

NEWSPAPERS IN THE MARCH TO FREEDOM

From the Notebooks
of
LIONEL FORMAN

MUCH of the early history of the freedom movement is written in those forgotten, and some unfortunately, irrevocably lost, weeklies, monthlies and irregulars of the national and political organisations that formed in South Africa from the 1870's onwards.

There are also the newspapers that reflected African opinion of the missionary societies and pro-British groups, and later, of business interests. And although these might not draw our attention as do the specifically political press, they nevertheless formed an important section of the political climate of the time.

Isigidimi

The first lasting missionary newspaper of note, issued on October 1, 1870 by the Lovedale Missionary Institute, was divided into two sections—one in Xosa, "Isigidimi Sama Xosa," and the English section, "The Kaffir Express" which changed its name to "The Christian Express" in 1876. Elijah Makiwane was editor (under supervision) from 1874-1880 and John Tengo Jabavu from 1881 to 1884.

At the end of its first year the paper had 500 African subscribers. Isigidimi's aim, set out in the first issue, was to 'represent no denominational body, but the cause of missions generally, and the interests of the Native people.'

The first editorial began: "The period when newspapers begin to live in the history of any people is an important era" and Isigidimi did mark the commencement of a new era in the history of African people. It played an important part in stimulating the development of African political consciousness.

Battles and Diamonds

The timing of the issue of the paper was influenced by "present excitement on two very far separated subjects—European battles and African diamonds." (By 1871 Germany was the leading power on the Continent, the era of imperialism was beginning and with it the race to complete the division of the world between the great European powers).

Short Lives

There had been several attempts to establish missionary papers in the African languages before, but, in the words of Isigidimi, they "all had short lives and by no means merry ones." It is not surprising that, listing the disasters that had befallen his predecessors, the editor was "by no means sanguine" about the likelihood of his paper's success. He wrote:

"More than 30 years ago, the 'Publisher of News—Umshumayeli Wendaba' ran its brief and irregular course in 15 numbers. The 'Isibuto Samave' or 'Collection of Stories' reached the perfect number seven. 'The Morning Star—Ikwezi' ran for four numbers, 'The Monthly Messenger—Isitunywa Senyanang'—the most vigorous of its race, and the third of its kind sent forth by our active and zealous friends the Wesleyans, came to an end, being brained by the cruel club of war on December 21, 1850. The 'News' or 'Indaba', came out a dozen years later, and ran a longer and somewhat chequered course. It accomplished one very marked result. It left a legacy to Lovedale Institu-

tion, in the shape of a solid residuum of debt to the amount of £100.

"We send forth the Express with gloomy forebodings", he continued. "Unless supported, it will find a



Lionel Forman, former editor of New Age, whose untimely death occurred three years ago this week, on October 19, 1959.

quiet resting place among other similar curiosities of Kaffir literature on the shelves of Sir George Grey's library at Cape Town."

Success

Isigidimi struggled, but did not fail. And its circulation figures may provide an index of the extent of the African reading public, for apart from the Bible, some hymns and a translation into Xhosa of the Pilgrim's Progress by South Africa's first African writer, the Reverend Tiyo Soga, there was nothing else that could be read.

While the political ideas reflected in Isigidimi and the Kaffir Express were not those of the African staff, but of the missionaries who controlled the paper and wrote almost all of it, they were of importance because the missionaries' power to influence the thinking of the new African petit-bourgeoisie was so immense.

Although the editorials frequently and vigorously declared that the two papers had no politics whatsoever, the columns reflect a very clear and forthright attitude on a number of political matters.

Barbarous and Lazy

The basic political philosophy was that British imperialism was a noble and disinterested bearer of Christian civilisation to the heathen blacks, that the blacks were barbarous and lazy, but that the best among them could be brought into the ranks of the civilised and won as allies of British imperialism.

The best method of bringing the African out of barbarism was by educating him and making him a Christian.

Advocacy of education for the African brought the missionaries into sharp political conflict with a section of White South Africa. Again and again the editors returned to the chief complaint laid against their papers and missionaries generally—"The worst and most useless natives come from the mission stations."

