UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

“Be(Long)ing: New Africanism & South African Cultural Producers Confronting State Repression in an Era of Exile”

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ethnic Studies

by

Martin Luther Boston

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The Dissertation of Martin Luther Boston is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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VITA

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

"Be(Long)ing: New Africanism & South African Cultural Producers Confronting State Repression in an Era of Exile"

by

Martin Luther Boston

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Studies

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Professor Dayo F. Gore, Chair

My interdisciplinary research brings together cultural, diasporic and socio-political perspectives to present a socio-historical study of South African cultural producers working in an era of exile across the globe (roughly 1959 – the mid 1980s). "Be(Long)ing: New Africanism & South African Cultural Producers Confronting State Repression in an Era of Exile," seeks to understand exile as a function of government control, as a way to theorize global anti-Blackness and modes of Black solidarity, and as an avenue through which South African cultural producers and artistic works became active in the politics of various countries around the world. Chiefly, I argue that the South African settler colonial state created the conditions for its own demise and one significant way it did this was by creating a stateless Black subject that relied on cultural

expression, an exilic consciousness, and Pan-African solidarities and community making processes to topple this regime. Native Black South Africans used their cultural specificity and traditions as well as their long history of translocal and transnational cultural development to create and theorize the communities and tools necessary to be triumphant in this fight.

This dissertation consists of four body chapters, in which each explores a different set of objects that studies Black South African exiles and their collective cultural works. Ultimately, this project gives insight into how the condition of exile, its connections to Pan-Africanism and cultural exile's struggles against anti-Blackness produced new forms of Black subjectivity in response to heightened state repression.

The first chapter, "Belonging Nowhere," looks at two pivotal events that led to the era of exile in South Africa: the rise and fall of the township Sophiatown and its renaissance, and the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. Chapter 2, "Prelude to Departure," situates the 1959 jazz opera *King Kong* and the film *Come Back, Africa* as key productions that critiqued the apartheid state. These productions would also—due to an (im)perfect storm of events taking place almost simultaneously, including Sharpeville, the 1960 Venice Film Festival and a European run of *King Kong*—eventually lead to exile for some of the most prominent and infamous South African cultural producers in the country's history. Chapters 3 and 4, "Armed Propaganda" and "Citizens of Africa," respectively, look at what South African cultural producers were creating, how they lived, and the politics they took up while in exile. Chapter 3 focuses on the exiled African National Congress (ANC) radio program, "Radio Freedom" and its Women's Section radio segment, "Dawn Breaks," and Chapter 4 considers the lived experiences of exiled South African cultural producers, with particular interest paid to international superstar singer, Miriam Makeba, and writer and musician, Todd Matshikiza.

Introduction

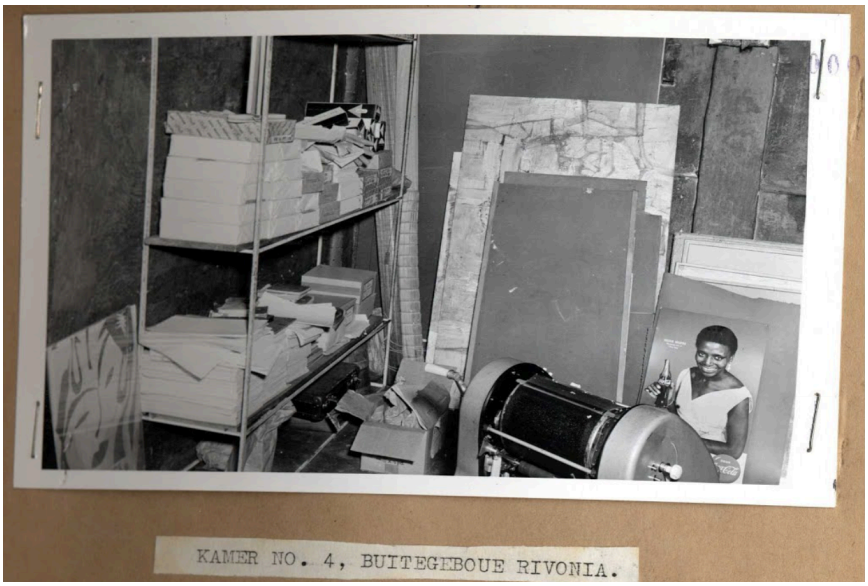

Figure 1: An outhouse at the Liliesleaf farm, known as room number 4, used for storage and making photocopies. On the right one can see Miriam Makeba's Coca-Cola advertisement. Courtesy of National Archives of South Africa (NASA)

Figure 1 is a picture of an outhouse at the Liliesleaf farm that was located in Northern Johannesburg, South Africa. Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe, members from the banned South African Communist Party (SACP), owned the farm from 1961 to 1963.[1] This farm served as a meeting place for the SACP, as well as members of the also banned African National Congress (ANC)[2], and was the birthplace of uMkonto weSizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC. Liliesleaf was raided on 11 July 1963, and many of the ANC high command and SACP members, including Goldreich, were arrested and charged with high treason. The South African government supported these charges by pointing to a plan confiscated during the raid. Operation Mayibuye was a plan to overthrow the white minority Afrikaner-led National Party government through sabotage campaigns and mobilization of the South African masses in a Peoples' War.

[1] The SACP was founded in 1921 and had been banned in South Africa since the passage of the Suppression Communism Act by the Afrikaner led National Party government in 1950.

[2] The African National Congress was the vanguard anti-apartheid organization that eventually took over the government coming into power during the first South African Democratic Elections 27 April 1994. They were banned in 1960 under The Unlawful Organizations Act passed into apartheid law by the National Party government.

This outhouse pictured was known as room number 4 during the infamous "trial that changed South Africa," The Rivonia Trial, in which 12 ANC members, including Nelson Mandela and those arrested in the Liliesleaf raid (minus Goldreich who escaped before trial), faced the death penalty for violation of the 1962 Sabotage Act. This room was used for storage and making photocopies; however, on the right one can see the then-exiled and renowned international South African superstar singer, Miriam Makeba's large poster-sized Coca-Cola advertisement. In the context of the banned SACP and ANC using this space to organize against the apartheid state, likely using this space to make copies for the distribution of Operation Mayibuye (*mayibuye* means "come back" in one of the Native South African languages of Zulu), one is inclined to ask, why is she there? Just five days after the Liliesleaf raid, Makeba would address the United Nations (U.N.) Special Committee Against Apartheid in New York to condemn the system of oppression in her home country. While Makeba was in New York thinking of, longing for and attempting to protect home, this image tells us that those who were home in South Africa were thinking of and longing for her, as well. It is ironic that in a space of storage, so often a place of treasured memories or for storing things we cannot let go of, this image was found alongside plans for Operation 'Come Back' (Mayibuye), eerily reminding its viewer that this elegant superstar was exiled from the country these freedom fighters fought to liberate. Doubly ironic was that in a place where important documents are remade and archived, Makeba's smiling face, regal attire and expensive advertisement seem to not only speak to a treasure from the past being stored away, but also seems to serve as a kind of aspirational symbol for a prosperous future; a future not tethered to the repression of apartheid but to the innumerable dreams and possibilities for African futures. What this image represents, for me, is a changing tide for what would constitute the modern Black South African subject. Taken at Liliesleaf, the

home of the newly commissioned armed resistance, this image also represents changing political ideologies. And finally, it represents increased state repression to include banning and exile for not only oppositional political leaders, such as Goldreich and members of the ANC, but cultural producers like Makeba as well. Figure 1 is fascinating because it gives a small glimpse into the ways in which cultural expression, imagination, memory and aesthetics were coveted at the time this picture was taken, even in the midst of immense political turmoil, shifting African ontologies and exile.

"Be(Long)ing: New Africanism & South African Cultural Producers Confronting State Repression in an Era of Exile" traces a history of the development of South African cultural producers during the Sophiatown Renaissance and New African Movement of the 1940s and 1950s, to their experiences in exile between the years of 1960 to 1990 when they moved from the global south to the global north and back again. I use interdisciplinary methods to analyze the role of South African Cultural producers as exiled subjects in the anti-apartheid movement and movements confronting anti-Blackness globally. In doing so, I argue that the South African settler colonial state created the conditions for its own demise and one significant way it did this was by creating a stateless Black subject that relied on cultural expression, an exilic consciousness, and Pan-African solidarities and community making processes to topple this regime. These ways to manufacture the apartheid regime's demise were situated in Native Black South African communities relying on their cultural specificity and traditions as well as their long history of being hybrid, translocal and transnational communities to create new forms of community and liberation praxis as they confronted Western colonial powers (including Western technology, cultural hegemony and education system) and fought for their liberation.

The era of exile in South Africa began when the white minority South African settler colonial state began to expel oppositional political and cultural figures as a tenet of their nation-building project. This effort is marked by various important events and circumstances that elevate it as a moment important to the study of social movements, and the reimagining of new and alternative Black identities and communities. This era spanned roughly from the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960[3] until the early 1990s when exiles were allowed to return home to South Africa following the release of political prisoner and—eventually, in 1994—the first democratically elected President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela.

In 1948, South Africa went through extraordinary political and social changes as a result of the Afrikaner-led[4] National Party being voted into power. At this time, the National Party began to institutionalize the treacherous caste system of racial segregation and oppression, Apartheid (an Afrikaner term that translates to "apart-hood" in English). This system created the racialized groups: "White," "Native" (or Black or African), "Coloured" (largely a category of people of mixed race), and "Indian." The intent was, through apartheid law, to repress the Black majority of the population (and, to a lesser extent, the so-called Coloured and Indian populations) for the benefit of the politically and economically dominant group, Afrikaners, and other whites.

In this project, I am confronting a tension that considers Blackness both as a category created for domination and simultaneously as a category taken up to seek relational forms of

[3] On 21 March 1960, police opened fire on a crowd protesting the South Africa pass laws in front of the Sharpeville Township Police Station killing 69 and injuring 180 others. This even came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre. This event signaled the beginning of armed resistance in the country, where organizations like the African National Congress (ANC) called for the masses to abandon the non-violent protest strategies of the pass and join the ANC's armed wing, uMkonto weSizwe (the MK). It also prompted the South African government to intensify its repression of its citizens through banning the ANC and the Pan African Congress (PAC), which was the group that organized the Sharpeville protest, and imposing various apartheid policies to limit Black South African social, political and spatial mobility.

[4] Afrikaners are decedents of Dutch and Huguenot settlers of the 17th century. By the founding of the National Party, many Afrikaans considered themselves indigenous South Africans and that their colonial victories coupled with their "indigeneity" made them rightful rulers of the land.

solidarity and emancipation by disparate Black groups. Scholar Saidiya Hartman defines Blackness "in terms of social relationality rather than identity; thus blackness incorporates subjects normatively defined as black, the relations among blacks, whites, and others, and the practices that produce racial difference. Blackness marks a social relationship of dominance and abjection and potentially one of redress and emancipation; it is a contested figure at the very center of social struggle."[5] Particularly, in my study, I am considering South African Native Black populations and how they confront the minority white government's subjection of them through anti-Black politics but also, how these Native Black populations use Blackness to forge global pan-African connections that yield pan-African liberation praxis and aesthetics.

Sociocultural Anthropologist Jemima Pierre's work on the politics of race in postcolonial Ghana is particularly helpful in how I think about this tension in my study. For Pierre, "Racialization processes in postcolonial Africa are such that they render analogous the experiences and relationships of continental Africans and those of African decent in the diaspora."[6] These racialization processes are "structured through and by global White supremacy and… such (postcolonial African) societies (should be addressed) within current discussions of race and Blackness."[7] Using these passages as ways to think about global forms of anti-Blackness as structured through global white supremacy's racialization of continental Africans and African descended peoples in the diaspora, Pierre makes the case that using the idea of Blackness within studies of continental African societies is not only useful but vital. This is made more clear when considering that due to the discursive rendering of African captives as 'Black' and 'slave' during the transatlantic slave trade, "African groupings through colonial legislation

[5] Hartman, Saidiya V. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print. pps. 56-57
[6] Pierre, Jemima. *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013. Print. p. 1
[7] Ibid

and practice, (were) rendered "native' –a duel process of first constructing and then flattening ethnocultural difference and belonging into a racialized collectivity."[8] In other words, due to the history of white supremacy, imperial conquest and colonization, "…local realities are structured by global racial configurations of identity, culture, economics, and politics" and thus, must "contend with the various transnational political and cultural significations associated with constructions of 'Blackness'" and "this recognition necessarily forces concrete engagement with the processes of African diasporic identity formation."[9]

I look at how Blackness is used by colonial powers to subjugate, especially the South African government between 1948 and 1990, but also how simultaneously Blackness is taken up by those communities subjugated by a colonial rendering of Blackness to in turn expand its definition to include their specific cultural traditions and modes of expression. I look at how this is done in order to produce new forms of Blackness that resist this colonial power and create radically different futures. Part of this is to understand that Blackness, as an idea that identifies communities, is completely manufactured both by the colonial power and by those who are colonized. The legacy of transatlantic slavery discursively is foundational to the worldwide applicability of the devaluation of Blackness and also of Black communities using the concept in counter cultural ways to resist.

In her chapter, "Citizenship: Universalism and Exclusion" from her important text, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (2002), scholar Evelyn Nakano Glenn provides a historical overview of how U.S. citizenship has been legally and socially defined while also showing how historical codifications of U.S. citizenship shaped subsequent trends in immigration law and citizenship policy. Nakano Glenn identifies in

[8] Ibid, pps. 11-12
[9] Ibid, p. 1

this piece three kinds of discursive citizenship that she contends one must possess to realize true substantive citizenship: civil citizenship (the rights necessary for individual freedom), political citizenship (the right to participate in the exercise of political power), and social citizenship (the right to social belonging and recognition). Though Nakano Glenn is speaking specifically about the U.S., these definitions help us understand how the South African state used citizenship discourse to create a division between "the citizen and the noncitizen" who "were not just different; they were interdependent constructions."[10] The South African government systematically attacked all three of these forms of citizenship for Native Black South Africans with the intent of making them noncitizens of South Africa. As South Africa rapidly urbanized and industrialized during the first and second world wars, the government's focus to define South Africa's national identity through citizenship discourse became paramount to building a nation that they believed would develop into a world power.

This was done through disenfranchisement, housing discrimination, labor discrimination, setting curfews and prohibiting alcoholic consumption for Native Black South Africans and other groups, and requiring Native Black South Africans to carry a pass outlining employment and housing assignments. The government also achieved this delineation of Native Black South Africans as noncitizens through the creation of the Bantustan or "homeland" system through which the National Party would separate all Native Black South Africans into various quasi-independent ethnic states, making each Bantustan an ethnic minority in the country, and then cancelling their South African citizenship. Through these measures, the South African state denied Black South Africans any form of citizenship, from civil to political to social. This

[10] Glenn, Evelyn N. *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004. Print. p. 20

process was supported by the promotion of Afrikaner culture and the principles of baaskap[11]. This was the nation-building project of the National Party, formalized in 1961 with the enactment of a new constitution that changed the former Union of South Africa to the Republic of South Africa.

Having had a mineral revolution in the late 1800s after the discovery of gold in the Witswatersrand basin, the subsequent gold rush in the region, and the rising wartime industry during the first and second world wars, South Africa was still modernizing and developing into a world power in the mid-20th century when the National Party came into power. This prompted the new governing body to institute several nation building strategies to craft what South Africa would look like both in infrastructure and in national identity. As such, the state instituted the system of apartheid through both, as termed by French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, the Ideological State Apparatus and the Repressive State Apparatus.[12] Althusser thought of the Ideological State Apparatus as a "'soft power" concept, i.e., a nation building project tied to the creation of national identity through ideological means, discourse and creating hegemonic consent. One way this is done is by creating national slogans such as "land of the free and home of the brave" in the U.S., for example. However, for the apartheid state, most central to their nation-building project was the Repressive State Apparatus or "hard power," i.e., a form of power that operates by means of violence.[13] For the minority led white South African government, violence and extreme forms of repression were necessary to maintain power and

[11] Baaskap meaning the control of non-white people by white people; white supremacy

[12] Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation." *In* Evans, Jessica, and Stuart Hall (eds). *Visual Culture: The Reader.* London: SAGE Publications in association with the Open University, 1999. Print. pps. 317-323

[13] Though not quoting Althusser directly, Ivan Evans 8th chapter of *Cultures of Violence: Lynching and Racial Killing in South Africa and the American South* entitled, "Racial Violence and the Legal System in South Africa," does an exceptional job showing how the state used the law as a way to justify state violence and repress its Black residents. See: Evans, Ivan T. "Racial Violence and the Legal System in South Africa" in *Cultures of Violence: Lynching and Racial Killing in South Africa and the American South*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009. Print. pps. 208-237

control over a majority Native Black population.[14] In order to squelch any forms of Native Black South African dissention or unrest, the government, operating primarily through both mental and physical coercion, and latent and physical violence, turned to their Repressive State Apparatus—conscientiously and without fail—consisting of organizations and institutions such as the Defense Force or their military, the police, the judiciary and the prison system. The intense use of the Repressive State Apparatus to control majority Native Black populations was common among other European colonies in other parts of Africa at the time as well.

As South Africa and other Southern African countries, like South West Africa (modern day Namibia) and Rhodesia (modern day Zimbabwe), were fortifying their white minority rule at this time, much of the rest of the African continent was embroiled in decolonial struggles. Beginning with Ghana in 1957, this era saw dozens of African countries gain their independence from European colonial powers. Naturally, this also ushered in new forms of African politics, political allegiances and governments. In sum, this era of decolonization was simultaneously an era of rethinking African identity. Central to this thesis was the question of African identity and who was to become the new and emerging African subject. Decolonial leaders Kwame Nkrumah, the first prime minister and president of Ghana, and Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of the independent Democratic Republic of the Congo, were extremely influential to this bourgeoning African subject, as they were both unabashed pan-Africanists advocating for the political union of African-descended peoples across the globe.[15]

[14] Robert Trent Vinson states that in 1913, "Africans… made up 75 percent of the population, to only 6 percent of the total land." Vinson, Robert T. *The Americans Are Coming!: Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012. Print. p .8

[15] For information on the political ideologies of these figures, see: Skurnik, W A. E. *African Political Thought: Lumumba, Nkrumah, Touré*. Denver: University of Denver, 1968. Print. For more about Nkrumah's time in the U.S., see: Clarke, John Henrik. "Kwame Nkrumah: His Years in America." *The Black Scholar*. 6.2 (1974): 9-16. Print.

The U.S. also played an important role in how Black people globally began to interrogate their relationship to modernity in this period. By this time, U.S. popular culture was beginning to replace European high culture as the global cultural mainstream.[16] African American civil rights politics, music, film, sports, literature, and political leaders, movements and theories, all spread across the globe like wildfire. Kwame Nkrumah, for example, received degrees from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania and the University of Pennsylvania, with an additional American education in his time spent, as Dr. John Henrik Clarke said, immersing himself in the "University of the Harlem Streets."[17] These times, for Nkrumah, were vital in the development of his political philosophy, and organizing diasporic and Pan-African movements and solidarities.

Black people have always played a complicated role in U.S. popular culture. As the innovators of such American institutions as the sorrow songs and Jazz but with the simultaneous proliferation of Black people as savage, lazy, criminal and child-like as portrayed through film, politics and media, Black people became central figures in U.S. popular culture's shift to the global mainstream. It was the accomplishments of Black Americans and their resolve in the midst of white oppression, however, that became the lasting image for many diasporic Black communities across the globe; and it was cities like Harlem and Chicago, and how Blackness was represented and imagined in these places, that became prototypes for what modern African cities could be.

South Africans, in particular, were influenced by the U.S. and how Black people positioned themselves in relation to U.S. modernity with regard to politics and culture. This influence can be seen from Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association's (UNIA) influence on South African political movements in the years surrounding World War I

[16] Stuart Hall paraphrases Cornell West in: Hall, Stuart. "What Is This "Black" in Black Popular Culture?" in Michele Wallace, Ed. *Black Popular Culture*. New York: New Press, 1998. Print. p. 21

[17] Clarke, John Henrik. "Kwame Nkrumah: His Years in America." *The Black Scholar*. 6.2 (1974): 9-16. Print. p. 11

(especially with the founding of the ANC whose leadership had direct ties to Garveyism[18]) to the influence of the Harlem Renaissance and jazz culture in the U.S. on Black South African townships, such as Sophiatown, which had its own renaissance from the 1940s until being torn down in the early 1960s.[19] Sophiatown was fashioned similarly to U.S. Black cultural Meccas like Chicago and Harlem, from dress and style, to crime and gang activity, to the explosion and blossoming of literature and art, music and show venues, and especially intellectual debates on bourgeoning African identities and liberation praxis. Where the U.S. called the development of Harlem's renaissance a part of the New Negro Movement, Sophiatown took part in the New African Movement.

The New African Movement consisted of writers, political and religious leaders, artists, teachers, and scientists who called themselves New Africans—specifically New African intellectuals—to distinguish themselves from the Old Africans. These New Africans endeavored to simultaneously critique accepted knowledge and produce new knowledge of modernity that featured their new ideas, new perspectives, new objectives and new formulations, rather than finding consolation in the old ways of traditional societies or allowing European high culture to classify them as perpetually premodern. The New African intellectuals did not necessarily reject tradition but attempted to reconcile it to the historical imperatives of the progressive and new ways of formulating and creating political and cultural practices. Scholar Ntongela Masilela writes about the history of this New African Movement, periodizing it from roughly 1862 to the

[18] In Chapter 4, "Transnational Martyrdom and the Spread of Garveyism in South Africa," Trent Vinson discusses the UNIA and its influence on the ANC. Vinson, Robert T. *The Americans Are Coming!: Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa*. (2012) pps. 82-102

[19] Two chapters that do an excellent job speaking about the American influence on Sophiatown are: Coplan, David B. "Sophiatown: Culture and Community, 1940-1960" in *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008. Print. and Nixon, Rob. "Harlem Hollywood, and the Sophiatown Renaissance" in *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. New York: Routledge, 1994. Print. One can also find great commentary of American influence in several of the interviews in Stein, Pippa, and Ruth Jacobson. *Sophiatown Speaks*. Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa: Junction Avenue Press, 1986. Print.

Sharpeville Massacre in 1960.[20] Pixley ka Isaka Seme (1880-1951) coined the idea and concept of the New African Movement in his influential 1906 manifesto, "The Regeneration of Africa."[21] With this work, he pronounced the historical necessity of creating and forging a complex "New African modernity" whose central goal would be to liberate and decolonize South Africa. By challenging, contesting and decentralizing the hegemonic form of European modernity that occupied the social, cultural and geographic territory that became the Union of South Africa four years later, this manifesto theorized that New Africanism could not only liberate South Africa, the geographic location, but could also deconstruct the ways European modernity colonized and dominated the historical imagination of all the oppressed and exploited people within the Union.

Masilela's narrative of the New African Movement can be broken down into three important eras of evolution. Changes in colonial power and governance in South Africa signal the beginning of each New African era, where each change in power necessitated new forms of New African thought and action in resistance to these colonial power shifts. The first era was brought about by the arrival of British imperial capitalism and colonialism. This initiated hegemonic European modernity in South Africa through the exploitation of the natural resources in the region, which included African labor. European hegemonic power was also achieved through a British civilizing mission among the indigenous people consisting initially of the San and the Khoikhoi, and Black Africans with the imposition of Christianity and imposing a modern missionary school education system on them. However, this education also created an educated base of indigenous peoples in the region who used this education to question their subjugation

[20] Masilela, Ntongela. *An Outline of the New African Movement in South Africa*. Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press, 2013. Print.
[21] Seme, Isaka. "The Regeneration of Africa", *Journal of African Society*. 5 (1905-1906): 404-408. Print. pps. 404-408

and relationship to urbanization. These individuals became the first New African intellectuals and thinkers.

The second era of New Africanism was brought about during the interwar period as a response to the unholy alliance of British imperialism and Afrikaner segregationist interests that formed the Union of South Africa in 1910. This union excluded the aspirations and legitimate concerns of the oppressed Native Black South African people in the region and made it so that the only people who would profit from the emerging wartime industries and the mineral revolution in the country, would be the (white) South Africans that the Union recognized. In response, Seme, in his 1906 manifesto, called for the founding of a political organization that would represent the national interests of the African people, which eventually became the ANC. The ANC would lead the fight to remove colonial rule in the country throughout the 1900s and eventually would become the governing body of South Africa during the country's first democratic elections in 1994.

The third and last era of New Africanmism, which I refer to as "Third Era New Africanism," is the era that I spend a considerable amount of time considering in this project. This era emerged in response to the National Party seizing power of South Africa in 1948 and the party's institutionalization of the racial caste system of Apartheid. This produced New African cultural movements like the Sophiatown Renaissance, in response, and introduced the country to some of the most influential artists and social movements, political theorists and organizations, and cultural movements in the country's history.[22]

This New African moment, which Masilela argues was influenced by the New Negro movement in the U.S., was about Native Black South Africans struggling with their relation to modernity. As the context in which the Black modern subject was to be defined, the New African

[22] Masilela, Ntongela. *An Outline of the New African Movement in South Africa*. (2013)

Movement positioned how Black South Africans fought apartheid and anti-Blackness as central to the characteristics that define the Black Modern subject. Within this bourgeoning culture of resistance, aesthetic cultural forms also became innately structured through an antagonist relationship with apartheid's construction of the premodern Black subject. Thus, the artistic community was always already a militant force and counter to the idea that the Native Black South African community was permanently premodern. There is no better example of this than the Sophiatown Renaissance. This Renaissance was a Black South African cultural explosion that was dismantled and decimated with the destruction of Sophiatown for a white community tragically named Triomf (Triumph in Afrikaans) by the apartheid state. Sophiatown was so dangerous for the minority run government because if there were indeed a Black modern subject that could advance the Union (later the Republic), the supremacy of the National Party and its government would be obsolete compared to the Native Black South Africans who were an overwhelming majority of the country's population.

In my project, I add an additional era of individuals and movements who, though they may not have formally aligned themselves with New Africanism were surely inspired by and were in conversation with New Africanism[23], the cultural and political exiles of South Africa post-Sharpeville. South Africa's post-Sharpeville exiles were forced into the diaspora and had to redefine themselves and home from outside South Africa's borders in the midst of the National Party's nation building project. This began an important epistemic and ontological shift for them that not only asked who they were as (largely) Black people or Pan-Africans in a global community and what home was in a perpetual state of homelessness, but also how they could

[23] I would also argue that many were members of Third Era New Africanism. Masilela argues that Es'kia Mphahalele is one of the last New Africans, however, he also spent many years in exile, especially in the U.S., and developed new concepts and ideas about what it meant to be Black and African while living his new global identity.

still be South Africans and effect political and cultural change in South Africa (so they could one day return home).

