film : "SAHELI "
27. ZARINA & HAMID ..... RHUMBA  
Comp.: "KAT "
28. I.R.C. COMPANY ..... CHORUS  
Film : "MUSAFIR "

— I N T E R V A L —

— T H E E N D —



Fig. Twenty-eight: Maya Devi (Maya Devi private collection)





Fig. Twenty-nine: Cavalcade Record Label and Sleeve ("Farooqi" Mehtar collection, University of Durban-Westville)

**LAST SHIPMENT OF GRAMOPHONE RECORDS  
JUST ARRIVED**

Dear Musical Friends,

We have great pleasure in informing you of the Last Shipment of Indian Records to come since the export for South Africa is banned. We again ask you to make your selection without any delay from this list. We will do our very best to meet your demand. Packing charges, 3-6 extra.



**FILM SETS**

Prem Sangeet ...	6 Records	56/-
Kismet ...	6 Records	56/-
Man-ki-Jeet ...	4 Records	37/4
Pahele Aap ...	6 Records	56/-
Ramrajya ...	6 Records	56/-
Pagli Duniya ...	5 Records	46/8
Lagan N.T. ...	5 Records	46/8
Chand Tara ...	5 Records	46/8
Begum ...	5 Records	46/8
Rattan ...	5 Records	46/8
Sangand, N.T. ...	4 Records	37/4
Jawani ...	4 Records	37/4
Ban Phool ...	4 Records	37/4
Sakeli ...	3 Records	28/-
Raj Laxmi ...	2 Records	18/8
Amceere ...	2 Records	18/8
Shree Ramaniya	2 Records	18/8

**LATEST QUAWLI RECORDS**

Panna Quawal, Taj H1208, 1147, 1168 ...	28/-
Iboo Quawal, K.L.M. 120, 125, 113, 114, 181, 881 ...	56/-
Bashir Quawal, K.L.M. 172, 176, 173, 163 ...	37/4
Salimullah Quawal, 114, 115, 163, 261, 262, 929 ...	52/6

**DELHI SIGNATURE TUNE**

That you hear daily from Delhi. 3 Records ... 28/-

**YOUR FAVOURITE FILM TUNE (INST.).**

Ramrajya, Kismet, Jhoola, Khandaan, Basant, Tansen Shadi, Khazanchi, Jawab ... 56/-  
Sold in Sets according to your order.

Classical Instrumental Records on Clarinet, Flute, Sitar Violin, Mouth Organ, Dil-rihubar, Set ... 56/-

National, Drama, Artee Records, including large numbers of other records in stock.

Apply according to your request. Reply will be prompt.

**D. ROOPANAND BROTHERS**

*Music Saloon and Booksellers*

**85 VICTORIA STREET, DURBAN**

Phone 20767

P.O. Box 2524

Fig. Thirty: Last Shipment of Gramophone Records (The Leader 3 August 1946:6)

Having in effect brought Goshalia's record distribution to its moribund knees between 1946 and 1953, sanctions, much like the war had done previously, created yet another gap in the market for local record production and, this time, the trade restrictions also created an opportunity to break the distribution monopoly.

### *Sanctions and Shalimar Young India Release Labels : 1948 - 1953*

The Shalimar Record Company operated out of I.M. Mather's general dealer at 16 Saville Street Durban. The company was launched into the bigger-time Indian South African record industry with a large advertisement for the first locally produced,<sup>25</sup> The Mogul U label record,<sup>26</sup> and the first imported Young India Shalimar Release records (Indian Views 14 January 1948:24). This combination of local production and distribution of imported records characterised the Shalimar Record Company's endeavours.

Two different labels were produced on the YI catalogue series.

- 1) Shalimar Young India; and
- 2) Young India Shalimar Release.

Records on these two labels seem to have been advertised generically as "Shalimar ... Young India Release" (The Leader 31 July 1948:4).<sup>27</sup> Together, records on these labels comprised a sanctions-busting distribution alternative to the failing GCI-dependent Goshalia's enterprise. Shalimar Young India Release records were presented as "Indian Records ... Made in England ... Sung in India ... by well-known artists" (The Leader 31 July 1948:4).



As mentioned above, Young India was one of the independent labels that had been imported to South Africa since the thirties under distribution by Orient Music Saloon, although it did not have much of a following in the earlier years. This was to change due to sanctions during which time, through Shalimar, they seem to have comprised the major part of all imported records.

It is not yet completely clear<sup>28</sup> that there was a business relationship between the independent Young India label in India and Durban's Shalimar Record Company which circulated considerable numbers of Shalimar Young India and Young India Shalimar Release labels throughout South Africa from 1948<sup>29</sup>. There are, however, some very strong indicators that such a link existed. For instance, Young India was very active in the "version" record business from its inception in the 1930s. These records, as explained by Manuel, were sometimes performed by the singing film actors themselves, prior to the playback phenomenon, who often recorded more elaborately orchestrated studio versions of popular film songs for release as satellite records. They might also be recorded using the same text and in the same language by a separate, possibly better vocalist. Or they could have been recorded by undiscovered, up-and-coming vocalists who sometimes remained in obscurity (Manuel 1993:145-146).

Shalimar's boast that "You always get two best sides on Shalimar" (The Leader 14 August 1948:10) implies that only the film hits rather than the original film tracks were circulated on Shalimar Young India records. Their slogan "You'll never hear these tunes on other brands for years to come" (The Leader 23 July 1949:11) indicates that a special recording arrangement had been made in violation of the sanctions agreement. Considering Goshalia's

comments about "no odd records with sets" and "Do not be misled by short number of records in sets" (The Leader 20 November 1948: n.p.), "Our Records are Genuine Made in India Not Made in England" (The Leader 5 October 1951:3), and "Popular Records by Popular Singers" (Indian Views 14 April 1948:24), the implication was that Shalimar Young India film records were not quite up to scratch, not quite the genuine article. Further, none of the great stars' names appeared on these labels. Indeed, usually, none of the Shalimar Young India singers' names was publicised in the press. Only the music was described, such as "film hits" (The Leader 30 October 1948:15), "modern music - beautiful lyrics" (The Leader 4 September 1948:10), and the filmsongs and film sources were named (e.g. The Leader 14 August 1948:10). Further evidence may be found in the fact that Young India Shalimar Release records were manufactured by the National Gramophone Manufacturing Company Ltd., Bombay, and Shalimar Young India Release were "Made Under Royalty to N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd. Bombay" (see label illustrations below). The National Gramophone Record Manufacturing Company marketed its records under the Young India label which displayed a map of India as well as the tricolour (Verma 1992:232). It seems quite likely, therefore, that Young India version recordings constituted the flood of Shalimar Young India records that successfully plugged the gap in the import and distribution industry in South Africa at the height of the sanctions years.

With thirty-one agents throughout South Africa in all the major cities (The Leader 30 October 1948:15), including Kapitan Balcony Hotel which claimed that their records were "the envy of everyone" (The Leader 3 July 1948:5), Shalimar was in control of the record distribution industry. Shalimar Young India releases were able to avoid the trade embargo since, although they were recorded in India and Pakistan by Indian and Pakistani musicians,



# INDIAN RECORDS

**MADE IN ENGLAND** **SUNG IN INDIA**  
 We have pleasure in announcing the release of the long-awaited Shalimar Indian Language Gramophone Records. These Records are sung in India and Pakistan by well-known Artists, and are recorded from the current and latest popular Indian Films. They are made in England for us by the Decca Record Co., Ltd., of London. This is definitely Something New, Something Unique.



## INDIAN FILMS

Film, "YEHI HAI ZINDAGI." Narang Production, Bombay. Language, Hindustani.  
 Set of 4 Records £1/6/-



TARA BALA

**URDU QUAWALIES**  
**AZIM PREMRAJI (Karachi).**  
 YI.1010: Ya kwajw e Hind; Urdu Naat. Sal-lal-lah Apno Mabel; Urdu Naat.  
 YI.1026: Hae Harimo Qaba; Urdu Naat. Oos Ne Kahu Kiya Hae; Urdu Naat.

**SHEIKH CHAND QUAWAL (Poona).**  
 Composure: "Ayaz."  
 YI.1019: Kutoh Deke Hind Ko Wali; Urdu Naat. Ye Hasrat Hae; Urdu Naat.  
 YI.1022: Shafiqe Roze Qayamat; Urdu Naat; Aye Hae Toru Sayalwa; Urdu Naat.

**SHAIKH LAL QUAWAL (Nagpur).**  
 Composure: "Firoz" Jhallundary.  
 YI.1011: Ghause Piya se Mori Naina; Urdu Naat. Ajmer Wale Kwaju; Urdu Naat.

**ZAKIR QUAWAL (Deccan Hyderabad).**  
 YI.1023: Lareb Fakhre Adau; Urdu Naat. Alam Gari'b Navaz; Urdu Naat.



AZIM PREMRAJI

FIXED RETAIL PRICE

6/6  
 EACH

Film "LAILA MAJNU." Hind Picture, Bombay. Music, Pt. Govindram, A. R. Qureshi. Language, Hindustani. Set of 5 Records, £1/12/6.  
 Film, "RATNAMALA." Bharan Pictures, Madras. Lyrics, Samuldrala. Music, C. R. Subraman. Language, Telugu. Singers, P. Bhanumati, Baby Saroj, Kumari Jamuna, etc. Set of 5 Records, £1/12/6.

**"FILMI-DUNIYA" SERIES**  
 We specially recommend these Records to clients who desire the modern Indian Music.

**TARA BALA (Bombay) with Orchestra.**  
 Composure: "Firoz" Jhallundary.  
 YI.1015: Ismo Azam Namin Mohammad; Urdu Naat. Kwaja Teri Ajmer; Urdu Naat.

**NASIM AKHTAR (Bombay) with Orchestra.**  
 Composure: "Firoz" Jhallundary.  
 YI.1020: Aa Dekh Meri Juan; Hindustani Gazal. Joban Aya Jhoom Ke; Hindustani Gazal.  
 YI.1024: Nabi Ko Din Ke Nazare; Urdu Naat. Ya Rasoolo Haahami; Urdu Naat.

**A. KHAN (Meeruth).**  
 YI.1016: Clarinet with Orchestra; Instrumental.



P. BHANUMATI  
 in Telugu Film "Ratnamala."

Obtainable from: ...  
**TRANSVAAL:** Saloojee's Music Basements, 27 Market St., Johannesburg; Kingo Stores & Bazaar (Pty.), Ltd., 165 Prinsloo St., Pretoria; Kismet Music Saloon, 328 Boom St., Pretoria.  
**CAPE PROVINCE:** Parker Bros., 319 Hanover St., Cape Town; P. Bhagwandas, 23 Hancock St., Port Elizabeth.

**AGENTS WANTED**  
 Agents wanted in the Cape and Transvaal districts. Few territories still open on the North and South Coast, Natal.

**SHALIMAR RECORD CO. (PTY.) LTD.**  
 16 SAVILLE STREET DURBAN  
 Phones 22802, 27222 — Telegrams, "Tansen"

Illustrated Catalogue sent free on request.  
 In case of difficulties and trade inquiries. Obtainable from:—

**NATAL:** Orient Music Saloon, 117 Field St., Durban; Roopchand Bros., 85 Victoria St., Durban; Kapitan Balcany Hotel, Grey St., Durban; Pyramid Stores, 165a Grey St., Durban; Amod Mahomed, 515 Loop St., Pietermaritzburg; Seedat's Bazaar, Murchison St., Ladysmith; Y. A. Jadwat, Allen St., Newcastle; Silver Stores, 33 Reynold St., Port Shepstone; Govender Bros., Couper St., Stanger

the records were pressed at the Decca pressing plant in England, not at GCI and they had no connection with EMI at all. Decca was out of reach of the India-imposed sanctions which must have affected GCI's operation noticeably. It is highly possible that the independent National Gramophone Record Manufacturing Company sold the manufacturing rights of its Young India version recordings to Decca for release in South Africa.

### **Sanctions and Shalimar Record Company Manufacturing : 1948 - 1953**

#### *A Riot of Rhythm and Hot Music*

As the second Indian South African record manufacturing company to be formed, Shalimar seems to have had four main marketing objectives:

- 1) to exploit the window of opportunity arising from the trade embargo by India against South Africa which ended the legal importation to South Africa of records manufactured in India;
- 2) to exploit the potential of the Southern African Muslim market;
- 3) to exploit the potential of the modern South African parody film music market, particularly in the Tamil but also, to a smaller extent, in the Hindustani vernacular; and
- 4) to explore the potential of the South African market for modern syncretic Indian South African music.

Sanctions had not been in place for very long, when I.M. Mather of 16 Saville Street, soon to be called Shalimar Record Company (Pty) Ltd., started to produce records on The Mogul U (i.e. Urdu) label (Indian Views 28 January 1948:16; Indian Views 23 June 1948:26) in partnership with I. Soosiwala. By 1950, and especially between 1951 and April 1953, Shalimar's locally manufactured records, along with the imported Shalimar Young India

records, preoccupied press advertising and discussion articles. Local manufacture was Soosiwala's brainwave (Mehtar, Y. 1994:Interview) and it was prompted by the experiences of deprivation during the worst of the sanctions period ("Farooqi" Mehtar 1987:Interview).

Shalimar Record Company presented itself as publishers of "Shalimar and Mogul Indian and Nyakaza Zulu Records"<sup>30</sup> in 1949 (The Leader 23 July 1949:11). In September 1950, Shalimar Record Company advertised "Tamil Records Recorded in S. Africa By S. African Artists For S. African Indians"<sup>31</sup> (The Leader 30 September 1950:12). But it was not really until June 1951 that the flow of South African recordings gained momentum. Thereafter, large, impressive advertisements boasted records to "Seal the Eid Celebration with a Lasting Remembrance"<sup>32</sup> (The Leader 22 June 1951:2); new Tamil, Hindustani, and Urdu records and "Special Tamil Songbook containing 18 Original Compositions by S.M. Pillay"<sup>33</sup> (The Leader 7 September 1951:5); and that "The following excellent numbers by your favourite South African Artists are now available"<sup>34</sup> (The Leader 5 October 1951:9).

The enthusiasm rose with the following announcement.

With pardonable pride we beg to apologise to those thousands of Customers who were unable to buy Sushila Rani's 'Shalimar' Record ... The fact was: This record was released for sale on 5th October. Every Dealer was sold out on 8th October<sup>35</sup> (The Leader 26 October 1951:3).

In February 1952, Shalimar announced its "Proud Presentation of Subulatchmi's Tamil Hit number"<sup>36</sup> and "Fresh Stocks Arrived - Sushila Rani's Hindustani Record"<sup>37</sup> (The Leader 22 February 1952:6). Records by "Shalimar's Newest Record Breakers", Kumari Savithree, and the Janakie and Madhavan duo with music by Buxson, and the Tamil Song Book No. 2 were also released in February<sup>38</sup> (The Leader 29 February 1952:11). These releases were "Obtainable Everywhere". Production seems to have been accelerated in 1952 with the

addition of "The Nightingale of the Capital", Yanam Devi, singing in Hindustani<sup>39</sup> (The Leader 4 April 1952:6).

Between September 1952 and April 1953, Shalimar Record Company reached its zenith in local production. New releases included a "Special Musical Dance Number" by Buxson and Band, a "Special Deepavali Tamil Record ... on one side a really hot Deepavali Chorus, peppy and as sparkling as the 1,000 Deepavali Lights. On the other side a Deepavali Prayer and Song"<sup>40</sup> (The Leader 26 September 1952:7). A "Special Record for the 'Sabree' Brotherhood by Shafee Quawal" was released in January 1953<sup>41</sup> (The Leader 16 January 1953:3), as well as a "Special 'Kavri' Celebration record by Tony Moon"<sup>42</sup> (The Leader 16 January 1953:11). In March a "Riot of Rhythm and Hot Music" was advertised<sup>43</sup> (The Leader 6 March 1953:5), but by April 1953, the demise of Shalimar Record Company, as distributors of Young India Release imported records AND as producers of local records, was on the horizon.

### ***The Mogul Label***

The Mogul U label was reserved for a number of items expressive of various interpretations of Muslim faith. *qawwali*, *ham'd*, *munqabat*, *salacm*, *shaan*, *naat*, and *nazm*, are examples of sung poetry, most commonly by "Sabir" (India), "Farooqi", "Musfiq", "Nanak", "Ahmed", "Asar", and "Firoz". These were poems in praise of the mystic saints, Allah, the Prophet Mohammed, or Pakistan patriotism.<sup>44</sup> Some records were *qirat* recitations of the *quran*. With exception of the Arabic recitations, all the music marketed on this label was

# Latest Records



## URDU QUAWALI

by

Shamsul Haq & Party  
of Calcutta.

H.M. 101. } Kisi hasin se ulfot jatake pijana  
6/6 each. } Ay garibon ke madad gar.

## FILM RECORDS

Shehnai	set of 5	Records	<b>9/4</b> <b>each.</b>
Bhah Jehan	" 3	"	
Parwana	" 3	"	
Dard	" 3	"	
Natak	" 5	"	

Order Early to Avoid Disappointment.

I. M. Mather

Telephones:  
**22802. 27202**

Telegrams:  
**Bosomworth.**

**16, Saville St., Durban.**

Fig. Thirty-two: I.M. Mather - The Mogul H.M. 101 (Indian Views 4 February 1948:6)

## EID GIFT SUGGESTIONS

We will post anywhere in the world (except India and Pakistan) "SHALIMAR" and "THE MOGUL" Records, with your Eid Greetings, at our usual price. Packing and Postage FREE.

**EVERY MUSLIM HOME  
MUST HAVE**

**"SHALIMAR'S" PROUD  
PRESENTATION**



## THE "QUAID-E-AZAM" SET

FIRST SHIPMENT SOLD OUT  
Second Shipment Just Arrived



- |       |                                |        |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------|
| S.501 | The Glorious Death.            | Arabic |
|       | Allah Musalmano Ki (Song)      | Urdu   |
| S.502 | A Leader is Born               | Urdu   |
|       | Ya Ilahi Mulke Pakistan (Song) | Urdu   |
| S.503 | Unity a Failure                | Urdu   |
|       | Shahide Mulko Millat (Song)    | Urdu   |
| S.504 | The Only Solution              | Urdu   |
|       | Pakistan a Reality             | Urdu   |

**It's Historical, Educational, Plus  
Memorable Entertainment**

SET OF FOUR RECORDS, inclusive of Special  
Booklet, £1/10/-

## "SHALIMAR'S" LATEST FILMI DUNIYA RECORDS

You will never hear these tunes on other brands for years  
to come. They are all the best from India and Pakistan.

ALL COMPOSITIONS BY "FIROZ"  
JHALLUNDARI

- |                         |                          |                     |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| <b>BIMLA AND FARVES</b> |                          |                     |
| YI 1075                 | Allah Ke Mahbab Pe E'Man | (Urdu Naat)         |
|                         | Tashid Ke Paiker Hae     | (Urdu Naat)         |
| YI 1076                 | Kwaja Hamarae            | (Urdu Naat)         |
|                         | Mac Naat Likh Rahi Hoo'n | (Urdu Naat)         |
| <b>TARABALA</b>         |                          |                     |
| YI 1064                 | Nahi Dil Se Mere Door    | (Hindustani)        |
|                         | Mar Katari Marjana       | (Hindustani)        |
| YI 1066                 | Balma Suno Afsooa        | (Hindustani)        |
|                         | Hame Afoe Gham Mac       | (Hindustani)        |
| YI 1018                 | Aaja Mere Bhagwan        | (Hindustani Bhajan) |
|                         | Tum Chhup Gaye Bhagwan   | (Hindustani)        |
| <b>ROSHANLAL</b>        |                          |                     |
| YI 1083                 | Dil Jalta Hae To         | (Hindustani)        |
|                         | Tum Hamare Ho Na Ho      | (Hindustani)        |
| <b>MISS RATNA</b>       |                          |                     |
| YI 1078                 | Mac Akeli Hoo'n          | (Hindustani)        |
|                         | Ab Teri Yaad Ke Sida     | (Hindustani)        |

Price, 6/6 Per Record

## CATALOGUE FREE ON REQUEST

Obtainable from the following Principal Agents:  
ORIENT MUSIC SALOON, 117 Victoria St., Durban.  
AZAD CAFE, Kort Street, Johannesburg.  
FADYACHEE BROS., 83 Comper Street, Stanger.  
(Southern Rhodesia).  
SULEMAN ISMAIL, 34 Cameron St., Salisbury.

EID OFFER ORDERS DIRECT TO

**. SHALIMAR  
RECORD CO. (PTY.), LTD.**

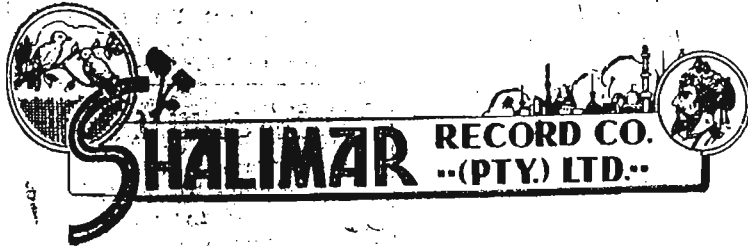
Publishers of "Shalimar" and "Mogul" Indian and  
"Nyakaza" Zulu Records.

**16 SAVILLE STREET :: DURBAN**

PHONES: 2782, 2282  
CABLES AND TELEGRAMS: "TANSEN"

Fig. Thirty-three: Publishers of "Shalimar" and "Mogul" Indian and "Nyakaza" Zulu Records (The Leader 23 July 1949:11)





**16 SAVILLE STREET DURBAN**  
Phone 27202 — Telegrams: "Tansen"

With pardonable pride we beg to apologise to those thousands of Customers who were unable to buy



## SUSHILA RANI'S

"SHALIMAR" RECORD  
H.711

"ROO THE PRITAM"

(Afrikaner style)

"BHOOL JA"

(Western style)

The fact was: This Record was released for sale on 5th October. Every Dealer was sold out on 8th October.

**FRESH STOCKS**  
expected 25th November

BOOK YOUR ORDER TODAY WITH YOUR  
NEAREST "SHALIMAR" DEALER

Transvaal Clients kindly book with—

### M. S. NANA

28a Eleventh St., Vrededorp, Johannesburg

We wish all our Hindu Friends, Clients  
and Well Wishers a MERRY DIVAL!

Fig. Thirty-four: Every Dealer was Sold Out (The Leader 26 October 1951:3)

sung in Urdu, including the more secular popular *ghazal* numbers so well loved by Indian South African Muslims and middle-class Hindus of North Indian extraction.

In 1949, Shalimar produced the "Quaid-E-Azam" or "The Pakistan Set" on The Mogul S label. The extensive sales (The Leader 23 July 1949:11) of this set of records throughout Southern Africa are a clue to the niche Muslim, popular music market which was one of the cornerstones targeted by Shalimar, and indeed, by local record producers after the Shalimar Record Company. This patriotic dedication to the partition of India and Pakistan movement was Shalimar Record Company's first financial success. It is interesting to note that more than half the record titles captured in this study's discography (see Appendix) display an Urdu, Muslim style.

