AFRICAN AMERICAN ATHLETES, ACTORS, SINGERS, PEFORMERS, AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT, 1948-1994

By

Ronald Jackson II

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ABSTRACT

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"African American Athletes, Actors, Singers, Performers, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1948-1994" is the first study to explore the multiple roles African American artists and athletes in the global struggle against apartheid in South Africa. As a transnational study, this dissertation pays attention to the multiple trans-Atlantic dialogues that occurred for over a century between African American entertainers and the people of South Africa. Based on archival sources in the United States and South Africa, it argues that many Black Americans in the popular culture industry used their celebrity status to galvanize support for a free South Africa, while others chose paths of accommodation, and, in some cases, collaborated with the Pretoria regime. African American singers, actors, musicians, boxers, golfers, and tennis players were often motivated, both intrinsically and extrinsically, by pan-African connections forged by an empathetic sense of a shared history of racial oppression endured by blacks in both the United States and South Africa during similar time periods. This study addresses questions about the African Diaspora that have not fully been addressed in previous studies. What factors prompted black American entertainers to join the anti-apartheid movement? Did anti-apartheid activists in South Africa consider the support of black American entertainers an essential component of the struggle? Why did some black American entertainers elect to ignore the cultural boycott and tour South Africa?

In loving memory of Marcus Maynard Spells Sr.,
In support of the recovery of Claude Nicolas,
&
For my daughter Elle Evergreen Jackson

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INTRODUCTION

In 1970, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) accused Black American soul singer Percy Sledge of "selling his soul" by agreeing to perform in South Africa while the white minority government continued to openly enforce its system of racial segregation and subjugation, more commonly known as apartheid. The ACOA, an organization formed in 1953 to support liberation struggles in Africa, declared that Sledge's willingness to perform in the racially oppressive country was tantamount to him accepting apartheid as an acceptable social system.[1] Sledge was not the only African American artist to be accused of acquiescing to apartheid. Five years after the ACOA decried Sledge's performances, Motown Record's flagship female R&B group, The Supremes, faced similar criticism from the black press for touring the apartheid state. The *New Amsterdam News*, a leading black newspaper, chided, "Such is the gravity of the situation in South Africa that we believe the SUPREMES – and Barry Gordy, Motown Head – should take time to explain to Black America just why they choose to honor with their presence the world's most outspoken practitioners of Black genocide."[2]

Contrastingly Stevie Wonder, another Motown artist, shocked many television viewers when he dedicated his 1985 Grammy Award for best movie song, "I Just Called to Say I Love You," to South African political prisoner Nelson Mandela.[3] On the heels of Wonder's declaration of solidarity, *JET Magazine* posed the following question, "Should Famous Blacks Entertain in South Africa?"[4] Such public commentary was representative of a larger ongoing political conversation that was taking place in the United States about the level of public

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[1] American Committee on Africa, "Cultural Boycott of Racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge Sells Soul" (New York: American Committee on Africa, 1970).
[2] "The Supremes Take a Show Business Bow to South Africa's Apartheid" *New Amsterdam News*, October 22, 1975.
[3] "Stevie Wonder Tells Why He Takes Risks in Fight to Destroy South Africa's Racism," *JET Magazine*, September 9, 1985, 14.
[4] "Should Famous Black Entertain in South Africa?," *Jet Magazine*, May 27, 1985, 52.

allegiance American entertainers, especially African American entertainers, should have to the anti-apartheid struggle.

"African American Athletes, Actors, Singers, Performers and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1948-1994" provides the first comprehensive study of the actions and thoughts African American singers, actors, athletes, artists, and writers contributed to the global effort to expose and dismantle the legal manifestations of white supremacy in South Africa. As a transnational study, this dissertation pays attention to the multiple trans-Atlantic dialogues that occurred for over a century between African American entertainers and the people of South Africa. I argue that many of the Black American entertainers who used their celebrity status to galvanize support for a free South Africa were motivated, both intrinsically and extrinsically, by pan-African connections with South Africa; the land, its people, and its history. These pan-African connections were forged by an empathetic sense of a shared history of racial oppression endured by blacks in both countries during similar time periods. This study addresses questions about the African Diaspora that have not fully been addressed in previous studies. What factors prompted black American entertainers to join the anti-apartheid movement? Did anti-apartheid activists in South Africa consider the support of black American entertainers an essential component of the struggle? Why did some black American entertainers elect to ignore the cultural boycott and tour South Africa? These are the fundamental questions of this dissertation.

African American entertainers have consistently decried race relations in South Africa since as early as 1890. For many of them, apartheid appeared to be ghastly similar to United States' legal segregationist system, Jim Crow. Moreover, many African Americans found the rampant inequalities of apartheid even more disparaging because blacks in South Africa were being oppressed in their native land, despite being the majority population. To counter apartheid,

African American entertainers: joined and led anti-apartheid organizations, condemned the South African government in the press, sung songs in protest of apartheid, acted in films that highlighted the inequities of apartheid, and some even refused to perform in South Africa, turning down large sums of money in the process.

Their collective actions assisted the anti-apartheid movement in three significant ways. First, these artists helped to bring more attention to the repressive laws and acts of the South African government. It was one thing for Americans to read about black South Africans being relegated to second-class status, but for some, it was more shocking to find out someone as renowned as actress Eartha Kitt was kicked out of a town fair because of her skin color. The publicity African American entertainers were able to amass helped to enjoin some in the United States who were previously unaware or unsympathetic to the anti-apartheid movement to get involved. Secondly, their actions demonstrated to anti-apartheid activists that they had international support from their *distant relatives*. The relationships African American entertainers developed with black South African artists helped those in exile like Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and others to publicize their messages in the United States.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

In the twenty-first century, more scholars have begun to examine the cultural components of the anti-apartheid movement by investigating the multifaceted ways art, music, performance, and film were used by activists to defy the South African government and help Blacks in South Africa cope with the hardships of apartheid. Scholars Rob Nixon, Charles Hamm, Ron Krabill, and Veit Erlmann have discussed the influence some African American entertainers had on

South African popular culture.[5] Other scholars such as Carol Muller, Michael Drewett, Grant Olwage, and Torsten Sannar have explored the intricacies and history of the cultural boycott of South Africa.[6] While both groups have broached the topic of African American entertainers' involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle, none have focused exclusively on this subgroup. Often the stories of black American entertainers are intermingled with entertainers of other races. This approach makes sense in that it reaffirms the fact that the anti-apartheid movement was a multiracial protest effort; however, it obfuscates the role pan-Africanism played in galvanizing black American support for the anti-apartheid struggle.

Previous studies about the cultural aspects of the anti-apartheid movement also tend to focus predominantly on the actions that took place during the 1970s and 1980s; as these were decades when significant advances were made in the cultural boycott of South Africa. However, this methodological approach obscures the actions black American entertainers took to expose racism in South Africa long before the movement gained wide-spread support in America. These two methodological approaches, one, lumping entertainers of all races into one group and two only focusing on two decades, have contributed to minimizing the contributions black American entertainers made to the anti-apartheid movement. Using Ronald Walters' *Pan African Method of Analysis*, "African American Entertainers and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1948-1994" addresses gaps in the historiography. It augments our understanding of the cultural components

[5] Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Charles Hamm, *Putting Popular Music in its Place* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Ron Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[6] Michael Drewett, "The Cultural Boycott against Apartheid South Africa: A Case of Defensible Censorship?" in *Popular Music Censorship in Africa,* edited by Michael Drewett and Martin Cloonan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006); Carol A. Muller, *Focus: Music of South Africa* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Grant Olwage, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008).

of the anti-apartheid movement by detailing specifically how African American entertainers have expressed racial solidarity with black South Africans through protest from 1890 to 1994.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to comprehensively detail the longstanding pan-African connections that existed between African American entertainers and Blacks in South Africa. By examining anti-apartheid activism through the perspective of African American entertainers, this study complicates the narrative about U.S. anti-apartheid activism. It challenges the idea that African American entertainers had the same experiences as their white counterparts. African American artists were treated differently by the South African government, international anti-apartheid activists, black South Africans, and the black American media outlets. Focusing on the African American perspective of the cultural boycott also allows for a more detailed exploration of the diverse opinions held by African American artists and entertainers. They were not monolithic in their responses to racial oppression in South Africa. Focusing solely on African American entertainers allows the complexities of their responses to be explored in detail.

There are three main factors that distinguish the experiences that African American entertainers had with the cultural boycott of South Africa, from entertainers of other ethnic groups. First, black American entertainers publicly complained about the treatment they personally received when they travelled to South Africa. No matter how distinguished they were as entertainers, they often found themselves at odds with the governing laws of apartheid. Some were prohibited from entering certain places, or in some extreme cases from even entering the country because of the color of their skin.[7] Secondly, anti-apartheid activists were more critical of black performers who toured Africa. As cultural studies scholar Torsten Sanner

[7] This will be explored in more detail in the dissertation but a short list of black entertainers who publicly testified about experiencing racial discrimination while visiting South Africa includes: Orpheus McAdoo, Canada Lee, Sidney Poitier, Eartha Kitt, The Supremes, and The Ojays.

acknowledged: "Black performers garnered the most attention and criticism for their apparent collaboration with the apartheid state. Political organizations in the U.S. and U.K. targeted black performers in particular as if to shame them for their lack of solidarity with their black brothers and sisters in the West."[8] Thirdly, as more global pressure mounted against the apartheid regime, particularly after the Soweto uprisings in 1976, South African officials attempted to pacify the growing dissent of the international community by recruiting black entertainers to perform in South Africa. This was done in an attempt to give the appearance that race relations were improving. "Booking agents working on behalf of the republic often targeted black artists specifically," historian Donald Culverson revealed, "for their presence seemingly offered a degree of legitimacy to the government's cosmetic reforms."[9]

This study does not suggest that the U.S. cultural boycott of South Africa was solely an African American protest effort. Entertainers of all races and nationalities refused to accept money to perform in South Africa while the country was governed by apartheid legislation and customs. Entertainers of other races who broke the cultural boycott, like their black counterparts, were also subjected to public aspersions levied against them by anti-apartheid activists and media organizations.[10] However, the experiences of black entertainers in South Africa, the

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[8] Torsten T. Sannar, "Playing Sun City: The Politics of Entertainment at a South African Mega-Resort" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2011) 166.

[9] Donald Culverson, "From Cold War to Global Independence," in *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988* edited by Brenda Gayle Plummer (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003) 233.

[10] Two of the more high profile cases of white Americans who received criticism for violating the cultural boycott of South Africa were Paul Simon and Frank Sinatra. In 1981 Frank Sinatra was singled out by the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid for performing at the infamous Sun City Hotel and Country Club in Bophuthatswana. Paul Simon was also singled out by the UN Committee Against Apartheid and anti-apartheid activist for traveling to South Africa to record the 1986 *Graceland* album. Prior to recording the album Simon went through extensive efforts to stress that his project was intended to support black South Africans and the anti-apartheid movement. He contacted Harry Belafonte, and Quincy Jones before recording the album, he paid South African artists three times the American scale for a session, and contracted to share royalties with the artists who were a part of the project. For a discussion on Sinatra and Simon's experiences in South Africa, see David L. Hostetter, *Movement Matters: American Antiapartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2006) and Kitty Kelly, *His Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra* (New York: Bantam Books, 1986).

responses of the black community to black artists who did not support the cultural boycott and the public relations value that South African officials placed on black entertainers suggest that there are multiple dialogues on the cultural boycott of South Africa. In other words, while both black and non-black entertainers participated in the cultural boycott, their plights were affected by their race.

African American artists and entertainers responded to the anti-apartheid movement and cultural boycott in a variety of ways that can best be classified into four main groups. The first group includes entertainers such as Paul Robeson, Harry Belafonte, Arthur Ashe, and Dick Gregory. These entertainers along with others served as leaders of anti-apartheid organizations at various times and were effective at recruiting other celebrities to become involved. Those in the second group were not leaders of anti-apartheid organizations; however, they were staunch adherents of the cultural boycott and used their celebrity status to raise awareness among uninformed or unsympathetic Americans. Phyilis Hyman, Roberta Flack, and Stevie Wonder were among the most visible of this group. Artists like Millie Jackson, The O'Jays, Percy Sledge, and Tina Turner were a part of the third group. These entertainers actually performed in South Africa and were later persuaded to join the cultural boycott. Their recantations were induced by their personal experiences with racial discrimination in South Africa and perhaps more saliently by protestors who publicly reproached them for accepting funds from a country that openly legalized racial discrimination. Lastly, there was a group of black American entertainers who did not submit to the cultural boycott or lend their support to anti-apartheid organizations, like Nikki Giovanni and Ray Charles. This study expounds upon these positions taken by these and other black entertainers. It also investigates what politicized black entertainers. This study also questions whether black entertainers sympathized with the plight of black South Africans or if

they were merely seeking to avoid being protested in the U.S. and South Africa by anti-apartheid activists.

TRANSNATIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY

In 2006, historian Gerald Horne recommended that Black Studies scholars adopt a more global approach in documenting African American history. More specifically, Horne implored scholars to study African Americans "on their own terms" instead of forcing their stories to fit into the broader U.S.-centered historical narrative. One way Horne illustrated this point was through a brief review of the dominant narrative about African American participation in the Revolutionary War. He surmised that African Americans who fought with the British during the Revolutionary War were virtually effaced from textbooks because historians (both and black and white) sought to prove that African Americans were deeply involved in the founding of the country. "Just as the way we view history changes when gender is invoked leading to different questions and different answers," Horne deduced, "something similar occurs when the global is invoked in writing African American history."[11] Horne's suggestion seems out of place in the twenty-first century as African American history, like other sub-fields of history, has become more specialized and localized in scope. In *What is African American History?* (2015), historian Pero Dagbovie attests that, "the hyper-specialization and fragmentation will inevitably continue to be a defining characteristic of African American history."[12] Despite the current historiographical trends, Horne urged scholars to engage sources and narratives outside of the U.S. national boundaries.

Horne's suggestion to "invoke the global" in African American historical research may seem like an innovative approach to Black Studies scholars in the twenty-first century; however,

[11] Gerald Horne, "Toward a Transnational Research Agenda for African American History," *The Journal of African American History* 91, no. 3 (2006): 289.
[12] Pero Dagbovie, *What is African American History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015) 106.

historian Robert D.G. Kelley demonstrates this methodological approach would be more of a "return to roots" than a sowing of a new seed. In fact, Kelley documented, seven years before Horne's article, that black historians (both formally and non-formally trained) in the nineteenth and a majority of the twentieth century consistently incorporated transnational perspectives into their research since George Washington Williams' pioneering 1883 study *History of the Negro Race in America*.[13] Kelley emotes, "I was surprised by the extent to which black scholars—including fairly conservative ones—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century paid attention to international contexts."[14] He attributes black scholars' international perspective to the following reasons: they defined themselves as a part of an international black community; the limitations placed on their American citizenship forced black scholars to look outside the U.S. for 'home'; and imperialism/colonialism influenced the historical profession as a whole to adopt a more transnational view during the nineteenth and twentieth century. By adhering to Horne's call to traverse national boundaries in African American historical research, this study builds upon the foundation established by previous black historians.

METHODOLOGY

I use African American Studies scholar Ronald Walters' *Pan-African Method of Analysis* to guide the research and writing of these narratives. In his 1993 collection of essays entitled *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora* Walters asked, "What forces drive African-origin people to continue identifying with the source of their cultural origins?"[15] This inquiry led him to explore new ways to analyze how and why different groups of people within the African Diaspora

[13] Robin D.G. Kelley, "But a Local Phase of a World Problem': Black History's Global Vision, 1883-1950," in *The Journal of American History* 86, no.3 (Dec. 1999): 1051.
[14] Ibid 1046.
[15] Ronald Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993) 14.

communicate with each other. The Pan-African Method of Analysis is intended to aid in the study of cultural, economic and political linkages between people of African descent. It evaluates how successful those connections were in accomplishing a set goal. Before discussing how this method applies to this study specifically, it is necessary to expound upon Walters' development of the Pan-African Method of Analysis.

Walters began by acknowledging that there were a plethora of interpretations and definitions of the African Diaspora and Pan-Africanism.[16] He credits W.E.B. DuBois, H. Sylvester Williams and George Shepperson as the first scholars to theorize about the African Diaspora.[17] For Walters, the African Diaspora is a concept that captures the function of the African community and, "the struggle to achieve it, the struggle to maintain it, and the struggle to utilize its resources in order to achieve social, political and economic objectives in society and in the world."[18] He attributes the creation of the Diaspora to four factors: slavery, commerce, war and migration.[19] Walter's defines Pan-Africanism as, "those 'contacts' and 'linkages' designed to regain or enhance unity or identity or for some other political, cultural, or economic objective."[20] To sum up Walter's definitions, the African Diaspora represents the relationship between people of African descent throughout the world and Pan-Africanism is defined as communication between those of the African Diaspora. Expressions of Pan-Africanism are aimed at achieving an objective, improving living conditions, and fostering unity within the African community.

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[16] Ibid, 43.
[17] W.E.B. DuBois, "The Conversation of Races," in *W.E.B. DuBois Speaks*, Philip S. Foner ed. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970) 79; George Shepperson, "The African Abroad or the African Diaspora," in *Emerging Themes of African History*, ed. T.O. Ranger (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1968) 153; Walters, *Pan-Africanism in the African Diaspora*, 38-39.
[18] Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora*, 40.
[19] Ibid, 14-21.
[20] Ibid, 41.

After offering these re-conceptualizations of the terms "African Diaspora" and "Pan-Africanism", Walters sought a new method to analyze expressions of Pan-Africanism. He noted that most researchers tended to rely on comparative methodology when documenting multiple groups of people within the African Diaspora. This is apparent in the recent growth of historical studies that shed light on the similarities and differences between the United States and South Africa. Walters concluded that while the comparative method is useful, it alone is insufficient in regards to analyzing Pan-Africanism because it does not focus on the interactions that take place within the African Diaspora. To address this need Walters suggested scholars adopt what he termed the Pan African Method of Analysis. Walters introduces this method as one that "recognizes the dominant influence of African identity, history and culture in the transactional relations of African-origin peoples in the Diaspora."[21]

The Pan-African Method of Analysis examines two components: interaction between members of the African Diaspora and their ability to accomplish a set goal. The first feature of the method is based upon the belief that black people throughout the Diaspora share a collective destiny. Under this assumption, the improvement of one African community functions as an improvement to African people throughout the world. Walters suggests that the exchanges between African communities can be through individuals, groups, or ideas. The second feature of the *Pan-African Method of Analysis* assesses how successful those interactions were in achieving an objective. Walters intended for this component of the method to be a response to a lecture delivered by St. Clair Drake in 1968. During this lecture Drake implored scholars to evaluate the

[21] Ibid, 46.

efforts of intellectuals and organizational leaders to, "develop 'race pride' and 'race solidarity' and to direct them toward specific ends."[22]

Walter's *Pan-African Method of Analysis* is ideal for evaluating the relationships that developed between African American entertainers and black South Africans. The first component of the method acknowledges the necessity for interaction. Since 1890 African American entertainers have established contact with South Africa directly, through physical contact, or indirectly through mediums such as newspapers, radio, and television. This contact fostered an exchange of ideas between both populations. The first component also acknowledges a belief among members of the African Diaspora that the improvement of one group's living conditions is ultimately linked to the betterment of the African community as a whole. Several African Americans expressed sentiments of this nature when explaining why they elected to join the anti-apartheid movement.

The second component of the Pan-African Method of Analysis evaluates how successful members of the Pan-African aggregate are in converting their interactions with each other into a movement that accomplishes an objective. The primary objective of the interactions between African American entertainers and Black South Africans was to dismantle apartheid. In addition to effacing legal manifestations of white supremacy in South Africa, there were also other supporting objectives that are worthy of analysis. These include: support anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa, increase awareness of the anti-apartheid movement, expose racial prejudice in South Africa, and help isolate South Africa from the global community. Ronald

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[22] St. Clair Drake, "West Africa and Cross Currents with the New World," Studies of Afro-American Backgrounds and Experiences, Martin Luther King Distinguished Visiting Lecture Series, Brooklyn College, September 26, 1968, 8.Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora*, 44.

Walters' Pan African Method of Analysis is a sound methodological approach for this study as it prioritizes the transnational interactions and assess there contribution to the African community.

METHODS

This study draws from an extensive evidentiary base including scholarly books, peer-reviewed journal articles, newspapers, personal letters, memoirs and biographies, census records, interviews, and government records from the U.S. and South Africa. It is also informed by publications from the anti-apartheid organizations that supported the cultural boycott such as the African National Congress, UN Centre against Apartheid, the American Committee on Africa, Black Concern and other local anti-apartheid organizations in the United States. Several of the documents reviewed in this study can be found in the following archives: Howard University Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Hampton University Archives, Tulane University Amistad Research Center, Yale University Sterling Memorial Library Archives, University of Fort Hare Archives, and the National English Literary Museum. This dissertation also greatly benefits from digital archival sources such as Aluka's "Struggle for Freedom in Southern Africa Collection", Digital Imagining South Africa (DISA), Google News, and Michigan State University's "Overcoming Apartheid" website.

It is necessary to comment on the process that I used to sort through the numerous secondary sources to determine which sources to use for the manuscript. I also used newspaper articles that cover aspects of the pan-African connections between African American entertainers and South Africa. These articles were helpful with the following: compose a timeline of different events; capture the opinions of different entertainers during the time period; compile a record of anti-apartheid activists who were predominant in discussion about the cultural components of the movement, and to provide a glimpse of some of the general public's opinions on the cultural

boycott and apartheid. The study also includes a focus on black newspapers from both countries. These newspapers provided insight on some of the opinions of black communities in both countries. These articles also shed light on how the expectations for black American entertainers were different than their white counterparts. Memoirs and biographies provided key insight about artists' differing motivations for participating or choosing to not participate in the anti-apartheid movement. I also examine these works to find any discussion that highlights a sense of Pan-African unity between African American and Black South Africans.

Deciding not to include oral history in this study was a difficult decision. Oral history plays a significant role in South African historiography and several of the artists mentioned in this study are still alive. However, careful attention was paid to capture the voices and opinions of the entertainers mentioned in this story as close to the time period as possible. By doing so, I aimed to present an authentic depiction of how African American entertainers felt about apartheid and joining the antiapartheid struggle.

This study synthesizes a vast amount of different individual testimonies into a collective chronological narrative. By structuring the study chronologically instead of thematically, I aim to capture the longevity of the connections between African American artists and South Africa. Previous historical works mostly offer a truncated version of the story; effectively reducing history that extends for over a century to couple of decades.[23] The narrative format also allows

[23] It is important to note that, I am not arguing that these interactions represent one cohesive movement. In other words, this study does not fit within Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's "long civil rights movement" or Peniel Jospeh's "long Black Power movement" theses. I maintain that throughout the time period of this study there were temporal distinctions that prohibit the interactions between African American entertainers and South Africa. For more about the "Long Movement" theses and its critics see: Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of African American History* 91 no.4 (March, 2005): 1233-1263; Peniel Jospeh, "Introduction: Toward a Historiography of the Black Power Movement," in *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights—Black Power Era* (New York: Routledge Press, 2006) 1-25; Sundiata Keta Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "The 'Long Movement' as Vampire Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *The Journal of African American History* 92 no.2 (Spring, 2007): 265-288; and Pero Dagbovie, *What is African American History?* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2015) 115-118.

for a more intimate examination of the entertainers and artists in question. By partially telling the story through their testimonies and life histories, a better understanding of their experiences in South Africa and with the anti-apartheid movement can be explored. I also use the narrative format to draw attention to diversity of opinions among the entertainers. I aim to break away from the trend of simply placing names in lists without acknowledging the details of each case. Lastly, documenting this history chronologically helps to make the changes that occurred in the ways African American entertainers challenged apartheid over time more visible. Changes in both societies influenced the ways African American entertainers and black South Africans connected and interacted with each other. The chronological, narrative format helps to produce a detailed depiction of the pan-African connections that take place in this study.

DEFINITIONS

This study examines the pan-African connections that existed between African American entertainers and black South Africans. For clarification purposes it is necessary to explain how both of these populations are defined within this study and offer some thoughts about how Pan-Africanism is conceptualized in this text. In this study, the definition of "entertainer" is derived from an amalgamation of definitions offered by anti-apartheid activists and organizations and scholars. The United Nations, the African National Congress, British Equity, Father Trevor Huddleston, and other early advocates for the cultural boycott of South Africa, were vague in defining exactly which professions they were seeking to enlist in the boycott. The initial stages of the cultural boycott took place during the mid-1950s in the midst of the Defiance Campaign, one of the first large-scale resistant protest efforts against apartheid laws. Activists were moving quickly to challenge the ever-growing repressive acts and legislation of the state. Therefore, early conceptualizations of the cultural boycott were more practical than theoretical.

In 1954, Father Huddleston made one of the first pleas for the international community to isolate South Africa. In the London newspaper *The Observer* Huddleston proposed:

> "I am pleading for a cultural boycott of South Africa. I am asking that all those who believe racialism to be sinful or wrong should refuse to encourage it by not accepting any engagements to act, to perform as musical artist or as ballet dancer—in short, to engage in any contracts which would provide entertainment for only one section of the community."[24]

In 1963, forty-five British playwrights signed a Declaration to refuse the performing rights of their work to any theaters that practiced racial discrimination. Two years later actors and other entertainers in Britain and the United States pledged to not work in South Africa through Equity (British Actor's Union) and the American Committee on Africa respectively.[25] In 1968, the United Nations passed Resolution 2396 which requested all "States and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."[26]

In his 2008 study *United States Relations with South Africa: A Critical Overview from the Colonial Period to the Present*, Y. G-M. Lulat offered a detailed description of participants in the cultural boycott. Lulat labeled them as "culture sector groups." He defines cultural sector groups as "all those who in the fields of intellectual endeavor, entertainment, sports, and the like, they would include groups such as filmmakers, writers, journalists, academics, artists, actor, sportspersons, scientists, musician, and so on."[27] Lulat's "cultural sector groups" categorization serves as a good departure point for this study. Unlike Lulat, I make a distinction between

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[24] Father Trevor Huddleston, "The Church Sleeps On," *The Observer*, October 10, 1954.
[25] African National Congress, "Some Important Developments in the Movement for a Cultural Boycott against South Africa" November 25, 1983, http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6869, accessed November 3, 2014
[26] United Nations General Assembly Resolutions, 1968. Resolution 2396, The policies of apartheid in the Government of South Africa. In *Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Special Political Committee*[Online]. Available http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/243/56/IMG/NR024356.pdf?OpenElement (last accessed August 8, 2015).
[27] Y.G-M. Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa: A Critical Overview from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008) 313.

intellectual professions and those in the entertainment and sports fields. Academics, scientists, and journalists have different responsibilities than entertainers and sports figures. Their occupations often require them to offer some measure of social critique. I am concerned with the following members of the cultural sector group whose primary job description was to provide entertainment such as: filmmakers, playwrights, writers, artists, actors, sportspersons and musicians.

Black American entertainers are the primary subjects of this study. However the term "black" has different connotations in African American and South African historiography. "Black" has been used to describe Americans of African descent since the Black Power Era and has been used interchangeably in scholarship with the terms "African American" and "Black Americans." I use both terms interchangeably in this study. In the 1970s, members of the South African Students' Organization (SASO) defined the term black as "those who by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards realization of their aspirations."[28] Historian George Fredrickson reaffirms this definition when he explains:

> The South African meaning of the word has broadened since the 1970s. Previously referring only to the descendants of African tribesmen who spoke Bantu languages, it now may include Asian South Africans, who are mostly of Indian descent, and the mixed-race group known as 'Coloured' (a hybrid population of European, Asian, and Southern African aboriginal derivation that has historically been concentrated in the Western Cape and considered distinct from Europeans and Africans)—in other words all those previously categorized as 'nonwhite.[29]

Mixed-race people were classified and treated differently in the United States than those in South Africa. In the United States, it had been a longstanding practice to label anyone with African ancestry as black. Sociologist F. James Davis notes that in the South this was practice

[28] Badat, *Black Man, You Are on Your Own*, 56.
[29] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 4-5.

was commonly referred to as the "one-drop rule."[30] In South Africa, there was another classification termed "Coloured" that was created to distinguish mixed-race people from the black and white populations of South Africa. This study supports the Black Consciousness Movement and Fredrickson's use of the term "black" in that in the South African context it encompasses other nonwhite populations. At the same time, this dissertation does not suggest that Indian and "Coloured" South Africans self-identified as black racially. Rather in terms of protest, the Coloured and Indian populations of South Africa closely aligned themselves with indigenous South African populations.

In 1980, historian P. Olisanwuche Esedebe acknowledged in his expansive investigation of Pan-Africanism that, "The study of the phenomenon is still in its infancy…Not surprisingly, there is still no agreement on what it is all about."[31] However there are shared commonalities within the multiple interpretations of Pan-Africanism; a central station where the different trains of Pan-African thought coalesce. Esedebe theorizes that the key mainstays of Pan-Africanism are: recognition of Africa as the homeland of people of African descent, a sense of solidarity among people of African descent, a belief in a distinct African personality, an effort to reestablish pride in African culture and history, and a desire for a prosperous future for Africa.[32] Using these tenants as a guide, Esedebe suggests, "With some simplification we can say that Pan-Africanism is a political and cultural phenomenon that regards Africa, Africans, and African descendants abroad as a unit. It seeks to regenerate and unify Africa and promote a feeling of

[30] F. James Davis, *Who is Black?: One Nation's Definition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2001) 5.
[31] P. Olisabwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1980) 3.
[32] Ibid, 4.

oneness among the people of the African world."[33] This study is guided by this definition of pan-Africanism.

Some scholars have argued for demarcations to be made within Pan-African terminology. Historian George Shepperson suggested that scholars use the term "Pan-Africanism", with a capital letter 'P', to denote the specific movement that took place during the twentieth century. Conversely, Shepperson uses the term "pan-Africanism", with a lower-case 'p', to characterize phenomenon and ideology that occurred outside of the recognizable movement. Shepperson explains pan-Africanism is, "rather a group of movements many very ephemeral. The cultural element often predominates."[34] Sociologists St. Clair Drake added to Shepperson's delimitations. Drake differentiated the terms by claiming that pan-Africanism does not have a political aims and is more about a people to people approach.[35] "African American Entertainers and the Anti-Apartheid Movement" follows Shepperson recommendation by detailing pan-African, cultural linkages that formed between African Americans and black South Africans. This study does differ from Drake's definition of pan-Africanism because it demonstrates how the cultural, "people to people" approach could in fact have political aims.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Scholarly examinations of the connections that African American entertainers' had with South Africa mainly exist on the periphery of other studies. Rather than being the main subject, these types of pan-African connections are often identified as fascinating dimensions of a larger puzzle. As a result of this classification, the stories of African American entertainers are

[33] Ibid, 5.
[34] George Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," *Phylon* 23 no.4 (1962): 346.
[35] St. Clair Drake, "Diaspora Studies and Pan-Africanism," in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* edited by Joseph Harris (Washington: Howard University Press, 1982) 353.

scattered throughout historical works concerning South African popular culture, anti-apartheid activism in the United States, the cultural boycott of South Africa or African American international activism. The following historiographical review of the key scholarly books, journal articles, dissertations, and essays demonstrates how the topic has been mentioned but not thoroughly examined.

Rob Nixon's *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood* and Charles Hamm's *Putting Popular Music in its Place* are two collections of essays that are closely related to the focus of this dissertation and serve as good departure points for this study. Both of these texts provide an analysis of the early influence African American entertainers had on South African popular culture prior to 1948. They also incorporate a discussion about the involvement (and lack thereof in some instances) of African American entertainers in the cultural boycott. In *Harlem, Homelands, and Hollywood*, English professor Rob Nixon discusses the artistic and intellectual developments in Sophiatown during the 1940s and 1950s, sometimes known as the Sophiatown Renaissance, and its ties to Harlem. Nixon also covers the development of the sports and cultural boycott of South Africa. He critiques American films about South Africa, suggesting that pictures such as *Cry Freedom* (1987) and *A Dry White Season* (1989) oversimplify the realities of South Africa by seeking to interpret them through an American frame of reference. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood* provides a rich discussion about the presence of African American culture in South Africa and its relationship with the international community.

Musicologists Charles Hamm's 1995 collection of essays *Putting Popular Music in its Place*, contains three critical essays that provide an expansive discussion of the influence of African American entertainers on South African popular culture and the anti-apartheid activism of African American musicians. Hamm, relying on fieldwork and scholarly sources, examines

the adoption of Black American music by South African artists, the acceptance of rock 'n' roll in South Africa, and the impact of the cultural boycott on Black American artists who toured South Africa. Hamm is effective at demonstrating the penetration of African American popular culture into South Africa. Through the three essays Hamm reveals connections between Black American music and South Africa span for almost a century. He retraces the popularity of early vaudeville acts in South Africa, the impact of Chubby Checker's 1950 hit "The Twist" among South African youth, and the success black American music artists like Dobie Gray and LaVerne Baker enjoyed while touring South Africa during the 1970s.

However, the spatial limitations of the essay format prevent his list of artists from being comprehensive. The artists mentioned in his work represent a small portion of Black American entertainers who had a connection with South Africa. Also, Hamm's focus is strictly on musicians. This dissertation will build upon Hamm's work by incorporating other types of the entertainers such as actors, writers, playwrights, and athletes. [36]

The following four notable texts provide key insights on transnational cultural relations between African Americans and South Africans prior to the onset of apartheid: Veit Erlmann's *African Stars: Studies Black South African Performance* (1991), Christopher Ballantine's *Marabi Nights Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville* (1994), James Campbell's *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and Africa* (1998), and Robert Vinson's *The Americans are Coming!: Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (2012). *African Stars* and *Marabi Nights* unearths forms of South African entertainment that emerged during the early twentieth century such as vaudeville acts,

[36] Charles Hamm, "Home cooking and American soul in black South African popular music," 139 - 149; Charles Hamm, "Rock 'n' Roll in a very strange society," 150 – 166; Charles Hamm, "African-American music, South Africa, and apartheid," 167-209.

minstrel troupes, *marabi*, choral music, and *ingoma*. Both Erlmann and Ballantine document the cultural reception of African American entertainers such as Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers, Layton and Johnstone, Fats Waller, and Duke Ellington in South Africa. *Songs of Zion* and *The Americans are Coming!*, chronicles the development the AME church and Garveyism in South Africa respectively. Campbell and Vinson both make mention of some of the same early African American entertainers to visit South Africa. Vinson makes note of influential black boxing heavyweight champions Jack Johnson and Joe Louis to the discussion. While Louis and Johnson did not actually tour South Africa, both were highly respected in South Africa as symbols of pride of what black people could accomplish if given fair opportunities. All four of these texts are helpful in documenting some of the first cultural transferences between African communities in both countries before apartheid and the social impact that resulted.

For the most part, historical works on African American anti-apartheid activism tend to predominantly center on activism outside of the entertainment sector. In his 1993 essay "Politics of Black Communities" Ronald Walters questions the actual value that black leaders Jesse Jackson and Arthur Ashe had on the anti-apartheid movement. He surmises that African American leaders who visited South Africa had very little tangible impact on the anti-apartheid movement because, "No new movements were fostered, no new organizations sprang into existence, and no events were reported as a direct consequence of these visit."[37] Rather, Walters claims that the ideas of the Black Power Movement were more impactful because they inspired the Black Consciousness Movement. Walters argues that cultural contacts between African Americans and black South Africans were more beneficial to raising awareness in America than ameliorating the catastrophic living conditions in South Africa. Donald Culverson supports

[37] Ronald Walters, "Politics of Black Communities," in *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1993) 255.

Walters' position. In his essay entitled, "From Cold War to Global Interdependence: The Political Economy of African American Antiapartheid Activism, 1968-1988" Culverson documents how organizations such as the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, UN Centre against apartheid and the Coalition to End Collaboration with South Africa viewed the cultural boycott as a potential tool to raise awareness in the U.S., specifically in the black community.[38]

In 2004, a decade after South Africa held its first democratic elections, historian Francis Nesbitt published *Race for Sanctions: African Americans against Apartheid, 1946-1994*, the first full length academic study on the involvement of African Americans in the fight against apartheid. Adopting a revisionist approach, Nesbitt challenges the typical depiction of the anti-apartheid movement as the widely-supported interracial movement of the 1980s. Instead Nesbitt proffers that the American anti-apartheid movement, "emerged from the black internationalist politics of the 1940s, survived the anticommunist crusades and the decline of white liberal support in the 1950s and 1960s, and reemerged as a black-led interracial movement in the 1980s."[39] Nesbitt's study primarily focuses on political organizations and their uphill battle to get the federal government to enact sanctions against South Africa.[40] While Nesbitt's study includes a description of the sports boycott of South Africa, there is little discussion of the cultural boycotts. Instead Nesbitt mainly relegates the discussion of black entertainers' involvement in the anti-apartheid movement to their participation in rallies and fundraising activities.

In the twenty-first century, more academic attention has been given to the role media, art, and popular culture played in the anti-apartheid struggle. Two books published within the last decade, *Movement Matters: American Antiapartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural*

[38] Donald Culverson, "From Cold War to Global Interdependence: The Political Economy of African American Antiapartheid Activism, 1968-1999," 233.
[39] Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions*, vii.
[40] The main anti-apartheid and political organizations Nesbitt examines are the Council on African Affairs, American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (ANLCA), the Congressional Black Caucus, and TransAfrica.

Politics (2006) and *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid* (2010), epitomize this new development in the historiography. In *Movement Matters*, a study largely devoted to detailing the history of three major U.S. antiapartheid organizations (American Committee on Africa, American Friends Service Committee, and TransAfrica), historian David Hostetter includes a chapter about the portrayal of apartheid in American popular culture.[41] Hostetter advocated for more scholars to examine the importance of popular culture in the U.S. anti-apartheid movement because it was through entertainment mediums that most Americans became informed about apartheid.[42] Hostetter's brief analysis largely focused on the impact of Alan Paton's 1948 novel *Cry the Beloved Country*, the 1985 collaborative music project *Sun City*, Paul Simon's *Graceland* album and theatrical films from the mid–to-late 1980s about apartheid. While black entertainers are included in the study, they are mainly listed in conjunction with other artists. They receive no distinct examination.

In *Starring Mandela and Cosby*, sociologist Ron Krabill revisits the introduction of television to South Africa in 1976. Using over 100 interviews, television records, and other archival material, Krabill argues the apartheid regime's attempt to regulate television programming to maintain racial stratification ultimately failed. "In spite of apartheid's ideology," Krabill claims "my interviews indicated a large amount of what I call 'surfing into Zulu,' that is, channel surfing by White South Africans onto so-called Black television and vice versa."[43] Krabill further asserts that "surfing into Zulu" led some white South Africans to reevaluate their thinking about race and question the biological foundations that apartheid ideology had previously rested upon. Krabill uses the popularity of the African American television program

[41] David Hostetter, "Lost in the Stars: Apartheid and American Popular Culture" in *Movement Matters: American Apartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 95-122.
[42] Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 96.
[43] Ron Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) Apartheid* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010) 13.

The Cosby Show among White South Africans during the height of the antiapartheid movement in the 1980s as an example of how television in South Africa unintentionally subverted apartheid ideology. *Starring Mandela and Cosby* provides an in depth discussion about television in apartheid South Africa; however it does not explore anti-apartheid activism amongst African American entertainers. Krabill even minimizes Bill Cosby's participation in the struggle opting instead to strictly focus on what *The Cosby Show* meant to the anti-apartheid movement ideologically.

Torsten Sannar and Frankie Weaver have both published recent dissertations that typify the new wave of scholarship on the cultural aspects of the anti-apartheid movement. In "Playing Sun City: The Politics of Entertainment at a South African Mega-Resort," theater studies scholar Torsten Sannar investigates the history of performance in Sun City, South Africa, a luxury resort located in the nominally independent homeland Bophuthatswana. Created to be the "Las Vegas of South Africa" in 1977, Sun City became an ideological battleground during the boycott, as artists who performed in Sun City were subject to intense opprobrium from anti-apartheid activists who viewed performing at Sun City as an act tantamount to professing support for apartheid. In this study, Sannar challenges the commonly held viewpoint that Sun City was, "a meaningless tourist getaway dedicated to fulfilling the leisure time wishes of its visitors or, alternatively, a garish and exploitative tribute to South Africa's apartheid culture that unapologetically undermined the political agenda of the anti-apartheid movement in the 1980s." Sannar mentions that black artists were recruited to perform in Sun City in hopes that they would help to convince the international community that apartheid was not as repressive as the anti-apartheid activists claimed. Sannar also acknowledges the black artists who participated in making the 1985 "Sun City" album. This album was created by Artists United Against Apartheid

as a method to raise funds for anti-apartheid organizations while simultaneously discouraging other entertainers from performing at Sun City.

Frankie Weaver's 2013 dissertation entitled, "Art against Apartheid: American and South African Cultural Activism and Networks of Solidarity" details the intersection of art played and the anti-apartheid movement during the early years of the Cold War (1940-1960). Weaver argues that political art was an essential component of the movement because it provided alternative images and narratives, and because art helped to establish solidarity networks between activists internationally.[44] Weaver asserts, "The majority of other scholars who have written U.S. anti-apartheid studies have glossed over topics related to art and culture, paying marginal attention to cultural dimensions."[45] Weaver's dissertation includes an extensive discussion of Paul Robeson and his activism with the Council of African Affairs. It also mentions key African American sports figures such as Lee Elder and Arthur Ashe. Weaver briefly covers some of the artists who were involved in the cultural boycott organized by the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) in 1965, but the study is primarily concerned with transnational connections that occurred before 1960. "Art against Apartheid" highlights how crucial art was to sustaining the anti-apartheid movement and is a valuable contribution to anti-apartheid historiography. Weaver and Sannar's studies do partially discuss Pan-African cultural connections between African Americans and black South Africans; however, both studies are within narrow time frames which prevent them from being comprehensive.

CHAPTER OUTLINES

Chapter One, "A Unique Source of Inspiration: African American Entertainers in South Africa before 1948", details the earliest contacts between African American entertainers and

[44] Frankie Nicole Weaver, "Art against Apartheid: American and South African Cultural Activism and Networks of Solidarity" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2013) xiii-xvi.
[45] Weaver, "Art against Apartheid", 26.

Black South Africans. It begins in 1890 when the first group of African American entertainers, Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers, opened their tour in Cape Town. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century African American entertainers were viewed as a source of inspiration in South Africa. Many black South Africans marveled at how a formerly enslaved group of people were able to attain success in the entertainment industry. While white South Africans viewed the entertainers as examples of what black South Africans could become if they accepted "western civilization." Ironically, this admiration took place at the same time that African Americans in the United States endured a caustic environment of their own, as all of the gains made during the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877) were legally and violently effaced. This chapter dissects the dichotomy of the perceived success of Black Americans in the eyes of South Africans and the harsh realities of the time period that historian Rayford Logan categorizes as the lowest point of the Black American experience.

This chapter not only chronicles the experiences of those who toured South Africa like Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers, the Meredith Sisters, and Layton and Johnstone, but it also documents those artists who impacted South African popular culture without traveling. For instance, the writers of the Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro Movement had a profound impact on the early writers of *Drum Magazine*. Some South African police officers perceived of boxing heavyweight champion Jack Johnson's success as a potential threat to the established social order.[46] Other entertainers who were able to reach South Africa without physically visiting the land include the following: Fats Waller, Duke Ellington, Paul Robeson, Joe Louis and The Fisk Jubilee Singers. This chapter concludes with an examination of Paul Robeson and the Council on African Affairs an organization that scholar Hollis Lynch

[46] Theresa Runstedtler, *Jack Johnson, Rebel Sojourner: Boxing in the Shadow of the Global Color Line* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) 68.

argues from 1937 to 1955 was, "the most important American organization specifically concerned with Africa."[47]

The National Party's victory in 1948 brought drastic changes to South Africa. Historian Leonard Thompson details:

> The National party applied apartheid in a plethora of laws and executive action...The Population Registration Act (1950) provided the machinery to designate the racial category of every person. Its application led to the breaking of homes; for example, where one parent was classified White and the other was classified Coloured. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) created legal boundaries between the races by making marriage and sexual relations illegal across the color line. In 1953, after a court had ruled that segregation was not lawful if public facilities for different racial groups were not equal (as in waiting rooms at railroad stations). Parliament passed the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act to legalize such inequality.[48]

Chapter 2, "Maligning Malan: The Cold War and Early Anti-Apartheid Activism, 1937-1960" investigates how early apartheid legislation impacted pan-African cultural relationships between African Americans and South Africans. More specifically this chapter examines censorship under the apartheid regime. It begins with the National Party's victory in the election of 1948 and ends with the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. This chapter also pays attention to the far-reaching impact the Cold War had on the liberation struggles in both countries as black political organizations were sabotaged under the pretense that they were Communist or communist sympathizers. This chapter documents the verbal attacks black entertainers such as Paul Robeson, Marie Bryant, Sidney Poitier, and Canada Lee levied against the new apartheid government. "Maligning Malan," closes by detailing the early stages of the cultural boycott of South Africa. It chronicles the first proponents of the idea such as Father Trevor Huddleston, African National Congress and British Equity.

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[47] Hollis Lynch, *Black American Radicals and the Liberation of Africa: The Council on African Affairs, 1937-1955* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978) 13.
[48] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 190.

Chapter Three, "Should Blacks Entertain Apartheid?: Black Entertainers and the Cultural Boycott of South Africa, 1960-1976", delves into the formative years of the cultural boycott of South Africa from 1960 to 1976. Throughout these years African American entertainers were beginning to question whether or not they should perform in South Africa. This chapter begins with the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. In Sharpeville, a township in the Transvaal, 5,000 unarmed South Africans were attacked by the police during a peaceful protest against the pass laws. Over 200 protestors were wounded and 69 were killed. The Sharpeville massacre drew international attention to the atrocities of apartheid.[49] Historian Francis Nesbitt acknowledges that in the United States, the Sharpeville Massacre, "reinvigorated the anti-apartheid movement."[50] This chapter details how the renewed interest in South Africa manifested itself among African American cultural figures. Between 1960 and 1976, South African officials shifted from banning black artists from performing in South Africa to recruiting them in an attempt to improve the country's international reputation. By the early 1970s there was a rush of African American artists, such as Brooke Benton, Ray Charles, Lovelace Watkins and others, who were willing to accept the invitation to perform in South Africa. This chapter comments on their experiences in South Africa. It also documents the growth of anti-apartheid organizations in the U.S. and the roles African American artists fulfilled within these groups. This chapter concludes in 1976 with the Soweto uprisings. Similar to the Sharpeville Massacre, the Soweto uprisings represent another significant turning point in the anti-apartheid struggle.

"In 1976, the brutality of the South African state again shocked the world with a massacre of unarmed schoolchildren who were protesting the imposition of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in black schools." Historian Francis Nesbitt continues, "Anti-apartheid

[49] Tom Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[50] Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions*, 36.

organizations around the world sounded fresh calls for cultural, economic, and political sanctions against apartheid."[51] Chapter Four, "Don't Sell 'Soul to Whites: The Cultural Boycott at Home and Abroad, 1976-1987", expounds upon the cultural sanctions component of these "fresh calls" as the cultural boycott entered what could be considered a second phase. As a result of the Soweto uprisings the United Nations Centre against Apartheid was formed in 1976. By 1983, it began keeping and publishing a running list of the entertainers who performed in South Africa. During the second phase of the cultural boycott, performers who toured South Africa faced more stringent reprisals from anti-apartheid activists. In South Africa and in the U.S. anti-apartheid organizations boycotted the concerts of artists who violated the cultural boycott. This chapter delves into the politics that surrounded black American entertainers performing at the Sun City resort. Established in 1979 in the nominally independent homeland Bophuthatswana, the Sun City resort became an ideological battle ground in the fight against apartheid. "Don't Sell 'Soul' to Whites" concludes in 1987 when Anti-Apartheid activists began reimagining how the cultural boycott should be implemented.

Chapter Five, "Presence More Significant than Absence, Rethinking the Cultural Boycott, 1987-1994", focuses on the challenges of the cultural boycott. It acknowledges that the cultural boycott was not universally accepted as an effective tactic to subvert apartheid. It also demonstrates that the cultural boycott was not a static protest method; rather it changed to fit the needs of the anti-apartheid movement. In 1987, the African National Congress argued for a selective boycott. This boycott would continue to deny whites in South Africa the privilege of seeing top international talent in segregated venues. However, this selective boycott would permit certain artists to tour the country as long as they intended on holding workshops in the townships to uplift black communities in South Africa. This chapter also assesses the various

[51] Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions*, 97-98.

counterarguments that artists and others made in opposition to the idea of a total cultural boycott. "Rethinking the Cultural Boycott" concludes in 1994 with the first democratic elections in South Africa. Although the cultural boycott was officially lifted in 1992, it is important to extend this study into the elections because there were some vital Pan-African cultural contacts between African Americans and Black South Africans after the boycott was lifted.

Chapter Five also assesses the artistic creations that African Americans entertainers made in film as a result of the anti-apartheid movement during the years the cultural boycotts were in place. It aims to show the various ways South African leaders, activists, and artists influenced black American popular culture. Inspired by the courageous acts of South African protestors and infuriated by the violent repression of the apartheid regime, black entertainers used a variety of media outlets to show their support for the movement.

CONCLUSION

This study is significant for four main reasons. First, it captures the length of the long-standing interactions that took place between both groups. Prior historical studies have truncated this history by only highlighting entertainer activism within shorter time frames. The evidence in this text demonstrates that there has been steady contact between African American entertainers and South Africa for over a century. Second, this study documents the experiences and motivation of African American entertainers from their own perspective. It does not assume like prior works that the African American entertainers' experiences with the movement were the same as their white counterparts. This dissertation accepts Gerald Horne's challenge to study African Americans on "their own terms." Third this study expands how we think of transnational studies. Most transnational studies are about political leaders and organizations. This study moves beyond that by documenting the transnational activism of entertainers. Lastly this study is

an attempt to educate American students about apartheid through popular culture. Just as anti-apartheid activists believed entertainers would draw the attention of the general public, I hope to do so with this study. In the twenty-first century American students seem to be more fluent on popular culture topics and less verse on the history of the international community. Perhaps more gains can be made by using popular culture to teach history.