"Cultural exile" is a term I use in this dissertation to indicate cultural producers who were forced to leave South Africa due to the repression of the apartheid state. Cultural exiles, as inherently creative and imaginative, provide a rich archive of cultural works that theorize what exile means and provides rich analysis of how an exiled identity confronted, absorbed and expanded definitions of race, belonging, home, citizenship, social movements, sovereignty and solidarity. I look at cultural producers of a variety of mediums including literature, media, music, film, radio and politics, because, as I argue, individuals who produce cultural texts or critique social structures provide a critical archive not only of their lived experiences and cultural works, but also of their theorizations and meditations on the world around them as they are inspired and participate in radical dreaming through the processes of producing their cultural work in exile.[24] However, I use culture as more than just representing the arts and aesthetic productions. I am also interested in culture as the developed customs and social institutions of groups of people. As such, there are moments in this dissertation where I think about the construction of communities like Sophiatown that produced a renaissance of aesthetic productions and political ideologies while also thinking about South African exiles as producers of an exiled community that is not all of the time made in specific geographic space and place but within an epistemic citizenship. So, cultural production takes on more than just producing artistic works in this project but also thinks about producing communities and homes.

In her work, *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*, Yen Le Espiritu offers the idea of "home making." She identifies the ways in which

[24] The term "radical dreaming" is a concept I take from Robin D.G. Kelley and his text Freedom Dreams. See: Kelley, Robin D. G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2002. Print.

Filipino men and women "as a simultaneously colonized national, immigrant, and racialized minority—are transformed through the experience of colonialism and migration and how they in turn transform and remake the social world around them."[25] This idea can be applied to how South African cultural exiles, as disenfranchised and exiled subjects, struggled to define home or (re)make home for themselves once subjected to the condition of exile. Similarly, as South African exiles remade their lives in exile, the term "exile" expanded in definition as they experienced the world. Their home making processes were tied to the work of coming to grips with the condition of exile itself.

The term "exile" has been historically hard to define. In his article, "Music and Exile: The Making of Culture and Identity" (2011), Chats Devroop, a leading scholar of music and exile in South Africa, speaks about this history while outlining the various arguments and debates within the study of exile. Devroop argues that "exile" has been the subject of literature since Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden in the Bible and since the wanderings of Odysseus in Homer's epic *The Odyssey*, and has become the imposed outcome for various people globally due to myriad motivating factors. Devroop writes that, "'Globalisation' together with the plight of the millions of people who experience the condition of "refugee-ness" on a daily basis has thrust terms like "homelessness," "displacement," "severance" and "exile" to importance in modern society. The universality of the term "exile" together with its significant history still poses difficulties in attaining a clear definition." To begin to outline these difficulties, Devroop considers three main motivating factors for exile in his text: the political status that warrants expulsion from a homeland; the self-imposed expatriation of artists to

[25] Espiritu, Yen L. *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Print. p. 2

develop their artistic vision; and scholarly émigrés, such as Julia Kristeva and Edward Said for whom "exile is the necessary condition of the intellectual."[26]

It is this first of these three motivating factors that expresses the most traditional form of exile—one that "meant leaving one's country as a result of considerable force and threat to life imposed by some or other person in power"[27]—and is, in the case of South Africa's exile period, the most relevant to my work. Devroop asserts that "the notion of exile is only real when compared with its opposite: the homeland."[28] However, I argue that as South African exiles became globalized, they realized their statelessness or homelessness was not as foreign a concept as they would have imagined. This status allowed South African exiles to consider the fact that they knew exile very intimately through their experiences physically (forced migrations from rural areas to urban areas), socially (the ghettoizing of South Africans into townships and Bantustans), and culturally (banning of music and literature, as well as the constant surveillance and denial of resources for cultural development) within their homeland. It was through their travels and their experiences within Black communities around the globe that South African exiles began to articulate exile as a central tenet of globalized anti-Blackness, especially in colonial or postcolonial states.

Salman Rushdie provides insight into this kind of process of self-discovery, stating:

> The effect of mass migrations has been the creation of radically new types of human being: people who root themselves in ideas rather than places, in memories as much as in material things; people who have been obliged to defend themselves – because they are so defined by others – by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusions occur, unprecedented unions between what they were and where they find themselves. The migrant suspects reality: having experienced several ways of being, he understands their illusory nature. To see things plainly, you have to cross a frontier."[29]

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[26] Devroop, Chats. "Music, Exile and the making of culture and Identity". *Focus*. Issue 61. Johannesburg: Helen Suzman Foundation. (2011) p. 3. Devroop credits this idea to: Ouditt, Sharon. *Displaced Persons: Conditions of Exile in European Culture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002. Print. p. xii.
[27] Devroop, Chats. "Music, Exile and the making of culture and Identity." (2011) p. 5
[28] Ibid, p. 6
[29] Ibid, pps. 3-4; Devroop quotes this from: Rushdie, Salman. *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991*. London: Vintage Books, 2010. Print. pps. 124-125

Moving to the United States, to other African countries or to Europe was how South African exiles "crossed the frontier," but it was their experiences in these places that elevated their understanding of the relationship between exile and Blackness. Within this relationship, the ties that bound their identities and Blackness to the geographical borders of South Africa began to erode. A new consciousness began to arise, one not tethered to nation-states that provide one's citizenship, but one that was developed in globalized experiences of anti-Blackness and discourse. Since W.E.B. Du Bois introduced the idea of "double consciousness" in his principal work *The Souls of Black Folk* (1902)—that Black people are forced to develop the unique condition of encountering the world both keen to how they view themselves and how the (white) world views them—scholars from Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) to Paul Gilroy in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), have studied this phenomenon and continued to develop the concept in order to consider how Black people come to understand their place in a changing but anti-Black world. Through this process, Black communities have been able to develop new ideas of how to identify themselves in opposition to how they were constructed. The South African exiles of the 1960s and onward were also aware of a kind double (or even triple) consciousness, not only primarily as Black people, but also culturally through their knowledge of their homeland and their exiled home.

Huma Ibrahim uses the term "exilic consciousness" to elaborate on this kind of double (or triple) consciousness. Ibrahim insists that to be an exile means that, through the desire to belong, one understands statelessness both from their home country and the country they find themselves living in.[30] This is about how one perceives their condition as an exile and its ambivalence. Exile, by definition, is a condition of uncertainty and isolation, which implies that

[30] Ibrahim, Huma. *Bessie Head: Subversive Identities in Exile*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996. Print. p. 2

one who is subjected to this condition seeks certainty and kinship. Black South African exiles, in particular, were made keenly aware that they did not belong either in the apartheid state or in Western nations like the United States and Britain, whose xenophobic and anti-Black politics and gaze came to represent enormous issues for these individuals as they traveled the globe.

Robeson Taj P. Frazier, when speaking about Gerald Horne's work on Black internationalism and transnationalism, makes an important point about political projects such as social movements and other "imaginings of transformation." He states that they "cannot be examined primarily or rigidly within a national context," but rather "must be comprehended as dialogic," or "in dialogue with global ideas, events and movements."[31] As Black South African cultural exiles confronted the West and engaged with decolonial struggles in Africa, including anti-apartheid struggles for the liberation of South Africa, they engaged Black internationalism and politics situated in Pan-African solidarity.

Edward Said wrote in *Reflections on Exile*:

> ... most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that–to borrow a phrase from music–is contrapuntal. For an exile, habits of life, expression, or activity in the new environment inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment. Thus both the new and the old environment [are actually] occurring together contrapuntally.[32]

As Black South African exiles experienced the kind plurality outlined by Said and internalized an exilic consciousness, they began to seek ways to create places to belong in exile through a Black international perspective. As they articulated this exiled experience as a perpetual one, from apartheid to globalized anti-Blackness, they used this subject position as a way to inspire

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[31] Robeson, Taj P. F. "Sketches of Black Internationalism and Transnationalism." *The Journal of African American History*. 96.2 (2011), p. 231

[32] Devroop, Chats. "Music, Exile and the making of culture and Identity." (2011) p. 4; Devroop quotes this from: Said, Edward W. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000. Print. p 148

Pan-African solidarities across the globe. This was part of their home making process, where they attempted to define and redefine where and how home was made in exile.

For Gilroy, it was this yoking together of racism and modernity that led people of African descent across the globe to search for ways to construct oppositional identities. Gilroy was not the first scholar to stress the importance of understanding race as a phenomenon that both emerged and was resisted transnationally. Scholars like Du Bois, and C.L.R. James examined the ways in which slavery and racism were pivotal to the formation of Western modernity. Du Bois and James also endeavored to document the myriad ways in which Black Diaspora communities, in their attempts to construct artistic and aesthetic responses to racism, played a critical part in developing the cultural institutions of the West.

I look at South African cultural exiles from Sharpeville until right before the divestment campaigns and cultural boycotts of South Africa in the 1980s,[33] to examine how meanings of exile were being negotiated alongside notions of nationalism, Pan-Africanism, Black internationalism, liberation and expressive culture's role in fortifying a just future for South Africa. The complex identities, social movements, politics, cultural works and aesthetics that emerged from confrontations and debates exploring themes of political consciousness, diasporic politics, fighting repression and Afrikaner nationalism, and modern Africans versus old depictions of Africa, all contributed to this evolution in New Africanism. Chiefly, I contend that the state of exile, through the lens of cultural producers, helped create a new modern South African global subject that centered Black international politics, anti-apartheid struggle and cultural expression as defining traits of this identity.

[33] This I would argue begins another epoch where New Africanism would have to contend with neoliberalism and postmodernism

"Be(Long)ing: New Africanism & South African Cultural Producers Confronting State Repression in an Era of Exile" is a socio-historical study that employs a wide range of interdisciplinary methods to analyze the roles that South African cultural producers and the function of exile played in anti-apartheid, and thus, anti-Black movements globally. "Be(long)ing" consists of an introduction, four body chapters and an epilogue that analyze a different set of cultural objects in each chapter. Chapters 1 and 2 provide the history of what led to the era of exile in South Africa, while chapters 3 and 4 provide examples of the important work done and obstacles faced by cultural producers in exile. The first two chapters emphasize the counter cultural development of Native Black South African communities as they were increasingly urbanized in order to make more legible the more complex and intersectional analyses of exile that come in the final two chapters.

Chapter 1, "Belonging Nowhere: Sophiatown to Sharpeville and The Makings of Exile," looks at two pivotal events that led to the era of exile in South Africa, the rise, renaissance and fall of the township Sophiatown, and the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. Using testimonies from people involved in these events, reports from newspapers and magazines like *DRUM*, as well as a bevy of secondary literature as my evidence, this chapter sets the historical and theoretical foundations for the remainder of the dissertation. I argue that these events and their aftermath produced a Black radical arts community that, while in exile, would eventually produce a culture that contested apartheid in a multitude of ways. I also argue that these events emboldened a dubious South African government that, in order to protect its own power, privilege and control, unleashed a swift and treacherous barrage of physical, legal and political attacks. Primarily directed at its Black South African oppositional populations, these attacks ultimately led to the

banning and eventual exile of oppositional political organizations and influential individuals including outspoken musicians and writers.

Chapter 2, "Prelude To Departure: *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa*, the Opening Act," examines two pivotal South African productions that launched the international careers of some of South Africa's most talented, influential and infamous artists. The all-Black jazz opera *King Kong* and the film *Come Back, Africa* both debuted in 1959, just one year prior to the Sharpeville Massacre. With these productions, artists like Miriam Makeba, Todd Matshikiza and Letta Mbulu were able to travel throughout South Africa and Europe for performances or to attend film festivals and other promotional events. However, for a large segment of these artists, their participation in these productions also prompted their exile, which would eventually restrict many from returning to South Africa for more than 30 years. I frame my discussion of this history in two ways. First, I contextualize *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa* by considering them alongside other 1950s and early 1960s South African cultural works that critique the conditions of urban Black township life to examine how this genre was able to inspire anti-apartheid sentiments across the globe. Second, I look at how the travel allowed to the artists of *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa* helped them cement networks with communities in the global South and global North before the era of exile fully began.

Chapter 3, "Armed Propaganda: How Radio Freedom Fought Apartheid from Exiled Barracks," explores how exiled ANC leaders used the Radio Freedom radio program to re-appropriate the South African airwaves and fight for liberation from outside the confines of the nation-state. Exiled ANC leaders broadcasted from compounds as far away as Egypt, sharing news, banned music and organizing strategies over the airwaves. These radio broadcasts claimed space traditionally denied to Black radical thought and used cultural aethetics and affect to move

the masses in South Africa. I examine how the ANC used Radio Freedom as a cultural form, with particular attention paid to the ANC Women's Section radio segment, "Dawn Breaks," to organize and maintain anti-apartheid politics at home from abroad.

The final body chapter, "Citizens of Africa: Cultural Exiles In and Out the West," looks at what South African cultural producers were creating, how they lived and the politics they took up while in exile. The two key figures I investigate in this chapter are singer Miriam Makeba and musician and writer Todd Matshikiza. Makeba spent time in Europe and the U.S. as an international megastar until she and then husband Stokley Carmichael were forced to leave the U.S. to move to Guinea. Makeba, however, was eventually able return to South Africa after 30 years in exile. Following the success of *King Kong,* Matshikiza moved his family to Europe. However, after being unable to break into the music scene in Europe and missing South Africa, Matshikiza and family moved to Zambia in 1964; disillusioned and heartbroken he died there in 1968. Themes of displacement, depression, longing and belonging, Pan-Africanism, anti-Blackness, and challenging citizenship discourse emerge in secondary materials and the interviews, autobiographies, newspaper articles and music of Matshikiza, Makeba and their families. When analyzed together these materials provide important insight into the lived experiences, political conflicts and aesthetic intentions of cultural exiles in the diaspora.

I end "Be(long)ing" with an epilogue that considers the stakes of my project through my meditations on a lecture I attended about the French writer, poet, philosopher and literary critic from Martinique, Édouard Glissant. Through my analysis of this lecture given by Malian writer, filmmaker, cultural theorist, scholar and art historian Manthia Diawara, I highlight what was revealed to me about the power Black popular culture and, in particular, contemporary social

movements such as #BlackLivesMatter and #FeesMustFall possess in their fight for liberty against oppression, repression and anti-Black nation-state formations.

Chapter 1 – Belonging Nowhere: *Sophiatown to Sharpeville and The Makings of Exile*

> "Those of us who have been detribalised and caught in the characterless world of *belonging nowhere*, have a bitter sense of loss."
>
> – Can Themba[34]

> "We are quite a religious people. We accept the idealism of Christianity. We accept its high principles. But in a stubborn, practical sense we believe in reality. Christian Brotherhood must be real. Democracy must actually be the rule of the people: not a white hobo over a black MA [master's degree]… So if a priest says God's on my side, I'd like to see a few more chances and a little less whiteman's curses."
>
> – Can Themba hypothetically quoting a typical Sophiatown shebeen conversation[35]

Sophiatown was a community of mostly Black people but also boasted a considerable, though marginal, population of so-called Coloured, Indian, Chinese and poor white people. *Drum* writer Can Themba in an article entitled, "Requiem for Sophiatown," speaks about what made Sophiatown's politics of race and its geography so unique and special stating, "You have the right to listen to the latest jazz records at Ah Sing's over the road. You can walk a coloured girl of an evening down to the Odin cinema and no questions asked." Themba continued, "You can try out Rhugubar's curry with your bare fingers without embarrassment. All of this with no heresy." Themba concludes this passage with his memories of showing white colleagues around "'the little Paris of the Transvaal" – but only a few were Afrikaners."[36] This passage highlights the ways in which Sophiatown, through organic means, crafted a community that served its needs and set its own standards with regard to racial integration. Another example of this, offered by Themba, is when "St. Cyprian's School boys… sweatingly dug out the earth behind the school of the Community of the Resurrection, in order to have a swimming pool."[37] This kind

[34] Gready, Paul. "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World." *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 16.1 (1990): 139-164. Print. p. 147
[35] Crais, Clifton C, and Thomas V. McClendon. *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. Print. p. 289
[36] Ibid, p. 291
[37] Ibid, p. 288

of organic community making process was not only understood within the geographic limits of Sophiatown but also existed within a cooperative relationship across the Western areas.

The history of the urbanization of rural/Native Black South Africans is one fraught with conflict, resistance and struggle. Fighting the repression of Africans by the white minority ruling class of South Africa, where "for over three hundred years white policy (had) been directed at securing that the black man should work for the white" mainly "in three ways… the limitation of land available to Africans, the imposition of taxes, and the control, through 'passes', of where the black man (could) seek work,"[38] beginning at the turn of the 20th century, Black South Africans continuously struggled to define who they were and who they would become as a bourgeoning modern/urban community.

This chapter, "Belonging Nowhere: Sophiatown to Sharpeville and the Makings of Exile," looks at two South African townships both located near or within the Johannesburg city limits during the first six decades of the 20th century. I analyze the histories, design and events that made Sophiatown and Sharpeville two of the most infamous sites of extreme Black repression and examples of the surreptitiously vicious and tyrannical Repressive State Apparatus[39] of the white minority government in the history of South Africa. Particularly, I consider the founding, development, renaissance and destruction of Sophiatown and the events that led to, and the consequences of, the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre and its aftermath. I consider these locations and their tragic histories dually as pivotal places and events that led to the era of exile in South Africa, as being sites that were key in negotiating the terms of a burgeoning Black

[38] Reeves, Ambrose, and Chief Luthuli. *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa: With a Foreword by Chief Luthuli*. London: Gollancz, 1960. Print. p. 17

[39] Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation." *In* Evans, Jessica, and Stuart Hall (eds). *Visual Culture: The Reader.* (1999). pps. 317-323

modernity, as well as being locations crucial to Black resistance and organizing against the white supremacist state.

In this chapter, I consider the ways in which the National Party government forced place and ideas of community onto Native Black South Africans through apartheid segregation laws, and limited public and private land accessible by Africans for employment, leisure, lease or ownership. This was done by the establishment of pass laws, the native reserves, the Bantustan or native "homeland" system, forced removals to segregated townships and Black disenfranchisement. I also consider the prohibition of Native Black South Africans' ability to congregate and create their own ideas of community through means such as making bars illegal in Black townships and alcohol illegal for Black Native consumption. Simultaneously, however, I consider how Black Native South Africans claimed new and modern subject positions through place and community making processes of their own.

Situated in what scholar Ntongela Masilela terms "New Africanism," where "New Africanism was forged in order to make it possible for the Old Africans to transform themselves into New Africans by going through the process of constructing modernity,"[40] this process helps explain how, by the time of its massacre in 1960, through traditional and overt forms of political organizing, Sharpeville (originally Topville) transformed from a seemingly apolitical community to the epicenter of Black resistance to the apartheid government. I also consider how this process produced the Sophiatown cultural renaissance in the 1940s and 1950s, producing new ways to walk, talk, dress, celebrate, think, care, protest, resist and create, culminating in an explosion of literature, other forms of media, music, political and social organizations, street gangs and fashion, and how this was all situated in resistance to the logics of white supremacy advanced by

[40] Masilela, Ntongela. "New Negroism and New Africanism: The Influence of United States Modernity on the Constructon of South African Modernity (1999)" in *A South African Looks at the African Diaspora: Essays and Interviews*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2017. Print. pps. 25-26

the apartheid state. Whereas the South African government created "homelands" for Native Black South Africans as a symbolic and physical allocation of these communities to premodern, fixed and primitive locations, Black South Africans remade the physical space of their urban communities, and theorized these communities in terms of their desires as a forming culture and as a bourgeoning Black modern population.

Sophiatown: Seeking a Black Spatial Imaginary in an Unjust Geography

The history of racial segregation and forced removals in South Africa was an old institution by the time the National Party, the party responsible for codifying and officially adopting apartheid[41] as the ruling doctrine of South Africa, came into power in 1948. The 1913 Natives Land Act and 1936 Native Trust and Land Act established "reserves" and allocated land for Native Black residents in South Africa to inhabit with the intention of segregating Black South Africans from white South Africans.[42] The 1923 Native Urban Areas Act "gave municipalities greater powers to segregate housing, to police African communities, and to control movement by imposing passes."[43] These acts only formalized what both Afrikaners and British foreign administrators had long practiced in South Africa informally.

The "Boer Republics" of Transvaal and the Orange Free State were formed after a group of nomadic European livestock farmers, or Trekboeren, started moving toward the interior of the country leaving the lush farmlands of Cape Colony on the South African southern coast for the drier interior to establish lives of their own making. It is at the site of the Boer Republics, within

[41] The National Party, under the leadership of then Prime Minister Daniel Francois Malan (better known as D.F. Malan) but orchestrated by then Minister for Native Affairs, Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, formalized the already commonly practiced principles of apartheid and baaskaap (white supremacy) by codifying them into the law of the land in South Africa beginning in 1948. Apartheid, translated in Afrikaans meaning "apart-hood," being a system racial segregation and white supremacy run by a minority white government, relied on Black disenfranchisement and labor exploitation as ways to maintain power and economic control.
[42] Beinart, William. *Twentieth-Century South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Print. pps. xiv and xv
[43] Ibid, p. 126

the "Golden Arc,"[44] a part of the Witswatersrand Basin, where the Mineral Revolution would take place in South Africa, prompting the industrialization of the country, the founding of the financial epicenter and still South Africa's industrial and financial capital, the city of Johannesburg, and the largest Gold Rush in the world's history.

The Witwatersrand Gold Rush saw a large number of skilled miners and experienced industrial working foreigners, particularly British expatriates who Boers referred to as Uitlanders, moving into in the Witwatersrand. This caused resentment from the largely unskilled rural Boer farmers who by now, after over two hundred years of settling the land, thought of themselves as an indigenous South African population, or Afrikaners. This led the Boer Republics to impose heavy taxes for the purchase of dynamite and other mining necessities, and the denial of voting rights for Uitlanders. In response, the Uitlanders and the British owners of the mines began to pressure for the overthrow of the Boer/Afrikaner governments, including a failed attempt to overthrow the Transvaal in the Jameson Raid New Year's Weekend 1895-1896.[45] Ultimately, these would all be inciting factors to the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) between the British Empire and the two Boer Republics and result in the British taking charge of South Africa and control of the profits of the country's mineral and industrial revolutions.

Bernard Sachs contends that "three salient forces from their past have shaped the character of the Afrikaner people: nomadism; economic disintegration through 'poor whiteism'; and defeat in war" where "defeat in war and economic disintegration gave the Afrikaner an

[44] An area that stretches from current-day Johannesburg to Welkom where scientific studies have uncovered that the "Golden Arc" was once a massive inland lake, and that silt and gold deposits from alluvial gold settled in the area to form the gold-rich deposits that South Africa is famous for

[45] The Jameson Raid was supported by Rhodes and led by Sir Leander Starr Jameson. Its intent was to overthrow the Transvaal government and turn the region into a British colony. There were 500 men who took part in the uprising; 21 were killed and many arrested, tried and sentenced
See: Anonymous. "Jameson Raid." *SAHO*, 21 March 2011, www.sahistory.org.za/article/jameson-raid. Accessed 19 Dec 2018.

inferiority complex."[46] This inferiority complex with regard to their relationship to the British instilled in the Afrikaner people that "all that was left to them was their white skin which gave them a superiority status over the black man, and with it a hatred for the latter, rooted in the fear that any improvement in the African's social position would leave them, as poor whites, bereft of racial pride as well as property."[47]

These conflicts would animate the antagonistic relationship between Afrikaners and Black South Africans for the better part of the 20th century. Eventually, Afrikaners would create the National Party that would galvanize support for its platform based on racial segregation, upset the incumbent United Party to seize power in South Africa in 1948, and institutionalize the by then long practiced racial caste policies of apartheid, which would rule over the country until the 1990s. This limited Black South Africans' access to employment, housing, and civil and citizenship rights, and meant they would continuously have to fight for their dignity and human rights.

The discovery of gold and the two World Wars prompted the industrial revolution, and the exponential growth of the Witswatersrand Basin and the city of Johannesburg in South Africa. This also created the need for cheap unskilled laborers to work as minors and industrial factory workers, a need quickly filled by massive numbers of migrating rural/Native Black South Africans. Simultaneously, South Africa, becoming a Union in 1910 and as a burgeoning modern country and world power, began negotiating the terms of this nation-building project in terms of what its core values would be, who would be protected under its laws and who would make up its citizenry.

[46] Sachs, Bernard. *The Road from Sharpeville*. New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1961. Print. p. 9
[47] Ibid, p. 14

The Native Land Acts, in part, were meant as a way to begin this process. By separating out Native Black populations and relegating them to 'homelands' or 'reserves' at a time when only 13 percent of the total land in South Africa was reserved for Native South Africans who accounted for close to 70 percent of the total population of the country, the South African government was positioning Native Black South African populations theoretically and physically outside of modernizing South Africa.[48] This relegated Black South Africans to a subject position that was fixed and permanently premodern. They could be used for labor but they would always remain marginalized within this logic and placed outside of the idea of South Africa, the nation. However, there were exceptions. While there was a nation-building project underway that was epistemologically founded in white supremacy and the segregation of races, there were times when profit and industrial growth outweighed the rigidity of white supremacist policies. So while the Native Land Acts were the law of the land, the need for labor in cities like Johannesburg and the desire for profit in their industries truncated the fixity of these statutes in special circumstances. It was this figurative area of exception that allowed for the creation of Sophiatown.

Herbert Tobiansky in 1897 bought 237 acres of land west of Johannesburg that he intended to sell to the government as a "coloured" location. Once this plan failed, he decided to create a private leasehold township for low-income whites that he named after his wife, Sophia. However, "Sophiatown's distance from the city, poor drainage and proximity to the municipal sewage depository at Newlands"[49] made Sophiatown an unattractive location for whites to settle.