The Mogul label featured some local musicians, and at times, visitors to the country, especially *khalasees*. Some of the main vocalists on this label were Ishaq Quawal, Mohammed Husain, S. Gulraza, Inayetullah Kaloo (Calcutta), Mohammed Hanif (Calcutta) and Sheikh Chand (Poona). Although some local musicians give the name of their South Asian birthplace after their surnames despite having lived most of their lives in South Africa, e.g. Mohamed Shafee (Barodawalla) who was also recorded on the Mogul U label, it was suggested to me by one of my research participants (Maya Devi 1989:Interview) that a number of these musicians were in fact "shippies" or *khalasees*.

Yacoob Mehtar also told me the following.

Everybody in India knows how to sing. They all in the ship, in the night they sit out there and somebody sings, so somehow somebody plays this music.

That music and whatever they sing is definitely better than whatever we sing and play here. Because it is in their original language and all that. Sometimes they make up a group and ask for a job on the ship. Sometimes they give them a job **because** they are able to play a little music and entertain the other sailors. In some ship you get a real artist, somebody who is a real artist in India. When they go to the port, they stay for about three, four days so they [the promoters] get hold of them in the night and take them to sing and make a couple of bob [shillings] for themselves (1994: Interview).

Mac Devduth<sup>45</sup>, Welfare Organiser for Indian Seamen, was responsible for "managing" the *khalasees'* onshore recreation, and it was he who started them on the concert and festival route. References to his activities appear in the press throughout the fifties and sixties. The link between the sailors and recording activities is confirmed by the notice of a Devduth concert (The Graphic 23 May 1958:12) with a number of Indian seamen, including Kaloo of Calcutta. This was probably Inayetullah Kaloo (Calcutta) who was featured on The Mogul U 918, U 921, and U 923, as well as Shalimar Young India U 905 (see Discography). It was also reported that

Gopal, a musician from India, now a seaman trainee in the "Clan Sinclair", was recorded last week by Mr M. Devduth who regularly organises quawali concerts for visiting seamen (The Graphic 10 October 1958:2).

This report provides further evidence that *khalasees* were being recorded while on shore leave and that they made a striking contribution to live performances and the local record industry in the absence of India-trained South African musicians.

Accompanying musicians, though of great importance to the final music product, were unnamed on The Mogul labels. This was possibly due to the low esteem placed on musicians by the followers of Islam, who repeatedly told me "there is no music in Islam" (Mehtar, H. 1993:Interview; Tootla 1993: Interview). As in the Cavalcade records, the name of the "composer" was given, i.e. the name of the poet.

### *Shalimar Filmi Duniya and Shalimar Labels*<sup>46</sup>

Shalimar Record Company then developed other local labels including Shalimar Filmi Duniya H (Hindustani), Shalimar Filmi Duniya T (Tamil), and Shalimar Duniya U (Urdu). They also developed the Shalimar T (Tamil) label. There are many examples of the Shalimar Filmi Duniya and Shalimar labels in my discography. Records on these labels all comprise intended syncretic styles, some moving further away from the South Asian traditional mould than others. The Shalimar Record Company was profoundly invested in continuing to produce the type of "modern" syncretism that was popular in the Radio Cavalcade and the Cavalcade Record Company era, i.e. small ensemble, largely unison or doubled arrangements of Hindi and Tamil vernacular filmsongs parodying the Bollywood styles with one or two root chords, with fuller instrumental interludes, but without the large forces of string instruments that characterise India-made film music.

Shalimar Filmi Duniya H and T labels were also, curiously, used for the more overtly syncretic "English" and "South African" songs. Now to an even greater extent, "English" songs, which were first cautiously presented by Radio Cavalcade, bravely fill these labels. The term "English" refers to the source or sources of the melodies which could be whole or re-assembled fragments. "English" songs followed the same musical style as the parodied Bollywood filmsongs, i.e. a small ensemble of unison or doubled instruments with a few root chords in the accompaniment. They consisted of modified quicksteps, boleros, waltzes, slow fox-trots, tangos, rhumbas, sambas, sabas (Afrikaans style),<sup>47</sup> in short, popular Western dance music, sung in Hindustani or Tamil with a few English words or South African slang. They were often prefixed "modern" in press advertising and they made a significant mark on

this phase of the record industry. Only the choice of instruments and the melody type would change. The instruments would be more Western or more South Asian in proportion, since all of this music included Western instruments. The melody would either be directly from a film or from a popular Western or *boeremusiek* tune or tunes with some modifications.

Social dancing in the fifties became a significant popular cultural practice, particularly amongst members of the upper middle class. Icons of well-appointed, obviously well-off dancing couples ("the well-shaved man gets the best out of life"), dating couples ("Getting Around with Commando Round"), and romanticising women ("be lovelier tonight"), were used to sell cosmetics, razor blades, cigarettes, and soap in the Indian South African vintage press.<sup>48</sup> Ballroom dancing schools and their dancing activities were closely followed and reported, particularly by The Leader and The Graphic journalists.<sup>49</sup> The press, from the late forties onwards, was full of dances and balls.<sup>50</sup> Heated debates on the merits and demerits of dancing were viewed in letters to the press.<sup>51</sup>

The Shalimar records captured and proclaimed this dancing craze. Sushila Rani, the vocalist of the sell-out hit "Roothe Pritam" (H 711), told me that all the waltz, tango, rhumba, and quick step dance-style records, as well as the Afrikaans saba records, like "Roothe Pritam", were used at parties and dances.

They danced to them! Yes they danced! You know my song, my record, I remember I was still small then, I never went to a dance on my own because I wasn't allowed. I went to a party in Sea View or somewhere around there. We had to pick up somebody and there was "Roothe Pritam" blaring and they were dancing. I was so thrilled! You walked all over town and you heard this music. They were all Indians dancing but that's a *vastrap*, like, you know, that's *boeremusiek*.<sup>52</sup> It was foot tapping music (1994:Interview).

# Deepavali The Festival of Lights

GIVE A  GIFT, that is,

- ★ INTIMATELY PERSONAL
- ★ SENTIMENTAL & MEMORABLE
- ★ ENJOYABLE & ACCEPTABLE

**7/- each**

Postage Extra

**TAMIL & HINDUSTANI FILMI-DUNIYA RECORDS**

### SPECIAL DEEPAVALI TAMIL RECORD

**T.640** by JANAKI & CHORUS. On one side a really hot Deepavali Chorus, peppy and as sparkling as the 1,001 Deepavali Lights. On the other side a Deepavali Prayer and Song.

### TAMIL RECORDS

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p><b>T.637</b>—by MADHAVAN:<br/>Sornthoo (March).<br/>Pasaval (Tango).</p> <p><b>T.638</b>—by MAYILVAHANAM<br/>(Madras, India):<br/>Kallara Guru Saraneh<br/>(Bhajan).<br/>Shankaraneh Ganga Seedi<br/>(Bhajan).</p> <p><b>T.648</b>—by SAVITREE:<br/>Maamam (Foxtrot).<br/>Vin Maniye (Quickstep).</p> <p><b>T.641</b>—by JANAKI:<br/>Kaar Iruli (Waltz).<br/>Suthume (Rhumba).</p> <p><b>T.642</b>—by L. P. MOSES:<br/>Pommi (Afrikaans Style<br/>Saba).<br/>Vithal (Quickstep).</p> | <p><b>T.602</b>—by Late KASHVAL:<br/>Marathvareh.<br/>Thoorhamah.</p> <p><b>T.608</b>—by MOGNAMBAL.<br/>Yappadee (Duet).<br/>Ninaippal (Modern).</p> <p><b>T.618</b>—<br/>Vadzhi Vadzhi Ye (Saba).<br/>Innum Enne (Waltz).</p> <p><b>T.636</b>—<br/>Sornthiduvor (Rhumba).<br/>Neeye (Waltz).</p> <p><b>T.636</b>—<br/>Thoothoo (Duet).<br/>Ivvazhi Vazhvee (Bolero).</p> | <p><b>T.615</b>—by R. MADHAVAN:<br/>Naan Sirialle (Tango).<br/>Imasalam (Boogi).</p> <p><b>T.635</b>—<br/>Muzagan Theethi (Waltz).<br/>Peavam Maroom (Duet).</p> <p><b>T.631</b>—by SAVITREE:<br/>Thanga Kuzhan Thi<br/>(Tango).<br/>Munnari (Rhumba).</p> <p><b>T.639</b>—<br/>Jedi (Modern).<br/>Paralay (Duet).</p> <p><b>T.632</b>—by SUBULATCHMI:<br/>Veerum Mikka (Saba).<br/>Iravan (Modern).</p> |
|---|---|--|

### HINDUSTANI RECORDS

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <p><b>A SPECIAL DEEPAVALI<br/>NUMBER</b></p> <p><b>H.708</b>—MANORMA and<br/>SURENDRA:<br/>Deep Jalade (Modern).<br/>A'ee Diwall (Duet).</p> <p><b>H.721</b>—HAMID:<br/>Jeroo Aysae Milee He<br/>(Humorous-Saba).<br/>Tum Na Kisise (Modern).</p> <p><b>H.720</b>—NAUSHAD:<br/>Mun Rota He (Waltz).<br/>Uhat Me Dilko (Modern).</p> | <p><b>H.717</b>—ASHA DEVI:<br/>Inaan Ki Dome Manzil He.<br/>Dukh Darud Musibat Me.</p> <p><b>H.716</b>—ZUREEN.<br/>Dilko Jalane Wale (Mod.)<br/>Maa Tum Ke Bhool Jawoo<br/>(Modern).</p> <p><b>H.715</b>—ZUREEN:<br/>Rooh Gayi Kismet<br/>(Modern).<br/>Hamari Tumhari (Duet).</p> | <p><b>H.714</b>—KUMARI SAVITREE<br/>Pyare Pyare (Samba).<br/>Aja Sajan (Saba).</p> <p><b>H.713</b>—YANAM DEVI:<br/>Koyi Mahi He (Modern).<br/>Hamne Dekha (Modern).</p> <p><b>H.712</b>—NAUSHAD:<br/>Too Mile Agar (Boogi).<br/>Ham Aaj Kusike (Mod.).</p> <p><b>H.711</b>—SUSHILA RANI:<br/>Reethe Pritam (Saba).<br/>Bhool Ja (Modern).</p> |
|---|--|---|

### SPECIAL MUSICAL DANCE NUMBER, H.718

By BUXSON and his Band  
Price 5/-  
Dance of Joy (Rhumba)  
Sunrise (Saba)

### PLEASE NOTE

Clients wishing to send GIFT PARCELS may do so through U.S. Three or more records, a greeting card, will be included. Packed in a GIFT BOX — All Free of Charge.

★ ALSO AVAILABLE — 30 NEW HINDUSTANI FILM RECORDS — definitely the BEST two songs on each record — 7/- each.

PLEASE ASK FOR OUR CATALOGUES.

★ NEW TAMIL CATALOGUE, with 6 full songs, is now available. Please call or write for your copy.

★ TAMIL SONG BOOKS, No. 1 and No. 2, 6d. Ea.

**Riot of Rhythm  
And Hot Music**



**HINDUSTANI  
RECORDS  
PRICE 7/- EACH**

POSTAGE & PACKING EXTRA

<b>NAMIS</b>	
H.722	Mosam Pyari Tukh Pye Ho Dil Qurban
H.721	Jocoo's Aisi Mili Ho Tum Na Kisi-So
<b>HAUSHAD</b>	
H.720	Man Rata Ho Ulhas Ma Dikka
H.718	Tu Mile Agra Ham Aaj Kuch
<b>NAGINI DEVI</b>	
H.719	Arwano Bhare Dikh Ek Dard Dil-Ke Tar
<b>ASNA DEVI</b>	
H.717	Issa Ki Duniya Manzil Ho Dukh Dard Manohar
<b>ZUREEN - ZUREEN AND NAMIS</b>	
H.716	Dil-Ke Jalaa Wali Maa Tumko Bhaal Jawaab
H.715	Kuch Gayi Kismet Hamari Hamari Tumhari
<b>YANAM DEVI</b>	
H.713	Koyi Nahi Ho Hamare Dikka
<b>SUSHILA RAMI</b>	
H.711	Kuchhe Pritam Bhaal Ja
<b>SANJHABERA</b>	
H.710	Maidana Mahabbat Kaha' Se Laavo's
<b>MAYA DEVI</b>	
H.709	Kuch Aisa Bika Karam Ho Pura

**OUTSTANDING  
MUSICALES**

<b>A. KWAN</b>	
XL1121	Christmas Solo Film Tunes
<b>AND THE NUMBER AT ONLY 1/- EACH</b>	
<b>BUXSON'S DANCE RECORD</b>	
H.712	Dance of Joy (Rhythmic) Sam Easa (Solo)
<b>For Further Particulars of YANAM, URSAM AND HINDU- STANI FILM RECORDS, Please Write for our Catalogues. Available from all Indian Music Dealers.</b>	

**EXTRA CHARGES**

POSTAGE: First 2 Records 1/-  
Thereafter 6d. for every two Re-  
cords. Packing 1/- per order. South  
West Rhodesia 50% extra on above  
charges. Northern Rhodesia and  
Nyasaland First 2 Records 4/-  
thereafter 1/2 extra for every 2  
Records.

**M. S. NANA**

22a St. Andrew's St., Ventnor  
ZIMBABWE  
Phone 15-4533

15 SAVILLE STREET, DURBAN  
Phone 2220 and 2218  
Telegrams and Cables "Nana"



**SOLE SOUTH AFRICAN  
DISTRIBUTORS**

Fig. Thirty-six: A Riot of Rhythm and Hot Music (The Leader  
6 March 1953:5)



**The  
well-shaved  
man gets the  
best out of life**

For the smoothest, best-  
looking shaves, you must use  
**Blue Gillette Blades.**  
They are the sharpest and  
last the longest.



**The sharpest blade in the world**

6759-1

Fig. Thirty-seven: The Well-dressed Man Gets the Best out of Life (The Leader 5 June 1953:10)



COME TO ★  
US FOR  
RADIO  
AND



RADIOGRAMS

R. C. A.

PHILIPS

AND OTHER POPULAR MAKES  
EASY TERMS ARRANGED  
YOUR OLD SET TRADED IN

WE  
REPAIR  
RADIO  
of  
ALL MAKES  
GUARANTEED  
WORKMANSHIP

USED  
RADIO

We have always  
on hand a large  
selection of  
Reconditioned  
USED RADIO  
at Low Prices



92 VICTORIA STREET, DURBAN

PHONES 28206—28057

Radio Workshop Phone 27934

Fig. Thirty-eight: Come to us for Radios and Radiograms  
(The Leader 15 November 1947:12)



## *Always in Demand!*

When a woman keeps herself at her loveliest, she won't lack for attention. Shining, lustrous hair, alive with highlights, is one of woman's greatest attractions. To keep your curls and waves in place, to keep hair looking its best—just use a few drops of Glostora on your brush each morning. No greasiness, no stickiness! And you look—lovely!



**Glostora**  
*for lovely hair*

# "Be Lovelier Tonight!"

says this  
popular Star

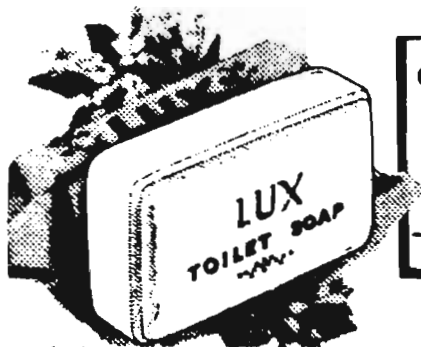


*ROSALIND RUSSELL*

Beautiful Film Star

"Lux Toilet Soap facials are such a simple care—so quick and easy! I work in the rich, super-creamy lather gently but thoroughly. Then I rinse with warm water, splash with cold. As I pat gently to dry with a soft towel, skin takes on new loveliness!"

Why not take Rosalind Russell's advice? You'll find her beauty-care will make YOU lovelier to-night!



**9 out of 10 Film Stars**

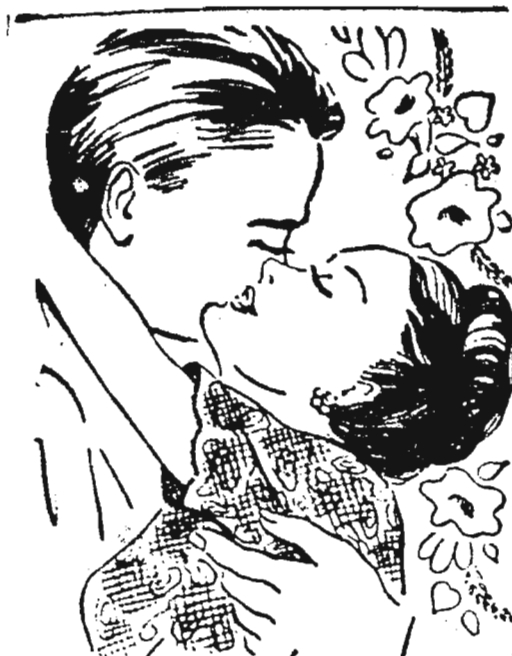
use

**Lux Toilet Soap**

*—Lux Girls are Lovelier!*


LTS322—82

A LEVER PRODUCT—your guarantee of consistent QUALITY & EXCELLENCE



*When the call is  
for beauty ...*

When the occasion demands perfection . . . when romance calls . . . or in the more everyday world with its demands on the texture of your skin and personal charm . . . then the call is for Phul-Nana powder . . . for the lasting fragrance and protection that it brings to the most delicate skin.



**PHULNANA**  
*... is the answer*

25/2

# GETTING AROUND



# WITH COMMANDO ROUND



They're easy on your  
throat... easy on your  
purse! Try a pack of  
**COMMANDO** to-day!

In Tins, Trenches, Poles...  
Plain or Cork.



BH 1261

Fig. Forty-two: Getting Around with Commando Round (The Leader  
31 July 1948:10)

Dances were held regularly at St Aidan's Hall, Red Cross Hall, and St John's Hall amongst other venues. "Just every Saturday night" there was a dance where not only the Shalimar dance records were played "but pure Western music, Victor Silvester and things" (Sushila Rani 1994:Interview). Once again, we see the continuity with the Cavalcade period where a Sarie dance and Peter's Palais de Danse had been highlighted in the Cavalcade activities.

Indeed, many of the names associated with Cavalcade appear frequently on the Shalimar Filmi Duniya H, Shalimar Filmi Duniya T, Shalimar Filmi Duniya U, and Shalimar T labels. Poet "Farooqi", vocalist Maya Devi, and harmonium player and arranger Ramchandra, band-leader Buxson, vocalists Janakie, Yanam Devi,<sup>53</sup> Hamid, Madhavan (Nair), Mognambal, Naushad, and Nisar had all started their musical careers in the Cavalcade Radio programmes and/or stage shows. The focus on Tamil language songs under Shalimar production is another indication of continuity with Cavalcade Record Company which, in one of its latter press reviews, had alerted the public to the Tamil records that were under production. They, as we have seen, did not materialise. Now, approximately a decade later, Tamil records were produced in even greater numbers than the Muslim Urdu records for a Tamil/Telugu market that was starved of South Indian language popular music. This focus on Tamil language local records and the live performance that supported them was to prompt Goshalia's criticism of the Tamil "cribbers" of imported records at a later stage.

Vocalists Asha Devi, Ragini Devi, and Sushila Rani joined Maya Devi on the Hindustani records. Lutchmee Pillay, Savitree, Mayilvahanan, Govindsamy, and L.P. Moses, and Tony Moon, "South Africa's No.1 Baritonne" (The Leader 24 December 1949:9), featured on the

Tamil records. But all of the music, regardless of language, was either in a strongly, but by no means completely, Western dance style or it was in a *filmi* song style. The Western dance songs were almost always accompanied and arranged by Buxson and his band. The music on the remaining Shalimar labels, including the records in Tamil, was usually in a modified Bollywood style. There was no resonance with South Indian music styles. Regardless of language, most of the *filmi* records were accompanied and arranged by Ramchandra whose music was strongly influenced by the North Indian popular Muslim and *ghazal* styles. If not accompanied by Ramchandra, they were accompanied by A. Harry, Madhavan, A. Khan, or W. Nandu. The Tamil poet S.M. Pillay<sup>54</sup> was responsible for most of the Tamil texts which were focused on secular topics drawn from nature, and "Farooqi" for most of the Hindustani and Urdu texts, most of which expressed praise of Allah, of the Prophet, or love. Both poets were named as the "composer".

Given the Shalimar label's strong dance theme, why were the Indian South African and other Western-style dance bands NOT recorded by Shalimar Record Company? They were featured at dances and balls, and were enthusiastically patronised by the Indian South African middle class. Blue Champagne, Blue Ricks, Gay Swingsters, Jazz Serenaders, Masterkeys, Jazz Minstrels, Blue Jewels, and Jazz Pirates were extremely active in this period. It is very clear that the Shalimar Record Company initiative was intent on producing records with a fluctuating but recognisable South Asian quality, whether as dance or as film music, as substitute for those records which were no longer available in South Africa due to the trade embargo.

### *Parody Style, Piracy and "The New Form"*

In contrast with the modern theme of the Shalimar collection, giving the term "composer" or "comp." on all the record labels refers us to the continued aesthetic of South Asian Hindustani oral tradition that gives primary status to word as opposed to music texts. This privileged position is reflected in the practice of according an inalterable permanency and declared ownership of songtexts. It also directs our attention to the Hindustani-influenced parody<sup>55</sup> structure of almost ALL Indian South African popular music.

Manuel refers to "the time-honoured Indian tradition of parody" (1993:131), which he says dates back to the thirteenth century. Setting texts to stock melodies may be found in numerous North Indian genres, such as *khyal*, *rasiya*, and especially *thumri*. The treatment of *chiz* and *bandish* reveals "several instances of different texts set to identical tunes" (1993:132). Although South Africa had not experienced a strong history of North Indian classical music before the fifties, there seems to have been a general understanding that parody in creation of the musical product was the norm. What is more pertinent to the study of Indian South African popular music is the incidence of parody in Bhojpuri *birha*, which was the main folk music practised by Indian South Africans of North Indian descent before the "modern" period. This respectable tradition of parody seems thus simply to have been extended quite instinctively as the compositional vehicle in the Cavalcade and Shalimar initiatives.

Hajra Mehtar frequently set melodies to her brother's poetry. Although she was not featured on the Shalimar records, she was deeply involved with "Farooqi's" recording activities. "It's



just a tune!" Hajra told me repeatedly, when describing the parody style and procedure she followed (1993:Interview). Nobody owns a tune!

I remember once I gave him an English tune and he made a lovely song and it was a *naat*, it was a praise of the Prophet. Sometimes he would just give me a composition and say "I've made this" and I will try and fit it to any tune that I like. It would be a ready-made tune that I'll borrow. Sometimes I'll mix two tunes. Like, for instance, I'll mix one tune from this song and then it doesn't fit in so well, then I'll put another from somewhere else and then fit it together.

We changed the tunes several times. Recently, we used to keep on changing the tune to the latest ones ... because the latest film tunes are trendy. And they were very nice words! (Mehtar, H. 1993:Interview).