In conclusion, *African American Entertainers and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1948-1994* is the first full-length comprehensive examination of the pan-African linkages that developed between African American and black South Africans for over a century. Using Ronald Walters' Pan-African Method of Analysis this study documents the transnational connections between African American entertainers and black South Africans and assesses how effective these connections were in accomplishing the goals of the anti-apartheid movement.

CHAPTER ONE
A UNIQUE SOURCE OF INSPIRATION: AFRICAN AMERICAN ENTERTAINERS IN SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE 1937

In his 1954 study *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*, historian Rayford Logan surmised that the last quarter of the nineteenth century could be recognized as the "lowest point in the quest for equal rights" in American history for African Americans.[52] Strikingly, Logan's nadir occurred after African Americans had already endured years of abasement and trauma. In fact, Logan's nadir occurred after African Americans had already endured the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, over two hundred years of slavery, and the United States' deadliest war in which nearly 40,000 African Americans died. So what made the last quarter of the 1800s particularly disheartening? Following the Compromise of 1877, southern Democrats sought to redeem Dixie from the vast changes made during Reconstruction (1865-1877). Once Union soldiers were removed from the South and the former members of the Confederacy were permitted to govern themselves again, Southern Democrats moved swiftly to reestablish a semblance of their old way of life. Logan lamentingly documents, "At the beginning of the twentieth century, what is now called second-class citizenship for Negroes was accepted by Presidents, the Supreme Court, Congress, organized labor, the General Federation of Women's Clubs—indeed, by the vast majority of Americans, North and South, and by the 'leader' of the Negro race."[53]

Newly freed black men and women witnessed an unremitting effacement of rights and liberties they and their ancestors had hoped and fought for over two centuries to procure. Politically, the violent intimidation tactics of white supremacist organization like the Ku Klux

[52] Logan's study was initially entitled, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901*. Rayford Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Collier Books, 1965), 11.
[53] Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro*, 9.

Klan; as well as duplicitous discriminatory voting registration restrictions such as the Grandfather Clause and literacy tests virtually nullified the promise of universal male-suffrage secured in 1870 by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. Economically, the lofty ideals of "free labor" were thwarted by the debt-incurring system of sharecropping and the convict-lease system which allowed the criminal justice system to be used to regain control of black labor. Socially, Black Codes, state laws that restricted black Americans' freedom and Jim Crow segregation legalized racial discrimination. These issues, among others enumerated by Logan, allowed him to soundly proclaim, free from exaggeration, that the years 1877-1901 can be considered the lowest point of the African American experience.

Paradoxically, it was during this "low point" when South Africans, black and white, began to laud African Americans, particularly entertainers, as unique sources of inspiration. During the early twentieth century black South Africans were able to consume black American popular culture through newspaper and magazine articles, radio, film, and live performances. Black South African fans expressed admiration for how their African American brothers and sisters such as Orpheus McAdoo, Jack Johnson, the Meredith Sisters, Paul and Eslanda Robeson, and others overcame slavery and managed to successfully etch out a relatively lucrative space for themselves in a white-dominated society. Their existence challenged the widely promulgated idea that blacks were inherently inferior. They provided a blueprint for how to "thrive" despite living under the rule of white supremacy. In some instances Black South Africans during the early twentieth century even began to mimic some of the performers from the United States. Their perceived successes provided a glimmer of hope to blacks in South Africa who were surrounded by the despair and limitations of colonization.

White South Africans, many of whom were deeply imbued with the ideology of white supremacy, also touted the triumphs of African American entertainers. For them, African American entertainers could potentially provide extrinsic motivation to South African Natives. They were living examples of what South African "natives" could become once they accepted the transformative "civilization" of European culture and Christianity. Consequently, African American performers in the early twentieth century were initially not seen as potential threats to white supremacy. Rather, they were understood to be the products of Western hegemony. Black and white South Africans' helped to spur the growth of African American popular culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Southern Africa. Through gramophones, newspapers, film, and live performances, African American entertainers slowly began to lay the foundation for what would become a long-lasting connection between South Africa and the United States through African American popular culture.

Economic and political connections between the United States and Southern Africa existed prior to the influx of African American performers and popular culture. Historian Y. G-M. Lulat reasoned, "Contact between these two different parts of the world, separated simply by an ocean, was in a sense preordained for both settlements were inaugurated as a result of the European quest for profits as maritime Europe increasingly came under the sway of the emerging mercantile capitalist economic system."[54] Businessman and diplomats in the United States developed and maintained a steady line of communication with Southern Africa.

The earliest relationships between both settlements were established through maritime trade via the Cape of Good Hope. As Lulat accurately points out, "It was the hand of geography more than anything else that was critically instrumental in those early contacts between the

[54] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa,* 5.

United States and South Africa."[55] Following the War of Independence, U.S. vessels sojourned across the Atlantic Ocean to establish their own commercial outlets with Asian markets.[56] The Cape of Good Hope was widely recognized as a good place for respite for mariners seeking to reach the Far East by sailing southward around the west coast of Africa. Its location marked the point where sailors would begin to travel more eastward than southward. Seamen such as Bartholomeu Dias in 1487, Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 and others, found the Cape of Good Hope to be a resourceful and reliable victualing station because of its location.

Whaling was another lucrative maritime activity that lured seaman from the United States to Southern Africa during the mid-eighteenth century.[57] Whale hunting was an established profession in Europe by the time Jamestown was founded in 1607. Seamen hunted the massive mammals largely to obtain whalebone, a cheap substitute for ivory, and whale oil which was rendered from the large amounts of fat whales carried. This fat, more commonly called blubber, was predominantly used in lamps before the discovery of petroleum in 1859. The whaling industry flourished in North America off the coasts of New York, New England, and Nantucket until 1760 when large amounts of whales retreated from North American shores. Consequently, whalemen were forced to venture beyond North American coasts to Africa, where the whales were plentiful. Historian Alan Booth estimates that by 1795, there were between twenty to thirty

[55] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 4.
[56] Historian Eric Rosenthal mentions that some tenuous maritime connections between South Africa and the United States took place as early as the 1600s. For example, Rosenthal notes that Henry Hudson's 1609 expedition up the river in New York was funded by the United East India Company, the same company that founded the first European settlement in the Cape. For more see Eric Rosenthal, *Stars and Stripes in Africa; Being a History of American Achievements in Africa by Explorers, Missionaries, Pirates, Adventurers, Hunters, Miners, Merchants, Scientists, Soldiers, Showmen, Engineers, and Others with some Account of Africans Who Have Played a Part in American Affairs with A Foreword to the First Edition by General the Right Honorable Jan Christian Smuts* (Cape Town: National Books, 1968).
[57] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 10.

American whalers in Walvis Bay in Namibia every season.[58] Once whalers learned sperm whales, which could yield three times as much oil per kill as the right whales found in Walvis Bay, were known to gather near the Cape of Good Hope during the months of November, December, and January, Southern Africa became the new popular location for American whalers during the late eighteenth century. [59]

Some of the first African Americans to travel from the U.S. to Southern Africa were a part of the whaling industry. Black seamen were largely hired as cooks and stewards on whaling vessels.[60] While whaling and maritime trading were the first economic endeavors to bring African Americans to Southern Africa, it can be argued that the entertainment industry was responsible for inserting an African American personality into the Southern African cultural landscape. In other words, the Black American mariners who made their living off the coasts of Southern Africa during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had minimal social, political, cultural impact on the mainland in comparison to African American performers. Their socioeconomic status and the subservient nature of their employment prevented Black American seamen from having any level of remarkable cultural influence on Southern Africa.

Contrastingly, African American entertainers were a lot more conspicuous on the South African cultural landscape. Whenever they took to the stage, even while at times portraying demeaning stereotypes, they were recognized as individuals. Newspapers advertised their performance schedules. This reception coupled with the technological advances of the late 1800s and early 1900s helped to augment the popularity of African American entertainers by extending their reach beyond performance halls and national borders. For example, in 1873 the Fisk Jubilee

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[58] Alan R. Booth, "American Whalers in South African Waters," *South African Journal of Economics* 32 (December 1964): 278..

[59] Booth, "American Whalers in South African Waters," 279

[60] Martha S. Putney, "Black Merchant Seamen of Newport, 1803-1865: A Case Study in Foreign Commerce," *The Journal of Negro History* 57, No. 2 (April 1972): 160-161.

Singers, a student gospel choir from a historically black college in Tennessee, were well-received on their European tour and written about in South African newspapers. This visibility, along with the perceived opulence that African American entertainers enjoyed, made them appear to be more inspirational figures in comparison to the seamen.

Entertainment has historically served political functions for African Americans. Enslaved blacks in America learned that entertaining slaveholders could be crucial for their survival. In his study of the minstrel tradition *Darkest America: Black Minstrelsy from Slavery to Hip-Hop* (2012) in the United States, Yuval Taylor documented that "clowning" and entertaining slaveholders was a vital part of slave life.[61] The singing and dancing that was part of slave life was often misinterpreted as proof that enslaved blacks were content with their lot in life. For enslaved persons, singing and dancing allowed them to have control over their own bodies. These activities also served as a buffer against some of the harsher realities of everyday living in a slave society. Journalist Mel Watkins, in his examination of African American humor entitled *On the Real Side* (1994), posited that the musical and artistic expressions of enslaved African Americans were crucial for their survival. Watkins suggests that during the antebellum period African song, humor, and dance allowed the enslaved to maintain cultural connections with their West African ancestors, communicate with each other, and in many instances mitigated the abuse enslaved African Americans experienced.[62]

Some white performers recognized the entertainment value in the slave songs and dances while traveling through the South and began to infuse their own shows during the 1830s with African American folk culture. Dan Emmett and the Virginia Minstrels are credited with creating

[61] Yuval Taylor, *Darkest America: Black Minstrelsy from Slavery to Hip-Hop* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012) 29.
[62]Mel Watkins, *On the Real Side: Laughing, Lying, and Signifying: The Underground Tradition of African-American Humor that Transformed American Culture, from Slavery to Richard Pryor* (New York: Touchstone, 1994) 56-59.

the first full-length minstrel show in 1843. The show featured white performers who blackened their faces with burnt cork and pretended to be grossly exaggerated and derogatory versions of enslaved blacks.[63] According to historian Ronald Davis, most of the depictions that were presented in the early minstrel shows during the antebellum period were, "barely a germ of reality indirectly received, but affably coated with the romantic attitudes and general misconceptions about the American black."[64] These demeaning portrayals captured the attention of whites in the U.S. who during the mid-1800s were seeking a common man's form entertainment.[65] Black-face minstrel shows appealed to multiple audiences. These shows partly satisfied the curiosity that some had about black Americans and provided justification for the continuance of slavery during the antebellum period.

African American entertainers began professionally performing in large numbers after the Civil War. They helped to sustain interest in minstrel shows as the overall popularity of the genre began to wane.[66] During the postbellum era, the one-man song and dance routines format that typified most minstrel shows was replaced by multi-act theatrical performances; vaudeville shows. During the first three decades of the postbellum periods black entertainers began to supplant their white predecessors. Scott Malcomson notes, "Black minstrels troupes emphasized their authenticity, constantly underlining that they were not white imitations of blacks. Their performances were advertised as more truthful to blackness."[67] Ironically these black entertainers also tailored their performances to fit within established stereotypes more so than trying to

[63] Ted Gioia, *Delta Blues: The Life and Times of the Mississippi Masters who Revolutionized American Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008) 25-26.
[64] Ronald L. Davis, *A History of Music in American Life: Vol. 1 The Formative Years, 1620-1865* (Huntington, N.Y.:R.E. Krieger Pub. Co., 1980-1982) 209.
[65] Watkins, *On the Real Side*, 85.
[66] There were a number of black entertainers who performed during the antebellum period such as: Elizabeth Taylor Green, Thomas Green Bethune, Signor Conrmeali, William Henry Lane, Thomas Dilward and others.
[67] Scott Malcomson, *One Drop of Blood: The American Misadventure of Race* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2000) 357.

present an authentic portrayal of black culture. For those black Americans who were able to parlay their talents into a career, the entertainment industry provided a chance to escape working as a domestic servant or agricultural laborer. One of the luxuries that life as an entertainer came equipped with was the ability for African Americans to travel outside of the United States.

Minstrel acts began to reach South Africa in the mid-1800s. Historian Charles Ballantine notes that according to records white minstrels wearing 'black face' were performing in Cape Town as early as 1848; with more famous troupes arriving by the 1860s in Durban and Cape Town. In 1862, the Christy Minstrels, an all-white minstrel troupe, performed in Cape Town. [68] Just as it had in the United States, black-face minstrelsy became immensely popular among South African audiences.[69] Charles Hamm posited that, "minstrel songs and dances were the first music connected in any way with the American black to reach South Africa."[70] Ethnomusicologist Veit Erlmann also noted that during the second half of the nineteenth century, American minstrel shows had become by far the most popular form of stage entertainment in South Africa's expanding urban centers.[71] Black South Africans were also impacted by the new form music; some even were inspired to create their own minstrels troupes such as the Brave Natalian Coons, Western Minstrels, and the Kaffir Christy Minstrels of Durban.[72]

The Fisk Jubilee Singers were one of the first African American entertainment acts to amass attention and support from both whites and blacks in Southern Africa. The Fisk Jubilee Singers were originally formed as a fundraising effort for historically black university, Fisk

[68] Christopher Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993) 4.
[69] Ballantine, *Marabi Nights*, 18.
[70] Charles Hamm, *Putting Popular Music in its Place* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 170.
[71] Veit Erlmann, *Nightsong: Performance, Power, and Practice in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 47.
[72] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 415.

University.[73] In 1871 the university's treasurer and music director George White organized a choral ensemble of nine college students to help elicit support for the university. They offered a different view of black entertainment compared to the popular minstrel show format, because the Fisk Jubilee Singers did not capitalize on the popularity of demeaning stereotypes of black people. Rather, they were dignified. Instead of happy slave songs, they sang hymns and Negro spirituals; Christian songs that were song during slavery that sometimes contained double entendres. In 1873, two years after the choral ensemble was founded, the Fisk Jubilee Singers expanded their tour to Europe.

The self-help philosophy and dignified mien of The Fisk Jubilee Singers made an impression on whites in Southern Africa without them ever having to actually perform in Southern Africa. One reader of the *Kaffir Express* wrote a letter to the editors suggesting that South African natives follow the example of the Fisk Jubilee Singers whenever they were in need of funds for educational or religious purposes. The reader, who referred to himself as "J.D.", rhetorically asked whether natives would receive more pleasure from fairly earning money instead of appealing to the liberal public of Great Britain for support.[74] Relying upon commonly held stereotypes of the nineteenth century, J.D. further reasoned, "Singing is one of the talents of the African race for as a people they are better singers than we are:--this talent then according to the wisest and best of Books must be used, not buried in the earth."[75]

J.D. was not the only one to recognize the fundraising potential of black South African singers. Inspired by the example of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, the leaders of Lovedale Missionary

[73] Fisk University is a private historically black university. It was founded under the name Fisk Free Colored School in 1866, six months after the Civil War ended by the American Missionary Association. The school was named after Clinton Fisk, an assistant commissioner for the Tennessee Freedmen's Bureau. Fisk provided facilities for the school and endowed the University with $30,000 dollars. For more information about Fisk University see Joe Richardson, *A History of Fisk University*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980).
[74] "Correspondence: A Suggestion," *The Kaffir Express*, September 6, 1873. p7.
[75] Ibid

Institute assembled their own version of the choir with black South African students in 1876. Lovedale Missionary Institute was founded in 1841 by Glasgow Missions Society and named after one of the organizations secretary at the time Dr. John Love. Missionaries in South Africa, similar to their U.S. counterparts in the late nineteenth century were led by racist patriarchal belief that it was the burden of the white race to uplift blacks out barbarism by converting them to Christianity.[76] Believing this, missionaries in Southern Africa remained steadfast to establishing the institute despite black South Africans initially rebelling against the institute by destroying mission buildings in 1834 and 1846.[77]

In addition to doing evangelistic work among black South Africans the Lovedale Institute also provided both classical and technical education to Black and Coloured South African men and women. James Stewart a former principal of Lovedale Institute wrote that the educational goals of the school were to, "prepare preachers and evangelists for native congregations; to supply teachers for mission schools; and to give a general education to all who seek it and who are willing to pay for it."[78] Educating blacks in Southern Africa proved to be controversial. In 1873 the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* published an article blaming Lovedale's education program for the lack of black laborers in Port Elizabeth. The article suggested that natives who received education at Lovedale in turn became lazy and unwilling to work.

The *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* especially criticized the fundraising event that feature the Lovedale choir on June 16, 1876. The fundraiser was intended to procure funds to support young native men who volunteered to do missionary work on the shores of Lake Nyassa. Leadership at

[76] Ellen Sebring, "Civilization & Barbarism: Cartoon Commentary & 'The White Man's Burden'" *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 26, No. 2 (July 6, 2015)
[77] Robert Benedetto and McKim, Donald K. eds., *Historical Dictionary of the Reformed Churches* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010) 269.
[78] James Stewart, *Lovedale, South Africa* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1894) 10.

Lovedale ardently defended the fundraising program. . Commenting on the inspiration behind the concert, a writer from the *Alice Times* noted:

> "We may remark that as far as we know this is the first public concert which has been given by Lovedale, for the pupils of this institution have generally something else to occupy their time; but it strikes us that if the 'Jubilee Singers,' –themselves Africans, are patronized when earning money for Fisk University, we may very well allow the Native young men or young women of Lovedale, the pleasure of fairly and honestly, earning a few pounds, to help to fit out some of themselves to carry the Gospel to their heathen fellow countrymen."[79]

Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers are recognized as the first African American entertainers to perform in Southern Africa. McAdoo was a member of the Fisk Jubilee singers from 1885 until 1890. Throughout those years he traveled with the troupe to Europe, Australia, and India.[80] Upon returning to the United States, McAdoo left the Fisk Jubilee Singers and formed his own company. On June 30, 1890, Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers opened their concert series before a large audience in Cape Town that included prestigious politicians such as Henry Brougham Loch, the newly appointed high commissioner in Southern Africa and governor of Cape Colony. Between 1890 and 1898, Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers performed in Southern Africa before predominantly white audiences.[81]

Five months into the Southern Africa visit, McAdoo fascinated by his experiences in Africa, wrote a letter to the founder of his alma mater Hampton Institute, General Samuel Armstrong. In his letter to Armstrong, which was later published in the school's newspaper the *Southern Workman,* McAdoo described the highs and lows of his experiences on the continent. Proudly, McAdoo revealed, "Everyone seemed captivated with the singing; never heard such

[79] "The 'Port Elizabeth Telegraph' and Lovedale," *The Christian Express: A Journal of Missionary News and Christian Work*, Vol. VI No. 70, (July 1, 1876).
[80] Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 24-26.
[81] Ibid, 27, 33.

singing in all their lives."[82] Yet the excitement and approval of the audience did not prevent McAdoo from seeing the harsh realities of the living conditions blacks faced on the continent. Later in the letter McAdoo lamented, "There is no country in the world where prejudice is so strong as here in Africa. The native today is treated as badly as ever the slave was treated in Georgia. Here in Africa the native laws are most unjust; such as any Christian people would be ashamed of."[83] This dichotomy would typify how a majority of African American entertainers would describe their experience in South Africa. They were moved by the reaction of fans, both black and white, but disconsolate by the brutality of white supremacy.

While touring in South Africa the Virginia Jubilee Singers drew more and more praise from black and white South Africans. A British teacher in South Africa joyfully reported, "Their singing is such a delight. It is wonderful to see our staid Dutch people go into ecstasies over them…I do feel more hope for our colored people in seeing and having them see what those of their own race have accomplished."[84] Some black writers in South Africa echoed similar sentiments about the potential the Jubilee singers had to uplift the spirits and aspirations of the natives. In August 1890 the Virginia Jubilee Singers put on a concert in Kimberly Town Hall for "Natives and Coloureds". John Tengo Jabavu, editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu*, was in attendance. Jabavu wrote:

> As Africans we are, of course, proud of the achievements of those of our race. Their visit will do their countrymen here no end of good. Already it has suggested reflection to many who, without such a demonstration, would have remained skeptical as to the possibility, not to say probability, of the Natives of this country being raised to anything above remaining as perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water…The visit of our friends, besides, will lead to the awakening in their countrymen here of an interest in the

[82] Orpheus McAdoo, "A Letter from South Africa: Black Laws in the Orange Free State," *Southern Workman* 19 no. 11 (November 1890), Box 52, Folder: Articles, Music Collection: McAdoo, Orpheus, Hampton University Archives, Hampton University.
[83] Ibid.
[84] "Letter to Southern Workman" *Southern Workman* Vol. 19, No. 10, (October 1890) 104. Box 52 Folder: Articles, Music Collection: McAdoo, Orpheus, Hampton University –University Archives, Hampton University.

> history of the civilization of the Negro race in America, and a knowledge of their history is sure to result beneficial to our people generally."[85]

Several notable white politicians attended the Virginia Jubilee Singers performances. For example, on April 10, 1891 they performed in the Transvaal (then known as the Republic of South Africa). Several members of the government such as President Paul Kruger, state secretary William Leyds, state attorney Dr. Carel Johann Gottlieb Krause, vice president General Nicolaas Smit and others were present for the Transvaal show.[86] For these prestigious audience members the Virginia Jubilee Singers were more than just entertainment. Between the song and dance routines governing whites saw a hopeful forecast for what native blacks could become once they were transmogrified by Western ideals. Enthused by the Virginia Jubilee Singers, these politicians believed that the group's popularity would inspire black South Africans. Governor Loch even went so far as to tell McAdoo that he believed the Virginia Jubilee Singers could serve as an "object lesson to the natives."[87] Newspaper articles also made a clear distinction between the Jubilee Singers and the Southern Africa "native" population. There was a hope that black South Africans would learn lessons from seeing this unique source of inspiration.

In addition to the symbolic contributions they made simply by just being in South Africa, Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers also attempted to make tangible offerings to enrich the lives of blacks in Southern Africa. For instance they founded a "coloured" newspaper, *The Citizen* (it eventually became the *South African Citizen*).[88] Also, during the first year of the South African tour, Orpheus McAdoo inspired by his previous college visits and interactions

[85]Erlmann, *African Stars*, 44.
[86]"The M'Adoo Jubilee Singers in South Africa," Cleveland Gazette, April 11, 1891.
[87] "Letter to Southern Workman" *Southern Workman* Vol. 19, No. 10, (October 1890) 104, Box 52 Folder: Articles, Music Collection: McAdoo, Orpheus, Hampton University –University Archives, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia.
[88] Erlmann, *African Stars*, 45.

with black South Africans had the idea of sending a black South African to Hampton Institute to be educated. McAdoo selected a young clerk from Kimberley named Titus Mbongwe who he identified as an "earnest Christian boy." He sent $70 from the concert proceeds to Hampton Institute as an initial payment for Mbongwe. Unfortunately, Mbongwe died in route to London in a train accident and nothing more materialized from McAdoo's original idea.[89]

The Virginia Jubilee Singers also provided black Americans with the first glimpse into the racial inequalities in South Africa. Members of the group maintained correspondence with black American newspapers and often detailed hardships they witnessed and experienced. For instance, 1891 McAdoo revealed to the *Southern Workman* that shortly after he expressed that he intended to send a student to Hampton, the South African press picked up on the story and it caught the attention of people who were not pleased with McAdoo's intentions. According to McAdoo he received a call from a committee asking him if his plans were to use the concert proceeds to educate "Negroes" or if he was earning money for his "own enterprise". The committee warned McAdoo, "If it is to educate the Kaffirs and Zulus, you will never succeed in Africa."[90] McAdoo responded by telling the committee that he was earning the money for his own enterprise and like anyone else once he got the money, he could use it as he pleased.

In November 1893 while in Grahamstown, McAdoo received correspondence from the officers at Lovedale Institute requesting the singing group to visit the school. Because there were no trains from Grahamstown to Alice, the Virginia Jubilee Singers traveled sixty miles on a wagon driven by eighteen oxen. McAdoo wrote back to his friends at Hampton University that he was excited about the opportunity to visit the "African Hampton." Once they arrived in Alice,

[89] Orpheus McAdoo, "Letter to the Editor of the *Southern Workman*," *Southern Workman* Vol. 20, No. 2 (February 1891) p. 146, Box 52 Folder: Articles, Music Collection: McAdoo, Orpheus, Hampton University –University Archives, Hampton University.
[90] Ibid.

the Virginia Jubilee Singers toured Lovedale Institute and interacted with the students. They also performed before 500 students. After their performance, the Virginia Jubilee Singers listened as the students from Lovedale Institute sang songs.[91]

Orpheus also relayed his thoughts about race relations in South Africa to the *Southern Workman*. From his arrival to Cape Town in 1890, McAdoo noticed the impact of white supremacy. He wrote to General Armstrong about the prejudice he witnessed; calling the laws, specifically those in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, unjust. McAdoo detailed that the Virginia Jubilee Singers had to get special passports in the Orange Free State and Transvaal that gave them an "honorary white" status. These passes allowed them to be outside after 9pm. Without these special passes the jubilee singers would have been arrested for being out past the curfew. With these passes African American entertainers had, "unrestricted use of public transportation, could patronize hotels and bars, and were not required to carry passes or observe curfew restrictions, and they did not have to step off a sidewalk to let a white pass by."[92] McAdoo also wrote that the Dutch, "place every living thing above the native."[93]

Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers experienced these repressive laws firsthand whenever they were off the stage and easily mistaken to be bantu-speaking black South Africans. In 1898 a member of the group, Richard Collins, was accosted at a bar by the Natal police for violating the curfew. The officer, L'Estrange, initially spotted Collins as he was about to enter a white-only bar. Mistaking Collins for a native, L'Estrange spoke to Collins in Zulu.

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[91] Orpheus McAdoo, "Letter to the Editor of the *Southern Workman*," *Southern Workman* (January 1894), Box 52 Folder: Articles, Music Collection: McAdoo, Orpheus, Hampton University –University Archives, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia.
[92] Robert Vinson, *The Americans are Coming: Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012) 18.
[93] Orpheus McAdoo, "A Letter from South Africa: Black Laws in the Orange Free State," *Southern Workman* 19 no. 11 (November 1890), Box 52, Folder: Articles, Music Collection: McAdoo, Orpheus, Hampton University Archives, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia.

Collins responded by informing the officer that he was an American and a singer with the Jubilee singers. L'Estrange ignored Collins' excuse and attempted to arrest him. A scuffled ensued between the two which resulted in Collins wounding L'Estrange. Collins was eventually arrested and detained. Later Collins was bailed out and the American consul intervened on his behalf to have the charges dropped.[94]

The Virginia Jubilee Singers impact was immeasurable impact on the cultural relationship ties that developed between African American and black South Africans. George Fredrickson describes, "The group's achievement helped to make African-Americans a model for African advancement and 'civilization' that avoided a straightforward imitation of white or European cultural styles, and its immediate effect was to inspire members of the Christian African elite to put on musical and dramatic show of their own."[95] Following their arrival, several South African versions of the Virginia Jubilee Singers sprang up. One of which, the African Native Choir toured Europe and the United States. Through an act of serendipity, the African Native choir played an integral role in introducing the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church to South Africa.[96]

By the time Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers began performing in Cape Town in 1890, Southern Africa, the land and its people had undergone a drastic array of changes.

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[94] "Mistaken for a Kaffir," *The Journal*, April 5, 1898; Erlmann, *African Stars*, 23; Vinson, *The Americans are Coming*, 18.

[95] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 82.

[96] In 1894 the African Native Choir traveled to the United States. While traveling through Ohio the group ran into some financial difficulty which left Charlotte and other members of the choir stranded in Cleveland. Manye found refuge in Cleveland. Members of the African Methodist Episcopal church aided Manye and were able to get her enrolled in the historically black Wilberforce University. Once enrolled, Manye began correspondence with her family in South Africa. Manye's uncle, Rev. Mangena M. Mokone, was a leading figure in the emerging Ethiopian church. Upon hearing about Wilberforce University and the AME church Rev. Mokone was eager to establish connections with ministers from the AME church. These conversations ultimately led to a correspondence with Bishop Henry McNeal Turner. From there the Ethiopian church fostered a relationship with the African Methodist Episcopal church. For more see Samuel Floyd, *The Transformation of Black Music: The Rhythms, the Songs, and the Ships of the African Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2017) 176; Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 438-442.

These changes were the result of years of trade and combat between European colonizers and indigenous groups of black people for control of land and resources. Prior to European settlement in the mid seventeenth century Southern Africa, was populated by diverse groups of black people who had diverse lifestyles and customs.[97] The two main groups of people that are recognized by linguists and archaeologist as the earliest settlers in Southern Africa are the San (hunter/gatherers) and the Khoi (pastoralists).[98] From around 500 AD, Bantu speaking people began to migrate to Southern Africa from East and Central Africa. Historian Kevin Shillington described the relationships between the different ethnic groups in Southern Africa prior to European arrival as more or less self-sufficient with a certain amount of inter-regional trade.[99]

During the fifteenth century, Portuguese mariners began exploring the west coast of Africa; probing further and further South with each new voyage. In 1488, Portuguese explorer Bartholomeu Dias led an expedition around the Cape peninsula; introducing a new sea route from Europe to Asia.[100] By the sixteenth century, Portugal sent annual fleets around Southern Africa and English, French, and Scandinavian sailors followed in using the route to reach India.[101] Table Bay became a regular victualing post for these travelers. Upon docking at Table Bay, seamen were able to replenish their supply of water and meat through trade with Khoisan pastoralists. The Dutch East India Company increasingly sought to exercise more control over the resources in Southern Africa with each new voyage.

The Dutch East India Company found the process of continuing to depend on the Khoisan people to supply their needs to be unreliable and expensive. The Dutch East India

[97] Some of the early groups of African people included the Khoi, San, Nguni, Sotho/Tswana.
[98] Andrew B. Smith, "Prehistoric Pastoralism in the Southwestern Cape, South Africa" *World Archaeology* 15 no.1, Transhumance and Pastoralism (June 1983): 79.
[99] Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa* (Revised Second Edition) (New York: Macmillan Education, 2005) 210.
[100] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 31.
[101] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 32.

Company, led by Jan Van Riebeeck, established a permanent settlement on the shores of Table Bay in 1652. Riebeeck and company was hoped that the new permanent settlement would aid the company by regularizing the meat trade with the Khosian, allowing the Dutch to grow their own fruits and vegetables to supply sailors, and seizing control of trade taking place at Table Bay with the other European nations using the new sea route to India. To protect their new settlement from other European sailors, the Dutch East Company also built a fortress at Table Bay manned by Dutch company soldiers.[102] The settlement in Table Bay established a pattern that would recur for the next three centuries in South Africa. White settlement and expansion in South Africa often had deleterious effects on black people. The Khosian who previously welcomed the trade with Europeans, struggled to adjust to increasing demands for cattle and other resources. Those who were not willing to trade with the Dutch invaders risked having their cattle and other property seized; creating tension between the two populations.

Cultural views about land ownership also widened the divide between Dutch settlers and the indigenous Khosian of South Africa. Unlike the Dutch, the Khoi did not view land as a commodity that could be owned by individuals. The dissension between the Dutch and the Khosian grew worse in 1657 when the Dutch released nine soldiers from their contract so they could establish their own farms at Rondebosch in the cape Peninsula.[103] These *freeburghers* (farmers), later called Afrikaners, were given land grants and charged with the responsibility of producing grain and vegetables to sell to the Dutch East India Company at a fixed price. Historian Kevin Shillington informs, "The main significance of the Dutch settlement at the Cape was that it was not simply like another pastoral group. The establishment of a European export market at the Cape steadily drained the region of its indigenous livestock. This stimulated the

[102] Shillington, *History of Africa*, 211.
[103] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 35.

Company's traders, and raiders, into ever-deeper penetration of the interior."[104] By 1658 the settlement at the Cape grew larger as the Dutch began importing enslaved people from Madagascar, Mozambique, Indonesia, India, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).[105] In efforts to obtain more land to accommodate the growing population in the Cape, these *trekboers* began to push into the interior of Southern Africa, usurping more land from indigenous people in the process. The Khosian united with each other to amount a defense against the Dutch encroachment by initiating wars in 1659 and 1673. The Khoi had a moderate level of success against the Dutch. They temporarily halted Dutch expansion; forcing them out of the interior and back to the fortress on the coast.

Those early Khoisan victories proved to be short-lived. Leonard Thompson chronicles that by 1713, "the indigenous pastoral society of the southwestern corner of Africa was disintegrating."[106] Afrikaners were able to overcome the Khoisan defense by exploiting the internal divisions within the Khoisan. They also had more lethally effective firearm weaponry at their disposal. In conjunction with the weapons, Dutch colonizers exposed the Khoikhoi to smallpox. The Khoisan began leaving their society and some were absorbed into the Afrikaner community serving as shepherds and cattleherds. Other Khoisan men and women were able to maintain their independence by retreating to the interior. The Afrikaner population along with the enslaved farm laborers in the Cape grew rapidly in the Cape during the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century the enslaved farm laborers in the Cape, mostly captives from Madagascar, Mozambique, and Indonesia, outnumbered the white population 25,000 to

[104] Shillington, *History of Africa*, 213.
[105] Enslaved people in the Cape were unable to marry, had not rights over their children, and were unable to make legal contracts, acquire property or leave wills. They were considered exclusive property of their slaveholder and could be sold or bequeathed at will. For more information on slavery in the Cape see: Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[106] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 38.

21,000.[107] The steady growth of the Afrikaner and enslaved populations in the Cape necessitated expansion into the interior. With the support of the Dutch East India Company, which allowed Afrikaners to take claim to large farmlands, Afrikaners routinely pressed into the interiors.

By the late 1760s Afrikaner settlement reached Xhosa territory. Seizing Xhosa territory proved to be more difficult because the Xhosa were larger in number and they did not have as many internal divisions as the Khoisan for the Afrikaners to exploit. For the next century the Xhosa fought against European settlers in a series of battles that have been named the "Frontier Wars" or the "Xhosa Wars". In addition to the clashes over land that took place between indigenous ethnic groups and European colonizer, there were also wars during the nineteenth century between indigenous black ethnic groups in the interior of Southern Africa. The wars have been grouped together by historians and labelled the *Mfecane* "the crushing." The battles largely stemmed from competition over limited resources and lasted between 1816 and 1840.[108] It was during this time when the Zulu Kingdom, under the leadership of Shaka, rapidly expanded.

In the midst of these different divisions, another group of people, the British, were also competing for resources in Southern Africa along with the Boers and the indigenous ethnic groups of Southern Africa. The British initially seized control of the Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1795, relinquished it to the Dutch in 1803 under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, and retook control in 1806. Similar the Dutch, the British government saw the Cape as a vital location for a supply-station for their ships that traveled to India. They also believed the Cape

[107] Shillington, *History of Africa*, 214.

[108] Historian Eric Walker is credited for coining the term "Mfecane" in 1928. Other terms such as *difaqane* and *lifaqane* have also been used to describe this time period. During the 1980s a group historians, led by Julian Cobbing, questioned if the mfecane really happened. Rather they argued that the dissension that took place during the early nineteenth century in Southern Africa was more a result of European expansion and intervention, rather than internal divisions between indigenous ethnic groups. For more on the Mfecane debate see: Carolyn Hamilton ed., *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

could serve as a potential naval base where they could protect their ships from rival Europeans.[109] Once in control of the Cape, the British institute laws and policies that eventually forced Boers out of the Cape. They issued Ordinance 50 in 1828 and abolished slavery in 1834. These two policies lessened the control Boers had over black labor. The free labor market system favored British farmers who were able to offer wages that pulled black laborers away from Boer farms. By the late 1830s Afrikaner families migrated northward from the Cape in hopes of obtaining more land and other lucrative opportunities. They settled in land that had been depopulated following the Mfecane.[110] This migration, later named "The Great Trek" took place roughly from 1835 to 1846 and established white settlement in the interior of Southern Africa. Through a series of wars the British expanded east to the Kei River and eventually annexed Xhosa territory in 1835.[111] In 1843, the British annexed the Afrikaner republic Natal.

Within a span of two and a half centuries, Southern Africa's value to European nations changed significantly. The land that was originally valued as a key refueling station and halfway point for European sailors in route to India grew to be considered one of the most mineral rich landscapes in Africa. Fierce competition between Europeans erupted in efforts to gain control over Southern Africa's bountiful supply of mineral resources. [112] The discovery of diamonds and gold in the Orange Free State and Transvaal in 1866 and 1886 respectively, drastically changed the course of history for Southern Africa. These discoveries spurred Southern Africa's mineral

[109] Shillington, *History of Africa*, 264.
[110] They settled in the areas that would later be recognized as part the provinces the Orange Free State and Transvaal. For more on the Great Trek see: Robin Binckes, *The Great Trek Uncut: Escape from British Rule: The Boer Exodus from the Cape Colony 1836* (Solihull, England: Helion & Company Limited, 2013).
[111] Shillington, *History of Africa*, 268.
[112] These changes took place during a time when European nations moved in large scale to thoroughly colonize Africa. This "Scramble for Africa" took place from 1881 to 1914. By 1914, ninety percent of Africa was under European control. For more on the Scramble for Africa see: Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa, 1876-1912* (New York: Random House, 1991).

revolution. Land that was previously sparsely populated was transformed into major industrial cities by the end of the nineteenth century.

Leonard Thompson documents, "While these things were happening, Whites were also conquering African communities that had previously preserved their independence in Southern Africa. Throughout the region, Whites were incorporating Africans into a capitalist, white-dominated economy."[113] In the 1870s the mines in Kimberly employed up to 50,000 black workers a year.[114] The diamond fields were initially mined by individual diggers but by 1889, diamond company De Beers, under the leadership of its owner Cecil Rhodes grew to monopolize the diamond mines at Kimberly after buying out his competition.[115]

While the British controlled the mining industry, in terms of labor and production, the Afrikaner government, particularly in the Transvaal under the leadership of President Paul Kruger, heavily taxed the mining industry. Kruger also ensured that the supporting industries always remained under Afrikaner control. These businesses who among other things manufactured dynamite for the mines, provided transportation through the railways and supplied water to the miners charged high prices to the British *uitlanders* (outlanders).The *uitlanders* also were denied political rights, because if given the right to vote, they would outnumber the Afrikaners. This led to increased tensions between the two major factions of whites in Southern Africa. In 1895 Cecil Rhodes attempted to overthrow the Transvaal government by organizing the *uitlanders* in Johannesburg into a rebellion under the leadership of Leander Starr Jameson. The Jameson Raid proved ultimately to be unsuccessful.[116] The tension between the British and

[113] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 111.
[114] Shillington, *History of Africa*, 318.
[115] For more information on the Southern Africa mineral revolution see: Jade Davenport, *Digging Deep: A History of Mining in South Africa, 1852-2002* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2013).
[116] For more information on the Jameson Raid see: Meredith Martin, *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa* (New York: Public Affairs, 2007) 323-334.

the Afrikaners continued to escalate. The British attempted to influence Kruger to make reforms to support the mining industry; even going so far as to move troops closer to the Transvaal. In 1899, Kruger, sensing that combat was inevitable, declared war.

The South African (Anglo-Boer) War lasted from 1899 to 1902. Initially Afrikaners appeared to have the upper hand as they took the battle into Natal and the Cape Colony. The British forces responded by bringing in more soldiers and employing a scorched earth policy to counter Afrikaner guerrilla warfare. They also forced the civilian Boer population into concentration camps. These tactics psychologically and physically proved to be too overwhelming for the Afrikaner resistance. With their resources drastically depleted, Afrikaners were left with few options outside of surrender. According to Thompson, "By 1902, eroded by deaths, captures, and desertions, their field strength had declined to about 22,000 men, most who were undernourished, ill-clad, exhausted, and dispirited."[117]

Similarly to African Americans during the American Civil War, blacks in Southern Africa aided both sides during the South African War. Despite their differences, Afrikaner and British soldiers co-opted black labor in strikingly similar ways during the Boer War. Both Afrikaners and British soldiers enlisted blacks as laborers, wagon-drivers, scouts and messengers. Historian Peter Warrick estimates that between 10,000 and 30,000 blacks had fought with the British army.[118] Also, both sides were resistant to arming blacks out of fear that it would ultimately spur Black resistance to white control. A majority of blacks in Southern Africa aligned themselves with the British under the assumption that living conditions would improve under British rule. Historian George Frederickson notes, "Africans and Coloreds in the Cape were led to expect that a British victory over the Afrikaner republics of the Transvaal and the

[117] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 143.
[118] Peter Warwick, *Black People and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983) 4-5.

Orange Free State would lead to an extension of the Cape's nonracial electoral system to larger South Africa unified under the British Crown."[119]

The United States government adopted a position of neutrality throughout the onset of the escalating conflicts between the British and Afrikaners prior to the South African War. In, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee: American and South Africa, 1870-1914*, historian Thomas Noer acknowledged that the United States faced a dilemma in choosing which side to support in the Southern Africa conflict. It was difficult for the U.S. government to determine which faction most identified with U.S. political, economic and social values.[120] Noer detailed that many in the U.S. government largely characterized Afrikaners as a backwards group of people who impeded the economic progress of Southern Africa. However, the U.S. also had a difficult time accepting Britain's imperial encroachment on land governed by other white people. It harkened many back to their own fight for independence from Britain.[121] For these reasons among others, the U.S. believed neutrality appeared to be the best approach during the earlier clashes in Southern Africa.

The U.S. government officially proclaimed neutrality throughout the South African War; not verbally aligning themselves with either side. However the U.S. paradoxically instituted policies that largely favored the British. For example, during the war, the U.S. increased exports to Southern Africa. However, only the British could afford the goods such as canned beef, combat boots, gunpowder and firearms.[122] Therefore the U.S. could profess to be neutral because the goods were technically available to both sides for purchase. Some politicians, predominantly

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[119] George Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 21.
[120] Thomas J. Noer, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee: The United States and South Africa, 1870-1914* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1978) 11.
[121] Noer, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee*, 163; Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 100-101.
[122] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 105.

southern Democrats, sympathized with the Afrikaner cause. For them, it was easy to draw correlations between the South African War and the Civil War, that they were just a little over thirty years removed from concluding. Southern Democrats attempted to translate their sympathies into foreign policy legislation by trying to convince Republican leaders to get involved in Southern Africa after an envoy of Afrikaners made an appeal to Congress on May 18, 1900 for the U.S. to get involve in mediation between the warring factions.[123] However their efforts were to no avail as the Republican administration under President McKinley maintained its position of neutrality.[124]

African Americans predominantly supported the British during the South African War: under the belief that Black South Africans (commonly referred to as "natives") would receive more equitable treatment under British rule. Black-owned newspapers closely reported the developments of the war. One writer for the *Savannah Tribune* forewarned readers that the attention given to differences between the British and the Boers obfuscated the reality that, "the Transvaal holds four times as many blacks as whites, whose rights and future are quite as much at stake as those of the Boer."[125] Some Black entertainers even found unique ways to express their support of the British cause. On January 12, 1900 the Fisk Jubilee Singers performed a benefit concert for the widows and orphans of British soldiers killed in South Africa during the Boer War. The Concert raised $1,100 that was to be equally divided between the "The Lord Provost's" and "The Scotsman's" funds.[126] Comedian Billy Farrell made sure to include in his

[123] Noer, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee*, 79; Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 106.
[124] Other Republican politicians included: Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Cushman Davis (chair of the Senate foreign relations committee), and Robert Hitt (chair of the House foreign relations committee).
[125] "Hypocrisy of the Boers," *The Savannah Tribune*, May 12, 1900.
[126] "In Ireland, England and Scotland, Wherever Loudin's Fisk Jubilee Singers, Travel, Nothing but Praise," *Cleveland Gazette*, March 17, 1900.

performance, "political conversations on the situation in South Africa, in favor of Great Britain," while performing in Aberdeen, Scotland in 1900.[127]

Despite the resilient efforts of the Afrikaners, Britain's resources and manpower proved to be too much. On May 31, 1902 the South African War came to an end after the Peace of Vereeniging treaty was signed. High Commissioner Alfred Milner drafted a majority of the terms of the treaty. Milner initially aimed to bring the Afrikaner territories completely under British rule. Ultimately, the treaty allowed for the Transvaal and Orange Free State to have some degree of autonomy as colonies of the British Empire. The citizens of the Transvaal and Orange Free State were also given the power to decide autonomously whether or not to enfranchise blacks (natives) in both locations. A similar transition occurred in the United States at the end of the Civil War.[128] British victory did not lead to improved conditions for Africans in Southern Africa. Similar to African Americans who experienced their Nadir after the Civil War, living conditions for black South Africans worsened after the war.

In 1905, during the midst of the war's aftermath, the Meredith Sisters, performed in South Africa. Lauded as, "Vaudeville's Greatest Sister Act," by *Variety Magazine*, the Meredith Sisters was known for performing a fast-paced show that included a variety of costume changes.[129] Sisters Pearl and Carrie Meredith frequently incorporated their Creole background and light skin complexion into their show by assuming the dress and performance of women from different cultures.[130] For example at the beginning of their careers, when they traveled with Black Patti's Troubadours in 1898, the Meredith Sisters performed a Japanese song and dance

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[127] "[Billy Farrell; Aberdeen; Scotland; Sept; Palace; Dear; Freeman; Scotch]," *The Freeman*, September 29, 1900.
[128] Presidential Reconstruction
[129] "Press Comments Received on the Orpheum Circuit by Vaudeville's Greatest Sister Act," *Variety*, Vol. 22, No. 5, April 8, 1911.
[130] A journalist from the Boston Daily Advertiser described the Meredith Sisters' racial makeup as "2/14 black and 12/14 white." For more see, "Plays Next Week." *Boston Daily Advertiser* [Boston, Massachusetts] 20 May 1899: 4. *19th Century U.S. Newspapers*. Web. 30 Nov. 2015.

routine.[131] In some instances, they were so convincing in imitating different cultures that they were occasionally mistaken to be the race of the characters they portrayed. In 1902, they were mistaken as Spaniards by some members of the press after performing at the Grand.[132]

Not much is written about the Meredith Sisters' personal experiences in Southern Africa or what led them to perform there in the first place. The popular South African newspaper *The Rand Daily Mail*, advertised their performance schedule. They performed for two weeks at the Empire Palace in Johannesburg with other musical performers such as Barton and Ashley, the Boccaccio Minstrels, Carletia, the Marnello-Marnitz acrobats and Will H. Fox.[133] Performing before white audiences and with other white performers did not shield the Meredith Sisters from the escalating racial tensions in South Africa. The African American newspaper *The Freeman* later reported, "In South Africa race prejudice made it necessary for them to bill themselves as American Indian squaws."[134] The Meredith Sisters ability to obfuscate their racial identities allowed them to perform on stages with white acts.

Technological advances in international communication during the early 20th century helped to establish more fluid and faster transferences of information around the world. These advances were crucial to the diffusion of Black American popular culture as they allowed African American entertainers to reach South Africans without having to be physically in their presence. Newspapers, film, radio broadcast, and gramophones brought these entertainers into South African homes and townships. Music historian Grant Olwage noted that in South Africa,

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[131] Henry T. Sampson, *The Ghost Walks: A Chronological History of Blacks in the Show Business, 1865-1910* (Metuchen, N.J., The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1988) 147.
[132] "Stage," *The Freeman*, October 25, 1902.
[133] "About Amusements: Empire Theatre," *Daily Mail*, October 3, 1905.
[134] "The Stage," *Freeman*, August 25, 1906.

"blacks listeners were buying gramophone records already in the first decade of the twentieth century, black consumption of recordings increased dramatically in the 1920s."[135]

These advances in international communication coincided with the ascent of the first African American heavyweight boxing champion, Jack Johnson. Johnson, perhaps more than any other African American entertainer during the early 1900s, embodied some of the worst fears that many white supremacists in both the United States and South Africa held about black men. He routinely thwarted notions of respectability and was ostentatious in and outside of the ring. His domineering personality stood in stark contrast to the subservient and docile demeanor that whites had come to expect blacks to exhibit whenever they were in their presence. Johnson's exploits, both in and outside of the ring, could not be contained within the United States' borders. In South Africa, just as in America, Johnson was a polarizing figure. In some circles, Johnson was revered as a hero. Black journalist in the United States and South Africa wrote stories about him. Films of his fights were also well-received. In the eyes of his supporters, Johnson physically defied the odds and served as proof that blacks could compete against and in some instances defeat whites if given a semblance of a level playing field.

African American professional boxers had achieved a modicum of success in the sport before Jack Johnson. Some even reached the pinnacle of success within their weight division. Black boxers such as Joe Walcott, Joe Gans, and George Dixon all became champions in the welterweight, lightweight, featherweight and bantamweight divisions respectively. However,

[135] Grant Olwage, "Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity, and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Era," in *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008) 36.

despite these achievements, African Americans were denied the opportunity to fight for the coveted American heavyweight title.[136]

Jack Johnson did not allow this precedent to deter him from pursuing a heavyweight title fight. Throughout the early 1900s he dominated both black and white opponents in spectacular fashion. He was an excellent defensive fighter who would deflect and dodge his opponent's punches until they grew tired. Once they were fatigued, Johnson would go on attack and dismantle them quickly. This style of fighting augmented Johnson's mystique because to spectators it seemed as if Johnson was toying with his opponents. His mounting success drew the attention of boxing fans, many of whom began to challenge the heavyweight champion Tommy Burns to accept a match with Johnson. In their eyes, Johnson appeared to be the number one contender. Burns avoided Johnson while falsely claiming that he welcomed all challengers.[137] To force Burns into a title fight, Johnson followed the champ throughout his world tour; showing up in each country after Burns left, almost as if he were tracking him. When promoters augmented the financial incentive for Burns by promising him over 80 percent of the 30,000 purse, Burns finally relented and agreed to fight Johnson. In 1908, Johnson easily defeated Burns and shocked the world by becoming the first black heavyweight champion.[138]

Johnson's championship victory was unsettling for many in the United States. It occurred just twelve years after the Supreme Court legalized racial segregation in 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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[136] During the early 20th century the title of "heavyweight champion" held more prestige than any other weight class in boxing. More specifically in the United States, heavyweight boxers were understood to represent the quintessence of manhood. This was true particularly during the Progressive Era, as economic and social changes caused men to look for ways to redefine manhood. This search for a new symbol of manhood included looking to white sports figures to supply examples. The perceived social power that heavyweight champion boxers wielded was deemed too valuable to risk it falling into the hands of a group of people who were just decades removed from being chattel. For this reason, African Americans were excluded from even competing for the title. For more see Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 8.