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[48] These numbers are based on a chart depicting the disproportionate treatment of South Africans based on race in 1978 entitled, "Apartheid and the People of South Africa." To reference this chart, See: Hebert, David G, and Alexandra Kertz-Welzel (eds). *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012. Print. p. 98

[49] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,
2008. p. 170

By 1910, Tobiansky was selling lots indiscriminately, which made the racial demographic increasingly mixed and increasingly Black. Whites were further discouraged from settling in Sophiatown when, in 1912, two areas adjacent to it, Martindale and Newclare, lifted their restrictions on the purchase of land based on race. Thus, in 1918, the establishment of the Western Native Township on the Newlands site meant more Native Black residents would reside in the Western Areas, as they came to be collectively called.[50]

Johannesburg, as described by Benjamin Bradlow, "is one of the major metropolises of significant size that is built in the middle of nowhere," that "was essentially a mining town" in the early 20th century.[51] This caused a major conflict for the city: Who would work these mines and where would they live? Segregation further complicated the answers to these questions in Johannesburg because though Black South Africans were the principle laborers for the city's industries, in particular gold mining along the Golden Arc, and the city relied on a steady influx of Black migrant workers to do this work,[52] the government imposed harsh restrictions on Black mobility through influx controls and segregated communities, while also not providing housing accommodations for new workers. Key tenets of urban design that characterize "unjust geographies," as Soja terms it, are the histories of colonialism in the space and segregating the space based on ideas of race.[53] From its beginnings, Johannesburg was shaped by colonial policies steeped in spatial injustice. Although early maps show organic growth in Johannesburg, a map in the 1890s shows segregated areas in the city due to policies that restricted Native Black South Africans from buying land in areas deemed white areas.[54]

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[50] Ibid
[51] Adler, David. "Story of cities #19: Johannesburg's apartheid purge of vibrant Sophiatown." *The Guardian*, 11 Apr. 2016, www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/11/story-cities-19-johannesburg-south-africa-apartheid-purge-sophiatown. Accessed 2 Jan 2018.
[52] Roughly 100,000 Black South Africans were working in mines, factories and homes across the city at this time.
[53] Soja, Edward W. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. (2010) p. 40
[54] Chapman, Thomas P. "Spatial Justice and the Western Areas of Johannesburg." (2015) p. 78-79

Still, Johannesburg's industries needed the labor, so despite the Act, "The government specifically exempted Sophiatown from the ownership restrictions of the Group Areas Act."[55] The explosion of industry and the need for labor in urban areas ballooned for South Africa during World War II in ways similar to the Northern U.S. during both World Wars. Subsequently, due to "severe drought, crop failure, and generally deteriorating rural conditions,"[56] as well as the boom of wartime manufacturing, South Africa also experienced waves of Black migration from rural areas to industrialized cities in the 1930s and 1940s similar to the great migration of African Americans from the rural South to the industrialized North during the First and Second World Wars. As such, this migration for rural South Africans was in many ways coerced, and workers, in particular Black male workers, because of their inability to provide for their families at home, were forced to migrate elsewhere. Making the best of this kind of alternate form of forced relocation or informal exile from home, these workers found the lure of freehold areas like Sophiatown particularly enticing. Even if only perceived, the idea of a place of self-determination and permanence made Sophiatown an attractive location to inhabit.[57] So, as slumyards were cleared, African families poured in to these areas. Between 1936 and 1946 the African population in Johannesburg increased from 229,122 to 384, 628 with the population in Sophiatown ballooning from 12,000 to 28,500 between the years of 1928 and 1937.[58] The government didn't restrict this flow but also didn't recognize these freehold areas as designated locations, which resulted in municipal services not keeping pace with the population growth. Despite Sophiatown being "'proclaimed' (marked for removal) in 1934, the government was not

[55] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008) p. 170
[56] Ibid, p. 14
[57] Ibid, p. 171: Here Coplan speaks about the fact that the idea of self determination was more perceived than actual as 77 per cent of the land was still white owned and not many Black residents were afforded few sources for capital accumulation in these areas.
[58] Ibid

prepared to absorb the cost of housing its residents or the thousands swelling the permanent urban workforce."[59] With the coupling of Black peoples' preference for these freehold areas and the government turning a blind eye to the development of Sophiatown, this area continued to grow. Harboring more than 70,000 when it was finally destroyed in the mid-to-late 1950s, Sophiatown had become a unique Black cultural space that garnered comparisons to thriving Black U.S. communities with nicknames like "the Chicago of South Africa" and "Little Harlem."[60]

As these freehold areas were the only places Black people could own homes, many of the Black middle class bought impressive homes and started businesses in the township. Political leaders and professionals like ANC President Dr. Alfred Bathini Xuma and other popular fixtures in the Black community were among the individuals who built homes in the area. However, the majority of Sophiatown residents were working-class and lived in less than desirable conditions. As Johannesburg's industries grew and more labor was needed, so too did the population of Sophiatown. With limited access to housing for Black residents within any close proximity to Johannesburg's mines and factories, homeowners capitalized on their investments and began to turn backyards into shantyrooms and rent houses to newly arriving migrants and their families. This would eventually turn Sophiatown, a least visually, into a slum. Trevor Huddleston, an English bishop who called Sophiatown home in the 1940s and 1950s, described his living conditions there as "a row of corrugated iron shacks built in the very restricted area behind someone else's house." He went on to say that, "It was not much of a home: hot in summer when the sun struck down on the iron roof and there was no ceiling to

[59] Ibid
[60] Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. New York: Routledge, 1994. Print. pgs. 2-3; and Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008). p. 177

protect you; cold in winter, because the wind penetrated the joints and angles and there were no walls save the iron itself."[61] This description was typical of the living conditions for the average Sophiatown resident at the time. Indeed, the unjust geographic policies of the apartheid government and the explosion of wartime industry created the conditions that made this kind of overpopulation possible; however, migrants still chose Sophiatown over other, less crowded municipal locations nearby or elsewhere.

There are various reasons for this phenomenon; not only did Black South Africans prefer freehold areas like Sophiatown because of its perceived autonomy and permanence as previously stated, but it was also a refusal to live in municipal locations designated for their settlement. This refusal was "partly a political protest 'against the authorities trying to further rob them of the alternative life and value systems they had created for themselves" within these freehold areas.[62] As a result, vacancies were reported in municipal areas like Western Native Township as well as neighboring workers' hostels during this time.[63] Meanwhile, Sophiatown became "an organic community that allowed a freedom of action, association, and expression available only in freeload areas."[64] This feeling of self-determination and sense of unabashed possibility permeated the streets of Sophiatown giving rise to an "urban African culture anathema to apartheid."[65] Scholar Rob Nixon writes that Sophiatown "seemed to offer a self-consciously new style of being amidst its defiantly urban jungle of ethnicities and classes and its unique

[61] Huddleston, Trevor. *Naught for Your Comfort*. London: Collins, 1957. Print. p. 31
[62] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008) p. 171; Coplan is quoting Andre Proctor form: Proctor, Andre. "Class Struggle, Segregation, and the City: A History of Sophiatown, 1905-1940" in Bozzoli, Belinda. *Labour, Townships, and Protest: Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, 1979. Print. p. 81
[63] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008) p. 171
[64] Ibid
[65] Beinart, William. *Twentieth-century South Africa*. (2001) p. 154

concentration of artistic as well as criminal ingenuity."[66] Indeed, Sophiatown was "a Black heaven glowing with sparks of hell."[67]

Sophiatown and Newclare were racially mixed communities that were not recognized as municipalities but the Western Native Township, which was a community restricted to Black Natives only, was. This allowed these communities, particularly Western Native Township and Sophiatown—where Main Road was their municipal boundary—to share resources and space in dynamic ways, which ultimately defied the limits placed on these spaces by the apartheid government. A former resident of Western Native Township described this relationship remembering, "WNT was the place to go home to, Sophiatown was the place to have a ball."[68] Main Road became a public place where both communities had access to the tramline and to the Sophiatown shops on the northern (Sophiatown) side of the road. However, this relationship was strained as city officials enforced the inaccessibility of Western Native Township to other communities. Along the southern side of Main Road existed a fence that prevented unauthorized people from entering the community. In order to gain access into Western Native Township, one would have to provide the proper pass and identification. The Western Native Township, as a recognized municipal site, had a library, sports fields and recreation halls, conveniences left out of Tobiansky's original design of Sophiatown, resources which Sophiatown's residents were prohibited from exploiting.[69] Despite this, the western areas show that "not all examples of residential segregation are entirely unjust"[70] because they defiantly exhibited strong connections between one another while also remaining fairly autonomous. This autonomy allowed places like

[66] Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. (1994) p. 13
[67] Ibid; Nixon is quoting Dougmore Boetie from: Boetie, Dugmore, and Barney Simon. *Familiarity Is the Kingdom of the Lost.; Edited by Barney Simon*. London: Barrie & Rockcliff, the Cresset Press, 1969. Print. p. 19
[68] Beinart, J. "Patterns of Change in an African Environment" in Oliver, Paul (ed). *Shelter, Sign & Symbol*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1977. Print. p. 163
[69] Chapman, Thomas P. "Spatial Justice and the Western Areas of Johannesburg." (2015) p. 84
[70] Soja, Edward W. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. (2010) pps. 55-6

Sophiatown to be "a place to have a ball" and create its own identity and spatial makeup separate from the other western areas and in opposition to the government authority's restrictions and delimits assigned to it.

These government delimits of space, including the establishment of reserves, the creation of racially segregated townships and not recognizing freehold areas as municipal locations, which in turn denied these sites government sponsored resources like health care facilities and education facilities,[71] can be observed as what scholar George Lipsitz refers to as a 'white spatial imaginary,'[72] in which society is structured through logics of white supremacy including the control of the mobility of people of color and regulation of their spaces. However, the confrontation with the moral, political and social implications of this 'white spatial imaginary' through means such as the physical reconstruction of space, the development of antithetical cultural practices, and the refusal to live in government controlled municipalities (for example, residing in freehold areas like Sophiatown), specifically by Black residents, are examples of a "Black spatial imaginary."[73] The Black spatial imaginary of Sophiatown "turn(ed) segregation into congregation,… transform(ed) divisiveness into solidarity,… (and) change(ed) dehumanization into rehumanization"[74] by defying apartheid laws that outlawed miscegenation, racialized groups living amongst one another, sharing resources across municipal and non-municipal areas, Native Black South Africans owning land, and as I discuss shortly, Native Black South Africans consuming alcohol.

[71] Chapman, Thomas P. "Spatial Justice and the Western Areas of Johannesburg." (2015) p. 83
[72] Lipsitz, George. *How Racism Takes Place*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011. Print. p. 13
[73] Ibid
[74] Ibid, p. 19

Rise and Fall: The Sophiatown Renaissance Buried in the Rubble of its Birthplace

Since the moment of European colonial contact, incorporation, hybridization and global influence had come to characterize the unique development of South African music history.[75] The 19th century was littered with overseas musical and performance traditions intermingling with indigenous South African forms. From missionaries introducing their music and instruments to Native South Africans, to traveling minstrel troupes, the most famous of these were the Orpheus McAdoo's Jubilee Singers,[76] whose negro spirituals would influence many Native Black South African populations to create their own choirs, Native South Africans incorporated these sounds and styles from across the world as central features in the continued development of their own.

However, one of the most important mergings of musical forms and cultural practices that occurred in the history of Native South African music and culture was at the turn of the 20th century, when migrating rural working-class South African populations from across ethnic groups, from the Tswana, to the Venda, Tsonga, San, Khoikhoi, Pedi, Sotho, Xhosi, to the Zulu

[75] Among indigenous South African cultures, from the Khosian (San and Khoikhoi), to the KwaXhosa (made up of several ethnic groups), to the Zulu, oral traditions such as polyphonic chants and a cappella singing accompanied by instrumentation like drums, rattles, and other percussions, as well as strings and some winds like flutes represented traditional South African music forms. From the beginnings of European conquest in South Africa at Cape Colony, indigenous South Africans have co-opted musical instruments and musical styles from across the globe and merged them with their own indigenous musical practices. Early examples of this can be seen in the Khoikhoi's development of the *ramkie*, a guitar with three or four strings with a gourd for its body (later the gourd was replaced by items such as wood or a tin can) that was refashioned from a similar instrument brought to South Africa by way of Malabar slaves and was used to merge Khoikhoi folk songs with Western tunes. (Musical Instruments of the Indigenous People of South Africa by Percival Kirby – Chapter 10) Later, they developed the *mamokhorong*, a single-string violin that was used by the Khoikhoi to animate the lively streets of Cape Town, which, through cultural influences from all over the world as a result of European colonization and coerced migration patterns, had developed into a thriving diverse cultural metropolis.
Ramkie information can be found: Kirby, Percival R. "Chapter 10: Bushman and Hottentot Violins and the 'Ramkie'" in *Musical Instruments of the Indigenous People of South Africa*. Johannesburg : Wits University Press, 2013. Internet resource.
Mamokhorong information can be found: Anonymous. "The Development of Music in South Africa Timeline, 1600-2004." *SAHO*, 20 March 2011, www.sahistory.org.za/topic/development-music-south-africa-timeline-1600-2004. Accessed 22 Dec 2018.
[76] Anonymous. "The History of Separate Development in South Africa." *SAHO*, 27 March 2015, www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-separate-development-south-africa. Accessed 18 Oct 2017.

and so on, migrated to Johannesburg and surrounding areas during the Witswatersrand Gold Rush and industrial revolution in search of work. This amalgamation of communities began to generate a new urban culture that blended the various forms of cultural specificity that existed amongst these disparate groups. It was within this environment and context that the musical basis for South African Jazz was produced, a melting pot of global—mainly American ragtime—and indigenous musical forms called "marabi."[77]

Both American jazz and marabi draw their structural roots from cyclical patterns common in indigenous musical forms found throughout sub-Saharan Africa, but whereas American jazz is based on its predecessor, the blues, marabi is not. Though functionally marabi is a musical counterpart to the Blues in that they both find their "grounding in endlessly repeated chord sequences" that are staples of "indigenous African musical theory…*marabi* makes no use of the 'blues note' pitch-inflections. As a result the two styles sound entirely distinct, despite their common origins." [78] I point this out because though South Africans later take up jazz as a key musical form and also as a tool in theorizing their trajectory as a modernizing community, it is far too simple to claim that South Africans merely copied, mimicked or regurgitated this American musical form; rather, South Africans incorporated jazz and evolved it to fit their needs, social context and cultural specificity.

Marabi developed at a time when Black South African laborers, mostly men who were transitioning from rural communities to cities, were coming to grips with modern urban life. Sophiatown was a hotbed for this exploration and within its midst developed an elaborate

[77] "marabi: syncretic black urban music of the 1920s and 1930s, based on cyclical use of the I-IV-V chord structure and originally a simple (organ/percussion) instrumentation. Also used for the social setting of the music, its performance events, and its dance styles." –As defined in the glossary of: Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. New York: Continuum, 2004. Print. p. 328

[78] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008) p. 115. Coplan quotes Christopher Ballantine from: Ballantine, Christopher J. *Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993. Print. pps 93-4

underground bar scene, or what Ethnomusicologist David Coplan characterizes as a "shebeen society." This bar scene boasted several thriving marabi-driven speakeasies, called shebeens. Shebeens hosted live music, especially marabi and later, its progenies "kwela"[79] and "mbaqanga" (South African or Township Jazz/Jive)[80], and held meetings for various political organizations and citizen's groups. "Shebeen queens," who were women entrepreneurs that brewed and sold homemade spirits in these establishments, and who held strong influence in the community amongst residents and even the police, ran these illicit bars. Interestingly, the Sophiatown cultural renaissance would develop within this shebeen society. Despite the early days of European colonization in South Africa and segregationist efforts codified through the 1927 Liquor Act (and its amendment the following year) that made it illegal for Black South Africans to enter or own bars, thereby prohibiting them from consuming alcohol, the shebeen queens could not be stopped from capitalizing on this business venture. Marabi developed mainly as a way to attract laborers on their weekends off work to frequent these shebeens while also being the main source of entertainment in them. Composer and writer, Todd Matshikiza defined marabi as the "the 'hot,' highly rhythmic repetitive single-themed dance tunes" of the period from the 1910s – 1930s.[81] If Sophiatown had a sound, in the early 20th century, marabi was it.

Es'kia Mphahlele, a famous writer, scholar and cultural critique, reflecting years later wrote, "Thinking back on it now I remember the sad note of depravity, self-abandon, sweet,

[79] "kwela: flageolet and tea-chest bass street music of the 1950s, often played by teenage boys and drawing on diverse sources from marabi to boogie-woogie." –As defined in the glossary of: Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. (2004) p. 327

[80] "mbaqanga: In the 1950s, the most widely used term for commercial African jazz and for music with strong, recognisable jazz influences, such as improvised instrumental solo breaks. By the 1960s and increasingly in later decades, the term was used for neotraditional (q.v.) popular music that employed jazz instruments but fewer and fewer (and increasingly limited and retro) references to the jazz idiom. The term means 'maize bread', but as its musical reference changed, so did its resonance: from 'home-cooking' to 'fast food'." –As defined in the glossary of: Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. (2004) p. 328

[81] Matshikiza, Todd. "Twenty years of Jazz." *Drum*, Dec. 1951

sensuous dissipation "Marabi" jazz sounded."[82] He went on remembering a particular scene at a hall in Marabastad, a Pretoria township where, "(He) stood against the wall in that misty hall of dim lights. Couples clung to each other very tightly, swayed sideways and backwards and forwards at the hips. Their faces were wet with perspiration… They swayed to the monotonous tune, seeming to hear or see nothing, lost in the savagery of the band's music."[83] Mphahlele diagnosed a scene of people who were deprived of joy and freedom of expression through the restrictions of apartheid but also gives a glimpse into the ways marabi and shebeens were used as vehicles through which those who frequented shebeens could let go, sweat and live outside of apartheid's clutches.

It was at the (in)famous Sophiatown shebeens like House Back of the Moon, House of Truth and House of Saints, that an explosion of literature, political organizing, fashion, music, gangsterism and a jive cultural aesthetic were cultivated and imbricated. It was in these venues that people debated how to free themselves from the apartheid regime and white liberal appeasement, while also served as the backdrop for discussions regarding their actual and desired social, cultural and political positions within South African modernity. This was a moment of a swelling New African Movement in the midst of what would later be termed the Sophiatown Renaissance. Where traditional forms of political organizing were involved in this struggle and indeed vital to it, I argue that the most important part of this struggle, what made particular forms of political theorizations even possible, was in the onto-epistemological questions and consciousness-raising provided by Sophiatown's cultural evolution situated in New Africanism.

From the work of Masilela, one can derive three distinct periods or eras of New Africanism in South African history all reacting to shifting forms of white domination in the

[82] Crais, Clifton C, and Thomas V. McClendon. *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (2014) p. 259
[83] Ibid, pps. 259-60

country.[84] The Sophiatown Renaissance was ground zero for the third era of New Africanism when the National Party came into power and codified apartheid. Sophiatown's shebeen society featured a thriving cultural life, one Mphahlele described as a "…place where people could express themselves more freely than in any other place … It was never a shanty town. It was a real suburb with front gates which said, 'This is how I want to live.'"[85] It was a place where "Cinema, dancing, American culture and jazz were very important"[86] and produced a cultural life that became the vanguard of African modernity in South Africa. The Sophiatown Renaissance was nurtured in this scene, housing important political leaders like many members of the African National Congress Youth League, such as Nelson Mandela, as well as numerous literary giants. Sophiatown was also where many of the most talented and infamous of South Africa's musicians, from Miriam Makeba to Hugh Masekela, got their start. It was in Sophiatown that sprang the New African Movement in literature and political ideology. Sophiatown was where Mandela first announced the need for the ANC to adopt more radical policies and take up arms against apartheid. Sophiatown was a cultural mecca, where the nuances of African modernity were being debated and produced.

In March of 1951, the magazine *Drum* was founded and within a few years was producing some of the most important, unique and jazzy literature and journalism that targeted African audiences on the continent. Called *The African Drum* under editor Bob Crisp, the

[84] The first, the introduction of British capitalism and missionary education up through the gold rush where Native South Africans began to confront Western knowledge producing systems in relation to their own. The second, urbanization and industrialization through WW1 and WW2, which saw the Union of South Africa in 1910 and was animated by Black South Africans adapting to new urban ways of living and confronting state repression including the founding of the African National Congress in 1912. Lastly, 1948 (National Party elected into power) until 1960 (Sharpeville Massacre and National Shutdown), where the height of South African cultural production in opposition to the expanding and formalizing apartheid state rose (an example of which would be the Sophiatown Renaissance) and fell under the weight of the South Africa's repressive state apparatus. See: Masilela, Ntongela. *An Outline of the New African Movement in South Africa*. Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press, 2013. Print.

[85] Stein, Pippa, and Ruth Jacobson. *Sophiatown Speaks*. Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa: Junction Avenue Press, 1986. Print.
p. 55

[86] Ibid, p. 56

magazine originally contained features such as "Music of the African Tribes" and "African Folklore" that imagined through the same white dominant ideology promoted by the National Party that Native South Africans were stuck in some rural/tribal past. Needless to say, this version didn't sell. So, in December of the same year, Anthony Sampson took over as editor and soon after the magazine's name was changed to *Drum*. With the influence of a Sophiatown-based group of mostly Native Black South African male writers, the content was "Johannesburged," or made more Black and urban by featuring jazz, shebeen life, film stars and American popular culture. This adhered to the interests of the magazine's urbanized and modern South African audience, and by 1955 when Sampson left the magazine, this group of Sophiatown writers virtually wrote the entire magazine.[87] *Drum* was wildly popular and the most widely read magazine in Africa, and thus provides the best archive to explore themes and theorizations of New Africanism taking place in real time. Largely responsible for the magazine's popularity and accessibility was what scholar Paul Gready refers to as the "Sophiatown Set."[88] The Sophiatown set was a group of 'respectable' writers, in the David Goodhew sense of respectability,[89] who

[87] Gready, Paul. "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World." (1990)
[88] Ibid, p. 143
[89] See: Goodhew, David. *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. Print.
It was not only in how the people negotiated the space of Sophiatown, how they tailored, crafted and designed the community with specifications that organically served their needs that was responsible for the unique culture of the community, but was also in the unique political, social and class makeup of the residents themselves. David Goodhew describes this uniqueness as a coalition and deployment of 'respectability' and 'resistance,' that was specific to Sophiatown. As it offered freehold tenures, it attracted a wide variety of people who were diverse not only racially but in class status as well, particularly for Sophiatown's Black population. For Goodhew, respectability crossed these diverse race and class lines in Sophiatown, where respectability was not limited to those occupying a middle or upper class position solely as it has come to be traditionally understood. For Goodhew, respectability is not easily defined but has elements of "economic independence… and fidelity in sexual relations" that much of the time but "not always, (is) linked to religion," while also a "belief in education as a beneficial force is strongly present." (xviii) However, like most things, respectably is largely defined by what it is not. While traditionally respectability is "defined against those deemed unrespectable," with "hostility to alcohol (or at least excessive consumption of alcohol), gambling, sexual unions outside of monogamy, and lack of religious devotion," and though these elements did existed in Sophiatown's respectability politics at some marginal degree, it is not the key contribution Goodhew offers this discussion. (xix, xviii) Goodhew is mainly interested in how, within Sophiatown's black spatial imaginary, "respectability was increasingly defined by its conflicts with the state," becoming something altogether different than traditional ideas of respectability, and it was this form of respectability politics –

shared common educational backgrounds at St. Peter's School and Fort Hare University. However, their work at *Drum* as well as contributions to other publications and cultural productions, would lead most of them to write autobiographies years later detailing their lives in exile. This "set" included Bloke Modisane who was born and raised in Sophiatown, Henry Nxumalo (later nicknamed Mr. Drum), Nat Nakasa, and Lewis Nkosi who hailed from Durban, Todd Matshikiza from a town called Queenstown in the Eastern Cape, and Can Themba and Es'kia Mphahlele from Marabastad, Pretoria.[90] All of these men were fixtures in Sophiatown shebeen society. They commented and wrote short stories and exposés on the Sophiatown Renaissance including stories about jazz, shebeens, gangs, apartheid injustices like pass laws and imprisonment, and even global influences on the modern Black South African. However, as scholar Michael Titlestad points out, it wasn't only in *what* subjects they wrote about that exposed a New African consciousness growing within Sophiatown, but in *how* they wrote about them as well.

Titlestad writes about how Jazz through the work of the Sophiatown set, particularly Todd Mashikiza and his writing style, was used as a discursive tool in their writing that highlighted the burgeoning modern voice of this growing Black community. Jazz, through figures such as Duke Ellington—the quintessential modern global jazz subject in his dress, music, travel and confident demeanor—became a popular topic of trivia challenges over spirits at shebeens and a vitally important and popular music form, especially the big band swing numbers composed by Ellington and others that were combined with marabi to create new upbeat bop

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one that infused resistance as a key feature – that "permeated Sophiatown." (xix) This fusion of respectability and resistance is useful in understanding Sophiatown as a predominately working-class community while having considerable segments of its population that assumed middle and upper class status as a community that was developing a justice based collective vision of its future that would eventually produce a cultural renaissance.