The tunes, which like these had been manipulated to suit the prosody and form of poetic texts, were given to a band leader who would set them to music.

Madhavan, who is featured in this collection, would create arrangements of Tamil texts which were often considered to be "semi-classical".

We'd take a Tyagaraja *kirtan*. We'll be singing that song, simplified with music [instrumental orchestration] added to it ... The same raga with the same ascending and descending scale, we sing it with the pattern. We don't do so much of improvisation. The band director sets the music and the players play note for note what the director gives him. He can't just vary it. What I played last month, it'll be the same thing now, there will be no change. But learnt by ear. We wouldn't use any of those *gamakas* (Madhavan Nair 1993:Interview).

The music would be arranged, Madhavan told me, for instruments that gave "the true tone of Indian music": the flute, the harmonium, the *mrdangam*, the violin, the banjo, the mandolin. The "true tone" could not be achieved with electronic instruments (Madhavan Nair 1993:Interview).

Sanctions not only provided an opportunity for the local music industry to function without competition from large, established transnational manufacturers. Without a trade agreement between India and South Africa, Shalimar Record Company was protected from copyright infringement prosecution. Filmsongs were copied with impunity. "The melody sounded exactly the same as the original" (Madhavan Nair 1993:Interview). Sanctions against South Africa at various stages after the Shalimar era, gave the same protection to the companies of the time. Sanctions continued to loom over South Africa in the following decades and there was generally thought to be no trade agreement between the two countries. Therefore, piracy, both in the form of parody and high speed cassette dubbings, was rife. However, because sanctions were on and off,<sup>56</sup> and the terms of transnational copyright regulations were not always clear, at times the local industry was caught out. A research participant told me of one such incident.

This Raj Company made us record [something] at the Virginia Lee Studio in the sixties. There was quite a bit of trouble about it. Because you're not supposed to record an already recorded thing, but he dared and he just made us sing. We didn't mind because we loved our singing and we sang, we sang it as a duet ... It wasn't set to local poetry. It was an overseas poet. I think there was a court case, a libel case. I don't know how he came out of it. After that, he sort of lay low and stopped his recording.

During the Shalimar period, Indian South Africans comprised a population in political flux, a population divorced by sanctions from one arm of its cultural sustenance, a population surrounded by competing cultural persuasions. Parody enhanced the possibilities of finding creative ways to express a need to belong politically and culturally to South Africa and to South Asia. In "Farooqi's" words - "It's all a mixture!" ("Farooqi" 1987:Interview).

The experimental styles on Shalimar Filmi Duniya and Shalimar labels both excited and disturbed the conflicting aesthetic mores of Indian South Africans. "It was a new form of

music" ("Farooqi" 1987:Interview). The term "new form" refers specifically to the "English" numbers and to the more adventurous film parodies. As we have seen, these songs contained a mixture of English, Hindi, and Tamil texts set to whole, or fragments of, popular Western, particularly American, or South African melodies. Or they might be entirely in a South Asian vernacular set to borrowed Western melodies and rhythms.

In chapter three, above, I described and cited a number of letters disapproving of this new genre. Shalimar's I. Soosiwala circulated information on music trends in India to promote the South African venture. In an effort to Indianise and Muslimise the phenomenon, Soosiwala, through The Leader staff reporter, referred to "The musically-minded public of India" which was "becoming used to 'Donkey's Serenade' adapted to Indian music". Orchestras in India, he said, were not only recording pieces inspired by English scores, they were putting Indian music into ballroom dance rhythms. In any case, rhumba, tango, and samba all had Moorish-Arabic rhythms "perfected during the glorious Muslim regime in Spain." Even H.M.V. whose reputation, it was implied, was to be considered highly respectable, were making modern Indian records available in Britain (The Leader 7 September 1951:4).

Soosiwala was reported as showing that the latest phase in the development of Indian music was simply a continuation of Indian music evolution. From the raga tradition, to Tansen who modified the raga theory with the introduction of "Toomries, Dadaries, and Geets", to the growing Westernised orchestral film activities, all of which "retains the fundamental basic principal [sic] of Indian music", there was a growing tendency to use Western tunes

and Western instruments in "the modern Indian orchestra" (The Leader 7 September 1951:4), merely the latest in a string of changes.

In the spirit of modernity, there were comments in the press by those who warned against forces that were hindering progress. One letter suggests:

Keep the good from the Indian culture as the foundation. Now blend this to the Western culture (society). And behold, we'll have a new culture - all our own! (The Leader 30 April 1954:7).

These strategies did not appease everyone. The new music was associated with low class ("Music Lover" 1951:4), race impurity ("Maritzburg Teenager" 1952:4), African inferiority ("Lover of Carnatic Music" 1953:2; The Leader 4 July 1952:7), and lack of education (Devar 1952:4).

To the participating musicians and poets, the Shalimar initiative was modern, progressive, inventive, entertaining. It redefined interpretations of nationalism. To the government parastatals, such as the SABC, syncretism and South Africanism was dangerous. To the record-buying market, the music was perhaps too advanced, not Indian enough, or perhaps there were simply too few Indian South Africans willing and able to make the quantum leap into South African modernism. To the music industry, despite momentary dramatic successes, the Shalimar new music experiment was a disaster. In the absence of a well-established and supportive broadcasting media, in particular, this local commercial venture was a "no go" from the start.

### *Shalimar Young India and Young India Shalimar Release*

As already mentioned above, the "Young India Release" labels were distributed in South Africa under royalty to the National Gramophone Record Company Bombay, as a sanctions-busting activity. These labels generally comprised performers from India and Pakistan. The Shalimar Young India label also, however, featured vocalists who had been recorded in South Africa, including South Africans and visitors, and thus need to be considered in the discussion of records manufactured in South Africa by the Shalimar Record Company. For example, the South Africans G.M. Jamal and Nisar, as well as the visiting Inayetullah Kaloo were recorded on the Shalimar Young India U catalogue, but have the K matrix, indicating that they were recorded in Durban with all the other Shalimar musicians. These were clearly recorded in Saville Street and sent to Decca for pressing.

It seems that the more classical renderings of *naats* and *salaams* were pressed by Decca.

Jamal told me that his recordings of *naats* were created in the classical tradition.

They were not copied off someone else - no, it was my own tune, from my knowledge, what I've learnt. I was a pupil of Sultan Khan. With violin, harmonium, tabla, banjo, and guitar. I used ragas. They're not film tunes. Everybody was copying film tunes but I was not (Jamal 1994: Interview).

Jamal explained to me that The Mogul U and the Shalimar Young India U records were "precisely for the Muslim community". Young India Shalimar Release were for the Hindi language speaking South Africans, and they seem exclusively to be renderings of film songs.

### *Label Icons - Nationalism, Militarism, Love and Peace*

All the Shalimar and The Mogul labels were designed by Yusuf Kathrada (Kat). The Mogul

"Pakistan Set" label uses the nationalist and religious images of the Pakistan flag, Jinnah, a Mogul warrior in military uniform, and the Shahi Masjid mosque in Lahore. It was a production strictly for Muslims using the "military language of Urdu" (Jamal 1994: Interview). The general The Mogul U label retains the image of the mosque, replaces the militaristic mogul warrior with an Aryan looking aristocrat and his forward gesturing female consort, drops the nationalist flag symbol, and softens the whole with flowers.

The early Shalimar Filmi Duniya and Shalimar labels were soft pink, green and white. There were two stripes on either side of a pair of white doves on a branch. The birds were a symbol of peace (Jamal 1994: Interview). SHALIMAR was printed above the spindle hole. Two concentric circles were placed below the spindle hole. Shalimar Filmi Duniya label had an added FILMI DUNIYA printed on the outer rim of the label at the top. In some records on this label, the song title was written in a vernacular script.

Between the H 713 and H 714 catalogue numbers the look of the label was changed. The reason for this change is not yet clear, although it is not impossible that the records on the new label were pressed at Decca in England and those on the old, pressed by Gallo, resulting in the "Trutone" look. The new label was a dramatic green with gold lettering. The SHALIMAR print replaced the FILMI DUNIYA of the old label. The white doves were retained, and FILMI DUNIYA was placed with each word inside one arm of a bow which emanated outwards from the spindle hole.

The Shalimar Young India YI and U labels were identical. They incorporated a map of the South Asian sub-continent, the flags of India and Pakistan, and a third flag placed within a



Fig. Forty-three: Shalimar Filmi Duniya and Shalimar Labels (Madhavan Nair private collection)

YOUNG INDIA scroll. The top half contains the "famous"<sup>57</sup> Shalimar doves and the SHALIMAR lettering, below which in extremely small writing, was the narrative "Made Under Royalty to N.G.R.M. Ltd. Bombay". Around the entire bottom edge of the label, Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. was written.

The Young India Shalimar Release label contains simply the words YOUNG and INDIA, separated by the Indian flag. At the bottom of the label, within a small semi-circle, the Shalimar doves and the words SHALIMAR RELEASE can be found. Although there is no map, no other flags, the link with Shalimar Young India can be found in the writing round the rim "National Gramophone Record Mfg Co. Ltd Bombay".

The Mogul warrior, the Shalimar birds, the map of India and Pakistan, the flags of these two now separate nation states - these icons reveal symbols of a conflicted South African society. The militaristic Islamic mogul, the striking bird symbol of peace, and the nationalist symbols of South Asia seem to be irreconcilable. The bird figure calling for peace in the South Asian sub-continent, the ancestral home of Indian South Africans, and calling for peace for Indian South Africans in the country of their birth, once again manifests the contradictions of a displaced society struggling to make sense of the vicious political dispensation in which they found themselves. The aristocratic couple, the mosque, and the flowers seem to emit an aura of upper-class consciousness, religious faith, and escape into subliminal and romantic love.



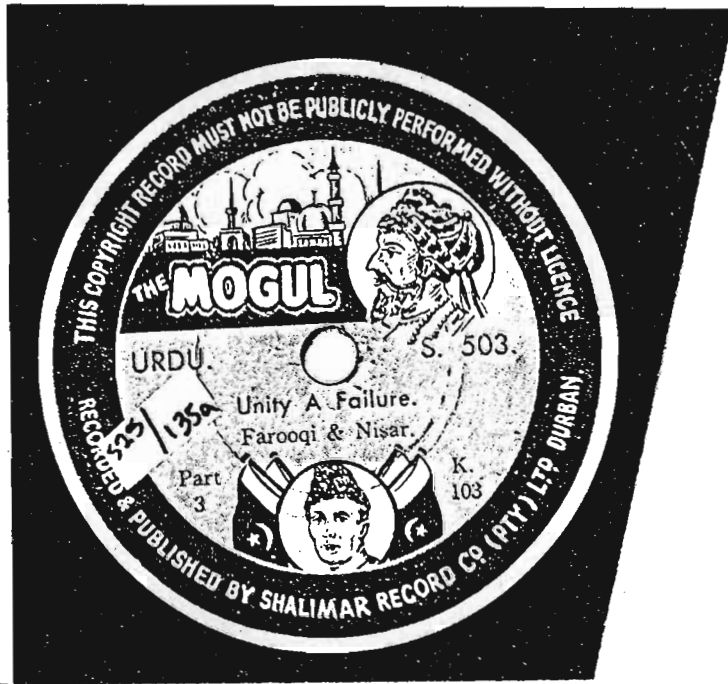


Fig. Forty-four: The Mogul 'Pakistan Set' and The Mogul Modern Qawwali Labels ("Farooqi" Mehtar collection, University of Durban-Westville)



Fig. Forty-five: Shalimar Young India and Young India Shalimar Release Labels (SABC Eastern collection)

### *Technology and the K Matrix*

Almost all of The Mogul U, The Mogul S, Shalimar Filmi Duniya H, T and U, and Shalimar H and T labels were recorded at 16 Saville Street in a room above a shop. The room had been "rigged up like a recording studio with green and red lights, just room for the piano, the musicians, the microphone" (Maya Devi 1991:Interview). At first, all recordings were made with the direct mastering method.

It was very difficult to make these records. They had a machine that made the master. It was so fragile that you can't play it again. Because the master must go just like that. We couldn't even hear it again to see if there is a mistake there ("Farooqi" 1987:Interview).

Early recordings were made "onto silver disc". Later, the masters were recorded on a tape recorder (Jamal 1994: Interview) which probably happened in the early fifties since the new tape mastering technology had come into the country in 1949 (Allingham 1992:n.p.). With very few exceptions, Shalimar Record Company records bear the K matrix number which also appear on some of Gallo's African issues from the late forties and early fifties (Allingham 1994:Interview). Jamal told me "if he was not mistaken", he remembered "someone" coming from Gallo in Johannesburg to do the recording in Saville Street (1994). Sushila Rani said that she remembered Kathree from Kathree's Radio Service, which was located at 2 Saville Street, doing the sound recording (1994). Could the K from Kathree's articulate with the K matrix on Gallo's African issues and Shalimar Indian South African issues indicating that he engineered the Shalimar, Mogul, and some Gallo African recordings at 16 Saville Street, perhaps under the supervision of a Gallo engineer?

Some Shalimar Fimi Duniya and Shalimar K matrix records were sent to Decca for pressing. Lower H catalogue numbers like H 703, H 705, and H 709 clearly have the "Trutone" look.

But H 715 does not have the thick, pitted look of the earlier records. In Allingham's opinion, some of them were pressed by English Decca (1991:Interview). The same may be said for many of the T labels. Why were some pressed in South Africa by Gallo and others sent to England? Allingham suggests:

Perhaps some were thought to be better sellers potentially, then they used Decca for better quality. Maybe they were fed up with the local quality anyway (1991:Interview).

If they were pressed by Decca, why were they not published on the Shalimar Young India label?

At least one The Mogul U record (U917 - see Discography) features a South Asian performer and was produced by the Bombay Record Co. under royalty supervision of the National Gramophone Company, Bombay. This is reminiscent of the Shalimar Young India Release records. The E matrix suggests that the vocalist was recorded somewhere other than in Saville Street. Why this was published on The Mogul rather than the Shalimar Young India label is another puzzle.

There is no doubt that a great deal of effort, courageous technological and administrative networking, and some expertise was invested in the Shalimar Record Company activities. The odds, however, were against them.

## Sanctions and the Fall - Free Razor Blades, Candlewick Bedspreads and Huge

### Clearance Sales : 1953

The flurry of local production activity came to an end when the effects of a modification in the sanctions trade embargo reinstated the commercial strengths of older record distribution companies like Roopanand's, and, especially Goshalia's. A possible hint of Shalimar Record Company's financial difficulties may be seen in the September 1952 notice that four thousand records were to be reduced to half price and less (The Leader 19 September 1952:2). In April 1953, a "Huge Clearance Sale, free razor blades, 14,000 discs" was announced. The Sale offered mostly Shalimar Filmi Duniya H, Shalimar Duniya T, and The Mogul U labels, with a few imported Decca Shalimar Young India Release YI labels (The Leader 24 April 1953:3). Despite attempts in 1953 to market Shalimar "stars",<sup>58</sup> Shalimar Record Company was forced to reduce its prices in "after stock-taking" sales (The Leader 21 August 1953:3), to holding "clearance" sales (The Leader 11 September 1953:8), and to selling Candlewick Chenille bedspreads (The Leader 28 May 1954:10).

In December 1954, Shalimar Record Company seems to have merged with or been taken over by MI-SHOP, Receiving Depot for the Frances Freres dry cleaning company (The Leader 10 December 1954:7). Added to that, the records on their shelves were then almost exclusively H.M.V. and Columbia labels (The Leader 10 December 1954:7), which, as we will see, were once again accessible through Goshalia's monopolistic arrangements with EMI-owned Gramophone Company of India (GCI). The ambitious, creative venture of Shalimar Record Company was over.

## Phoenix Rising – Goshalia's H.M.V. and Columbia South African Pressings

### *Sanctions - Indians are Worst Sufferers : 1950*

From 1947, the Indian South African population voiced conflicting opinions over the sanctions issue. In October 1947, I.M. Bawa and A.I. Kajee, both of whom were representatives of large commercial conglomerates amongst which was Avalon Theatres, went on a Goodwill Mission to ask Pakistan to drop sanctions against South Africa. This resulted in a no confidence vote in the Muslim Council (The Leader 11 October 1947:5). However, by 1949, despite critical references to "sinister motives" (Purmasir 1949:4), even staunch supporters of the Indian Congress were questioning the effectiveness of sanctions due to

- 1) South Africa's having sourced jute grain bags elsewhere;
- 2) sanctions having imposed hardship on the very people on whose behalf they were initially created;
- 3) black marketeering having reduced many of the possible effects of sanctions; and
- 4) claims that sanctions were hurting India and Pakistan more than they were the Union of South Africa (The Leader 23 April 1949:4; The Leader 7 May 1949:4; The Leader 6 August 1949:6; and The Leader 13 August 1949:4).

Pakistan lifted its trade ban in February 1950 (Indian Views 8 February 1950:4&5). Despite an article in which Nehru was reported as saying "India is NOT going to Budge" (The Leader 7 February 1950:n.p.), India modified its ban in July 1950. The following announcement was made in the South African press.

India is relaxing trade sanctions which she had imposed on South Africa because of the latter's treatment of resident Indians in this country. Articles such as films, medicines, books, etc., are being gradually removed from the list of trade sanctions ... any article of commerce which would contribute to the advancement of health, culture and literature should be removed from the embargo (The Leader 29 July 1950:1).

It seems fairly clear that records were included in the "etc." and that the effect of this relaxation, while gradual, made an enormous impact on the alternative Indian South African record distribution and manufacturing industry, which as we have seen, had once again been halted in its tracks at this time.

### *H.M.V. SAD and Columbia DSE Labels : 1953*

Goshalia's announcements indicate their tentative recovery in October 1950.

See our latest shipment arriving soon ... book early and save disappointment  
(The Leader 14 October 1950:16).

Long-Awaited Records Have Arrived (The Leader 21 October 1950:4).

But the real turn around only came in 1953. In a "Special Announcement", Goshalia's, and their subsidiary Raman and Co., informed the retail record dealing sector that they were back in business with "exclusive distribution rights for H.M.V. and Columbia Indian Records Throughout South Africa", distributing through Radio Record Trading Co. in Johannesburg and Durban (The Leader 9 October 1953:9).

Despite Shalimar Record Company's rather sad "It's a good habit - Shop at 'Shalimar', i.e. buy your H.M.V. and Columbia records from Shalimar (The Leader 27 November 1953:5), Goshalia's clearly now held the reins once again. In order to capitalise on their newfound position of strength, Goshalia's went all out on a propaganda drive in 1954. This included reported comments by Ramniklal Amulakh Goshalia, disapproving of the role played by

**SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT!!**

**GOSHALLA'S (S.A.) (PTY.) LTD.**  
HAVE PLEASURE IN INFORMING THE GENERAL PUBLIC THAT THEIR SUBSIDIARY—  
**RAMAN & CO. (PTY.) LTD.**

HAVE EXCLUSIVE DISTRIBUTION  
RIGHTS FOR

**H.M.V. and COLUMBIA  
INDIAN RECORDS  
THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH AFRICA**



Trade Enquiries:

HEAD OFFICE: RAMAN & CO. (PTY.), LTD.  
179a Grey Street, Durban — Phone 25806

Distributing Depots:

RADIO RECORD TRADING CO.  
38a Market Street, Johannesburg — Phone 375552

and 90a Victoria Street, Durban

Fig. Forty-six: Exclusive Distribution Rights H.M.V. and Columbia Indian Records throughout South Africa (The Leader 9 October 1953:9)



local musicians, especially Tamil orchestras, who "cribbed" the imported records and "with pride" claimed them as "local productions". He was also quoted as saying "Our orchestras should be original" and "inventive"; and he implied that only original imported records, i.e. H.M.V. and Columbia, should be listened to in everybody's homes (The Leader 7 May 1954:3).

Shortly after that, an extensive promotional press article described Goshalia's efforts "to bring music to S.Africa." Not any music: music which was coloured by the glamour of Bollywood, the exoticism of the enchanting mystic East rather than "the hum-drum of the local scene". The public was reminded in the article of the Goshalia family's accreditation as India-born with a long-standing tradition of dealing in music-related commerce. Most significantly, Goshalia's was characterised as "successful" and "progressive" in a business sense, resulting in the firm's having obtained the right to manufacture, i.e. to press the latest hits of Indian records on H.M.V. and Columbia in South Africa. Transportation and other costs saved by pressing these records locally with modern technology had standardised the price of "the real thing" which was "now almost the same as India, East Africa, Mauritius etc." and was no longer to be considered a luxury (The Leader 6 August 1954:4).

In order to publicise the new pressings, a "Record Review" column appeared in the press from July 1954, ostensibly promoted by Pyramid Stores but containing only His Masters Voice SAD and Columbia DSE label records which were accessible only through Goshalia's and their agents.<sup>59</sup> As a result of this advertising campaign, a broadcast media that gave considerable airplay to these records, the South Asian nationalistic cultural preference held by many Indian South Africans, the enormous South Asian and diaspora market and

monopoly, and brought home by a few somewhat fortuitous events, Goshalia's was catapulted into a league of its own. No other local company was in a position to compete either with Goshalia's distribution network, nor with the production technology that produced high quality recordings of seasoned and well-trained musicians at low costs. Goshalia's claimed to be selling 20,000 Indian records a month since going into its pressing operation in 1953 (The Leader 6 August 1954:4). EMI had established a pressing plant in South Africa in "approximately 1950 or 1951" (Allingham 1997:Per telephone) and Goshalia's was able to take advantage of that when sanctions against South Africa were relaxed. Monopoly capitalism once again ruled.

### **Post-Shalimar Local Manufacturing**

The overall commercial failure experienced by Shalimar Record Company, and Goshalia's successes, did not completely deter others from trying their hand at manufacturing Indian South African records. With sanctions blowing hot and cold after 1950, Indian South Africans were never really sure that a total trade embargo was not in the offing, and with the memory of the effects of the 1946-1950 sanctions still in people's minds, other entrepreneurs took up the challenge during the sixties. They were probably also attracted by those stories of records that were hot sellers: perhaps they would do a better job with all of their products selling well.

Although the Star Record Company produced records on the CK catalogue series with a few local musicians in the mid-fifties, and Kohinoor Store seems to have produced records on the KS series in 1959, it was not really until the sixties that companies almost rivalling

Shalimar were launched. While the details about such ventures remain to be uncovered in another research project, I wish very briefly to sketch the outline of the sixties developments.

Two rival consortiums were active in the sixties. One, made up of Raj Music Saloon and Raj Disc Publishers, was owned by Ahmed Gany. They produced Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP and NR, Indiana ID, and the Taj TR labels. These records were seven singles, and the NR red label was the most prolific. The most common genres on this label were modern *qawwali*, modern versions of traditional *naats*, modern Hindi *geets*, and some instrumental numbers including clarinet and Hindi *sarangi*. Tamil devotional songs were recorded by them on the Indiana label. The musicians most commonly featured were Rabin Heera (an ex-Buxson band member), Kader Qawal, J.P. Maharaj (Bhojpuri folk), Madhavan, and Nazear Husain aka Shakeel Mehmood aka Abdul Kader Dawood. Although "Farooqi" was the lyricist for some of the records, "Safee" Siddiqi was the main lyricist.