[137] Tommy Burns' efforts to avoid fighting Jack Johnson are ironic given the fact that Burns is recognized as the first true international heavyweight champion. He traveled to Europe and Australia to defend his title.

[138] Richard Bak, *Joe Louis: The Great Black Hope* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998) 246.

Supreme Court case. Johnson however appeared to be unperturbed by the changes. In fact he was almost emboldened to challenge the new social customs of the time. Johnson biographer Randy Roberts notes:

> Starting in 1909 the American public began to see the Bad Nigger in Jack Johnson. They saw his flashy clothes and his brightly colored, fast automobiles. They saw the way in which he challenged white authority in his numerous brushes with the law. They heard stories of his night life, the lurid tales of his week-long drunks and parties. Tales of his sexual bouts were also told, and his shaved head came to symbolize the sexual virility of the black male. But most shocking of all were the times he appeared in public with white women.[139]

Johnson reveled in playing the stereotype of the "black buck." Scholar Gregory Ellison II explains, "African American males were portrayed by white culture as 'wild, bestial, and violent blacks.' The black buck evolved into a monstrous image of the African American male as a sexual aggressor who preyed on innocent white women."[140] During Johnson's, prime in the early 1900s, there were panics in both countries concerning the need to protect white women from black men. Black men in the U.S. and South Africa were falsely accused of rape and some even were killed because of this panic. Johnson's lifestyle had serious implications for black men in both countries. Despite the life-threatening consequences black men faced over white men's fear of black men's sexuality, Johnson continued to flaunt his relationships with white women.

The thought of the heavyweight champion of the world being a black man caused whites to panic. So much so that they practically willed the former champion Jim Jeffries out of retirement in hopes that he could restore things to their natural order. In 1910 Jim Jeffries and Jack Johnson agreed to square off in front of 25,000 fans in Reno, Nevada. From the beginning of the fight it was clear that Jeffries was outmatched. He would later admit that even in his prime

[139] Randy Roberts, *Papa Jack: Jack Jonson and the Era of White Hopes* (New York: Free Press, 1983) 70.
[140] Gregory Ellison II, *Cut Dead but Still Alive: Caring for African American Young Men* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013) 9.

he could not have kept up with Johnson. Following the upset, mobs of white men took out their frustrations on black communities throughout the United States. These attacks resulted in 19 deaths, 251 injuries, and 5000 cases of disorderly conduct. [141]

The film of the Johnson-Jeffries fight became a controversial object that whites in both South Africa and the United States fought to control. Both governments sought to nullify the impact of Johnson's win by preventing blacks from seeing the film of the fight. Stephen Tuck notes:

> Worried authorities in most cities banned the film of the fight. The South African government followed suit. But the violent backlash, and the censorship, could neither erase the result nor dim the memory. Breakfast customers in black restaurants would ask for coffee as strong as Johnson and eggs as scrambled as Jeffries' face. In black folklore, the second line of a favorite hymn, 'Amazing Grace, How Sweet the Sound,' got a new lyric: 'Jack Johnson knocked Jim Jeffries down.'[142]

This battle for control of the film was significant because Johnson's victory over Jeffries countered the white supremacist ideology that had been used to justify the subjugation of black people in both the U.S. and South Africa. Jack Johnson's boxing career took place at a time where both countries were white populations in the process of reconciling their differences amongst their white populations after major wars – in the United States it was the Civil War, in South Africa it was the Second Boer War. The opposing white forces in both countries found common ground with each other while circumventing any chance of political, economic, social advancement of the African populations in both countries.

In 1906, there was discussion about Jack Johnson potentially fighting in South Africa. During this time, Johnson was fighting matches in Australia and New Zealand. Alec McLean of Chelsea was arranging the matches for Johnson. He informed reporters in the midst of preparing

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[141] Bak, *Joe Louis: The Great Black Hope*, 71.

[142] Tuck, Stephen G. N. *We Ain't what We Ought to Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010) 129.

Johnson's tour to the antipodes, that they were considering scheduling fights for the heavyweight champion in South Africa.[143] Despite the widespread attention that South African fans and detractors gave Jack Johnson, the South Africa leg of Johnson's international trip never materialized. In fact, throughout Johnson's entire boxing career, he never fought in South Africa or against a South African opponent.

Following the Johnson v. Jeffries fight, promoters searched for a white boxer who could reclaim the heavyweight championship. This "great white hope" would redeem the championship for the white race. One of the "hopes" was South African boxer George Rodel. Born Lodewikus van Vuuren in 1888, in Smithfield, a small town in the Orange Free State, Rodel began his professional career in 1911.[144] His manager, American Jimmy Johnston, attempted to increase intrigue in his fighter by creating a backstory that his new fighter was a hero in the Boer War. He even instructed Lodewikus van Vuuren to fight under the name George "Boer" Rodel to accentuate his "connection" to the South African War. However, Rodel had not fought in the war as he was no more than twelve when it took place. The fabricated backstory was used by Johnston to help market Rodel and make up for his shortcomings as a fighter.[145]

The "Boer" had a fast start to his professional fighting career as he racked up four wins, two by knockout, in the span of four months; fighting mostly in the United Kingdom.[146] His - undefeated reign came to a quick halt when the Boer faced African American boxer Sam McVey (sometimes written as *McVea*) in Liverpool Stadium on July 20, 1911. The African American

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[143] "Jack Johnson is to Battle Abroad: Negro Heavyweight is Offered Two Big Matches in Australia," *Kalamazoo Gazette*, December 2, 1906.
[144] Jeffery T. Sammons, *Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990) 267.
[145] Graeme Kent, *Boxing's Strangest Fights: Incredible but true encounters from over 250 years of boxing history* (London: Pavilion Books, 2015).
[146] Chris Greyvenstein, *The Fighters: A Pictorial History of SA Boxing from 1881* (Capetown: Don Nelson, 1981) 146; "BoxRec - George Rodel." Accessed November 22, 2016. http://boxrec.com/boxer/39971; "Cyber Boxing Zone -- George "Boer" Rodel." Cyber Boxing Zone -- George "Boer" Rodel. Accessed November 22, 2016. http://www.cyberboxingzone.com/boxing/GeorgeBoerRodel.htm.

newspaper, the *Freeman*, documented how quickly the bout was over. McVey's manager, Billy McClain, boasted about McVey's prowess. He bragged that McVey beat South Africa's "white hope", a champion heralded as the South African Lion, in 30 seconds of actual fighting.[147] It is not clear whether McVey's victory against Rodel resonated with black South Africans like Johnson. It was not a title fight, and Rodel vs. McVey did not hold the prestige that Johnson v. Jeffries had within the boxing community.

The years 1910 to 1948 are labeled as the segregation era of South African history. During these years ruling whites in Britain and South Africa moved to consolidate power within the new state. In efforts to do so, Louis Botha and Jan Smuts through the South African Party (SAP), moved to restrict and segment the black populations of South Africa. The decisions the British Empire made in establishing the laws and customs for the newly formed Union of South Africa were in some respects partly informed by choices the United States made following the Civil War. Y. G-M Lulat notes, "What was even worse was that there began to emerge a growing opinion in ruling circles in Britain and in South Africa to the effect that the experiences of the post-Civil War period of Reconstruction in the U.S. South was ample evidence of the folly of granting equal rights to blacks."[148] This interpretation of American Reconstruction maintained that blacks, no matter which country they were in, were incapable of complete autonomy. White journalist in South Africa also championed this argument.[149]

Leaders of the newly formed Union of South Africa, operating from the belief that blacks did not have the mental capacity to responsibly handle independence, quickly enacted laws to

[147] Billy Lewis, "Negro Fighters in The Old World: McClain and McVea Off for Australia—Jack Johnson to Meet Sam McVea in Sydney, December 25," *Freeman,* September 9, 1911.
[148] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 118.
[149] Thomas J. Noer, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee: The United States and South Africa, 1870-1914* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1978) 126; Maurice S. Evans, *Black and White in Southern States: A Study of the Problem in the United States from a South African Point of View* (New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1915).

ensure that the white minority populations would continue to maintain social, economic, and political control over the nonwhite majority in the new union. The Mines and Work Act of 1911 essentially allowed whites to have a monopoly over the skilled positions in the mining industry. This law bestowed the Governor-General with power to grant, cancel and suspend certificates of competency to mine managers, mine overseers, mine surveyors, and other skilled positions. According the Francis Wilson, "In the Transvaal and Free State such certificates were granted only to whites and by 1920 more than 7,000 white men in 32 mining occupations were protected by these regulations."[150] On June 19, 1913 the Native Land Act was passed under the Union Parliament. This law allocated a little more than seven percent of the arable land in South Africa to blacks; and reserves the more fertile land areas for whites. The Native Land Act also restricted blacks from being able to purchase land outside of their designated homelands. In 1923 the Native Urbans Areas Act segmented land into urban and rural areas and restricted Native integration into certain areas. The Immorality Act of 1926 prohibited sexual relations between different races.

Despite the push to separate and segment the Black (Native), Coloured and Indian populations in South Africa these subordinated groups began to collectively organize during the early nineteenth century. The Coloured community of the Cape and Transvaal formed the African Political Organization in 1902. This group lobbied for Coloured rights and initially tried to unite with other black political organizations. In 1912, a group of elite, missionary educated Africans led by Pixley Seme formed the African National Congress (ANC) to voice their dissent against the Native Land Act and other policies established in the newly formed Union of South Africa. During its early years, the ANC sent delegates to Britain in 1914 and 1919 to petition on

[150] Francis Wilson, *Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) 8.

behalf of other black South Africans. These attempts proved to be fruitless. In 1925 Clements Kadalie and S.M. Bennett Ncwana founded the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICU). The ICU, influenced by Marcus Garvey's Pan-Africanist ideology, was crucial in mobilizing South Africa's rural poor.

In addition to the collective organization that took place, there were also drastic changes that took place in the black press during the early twentieth century. Historian Les Switzer documents that during the 1920s more publications intended for subaltern communities began to emerge. These publications embraced a more militant stance. They also encouraged a non-racial alliance between Indian, Coloured, African populations based on working-class politics. Switzer also notes that these publications were created for a middle-class that was still in the making.[151] This growing middle-class of western-educated black leaders would soon emerge to fulfill leadership roles in political organizations.

African American entertainers continued to be a source of inspiration for black South Africans following World War I. Music scholar Charles Ballantine documents that along with vaudeville during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s jazz music grew in popularity among black South Africans in major cities. "By the late 1920s and early 1930s, black dance bands started to appear, modeling themselves directly on American prototypes."[152] Because the music gained traction in South Africa during a time when activists were looking for new approaches to the race problem, some South African activist, entertainers and writers began to question how the art could be used to improve their situation. Ballantine explains that two broad assumptions about the political role of music emerged; the moral view and the radical view.

[151] Les Switzer, "South Africa's Subaltern Press: A Case Study in Reading a Cultural Text," *Ecquid Novi – Research Section*, 19:1, 71.
[152] Ballantine, *Marabi Nights*, 6.

The moral view rested upon a school of thought Ballantine described as 'corporate' proletarian consciousness. This stream of thought held that the music alone could help native South African's improve their position within the already established order in South Africa. Ballantine explains, "The music performed by blacks could demonstrate to white that blacks were *worthy* of better social, political and economic treatment: in short, it should effect a moral persuasion."[153] Those who believed that jazz music would usher native South Africans into a better social standing were typically members of South Africa's elite class; some of whom were part of the African National Congress. This view was also proffered by members of the black South African press who suggested that if blacks demonstrated a measure of sophistication they would be given greater access to political and economic liberty. [154] At the very least, it was believed that this method would allow some select entertainers to become wealthy. Ballantine argues that one of the main reasons the moral view seemed to be feasible strategy for social and political improvement was because of the perceived success African American entertainers such as Paul Robeson, Florence Mills, and Layton and Johnstone had in the United States employing this same method. "The argument rested," Ballantine claims, "as so often in the developing South African subculture of jazz and vaudeville, on a presumption about what had happened in the United States."[155]

South African entertainers who were guided by the moral persuasion approach mirrored African American entertainers. They performed under English names such as the Pitch Black Follies, Merry Blackbirds, The Jazz Maniacs, the Synco Down Beats Orchestra. They also sang American songs they memorized from listening to imported gramophone records. The

[153] Christopher Ballantine, "Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville in the 1920s and the Early 1940s," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17, no. 1 (March 1991): 130.
[154] Ballantine, "Music and Emancipation," 130.
[155] Ballantine, "Music and Emancipation," 131.

performances themselves were seen as acts of activism under the moral view approach. For the most part, South African jazz musicians performed before black audiences. When the opportunities arose for them to sing in European nightclubs like the Blue Lagoon Club, the Log Cabin Club, or the New Paradise Club, they took it as a chance to showcase that Africans were, "capable of rising above the ordinary standard of things."[156] One way South African bands attempted to demonstrate their musical sophistication the white audiences was by reading staff-notation from imported orchestrations. The moral view held that it would be these performances, and not political petitioning, that would ultimately break down the barriers of white supremacy.

The notion the moral view had proven to be successful in the United States is questionable. Jazz music specifically became popular in the United States during the 1920s; a period that some have termed the "Jazz Age". The Jazz Age coincided and was a part of an overall cultural and artistic movement known as the Harlem Renaissance. Looking across the Atlantic Ocean, proponents of the moral view could point to some successes in the African American community from the 1920s to 1940s. African Americans had owned and operated lucrative businesses since the late nineteenth century. John Hope Franklin explains that, "Black undertakers, barbers, beauticians, insurance companies, and mercantile houses constituted the more important enterprises, but a variety of small business institutions performed personal services that increased the number of blacks in the white-collar group."[157] Conversely, these personal successes did not fully translate to collective group empowerment. In the early twentieth century African Americans in the United States faced a slew of societal ills such as lynching, limited job opportunities, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, race riots and other dangers that would suggest that the moral persuasion method was not fully working.

[156] Ballantine, "Music and Emancipation," 133.
[157] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 8th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2000) 420.

The second approach, Ballantine termed "the radical view". This view suggested that jazz music could be used to support organizations that sought more reformative changes in South Africa. Ballantine explains that the radical view assumes that, "music's socio-political role was largely a question of its formal linkage to oppositional organizations; and as a corollary, that issues such as the specific style, content or provenance of the music were of secondary, or even of minimal, importance."[158] For instance the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) hired jazz bands like the Merry Mascots, Dem Darkies, the Blue Dams and the Midnight Follies to play at events held in the Workers' Hall in Johannesburg. [159] Bands would also play the ICU Anthem at large meetings and rallies. The Communist Party and the African National Congress also hired bands to perform at their fundraiser.

It appears as though during the first half of the twentieth century, African American art and entertainment was politicized to serve whatever purpose the purveyor of the art needed the art to serve. In 1931, The Federal Council of Churches commission on Race Relations sent a collection of books and art created by African American authors and artists to South Africa as part of an international art exhibit. The Federal Council of Churches was an organization formed in Philadelphia by a group of 32 Christian communions in May 1908 to improve social relations in America during the Gilded Age.[160] The exhibit was meant to depict, "the world-wide enterprise of the Christian Church."[161] The Federal Council of Churches aimed to celebrate the influence Christianity had throughout the world by displaying the artistic accomplishments of different cultures that were exposed to Christian missionaries.

[158] Ballantine, "Music and Emancipation," 141.
[159] Ballantine, "Music and Emancipation," 141.
[160] "History," *National Council of Churches*, Accessed February 28, 2016. http://www.nationalcouncilofchurches.us/about/history.php.
[161] "Exhibition of Negro Art in So. Africa," *Plainealer* October 16, 1931.

The 1931 collection consisted of canvas paintings from black artists such as Charles C. Dawson, Arthur Diggs, W. Edward Scott, Malvin B. Johnson, Palmer C. Hayden, Albert Alexander Smith, Henry Jones, and Ellis Blount. The collection also included books written by the following black authors: Carter G. Woodson, Langston Hughes, Alain Locke, Jeanine Fauset, Walter White, George E. Haynes, W.E.B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, and Countee Cullen.[162] These works were presented in the World's Service Exhibition in Johannesburg in May 1931. Following the World's Service Exhibition, the collection was exhibited in Maritzburg, Durban, and Cape Town. This was part of a larger exhibit tour that also included exhibits of missionary work in China, Japan, India, and Africa.

The Federal Council of Churches aimed to present these works as a testament to the civilizing power of Christianity. This argument was not a revolutionary supposition. It had been used by Europeans to justify slavery, colonization, crusades, missions and other forms of exploitation. However, the works presented in this exhibit were significant to blacks in the United States and South Africa because they countered the master narrative which maintained that Africans were incapable of thinking on an intellectual level equivalent to Europeans. For example, in 1932, former prime minister of the Union of South Africa, Jan Smuts delivered a speech before 1200 people at the Hotel Astor in New York. At this event, which was sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association, Smuts spoke specifically about the relationship between Africa and the United States. Smuts described blacks in South Africa as "child peoples" who do not feel the burden of life like white people do. He continued to say Africans are, "the most patient of animals, next to the ass."[163] Several black leaders responded to Smuts' commentary. W.E.B. DuBois, one of the scholars whose work was featured in the 1931 exhibit, brazenly

[162] "Exhibition of Negro Art in So. Africa," *Plaindealer*, October 16, 1931.
[163] "Smuts's Talk Stirs Anger of Negroes," *New York Times*, January 11, 1930, 10.

challenged Smuts to a debate. Smuts declined DuBois' offer and claimed that the African American leaders misinterpreted his words; which he intended to be a compliment to the "simplicity" of black South Africans.

Smuts also offered faint praise for the progress African Americans made in the United States. "I have been struck somewhat by what I have seen of the colored people here." Smuts continued, "I have been impressed by the change that has taken place in their transfer to the new conditions in the United States, their education and their living here among the whites."[164] Smuts musings were a reflection of the patriarchy that accompanied white supremacy. African Americans were seen as children and their freedom was understood as some type of social experiment. Other South African diplomats who visited the United States expressed similar sentiments. Dr. John Holloway, director of the Office of Census and Statistics for the Union of South Africa, declared something similar to Smuts when he visited the U.S. in 1932. He found African Americans to be more advanced than their South African brothers. He attributed this advancement to the civilizing power of slavery.[165]

In the early twentieth century, some South African newspapers used African American success stories to provide inspirational accounts for their black South African readership. *The Bantu World* published several articles during the late 1930s that focused on the contributions African Americans made in literature and history. On July 22, 1938, professor Amos J. White delivered a lecture about "Negro Literature". It was the second half of a two part lecture series in which professor Selope Thema delivered a lecture on "Bantu Literature" two days prior to White's lecture. *The Bantu World* covered the event which took place at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Journalist James Korombi, inspired by White's lecture, surmised, "Negroes were always

[164] "Smuts's Talk Stirs Anger of Negroes," *New York Times*, January 11, 1930, 10.
[165] "South African Government Officials Finds Southern Negro Far Advanced," *The Atlanta Constitution*, October 12, 1932.

striving to excel; and that is indicated by the fact that they made such tremendous progress since their emancipation." He continued, "That is a very good lesson for us which we should not forget when attempting to solve our social, economic and other problems."[166]

The Bantu World also published a series of articles on the influence of African Americans on U.S. history. The purpose of the series was to demonstrate, "the similarity of the problems which confront the black man whether in America or Africa as the result of his contact with the white race."[167] The series covered the following topics: slavery, the African influence on African American culture, the leadership roles black preachers and teachers fulfilled during slavery, African American participation in American wars, African American progress after emancipation and African American business and schools in the early twentieth century, religion and art.[168] These articles also featured profiles on key African American historical figures such as Phyllis Wheatley, Benjamin Banneker, Countee Cullen, Richard Allen, James Weldon Johnson and others.

Black South African newspapers, *Umteteli wa Bantu,* closely followed and documented African American athletes who participated in the 1936 Summer Olympic Games. More specifically, there was a lot of attention given to the success of African American track and field athletes. The coverage of African American athletes began in July during the United States Olympic trials which took place at Randall Island Stadium in New York. There, Jesse Owens had success in the 100 meters race (he nearly broke the world record with his 10.4 seconds finish) and the long jump (25 feet 10 ¾ inches). Though no other athletes where mentioned by

[166] James Korombi, "The People's Point of View: Bantu and Negro Literature," *The Bantu World*, August 20, 1938.
[167] "Brief Survey of Negro's Part in American History," *The Bantu World*, March 11, 1939.
[168] "Brief Survey of Negro's Part in American History," *The Bantu World*, March 18, 1939,"Brief Survey of Negro's Part in American History," *The Bantu World*, March 25, 1939; "Brief Survey of Negro's Part in American History," *The Bantu World*, April 8, 1939;"Brief Survey of Negro's Part in American History," *The Bantu World*, April 15, 1939;"Brief Survey of Negro's Part in American History," *The Bantu World*, April 22, 1939.

name, the article, also lauded the efforts of two other African American athletes, Cornelius Johnson and Dave Abritton, who nearly broke the world's record in high jump by jumping over 6 feet and 9 ¾ inches.[169] The article concludes with a hint of the sense of shared kinship between black Americans and South Africans as it states, "It is quite on the cards that athletes of African extraction will do big things in the hundred metres, the 200 metres and the high and long jump events at the Olympic Games at Berlin this year."[170]

Heavyweight boxer Joe Louis was another African American athlete who garnered a lot of attention from the South African press. *Umteteli wa Bantu*, covered Louis's boxing matches closely; documenting his successes and tribulations. In turn, Joe Louis grew to become equally a folk hero in South Africa, as he had in the United States. Historian Robert Vinson recognized, "When Joe Louis was going to fight, Africans would get up early in the morning so that they could hear it over the short wave radio."[171] As a kid, future ANC leader, Nelson Mandela idolized the "Brown Bomber."[172] He and his peers would regularly mimic Joe Louis flat-footed fighting style.[173] Jazz musician Hugh Masekela later recalled that as a kid he and his peers would keep scrapbooks filled with pictures of Louis.[174]

Joe Louis, who is regarded by some as the greatest heavyweight champion, was drastically different from Jack Johnson. He was carefully coached by his manager John Roxborough to be as divergent from Jack Johnson's persona as possible. Roxborough informally gave Louis a set of rules that if followed carefully would allow Louis to distance himself from

[169] "Flock of New Stars on US Olympic Team," *Lewiston Evening Journal*, July 13, 1936.
[170] "Splendid Feats by Black Athletes," *Umteteli was Bantu*, July 18, 1936.
[171] Robert Vinson, *The Americans are Coming!: Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011) 137.
[172] Nelson Mandela, "Long Walk to Freedom: Nelson Mandela Talks for the First Time about his Marriage Problems and the Costs and Joys of Struggle," *Ebony Magazine*, Vol. 1 No. 3 (January 1995): 80.
[173] Roger Wilkins, "Uncommon Ground: With Mandela," *Mother Jones Magazine* (Nov. – Dec. 1990) 18.
[174] Scarlett Cornelissen and Albert Grundlingh eds., *Sport Past and Present in South Africa: (Trans)forming the Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2012) 55.

the image that the only other black heavyweight champion. According to Roxborough's "commandments", Louis was never to have his picture taken with a white woman, never gloat over a fallen opponent and maintain a stoic demeanor.[175] By maintaining a strict adherence to Roxborough's rules, Louis was able to cultivate an image that allowed white Americans to not see him as threatening as Jack Johnson. Even the South African press participated in glorifying Louis's pristine image. In 1936, the while Louis was preparing to fight Max Schmeling (the first time), Umteteli wa Bantu documented how Louis spent his evenings reading the Bible and took breaks from training on Sundays to teach Sunday School.[176]

Paul Robeson was another immensely popular African American entertainer in South Africa. Word began spreading around South Africa in 1935 that that the singer/actor expressed interest in visiting South Africa. Upon hearing news of a potential Robeson visit the *Umteteli wa Bantu* published articles in 1935 detailing how excited black South Africans would be if he were to actually reach the continent.[177] Political scientist Ralph Bunche, was travelling throughout East Africa when he heard rumors of Robeson's proposed visit. Bunche jubilantly wrote Robeson telling him that he was an "idol of the Bantu" and that if he were to make it to South Africa, "black folk will mob you with enthusiasm."[178]

Paul Robeson's wife, anthropologist Eslanda Robeson, planned a trip to Africa that included stops in Swaziland, Basutoland, Kenya, Uganda and Egypt. In 1937 along with an eight-year old Paul Robeson Jr., Eslanda made the trip to South Africa. Ultimately, Paul was not able to join Eslanda and Paul Jr. due to his filming contractual obligations. Around the time his wife, anthropologist Eslanda Robeson arranged the Africa trip, he was set to do begin filming in

[175] Bak, *Joe Louis*, 74-75.
[176] "Louis—Schmeling Fight: Stern Training for Thursday's Battle" *Umteteli wa Bantu*, June 13, 1936.
[177] "Paul Robeson," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, February 16, 1965; "What Our Readers Think: Paul Robeson" *Umteteli wa Bantu*, March 2, 1935, 7.
[178] Gerald Horne, *Paul Robeson: The Artist as Revolutionary* (London: Pluto Press, 2016) 73.

the Soviet Union. Robeson, excited to observe how films were made in the Soviet Union, elected to not partake on the trip with his family.

Eslanda kept copious notes about her experiences which she later published in 1945 under the title *African Journey*.[179] In the opening pages of *African Journey* Eslanda Robeson discussed her inspiration for wanting to embark on the journey. Robeson explained that since her childhood, she had fond thoughts about Africa; picturing it as an "old country" for African Americans. Despite having a longstanding interest in Africa, Eslanda Robeson also recalled feeling equally uninformed about Africa. This curiosity continued in college which led her to study anthropology at London University. While at the university, Eslanda got into heated discussions with her white colleagues who disparagingly characterize Africans as primitive people, incapable of grasping complex ideas. Eslanda rebutted these arguments but felt apprehensive because she could not refute their claims with first-hand experiences. For Eslanda Robeson, this tour of Africa fulfilled her desire for that primary knowledge. On May 29, 1936, Eslanda and Paul Robeson Jr. boarded a boat in London and set sale for Capetown.[180]

Before Robeson even had a chance to see her first glimpse of African soil, she had an encounter with a white South African that felt distressingly familiar. A fellow traveler told Robeson a story about a wedding she put together for her "boy" servant and a maid. As she relayed the story to Robeson about how she arranged the wedding and even gave the maid a wedding dress. Robeson wrote in her journal about the encounter. "I could almost feel I was at home again, listening to a white Southerner from our own Deep South. I think it will be easy for me to understand the South Africans. Their attitudes, especially their patriarchal attitudes, are

[179] Eslanda Robeson, *African Journey* (New York: The John Day Company, 1945).
[180] Robeson, *African Journey*, 14-15.

entirely familiar."[181] Robeson also found some other striking similarities. "I found myself recognizing the tone of voice, the inflection of these South Africans," she revealed. "'Native' is their word for our 'nigger'; 'non-European' for our Negro."[182]

Eslanda Robeson's *African Journey* served as an adequate introduction for those in the United States who may not have been familiar with the South African situation. In her account, Robeson provided in-depth, first-hand details about the different ways white supremacy in South Africa impacted the everyday experiences of black South Africans. Readers in the United States may have heard about black South African's living in destitution but Robeson's vivid descriptions revealed the daily challenges that blacks in South Africa endured. Describing life in Ntselemantzi, Eslanda Robeson wrote, "We went into some of the huts: no windows, no light at all, rough camp beds, cots, pallets on the floor. No sanitation, now water. The lucky ones have a candle or an oil lamp."[183]

Robeson also added introspective thoughts about the relationship between African Americans and black South Africans. Following a conversation with some black South African friends of her host in New Brighton about an upcoming all-African convention Robeson remarked, "I am surprised and delighted to find these Africans far more politically aware than my fellow Negroes in America."[184] She later lamented, "I blush with shame for the mental picture my fellow Negroes in America have of our African brothers: wild black savages in leopard skins, waving spears and eating raw meat. And we, with films like *Sanders of the River*,

[181] Ibid, 30.
[182] Ibid, 31.
[183] Ibid, 46.
[184] Ibid, 43.

unwittingly helping to perpetuate this misconception. Well, there will be no sequel to *Sanders*!"[185]

While Robeson was engaged in political conversations with the black South Africans she encountered throughout her sojourn, she was particularly careful in how she interacted with the white South African press. In efforts to obfuscate he political leanings, Robeson publicly downplayed any interest in South African politics. Upon her arrival to Capetown, members of the South African press asked her multiple questions about the intent of her visit. In her journal, Robeson notes that she was careful to conceal her intentions because her experiences with her husband had shown her that the press could misinterpret one's words. One reporter asked if Eslanda Robeson if she was interested in Native conditions. Robeson sensing the question was a trap responded courteously with, "I'm afraid I won't have time. I'm sailing almost immediately with the ship. (In my mind: I'll certainly see as much as I can, and find out all I can. That's really what I came for.)"[186] Another journalist asked Robeson if her husband had an opinion about segregation in South Africa. Robeson replied that her husband and she did not know enough about segregation. In her journal she wrote, "I hope to find out as much as possible about them while I am here, so we will be able to express a view about them in the future."[187]

The first wave of African American entertainers to enter the cultural landscape of South Africa physically or through other communication mediums was, for the most part, welcomed. Initially white members of the South African government did not see these singers, actors, and athletes as threats to the existing social and political structure. In fact, in the beginning African American entertainers were welcomed by the government, as they saw them as potential examples of what South African natives could become once they accepted Western values. The

[185] Ibid, 48.
[186] Ibid, 32.
[187] Ibid, 33.

same time African American entertainers were providing inspiration to black and whites in South Africa, they were contending with some of the worst set of circumstances back in the United States. Historian Robert Vinson details:

> African idealizations of American Negroes as role models and liberators peaked during particularly profound historical moments of disillusionment: the accelerated segregation during the mineral revelations, the post-South African War British-Afrikaner pact that continued the disenfranchisement of most Africans; land dispossession and the lack of citizenship rights after the 1910 establishment of the Union of South Africa; and the 1929 'Black Peril'.[188]

Things would change in the next few years. Black entertainers from the United States would become more than muses. They would join black South Africans by contributing their art, notoriety, and financial resources to the fight against white supremacy.

[188] Robert T. Vinson, *The Americans are coming!: Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012) 4.

CHAPTER TWO
MALIGNING MALAN: THE COLD WAR AND EARLY ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISM, 1937-1960

Between 1937 and 1960 there was a shift in the ways African American entertainers approached South African race issues. During these years more direct communication transpired between black artists and entertainers in the United States and South Africa. African American singers, actors and writers appeared in South African magazines, shared the stage with South African performers, and continued to visit South Africa. The amplified communication helped to transform the relationship between African American entertainers and black South Africans and inspired African American entertainers in the United States to be more than just inspirational figures. Instead, in the mid twentieth century as social movements for independence and racial equality in both countries began to take shape, more collective action was directed towards supporting the anticolonial push in Africa. African American entertainers and black South Africans became comrades, entrenched in a struggle against white supremacy, segregation, and political disenfranchisement.

During the World War II era, blacks in South Africa and the United States countries began to exercise more aggressive methods and approaches to subverting the legal manifestations of white supremacy. World War II and the creation of the United Nations in 1945 ushered in an era of globally-conscious activists who traversed national boundaries and were engaged in a larger Pan-African struggle against white supremacy. Scholar William Minter notes, “Throughout this period, there was a constant interplay between how activists in the United States understood their own country and how they made connections with others in

Africa."[189] The technological advances in television and news broadcast following World War II also aided this new global perspective and would later serve as a useful tool in the civil rights and anti-apartheid struggles. These changes in the mid-1900s had the collective effect of figuratively shrinking national borders. The social movements in both countries garnered international attention throughout this time period. In the United States, black activists pushed to move the fight for equality and civil rights outside of the courtroom by using more non-violent, direct action protests. In South Africa, the emergence of a reenergized form of institutionalized racial segregation, termed "apartheid," necessitated a more urgent response from black South Africans.

Following World War II, there was a renewed zeal within the African Diaspora in the fight for an independent Africa. This rejuvenated enthusiasm towards eradicating colonialism was best articulated in 1945 at the Fifth Pan-African Congress (also known as the Manchester Congress). Leaders at the Fifth Pan-African Congress resolved to adopt more confrontational approaches to eradicate colonial rule. African Americans in attendance at the Manchester Congress supported this new stance believing that their personal freedom from racial oppression in America was intertwined with the success of anti-colonialism in Africa. As historian P. Olisanwuche Esedebe informs, "The Manchester Pan-African Congress truly marks a turning point in the history of the Pan-African movement. The recognition that freedom has to be fought for, the decision to shift the battlefront to African soil and enlist the support of the masses, and

[189] William Minter, "An Unfinished Journey," in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000* edited by William Minter, Gail Hovey, and Charles Cobb Jr. (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 2008) 11.

the adoption of a strategy of 'positive action,' all these ushered in a new phase in the history of the Pan-African movement."[190]

Scholar/activist W.E.B. DuBois left the Fifth Pan-African Congress enthused by the meeting. He wrote a letter to the NAACP highlighting the interconnectivity of African and African American freedom. Echoing the thoughts of past Black Nationalist leaders like Martin Delany, Henry McNeal Turner and Marcus Garvey, DuBois proclaimed, "Above all, we American Negroes should know that the center of the colonial problem is today in Africa; that until Africa is free, the descendants of Africa the world over cannot escape chains."[191] Following the Manchester Congress several black-led organizations turned their attention to the anti-apartheid cause. In 1948 the Council on African Affairs (CAA), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the National Negro Congress (NNC) petitioned the United Nations to investigate racial discrimination in the United States and South Africa.[192]

Despite the increased attention given to anti-colonialism and the African Diaspora following World War II, it rarely translated to effective political relations between African Americans and black South Africans from 1948-1960. Lulat explains, "For, sadly, political relations between U.S. African Americans and Africans in South Africa would enter a phase of prolonged doldrums—relatively speaking—that would last well into the 1960s."[193] Cultural relations during this period were different.

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[190] P. Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1994) 144, 146.
[191] W.E.B. DuBois, "Memorandum to the Secretary for the N.A.A.C.P. Staff Conference from W.E.B. DuBois, Director of Special Research" in *The Correspondence of W.E.B. DuBois: Volume III, Selections, 1944-1963* edited by Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1978) 121.
[192] Francis N. Nesbitt. *Race for Sanctions: African Americans against Apartheid, 1946-1991* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004) 7.
[193] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 470.

Despite the political stagnation, performers in the United States and South Africa began to make more trans-Atlantic connections with each other after World War II. As the struggle against white supremacy intensified on both continents, artists and entertainers found creative ways to use their art to respond to these challenges. In doing so, black entertainers in both countries began to identify with each other's struggle. Between 1937 and 1960, African American entertainers used different mediums to interact with their South African counterparts. They joined anti-colonial organizations; participated in fundraisers, appeared in South African publications, and in some instances shared the stage with South African performers. Carrying on the tradition established in the early twentieth century by Orpheus McAdoo, The Meredith Sisters, and Eslanda Robeson, Black American entertainers continued to publicly criticize the South African government for its' race policies.

In 1937, African American entertainer Paul Robeson provided funding for the establishment of the Council on African Affairs (CAA) along with co-founder Max Yergan. The CAA is recognized as one of the first U.S. organizations formed to solely support of Africans in their fight against colonialism. The CAA was an interracial organization made up of seven African Americans and five white Americans.[194] Some of the notable members of the CAA included educator/activist W.E.B. DuBois, politician Adam Clayton Powell Jr., educator Mary McLeod Bethune and William Alphaeus Hunton who served as the organization educational director. CAA disseminated information about Africa through a published monthly bulletin *New Africa.* As one of the leading members of the CAA, Robeson cherished the organization. Lloyd

[194] Brenda Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 79.

Brown, a Robeson biographer, described the organization as, "The one organizational interest among many with which he was identified and that was closest to his heart."[195]

The creation of the CAA in 1937 marks a significant shift in the type of interactions had between African American entertainers and black South Africans. Prior to the formation of the CAA, African American entertainers were primarily inspirational figures to black South Africans and white South Africans. These singers and athletes rarely vocalized direct challenges to white supremacy in South Africa and rarely encountered any efforts from the South African government to censor their performances. Occasionally, some artists who performed before 1937 would publish a story detailing how brutal the living conditions for blacks were in South Africa. Some artists even surreptitiously tried to support black South Africans, like Orpheus McAdoo when he attempted sponsor a South African student's education at Hampton University. However the entertainers before 1937 did not collectively organize or mount any protest initiatives or work closely with any South African political organizations.

Madie Hall Xuma was one of the first African Americans to use entertainment to support a South African political organization. When Madie Hall first arrived to South Africa in May 1940, it was primarily because of personal pursuits. She was arranged to marry Alfred Bitini (A.B.) Xuma, a South African physician who spent thirteen years studying in the United States at Tuskegee Institute and later at the University of Minnesota. Hall admittedly knew very little about South Africa and initially intended not to be involved in politics. However, seven months after she arrived to South Africa, her husband was asked to serve as president of the African

[195] Gerald Horne, *Paul Robeson: The Artist as Revolutionary* (London: Pluto Press, 2016) 79.

National Congress (ANC) in July 1940; a life in South Africa devoid of any political engagement would prove to be impossible.[196]

Hall's arrival to South Africa coincided with new developments in the African National Congress. Some black South Africans had grown to become disillusioned with the protest tactics of the older generation. By the 1940s, some of the younger members of the ANC began to clamor for a new approach to the race problem in South Africa. "The refusal of white South Africans to provide equality of opportunity led in the course of the 1940s to a growing conviction that the black majority would have to be organized for a confrontation with white power," explains A.P. Walshe. "The new expectation then focused on African responsibility for reforming South-African society and dismantling the color bar."[197] This new approach was a departure from the ANC's diplomatic approach of petitioning Britain for political power.

Maddie Hall arrived to South Africa with the preconceived belief that black South Africans could learn a lot from studying the plight of African Americans. Hall embodied W.E.B. DuBois' "talented tenth" philosophy.[198] In 1903, W.E.B DuBois published an article entitled "The Talented Tenth." In this essay DuBois argued that African Americans were going to be saved by the exceptional men and women of the race. These men and women, who DuBois estimated was around ten percent of the total black population, were those who had received a classical education. These intellectuals would gradually uplift the race from servitude through teaching, writing and philanthropy.

[196] Iris Berger, "An African American 'Mother of the Nation': Madie Hall Xuma in South Africa, 1940-1963," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 3 (September 2001): 547-566.
[197] A.P. Walshe, "Black American Thought and African Political Attitudes in South Africa" *The Review of Politics* 32, no. 1 (1970): 51.
[198] W.E.B DuBois, *The Talented Tenth* (Ann Arbor: Proquest Information and Learning 2005).

Hall attempted to bring DuBois' talented tenth philosophy and the self-help initiatives of the National Congress of Negro Women to the women of South Africa. Like DuBois, Hall believed that education and enlightenment would provide the gateway to racial uplift. Berger documents, "By the time she left in 1963, following her husband's death, Hall had helped to revitalize the Women's League of the African National Congress (ANC) and had launched the *Zenzele* clubs, an influential network of women's organizations eventually linked to the international Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)."[199]

One of the techniques that Hall used to disseminate information about African American history was through dramatic stage productions. On numerous occasions between June and December 1943, Hall staged several performances in Johannesburg and Bloemfontein. Her first production was one that she wrote, directed and produced, entitled "American Negro Review: The Progress of a Race". This play dramatized the advancement of African Americans from slavery to freedom. The play proved to be immensely successful. Berger notes, "The play was so popular and attracted such enthusiastic audiences that numerous repeat performances were scheduled between June and December, raising over 200 pounds for the ANC."[200] Hall followed the success of the "American Negro Review" with another drama written by Marc Connelly entitled "The Green Pastures," a play that combined stories from the old Testament with the experiences of African Americans living in the South during the Great Depression Era.

Another fundraising effort took place in the United States. The Council on African Affairs organized famine relief food drives in 1945 and 1946 as a response to the 1945 drought that left over four million South Africans, many in the Native reserves, facing starvation. The

[199] Berger, "An African American 'Mother of the Nation,'" 547.
[200] Ibid 556.

CAA coordinated the relief efforts with the African National Congress.[201] African American entertainers Paul Robeson, Lena Horne, and pianist Calvin Jackson served a crucial role in the food drive by using their celebrity to induce others to get involve and donate. Their approach proved to be effective. On April 4, 1946 over 5,000 people gathered at the Second Baptist Church in Los Angeles to hear Robeson and Horne make appeals for donations for South Africans. Robeson sang some of his well-known songs such as "Ol' Man River" and "Let My People Go." Lena Horne added a stirring speech, imploring listeners to think about the mothers in South Africa in desperate need of milk and other necessities to care for their babies. The CAA raised $1,900 in addition to a large amount of food donations.[202]

A month after the rally at Second Baptist Church, Paul Robeson and Lena Horne extended personal invitations to 75 ministers, labor and civic leaders for a meeting in the Council on African Affairs headquarters in New York. In this meeting, on May 21, 1946, Robeson and Horne implored the leaders to go into the community and recruit support for the food drive. Lena Horne continued to speak about the struggles that mothers encountered trying to contend with rationing out food to starving children. Horne declared that the stories of those South African women needed to be heard throughout the United States. In addition to drumming up support for the food drive, Horne also asked the leaders to encourage people to show to Madison Square Garden for the Big Three Unity for Colonial Freedom event that was set to raise more funds and food donations.

[201] James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African American Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006) 339.
[202] "5000 Hear Robeson, Horne in Africa Plea," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, April 4, 1946, 21.

At the Big Three Unity for Colonial Freedom, Paul Robeson spoke in detail about the common experiences that link blacks throughout the Diaspora. Robeson began, "The Negro—and I mean American Negroes as well as West Indians and Africans—has a direct and first-hand understanding, which most other people lack, of what imperialist exploitation is."[203] He continued by detailing how blacks in the United States, the West Indies and in Africa all experience job discrimination, segregation, and the denial of democratic rights. Robeson acknowledged one distinct difference between the plight of African Americans and others in the African Diaspora in his speech in Madison Square Garden. According to Robeson, blacks in the United States had the law, partially, on their side and powerful white allies in organized labor who were involved in the fight for justice.[204] For this reason, Robeson found it necessary for African Americans to direct their attention and resources to fight colonialism.

South Africa's 1948 general election signaled the onset of apartheid. Daniel Francois Malan and the National Party's victory in South Africa's white-only 1948 general election was a surprise for many outside of South Africa. The National Party was perceived to be a fringe group of right-wing Boer extremists who would be incapable of amassing a large enough support from South Africa's voting white population. Thomas Holcomb, a U.S. minister to the Union of South Africa, claimed that the Nationalists were "narrow racialists" and that Malan was "clearly incapable of ruling."[205] Conversely, the incumbents, Jan Christiaan Smuts and the United Party were internationally recognized as the favorites. The United Party was thought to be a more moderate and diplomatic group with leadership that was respected internationally. Malan and the National party were able to offer a message that appealed to the fears of white South Africans.

[203] Paul Robeson, "Anti-Imperialists Must Defend Africa," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, and Interviews*, edited by Philip S. Foner (Larchmont: Brunner/Mazel, 1978) 168.
[204] Robeson, "Anti-Imperialists Must Defend Africa," 169.
[205] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 142.

Whites in post-World War II South Africa feared the nationalist movements that were taking place in Asia would spread to Africa, and jeopardize the established white minority-rule government.[206] Malan's political program, *apartheid*, assuaged their fears by placing the concerns of white South Africans first.

While traveling in London in February 1949, Robeson shared his thoughts with the press about Malan's plans for South Africa. He forewarned that the South African government was "asking for great trouble." He continued, "No, peoples, certainly not the South African Negroes, ruled by a mere 2,000,000 whites, will submit to that. The South African attitude is impossible. Dr. Malan must be saved from himself. I hope he will be saved by other South Africans."[207] Robeson then turned toward an examination of the larger issues that black people throughout the world faced. "The attitude of some people towards the Negro seems to be based on the contention that they are backward and that they take more time than any other race to develop," he reflected, "I protest against this. My own father was a slave and I think I have managed to develop."[208]

Robeson also revealed concern about the impact that the United States' financial interest in South Africa may play in perpetuating inequities that were established during imperialism. He called out the Truman Administration during a time when African American civil rights leaders and organizations were reluctant to oppose President Truman's foreign policy towards Africa because he appeared to somewhat support domestic civil rights reform. Robeson explained:

> Powerful financial interests are now moving into Africa from America. South Africa sees that her economic future lies in co-operation with the United States and President Truman's bold new programme of investment in backward areas can only mean Africa…American investigators are all over the African continent. As an American Negro I am deeply concerned. American financial interests will

[206] Ibid
[207] P.T.I. Reuter, "Malan Asking for Trouble, Says Robeson," *The Indian Express*, February 21, 1949.
[208] Ibid

> go into Africa and perpetrate once more the kind of things that were done under the old imperialists.[209]

Robeson concluded his thoughts on the future of Africa by arguing that black people in the United States and Africa hold no feelings of revenge despite having a shared historical past of suffering. According to Robeson, this meant that black people were open to new ideas. However, Robeson did forewarn that black people will no longer accept being held in bondage and that the black people in Africa will rise up to obtain freedom. Following his speech the South African broadcasting corporation banned all of Paul Robeson's records.[210]

South Africa's Board of Censors was also active in preventing racially-charged films from being screened in South African theaters out of fear that race films would incite blacks to riot or to mobilize in some other disruptive form of action directed at the state. For this reason, the 1949 film *Home of the Brave*, starring African American actor James Edwards, was banned from the larger South African public. The Board of Censors was not alone in their reasoning that the film might, "disturb the peace."[211] At the time of its release in 1949, *Home of the Brave* was widely recognized as one of the most in depth on screen examinations of racism in the U.S. military. In addition to the South African Board of Censors ban, the film was banned from certain theaters in the American South. James Edwards biographer Paula Deane notes, "Theatre owners refused to show the film, citing supposed problems with the safety of the film stock, when in reality the reasons were related to the film's incendiary treatment of racial issues." Deane continues, "Indeed, Public officials from many locales with a significant Black

[209] Ibid.
[210] Associated Press, "Africa Firm Bans Robeson Records," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, April 8, 1949; Vernon Jarrett, "Remembrance of Things Past: Paul Robeson, American Icon and Brother to His People," *The Crisis*, April-May 1998. 45
[211] "Film Ban in South Africa," *New York Times*, August 9, 1949.

population, from the states of the American South to apartheid South Africa, had refused to allow the film to be seen."[212]

Home of the Brave, directed by Mark Robson and produced by Screen Plays, Inc., the Stanley Kramer Producing Company, was an adaptation of Arthur Laurent's 1946 play of the same name. Stanley Kramer and company purchased the play for $50,000 and completed the film in thirty days on a $600,000 budget.[213] African American actor James Edwards starred in *Home of the Brave* as Peter Moss, an army private serving a special five-man mission during World War II. The film opens with a medical doctor examining Peter Moss after he has suffered a mental breakdown that rendered him catatonic. As the film progresses, Moss recalls several instances of racial discrimination that he has experienced throughout his life inside and outside of the military. Moss describes into the feelings of isolation he felt as the only black member of the five-man team assigned to carry out the special mission. Through offering his testimony, Moss gradually returns to a state of consciousness by the films conclusion.

The Stanley Kramer Producing Company decided to keep the development of the film a secret because of the changes they elected to make to Laurent's play. The original play featured a Jewish soldier as the protagonist and focused on antisemitism in the military during World War II. Stanley Kramer, feeling as though the topic of antisemitism during World War II had been "done before", changed the theme to examine racial discrimination in the military from the perspective of an African American soldier.[214] Upon being informed that the South African Board of Censors banned the film from being screened, producers Stanley Kramer and Bob

[212] Paula Deane, *James Edwards: African American Hollywood Icon*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2010) 102.
[213] Thomas Brady, "Play by Laurents will be Made Film," *New York Times*, February 24, 1949.
[214] Emma Brockes, "A Life in Musicals: Arthur Laurents," *The Guardian*, July 31, 2009 https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2009/aug/01/arthur-laurents-musicals-interview, <accessed October 22, 2017>.

Stillman made pleas to the Board to reconsider the ban.[215] There were some in South Africa who saw value in bringing the film to South Africa. Rev. J.B. Webb, a Johannesburg Methodist church leader who saw the film extolled, "It is a powerful film presented in a reasoned and restrained manner. Prudence and experience are probably the reason for the ban, but I don't think it wise to suppress the truth for political reasons."[216] Despite Kramer and Stillman's appeal, the South African Board of Censors did not relent on the ban of the film.

While movies like "Home of the Brave" and other films that focused on racism were banned in South Africa out of fear that these films would incite racial violence; films that promoted an idyllic view of race relations were promoted. "The Magic Garden" directed by Donald Swanson debuted in 1952. It is recognized as the first film with an all-black cast to be shown in white cinemas in Johannesburg. "The Magic Garden" was well-received in the United States in the white press. African American writers offered sharp criticism of the film's authenticity. Paul Mallory Trent, writing for the Washington Post, relented, "As an American Negro I must protest the film 'The Magic Garden.' It is a film about the black people of South Africa and it misrepresents them in much the same way that we have been slandered in various motion pictures here in the United States."[217]

South Africa's Board of Censors was created in 1931 when the Entertainment (Censorship) Act No. 28 was passed. The Board was partly effective in denying Black South Africans access to certain films based upon the content of the films. The act authorized the Board of Censors the power to ban or restrict access to material that:

> Prejudicially affects the safety of the state, or is calculated to disturb peace or good order, or prejudice the general welfare, or be offensive to decency; nor any film that represents in an offensive scenes containing nude figures, passionate love, 'night life,' reference to

[215] "Censors in South Africa Ban Flicker 'Home of the Brave'" *The Chicago Defender*, August 13, 1949, 25.
[216] Associated Press, "South Africa Bans U.S. Film about Negro," *Ottawa Citizen*, July 30, 1949
[217] Paul Mallory Trent, "Letters to the Editor: 'The Magic Garden'" *The Washington Post*, April 14, 1952, 6.