[90] See: Gready, Paul. "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World." (1990); This piece breaks down each of these artists' careers thoroughly.

musical styles like kwela and mbaqanga. These new musical forms became the musical backdrop for Sophiatown's jumping shebeen society by the 1950s. However, these conversations about jazz and the Black international cultural figure like Ellington also became vehicles through which Black South Africans connected to globalized forms of modernity and Blackness. As such, jazz became an important tool in negotiating Black South Africans desired subject positions within a fortifying apartheid South Africa. For Titlestad, the arrival of Jazz to South African popular culture "was accompanied by a flourishing journalistic and literary tradition that commonly chose jazz as its object, and frequently as its inspiration."[91]

Jazz, a distinctly Black American music form born of the Blues in the U.S. South, represented an urbanized and alternate form of Black modernity that was taken up across the globe. South Africa, in this case, was no different. As American popular culture spread, Jazz became a way for Black South Africans, particularly those new Africans in Sophiatown, to negotiate the terms of their lives against the ideas of a fixed and tribal Black modernity officially promoted by the white supremacist state. Central to this was incorporating elements of U.S. Black culture like the fashion, music and writing of the Harlem Renaissance and crafting a new cultural rhetoric for this burgeoning Black modern New African community that featured a sense of social responsibility. This can be found across the Sophiatown scene in the writings of the Sophiatown set, within the shebeens, within the music of the township jazz forms kwela and mbaqanga, and even within the gangs of Sophiatown.[92]

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[91] Titlestad, Michael F. "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity, with Special Reference to "matshikese"." *American Ethnologist*. 32 (2005): 210-221. Print. p. 211

[92] Sophiatown was also swarming with gangs and criminal activity. Touting names "Americans," "Berliners" and "Russians," Sophiatown had its share of gangs that roamed its streets. A member of the Americans, George "Kort Boy" Mbalweni remembered of those times that "If you were not a big shot in Sophiatown, you could not stay in Sophiatown." (Stein, Pippa, and Ruth Jacobson. *Sophiatown Speaks*. (1986), p. 65) Mbalweni went on to say that it was a constant fight on the streets of Sophiatown, one always had to be ready to fight and hold one's own. Paul Gready in his 1990 article "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World," also writes about how some gangs organized in different ways against the state and how various *Drum* writers had loving

Titlestad has highlighted in his work the confluence of Jazz and the journalism of the Sophiatown set, especially with regard to Todd Matshikiza's writing style which came to be affectionately referred to by *Drum* staff and readers as "Matshikese."[93] An example of this fever-paced and jazz-infused writing style that, I argue, shows the globalized Black modern sensibilities of New Africans' thinking and writing in jazz within the context of the Sophiatown Renaissance, can be found in the third story of Matshikiza's April 1959 *Drum* column, "With the Lid Off." In this story, Matshikiza speaks from the point of view of a Black travelling salesman who is constantly in a state of worry. His plan is to buy several "Sadeyed Watchamacalls," a miserable looking bird "found or made" in the U.S. onto which one can transfer all their worries. The story concludes with the narrator explaining his logic:

> "Since I've been a travelling salesman, I've never met a more worried bunch than the businessmen. They worried 'bout stock. Overstock an' understock. Buying stock an' losing stock. Livestock an' dead stock. Failing to pay and ending up in the stocks.
>
> When you live with worry, you soon begin to worry. You begin to look like a Sadeyed Watchamacall yourself, with weeping eyes, long, frowning wrinkles. But with the Sadeyed Watchamacall, wot does the worrying for you, you stop worryin' an' start livin' fine."[94]

Matshikiza's Black salesman represented the average modern Black South African navigating their life under apartheid authority. Making the salesman a travelling one is important

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relationships with them while others hated them. Can Themba was one who had fond interactions with street gangs or *tsotsis* as they were colloquially called, while Henry Nxumalo was murdered by *tsotsis*.

[93] See: Titlestad, Michael F. "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity, with Special Reference to "matshikese"." (2005). In the note below, Titlestad quotes from: Sampson, Anthony. *Drum: An African Adventure and Afterwards*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983. Print.; and Hopkinson, Tom. *In the Fiery Continent*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1963. Print.

In his writings, Titlestad gives examples from Drum editors talking about the importance of Matshikese to the magazine and to speaking truth to the lived experiences of Sophiatown residence. He points out how Anthony Sampson said that ''Todd transformed Drum. He wrote as he spoke, in a brisk tempo with a rhythm in every sentence. He attacked the typewriter like a piano. Our readers loved 'Matshikese,' as we called it, which was the way they talked and thought, beating in time with the jazz within them'' (Sampson, p. 26). For Sampson, it was imperative that as the editor of Drum, that Matshikiza's voice be well represented in the magazine because the ''sedate syntax of European papers was all wrong for (their) readers, who thought and spoke in jazz and exclamation marks'' (Sampson, p. 25). Titlestad later gives the example of Tom Hopkinson, who followed Sampson as editor of Drum and who convinced Matshikiza to return to Drum in 1958, who spoke of Matshikiza's writing style as follows: ''He handled his typewriter, as someone said, as if it were a cross between a saxophone and a machine gun'' (Hopkinson, p. 32).

[94] Matshikiza, Todd. "With the Lid Off." *Drum,* Apr. 1959, p. 21

to note. Considering the restrictions placed on Black mobility where passes were needed at all times—to validate where they were allowed to be, where they were allowed to work and where they were allowed to live—his mobility as a Black travelling salesman denotes a man of "respectable" stature, possibly educated enough through missionary schools so to be given this job with special permissions of travel. However, also implied in this story is a kind of perpetual danger and surveillance that this person endures due to the "special" form of mobility he is granted. At any time, a police officer could stop this person and not accept his pass (never mind if this person forgot his pass), and be sent to jail, harassed or harmed. Beyond just the common worries of business that the author speaks to in the passage I quote above, this is surely why the character worries so much about "ending up in the stocks."

Figure 2: This drawing depicts a scene from the third short story of Todd Matshikiza's April 1959 "With the Lid Off" short story column for *Drum*. It is not clear who the artist of this drawing is. Courtesy of BAHA Archives, Johannesburg.

Also worth noting here is the use of the Sadeyed Watchamacall as a way to relieve one's worry. One could interpret this bird's ability to relieve worry as a metaphor for American exceptionalism, with the U.S. being an 'abundantly cheerful utopia' where one can go to solve all of one's problems. This is not my interpretation. It would be safe to assume that, were this the case, the bird would have been a proud bald eagle, stout and strong without a worry in the world. Instead, based on the bird's outwardly "worried" demeanor and look (See Figure 2), I see this

bird as a tool made within the fraught context of a long history of struggle in the U.S. that could be useful for this South African salesman to live a happy life. As such, I interpret the Sadeyed Watchamacall as a metaphorical tool useful for navigating Black American modernity—something like jazz—and the salesman as someone activating a "Black spatial imaginary" in a global context in order to negotiate a better local life experience.

However, it was not only in the narrative of the story that the reader connects to modern forms of global Black concerns but also in the style of writing. The two paragraphs of Matshikiza's story that I quote above showcase a kind of Jazz aesthetic in vernacular and tempo. Through Matshikiza's use of "an'" instead of "and"; "'bout" instead of "about"; "'specially" instead of "especially"; "worryin'" instead of "worrying"; and "livin'" instead of "living," we hear the literal stylings of Sophiatown speech in the writing of this story. This combined with the rhythm and tempo of the sentence fragments ("They worried 'bout stock. Overstock an' understock. Buying stock an' losing stock. Livestock an' dead stock. Failing to pay and ending up in the stocks.") engenders readers to the forms of Black self-expression found in the New African streets of Sophiatown. Jazz, for Matshikiza and many other New Africans in Sophiatown, was a vital tool in developing new communal perspectives fashioned within their particular context and history.

For Titlestad, there is no doubt American Jazz was taken up in Sophiatown, but this must not be overstated or misunderstood as simply mimicry. Instead, as he and scholars like Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and Fred Moten suggest[95], and as with many Black modern communities around the world, including Black communities in the U.S., selective appropriation,

[95] These scholars take up these themes in the following texts: Hall, Stuart. "What Is This "Black" in Black Popular Culture?" in Michele Wallace, Ed. *Black Popular Culture*. New York: New Press, 1998. Print. p. 21; Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993. Print.; Moten, Fred. *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. Print.

improvisation, "interconnections, overlaps, and adaptations" were tools vital to the creation of a transoceanic Black repertoire of cultural expression and promotion of new forms of Black self-representation.[96] So, for Black South Africans, Jazz was used as a reflective surface from which they could craft the language necessary to communicate the beliefs and epistemic attributes of the community they were becoming.

Lewis Nkosi wrote about the necessity for looking across the Diaspora to craft the ways in which they would communicate their struggle saying, "[When] we entered the decade of the fifties, we had no literary heroes, like generations in other parts of the world. We had to improvise because there were no models who would serve as moral examples for us in our private or public preoccupations.''[97] This kind of improvisation and combining of global ideas with local concerns, blurs the simple binary lines of rural or urban, tribal or modern, local or global. For those New Africans in Sophiatown, like the salesman in Matshikiza's Sadeyed Watchamacall story, Jazz was more than a music form; it was a cultural and ontological conduit through which to explore what Arjun Appadurai calls a "global imagination."[98] Taking Lipsitz's idea of the Black spatial imaginary a step further—and in the same vein as scholars like Appadurai who uses the concept of the global imagination in his work and historian Mychal Odom, who uses the idea of a "global spatial imaginary" in his work[99]—Titlestad thinks through the deployment of a "global imaginary" present in Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic theory,[100] which allows for "a black Atlantic transmigration of the very possibility of self-expression, as if a

[96] Titlestad, Michael F. "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity, with Special Reference to "matshikese"." (2005) p. 211
[97] Ibid, 215. Titlestad quotes from: Nkosi, Lewis. *Home and Exile and Other Selections*. London: Longman, 1983. Print. p. 6
[98] Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Print.
99 Odom, Mychal M.-A. *From Southern California to Southern Africa: Translocal Black Internationalism in Los Angeles and San Diego from Civil Rights to Antiapartheid, 1960 to 1994.* [La Jolla, Calif.]: University of California, San Diego, 2017. Internet resource.
[100] Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. (1993)

discourse of black cultural history and identity, silenced by apartheid ideologues, can be recovered through the global forms of the racial imaginary."[101] This form of transmigration allows for a challenge of simple binaries placed on Black life through which the poles of these binaries and the ways they continuously support and recreate each other are allowed to become visible and audible.

This was all foundational in the development of Sophiatown's "shebeen society" and cultural renaissance. As the sites for the proliferation of township jazz and communal interaction, the shebeens were the venues around which Sophiatown was organized culturally, politically and socially. This shebeen society could be understood, to borrow from Clyde Woods' concept of a "blues epistemology,"[102] as structured within a kind of "Jazz epistemology" where, in response to apartheid repression, was created through an improvisational jazz discourse that evaluated Black modernity in the context of Black South African desires and conflicts with white authority. In this case, shebeens became a place of "spatial entitlement," as denoted by Gaye Theresa Johnson, where communities take up, claim and structure spaces they are figuratively or literally denied access to (she would call this denial a form of 'spatial immobilization') in order to make use of them in ways that suit their desires even as they operated in opposition to official authority's restrictions on said space.[103] For Johnson, spatial entitlements can be achieved through the production of "soundscapes" or shared sonic spaces that allow for the production of shared communal identifications.[104] In other words, soundscapes were a way to achieve a kind of sonic black spatial imaginary across Black ethnic groups within and also beyond a white spatial

[101] Titlestad, Michael F. "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity, with Special Reference to "matshikese"." (2005) p. 215
[102] Woods, Clyde A, and Ruth W. Gilmore. *Development Arrested: The Blues and Plantation Power in the Mississippi Delta*. London; New York: Verso, 2017. Print.
[103] Johnson, Gaye T. *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity: Music, Race, and Spatial Entitlement in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. Print.
[104] Ibid

imaginary. Shebeens, then, were vital soundscapes in the production of New African sensibilities within the context of apartheid South Africa.

Unfortunately, far too often in this world, good things rarely last. Whether at the hands of an authority outside a person's control or by their own hand, this adage is far too often true. David Coplan, in his doyen study of Black township music and theatre, *In Township Tonight!*, beautifully captures the essence and complexity of Sophiatown characterizing it as:

> "Noisy and dramatic, its untarred potholed streets ran by the communal water taps and toilets and the rectangular jumble of yards walled in with brick, wood, and iron. A new synthesis of urban African culture sprang up here, shouting for recognition. Materially poor but intensely social; crime-ridden and violent but neighbourly and self-protective; proud, bursting with music and literature, swaggering with personality, simmering with intellectual and political militance, Sophiatown was a slum of dreams, a battleground of the heart in the war for the city's and even the country's suppressed black soul."[105]

Sophiatown—the paradise of contradiction and beautiful complexity, the beacon of hope for so many that life could exist outside apartheid's clutches—seemed to be a living dream, slowly developing into a community defined by the freedom its people collectively imagined. However, by the 1950s it was clear the South African government had no intentions of allowing this dream to become reality. As such, the government, following the direction of Minister for Native Affairs Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd[106] implemented several measures aimed at making white South Africans the majority population in South Africa in order to disenfranchise and dispossess Native Black South Africans of their land and property.

Most significant to achieving this objective was the implementation of "Bantustans" or homelands in the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act.[107] The idea was that Native Black South Africans, —who, again, accounted for about 70 percent of the South African population—would be broken

[105] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008). p. 172
[106] Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd was Minister of Native Affairs from 1950-1958. He was later elected Prime Minster of South Africa in 1958 and remained in this position until he was assassinated in 1966. He was known as the architect of apartheid.
[107] This allotted 13% of South African land to the Bantustans. The other 87% was designated for the control of the white population.

up into several different ethnic groups and placed into their "native homelands." Assignment to a homeland was rarely based on any investigation or inquiry into the individual's actual ancestral ties to the imposed homeland but was based on classifications assigned by arbitrary rules of identification crafted by the South African government. The Bantustan system was formalized in 1959, when the government implemented The Bantu Self-Government Act, allowing Bantustans to establish themselves as self-governing and quasi-independent states; it was completed with the passage of the 1970 Black Homelands Citizenship Act, which cancelled all Black South Africans' South African Citizenship and designated all of them as citizens of their assigned Bantustans. Creating the conditions for the government to grant the Bantustans' independence in order to strip Native Black people of their South African citizenship, and what few rights they still had, was the long-term goal of creating and populating these homelands. Connie Mulder, the then Minister of Plural Relations and Development, made these intentions clear when, on 7 February 1978, she told the House of Assembly that:

> "If our [National Party] policy is taken to its logical conclusion as far as the black people are concerned, there will be not one black man with South African citizenship ... Every black man in South Africa will eventually be accommodated in some independent new state in this honourable way and there will no longer be an obligation on this Parliament to accommodate these people politically."[108]

This demographic restructuring also allowed white South Africans to claim to be the majority population of South Africa proper. Politically, this was a great advantage to the Afrikaner government as it, in theory, eliminated any possibility of Black South Africans seizing power of the nation. Along with disenfranchisement, the prospects of this system ushered in the policy of relocations or, better put, the forced removal of Black South Africans from their homes into segregated pools of labor—Black Townships—and/or Bantustans. Though Sophiatown was a freehold area, its residents did not escape this fate:

[108] Quaye, Christopher O. *Liberation Struggles in International Law*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991. Print. p. 151

> "On [9] February, two thousand police entered Sophiatown before dawn, armed with sten guns, rifles and knobkerries. They were two days early and the people were unprepared. That first day, in the pouring rain, one hundred and ten families were moved on military lorries from Sophiatown to the new location of Meadowlands. Faced with the military power of the state, resistance crumbled and the community was torn apart. Over the next few years, Sophiatown was razed to the ground. With an irony and malevolence hard to believe, the new white suburb that emerged from its rubble was named Triomf," Afrikaans for 'Triumph'.[109]

Though Sophiatown was marked for removal in 1934 and scheduled for removal as early as 1953, the date advertised to residents as the date for removal was on 12 February 1955.[110] This was met with resistance from political leaders such as Father Trevor Huddleston, Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph and Ruth First,[111] as well as cultural figures like Strike Vilakazi, when he composed the song "Meadowlands" in 1956. The months leading to the eviction were filled with demonstrations organized by the ANC Youth League and the Indian Youth Congress, and included a speech by Nelson Mandela in Sophiatown's Freedom Square. In it, Mandela called for the abandonment of nonviolent direct action inspiring protestors to chant, "Removal over our dead bodies."[112] More famous in the days that lead to removal was the protest chant "Asi hambi,"[113] or "we won't move." This English translation was seen perpetually painted "across homes and churches and cinemas."[114] (See Figure 3)

However, after the National Party Minister of Justice, Charles Robberts Swart, told Parliament days before the scheduled removal "that the ANC would oppose the removals by, 'attacks with firearms; explosives in old motor tyres that would be rolled towards the police; old

[109] Stein, Pippa, and Ruth Jacobson. *Sophiatown Speaks*. (1986) p. 2
[110] Ibid
[111] As told by Victor Mokhine in Davie, Lucille. "Sophiatown: recalling the loss." *Brand South Africa*, 25 Aug. 2017, brandsouthafrica.com/south-africa-fast-facts/history-facts/sophiatown-recalling-the-loss. Accessed 2 Jan 2018.
[112] Otzen, Ellen. "The town destroyed to stop black and white people mixing." *BBC News*, 11 Feb. 2015, bbc.com/news/magazine-31379211. Accessed 2 Jan 2018.
[113] Stein, Pippa, and Ruth Jacobson. *Sophiatown Speaks*. (1986), p. 2
[114] Adler, David. "Story of cities #19: Johannesburg's apartheid purge of vibrant Sophiatown." (2016) theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/11/story-cities-19-johannesburg-south-africa-apartheid-purge-sophiatown

cars loaded with explosives which would be crashed into the police cars or lorries,'" the removal date was secretly moved to 9 February.[115]

Figure 3: "Sophiatown Defiance, 1955" by Jurgen Schadeberg shows an example of "WE WONT MOVE" written on a building in the background while three people converse in the foreground. Courtsey of BAHA Archive, Johannesburg.

Paul Joseph, then a factory worker, member of the Indian Youth Congress and resident of nearby Fordsburg, went to Sophiatown on the day the removals began "and stood on the fringes and watched people being loaded onto the trucks very quietly. There was no singing, no shouting, no opposition." Joseph went on to explain the subdued scene as one that was "clearly [a campaign] of overpowering intimidation," and had the community resisted, "there would have been a massacre."[116] Over the next few years, more than 65,000 people were taken from Sophiatown and forced to makeover their lives in Meadowlands, Lenasia, Western Coloured Township (now Westbury) and Noordgesig. If a family failed to meet the qualifications for resettlement, they were still forced to move and find accommodations on their own. Many of these families found their way to Orlando East and other parts of the South Western Township (Soweto).

[115] Stein, Pippa, and Ruth Jacobson. *Sophiatown Speaks*. (1986), p. 2
[116] Otzen, Ellen. "The town destroyed to stop black and white people mixing." (2015) http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-31379211

In an interview for the radio program "Witness" on the *BBC World Service*, Victor Mokine recounted when, in August of 1956 at age 11, he and his family were removed from Sophiatown and moved to Meadowlands. Mokine remembered waiting for the removal truck outside in the cold the entire day until it finally arrived in the early evening. Once families arrived at Meadowlands, they would report to the Native Resettlement Board (located at Number 1 Vincent Street) where they would be given a dustbin, two loaves of bread and a pint of milk, and then they were taken to their homes.[117]

After being dumped outside with their goods, Mokine recalled going inside where "there were no ceilings in the house and the floors and walls had not been plastered. The roofing had just been laid over the bricks so the night [they] arrived it was very cold, the wind… [howled] through the vents. [They] had to use bits of newspaper that night to keep it out."[118] This was a traumatic experience for Mokine and his family. They had been uprooted from their home and dumped into a wasteland, dry and cold. Though Sophiatown was inundated with its own problems and was far from a utopia, it still was a thriving community of art and politics and represented the possibilities of life outside of state control. For Mokine, Meadowlands was a place that was half built—not only his home, but the community in general. He remembered in the same interview that for the first year, "there were still no shops in Meadowlands and [they] had to go to adjoining townships, [*sic*] Orlando West, to buy goods."[119] Mokine even spoke about how common it was for people to get lost on their way home at night because Meadowlands lacked streetlights and the houses were "identical matchbox structures."

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[117] "Sophiatown Removals." *Witness*. Player Radio, *BBC World Service*, 9 Feb 2015. bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02j48cb. Accessed on 29 Dec. 2017.; and Davie, Lucille. "Sophiatown: recalling the loss." (2017) brandsouthafrica.com/south-africa-fast-facts/history-facts/sophiatown-recalling-the-loss

[118] "Sophiatown Removals." *Witness*. (2015)

[119] Ibid

Though "the destruction of Sophiatown remains the country's most symbolically charged memory of forced removal, a policy that from the mid-fifties onwards would uproot 3.5 million people,"[120] stress, depression, violence and death were not only caused by these removals but were systematic and perpetual features of township life. From townships like Sophiatown, Soweto and Alexandria near Johannesburg, to Langa and District Six in Cape Town, township life and the conditions of the cruel apartheid system were always brutal, even prior to removals and caused a myriad of hardships for its citizens, especially Black South Africans.

The Sharpeville Massacre and the Origins of Banning and Exile

> "Allow me to quote Dr. DuBois, the father of Pan Africanism: 'Most men in the world', writes Dubois, 'are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men. The future of the world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what coloured men make it'. As for the world, so for Afrika. The future of Africa will be what Africans make it."
>
> – Robert Sobukwe, Excerpt from Sobukwe's Pan African Congress Inaugural Speech[121]
>
> "The worst danger facing us today is that we may become used to our lives being controlled–that we may forget the value of freedom. When this happens to a people then that people may have lost its freedom forever. Let this never happen to South Africans."
>
> – Drake Koka[122]

On 26 June 1955, a conglomerate of South African groups that came to be known as the Congress Alliance adopted the Freedom Charter. The Congress Alliance consisted of the majority of the progressive anti-apartheid organizations in the country including the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Congress (SACPC), the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). This came after months of the Congress of the People campaign, where the ANC and its allies recorded the demands of South Africans across race,

[120] Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. (1994), p. 11
[121] Crais, Clifton C, and Thomas V. McClendon. *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (2014) p. 342
[122] Koka, Drake. " A Freedom Which Must Be Maintained." *Drum,* July 1962, p. 41

class and gender lines to be included in a document that represented the future of South Africa that all dreamed to see. The culmination of this campaign resulted in the two-day signing of the Freedom Charter ending on 26 June 1955, Freedom Day.[123]

The signing brought together more than 3,000 men, women, students, workers, organizers and intellectuals of all races and classes to adopt the Freedom Charter, which represented their collective vision for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. In the midst of the first seven years of rule by the Afrikaner-led National Party, the engineers of the formal apartheid regime in the country, various laws had been enacted that prevented the full expression of humanity of the racial castes created by the apartheid regime. People were broken into racial groups, which determined citizenship rights, labor rights and opportunities, housing placements, curfews, and abilities to move freely about the country. The laws included Acts that disenfranchised Native Black South Africans and other racialized groups from the vote and made it law that Native Black South Africans must carry passes at all times that said where they lived and worked. Specific Acts included the Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950) that created the racial categories and registration system for all people of South Africa; the Group Areas Act (Act No. 41 of 1950) that created physical separation of races by designating specific areas for specific races and resulted in many forced removals that literally uprooted people from their homes and sent them to unfamiliar areas like Sophiatown to Meadowlands; and the Suppression of Communism Act (Act No 44 of 1950) which outlawed Communism in South Africa.[124] This suppression act defined Communism very broadly, however, and resulted in the

[123] More information about the freedom charter can be found at: "Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter." *SAHO*, 20 March 2011, sahistory.org.za/article/congress-people-and-freedom-charter. Accessed 18 Oct 2017.

[124] More information about apartheid legislation can be found at: "The History of Separate Development in South Africa." *SAHO*, 20 March 2011, www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-legislation-1850s-1970s. Accessed 18 Oct 2017.

banning of organizations as well as the banning, imprisonment and arrests (including house arrests) of any individual who opposed the apartheid regime whether identified as Communist or not. The Freedom Charter then, was the response of the Congress Alliance, and thus, the majority of subjugated South Africans, that declared a vision for South Africa beyond the National Party's Apartheid system and was adopted by each organization therein as part of their national program.

However, within the ranks of the ANC, the Freedom Charter itself began to highlight growing ideological divisions. Many within the organization, such as Robert Sobukwe, were unhappy with what they saw as the multi-racial language expressed in the charter. For instance, the section of the charter that begins with "All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!"[125] talks about how each national group and race would be recognized and respected as such and would not be discriminated against as less than any other group in their new South Africa. This faction of the ANC represented a more *Africanist* or "Africa for Africans" point of view for the direction that South Africa needed to be headed. This should not be confused with strict racial ideology; in fact, Sobukwe would argue that instead of seeking a multi-racial state like the Freedom Charter, his Africanist ideology denotes a non-racial ideology.

In his Pan African Congress Inaugural Speech in April of 1959[126], Sobukwe states:

> "... Multi-racialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of safeguarding white interests, implying as it does, proportional representation irrespective of population figures. In that sense it is a complete negation of democracy.
>
> "To us the term 'multi-racialism' implies that there are such basic insuperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes. We aim, politically, at government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Afrika and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African.

[125] "Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter." *SAHO*, 20 March 2011, sahistory.org.za/article/congress-people-and-freedom-charter. Accessed 18 Oct 2017.
[126] Crais, Clifton C, and Thomas V. McClendon. *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (2014) pps. 343-44

"We guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals, not groups".

Within the Africanist argument presented by Sobukwe, the Native and Black are combined and create a varied way of considering decolonial goals within the settler colonial society of South Africa.[127] However, even with Sobukwe's Africanist faction being greatly outnumbered, neither side was willing to acquiesce and find common ground in their viewpoints. From the inception of the Freedom Charter and throughout the next three years, the division between the two factions in the ANC continued to grow wider. The last straw came in November 1958 at the Transvaal provincial congress, when several of the Africanist members of the ANC were not allowed to attend.[128] At this point, it became clear to the Africanist faction that they needed to split from the ANC and develop their own organization; on 6 April 1959 the Pan African Congress (PAC) was formed and Sobukwe was voted the organizations' first President.[129]

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[127] Sobukwe's take of Africanist ideology is a decolonial argument structured through the prism of Black indigeneity. The complexity that Black indigeneity presents to decolonial arguments within the fields of US settler colonial studies and indigenous studies are far too often ignored within this canon. If we consider how Indianness, – as Jodi Byrd uses it, See: Byrd, Jodi. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (2011) – within a US settler colonial context, operates through a logic that seeks to eliminate native populations but Blackness operates within the logic of expansion through the "one drop rule," a settler colonial racialization process that is deeply indebted to anti-Blackness and native elimination is made visable. Eve Tuck and K Wayne Yang tell us that US "…Settler colonialism is built upon an entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave." (Tuck, Eve and K Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a Metaphor". *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. 1.1 (2012); pg. 1) If we think of this "entangled triad structure," as a sort of "cacophony," or a fountain of competing discourses, (Byrd, Jodi. *The Transit of Empire* (2011); p. 63) we are presented with a complex set of negotiations, antagonisms and conflicts within settler colonial relationships. Where the settler is understood as European organized through a logic of white supremacy and the native as the indigenous peoples of the land being settled, "blackness becomes equated with slaveability" in this model. (Smith, Andrea. "Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy" in HoSang, Daniel, Oneka LaBennett, and Laura Pulido (eds). *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. Print.) These positions, as never completely fixed nor completely malleable, create multiple hierarchies, antagonisms and conflicts through their discursive and historical material construction. Anti-Blackness, as a global construct but that operates uniquely within particular social, cultural and political locales, presents even more complex relationships to settler colonialism. So we're not only considering Blackness as a function of US settler colonialism or as a separate or a different kind of construct in other forms of Settler Colonialism around the world, such as South African settler colonialism where the Black is also the native, but simultaneously through a global structure of anti-Blackness and transnational community organizing rubric.