White Interests

Isigidimi and the Kaffir Express tried to convince the white colonists that to educate the African was in the interests of the Whites.

In fact, however, the education of the Africans was against the immediate economic interests of the white colonists, and the conflict between them and the missionaries was a reflection of the developing contradiction between the needs of British imperialism and the white South Africans. The missionaries represented the interests of British capitalism which needed the development of a large class of 'westernised' Africans with new desires and a cash income as a market for British commodities. The White South Africans needed the Africans as docile and cheap labourers. They hated the sight of the "missionary Natives" who were asserting their dignity as human beings; in the language of the whites, "being cheeky" and demanding better wages ("preaching sedition").

Nationalism

An illustration of the stimulus to political thought provided by Isigidimi was the publication, in an early issue (January 1871) of a letter by one, Ndingu Kokela, expressing dissatisfaction at the African's loss of independence, and at the suppression of African folkways and their replacement by British ones. The principal culprits, Kokela charged, were the missionaries.

"Our young men are taught about Wallace, Bruce, Cromwell and Wellington and also the history of Rome and Greece, but nothing about Nodule", he wrote.

Foreign influence was causing the people to lose purity and degenerate into a "mess of mud and water." He appealed to all who could write "to engage in the noble work of handing down Xhosa history in the pure language and to send their contributions to Isigidimi." He set the example by submitting a genealogy of the Xhosa chiefs.

Kokela was taken to task in the following issue by someone writing under the pseudonym 'Fundani Makowetu' (Become educated, my

countrymen). His reply on the lost independence of the Africans was: "Oh! that their independence had been much less than it is. To be under the English is more advantageous. The English manner of conducting affairs is superior to that of the Xhosas and therefore let us, without prejudice, allow the latter to give way to the former."

"As for Nodule. How could he be compared with men like Wallace, Bruce, Cromwell and Wellington? And as for the idea of sending in material on Xhosa history, it would tend to make the paper a receptacle for rubbish."

"It is very plain," commented the editor, "that there are two parties even among the Natives—the one progressive, and the other conservative of the old customs and non-progressive." The missionaries left no doubt about whose side they were on.

"Our sympathies are entirely with the party of progress. There is very little in the old Kaffirdom worth preserving—and we think it will be to the wisdom of the Natives as soon as possible to move forward into day."

Angry

An angry correspondent was moved to write six columns in defence of the viewpoint of Kokela. The paper declined to print the letter and closed the correspondence.

The missionaries were firmly on the side of the Whites in any conflict with the Africans.

"Missionaries are in no sense political agitators", the Express declared. "They desire nothing so much as that the relations of the Natives towards the government should be those of perfect loyalty, and they invariably counsel the Natives to be law-abiding and peaceful, even though certain measures which may be right in themselves have become, from the method of their application, a source of irritation to the Natives, leaving an impression of injustice which may be as mischievous as

injustice itself."

When all white South Africa mobilised against the Hlubi chief, Langalibalele, in the first of the campaigns to seize the guns purchased by Africans, the Kaffir Express had this to say:

"People on the spot know the profound duplicity of some Africans, who can humbly act the policy of passive resistance so perfectly, with the view of making the government contemptible. Their judgment in such a case is much more to be relied on than that of any one at a distance. Our sympathies are therefore with the Colonists."

"So far as we know anything of native opinion here, it leans to the side of Langalibalele being guilty."

Nor were the missionaries in any doubt about the Zulu War of 1879. Britain was, they declared, "morally right" to wage it.

The paper was equally anti-African during the war of 1877 when imperial and colonial troops took the opportunity given by a famine-induced clash between tribes finally to destroy their power.

Encouraged Others

The success of Isigidimi encouraged others. By 1880 there were at least three missionary papers for Africans: "Ubaqa", published by the American Missions of Natal, "Leselinyana" by the French missionaries in Basutoland and "Umwesile" or the "South African Methodist" edited by James M. Dwane.