> controversial or international politics antagonistic relations of capital and labour, scenes tending to create public alarm, disparage public characters, and the drug habit, white slave traffic, vice or loose morals, juvenile crime, brutal fighting, drunkenness and brawling, pugilistic encounters between Europeans and Non-Europeans, intermingling of Europeans and Non-Europeans, rough-handling or ill-treatment of women and children, etc.[218]

Some of the other films that were banned from being showed to black audiences in South Africa included *No Way Out* (1950), *Pinky* (1949), *Intruder in the Dust* (1949), *Viva Zapata* (1952), *Ruby Gentry* (1952), *Rebecca* (1940), *The Outlaw* (1943), *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *The Joe Louis Story* (1953), *The Jackie Robinson Story* (1950), and *Carmen Jones* (1954).

In addition to censorship, the system of apartheid was enacted through a series of laws and executive action from the National Party government. One of the first laws enacted under the new administration banned interracial marriages between blacks and whites. Following the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949, the Population Registration Act of 1950 was enacted. Through this law, the National Party reinforced pre-existing racial classifications by requiring people at birth to identify and be registered as one of four main racial categories in South Africa: White, Coloured, Indian (Asian) or African. The African racial group was further segmented into different ethnic groups, which allowed Whites to nominally claim to be the majority in South Africa. The Group Areas of 1950 established residential racial segregation by relegating racial groups to live within designated group areas.

In response the National Party's victory, the ANC Youth League, against the wishes of the ANC president A.B. Xuma, submitted a new plan of action. This plan labeled "Programme of Action" was delivered at the ANC conference in December 1948. The new charge issued by the Youth League, called for the ANC to do away with relying on the Native Representative Council (NRC) which was never effective at getting the government to pay attention to the

[218] "Films Banned to Africans," *Drum Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 10 (October 1955): 55.

native concerns. The platform was accepted by the senior member of the ANC and circulated to different branches of the ANC for amendments. The amended version of the "Programme of Action" was accepted in June 1949. The "Programme of Action" called for more immediate direct action protests. The ANC Youth League proposed active boycotts of segregated institutions, strikes, civil disobedience, and non-cooperation. The new strategic program also included a plan for a national stoppage of work for one day.[219]

In the United States, Cold War politics hampered many of the early initiatives of anti-apartheid organizations to impact American foreign policy on the federal and state level during the 1940s and 1950s. South Africa's abundance of key raw materials, such as gold, copper, uranium, and diamonds, made them a valuable ally to the U.S. in the struggle against communism.[220] The capitalistic alliance between the U.S. and South Africa presented several challenges for early anti-apartheid organizations. As African Studies scholar Ronald Walters details:

> Both countries paid considerable attention to the activities of groups inside their countries that were regarded as Communist. These groups, in the case of the United States, were subjected to surveillance, disrupted and in many instances harassed to the point where they had to cease operations. At the same time, many non-Communist groups fighting for social change were labeled as Communist-oriented and subjected to the same treatment.[221]

[219] Clive Glaser, *The ANC Youth League* (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2012) 36-38.
[220] Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions*, 14.
[221] Ronald Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993) 209.

The subjugation these groups experienced in the U.S. ultimately stymied the amount of influence they could wield on American foreign policy during the 1940s and 1950s. The impact was widespread. Small organizations such as the Council on African Affairs and the American Committee on Africa were successful in disseminating information about Africa and linking African nationalists to the U.S., but they were not able to garner a substantial amount of the general public's attention to force changes on the federal level. Larger civil rights organizations like the NAACP choose to focus solely on domestic issue in efforts to avoid being labeled a communist organization.[222]

The South African government had a similar reaction to the potential of Communism spreading into newly independent Africa. "Across Africa, independence opened up new possibilities for communist influence. Capitalism was tarnished by its association with colonialism, and the USSR hoped that independent African countries would follow its model."[223] In 1950 the South African government attempted to quell any communist activity by passing the Suppression of Communism Act (later renamed the Internal Security Act). This law declared the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) illegal. This act had a very broad definition of communism. Punishable offenses included, "any doctrine or scheme which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social, or economic changes within the Union by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, or such acts or omissions of threat."[224] Even organizations that had no affiliation with the Communist Party were at risk for being banned under the Suppression of Communist Act.

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[222] William Minter, "An Unfinished Journey" in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008) 16.
[223] Stephen A. Smith ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 293.
[224] Roger Omond, *The Apartheid Handbook* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1986) 203; Lulat, *U.S. Relations with South Africa*, 144.

In the U.S., not only did political organizations face censorship during the beginning stages of the Cold War, but entertainers in the United States also encountered intense scrutiny. In 1938, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was created to investigate American citizens and organizations that were suspected of having ties to the Communist Party. HUAC had the power to subpoena citizens to testify in hearings before Congress. During the hearings, the individual subpoenaed was questioned about their political affiliations. They were also pressured to give names of other people who may be linked to Communism or any other type of subversive political action. Those who choose not to comply with what could clearly be recognized as an infringement upon their civil rights, faced being put on a blacklist that would jeopardize their employment opportunities. HUAC especially targeted actors. There was a strong belief among members of HUAC that Hollywood was hiding Communist. Film industry executives for the most part complied with the investigations. Actors, directors, and writers who were placed on the blacklist were ostracized by major studios.

African American actor Canada Lee directly experienced the tactics of the HUAC. Lee took a circuitous route to Hollywood. His acting career began in 1934 when in the midst of seeking employment at a Harlem YMCA on 135th Street; he stumbled upon an open audition for a play sponsored by the Civil Works Administration named *Brother Mose*. Canada Lee was down on his luck, in the middle of the Great Depression after his boxing career had come to an abrupt end when a headshot caused him to lose his vision in his left eye. Lee auditioned and earned the job.[225] Lee's entertainment career continued to grow. He performed in Broadway plays; most notably as Bigger Thomas in the 1941 stage production of Richard Wright's novel *Native Son*. Lee also hosted a radio series and acted in films.

[225] Mona Z. Smith, *Becoming Something: The Story of Canada Lee* (New York: Faber and Faber Inc., 2004) 46-47.

Lee's portrayal of Bigger Thomas not only thrusted him into the spotlight, but it was also the role he credited for deepening his political consciousness. He gained more notoriety and press attention for his role in *Native Son*, which led to more requests for speaking engagements. Lee was not shy about sharing his thoughts about racism and segregation in the United States. He appeared at a banquet sponsored by the Communist Party's legal branch the International Legal Defense. Lee also was a guest of honor at the Negro Actors Guild tea party and emceed fundraisers for the National Urban League and the Greater New York Fund.[226]

In 1947, Lee's affiliations and political activities landed him on the HUAC's radar. He was placed on a list of celebrities who were associated with Communists. Lee was never subpoena to speak at court like some of his close colleagues but he did use his voice to speak out against the "witch hunt" taking place in Hollywood. Lee joined the Broadway's version of the Committee on First Amendment Defendants (CFA). The CFA was an organization made up of actors, directors and writers who came together to fight against blacklisting and censorship. Lee's his affiliation with the CFA was frowned upon by the HUAC and ultimately led to him being put on the HUAC's blacklist. The blacklist severely diminished Lee's job opportunities in Hollywood. Fewer and fewer roles were offered to him.

According to Canada Lee, in 1949 he was approached by two FBI agents who offered him a chance to get off of the blacklist if he would publicly condemn Paul Robeson. At the time of the offer, Lee was feeling the effects of being on the blacklist. He was practically forced into accepting second-tier jobs to survive. However, Lee told the FBI agents that he would not speak out against Robeson. He defiantly retorted, "I'm not going to divide my people. We are the two biggest Negro names in New York. I may not agree with everything that Robeson says, but I'll

[226] Smith, Becoming Something, 106.

be damned if you're going to get me to fight another great American Negro."[227] The agents threatened to intensify Lee's isolation. Serendipitously, in August 1949 a few months after the FBI visit, Lee received an offer to be in a movie. Hungarian director Zoltan Korda asked Lee to star in his on screen portrayal of South African writer Alan Paton's 1948 best-selling novel *Cry, the Beloved Country*. Lee was enthused by the opportunity and because the film production company, London Films, was not based in the United States, he was able undermine the blacklist. [228]

Filming for *Cry, the Beloved Country* took place in South Africa. Before Lee and the other four African American actors in the cast could enter the country, they had to be registered as bonded servants to director Zoltan Korda. Upon learning about the registration requirement, *The Arkansas Press*, an African American newspaper, reported that the black cast members had to be "slaves" before they could enter South Africa.[229] The black cast members were also forewarned by the South African government, through Prime Minister Malan, not to take part in politics.[230] Despite these demeaning requests, Lee seeking to establish a career in Europe, agreed to the stipulations. Sidney Poitier, another notable black actor, also agreed to be in the film.[231] Kortan also held auditions for native South Africans at the Diepkloof reformatory in Johannesburg.[232]

Lee arrived in Johannesburg on July 23, 1950. They began shooting the film two weeks later in August. Within a week of his arrival to Johannesburg, Lee experienced apartheid firsthand. As the cast and crew traveled from Johannesburg to Ixopo, the car caravan made a stop

[227] Smith, *Becoming Something*, 295.
[228] Ibid, 297.
[229] "Negro Actor Must Be 'Slave' to Enter South Africa," *Arkansas State Press*, August 25, 1950.
[230] Smith, *Becoming Something*, 313.
[231] "Negro Actors for Paton Film," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, April 1, 1950
[232] "Africans Undergo Screen Tests," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, January 28, 1950

at a gas station to refuel. While there, Lee asked an Afrikaner gas station attendant for the location of the restroom. The Afrikaner informed Lee that the restroom was for Europeans only. Lee offended by the rebuff thought about expressing his dissension, but elected not to protest after white American actor Charles McRae convinced Lee to return to the car.[233] The African American actors experienced a lot of isolation while in South Africa. Sidney Poitier complained about being secluded from people. To make up for the separation, London Films attempted to appease the actors by stocking their house with food, beer, and whiskey.[234] Even when the actors received invites from liberal whites to attend house dinner parties, the actors acknowledged having certain uneasiness about the situation. Poitier claimed that these liberals treated them, "like some kind of strange animal."[235]

Lee and Poitier were instrumental in giving the U.S. a first-hand account on the black experience in apartheid South Africa. Despite Malan's warning for the actors not to participate in politics, Lee surreptitiously collected papers, photographs; and other forms of evidence that proved the cruelties of apartheid to send back home to New York.[236] Lee also wrote letters back to his friends in New York to be published in black newspapers describing some of the horrors he witnessed. Al White, a journalist for *The Chicago Defender*, published an article stating that Canada Lee was disgusted with South Africa. White also wrote that Lee told his friends, that "South Africa is far worse than any place he's been. The attitude towards dark skinned Negroes is beastly and hardly indicative of the high civilization of which the South Africans boast."[237] Al White sardonically pointed out how Lee and Poitier should have known what they were signing

[233] Smith, *Becoming Something*, 313.
[234] Aram Goudsouzian, *Sidney Poitier: Man, Actor, Icon* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 79.
[235] Ibid, 79.
[236] Smith, *Becoming Something*, 313.
[237] Al White, "Canada Lee, Sidney Poitier Find South Africa Is Tough," *The Chicago Defender*, October 28, 1950. P. 20

up for by agreeing to perform in South Africa when "everyone" knew that South Africa was the "most vicious spot on earth."[238]

Canada Lee also gave detailed accounts about beatings that he witnessed. For instance, one night Lee was traveling with South African actor Lionel Ngakane to a dinner at a white friend's house. On their way Lee reported seeing a native woman being beaten. Lee and Ngakane got so sick from seeing the beaten that they decided not to go to the dinner. He also told the press back in the U.S about stories of abuse that he heard from black South Africans.[239] Towards the end of filming in December 1951, word got back to the members of the South African press that Lee was telling his friends back home in the United States about the horrors he experienced in apartheid South Africa. In order to not arouse any dissension with the press, or to appear to overtly political, Lee wrote a kind letter to the editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* claiming that he had a "wonderful time" in South Africa.[240]

Writers from *Umteteli wa Bantu* also kept track of how much the actors were being paid. While the filming was taking place in Umzimkulu, East Griqualand, they reported that Canada Lee was getting paid a thousand pounds a week and that local Africans, who were invited to form some of the crowds were being paid 4 shillings a day.[241] Canada Lee and Sidney Poitier did make time to visit the black community while in South Africa. Lee, Poitier, and Vivian Clinton, a black actress from London, received a lot of attention and adulation when while in the midst of filming in Johannesburg in late October trio took a break to attend an anniversary celebration for

[238] White, "Canada Lee, Sidney Poitier Find South Africa is Tough," 20.
[239] Smith, *Becoming Something*, 314-315.
[240] Ibid; "South Africa is Not a Bad Place, Actor Canada Lee Says in Letter" *Rand Daily Mail*, December 2, 1950, 21.
[241] "Film Star gets (pounds) 1,000 a Week in 'Cry, the Beloved Country,'" *Umteteli wa Bantu*, August 12, 1950

the Bantu Men's Social Centre. They were greeted by throngs of eager fans who asked for autographs throughout the entire celebration.[242]

There were rare occasions in the mid-twentieth century when African American and black South African entertainers had an opportunity to collaborate on art projects in the United States during the early years of apartheid. On May 21, 1950 at 2:30pm, conductor Dean Dixon led an orchestra in Town Hall auditorium in New York. The concert was sponsored by the African Aid Committee. It was unique in that it was the first time that all of the works performed were entirely composed by people of African descent.[243] The compositions were created by composers from Africa, Central America and the United States.[244]

Michael Moerane was the composer from South Africa whose work was featured in the orchestra. He contributed his piece "Fatse la Heso" ("My Country") to the orchestra. "Fatse la Heso" is a ten-minute symphonic poem that Moerane composed in 1941 in fulfilment of the Bachelors of Music degree requirements at the University of South Africa.[245] In "My Country," Moerane incorporates several African songs, a warrior's song, a reaper's song, a free transformations song, in a harmonic structure derived from a hymn.[246] "Fatse la Heso" was first performed by the British Broadcasting Company Orchestra in 1944.[247]

Moerane was born in Lesotho in 1909. He left for school at the age of 14. While studying in Lovedale Institute and the South African Native College (Fort Hare University), Moerane found ways to independently nurture his musical interest because neither of the schools offered

[242] Beryl Mamabolo, "Film Fans Mob Actors at Rand Party," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, October 28, 1950
[243] "Negro Symphonic Concert May 21 Features Dixon," *The New York Age*, May 20, 1959. 20.
[244] Robert Wolfe, "For the First Time in America," *Sing Out!:A Peoples Artists Publication*, June 1950, Vol. I, No. 2, Reference Number: Ea, E.S. Reddy Collections, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand. 8-9.
[245] Moerane was the first black person to earn a degree from the University of South Africa. See Grant Olwage, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008) 22.
[246] Denis-Constant Martin, *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa* (Somerset West, South Africa: African Minds, 2013) 183; *South African Orchestral Works, Vol. 1* (Hong Kong: Naxos Digital Services Ltd., 2004) (liner notes) 3.
[247] Wolfe, "For the First Time in America," 8.

classes in music. After graduating from Fort Hare, Moerane searched for opportunities to learn music composition. His big break came when he had the opportunity to receive instruction on music composition from the head of the music department at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.[248] Moerane returned to Lovedale where he began working as a teacher. In addition to fulfilling his duties as a teacher, Moerane devoted time towards helping develop the musical talents of his pupils. Working on limited funds, he taught students how to take melodies from cherished songs from their homelands and interpret them in symphonic compositions.

Michael Moerane turned to the African Aid Committee for financial assistance for the cultural work that he was doing at Lovedale. In a letter addressed to the African Aid Committee, Moerane expressed how integral the kinship with African Americans has been in supporting the needs of the black South African community. Moerane wrote:

> For better or for worse, we in Africa have come to look upon you in America as the advance guard of our race. Continually in our troubles, we find ourselves turning to you for advice and support. Quite recently many of you have been helping to stave off hunger and starvation here in black southern Africa. But hunger is not always of the body; sometimes the hunger of the soul may become just as poignant. The African who makes good in any of the arts such as painting, sculpture, or music, does solely by reasons of his natural grit and perseverance. There are no study facilities for us. That is why we need help from you, our brothers in America.[249]

W.E.B. DuBois, Dean Dixon, and others within the African Aid Committee were moved by Moerane's appeal. They decided that some of the funds raised from the concert would be allocated towards supporting Moerane's cultural endeavors in South Africa.[250]

The concert was a critical success. Robert Wolfe writing for the publication *Sing Out!* extolled, "this concert was a tremendous assertion of the true cultural wealth of the Negro peoples and of the common humanity and brotherhood of Negro and white, of all the peoples of

[248] Wolfe, "For the First Time in America," 9.
[249] Ibid.
[250] The other proceeds from the concert were intended to be used to support a health clinic directed by an African physician in the Ciskei Province; "Negro Symphony Music Coming to Town Hall," *New Age*, May 6, 1950, p.25.

the world."[251] Financially the concert fell short of what the African Aid Committee hoped to raise. Close to one thousand people attended.[252] Part of the reason for the low attendance was attributed to the cost of the tickets; which prohibited many of the working class from being able to afford the concert. W.E.B. Dubois, the Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, recalled that the concert cost $4, 617 to put on and they only earned $3,236; leaving them with a loss of $1,381. DuBois bewailed that the concert's financial failure eliminated any opportunity for making the concert an annual event; which was Dixon's original intent. [253]

Another form of cultural exchange between African Americans and black South Africans took place within *Drum* magazine. Originally titled *African Drum*, the magazine was founded in the early 1950s by Robert Crisp, an Indian journalist and broadcaster. Crisp initially intended for the magazine to reach blacks who were experiencing the changes of urbanization as the mining industry continued to grow in cities like Johannesburg. Cultural studies scholar Darren Newbury documents that *Drum* magazine initially appeared in Sophiatown as an increase in urbanization brought more blacks into the city seeking job opportunities. Despite these changes *African Drum* under Crisp's leadership echoed the interests of White South Africans who were resistant to acknowledging the new emerging urban African culture. Instead Crisp's *Drum* sought, "to educate an urban African audience about its tribal heritage, and hence presenting African identity as essentially rural."[254] After the first issues of *African Drum* proved to be a commercial failure, Crisp business partner Jim Bailey took over the magazine. Bailey shortened the name to just

[251] Robert Wolfe, "For the First Time in America," *Sing Out!:A Peoples Artists Publication*, June 1950, Vol. I, No. 2, E.S. Reddy Collections, 8.
[252] "Music Composed by Negroes Heard: Dean Dixon Directs Chamber Orchestra in a Symphonic Program at Town Hall," *The New York Times*, May 22, 1950, p.29.
[253] W.E.B. DuBois, *In Battle for Peace: The Story of MY 83rd Birthday* (New York: Oxford University Press) 9.

[254] Darren Newbury, "Johannesburg Lunch Hour, 1951-1963," *Journalism Studies* Vol. 8 No. 4 (2007): 586.

Drum and began to change the content of the magazine to appeal to more of the urban black African population.

From its inception in 1951, *Drum* magazine featured, "tales of African-American achievement—chiefly told through star billings like Joe Louis, Sidney Poitier, Dorothy Dandridge and Louis Armstrong. A tone of vicarious pride typically infused such features."[255] In its inaugural issue, the first page of *Drum* Magazine opened with Harlem Renaissance poet Countee Cullen's poem "Heritage". *Drum* also published a series entitled "Masterpiece in Bronze" that focused on the achievements of African people throughout the Diaspora. This series featured several African American entertainers like Duke Ellington, Ethel Waters, Louis Armstrong, Art Tatum, Langston Hughes, Lionel Hampton and others.

Beginning in 1952, the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, and the Coloured People's Congress initiated the first large-scale, multi-racial protest against the apartheid laws. This planned resistance, named the Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws, was organized by a five-man planning committee that included: Dr. J.S. Moroka, Walter Sisulu, J.B. Marks, Yusuf Cachalia and Yusuf Dadoo. After the plans were set, the Defiance campaign organizers issued a list of demands to the Nationalist government with the threat of carrying out the planned civil disobedience if they were not met by February 29, 1952. The list of demands included a repeal of the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Coloured Voters Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.[256]

Predictably, the list of demands was ignored. Beginning on June 26, 1952, nonviolent, direct action protests were initiated in different areas in South Africa. Trained protesters,

[255] Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond* (New York: Routledge Press, 1994) 17.
[256] George Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 245-246.

including Nelson Mandela, went into action by publicly violating certain laws. They refuse to carry the passes that were required whenever outside of their homelands. They also openly defied the segregation laws. By December, over 8,000 people had been arrested. In October 1952 rioting erupted in Port Elizabeth and East London over the protests. The government's response to the Defiance Campaign was extremely repressive. Historian George Fredrickson notes, "In order to prevent mass civil disobedience in the future, the government gave itself new powers to declare states of emergency and made breaking a law for the purpose of protesting against it a serious offense in its own right punishable by a combination of flogging and long terms of imprisonment."[257]

The Defiance Campaign was successful in establishing the new vision of the ANC. The organization now voiced the concerns of black popular protest. Throughout the Defiance Campaign the ANC's membership grew dramatically. At the beginning of the Defiance campaign the ANC membership was estimated to be around 20,000 at most. During the height of the campaign the ANC claimed that the membership surged to 100.000 members.[258] The drastic growth of the ANC placed new challenges before the leaders. Massie documents, "Luthuli, Sisulu, and Mandela had to consider how to set up standard procedures, disseminate information and instructions, channel criticism, outwit informants, and reach consensus with supporters scattered in pockets around a vast country."[259] The Defiance Campaign helped the ANC distance itself from the elitist image that it previously held. The organization was now at the forefront of the direct action movement.

[257] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 247.
[258] Ibid, 248.
[259] Robert Kinloch Massie, *Loosing the Bonds: The United States and South Africa in the Apartheid Years* (New York: Double Day, 1997) 37.

In the United States the Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR) was formed in 1952 to support the Defiance Campaign.[260] ASFAR coordinated their fundraising efforts with the Council of African Affairs. Using their newsletter, *AFSAR Bulletin*, they were able to raise around $2,000 to send to the African National Congress.[261] The Defiance Campaign also caught the attention of the United Nations. Following the Defiance Campaign the UN acknowledged that South Africa's race relations were an international issue. A special committee was appointed to investigate human rights issues in South Africa.

Despite the gross violations of human rights and basic dignity that occurred in South Africa, the United States government still sought to maintain social and political ties with South Africa. For most of the Truman administration the United States government did not publicly condemn the South African government. Instead, the U.S. remained closely aligned with South Africa because of the government was embroiled in an international fight against the spread of communism and saw South Africa as an ally in that fight. In 1946 the United States refused to vote for the UN resolutions that condemned apartheid.[262] A cordial relationship with South Africa was also in the best economic interest of the United States government as well. Following World War II, American corporations sought to expand into international markets. The rich mineral resources like gold and uranium, cheap labor supply, and favorable foreign exchange regulations attracted U.S. transnational organizations to South Africa.[263]

Some African American entertainers were not as reluctant as the United States government to openly criticize apartheid and South Africa's Prime Minister Malan in front of an

[260] AFSAR would change its name to the American Committee on Africa in 1953 under the leadership of George Houser.
[261] Lisa Brock, "The 1950s: Africa Solidarity Rising," in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and Americans Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000* edited by William Minter, Gail Hovey, and Charles Cobb Jr. (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 2008) 63.
[262] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 144.
[263] Ibid, 148.

international audience following the state's violent response to the Defiance campaign. In 1953 dancer/singer, Marie Bryant created pandemonium in South Africa when she sarcastically mocked Malan during her performance at the Hippodrome Theater in London.[264] In the will-received revue *High Spirits*, Bryant sang a refrain at the end of her song "The Plea" that sardonically stated "Don't Malign Malan." The lyrics, written by David Climie, read:

"Don't malign Malan because he dislikes our tan,
We know that it's wrong to have a skin that's all brown,
And wrong to be born on the wrong side of town.
It is quite right that our filthy old homes be burned down,
Malan is a wonderful man --
Don't malign Malan,
He's doing the best he can."[265]

Malan and the South African press who witnessed the performance at the Hippodrome were furious. Not only did Malan and his supporters find the song distasteful but the time in which Bryant choose to sing it, during the coronation of the new British queen, Elizabeth II, added more to the international shaming of South Africa's new political policy.[266] Malan who was in attendance as a delegate from South Africa was displeased with being the subject of Bryant's derision before such a prestigious audience. Some members of South African press voiced their displeasure by attempting to pressure the producer of "High Spirits", Stephen Mitchell, to remove the song from the show. Their pleas were to no avail as Mitchell declared that he had no intention of altering the show to appease Malan. Also prior to the show's premier at the Hippodrome, "High Spirits" was licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's office as "fit to be

[264] "Marie Bryant," in *Notable Black American Women: Book II* edited by Jessie Carney Smith, (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996): 71-73.
[265] "Anti-Malan Song Applauded: South African are Annoyed," *Atlanta Daily World*, June 3, 1953.Special to the Chicago Defender, "England, S. Africa in Row over Marie Bryant's Song: Claim Ditty Slurs Premier Malan," *The Chicago Defender*, June 13, 1953.
[266] "Anti-Malan Song Applauded; South Africans are Annoyed," *Atlanta Daily World*, June 3, 1953, p. 1

seen by the public."[267] Despite external pressures, Bryant remained committed to performing "Don't Malign Malan". She curtly informed those who questioned her decision that the song, "has brought me one of the best hands I've had in the show."[268]

Langston Hughes established correspondence with South African writers Ezekiel Mphahlele, Richard Rive and Peter Abrahams through *Drum* magazine. In 1954 Hughes served as a judge for a short story contest that was featured in *Drum*. Inspired by the stories he read, Hughes solicited the authors to send him additional stories for an anthology of African writers he was assembling.[269] Langston Hughes also wrote the authors personal letters and mailed them publications from the United States. In October 1954, he mailed Ezekiel Mphahlele two of his books, *Weary Blues* (1926) and *The Ways of White Folk* (1934) and African American magazines. The magazines did not reach Mphahlele because they were intercepted and labeled as "objectionable literature."[270]

Langston Hughes was also committed to introducing African American readers to South African writers. In a letter written on November 1, 1954, Ezekiel Mphahlele expressed to Hughes that he was having financial difficulties due to his inability to get a job after the South African government banned him from the teaching profession.[271] Hughes attempted to find Mphahlele freelance writing opportunities in the United States. He sent out a sample of Mphahlele's writing to six of the larger black newspapers and magazines.[272] In 1963, Langston

[267] Special to the Chicago Defender, "England, S. Africa in Row Over Marie Bryant's Song: Claim Ditty Slurs Premier Malan," *The Chicago Defender*, June 13, 1953.
[268] "Song Attack on Malan Causes Stir," *The Age*, June 1, 1953.
[269] Langston Hughes, "Letter to Ezekiel Mphahlele," October 6, 1954, Mphahlele, Ezekiel (Es'kia) Collection, Reference Number 2000.72.2, National English Literary Museum, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.
[270] Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Letter to Langston Hughes," January 30 1955, Mphahlele, Ezekiel (Es'kia) Collection, Reference Number 2000.72.2, National English Literary Museum, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.
[271] Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Letter to Langston Hughes," November 1, 1954, Mphahlele, Ezekiel (Es'kia) Collection, Reference Number 2000.72.2, National English Literary Museum, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.
[272] Langston Hughes, "Letter to Ezekiel Mphahlele," February 18, 1955, Mphahlele, Ezekiel (Es'kia) Collection, Reference Number 2000.72.2, National English Literary Museum, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

Hughes coordinated a U.S. speaking tour, with the American Society for African Culture and the United Negro College Fund, for South African writer Bloke Modisane.[273] When South African writers were able to visit the United States, Hughes would host welcoming parties where he would invite other African American authors to celebrate the writers.

Lena Horne also engaged in correspondence with her South African fans through *Drum Magazine*. While performing in London, Horne was asked to write a message for Drum readers. Her message was reprinted in the magazine in the August 1954 edition. Lena Horne was featured on the cover of that issue along with the caption: "Lena Horne Says 'Hello, Drum!" Due to the screening of Horne's films *Stormy Weather* (1943) and *Cabin in the* Sky (1943) in South Africa she developed a large following.[274] In the message, Horne informed DRUM readers that she is orders at least thirty to forty magazines to be delivered to her house every month; with DRUM being the one that everyone in her family looks forward to reading the most. According to Horne's message, she was able to regularly receive the South African magazine in the United States because some of her friends from Africa send it to her regularly.

Horne's statement was relatively short and did not contain any overt political content or critique of apartheid. She did pay special attention to the group she called "African girl singers," by offering encouragement to those pursuing a career in music. "Never forget that the African voice is the basis of all modern hot and blues singing throughout the world today," Horne encouraged, "I want to see many more modern African girls coming to the forefront of the singing."[275] One piece of advice that Horne gives to conclude her message to DRUM readers

[273] Langston Hughes, "Letter to Bloke Modisane," February 9, 1963, Mphahlele, Ezekiel (Es'kia) Collection, Reference Number 2000.72.2, National English Literary Museum, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.
[274] Tyler Fleming, "Stars of Song and Cinema: The Impact of Film on 1950s Johannesburg's Black Music Scene," in *Music, Performance and Identities* ed. Falola, Toyin and Fleming, Tyler (New York: Routledge, 2012) 194.
[275] Lena Horne, "Hello, Drum Says Lena Horne," Drum Magazine, Vol. 3, No 8 (August 1954): 33.

were for African girl singers to take advantage of every opportunity that they have to sing in front of an audience.

Perhaps one of the reasons Horne decided to not offer any statements about apartheid or language that could read as politically charged was because of the consequences she might have had to face in the United States. By 1954, when her message was published in Drum magazine, Lena Horne had already gained a reputation in the U.S. as an entertainer who was visibly active in the black freedom struggle. Throughout her film career, Horne did not accept roles as a domestic servant (which were the usual roles offered to black women).[276] Her activism and relationship with communist actor/activist Paul Robeson brought her under scrutiny of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) during the McCarthy Era. During the 1950s Horne was blacklisted in Hollywood.[277] Her inability to secure roles and performance opportunities in the U.S. forced her to work abroad for most of the 1950s. At the time of the publication of her letter to DRUM magazine readers, her focus may have simply been to provide inspiration rather than to express dissenting views of the South African government that could be used to justify her being blacklisted.

The increased international attention did not deter the South African government from using violent means to enforce apartheid legislation. Months after Marie Bryant embarrassed Malan in front of Queen Elizabeth II, the South African government carried out another violent atrocity that reverberated loudly throughout the international community. In 1954 the National Party passed the Native Resettlement Act, No. 19 which led to the forced removal of Blacks from Sophiatown; an area that had become a black cultural hub by the 1950s that some scholars

[276] Laurie Beth Green, *Battling the Plantation Mentality: Memphis and the Black Freedom Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 155.
[277] David Brock, "Lena Horne" in *Encyclopedia of Music in the 20th Century*, edited by Lol Henderson and Lee Stacey, (New York: Routledge Press,1999) 300.

have likened to Harlem in the United States during the 1920s. The removal was violent and like the response to the Defiance campaign it drew a lot of international attention.

Sophiatown, sometimes referred to as Sof'town or Kofifi, was a suburb on the outskirts of Johannesburg. It was established by investor/developer Herman Tobiansky. In 1899, Tobiansky purchased 237 acres of land and named it after his wife, Sophia. He initially envisioned selling small farm plots to poor whites but his plans were interrupted when the city decided to open a trash-depositing site near Sophiatown.[278] Whites moved out of in droves. In desperate need to fill the vacancies, Tobiansky gave permission for Blacks and Coloureds to settle in Sophiatown. During World War I more Blacks migrated to major cities seeking jobs in manufacturing. Blacks who arrived to Johannesburg seeking work were moved into Sophiatown.

Sophiatown's development has drawn comparison to the development of the New York's Harlem in the 1920s. Rob Nixon points out, "Both Harlem and Sophiatown experienced a cultural upsurge in the aftermath of black migration toward the inevitably unsteady promise of urban employment during an era of growing industrialization. In the American South and South Africa, severe drought, crop failure, and generally deteriorating rural conditions became further spurs to rural exodus."[279] Similar to Harlem, Sophiatown became the site of a black cultural explosion. South African writers, musicians and artists coalesced to give voice to a "New African" personality. Sophiatown writers borrowing some influence from their American counterparts minimized ethnic differences and sought to create expressions of unity with each other.[280] Jazz music also soared in Sophiatown. African American artists such as Count Basie, Dizzy Gillespie, Bessie Smith, Charlie Parker, Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong inspired

[278] Carl H. Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012) 182.
[279] Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond* (New York: Routledge Press, 1994) 14.
[280] Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood*, 16.

South African performers Miriam Makeba, Dolly Rathebe, Hugh Masekela, and Abdulla Ibrahim.[281]

On February 9, 1955, the Native Resettlement Board under the direction of H.F. Verwoerd sent two thousand armed police officers to Sophiatown to remove the 60,000 inhabitants.[282] Over the next five years the government forced blacks to relocate from Sophiatown to the Meadowlands in Soweto. By 1960 the removals reached a total of around 60,000 people. Once blacks were removed from Sophiatown, Afrikaner working-class families were moved into single-story suburban homes and the area was renamed "Triomf", Afrikaans for "Triumph".[283]

The effacement of Sophiatown and relocation of its people serve as crucial turning point when examining the cultural components of the anti-apartheid movement. In fact, the events in Sophiatown indirectly spurred the initiation of the cultural boycott of South Africa.[284] A white Anglican priest, Father Trevor Huddleston, worked in Sophiatown when the removal occurred. Huddleston, being entrenched in the Sophiatown community, felt instantly that the Native Resettlement Act had to be met with resistance. Of particular note to Huddleston was the type of attention the Sophiatown issue drew in Britain. He later recalled, "the Western Areas Removal Scheme did something else: it was the first time that the media from Britain sent their top

[281] Ibid, 12.
[282] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 2015) 338.
[283] Jennifer Beningfield, *The Frightened Land: Land, Landscape, and Politics in South Africa in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 232.
[284] Ethnomusicologist Carol Ann Muller documents India initiated the first boycott against South Africa in 1947. This was largely in response to the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 (commonly referred to as the "Ghetto Act") which was designed to effectively limit Indian property ownership in Natal. In response the Indian government severed ties with South Africa and petitioned the United Nations to investigate race relations in South Africa. For more see: Carol A. Muller, *South African Music: A Century of Traditions in Transformation* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004) 39 and Newell Maynard Stultz, *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa, 1934-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 115-116.

correspondents to cover what was happening."[285] In 1954, Huddleston published an article entitled "The Church Sleeps On" in the British newspaper *The Observer* were he urged performers to refuse to play in South Africa while apartheid remained.[286] Huddleston elaborated:

> I am pleading for a cultural boycott of South Africa. I am asking that all those who believe racialism to be sinful or wrong should refuse to encourage it by accepting any engagements to act, to perform as a musical artists or as a ballet dancer—in short, to engage in any contracts which would provide entertainment for only one section of the community. True, this will only be a demonstration. But I believe it will be quite an effective one. At least it will give White South Africans an opportunity of tasting the medicine they so freely give to their Black fellow-citizens – the medicine of deprivation and frustration. And at least it will be better—considerably better—than sleeping.[287]

In 1956, after being arrested for his involvement in the Defiance Campaign (1953), chairman of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada championed Huddleston's idea of a cultural boycott. In *Liberation Magazine* Kathrada wrote that a cultural boycott could be an effective method because those who he labeled as the "perpetrators of racialism" derive strength and encouragement from the support they feel from other Western countries. Kathrada reasoned that when other countries did not openly condemn South Africa, they were giving tacit support to apartheid and the South African government. A boycott of South Africa would give the National Party a clear demonstration that they do not have the support of the international community. Kathrada suggested that, "racialist South Africans must be made to feel more and more that they stand alone in the whole world in their belief of racial superiority. They must be made to feel the pinch of isolation from civilized world in the spheres of culture, sports, etc."[288]

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[285] Trevor Huddleston, *Father Huddleston's Picture Book* (London: Kliptown Books, 1990) 71.
[286] Michael Drewett, "The Cultural Boycott against Apartheid South Africa: Defensible Censorship?" in *Popular Music Censorship in Africa*, Drewett, Michael and Martin Cloonan eds. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006) 24.
[287] Trevor Huddleston, *Father Huddleston's Picture Book*, 67.
[288] Kathrada, A.M. "Towards a Cultural Boycott of South Africa" *Liberation* 20 (1956): 17-18.

There were also advances made in sport protest in South Africa during the mid-1950s. In 1955, poet/activist Dennis Brutus founded the Coordinating Committee for International Recognition of Sport (CCIRS) in Port Elizabeth. The CCIRS was founded under the principle that best athletes in South Africa should be able to represent the country.[289] Brutus felt that he could use sport, in particular the Olympics, to attack apartheid because the sport was governed by a ruling parent body that was independent from the South African government. Although the organization was short-lived as police intimidation deterred other South Africans from supporting Brutus. The CCIRS was significant in that established a foundation for what would eventually grow to become South African Sports Association.

Leaders of the African National Congress not only mobilized people to voice their dissatisfaction with Sophiatown, they also put forth an idea of what they would like the future of South Africa to encompass. In August 1953, ANC leader Professor Zachariah Keodirelang (Z.K.) Matthews recommended that the ANC sponsor a series of public forums throughout South Africa where people from all political parties and affiliations could gather and discuss the future of South Africa. To facilitate the discussion the ANC formed a National Action Council that was made up of eight representatives, two from each ethnic group. The National Action Council then solicited opinions and ideas from people of all ethnicities. Once the ideas were collected a committee put them together in a single document. This document was recognized as the "Freedom Charter" on June 26, 1955. The charter opened with a declaration that South Africa, "belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people."[290]

[289] Peter Alegi, *Laduma: Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004) 112.
[290] Massie, *Loosing the Bonds*, 40-41.

The Freedom Charter provided a glimmer of hope for a South Africa ruled by a government that was truly a representation of all of the people in South Africa. These hopes were somewhat diminished in December 1956 when police throughout South Africa raided homes; arresting 156 people. These people were accused of attempting the overthrow the government and were charged with treason. The Treason Trials would last until 1961 when the defendants were found not guilty. Similarly to the catastrophe in Sophiatown, the Treason Trials also garnered international attention. In Britain, John Collins established the International Defence and Aid Fund to help pay the legal fees of the defendants.

In October 1957, African American jazz musician Lionel Hampton flew to London to participate in a fundraising concert to aid the Treason Trial defendants. Hampton performed alongside Johnny Dankworth's and Humphrey Lyttelton's band at the Royal Festival Hall. The jazz fans gathered to not only hear good jazz music, but also to support those in South Africa who were accused of treason. During the concert, a vibraphone, Hampton's signature instrument, was brought on stage. [291] Hampton taking a look at the instrument revealed that it was different than what he typically plays but that he would be willing to play anything for such worthy cause.

The concert concluded with words from Rev. Trevor Huddleston, the Anglican preacher who called for entertainers to boycott South Africa in 1954. Huddleston reminded the audience that while the music was exquisite the real reason for concert was the raise funds to support the

[291] R.N. Stephenson, "Hamp Flies to London to Ploy for Fund Raising South African Event," *The Chicago Defender*, November 2, 1957, 19.

Treason Trial defendants.[292] Altogether, the concert was a critical and social success. Jazz fans were treated to inspired performances and $11,000 dollars were raised.[293]

White American Jazz pianist and composer, Dave Brubeck, was forced to take a public position against racial segregation in South Africa. In October 1958, Brubeck cancelled a performance in South Africa that was scheduled to take place January 1959. Brubeck's quartet was in the middle of a world tour that was sponsored by the U.S. State Department. The quartet played in Europe, India, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey and other countries in the Middle East and Asia.[294] The tour received such a favorable response internationally, that the State Department added 8 more weeks to the tour. South Africa was scheduled to be in the middle of the second leg of Brubeck's tour. The quartet was scheduled to earn around $17,000 for performing in Johannesburg.[295]

The success of the first leg of the trip prompted Brubeck to write an article in the *New York Times* praising the ability of jazz music to unify people throughout the world. Brubeck jubilantly detailed, "Everywhere we went—in the free nations, in dictatorships, in undeveloped countries—the unifying influence of our kind of music was brought home to us." He continued, "Jazz is color blind. When a German or a Pole or an Iraqi or an Indian sees American white men and colored in perfect creative accord, when he finds out that they travel together, eat together, live together and think pretty much alike, socially and musically, a lot of the bad taste of Little Rock is apt to be washed from his mouth."[296] It is clear that the early success of the tour convinced Brubeck of jazz's ability to bring people together.

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[292] Ibid.
[293] "Hampton 'Hits Ceiling,' Cancels Jim-Crow Dance," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, December 5, 1959. P.23
[294] Ralph J. Gleason, "Brubeck Cancels South Africa, Because of Negro Artist Ban," *Daily Boston Globe*, October 19, 1958. P.61
[295] "Negro Bassist Barred, Brubeck Cancels S. Africa," *Jet Magazine*, October 30, 1958, p.62.
[296] Dave Brubeck, "Wherever it goes. The Beat Heard 'Round the World" *New York Times*, June 15, 1958. SM14

Brubeck's supposition about the jazz music working as a panacea for the world's social ills was met with a direct challenge by apartheid less than four months after he published his thoughts in the *New York Times*. Plans for performing in South Africa were abruptly halted when Brubeck received a letter from a promoter in Johannesburg informing him that his black bass player, Eugene Wright, would not be permitted to play with the quartet in South Africa. The promoter elaborated, "As regards one of your group being a Negro, it is absolutely impossible for him to come to South Africa. Not only is there an ordinance prohibiting the appearance on the stage of a mixed group, but also he would not be allowed in the country, and therefore the tour would have to be made without him"[297] Upon reading this letter Brubeck called off the performance.

This was not the first time Dave Brubeck and his quartet members faced opposition because of the group's interracial makeup. There were times when the group traveled throughout the United States when Eugene Wright was not allowed to dine with his band members. Instead, Wright had to eat in the kitchen of the restaurants.[298] Wright's feelings about the discrimination he experienced in the United States or South Africa's demand are difficult to determine. Brubeck half-joking about the dining discrimination revealed that Wright often ate better than the other band members because he dined with the kitchen staff, who were most of the time other African Americans.[299] On another occasion, in fact, the night before they departed for the international tour, Brubeck's quartet was informed that they would not be able to perform at a college concert in North Carolina.

As the white-dominated South African government moved to reinforce its control over the country through violence and racist legislation during the late 1950s, the process of

[297] "Brubeck Refuses to Tour South Africa," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 30, 1958, C1.
[298] Fred M. Hall, *It's About Time: The Dave Brubeck Story* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1996) 71.
[299] Hall, *It's About Time*, 71.

decolonization was taking place in other parts of the continent. After Ghana gained independence on March 6, 1957, the new leader Kwame Nkrumah convened a conference of independent African countries. In December 1958 the All-African People's Conference announced that April 15th will be observed as Africa Freedom Day. This day would serve as a day of celebration of the, "onward progress of the liberation movement, and to symbolize the determination of the People of Africa to free themselves from foreign domination and exploitation."[300] In addition to the demonstrations, an Africa Freedom Fund was established to help African people in emergencies.[301]

On April 15, 1959 the American Committee on Africa sponsored its first Africa Freedom Day program at Carnegie Hall in New York. Singer/Actor Harry Belafonte spoke at the Africa Freedom Day program. Belafonte was a disciple of Paul Robeson, who was becoming increasingly more interested in Africa after witnessing the newly emerging independent African nations.[302] Belafonte opened his speech by stating that he was speaking as a "descendant of Africa."[303] Belafonte argued that as Africa was, "stretching her limbs to the free sky" African Americans were engaged in "one of the greatest struggles ever to face the growth of democracy in any nation."[304] He concluded his speech by encouraging African nations to continue to fight for independence believing that the world would be shaped by the outcome of what happens in Africa. Following the Africa Freedom Day, 200 people gathered in New York for an Emergency

[300] David Bigman, *Globalization and the Least Developed Countries: Potentials and Pitfalls* (Cambridge: CABI, 2007) 235.
[301] Homer A. Jack, "African Confab Results: List 6 Achievements; Plan Annual Meeting," *Tri-State Defender*, January 17, 1959, p.6.
[302] Charles Cobb Jr., "Harry Belafonte: A Committed Life," in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000* (Trenton: Africa World Press, In., 2008) 98.
[303] Harry Belafonte, "Remarks Made by Harry Belafonte at Africa Freedom Day," April 15, 1959, American Committee on Africa Records, 1948-1987, Box 40 Folder 20, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[304] Belafonte, "Remarks Made by Harry Belafonte at Africa Freedom Day,"

Action Conference on South Africa. The Conference adopted 10 resolutions regarding South Africa one of which stated that U.S. tourists, athletes, artists, and intellectuals should refrain from traveling to South Africa and cultural exchanges until apartheid was abolished.[305]

During the mid-twentieth century the relationship African American entertainers had with South Africa changed remarkably from the one that existed when the first wave of African American artists performed in Southern Africa in the late 1800s. No longer were African American entertainers welcomed by the white-led South African government as black harbingers of Western norms and customs. The onset of the Cold War during the late 1930s politicized international travel and communication. Movies and publications that challenged the established social and political customs in South Africa were banned. Entertainers and political figures were blacklisted in the United States. The advent of apartheid in 1948 further exacerbated the amount of control the government had in suppressing voices of dissent, whether foreign or domestic. These restraints made it challenging for activists in South Africa and the United States to foster an effective international protest movement.

Black South Africans found creative ways to subvert the repression of the state. The strategic shift in the African National Congress that was introduced by the Youth League in 1943 opened the landscape of protest to possibilities that were previously ignored. No longer was the ANC focused on working within the existing power structure. The Natives Representative Council and petitioning Britain to intervene had proven to be ineffective. Instead the ANC would now adopt a more direct challenge to apartheid. Through these new tactics, the African National Congress and other organizations were able to create cultural connections that reached outside of

[305] "American Groups Urge Boycott," *Africa Report*, January 1, 1960, 5.

national borders and were independent and perhaps more importantly outside of the control of the government.

African American entertainers found creative ways to voice their disapproval of the changes taking place within South Africa. Some entertainers continued to use the same tactics that the first wave of entertainers used. Sidney Poitier and Canada Lee, similarly to Orpheus McAdoo and the Meredith Sisters in the nineteenth century, relied on the black press in the United States to publish first-hand accounts of atrocities of apartheid they witnessed while working in South Africa. Paul Robeson and Marie Bryant used their international platforms to voice their criticisms of Malan and the National Party before receptive international audiences. Outside of the United States, Robeson and Bryant were able to temporarily obfuscate the censorship of McCarthyism. Maddie Hall and Lionel Hampton used their creative gifts to help raise funds to support the ANC. Lena Horne, Louis Armstrong, and Langston Hughes reached black South African readers through *Drum* magazine. These approaches did have a tangible impact. However these contributions were not unified. Collective action amongst entertainers would not take place until after 1960.

CHAPTER THREE
SHOULD BLACKS ENTERTAIN APARTHEID?: BLACK ENTERTAINERS AND THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1960-1976

"Studies of U.S. Policy toward South Africa often refer to the Sharpeville massacre as the crisis moment that brought apartheid to the attention of the American public and served as a catalyst for the anti-apartheid movement," chronicles historian Donald Culverson. "Although crisis events provide opportunities to voice criticisms of established policies, seldom do those moments furnish sufficient resources and momentum to sustain protest."[306] The same theory can be observed when examining how African American entertainers' responded to the Sharpeville Massacre. Following Sharpeville, more entertainers than any decade prior publicly denounced South African race relations. African American entertainers, embroiled in their own civil rights battles in the United States, used various methods to express their dissent. Just as a few of their predecessors did in past decades, African American entertainers continued to collaborate with South African artists, made public statements in newspapers and some even performed in South Africa.

In addition to these traditional protest tactics, African American performers employed a new approach during the 1960s and 1970s. For the first time, African American entertainers collectively joined organizations that specifically aimed to dismantle apartheid. These political organizations like the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), unlike Paul Robeson and the Council of African Affairs in the 1950s, were able to flourish because they were formed after the height of the Red Scare hysteria. The direct action protests that flourished during civil rights and black power movement placed black dissent on the international stage. This shift coincided with the emergence of newly independent African

[306] Donald Culverson, Contesting Apartheid: U.S. Activism, 1960-1987 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999) 35.

nations. In 1960, 17 sub-Saharan African nations gained independence.[307] African independence proved to be a galvanizing force as African Americans drew inspiration from witnessing the hope and optimism an independent. Groups formed in the United States with a focus on Africa. Some groups appealed to entertainers to use their notoriety to isolate South Africa by engaging in a cultural boycott.

Donald Culverson documents, "The year 1960 stirred rising hopes for political change throughout Africa. The UN admitted seventeen new African states and designated 1960 'The Year of Africa.'" This activism did not immediately translate into political legislation being enacted, that would take place later, but it did allow antiapartheid organizations time to grow in ways that the Council on African Affairs could not during the 1950s. Historian Mary Dudziak attests that by 1966 U.S. politicians no longer feared that the United States' practice of racial inequality jeopardized the countries international influence. Dudziak explains according to the United States Information Agency (USIA), "Awareness of and disapproval of treatment of the Negro seem to have comparatively little effect on general opinion of the U.S."[308] This revelation helped to provide room for political reform organizations to grow.

As the antiapartheid push gained credence and advocates throughout the United States a resounding questioned emerged that African American entertainers were forced to grapple with during the 1960s and 1970s. Should Black Americans perform in South Africa while apartheid remained? In other words, should African American singers, artists, and athletes, as an expression of solidarity with black population in South Africa, observe the cultural boycott? This

[307] Cameroon (January 1, 1960), Togo (April 27, 1960), Madagascar (June 26, 1960), Democratic Republic of the Congo (June 30, 1960), Somalia (July, 1960), Benin (August 1, 1960), Niger (August 3, 1960), Burkina Faso (August 5, 1960), Ivory Coast (August 7), Chad (August 11, 1960), Central African Republic (August 13, 1960), The Republic of Congo (August 15, 1960), Gabon (August 17, 1960), Senegal (August 20, 1960), Mali (September 22, 1960), Nigeria (October 1, 1960), Mauritania (November 28, 1960).
[308] Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) 240.

question was highly contentious as there was no clear answer about the best way to support Black South Africans in the fight to disrupt and dismantle apartheid.