[128] Kondlo, Kwandiwe. *In the Twilight of the Revolution: The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), 1959-1994*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Namibia Resource Centre & Southern Africa Library, 2009. Print. p. 57

[129] Ibid, p. 59

The tension that eventually severed the PAC from the ANC is part of an intricate web of events, decisions and circumstances that eventually ushered in an era of banning and exile, and saw a continuation of a deplorable South African apartheid regime for nearly 40 years. However, at this time, nobody dreamed apartheid could sustain that long a period. In a July 1959 article in *Drum* entitled "Freedom In The Air," Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli, then President General of the ANC and later Africa's first Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 1960, spoke about his suspicions that the South African apartheid government wouldn't last the sum of his five-year banning/house arrest under which he had recently been placed. In the article he states, "I can smell freedom in the air… and [the South African government] can smell it too."[130] Chief Luthuli expressed that even beyond the racial policies, "aside from apartheid and all that, this is a BAD government" and in everyday citizens, though many may not "SIGN anything" or participate in those formalized ways, he saw through the conversations and energy of the people, "…there's freedom in the air."[131] Ultimately, the article represented a growing feeling in South Africa that the apartheid government was hanging on by a thread. With the government considering banning the entire ANC, as it was rumored at the time, it seemed to uplift the believers in anti-apartheid struggle that even if the government did ban the organization, it would not slow down the movement. The banning of important leaders and community influencers from Chief Luthuli to prominent educators, students and organizers, gave the people a sense that the government was losing control.[132] However, beginning with the South African government's

[130] "Freedom in the Air." *Drum,* July 1959, p. 21
[131] Ibid, p. 22
[132] These feelings seemed to be justified. According to the South African 1960 census, the Bantu (Native or Black) population of South Africa was 68.3% of the country, the Coloured population was 9.4% and the White population was 19.3%. White people also owned over 85 percent of the land at this time. Based on numbers alone, but adding to it a growing consciousness and desire for freedom, this apartheid state did not appear to be sustainable, as a revolt was perceived to be imminent. Statistics can be found: Steinberg, S H. *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1966-1967*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966. Print. pps. 1405–1424; *The Europa Year Book 1969, Volume II: Africa, The Americas, Asia, Australasia*. London: Europa

"divide and conquer" strategy[133] and later the banning of the ANC and PAC, which profoundly limited the possibilities of mass mobilization within the country while also forcing these organizations to radically reorganize themselves during decades of exile, this optimism of apartheid's looming demise proved to be a farce. The shift from optimism of looming freedom to the anti-apartheid movement radically restructuring itself in exile begins with a single history-changing event, the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.

The ANC, spearheaded by original ANC Youth League members including Nelson Mandela and under the leadership of Chief Luthuli, began what they called their "Defiance Campaign" in 1952. The Defiance Campaign included organizing the masses for general labor strikes, boycotts of public facilities and other forms of non-violent direct action in defiance of the apartheid state. The PAC still incorporated many of the same organizing strategies of the ANC and simultaneously ran its own Defiance Campaign.

The ANC planned a protest of the pass laws for 31 March 1960 where they would ask people to leave their passes at home and purposely gather to be arrested. In order to beat the ANC to the punch and as its primary rival as far as soliciting members, the PAC planned a similar anti-pass campaign for 21 March 1960. Like the ANC, the PAC called for individuals and groups to leave their passes at home and meet at the Sharpeville Police Station (a Native township South of Johannesburg) to be arrested in protest of the laws. The PAC also planned a parallel protest in Langa Township (Cape Town) to be carried out the same day.

Publications, 1969. Print. p. 1286; and Yudkoff, Ambigay Raidoo. "Nationalism and Patriotism: The Experience of an Indian Diaspora in South Africa." in *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education*, edited by Alexandria Kertz-Welzel, and David G. Herbert, 2012, p. 98.

[133] By "divide and conquer strategies" I mean grouping its citizens into invented racial categories and hierarchies, physically separating them into designated housing and employment groups as codified by apartheid law, and creating the conditions that led to ideological conflicts that split the ANC into two organizations.

The fact that this protest was planned to take place in Sharpeville must have seemed at the time fairly odd to its municipal authorities and the more radical Black communities around the country given on the township's history. Sharpeville was created as a township to house Black residents of an overpopulated freehold area called Topville; established in the early 1900s, it existed in close proximity to several white areas. Topville mainly housed Black migrants who, on their journey to find employment in the mines of Johannesburg, instead settled to work in the Vereeniging steel and iron factories that supported its thriving interwar armaments industry. Due to the normal mismanagement of freehold areas by white municipal authorities like the mismanagement of Sophiatown and its poor sewage, lack of health care facilities, and lack of housing and population regulations, Topville experienced several waves of various disease outbreaks, which began to effect industries as Black laborers vacated positions due to poor housing conditions.[134] Neighboring white areas also complained to government authorities about the "Native housing problem" in the area because as the Topville population grew more and more overcrowded, Black residents became closer and closer to infringing on white areas. In response, government officials bought a plot of land a few kilometers west of Vereeniging in order to create Sharpeville, a township where Native Black South Africans from Topville would be relocated beginning in 1943.[135]

Inspired by the work of Philip Frankel, I argue that there are two main reasons why Sharpeville would have been considered an odd place for the PAC-planned pass protests of 1960: 1) Unlike normal relocations to Black townships across the country, relocation to Sharpeville, at least originally, was not forced but was instead voluntary. It was largely poor Black residents who chose to move to Sharpeville for better living conditions in order to capture a sense of

[134] Frankel, Philip H. *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. Print. p. 26
[135] For more information about Topville and its links to Sharpeville see: Ibid, pps. 25-50

respectability and upward mobility. This, in many ways, had the consequence of creating a largely apolitical community throughout the late 1940s and 1950s; and 2) Sharpeville was designed "with an eye both to cost-effectiveness and social control."[136] As urban designers were brought in during the planning of Sharpeville, so too were military and police officials who made sure that Sharpeville's design was able to efficiently and effectively neutralize any deemed militant threat or illicit activity by its Black population. Born out of white concerns of Black residents' infringement on white space, Sharpeville was designed through a white spatial imaginary, with keen attention paid to protecting white interests and suppressing Black political mobility.

Over time, however, through politicizing efforts by both the ANC and PAC within worksites, distribution of organizing literature in Sharpeville throughout the 1950s, and Sharpeville residents' personal politicizing efforts by way of radio listenership, Sharpeville's residents found themselves at the center of South African political protests by the time of the PAC pass protest in March of 1960.[137] Robert Sobukwe said of the protest that "this is the call the African people have been waiting for! It has come! On Monday, 21st March 1960, we launch our positive, decisive campaign against pass laws in this country."[138] As a part of its Black spatial imaginary, this campaign was the first step in the PAC's plan to achieve "freedom and independence" for South Africans by 1963.[139] This was to be a strictly non-violent demonstration and Sobukwe "[gave] strict instructions… not only to members of [his] own organisation but also to the African people in general, that they should not allow themselves to be provoked into

[136] Ibid, p. 30
[137] Ibid, 28-29
[138] Rake, Alan. "Five Months Nightmare." *Drum,* Oct. 1960, p. 21
[139] Ibid, p. 22

violent action by anyone."[140] However, as sociologist Ivan Evans discusses in his work, by the time of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, "the bureaucratic culture of violence" within the National Party government had "reached its full dimensions" and was central to the party maintaining racial order in South Africa.[141]

On the 21st of March, 1960, when the police confronted Sharpeville protestors outside the Sharpeville Police Station, the police began to open fire on this peaceful crowd of civilians. When the dust settled, police had murdered 69 civilians with 180 more wounded. Police also opened fire in Langa into a crowd "estimated at 20,000" killing two civilians and injuring 54.[142] This event came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre or "Black Monday."[143]

Sharpeville drew tremendous international criticism prompting "foreign journalists (to) [pour] in by every plane." But even this criticism was limited due to minimal coverage of the incident from major liberal media outlets like *Drum* within the country.[144] Seeing as *Drum* was an important voice for Black writers like the Sophiatown set and a key voice for Black urban life during the Sophiatown renaissance, it may seem odd that the magazine would be critiqued for its lack of coverage on this topic. However, *Drum*'s principal architect (outside of the Sophiatown set and its editors Hopkinson, who was editor at this time, and Sampson) and proprietor, Jim Bailey, came from wealth whereas his father, Randlord Sir Abe Bailey, was a famously successful diamond and gold-mining tycoon and business associate of the infamous Southern Africa colonial figure Cecil John Rhodes. With Jim Bailey crafting *Drum* into a magazine that covered non-political issues reflecting Black urban life, a choice made due to fear of

[140] Ibid, pp. 21-22
[141] Evans, Ivan T. *Cultures of Violence: Lynching and Racial Killing in South Africa and the American South*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009. Print. p. 253
[142] Rake, Alan. "Five Months Nightmare." (1960) p. 23
[143] Ibid, p. 24
[144] Ibid, p. 24

clampdowns by the South African government and, one could argue, in order to protect white economic interests in the country like those left to him by his late father, there is no wonder that during the five months of the State of Emergency that followed the massacre, the only article in *Drum* that mentioned the Sharpeville massacre was a photo exposé of the Sharpeville mass funeral with no accompanying commentary or investigative story.[145]

Even with this lack of coverage, news of the Sharpeville massacre did begin to spread internationally and drew protest from the international stage including from the newly commissioned Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in Britain. However, "Inside South Africa prominent men, church and political leaders, expressed their horror" with the massacre and for a short period following Black Monday, the people were moved to fight the regime in what they presumed were its waning moments. The days that followed included protests and marches in places like Durban and Cape Town by the ANC, the PAC and especially the everyday South African popular citizenry for the victims of Sharpeville and Langa[146]. Within days, Chief Luthuli and the ANC "called on Africans to observe March 28 as a day of mourning" and stay home from work in a General Strike protest.[147] "The stay-at-home was estimated to have been 95 per cent. *[sic]* successful in Cape Town, and between 85 per cent and 95 per cent successful in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth."[148] Simultaneously, though, the South African government intensified its suppression of citizens in response. Due to this groundswell of support and mobilization, "there was a short time in which all Africans were elated. Passes were left at home. They were burnt in piles. Many believed they would never be forced to carry passes again… Just

[145] See: Magubane, Peter. "Sharpeville Funeral." *Drum,* May 1960, pp. 28-31; There was also an article that recapped the 5-month state of emergency with pictures and commentary that came out in October, almost two months after the state of emergency was lifted. Rake, Alan. "Five Months Nightmare." *Drum,* Oct. 1960, p. 21-29
[146] Rake, Alan. "Five Months Nightmare." (1960) p. 24
[147] Ibid, p. 25
[148] Ibid, p. 25

as the African leaders were beginning to believe that their sudden swift campaign had been successful, the government retaliated."[149] In the midst of this opposition, the PAC's leadership, including Sobukwe on the day of the massacre, were arrested and jailed—many were jailed for two to three years. Sobukwe spent triple that time in jail and wasn't released until 1969. This concluded with a national shutdown by the South African government beginning with the declaration of a "State of Emergency" which began on March 30, lasted five months and launched an era of exile and banning in South Africa that would last until the early 1990s.

The post-Sharpeville South African government was hellbent on controlling the narrative that was quickly showcasing them in a negative light, and anyone who opposed the narrative of the state or spoke of it in its true cruel and repressive terms was silenced. This was done through multiple means, including banning and exile, all of which were supported by the adoption of new apartheid laws. On 8 April 1960, the Unlawful Organizations Act No. 34 was enacted and effectively banned the PAC and ANC, which prompted many of these organizations' leaders to go into hiding and exile. This, coupled with the Suppression of Communism Act, and the growing international popularity, internal influence, and outspokenness with regard to apartheid—particularly of Black South African artists from across the cultural landscape, from music, to literature, to film—the South African government began to impose restrictions on urban cultural centers, venues, organizations, groups and individuals. These restrictions culminated in the banning of many cultural works and producers who were "deemed oppositional". Many artists' working abroad found that once they tried to return home, they couldn't reenter the country because their passports had been cancelled; at the same time, others were forced to flee the country for fear of persecution or because the restrictions placed on their art made it impossible for them to earn a living. Such restrictions were formalized in the

[149] Ibid, p. 25

Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963, with more restrictions added when the Publications Act was amended in 1974.

How the South African government fought to control the narrative was through what Antonio Gramsci termed, a war of maneuver.[150] To control the international narrative and solidify its hegemonic power, the government advanced its attack through increased suppression of its citizens. Suppression tactics included silencing and restricting the artists' mobility and influence by way of banning, exile and a State of Emergency declaration, as well as a deliberate propaganda campaign, and appealing to countries around the world's economic interests.

An article from the October 1960 issue of *Drum* written by Alan Rake entitled, "Five Months Nightmare," describes the events that lead to the State of Emergency:

> "It was round 2:30 a.m. on the morning of March 30th. Detectives and armed police hammered on the doors of hundreds of houses. It was the same thing in the plush white suburbs, and in the townships. Policemen with their lists of wanted men, squad cars on the road outside. A Government Gazette Extraordinary officially declared a State of Emergency.
>
> In the meantime hundreds of detainees were taken to prison. They came from all walks of life, all races, all income groups, all parts of the country, and all political parties. There were gasps of astonishment in Parliament on April 22 when Mr. Erasmus, Minister of Defense, announced that no less than 1575 (94 white, 24 coloured and 1,451 Africans) had been detained. More arrests were to follow, and by May 16 the number had risen to 1,907 detainees who could be jailed for the duration of the Emergency without being charged or tried.
>
> It has been suggested that all the detainees were politically conscious opponents of the government, but some claimed they had never been active in politics. Others had played no active part in politics for 10, 12 or 15 years. The government, which had temporarily lost the political initiative, soon regained it when almost all the men and women who opposed it were detained, or had fled the country."[151]

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[150] Gramsci, Antonio, Joseph A. Buttigieg, and Antonio Callari. *Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. Print.

[151] Rake, Alan. "Five Months Nightmare." *Drum,* Oct. 1960, pp. 25-26

Note: Though Rake claims that these detainees "came from all walks of life, all races, all income groups, all parts of the country, and all political parties," based on the numbers provided by Minister of Defense Erasmus, over 92% of those arrested originally in this raid were Black South Africans (who only represented 68% of the South African population at the time). It can be inferred based on education and income statistics of South Africa during apartheid that a large majority of those Black detainees were also low-income citizens. It can also be inferred that none of these detainees came from the National Party or any other white supremacist political organizations. So, it must be observed that this entire event was an anti-Black operation and that its specific target was repressing and limiting Black voices, counter-hegemonic movements and their social and political mobility.

Education and income statistics of South Africa during apartheid can be found: Yudkoff, Ambigay Raidoo. " Nationalism and Patriotism: The Experience of an Indian Diaspora in South Africa." Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education, edited by Alexandria Kertz-Welzel, and David G. Herbert, 2012, p. 98.

While there were many horrified by the Sharpeville Massacre and the detentions that followed, any hopes of a change in the principles of apartheid and baasskap were lost in the aftermath of the Massacre and national shutdown. The only voice that was to be heard from South Africa was the voice of the oppressor, the apartheid state. Two days after Sharpeville, Dr. Verwoerd said, "We will see to it that we remain in power in this white South Africa."[152] Other National Party officials backed Verwoerd's words; the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M.C. de Wet Nel, said, "Honest and muscular apartheid will do the trick." And the Minister of Bantu Education, Willie Maree, advocated for moving forward "faster than ever before with apartheid."[153] Ultimately, the idea that this tragedy may constitute the end of apartheid instead became the linchpin for the National Party to strengthen its resolve and therefore, apartheid's hold on the country.

The years that followed the 156-day State of Emergency continued to add layers to the means by which the National Party hid and controlled the narrative of their repressive tactics. In 1963, the Publications and Entertainment Act was codified into law and made it possible for practically any political, social or religious statement to be deemed unlawful. It laid out a Code of Conduct for the press as well, making it "possible to liquidate any newspaper… without having to give any reasons, without having to present any evidence to an impartial court."[154] This Act also gave "The Minister of Justice… further power to prevent any person from any act. This [gave] power to merely name any political opponent, and strip that person of his rights of free speech and free expression. The person concerned even [lost] the right to have any statement of his published."[155] There were those who challenged this bill, like the chairman of the Liberal

[152] Rake, Alan. "Five Months Nightmare." *Drum,* Oct. 1960, p. 28
[153] Ibid, pp. 28-29
[154] Koka, Drake. "A Freedom Which Must Be Maintained." July, 1962, p. 41
[155] Ibid

Party in the Transvaal, Ernie Wentzel, who said of it, "To claim that such authoritarianism can preserve civilization is ludicrous."[156] Yet, this did not shake the minority-led apartheid government because authoritarians were precisely what they needed to be if the National Party was going to stay in power. As of the 1960 South African Census,[157] the white population accounted for a little over 3 million in the country where the Black population was nearly 11 million. Add roughly 1.5 million people classified as Coloured, another almost 500 thousand Indians and account for white people owning over 80% of the land, the Afrikaner government had huge demographic issues with protecting their spatial, economic and political interests. Thus, the extraordinary lengths they went through to establish myriad apartheid laws that restricted the vote, employment, housing, education and freedom of speech for its citizens of color.

As the Sharpeville Massacre became the reason for the National Party to strengthen its resolve to control the country through apartheid and coercive means by way of its Repressive State Apparatus including police and the Defense Force (the South African Military), it was simultaneously working to manufacture cultural hegemonic consent from its citizens. It was doing the same thing internationally by silencing oppositional media, organizations and individuals, and literally writing and financing a new narrative to be packaged and delivered around the world.[158] This comprehensive effort proved to be very effective, as apartheid would

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[156] Ibid

[157] *The Statesman's Year-Book, 1967–1968* (104th annual edition), edited by S.H. Steinberg, Macmillan, London; St. Martin's Press, New York, 1967, pp. 1405–1424; *The Europa Year Book 1969*, Volume II: Africa, The Americas, Asia, Australasia, Europa Publications, London, 1969, p. 1286

[158] See: "The Selling of Apartheid". Africa (Br.), June 1978. 1241 Facts and Reports ANC Publication 1970-1974; Facts & Reports: Press Clippings on Southern Africa; 8th. Vol. no. 1 – no. 25. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 12 Sept. 2017.; and "Club of 10 – 'Govt front'". Rand Daily Mail (S.A.), 24 June 1978. 1318 Facts and Reports ANC Publication 1970-1974; Facts & Reports: Press Clippings on Southern Africa; 8th. Vol. no. 1 – no. 25. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 12 Sept. 2017.
In a June 1978 article from Africa (Britain) entitled "The Selling of Apartheid" the author writes, "Winning the hearts and minds of Americans for apartheid comes under the jurisdiction of the Department of Information, which one member of the South African Parliament described as the most important front (after the Defense Force) in the struggle to maintain the security of South Africa." (The Selling of Apartheid) This became abundantly clear that this

last until the early 1990s. However, resistance to this regime was also effective, and was constant and perpetual during this entire time as well. In fact, while Sharpeville is known as a moment that forced the National Party into heightened repressive control measures to maintain power in South Africa, it also is associated with signaling the beginning of prolonged armed resistance in the country.

Conclusion

Sophiatown and Sharpeville are two locations that explore the politics and conflicts between white settler colonial repressive design in the creation of urban space, and Black theoretical and material resistance to these designs as Native Black populations through improvisational modes of cultural activism and community-making processes. With the destruction of Sophiatown for the white township "Triomf" and the Massacre and aftermath at Sharpeville, it would be far too easy to say that the white repressive state was the victor of these conflicts. Instead, in the chapters to follow, I explore just how vital were these lessons of battles lost and Black self-representations gained in the continued development of a global imagination of Blackness for South Africans soon to enter a thirty-year period of exile. The terms of this global imagination of Blackness allowed cultural producers from across the cultural landscape—from writers and musicians, to radio personalities and political activists—to fashion a Pan-African consciousness founded in New African perspectives gained in the fight to conscript a

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was the position of the South African government when in 1978 a conspiracy was uncovered that the South African government, through its Department of Information, for years, had used a front agency called "The Club of 10" to "[control] and [finance] an international covert propaganda campaign to sell apartheid to Western nations through the world's most respected newspapers." (Club of 10) One informant in this case, Judge Gerald Sparrow, who was credited with launching the campaign, claimed that more than R400,000 was used by the Department of Information through the front over a three year period. Money was used for advertisements in newspapers "such as the New York Times and Washington Post in The Times of London and the Frankfurter Allgemeiner Zeitung," (Club of 10) to finance trips to South Africa for Western writers and politicians (The Selling of Apartheid), "to finance the activities of the New York-based Information Service of South Africa and a host of public relations and lobbying firms," (The Selling of Apartheid) for "unimportant" meetings, and personal expenses (The Club of 10).

Black spatial imaginary within South African borders. This imaginary was imbricated through the settler colonial restructuring of the country by European colonizers and their construction of Native Black South African communities as permanently primitive. In opposition to the settler colonial state and this construction of indigeneous populations as primitive, Native Black South African communities developed, through the evolution their old/rural communal perspectives, New African urban communal perspectives that theorized their position within the urbanization of South Africa.

However, "home" soon became an abstract concept both for Black residents of South Africa within the country, a population perpetually identified outside the country's nation-building project when one considers the various forms of repressive legislation aimed at limiting Black social and political mobility including banning orders, canceled citizenships, the homeland system, Native Black South African disenfrancisment, forced removals and pass laws, as well as residents forced outside the country into exile, a population that had to search for and make a place to belong internationally. What I look at specifically in the chapters to follow is how South African cultural producers, particularly Black cultural producers, used their cultural repertoire to forge strong and lasting connections to Pan-Africanism through their engagement with communities in the global South as well as the Western world.

Chapter 2 – Prelude To Departure: *King Kong and Come Back, Africa, the Opening Act*

Introduction: Stories of Heartbreak, Songs of Resistance, of Lives in Query

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, several cultural works made in South Africa exposed the hardships faced by Native Black South African residents living under the law of apartheid, through the depiction of the harsh conditions of Black township life, and the rise and fall of key figures therein. This genre, as I call it, was an important development in the third era of the New African Movement[159] as it showcased the ways in which cultural practices became integral in critiquing and resisting the apartheid state. Urban South African stories—like the rise and fall of the infamous South African Non-European Heavyweight Boxing Champion, Ezekiel "King Kong" Dhlamini, and the forced removal of Black South Africans from the urban cultural epicenter of South Africa, Sophiatown, to the newly built and barren Native township, Meadowlands (done in the interest of seizing Black South Africans' freehold land tenure in order to build a whites-only suburban community named "Triomf" (Triumph in Afrikaans)—were taken up by this genre.

In this vain, this chapter looks at cultural productions with a focus on two in particular: 1) the first all-Black South African Jazz Opera, *King Kong* (1959), which is based on the life and death of the infamous Ezekiel Dhlamini; and 2) the 1959 docudrama narrative film *Come Back, Africa* which showcases the destruction of Sophiatown and the dreadful conditions of life under the rule of apartheid. I investigate how they spoke to the maddening conditions of Black township life as well as how these productions allowed some of the most talented and socially

[159] I speak about what I'm calling "Third Era New Africanism" in my Introduction chapter and its based on Ntongela Masilela's periodization of the New African Movement in South Africa. I read three district eras in his periodization with the third being from 1948-1960, which is from the time the National Party government comes into power until the Sharpeville Massacre that sent many into exile.

active artists in South Africa to travel outside of the country, most for the first time, to establish global networks. Such networks would become vital for them in the decades to come, as many would find themselves exiled just a few short years later. These two main productions I investigate, though not overtly critical of the South African government, were nevertheless critical of the conditions of Black township life and the horrors of poverty, gang violence, servitude and hopelessness that the apartheid system created.

No story exemplifies this truth more than the rise and fall of the infamous and legendary South African Non-European Heavyweight Boxing Champion, Ezekiel "King Kong" Dhlamini."[160] Wearing many hats in his short-lived and turbulent life, Dhlamini was at different times in his life a "prisoner, a famous boxer, notorious extrovert, spectacular bum" and a "merciless beater-upper."[161] Dhlamini was a complicated man, having once been a boxing champ whom "crowds loved" as "they followed him through the streets when he did roadwork,"[162] and eventually dying a largely hated man and forgotten township hero, "King Kong was the very essence of drama–conflicting, full of movement, unpredictable."[163]

Ezekiel Dhlamini, later known by many nicknames with "King Kong" being the most famous[164], was born around 1925[165] in Vryheid, Natal (now AbaQulisi, KwaZulu Natal). Around

[160] Dhlamini's official name is Mandlenkosi Dhlamini as reported by: Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959, p. 27

[161] Matshikiza, Todd. *Chocolates for My Wife*. Cape Town: D. Philip, 1982. Print. p. 111

[162] Matshikiza, Todd, Pat Williams, and Harry Bloom. *King Kong: An African Jazz Opera*. London: Collins, 1961. Print. p. 12

[163] Motsisi, Moses Casey. "Hobo King of Kong." *Drum,* June. 1957, p. 46

[164] Lightening Marshal" "Spice Smasher" "King Marshal" are referenced in Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959, p. 27; "Big" as well as Smasher and Marshal are referenced in Glasser, Mona. *King Kong: A Venture in the Theatre*. (1961), p. 12; and in Motsisi, Moses Casey. "Hobo King of Kong." *Drum,* June. 1957, p. 56 he is referred to as Hobo King of Kong. The nickname "King Kong" is said to have been self-proclaimed by most sources but one I found, Program for Eric Abraham's *King Kong: Legend of a Boxer* at the Joburg Theatre, Johannesburg. 2017., says it was given to him by the Non-European Amateur Boxing Association (NEABA) President, Fred Thabedi, "when he saw how thoroughly Ezekiel demolished his opponents in the ring."