But Isigidimi's circulation fourteen years after it first came out revealed very little progress. There were 630 "bona fide" subscribers in 1883, 700 in 1884 and few new readers were being won. Throughout the period the English and Xhosa papers both sold roughly the same number of copies. That the blame for the lack of interest did not rest solely with the readership was hinted tactfully by John Knox Bokwe in 1880:

"I have often heard it said that some of the reading of Isigidimi before the present editor took over, was like dead matter and dry bones."

(Next week: Imvo Zabantsundu and others)

DEATH OF JOEY FOURIE

JOEY FOURIE died on October 7, at her home at Parow. Joey was one of the brave and courageous Afrikaners who played a great part in building trade unions and a non-racial working class movement during the 1930's and 40's.

Born at Oudtshoorn, educated at Wellington, she started to work at an early age at Cape Town. This was during the great depression. She began as a telephonist and then became a waitress.

It was then that she made up her mind to organise workers in the catering trades. Her decision was a genuine and spontaneous revolt against the appalling conditions under which waitresses worked and in particular the meanness shown by employers who deducted money for the girls' lunches and breakages.

FIRST SECRETARY

Joey was elected the first secretary of the waitresses' union. She became the Secretary of the National Union of Distributive Workers, Cape Town, and later secretary of the S.A. Hairdressers' Union. She held this post until 1953 when the Minister of Justice,

then C. R. Swart, banned her from trade union work under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Joey's experiences in the trade union movement had developed her sense of justice and political understanding to the point where she joined the Communist Party.

Her political career was as outstanding as her trade union record. She stood for Parliament in 1943 as a Communist Candidate for the Cape Flats constituency, and polled 1,600 votes.

COUNCILLOR

Though defeated, she was undaunted and in 1945 won the Woodstock City Council election with a large majority. Her election made history, for it gave Woodstock 3 Communist representatives in the City Council, the other two being Betty Sacks and David Dryburgh.

This simple outline of her career does not do justice to her great qualities of political honesty, trade union integrity and unflinching courage. To appreciate her achievements one would have to bear in mind the tremendous effort involved for a person of her background and associations, to break away from a wholly Afrikaner nationalist environment and identify herself completely with the



Joey Fourie

most advanced section of the working class.

Her life and work demonstrated that it is possible for Afrikaners to throw prejudices aside and join with men and women of different nationalities and races in a common struggle for socialism, unity and equality.

RAY ALEXANDER.

POETRY

China

The Prisoner's Song

Locked fast, the gate for men;
Wide open, the hole for dogs.
A voice shouts:
"Crawl out and get your
freedom!"
I long for freedom, but one thing
I know—
Men must not crawl like curs.
And I await that day
When the fire from underground
shall burst through the earth
To burn my body with this living
tomb;
For in those blazing flames, that
reeking blood,
I shall win through to immortality.
—Yeh Ting

The Chinese original of this poem, was found on a wall of the concentration camps operated in the 1940's by the so-called Sino-American Co-operation Organization in Chungking. It was written by General Yeh Ting who died a martyr's death in 1946. The Chiang Kai-shek clique illegally arrested him when he was commanding the New Fourth Army on the anti-Japanese front.

East Germany

A Look into the Future

We won't be worried any more
about the rain.
Cucumbers will grow in green-
soaked fields.

Melons. Here's where the pond
will be.
We picked the place. The land-
scape
Will be changed by us.
Among the reeds wild fowl will
nest.
Smacking fat carp will cut the
waters
Who can stop us from introducing
Rice and soy beans, why not cotton
In the National Park?
The wind must have its wings
clipped,
Its rustle trapped within the
branches.
The flowering hedge will buzz all
up and down the furrows,
The full bees flash with honey.
The fruit must learn new ways.
The wild shrubs manners.
The deadly nightshade must be
freed of poison.
The quitch must mate its tough
root to the wheat.
No blade of grass, no bush
May die unrecognized,
Unused.
From here to the horizon not a
single fence.
Fertile the fields of the co-opera-
tives,
Property of all, planted by all.
Machines sow and machines reap.
No land unploughed, no spot not
green.
Wheat will grow on Lueneberger
Heath.
Not for a thousand hands would
this hill move
From its pre-historic place.
The pressure of a fingertip will
push it now.
Rivers will change their course,
Water will flow uphill.
Man is mastering the planet Earth.
I can love this future as I love my
life;
I will do anything for such a life
And strike down any claw that
scratches it.