Following the Treason Trials a split developed within the African National Congress (ANC). For some members of the ANC, the Treason Trials proved how futile it could be for black South Africans to attempt to establish diplomatic relationships with white South Africans. There was a level of disenchantment with trusting a government that continuously held no respect for any form of a democratic process that included the opinions of the black majority in South Africa. The failure of the government to acknowledge the Freedom Charter was the latest glaring example. The ANC went through an exhaustive process to ensure the Freedom Charter was inclusive of the thoughts and ideas of all races in South Africa and they still were unable to convince Malan, the National Party, or the minister of Native Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd to take them seriously. For their efforts, the ANC was met treason charges. Their attempts at imagining an inclusive society were thwarted. Leonard Thompson notes, "Whereas Lutuli, Mandela, and their colleagues continued to work for a reconciliation between the races in South Africa, others contended that the alliance with the white-dominated Congress of Democrats had impeded the ANC, as shown by what they regarded as concessions to white interests in the Freedom Charter."[309]

From this disillusionment arose a new political organization the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Led by journalist Robert Sobukwe, the PAC was founded with a black nationalistic objective that was firmly opposed to capitulating to white interests as they believed their predecessors had done for decades to their detriment. Instead this group, echoing the black nationalistic teachings of Marcus Garvey, called for an "Africa for the Africans." Sobukwe argued that the ANC leadership was not responding to the state's subversive tactics forcefully

[309] Leonard Thompson, A History of South Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 209-210.

enough. In November 1958, Sobukwe attempted to overtake the leadership of the ANC during the organization's annual conference. When that attempt was unsuccessful, Sobukwe and his followers formed the PAC in April 1959. This group was committed to Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah's vision of a "United States of Africa." Sobukwe detailed in his inaugural speech, "We aim politically at government of the Africans, by Africans, for Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority."[310]

Sobukwe seeking to build support for the PAC circulated the idea for a national boycott of the pass laws. He urged his supporters to leave their passes at home on March 21, 1960 and present themselves in large numbers at the police station. Sobukwe's call to action was largely unobserved in most areas that were still aligned to the ANC. In fact, historian Robert Massie claims that if it were not for the events that took place in Sharpeville, the protest would have gone largely unnoticed.[311] In Sharpeville, thousands of people gathered unarmed outside of the police station. By midday, there were more than one hundred police officers engaged in a standoff with the crowd. When a scuffle broke out that left one officer on the ground, the police began to fire on the defenseless group of protestors. When the shooting stopped 69 people had been shot dead and 186 others were wounded.[312]

The Sharpeville Massacre struck a chord throughout the world. A series of protests followed the massacre in South Africa. Industrial production was stultified because black South Africans in industrial cities refused to work. More than 30,000 protestors demonstrated outside of the House of Parliament on March 30, 1960. Images from Sharpeville circulated outside of

[310] Robert Kinloch Massie, *Loosing the Bonds: The United States and South Africa in the Apartheid Years* (New York: Double Day, 1997) 61.
[311] Massie, *Loosing the Bonds*, 63.
[312] Massie, *Loosing the Bonds*, 64.

South Africa. Moved by the horrendous photographs and descriptions of the violent state suppression, many activists gathered for demonstrations outside of South African embassies and consulates. The international fervor did not prevent the South African government from responding with more repressive actions. Donald Culverson documents, "On April 8, the state banned the PAC and ANC, and during the next six weeks, police arrested more than 18,000 people."[313]

After Sharpeville, Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders had to contend with the stark realization that their non-violent diplomatic methods had not produce the significant political changes the group desired. Instead of getting free democratic elections, they were met with chaos, and increased violence and sabotage from the state. Starting in 1961, different organizations were formed in South Africa with the intent of using targeted revolutionary violence to counter the repressive tactics of the South African government. Groups such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation), Poqo (Pure), and the African Resistance Movement planned and executed bomb attacks on post offices, railroads and other government buildings.[314] Robert Massie documents that by the end of 1963, more than 200 attacks had been carried out by the Umkhonto we Sizwe, Poqo and others.[315] To quell these protests Verwoerd appointed John Vorster to serve as minister of Justice on July 21, 1961. Vorster, empowered by Verwoerd, used draconian tactics, torturing prisoners with electric-shock, near suffocation and severe beatings, to gather information about the underground revolutionary organizations.

The increasing political unrest in South Africa caused many foreign investors to have trepidation when deciding whether or not to do business in South Africa in the early 1960s. Jim Hoagland estimates that South Africa's foreign reserves were cut in half when foreign investors

[313] Donald Culverson, *Contesting Apartheid: U.S. Activism, 1960-1987* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999) 37.
[314] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 211.
[315] Massie, Loosing the Bonds, 162.

left; taking over $200 million with them.[316] U.S. corporations did not follow suit. Many chose to remain steadfast to their commitment to South Africa despite the social upheaval that was occurring. Lulat details, "Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to conclude that had it not been for this U.S.-derived financial support the South African economy would have entered a period of deep recession."[317]

When John F. Kennedy was elected president of the United States in 1960, African nationalists believed the Kennedy administration would be more supportive of an independent Africa than previous administration. Lulat acknowledges, "Not surprisingly, those progressive liberals in the United States both black and white, who had advocated a strong anticolonialism policy saw in the election of John F. Kennedy hope for the reversal of previous U.S. policies concerning Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular."[318] Throughout his presidential campaign, Kennedy made appeals to the African American community to secure the black vote in the 1960 election. He spoke against the Eisenhower administration and other Republicans for not passing legislation to end discrimination in federally supported housing. When Martin Luther King Jr. was jailed for sitting in a department store in Birmingham, Kennedy called King's wife Coretta Scott King to express his sympathy.[319] Kennedy also appeared to be poised to bring new ideas to the United States government's foreign policy. Early in his administration, Kennedy parted from the Eisenhower administration by informing Portugal that the U.S. would no longer support their efforts to maintain African colonies. Kennedy also established direct contact with

[316] Jim Hoagland, *South Africa: Civilization in Conflict* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972) 338.
[317] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 70.
[318] Ibid, 162.
[319] John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr. eds. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, 8th Edition* (Boston: McGraw Hill Higher Education, 2000) 529.

African leaders and appointed advocates of anticolonialism to serve in foreign policy governmental positions.[320]

The Kennedy administration did not live up to the perception in regards to the United States' policy towards South Africa. Like presidents that served before him, Kennedy was deeply concerned with preventing the spread of communism in the newly independent African nations. While the South African government supported the practice of an inhumane system, they were still considered allies in the fight against the spread of communism. "For Kennedy, as with all other cold war fanatics before and since, rivalry with the Soviet Union took precedence over such mundane issues as supporting struggles for freedom and democracy."[321] By making the cold war interests paramount in the early 1960s, the United States government during the Kennedy administration mildly, reproved the South African government. Publicly Kennedy and members of his administration would denounce the practice of racial segregation but their words rarely translated into significant legislation or economic sanctions against the South African government.

Two months after the Sharpeville Massacre, African American crooner Nat King Cole publicly decried the South African government. While in Europe, Cole was frequently asked by the press to give his thoughts on racism in the United States. Growing tired of the question, and perhaps feeling as if he were being goaded into providing a salacious quote, Nat King Cole curtly responded by highlighting the racial progress that was taking place in the United States. When a reporter pushed a step further by comparing the racial inequality in the U.S. to South Africa, Cole retorted, "There is no comparison. In the U.S., you can stand up and shout. And, if

[320] Kennedy's appointments included people such as Mennen Williams (Africa Bureau), Chester Bowles (undersecretary of state), Aldai Stevenson (U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations). See Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 162.
[321] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 163.

necessary, stand up and fight. In South Africa, if you stand up you get arrested or shot." He continued by adding, "That government is the lowest in the human race down there and you can quote me."[322]

Nat "King" Cole's ruminations on the race problems in South Africa and the United States are thought-provoking on several different levels. Cole was hesitant to offer a strong critique of U.S. race relations while in Europe. Perhaps Cole was sensitive to the politics that surrounded the Cold War and understood there could be serious ramifications for publicly shaming the United States in front of the international community. Conversely, Cole could have actually been sincere in his belief that race relations in the United States were improving. By May of 1960, when Cole offered his assessment, African Americans had witnessed legislative advances in the civil rights movement; the most notable being, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the cases that led up to that ruling. These gains would suggest to Nat "King" Cole and other African Americans, that one could "stand up and fight" in ways that the South African government would not allow. There are some shortcomings in Cole's claim. In the United States activists did engage in more direct-action tactics after 1960.[323] However those who did often faced violent reprisals not only from white citizens but also from police officers.

Historian Ivan Evans offered a similar argument in his 2009 study, *Cultures of Violence: Lynching and Racial Killing in South Africa and the American South*. Evans contends that a lynch culture developed in the American South that permitted collectives of local whites to perform extra-legal acts of violence against blacks; while, the violence that black South Africans

[322] John J. Casserly, "Nat Cole Defends U.S. Negro Status," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 12, 1960

[323] In the United States sit-ins, marches, and other forms of direct action protests became more common after the Greensboro Four (Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair Jr., David Richmond, and Franklin McCain) touched off a series of sit-ins when they sat at a "Whites only" lunch counter in a Woolworth's store on February 1, 1960. For more see Jill Schlosser, *Remembering Greensboro* (Charleston: The History Press, 2009).

suffered was usually supported by the state and carried out by police officers.[324] The South African government also used censorship to prevent resistance. While this was a common tactic of the South African the government, following Sharpeville any entertainers or works that were deemed to present a threat to the state by the Board of Censors was banned from entering the country. For a variety of reasons, black American entertainers were not permitted to perform before black or white audiences. Racially charged films and albums continued to be banned.

Jazz musician Louis Armstrong was banned from performing in Durban during the fall of 1960. In early September, South African promoter Michael Klisser attempted to secure a visa for Armstrong to perform in Durban. When Klisser posed the question of possibly performing in South Africa, Satchmo responded, "Sure, I'll be glad to come. I am an entertainer, not a politician."[325] Armstrong was in the midst of embarking on a 69 day international tour as an unofficial ambassador for the U.S. State Department; a title he found funny.[326] He scoffed, "They gave me a title just for kicks. I ain't no real White House ambassador."[327] This tour included a November 15th performance in Southern Rhodesia. After seeking a visa for Armstrong, Klisser received a letter from the secretary of external affairs stating, "The department feels it will not be in the interests of the country at this stage to allow the world famous American Negro musician into the country."[328]

The Board of Censors may have been effective in keeping some voices out of South Africa but they could not silent all voices of dissension. Xhosa singer Miriam Makeba was exiled in 1959 and found respite in the United States. In the U.S., actor/singer Harry Belafonte served

[324] Ivan Evans, *Cultures of Violence: Lynching and Racial Killing in South Africa and the American South* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)
[325] "South Africa Visa Sought for Satchmo," *Herald-Journal*, September 5, 1960.
[326] "Names Make News," *Times-Picayune*, October 13, 1960.
[327] Ibid.
[328] "'Satchmo' Barred by South Africa," *The Milwaukee Journal*, September 26, 1960.

as her mentor/sponsor. Makeba toured the United States while offering her testimony about her first-hand experiences living under apartheid. On May 5, 1961, Makeba performed alongside singer Leon Bibb at the Village Gate, a nightclub, in New York. Makeba was initially reluctant to talk about South Africa during her performances. She told the *New York Times* in 1961, "South Africa will always be my home though naturally I don't appreciate segregation. Everyone knows how I feel, but it isn't something I like to talk about."[329] By 1963, Makeba began to be more open to speaking publicly against apartheid in formal settings. In 1963 and 1964, Makeba made statements before the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In 1963, Makeba presented a petition for the release of political prisoners in South Africa alongside ANC president Oliver Tambo and Mary Benson, a South African writer.

Makeba was well-received in the United States as she introduced the U.S. to a new South African, Xhosa-inspired musical style with songs like "Qongqothwane". In 1962, she was invited to perform for President Kennedy's birthday celebration. Makeba's influence was deeply felt in the African American community. In 1966, *the Milwaukee Journal* published an article centering on how Makeba inspired black women in the United States to embrace hairstyles that were natural for African women. Makeba noticed the change. She admitted that when she first arrived to the United States in 1959, she noticed that the "afro" look that she was accustomed to seeing in South Africa was virtually nonexistent in the United States. By 1966 she expressed, "Now I see myself coming and going. And you know—it makes you have a good feeling. It's as though Negro women are finally admitting they're proud of their heritage."[330] Makeba took pride in

[329] Arthur Gelb, "Miriam Makeba and Leon Bibb Open Shows: Singer from South Africa Appears at Village Gate," *New York Times*, May 5, 1961, 24.
[330] New York Times News Service, "South African Singer Inspired Natural Look," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 2, 1966.

African American women embracing their natural look. She modestly credited black women working in the United Nations as the main catalyst for the style's popularity instead of herself.

The events in Sharpeville along with the emergence of newly independent African nations influenced the music that some African Americans began to make. In 1960, percussionist Max Roach and jazz vocalists Abbey Lincoln released an album entitled *We Insist!* This album was created to be an ode to the black freedom struggle. It covered topics ranging from the Emancipation Proclamation, sit-ins, and African independence movements. The last track on the album was created specifically in response to the Sharpeville Massacre entitled "Tears for Johannesburg."

On May 19, 1961, Max Roach took it a step further when he interrupted a Miles Davis benefit concert. Davis was performing at Carnegie Hall for the African Research Foundation (ARF).[331] Roach was suspicious of the white-led ARF. He believed the African Research Foundation had ties to the CIA and were indeed supporters of colonialism. He also was misled to believe the ARF was in cahoots with the South African government. Roach, along with other demonstrators, interrupted Davis' during the beginning of the second half of his performance. Roach and his comrades emerged and sat on the stage when Davis began to play "Someday My Prince Will Come." They held up placards reading, "Africa for the Africans", "Freedom Now", and "Medicine without Murrow Please". Miles Davis was reportedly furious as he stormed off of the stage and returned after security removed the demonstrators. Davis, incensed by the interruption, returned and put on an exceptional show. Roach later apologized to Davis after he was informed that the ARF had not ties to South Africa.[332]

[331] The African Research Foundation was founded in 1957 by three white doctors who were concerned with making healthcare available for independent African nations.
[332] Gerald Early ed., *Miles Davis and American Culture* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2001) 90.

Reactions to Sharpeville were varied**.** One response from the international community to the atrocities of the Sharpeville Massacre came from the Moral Re-Armament (MRA) international force. The MRA was an international moral and spiritual movement developed by American minister Frank Buchman in 1938. Buchman founded the movement with the intent to counter the military re-armament that was taking place in Europe prior to World War II. Buchman argued that while European nations were racing to rearm their militaries, the world would really benefit more so from a revival of morals. The MRA accomplished the goals by creating conferences that featured talks and entertainment focused on what they called the "Four Absolutes" (absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, and absolute love). By the 1950s and 1960s, the MRA began directing its message to newly independent nations in Africa and Asia. The hope was that by bringing groups in conflict together, the MRA could establish a lasting peace while simultaneously countering the spread communism.[333]

In 1962, two years after the Sharpeville Massacre, the MRA gathered the police and black residents who had been attacked during the Sharpeville Massacre together in Sharpeville and Johannesburg. The Sharpeville MRA sessions were part of larger tour of Africa. On the first day of the MRA sessions both parties were invited to watch a special screening of the MRA produced feature film *The Crowning Experience* (1960). African American actress Muriel Smith starred in *The Crowning Experience* as the main character "Emma Tremaine". The film was loosely based on the life African American educator and political leader Mary McLeod Bethune. Uncharacteristically, the National Board of Film Censors in South Africa approved the film to be

[333] For more information on the Moral Rearmament movement please see: Frank Buchman, *The Revolutionary Path: Moral Re-armament in the Thinking of Frank Buchman* (London: Grosevenor Books, 1975); Garth Lean, *Frank Buchman: a Life* (London: Constable, 1985); Daniel Sack, Moral Re-Armament: The Reinventions of an American Religious Movement (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Philip Boobbyer, *The Spiritual Vision of Frank Buchman* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

screened in South Africa with no conditions.[334] The film was well received by the audiences in both Mfolo Hall in Johannesburg and in Sharpeville.[335]

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Albert J. Luthuli issued a joint statement through the American Committee on Africa in 1962. The statement emphasized how urgent the situation in South Africa was becoming following the Sharpeville Massacre and subsequent acts of violence perpetrated by the state against its' own citizens. King and Luthuli foresaw two outcomes for the future of South Africa. One option, which they determined to be deleterious for the future of the country, was an armed rebellion. They argued that an armed rebellion may be "workable" but, "mass racial extermination will destroy the potential for interracial unity in South Africa and elsewhere."[336] Instead of the first option, Luthuli and King suggested that South Africa should transition to a society based upon equality for all without regards to color because this solution represented "sanity." Luthuli and King issued a call for the people around the world to collectively place South Africa in quarantine by holding demonstrations, divesting and refusing to buy South Africa's products. Luthuli also made a direct appeal to the United Nations to enact an economic boycott of South Africa.[337]

Despite these appeals, some entertainers continued to perform in South Africa. African American boxer Joe "Old Bones" Brown was the first African American to fight in South Africa. From November 21, 1964 to February 27, 1965, Brown had four fights against black South African opponents. His first two fights in South Africa against Levi Madi and Joas Maoto were in Orlando Stadium. His last two fights against Levi Madi and Joe N'Gidi took place in Green

[334] "Bethune-Based Film Set for S. Africa," *JET Magazine*, December 29, 1960, 20.
[335] "Multi-Racial Reception for MRA in South Africa," *Atlanta Daily World*, March 27, 1962, p.8.
[336] Martin Luther King Jr. and Albert Luthuli, "Appeal for Action against Apartheid," edited by E.S. Reddy, 1962, Box Cx-United States of America 1946-1992, E.S. Reddy Papers, University of Witwatersrand-William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg, South Africa.
[337] David Whittaker, *United Nations in Action* (London: UCL Press, 1995) 164.

Point Track (Cape Town) and Wembley Stadium (Johannesburg) respectively. Brown left South Africa with a 3-1 record against his South African opponents.[338] Brown returned to South Africa in 1966 for four additional fights.

South Africa's Board of Censors banned Lena Horne's *Here's Lena Now!* and Randy Weston's *Uhuru Afrika* albums in 1964. Copies of the records were seized in Cape Town and Johannesburg.[339] Horne's album was deemed a threat because it contained songs about the civil rights movement. *Here's Lena Now!* was Horne's album released thirty years after her debut album. The album contained optimistic messages about seeking freedom. The album's standout track "Now!" was a call to action for the United States government to live up to the ideals of equality that were written in the U.S. constitution. The songs main refrain states that justice for all had been put off long enough and the time for justice is "Now!" Weston's, album *Uhuru Afrika* (Freedom Africa), was a jazz album that Weston intended to be an expression of his Black nationalistic inclinations. The Board of Censors issued a warning that going forward from the Horne and Weston ban, they would be carefully examining all records featuring African American artists, particularly those that use the word "freedom" in the title.[340]

The Board of Censors may have been effective in preventing overt messages that challenged apartheid from getting through but African American entertainers were still able in some instances to covertly aid the anti-apartheid movement. Perhaps one of the more radical examples occurred when African American boxer Rubin "Hurricane" was invited to fight black South African boxer Joe Ngidi in September 1965. When he arrived to Johannesburg, Carter

[338] "Joe Brown Beats South African Champ" *Chicago Tribune,* November 22, 1964, B8; "Joe Brown is Easy Winner in South African 10-Rounder," *New York Times*, February 10, 1965, 37; "Joe Ngidi Wins," *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, February 28, 1965, C1. "Joe Brown Loses Decision," *New York Times,* February 28, 1965. S2; "Joe Brown of Houston Loses to Ngidi in 10," *Chicago Tribune*, February 28, 1965, B3.
[339] "South Africa Bans Lena Horne Disc," *New York Amsterdam New*, October 3, 1964.
[340] Ibid.

admittedly knew very little about the political situation in South Africa. Chance worked in his favor as future leader of the black consciousness movement, Steve Biko, was selected to be his guide. Throughout their time together, Biko educated Carter about South African oppression. Carter experienced this first-hand when he was almost arrested for being outside after curfew without a pass. Biko even took Carter to an underground ANC meeting. Carter won the fight against Ngidi and was celebrated by black fans who clamored to see him after the fight. When the mob escalated and became unruly police intervened. The sight of seeing white police officers pummel black South Africans, even if it was for his personal safety, angered Rubin Carter.[341]

Carter left Johannesburg determined to make a contribution to the anti-apartheid movement. He arranged with South African promoters to schedule a fight with another African American boxer Ernie Buford in Johannesburg in February 1966. In his autobiography entitled, *Eyes of the Hurricane* (2011), Carter testifies that he was primarily motivated to go back to South Africa to covertly provide aid to the African National Congress. While preparing for his fight against Ernie Buford, Carter bought firearms on the blackmarket in New Jersey and New York. Carter claims that he bought enough weapons to fill four duffel bags filled with guns, which he snuck into South Africa and handed over to members of the ANC. Carter later reminisced, "Only luck saved me from being discovered."[342]

Most artists in the United States chose less directly confrontational approaches. A distinct development that occurred during the 1960 that had not taken place previously was the willingness of entertainers, in mass, to join anti-apartheid organizations. Not only were the artists and entertainers eager to aid the anti-apartheid organizations, but the organizations they joined

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[341] James Hirsch, *Hurricane: The Miraculous Journey of Rubin Carter* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000) 82-83.
[342] Rubin Carter, *Eye of the Hurricane: My Path from Darkness to Freedom* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2011) 83.

developed platforms that focused on how entertainers specifically could aid the cause through their art. In 1965, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) circulated a declaration entitled, "We Say No to Apartheid". The declaration posited that, "in solemn resolve to refuse any encouragement of, or indeed and personal or professional association with, the present Republic of South Africa: this until the day when all its people – black and white – shall equally enjoy the educational and cultural advantages of this rich and lovely land."[343]

Under the ACOA's boycott, artists and sculptors agreed to not allow their works to be exhibited in any South African exhibitions. Novelists, poets and essayists agreed not to permit their books to be published in South Africa. Playwrights agreed to prevent performances of their plays in South Africa. Performing artists would not perform on stage in South Africa or participate in making films there. Composers, conductors and musicians pledged to not conduct or perform music in South Africa or allow performances of their work there. Lastly film producers agreed to prevent their films from being shown in South Africa.[344] The ACOA posted a list of singers, authors, musicians, actors, and writers who supported the cultural boycott on the last page of the declaration. African American artists who endorsed the pledge included: Harry Belafonte, Leon Bibb, Godfrey Cambridge, Diahanne Carroll, Dorothy Dandridge, Ossie Davis, Ruby Davis, Sammy Davis Jr., Ruby Dee, Lena Horne, Langston Hughes, Eartha Kitt, Miriam Makeba, Johnny Mathis, Frederick O'Neal, Odetta, Sidney Poitier, Paul Robeson, George Shirley, and Nina Simone.

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[343] "Artists Pledge South African Boycott" *Africa Today*, Vol. 12, No.4 (April 1965): 20.
[344] American Committee on Africa, "We Say No to Apartheid – A Declaration of American Artists," *Africa Action Archive*, October 18, 1965, 2, http://www.aluka.org/action/showMetadata?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.acoa000277 (accessed May 27, 2014).

The Actor's Equity Association followed the American Committee on Africa's Declaration of American Artists with another pledge to boycott South Africa as long as apartheid rule existed.[345] Actor's Equity, under the leadership of its president actor Frederick O' Neal issued a Declaration of American Artists stating, "We say no to Apartheid."[346]

In 1968, the United Nations appalled by the increasing level of violence in South Africa argued that the international campaign needed to be intensified. In efforts to do so, The UN adopted Resolution 2396. The resolution called for, among other things, nations around the world to condemn apartheid, provide financial assistance to the South African liberation movement, and for the General Assembly to maintain and publicize a register of all information on acts of brutality committed by the South African government against those who opposed apartheid. With Resolution 2396, the UN also heeded Huddleston and Luthuli suggestions and encouraged, "all states and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."[347] In less than two decades, the cultural boycott of South Africa had grown from a passing idea proffered by Rev. Trevor Huddleston, to an international boycott supported by the United Nations.

The growing support of the cultural boycott in the United States, presented a dilemma for American entertainers. Artists who were traditionally used to basing their livelihood off of performing for as many people as possible were being asked to work against their own self-

[345] Actors' Equity (also known as the Actors' Equity Association) is a labor union that represents actors and managers involved in live theatrical performances. The organization has existed since 1913. Frederick O'Neal was the first African American president of Actors' Equity. He served from 1964 to 1973.

[346] American Committee on Africa, "Stars' Party Launches Anti-Apartheid Declaration," June 8, 1966, American Committee on Africa Records, 1948-1987, Box 40 Folder 44, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[347] United Nations General Assembly Resolutions, 1968. Resolution 2396, The policies of apartheid in the Government of South Africa. In *Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Special Political Committee*[Online]. Available http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/243/56/IMG/NR024356.pdf?OpenElement (last accessed August 8, 2015).

interest. For African American entertainers, there seemed to be an added layer of confusion. As part of the marginalized group, African Americans seeking to express racial solidarity were at times confused about the best course of action. The question emerged in the black press, if black entertainers should observe the boycott or not. To observe the boycott would be a deviation from what African American entertainers of past generations had done. Yet, it was becoming increasingly clear that performing in South Africa had not done much to improve the lives of the black South African masses beyond providing a few victories which proved to be ineffective in eradicating apartheid.

The United States government was also exploring ideas about the best course of political engagement with South Africa as well. In 1969, Henry Kissinger and the National Security Council presented President Richard Nixon and his administration options for developing a new Southern African foreign policy known as National Security Study Memorandum No. 39 (NSSM-39). NSSM-39, secretly referred to as the "Tar Baby" option, was crafted by Kissinger's aid, Roger Morris. This memorandum opened by detailing how crucial it was for the United States to consider how interaction with South Africa could jeopardize standing with other African nations and future political interests in the continent because the United States government's current policy appeared as though U.S. tacitly supported racism. This new policy posited that the overall objective of United States' approach to South Africa should be to improve the United States' standing with independent African nations and minimize the escalation of violence in southern Africa. Kissinger also believed that it was imperative for the U.S. to minimize the chances of the USSR and China gaining influence on newly independent

African nations and spreading communism by exploiting the shortcomings of the United States' passive acceptance of white minority rule in South Africa.[348]

The National Security Study Memorandum No. 39 (NSSM-39) outlined six possible options for the administration to consider. The options included the following:

> Movement towards normal relations with the white regimes to protect and enhance our economic, strategic and scientific interests (Option 1). Broader association with both black and white states in an effort to encourage moderation in the white states, to enlist cooperation of the black states in reducing tensions and the likelihood of increasing cross-border violence, and to encourage improved relations among states in area (Option 2). Increased identification with and support for the black states of the region, as a pre-condition to pursuit of our minimum necessary economic, strategic and scientific interests in the white states (Option 3). Limited association with the white states and closer association with the blacks in an effort to retain some economic, scientific and strategic interests in the white states while maintaining a posture on the racial issue which the blacks will accept, though opposing violent solutions to the problems of the region (Option 4). Dissociation from the white regimes with closer relations with the black states in an effort to enhance our standing on the racial issue in Africa and internationally (Option 5). Increased U.S. measures of coercion, short of armed force, bilaterally and on an international basis, to induce constructive change in white-regime race policies (Option 6).[349]

The Nixon administration selected Option 2. This policy departed from the Kennedy/Johnson administrations which verbally chastised the South African government. Instead this approach maintained that it was in the best economic and political interests of the United States to maintain diplomatic ties with South Africa. It was proffered that this approach was the most effective way of producing moderate change in South Africa's race relations. Under the Nixon administration, U.S. businesses were encouraged to invest in South Africa. This position parted from the Johnson administration's position of neutrality.[350] It was hoped that

[348] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 177.
[349] National Security Council interdepartmental Group for Africa, "Study in Response to National Security Study Memorandum 39: Southern Africa," December 9, 1969, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume XXVIII, Southern Africa, *Office of the Historian*, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v28/d17, accessed December 14, 2017.
[350] Lulat, *U.S. Relations with South Africa*, 179.

through the growth of U.S. business relationships with South Africa, apartheid would be undermined by enlightened business practices. In other words, U.S. businesses would take the lead in demonstrating to the South African government and business owners a fairer way for them to treat their exploited black worker populations; a practice that many African Americans would complain had not been actualized in the United States.

Tennis player Arthur Ashe's experiences with the South African government reveal the conundrum athletes faced trying to navigate the cultural boycott of South Africa. During the 1964 Wimbledon championships in England, two tennis players from the Soviet Union, Alex Metreveli and Istvan Gulyas refused to play against South African tennis player Abe Segal because of the country he represented. The Associated press asked for Ashe's opinion on the forfeits and the young twenty-year old amateur athlete from UCLA criticized Metreveli and Gulyas for not playing against Segal. Ashe clearly stated that he opposed apartheid but he also suggested that Metreveli and Gulyas were punishing Segal for decisions that were out of his control and made by the South African government.[351] He also expressed to reporters that it was important to keep politics and sports separate. Sam Lacy of the *Baltimore Afro-American* criticized Ashe for his response. Lacy wrote that Ashe, still a UCLA student at the time, was "educationally puerile or politically naïve" for taking his position.[352]

There appears to be some merit behind Lacy's criticism. Four years later, Ashe reconsidered his position when there was a possibility of the 1968 Davis Cup taking place in South Africa. When questioned about whether or not he would participate in the Davis Cup if it were to take place in South Africa, Ashe changed from his original positon. He told the press that

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[351] Eric Allen Hall, *Arthur Ashe: Tennis Justice in the Civil Rights Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014) 61-62.
[352] Sam Lacy, "A Communist without a Card" *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 30, 1964.

he was considering not playing in the Davis Cup if it were to take place in South Africa. Reflecting on his previous positon, Ashe admitted, "When you're not as secure, you're more selfish. I had too much to lose then—I realize it now. But I'm more sure of myself now, and I have to speak out."[353]

Part of Ashe's confidence to take more public stances may have been derived from his the success he was enjoying in his tennis career. In 1968, Ashe was still a year away from going pro, yet his tennis career was soaring to uncharted territory. He was ranked the number one tennis player in the world in 1968 after he became the first African American to win the U.S. Open. Ashe's success in tennis, a sport that had seen few African American stars, placed him in a unique position. He was a standout in more ways than one. Throughout his prime he was frequently asked questions about his opinion on racial issues. Ashe, at times, resented being the singled out and forced into the role of being the "black" tennis player instead of just a tennis player but he did not shy from offering his opinions on race matters.

Ashe's opinions were uniquely independent at a time when more athletes were beginning to speak through collective action. His willingness to stand alone at times placed him at odds with other African American activists. When discussing the Davis Cup in 1968 Ashe honestly admitted, "Perhaps I had better withdraw. The White South Africans don't like to watch a Negro on the court and non-whites don't like me to appear together with whites. I don't' know what to do."[354] Ashe's individuality can be seen in his response to Harry Edwards' campaign. In 1968, sociologist Harry Edwards organized African American athletes to threaten to boycott the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City unless certain conditions were met. Under Harry Edwards'

[353] Bud Collins, "Tennis Ace Ashe to Quit U.S. Team?: Ponders Boycott against S. Africa," *The Boston Globe*, March 9, 1968, p. 1
[354] John Wosner, "Ashe Doubtful Starter," *The Jerusalem Post*, July 12, 1968 4.

leadership the OPHR aimed for the boycott to be a means of voicing concerns about issues that continued to negatively affect the blacks throughout the Diaspora.

The OPHR called for South African athletes to be banned from the 1968 Olympics.[355] Edwards approached Ashe about joining the OPHR. Ashe informed Edwards that he agreed with the principles of OPHR but he could not support the boycott because he believed the boycott would hurt the Olympians. Although Ashe did not agree to support the OPHR's boycott, he did sign a petition supporting a boycott of the Olympic Games by African athletes. The petition was put together by the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA); a union of African nations who threatened not to participate in the 1968 Olympics if South Africa was readmitted. By signing the petition, Ashe showed solidarity with thirty other amateur and professional athletes which included other famous American athletes Wilt Chamberlin, Oscar Robertson and Jim Bouton.[356] The international pressure put on the IOC proved to be effective. Hartmann acknowledges, "For months, the IOC, under the direction of President Avery Brundage, had tried to maintain its original decision to readmit South Africa. But on April 20, with thirty-nine nations having affirmed their intention to boycott…the executive board of the IOC finally (if reluctantly) consented to poll its members regarding the withdrawal of the invitation to South Africa."[357]

Ashe sparked an international controversy in 1969 when he attempted to play in the South African Open. In March 1969, Ashe applied for a visa so he could play. Ashe was approved by the South African Lawn Tennis Union but denied entry by South African Minister

[355] In 1964, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) banned South Africa from participating in the Summer Olympic Games because of the nation's practice of apartheid in sport; they refused to field an integrated team. By 1967 the IOC, under the leadership of Avery Brundage, began considering reinstating South Africa. The ACOA along with newly independent African nations took issue with South Africa being readmitted while still engaging in discriminatory practices. Black and white athletes trained in different locations and had to compete in separate Olympic trial events. For more see: Douglas Hartmann, *Race Culture and the Revolt of the Black Athlete: the 1968 Olympic Protests and their Aftermath* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) 106-107.
[356] Hall, *Arthur Ashe*, 87.
[357] Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*, 132.

of Sports Frank Waring. Waring doubted the tennis star's intentions for visiting South Africa were purely sports related. South African politicians looking to build a case that Arthur Ashe was determined to dismantle apartheid could find plenty of ammunition based on statements Ashe had made against South Africa. In 1968, Ashe remarked that an H-bomb ought to be dropped on Johannesburg.[358]

Ashe also had strong detractors in the United States who were displeased with how outspoken he was on civil rights issues. One reader of *World Tennis* magazine wrote the publication to voice his displeasure with the magazine's support of Ashe. The reader characterized Ashe as an "albatross around the neck of tennis."[359] Conservative senator Jesse Helms also came out against Ashe. On February 6, 1970 Helms delivered his editorial comments on WRAL-TV, local news channel in North Carolina. Helms suggested, "But the plain truth is that Arthur Ashe was not barred from South Africa because he is black. He was denied entry because he had been repeatedly insulting to South Africa."[360]

Politicians who supported Ashe's cause also received vitriolic responses from other Americans who believed Ashe was engaging in an endeavor that would ultimately prove to be fruitless. One citizen wrote a vitriolic letter to Charles Diggs. The letter stated:

> I have just read in the paper of your upset over the Negro tennis player and South Africa. Why not stop trying to tell other countries how to run their affairs. South Africa has a much better record than the United States. Why don't you stop feeling sorry for being a Negro. Do something for the betterment of everyone and then start to be proud of your race—after you earn something.[361]

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[358] Hall, *Arthur Ashe*, 107;
[359] J.J. Taylor/Taylor Lumber & Land Co., "J.J. Taylor Letter to *World Tennis*," February 19, 1970, Records of the House of the Sub-Committee on Africa in the Charles Diggs Papers, Box 201, Folder 16, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington D.C.
[360] Jesse Helms/WRAL-TV: Viewpoint, "Editorial," February 6, 1970, Records of the House of the Sub-Committee on Africa in the Charles Diggs Papers, Box 201, Folder 16, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington D.C.
[361] Leon Clark, "Letter to Charles Diggs," February 9, 1970, Records of the House of the Sub-Committee on Africa in the Charles Diggs Papers, Box 201, Folder 16, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington D.C.

In his 1993 memoir *Days of Grace,* Arthur Ashe reflected on what led him to join the anti-apartheid movement. "The core of my opposition to apartheid was undoubtedly my memory of growing up under segregation in Virginia." Ashe continued, "The whites ONLY signs in Johannesburg shocked me back to the days when I could play tennis Brook Field Park with other blacks or with a visiting white player looking for a good game, but not in the many better-equipped public courts."[362] Ashe's recollection typifies the deeply rooted historical connection that motivated several African American entertainers to join the anti-apartheid struggle.

Soul singer Percy Sledge had an entirely different experience than Ashe in regards to acquiring a visa to travel to South Africa. For Sledge, the government relaxed restrictions and welcomed Sledge to South Africa during the summer of 1970. Promoter Ron Quibell negotiated the terms between South Africa's Department of the Interior and Percy Sledge. The Department of the Interior permitted Quibell to stage the concerts with the stipulation that he and Sledge observe apartheid policy by keeping the performances segregated. In compliance with apartheid, Quibell organized the concerts to be exclusively for non-white audiences only. The "When a Man Loves a Woman," singer was approved to perform for eight weeks at the Luxurama Theater in Cape Town, a theater that was built and managed by Quibell.[363] It was estimated that Sledge stood to earn $19,000 dollars by performing for non-white Cape Town patrons.[364]

Quibell did not face any difficulty in securing an audience for Percy Sledge because he was immensely popular in South Africa. His records sold well there and he was just four years into the new found international fame he received after the release of his hit record, "When a

[362] Arthur Ashe, *Days of Grace: a Memoir* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993) 123.
[363] Dave Novick, "Place to Go, and People See: Cape Town," *Milwaukee Star*, July 25, 1970; Raphael Wolf, "Landmark Luxurama up for sale," *Southern Mail*, August 28, 2013, 12.
[364] "South Africa Relaxes Curb on Percy Sledge Audiences," *The New York Time*, June 11, 1971, P.51.

Man Loves a Woman."[365] Both, the non-white and white populations, in South Africa embraced the thought of Sledge's arrival to Cape Town. South African author Philip Hummel recalled, "Percy Sledge was the 'King of Soul in South Africa' and became a major cult figure as well. His appeal was so widespread that the Pepsi Cola Company asked him to launch a new soda drink called 'TEEM.'"[366] Another reason the anticipation for Sledge's arrival was high amongst South Africans was because the cultural boycott created a void in international entertainers who were willing to perform in South Africa.

Ironically, Sledge's concert was one of the few times when racial segregation hampered the access that white South Africans could have to a commodity. Because the concerts were approved for non-white audiences only, whites who wanted to see Sledge were denied. Quibell, who was not only the promoter of the concert but also the manager of the Luxurama theater, was bombarded with phone calls from whites seeking to procure tickets to hear Sledge days after he arrived. Quibell detailed, "The telephones haven't stopped ringing. Our switchboard operators are going mad."[367] Some white South Africans even attempted to sneakily bypass apartheid policy in efforts to witness the "King of Soul." Reports emerged in South Africa and in the United States about white South Africans who attempted to gain entry into the event by wearing wigs, darkening their faces with cork, and wearing veils. Some even resorted to threats and acts of violence when they were turned away at the door. [368]

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[365] Pamela Diamond, "Top U.S. Musicians Break S.A. Boycott," 1970, Box 8 Folder 17, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries.
[366] Philip Hummel, *My Life Growing Up White during Apartheid South Africa*, (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2011) 38.
[367] Pamela Diamond, "Apartheid in Reverse," *Guardian Weekly*, June 6, 1970, Box 8 Folder 17, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries.
[368] "Aretha Ignores Critics; Resets South Africa Tour, 1972," *Jet Magazine*, 55; Dave Novick, "Places to Go and People to See," *Milwaukee Star*, July 25, 1970.

The large number of white South Africans who attempted to try to gain entry to the concert prompted Quibell to seek approval from the Department of the Interior for an expansion of Sledge's concert series. An expansion seemed like it would be a win for all parties involved. It would give Quibell and Sledge a chance to make more money; which would in turn financially benefit the South African government. Non-white South Africans would still be able to see Percy Sledge perform. Lastly, Sledge's throng of white supporters would have a chance to attend concerts that were designated solely for them. The Department of the Interior approved Quibell's request and Sledge was granted approval to stay and perform in South Africa for six months.[369] Upon receiving the extension, Quibell scheduled segregated performances for both white and black audiences.

Activists on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean took issue with Sledge's willingness to break the cultural boycott for his own financial benefit by subjecting himself to performing before segregated audiences. The American Committee on Africa (ACOA) published a press release condemning Sledge's decision. They surmised, "The presence of Sledge as an entertainer in the Republic of South Africa means that Sledge and the managerial machinery behind him accept the racist system of apartheid as created and controlled by the white minority police state there."[370] The ACOA encouraged their supporters to write to Percy Sledge and his managers to voice their opinions about Sledge's willingness to break the cultural boycott.

South African disciples of the Black Consciousness Movement were also disappointed in Sledge's decision to accept the money. As historian Daniel Magaziner notes, "Percy Sledge's visit to Johannesburg in 1970 generated some of the earliest name-calling of the Black

[369] "Sledge Will 'Soul' to Whites," *Cape Times*, June 11, 1970, Box 8 Folder 17, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries.
[370] American Committee on Africa, "Cultural Boycott of Racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge Sells Souls," July 16, 1970, Box 8 Folder 17, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries. P.1

Consciousness era…For his sins, the poet James Matthews declared Sledge little better than a clown—the purportedly 'big black cat from America' who in truth wanted nothing more than to be a 'pseudo-white.'"[371] In Cape Town, twenty-five men who were described as "Coloured" organized a meeting to petition against Sledge's "white only" concerts. Dawood Khan, a non-White Cape Town city councilor, argued that apartheid law was being amended to appease whites in a way that would never be considered for blacks in South Africa.[372]

Ron Quibell responded quickly to the criticism. As the promoter of the concert series Quibell objected, "If Mr. Khan had shown any interest previously, he would be aware that, since I have been in business, all my White shows have been shown before non-White Audiences." He continued, "As for Percy Sledge, I have just spoken to him. He says he wants to sing to the Whites, the Coloured people and the Africans—to everybody in South Africa who buys his records."[373] Quibell ardently defended his business. He made statements to the press to argue that the exception the government made for Percy Sledge was not an anomaly. He pointed to recent shows such as, "Fiddler on the Roof," and "The Boy Friend" as examples of times when the government permitted him to allow non-whites to attend "white only shows."[374] When asked by reporters if he would consider bringing more African American artists to South Africa, Quibell stated that he would consider it depending on how well Sledge's tour went and whether or not the government was pleased at the conclusion of the concert series.[375]

Not all government officials in South Africa supported Sledge's performance for white South Africans. In Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, Sledge was denied

[371] Daniel Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010) 145.
[372] "Don't Sell 'Soul' to Whites, They Say," *Cape Times*, July 16, 1970, Box 8 Folder 17, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Ibid.
[375] "Sledge Will 'Soul' to Whites," *Cape Times*, June 11, 1970

permission to appear in Bloemfontein City Hall. A clerk explained that Sledge was denied because, "City Council regulations expressly forbade the presence of nonwhites in the City Hall unless they were working or cleaning up there."[376] Upon hearing the news that he would not be able to perform in Bloemfontein, Sledge vapidly retorted, "Man, these cats think this ain't work!"[377] He did not offer any criticism of the decision or apartheid beyond his terse reply. Even with the loss of one show in Bloemfontein, Sledge made an estimated $35,000, almost double what he was initially projected to earn when the tour opened to non-white South Africans only.[378]

Percy Sledge's reaction to being blocked from performing for whites in Bloemfontein City Hall, is emblematic of his unwillingness to take a political stance against apartheid. During his time in South Africa, he did not challenge or criticize apartheid. Sledge received "honorary white" treatment in South Africa. He stayed in luxurious hotels that were previously only accessible to whites. In fact, Sledge even lent his name and image to marketing for a white-owned furniture retailer while in South Africa. The furniture advertisement contained a quote from Sledge stating, "I dig you the most that's why I can recommend the Percy Sledge Health Mattress and Bed set."[379] Sledge's silence was conspicuous. It was not as if Sledge was completely shielded from the racial animosity throughout his tour. In Cape Town, Sledge was met with jeers and bigoted comments after he autographed the thigh of a South African Coloured woman who was mistaken as being white. Carol Busch defensively responded to the verbal attacks telling the press and dissenters to leave her thighs out of politics.[380]

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[376] "Apartheid Blocks a Show by Sledge," *New York Times*, July 14, 1970, 33.
[377] Ibid.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, 145.

[380] "Leg Art," *Jet Magazine*, August 20, 1970, 39.

A year after his concert series in South Africa, Sledge sat down for an interview with African American writer Orde Coombs and the *New York Times*. Sledge revealed to Combs that prior to traveling to South Africa that he did not know anything about apartheid. He added, "I had heard about it, but I didn't know anything."[381] Coombs then asked Sledge if he was informed about the 1965 cultural boycott backed by the American Committee on Africa. Sledge responded in a similar fashion; he heard about it but did not know about it. During this point in the interview one of Sledge's managers Phil Walden interjected, "the South African deal was too lucrative to pass up."[382] Upon hearing this statement Coombs followed up by asking Sledge if he only went to South Africa for the money. Sledge clarified, "I went to entertain all those people who by my records, the people who keep me in bread."[383]

Sledge also explained that he had limited interaction with black people in South Africa because he mainly stayed in his hotel. He testified that most of the conversations that he had with people in South Africa focused mainly on music and life in the United States and not politics. Coombs concluded the interview by asking if Sledge experienced any disturbances. Sledge's answer demonstrates how the social status of African American entertainers acted as a buffer against the harsh realities of apartheid. Sledge also recalled that when he was at the airport in Johannesburg, white people looked at him strange until they found out he was an entertainer. Ultimately Coombs left the interview with Sledge feeling despondent. From the interview he deduced that Sledge was disconnected from the anti-apartheid movement. Coombs deduced from the meeting that Sledge, "would rather not know about politics and would rather not face the realities of injustice. He is sensitive and apolitical and he cannot see his actions as having any

[381] Orde Coombs, "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa?: Sledge in South Africa," *New York Times*, June 27, 1971, D19.
[382] Ibid.
[383] Ibid.

currency beyond his immediate world. He just wants to sing his songs and enjoy the swiftness and rigors of his life."[384]

Sledge's financial success prompted other African American entertainers to take a second look at the possibility of performing in South Africa. Ruth Bowen, president of the Queen's Booking Agency, moved quickly after Sledge's concert to set up concerts with South African promoters for other African American entertainers such as Brook Benton, James Brown, Lea Roberts, Judy Clay, The Isley Brothers and Timothy Wilson.[385] For Bowen and the Queen's Booking Agency the money was a large motivating factor for going against the cultural boycott. *The New Amsterdam News* reported that Bowen was being offered more money for her artists by South African promoters than even Vegas offered.[386]

The Chicago chapter of the American Committee on Africa criticized Bowen's artists and the booking agency for breaking the cultural boycott for profit. Bowen defended her positon in *Jet Magazine*. In July 29, 1971, Bowen defensively retorted, "That committee which is headed by a white man, called me. I told them that I am Black and explain to me why a Black entertainer can't entertain Blacks only."[387] Bowen justified accepting South African contracts by arguing that artists are not politician or civil rights leaders. Rather Bowen argued they are, "only show business persons who have a dedicated concern for the rights of all Blacks."[388] Bowen also tried to assuage the concerns of anti-apartheid activists by assuring them that the artists she represented would only play for black audiences. Bowen added, "I am opposed to Black artists going over there to entertain Black audiences, then white audiences. I would shoot any of my

[384] Ibid.
[385] "Denies White Agent Booked Ali's $300,000 South African Tour, *Jet Magazine*, August 26, 1971, 56.
[386] Billy Rowe, "Billy Rowe's Notebook: On South African Ways," *New York Amsterdam News*, November 6, 1971, D2.
[387] "Aretha Ignores Critics; Resets South Africa Tour, January, 1972" *Jet Magazine*, July 29, 1971, 55.
[388] "Denies White Agent Booked Ali's $300,000 South African Tour," *Jet Magazine*, August 26, 1971, 56.

acts that did it. But we are not going to deny our Black brothers over there from seeing our acts."[389]

Bowen's comment indicates that she felt the American Committee on Africa was not constituted to represent the concerns of black populations in South Africa or America. She took issue with being told by a white-led organization that black artists could not perform for their "brothers and sisters." This argument would be repeated by African Americans who decided to go against the cultural boycott. The strict enforcement of the cultural boycott did not make exceptions for race. For Bowen black entertainers performing for black South Africans was an expression of racial solidarity. Bowen may have been a little duplicitous in her assertion that African Americans should be able to perform for the brothers and sisters; after all there was still the expectation that her artists would receive financial remuneration for performances, but her assertion highlighted one of the shortcomings of the cultural boycott during its early years.

One of the Queens Booking Agency's top artists, Aretha Franklin was set to follow Percy Sledge with a South African tour of her own in 1971. The "Queen of Soul" originally was scheduled to sing in South Africa for a month for $15, 000 a week.[390] Boston NAACP president Jack E. Robinson came out in strong opposition to the proposed tour. He threatened that stars who ventured to South Africa would be prevented from performing in Massachusetts. The *Bay State Banner* (African American news weekly established in 1965) responded to Robinson by asserting, "We disagree with Robinson. We don't think black South Africans should be denied their artistry because they live under a repressive government."[391] They argued that placing the focus on Franklin and other African American entertainers was misguided because these artists were doing there small part to ease the effect of apartheid on the black populations in South

[389] "Aretha Ignores Critics; Resets South Africa Tour, January, 1972," 55.
[390] "Aretha Mum after Tour Cancellation," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, July 22, 1971, A8.
[391] "The aim is off," *Bay State Banner*, September 9, 1971: 4.

Africa. The Chicago chapter of the American Committee on Africa also criticized Franklin. Franklin found herself caught in the middle of the cultural battle. Under the direction of Bowen, Franklin initially decided to postpone her South Africa tour until January 1972.[392]

Franklin sought council before making the decision about performing in South Africa. Franklin asked Miriam Makeba for her opinion about performing in South Africa. Makeba advised Franklin to not go to South Africa. In her autobiography *Makeba: The Miriam Makeba Story* Makeba detailed her conversation with Franklin:

> Reverend Jesse Jackson, to come to New York for the founding of his new organization, People United to Save Humanity - PUSH. The American singer Aretha Franklin, whom I admire, is coordinating the guest list. After the Operation PUSH ceremony, she invites us to a birthday party she is throwing for herself at the Americana Hotel." I wish her a happy birthday, and she says, 'Miriam, I need your advice. I've been asked to go to South Africa.' In an instant my mask of sociability drops. When it comes to this subject, I am always very honest.
>
> "The authorities back home love to gain status and boost their image by bringing international stars to perform in the clubs - clubs that are for whites only. The UN has finally applied limited sanctions against South Africa, and one of these forbids artists from performing there. But the Americans I speak to don't seem to know anything the UN does. I hope that Aretha does not want me to give her my blessing for her trip. But I don't have to worry; she seems to be sincerely concerned if it is right.
>
> "I tell her, 'Aretha, you are the Queen – the Queen of Soul. You have a big name, and you are loved everywhere. I don't think you need a concert in South Africa. Whether you know it or not, you'd be helping the people who oppress our brothers and sisters. No artists can go to South Africa without getting dirty herself. It's true what they say, you can't roll around with pigs and not end up covered with mud.'"[393]

After her conversation with Makeba, Aretha Franklin cancelled the tour.