[165] There is some ambiguity and disagreement of when Dhlamini was born. Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959, p. 27 explains, based on the word of his brother Elliot that Dhlamini was born in

the age of 14, Dhlamini began to venture off on his own. After working briefly as a cow herder and gardener and disappearing to Durban for some time, the lure of the bustling city life was too tempting for Dhlamini and he found his way to Johannesburg. Once there, Dhlamini gambled for a living, playing cards and shooting dice. This life was a fast and dangerous one and he found himself in constant altercations, one of which ended with a man beaten to death; Dhlamini walked out of a courtroom acquitted of all charges. It was during this time that Dhlamini stumbled upon the sparring rooms at the Bantu Men's Social Centre (BMSC) run by former champion William "Baby Batter" Mbatha. After mocking the men "fighting with 'cushions' on their fists" and challenging the entire gym to a fight, Dhlamini was promptly knocked to the ground and embarrassed in the ring by Mbatha.[166] After licking his wounds, Dhlamini soon humbled himself and began to train with Mbatha at his gym.[167]

It wasn't long until this mountain of a man was fighting and winning professional fights. Dhlamini defeated Nat Ngoma in May of 1947, John Sullivan in July of 1951 and Joe "Foxy" Ntambo in October of 1953.[168] Though these fights went a long way to showcase Dhlamini as a superior professional fighter, they were few and far between, and they weren't the main catalysts that produced his infamous reputation. It was his bare-knuckle exploits that supported him financially in between fights and his everyday street brawls with township gangsters and common citizens that fashioned the legend of King Kong.

In the ring, he brought a "kind of glamour to the sport that colorful personalities like Joe Louis lent it overseas" sending people "flock[ing] to his fights where he kept his fans amused

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approximately 1925; while the program for Eric Abraham's *King Kong: Legend of a Boxer* at the Joburg Theatre, Johannesburg. 2017, says 1921.

[166] Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959, p. 28

[167] A nice narrative of Dhlamini's humble beginnings, home life, travels, early Johannesburg life, fight summaries, troubles with the law, imprisonment and suicide can be found in Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959.

[168] Program for Eric Abraham's *King Kong: Legend of a Boxer* at the Joburg Theatre, Johannesburg. 2017

with flamboyant and often idiotic tactics."[169] However, in the streets, Dhlamini was known as a "Bully" and a "Braggart,"[170] as a "wild-haired Vryheid mix-up," an "unstable…crapshooting bozo,"[171] and finally, a "Love… (and) self-killer."[172] With such a reputation, it is hard to fathom what people loved so much about the troubled boxing champion. Author Harry Bloom offered a particularly poignant answer writing that, "Perhaps because he made his own rules and tried to batter his way to a life of his choosing–so inspiring others to believe that a life of glamour, excitement and adventure was not impossible for Africans."[173] Similar to the lure of Sophiatown, Dhlamini represented the possibilities of beating apartheid and creating a life outside of what this system delineated for those living under its reign. Though far from perfect, Dhlamini was theirs, he walked the walk of the streets where they lived and talked the talk of its people. His complexity mirrored their lives, and thus, he was the peoples' champion, an icon for their dreams.

Then Dhlamini lost. On 17 October 1953, middleweight Simon "Greb" Mthimkulu knocked out Dhlamini in the third round of a scheduled 10 round fight. There exists various explanations for what happened in this fight—the champ neglected training, Dhlamini was over confident, he fought an undisciplined fight that left himself open to the lucky shot that knocked him out, Mthimkulu had weights in his gloves given to him by gangsters Dhlamini was feuding with, and even a doctor gave him a shot that took away his strength[174]. Regardless, the result stunned everyone and overnight Dhlamini went from being an unstoppable hero to the punch-line of a joke.

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[169] Matshikiza, Todd, Pat Williams, and Harry Bloom. *King Kong: An African Jazz Opera*. (1961), p. 12
[170] Ibid
[171] Motsisi, Moses Casey. "Hobo King of Kong." *Drum,* June. 1957. p. 56
[172] Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959. p. 27
[173] Matshikiza, Todd, Pat Williams, and Harry Bloom. *King Kong: An African Jazz Opera*. (1961), p. 12
[174] The doctor conspiracy was something Dhlamini told his brother. Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959. p. 32

In all, Dhlamini had a professional boxing record of four wins and one defeat. However, this defeat changed everything. Humiliated and desperate, Dhlamini quit boxing and worked as a bouncer at various dance halls around the city of Johannesburg. He constantly got into fights with people at this time, provoked by a mistimed smile or a too-long look in his direction. The former champ was heartbroken, and the "defeat made him angry,"[175] so much so that people said "he went mad."[176] After beating another murder case by claiming self-defense in the stabbing death of a man, Dhlamini finally met his courtroom match when he stabbed his girlfriend Maria Miya to death at the Polly Centre Hall in 1956.

In his autobiography, *Chocolates For My Wife*, Todd Matshikiza described being assigned to cover the trial of Dhlamini while he was a writer and editor for *Golden City Post*. Matshikiza described an incredibly dramatic scene in the courtroom replete with Dhlamini banging his arms and feet on the table and hurling threats at members of the infamously troublesome and violent Spoiler Gang who were serving as witnesses to the murder of Miya.[177] When the dust settled, the trial ended with the judge sentencing Dhlamini to 12 years in prison, though Dhlamini pleaded with the judge to execute him. Determined as ever to be the purveyor of the final word of his life, and only about two weeks into his sentence, Dhlamini "drown[ed] himself in a dam at the Leeuwkop Farm Jail on April 3, 1957."[178]

In Act II Scene 3 of the 1959 play *King Kong*, based on Dhlamini's life, King Kong's trainer ("Jack") confronts King Kong's girlfriend ("Joyce") and pleads with her to not give up on the champ after he lost a fight. In this scene, Jack recites a monologue explaining to Joyce why King Kong was taking the loss so hard:

[175] Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959. p. 28
[176] Motsisi, Moses Casey. "Hobo King of Kong." *Drum,* June. 1957. p. 56
[177] Matshikiza, Todd. *Chocolates for My Wife*. (1982), Chapter 12
[178] Nakasa, Nathaniel. "The Life and Death of King Kong." *Drum,* Feb. 1959. p. 32

> "He was a non-European Champ, fighting for peanuts–and who pays attention to that? Champ. [*Laughs bitterly*] Here, it's 'push my car–*boy*.' It's 'shut up, Jim.' 'Take your hat off when you talk to me,' 'Where's your pass?' Champ or no Champ… It's taken the insides out of him. He can't even get fights here anymore–'cept that Greb Mabisa concert. You wonder why he's cracking up?"[179]

This excerpt of Jack's monologue coveys an important takeaway from the story of King Kong. Dhlamini was a product of his environment. The madness that eventually led him to take his girlfriend's and then his own life was produced in a toxic environment reared by the apartheid state. Dhlamini fought demons his entire life both inside and outside the ring, which one can attribute to him having lived a life engrossed in patriarchy and hyper-masculinity. But it was the conditions of apartheid—the devaluation of Black lives, the poverty, the violence, the subjugation and the inability to assert autonomy over one's own life, social mobility or spatial mobility—that was the one opponent Dhlamini could not defeat.

Like the story of Dhlamini, the repressive conditions of apartheid, the mental anguish, pain, frustration, and even bouts of rage and madness it caused, mirrored countless stories of people who found Black township life so suffocating that it led to their physical harm, mental harm or even their demise. The destruction of Sophiatown and the forced removal of its mostly Black residents to Meadowlands is such a story. The 1956 song, "Meadowlands," is an example of the kinds of cultural works that intervened into these stories and spoke against apartheid and its policies in South Africa. "Meadowlands" is a song composed by the notable South African composer, vocalist, multi-instrument musician and music producer, Strike David Vilakazi. It gives a glimpse into the history of Sophiatown, South African apartheid policy, racial segregation, forced removals, and apartheid's affective and material effect on residents, particularly Black South Africans. The lyrics of the tune read:

> Let's go, let's go, let's go to Meadowlands
> We'll work night and day, going straight to Meadowlands

[179] Matshikiza, Todd, Pat Williams, and Harry Bloom. *King Kong: An African Jazz Opera*. (1961), p. 77

Have you heard what the white people say?
Let's all go to Meadowlands…
Our beloved place

Have you heard what the tsotsis all say?
We're not leaving; we're staying right here
Staying here, staying here,
Staying here in our beloved place. [180]

The song boasts an infectious jive beat and catchy lyrics that describe Black South Africans' forced removal from the thriving Black cultural Mecca of Sophiatown to a manufactured suburb. Created and named by the South African government, Meadowlands was just outside of what is now known as the township of Soweto. Sophiatown was literally destroyed and rebuilt as a whites-only area called "Triomf." The original recording of this song was performed by Nancy Jacobs and Her Sisters and was later popularized by many artists, including Dorothy Masuka and Miriam Makeba.

The lyrics of "Meadowlands" tell a story of sorrow and resistance, cleverly concealed in coded language and an upbeat musical arrangement. "Meadowlands" appeared to the white minority government to be proof of Native Black South African acquiescence to the apartheid regime's forced removals. However, in reality it was a song that expressed the contrary. With Sophiatown residents in mind, the lyrics—written in three languages: IsiZulu, SeSotho and "tsotsitaal" or street slang[181]—were written to intentionally speak to these residents in their languages and to express their feelings of devastation from being forcibly removed from their homes. In this way, the lyrics, by calling for them to go to Meadowlands, their "beloved place," were intended to be sarcastic and invoked satire as a way of confronting and critiquing this forced relocation policy. Yet, when the South African government heard this light and sunny

[180] Lyrics of the song entitled, "Meadowlands" by Nancy Jacobs and Her Sisters; Composer: Strike Vilakazi (1956). Transcription from: Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. New York: Continuum, 2004. Print. pps. 79-80
[181] Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. (2004). p. 79

song whose lyrics said, "We'll work night and day, going straight to Meadowlands," they mistakenly took this song for its literal meaning and praised it as a song of support for the Bantustan and forced relocation policies.[182] In fact, Vilakezi was commended by bureaucrats and was even approved for a housing application for having composed it.[183]

The people, though, knew this song was about resistance to the removals and used it as a means to organize. Just as the second verse denotes, the "tsotsis" (young mischief-makers or gangsters) and the people would not leave without a fight for their true "beloved place," Sophiatown. Scholar Gwen Ansell quotes a magazine interview that features a former Sophiatown resident named Bra Luke answering a question about how Sophiatown resisted forced removal, to which Luke responded, "Toe sing ons daai song wat ou Strike ga-compose het' (We sang the song that Strike had composed')."[184] Though history shows that the area was cleared and Triomf rose, this song and its history tell a story of political mobilization, protest and resistance to forced removals.

What the song "Meadowlands" does not capture, however, is the devastating sense of loss and depression that overtook many of the Sophiatown residents who were forced to live in Meadowlands. In having to leave Sophiatown, residents lost their freehold tenure, one of the only places in the country where Native Black South Africans could own land, as well as the unique cultural life of Sophiatown shebeen society and cultural renaissance.[185] They also lost their community, which consisted largely of an educated group of Black residents and a small

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[182] Ibid; Schumann, Anne. "The Beat That Beat Apartheid: the Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa." *Stichproben*. (2008): 17-39. Print. p. 24; Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008. Print. p. 176

[183] Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. (2004). p. 79

[184] Ibid, p. 80

[185] David Coplan defines Sophiatown's 'shebeen society.' See: Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008) p. 202

but essential assortment of Indians, so-called Coloureds and poor whites who added diversity to their lived experiences. And lastly, they lost their sense of self-determination, because although most lived in fairly poor conditions in Sophiatown, there was always a sense that they were collectively working toward something, toward the South Africa they dreamed possible. Quite simply, Meadowlands was a new, soulless and barren place, one where former Sophiatown residents did not want to be; this caused much hardship and trauma, which often manifested into physical illness and even death. So this uprooting was not only something that caused sadness when remembering what had been before and the realization of this lack of freehold tenure, diverse community, cultural life and self-determination within their current circumstances, but it also manifested itself in bouts of madness, physical pain and suffering. Victor Mokine, the Sophiatown resident discussed in Chapter 1, and who was moved with his family from Sophiatown to Meadowlands when he was 11 years old, substantiated this trauma when he spoke of the loss of his then 53-year-old father, a typical occurrence in Meadowlands where, "many families lost the men who were the heads of the households." Recalling further, Mokine said, "They just started passing away. In the street where we lived, within three or four years I found out that most of the households had lost their main bread-winner…We attributed that to the stress they suffered."[186]

Central to this chapter is an argument grounded in the fact that the production of township life was about the creation of a stateless and homeless people synonymous with Blackness and read onto non-white skin. This process was violent. When not physically violent—though as we learned in the first chapter specifically with regard to the massacre at Sharpeville, violence was a key component to the South African government's Repressive State Apparatus and its strategy to maintain control of the nation—it was emotionally and mentally

[186] Ibid, p. 79

violent, maddening in fact. Restrictions through pass laws, segregated townships, curfews, Native Black South African prohibition, employment discrimination, forced removals, and the creation of the Bantustan system made South Africa a place where Blackness was legally and epistemologically expelled, even though Black bodies remained working and inhabiting the soil.

Black and other non-white residents of South Africa, especially so-called Coloured communities, simply did not belong within white South Africa's nation building project, so they created ways to belong. Instead of relying on aesthetics of forgiveness or turning to happier stories of love and romantic comedies, these themes of state violence, apartheid and the maddening conditions of Black urban life were taken up and skillfully expressed as a genre of cultural works in the 1950s and early 1960s. Along with this genre of cultural works that spoke to the maddening conditions of apartheid and Black urban life, shebeen society and the proliferation of gangs were means through which urban, non-white South African communities found to mentally belong somewhere.

Through various forms of written works, from novel to autobiography, from exposé to magazine article and short story, as well as through performative works such as film, stage play, and musical composition and performance, this genre of cultural works allowed artists of various mediums a form of release, a form of expression, and a means through which to challenge the forces that limited their ability to live the lives they dreamed of. These works, specifically *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa*, ultimately allowed many of these artists a way out of apartheid South Africa, where they then had to encounter and confront the world from the perspective of an exile. However, as a tool to challenge, release and express the experience of apartheid, this genre of cultural works was particularly attentive to critiquing the vexed position of Native Black South African and so-called Coloured communities in South African modernity. As opposed to

direct political action, this genre was initially regarded as a more respectable form of social discord but became a major target of the South African government's mission to silence oppositional voices post-Sharpeville, which created a new type of modern subject, the South African cultural exile. This chapter is about what preludes the South African cultural exile and narrates the precursors that led to what has come to be known as South Africa's era of exile.[187]

The Genre of Cultural Works That Exposed the Ruthlessness of Apartheid

The consequences of the fortifying apartheid regime during the decade of the 1950s, and the literal writing out of Native Black South African and non-white communities from the national imaginary of a South Africa that was shifting to an Afrikaner nationalist government were various, complex and sometimes tragic. Other times, as communities resisted this shift, the consequences were innovative and counterhegemonic. All simultaneous, overlapping and in conflict, it was grief, trauma, violence, protest, quotidian resistance actions, love, hate, acquiescence and defiance that became the soundtrack to a performance animated by the discursive negotiations of humanity, subjectivity and national identity that played furiously as a kind of improvisational Jazz tune of the times. What resulted was a physical, mental and emotional rejection of apartheid in all its forms by Native Black South African and many non-white South Africans from their relegation to impoverished townships, to the inhumanity of the pass system, to the disenfranchisement of Native Black South African communities. This rejection manifested itself in fits of rage and grief, violence and suicide, mental illness and

[187] Scholars Ntongela Masilela and Nadine Gordimer periodize this "Era of Exile" from 1960-1994, between the Sharpeville Massacre and the ANC taking power of South Africa from the National Party. However, Gordimer uses the term "Interregnum Period" instead of "Exile Period," which Masilela thematically takes up to not privilege the ideas of 'home' or 'exile.' See: Gordimer, Nadine. "Living in the Interregnum." *The New York Review of Books*, Jan. 20, 1983. Print. p. 9; and Masilela, Ntongela. *A South African Looks at the African Diaspora: Essays and Interviews*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2017. Print.

emotional fatigue. However, this rejection also manifested itself in counterhegemonic organizing and protest, subversive identity formations and solidarities, and oppositional artistic works and media. These oppositional works I refer to as a genre, are cultural works that feature the abundant stories of urban life and expose the effects of apartheid on Black and so-called Coloured communities.

Drum writer Can Themba's "Requiem for Sophiatown," is a part of this genre written in the midst of the destruction of Sophiatown. With "so much... gone,"[188] Themba was left to write this token of remembrance of the "veritable institutions" leveled officially for "slum clearance" but also conveniently allowed for the "theft of freehold rights."[189] Themba tells a story about a shebeen society lost, remembering the several great establishments and the kind of personalities and conversations that would inhabit them. Themba writes about how he and a friend tried to avoid a "leach" acquaintance of theirs by taking a secret path (one only residents who really knew the area would take) to have a few drinks at one of his favorite private shebeens, only to find when they arrived that it was gone; torn down, as if it had never been there. Themba writes that "the sheer physical fact of Sophiatown's removal... intimidated (him),"[190] a feeling undoubtedly shared by so many of Sophiatown's residents. He outlined here a deep-seated hopelessness, a feeling of being wronged with no access to any form of recourse, objection or retribution, as well as a severe sense of loss. Themba ended this piece admitting a defeat soon to be realized, writing:

> "...I still wander among the ruins, trying to find one or two of the shebeens that Dr. Verwoerd [the prime minister] has overlooked. But I do not like the dead eyes with which some of these ghost houses stare back at me. One of these days, I, too, will get me out of here. Finish and clear!"[191]

[188] Crais, Clifton C, and Thomas V. McClendon. *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. Print. p. 289
[189] Ibid, p. 286
[190] Ibid
[191] Ibid, p. 292

This was the toll apartheid took on non-white communities. It beat them down and wore on their physical and mental well-being. Particularly, this was due to their inability to exert autonomy over their own lives. Officially, their identities, including where they could live or work, what racial caste and homeland they belonged to, what races they could intermingle with, and where they could be and what they could do during their leisure time, were all determined by the state. This lack of control of their own lives was a weight of suppression levied on the shoulders of these communities. This was a weight so many fought to eradicate from their lives but was also a weight that so many, like the remaining buildings of Sophiatown, physically and mentally crumbled under.[192]

In this environment, Black skin not only denoted inferiority but maybe more importantly, illegality. The most obvious example of this in 1950s South Africa was the pass laws. These laws evolved from the regulations imposed by Dutch and British settlers from 18th and 19th century Cape Colony to the turn of the 20th century when Native Black South Africans were required to carry a physical pass, which ensured a cheap and docile labor pool for the diamond and gold mines. The pass system was then formalized in post-election National Party apartheid law through the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, Act No. 67 of 1952. The Act "curb(ed) labor mobility" through "the introduction of the reference book," which bore "photographs, details of place of origin, employment record, tax payments, fingerprints and

[192] See: Stein, Pippa, and Ruth Jacobson. *Sophiatown Speaks*. Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa: Junction Avenue Press, 1986. Print. On pages 78 and 80, Father Huddleston speaks about the mood of the people who were removed from Sophiatown. Also, pages 31-41 are of pictures during the removals. Below these pictures you can read various descriptions of the removals as well as testimonies. One example of this was in a photo by Bob Gosani on page 41 where the caption below a picture of the Meadowlands matchbox style homes, the caption reads, "I started shouting: I'm not staying in this Meadowlands. I'm afraid. I'm not getting into that Meadowlands house. I'd rather die. Dump me anywhere. I'd rather die…" Also see: Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. New York: Routledge, 1994. Print. p. 11; where Nixon writes "the destruction of Sophiatown remains the country's most symbolically charged memory of forced removal, a policy that from the mid-fifties onwards would uproot 3.5 million people."

encounters with the police."[193] Africans were expected to carry their passes at all times and supply them at the request of police or official authorities. Being found without a pass was a punishable offense whose sentence could include heavy fines and jail time. During the 1950s, "a quarter million South Africans were sent to jail every year, mostly for pass offenses."[194] This number only continued to grow over the next couple of decades. Between July 1970 and June 1971, "615 075 people were prosecuted for pass law offenses; that is, an average of 1 685 prosecutions per day."[195] What this all meant was that "effectively, the pass laws made criminals of all Africans."[196]

To expose the conditions in prisons and to comment on the vulnerability of Native Black South African communities to pass laws and apartheid rule, Henry "Mr. Drum" Nxumalo purposely got himself arrested to write an exposé. Nxumalo was charged with not having a night pass, a violation of the curfew regulations imposed at the time, and wrote about his experiences getting arrested, charged, and booked as well as his time spent in the Johannesburg Central Jail. In this piece entitled, "Mr. Drum Goes to Jail," Nxumalo spoke of the unsanitary conditions of the jail when, for example, he had to eat off a rusted and broken plate, his hands soiled with urine and feces because he was not allowed to clean his hands after he was forced to clean toilet buckets. Nxumalo also spoke of the chaotic environment and violence inflicted on short- and long-term prisoners by prison officials and inmates. Nxumalo said that while he was there, he was beaten everyday as were many others. However, the staple of this exposé was the racialized treatment of inmates.

[193] "Apartheid Legislation 1850s-1970s." *SAHO*, 20 March 2011, www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-legislation-1850s-1970s. Accessed 22 Jan 2019.
[194] Crais, Clifton C, and Thomas V. McClendon. *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (2014), p. 293
[195] *Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control*. Johannesburg: Black Sash, 1974. Print.
[196] Crais, Clifton C, and Thomas V. McClendon. *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (2014), p. 293

White inmates were allowed to call their families, lawyers and employers, whereas Nxumalo and other African inmates were denied this right. He spoke of African inmates having to barter their small portions of meat (on days meat was served) for small favors or items including shoes, "which (were) supposed to be supplied to Coloured prisoners only."[197] Nxumalo finished the piece stating, "All prisoners were called Kaffirs at all times."[198]

These pieces, by *Drum* writers Can Themba and Henry Nxumalo, are examples of magazine articles and exposés that fit into the cultural works genre of urban apartheid critique that present a critical reading of events and circumstances that violated the humanity of Native South Africans and the communities in which they lived. However, beyond this type of journalism and beyond the gloss of the pages of the magazine, this genre also incorporated fictional and biographic short stories and novels. Two examples of this kind of literature I wish to highlight are Alex La Guma's short story, "A Walk in the Night" and Bessie Head's (semi-autobiographical) novel, *A Question of Power*. Not only does this pair serve as exceptional and sophisticated examples of the kinds of short stories and novels that populate this genre, but they are both written by so-called Coloured South African writers whose racial positionality and intersectional identities provide an important viewpoint that grapples with the links between literature and apartheid critique. When read together, these pieces speak to the specific repressive conditions that the so-called Coloured community faced in apartheid South Africa. Further, they underscore how this government-imposed racial category operated much of the time as a form of exile from any claims of belonging within the country's embodied, discursive, historical or geographic borders. And not to be overlooked, these texts also feature characters that experience spells of madness due to the conditions and circumstances of their lives.

[197] Ibid, p. 297
[198] Ibid; Note: "Kaffir" is an extremely derogatory and racist term used to belittle and demean Native Black South Africans in similar ways that "Nigger" is used by whites in the US and the Western Hemisphere

"A Walk in the Night" tells the story of Michael "Mickey" Adonis, a Coloured resident of the District Six Coloured Township in Cape Town, who arrives to his neighborhood right before sundown after being fired from his job at a sheet-metal factory for a confrontation he had with a white foreman. This story is animated by two confrontations each with white authority figures: the foreman at his job and two police officers who harass him on the streets while walking around his neighborhood trying to calm his temper after being fired. The first incident takes place when the foreman questions Mickey about wanting a bathroom break. After being called "a cheeky black bastard" by the white foreman (Mickey, when relaying the story to a friend, was sure to add that he was "not black"), Mickey said he called the foreman "a no-good pore-white" and was fired.[199] The second incident sees Mickey confronted by the police officers who had approached Mickey on the street and had him turn out his pockets insisting he had "dagga" (marijuana) on him while also questioning whether he stole the money he had on him. The money was actually his final payment from his job.

La Guma expresses Mickey's frustrations with these events through his thoughts, italicizing in parenthesis, "(*you mucking boers*)" as he responds "yes" or "(*you mucking bastard boer with your mucking gun and your mucking bloody red head*)" as he replies, "Yes, baas" to the police officers who harassed him on the streets.[200] This internalization is effective in showcasing Mickey's growing frustrations that would boil over later in the story. Having no avenue to fight these injustices and no viable form of release besides railing about all of it to friends in a bar, Mickey turns to alcohol to drown his misery. The results of this self-medication end with Mickey, in a state of frustration and a drunken, incoherent fit of rage, killing an alcoholic Irishman named Uncle Doughtry. Later, police mistakenly identify Mickey's friend,

[199] La, Guma A, and Nahem Yousaf. *A Walk in the Night and Other Stories*. Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2006. Print. p. 4
[200] Ibid, p. 11

Willie Boy, as the murderer of Doughtry and murder him. The story ends with Mickey, unaware of the murder of Willie Boy, joining a gang as a way to claim some sense of authority and power over his life and as a place where he could center his anger, rage and frustrations with life under apartheid rule.

What La Guma so brilliantly showcases here is the unpredictability of a person's reactions to repression and the nebulous ways the apartheid regime's control is upheld through coercion and violence. The story continuously reiterated that Mickey was, as he was referred to as by multiple characters throughout the story, a "good boy," the literal antithesis of a murderer. However, the pressures and hopelessness apartheid wielded as weapons over its subjects caused a mental break in Mickey, leading him to do the unthinkable. The mental break for Mickey, expressed in a moment of violence and rage, or the maddening conditions of apartheid are themes that are taken up constantly in this genre of urban South African apartheid critique during this period. Willie Boy's murder, on the other hand, underscores just how randomly violence could be enacted and how ubiquitous, pervasive and completely arbitrary was apartheid's subjugation of so-called Coloured youth, who are portrayed both as deviant and criminal, was. One form of literature often overlooked for its vital contribution to a "South African oppositional critique"[201] because of its perceived individual rather than universal narrative application and context, is the autobiographies of Black writers in South Africa. Scholar Lynda Ann Gilfillan, in a conference paper entitled, "Theorising the Counterhegemonic: Black South African Autobiography"[202] uses "the racial category 'black' to denote people who are not officially

[201] Gilfillan, Lynda Ann. "Theorising the Counterhegemonic: Black South African Autobiography." Box 2, Folder 25. ANC Lusaka Mission, Dept of Arts & Culture. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017. p. 6

[202] Taken from Lynda Ann Gilfillan's research that produced her 1995 dissertation at the University of South Africa entitled, "Theorising the Counterhegemonic: A Critical Study of Black South African Autobiography From 1954-1963."

classified 'white' in terms of Population Registration Act; this includes so-called 'coloured' authors," provides an important critique of the traditional devaluation of autobiography in the academic study of literature, and elevates autobiographies written by Black writers during the 1950s and 1960s as a critical field to study oppositional critique of apartheid narratives.[203] As Gilfillan points out, one can just look at some titles of these autobiographies and "confirm their counterhegemonic status within the South African socio-literary field: *Tell Freedom* (Peter Abrahams), *Let My People Go* (Albert Luthuli), *My Fight against Apartheid* (Michael Dingake), *My Spirit is not Banned* (Francis Baard), etc."[204]

Such a work exists in Bessie Head's semi-autobiographical novel, *A Question of Power*.[205] Though the main character of this story is named Elizabeth and not Bessie, the events of Elizabeth's life mirror those of Head's troubled and fascinating life. The title speaks to the core of the conflict in the story, which I argue is not only a problem the character must work through but is Head's way of using the problems of her life, with regard to her identity crisis, to call attention to the so-called Coloured communities' identity crisis and the nation of South Africa's identity crisis as well.