Translator: Edith Anderson

Britain

Do Not Say They Died

On reading about the Spanish
miners' strike and about the Huk
(liberation front) prisoners in the
Philippines:
Do not say they died for their
children
Or for any
And do not say they gave their
lives
As though it were done willingly.
Say instead
They lived for life.

Do not believe there were two
sides
To the argument
In which they died.
Men go backwards or forwards
There are two directions
But not two sides.

To fall backwards
Is to think thoughts already
thought
To undo work already done
To unlive lives already led.
To go forward
Is to take and to hand on.
Do not assume the gift of life
Is common today amidst men.
To most nothing is given
As not having died
And life must be defined
As yet.

But do not doubt the change.
Life is now a possibility
Passed on from hand to foot to
mind
And when it becomes a gift
Men will be born to it
And the aged torturers be dead.

John Berger

MIDDLE EAST Yemen Revolt
Into The Sunlight



Thousands of prisoners have been released from the prisons and underground dungeons of Yemen, the south Arabian country which earlier this month overthrew its feudal rulers. Some of the prisoners had not seen the sun for years until the joyous moment of liberation by the revolutionary forces came. Despite stories to the contrary emanating from the still feudal and pro-west Saudi Arabia, journalists who last week visited Yemen found the army officers who led the revolt to be firmly in command of the situation. An invasion by Saudi Arabian troops had been repulsed and no less than four Saudi pilots had defected to Egypt (closest friend of the new Yemeni republic) with their planes.

● Seen at Sanaa, capital of Yemen, shortly after the successful revolt is Colonel Abdulla Sallal, formerly head of the Palace Guard and now Prime Minister. Sallal himself had spent seven years in prison, before he was made head of the Guards.

AMERICA
Ben Bella
Going To Cuba

M. AHMED Ben Bella, new Prime Minister of Algeria, was expected to pay a visit to Cuba this week to thank the people of Cuba for their support for the revolutionary struggle for national independence in Algeria.

Ben Bella last week came to New York to lead his country's delegation at the United Nations. Algeria has been admitted as the 109th member of the UN, and its first vote was in support of the people of Southern Rhodesia after the banning of ZAPU. Before going to Cuba Ben Bella was due to meet U.S. President Kennedy in Washington. According to Hella Pick, the British Guardian's representative at UN, Ben Bella may try to mediate between the U.S. and Cuba.



AFRICA ANTI-UNIP ELECTION PACT IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

from VICTOR ZAZA Lusaka



Kenneth Kaunda

WITH only a few weeks to go for the 114 candidates contesting the 45 seats in the forthcoming General Elections, some parties are already negotiating election pacts—for fear of losing the elections and having their deposits forfeited. Two parties have already announced publicly that they are going to support each other in the National seats. These parties are the African National Congress led by the

deep-rooted tribalist Harry Nkumbula, and Sir Roy's United Federal Party, through its agent John Roberts.

The news of the pact came as no surprise to the powerful United National Independence Party, said the National Secretary of UNIP, Mainza Chona, in a press release. "A careful study of the full list of candidates shows that the ANC is not opposing the UFP candidates (in double constituencies) and vice versa." In fact he says they are opposing each other in two constituencies only, in the rest of the constituencies they are keeping out of each other's way and will tell their members and supporters to vote for the other.