Cecil Franklin, Aretha's brother, later explained that the South Africa tour was cancelled because the controversy surrounding the trip grew to be too much. Feeling overwhelmed by strong responses that appeared to be coming from conservatives and liberals, Aretha and her management elected to distance themselves from the debate completely. Beyond being dismayed

[392] "Aretha Ignores Critics; Resets South Africa Tour, January, 1972," 55.
[393] Miriam Makeba, *Makeba: My Story* (New York: New American Library, 1987) 115.

at the vitriolic statements and animus directed towards his sister, Cecil Franklin was miffed that the family's past contributions to the civil rights struggle were being overlooked. In his opinion, the Franklin family had always supported freedom with zero-tolerance for bigotry. The South Africa question was one of the rare occasions where it seemed as if Aretha Franklin was choosing to work against the best interest of black people. Cecil Franklin wanted to dispel that notion by stating, "Our mission in South Africa was to point out the moral bankruptcy of apartheid, not endorse it."[394]

Muhammad Ali was another African American entertainer who many perceived as a civil rights activist who stumbled on the South Africa question. Ali drew a lot of ire from black anti-apartheid organizations when news reports emerged about him potentially leading a lecture series and an exhibition fight in South Africa. During the summer of 1971, Ruth Bowen negotiated a contract on Ali's behalf with black South African promoters Philip Tshabalala and Jackson Morley Benoni. The lecture series would allow Ali to earn close to $300,000 for giving ten lectures from December 2, 1971 to January 2, 1972.[395] Ali initially was receptive to the idea of delivering lectures, despite having to conduct them before a segregated audience.

Ali's agent, Richard Fulton, described the opportunity as "incredible." From the onset Fulton made it clear that the lectures would be of a non-political nature. He informed the press that Ali was not going to South Africa to cause trouble; rather he would just share his philosophies.[396] When asked directly if he would venture into a discussion of political issues during his lectures, Ali responded by stating that South Africa's apartheid policies were an

[394] David Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2014)
[395] "Denies White Agent Booked Ali's $300,000 South African Tour," *Jet Magazine*, August 26, 1971, 56; "South Africa Officials Mum on Report of Tour by Ali," *The Sun*, July 30, 1971, C4; "Ali Offered $300,000 Lecture Fee," *Atlanta Constitution*, July 29, 1971, 8D.
[396] "S. Africa wants Ali for Lectures: Promoter offers $300,000 for Winter Tour," *New York Times*, July 29, 1971, 25.

internal issue. He continued, "I wouldn't want to take part in the race situation over there. It's not my problem. Mine is over here. I don't want to bother with other people's affairs. I am an athlete and a fighter and these questions are for world leaders. I don't know enough to advise people what to do."[397]

Ali's decision to remain quiet about apartheid seems to be juxtaposed to the outwardly vocal and defiant activist persona that he is widely recognized for having. By the time the idea of the South Africa lecture series was proposed in 1971, Ali had been a highly visible member of the Nation of Islam (NOI) for seven years.[398] While the NOI supported the idea of racial separation, South Africa's apartheid policy was starkly against the tenants of the Nation of Islam because it justified white appropriation of black land.[399] The NOI had developed a reputation, due largely to the efforts of Malcolm X, as an organization that would publicly (mainly vocally) critique and challenge racial discrimination and subjugation. Muhammad Ali also had a reputation for being an outspoken critic against racial discrimination in the United States during the civil rights and black power eras; perhaps most notably when Ali resisted being conscripted to fight in the Vietnam War in 1966. At the time Ali took his stand against conscription, the Vietnam War was still popular in the United States. When he boldly challenged his conscription, Ali did so at the peril of losing his career and freedom in the process.[400]

It seemed paradoxical to antiapartheid activists to hear Ali, who was no stranger to controversy or one to withhold his opinion about race issues, reluctant to say anything about South Africa. The fact that he would even subject himself to the apartheid laws by agreeing to travel to South Africa seemed to some anti-apartheid activists to be in opposition with his

[397] "No Race Lectures, Though: South Africa Tour Considered by Ali," *The Washington Post*, July 30, 1971, E4.
[398] Add information on Nation of Islam
[399] Herbet Berg, *Elijah Muhammad and Islam*, (New York: New York University Press, 2009) 41.
[400] James E. Westheider, *Fighting in Vietnam: The Experiences of the U.S. Soldier* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2011) 39.

character. The financial purse clearly played a factor in Ali's decision to pursue the opportunity. Justifying his interest in giving lectures, Ali told reporters, "I'll go anywhere they want me to come and are willing to pay."[401] As Ali was approaching the last years of his fighting career (he would retire in 1981), his financial needs became more of an influence in his decision making. Journalist and Ali biographer Michael Parkinson detailed, "Ali had made over $40 million from his fighting career, but a combination of his reckless generosity, trusting nature, and the corrupt and venal actions of much of his entourage had meant that by the time of his retirement, much of it had been spent."[402] Ali's initial hesitancy to turn down the $300,000 offer may have been more for personal reasons than political, after all he had just returned from a forced four year hiatus from boxing.

A few months after Bowens presented the lecture offer to Ali, he received another proposition to come to South Africa. This offer came in the form of a proposal to put on an exhibition fight for both black and white South Africans. The deal was arranged through boxing promotion company Top Rank and Ali's attorney, Bob Arum and South African promotion company, Reliable Non-European Promotions. The fight would take place on November 18, 1972.[403] For the exhibition Ali would fight Al Jones; another African American boxer from South Florida, who was an experienced veteran, but not considered to be a viable challenge for Ali in the ring.[404] The purse for the fight was set at 300,000 rand or roughly $420,000 dollars.[405]

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[401] "Ali Offered $300,000 Lecture Fee," *The Atlanta Constitution*, July 29 ,1971. 8D
[402] Michael Parkinson, *Muhammad Ali: A Memoir: My Views of the Greatest* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, 2016)
[403] Louise Meriwether, "Blacks to So. Africa: Progress or Sellout?" *New York Amsterdam News*, March 25, 1972, A5.
[404] Barbara L. Tischler, *Muhammad Ali: A Man of Many Voices* (New York: Routledge, 2016) 141.
[405] Louise Meriwether, "Press Release: Fact Sheet Re Muhammad Ali's Proposed Trip to South Africa to Box," *Black Concern*, September 25, 1972, Box 53 Folder 132, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries. P.1

The proposed event was supposed occur before an equally divided segregated audience with ticket prices ranging from $7 to $70 per person.[406]

Once news of the exhibition fight proposal was announced antiapartheid activist mobilized to thwart any attempt to transgress the cultural boycott. Black Concern (formerly the Committee of Concerned Blacks) was one of the more vocal groups in opposition to the exhibition fight.[407] The co-founders of Black Concern, novelist Louise Meriwether and historian John Henrik Clarke, published a press release asking their supporters to write letters voicing their dissent to Ali, *Muhammad Speaks*, the publication of the Nation of Islam, and his promoters to voice their dissent. The press release urged, "There must be generated a loud outcry of public outrage. That is one of our weapons to force them to change their minds again and withdraw from the contract."[408] Black Concern also directed some of their criticism to the Nation of Islam. They questioned how the Nation of Islam, through the *Muhammad Speaks,* could publish "scathing articles" about apartheid, but still support Ali going there to fight. Black Concern also questioned how the Nation of Islam could champion the idea of black unity while sanctioning Ali's trip.[409]

Other organizations and activists such as the Congress of African Peoples (led by Amiri Baraka), political activist Roy Innis, Ambassador Mamdoo Moctar Thiam (head of the Organization of African Unity), and the International Committee Against Racism in Sports (led

[406] "Former Champ Ali Set to Box in South Africa," *Jet Magazine*, October 12, 1972, 57.
[407] The Committee of Concerned Blacks was a national group that was formed in response to the increasing number of African Americans who were being wooed to visit South Africa. The founding members included: Dr. John Henrik Clarke, historian; Hoyt Fuller, editor; John Oliver Killens, novelist, Addison Gayle, Jr., essayist, Mari Evans, poetprofessor, Don Lee, poet-editor Sonia Sanchez,poet-professor, Edmond Barry, curator Askia Muhammad Toure, journalist, and others.
[408] Louise Meriwether and John Henrik Clarke, "Press Release: All Members and Supporters and Friends," *Black Concern*, September 26, 1972, Box 53 Folder 132, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries.
[409] Louise Meriwether, "Press Release: Fact Sheet Re Muhammad Ali's Proposed Trip to South Africa to Box," *Black Concern*, September 25, 1972, Box 53 Folder 132, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries. P.2

by poet and South African exile Dennis Brutus) joined Black Concern in mounting protest against Ali's proposed trip.[410] Dennis Brutus attempted to reach Ali through several different people because he believed that if Ali were to fight in South Africa, he would induce other celebrities to follow suit and cause irreparable damage to the cultural boycott.[411] Brutus informed the press, "He (Ali) is held in high regard throughout the world. Africans hero-worship him. He is admired not only for his boxing ability, but also for his courage in standing up against racism and oppression." He continued, "If he agrees to fight under conditions dictated by a white racist minority which treats Blacks as sub-humans he will be doing great damage both to his image and the cause of Black liberation."[412]

Ali and his manager Herbert Muhammad (son of the Nation of Islam's leader Elijah Muhammad) initially responded to the criticism by justifying why taking the fight was not contradictory to the principles of black unity or any of the other principles of the NOI. Muhammad detailed:

> The position of the Nation of Islam was that Ali was a fighter, and that as champion of the world, he should be able to fight anywhere on earth. We didn't get into that thing about South Africa. My father didn't look no different at South Africa than he did at the United States; he believed both of them were run by devils. And to say they don't fight in South Africa because they're doing wrong; well, some of the same crimes are done in the United States against black people. So my father didn't' have the attitude that you could fight in the United States but not in South Africa.[413]

Muhammad's articulation of the NOI's view about South Africa echoes a view that former NOI minister Malcolm X expressed in 1963. During an interview for *Playboy Magazine*, Malcolm was asked if he thought apartheid was a human rights issue. Malcolm responded by stating that South Africa practiced the same thing the United States does. He qualified, "The only difference

[410] "Ali to South Africa: Now It's a No Go," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 7, 1972, A1.
[411]Some of the people Brutus talked to included: Joe Walcott, Bob Arum, and Omar Cassem. Lee Sustar and Aisha Karim eds., *Poetry and Protest: A Dennis Brutus Reader* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006) 137.
[412] "Former Champ Ali Set to Box in South Africa,", 57.
[413] Barbara L. Tischler, *Muhammad Ali: A Man of Many Voices* (New York: Routledge, 2016) 249.

is over there they *preach* as well as practice apartheid. America preaches freedom and practices slavery."[414] When Ali was directly questioned by the media about the contradictions an exhibition fight in South Africa would represent, he flippantly questioned, "If you're so concerned about freedom, why don't you leave this country?"[415]

After much debate and contention, the exhibition fight was cancelled in October 1972. There were multiple factors that led to its cancellation. Bob Arum, Ali's lawyer, argued that the South African promotion company Reliable Non-European Promotions wanted to make last minute changes to the agreed upon stipulations of the event. They wanted to change the seating arrangement, which was originally supposed to be split equally between South Africa's black and white populations. Arum ultimately determined that Reliable N.E. Promotions could not be trusted to adhere to the agreed upon parameters of the contract.[416]

Ali offered a different explanation for why he elected not to pursue the opportunity. He informed reporters, "They had a couple of U.N. meetings. All of the 37 Moslem and African nations decided they didn't want me to go…So in unity with the whole black world, I told them we would not go."[417] However, Ali's support for the cultural boycott came with conditions. Ali issued an ultimatum, "Now that I've made that stand for the people in South Africa, I want these same nations to make some political stand on the black people in this country. I don't think it's fair for me to turn down some $400,000 or $500,000 to personally sacrifice for them and their causes without them doin' something!"[418]

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[414] Alex Haley, "Playboy Interview: Malcolm X," *Playboy Magazine*, May 1963, Box 23 Folder 14, African National Congress Archive , ANC Washington Mission, University of Fort Hare.
[415] "If $$$ okay Ali will fight in racist S.A." *New York Amsterdam News*, September 30, 1972. A1
[416] "Ali to So. Africa: now it's no go," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 7, 1972. A1

[417] Dave Anderson, "Ali, the Heavyweight Chameleon," *New York Times*, November 8, 1972. 59
[418] Anderson, "Ali, the Heavyweight Chameleon," 59.

Another professional athlete, golfer Lee Elder, responded differently to the invitation to perform in South Africa. In June 1971, Elder was invited by white South African golfer Gary Player to participate in the South African PGA Championship that was being held in Johannesburg in November. Player's gesture was unprecedented. He had been facing scrutiny from black antiapartheid activists while playing in the United States because he represented South Africa. In fact, while he was competing in the U.S. Open in Ardmore, PA, black spectators heckled Player about South Africa's apartheid policy. At the 17th tee, two black spectators yelled, "Arthur Ashe, Sharpeville!"[419] They were referring to Ashe's difficulty obtaining a visa to enter South Africa and the Sharpeville Massacre. As a result, four security guards had to accompany Player for his last two rounds of golf to quiet the hecklers. Player's invitation to Elder was partly meant to pacify the antiapartheid protesters. Player revealed to the press, "I hope Elders participation in the South African Tournament will clear up a general misimpression about my country."[420]

African American protestors rallied against the proposed trip as they believed Elder's acceptance of Player's invitation would lessen the impact of the cultural boycott. Jesse Walker of the *New York Amsterdam News* argued that Elder's decision to entertain on the golf course in South Africa placed him in the same disloyal position as entertainers who made the same trip.[421] Robert Jurdan, a journalist from *Bay State Banner*, levied harsher criticisms toward Player than Elder. Jurdan pointed out, "Player's invitation to Elder can do nothing to alter the only valid impression of South Africa—that it is a country which degrades, dehumanizes and destroys the lives of more than 13 million black people through the official blatant racist government policy

[419] Kennedy, John H. *A Course of Their Own: A History of African American Golfers (*Kansas City, MO: Stark Books, 2000) 211.
[420] "Elder Invited to South Africa," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, July 3, 1971, 22.
[421] Jesse Walker, "Going to South Africa," *New York Amsterdam News* , September 4, 1971, B12.

known as apartheid."[422] Jurdan surmised that the only person who would really benefit from Elder's participation would be Player.

Elder initially downplayed the significance of potentially integrating golf in South Africa. After accepting Player's invitation, Elder explained, "I don't feel like a pioneer. I've played in places before that no other black man, except Charley Sifford, has played in this country. This is just another tournament."[423] Despite Elder's attempt to minimize the significance of what was getting ready to take place in Johannesburg, this was not going to be just another tournament. It would be South Africa's first multiracial and international Professional Golfers Association tournament. In addition to the players being integrated, this tournament would also mark the first time black and white spectators would be able to watch golf together. Even days before he was scheduled to arrive in South Africa, Elder continued to minimize the implications of what was set to take place claiming, "I'm not a politician and do not believe that sport and politics can mix."[424]

Elder immediately accepted Gary Player's invitation under the condition that the South African government and Player could ensure three requests would be met. First, he asked that black players and spectators be granted access to the gallery and the use of the dining facilities at the golf events. He also asked for an opportunity to raise funds to help a black seminary school that the South African government was considering closing. Lastly, Elder requested that he and his party be able to have free movement throughout South Africa for the duration of their trip. [425] Elder's requests were granted. This was not a small feat. In order for Elder and other black golfers to be eligible to play in the tournament, the South African government had to create new

[422] Robert Jurdan, "Why Invite Only One Black Golfer?" *Bay State Banner*, July 15, 1971, 14.
[423] "Lee Elder in South Africa Colt Tourney," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, November 13, 1971. 32.
[424] "Elder at Ease in Africa," *The Washington Post*, November 19, 1971. D2.
[425] "Apprehensive Elder Praised by Player for African Trip," *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, March 7, 1972. D2

rules in regards to its sport policies. They crafted an exception to apartheid that would allow for interracial sporting competitions to take place whenever South Africa hosted an international event being held in South Africa.[426] After his requests were granted, Lee Elder was set to play in the South African Professional Golfers Association Championship from Nov. 23-27 in Johannesburg.

In addition to the South African PGA tournament, Elder also agreed to serve as an ambassador for the State Department and put on clinics and exhibitions in Kenya, Ghana, and Uganda (all independent Africa countries) prior to playing in the South African tournament. For whatever reservations Elder may have personally held about embarking on such uncharted territory, he maintained a positive outlook whenever questioned by the press. On November 19th, just days before the tournament, Elder, perhaps having a deeper understanding of the gravity of his presence in South Africa, optimistically pointed out, "I believe my playing may help the black man there. It may open the door for other things to come later on. It may even lead to the South Africans allowing their own black men to play in former all-white tournaments."[427]

In March 1972, four months after the tournament, Elder admitted to the Associated Press that he did in fact have some worries about his personal safety after several of his friends expressed fearing that Elder may be hurt or killed. However Elder persisted. He explained, "I decided that running away wouldn't help. Life for blacks in South Africa isn't going to change if we segregate ourselves from them because of their government's apartheid policies."[428] He even admitted to being scared when he arrived to the Johannesburg airport, not fully knowing what to

[426] "Apprehensive Elder Praised by Player for African Trip," *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, March 7, 1972, D2.
[427] "Elder at Ease in Africa," *The Washington Post*, November 19, 1971. D2.
[428] "Apprehensive Elder Praised by Player for African Trip," March 7, 1972. D2

expect. Elder was instantly relieved when over 2,000 South Africans greeted him with smiles and warm greetings.

Elder's actual performance in the South African PGA tournament was mediocre. He was seven over par for the tournament. None of that matter to the crowd. The spectacle of seeing Lee Elder and the 17 other black golfers in the tournament, compete on the same course as the white golfers was enough for them to incessantly cheer. He recalled wishing that he would have played better for the crowd. Gary Player recalled, "I think if anything, Lee's birdies received larger ovations than mine. You could tell that Lee was feeling under a lot of pressure. But, he did so much good by making the trip. It was a great example and the lines of communications are now fully open."[429]

Elder's wife Rose was disheartened by some of her experiences in South Africa. Rose Elder visited several schools while in South Africa and saw a large discrepancy between the white schools and the black schools. She informed the press, "There are many things I don't agree with in South Africa. The schools were crowded, the kids were barefooted, and the place was not conducive to teaching. But Blacks in South Africa have to pay for this while white children are educated…at the expense of the government."[430] Rose was referring to the condition of the schools in black townships. Similarly to the United States, schools designated for black children were mostly in poor condition. Teachers seeking to educate blacks in both countries had to do so with limited resources. However sociologist Prudence Carter notes, "in the United States, teachers are more likely to be guaranteed basics like chalk for writing on the board, paper,

[429] Ibid.
[430] "Golfer Lee Elder Becomes First Black to Win," *Jet*, January 13, 1972, 47.

textbooks for each student and various teaching aids, or schoolwide heating in winter, while it is not uncommon to find these basics lacking in township (and rural) schools."[431]

Another entertainer who was unapologetic about visiting South Africa was Brook Benton. Benton accepted the invite to tour South Africa, as he was in the middle of experiencing career resurgence after releasing his chart-topping ballad "A Rainy Night in Georgia" in 1970. B.N.A Management, Queen Booking Agency (Ruth Bowen), and South African promoters Aquarius Productions arranged a seven-week tour of South Africa for Benton. He was to be accompanied by trumpeter Blue Mitchell and trombonist Buster Cooper.[432] Other talented African American acts such as soul singer Judy Clay and Arlene Smith and the Chantels were also on the bill.[433] Benton agreed to only perform for nonwhite audiences for an expected gross around a sum of $2.5 million dollars from the tour. The deal included a live album recording and release by Atlantic records, a television special, re-recording of "A Rainy Night in Georgia" with the words "A Rainy Night in Durban" instead and two shows a day for 24 out of 30 days.[434]

Benton arrived to Johannesburg in September 1971. Similar to Lee Elder, he was met at the airport by approximately 300 black and white fans.[435] Benton was taken aback by the warm reception he received. He did not know how well his music was received in South Africa. "There was one occasion in South Africa when I found two of my gold records hanging from the wall of a record company, meaning that they had gone gold in South Africa. But I didn't know anything about it and couldn't do anything about it," Benton informed *Jet* magazine in 1978.[436] When

[431] Prudence Carter, *Stubborn Roots: Race, Culture, and Inequality in U.S. and South African Schools* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) 27.
[432] Peter Watrous, "The Sweet and Sour Sounds of South African Jazz," *New York Times*, February 26, 1989, H33.
[433] Peter Feldman, "Johannesburg," *Billboard*, October 16, 1971, 51.
[434] "Benton Next to South Africa," *Billboard*, September 4, 1971. 8.
[435] Jesse H. Walker, "Theatricals," *New York Amsterdam News*, September 25 ,1971, B10.
[436] David Smallwood, "Rainy Years in America Sent Benton to Europe," *Jet*, January 5, 1978, 61.

Benton performed at the Eyethu Cinema in Soweto he had a black South African jazz musician, Thandi Klaasen, open the show.[437]

Brook Benton's tour in South Africa only lasted two weeks out of the seven week schedule before it was cancelled. He complained that the promoters mismanaged the tour by not booking the venues properly and not taking care of his transport. Jackson Morley, the head of Aquarius Productions alleged that Benton made "outrageous demands" of the company.[438] There were attempts to get other promoters to take over the tour but ultimately the talks proved to be unsuccessful.

It was widely misreported in 1971 that Sammy Davis Jr. accepted an invitation to perform at a Spa in Johannesburg. Davis corrected the gaffe, by informing the press that he accepted an invitation to perform at a casino in Swaziland; a sovereign state on the border of South Africa that had achieved independence in 1968 and was integrated. Davis agreed to perform in Swaziland for six days for a minimum of $350,000 dollars. Davis declared, "I will never play South Africa under the existing antiquated laws which call for segregation."[439] He did admit that he would be open to performing in South Africa if the government allowed the show to be integrated.[440]

Sammy Davis Jr.'s tour did not technically violate the cultural boycott of South Africa, but it did trample on the spirit of the movement. By choosing to perform in Swaziland, a country predominantly surrounded by South Africa and 400 miles away from Johannesburg, Davis still made his show accessible to white South Africans who were able to travel to Swaziland. It was clear that Davis understood this fact, because he invited 20 Black South Africans as his special

[437] Gwen Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 170.
[438] "Brook Benton Cancels First S. African Tour," *Billboard*, November 6, 1971, 52.
[439] "Not for Sammy" *South China Sunday Post*, November 7, 1971, 1.
[440] "Not Playing in Apartheid South Africa, Says Sammy," *Jet*, October 28, 1971, 56.

guests who otherwise could not afford the $210 ticket price.[441] For Davis, his stance against apartheid was separate from the official cultural boycott. The initial goal of the boycott was to starve the country of those international cultural connections until the laws were changed. However, Sammy Davis Jr. was only against the idea of performing for a segregated audience. The Swaziland government permitted Davis to have an integrated audience which allowed him to feel as though he did not violate the boycott or worsen the situation in South Africa.

Davis's position on the cultural boycott was consistent with his position on other civil rights issues. He was not particularly recognized as an activist. Davis had been an outspoken critic of segregation. However, he was also an entertainer who felt as though his talent could be used to counter racial divisions by challenging commonly held stereotypes. In a revealing interview with *Playboy Magazine* in 1966, Davis outlaid his philosophical beliefs in regards to entertainers being politically active. He recalled that early in his career he was just trying to focus on making it and that while he knew about race problems in the United States he did not care. It was not until he witnessed more atrocities and began to have dialogue with more overtly politically active entertainers Harry Belafonte and Sidney Poitier, until he started to reconsider his positon on social activism and entertainment. He acknowledged that as entertainer he tried to focus on the images he presented to mass white audiences.[442]

When the conversation turned to segregation, Davis revealed that he would never want access to any hotel, restaurant, etc. that would turn away black people who were not celebrities. "It's not any big, banner-waving thing with me; I just don't want to stay anyplace my people can't, and I don't care if they roll out an *ermine* carpet."[443] He took it a step further when he

[441] Ibid.
[442] Alex Haley, "Playboy Interview: Sammy Davis Jr.," *Playboy*, December 1966, Box 23 Folder 14, African National Congress Archive – ANC Washington Mission, University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa.
[443] Ibid.

asked if he would refuse to perform in a white-only club. Davis replied, "Absolutely. I'd never even consider it. Even when I was poor and hungry, I didn't do it."[444] With his stance being firmly against segregation it was clear why Davis vehemently expressed that he would never perform in South Africa as long as the venue was segregated. However, because he believed in the transformative power of his performance, Davis was still willing to perform in Swaziland where, white South Africans could easily attend.

Eartha Kitt followed Sammy Davis Jr. to Swaziland. In December1971, Kitt performed in a cabaret in Mbabane for an all-white audience at the Royal Swazi Hotel. It was reported that several of the audience members who attended Kitt's performance in Mbabane were actually whites from South Africa. They traveled to nearby Swaziland in large numbers and paid approximately $125 each to see Kitt perform.[445] The cultural boycott of South Africa had the effect of putting a premium on entertainment to the point where South Africans would be willing to travel outside of their country for a chance to get a glimpse of an international star.

In her 2001 autobiography *Rejuvenate! (It's Never Too Late)* Eartha Kitt fondly recalled her time in Swaziland. She remembered feeling connected with the country and its people. Kitt romantically reminisced:

> Years ago, in Swaziland, while standing on the balcony of my hotel room, as I watched a gorgeous sunrise, I watched the Africans moving through the woods, across the meadow, in their native dress, and with bundles of I knew not what upon their heads. Long minutes passed without a car or a truck passing by, and suddenly I was no stranger to this place. I was seeing how similar this scene was to scenes from the South of my youth. I felt connected.[446]

[444] Ibid.
[445] "Eartha Kitt Defends South African Tour," *Miami News*, January 1, 1972.
[446] Eartha Kitt, *Rejuvenate! (It's Not Too Late)* (New York: Scribner, 2001) 31.

She asked the maître d' to allow the hotel maids, many of whom she had become close to throughout her time in the hotel, to be granted access to her performance.[447] When the maître d' was hesitant to capitulate to Kitt's request, she put her foot down and threatened to not perform unless the maids were allowed to attend.[448] Kitt's performance in Swaziland was not without controversy. She drew some negative reviews from the Afrikaner press for sitting in the lap of one of the white male patrons; an act that would have been prohibited in South Africa under the Immorality Act.

In between her performances in Swaziland, Kitt informed the press about her intentions to tour South Africa in April 1972. Kitt defended her plans to ignore the cultural boycott by reaffirming that she was vehemently against apartheid. She even referenced her own experiences with growing up on a cotton plantation in racially segregated South Carolina during the Great Depression. Kitt declared, "Of course I do not approve of apartheid. I have experienced all the hurt and indignity of such a system. When I was six years old I picked cotton in the fields of South Carolina." She continued, "You do not cure a sickness by ignoring it. Some black stars say they will only play to non-whites in South Africa. They play to non-whites for a fantastic fee and take this money from the pockets of the poor black people. I'd rather take the money from the affluent whites."[449]

Although Kitt seemed confident in deciding to bypass the cultural boycott, she did admit to the press that prior to performing in Swaziland she, like Elder, felt some uneasiness about the tour. Kitt admitted that she did not make the decision to perform in South Africa hastily. In fact, she had turned down prior invites to South Africa several times. Kitt stated that she was ultimately persuaded to tour South Africa after speaking with South African students in London.

[447] Kitt, *Rejuvenate!*, 62.
[448] Ibid.
[449] "Eartha Kitt Defends South African Tour," *Miami News*, January 1, 1972.

She claims that they urged her to go so that she could change the perception that black South Africans have of African American entertainers. The South African students explained to her that in their homeland they were typically only exposed to black American soul singers and that they believed Kitt had the potential to bring an aura of sophistication to South Africa through her elegant performances. At their urging, Kitt determined that she would no longer refuse to perform in South Africa.

She also expressed how she wished other entertainers such as a Harry Belafonte, Leontyne Price, and Lena Horne would join her. She lamented the criticism that she faced throughout her career that she had not done enough to advance civil rights. Kitt rationalized her activism by claiming, "They don't know, there are a lot of things I'm doing. Nobody knows what I'm doing (to help advance civil rights), but I hope they will feel the effects of what I am doing."[450] Despite the growing support for the cultural boycott of South Africa, Eartha Kitt moved forward with her plans to tour South Africa and Rhodesia during the summer of 1972. Kitt was required to observe the apartheid policy by alternating between performing for all-white and nonwhite audiences.

Kitt did try to find ways to subvert apartheid policy in South Africa. *Variety Magazine* acknowledged that Kitt's tour would be the first one in South Africa where white and black artists were on the same bill and the black artist was the headliner.[451] On one occasion, Kitt was invited as a guest of honor to an all-white affair. When she arrived she was offered hors d'oeuvres by a black waiter. Kitt took the tray away from the waiter and proceeded to dance with him while encouraging others to join them on the dance floor. She also charged whites exorbitant prices so she could lower ticket prices during her non-white performances. Kitt also raised

[450] "Eartha Kitt Says Africans Must See Other Than 'Soul'" *Jet*, November 11, 1971, 23.
[451] Evelyn Levison. "Eartha Kitt Role in South Africa's Color Break-Thru," *Variety* Vol.267 No.3 (May 31, 1972): 63.

money for cultural events for blacks in South Africa. In addition to financial contributions, Kitt intentionally made herself accessible to the people of South Africa by going into the townships. Kitt told *Life* magazine, "I'm sure I'll be criticized. But I'm an adventurer. I believe I'm doing something for the nonwhites by being here. Not coming would mean not knowing what it's like here—and not caring."[452]

Eartha Kitt enjoyed "honorary white" status throughout the duration of her time in South Africa. She resided in luxurious hotels and had access to bars and speakeasies that typically prohibited nonwhite people. However, Eartha Kitt was not entirely excluded from the rules of apartheid. On one of the days when she was not scheduled to perform, Eartha took her 10-year old daughter to an amusement park along with her manager Harry Boulder. The trio initially had a fun time, until Kitt was informed while on the bumper cars that the bumper cars were only for whites. According to Kitt the trio left the bumper cars feeling dejected but shortly after laughed at the experience. The owner of the amusement park later apologized to Kitt and her daughter after the story reached international attention.[453] Kitt later revealed, "But I'm glad it happened. It's made me feel the pain that the people here have, it has punctuated the feelings."[454] Kitt experienced another rebuff when she was barred from performing in the Bloemfontein city hall on May 23rd. According to the officials, municipal regulations mandated that the hall could only be reserved for whites to use exclusively. Kitt had been previously granted access to the hall but the officials reversed the decision when they realized Kitt was black. Kitt responded, "I realized this sort of thing existed in South Africa before I came here. This barring obviously upsets me, but I accept it."[455]

[452] "Eartha Kitt as an 'Honorary White,'" *Life*, June 2, 1972.
[453] "Takes Ride: Eartha Kitt Gets Apology," *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1972, 20A.
[454] "Eartha Laughs at SA Racial Slur," *The Afro American*, May 27, 1972.
[455] "Eartha Kitt is Barred from S. African Show," *Jet Magazine*, May 4, 1972, 56.

Lovelace Watkins, a Las Vegas based singer, was immensely successful in South Africa. Watkins, nicknamed "The Black Sinatra" began touring South Africa in 1974. He was an instant sensation in South Africa, as he played to standing-room only crowds in Johannesburg, Capetown, Port Elizabeth and Durban.[456] The South African reception of Watkins' show highlights some of the inconsistencies of apartheid. John Holder, an English cricket player, who was in South Africa at the time Watkins performed, noticed that white women in South Africa were so enthused by Watkins's raunchy performance, that the laws of apartheid appeared to be nonexistent once the concert started. Holder describes, "They were going ballistic, tugging off bras and other items of underwear, hurling them at Lovelace on the stage, all the while screaming their heads off. These genteel women, who considered themselves racially superior, were going mad at the sight of a gyrating black man's crotch! I thought what hypocrites."[457]

In the United States, members of the black press chastised Watkins and the other black performers who ventured to South Africa as the hypocrites. *Jet Magazine* criticized Watkins for playing a show in South Africa that he would not have been able to attend because of his race.[458] *Black World* also noted that some black performers seemed to have less concern about black people than conscientious white artists.[459] There was an unwritten expectation that black artists would make the sacrifice of turning down the money in support of black South Africans.

Josephine Baker had a remarkably different experience than Lovelace Watkins when she toured South Africa for a month in 1974. Prior to touring South Africa, Baker had spoken out about racism in South Africa.[460] Despite having been informed about apartheid, Baker was

[456] Ed Romanoff, "Soundtrack," *Observer-Reporter*, December 6, 1974; "Billy Brooks: 'A Man and His Horn,'" *Los Angeles Sentinel*, January 9, 1975, B6.
[457] Andrew Murtagh and John Holder, *Test of Character: The Story of John Holder, Fast Bowler and Test Match Umpire* (Sussex: Pitch Publishing, 2016) 123-147
[458] "People are Talking About," *Jet Magazine*, January 16, 1975. 55.
[459] "Afro-Americans and Africa: Some Questions," *Black World*, November 1975, 88.
[460] Jean-Claude Baker and Chris Chase, *Josephine: The Hungry Heart* (New York: Random House, 1993) 325.

astonished by what she encountered in South Africa. She informed the press, "Nobody believes me but it's true I didn't know how bad things were here. I have been very naïve and innocent. Though I knew there was tragic racial injustice here, I believed overseas press reports that things were changing."[461] She also told the press that she considered South Africa to be the only evil country left in the world. In an interview that was published in *Johannesburg Star*, Baker said government authorities were "sick" for allowing the atrocities to continue in South Africa.[462]

Baker's criticisms of the South African government were not free from reprisal. Upon reading Baker's comments in the *Johannesburg Star*, many whites returned their tickets; leaving some of her shows only a quarter filled.[463] South African officials ignored Baker and it was rumored that she would not be granted another visa if she ever attempted to enter South Africa again. The box-office backlash did not alter Baker's critique. She continued to lambast South Africa. "I stand by every word I have said. South Africa's race laws are evil. The situation here is not unlike Germany in World War II. I have said it before and I say it again now: I am sick in my heart at all the hate I see here," Baker defiantly retorted.[464]

Baker's snafu in South Africa made small waves in the U.S. At the time, 1974, Baker was 68 years old and living in France. She admittedly was coming out of retirement for the South Africa concerts to raise money to support "The Rainbow Tribe"; twelve children that Baker adopted from around the world.[465] The R&B group the Supremes, however, caused an uproar in the United States when they received an invitation to perform in South Africa in the fall of 1975. Prior to their departure several leaders and organizations attempted to persuade them to decline the offer. Although Diana Ross, the most famous member of the Supremes, was no longer a

[461] "Outburst Followed by Box-Office Backlash," Sydney Morning Herald, November 7, 1974.
[462] Associated Press, "Josephine Baker Raps Apartheid," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, November 2, 1974.
[463] Baker and Chase, *Josephine*, 473.
[464] "Outburst Followed by Box-Office Backlash," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 7, 1974.
[465] "Outburst Followed by Box-Office Backlash," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 7, 1974.

member of the group (she left the group in 1970), The Supremes were still a highly recognizable R&B act around the world. Anti-apartheid activists feared that if the Supremes performed in South Africa their notoriety would grant legitimacy to the South African government and damage the effectiveness of the cultural boycott. James Hicks, a journalist for the *New Amsterdam News* questioned: "Did The Supremes need the money that badly? Will other Black stars follow their example? How much Black pride should one have where money is concerned?"[466]

Black antiapartheid activists and other entertainers quickly moved to persuade the Supremes to turn down the money to demonstrate that they in were in support of the cultural boycott. Executive directors and spokespersons from the Black Theater Alliance, Writers in Residence, *Essence Magazine*, Black Economic Research Center, and the Actors Equity Association wrote letters to the Supremes and Motown Records detailing the gravity of the situation. In addition to their efforts to reach the Supremes directly through the mail, this network of antiapartheid activists also spoke to the black press. Actor Brock Peters, speaking on behalf of the American Committee on Africa, mailed letters to other entertainers. In the letter Peters admonished, "White South Africa confers the status of 'honorary white' on Black VIP visitors so that they will have more freedom of movement than their African brothers and sisters. As artists, our most effective weapon is to let the government of South Africa know that we will have no part in apartheid."[467]

Black World also published a strong critique against the Supremes and other black entertainers who did not observe the cultural boycott. The article pointed out how white jazz

[466] James Hicks, "Supremes Bow to South Africa's Apartheid…And Show Biz wonders if the Beat Will Go On!" *New York Amsterdam News*, October 15, 1975, D10.

[467] "'Supremes' Defy Critics to Sing in South Africa," *Washington Afro-American*, October 14, 1975.

musician, drummer Buddy Rich refused to perform in South Africa because the South African government would not issue a work permit to Rich's bass player because he was black. Rich's concert was intended to start August 4th two weeks in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.[468] Rich cancelled the tour; telling Johnny Carson on the *Tonight Show* that he would never accept a tour under those conditions. *Black World* posed the question, "Why are Black entertainers so much less concerned about giving aid and comfort to the world's most racist regime than are some conscientious white entertainers?"[469]

The Supremes ignored the response of the antiapartheid community and departed for a month long tour in South Africa on October 1, 1975. Peter Frisch, the group's public relations manager, explained that one of the main reasons the group was steadfast in going through with the trip was to have a more informed opinion about the South Africa situation. In fact, Frisch relayed to the press that Mary Wilson, an original member of the Supremes, felt as though those who stayed away from South Africa forfeited their right to have an opinion about what actually goes on there.[470] Before embarking on a 24 date South African tour, the Supremes made a promise that they would return to the United States and give firsthand accounts about what they witnessed while performing in South Africa. In another attempt to assuage dissenters, The Supremes publicized that they only agreed to the offer after they were promised that there concerts would be integrated.[471]

The Supremes made true on the promise that they would give an honest account about their experiences in South Africa. At the end of the tour two of the members, Cindy Birdsong and Scherrie Payne held an interview with reporters in Durban. In the interview, they expressed

[468] "Celebrevities," *Detroit News*, July 18, 1975, 3.
[469] "Afro-Americans and Africa: Some Questions," *Black World*, November 1975, 88.
[470] Ibid, 88.
[471] "'Tell it as it is': Supremes Blast Treatment of Blacks in Africa," *The Milwaukee Star Times*, January 1, 1976, 10.

their disappointment with the concert arrangements. They expressed feeling deceived by South African promoters who assured the singers that their concerts would be integrated. Upon arriving to South Africa they found out that they needed a "racial permit" for the concerts to be integrated and they were only granted two of these permits for two days at the 3-Arts Theater in Cape Town.[472] The concerts that black South Africans were permitted to attend were not advertised well, so a majority of black South Africans did not realize they were allowed to attend the show. The group also expressed feeling insulted by the "honorary white" treatment they received. Being granted access to restaurants and hotels that would not allow blacks in South Africa further left the group with a disdain for their South African experience.

However, despite the circumstances, the Supremes tried to subvert apartheid. "We did the best we could though," Payne explained. "We got tickets from the promoter and gave them away to Black people on the streets for the other concerts."[473] They also warned other entertainers who were considering performing in South Africa to ensure they secure the required permits for integrated shows granted prior to leaving the United States. It is odd that despite the mistreatment the group believed they experienced and witnessed in South Africa, they were still not opposed to other artists performing in South Africa. Scherrie Payne gave some insight as to why the group did not respond by uplifting the cultural boycott. Payne revealed, "Blacks in South Africa feel entertainment is a powerful tool in securing integration."[474] After their interview broke and other members of the press began to spread it throughout the country, the Supremes were given four hours to get out of the country.[475]

[472] Billy Rowe, "Billy Rowe's Note Book," November 8, 1975, 16.
[473] "'Tell it as it is': Supremes Blast Treatment of Blacks in Africa," 10.
[474] Ibid, 10.
[475] Ibid, 11.

This dichotomy became more apparent when another soul singing trio, The Three Degrees, hosted an international tennis tournament. The tournament took place in Johannesburg from October 5-11, 1975. It was organized by South African promoter Megan Carr to raise money for the South African Theater of Music, a local black theater group. The Three Degrees was a three women vocal group from Philadelphia. Similar to the Temptations and other R&B acts of the mid to late 1900s, the group went through several different member variations; 15 women have been a part of the group throughout the years. During the time of the South African tennis tournament the members were Sheila Ferguson, Valerie Holiday, and Fayette Pinckney. The group had some trepidation about whether or not they should agree to host the tournament. At the time of the offer, the Three Degrees had already turned down other opportunities to perform in South Africa. It was even rumored that at one point they were offered diamonds to take stage. No matter the expected purse, the group previously turned down the offer.[476] The idea that their presence in South Africa was going to be used to benefit black South Africans directly convinced them to host the tournament.

When the Three Degrees arrived to South Africa, they were greeted at the airport by black and white fans. Some fans even chanted, "black is beautiful."[477] This welcome reassured the singers that they made the right decision. The warm greeting however could not overshadow the realities that blacks in South Africa endured daily. Throughout their stay, the Three Degrees

[476] Chris Policiano, "The Three Degrees Play South Africa," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 6, 1975, A-1.

[477]Those chants of "black is beautiful" were emblematic of the influence the rhetoric associated with the black power era in the United States had on South Africa's black consciousness movement. Steve Biko, a prominent leader of the black consciousness movement, was fond of the slogan and believed that it could apply to the situation of blacks in South Africa. When asked about "black is beautiful," Biko responded, "I think that slogan has been meant to serve and I think is serving a very important aspect of our attempt to get at humanity. You are challenging the very deep roots of the Black man's belief about himself. When you say 'black is beautiful' what in fact you are saying to him is: man, you are okay as you are, begin to look upon yourself as a human being." For more on Steve Biko's thoughts on the slogan see, Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like,* ed. Aelred Stubbs (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1987) 104.

talked to local blacks who gave them firsthand accounts of the daily struggles they encountered. Cliff Miller, the president of the Three Degrees fan club, told the press that the stories they heard from the locals included testimonies of secret police raids and at times were akin to stories that, in his opinion, were analogous to the Holocaust.

The tennis tournament proved to be successful. Other American celebrities such as Peter Lawford, Dino Martin Jr., Mickey Dolenz, Ringo Starr, Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor attended the tournament.[478] Prime Minister John Vorster was reportedly pleased with the tournament and invited the Three Degrees to return to South Africa the following year to perform in a concert. Vorster's proposed concert did not come into fruition but his offer and the recognition the tournament garnered demonstrated how black entertainers who went South Africa could be compromised. The Three Degrees intended for their presence to directly benefit Black South Africans financially. While the tennis tournament allowed them to be successful in doing so, it also was an event that served as positive public relations for the South African government. The tournament's star-studded guest list and approval from the prime minister may have obscured the harsher realities of South Africa how the government played an active role in creating the disparities that made the fundraiser necessary.

The Three Degrees were so enthused by the reception they received in South Africa that they vowed to return in March to put on a concert. Their enthusiasm quickly waned when they were informed that they were not going to be allowed to perform before an integrated audience in South Africa. The Three Degrees were under the impression that South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster had explicitly given them permission to integrate their concerts. In fact, the group's publicist, Carol Ross, told South Africa's *Sunday Times* about Vorster's promise. Once word of the Three Degrees plans reached Vorster, things quickly changed. Vorster was

[478] Yusef Abdul Salaam, "South Afrikkka Cancels 3 Degrees," *Black News*, Vol. 3 No. 9, May 1, 1976, 15.

reportedly upset as he felt that foreigners were attempting to dictate conditions for entry into South Africa instead of capitulating to the laws of the land. Instead of allowing the concert to go on, Vorster cancelled their visas to prevent them from being able to even enter South Africa. The group was disheartened by Vorster's decision. Richard Barrett, the manager of the Three Degrees, explained, "We felt that we had done some good during the time we were there…Never before had all the people been given the chance to see such entertainment. My concern was with giving the people that chance."[479] Barrett was not as forthcoming when asked directly about the amount of money the group was scheduled to make in South Africa. His hesitation seems to suggest that the Three Degrees were not entirely motivated by altruism.

On January 13, 1976, the Staples Singers began their tour of South Africa. Despite their plane landing at 3:00am, six hours later than scheduled, The Staples Singers were met with adulation from over 500 Black South Africans at Johannesburg Airport. Ardent supporters pushed through other crowd members in hopes of getting closer to the soul singing trio from Chicago. The pandemonium had risen to such a level that Pops Staple, the manager/father of the Staples Singers, remarked that he was never more scared in his life.[480] "All the pushing, shoving and hitting was too much for me to handle," he continued, "You see, we had no idea we were that popular in South Africa, especially at 3 o'clock in the morning. But I guess we were and we found out real fast."[481]

The airport hysteria was not by happenstance but more a true indication of the Staples Singers' popularity in South Africa. Prior to their arrival, the Staples Singers had a good measure

[479] Policiano, "The Three Degrees Play South Africa," A-6.
[480] Mel Tapley, "Staple Singers Practice What They Preach" *New York Amsterdam News*, June 19, 1976. D 10
[481] A. Ace Burgess, "Staple Singers Rap about Tour of South Africa." *Jet Magazine*, March 11, 1976. 29.

of success in South Africa with their albums *Be Altitude: I'll Take You There* (1972) and *Be What You Are* (1973). Four singles from these albums, "I'll Take You There," "Respect Yourself," "Touch a Hand, Make a Friend," and "If You're Ready (Come Go with Me)," went gold in South Africa.[482] The Staples singers where scheduled to perform a total of five concerts. The first concert took place in Soweto at the Eyethu Cinema, a 2000-seat theatre, which proved to be inadequate when more than 5,000 supporters showed up intending to catch a glimpse of the Staples Singers. To accommodate the large crowds, the Staples singers moved the next four concerts to outdoor stadiums.

The Staples Singers were not privy to race relations in South Africa but they received a harsh introduction upon their arrival when they were informed that the promoters had arranged the concerts for all-black audiences only. Upon learning that they were expected to perform for a segregated audience Pops Staples requested that the booking agent arrange for the Staples Singers to return to the United States. He contended that to be forced to perform under apartheid was a "disgrace" to black people.[483] To mitigate Pop Staples' concerns, the promoters arranged to have the other concerts take place outside on a soccer field at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto. They allowed both black and white fans to attend the concert as long as they were in separate sections.

The Staples Singles refrained from singing any of their protest records during the South Africa concert series despite being directly hampered by the apartheid laws. Their decision to remain apolitical on stage was at odds with the Staple Singer usual stance. In the United States the Staples Singers were known for intermixing political commentary in their music. They were one of the first groups to openly embrace the civil rights movement. After meeting Martin Luther

[482] Greg Kot, *I'll Take You There: Mavis Staples, the Staples Singers, and the Music That Shaped the Civil Rights Era* (New York: Scribner, 2014) *217*.
[483] Kot, *I'll Take you There*, 218.

King Jr. in 1963, an inspired Pops Staple informed his daughters that, "I like this man. I like his message. And if he can preach this, we can sing it."[484] Following Pops Staple's meeting with Dr. King, the Staples Singers released socially-conscious "freedom songs" such as "Why Am I Treated So Bad," "When Will We Be Paid for the Work We've Done," and "Long Walk to DC."

However, the Staples Singers initially refrained from performing their "freedom songs" during their South African concert tour. Pops Staple excused not performing the freedom songs by claiming, "We went over to South Africa to entertain, not to bring about a revolution." He continued, "We don't agree with the way things are run there, but there was little we could do, so we stayed neutral."[485] The Staples Singers slightly shifted from the position of neutrality after spending a week in Johannesburg and being subjected to apartheid laws. During the last day of the concert they performed the song, "When Will We Be Paid for the Work We've Done?"[486]

The 1960s and 1970s were pivotal decades for African American anti-apartheid activism. Throughout these years changes in the American political and social landscape brought on by the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement raised the consciousness of several African Americans and motivated them to become aware of the fights that were taking place in Africa. Among these new developments were the following: the emergence of 17 independent countries in Africa in 1960; the development of African and African American Studies (Black Studies) in the United States; Representative Charles Diggs appointment to the House Subcommittee on Africa in 1969; the creation of the Congressional Black Caucus in 1971; the shift to in the black community toward electoral politics after the 1972 Gary convention; and the media exposure that South Africa received after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. The anti-

[484] Rickey Vincent, *Party Music: The Inside Story of the Black Panther's Band and How Black Power Transformed Soul Music* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2013) 13.
[485] Burgess, "Staple Singers Rap about Tour of South Africa." 30.
[486] Ibid, 30.

apartheid movement attracted more African Americans at a time when blacks were making more social and political connections with Africa and were also transitioning from civil disobedience to protest through political measures. The victories of the civil rights movement and Black Power era made this transition possible.

More African Americans became awaken and attuned to the plights of their distant relatives in Africa during the same time that civil rights movement was unfolding. Sociologist Aldon Morris in 1984 published one of the earliest scholarly works on the civil rights movement entitled *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. This seminal text in the civil rights movement historiography argued that the modern civil rights movement that emerged in the early 1950s was different from traditional forms of black protest in two distinct ways. Morris suggests the modern civil rights movement was the first time that large masses of black people directly confronted the institutions responsible for their oppression. Morris adds that another distinguishing trait of the modern civil rights movement was that its protest was sustained for a considerable period of time, using nonviolent tactics on a wide-scale as a technique to bring about social change.[487]

There were significant changes made to the black freedom struggle during the late 1960s. Black Americans during this time had witnessed the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. They witnessed the integration of some major white institutions, like Ole Miss in 1962. Despite these radical changes to the American landscape, the daily lives of black Americans were not significantly improved. By the late 1960s and early 1970s black communities faced rampant poverty and police brutality. No longer were black activists solely interested in integration. By the time of the Black Power Era, Black Americans were seeking to improve their economic and social condition. The goals of the civil rights movement were

[487] Aldon Morris. *The Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (New York: The Free Press, 1984) xi.

sufficiently achieved, yet the black community still faced significant oppression. For this reason, Black Power activists moved to the forefront of the black freedom struggle.