Head was born in the Pietermaritzburg Mental Hospital on 6 June 1937. Like Head, Elizabeth was conceived in the forbidden union of an upper-class white woman and a Black Native Black South African stable boy. Elizabeth's mother's family was renowned for breeding horses. With their livelihood tied to an industry whose epistemological cornerstone was eugenics, there is little doubt that this went a long way into them committing Elizabeth's mother to a mental institution while she was with child (Head's mother remained there until 1943 when

[203] Ibid, p. 1
[204] Ibid
[205] Head, Bessie. *A Question of Power*. London: Heinemann Educational, 1974. Print.

she committed suicide).[206] Having no contact with her mother's family and her father fleeing for his life soon after it was discovered he had impregnated Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth—now a first generation so-called Coloured person—became a ward of the state. Being unwanted and moved between various foster homes and orphanages, Elizabeth's deepest desire was to find a place to belong.

After years of suffering from "forces of prejudice and social oppression"[207] and fleeing a problematic marriage, Elizabeth leaves South Africa with her son to take a teaching position in the neighboring country of Botswana, a country that had largely escaped some of the worst evils of colonial domination. There, Elizabeth fights through bouts of loneliness and depression brought about by her isolation within a traditional African village. For the duration of her time in Botswana, Elizabeth is tormented by various hallucinations and nightmares that distort her perception of reality and dream. Two hallucinations in particular, Sello and Dan, narrate Elizabeth's power struggle over the course of the novel. These hallucinations and dreams, along with a series of events, lead to two mental breakdowns that result in Elizabeth being committed into mental institutions. Ultimately, though Head offers no real resolution to the conflicts in Elizabeth's life, the reader is left with a sense that Elizabeth's relationship with her son and surrounding community have given her a purpose in life that becomes her anchor and is what she can cling to when she finds herself struggling mentally in the future.

What Head and Elizabeth's story confronts is a "crossroads of dispossession"[208] and inventiveness of oppressive categories that illustrate the variety of ways dispossession animates this narrative and dominates their lives. What Head knew all too well was marginality, from the

[206] Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. (1994) p. 102
[207] Johnson, Joyce. "Metaphor, Myth and Meaning in Bessie Head's *A Question of Power*." *World Literature Written in English*. 25.2 (1985): 198-211. Print. p. 199
[208] Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. (1994), p. 102

circumstances of her birth, "as a first generation 'colored,' an orphan, a changeling, a refugee, a certified 'madwoman,' and a single mother, she led a profoundly disinherited life on almost every front."[209] From this marginality and her incoherence within the strata of "the most authoritative social categories" informing identity, including "nation, family, race, and history,"[210] Head's very identity was always constructed at the hands of the state in every way. This led to a lifelong pursuit of constructing "alternative forms of belonging."[211]

This pursuit was forged through what Huma Ibrahim terms an "exilic consciousness." This exilic consciousness denotes "an acute awareness of [an exile's] desires to belong to where they came from and where they must live."[212] I am particularly interested in the first half of this concept and the ways this genre of cultural works exposed the cruel and maddening conditions of apartheid. Where an exilic consciousness first denotes that one desires to belong to where they came from, it also implies an awareness that this desire has never been fulfilled by the place of their origin. In other words, home was never home for those that develop an exilic consciousness. This genre exposes this understanding by critiquing the racial categorizations in which the characters in its stories (and by proxy, Native Black South African and so-called Coloured communities within South Africa) were subjected to. In doing so, this genre showcases how Native Black and so-called Coloured communities in South Africa were always already exiled from belonging to the concept of the National Party's nation state. This consciousness for Head was the centerpiece of *A Question of Power* and was what guided Elizabeth's conflicts with her hallucinations.

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[209] Ibid, p. 103
[210] Ibid
[211] Ibid, 102-03
[212] Ibrahim, Huma. *Bessie Head: Subversive Identities in Exile*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996. Print. p. 2

Scholar Joyce Johnson, who writes about Head and the context of her literary characters, interprets Elizabeth's hallucinations of Sello and Dan as two distinct forms of resistance ideology that were meant to confront "the perennial and universal problem of how mankind should attempt to restrain evil or to maintain order in society."[213] As the two main ideologies debated by Black African leaders of the time, Sello, for Johnson, advocates a violent means of liberation representing militant decolonial African leaders, while Dan advocates for non-violence in the tradition of Mohandas K. Gandhi, a philosophy that was used to construct an Indian nationalism during the fight for Indian Rights in South Africa in the late 1800s and early 1900s. For Johnson, Head was interested in these concepts in order to help her construct an identity for herself and the nation that would be applicable to her desire to belong. The foundation of this pursuit is the exilic consciousness that implies that Head must create a place to belong because within the context of when this story was written, she did not belong and never would. This was true for Head and equally true for non-white residents of South Africa.

Todd Matshikiza and Bloke Modisane are particularly important figures that allow us to bridge the literary works within this genre to the performative. As we move toward a discussion of the main cultural productions in this chapter, the 1959 Jazz opera *King Kong* and the film, *Come Back, Africa*, I first highlight Matshikiza and Modisane as literary figures that challenge, through writing autobiographies and other forms of literature, the apartheid state. As writers for *Drum*, the quintessential magazine that targeted Black urban readers in South Africa, both Matshikiza and Modisane had extensive resumes as prolific and talented writers published in several literary mediums, from reportage, to short story, to exposé. However, their autobiographies were especially critical of apartheid and were also important contributing factors to their eventual formal exile from South Africa when the state cancelled their passports.

[213] Johnson, Joyce. "Metaphor, Myth and Meaning in Bessie Head's *A Question of Power*." (1985), p. 198

Matshikiza was always hypercritical of white South Africans, particularly liberals, providing important counter narratives to the juxtaposition of good versus bad whites and their relationship to the continuance of apartheid rule. His 1961 autobiography, *Chocolates For My Wife*, is an important text that reveals the challenges he faced when dealing with white people as he was writing the music for *King Kong* in South Africa and while his family was living in exile in London. Matshikiza was also critical of the everyday lived experiences of Black South Africans as depicted in his clever short story from his column "With The Lid Off" in the April 1959 edition of *Drum*, in which he described the various micro-aggressions he faced from white store owners while shopping one Saturday afternoon after a "depressingly bad week."[214]

Becoming frustrated by the political situation and oppression under the apartheid regime, Modisane moved to England in 1959, where his autobiography, *Blame Me On History*, was published in 1963. This detailed his despair at the bulldozing of Sophiatown (mirroring Can Themba's short story "Requiem for Sophiatown") and his frustration and anger with apartheid. As a result, the book was banned in South Africa in 1966.

While both Matshikiza and Modisane produced important short stories as writers for *Drum*, these cultural producers bridged the literary and the performative. Each wrote autobiographies that both challenged apartheid and led to their eventual exile. As Matshikiza composed the music and co-wrote much of the lyrics for *King Kong,* Modisane was co-writing and acting in *Come Back, Africa*. Both artists used multiple mediums by which to communicate their political viewpoints, to satisfy their creative desires, and eventually as a means to escape the apartheid regime by going into exile.

Drawing upon satire, humor, irony, raw shock, drama, horror, violence, honesty and affect as the principle means of conveying these ideas, this genre collectively presents an

[214] Matshikiza, Todd. "With the Lid Off." *Drum,* Apr. 1959, p. 21

important database of the ways South Africa's artistic community thought about the conditions of apartheid while also providing important critiques of this regime. As the doyens for this genre, *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa* show this in various and important ways. From the process of their creation including how the visions of these productions were engineered and for what target audiences especially with their main proprietors being white interlocutors, to the consequences of their messages, the overwhelmingly positive reception they received, and their lasting legacies, all of these moving parts that make up the story for how these productions came to be, make these productions timeless examples of the genre of South African cultural works that exposed the hopelessness of Black township life and the ruthless apartheid system in the country.

King Kong and *Come Back*, Africa: Ready for Liftoff

In late September 2017, I went to lunch with friends at Eat Your Heart Out, a quaint Jewish-style eatery on the corner of Fox and Kruger Streets in Maboneng Precinct, an up-and-coming arts district in Johannesburg. I was staying in a loft a couple blocks away on Albertina Sisulu Road near the Jeppe Police Station. After finishing my Macon N Egg latka with a side of sausage, my friends and I decided to take a stroll around the precinct to walk off some of the food. A couple shops over was The Bioscope, an independent cinema and live music venue where later in my trip I was to see the 2017 James Baldwin documentary directed by Raoul Peck, *I Am Not Your Negro*. There, outside The Bioscope, I noticed an advertisement, a poster for *King Kong: Legend of a Boxer* introduced as "The Iconic South African Hit Musical." This play, an artistic and political work I'd planned to explore in my dissertation project, hadn't shown since

its original run from 1959-1961,[215] and unbeknownst to me, it just happened to be showing in Johannesburg at the Mandela Theatre at Joburg Theatre the exact time I was in town. Imagine my excitement! So, I made plans to go with a friend who was visiting from Oakland, California and for R220 (roughly $15.75 USD) each we bought first row seats to the show on 4 October 2017.

The show was electrifying. The grand set, designed by Paul Wills, was beautiful and dynamic, allowing characters to move about the stage on multiple levels, adding to the shows aesthetic appeasement. The script, wardrobe and idiosyncratic nuances of the actors walk, talk and corporal style transported me to a time when the National Party's budding apartheid reign was only a decade old, and Black life in the townships was equal parts terrifying—with the proliferation of gangsterism, poverty and apartheid's ubiquitous control of citizens lives through the pass laws— and thriving with arts, hope and possibility. The lighting was alluring and gave great charm and splendor to the fight scenes that utilized a slow-motion choreography giving the audience a visual treat of dramatized violence that made the characters, especially King Kong (Andile Gumbi) seem larger than life. The music was wonderful, high-paced, electric, melodically vibrant and swingin' like the big bands of the 1950s, and the singing was breathtaking with nobody shining brighter than Lerato Mvelase who played Petal, King Kong admirer turned Pop's wife. It was all I could have hoped for short of seeing the original cast with members of The Manhattan Brothers, The Skylarks, and Woody Woodpeckers including Nathan Mdledle (King Kong) and Miriam Makeba (Joyce) in the leading roles, and musicians such as Hugh Masekela, Caiphus Semenya, and Kippie Moeketsi playing together as a part of the Jazz

[215] *King Kong* had not been done again after the original run, "apart from a two-day disaster in 1979," as quoted in: Thamm, Marianne. "King Kong lives again: Iconic 1950s musical revival set to be highlight on SA 2017 cultural calendar." *Daily Maverick*, 10 Jan. 2017, dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-01-10-king-kong-lives-again-iconic-1950s-musical-revival-set-to-be-highlight-on-sa-2017-cultural-calendar/#.WhMOgRNSyu4. Accessed 2 Jan 2018.

Dazzlers Orchestra, led by Mackay Davashe keeping the crowds moving to the big band sound of the play.

King Kong: The Superb African Jazz Opera, a play depicting the life and death of the infamous Former Non-European Heavyweight Boxing Champion, Ezekiel "King Kong" Dhlamini, originally premiered to a packed house on 2 February 1959 at the Great Hall located on the campus of The University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Though depicting the poverty and violence of Black township life, the play wasn't overtly critical of white figures in the maintenance of apartheid in South Africa. Partly because of this and partly because it was extremely well done, the play garnered rave reviews and enthusiastic praise by its almost exclusively white audiences applauding its "extraordinary vitality, colour and gaiety..."[216] and how it "Triumphs… by its bursting, smoking, glowing life."[217] The show was wildly successful, so much so that Johannesburg cinema managers and even the Post Office called to complain about how *King Kong* negatively affected their businesses. The show's official booking agency, "Show Service," had queues around the corner for days as people waited to secure tickets. Bookings poured in by droves, "telephone bookings were made from as far as a thousand miles away and from every part of the country"[218] and "by 10 February there was not a single seat left for any of the performances."[219] Press reviews continued to pour in. *King Kong* was reported as "King Size" and "GREAT," celebrated as the "greatest thrill in 20 years of South African theatre-going," and was applauded for showcasing "the Township Spirit!" where "For the first time African talent [had] been used in a constructive way–not merely to show Africans doing

[216] *Sunday Times* review as written on the back cover of: Matshikiza, Todd, Pat Williams, and Harry Bloom. *King Kong: An African Jazz Opera*. (1961)
[217] Ibid
[218] Glasser, Mona. *King Kong: A Venture in the Theatre*. Cape Town: N. Howell, 1961. Print. p. 53
[219] Ibid

tricks, but to express African life and experience."[220] *Star* and *Drum* ran picture stories of the show with headlines, "They call it Jazz Opera–Scintillating King Kong" and "Black and White sweat together to make King Kong a SMASH HIT," respectively, and even Afrikaner papers like *Dabgreek* and *Die Vaderland* gave favorable reviews of the show.[221] While the entire cast dazzled audiences, it was Miriam Makeba as the Shebeen Queen, and on-and-off-again girlfriend of King Kong, Joyce, who really stole the show. She was beautiful and wildly talented, and though a novice to the theatre stage, her voice and commanding presence elevated her local reputation from notable talent to rising star.

During the same year as the *King Kong* premiere, a second project that Makeba took part in, which also depicted the life and times of South African townships in the late 1950s, premiered in Europe. The film *Come Back, Africa* directed by independent American filmmaker Lionel Rogosin,[222] though receiving virtually no comment in the South African media and despite Makeba's role being much smaller than the female lead she played in *King Kong*, would be the project that would elevate Makeba to international stardom.

The film follows the life experiences of rural migrant laborer Zachariah (played by Zacharia Mgabi), who is living under the harsh conditions of apartheid. After a famine forces him to flee his rural home, Zachariah leaves his wife and children and moves to Johannesburg to find work. Corporate officials, under the guise of recruiting workers for well-paying industrial jobs send Zachariah to Johannesburg to work. However, when Zachariah arrives at the location, it is a run-down barracks for miners. When he realizes he was hoodwinked and was to work in

[220] Ibid, p. 54
[221] Ibid
[222] Rogosin, Lionel, Lewis Nkosi, Bloke Modisane, Michael Rogosin, Lloyd Ross, Claudia Schadeberg, Jurgen Schadeberg, Richard Beynon, Zacharia Mgabi, Vinah Bendile, Miriam Makeba, Can Themba, Frederick D. Kirkpatrick, Florynce Kennedy, Jim Collier, Wende Smith, Larry Johnson, Gary Davis, General Duze, Michael Richard, Solly Kgamedi, Heerden M. Van, Martin Scorsese, Ernst Artaria, Emil Knebel, J R. Wagoner, Carl Lerner, Ruth Schell, Sharron Hawkes, Alan Lomax, and Anna L. Wood. *Come Back, Africa*. [Harrington Park, New Jersey]: Milestone Film & Video, [Brooklyn, NY]: Exclusively distributed by Oscilloscope Laboratories, 2014.

the mines for very little pay, Zachariah asks some colleagues how to find better work only to learn that, paradoxically, in order to get better work he would need a work permit and to get a work permit he would already need a job.

Using some ingenuity Zachariah is able to land a job as a domestic worker for a fairly well-off white couple, but after enduring verbal abuse from the wife and being caught stealing swigs of her whiskey, Zachariah is fired. After this, he is hired and fired from several other jobs— including a mechanic shop and a hotel— for various offenses mostly out of his control. But the firings highlight issues with the apartheid system and its inhumane treatment of Black workers. In the meantime, his wife Vinah (played by Vinah Bendile) and their kids come to live with him in Sophiatown, where Zachariah has relocated.

While on his way to meet friends at a shebeen, Zachariah gets into a fight with Marumu, the leader of the "tsotsis," a gang that terrorizes the streets of Sophiatown. When Zachariah arrives to the shebeen, he tells his friends, among them Can Themba, Lewis Nkosi and Morris Hugh, about his encounter with Marumu. Themba then gives some of the most poignant commentary in the film as he discusses how the apartheid regime produced people like Marumu, and why all should distrust liberals in this system. At the end of the conversation, Miriam Makeba comes in for her small but powerful role in the film and sings two songs for the gentlemen. They join her in the second number.

After getting another job, this time a physically laborious job, Zachariah goes to spend the night with his wife Vinah at the room she was given as a domestic laborer for a white family. Although they were married, this was highly illegal for Black people under apartheid rules and in the middle of the night, cops rush in and arrest Zachariah. A white officer attempts to rape Vinah

once Zachariah is taken, a despicable act broken up by a fellow officer just before the rape could occur.

Later that evening, Marumu, comes looking for Zachariah, enters the couple's home and strangles Vinah. When Zachariah is freed and comes home in the morning, he finds Vinah's body. Zachariah breaks down and throws anything within his reach banging his fists on the table in rage, horror, disbelief and anguish.

This film, made in secret because of its much more explicit critique of apartheid than that of *King Kong*, was officially banned in South Africa from 1966-1988 and wasn't shown in the country until the 1982 Durban International Film Festival.[223] However, despite it not reaching popular mainstream circles, "even in the United States… American television refused to show the film as being too political,"[224] it was able to garner several awards, become a cult favorite within the independent film community, and continues to inspire filmmakers, especially African filmmakers[225], as a quintessential staple in documentary, resistance and African film history.

Come Back, Africa won the Italian Critics Award at the Venice Film Festival and "the film showing the most significant advance in content means of expression and technique" from the Canadian Federation of Film Societies at Vancouver Film Festival, both in 1959. The film was also selected by *Time Magazine* as one of the "Ten Best Pictures of 1960" and as the "Most Worthy Picture of 1960" by *Chevalier de la Barre*, Paris.[226] Reviews of the film also came from important news outlets around the world including *Time Magazine* which called the film, "A

[223] Press Kit for Lionel Rogosin's *Come Back, Africa* (1959) Lionel Rogosin Films, *Milestone Films*. comebackafrica.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/comebackafricapresskit1.pdf. pgs 10-11
[224] Ibid, p. 11
[225] "It's funny, but internationally my films are well-known," he said. "And even influential. Come Back, Africa, for example has been shown all over Africa . . . and I've been told by African filmmakers that it influenced and started the whole cinema movement there." Press Kit for Lionel Rogosin's *Come Back, Africa* (1959), p. 14
[226] Ibid, p. 10

timely and remarkable piece of cinema,"[227] *Cue Magazine*, which hailed it as an "Extraordinary film… splendidly played against the background of South Africa,"[228] and the *New York Post*, which praised its "extraordinary timeliness."[229] *Come Back, Africa* also garnered praise from important global figures, including Father Trevor Huddleston who called the film "a most moving presentation of the truth,"[230] and Eleanor Roosevelt who said after viewing the film that she hoped it would be widely viewed in the U.S., as the story was "developed with understanding and sympathy for the African facing the problems of this area" in the late 1950s and as such, the film "is well worth seeing."[231]

Both *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa* provided South Africa some of its most significant contributions to Black expressive cultural history in the country. *King Kong*, advertised and remembered as the first all-Black jazz opera, was important for several reasons. First, it was the first major production of many of South Africa's most talented artists, who, for many of them, over the next few decades would become internationally renowned artists. It was a springboard that allowed several of these artists to begin to spread their wings and navigate life outside the borders of South Africa and it's apartheid regime just before many were forced out of the country in exile. Second, the play was able to capture and document the dress, walk, talk, flair, dance, radiance, brilliance and overall vibe of Sophiatown that was quickly being demolished during *King Kong*'s initial run. The all-Black cast of mostly musicians and dancers with little-to-no acting experience, all of whom spent much of their time performing in Sophiatown if they had not taken up residence there, and the music of Todd Matshikiza and his

[227] Rogosin, Lionel, and Peter Davis. *Come Back Africa: Lionel Rogosin - a Man Possessed*. Johannesburg: STE, 2005. Print. p. 3/ Contents Page
[228] Ibid
[229] Ibid
[230] Press Kit for Lionel Rogosin's *Come Back, Africa* (1959), p. 10
[231] Ibid

influence on the lyrics and plot of the play, are all invaluable to this record. Third, the play kicked off a movement of theatre productions in the country, many of which followed the *King Kong* model of depicting Black township life through musicals with township music and jazz, commonly the soundtrack of these plays.[232] Lastly, the play tells a story and is a part of a genre of cultural works that depicted the hardships of township life, especially for Black South Africans. It had the ultimate goal, effective in many respects and not so effective in others, of influencing those who watched it to be moved into action and demand better living conditions for those South Africans living on the fringes of society. To this point, though touted as an all-Black musical, *King Kong* was "primarily a blockbuster for white audiences."[233] This was due to the costs associated with attending the shows, the artistic medium of theatre not being a popular form of entertainment for Black South African communities at the time and, I would argue, its liberal treatment of apartheid and its inability to forcefully critique the apartheid regime was probably too watered down for the many Black South Africans frustrated with their lack of prospects for building a seemingly humane life in apartheid South Africa. It was, however, able to reach many white sympathizers in South Africa and eventually in Europe, and became an important cultural piece that would help awaken many of these viewers to the tragedy of racialized poverty, segregation, exploitation and disenfranchisement in South Africa. With this seed planted, *King Kong*, if even in just a minor way, would help create the international Anti-Apartheid Movement that would be in full swing by the 1980s.

Come Back, Africa's depiction of Sophiatown remains the only detailed visual record of its culture before it was destroyed. In the background of the film throughout, one literally

[232] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008) Cites producers Alfred Herbert and Wilfred Sentso, and productions like *Washerwoman* (1959) and *Frustrated Black Boy* (1961) as producers and productions that followed the *King Kong* model.
[233] Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. (1994), p. 22

witnesses the destruction of this community. Images of the fashion, street performers, penny whistlers, mines and overall bustling urban life of this community are readily displayed in the film. It is an eerie but equally important documentation preserved in the film's images. Until *Mapantsula* in 1988, *Come Back, Africa* was the only film that focused its lens and narrative on Africans and their lived experiences rather than on white liberal characters and their experiences with Africans.[234]

Like *King Kong*, *Come Back, Africa* also helped plant the seed for global Anti-Apartheid struggle by way of its influence all over the continent of Africa, its cinematic recognition in Europe and Canada, and Rogosin's work to get it played for influential audiences in the U.S. Of these places, it was the U.S. that was the most difficult for *Come Back, Africa* to debut and make an impact. The film's experimental documentary-esque style and its anti-segregation and anti-white supremacy narrative, made the film unappealing to Hollywood and the U.S. white mainstream, which were enthralled in their own civil rights conflict at the time. Even in independent film circles, the film could not find its way to cinemas, as there was already a backlog of films waiting to be shown long before Rogosin's found its way to New York City.[235] However, with the help of Lew Gittler, a publicity agent, Rogosin bought an old theater located in Greenwich Village at 144 Bleecker Street in Manhattan and named it Bleecker Street Cinema. *Come Back, Africa* premiered at this cinema on 4 April 1960, barely three weeks after South Africa's Sharpeville Massacre, the event whose consequences would shift the tide of South African resistance to apartheid from non-violent to armed struggle. This would continue until apartheid's end in the early 1990s.[236]

[234] Press Kit for Lionel Rogosin's *Come Back, Africa* (1959), p. 14
[235] Ibid, p. 19
[236] Simultaneously, it can't be overstated that due to this massacre, the South African government had elevated its repressive hold on the country and its citizens past the point of suffocation

As its popularity grew, the film began to be taken up by people in the U.S. to discuss issues that affected them domestically. By doing so, the film simultaneously did the important work of communicating points of departure to aid in the ongoing process of making spaces for dialogue that used the various ways anti-Blackness is experienced in disparate communities around the world to foster Pan-African solidarity among them. This was not a primary function of the film as it was not one that the masses, especially Black masses witnessed. But reviews like the one written by Hall of Fame baseball player Jackie Robinson, made an impact. Credited with breaking the color barrier in Major League Baseball by being the first African American to play in the league, Robinson was wildly popular and well-respected. So his summation and praise of *Come Back, Africa* published in the *New York Post* on 9 May 1960, became a useful reference through which communities could explore the similarities and differences between Black experiences in the U.S. and South Africa. In his review, Robinson first offered a critique of the U.S.'s role in supporting apartheid in South Africa, writing:

> "I think anyone who sees this film, and open-mindedly identifies with its leading character as he faces the mounting frustrations of his existence, cannot help but be greatly alarmed that such an organized, officially sanctioned system exists in the world today. The last time such a monster was allowed to run wild, we had to fight a world war to stamp it out. When our government and others in the free world continue to do business as usual in gold, diamonds, uranium and lobster tails with another such Hitler-like system, it becomes frightening to think of what could eventually happen."[237]

This statement implicates the U.S. as party to the crimes of apartheid beyond issues of race. In this way, Robinson positions the issues of apartheid in South Africa as simultaneously domestic issues in America, thus challenging the reader to engage this problem on a personal level rather than as an ethereal problem of some distant land. In essence, Robinson is asking why the world would fight a world war against one such regime and invest financially and politically in another without alarm? Having set this foundation, Robinson goes on to connect the politics of

[237] Robinson, Jackie. "Come Back, Africa Review." *New York Post,* 9 May 1960, p. 46.

segregation and racialized poverty that the film highlights with the struggles of Black people in the U.S. who were dealing with practically mirroring circumstances. Robinson writes,

> "It is also alarming in another sense. Though the South African pattern does not exist in all details in our own country, the basic ideas of American racial segregation and South African apartheid are one and the same. Few, if any, films have been made which as movingly document the effects of segregation upon Negro Americans. But the Supreme Court recognized the untold human tragedy inherent in the matter when, in its unanimous 1954 decision against the doctrine of 'separate but equal,' it declared that segregation affects the hearts and minds of Negro children 'in a manner unlikely ever to be undone.' Thus, the significance of 'Come Back, Africa' is just as pertinent here as in South Africa."[238]

In this passage, Robinson describes how the film evokes a history that links American segregation to South African apartheid, which simultaneously implies a Pan-African consciousness born in confrontations with these systems of anti-Blackness, and bred and maintained in these settler colonial societies. Along with the subjugation and repression of Black bodies in these communities, it is the limitations to Black peoples' mobility, both socially and spatially, that characterize the discursive link between them and what became the basis for the ways they engaged in creating spaces for transnational Pan-African solidarity. *Come Back, Africa* then is a critical document that engages U.S. Black peoples' connection to continental Africa through the discursive construction of the antagonism between Blackness and modernity created within these particular settler colonial societies.