"No Mid-Way"

Mr. Chona further says that the Liberal Party led by Sir John Moffat approached the United National Independence Party with a view to forming a pact. "We said that either they agreed that there was no major difference between the two parties, in which case they should merge into one party, or a major difference of policy still existed, in which case they should remain separate and fight the elections as separate entities—there is no middle way." The statement goes on to say that UNIP does not believe in political opportunism. "Our aim is not merely to be the next government by hook or by crook—we have to keep within

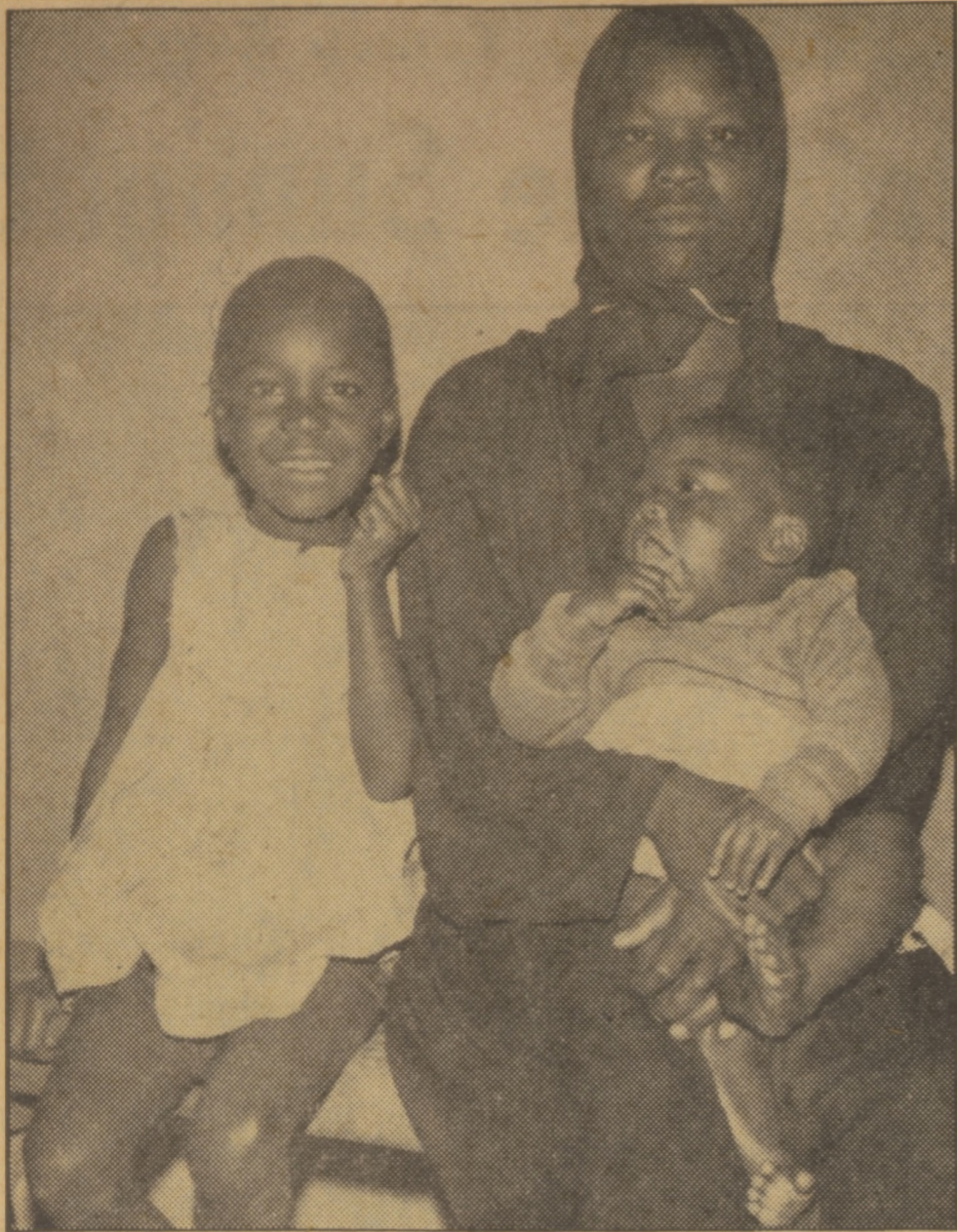
and maintain our declared principles." One of the declared cardinal principles of the ANC is to fight to destroy the Federation. One of the declared principles of the UFP is to fight to maintain the present Federation at all costs. The two are diametrically opposed, says the UNIP statement.