Ahmed Gany's brother, Ismail Habib was the producer in the rival group National Recording Studios (Pty) Ltd., which included Popular Record Company which pressed and distributed the records, and the All India Group who were the sole distributors of National records. The Indiavoice IVLP label was theirs, but their most prolific label was the red Voice of India. Voice of India NR included the modern Muslim and Hindi genres. The NAT series was reserved for Tamil records and the AR catalogue series featured Tamil Christian and a large number of "English" songs. The main musicians were Ismail Ganie, Kader Kawal, Mirza Rafik aka Shaam aka Rusty, Moosa Ganie, Riaz Akhter, H.M. Roy, Teenage Singing Idol Salim Razack, Zubede Begum, Nagesh Pillay, David Francis, Sureshi, and Madan

Maharaj with His Golden Guitar. "Farooqi" was the lyricist for almost all the modern Muslim and Hindi numbers, as well as for the "English" songs.

After the sixties, seven-single and longplay records by Indian South African musicians were published by a whole range of record companies. Gallotone, Souttown Records, Teal Mosaic, Gallo (Africa) The Sun, Shifty Records, Independent Record Company: all of these and more were used by Western bands, jazz ensembles, and *filmi* disco bands.

### **Royalties - "They Weren't Fair!"**

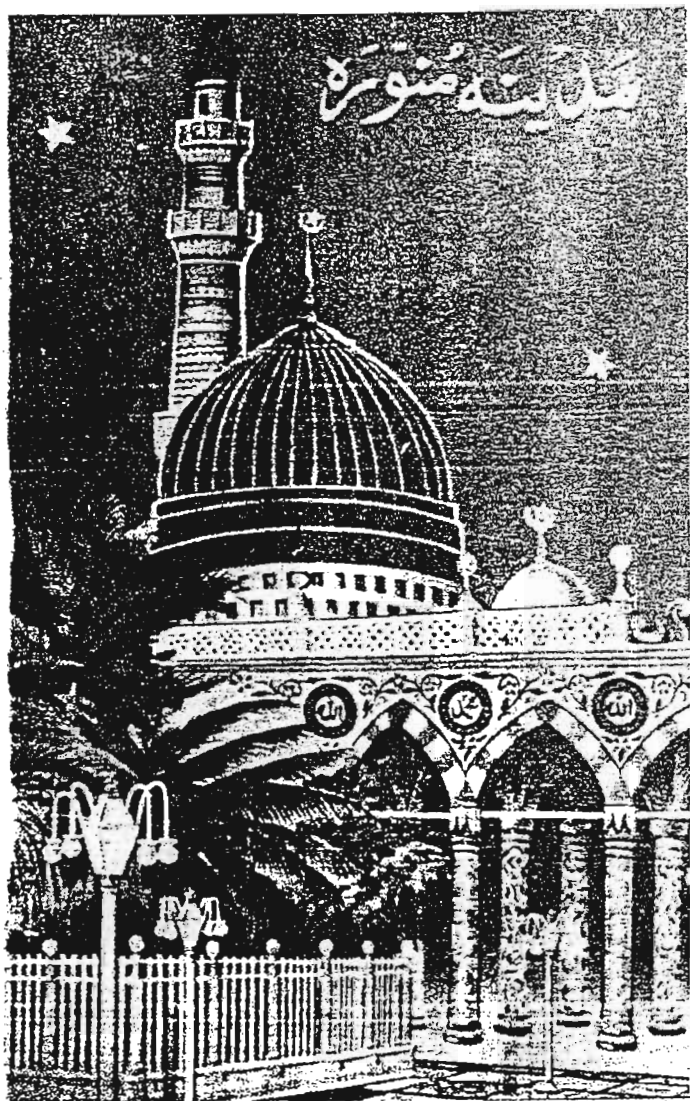
In the sixties, the tape recorder had become accessible to those who could afford the cost. With that, a number of records on labels registered to the vocalists were being circulated. "Farooqi" worked closely with one of the *qawwals* who established his own label through a home-owned tape recorder. "Farooqi" was both this vocalist's *sha'ir* and he seems also to have invested funds in the procurement of a tape recorder in order to produce records by the *qawwal* independently of the big commercial companies.

One of my research participants told me:

A singer ... came along to him and said "Mr `Farooqi', I want you to write some songs. I'll do the music, I'll record it, I'll do the singing, I'll do this and that, and we'll make so much money out of it! There's only me and you. At that time, "Farooqi" wasn't earning very much. He went along and bought the tape recorder in anticipation of that money to come and he put his heart and soul into those songs because now he was doing something where he could make some money ... So then what happened was, this chap came along, "Farooqi" wrote for him something like a dozen songs. Even gave him the tune, what he must sing here based on some of the popular musical tunes. And then that fellow, he made records, he sold them, he bought himself a car and "Farooqi" got nothing! Absolutely nothing!

1091/23  
**NAZEER HUSAIN**

**RAJ 710**  
speed 45



side A  
**MOHAMMED HAMAREH**  
**HAMAREH**

side B  
**KAHA'N HAI WO**  
**GOOLSHANE MADINA**

lyric **FAROOQI**  
music **RATTNA ENT**

***Voice of Hindustan***

Fig. Forty-seven: Voice of Hindustan Sleeve ("Farooqi" Mehtar private collection)

Voice of India

NR 107

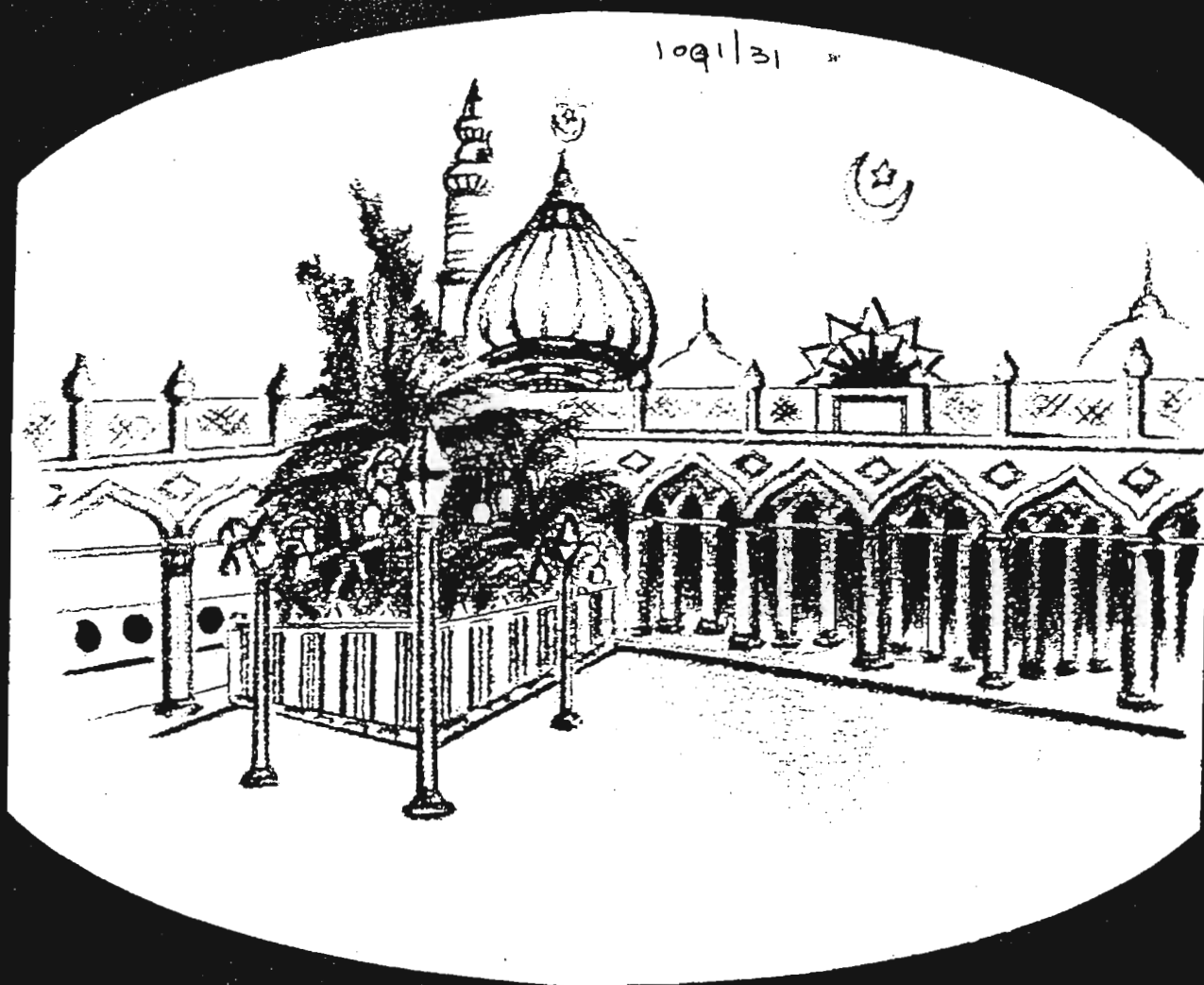


Fig. Forty-eight: Voice of India Sleeve ("Farooqi" Mehtar private collection)

PARVEEN

PVN 417

1099 / 20



Fig. Forty-nine: Parveen Sleeve ("Farooqi" Mehtar private collection)



Fig. Fifty: Taj and Salamat Labels ("Farooqi" Mehtar private collection)



Despite the magnificent contribution that "Farooqi" made to the creation of Indian South African music, he received very little material reward for it. Shalimar Record Company paid him a small fixed fee and, according to Yacoob Mehtar,

they used to take him for a little meal sometimes. Not a contract, not a royalty, nothing. And he wasn't one of the sort that said "I want my contract". He never made any money out of those records, I doubt if he made himself £100 from all his writings (1994:Interview).

"Farooqi" was active from 1944 to the mid 1980s and many musicians were nurtured by him and dependent on him for songtexts. It is a disgrace that he should not have been better rewarded for his efforts.

Amongst many tales of fixed fees, Sushila Rani (aka Suksha Singh) told me about her experience. Three discs with her singing were recorded and pressed by Shalimar Record Company. But, she said, she thought only the "Roothe Pritam" disc was released.

They sold thousands, they made a lot of money out of "Roothe Pritam". I didn't know anything. Then my sister, who handled the business affairs because my parents had not been educated, said "No! Suksha must get a cut from the sales" and they had only given me £5.00, £5.00 for the thousands of records, they were sold out, they had to reprint and I know because my sister found out. My sister wanted me to get ... royalties. No, they wouldn't do that. Then after that my sister said "No! No more records." After that, I just sang for charity. I was exploited I know. I was exploited. I didn't get a cent for any of the shows I did. You see, people, it's a terrible thing to say, but now you realise, people made things to suit their pocket. It was for them! You see, they weren't fair, they weren't fair. And then you did it, and you said "Oh Well!" (Sushila Rani 1994:Interview).

There are many themes in the post-Shalimar discussion which were common to the Cavalcade and the Shalimar periods. Recorded jazz, guitar *filmi* disco music, and straight Western dance bands were new developments. However, similar music genres and styles,

familiar names of musicians and poets, problems with royalties and piracy, the threat of import disruptions, ambiguous nationalisms, and North Indian and Western cultural predominance in popular music all continued to be significant factors. Cavalcade was the root; Shalimar the trunk; and Raj Disc Publishers and National Recording Studios the branches. These creative events reveal one long continuum of modern Indian South African popular culture.

### **Conclusion - Indian South African Record Industry : 1920 - 1970**

The Gramophone Company and Columbia controlled much of the distribution of Indian records in South Africa through small, separate, exclusive agencies until the end of the thirties. From 1938, however, after the EMI merger, The Gramophone Company H.M.V. and Columbia labels were all distributed via one agency network. Goshalia's and its subsidiaries distributed South Asian records manufactured by EMI-owned Gramophone Company of India, Dum Dum, throughout Southern and East Africa.

This monopoly continued until shipping was disrupted by the First World War. During the mid-forties, modern Indian South African popular music, which had been deeply influenced by the Euro-American and South Asian mass media, but which had fused into a diverse but noticeably South African repertoire, made its claim for a share of the local manufacturing industry. When trade with GCI was resumed at the end of the war, Goshalia's once again took control.

Goshalia's position of strength was toppled by the imposition of sanctions by India and

Pakistan on South Africa. Once again, actors from the war-generated popular music recording enterprise regrouped to produce a collection of Indian South African syncretic popular music records. The manufacturing company also entered into a sanctions-busting distribution agreement with one of India's independent companies, rerouting its product through Britain to escape sanctions litigation.

When sanctions were modified to release South Asian cultural products for redistribution to Indian South Africans, Goshalia's once again resumed its position as exclusive distributor of EMI/GCI products. They were to benefit increasingly from GCI's economy of scale due to EMI having established a pressing plant in South Africa which lowered production costs.

The Indian South African popular music industry was both spawned and destroyed by mass media dynamics. It was dependent on the media both for seeding its parody style, and for marketing its hardware. Where the media enabled in the first instance, it destroyed in the second due to a hostile, anti-Indian South African, anti-popular music broadcaster AND due to the successful media-generated middle-class South Asian nationalist ideology which hindered the growth of a non-racial, intercultural South African identity.

## REFERENCES

- Allingham, R. 1991. Interview Gallo House, Johannesburg, 10 July.
- Allingham, R. 1992. "The Gallo Gold Awards Brochure." n.p.
- Allingham, R. 1994. Interview Department of Music, University of Durban-Westville, Durban, 18 June.
- Allingham, R. 1997. Per telephone, 28 May.
- Allingham, R. 1997. Per telephone, 20 June.
- Arkin, A. 1989. "Economic Structure." In A.J. Arkin *et al*, eds. The Indian South Africans. Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers. pp.41-72.
- Bhana, S. and B. Pachai, eds. 1984. A Documentary History of Indian South Africans. Cape Town: David Philip, Publisher; with Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.
- Brijlal, P. 1989. "Demographic Profile." In A.J. Arkin *et al*, eds. The Indian South Africans. Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers. pp.23-40.
- Broadcast Records/The Eastern Music Emporium May Brochure. 1937. A.G. Pillay private collection.
- Columbia Records/Radio Record Trading Co. Brochure. 1938. A.G. Pillay private collection.
- Devar, J.R. "Irrelevant Comments." The Leader, 13 June, p.4.
- "Farooqi" Mehtar. 1987. Interview Overport, Durban, 7 November.
- Fowler, R. ed. 1987. A Dictionary of Modern Critical Terms. London: Routledge.
- Graham, R. 1988. The Da Capo Guide to Contemporary African Music. New York: Da Capo
- The Graphic. 3 April 1953. "Indian Girls Should Dance." p.8.
- The Graphic. 10 April 1953. "Leave Our Girls Alone." p.3.
- The Graphic. 25 April 1953. "Dancing is Indecent." p.3.
- The Graphic. 2 May 1953. "Dancers on Their Toes." p.2.
- The Graphic. 2 May 1953. "Ballroom Dancing is Not Sexy." p.2.
- The Graphic. 2 May 1953. "After-Dance Kisses." p.2.

- The Graphic. 9 May 1953. "Dance Floors Shiver." p.2.
- The Graphic. 9 May 1953. "Professional's Views." p.2.
- The Graphic. 23 May 1958. "Quawali Concert." p.12.
- The Graphic. 10 October 1958. "Quawali Artist: Music Recorded in Mayville." p.2.
- Gronow, P. 1981. "The Record Industry Comes to the Orient." Ethnomusicology 25, 2, 251-281.
- Indian Opinion. 2 November 1934. Orient Music Saloon Advertisement. n.p.
- Indian Views. 10 March 1933. Orient Music Saloon Advertisement. p.24.
- Indian Views. 21 April 1933. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.18.
- Indian Views. 23 June 1933. "Indian Picture." p.11.
- Indian Views. 24 June 1938. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.23.
- Indian Views. 16 June 1939. Orient Music Saloon Advertisement. p.15.
- Indian Views. 7 May 1940. Orient Music Saloon Advertisement. p.9.
- Indian Views. 29 August 1941. Shaffee Quawal Concert Season Advertisement. p.4.
- Indian Views. 16 April 1943. Nisar Quawal Grand Singing Concert Advertisement. p.21.
- Indian Views. 17 December 1943. Songtime Advertisement. p.6.
- Indian Views. 17 March 1944. Master Sultan Khan M.I.M. and Party Grand Variety Show Advertisement. p.4.
- Indian Views. 30 June 1944. "Thanksgiving Cavalcade." p.3.
- Indian Views. 11 August 1944. Cavalcade Records Advertisement. p.2.
- Indian Views. 25 August 1944. "Current Comment by Spectator." p.2.
- Indian Views. 1 December 1944. "Current Comment by Spectator." p.3.
- Indian Views. 30 March 1945. "Durban Cavalcade." p.5.
- Indian Views. 15 August 1945. "The War is Over." p.3.
- Indian Views. 14 January 1948. I.M. Mather Advertisement. p.24.

- Indian Views. 28 January 1948. I.M. Mather Advertisement. p.16.
- Indian Views. 14 April 1948. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.24.
- Indian Views. 23 June 1948. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.26.
- Indian Views. 18 August 1948. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.14.
- Indian Views. 8 February 1950. "Editorial: Truth About Trade Ban." pp.4 & 5.
- Jackson, M.B. 1988. "An Introduction to the History of Music Amongst Indian South Africans in Natal 1920-1948: Towards a Politico-Cultural Understanding." M.Mus. Thesis, University of Natal.
- Jamal, G.M. 1994. Interview Durban, 30 June.
- Lazarus, A.D. 1952. "It Is NUTS, Says NITS, President of 'Indian Music'." The Leader, 4 July, p.7.
- The Leader. 30 November 1940. Avalon Advertisement. p.2.
- The Leader. 30 November 1940. Krishna Theatre Advertisement. p.2.
- The Leader. 14 December 1940. Radio Record and Trading Company Advertisement. p.2.
- The Leader. 18 January 1941. Avalon Advertisement. p.6.
- The Leader. 10 May 1941. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.
- The Leader. 6 September 1941. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.
- The Leader. 13 September 1941. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.
- The Leader. 22 November 1941. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.
- The Leader. 29 November 1941. "Popular Indian Picture at the Avalon." p.7.
- The Leader. 13 December 1941. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.
- The Leader. 17 January 1942. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.
- The Leader. 7 February 1942. p.7.
- The Leader. 25 July 1942. Mayville Theatre Advertisement. p.6.
- The Leader. 30 January 1943. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 13 March 1943. Mayville Theatre Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 13 March 1943. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 2 October 1943. Hotel Cosmo Advertisement. p.6.

The Leader. 2 October 1943. Avalon Theatre Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 13 November 1943. "Dance Results." p.7.

The Leader. 4 December 1943. "In Aid of Famine Relief Fund ... A Grand Cabaret at the Ritz Palais De Danse." p.4.

The Leader. 22 January 1944. "The Peril of Western Dancing." p.4.

The Leader. 22 January 1944. p.7.

The Leader. 26 February 1944. Mayville Theatre Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 18 March 1944. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 22 April 1944. p.4.

The Leader. 13 May 1944. "Eddels Cavalcade Soccer and Cavalcade Queen." p.4.

The Leader. 27 May 1944. Avalon Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 10 June 1944. "Durban and Coast Thanksgiving Cavalcade Indian Section Beauty Contest." p.4.

The Leader. 1 July 1944. "The Thanksgiving Cavalcade." p.4.

The Leader. 1 July 1944. "The Cavalcade Effort." p.4.

The Leader. 22 July 1944. "Cavalcade Events." p.7.

The Leader. 29 July 1944. Ice-capades Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 19 August 1944. "Soviet Pavilion Cavalcade." p.4.

The Leader. 10 February 1945. "India to Interfere in Union Affairs." p.1.

The Leader. 16 March 1946. "India Acts: Trade Sanctions to Aid S.A. Struggle." p.1.

The Leader. 16 March 1946. "India's Economic Sanctions; All South Africa Will Feel the Pinch." p.1.

The Leader. 3 August 1946. Roopanand Brothers Advertisement. p.6.

The Leader. 11 October 1947. p.5.

The Leader. 24 November 1947. Victoria Furniture Mart Advertisement. p.12.

The Leader. 15 May 1948. Lux Soap Advertisement. p.1.

The Leader. 19 June 1948. Commando Cigarette Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 26 June 1948. Pulnanam Cosmetics Advertisement. p.3.

The Leader. 3 July 1948. Kapitan Balcony Hotel Advertisement. p.5.

The Leader. 31 July 1948. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.4.

The Leader. 31 July 1948. Commando Cigarette Advertisement. p.10.

The Leader. 14 August 1948. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.10.

The Leader. 4 September 1948. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.10.

The Leader. 30 October 1948. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.15.

The Leader. 20 November 1948. Goshalia's Advertisement. n.p.

The Leader. 23 April 1949. "Editorial: Trade Sanctions." p.4.

The Leader. 7 May 1949. "Those Trade Sanctions." p.4.

The Leader. 23 July 1949. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.11.

The Leader. 6 August 1949. "Editorial: Economic Sanctions Must Go." p.6.

The Leader. 13 August 1949. "Trade Sanctions." p.4.

The Leader. 24 December 1949. "Harie Bakathie" Poster. p.9.

The Leader. 7 February 1950. "India is NOT Going to Budge an Inch Says Nehru." n.p.

The Leader. 29 July 1950. "Sanctions Against S.A. Relaxes." p.1.

The Leader. 30 September 1950. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.12.

The Leader. 14 October 1950. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.16.

The Leader. 21 October 1950. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.4.

The Leader. 22 June 1951. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.2.



The Leader. 24 August 1951. "Natal Indian Dance Teachers Association. p.2.

The Leader. 24 August 1951. "St. Anthony's Dance Results." p.12.

The Leader. 7 September 1951. "Trends in Indian Music." p.4.

The Leader. 7 September 1951. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.5.

The Leader. 5 October 1951. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.3.

The Leader. 5 October 1951. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.9.

The Leader. 26 October 1951. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.3.

The Leader. 21 December 1951. "Natal Indian Dance Teachers Association." p.10.

The Leader. 22 February 1952. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.6.

The Leader. 29 February 1952. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.11.

The Leader. 4 April 1952. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.6.

The Leader. 11 April 1952. Shan Pillai School of Dancing Advertisement. p.6.

The Leader. 19 September 1952. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.2.

The Leader. 26 September 1952. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.7.

The Leader. 16 January 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.5.

The Leader. 16 January 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.11.

The Leader. 6 March 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.5.

The Leader. 24 April 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.3.

The Leader. 7 May 1953. "The World of Entertainment." p.3.

The Leader. 5 June 1953. Gillettes Blades Advertisement. p.10.

The Leader. 31 July 1953. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.3.

The Leader. 7 August 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.12.

The Leader. 21 August 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.3.

The Leader. 11 September 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.8.