African American entertainers during this time period were faced with a dilemma. As more information came out about apartheid, Black entertainers had to decide if they were going to ignore the atrocities of apartheid and accept money to perform before segregated audiences or if they were going to support the cultural boycott. This decision came with serious implications. As entertainers, it was paramount for these men and women to seek highest bidding for their talents. The timespan when these artists could earn top money for performing is typically not long; especially for athletes because of the physicality of sport. Turning down lucrative contracts from South Africa could prove to be devastating financially. Performers, who refused to play South Africa, did so from the standpoint of knowing they may never receive a lucrative offer like that again. Another complication associated with the cultural boycott was determining who exactly was in control of the protest. For some African Americans performers and their managers, it did not sit well to be chastised by white-led anti-apartheid organizations for going to Africa.

On the other hand, to ignore the cultural boycott could also prove to be detrimental to one's career. Those who ventured to South Africa often remarked about the disheartening psychological impact witnessing the atrocities first-hand had on them as performers. To accept South African dollars required the singers, actors, and athletes to subjugate themselves in some part to apartheid. Also as African Americans, to accept South African money would put the performers in a position where they could be seen as working against the Pan-African push for liberation in Africa and the United States. Several black American activists and journalists saw the independence movements in Africa as crucially linked to their own freedom struggle. African

American artists and entertainers who stood in the way of the anti-apartheid struggle were singled out as traitors. Coming on the heels of the advancements made during the civil rights movement it would be defeating, as African American entertainers, to be labeled as someone who was part of halting the progress of the race. During the late 70s and 80s tensions continued to rise in South Africa. The rigidity of apartheid, coupled with the relentlessness of antiapartheid activists would prove to be explosive. Race relations continued to worsen and garner more international attention. The contention would rise to the point where African American entertainers could no longer claim to be on the fence about South Africa. The question of whether or not blacks should entertain apartheid would be answered by the international community with a resounding no.

CHAPTER FOUR
DON'T SELL 'SOUL' TO WHITES: THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT AT HOME AND ABROAD, 1976-1987

In 1976 the Soweto Uprising would once again bare the horrors of apartheid before the world. "Unlike what happened after Sharpeville, the repression that followed Soweto did not lead to a long period of political inactivity," notes George Fredrickson in his discussion of the 1976 Soweto Uprising. "Soweto in fact is now recognized as a turning point in recent South African history; as a result of the impression it conveyed to the world of the utter viciousness of the white regime, it energized and empowered the international anti-apartheid movement."[488] Following the 1976 Soweto Uprising, anti-apartheid activists in the United States attempted to organize the renewed zeal and attention given towards dismantling apartheid to produce tangible changes in South Africa. In addition to marches, demonstrations, the divestment campaign, student-led protests, boycotts, and other common expressions of dissent that are typically associated with the anti-apartheid movement, the cultural boycott was elevated to a higher level of importance during the late 1970s and 80s. In the United States, these initiatives proved to be successful as they led to the passing of the landmark Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

The resurgence of international interest in South Africa following 1976 also included a more intense focus on the cultural boycott. African American entertainers who considered performing in South Africa after the Soweto Uprising, now faced more organized pressure from protest groups in South Africa and the United States. The United Nations even began keeping and publishing a register of entertainers who toured South Africa after 1981. Previously black artists who considered performing in South Africa were questioned by the press and offered

[488] George Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 309.

suggestions by activists but following the Soweto Uprising in 1976 the cultural boycott became more sophisticated. Artists who dared to venture to South Africa now had to contend with their future performances possibly being boycotted, their names being placed on an organization's blacklist, or protests from black South African anti-apartheid organizations. Moving from the last decade, the question of whether African Americans should perform in South Africa no longer seemed debatable as anti-apartheid activist in the U.S. and South Africa answered "no" for the artists.

With the sustained fall of South Africa's public image internationally following the Soweto Uprising the South African government scrambled to present a counter image of the country that was changing for the better. For instance, the South African Embassy in Washington D.C. issued a pamphlet entitled "South Africa: Questions and Answers" which attempted to nullify the growing concerns people had about South Africa.[489] This pamphlet asserted South Africa was not ruled by a white-minority population because blacks in South Africa were not a monolithic group and were as different from each other as "Greeks from Turks, Dutch from Germans or Jews from Arabs."[490] It also claimed that blacks were able to exercise their political rights in their homelands. In regards to South Africa's apartheid policy, the pamphlet suggested that South Africa had a "plural democracy" where soon South Africa would be made of independent nations working closely together.

The South African government also made appeals to black entertainers, specifically, to perform in hopes that the optics would resound in the international community and create an image of a changing South Africa. Large amounts of money were offered to African American

[489] Information Counselor South African Embassy, "South Africa: Questions and Answers" South African Embassy, Washington, D.C., 1976, MS1500, Box 1, Folder 4, Series I – South African Apartheid Collection, Yale University Library Manuscript Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
[490] Ibid.

performers, along with the promise that some of their concerts could even be integrated. The immense economic pressure put on businesses throughout the world to divest from South Africa proved to be effective by the late 1980s. The internal and external forces against apartheid led to a chaotic environment where the South African government appeared to be losing more control with each passing day. The loss of control put a premium on the need for South African government to appear as though it were making the necessary changes. To account for this, the South African government sought to make black entertainers unofficial ambassadors of the "new" South Africa through high-profile performances.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was a return amongst African American activist to Black Nationalistic thought. To the dismay of many African Americans the legislative victories of the civil rights movement, most notably the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, did not lead more access to more lucrative employment opportunities, improved living conditions or a stoppage of police brutality. Understanding the limitations of the legislative changes that resulted from the civil rights movement, some African Americans, particularly those in major cities in the north and west coast of the United States turned to organizations that directed more attention to tenants of self-determination and black empowerment like the Nation of Islam and Black Panther Party rather than the civil rights organizations of the past that championed integration.[491]

Black activists in South Africa moved in a similar direction, during the 1970s. This ideology, labeled the Blacks Consciousness Movement (BCM), was led by Steve Biko. It sought to do away with ethnic stratification and to unify blacks throughout South Africa based on their blackness. The BCM was partly influenced by the Black Power Movement in the United States.

[491] For more on the Black Power Era see: Jeffrey Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

Leaders of the movement made references to African American activist like Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, and James Cone.[492] They also used black power slogans such as "black is beautiful". However it would be incorrect to say that the BCM was a direct copy of the Black Power Movement. The BCM was a South African product, created in response to the local conditions during the 1970s. Leonard Thompson argues that the BCM developed as a result of three significant developments: an arts movement that brought a strong liberationist ideology, the creation of a black trade union movement and the workers strikes in 1973, and the response of black South African students to the government's attempt to manipulate young minds through education.[493]

On June 16, 1976 thousands of black students in South Africa (scholars have estimated between 3,000 and 10,000 students) mobilized by the South African Students Movement's Action Committee and supported by the BCM marched peacefully as a demonstration against the recent changes that were made to the to the Bantu Education Act in 1974. The changes required students to learn Afrikaans; the language spoken by Afrikaners. This change, along with the other oppressive restrictions of apartheid, spurred the youth to engage in more visible displays of dissension.[494] The students intended for the march to culminate with a rally in Orlando Stadium. However their plans were abruptly halted when heavily armed police officers fired teargas and later live ammunition on the demonstrating students. The Soweto Uprising resulted in a

[492] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 298.
[493] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 211-212
[494] Early in the historiography, scholars sought to dispel the notion that the students involved in the Soweto uprising were solely protesting the changes made to the Bantu Education Act in 1974. Although the Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953, the changes in 1974 forced African students to be taught half of their courses in Afrikaan. Not only was Afrikaan the language of the oppressive government in South Africa but it was difficult for the students to learn because most of their teachers did not speak Afrikaan. However, former journalist, John Kane-Berman challenged the master narrative in *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction*. Kane-Berman suggests, the increasing influence of Black Consciousness Movement, a rapid growth of secondary students in 1976, limited job opportunities, and an economic recession may have also contributed to the students' dissatisfaction with the conditions in Soweto. For more see: John Kane-Berman, *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1978).

widespread revolt that turned into an uprising against the government. While the uprising began in Soweto, it spread across the country and carried on until the following year.

The South African government responded with an even more stringent reprisal. Leonard Thompson documents, "By February 1977, according to an official commission of inquiry at least 575 people had been killed, including, 494 Africans, 75 Coloureds, 5 Whites, and 1 Indian. Of the victims, 134 were under age eighteen"[495] In an attempt to prevent future uprisings or collective acts of sabotage, the South African government issued another ban of political organizations. Those who were identified as political leaders of black resistance were arrested; many were sent to a prison on Robben Island where they joined political prisoners of the past generation like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and other ANC leaders. Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko was arrested and fatally beaten while under police custody in 1977.

Black South African activists did not wilt under the increased state pressure. Instead they, as their predecessors had done previously, reorganized and formed new organizations with creative approaches to challenge the South African government. One of the responses among Black South African youth to the South African government's intense repression was the formation of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) in April 1978. AZAPO members ideologically saw themselves as the heir to Biko's Black Consciousness Movement. In addition to maintaining Biko's message of racial unity, AZAPO advocated for blacks to understand the *class* battles that were intertwined with the *race* battles of apartheid. For this reason, they believed it was necessary to mobilize the black working class to understand how racism was

[495] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 213.

manifested within capitalism.[496] AZAPO envisioned governing South Africa and creating a nation that unlike those who supported the Freedom Charter, would exclude whites.

After the Soweto Uprising in 1976, the South African government faced more international scrutiny than any time before. Unlike other violent atrocities in South Africa prior to 1976, the Soweto Uprising caused more than a temporary spike in interest. The impact of the images of the Soweto Uprising and its aftermath proved to be lasting. Lulat acknowledges, "Greater interest in the antiapartheid struggle per se, however, would have to await the Soweto Uprising and the murder of Steve Biko's death, a spate of demonstrations by students in support of divestiture would break out at a number of university and college campuses."[497] The shared heightened awareness of how bad race relations continued to be in South Africa contrasted sharply with a world that appeared to be moving towards a more sympathetic understanding of racial differences. South Africa, a nation that was once capable of obfuscating the collective condemnation of the international community, now essentially grew to be recognized as a pariah.

In the United States, some African Americans used the renewed attention and energy given to the hardships endured by black South Africans to create political organizations in hopes of influencing U.S. foreign policy. In the fall of 1976, a few months after the Soweto Uprising, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) organized a Black Leadership Conference on Southern Africa.[498] More than 100 attendees representing black churches, civil rights and labor organizations, and elected officials attended the conference. Donald Culverson documents, "The group produced a document criticizing U.S. policy toward the region, and outlined an eleven-

[496] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 310.
[497] Lulat, *U.S. Relations with South Africa*, 305.
[498] The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) is a political organization made up of African American members of Congress. It was established in 1971 with the goal of using the political system improve the lives of people of African descent both domestically and abroad. The CBC aimed to improve education, healthcare, and economic opportunities for African Americans.

point plan for improvement of American-Southern African relations. Conferees laid the foundations for establishing TransAfrica, the first mass-blacked foreign policy lobby, in July 1977."[499] Under the leadership of African American lawyer Randall Robinson; TransAfrica became an advocacy and lobbying group for the concerns of people of African descent. One component of TransAfrica's initial platform goals was to encourage entertainers to observe the cultural boycott.

Black protest organizations in the United States and South Africa such as the Black United Front (BUF), the Patrice Lumumba Coalition in the United States, Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) in South Africa challenged entertainers who ignored the cultural boycotts more directly than the organizations of the past. AZAPO picketed concerts in South Africa. Artists who returned to the United States after performing under apartheid also faced being picketed by local anti-apartheid factions. In a formal appeal to foreign artists, AZAPO explained, "Artists who come to South Africa are insensitive to our feelings and are imbued with capitalistic greed. Granted, many of them are talented in the field of music and are regarded as heroes by our people, but must they stoop so low by siding with the enemy of humanity?"[500] AZAPO further claimed that entertainers who performed in South Africa, especially black artists, were being used by the South African government to polish the image of South Africa abroad.

The intensified organized efforts after Soweto to reinforce the cultural boycott can be observed when rumors emerged that heavyweight boxing champion Leon Spinks considered

[499] Donald Culverson, "From Cold War to Global Interdependence: The Political Economy of African American Antiapartheid Activism, 1968-1988," in *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, edited by Brenda Gayle Plummer (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003) 231.
[500] M.F., "U.S. Entertainers: In Step with Apartheid," *Southern Africa* Vol. 15, No. 5, December 1982: 3, *http://www.aluka.org/action/showMetadata?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.nusa198212.* (Accessed October 4, 2013)

taking a title fight in Bophuthatswana in 1978. On March 8, 1978, Leon Spinks announced that he would fight Muhammad Ali in a rematch fight for the world heavyweight title. Word surfaced that promoter Bob Arum and his organization Top Rank Inc. made tentative plans to schedule the $14 million fight to take place in Bophuthatswana at the Southern Sun Hotels.[501] The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Rev. Jesse Jackson and his organization Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), the American Committee on Africa and other anti-apartheid activists vehemently spoke out against the proposed fight. Rev. Jesse Jackson hyperbolically decried, "Louis fought Schmeling to free us from the midst of inferiority and this fight would declare us to be inferior all over again."[502] The Coalition for Human Rights in South Africa, an ad-hoc group that included the NAACP, the National Urban League, the National Committee of Negro Women and other black publications and churches, planned to protest the fight if Spinks and Ali agreed to fight in South Africa.

Top Rank decided to change the location of the fight; with Ali and Spinks deciding on New Orleans instead of South Africa. In an interview with Hunter S. Thompson, Ali was asked about his thoughts on fighting in South Africa. Thompson suggested to Ali that he should fight and beat a white boxer in South Africa to provide black South Africans with a metaphorical sense of inspiration; something akin to the Louis vs. Schmeling match in 1938. Ali responded by saying he was intrigued by the idea but any decision to fight in South Africa, regardless of the opponent or circumstance, was deeper than sport. He feared that a fight with a white South African, if he beat him bad enough, may result in even more stringent laws being enacted against

[501] Jeffery Sammons, *Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988) 231.
[502] Michael Katz, "Spinks Picks Ali as Next Foe; Blacks Oppose South Africa Site," *New York Times*, March 9, 1978. D15.

black South Africans. Ali surmised, "I wouldn't fool with it. I'm a representative of black people. It's too touchy…it's more than a sport when I get involved."[503]

Butch Lewis, the Executive Vice-President of Top Rank Inc., had an issue with being targeted by the antiapartheid activists. Lewis argued that Bophuthatswana was originally presented to Top Rank Inc. as an independent location. He honestly admitted he did not know much about Bophuthatswana, but after checking into the situation he decided that it would be in the best interest of all parties involved to move the location of the fight. Lewis then directed his attention to the protest efforts of The Coalition for Human Rights in South Africa . Lewis told Jet Magazine, "They should have known that as a Black man, Butch Lewis is certainly going to watch that South Africa story himself. They just took it upon themselves to tell us what, where and when to promote. Secondly, we had three backup sites, and as soon as I saw the political situation, we changed."[504] The statements given by Ali and Lewis both reveal a connection, or moral responsibility, to black people in the diaspora. This intrinsic cultural ethic code led both men to the similar conclusion that the South Africa should not be chosen to host the fight.

African American singer Dobie Gray took a different approach than Top Rank Inc. Rather than observe the cultural boycott, Gray agreed to perform in South Africa. However, before agreeing to perform in South Africa, Gray stipulated that he would only do so if he was granted permission to perform before integrated audiences. When pressured to cancel the tour by anti-apartheid activists, Gray defiantly retorted, "My career is my own business. I'll sing where people want to listen to me." He later expounded on his reasons for accepting the tour by claiming, "I've come out for the people of South Africa and not politics or the government."[505]

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[503] Mike Marquese, *Redemption Song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties* (New York: Verso, 2005) 162.
[504] "Spinks-Ali African Date a Mistake, Says Promoter," *Jet*, March 30, 1978. 47.
[505] "Dobie Gray a Hit in S. Africa," *Atlanta Daily World*, June 29, 1978, 6.

The South African government agreed to Gray's stipulation and Gray became the first artist allowed to perform in South Africa in front of an integrated audience. In 1978, Gray conducted a 5- week tour in which he performed over 50 shows in Cape Town, Johannesburg, East London, Port Elizabeth and Durban.[506] The tour was a financial success. Altogether, Gray performed before 125,000 people and earned a gross income of approximately over half a million dollars.[507]

Upon returning to the United States, Gray encouraged other American artists to follow in his footsteps. He proclaimed, "It would be good for most artists to go there. We don't realize how starved for good entertainment they are or how big American artists are over there. And the money was so good, I couldn't pass it up. It was a terrific experience."[508] Gray seemed to be motivated for the most part by selfish reasons to ignore the cultural boycott. He was an extremely popular artist in South Africa. Prior to the tour he had seven certified gold records in South Africa. However, none of his statements before or after the tour reveal that he had given any thought about blacks suffering under apartheid. The most he said about the political situation in South Africa was that he felt tension in the air during this trip which he attributed to being the result of contending with "outside aggression."[509]

Actors and married couple, Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee emerged during the mid -1970s as two of the activists who refused to perform in South Africa and used their celebrity to speak out against apartheid in formal settings. Together and separately, Ossie and Ruby Davis increased awareness in the United States. The couple who met in 1946 when the both attended rehearsal for Robert Ardrey's play *Jeb* at the New Amsterdam Theater in New York, had a penchant for using their art to fight racism in the United States. Davis and Dee were members and supporters

[506] "Dobie Gray Back from South African Tour," *Lakeland Ledger*, July 23, 1978.
[507] "Dobie Gray a Hit in S. Africa," *Atlanta Daily World*, June 29, 1978, 6.
[508] "Dobie Gray Back from South African Tour," *Lakeland Ledger*, July 23, 1978
[509] Ibid.

of a variety of civil rights organizations such as Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the NAACP, SNCC, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

In regards to South Africa, from 1974 to 1978 the Davis duo ran a weekly radio show, "The Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee Story Hour," that was broadcasted to 65 radio stations nationwide.[510] In 1977 Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis invited South African poet Molefe Pheto. Pheto was a member of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BMCA) who was detained in 1975 and exiled in 1977. On "The Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee Story Hour," Pheto, Dee, and Davis discussed the dreadful conditions of the prisons in South Africa.[511] Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis were also featured speakers in a public forum on "The Imprisoned Society of South Africa." This forum, sponsored by the Fairfield County Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, took place November 19, 1978 in the Coleytown Junior High school auditorium.[512] Ruby Dee also collaborated with the Educators against Racism and Apartheid in 1985 to serve as a narrator for *Apartheid is Wrong: A Curriculum for Young People*. It was a filmstrip and cassette project that provided educators a curriculum for introducing South African history to students.[513]

On March 18, 1978 actor Ossie Davis and comedian Dick Gregory led a group of 2,000 demonstrators in Nashville to protest the Davis Cup tennis match because it included a team from South Africa. The group marched with banners decrying apartheid from the city capital to Centennial Park; across the street from where the match was being held at Vanderbilt University. Ossie Davis quipped, "I say if you ain't going to play fair, take my damn name off that cup."[514]

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[510] "Awards Banquets Celebrity Co-Hosts: Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee," *US Black Engineer*, Volume 14 Number 1 (1990): 112.
[511] Ruby Dee, "Swingin' Gently," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 24, 1977, B7.
[512] "Dee, Davis to Appear at South Africa Forum," *The Hour*, November 16, 1978. 46.
[513] "Resources," *United States Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, (Winter 1988) 3(1): 9.
[514] "Gregory, Ossie Davis Insure South African Fall On and Off Tennis Court," *Jet Magazine*, April 6, 1978, 53.

Once the demonstrators arrived to Centennial Park there was a program that featured gospel music, poetry and civil rights slogans. A select group of demonstrators became more aggressive once the tennis match was over. They lined the exit ramp and pointed their fingers while shouting "Racist!" at those who were leaving the match. One young man was arrested for throwing rocks at the patrons. Overall the demonstration was peaceful but not as successful as it was originally planned. The organizers had originally hoped that as many as 40,000 would be drawn to the demonstration.[515]

Sometimes the expectations that were put upon black American entertainers from anti-apartheid activists may have seemed extreme to the entertainer. Singer Melba Moore, who had publicly refused to perform in South Africa, faced some criticism from the African American press after a white South African woman, Margaret Gardiner, won the 1978 Miss Universe competition. Moore was implicated in Gardiner's victory because she served as one of the eleven judges for the competition. The pageant was on held on July 19-24, 1978 in Acapulco, Mexico.[516] Moore was singled out by the *Afro American* newspaper because she was the only African American judge on the panel. The *Afro American* argued that Moore, as the only black judge on the panel, should have taken more of a stance against Gardiner winning the title. They argued that Gardiner represented the apartheid regime. She was part of the minority population in South Africa, yet she was chosen to represent the nation in the contest. She epitomized what was taking place in South Africa in regards to the land and resources being usurped by the minority population. Gardiner even defended apartheid claiming that it would be "disastrous" if blacks were allowed to be in control of the government.[517] Moore did not respond directly to the

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[515] Associated Press, "Racial Policies Protested," *Victoria Advocate*, March 19, 1978.
[516] "Melba Moore Named Miss Universe Pageant Judge," *Jet*, May 18, 1978, 62.
[517] Gerard Burke, "Melba didn't vote for 'Queen of Racism,'" *The Afro American*, August 12, 1978.

criticism but her husband Charles Huggins came to her defense. He informed the press that Moore did not vote for Gardiner. He added, "What you should have written about is Gulf & Western who put up the money for the contest instead of Melba, who as an artist is not the person to lash out against such happenings."[518]

Whenever it seemed as if the international community was softening its stance towards South Africa, another incident would remind foreign artists that apartheid was still alive and in full effect. Three months after Margaret Gardiner won Miss Universe, African American entertainer Richard Roundtree had an encounter with apartheid laws in Johannesburg. Roundtree, an actor most known at this time for his Blaxploitation character *Shaft*, was in South Africa to film scenes for the movie *Game of Vultures* (1979). *Game of Vultures* was a British film released in 1979 based on a novel by Michael Hartmann about the Rhodesian Bush War (Second Chimurenga).[519]

During a break from filming, Roundtree ventured into a liquor store in Johannesburg and was told that because he was black, he was required to use another entrance in order to be served like his white counterparts. Describing his feelings after being forced to re-enter the liquor store through the "black" door, Roundtree revealed, "I can tell you that I was on a rollercoaster for a minute there. I had all these emotions surging through me. But I didn't think it was worth a big scene. So I just laughed it off. But it wasn't the hah-hah funny kind of laugh."[520] A big scene could have been dangerous for Roundtree and resulted in physical intervention from police officers.

[518] "Entertainment," *Racine Courier*, September 2, 1978.
[519] *Game of Vultures.* DVD. Directed by James Fargo. United Kingdom: Columbia Pictures, 1979
[520] William Nicholson, "Movie About Guerrilla War in Rhodesia is Being Made," *Toledo Blade*, October 20, 1978.

In 1979, The Jacksons (formerly known as the Jackson 5) were asked to consider adding a show in South Africa to their 10th anniversary world tour. The group initially accepted the offer; ignoring the international fervor of antiapartheid activists who called for more emboldened efforts after witnessing the atrocity of the Soweto uprising. Several black organizations threatened to boycott The Jacksons worldwide if they followed through with the plans.[521] Elizabeth Sibeko, wife of David Sibeko, the Pan African Congress (PAC) director of Foreign Affairs and representative to the United Nations, called the Jacksons' management company to convince them to observe the cultural boycott of South Africa. The management representative curtly informed Sibeko that the tour was already set and that the Jacksons were going to perform.

Despite this initial rebuff, Elizabeth Sibeko was able to attain the phone number of father/manager of the group, Joe Jackson. Sibeko placed a call to the father/manager and left a message. According to Sibeko, Joe Jackson called back annoyed at being asked to turn down such a lucrative opportunity; especially given the fact that other artists, such as the O'Jays, had already performed in South Africa. However, after a lengthy conversation, Joe relented and cancelled the show in South Africa.[522] When the Jacksons turned down the concert, it was offered to the legendary male singing group the Temptations who accepted the offer. The concert took place ironically on, May 25, 1979, African Liberation Day, a day that was set to commemorate the formation of the Organization of African Unity.[523]

Back in the United States, Harry Belafonte, urged African Americans to do more. Speaking at a TransAfrica rally-reception at the home of Frank and Norma Harvey, Belafonte

[521] Charles L. Sanders, "The Jacksons: Famed Brothers are No Longer Little Boys" *Ebony Magazine*, September 1979, 38.
[522] Michael Fisher, "Letter to Jim Morey," February 13, 1992, Box 30 Folder Culture and Cultural Boycott, PAC UN Mission (New York), Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University Libraries.
[523] The Temptations and Shelly Berger/Star Directions, Inc., "Press Release: The Following is a Statement by Famed Recording Artists, The Temptation," June 29, 1984, Box 16, Folder: Unity in Action, MS 1499 E.S. Reddy Papers, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

delivered a speech in which he stressed how integrated the black freedom struggles were in the United States and South Africa. He scolded, "It is about time we stop being selfish and misled about how much we are participants in the process when in fact we participate too little."[524] According to Belafonte, African Americans needed to get more involved in the political process in the United States. He also implored African Americans to take advantage of the gains made with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 by voting the right people in the political office to influence foreign policy. If blacks did not vote, Belafonte believed the youth would not understand the significance of the accomplishments of the civil rights movement.

Moreover, during the rally, Belafonte suggested that there was a connection between African liberation and African American freedom. He declared, "When there is a protest in Africa against oppression, the outcome has an effect on how blacks are treated in America. If Africa isn't liberated, we aren't liberated. If we aren't liberated, Africa isn't liberated."[525] Belafonte concluded by acknowledging the influence TransAfrica was having in working with many African nations and politicians in the United States. Belafonte's speech highlights how during this time period, more so than any other time period before, there was a push by anti-apartheid organizations in the United States to develop a strong enough support base to influence foreign policy. Engaging athletes and entertainers to publicly denounce South Africa was one of the tactics these organizations used to popularize their cause.

Inversely, the United States government also attempted to co-opt the support of African American entertainers during the late 1980s to foster solid diplomatic relationships with leaders of independent African nations. In 1980, Muhammad Ali was asked by the Carter Administration

[524] Ed Davis, "Belafonte Tells Blacks to Take Political Stand," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, July 19, 1979, A1.
[525] Davis, "Belafonte Tells Blacks to Take Political Stand," A1.

to tour Africa and speak with leaders in hopes of convincing them to boycott the 1980 Olympic Games that were scheduled to take place in Moscow. The boycott was meant to protest the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. Ali accepted the presidential assignment thinking that he could be effective in easing Cold War tensions and be of some help in preventing a nuclear war from happening. However once he reached African soil, Ali found that his message was not welcomed. Leaders like President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania refused to speak with Ali. Instead they urged the boxer to ask the United States government to speak out about the atrocities taking place in South Africa.[526] These leaders felt as though the United States government was requesting a commitment from Africa that the U.S. was not willing to fulfill when the need arose just four years earlier.

Ali was frustrated throughout the tour. He told reporters that he felt he was set up by President Jimmy Carter to take a metaphorical "whipping" from black South Africans.[527] He admitted that had he had known the history prior, he would have declined Carter's proposed assignment. Ali told reporters that he intended to go back to the United State and deliver a message to President Carter. "What you want the Africans to do is something you didn't do for them," he explained. "It's simple. If you make a move against South Africa, then these people will be glad to aid you."[528] Ali continued the tour and spoke candidly about the shortcomings of the Carter administration's foreign policy.

Another African American boxer, John Tate, found himself in a similar quandary as Ali. In 1979, Tate was scheduled to fight white South African boxer Gerrie Coetzee for the World

[526] African leaders in particular took issue with the United States government's refusal to join a boycott of the 1976 Summer Olympic Games in Montreal. The boycott was largely supported by independent Africans nations after the International Olympic Committee allowed New Zealand to participate in the games despite New Zealand's rugby team defying the United Nations call for a cultural boycott of South Africa.
[527] Associated Press, "Muhammad Ali Blasts Carter after Criticism," *Evening Independent*, February 4, 1980.
[528] Ibid.

Boxing Association heavyweight championship; a title that Ali was vacating with the onset of his retirement. Boxing promoter Bob Arum originally told members of the press that the fight would take place in South Africa. Arum stipulated that certain conditions had to be met first.[529] Tate had previously fought Kallie Knoetze in the nominally independent Bantustan Bophuthatswana. Arum proposed that the fight between Tate and Coetzee take place in Pretoria on October 29, 1979.

The anti-apartheid community quickly responded to Arum's proposal. Rev. Jesse Jackson took the lead in forming opposition to the fight. In July, Jackson visited South Africa and vowed before an audience of nearly 4,000 people in the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church in Soweto that he would try to stop the upcoming fight between Tate and Coetzee.[530] Members of the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society protested outside of the television network NBC building. They carried signs that read: "A Punch by Coetzee is a Punch for Apartheid"; "Arum Promotes Apartheid"; "Stop the Fight"; and "Sports for the people, not for the fascists."[531] Bob Arum was dismissive of the protestors. "They're really not afraid that the fight is in South Africa," proclaimed Arum. "They are afraid Coetzee will win the fight. That's racism."[532]

Tate also came under fire. Larry Holmes, another African American boxer, accused Tate of putting money above everything else. "I will fight anyone, anywhere except in South Africa," Holmes explained. "I am a black man. Every day I look in the mirror and I can see that. Nothing can change that, no amount of money. When I die, I'll be black. So why do something that I

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[529] Associated Press, "John Tate Reluctant about African Fight," *The Spokesman-Review*, June 28, 1979.
[530] Associated Press, "South Africa Blacks Cheer Pledge by Jesse Jackson," *The Spokesman-Review*, July 30, 1970.
[531] Associated Press, "Controversy Raging over Tate-Coetzee Fight in South Africa," *Herald-Journal*, August 2, 1979.
[532] IBID

don't believe that will be against my people. They call black people coons and have separate drinking fountains for niggers (in South Africa)."[533] Rev. Jesse Jackson was also heavily critical of Tate. He went so far as to accuse Tate of being a traitor.[534] Randall Robinson also lamented the proposed fight. The leader of TransAfrica explained, "South Africa itself is the real winner regardless of the victor. With the world watching on television, they can say 'Look at what we've done, we've integrated our sports programs and the audience.' But in reality, it's only cosmetic change. It's all just for one day."[535]

Tate responded to critics by relying on the trite argument that he was just in South Africa to do his job. According to Tate, "South Africa has a lot of good things and a lot of bad things. But I ain't the governor of this country. The people themselves got to change things. So why start a lot of trouble for me? I got to make a living. Jesse Jackson has his job and I got my job. I get paid to box and he gets paid to talk."[536] Tate also mentioned that while he was offered $400,000 to fight, he was primarily motivated by the opportunity to become a champion. "All those people who say don't go to Africa; Do they say they'll get me a title fight somewhere else?" quipped Tate to reporters who questioned him about the anti-apartheid protestors.[537]

Tate went through with the fight but his experiences in South Africa were peculiar and demonstrate how the political landscape was changing in South Africa. Prior to the fight Tate and Coetzee visited a local all-black grade school outside of Johannesburg. The principal of the school asked Tate to speak to the students; thinking that students would be thrilled to hear from the black fighter. However the students did not identify with Tate and were upset that they did

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[533] "Tate Criticized for Taking Bout in South Africa," *Eugene Register-Guard*, August 18, 1979.
[534] Dick Young, "Tate Looks Past Coetzee," *The Evening Independent*, October 19, 1979.
[535] "WBA Title Will Be Loser in Tate's S. African Bout," *Jet Magazine*, October 1979, 50.
[536] Associated Press, "Tate Not Nervous about Title Fight," *The Victoria Advocate*, October 18, 1979.
[537] "Tate Looks Past Coetzee," *The Evening Independent*, October 19, 1979.

not get the chance to hear from Coetzee, the "fellow" South African. The students reportedly refused to go to back to their class until they heard from Coetzee.[538] Even days leading up to the fight it was reported that blacks in Soweto had a general feeling of apathy towards the fight. Dr. Ntahto Motlana, a prominent physician and anti-apartheid activist in Soweto, accused Tate of being used and acting like an "honorary white."[539]

Motlana's assertion highlights how the laws of apartheid were relaxed when African American entertainers performed in South Africa. After the fight, Tate was accused of taking advantage of this privilege. An Austrian-born, 25 year-old blonde model named Mercedes Kornfeld claimed that after the fight she and Tate had a sexual encounter despite the Immorality Act which prohibited sexual relationships between white people and people of other races. Kornfeld bragged to the press about how 10 days before the fight she was able to trick her way into the Tate's company by pretending to be a member of the press. Once she was granted access to the camp, according to Kornfeld she was able to catch Tate's eye. After the fight, she joined to Tate for a victory party, where things quickly escalated. Kornfeld mentions that Tate was hesitant at first because of the South African laws but his manager Ace Miller advised him to "be free."[540] Kornfeld continued to tell the press about intimate details of her night with Tate; describing him as affectionate and a man that she could possibly love.

Initially when Tate was asked about Kornfeld's assertions, he stated that he thought it was cute that she described their "lovemaking." A month later, perhaps after learning of the gravity of the South African law, Tate denied sleeping with Kornfeld.[541] According to Tate, after the fight he talked with Kornfeld and group of other women briefly before going to his hotel

[538] Milton Richman, "The Kids Don't Care about Boxer's Color," *Ellensburg Daily Record*, September 27, 1979.
[539] Ed Schuyler, "Tate, Coetzee Battle for Title," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, October 20, 1979.
[540] Douglas Alexander, "Champion is 'the Greatest' in the Bedroom, too," *The Age*, October 29, 1979.
[541] Associated Press, "Boxer Tate Denies Sleeping with Model," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, November 2, 1979.

room alone. Kornfeld faced trepidation after the fight. She was arrested for having an expired passport. She believed that she was being targeted for transgressing South Africa's miscegenation laws. The Tate debacle sullied the South African government's attempt use the fight for positive publicity.[542]

There was perhaps arguably no bigger threat to the cultural boycott of South Africa during the late 1970s and 1980s than the Sun City resort. It was officially opened for business on December 7, 1979 in Bophuthatswana. Sol Kerzner, a South African businessman and accountant, created the resort with hopes of making it the premier place for respite and leisure in South Africa.[543] A large part of Kerzner's marketing plan for Sun City was based on the argument that the resort was not technically a part of South Africa. Bophuthatswana was originally a homeland area (Bantustan) that was set aside for the Tswana people in 1961. Its name translates to "gathering of the Tswana people." In June 1972 Bophuthatswana was declared a self-governing state and on December 6, 1977 it was granted "independence" by the South African government.[544]

Although no country other than South Africa recognized Bophuthatswana's independence, Kerzner still claimed that the Sun City resort was not technically a part of South Africa. He envisioned the resort being akin to a Las-Vegas style hotel, where blacks and whites

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[542] Douglas Alexander, "The Hounding Begins for Kornfeld," *The Age*, November 2, 1979.
[543] Sol Kerzner was born in 1935 in Durban to Jewish parents who emigrated from Russia. They ran a small kosher hotel in Durban which eventually branched into a chain of hotels. As a young man, Kerzner served in the South African army and later graduated from the University of Witwatersrand with a degree in accounting. In 1960, Kerzner bought the small Palace hotel in Durban and quickly made it profitable. After the Palace proved to be successful, Kerzner bought several other hotels including South Africa's first five-star hotel in Umhlanga, Natal. Not much is known about Kerzner's political position. During apartheid, he appeared to remain neutral and focused on his business ventures. After South Africa became independent, Kerzner did secretly give money to the African National Congress (ANC). Nelson Mandela has described him a one of South Africa's greatest entrepreneurs in the tourism industry. For more see, "Biography of Sol Kerzner," *African Success*, last modified September 12, 2008, http://www.africansuccess.org/visuFiche.php?id=713&lang=en.
[544] "Bophuthatswana" *South African History Online*, last modified January 11, 2012, http://www.sahistory.org.za/places/bophuthatswana.

could escape the stringent laws and rules in South Africa and enjoy gambling and entertainment. Kerzner even marketed Sun City as a "Fantasy Island" that was in South Africa but not bound by its rigid laws and cultural customs. It was suggested that in Bophuthatswana people were free to enjoy an easygoing atmosphere, where the laws of apartheid did not apply. Both black and white South Africans instantly took to the resort. Located just two and half hours from Johannesburg, Sun City quickly became a desired destination. In a special that aired on CBS' television news show "60 minutes," it was reported that when Kerzner opened Sun City he originally planned to accommodate 2,000 visitors a day but it end up averaging 20,000 visitors on weekends.[545]

The Vegas-style opulence that characterized Sun City, led some entertainers who ventured to perform to feel like they were in a completely different country. Sun City promoters were able to procure performances from several international artists; including several African American artists such as Peaches and Herb, Ray Simpson and Alex Briley of the Village People, and Stephanie Mills. Torsten Sanner noted that African American entertainers who took shows at Sun City were met with "especially harsh judgments."[546] In 1985, Artists United Against Apartheid also released a song entitled, "Sun City." The record, written by Steven Van Zandt, was a benefit record similar to "We are the World." The proceeds from the record sales were donated to anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa. Unlike "We are the World," "Sun City" expressed a more critical stance.

R&B singer Betty Wright was another African American entertainer who ignored the cultural boycott and later regretted her choice after experiencing South African prejudice

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[545] Morley Safer, "Fantasy Island," *60 Minutes*, CBS Television Network, Volume XIV, Number 19, February 7, 1982, MS 1499 E.S. Reddy Papers, Box 7, Folder Sun City (1982-1987), Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
[546] Torsten Sanner, "Playing Sun City: The Politics of Entertainment at a South African Mega-Resort," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2011)

firsthand. On April 25, 1980, Wright attempted to record a performance for television and lead a concert series in South Africa. Wright received a harsh introduction to apartheid while recording at the South African Broadcasting Corporation studios in Johannesburg. Members of Wright's group attempted to visit the company's lounge area for snack and refreshments during one of the breaks from recording. Upon arriving to the lounge, the group was informed that the facility was for whites only. Wright, infuriated, cancelled her performance and left the studios later stating that she was "bitter and disgusted" about the way the group was treated.[547]

Betty Wright was a part of a group of black entertainers who became involved in publicly about speaking against apartheid only after experiencing the restrictive nature of apartheid laws firsthand. Wright, like other black entertainers who visited South Africa during the late twentieth century, was afforded an "honorary white" status that allowed her and her group to travel throughout South Africa without experiencing the full restrictions of apartheid law. When the "honorary white" status failed to protect African American entertainers from discrimination, they usually responded by joining the anti-apartheid struggle. One reader of *JET* magazine wrote a letter to the editor critiquing entertainers like Wright who were willing to overlook apartheid until they experienced it firsthand. The critic, H.R. Spencer, proclaimed, "Ms. Wright is a prime example of a person who ignored a problem 'til it confronted her. South Africa's apartheid policy is a problem that should not be ignored. Black people should lead protests all over the world against dehumanizing policies."[548]

On December 17, 1981, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution No. 36172. This resolution allowed the UN Special Committee against Apartheid to publish a list of

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[547] "A Black Singer Cancels Concert in South Africa," *New York Times*, April 28, 1980, A4.; "Betty Wright Cancels South African TV Show," *Jet Magazine*, May 22, 1980, 54.
[548] H.R. Spencer, "Readers Rap: The Wright Action?..." *Jet Magazine*, June 12, 1980, 4.

athletes and entertainers who performed in South Africa. The register list was intended to publicize the UN cultural boycott and shame entertainers who ignored the boycott. The first list was published in 1983 and included a list of athletes and entertainers who performed in South Africa; dating back to January 1, 1981. Any entertainer, who made the list, could have their name removed by submitting a document to the UN Special Committee against Apartheid stating that they will comply with the cultural boycott. The list was published in the "Notes and Documents" series of the UN Special Committee against apartheid.[549]

The UN blacklist was crucial to improving the effectiveness of the cultural boycott. It was the first time that artists were singled out for performing in South Africa. Prior to the UN blacklist anti-apartheid organizations tended to highlight artists who pledged not to go to South Africa. The UN register provided extrinsic motivation to entertainers who generally depended upon being likeable among the general public for their livelihood. To be seen as someone who ignored the suffering of others or at worst profited from them, would sully the artist's reputation. Anti-apartheid organizations used the UN register and began to target artists who were on the list. They also sent letters to the entertainers whenever they were informed that the performer was offered a contract to perform in South Africa.

As a result of the UN blacklist, more artists began turning down offers to play South Africa throughout the 1980s. Ben Vereen was offered a concert series at Sun City. In a March 1981 radio interview with WLIB-AM NY, an all-black news station, Vereen claimed that he heard a lot about South Africa but wanted to experience the country first-hand.[550] The anti-apartheid activists were successful in convincing Vereen not to accept the offer to play Sun City.

[549] Anti-Apartheid Movement, "The UN Cultural Boycott," August 28, 1962, Box Fe-Embargoes and Boycott 1963 - 1991, E.S. Reddy Papers, University of Witwatersrand-William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg, South Africa.
[550] "Entertainment Briefs," *Atlanta Daily World*, March 26, 1981, 9.

From 1980 to 1983 disco singer Sylvester was offered a chance to perform in South Africa four different times. He turned down all of the offers. The last offer he received in 1983 was to perform at halftime for a soccer game in Johannesburg. Sylvester's manager sent a letter to the UN Centre against Apartheid to find out if there were some exceptions to the cultural boycott that would allow Sylvester to perform in South Africa without violating the boycott.[551] The assistant secretary of the UN Centre against Apartheid responded to McKenna, by informing him the boycott was a total boycott with no exceptions.[552]

Phyllis Hyman was also offered $100,000 to perform a four-week tour in South Africa in 1981. Hyman later remarked that she was initially surprised by the lucrative offer. However she insisted, "I could not tour South Africa under any circumstances. I have a moral commitment that supersedes money. I am totally aware of the South Africa situation and therefore I can't plead ignorance."[553] She later expressed in *Jet* magazine that her decision to turn down the South Africa offer was motivated by a sense of racial solidarity with black South Africans. "We have an obligation to Black folks," Hyman professed. "I don't think we have the right to do anything we want when the community says 'no go.' If it weren't for Black folks, we Black artists would not be where we are today. We owe them something."[554]

In May of 1982 Sun City management extended an invitation to the Harlem Globetrotters. Founded in 1926, the Harlem Globetrotters were an exhibition basketball team that found creative ways to mix sports and entertainment. Arthur Harvey, president of the

[551] Tim McKenna, "Letter to Centre Against Apartheid," November 7, 1983, Box 51, MS 1499 E.S. Reddy Papers, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
[552] E.S. Reddy, "Letter to Tim McKenna," November 7, 1983, Box 51, MS 1499 E.S. Reddy Papers, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
[553] Norman (Otis) Richmond, "Phyllis Hyman: South African Freedom Fighter," *The Black American*, , Vol. 22, No. 52, (December 29th – January 4th 1984), MS 1499 E.S. Reddy Papers, Box 51, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 14.
[554] "Words of the Week," *Jet Magazine*, April 22, 1985, 37.

Globetrotters initially accepted the offer to play four games at the casino resort.[555] Anti-apartheid organizations such as the Organization for African Unity and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid spoke against the Harlem Globetrotters and implored others to boycott their future performances. Richard Lapchick, a consultant to the UN committee was particularly disturbed by the notion that the Globetrotters were black entertainers who were willing to violate the boycott. Lapchick lamented, "It's one thing for the South African to bring a series of white entertainers there because one might expect you could get whites who don't care about the racial issue, but when you get black athletes it's another thing."[556]

The anti-apartheid organizations were successful in convincing the Harlem Globetrotters to cancel to tour. The vice president of the Globetrotters, Joseph Aro, stated that the group had been misled by South African promoters who promised that they would be allowed to perform before an integrated audience and that Sun City was not located South Africa but in "independent" Bophuthatswana.[557] Upon learning that no other nation recognized Bophuthatswana's independence, the trip was cancelled.

In regards to African American entertainers, the 1980s appears to be the height of the cultural boycott. During this decade more African American artists were vocal about pledging their support to the anti-apartheid struggle. The growing fervor coalesced at the 1985 Academy Awards when pianist/singer Stevie Wonder accepted his Oscar for the song "I Just Called to Say I Love You" on behalf of the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.[558] The South African government quickly responded to Wonder's statement, which was viewed by one billion viewers

[555] Associated Press, "Globetrotters to Play in Africa," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, May 14, 1982.
[556] IBID
[557] Associated Press, "Globetrotters Dunk South African Trip," *Boca Raton News*, May 14, 1982.
[558] Conrad W. Worrill, "The Genius of Stevie Wonder," *Chicago Metro News*, April 14, 1985.

in 77 countries, by banning his records from the radio.[559] When asked how he felt about the ban, Stevie Wonder reasoned, "If my being banned means people will be free, ban me mega-times."[560] That same year, the United Nations honored singer/pianist Stevie Wonder for his public stance against apartheid.[561]

Following Stevie Wonder's Oscar dedication, *Jet Magazine* published an article detailing some of the efforts African American entertainers were making in support of the anti-apartheid movement. Along with Stevie Wonder, they highlighted some of the lesser known acts of support that transpired. For instance, actress Denise Nicholas served as a co-chair for a black-tie dinner that raised $50,000 to support an anti-apartheid organization. Nicholas encouraged artists not to go to South Africa. She exclaimed, "I don't think we should have any part in propping up a government that is so racist and repressive. By participating in that way, we are helping them."[562] Another artist, jazz musician Joe Williams, also turned down an offer to play in South Africa. Williams argued that he turned it down out of solidarity with blacks in South Africa. "I don't believe in going any place where you are not really wanted," explained Joe Williams. "Some people may do it for money, but as many times as I've been asked, I have refused."[563] In 1986, Billy Ocean reportedly turned down 2 million dollars to perform "Love is Forever," at a South African millionaire's wedding.[564] Ocean was among a group of stars like Natalie Cole, Diana Ross, Roberta Flack, and Bill Cosby who refused to accept money to tour South Africa.[565]

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[559] Peter Noel, "South Africa Bans Stevie," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 30, 1985, p.1.
[560] "Stevie Wonder Tells Why He Takes Risks in Fight to Destroy South Africa's Racism," *JET Magazine*, September 9, 1985, 14-15.
[561] "Anti-Apartheid Committee Holds Special Meeting in Honour of Stevie Wonder," United Nations – Department of Public Information, MS 1499 E.S. Reddy Papers, Box 51, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, May 13,
[562] "Should Famous Blacks Entertain in South Africa?" *Jet Magazine*, May 27, 1985, 54.
[563] IBID
[564] "Money Can't Buy You Love," *Daily Challenge*, November 21, 1986, 3, Box 30, Folder: Culture and Cultural Boycott (1983-1992), PAC UN Mission (New York), University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa.
[565] Minor Roberts, Millie Sues Newark for Concert Boycott," *New York Amsterdam News*, November 10, 1984.

Despite the cultural boycott's increased visibility during the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were still some artists who ignored the boycott. In examining the statements made by African American artists who continued to travel to South Africa, it appears many held that the cultural boycott was not beneficial to black South Africans. In other words, to suggest that these artists were solely interested in going to South Africa for the money may be misleading.

Even when those stars violated the cultural boycott, anti-apartheid activists were able to use the artist's notoriety to spread awareness. Elombe Brath, co-Chairman of the Harlem-based Patrice Lumumba Coalition firmly held that black entertainers could be particularly useful in introducing more black youth to the injustices taking place in South Africa. "We think this is very important, particularly in the case of youth, and most particularly in the case of Black youth who often don't have a consciousness around South Africa." Brath continued, "They worship these stars, know all about them, how much money they make, how many clothes they have, everything. When they come to a concert they see their particular star is being boycotted. About what? About South Africa? What's wrong with South Africa? And so they start to see."[566]

Singer/musician Ray Charles was singled out in the 80s for not being sympathetic to the plight of black South Africans. Charles toured South Africa twice in 1980 and 1981. What was particularly disturbing about Ray Charles' refusal to observe the cultural boycott, was his aloof attitude about the problems in South Africa. When questioned about his presence in South Africa Ray Charles told a Cape Town reporter, "I don't live here. I know that every country I have been in has some kind of problem, so what's the big deal?"[567] Charles would soon find out how big of a deal his performance in South Africa was to Black South Africans. Members of the Azanian

[566] Mike Fleshman, "Building a Cultural Boycott" *Southern Africa* 16 (1983): 4.
[567] M.F., "U.S. Entertainers: In Step with Apartheid," *Southern Africa* Vol. 15, No. 5, December 1982: 3, *http://www.aluka.org/action/showMetadata?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.nusa198212.* (Accessed October 4, 2013)

People's Organization (AZAPO), the Congress of South African Students, and MDALI forced the cancellation of two of Charles' planned concerts in Soweto, including one that was scheduled to take place on October 19, 1980. Protestors in the Black township of Welkom threw rocks at Ray Charles and his entourage.

When Charles returned to the U.S., he was met with more criticism from local anti-apartheid groups. On October 23, 1982, 200 protestors showed up with pickets at Ray Charles' concert at New York's Beacon Theater. The protestors were led by two black community organizations, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the Black United Front.[568] In 1983, the Coalition against Racism and Apartheid instructed concert goers to conduct a "walk out" during Charles' performance at the Kool Jazz Festival.[569] A year later members of the Anti-Apartheid Network in Kansas City staged a protest outside of another Charles' concert. Mickey Dean, one of the coordinators of the Anti-Apartheid Network took particular offense to black artists who performed in South Africa. Dean reasoned, "I see the South African government as using entertainers, particularly black entertainers, as an important tool to gain some legitimacy in the world. It particularly angers us as blacks that other blacks such as Charles would perform in South Africa."[570]

Ray Charles took a defiant stance against the protestors. In November 1986 after the protests had continued to follow him five years after his South Africa performances Ray wrote a letter to Unity in Action to explain his position. In the letter Charles claimed:

> Over three decades ago I expressed to anyone who would listen to my disdain of the South African racial policy and my burning desire to do something to help expedite the elimination of (it). In those years the subject of South Africa

[568] M.F., "U.S. Entertainers: In Step with Apartheid," *Southern Africa* Vol. 15, No. 5, December 1982: 3, *http://www.aluka.org/action/showMetadata?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.nusa198212.* (Accessed October 4, 2013)
[569] Mike Hochanadel, "Electric Music," *Schenectady Gazette*, July 16, 1983.
[570] "South African Concerts Back to Haunt Charles," *Record-Journal*, August 23, 1984.