S.A. Born

The United National Independence Party has put in 40 candidates to fight the elections and is supporting four independents, the ANC has put up 30, the UFP 28 and the Liberal Party has put up 27, and other minor parties 9.

The toughest battle is going to be in the Lusaka East constituency. Seven candidates are going to contest this seat—UNIP, ANC, Liberal Party, UFP, plus some independents. Yet another tough battle is going to be in the Zambesi National seat where 10 people are going to contest two seats, this being a double constituency.

Princess Nakatandi, the only woman candidate in UNIP, together with John Anderson (farmer, South African born) are the two UNIP candidates for this seat. In the lower roll seats too, Barotseland West has four candidates contesting one seat. Mr. Kaunda is standing for the Ila-pula constituency, being opposed by a Congress candidate, the Rev. Henry Kasokolo.



Mrs. M. Komani must leave home with her two children because of the death of her husband. (See New Age last week.)

"Divorce Your Husband Or Leave Your Home"

War Against the Widows In Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG.

THE war against the widows, waged by the Johannesburg City Council, continued this last week, and the widows are now out in the streets.

With them are their young families. Homeless. The authorities have ejected them from homes in the townships because their deceased husbands were the registered tenants, but the Council has offered them no alternative accommodation.

Mr. A. Chirwa of Western Native Township went home to Nyasaland and was given a period of 6 months by the Nyasaland office. While at home he fell sick and

Wolfson & De Wet, F.N.A.O. (Eng.), Qualified Sight-testing and Dispensing Opticians, 4 King George Street (between Bree and Plein Streets), Johannesburg
Phone 22-3834
20% Reduction to Africans

All kinds of Photographic Work undertaken by

ELI WEINBERG
Photographer

11, Plantation Road, Gardens
Johannesburg

was unable to come back to the Union.

His wife was called to the Municipal office and told to divorce her husband or be ejected from the house, as they had received information that Mr. Chirwa was no longer coming back to the Union.

Mrs. Chirwa refused and was given 14 days within which to divorce her husband, or leave the house.

Mrs. Chirwa has lived in this house since 1930 and her rent was paid up to date.

IMPRISONED

Mrs. B. Lekopotsa of Naledi Location, a widow, owed the City Council R15. She has three children. She was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for 10 days, which she served. When she came out of jail she was ordered to pay the amount she owed at the rate of R2 a week and she paid R8 at once.

The following week she was again arrested and sent to the Native Commissioner's office, where she was given a suspended sentence of 20 days. Mrs. Lekopotsa sent R10 to the Superintendent who accepted the money but warned her to collect her things

Published by Real Printing and Publishing Co. (Pty.) Ltd., 6 Barrack Street, Cape Town and printed by Pioneer Press (Pty) Ltd., Shelley Road, Salt River.

New Age offices:
Port Elizabeth: 20 Court Chambers, 129 Adderley Street, Phone 45796.
Johannesburg: 7 Mercantile House, 155 President Street, Phone 22-4625.
Cape Town: Room 20, 6 Barrack St., Phone 2-3787, Telegraphic Address: Nuage, C.T.
Durban: 602 Lodson House, 118 Grey Street, Phone 68897.

B.A.D. POKES ITS NOSE INTO FOOTBALL

BENONI.

THE Benoni Bantu Affairs Department has told the Benoni Bantu Football Association that unless it affiliates to the Transvaal Bantu Football Association, goal posts will not go back on the grounds in Benoni Location and the Wattville Stadium will remain closed to the clubs of the Association. Over 900 footballers are affected.

Thus, quite openly, and without even trying to cover up their threats, municipal Bantu Affairs Departments are putting pressure on African football clubs to affiliate to the dummy Association linked with and used by the S.A. Football Association trying to prevent its expulsion from world soccer circles by claiming fake African participation.

Goal posts were removed from the Benoni grounds three weeks ago.