- The Leader. 9 October 1953. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.9.
- The Leader. 23 October 1953. "Spring Festival of Ballroom Dancing Tonight." p.2.
- The Leader. 27 November 1953. "Big Dance Tonight." p.3.
- The Leader. 27 November 1953. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.5.
- The Leader. 30 April 1954. "Going Backwards." p.7.
- The Leader. 28 May 1954. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.10.
- The Leader. 9 July 1954. "Record Review." p.9.
- The Leader. 30 July 1954. "Record Review." p.16.
- The Leader. 6 August 1954. "Overseas Trip to Bring Music to South Africa." p.4.
- The Leader. 3 September 1954. "Record Review." p.5.
- The Leader. 17 September 1954. "Record Review." p.12.
- The Leader. 24 September 1954. "Record Review." p.12.
- The Leader. 29 September 1954. "Record Review." p.6.
- The Leader. 1 October 1954. "Record Review." p.6.
- The Leader. 22 October 1954. Goshalia's Advertisement. p.5.
- The Leader. 12 November 1954. "Record Review." p.13.
- The Leader. 10 December 1954. Shalimar Record Company Advertisement. p.7.
- The Leader. 17 December 1954. "Record Review." p.5.
- "Lover of Carnatic Music." 1953. "Indian Music Degraded." The Graphic, 22 August, p.2.
- Madhavan Nair. 1993. Interview Woodview, Durban, 8 August.
- Manuel, P. 1993. Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- "Maritzburg Teenager." 1953. "Indian Music." The Leader, 12 December, p.4.
- Maya Devi. 1989. Interview Parlock, Durban, 24 January.

- Maya Devi. 1990. Interview Parlock, Durban, 18 February.
- Maya Devi. 1991. Interview Parlock, Durban, 25 July.
- Maya Devi. 1992. Interview Parlock, Durban, 12 November.
- Mehtar, H. 1993. Interview Springfield, Durban, 27 September.
- Mehtar, Y. 1994. Interview Department of Music, University of Durban-Westville, 30 May.
- "Music Lover." 1951. "Broadcast Appreciated." The Leader, 1 August, p.4.
- Pillay, A.G. 1994. Per telephone, 29 July.
- Purmasir, K.P. 1949. "Sanctions." The Leader, 27 August, p.4.
- The South African Indian Who's Who and Commercial Directory 1936-37. 1935. Pietermaritzburg: The Natal Witness. p.ixxviii.
- Stapleton, C. and C. May. 1987. African All-Stars: The Pop Music of a Continent. London: Quartet Books.
- Sushila Rani. 1994. Interview, Durban Beachfront, 14 June.
- Tootla, S. 1993. Interview, Reservoir Hills, Durban, 27 September.
- Veeran, D.V. 1996. "The Orchestral Tradition Amongst Indian South Africans in Durban between 1935 and 1970". M.A. Dissertation, University of Natal.
- Verma, V. 1992. "The Saga of Old Gramophone Records." In O.P. Joshi, ed. Sociology of Oriental Music. Jaipuri: Illustrated Book Publishers. pp.248-242.

## NOTE

1. Being an "educated entrant" meant that he came to South Africa under his own finances, probably with family capital and business connections in India behind him to float a new business, i.e. he was not an indentured labourer.
2. Henceforth SAIWWCD 1936-37.
3. I have interpreted this within the context of the Indian South African and South Asian Indian term "music", which is used colloquially to indicate instrumental rather than vocal music.
4. Henceforth Goshalia's, its colloquial name.
5. This was a common practice in South Africa before the 1931 merger that formed EMI. It did not only apply to Indian music labels (Allingham 1992:n.p.).
6. Apart from the fact that there were too many advertisements for translation, given the other priorities in this study, it is impossible to trace all of them since the Documentation Centre at the University of Durban-Westville did not microphotograph repeat advertisements in early vintage newspapers, thus the collection is not complete. If one can not determine how long advertisements ran, one's data is unreadable and unreliable.
7. From research participant A.G. Pillay (Jackson 1988:160). I have not encountered any records with the Gramophone label on which The Gramophone Co. issued its records before 1924. After that Gramophone was replaced by the His Masters Voice label (Gronow 1981:255).
8. A reference to The Oriental [sic] Music Saloon's "own line of branded goods" in SAIWW (1936-1937, 1935:35) invites further research.
9. Like the British Zonophone Twin, the Indian The Twin was the "cheaper" version of HMV (Allingham 1997:Per telephone).
10. See A.A. Pillay's and Kit Mewalal Somaroo's collections (listed Jackson 1988:175-193) for examples.
11. Henceforth GCI.
12. Between them, these companies controlled His Masters Voice, Zonophone (The Twin), in which the Gramophone Co. had controlling shares from 1903, and Columbia. The Graphophone Co., and subsequently EMI, also controlled Odeon. Odeon was originally owned by the International Talking Machine Co., and then by Carl Lindstrom A.G. which was bought out by the Columbia Graphophone Co. in 1926 due to the negative impact of the First World War on the German record industry (Gronow 1981:268 and 269).

13. See record label illustration Fig. 45.
14. A list of Broadcast records owned by A.A. Pillay can be found in Jackson 1988:185 & 188).
15. Sushila Rani was the singing name of Suksha Singh, nee Soodyall. She was the young singer of the Shalimar hit record "Rothe Preetam" (see Sushila Rani, Discography).
16. This date, based on new evidence, is contrary to the information given to me and which I cited in earlier research (Jackson 1989).
17. "European" is the colloquial South African term, loaded with connotations of racism, for artifacts and people of white colonial extraction.
18. A "return" was a local idiomatic term for a re-run.
19. From 1937, an annual Indian eisteddfod was held in Durban. This was patronised by the educated Indian South African elite and white assimilationists. It was largely a promotional/ educational performance event which attracted the Christian and western-educated, Tamil elite. Western parlour music for voice, percussion bands, and violin or trumpet solo constituted a very large portion of the eisteddfod repertoire. A few South Indian Tamil or Telugu vocal items and Carnatic violin solos completed the programmes (Jackson 1988:116-120).
20. The following references capture the main cavalcade events: Mayville Theatre a "thrill-packed cavalcade" The Leader 26 February 1944:7; cavalcade soccer The Leader 13 May 1944:4; Thanksgiving Cavalcade Beauty Contest (The Leader 10 June 1944:4; Eddels Cavalcade Queen The Leader 13 May 1944:4; Stormy Weather - a cavalcade of rhythm ... from ragtime to swing ... all-negro cast The Leader 27 May 1944:7; The Thanksgiving Cavalcade The Leader 1 July 1944:4; Indian Cavalcade Effort The Leader 1 July 1944:4; Avalon presents Prem Sangeet in aid of Cavalcade Funds The Leader 22 July 1944:7; Cavalcade Events The Leader 22 July 1944:7; Ice-capades - a star-studded Cavalcade of the world's gayest blade The Leader 29 July 1944:7; Soviet Pavilion Cavalcade The Leader 19 August 1944:4; Thanksgiving Cavalcade Indian Views 30 June 1944:3; Durban Cavalcade amount raised Indian Views 30 March 1945:5; The War is Over Indian Views 15 August 1945:3.
21. Correctly spelt "Peter's Palais de Danse" in their own advertising press.
22. I only encountered detailed references to two of these four records. See Maya Devi Cavalcade IRC 780 and 781, and Ramchandra Cavalcade IRC 781 in Discography. No detailed reference to the Tamil records yet.
23. See discography entries Maya Devi "Apna Roop Dikhada" Cavalcade IRC 781; "Malan Albeli" Cavalcade IRC 781; "Rahe Dil Mey Ya Rab" Cavalcade IRC 780; and Ramchandra "Yaarah Nagri Jana" Cavalcade IRC 780.

24. Rob Allingham, who is documenting the Gallo archives, identified these records as having the "Trutone finish", a thick, pitted, rather clumsy looking thing with poor sound quality (1991:Interview).

25. The Mogul label was recorded in South Africa either by South African musicians or by visitors from India or Pakistan.

26. See Discography Shamsul Haq and Party The Moghul H.M.101.

27. See Fig. 31. On one side of the advertisement, the Shalimar half-circle and birds logo is positioned, and on the other side, a Young India Release half-circle and the Indian flag logo. This icon is completely different from those on the actual Young India Shalimar Release and the Shalimar Young India labels.

28. After unsuccessfully seeking an interview with the Mather family over a period of eight months, I was forced to rely on speculative material suggesting the links between these two companies.

29. Young India catalogue numbers that I have traced in South Africa include MP 634 (Jackson 1988:187) and DA 5706 (Jackson 1988:188). Shalimar Young India Release catalogue numbers run on from YI 1010, the first YI number recorded in the press (The Leader 31 July 1948:4 and Indian Views 18 August 1948:14).

30. The only other reference to the Nyakaza Zulu label that I found included the following list of records under a label illustrated with a semi-circle of stars and three top-hatted "coon"-looking characters:

Willie Gumede and Dark Town Darkies

B101 Ekoffee - Sa Vumelana Aawe

B102 Uyolobola - Blumas

B103 Ukabide - Temba

B104 Ibalazi - Amabela

B105 Ubezele - Marabi

B106 Isishimane - Matanazana

(Indian Views 8 February 1950:12)

31. See T 600, T 601, T 602, T 603, T 604, and T 605 in Discography.

32. See U 903, U 904, U 905, U 906, U 910, and H 702 in Discography.

33. See T 602, T 608, T 610, T 611, T 612, T 614, H 702, H 705, U 904, U 905, U 906, and U 910 in Discography.

34. See T 613, T 617, T 618, T 619, T 620, T 621, T 622, and T 623 in Discography.
35. See H 711 in Discography.
36. See T 634 in Discography.
37. See H 711 in Discography.
38. See H 714 and T 635 in Discography.
39. See H 713 in Discography.
40. See T 649 in Discography.
41. See U 920 in Discography.
42. See T 644 in Discography.
43. Describing H 709, H 710, H 711, H 712, H 713, H 716, H 717, H 719, H 720, H 721, and H 722 in Discography.
44. These records were recorded in South Africa, sung by South Africans or visitors, and reflected Indian South African Muslims' passionate support, at the time of partition, for the Jinna movement. After the mayhem and destruction following partition, many were to regret their unbridled fervour.
45. Sometimes spelt Deoduth.
46. The distinction between Shalimar Filmi Duniya H and T, and Shalimar H and T labels is not clear. At this stage, I have elected to treat them as one category. If it were not for the fact that Shalimar Filmi Duniya included examples of the "Afikaans saba", I would be tempted to say that Filmi Duniya labels borrowed recognised Bollywood film tunes and Shalimar sourced their melodies elsewhere. Clearly, a different analysis is invited.
47. This is the Indian South African term for Hindustani or Tamil texts set to Afrikaans *tiekie-draai* melodies (see e.n. below for explanation).
48. See for example Pulnanan cosmetics (The Leader 26 June 1948:3); Commando cigarettes (The Leader 19 June 1948:7; The Leader 31 July 1948:10); Lux soap (The Leader 15 May 1948:1); Victoria Furniture Mart Advertisement (The Leader 15 November 1947:12) and Gillettes Blades (The Leader 5 June 1953:10).
49. See for example "St. Anthony's Dance Results" (The Leader 24 August 1951:12); "Natal Indian Dance Teachers Association Dance" The Leader 24 August 1951:2); "Natal Indian Dance Teachers Association" (The Leader 21 December 1951:10); "Shan Pillai School of Dancing" (The Leader 11 April 1952:6) and "Spring Festival of Ballroom Dancing" (The Leader 23 October 1953:2).

50. See for example "Big Dance Tonight" (The Leader 27 November 1953:3).

51. See for example "The Peril of Western Dancing" (The Leader 22 January 1944:4); "Indian Girls Should Dance" (The Graphic 3 April 1953:8); "Leave Our Girls Alone" (The Graphic 10 April 1953:3); "Dancing is Indecent" (The Graphic 25 April 1953:3); "Dancers on Their Toes"; "Ballroom Dancing Not Sexy"; "After-Dance Kisses" (The Graphic 2 May 1953:2); and "Dance Floors Shiver" and "Professional's Views" (The Graphic 9 May 1953:2).

52. *Vastrap* is also called *tiekiedraai*, "turn-on-a-tiekie" which refers to a small coin. This is a Cape dance style that was developed by guitarists at the end of the nineteenth century. *Boeremusiek* refers to music associated with white Afrikaner culture.

53. The Nightingale of the Capital (The Leader 4 April 1952:6).

54. Sankaran Moonsamy Pillay.

55. I use the term "parody" to suggest considerable borrowing of structural musical material which was frequently exposed to modification. My use of the term is de-eurocised, freed of the connotation commonly ascribed to it in the western canons of literary and musical style criticism. It is innocent of subversive mimicry of "any weakness, pretension or lack of self-awareness in its original" (Fowler 1987:172-173). Most Indian South African parody is not critical, does not manipulate irony, impersonation, burlesque, travesty, or caricature. In the few instances where it does act as a critical practice, I use the term "critical parody".

56. During the eighties and early nineties, many music software distributors had slick operations with many high-speed dubbing machines in their "production" rooms. In 1992, I was told the following by one research participant.

There is an open understanding between India and South Africa. Dubbing of commercial tapes is accepted by the whole Indian [South African] community. Everyone does it. Until trade sanctions are really cleared up, we will go on doing it. Even the South African Government makes money out of it: I pay duty on my "masters" and then I pay tax against invoiced sales of my copies. I would not do that to copyrighted recordings of South African musicians: that would not be fair - it is not mine and it would invite trouble. I prefer to use imported CDs now. I used to use records because the quality of cassettes coming from India is not good. We are pirates, yes, but we do it openly, and with dignity. There was a court case and I won it - acquitted.

57. Research participants frequently referred to this symbol as "famous".



58. "Shalimar Star Marries" (The Leader 7 August 1953:12).

59. The Leader 30 July 1954:16; The Leader 9 July 1954:9; The Leader 3 September 1954:5; The Leader 17 September 1954:12; The Leader 24 September 1954:12; The Leader 29 September 1954:6; The Leader 1 October 1954:6; The Leader 12 November 1954:13; and The Leader 17 December 1954:5.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE BROADCAST MEDIA AND THE RECORD INDUSTRY : A CULTURAL MATERIALIST ANALYSIS

Cultural materialists have argued that the thrust for a non-reductive materialist policy for culture research is to be found within Marxist historical materialism rather than in opposition to it (Bennett *et al.* 1981:13; Hall 1981:30). Marx stated that "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves" (Larrain 1986:92 cites Marx 1970:96). Similarly, he expressed the belief that "circumstances are changed by men" where circumstances coincide with human agencies in "revolutionary practice" (*ibid* cites Marx 1976:4).

In neo-Marxist cultural materialist thinking, concepts of practice, reciprocity, human agency, universal ideological struggle, and asymmetrical linkages mediate the relationships between structural modes of production (which usually are multiple in most concrete societies (Larrain 1986:122)) and cultural production at the superstructural level. All cultural production, though relatively autonomous, is shaped by political-economic material factors, but it is also always the object of ideological struggle. As such, cultural production is a site of negotiation, mediation, imposition, resistance, re-articulation, and transformation. In this chapter, I do not attempt to recapitulate all the empirical findings in the present study. Rather, based on the historiographical evidence in the chapters above, and in application of

cultural materialist analytical methodology, I reflect on some examples in the Indian South African broadcast media and record industry which demonstrate "sites of struggle".

### **Modes of Production**

Colonial society in Natal, where the majority of Indian South Africans resided, was, at the end of the nineteenth century, embroiled in a contest for land, wealth, status, and power between Zulu pastoralist-gatherers led by a Zulu monarchy, white agriculturalists and industrialists, and Indian settlers (Jackson 1989b:59). Modes of production included British imperialist capitalism which employed the system of indenture to enhance its financial strength in the search for cheap labour which Zulu monarchical society had failed to produce. The passenger system, which relied on the persisting economic structure of the joint family, reproduced pre-capitalist social formations in South Africa which were shaped and sustained by similar modes of production in South Asia.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, many free, or ex-indentured Indian South Africans were either incorporated into existing capitalist economic structures such as domestic or farm labour, occupation on the mines and in the municipalities as unskilled or semi-skilled labour, or were employed in the growing industrial sector. Others created an additional tier of pre-capitalist labour as family-based market gardeners and hawkers of their products.

British settlers formed a white bourgeois colonial society which sought both economic and political hegemony. They were in control of civic and legal bodies. They were thereby to gain increasing levels of control over all South Africans who were not white, deciding where

they should live and to what extent and how they would be allowed to participate in the colonial economy.

Race, class, ethnicity, and ethnically-orientated religious institutions were to be exploited in contradictory ways by competing formations. Race and class distinctions were intrinsic tools for distinguishing the targets of oppressive forces. As passenger traders moved away from exclusively supplying the Indian South African commodity market (i.e. as they became contestants in the general colonial economy), they became targets of political and economic oppression. As Indian "slaves" of the indentured system with no rights or capacity for contest, Indian immigrants were actively sought. As free traders, and contestants for land or white-collar employment, they were included into the group of which British colonials wished now to be rid. Where Indian South Africans challenged the political and economic power of white colonials, they were declared "Asiatics", unassimilable, non-South Africans, a race to be alienated from the results of mainstream colonial political and economic activity.

After 1948, apartheid capitalism was based on "the *hierarchical ordering* of the economic, political and social characteristics *on the basis of race*" [original emphasis] (Lipton 1989:14). It also promoted and protected the economic interests of white capital in the mining, agricultural, and manufacturing industries where black surplus labour was reproduced. Whites comprised a ruling oligarchy and privileged elite. Those who were not white were exposed to unfair discrimination and segregation, which were institutionalised by the law (ibid:15). Indian South African civil rights were conscientiously withheld, and those which had been implemented were increasingly withdrawn.

### **Broadcast Media and Record Industry : Sites of Struggle**

Williams (1981:30-31) offers a number of guidelines for a cultural materialist analysis upon which I have drawn. He requires, amongst other methodological principles, that cultural materialism should investigate institutions and formations of cultural production; the social basis of specific forms; social relations of cultural production; the ways in which culture is identified; and the reproduction of the relations of production. The scope of my study is informed by two major formations of cultural production: the media and the music industry. Other formations included political organisations and music/listeners associations. The social basis of specific forms is to be seen in the effects which practices in the media and the industry had on forms like *qawwali*, *ghazal*, and *birha*. The media and the industry patronised certain music forms in favour of others, and deliberately curtailed the life of some music genres. My study also considered the social relations of cultural production: in this case, the relations of religion, language, urban/rural dynamics, class, race, politics, and ethnicity. We also saw that culture and cultural production were socially identified and distinguished as education, entertainment, ethnic development, political strategic tools, class identity, nationalist symbols, and by "racial" characteristics. Reproduction occurred as modes of production produced capitalist relations which, in this instance, and over the entire period of study, were manifest in the form of relations between the white ruler at the decision-making centre, and the ethnic others who were reproduced as marginalised, alienated, inferior, disempowered subalterns. However, we cannot ignore the financial prosperity and powerful class positions which some Indian South Africans acquired, arguably, by the very political-economic relations which disempowered other black South Africans. What Moodley calls "the glaring discrepancies in the different histories of the

victims of colonialism" and the "'progress' of Indians" (1989:95) needs to be explained. He states that Indians progressed due to the "cultural insulation of an internalised traditional code of conduct" (ibid). That may be so. I would suggest, however, that depending where in the complex modes of production Indian South Africans were positioned, some, like Goshalia, "progressed" more than others. Firstly, Amulakh Narbheram Goshalia benefited by the privileged position in which the passenger system placed him and his organisation. Secondly, the capital base and the monopolistic network which Goshalia commanded was not available to all. Then, despite the disruption caused by the war and by sanctions, Goshalia and the Radio Record Trading Company capitalised on the ideological isolation in which apartheid capitalism had placed them.

Class and ethnicity were commonly-experienced tools of internecine economic and political contest. In the early years of the African Broadcasting Company, programming policy seems to have occurred largely by default due to the apparent absence of ABC policy. The Gujarati Muslim and Hindu, and the Tamil elite constructed a service for an elite urban audience. In this process, as was evident in the Indian South African political organisations at the time, the class interests of the elite were served. Policy, region and technology resulted in the total alienation of the underclasses from broadcast-media culture. Since policy was vested in the hands of the urban Indian South African elite, "upliftment" in the ABC seems to have taken the form of an upper-class South Asian ethnicity. Thus programming policy was not in line with the westernising "upliftment" theme which was central to the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. The broadcast media reproduced the dominant social relations of urban Indian South African society where intact ethnicity was perceived as a characteristic of elite society.

From the 1940s, the hegemony of the conservative urban trader class in broadcast programming was challenged by members of the middle and underclasses. These groups demanded entertainment in the form of popular film music, a middle-class South Asian phenomenon, spawned by capitalist urban consumerism in India, which depended on mass-generated popular culture to satisfy the requirements of a market economy. The challenge in South Africa was conceived in terms of South Asian religious and language differentiation as upward mobility was sought through the emulation of those Indian South Africans who had been enabled by their class and financial strength to sustain their ethnic exclusivity. The demand for more ethnically-identified programme material was seen by many also as resistance to British imperialism which denied franchise and other human rights on the ideological grounds of Western superiority. This was particularly true before 1948, but many Indian South Africans held to this strategy as a form of resistance during the apartheid era.

However, resistance to government oppression was also conceived in the form of intercultural popular entertainment which sought a compromise between capitulation to westernisation and outmoded ideologies of intransigent South Asian ethnicity. From the 1940s, led by a middle-class, Congress-aligned petit-bourgeoisie (most of the proponents were teachers or white-collar workers), interculturality was promoted as a unifier of South Asian and South African ethnicities. During the late forties and fifties, when the Passive Resistance movement was attempting to resist apartheid as a unified Indian alliance, unity was an ever-evasive goal. The Cavalcade/Shalimar performing contingency offered intercultural vaudeville music as a means to draw all Indian South Africans together as

Indians and as South Africans to resist anti-Indian oppression. Interculturality was also viewed as an indication of Indian South African assimilability when the Smuts government was citing the otherness of the population as evidence of the foreign, non-South African identity of "Asiatics". Assimilation was dialectically viewed by Indian South Africans of all classes as either weakness or strength. For some South Africans, assimilation signified betrayal of Indians by Indians. For them, South Asian nationalism supplied a strategy of resistance both in South Asia and in South Africa. For others, selective assimilation and modernism were strategies for South African nationalist resistance to oppressive rule. Dialectical dynamics of consciousness which interpreted nationalism in contradictory ways emanated from the structural relations of imperialism, capitalism, and apartheid.

Despite the demographic concentration of the Indian South African population in Durban, where, by 1951, forty-five per cent of all Indian South Africans resided, the state xenophobically persisted in viewing their broadcast service as a "concession". Until the sixties, state strategy treated this racial class as foreigners in transit. Thus, the provision by the state of a broadcasting service which catered adequately for Indian South African needs was not considered a civil right. This deliberate neglect served at the time to alienate Indians from other South Africans who were exposed to broadcasting services which were invested with other ideological agendas. Resistance to the travesty of The Indian Programme took multiple forms. The non-politically-aligned formations resorted to market economy tactics which revealed concern only that the middle and elite classes had paid for their service. Congress formations used the same argument but also expressed concern about lost opportunities for the social and economic development of Indian South Africans.