> and its racial policies was not a popular subject with most people, in particular, American Blacks... I cannot apologize for having performed in South Africa and having had thousands of Black people, with tears in their eyes, express their thanks to me for doing so.
>
> In the late '70s (I) received a number of requests from several of the new Black nations of South Africa to perform in their countries. These requests were answered in 1980 when I made numerous appearances for these Black nations. This tour represented the first totally integrated audiences in such major cities as Johannesburg and Capetown. I did not play for the huge fees that most artists received for performing in Sun City even though I was approached to do the same. I chose to play before totally Black or integrated.
>
> I will not apologize for lending my efforts to fight bigotry, whether it's in South Africa, the United States of America, or any other place on the face of this good earth.[571]

Throughout the 1980s there were several other African American entertainers who, like Ray Charles, were made to answer for their travels to South Africa. In 1981 South African protestors successfully forced black singer Lovelace Watkins's to cancel one of his shows in South Africa.[572] The show was scheduled to take place at an ice rink in Welkom in the Orange Free State.

During the spring of 1983 Southern Sun Hotel Holdings entertained the idea of opening a casino complex in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The Atlantic City council, in need of the tax income and jobs, considered the joint venture; however members of the council were concerned with being associated with South Africa during the height of the anti-apartheid movement. Southern Sun's managing director Sol Kerzner argued on behalf of the Sun City Casino, claiming that the company, "is opposed to any form of discrimination."[573] Kerzner pointed out that 80 percent of Sun City's 3,000 employees are blacks.

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[571] "Ray Charles Makes No Apologies for Performing in South Africa," *Tri-State Defender*, November 5, 1986, 6.
[572] Billy Rowe, "Billy Rowe's Note Book: Sammy Davis, Jr. Involvement Spurs Atlanta Hunt Funds," *Chicago Metro News*, March 28, 1981. 21
[573] "Protests in Atlantic City over Sun City Venture," *New York Times*, April 19, 1983, E.S. Reddy Collection, Box Cx, University of Witwatersrand – William Cullen Library.

In July 1983, TransAfrica sought to reenergize the cultural boycott of South Africa. Executive Director Randall Robinson reached out to other anti-apartheid organizations for support. In his letter to Jean Sindab, the executive director of Washington Office on Africa, Robinson explained, "The cultural boycott is of particular importance. The white minority government in Pretoria is constantly trying to attract American performers to South Africa to say to the world that apartheid is acceptable and that there has already been enough change in South Africa."[574] Robinson also detailed that the cultural boycott serves two critical functions. The primary function of the cultural boycott was to further isolate South Africa by eliminating the appearance that these artists and entertainers endorse South Africa's racial policy. Under the cultural boycott entertainers would no longer be used as public relations props by the South African government. The secondary function of the boycott was to help influence other Americans to get involved. To help accomplish this goal, Robinson, enlisted Harry Belafonte and Arthur Ashe to spearhead the launch of the boycott.

On September 13, 1983 Arthur Ashe and Harry Belafonte joined together to lead the formation of a new group, Artists and Athletes against Apartheid to discourage entertainers from performing in South Africa. Other executive committee members included: Kareem Abdul-Jabar, Art Blakey, Harry Belafonte, Sidney Poitier, Rita Moreno and Tony Randall. Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee were also present for the inaugural press conference. "We call on all artists to stay away from South Africa as long as apartheid survives. The racist regime is highly vulnerable to a cultural boycott," explained Harry Belafonte. [575] Artists and Athletes against Apartheid believed they would be successful in convincing artists because they were their peers. Unlike the United

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[574] Randall Robinson, "Letter to Jean Sindab," *TransAfrica*, June 15, 1983, Washington Office on Africa (Record Group No. 105), Box 8 Folder 17, Yale Divinity School Special Collections, Yale University.
[575] "Stars Nix Work in South Africa," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, September 15, 1983.

Nations and other anti-apartheid groups, when members of Artists and Athletes against Apartheid reached out to convince their colleagues to say no to South African money, they did so from the perspective of people who were in the same position and also made the sacrifice of turning down the money.

On October 10, 1983, The Media Forum held a forum at the Wilshire Ebell Theater in Los Angeles to support Artists and Athletes against Apartheid. The forum entitled, "The Media Forum and Harry Belafonte invite you to Forum VI, 'A Cultural Boycott of South Africa,'" was attended by nearly 900 people, each donating between $10 and $25 dollars to be there. The audience also included stars Dionne Warwick and Diahann Carroll. The Forum had array of speakers which included Nation of Islam leader Minister Louis Farrakhan, Los Angeles U.S. Representative Julian Dixon, and featured speaker Randall Robinson (the executive director of TransAfrica).

One entertainer in attendance, African American actor-producer Robert Hooks, also expressed the paradox of wanting to connect with the people of South Africa through cultural exchanges but not at the expense of weakening the anti-apartheid cause. "This is a human issue that's bigger than the arts. I'd love to have a cultural exchange with South Africa, but I don't know if it'll happen in my lifetime because the denial of the human rights of 80% of the South African population has to supersede the arts," Hooks lamented. "I'd love to exchange the Negro Ensemble Company with Fugard's company, but we would only help South Africa perpetuate this ridiculous system of government."[576]

[576] Lawrence Christon, "Artists, Athletes Meet again to Urge S. Africa Boycott," *Los Angeles Times*, G1.

The UN Centre against Apartheid's blacklist was effective in motivating some artists who performed in South Africa to reconsider their position. On December 30, 1983 Brook Benton held a press conference at Bethel AME Church in Baltimore where he proclaimed that he would no longer perform in "racist" South Africa.[577] Benton was placed on the blacklist after he performed in South Africa in June 1982. Initially Benton felt that the blacklist would have little to no impact on his career. Therefore, he did not pursue getting his name off the list until over a year later when the Coalition in Support of the Liberation Struggles in South Africa threatened to boycott his New Year's Eve concert in Baltimore.

During the press conference, Benton acknowledged that he had been enlightened about apartheid through conversations with black South Africans while he was there and with anti-apartheid activists in the United States. Benton along with his musician-conductor Mainor Ramsey and concert promoter Maxine Smith Belton also met with leaders of several anti-apartheid organizations in the U.S., including Mankekolo Mahlangu Ngcobo (spokesperson for the Coalition in Support of the Liberation Struggles in South Africa). Ngcobo, an exile from Soweto, helped Benton to write a statement for the press conference. In the statement Benton attests, "not to return to South Africa until majority rule is achieved."[578] He also pledged to work with existing organizations that were dedicated to the struggle against apartheid.

In March 1984, Stephanie Mills attempted to get her name taken off of the United Nations' register of entertainers who performed in South Africa. Mills, somewhat shocked that she was being penalized for a performance she did two years ago, set up a press conference to defend her position and to petition to have her name removed from the register. On March 6, 1984 Mills read her statement in Philadelphia. She opened the statement by arguing that she sees

[577] David Michael Ettlin, "Brook Benton Averts Boycott over S. Africa," *The Sun*, December 31, 1983, C1.
[578] Ettlin, "Brook Benton Averts Boycott over S. Africa" C1.

herself as an "entertainer" and that she provides services indiscriminately. Mills also pointed out that her performance in Sun City was before an integrated audience. She claimed, "The only intention of my performance was to bring some joy to people who I am told, do not have much to look forward to. If my endeavors to bring joy and happiness, in fact, brought sorrow and paint to anyone there, to those I hurt, I apologize."[579] Mills through her manager, Allen Mills informed the UN Centre against Apartheid that she had no intention of returning to South Africa while, "that area of the world suffers oppression and unrest."[580] Mills also informed the UN Centre against Apartheid that she was giving a benefit performance of "The Wiz" at Forest Theatre in Philadelphia to raise funds for the anti-apartheid cause as her way of demonstrating her support.[581]

The Temptations also asked the UN to removed their names from the blacklist. On June 29, 1984 the group met with Ron Wilkins (Patrice Lumumba Coalition), Tony Hall (Coalition to Close the Racist South African Consulate and Unity in Action), and Vusi Shangasi (African National Congress). During this meeting, the group members were enlightened about the relationship between entertainment and apartheid. The group admitted in a press release that when they accepted the May 25, 1979 performance that the Jacksons turned down, they were unaware of the propaganda that they were creating for the South African government. They did not know that their pictures would be used to argue that things were not as bad as depicted. Once the group was apprised of the ways their performance could be manipulated to support apartheid, the Temptations vowed not to return; they even turned down a one million dollar offer for them

[579] Stephanie Mills and Allen Mills, "Letter to E.S. Reddy," March 12, 1984, 2. E.S. Reddy Papers- MS 1499, Box 51, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
[580] IBID
[581] UN Centre against Apartheid, "Information Note No. 13/84: Stephanie Mills undertakes not to perform in South Africa," March 27, 1984. E.S. Reddy Papers, Box Bf 9, University of Witwatersrand – William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand , Johannesburg, South Africa.

to return to South Africa in October 1983. The Temptations pledged to not return to South Africa until there was Black majority rule and that they would lend their talents and resources to aid the anti-apartheid movement.

Millie Jackson did not have as easy a time getting her name off of the UN register. Jackson, the daughter of a Georgia sharecropper, toured South Africa in August 1981. She was initially very defiant when she was met with criticism in the United States from different anti-apartheid organizations who targeted her concerts. In New York protestors were effective in picketing Jackson's concert at Carnegie Hall. It resulted in only twenty percent of the seats being filled with ticket buyers. Even members in the press were unrelenting. A black newspaper refused to accept a $1,000 dollar ad for her concert.[582] In a review of her album *Hard Times* (1982), in the *Times-Picayune,* Jackson was condemned for playing in South Africa where black people were unemployed and exploited daily. The writer then proceeded to tell Jackson to "get her act together."[583] The protests even carried over to Jackson's concerts in Canada. Over 150 anti-apartheid protestors, many members of Toronto's black community boycotted Jackson's performance at O'Keefe Centre in Toronto.[584] In November 1984, Jackson threatened to sue the city of Newark after the city passed a law stating that it would not use city funds to support artists who performed in South Africa.[585]

Jackson was not able to get her name off of the list until December 1984. In front of members of the UN, Jackson acknowledged that she made a mistake in performing in South Africa and like her predecessors Jackson promised to join any group of performers who aimed to

[582] "Canada Fans Shun Millie for South African Concert Tour," *New Amsterdam News,* July 9, 1983, 5.
[583] "Records," *The Times-Picayune/The States-Item*, December 24, 1982, 9.
[584] "Canada Fans Shun Millie for South African Concert Tour," *New Amsterdam News,* July 9, 1983, 5.
[585] Millie Sues Newark for Concert Boycott," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, December 8, 1984.

do a benefit to aid Black South Africans.[586] Other African American entertainers who petitioned to have their names removed from the register included: Curtis Mayfield (1984), the Staple Singers (1984), Tina Turner (1984), and Jimmy Smith (1985).[587]

By 1986, the South African government was on its heels trying to control the erupting dissension that was taking place in the townships.[588] On July 20, 1985, the South African government declared a *state of emergency* in select areas – it was later extended to include the entire country on June 12, 1986. Under the state of emergency people were jailed indefinitely without being officially charged, property was seized without warning, the media was prohibited from reporting on events, and curfews were established.

During the mid-to-late 1980s the increased visibility of the anti-apartheid movement in the United States led to tangible accomplishments. In 1986 Congress passed the landmark Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act over President Ronald Regan's veto. With this act the U.S. government imposed sanctions on South Africa for the first time. The Act stated five preconditions for lifting the sanctions that would essentially end the system of apartheid. It was the culmination of actions that dated back to 1971 when Congressmen Ronald Dellums initially introduced an act that aimed to impose sanctions on U.S. trade with South Africa. The U.S. sanctions in conjunction with other sanctions imposed on South Africa by other nations around the world and the continued growth of internal resistance which included boycotts, strikes made it clear to reeling South African government that apartheid's days were numbered.

[586] "Millie Jackson is off the S. Africa boycott list," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 29, 1984. 4
[587] E.S. Reddy, "Letter to John Abbey," October 4, 1984, Box 51, MS 1499 E.S. Reddy Papers, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Associated Press, "South Africa is Out," *The Dispatch*, January 30, 1985.
[588] Particular townships large-scale rebellion occurred after 1985 included: Baberton, Breyton, Piet Retief, Alexandra, Cradock, Soweto, Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Langa, Lingelihle, KwaNobuhle.

CHAPTER FIVE
PRESENCE MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN ABSENCE, RETHINKING THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT, 1987 – 1994

By the mid to late 1980s, it appeared as if the collective international protests to disrupt and eradicate apartheid were making significant gains The divestment campaigns spurred caused an economic upheaval as capital flight caused the international exchange rate of the South African rand to decline dramatically. U.S. Corporations such as Ford, Mobil Oil, Black and Decker, Xerox, General Motors, IBM and several others disinvested in South Africa by either removing their business operations from South Africa or changing the names of their businesses in South Africa to hide their connection to the South African government. While divestment did not immediately crumble the South African economy, it caused many of the South African business class to worry what would happen if the trend were to continue. Lulat notes that between 1984 and 1990 South Africa experienced a net capital outflow of 25 billion rand from 1984 to 1990.[589]

Internally, South African protest continued to swell. The South African government's efforts to quell black protest through intimidation, violence, imprisonment without trial, and media censorship proved to be unsuccessful. These tactics could not stymie the continuous marches, rebellions, boycotts and strikes that continued to occur in South Africa. It appeared to all by the mid to late 1980s that the South African government could no longer continue to govern through apartheid law. 1980s. Beginning in late 1984, a series of meetings between the exiled ANC leaders and white South African leaders took place. This was unprecedented, since the ANC had been banned since 1960. For the first time, white business leaders and politicians

[589] Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa*, 362.

sat at the negotiating table with leaders of the liberation movement. These meetings would ultimately lead to a reformation in South African politics and free democratic elections in 1994.

During the late 80s, the cultural component of the anti-apartheid movement became more sophisticated with blacklists and concert protests. More people, on both sides of the Atlantic, questioned the effectiveness of the cultural boycott. While it helped to popularize the overall anti-apartheid movement, there were some who felt that a total cultural boycott would by proxy deprive black South Africans of meaningful cultural connections. During the mid-to-late 1980s more critiques of the cultural boycott emerged in both the United States and South Africa. These voices of dissent suggested that in order for the boycott to be its most effective in serving the needs of black South Africans, it was imperative for activists and others to alter its application. In 1987, Oliver Tambo, leader of the African National Congress, advocated a selective cultural boycott and in 1989 it became the ANC's official stance.

Some African American artists expressed having an issue with the United Nation's blacklist. They argued that these lists had the effect of placing the focus of protests on artists instead of the South African government. Poet Nikki Giovanni strongly opposed the cultural boycott of South Africa and the divestment movement. In 1974, Nikki Giovanni visited Johannesburg as part of a tour for the United States Information Agency. Contrary to the reports that emerged afterward, she never performed in South Africa. In fact her books were actually banned in South Africa.[590] Ten years after her 1974 visit, members of TransAfrica asked Giovanni to join them by publicly supporting the cultural boycott. Instead Giovanni refused to do so, claiming, "I don't support the protest because no nation that is 80 percent black should be the

[590] Virginia Fowler, *Nikki Giovanni: A Literary Biography* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2013) 119.

target of protests by black people."[591] Rather, Giovanni advocated for more artists to go to South Africa. She drew comparisons to the civil rights movement. "We had a great movement in Mississippi in the summer of 1964. People didn't say we're boycotting Mississippi; they said we're going to go."[592]

Givoanni's stance did come at a hefty price. Shortly after she refused to join TransAfrica, rumors surfaced that she was offered $3 million to deliver a lecture in South Africa. Giovanni firmly denied the rumor. She believed that the erroneous report surfaced after TransAfrica circulated a list with her name alongside artists who they believed were paid to speak in South Africa. Giovanni even reported receiving death threats when she delivered lectures in Houston and New York over her decision not to support the cultural boycott. Speaking on behalf of other artists who were targeted Giovanni revealed:

> Ray Charles had his tires cut by some thug because he performed in South Africa. This is wrong, and I'm not going to be silent on that. I've had a great deal of pressure, and it is a very embittering situation. So has Tina Turner. I don't know her. I am simply a fan. We have seen a woman who pulled herself up literally by her bootstraps, who does what she does any place that she does it, which is sing. If Tina Turner and Nikki Giovanni are enemies of black people, then there's something wrong.[593]

While actual changes to the cultural boycott were made during the late 1980s, the cultural boycott always presented challenges that made some question how effective this strategy could be in the fight against apartheid. In 1975, the *Index on Censorship* (an English magazine), mailed a questionnaire out to 600 artists and intellectuals around the world about the cultural boycott of South Africa. They received 59 responses; 39% were firmly in favor of the boycott, 32% were firmly against the boycott, 24% of the responders took qualifying positions on the cultural

[591] Nikki Giovanni, "USA's Black Leaders Have Let Blacks Down" in *Conversations with Nikki Giovanni (*Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1992) pp. 152
[592] Nikki Giovanni, "USA's Black Leaders Have Let Blacks Down" 152.
[593] IBID, 154.

boycott and 5% took no position on the cultural boycott. Those who supported the cultural boycott pointed to their support largely stemming from compliance to the calls made by black South Africans like Chief Albert Luthuli and other member of the African National Congress. Those who opposed the boycott typically wrote about their philosophical opinions about the transformative capabilities of art. For them a cultural boycott would limit the opportunity for art to enlighten those who may have previously been close-minded.[594]

On January 22, 1987, ANC President Oliver Tambo delivered a speech in New York before the Foreign Policy Association and the African-American Institute. In his speech, Tambo thanked the organizations and the United States Congress for being committed to isolating South Africa through the divestment campaign, enacting sanctions, and observing the boycott. After commending the United States, Tambo offered a critique about how the sanctions were implemented. Tambo claimed that the shortcoming of the United States' foreign policy in regards to South Africa was that the policy was created without asking people of South Africa what was good for them. Tambo pointed out:

> We think that approach must be wrong as a basis for foreign policy. While we concede that foreign policy must be based to some extent on the interests of the country, we think the interests of those whom it affects are at least of equal interest.
>
> It is therefore significant that we can come to the United States and say "Thank you" for this expression of foreign policy which enabled you to take a decision in response to an appeal which the suffering people of South Africa have been making to this country. What is needed now is to build on this approach.
>
> We believe that the stated intention of the United States to get to know what the people of South Africa want and do not want is the beginning of a correct approach provided that some respect, some consideration will be given in the

[594] "Cultural Boycott – yes or no?" *Index on Censorship*, (Summer 1975) 4(2): 5-9, LA Box, Reference Number: DOCNO: 14208, Cat: 7 Censorship, National English Literary Museum, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

> formulation of policy to what we want and what we say. But we must warn against a tendency to ignore reality because you do not like it.[595]

In May 28, 1987 Tambo spoke more specifically about the cultural boycott in London. In this speech Tambo made an appeal for the cultural boycott to be applied on a more selective basis.[596] Tambo informed the audience that the black South African masses in response to apartheid have created their own cultural institutions that he labeled as the People's Culture. This culture, Tambo argued, was also playing a crucial role in isolating apartheid. Tambo reasoned, "not only should these not be boycotted, but more, they should be supported, encouraged and treated as the democratic counterparts within South Africa of similar institutions and organisations internationally."[597] Tambo's ruminations suggested that while the blanket absolute cultural boycott had proven to be successful and necessary when the idea was first offer in the 1950s, it was no longer suitable given the cultural advances that were being made within the ANC. The same tactics that were used to isolate white South Africans from international entertainment were inversely hampering the cultural developments of the black masses. Tambo suggested that the proponents of apartheid should not be grouped with the antagonists of apartheid.

South African artists had long recognized the need for a more nuanced cultural boycott. In an interview in 1983 South African exile and jazz musician Hugh Masekela doubted the effectiveness of the cultural boycott. Masekela, who fled South Africa in 1960, became one of

[595] Oliver Tambo, "Speech by Oliver Tambo to the Foreign Policy Association and the African-American Institute, New York, 22, January 1987."" *South African History Online*,
[596] John Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009) 170.
[597] Oliver Tambo, "South Africa at the Crossroads', Cannon Collins Memorial Lecture by Oliver Tambo London, 28 May 1987", South African History Online, Accessed November 28, 2017 http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/south-africa-crossroads-canon-collins-memorial-lecture-oliver-tambo-london-28-may-1987.

the most visible South African exiles in the United States along with his wife Miriam Makeba, returned to South Africa with Makeba to perform in a Christmas concert. Masekela contended:

> I won't go, that's my choice. But realistically you can't expect some guy who grew up poor in Detroit to refuse half a million dollars to sing in South Africa; all he's thinking about is his next Cadillac. I admire the boycott and give it all the support I can, but the only anything is going to happen in South Africa is when the people help themselves. I don't think people like Percy Sledge, George Benson, or Elton John really care even think about the fact that they are playing in a slave hole.[598]

In a 1987 interview with Margaret Novicki and Ameen Akhalwaya for *Africa Report* magazine, Masekela expounded on his thoughts about the strengths and weaknesses of the cultural boycott as it existed prior to the 1987 changes. Masekela maintained that the cultural arts would best support the anti-apartheid struggle if artists from South Africa became popular on an international level. At that point, the artists could use the international attention to bring awareness to the horrors of apartheid in South Africa. In Masekela's opinion, a total cultural boycott, one which would prevent South African artists from performing outside of South Africa, would eliminate a chance of that happening.[599]

In the 1987 interview with *Africa Report*, Masekela dissected the cultural boycott; pointing out what he perceived to be the strengths and weaknesses of the protest effort. He strongly supported the notion that artists from other countries should not be able to tour in South Africa and earn millions of dollars. According to Masekela this was wrong for three main reasons. First, he took umbrage that local artists were not given the same opportunity to earn that amount money. Second, when international artists performed in South Africa, it obfuscated the

[598] Michael Zwerin, "Hugh Masekela: Sort of Home Again," *International Herald Tribune*, October 24, 1983, Box Fe-Embargoes and Boycott 1963 -1991, E.S. Reddy Papers, University of Witwatersrand-William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg, South Africa.
[599] Margaret A. Novicki and Ameen Akhalwaya, "Interview with Hugh Masekela," *Africa Report*, July 1, 1987, 26.

brutality of apartheid. Lastly, Masekela suggested that the money international artists earn in South Africa rarely got invested back into South African economy or community.

One of Masekela's paramount concerns about the cultural boycott was that it seemed to be organized, directed, and enforced by people outside of South Africa. Masekela explained:

> The thing that is most wrong about the cultural boycott in a blanket form, a total boycott is that it has been done to affect our lives as the musicians of South Africa and the people in the arts *without* our consultation by people who live very, very comfortable and to a certain extent opulent lives overseas and who have never had to carry a pass, live in a township, or take any of the harsh brutalities of South Africa.[600]

Masekela vented to Novicki and Akhalwaya that he was tired of taking orders from people; whether the people were Boers or anti-apartheid activists claiming to be acting on his behalf. South African guitarist Ray Phiri also expressed similar thoughts about the cultural boycott. Phiri told interviewers for *Africa Report* that he wished anti-apartheid organizations outside of South Africa would take direction from South African people about which artists to boycott and which to support.[601] In the same special issue as the Masekela interview, *Africa Report*, also published several articles examining the complexities of the cultural boycott. South African writer Denis Herbstein identified two main shortcomings of the cultural boycott in his article, "The Hazards of Cultural Deprivation". suggested that the cultural boycott needed to be remodeled.

On February 2, 1987, the Los Angeles chapter of the Free South Africa Movement celebrated the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress. The celebration took place at Trinity Baptist Church and included an array of celebrity guests. Black actors Brock Peters and

[600] Novicki and Akhalwaya, "Interview with Hugh Masekela," 27.
[601] Mxolisi Mgxashe, "A Conversation with Ray Phiri," *Africa Report*, July-August 1987, 32, PAC UN Mission (New York), Box 30 Folder Culture and Cultural Boycott (1983-1992), University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa.

Harry Belafonte spoke alongside Bishop H.H. Brookins and Rev. Jesse Jackson. Beah Richards and Roscoe Lee Browne contributed a dramatic reading.[602]

In the fall of 1987, Africa Fund initiated a new campaign geared at highlighting the large number of political prisoners in South Africa. The "Unlock Apartheid Jails" initiative was established to draw attention to the more than 30,000 people detained in South Africa without trial as a result of the state of emergency. This campaign, led by Bill Cosby, asked supporters to gather old keys for Africa Fund representatives deliver the keys to South African Embassy in Washington D.C.

Despite the development of the new selective cultural boycott, there were still protest groups who were determined to uphold an absolute cultural boycott of South Africa. In the spring of 1987 Filmmakers United against Apartheid was formed. The new group included notable directors such as Woody Allen, Jonathan Demme, Martin Scorsese, and Susan Seidelman. Spike Lee and Sidney Poitier were notable African American members of the group. They came together with the hope that through solidarity, directors collectively might be able to wield control over the distribution of their films to ensure that they were not being screened in South Africa. Some directors like Woody Allen had been able to stipulate that his films not be screened in South Africa but the group aimed for the change to be implemented throughout the industry.[603] In November 1987, Filmmakers United against Apartheid wrote a letter President

[602] The ANC 75th Anniversary Committee, ""75th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the African National Congress of South Africa" February 2, 1987, Pan Africanist Congress United Nations Mission, Box 29 Folder Anti-Apartheid Efforts: United States, University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa.
[603] Clarke Taylor, "Film Directors Push Reagan for South Africa Boycott," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1987, MS 1500 South African Apartheid Collection, Accession 1999-M-122, Box 2 Folder 16, Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Regan asking him to support sanctions against South Africa. Spike Lee did not allow *Do the Right Thing* to be screened in South Africa despite it being requested from the ANC.[604]

Another South African writer, Gomolemo Mokae, argued that the cultural boycott was being coopted by the white press. Mokae citing the AZAPO-led protest of the OJays concert as the starting point of the concert protests in South Africa claimed that white press published an account of the occurrence differently. Instead of correctly crediting AZAPO with leading the protest, the press framed the concert as an effort spearheaded by interracial anti-apartheid groups in South Africa. Mokae lamented, "No sooner had the campaign become popular than another grouping, which had been straddling the fence while the pioneers plunged in to the turbulent waters, pounced on it and proclaimed it its own, aided and abetted by the press."[605]

The African National Congress proposed major changes to the cultural boycott on May 25, 1989 at a meeting held in Lusaka, Zambia. The changes proposed by the ANC at the Lusaka meeting complicated the cultural boycott. No longer was the boycott all-encompassing. The added nuance meant that anti-apartheid organizations in the United States could not categorically blacklist all artists who agreed to perform in South Africa. Instead, these organizations had to determine if the performance helped to further the "democratic struggle" or not. The African National Congress, through its Department of Arts and Culture, refined its position on the cultural boycott. They stipulated that going forward the cultural boycott would from then on consist of two main components. First, the cultural boycott would continue to isolate the

[604] Scott Kraft, "A Cultural Boycott in Evolution," *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1991, American Committee on Africa Records addendum, 1949-2001, Box 183 Folder 4, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
[605] Gomolemo Mokae, "Origins and Effects of the Boycott: The White Press Snatched the Credit," *Frontline*, November 1988, p. 27, Collection BB2908, Reference Number: DOCONO: 32575 CAT: 7, National English Literary Museum, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

apartheid regime and apartheid cultural structures. Second, the cultural boycott would now also support a culture for a democratic South Africa.[606]

A month after the changes were proposed at the Lusaka meeting, anti-apartheid activists in the United States and South Africa discovered how challenging it could be to enforce the new policy. On June 26, 1989 the funk/soul band the Commodores announced that they were going to perform a concert series in Sun City from July 7th to July 16th. Controversy soon ensued following the announcement. Hazel Feldman, the director of Sun International Entertainment and organizer of the tour, informed the press that the group agreed to perform in Bophuthatswana after "many months of hearth searching."[607] The Commodores, who were scheduled to earn $240,000 from the tour, announced that they were intending to use the tour as a way of speaking out against apartheid. In a statement issued to the press the Commodores explained, "We will, by coming here, be making a strong commitment to encourage people to bring change. We believe that in order to implement and expedite change, dialogue must take place. If we can be an instrument towards that end, we will surely try."[608]

The South African Musician Alliance (SAMA) publicly criticized the group for not consulting with anti-apartheid groups in South Africa before accepting the invitation. SAMA's spokesperson Mwakhe Mbuli called the group "an embarrassment" to the cause.[609] Mbuli stated that SAMA would ask black South Africans to distant themselves from the event. Radio stations in the United States began to boycott the Commodores by not playing their records and telling

[606] African National Congress Department of Arts and Culture, "Statement by the Department of Arts and Culture of the ANC", 1991, African National Congress Archive – ANC Washington Mission, Box 2 Folder 10, University of Fort Hare.
[607] Rohan Minogue, "Commodores to Perform in South Africa: Black Artists Condemn U.S. Pop Group's Tour," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1989, 8.
[608] "Pop Group to Defy Boycott on Sun City," *South China Morning Post*, June 21, 1989, 17.
[609] Rohan Minogue, "Commodores to Perform in South Africa: Black Artists Condemn U.S. Pop Group's Tour," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1989, 8.

listeners to burn the Commodores records.[610] Artists United against Apartheid wrote a letter to the group in efforts to get them to reconsider. In the letter the AUAA stated that despite the good intentions that the Commodores professed, they were ultimately going to do more harm to the antiapartheid movement for two main reasons. First, the group's presence in Bophuthatswana would go against the wishes of the majority of the black people in South Africa. Secondly, the AUAA believed that the Commodores were mistaken about how "freely" they will be able to speak against apartheid once they were actually in South Africa. They warned, "People of all colors who oppose apartheid within South Africa are subjected to the most repressive treatment."[611]

There was also dissension among the group members about the proposed tour. Milan Williams, one of the original members of the Commodores professed unease about performing in South Africa. Williams maintains that from the beginning he warned the group about the repercussions they could possibly face for performing in Sun City and they ignored him. Milan Williams proved to be right as anti-apartheid activists in both South Africa and the United States mobilized to voice their dissent by boycotting the Commodores concerts. In fact, the Commodores could not find one anti-apartheid organization that would be willing to accept any portion of the proceeds from the concert. Williams was ousted from the Commodores when members of the group found out that Williams was discussing his dissent with members of the media and leaking certain details about the tour.[612]

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[610] Larry Glenn Owens, "Commodores Halt South African Trip," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, June 29, 1989, A1.
[611] Rick Dutka, "Letter to the Commodores," June 22, 1989, American Committee on Africa Records addendum, 1949-2001, Box 102 Folder 16, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
[612] Evemag13. "Milan Williams of the Commodores" Filmed [1989]. YouTube video, 5:41. Posted [March 2009]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rbEIzD4Ip_A

In 1990, anti-apartheid activists throughout international community experienced a significant morale and symbolic victory when ANC leader/political prisoner Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Mandela offered a series of statements expressing his support for continued use of sanctions against the South African government. Speaking before an audience in Capetown hours after his release, Mandela reaffirmed how critical it was for the international community to maintain sanctions against South Africa. "We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime," Mandela implored. "To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process toward the complete eradication of apartheid."[613] Mandela's message was important because it came at time when Europe and the United States were considering lessen the sanctions in response to Mandela's release.

A selective cultural boycott was confusing in many respects. Scott Kraft of the Los Angeles captured, "The worldwide cultural boycott, one of the most effective sanctions ever imposed on South Africans, has entered a difficult new phase that has confused many international artists and angered some prominent local ones."[614] Artists and entertainers were expected adjust from a blanket cultural boycott which simplistically requested that they avoid South Africa, to a new form of boycott that would permit them to perform in South Africa but only under certain conditions. Kraft pointed out that the ANC, through consultation with local groups, now assumed the role of determining which acts could legitimately enter South Africa. ANC-approved artists were asked to contribute to the cultural development of South Africa by

[613] "Mandela Free: Endorses Sanctions," *United States: Anti-Apartheid Newsletter* (Vol. 4, No. 1) Winter 1990: 1, Box C-United States of America 1946 - 1992, E.S. Reddy Papers, University of Witwatersrand-William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg, South Africa.
[614] Scott Kraft, "A Cultural Boycott in Evolution," *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1991, American Committee on Africa Records addendum, 1949-2001, Box 183 Folder 4, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

donating their a portion of their proceeds local art groups, including local performers in their shows and conducting workshops in the townships.[615]

Kraft's article also demonstrated some of the possible problems with the selective cultural boycott. He interviewed Baleka Kgositsile, an official from the ANC's arts and culture department. Kgositsile explained to Kraft that the ANC was going to give preferential treatment to artists that they determine have been "comrades of the ANC". For example Kgositsile explained, "I don't see us having a Michael Jackson. Although he didn't break the cultural boycott in any way, he's very popular in the townships; he's not one of our closest friends."[616] Rather Kgositsile identified Stevie Wonder, Harry Belafonte, Whitney Houston, Tracy Chapman and George Michael. Making the cultural boycott subjective opened it to criticism.

The American Committee on Africa remained wedded to the cultural boycott despite the perceived advances being made in South Africa with the release of Nelson Mandela. On August 8, 1991 the ACOA wrote a letter to television host Arsenio Hall concerning his show being advertised in the South African newspaper *The Weekly Mail*. According to the ACOA, the advertisement violated the cultural boycott. The ACOA also chastised Arsenio for agreeing to allow the show to be aired on Bop TV in Bophuthatswana. Of particular note to the ACOA was the wording of Hall's advertisement which stated that his show was only for the "privilege few". The ACOA claimed that the wording was "tragic irony" given the wealth disparities between whites and blacks in South Africa.[617]

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[615] Kraft, "A Cultural Boycott in Evolution"
[616] IBID
[617] American Committee on Africa, "Letter to Arsenio Hall," August 8, 1991, p.1, American Committee on Africa Records addendum, 1949-2001, Box 102 Folder 16, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

The letter was not a complete condemnation of Hall. The ACOA offered to consult with him to come up with a solution for how to get him and his show back in compliance with the cultural boycott and ingratiated with the anti-apartheid community. Furthermore, the ACOA encouraged Arsenio Hall to remove his show from viewership in South Africa and to include clauses in his future contracts that would exclude distribution in South Africa. The letter concluded with a plea for Hall to remove his show from BOP TV. The ACOA urged for Hall to "demonstrate that South Africa's people mean more to you than South African profits."[618]

From the mid-to-late 1980s there was a proliferation of cultural productions (films and songs) about South Africa that featured African American entertainers. In 1987, actor Danny Glover and actress Alfre Woodard starred in a HBO TV Film, *Mandela*. Glover, who played the role of a young Mandela, recalled reading Nelson Mandela's book *No Easy Walk to Freedom* when he was in college at San Francisco State. He described playing Mandela as an "honor and responsibility."[619] Alfre Woodard who starred as Mandela's wife Winnie explained, "When I was offered the role, I felt a little overwhelmed, because she's a person who has done so much. In order to let go that that feeling and allow myself to become Winnie, I began to think of her as a child and what her early life was like."[620]

There was some controversy surrounding the film. Rev. Jerry Falwell criticized the films as communist propaganda. A conservative group named Citizens for Regan as Winnie Mandela did not approve the film, because she was not consulted prior to the film's production. She went so far as to ask her lawyers to have the film removed from broadcast. Winnie explained, "These

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[618] American Committee on Africa, "Letter to Arsenio Hall," August 8, 1991, p.2, American Committee on Africa Records addendum, 1949-2001, Box 102 Folder 16, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
[619] "Danny Glover Stars in 'Mandela' Movie That Tugs at Heart, Shocks Senses," *Jet Magazine*, October 5, 1987
[620] IBID

people should please us alone. This film serves no political purpose and was made solely for commercial reasons. The producers are just cashing in on the name of the family."[621] Winnie was not entirely opposed to films being made about her and her husband, she did grant Camille Cosby the copyright to her autobiography, *Part of My Soul Went with Him* (1985).Winnie's chief complaint with the HBO film was her belief that the producers were using the Mandela family name to make money. She even complained that Alfre Woodard did not look like her.[622]

Richard Attenborough's 1985 film *Cry Freedom* also generated a mixed response in South Africa. The film starred Denzel Washington as a young Steve Biko, the assassinated leader of the black consciousness movement in South Africa. Members of AZAPO criticized the film; claiming that it distorted history. One of the chief complaints was that the film heavily focuses on Biko's relationship with white South African newspaper editor Donald Woods. The screenplay was an adaption of two of Woods' books. Members of AZAPO charged that the relationship between Woods and Biko that is depicted in the film simply did not exist. One of Biko's close friends David Modiba critiqued that Woods, "Made a whole industry of feeding on a very brief relationship that never was that close."[623]

Playing the role of Biko was an immense responsibility that African American actor Denzel Washington took seriously. During his first meeting with director Richard Attenborough, Washington, who was 31 years old at the time, admitted that he knew "almost nothing" about Steve Biko. Following the meeting, Washington embarked on an intense study of Biko. When Denzel was asked if he thought it was strange that he, an American was playing a South African,

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[621] William Claiborne, "Winnie Mandela's Protest: ANC Leader's Wife Tries to Block HBO Film," *Washington Post*, September 21, 1987, American Committee on Africa Records addendum, 1949-2001, Box 102 Folder 16, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
[622] IBID
[623] IBID

Washington's response underscores the imagined community that existed in the African Diaspora. Washington explained, "Look, I did come over on the Mayflower. I am African, only a little removed."[624]

Contrastingly, African American actress/comedian Whoopi Goldberg received AZAPO's approval for her portrayal of Mary Masombuka, a South African schoolteacher in the film adaptation of Mbongeni Ngema's musical *Sarafina!*. *Sarafina!* details the story of a young girl from Soweto who becomes engaged in social activism during the Soweto uprising. The musical debut at the Lincoln Center Theater in October 1987 and was so immensely popular in the United States that by January 1988 the cast and crew from South Africa had put on 500 performances.[625] The film adaptation of the musical began production in South Africa in 1991. It would be the first feature film to be shot in Soweto; a testament to some of the changes that were taking place in South Africa during the 1980s. Whoopi Goldberg was enthused to be a part of the film. She accepted a fraction of her usually salary to take part in the production.[626]

Upon her arrival to South Africa, Whoopi Goldberg was greeted with controversy. The Azanian Youth Organization (AZAYO), not informed that the producers had met with the ANC, argued that Goldberg and the rest of the filming crew were in violation of the cultural boycott and were prepared to give Goldberg a "hostile reception."[627] Goldberg and the producers of the film scheduled a meeting with leaders from AZAPO and AZAYO to clear up the miscommunication. After the meeting, AZAPO released a statement claiming, "There was, evidently, a breakdown in communication between the relevant structures and ourselves. Her

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[624] David Den, "Denzel Washington Brings Steven Biko to Life in 'Cry Freedom'" *New York Magazine*, September 21, 1987, 54.
[625] Glenn Collins, "For 'Sarafina!' Cast, Life Without Apartheid," *New York Times*, April 3, 1989.
[626] Rick Lyman, "A First for South Africa: Musical Shot in Township," *The Sun*, February 2, 1992.
[627] "Group Issues Threats against Goldberg, Simon," *The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1992.

presence in the country is in compliance with the procedural requirements governing the status of the cultural boycott as a weapon of the struggle. In this regard, we have found common cause and regret any threat or inconvenience."[628]

Whoopi Goldberg, like Denzel Washington, spoke of having a psychological connection to South Africa during the five weeks of filming. It was her first time visiting South Africa. Describing her time in South Africa, Goldberg honestly emoted, "It's been very unnerving and wonderful and terrible and, you know, it's a myriad of emotions. But in some strange way, I felt I was coming back. There's something about it. There's some sort of draw for me here."[629] On more than one occasion Goldberg mentioned having a strong connection to the people of South Africa. She described seeing her "aunts" and "uncles" in the people she met in South Africa. "The other day I saw a woman exactly like my mother," Goldberg explained. Somewhere there is a connection I can't explain."[630]

When asked about the cultural boycott, Goldberg's response indicates that while she observed the boycott, she had some reservations about its effectiveness. "Various groups in the States would come over and make a report, but that didn't tell me anything," Goldberg revealed. "I always wanted to come and see for myself, but I was always slapped on the fingers and told, 'No, you're not going to see what it's like. So wait. And so I did."[631] Goldberg's thoughts on the boycott reveal a desire to experience South Africa firsthand. Perhaps feeling more of a connection with the people of South Africa than U.S. anti-apartheid organizations, Goldberg's adherence to the cultural boycott was reluctant at best.

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[628] "'Sarafina' and Whoopi Goldberg Cleared by Azapo, Azayo, and Pawe," *San Francisco Metro Reporter*, January 19, 1992.
[629] Scott Kraft, "'Sarafina!' Shoot Serves as a Lesson," *Los Angeles Times*, March 18, 1992.
[630] IBID
[631] IBID

The cultural sanctions against South Africa lasted until Nelson Mandela requested that the international sanctions against South Africa be lifted in 1993 so that countries could help the new South Africa. Apartheid was gradually ended through a series of negotiations between 1990 and 1993 and through unilateral steps by the de Klerk government. These negotiations took place between the governing National Party, the African National Congress, among others, with the world attentively watching. The negotiations resulted in South Africa's first truly democratic election on May 10, 1994, which was won by the African National Congress. In a telling scene from the 1992 film Malcolm X, director Spike Lee requested that Nelson Mandela make a cameo appearance at the end of the film. At the conclusion of *Malcolm X*, Ossie Davis reads a voice over of the eulogy he delivered at Malcolm X's funeral. After the eulogy Mandela appears on screen in a classroom filled with South African children where he quotes Malcolm X stating: "We declare our right on this earth to be a man, to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence by any means necessary."[632]

[632] Mandela, Nelson, *Malcolm X*, Film, Directed by Spike Lee. Burbank, CA: Warner Bros., 1992.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) defines historical trauma as, "events that are so widespread as to affect an entire culture; such events also have effects intense enough to influence generations of the culture beyond those who experienced them directly."[633] The shared cultural trauma that plagued Africans throughout the Diaspora helped to foster a collective identity. Throughout history kinship between people of African descent has been defined in broad terms. Some of the kinship connections African people draw to each other are symbolic and serve as support for a psychological comfort space. At other times the cross cultural connections African people made with each other were more focused on tangibly overcoming specific challenges people within the African Diaspora faced. In examining the story of African American athletes, singers, actors, and performers involvement in the anti-apartheid movement, we can see both.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, African Americans entertainers were among the first in the black community to criticize the South African government's treatment of black South Africans. As entertainers, they were in an elite position. They were able to traverse U.S. borderlines. Because they were entertainers and not politicians, they were welcomed into South Africa. In some instances, like in the case of the Fisk Jubilee Singers and Orpheus McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers, African American entertainers were even praised by white South Africans as role models for black South Africans to follow. During those years, African American entertainers were treated as "honorary whites" which entitled them certain privileges and freedom of movement that would not be granted to black South Africans.

[633] Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, *A Treatment Improvement Protocol: Trauma-Informed Care in Behavioral Health Services* (Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2014) 40.

Ronald Walter's Pan-African method of analysis, asks for scholars to evaluate the connections made between black people within the African Diaspora, and how effective those connections were in accomplishing a goal. From the first arrival of African American performers to South Africa in 1890, up until the formation of the Council on African Affairs in 1937, the connections that existed between African American entertainers and black South Africans were primarily as entertainer to fan respectively. Meaning that these connections did not translate to black entertainers: repatriating to Africa, forming political organizations, or collaborating on cultural projects with South African artists. Those types of interactions would occur later.

Despite the shortcomings of the earlier connections, they did yield tangible results. First, African American entertainers provided a symbolic inspiration to several black South Africans, particularly those who were considered among the educated elite. In the case of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, they provided an example to students and administrators at Lovedale Institute of how to use a musical choir of students to independently raise money for the school. Orpheus McAdoo attempted to fund educating a black South African student in the United States. Popular jazz musicians also proved to be a source of inspiration for South African jazz artists who in turned took the music and reinterpreted jazz through their own experiences.

The creation of the Council on African Affairs in 1937 signaled a new dimension to the Pan-African connections between African American entertainers and black South Africans. The CAA, recognized as one of the first U.S. organizations formed to solely support of Africans in their fight against colonialism, was key in initiating fundraising and food drive efforts to aid South Africans. Through the CAA, African American entertainers Paul Robeson and Lena Horne implored people to support the aid efforts. Lionel Hampton also participated in a fundraiser to

support the defendants in the Treason Trials. African American artists also provided inspiration for the cultural explosion that occurred in Sophiatown during the 1940s and 1950s.

Following the Sharpeville, the international awareness of the atrocities in South Africa increased. As the cultural boycott unfolded, African American entertainers were asked to decide whether or not they would turn down large sums of money to show solidarity with their South African brothers and sisters. The vitriolic response of the black press to African American entertainers who ignored the boycott reveals that there was almost an expectation that African American entertainers observe the boycott. Some African American entertainers responded by joining anti-apartheid organizations; vowing to observe the cultural boycott. An examination of the Pan-African connections from 1960 to 1976 reveals different accomplishments. The cross cultural contacts between entertainers in both countries helped some South African exiles such Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela to enjoy success in the United States. Second, African American entertainers who performed in South Africa were

International interest in South Africa would spike again in 1976 after the images of children being attacked by police officers during the Soweto Uprising captured international attention. African American entertainers responded in a variety of ways. Some continue to observe the boycott; while others did not. The variety of responses to the cultural boycott is important in that it demonstrates that African American entertainers are not a monolith. Some who were involved in the cultural boycott may have known little about South Africa but participated out of not wanting to be blacklisted. While African American performers may have ignored the boycott and chose to perform in South Africa, in hopes of aiding the anti-apartheid movement. Discussing these stories in detail brings out the rich nuances in the responses that occurred from 1976 to 1987.

By examining the long history of African American performers involvement with the anti-apartheid movement one can see many significant gains. First, the study acknowledges that there were long-standing interactions that took place between both blacks in both countries that have often been ignored. Prior historical studies have shortened this history by only highlighting entertainer activism within shorter time frames. The evidence in this text demonstrates that there has been consistent interaction for over a century. Second, focusing on this part of the anti-apartheid movement allows the attention to center on experiences and motivation of African American entertainers from their own perspective. It does not assume, like prior works, that the African American entertainers' experiences with the movement were the same as their white counterparts. The ways that race impacted their decision making process are important and worth unpacking. It can be helpful in guiding how we think about other interracial protest efforts. Third this study challenges how we think of transnational studies by not following the standard of examining transnational activism through the lens of political leaders and organizations. Instead the study suggests that entertainers have served as actors in transnational activism. Lastly this study is an attempt to educate American students about apartheid through popular culture. Much can be learned about the educating value of popular culture. Just as anti-apartheid activists believed entertainers would draw the attention of the general public, I believe more work can be done through a historical analysis of popular culture. In the twenty-first century more creative approaches are necessary to reach American students. Taking a lesson from the anti-apartheid movement, perhaps more gains can be made by using popular culture to teach history.

APPENDIX

Appendix

List of Entertainers

Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem
Ali, Muhammad
Armstrong, Louis
Ashe, Arthur
Baker, Josephine
Bambaataa, Afrika
Belafonte, Harry
Benton, Brook
Benson, George
Bibb, Leon
Blast, C.L. (singer)
Brisco, Gwen (singer)
Brown, Shirley (singer)
Bryant, Marie
Cambridge, Godfrey
Carroll, Diahanne (Actor)
Carter, Clarence (singer)
Charles, Ray (singer)
Cosby, Bill (Actor)
Crouch, Andrae (Singer)
Davis, Clifton (Actor)
Davis, Ossie (Actor)
Davis Jr., Sammy (Singer)
Dee, Ruby
Dupree, Jack (Singer)
Elder, Lee (Athlete)
Flack, Roberta
Franklin, Aretha
Gaynor, Gloria (Singer) – Sun City
Giovanni, Nikki (Poet)
Glover, Danny
Goldberg, Whoopi
Gray, Dobie
Gregory, Dick
Hayes, Isaac (Singer, Actor)
Henderson, Joe (saxophonist)
Herc, DJ Kool
Herron, Gil-Scott
Holmes, Richard Groove (jazz musician)
Horne, Jimmy "Bo" (singer)
Horne, Lena
Houston, Whitney

Hyman, Phyllis
Jackson, Millie
Jackson, Willie “Gator” (jazz musician)
Johnson, Jack (athlete)
Jones, Quincy
King, Don
Kinney, Fern (singer)
Kitt, Eartha
Lee, Canada
Louis, Joe
Martin, Barry (Dancer)
Mathis, Johnny (Singer)
Maynor, Kevin Elliot (Opera Singer)
McAdoo, Orpheus
Might Clouds of Joy
Mills, Stephanie (Singer)
Mitchell, Ella (Gospel Singer)
Moore, Archie (Athlete)
Nicholas, Denise (Actor)
O’Neal, Frederick
Peters, Brock
Poitier, Sidney
Pryor, Richard
Reid, Tim (actor)
Robeson, Paul
Robinson, Sugar Ray
Roundtree, Richard
Run DMC
Scott, Shirley
Sledge, Percy
Smith, Johnny
Smith, Muriel
Spinks, Leon
Staton, Candi singer
Staton, Dakota
Tate, Buddy (jazz saxophonist)
Tate, John (boxer)
Turner, Tina
Turrentine, Stanley (jazz artist)
The Fat Boys
The Fisk Jubilee Singers
The Harlem Globetrotters
The Meredith Sisters
The O’Jays
The Jacksons
The Platters

The Supremes
The Temptations
The Three Degrees
The Winans
Two Tons (Martha Wash and Izora Armstead)
Tyler, Willie
Vereen, Ben
Village People
Watkins, Lovelace
White, Barry
Wonder, Stevie
Wright, Betty
Williams, Aaron (ventriloquist)

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