Last week a meeting of BAD representatives, Advisory Board members and executive members

of the Benoni Bantu Football Association was held under Council auspices. The footballers were told point blank that if they want to play on Council grounds they must affiliate to the Association. (Up to now the Benoni Association has not committed itself to any provincial affiliation).

A welfare officer of the Council, a Mr. Boschhoff, explained that the revenue from the Council grounds was to be used solely for 'Bantu'; and as the Transvaal Bantu Association was also only for 'Bantu', the clubs must affiliate to it.

The Council has used its fist already, in other ways.

The Association's former president and treasurer are Council employees and both were threatened with the sack unless

they resigned from the Football Association.

At last week's meeting the Flying Stars club which is multi-racial and includes African, Indian and Coloured players, was not allowed to sign the register of attendance. The point was reached at the meeting when the Council officials would permit the footballers only to ask questions, and not to talk freely. One of the participants, Dr. S. Ditira, left the meeting in protest.

Later the meeting ended in disorder, with the Association members still not toeing the BAD'S line. The footballers agreed the issue would be thrashed out at another meeting, without the Council officials being present.

ARNOLD'S HAMPERS DELIVERY SCHEDULE—1962

Thursday November 15th

Chiawelo

Friday November 16th

Moletsane
Mofolo Village
Mofolo South
Mofolo North

Saturday November 17th

Senaoane
Phiri
Molapo
Molapo
Elizabethville
Pimville
Kliptown

Monday November 19th

City and Sub
Albertsville
Fordsburg
Vrededorp
W.N.T. and Coron.
Newclare

Tuesday November 20th

Orlando East
Noordgesig
Alexandra Township

Wednesday November 21st

Mzimhlophe
Orlando West Extension
Phomolong

Thursday November 22nd

Dube
Central West Jab
Moroka North
Zondi
Moroka Township

Friday November 23rd

Meadowlands Zone 2

Saturday November 24th

Benoni Wattville
Benoni Location
Benoni Edenvale

Monday November 26th

Denver
East N.T.
Thokoza
Natalspruit
Meyerton

Tuesday November 27th

Zola No. 2
Zola No. 1
Zola North and No. 3
White City Jabavu

Wednesday November 28th

Diepkloof
Thursday November 29th
Mapetla
Tladi
Emdeni

Friday November 30th

Boksburg
Stirtonville

Saturday December 1st

Dlamini
Jabalani
Naledi

Monday December 3rd

Benoni—Asiatic Bazaar
Actonville

Brakpan—Location

Tsakane
Putfontein

Tuesday December 4th

Balance of Meadowlands

Wednesday December 5th

Nigel—Charterston
Mackenzieville
Dunnottar
Heidelberg
Balfour

Thursday December 6th

Randfontein—Old Location
New Location
Westonaria
Carltonville

Friday December 7th

Roodepoort—Davidsonville
Krugersdorp—Cape Settlement
Munsieville Loc.
Robinson

Saturday December 8th

Benoni—Daveyton

Monday December 10th

Springs—Kwa-Thema

Tuesday December 11th

Luipaardsvlei
Kagiso Location
Roodepoort—Dobsonville
Protea

Wednesday December 12th

Benoni—Balance of Daveyton

Thursday December 13th

Pretoria—Lady Selbourne
Claremont
Vlakfontein

Friday December 14th

Pretoria—Part Atteridgeville

Saturday December 15th

Veereeniging—Sharpeville
v.d. Bijlpark—Bophelong
Boipatong
Swartkoppies
(near Evaton)
Evaton

Tuesday December 18th

Pretoria—Balance Atteridgeville
Saulsville

Springs—Payneville
Kaalfontein

PROFESSIONAL SOCCER R2,000 UNITED TOBACCO CO'S K.O. CUP SEMI-FINAL

CURRIES FOUNTAIN - DURBAN - SUNDAY, 21st OCTOBER, 1962

ACES UNITED vs MOROKA SWALLOWS

3.15 p.m.

Curtain Raiser: 1.30 p.m.

UNION JACKS vs SPARTAK DYNAMOES

Collection Number: AG2887

Collection Name: Publications, New Age, 1954-1962

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

©2016

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.