After 1960, apartheid racial capitalism entrenched the myth of a monolithic Indian South African middle-class community comprised of pure ethnic sub-groups. In an attempt to legitimise the imposition of a non-elected, collaborative system of municipal and nation-wide "separate development" governance, the state co-opted the ethnic strategy of the upwardly mobile classes and of those who saw the reinvention of South Asian ethnicities in South Africa as a strategy for politico-cultural resistance. Cultural and political collaborators within the Indian South African population eased the way for such co-option. To forge a compliant Indian South African middle class, underclass culture was not featured by state media. Neither were the intercultural, cross-racial, and purely Western cultural practices in which urban middle-class Indian South Africans were active. Apartheid ideology, which attempted to reinvent cultural purism based on "tribal" differences, resulted in the contradictory aims of using the media to create a class, but one which was dominated and divided by "pure" ethnic differences based on religion and language.

The broadcasting media and the record industry have long been thought to be the most significant institutions of twentieth-century cultural production. Both are generally concerned with mass-generated culture, markets of scale, and commodity consumerism, all of which are commonly-found aspects of capitalist society. Indian South African colonial and apartheid broadcasting did not, however, fit the expected pattern. Due to the restricted concessionary status of the service prior to the sixties and seventies, broadcasting was not in any way complicit in developing mass-generated Indian South African culture or a market of scale for the record industry. If anything, it was the Indian foreign broadcasting service and the *absence* of a viable broadcast service that facilitated the growth of the Indian South African record distribution network. All-India Radio popularised the product and the lack

of an adequate local broadcast service ensured a dependence on individually-owned records for diasporic, immigrant enculturation. Even after the service had been radically expanded in the seventies, the South African broadcaster was forced to access imported records from a number of slightly nefarious sources within South Africa and from abroad due to the renewed sanctions which had been imposed on South African parastatal institutions.

In the 1920s, the South African record industry grew from the privileged Kathiawar Gujarati trader class joint family production mode. From 1938, however, it articulated with the global monopolistic capitalist system which required markets of scale and mass-generated commodity products, while still retaining echoes of the joint family system in its dynastic relations of production. The South African broadcast media together with the monopolistic record distributor determined the demise in 1953 of the Shalimar Record Company (i.e. the local manufacturing and rival record distributing company). The record industry monopoly was allowed to flourish primarily because it was not in conflict with white capital interests, and because it served to diminish the assimilative, modernising initiative that was implemented by Congress practitioners.

### **Further Research**

Further research is invited by the obvious lacunae left by this study. Amongst others, familiarity with the Gujarati language would facilitate collection of both research data in the early Gujarati press and from elderly practitioners who were involved in cultural production in the early twentieth century. The question of Tamil "Special Servants" contribution to the early broadcasting of Carnatic music might produce interesting information. Work towards

a more comprehensive discography of Indian South African records would give a clearer insight into music practices and the possibility for reinstating Indian South African culture as an intrinsic and valuable participant in South African national heritage. A detailed historiography of the Indian South African record industry after 1955 is urgently required. This should include the history, and their effects on Indian South Africans, of renewed waves of trade embargoes and cultural boycotts. The roles of Springbok Radio, Capital Radio, Radio Truro, and Radio Lotus as market economy formations, need to be rigorously investigated as contexts for Indian South African broadcasters.

Perhaps the most compelling need would be to research the current requirements for a more viable, equitable broadcast service and record industry which harmonise with the human rights culture of South Africa's post-apartheid democratic dispensation. This would be no simple task, but addressing the following might be a starting point for such research.

Any future broadcasting arrangements would at least need to consult with all Indian South Africans who are concerned with developing all aspects of Indian South African life experience. In effect, this would mean that Indian South Africans from all classes and all cultural affiliations, including South Asian, Western, popular and classical derivatives, would be sought and promoted. Working-class community broadcasting which strengthened the working class by valuing the endemic cultural practices of that class as Indians and as South Africans could be pursued to strengthen non-racial working-class formations. Similarly, broadcasting policy which developed skills capacities based on the needs identified by working-class communities would transform the media into an enabling force which implemented the Reconstruction and Development policy of the African National Congress

government rather than one which only served the interests of the various elites. Consultation with non-Indian South Africans who could contribute to the development of Indian South African culture as South African heritage could promote the post-apartheid constitutional aims of national inclusivity. Together with broadening the base of Indian South African broadcast services, South Asian and Indian South African music could also be liberated from the racial media ghetto in which it has been imprisoned, by placing it in a media forum in which it is enjoyed as a national, and indeed, a global culture, to be shared by all. For example, as a step in the nation-building transformation process, Indian South African "special interest" programmes reflecting genuine communities, whether based on language or religion could be retained. However, broadcasting programmes promoting Indian South African music performers in "non-Indian" genres which had hitherto been overlooked could reflect the heterogeneity of Indian South African citizens. Simultaneously, local and imported "South Asian" music, would be included in the regular programming of stations such as Radio Metro and SAfm. Programmes combining all South African cultural expression which educated South Africans about each other in creative, joyous ways would be welcomed by teachers and learners. Given their history, above all, Indian South Africans, like other previously oppressed South Africans, deserve to allow their rich and varied cultural heritage to flourish, respecting the old and embracing the new. The media must position itself to be sensitive to the changing needs of all South Africans.

Young Indian South African musicians would be developed by commissioned Indian and other cultural events attached perhaps to recording contracts. The record industry would need to ensure that contracts with musicians were fair and that at least the monopolistic aspect of the Indian South African record industry was prevented. Communities could do

more to promote the recording of all local musicians, and the South African broadcaster could generally devote more airtime to local Indian South African music.

South Africa is burdened with the sensitivities, lack of trust, and fears from the past. Add to those the intrinsic difficulties created by the ambiguities which are central to diasporic cultural issues; the extremely divided South African society as a whole; the poverty of most South Africans; and the insecurity caused by rapidly changing political, social, and economic dispensations, and we have an extremely complex situation. We will require much research, wide and skilled consultation, developmental partnership programmes, and careful reflection in order to achieve a broadcast service and a record industry which reflects the new freedom so recently attained by all South Africans.

## REFERENCES

- Bennett, T., G. Martin, C. Mercer, and J. Woollacott. 1981. "Editors' Introduction." In Bennett *et al*, eds. Culture, Ideology and Social Process: A Reader. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. and The Open University Press. pp.9-16.
- Hall, S. 1981. "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms." In Bennett *et al*, eds. Culture, Ideology and Social Process: A Reader. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. and The Open University Press. pp.19-38.
- Jackson, M. 1989b. "Tiger Dance, *terukkuttu*, Tango, and Tchaikovsky: A Politico-Cultural View of Indian South African Music Before 1948." The World of Music, 31, 1, pp. 175-188.
- Larrain, J. 1986. A Reconstruction of Historical Materialism. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Marx, K. 1970. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." In K. Marx and F. Engels. Selected Works in One Volume. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Moodley, K. 1989. "Cultural Politics." In A.J. Arkin *et al*, eds. The Indian South Africans. Pinetown: Owen Burgess. pp. 93-102.
- Marx, K. 1976. "Theses on Feuerbach." In K. Marx and F. Engels. The German Ideology, Collected Works. Vol. 5. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Williams, R. 1981. Culture. London: Fontana.

## APPENDIX A

### GLOSSARY

<i>bhajan</i>	*	Hindu devotional song
<i>bandish</i>	*	music phrase associated with raga
<i>birha</i>	*	a Bhojpuri folksong, especially associated with separation
<i>boereorkes</i>	*	Afrikaans folk orchestra
<i>chiz</i>	*	small set composition around which improvisation takes place in raga
<i>filmi geet</i>	*	film song
<i>filmi ghazal</i>	*	film-style <i>ghazal</i>
<i>gamaka</i>	*	microtonal embellishments in Carnatic and Hindustani classical music
<i>gharana</i>	*	"family" or school of Hindustani classical musicians
<i>ham'd</i>	*	Muslim song genre in praise of Allah
<i>khyal</i>	*	Hindustani classical music genre
<i>kirtan</i>	*	Hindu devotional song genre
<i>kriti</i>	*	Carnatic semi-classical song genre
<i>kutum</i>	*	joint family system
<i>manqabat</i>	*	Muslim devotional song genre
<i>mrdangam</i>	*	Carnatic classical, hand-struck, barrel-shaped wooden drum
<i>musha'ira</i>	*	Urdu poetry circle
<i>naat</i>	*	Muslim devotional song genre

<i>nachania</i>	*	North Indian folk dance drama performed by working class and rural Indian South Africans
<i>nazm</i>	*	Urdu Muslim patriotic song genre or, more especially, patriotic poem
<i>niraval</i>	*	high-speed running passages in Carnatic classical music
<i>qawwal</i>	*	<i>qawwali</i> vocal performer
<i>qawwali</i>	*	Muslim solo and chorus song genre, ranges from highly classical to popular in style, mostly devotional
<i>qirat</i>	*	sung recitations of passages from the Holy <i>quran</i>
<i>quran</i>	*	Holy Koran
<i>rasiya</i>	*	Braj folk song
<i>sabha</i>	*	society promoting a language, religious culture and possibly music
<i>salaam</i>	*	Muslim dedication
<i>sarangi</i>	*	North Indian bowed instrument
<i>shaan</i>	*	Muslim devotional song genre
<i>sha'ir</i>	*	Urdu or Hindi poet
<i>sohar</i>	*	North Indian song genre, sung at the birth of a child
<i>therukooth,</i>	*	South Indian folk dance drama performed <i>terukuttu</i> by working class and rural Indian South Africans
<i>thumri</i>	*	Hindustani semi-classical erotic song genre
<i>vastrap</i>	*	Afrikaans quick-step



## APPENDIX B

### DISCOGRAPHY

DECEMBER 1999

Ahmad Badsha.

1966 "Mecca Ka Bashi." Salamat SST 503 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Mere Muhammad Mustufa." Salamat SST 503 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Anwar Azad.

"Mera Naam Haji." Voice of India NR 7867 Side 1. Urdu naat, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Gaadi Dhireh Chala." Voice of India NR 7867 Side 2. Urdu quawali, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Balum Mora Moojse Bichaad Gayo." Voice of India NR 7869 Side 1. Urdu modern, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Kulme Ki Baje Basoor Ya." Voice of India NR 7869 Side 2. Urdu quawali, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Dur-Dur Pe Bhataкта Hay Khwaja Ka Diwana." Voice of India NR 7870 Side 1. Urdu naat, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Sakhi La Illaha Illalah." Voice of India NR 7870 Side 2. Urdu quawali, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

<i>nachania</i>	*	North Indian folk dance drama performed by working class and rural Indian South Africans
<i>nazm</i>	*	Urdu Muslim patriotic song genre or, more especially, patriotic poem
<i>niraval</i>	*	high-speed running passages in Carnatic classical music
<i>qawwal</i>	*	<i>qawwali</i> vocal performer
<i>qawwali</i>	*	Muslim solo and chorus song genre, ranges from highly classical to popular in style, mostly devotional
<i>qirat</i>	*	sung recitations of passages from the Holy <i>quran</i>
<i>quran</i>	*	Holy Koran
<i>rasiya</i>	*	Braj folk song
<i>sabha</i>	*	society promoting a language, religious culture and possibly music
<i>salaam</i>	*	Muslim dedication
<i>sarangi</i>	*	North Indian bowed instrument
<i>shaan</i>	*	Muslim devotional song genre
<i>sha'ir</i>	*	Urdu or Hindi poet
<i>sohar</i>	*	North Indian song genre, sung at the birth of a child
<i>therukooth,</i>	*	South Indian folk dance drama performed <i>terukuttu</i> by working class and rural Indian South Africans
<i>thumri</i>	*	Hindustani semi-classical erotic song genre
<i>vastrap</i>	*	Afrikaans quick-step

## APPENDIX B

### DISCOGRAPHY

DECEMBER 1999

Ahmad Badsha.

1966 "Mecca Ka Bashi." Salamat SST 503 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Mere Muhammad Mustufa." Salamat SST 503 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Anwar Azad.

"Mera Naam Haji." Voice of India NR 7867 Side 1. Urdu naat, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Gaadi Dhireh Chala." Voice of India NR 7867 Side 2. Urdu quawali, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Balum Mora Moojse Bichaad Gayo." Voice of India NR 7869 Side 1. Urdu modern, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Kulme Ki Baje Basoor Ya." Voice of India NR 7869 Side 2. Urdu quawali, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Dur-Dur Pe Bhataakta Hay Khwaja Ka Diwana." Voice of India NR 7870 Side 1. Urdu naat, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Sakhi La Illaha Illalah." Voice of India NR 7870 Side 2. Urdu quawali, lyric self. Sole Suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Mr. K. Arumugam, Natal (S.A).

"Namasthe Mat Prana Nadha!" The Twin FT 6085, matrix MG 660. Instrumental Hawaiian guitar. Made in India. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

"Sanatmu Leka." The Twin FT 6085, matrix OMG 661. Instrumental Hawaiian guitar. Made in India. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

Asha Devi.

"Insaan-Ki Dono Manzil He." Shalimar Filmi Dunya [sic] H 717, matrix K 307. Hindustani quick-step, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Dookh Dard Museebuth Me." Shalimar Filmi Dunya [sic] H 717, matrix K 317. Hindustani bolero, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

R. Balakrishna.

1966 "Kathaloo Vinave." Voice of Hindustan RAJ T-101 Side A. Telegu modern, lyric R. Balakrishna, music by Fishy Naiker. Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Manathe Nannave." Voice of Hindustan RAJ T-101 Side B. Telegu modern, lyric R. Balakrishna, music by Harry Reddy. Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

M.S. Chetty.

1966 "Aaraaro." Voice of India NAT 002 A. Tamil, (M.S. Chetty), Music by All-India Studio Orchestra. Pressed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1966 "'Pen Vazhkai' Poovaagi Kaayagi." Voice of India NAT 002 B. Tamil, (M.S. Chetty), Music by All-India Studio Orchestra. Pressed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

A. Coomaras Nayagar of South Africa.

"Maya Vinodha." Columbia GE 22021, CEI 90562-IBTR. Tamil. Registered Trademark of Columbia Graphophone Co. Ltd. Middlesex, England. Record Manufactured by Regd. User of Indian Trade Mark. Made in India. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

"Orupodhum Maravathe." Columbia GE 22021, CEI 90563-IBTR. Tamil. Registered Trademark of Columbia Graphophone Co. Ltd. Middlesex, England. Record Manufactured by Regd. User of Indian Trade Mark. Made in India. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

David Francis.

1968 "The Lord is My Shepherd." Voice of India NAT 021 A. Tamil Christian lyric, music Metro Entertainers, arranged Matthias Doosi. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. Morgan Moodley family private collection.

1968 "The Birth of Christ." Voice of India NAT 021 B. Tamil Christian lyric, music Metro Entertainers, arranged Matthias Doosi. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. Morgan Moodley family private collection.

"Farooqi" and Nisar.

"Unity a Failure. [The Pakistan Set] Part 3." The Moghul S 503, matrix K 103. Urdu. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Farooqi", Nisar, and Jamal.

"Pakistan a Reality. [The Pakistan Set] Part 5." The Moghul S 504, matrix K 105. Urdu. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Farooqi" and Shalimar Girls' Chorus.

"A Leader is Born. [The Pakistan Set] Part 2." The Moghul S 502, matrix K 102. Urdu. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Mr. K.A. Ghandi, Durban S. Africa.

"Ragamalika Pt. 1." Hutchins' Records SN 800, matrix OMH 5698. Instrumental violin solo. Manufactured by The Gramophone Co. Ltd. Dum Dum (India). Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

"Ragamalika Pt. 2." Hutchins' Records SN 800, matrix OMH 5699. Instrumental violin solo. Manufactured by The gramophone Co. Ltd. Dum Dum (India). Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

Gnanam Devi<sup>1</sup>.

"Nan Wooyerillathe." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 733,<sup>2</sup> matrix K 289. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

S. Gulraza.

"Tamanna Hae Hamari." The Moghul U 912, matrix NG. 10055. Urdu gazal, comp. "Firoz". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Teri Mehfil Mae." The Moghul U 912, matrix NG 10056. Urdu gazal, comp. "Firoz". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Habib Qawwal (Subrothie).<sup>3</sup>

"Kiya Kehna Rasool E Khuda." In Favourite Quawwali Hits. Voice of India NR 113 Side A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Shaida Hoon Jaano Tunse." In Favourite Quawwali Hits. Voice of India NR 113 Side B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Hamid<sup>4</sup>.

"Tum Nah Kisee Sé." Shalimar Filmi Dunya [sic] H 721, matrix K 331. Hindustani quick-step<sup>5</sup>, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Joroon Aisee Milee Hé." Shalimar Filmi Dunya [sic] H 721, matrix K 315. Hindustani saba<sup>6</sup>, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Hamid & Zureen.

"Hamari Thoomari." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 715, matrix K 309. Hindustani waltz, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Hi-Lites.

1972 "Dil Bar Jaani" (From the film "Haathi Mere Saathi, Devar Films). In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 1, ABC 1920 A. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Paise Ki Pehchan" (From the film "Pehchan", Nagar Films). In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 1, ABC 1920 A. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Dil Use Do" (From the film "Andaz", Sippy Films). In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 1, ABC 1920 A. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Oh Ma (Mammy Blue)". In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 1, ABC 1920 A. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Zindagi Ek Safar Hai" (From the Film "Andaz", Sippy Films. In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 1, ABC 1920 A. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Chal Chal Mere Saathi" (From the Film "Haathi Mere Saathi", Devar Films. In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 2, ABC 1920 B. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Naphratki Duniya Ko" (From the Film "Haathi Mere Saathi", Devar Films. In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 2, ABC 1920 B. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Ye Sham Mastani" (From the Film "Kati Patang", Shakti Films. In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 2, ABC 1920 B. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Tere Kaaran Mere Sajan" (From the Film "Aan Milo Sajna", Film Kunj. In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 2, ABC 1920 B. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1972 "Woh Din Yaad Karo" (From the Film "Woh Din Yaad Karo", New Cine International. In Sounds Oriental Vol. 2. Soultown Records KRS 111, Side 2, ABC 1920 B. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Imam Qawal.

1966 "Piyare Muhammad Aa Jana." Salamat SST 501 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Ramchandra. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Muhammad Mustufa Sardar Hain." Salamat SST 501 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Ramchandra. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Inayetullah Kaloo (Calcutta).

"Shak'l Dikhado Khwaja." Shalimar Young India U 905, matrix K 165-A. Urdu naat, comp. "Zam Zam". Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Rakhle Ilahi Laaj." Shalimar Young India U 905, matrix K 166-B. Urdu naat, comp. "Sabir". Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Rasthe Hi Rahe." The Moghul U 918, matrix K 338. Urdu gazal, comp. "Sabir" India. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Habibe Khaalike Alam." The Moghul U 918, matrix K 337. Urdu naat, comp. "Sabir" India. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Bismil Bana Gaye." The Moghul U 921, matrix K 385. Urdu, comp. "Sabir". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Rasool-Allah Ko Dekha." The Moghul U 921, matrix K 384. Urdu, comp. "Sabir". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Tamanna Leke Jayenge." The Moghul U 923, matrix K 386. Urdu, comp. "Sabir". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Wo Tune Dikhaya Rang." The Moghul U 923, matrix K 387. Urdu, comp. "Sabir". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Shak'l Dikhado Khwaja." Voice of Hindustan 45-RM 7-1786. Urdu naat, comp. "Zam Zam". Radio Disc Publishers.<sup>7</sup> SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"asool-Allah Ko Dekha." Voice of Hindustan 45-RM 7-1786. Urdu naat, comp. "Sabir". Radio Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Ishaq Quawal.

"Daroodo Salaam." The Moghul U 908, matrix K 235. Urdu



salaam, comp. "Farooqi". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Hamdo Sana." The Moghul U 908, matrix K 233. Urdu ham'd, comp. "Farooqi". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Ismail Ganie.

"Krishna Muraree." Voice of India NR 152 Side A. Full version. Hindi modern (traditional), (Safee), music Romeo. Recorded at Olympia. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Raam Jee Ki Mala." Voice of India NR 152 Side B. Full version. Hindi modern (traditional), (Safee), music Romeo. Recorded at Olympia. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Mecce Ke Hajio." Voice of India NR 153 Side A. Full version. Urdu modern, (Farooqi), music Rameo. Recorded at Olympia. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Patthar Ke Jiger." Voice of India NR 153 Side B. Full Version. Urdu modern, (Farooqi), music Rameo. Recorded at Olympia. Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Blessings of the Quran' Quraan Hey Allah Ka Kalaam." Taj TR 008 A. Urdu traditional, lyric "Unus" Meer, music by Master Surendra. A "Raj" Production, Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1966 " `Blessings of Namaaz' Namaaz Mey Kiya Baat Hey." Taj TR 008 B. Urdu traditional, lyric "Unus" Meer, music by Master Surendra. A "Raj" Production, Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Ismail Ganie and Master Surendra.

1966 "Pharbhoo Jee." Taj TR 010 A. Hindi devotional bhajan, lyric Safee, music Master Surendra. A "Raj" Production, Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1966 "Jay Jay Mahadev." Taj TR 010 B. Hindi devotional bhajan, lyric Ranjith, music Master Surendra. A "Raj" Production, Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

G.M. Jamal.

"Medine Ko." Shalimar Young India U 906, matrix K. 130-A [DK130HH on vinyl]. Urdu naat,<sup>8</sup> comp. "Farooqi". Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Ajib Ada Se." Shalimar Young India U 906, matrix K. 167-B [DK167 on vinyl]. Urdu naat, comp. "Bashir". Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

G.M. Jamal and M.B. Siddiqi.

"The Glorious Death. [The Pakistan Set] Part 1." The Moghul S 501, matrix K 101. Arabic. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Janakie.

"Kanne." Shalimar T 619, matrix K 262. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Madhavan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Aaduvai Myile." Shalimar T 619, matrix K 271. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Kelum Kelum." Shalimar T 622, matrix K 273. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Kaar Irull." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 641, matrix K 313. Tamil waltz, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Sollume." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 641, matrix K 329. Tamil rhumba, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Janaki & Madhavan.

"Poovam Naroom." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 635, matrix K 294. Tamil duet, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Jugdeesh Qawal<sup>9</sup>.

1966 "Ya Mahammad Dikhado Medina." In Latest Quwwali Songs by Jugdeesh Qawal (Spotsy). Salamat SST 502 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Distributed by United Record Wholesalers. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Mujhko Apna Shaida Banado Gousel-E-Azam." In Latest Quwwali Songs By Jugdeesh Qawal (Spotsy). Salamat SST 502 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Distributed by United Record Wholesalers. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Kader Qawal [Quawal; Kawal] (Pietermaritzburg).

"Chalo Ajmer Chalo." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 6786A. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Shahnaz, arranged Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Madne Ki Ziaraat Hogi." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 6786B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Shahnaz, arranged Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Allah-Hoo." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 7786A. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Shahnaz, arranged Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Hum Bhi Madina Jayenge." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 7786B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Shahnaz, arranged Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Bhola Bhala Hamara." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 8786A. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Ramchandra. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Nas Nas Bol-E Rasool." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 8786B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Ramchandra. Ramchandra family private collection.

"O Shah-E Madina." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 9786A. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Ham-E Mustafa Ki ...aa-Et Mile-...i." Voice of Hindustan RAJ.EP 9786B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Salamie Part One." Voice of Hindustan RAJ ALBUM 0786A (Volume 1). Urdu traditional, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Salamie Part Two." Voice of Hindustan RAJ ALBUM 0786B (Volume 2). Urdu traditional, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Salamie Part Three." Voice of Hindustan RAJ ALBUM 0786A (Volume 2). Urdu traditional, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Salamie Part Four." Voice of Hindustan RAJ ALBUM 0786B (Volume 2). Urdu traditional, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

1966 "Shukir-ya Nabi." Voice of India NR 120. Urdu, "Kazi", music Rabin Heera. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection.

1966 "Sabir Piya Nazara." Voice of India NR 120. Urdu, "Kazi", music Rabin Heera. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Allahoo-Allahoo." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 1, Track 1. LP. Urdu traditional, (comp. Farooqi), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Medina Me Lari Hai." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 1, Track 2. LP. Urdu traditional, (Self), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Pocha Tho Diya Qismet." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 1, Track 3. LP. Urdu traditional, (Farooqi), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Khwaja Ne Magai Piya." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 1, Track 4. LP. Urdu traditional, (Kazi), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Muhammad Ne-Kadam Hona." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 1, Track 5. LP. Urdu traditional, (Self), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India

Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Thoo Chahe To Qatre Ko Darya Bana-de." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 2, Track 1. LP. Urdu traditional, (Self), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Sarkare Medina Yaad Aaye." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 2, Track 2. LP. Urdu traditional, (Self), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Aap Ke Darka." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 2, Track 3. LP. Urdu traditional, (Farooqi), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Ajib Shane Qudrut." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 2, Track 4. LP. Urdu traditional, (Self), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

1969 "Ro Ro Kehti Thi Banoo Khuda Se." In Golden Voice of Kader Kawal. "Indiavoice" IVLP 4786 Side 2, Track 5. LP. Urdu traditional, (Self), Iqbal Khan on tabla, Billy Kisten on tenor banjo. Produced by Ismail Habib. Exclusively made for All India Group, sole distribution and controlling rights for Republic by National Recording Group. Mehtar family private collection.

Lionel Pillay.

1980 "Blues for Yusuf." In Deeper in Black. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786149A, ABC 10072A. (Lionel Pillay). Rash Pub. UND Music Department Library.

"Deeper in Black." In Deeper in Black. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786149A, ABC 10072A. (P. Grayson). United Artist. UND Music Department Library.

"Keep Your Soul." In Deeper in Black. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786149A, ABC 10072A. (Monk Higgins). United Artist. UND Music Department Library.

"Keep Your Soul Prt 2.) In Deeper in Black. Gallo (Africa). The

Sun SRK 786149B, ABC 10072B. (Monk Higgins). United Artist. UND Music Department Library.

"Jo Ju Ja." In Deeper in Black. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786149B, ABC 10072B. (Vee Pea). United Artist. UND Music Department Library.

Lionel Pillay featuring Basil Mannenberg Coetzee.

1979 "Cherry." In Plum and Cherry. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786146A, ABC 9696A. (Dollar Brand). Rash Music. Produced by Rashid Vally. UND Music Department Library.

"Plum." In Plum and Cherry. Gallo (Africa). The Sun SRK 786146B, ABC 9697B. (Lionel Pillay). Rash Music. Produced by Rashid Vally. UND Music Department Library.

1987 "Shrimp Boats." In Shrimp Boats. Independent Record Company. Mandla 001A. (P.M. Howard, P. Weston). Walt Disney Music. Produced, Marketed and Distributed by Independent Record Co. UND Music Department Library.

"Yakhal'inkomo." In Shrimp Boats. Independent Record Company. Mandla 001B. (Winston Mankuku). Laetrec Music. Produced, Marketed and Distributed by Independent Record Co. UND Music Department Library.

"Birdland." In Shrimp Boats. Independent Record Company. Mandla 001B. (Joe Zawinul). Mulatto Music/Sarral Music. Produced, Marketed and Distributed by Independent Record Co. UND Music Department Library.

Lutchmee Pillay.

"Ivvazhai." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 610, matrix K 215. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music A. Khan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

"Woonadanbai." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 610, matrix K 228. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music G.M. Jamal. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

Madan Maharajh.

1967 "Moré Raaj Bulgaye Bethiya." Voice of India AR 719 A. Hindi (Madan Maharaj) With His Golden Guitar. Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1967 "Kaun Meré Naya Pár Karo." Voice of India AR 719 B. Hindi

(Madan Maharaj) With His Golden Guitar. Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

J.P. Maharaj.

"Caune [Gahgne ? illegible] Gharwa." Voice of Hindustan NR 155 A. Hindi sarengi. Recorded at Olympia Durban, a National Production, pressed and distributed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Jakare Anganwa Jimiria." Voice of Hindustan NR 155 B. Hindi. Recorded at Olympia Durban, a National Production, pressed and distributed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Madhavan.<sup>10</sup>

"Thaye." Shalimar T 613, matrix K 242. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Madhavan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Mandharul." Shalimar T 613, matrix K 249. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Madhavan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Naan Sirisile." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 615, matrix K 320. Tamil tango, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Imasalam." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 615, matrix K 321. Tamil boogie, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Padoo Vomer." Shalimar T 620, matrix K 266. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Madhavan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Vanango Vom." Shalimar T 620, matrix K 276. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Madhavan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Poligey." Shalimar T 622, matrix K 277. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Murugan Thoothi." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 635, matrix K 292. Tamil waltz, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Vocalist, arrangements Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Serunthoo." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 637, matrix (D)K 284. Tamil march, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Pasuvai." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 637, matrix (D)K 301-1. Tamil tango, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Marappa Theppadi." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 643, matrix (D)K 349. Tamil rhumba, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Madhavan - Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Puthande." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 643, matrix (D)K 344. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Yeroo Mayil." Indiana ID 15A. Tamil devotional, lyric D.S. Pillay, music Ranjeni Orchestra. Raj Disc Publishers. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Yengum Koogamayame." Indiana ID 15B. Tamil devotional, lyric D.S. Pillay, music Ranjeni Orchestra. Raj Disc Publishers. Madhavan Nair private collection.

R. Madhavan & Gnanam Devi [Yanam Devi?].

"Nantha Vana." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 733,<sup>11</sup> matrix K 290. Tamil duet, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban.

Madhavan & Mognambal.

"Thoothoo." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 636, matrix K 299. Tamil waltz, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd.

Madhavan and Savitree.

"Ah Yen Kathal." Shalimar T 603, matrix K 118. Tamil duet, comp. S. M. Pillay, music A. Harry. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

S. Manickam of South Africa.

"Porumayai Iru." Columbia GE 22116, matrix CEI 90895-IBTR. Tamil. Columbia Graphophone Co. Ltd. Made in India. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.



"Iraivanadietha." Columbia GE 22116, matrix CEI 90896-IBTR. Tamil. Columbia Graphophone Co. Ltd. Made in India. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

M. Manickam Padayachee.

"Stri Thirugnana Sambandha Swami's Sarithiram. Part 9." Matrix NRS 130SS. VDM. Gandhi Semthamil School, Durban. Narration R. Karthigasan, violin K. Perumal Govender, thubla P. Gopaul Govender. Recorded by National Recording Studios (Pty) Ltd. Durban. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

M. Manickam Padayachee and Sm. Runganayaki Pather.

"Stri Thirugnana Sambandha Swami's Sarithiram. Part 3." Matrix NRS 137 VDM. Gandhi Semthamil School, Durban. Narration R. Karthigasan. Recorded by National Recording Studios (Pty) Ltd. Durban. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

Maya Devi<sup>12</sup>

"Apna Roop Dikhada."<sup>13</sup> Cavalcade IRC 781, n.m.n.<sup>14</sup> Hindustani, comp. "Farooqi"<sup>15</sup>, music "Kat"<sup>16</sup>. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Malan Albeli." Cavalcade IRC 781, matrix 788 H. Hindustani, comp. "Shabnam"<sup>17</sup>, music "Kat". "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Ranjo Alam." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 709, matrix K 259. Hindustani, comp. Farooki, music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Daga Kar Devi." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 705, matrix K 223. Hindustani, comp. "Musavvir", music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Marte the Ham." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 705, matrix K 239. Hindustani, comp. "Musavvir", music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Allah Dikhaadey Moojhey Rukhsaarey Mohammed." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 726 A. Urdu traditional, lyric Jameel, music by Ramchandra. A "Raj" Production, Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Bhikaari Bunnkey Aaya Hoon Moula." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 726 B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music by Ramchandra. A "Raj" Production, Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Maya Devi and Ramchandra<sup>18</sup>

"Isi Ka Naam Hai Preet." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 709, matrix K 260. Hindustani, comp. Farooki, music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Mayilvahanan.<sup>19</sup>

"Sunkaraneh Gangai Soodi." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 638, matrix E 934. Tamil bhajan, comp. Shree V. Krishnan, music Shree M. Pandurangan. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Mayilvahanan, Rajam & Padma.

"Kumara Gurubaraneh." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 638, matrix E 933. Tamil bhajan, comp. Shree V. Krishnan, music Shree M. Pandurangan. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Mirza Rafik.

"Kali Kamli." Voice of India NR 101 ABC 21662 MPA (A). (Mirza Rafik).<sup>20</sup>

"Mahbooba Elahi Ko." Voice of India NR 101 ABC 21663 MPA (B). (Traditional).

"Mohabah Ka Shola." Voice of India NR 102 ABC 21665 MPA (A). (Mirza Rafik). Exempt.

"Aasheka Rasool." Voice of India NR 102 ABC 21666 MPA (A). (Traditional). Exempt.

"Piranê Peer Dustagir." Voice of India NR 109 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. F.A.Y. Music (Durban) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Mujhe Ajmer Bhulalo." Voice of India NR 109 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record pressed and Distributed by Popular Record

Industry. F.A.Y. Music (Durban) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Mognambal.<sup>21</sup>

"Ninaippai." Shalimar Young India T 608, matrix K 170-B. Tamil<sup>22</sup> "Filmi-Dunya", comp. S.M. Pillay, music A. Harry. Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Aanantham." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 625, matrix K 153. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music A. Harry. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Neeye." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 630, matrix K 280. Tamil waltz, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Sernthiduveer." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 630, matrix K 279. Tamil rhumba, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Ivvazhai Yazhvoo." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 636, matrix K 6306. Tamil bolero, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Karanam." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 645, matrix K 348. Tamil waltz, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Paalen." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 645, matrix (D)K 351. Tamil rhumba, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Mognambal and Madhavan.

"Yeppadee." Shalimar Young India T 608, matrix K 168-A. Tamil duet "Filmi-Dunya", comp. S.M. Pillay, music A. Khan. Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

Mohd. Hanif (Calcutta).

"Tasvir Banjaye." The Moghul U 922, matrix K 222. Urdu, comp. "Musfiq". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Nazarki Chot." The Moghul U 922, matrix K 217. Urdu, comp. "Nanak". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Hashimi Qafila." The Moghul U 924, matrix K 221. Urdu, comp. "Ahmed". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Gardan Katane Chale." The Moghul U 924, matrix K 218. Urdu, comp. "Asar". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Mohammad Hoosain (Blind Singer).

"Allah Theri Shaan." The Moghul U 911, matrix K 257. Naat, comp. Sabir. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Shah-E-Ajmeri." The Moghul U 911, matrix K 258. Shaan, comp. Sabir. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Mohd. Shafee (Barodawalla).<sup>23</sup>

"Mun Sabir Milan Ko." The Moghul U 920<sup>24</sup>, matrix K 359. Urdu naat, comp. "Farooqi". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Paar Laga Mowla Aaj." The Moghul U 920, matrix K 355. Urdu naat, comp. "Farooqi". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Moosa Ganie.

1969 "Thum-Ma-Husna-Ke-Jaam." Voice of India NR 151A. Hindi, lyric Farooqi, music All India Studio Orchestra. Produced by Ismail Habib. Record pressed and distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1969 "Neela-Chamam-Ke-Thale." Voice of India NR 151B. Hindi, lyric Farooqi, music All India Studio Orchestra. Produced by Ismail Habib. Record pressed and distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

L.P. Moses.

"Pommi." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 642, matrix K 340 [?]. Tamil saba<sup>25</sup>, comp. "Sunmun, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Vithiai." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 642, matrix K 341. Tamil quick-step, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Murchie, Siddiqi, Siddiqi, and "Farooqi."

"The Only Solution. [The Pakistan Set] Part 4." The Moghul S 504, matrix K 104. Urdu. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

V. Nataraj Mudaliar of S.A.

"Unnathamavarin." His Master's Voice SAD 1015 (N 95267), matrix OJT 2661. Tamil basic Christian lyric, lyric Pastor G. Sundaram. Recorded in India, Pressed in S.A. by E.M.I. (South Africa) (Pty.) (Regd. User). Ex-Dundee-Madhavan Nair collection, via Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

"Enthakkalathilum." His Master's Voice SAD 1015 (N 95267), matrix OJT 2660. Tamil basic Christian lyric, lyric Pastor G. Sundaram. Recorded in India, Pressed in S.A. by E.M.I. (South Africa) (Pty.) (Regd. User). Ex- Dundee Madhavan Nair collection, via Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

Natesa Naidoo of Natal.

"Andavan Thiruvadi." The Twin FT 6897, matrix OMH 5638. Tamil devotional. Made in India. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

"Andavan Thiruselvam." The Twin FT 6897, matrix OMH. 5639. Tamil devotional. Made in India. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

Naushad.

"Be Misal Prem." Shalimar Young India H 701, matrix K 128. Hindustani waltz, comp. "Farooqi", music A. Khan. Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. (Pty) Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Jhuk Jae To Janoon." Shalimar Young India H 701, matrix K 161. Hindustani slow fox trot, comp. "Farooqi", music "Kat". Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. (Pty) Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Tu Mile Agar (Boogie)." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 712, matrix K 272. Hindustani-vocal, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Ham Aaj Kisi Ke (Tango)." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 712, matrix K 278. Hindustani-vocal<sup>26</sup>, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Ulfath Mé Dilko." Shalimar Filmi Dunya H 720, matrix K 327. Hindustani quick-step<sup>27</sup>, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Mun Rotha Hé." Shalimar Filmi Dunya H 720, matrix K 314. Hindustani waltz, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Ya Ilahi Mulke Pakistan. ['The Pakistan Set'] Part 7." The Moghul S 502, matrix K 107. Urdu. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Nazear [Nazeer] Husain.

1966 "Taiba Ke Rehnewalo." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 709 A. Urdu traditional, lyric Farooqi, music Hindustani Orchestra. A "Raj" production, Raj Disc Publishers. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Pyare Nabi." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 709 B. Urdu traditional, lyric Farooqi, music Hindustani Orchestra. A "Raj" production, Raj Disc Publishers. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Mohammad Hamareh Hamareh." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 710 A. Urdu (naat) traditional, lyric Farooqi, music Rattna Entertainers, a "Raj" production, Raj Disc Publishers. Mehtar family private collection, "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Kaha'n Hai Wo Goolshana Madina." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 710 B. Urdu (naat) traditional, lyric (Farooqi), music Rattna Entertainers, a "Raj" production, Raj Disc Publishers. "Farooqi" Mehtar family collection, "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Niaz Ahmed (Bareilly India).<sup>28</sup>

"Yaqinan Isme Koyi Raaz Hae [No.].I." The Moghul U 917, matrix E 998. Urdu quawali. A "Bombay Record Co." Production Royalty Supervision N.G.R.

Mfg. Co. Ltd. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Yaqinan Isme Koyi Raaz Hae [No.]I." The Moghul U 917, matrix E 999. Urdu quawali. A "Bombay Record Co." Production Royalty Supervision N.G.R. Mfg. Co. Ltd. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Nisar.<sup>29</sup>

"Jiska Wajood." Shalimar Young India U 901, matrix K 113. Urdu naat, comp. "Farooqi", music A. Khan. Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Sal-lal-laho-Alayhe." Shalimar Young India U 901, matrix K 114. Urdu naat, comp. "Farooqi", music A. Khan. Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Salaam-Ay-Quaide-Azam - Part 1." Shalimar Young India U 903, matrix K 140. Urdu dedication, comp. "Farooqi". Made Under Royalty to "N.G.R.M. Co. Ltd." Bombay. Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Salaam-Ay-Quaide-Azam - Part 2." Shalimar Young India U 903, matrix K 141. Urdu dedication, comp. "Farooqi". Made in England for Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Maskan Na Jale." Shalimar Filmi Duniya U 904, matrix K 206. Urdu, comp. "Farooqi", music A. Khan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Azad Fana Hokar." Shalimar Filmi Duniya U 904, matrix K 205. Urdu, comp. "Farooqi". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Master V.S. Oomathie Govender.

"Stri Thirugnana Sambhanda Swami's Sarithiram. Part 1." Gandhi Senthamil School Durban, matrix NRS 122 SS. VDM. Narration R. Karthigasan, violin K. Perumal Govender, thubla P. Gopaul Govender. Recorded by National Recording Studios (Pty) Ltd. Durban. Srinivasen Morgan private collection. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

The Orientals.<sup>30</sup>

1971 "Oriental Dance." In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 1. Yousuf, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Aage Bhi Jane Na Tu (From the film "Wagt".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 1. Ludhianvi/Rafi, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "East Meets West." In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 1. Sarwar, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Aap Ke Chera (From the film "Rootha Ne Karo".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 1. Jaipuri/ Ramchandra, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Sawan Ka Mahina (From the film "Milan".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 1. Dhawan/ Ravi, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Tujhe Suraj Kahoon Ya Chandra (From the film "Ek Phool Do Mali".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local) Side 1. Bakshi/Pyarlal, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Neele Gagan Te Kale" (From the film "Hamraaz".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 2. Ludhanvi/Ravi, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Pak Beat." In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 2. Bana, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Aaj Ki Raat" (From the film "Aman".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 2. Shailendra/ Jaikishan, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Sari Khughiyan Hain" (From the film "Suhana Safar".) In Oriental



Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 2. Bakshi/Pyarelal, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Na Ja" (From the film "Mere Hum Mere Dost".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 2. Majrooh/Pyarelal, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Mere Naseer Men Ae Dost" (From the film "Do Raasta".) In Oriental Dance Party. Mosaic MIC 7001, (Local), Side 2. Bakshi/Pyarelal, arranged by The Orientals. Recorded in the studios of Manley van Niekerk by Ian Martin. Produced by Mohamed A. Mayet. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Bade Mia Diwane" (From the film "Shagird".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 1. P. Laxmikant/Majrooh. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Ye Sama" (From the film "Shagird".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 1. A. Kalyanji/A. Bakshi. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Chale Ja Chale Ja" (From the film "Jathan Pyar Mile".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 1. J. Shanker. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Zindagi Ek Safar" (From the film "Andaz".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 1. J. Shanker/ Hasrat. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Wo Tere Pyar Ka Gam" (From the film "My Love".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 1. Daan Singh/A. Bakshi. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Nadi Ka Kinaraho" (From the film "C.I.D. 909".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 1. Nayyar/ Kashmiri. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Pyar Beshoomar" (From the film "Pyar Hi Pyar".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 2. J. Shankar/Hasrat. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Yeh Shaam Mastani" (From the film "Kati Patang".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 2. R.D. Burman/A. Bakshi. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Rangila Re" (From the film "Prem Pujari".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 2. R.D. Burman/Neera. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "O Mere Sona" (From the film "Teesri Manzil".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 2. R.D. Burman. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Yeh Albela Pyar Ke Raaste" from the film "Dharti".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 2. Rajinden. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Yeh Albela Pyar Ke Raaste" from the film "Dharti".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 2. Rajinden. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1971 "Mere Huzoor" from the film "Mere Huzoor".) In The Oriental Dance Party Vol. 2. Mosaic MIC 7007, Side 2. J. Shanker. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

K. Perumal Govender.

"Stri Thirugnana Sambhanda Swami's Sarithiram. Part 7." Gandhi Senthamil School Durban, matrix NRS 128 SS. VDM. Narration R. Karthigasan, violin S.P. Reddy, thubla P. Gopaul Govender. Recorded by National Recording Studios (Pty) Ltd. Durban. Srinivasen Morgan private collection. Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay collection, UD-W Music Department Library.

Pillay Nagesh.

1967 "Vanathil Paraivaigal." Voice of India NAT-011 (A). Tamil, (Moon) (Lily Fountain), music All-India Studio Orchestra. Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

1967 "Anbu Soll Kunnaer." Voice of India NAT-011 (B). Tamil, (Moon), music All-India Studio Orchestra. Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Rabin Heera.

1966 "Melody Indiana." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 717 A. Instrumental clarinet, (Farooqi-Heera), music Rajendra. Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Favourite Melody." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 717 A. Instrumental clarinet, (Farooqi-Heera), music Rajendra. Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Ragini Devi.

"Ek Dard Dil Ke Thaar." Shalimar Filmi Dunya H 719, matrix K 328. Hindustani fox-trot, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Ramchandra family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Arma- no Bharé Dil Ki." Shalimar Filmi Dunya H 719, matrix K 312. Hindustani tango, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Ramchandra family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Ramchandra.

"Kahan Se Lawoon." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 710, matrix K 264. Hindustani, comp. Farooki, music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Maidan-E-Mohabbat." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 710, matrix K 263. Hindustani, comp. Farooki, music Ramchandra. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Rehana Azia with Chorus.

"Ya Nabe Salam Alaika." Taj TR017. Urdu traditional, Safee. Raj Disc Publishers. "Farooqi" Mehtar Collection, University of Durban-Westville Documentation Center.

"La Illah Il-Lal-Lah." Taj TR017. Urdu traditional, Safee. Raj Disc Publishers. "Farooqi" Mehtar Collection, University of Durban-Westville Documentation Center.

Riaz Akhter.

1966 "Nabiji Merê." Voice of India NR 118 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra, arranged and conducted by Master Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Jub Hum Gilistanê Batha." Voice of India NR 118 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra, arranged and conducted by Master Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

H.M. Roy.

1966 "'Hindi Devotional'. Bhagwan Ub-Thoo Mujhko Hasana." Voice of

India NR 122 A. Hindi (traditional), (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, arranged and conducted by Rajendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Hindi Devotional". Krishna Ke Geet." Voice of India NR 122 B. Hindi (traditional), (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, arranged and conducted by Rajendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Salim Razack.

"Ay Shafae Manohar." Voice of India NR 107A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra. Sole suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Toom Makki Ho." Voice of India NR 107B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra. Sole suppliers Popular Disc Distributors. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Muhammad Muhammed Pukarah Karengi." Voice of India NR 108 A. Urdu, Lyric Farooqi, music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Khwaaja Thumhari Yaad Sathaye." Voice of India NR 108 B. Urdu lyric Farooqi, music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Yasrab Walê Moula." Voice of India NR 110 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra, conducted George Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Toomhara Hoon Meh." Voice of India NR 110 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra, conducted George Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Salaam Oonpê Ho." In Salim Razack, Teenage Singing Idol. Urdu Salamee, Pop Quawals in Emotional Style. Voice of India NR 111 A. Urdu (salaamee), (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra, conducted by George Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre UD-W Documentation.

"Muhammad Mustafa." In Salim Razack, Teenage Singing Idol. Urdu Salamee, Pop Quawals in Emotional Style. Voice of India NR 111 B. Urdu (naat), (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra, conducted by George Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre UD-W Documentation.

"Gous Pyare." In Golden Voiced Salim Razack. The Teenage Singing Idol Sings Pop Quawals. Voice of India NR 112 Side 1. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. Distributed by All India Record Centre. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Haji-Le Chalo." In Golden Voiced Salim Razack. The Teenage Singing Idol Sings Pop Quawals. Voice of India NR 112 Side 2. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. Distributed by All India Record Centre. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Ishqé Nabi Ko Jatate Chalo." In Salim Razack Teenage Singing Idol. Pop Quawwalis. Voice of India 45 NR 114 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Moré Madani Sarkar." In Salim Razack Teenage Singing Idol. Pop Quawwalis. Voice of India 45 NR 114 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Chalenge Chalenge Bagdad." In Salim Razack. Teenage Singing Idol. Voice of India NR 115 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Ajmer Kê Jane Walo." In Salim Razack Teenage Singing Idol. Voice of India NR 115 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Muhammad Ke Hain Ashiq Hum." Voice of India NR 116 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Madine Ka Sanj Aur Savera." Voice of India NR 116 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Paigham-Me Mout." Voice of India NR 119 A. Urdu, (Zara Hosh Ma AA), Rabin Heera, accompanied All-India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Taareef Teri Moula." Voice of India NR 119 B. Urdu, Rabin Heera, accompanied All-India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular

Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Dedicated to Parents.' Dua'ain Lelo." Voice of India NR 121 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, accompanied All-India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Dedicated to Parents.' Ma Ke Qadmo Me Jannath." Voice of India NR 121 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, accompanied All-India Studio Orchestra. Record Pressed and Distributed Popular Record Industry. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Kumari Savitree.<sup>31</sup>

"Aja Sajan." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 714, matrix K 291. Hindustani saba, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Pyare Pyare." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 714, matrix K 296. Hindustani samba, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Savithree.

"Jodi." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 639, matrix K 319. Tamil rhumba, comp. "Sunmun", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Savitree.

"En Sundara." Shalimar T 603, matrix K 121. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music A. Harry. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Kedom Perr." Shalimar T 604, matrix K 119. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music A. Harry. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

"Vin Maniye." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 638, matrix K 325. Tamil quick-step, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Naaman." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 640, matrix (D)K 283-1. Tamil quick-step, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Miss Savitri.

"Vaana Lavi." Star CK 1008, matrix NRS 354. Tamil, comp. by Mr. C. Nayagar. Recorded and Published by The Star Record Co. (Pty.) Ltd. of South Africa. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

"Aadi Paadi." Star CK 1008, matrix NRS 355. Tamil, comp. by Mr. C. Nayagar. Recorded and Published by The Star Record Co. (Pty.) Ltd. of South Africa. Srinivasen Morgan private collection.

Savithree & Govindsamy.

"Pareelay." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 639, matrix K 295. Tamil rhumba, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Savitree and Madhavan.

"Kathal." Shalimar T 604, matrix K 120. Tamil duet, comp. S.M. Pillay, music A. Harry. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Madhavan Nair private collection.

Shaam (Rusty).

1966 "Hindi Devotional.' Thu Neendh meh Koya-." Voice of India NR 124 A. Hindi (traditional), (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, arranged and conducted by Rajendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Hindi Devotional.' Bhagwan." Voice of India NR 124 B. Hindi (traditional), (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, arranged and conducted by Rajendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Shakeel Mehmood.

"Ya Mohammad Sal-Lalla." In Shakeel Mehmood Sings Modern Quawals. Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-1 A. Urdu, lyric Safee, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Ya Habibana-Ya Rasoolana." In Shakeel Mehmood Sings Modern Quawals. Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-1 B. Urdu, lyric Safee, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Gous Paak." In Shakeel Mehmood Sings Modern Quawals. Voice

of Hindustan RAJ 786-2A. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Metro Entertainers. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Jibreel Ha-Ke-Kehde Khuda Se Ja-Ke." In Shakeel Mehmood Sings Modern Quawals. Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-2B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, music Ramchandra. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Kamli Wale Shahe Madina." In Shakeel Mehmood Sings Modern Quawals. Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-3 A. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, Metro Entertainers. Raj Disc Publishers. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Madine Me Hae Wa Pyara Nabee." In Shakeel Mehmood Sings Modern Quawals. Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-3 B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, Metro Entertainers. Raj Disc Publishers. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"O-Kali Kamli Waale." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-4 A. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, Metro Entertainers. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Madine Me Jiyenge Mareng." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-4 B. Urdu traditional, lyric Safee, Metro Entertainers. Raj Disc Publishers. Ramchandra family private collection.

"Meri Zindagi Mera Pyaar." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-7 A. Urdu Traditional, lyric Safee, Metro Entertainers. Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Thar Haargi Zara." Voice of Hindustan RAJ 786-7 B. Urdu Traditional, lyric Safee, Metro Entertainers. Raj Disc Publishers. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Shalimar Girl's Chorus.

"Allah Musulmano Ki. [The Pakistan Set] Part 8." The Moghul S 501, matrix K 108. Urdu. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Shahide Mulko Millat. [The Pakistan Set] Part 6." The Moghul S 503, matrix K 106. Urdu. Recorded and Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Shamsu "Naurang".  
1980

"A Tribute to Mohammed Rafi." Part 1. EMIJ 11177 ZN 101A. A.



Kays, music Naurang Sangeet, music direction Arvind Bhoola, produced by Arvind Bhoola.  
SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"A Tribute to Mohammed Rafi." Part 2. EMIJ 11177 ZN 101B. A.  
Kays, music Naurang Sangeet, music direction Arvind Bhoola, produced by Arvind Bhoola.  
SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Sheikh Chand (Poona).

"Zahir Mae Sukun Ka Alam He." The Moghul U 913, matrix NG  
10074. Urdu gazal, comp. "Firoz". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban.  
SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Nayi Baat Sakine Hamko Sikha Di." The Moghul U 913, matrix  
NG 10075. Urdu gazal, comp. "Firoz". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd.  
Durban. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Shivram Maharaj (of Vijalpur India).

"Ram Dhoon." Ramakrishna Vedanta Society (S.A.) PAR-EP 4  
Side 1. Music by Natal Rajput Association.

"Krishna Dhoon." Ramakrishna Vedanta Society (S.A.) PAR-EP 4  
Side 2. Music by Natal Rajput Association.

Suleiman Quawal.<sup>32</sup>

"Madina Na Dekha T-0 Kooch Bhi Na Dekha." Parveen Records  
EHP-1 Side 1, ABC 23719(A). Urdu, (moulvi Mirza Joomal Al-Quadiree of Jhbg),  
accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on tabla. Distributed by Parveen Records. SABC  
Eastern collection, Durban.

"Te-rè Dhol-è Goombad Par Rahmat Kè Fawar-è Pad-è." Parveen  
Records EHP-1 Side 2, ABC 23720(B). Urdu, accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on tabla.  
Distributed by Parveen Records. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Muhammad Ka Bankar Knooda Ka Banoo." Parveen Records  
EHP-2 Side 1, ABC 23721(A). Urdu, accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on tabla.  
Distributed by Parveen Records. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Lagee Seen-è M-è Aatis-è Ishq-è Nabi." Parveen Records EHP-2  
Side 2, ABC 23722(B). Urdu, accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on tabla. Distributed by  
Parveen Records. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Balandee Pe Hai Zindagee Ka Qareena." Parveen Records SSA  
401 Side 1, ABC 24276(A). Urdu, (comp. Jameel) accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on  
tabla. Distributed by Parveen Records. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Muhammad Mustafa Quran K-è Paaro M-è Chamk-è Hai-n." Parveen Records SSA 401 Side 2, ABC 24277(A). Urdu, (comp. Jameel) accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on tabla. Distributed by Parveen Records. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Apna Jalwa Zaraa Dikha Dena." Parveen Records SSA 402 Side 1, ABC 24278. Urdu, (comp. Moulvi Joommal) accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on tabla. Distributed by Parveen Records. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Marhaba Sal-le Alaa Rootba Rasoolullah Ka." Parveen Records SSA 402 Side 2, ABC 24279. Urdu, (comp. Jameel) accompanied by Ismail Muhammed on tabla. Distributed by Parveen Records. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Kaash Is Dil Ko Merê Toor Banaya Hota." Parveen Records SSA 413 Side 1, ABC 25625(A). Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music Rattna Entertainers. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Muhammad Ke Taiba Ka Pur Noor Manzar." Parveen Records SSA.413 Side 2, ABC.25625(B). Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music Rattna Entertainers. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Mila Ya Nabee Têra Piyaar." Parveen Records SSA 414 Side 1, ABC 25701. Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music Rattna Entertainers. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Khwaja Moojh Ko Na Doonya Ka Zar Chaa-Hiye." Parveen Records SSA 414 Side 2, ABC 25702. Urdu, comp. (Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music Rattna Entertainers. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Khwaja Sê In-Aam Moojh Ko Piyaar Mil Gaya." Parveen Records SSA 415 Side 1, ABC 25703. Urdu, (comp. (Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music Rattna Entertainers. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Jis-Nê Rasool-ê Paak Sê Oolfat Ko Jodh Dee Hai." Parveen Records SSA 415 Side 2, ABC 25703. Urdu, comp. (Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music RattnaEntertainers. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Peeran Peer, Mai Hoo Deewana." Parveen Records SSA 416 Side 1, ABC 25723. Urdu, (comp. (Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music Parveen Orchestra. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Kitnee Haseen Hai Yaa Nabi." Parveen Records SSA 416 Side 2, ABC 25723. Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, music Parveen Orchestra. Distributed by Parveen Records. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Maalik-E Doonya Kaun, Muhammad Sallal Laahu Alayhi Wa Sallam." Parveen Records PVN 417 Side 1. ABC 25899. Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, (Solly Patel). Distributed by Parveen Records. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Shore Sal-Lê Alaa Kaa Machaa-ê Jaa-Eng-ê." Parveen Records PVN 417 Side 2. ABC 25900. Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, (Solly Patel). Distributed by Parveen Records. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Allah Rê Kis Shaan Sê Karbal Ko Seedha Raa." Parveen Records PVN 418 Side 1. ABC 25902. Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla, (Solly Patel). Distributed by Parveen Records. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Sub Sê Badh Chadh Kê Hai Lê-Kin Fatima Kee Odhnee." Parveen Records PVN 418 Side 2. ABC 25902. Urdu, (comp. Farooqi), accompanied by Ismail Muhammad on tabla. Distributed by Parveen Records. Mehtar family private collection. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Sureshi<sup>33</sup>.

1966 "Darling! I Want to Touch Your Hand." Voice of India AR 704A. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Record Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Mehne Kaha Tha on a Sunday." Voice of India AR 704B. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Record Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "I Love You More and More." Voice of India AR 705A. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "True True True." Voice of India AR 705B. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Main Tho Hoon Very Pretty." Voice of India AR 706A. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Aji! Thoo Hai Mere." Voice of India AR 706B. Hindi, (Farooqi),

music Rabin Heera. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Let's Go on a Honeymoon Dear." Voice of India AR 710A. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Recorded by Jimmy Moss. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"O' Fashion Girl." Voice of India AR 710B. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Recorded by Jimmy Moss. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Ek-thi Larkhi." Voice of India AR 711A. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, accompanied by All India Studio Orchestra. Recorded by Jimmy Moss. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry.

"Oranges and Apples." Voice of India AR 711B. Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera, accompanied by All India Studio Orchestra. Recorded by Jimmy Moss. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry.

"Supno Ki Rani." Gallotone DSS 108. ABC 26239 (A). Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Hindi Copyright Control. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Aao Love Karen." Gallotone DSS 108 ABC 26240 (B). Hindi, (Farooqi), music Rabin Heera. Hindi Copyright Control. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Sushila Rani.

"Rone Wale Too." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 703, matrix K 210. Hindustani, comp. "Farooqi", music W. Nandu. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Sajan Gaye Ja." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 703, matrix K 208. Hindustani, comp. "Farooqi", music W. Nandu. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Mae Tumko Bhool Jawoo'n." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 704, matrix K 207. Hindustani, comp. "Farooqi", music A. Khan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Dilko Jalane Wale." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 704, matrix K 194. Hindustani, comp. "Farooqi", music A. Khan. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Roothe Pritam." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 711, matrix K 265. Hindustani<sup>34</sup>, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern

collection, Durban.

"Bhool Ja." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 711, matrix K 267. Hindustani<sup>35</sup>, comp. "Musavvir", music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Tony Moon.

"The Valar." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 644,<sup>36</sup> matrix (D)K 346. Tamil, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Saravana." Shalimar Filmi Duniya T 644, matrix (D)K 350. Tamil tango, comp. S.M. Pillay, music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Yanam Devi.

"Koyi Nahi Hae." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 713, matrix K 286. Hindustani waltz<sup>37</sup>, comp. Farooqi, music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Hamne Dekha." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 713, matrix K 287. Hindustani rhumba<sup>38</sup>, comp. Farooqi, music Buxson. Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Yusuf Bassa.

"Pyar Ka Yaron." Shifty ZA BCP 1849 Side A. Lyrics Safee Siddiqi, music composed by Yusuf Bassa. Engineered and Produced by L. Ross and W. Sony. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Duniya Na Meri." Shifty ZA BCP 1849 Side 2 [sic]. Lyrics Safee Siddiqi, music composed by Yusuf Bassa. Engineered and Produced by L. Ross and W. Sony. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

Yusuf Quawal.

"Ay Bade Saba." The Moghul U 909, matrix K 240. Urdu gazal, comp. "Farooqi". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Khud Pareshan Hae." The Moghul U 909, matrix K 225. Urdu ghazal, comp. "Farooqi". Published by Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. Durban. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Zubede Begam<sup>39</sup>

1966 "Tumhari Mohabbat Mê." Voice of India 45-NR 117 A. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra, arrangements Master Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

1966 "Ay Merê Perverdigar." Voice of India 45-NR 117 B. Urdu, (Farooqi), music All-India Studio Orchestra, arranged by Master Surendra. Record Pressed and Distributed by Popular Record Industry. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

Zureen.

"Rooth Gayi Kismat Hamari." Shalimar Filmi Duniya H 715, matrix K 302. Hindustani waltz<sup>40</sup>, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. Registered Trademark of Shalimar Record Co. (Pty) Ltd. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre. SABC Eastern collection, Durban.

"Dilko Jalane Wale." Shalimar Filmi Dunya H 716, matrix K 310. Hindustani rhumba<sup>41</sup>, comp. "Zureen", music Buxson. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

"Mae Thoom Ko Bhool Jawoon." Shalimar Filmi Dunya H 716, matrix K 311. Hindustani tango<sup>42</sup>, comp. "Farooqi", music Buxson. "Farooqi" Mehtar collection, UD-W Documentation Centre.

## INCOMPLETE ENTRIES: FROM RECORD SLEEVES

Artist not known

"Abto E Ajmer Wale." SSA 404<sup>43</sup>

"Me-re Nas Nas Bohl-e Nabi nabi." SSA 404

"Nabee-e Sarwar-e Aalam Ki Oolfat Me." SSA 406

"Yaa Muhammad Allah Waal-e." SSA 406

"Haq ake Mahboob Toomhe Apni Nubuwat Ki Qasam." SSA 408

"Haq Ke Piyare Jug Ke Doola-re." SSA 408

"Ya Rasoolulah Shola Bhad-kegaa Kabhee." SSA 410.

"Allah Chaa-hee To Ham Kalke Kal Ja-enge." SSA 410

"Habeeballah Shah-Batha Pe Hum." SSA 412  
"Oonka Naam Hai Muhammad." SSA 412

R. Balakrishna.

"The Golden Voice of R. Balakrishna." E EP 1223.

Ismail Ganie.

E EP 1462.

Ismail Nizzami Azaad Qawal.

"Tere Medina Hajane." SST 511.

"Wo-kamli-wali." IN 7861.

"Ajmer Wale." IN 7861.

"Muhabat Ke Diwane." IN 7862.

"Shaan-e-mehboob." IVLP 3786.

"Sallalah-Sallalah."

"Salamee."

"Ajmer Ki Galayon."

Kader

"Aya Muhammad Pyara." AKSEP 3

"Mere Medina Agaya." AKSEP 4

"Maati Ke Insaan Tujhe Kitna Guman Hai." SST 510

#### INCIDENTAL ENTRIES: FROM THE PRESS

##### Indian Views.

S.Haq and Party.

"Kisi Hasin se Ulfot Jatake Pijana." The Moghul HM 101. Urdu Quawali.

"Ay Garibon ke Madad Agar." The Moghul HM 101. Urdu Quawali.

The Leader Shalimar Record Co. Advertisements

Artist not known

"Gummi." T 647.

"Deepavali Prayer with Song." T 647.

"Nin Adimay." T 616 Kaherva.

"Kalakum Varadey." T 616 Bhajan.

"Kika Ho Gaya Bhagwan." H 1018.

"Tum Chup Gaye Bhagwan." H 1018.

"Yaqinam Isme Koyi Raz He." No.1 U 916.

"Yaqinam Isme Koyi Raz He." No.2 U 916.

Buxson & his Band

"Dance of Joy." H 718 Rhumba.

"Sunrise." H 718 Saba.

Chand Nawaz

DSE 6001.

DSE 6002.

DSE 6003.

Hamid

"Tujh Pe He Dil Qurban." H 722 Modern.

"Mosam Piyara." H 722 Modern.

Hanif Quawal (Calcutta)

"Bahar Aa Jaye." U 910 Urdu Quawali.

"Musalman Kardiya." U 910 Urdu Quawali.

Inayetullah Kaloo

"Majboor Mohabbat." U 902 Urdu Quawali.

"Wo Kali Kamli Wala." U 902 Urdu Quawali.

Janaki & Chorus

Title not known T 649 "On one side a really hot Deepavali Chorus, peppy and sparkling as the 1,001 Deepavali Lights. On the other side a Deepavali Prayer Song".

Y. Kashval



"Maranthvareh." T 602.  
"Thoonbamch." T 602.

R. Madhavan

"Yen Sinthal." T 600.  
"Jeenan." T 600.

Manorma and Surendra

"Deep Jalade." H 708 Modern.  
"A'ee Diwali." H 708 Duet.  
"A Special Deepavalli Number".

Maya Devi

"Rahe Dil Mey Ya Rab." [Cavalcade IRC] 780.  
"Dil Ki Kahani." H 702 by Maya Devi.  
"Taqdir Mal Lakha." H 702 Tune by Maya Devi. (Composer, Kat. Music, Ramchandra).

Mognambal

"Yevaree." T 601.  
"O'vango." T 601.  
  
"Vadzhi Vadzhi Ye." T 618 Saba.  
"Innum Enne." T 618 Waltz.

Muthoo Pillay

"Thai Ni Yellai." T 621 Tamil Record.  
"Uppen Urpoothe." T 621 Tamil Record.

Niaz Ahmed (India)

"Abhi Tho ham jawaan." U 915 Urdu Quawali (Parts 1 & 2).

Ramchandra

"Yaarah Nagri Jana." [Cavalcade IRC] 780.

Savithree

"Thanga Kuzhanthal." T 631 Tamil Tango.  
"Munneri." T 631 Tamil Rhumba.

Savitree and Madhavan

"Ivvulagam." T 605.

"Wullam." T 605.

Sheikh Chand

"Abdullah ke Lalna." YI 1109 Urdu Quawali.

"Jia Waq't Mohammad Naam Liya." YI 1109 Urdu Quawali.

Singarvelu

"Parasoogam." T 623.

"Kalangathe." T 623.

Subbulatchmi

"O'Roobaneh." T 617.

"Anboo." T 617.

"Veerum Mikhe." T 632 Tamil Saba.

"Iraivan." T 632 Tamil Quick-step.<sup>44</sup>

"Ammamare." T 634 Tamil Bolero.

"Oonum." T 634 Tamil Waltz.

## NOTE

1. Aka Yanam Devi?
2. Advertised as T 633 The Leader 6 June 1952, p.6.
3. Aka Master Habib? Sometimes spelt Subrathie.
4. Moullabux Hamid.
5. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
6. Described as "Humorous-Saba" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
7. It is not yet clear who Radio Disc Publishers were nor what the significance of the title might be.
8. The *naats* on this disc are described as "Special Urdu Quawali" (The Leader 22 June 1951:2).
9. Aka Spotsy.
10. R. Madhavan Nair?
11. Advertised as T 633 (The Leader 6 June 1952:6).
12. Stage name for Vatsala Ramchandra Jessery (nee Naidoo).
13. "Savarya Savarya" is the colloquial songtitle.
14. No matrix number.
15. Stage name for M.A. Mehtar
16. Stage name for Yusuf Kathrada
17. Stage name for I.I. Hazaree.
18. Full name is Ramchandra Bikraj Jessery.
19. Mayilvahanan (Madras, India) (The Leader 26 September 1952:7).
20. Many of the SABC collection records have illegible patches due to their domestic numbering stickers.

21. Also spelt Moganambal.
22. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.6.
23. Also known as Shafee Quawal.
24. The Moghul U920 was advertised by Shalimar Record Co. as "SPECIAL RECORD for the `SABREE' Brotherhood" (The Leader 16 January 1953:3).
25. Described as "Afrikaans Style Saba" Shalimar Advertisement The Leader, 26 September 1952, p.7.
26. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
27. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
28. Shalimar Record Company label used for South Asian performer.
29. Ismail Nisar aka Master Nisar.
30. Also known as Oriental Entertainers.
31. It is not yet clear whether Kumari Savitree and Savitree (also spelt Savithree) was one and the same person. The H label for Kumari Savitree and T label for Savithree suggest the possibility that they were two different musicians. However, I have encountered many musicians accompanying pieces in different languages and representing different religious groupings. Maybe Savithree sang in Tamil and Hindustani.
32. Aka Solly Patel. Also spelt Sulaiman Qawwal. SSA 413 is sung with Amina.
33. Also spelt Sureshei.
34. Described as "Saba" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
35. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
36. Shalimar Filmi-Duniya T644 was advertised by Shalimar Record Co. as "Special `KAVRI' Celebration Record" (The Leader 16 January 1953:11).
37. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
38. Described as "Modern" Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 Septemebr 1952, p.7.
39. Also spelt Zubeda Begum.
40. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
41. Described as "Mod." in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.

42. Described as "Modern" in Shalimar Advertisement The Leader 26 September 1952, p.7.
43. SSA catalogue numbers indicate Parveen labels.
44. Described as "modern" (The Leader 26 Septemebr 1952:7).