I pair these productions not just because of their importance to the cultural history of South Africa, their transnational successes and linkages, and their engagement with Black township life, but also because they both rely heavily on progressive white interlocutors who create, own, fund and guide the artistic direction of these projects. While these projects all enabled many white and Black South African cultural producers to travel the world, earn a living, and raise political consciousness—as well as fight apartheid and anti-blackness both

[238] Ibid

domestically and abroad by appealing to white audiences around the world— these projects were particularly profitable for their white interlocutors, both financially and with respect to the prestige they brought to their careers and public personas. With their reputations and finances on the line, these well-intentioned white liberals often produced sophisticated forms of covert anti-Blackness that caused unexpected and unintended consequences in the making of these productions.

King Kong was seen as a success not only because it packed houses and garnered rave reviews, but more importantly because it represented what racial co-operation could look like in South Africa without the racist policies of apartheid. This was the narrative advanced in the press by the show's creators and producers and in show advertisements, and which has remained the enduring narrative legacy of the play. Irene Menell, one of the people who originally conceived the idea of the musical, reflected on the racial cooperation legacy of the play. In an interview for a "King Kong South Africa—A Reflection," a short promotional documentary made to complement the 2017 run of *King Kong*, Menell said, "Were we conscious of it at the time, I'm not sure but with hindsight it was certainly an extraordinary contradictory phenomenon in the context of South Africa at that stage and I think very, very important in terms of perceptions, white and black, of what could be, of what could be South African in the best possible sense."[239] Menell later went on to say, "It was a demonstration of what South Africa could be demographically in terms of people enjoying each other and enjoying things together."[240] There is little doubt a great time was had by the cast and crew while rehearsing for the play in mixed company, everyone working collectively with little experience in the world of theatre, to make something brilliant, powerful and enduring; something that would stand the test of time.

[239] "King Kong South Africa - A Reflection." *YouTube,* uploaded by TheFugardTheatre, 24 July 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_-JOYA2Cn-4.
[240] Ibid

However, this racial utopia manufactured by the show's producers and the media, and the nostalgia it created, was in many ways a farce. Though touted as a perfect mesh of Black and white, as an atmosphere of racial harmony and equality, when one scrutinizes the roles of white and Black people in the creation of *King Kong*, the division of labor becomes increasingly problematic. Esmé Matshikiza, widow of Todd Matshikiza, spoke of this division in "King Kong South Africa – A Reflection," pointing out that only "one person in the production team was a Black man and that was Todd, the rest were white. But the whole, the actors and the instrumentalists were all Black."[241] This was highlighted with the hiring of Leon Gluckman as Director, Stanley Glasser as Musical Director, Pat Williams as Lyrics Writer, and Arnold Dover as Choreographer, all of whom were white and rounded out the production team. With a cast of sixty including 12 more musicians that made up the band all of whom were Black, "the division of labor remained profoundly racialized." [242]

King Kong's director, musical director, choreographer, lyrics writer, and producers (everyone except Todd Matshikiza who composed the music for the play)—were all white people who received much credit, reward and praise for their work. Yet, the execution of their jobs and their subsequent contributions were only possible because of the tireless, uncredited and (financially and otherwise) un-rewarded work of Black artists. Todd Matshikiza, "[the] talented polymath—teacher, pianist, composer, radical, and *Drum* journalist—whose range of interests and ideas [typified] the intellectual leaders of the decade,"[243] and composer of the music for *King Kong*, wrote of his and others' exploitation as Black thinkers and musicians in the making of the play in vivid, humorous and ironic detail. Though long, I felt compelled to include the following quote in its entirety:

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[241] Ibid
[242] Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. (1994), p. 22
[243] Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. (2004). p. 100

> "I think King Kong will make a marvellous excuse for a theatrical production, your people are so much alive especially for this sort of thing. I think it's perfect for any innuendos. I will put some of the language down as spoken in the township, can you give me a few phrases, for instance what do you say when a policeman approaches, what is the lingo? More and more white people came around black people telling us to never mind the regulations let's get to Rupert's place and put down as much African lingo as we can although Rupert's place is in the heart of the White kingdom and blacks are shot at sight after nine, 'specially if you're talking some lingo. 'Tell us Gwigwi, how did King Kong, who was King Kong, how, where, what was he? Dance us the dance of joy. Tell us how he lived. We know how he died.' Harry left for Bloemfontein. The story wasn't finished. Patricia said, 'I'll try to finish it.' Black man, and white woman caught up in the intrigue of a theatrical project. 'Pat, we finish rather late tonight and I haven't got a pass.' 'I'll write you one. Let's just finish this bit.' 'Better let Rupert write one, 'cause he's a man. The p'lice won't say how can you work for a woman.' Woke Rupert up to write, 'This, to whom it concerns, is to certify my houseboy so-an'-so, was working late tonight till this morning, in fact, and since I'm not allowed to keep him overnight under the Locations-in-the-sky Act I'm letting him off this morning. This pass is valid till four a.m.' Rupert said, 'Let's have an evening purely for our own entertainment. Let's call the chaps from the Jazz workshop, come and have snacks and we'll put them in a good mood for playing, give them some apple fizz, goes very well with a jazzy mood. And we can ask some of the white chaps with lots of money to come and enjoy the evening…' When Rupert arrived we were ticking nicely, ready to sing, dance, anything. We acted the King Kong story almos' like it had been written already and wanted only the finishing touches. Rupert said to me, 'This thing is too good to let go. Get some music written and let's get cracking with the show.' The show was ready and Rupert went around selling it. For us. He went around all the big music people in Johannesburg and they told him, 'We can't give you all that much money, man, are you mad? Besides you're spoiling these boys, they're used to playing for five bob a night.'"[244]

Matshikiza remembered multiple moments of exploitation not only as it pertained to him, but to other cast mates, too. From the plot line, to the lingo in the script, to the hours spent laboring on the script (even when this labor was illegal and potentially dangerous for him), to the dance and the music, at every level of this production Matshikiza and his compatriots had a role and were central to the show's creation, content and development. Jonas Gwangwa, a member of the orchestra, corroborates Matshikiza's feelings in a 2000 interview with *Ubuyile.* In the article, he remembered how he and renowned trumpeter Hugh Masekela were used as copyists for the musical arrangements and orchestrations of Matshikiza's music, while musicians Kippie Moeketsi, Mackay Davashe and Sol Klaaste worked alongside musical director Spike Glasser. Matshikiza talked about these times as some of the worst of his life, explaining this memory in graphic and frightening detail:

[244] Matshikiza, Todd. *Chocolates for My Wife*. (1982), pps. 121-22

> That time onwards began the most arduous time of my life. Every night I dreamed I was surrounded by pale skinned, blue-veined people who changed at random from humans to gargoyles. I dreamed I lay at the bottom of a bottomless pit. They stood above me, all around, with long, sharpened steel straws that they put to your head and the brain matter seeped up the straws like lemonade up to a playful child's thirsty picnic straw. I screamed, yelled myself out of the nightmare, and fell off my bed each night I saw the brain straws. I dreamed Black names were entered from the bottom of the register and White names from the top. And when a black man told a white man to go to hell, there was no hell. And when a white man told a black man to go to hell, the black man did go to hell… [After rehearsal] I am on the brink of a nervous collapse because I have been listening to my music and watch it go from black to white and now purple."[245]

This perpetual dream denotes a deep-seated fear of and loathing for the exploitation Matshikiza felt in the production of this play. It also speaks to the unrelenting sense of powerlessness that Black artists knew all too well, as the pilfering of their talents, knowledge and experiences for the profit of white people was always present in their lives and was foundational and innate to apartheid South Africa. These memories, however, along with stories of the production team paternalistically reprimanding Black cast members for drinking alcohol or stories of Black artists being forced to work through injury and other personal crises,[246] are not the ones that make up the lasting memories of the play, at least not the ones nostalgia remembers. In her firsthand account detailing the entire story, from the creation to the reception of the play entitled *King Kong: A Venture in the Theatre* (1960), Mona Glasser, the wife of Musical Director Stanley "Spike" Glasser, paints the picture, as do others including Harry Bloom (in his *King Kong* book and for articles in *Drum)*, that the heavy lifting of crafting the play was done by the production team, and that contributions made by Black people were minimal and even those were mediated through the direction of the white production team. This invented narrative highlights a paternalistic and savior mentality steeped in racism and sexism evident in the way white contributors referred to working with Black contributors on the play. Glasser,

[245] Ibid, pps. 122-23; 125
[246] An example of these experiences can be found: Glasser, Mona. *King Kong: A Venture in the Theatre*. (1961), pps. 39-41

when narrating Arnold's challenges with choreographing Africans, gives a strong glimpse into this mentality:

> "Arnold had worked with Africans on the choreography for a film and so started the *King Kong* rehearsals with a fair idea of what Africans can and cannot do. 'Their indigenous movement is most virile and rhythmic, and their dance potential is magnificent', he said. 'Unfortunately there is *no* training whatsoever, and this limits a choreographer tremendously. One of the difficulties, of course, is that they are used to *ex tempore* expression. I'm sure', he added, 'that Spike has this problem with the music too'… 'The men for example have now learnt to do a simple *tour en l'air*… The idea of "daintiness" in women is a bit alien, but with a little training these dancers could be breathtaking."[247]

These comments are riddled with characterizations of Africans as primitive, and relying on their primal instincts and natural talents rather than on training, rehearsal and study. In these comments, it is Arnold's intervention that would teach the men simple movements and expose African women, devoid of "daintiness," to express this characteristic of true womanhood innate in those outside of these African women's geography or racial background. This is communicated in the photos taken by Ian Berry for *Drum*, especially in the April 1959 issue that featured a photo essay about the success of racial collaboration in *King Kong*. "Black and White Sweat Together to Make King Kong Opera a Smash-Hit," includes several images of multiple Black performers huddled around a lone white person giving direction, these photos conveying an obvious hierarchy in the rehearsal space. These sentiments are also expressed in Glasser's text by Producer Leon Gluckman who, in response to complaints by much of the cast that they were being overworked in the rehearsals leading up to opening night, furiously responded:

> "I don't care a damn if the voices are feeble and the cast half-dead. This is the first time the Africans are getting a chance to show what they can do. I want the audience to enjoy an evening of fully professional entertainment. We've had enough patronizing whites saying 'How sweet' and 'How clever'. They are going to forget that they are watching a bunch of black people. They are not going to be given the opportunity to 'make allowances'. Every cue is going to be right on time, every speech word perfect, every movement self-assured, if it kills them—and me."[248]

[247] Ibid, p. 37
[248] Ibid, p. 46

Gluckman's words underscore how he perceived his actions as helpful to the African cause. What shines most brightly in Gluckman's quote, however, is his desire to bolster his own ego and prove "patronizing whites" wrong by creating such a Westernized spectacle that this, now "professional," Black cast would rid itself of any traces of its Blackness. Blackness here is perceived as a lack, as an inferiority that is obvious and pathological. Ultimately, for Gluckman, Arnold and the rest of the *King Kong* production team, the trick to making this play a success was not in showcasing the brilliance and nuances of African performance and culture (these were only recognized as pre-modern constructions by the production team) but instead to mask the innate Africanness in its cast and feature their ability to perform in a traditional theatrical show designed for Western sensibilities. Doing this would showcase this Black cast's value as performers and ultimately, as human beings.

One also feels this same tension when reviewing texts that speak of the creation of *Come Back, Africa.* In these texts, specifically his autobiographical text, *Come Back Africa: Lionel Rogosin – A Man Possessed*, and in the official *Come Back, Africa Press Kit*, Rogosin is constantly referenced as the sole visionary, the creator, the one who sacrificed the most, the one who would get the film done whether or not he was harmed in the process and, ultimately, as "a man possessed." Rogosin places himself at the center of this storyline and in the process belittles the contributions of the mostly Black cast. However, most importantly, by doing this Rogosin ignores the contributions of two writers, Bloke Modisane and Lewis Nkosi. Both Sophiatown residents, Modisane and Nkosi played pivotal roles in every part of the film, from casting to crafting the plot, to introducing Rogosin to the intricacies of Black township life across the board. Morris Hugh and Can Themba, colleagues of Modisane and Nkosi, were also advisors whose work was critical to the execution of the film. One of the most important scenes of the

film, the shebeen scene in which Themba and Modisane lead a discussion critiquing white liberals, was included because these individuals made similar arguments in the presence of Rogosin, who then decided to put such a conversation in the film. From this, Rogosin learned to be critical of liberals and his own liberal leanings. He writes, "Liberalism seems to have no probing sense that society must be profoundly changed in order to eliminate some of the worst evils that mankind suffers from, and just behaving like a gentleman and talking nicely doesn't help anything, unless you're willing to do something about a system as awful as apartheid. I really could hardly blame the Africans for being fed up with the liberals, and it made me skeptical about myself, having considered myself a liberal at one time."[249] Though this analysis is astute and important, he is not able to be as critical of himself in other moments and spaces with regard to how he positions himself as the most important actor and individual with the most to lose in the making of this film.

For instance, Rogosin speaks of a time he was mad at Nkosi for asking him for a ride home late one night after a long day shooting and strategizing for the film. It was highly illegal for a Black man to be caught without a pass late at night, and if Rogosin were caught transporting this passless Black man, it would have meant disaster for the prospects of finishing the film.[250] This was something the *King Kong* production team had to consider and remedy as well. With rehearsals going past midnight, "lateness and absence were permanent factors to be coped with. Transport, illness, responsibilities at home *and the endless brushes with the law which Africans suffer* were often the totally valid excuses (emphasis mine)."[251] In response, they created a special "King Kong Pass" for their Black cast and crew, and provided a special charter bus to take them home after rehearsal. This, however, did not always prevent trouble with the

[249] Rogosin, Lionel, and Peter Davis. *Come Back Africa: Lionel Rogosin - a Man Possessed*. (2005), p. 38
[250] Ibid, p. 32
[251] Glasser, Mona. *King Kong: A Venture in the Theatre*. (1961), p. 39

law for African cast and crew. Matshikiza largely credits having suggested to his wife that their family leave South Africa for good to a humiliating and traumatic confrontation he had with police while he waited outside the rehearsal space for the charter bus, his King Kong pass and chocolates for his wife in hand.[252] But Rogosin completely ignored the fact that for Nkosi, a Native Black South African, being out past the Native curfew could have meant large fines, jail and even death. Rogosin also completely missed the fact that Nkosi was working overtime on this film while also being a full-time Black laborer, resident and family man in this apartheid country. Nkosi's sacrifice surely warranted the risk of a ride home, and his safety, as a human being was surely more important than the safety of the film. This is just one example of many during the making of this film that Rogosin positioned himself in the role of the individual making huge sacrifices necessary for this film to help expose the conditions of apartheid and in turn help save its Black residents. In doing so, however, he severely minimalized if not purged from the record entirely the invaluable contributions of individuals like Modisane and Nkosi.

The erasure of the contributions of Black people to the vision and development of these cultural productions is particularly evident by the changes made to *King Kong* in preparation for its 1961 London theatrical run. In *Chocolates For My Wife*, Matshikiza speaks about a meeting he attended at the Eloff Hotel de Luxe alongside Arthur Goldreich and Harry Bloom. The men met with an English businessman who was looking to purchase the show for a run in London. Matshikiza was only invited because prior to this meeting he told Goldreich, "Tell them to stop writing me in the register from the bottom, and having meetings without me although it's about my music."[253] The entire scene was one filled with disrespect, harassment and belittlement. Matshikiza was questioned by hotel staff about his presence at the meeting; and at the close of

[252] Matshikiza, Todd. *Chocolates for My Wife*. (1982), p. 124-27
[253] Ibid, p. 123

the meeting, the businessman insulted Matshikiza's music with an underhanded comment. The Englishman directed *King Kong*'s team to "keep the show going, make the improvements [he] suggested." Because of course, "[o]nly the best is good enough for London."[254]

These "improvements" were what led to Matshikiza being "on the brink of a nervous collapse" as he had "been listening to [his] music and watch[ed] it go from black to white and now purple" by "the hands of music director, Stanley Glasser, who essentially removed the African township character from the London arrangements"[255] during rehearsals. The 2017 production team for *King Kong* was highly critical of these revisions, which became a central issue they sought to rectify as they prepared for the 21st century version of the play. Jonathan Munby, the director of the 2017 production, pointed out a couple of issues with these revisions that they planned to address in the new run, one of which "is the scale of the West End show."[256] For Munby, "Here it feels like just another West End production. All authenticity and originality is lost in an attempt to create a quintessential Broadway sound. There is, in many ways, a cheapening of it all. It is loud, it is bombastic and blown through the roof in terms of scale. It was Westernised in a way now that feels offensive."[257] Particularly offensive were the curious additions made by the leadership of the original production in hopes of authenticating the South Africanness of its Black cast. This was done to make the story more palatable for European audiences, who relied heavily on stereotypes to understand the people and culture of Africa. For example, Munby says, "A gumboot dance was added that makes no sense but it was put there because it was deemed a quintessential piece of South African culture that audiences wanted to

[254] Ibid, p. 124
[255] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008), p. 216
[256] Thamm, Marianne. "King Kong lives again: Iconic 1950s musical revival set to be highlight on SA 2017 cultural calendar." *The Daily Maverick*, 10 Jan 2017, dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-01-10-king-kong-lives-again-iconic-1950s-musical-revival-set-to-be-highlight-on-sa-2017-cultural-calendar/. Accessed 18 April 2018.
[257] Ibid

see."[258] The bizarre addition of a gumboot dance to a story about a boxer in the townships was a way of continuing to characterize African culture as fixed in a historical imaginary, making the play and its cast recognizable to the London audience. For Ansell, *King Kong*'s use of "every stereotype… must have been immensely comforting, allowing them to admire the talent of the black cast (for there was genuine resentment of the absurdity of segregation) while not really challenging the cartoon of township life that conventional wisdom drew."[259]

Come Back, Africa dealt with its own internal racial tensions during the making of the film. The film is largely celebrated for having a progressive white director who made a film that critiqued apartheid for its structural racism and how he was able to work so positively with his Black cast, advisors and international crew to produce this cinematic masterpiece. However, there were racial tensions on set, in particular Rogosin's conflict with Morris Hugh, one of the only so-called Coloured actors on set and also one of Rogosin's advisors. This conflict exposed Rogosin's deep-seated racist views of the so-called Coloured population of South Africa. To this conflict, he writes:

> "As I got to know Morris and to hear about coloured people, I realised that in human terms, in psychological terms, the coloured people of South Africa were the really great tragedy of the country… coloureds seemed to have a misery and an inferiority. It was quite obvious that they really didn't know where they belonged or what they were… Since they had special privileges due to their race, and yet not enough privileges to be accepted, they became the worst racists of all."[260]

Like Bessie Head, Hugh struggles through some of the same issues with regards to his so-called Coloured identity. This is evident in the shebeen scene in *Come Back, Africa*, when he speaks of wanting to belong to somewhere or something, being that he is "the bastard of this country." Hugh says in this scene that, "My father is a European, my mother is an African, I'm the bastard, I belong to no group." So, though Rogosin's feelings about the so-called Coloured

[258] Ibid
[259] Ansell, Gwen. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*. (2004). p. 104
[260] Rogosin, Lionel, and Peter Davis. *Come Back Africa: Lionel Rogosin - a Man Possessed*. (2005), pgs. 32-33

community were not atypical of the time and was something people within the community were coming to grips with themselves, it was those feelings, widespread and common within South African society, that produced these internalized issues and the desire to belong; the same struggle and longing is clear in Elizabeth, the main character of Head's story *A Question of Power*.

Though both *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa* may have missed the mark of being the self-appointed beacons of racial progress for a future South Africa in the process of their creation, they did do some important things for their Black casts and communicated important struggles faced by Black people under apartheid's rule. They both allowed peripheral journalists and thinkers to levy sophisticated critiques of the apartheid regime like the satirical and ironic one *Drum* writer Nat Nakasa wrote for *King Kong* in the magazine's February 1961 issue. He wrote, "Now, for a word about Dr. Verwoerd and his government. Nobody will ever know how much goodwill the Government have earned themselves and the Union (Is it Republic now?) by allowing King Kong to go. Better ambassadors they have never sent out. For one thing, the outside world will believe it now when the Government asserts that the African here is generally more developed than his counterparts in the rest of Africa. What a pity it is illegal to toast my Government with a sherry or Scotch for this rare display of sanity!"[261] Nakasa confronts various contradictions in this passage, from Black South Africans as disenfranchised ambassadors, to the absurdity of Black South Africans as more developed or more modern than the rest of Africa, especially considering the fact that they were not even allowed to drink in the country. Also, the play itself levied its own form of critique. As ethnomusicologist and cultural critic David Coplan

[261] Nakasa, Nathaniel. "God Help the English." *Drum,* Feb. 1961. p. 47

notes, though "the play did not make a strong political statement… it did show something of the hardships, violence, and frustration of African township life."[262]

Coplan also argues that the play, though not nearly as successful as originally predicted by the cast, did allow several of its members to begin to navigate careers outside of South Africa. Coplan notes that "many of the cast, including Peggy Phango (who had replaced Miriam Makeba, already pursuing her career in exile in New York) and the four Manhattan Brothers, stayed on to pursue performing careers outside South Africa."[263] Todd Matshikiza had already used the excuse of *King Kong*'s London run to obtain visas for himself, his wife and their children to move to London prior to the cast's arrival. This enabled him to pursue a career outside of South Africa and escape the inhumane conditions of apartheid (he didn't find the conditions in London to be much better, however).

Come Back, Africa played an important role in South African artists beginning international careers in exile, as well. In particular, the film played a key role in Miriam Makeba becoming an international superstar. Makeba's small but memorable role in the film where she sang two songs for Hugh, Nkosi, Themba and others during the shebeen scene, was highlighted by her rendition of "Lakutshn, Llanga." The song tells the story of an individual searching for their partner all night, going from jails to hospitals, to no avail, and describes the traumatic reality of the violent conditions of apartheid that meant a person could disappear without a trace for myriad reasons.[264] This role made her a fan favorite and she was invited along with Rogosin to attend the Venice Film Festival to support the film. While in Europe, she was approached by American activist, and film and music star, Harry Belafonte, who eventually became her friend

[262] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008), p. 215
[263] Ibid, p. 216
[264] "Exiles: Miriam Makeba." *TWO*. BBC. MCV-1386. AudioVisual Archive, RIM.HAF.2013-0712. UWC – Robben Island Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 20 Sept. 2017.

and mentor. Belafonte, along with TV Host Steve Allen, helped her obtain a visa to come to the U.S. and be a guest on *The Steve Allen Show* in November 1959. Soon many of South Africa's most influential jazz musicians would follow suit, including "Dorothy Masuka, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, Dollar Brand, Letta Mbulu, [and] Caiphus Semenya,"[265] all of whom were performing and living in places across the globe by the late 1960s.

Conclusion

In the midst of modernizing South Africa and the National Party tightening its reins of control on the country through nation-building projects of heightened repressive measures and the institutionalization of apartheid law, cultural producers took up these themes exposing the quotidian consequences of them on non-white communities as a critique of the regime, but also as a form of cathartic release and strategy for mental and literal escape. No productions exemplify this genre of cultural works better than *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa*. These productions cover several of the most persistent topics and critiques of this genre at the time, including daily urban life, shebeens, gangsterism, the ubiquitous power of white authority over Black lives, madness, rage, frustration and even moments of joy. However, with the support of white money and resources as well as—at least in *King Kong's* case—the narrative being tailored in a way that would make it less threatening to white audiences, these productions enjoyed great acclaim and success. This success allowed cast members of both productions to leave the country for film festivals and performances abroad, many for the first time, in order to experience the world free of the repressive apartheid conditions of their home country.

Unfortunately, being outside of their home country would turn out to be a foreshadowing of the years to come for many of these artists who would find themselves searching for

[265] Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008), p. 217

belonging in exile. Due to the government's strategic assault on oppositional voices within the country, South African cultural producers alongside political leaders and activists became key targets for the government to silence. With this being the reality of the times, the 1960 post-Sharpeville government used banning and exile as central to their assault on dissenting voices in the country. Because of this, many artists involved with *King Kong* and *Come Back, Africa*, after leaving the country to enjoy the successes of their productions, weren't allowed to return to South Africa until the 1990s. Others died in exile.

These first two chapters emphasize the counter cultural development of an urbanized Native Black South African community that consisted of various disparate Native Black South African ethnicities and communities. The South African government forged this in order to control labor and access to citizenship within its new South African political state. In the next chapter, I turn my attention to the African National Congress (ANC) and its radio program, "Radio Freedom," in exile. As situated within a banned and exiled political organization as well as being a media outlet and vehicle of cultural expression, this radio program became doubly a target for the South African government's silencing initiative. In the chapter, I look at the founding of the program, what its goals were, how it grew, how it was maintained in exile and what segments of the program allowed for the ideological growth of the organization as the truly Pan-African vanguard for the liberation of South Africa. In so doing, my investigation of the ANC Women's Section radio segment, "Dawn Breaks," uncovers a vital and often overlooked segment of Radio Freedom that was central to the consciousness raising of the people of South Africa and the ANC as a general body.

Chapter 3 – Armed Propaganda: *How Radio Freedom Fought Apartheid from Exiled Barracks*

> Sons and Daughters of Africa…
>
> Our house is on fire… Men and women, including my wife, rot in cells under Vorster's vicious laws to imprison without trial. Men wait in the death cells to be hanged. Men die for freedom…
>
> In the face of violence, men struggling for freedom have had to meet violence with violence. How can it be otherwise in South Africa? Changes must come. Changes for the better, but not without sacrifice. Your sacrifice. My sacrifice…We face tremendous odds. We know that. But our unity, our determination, our sacrifice, our organisation are our weapons. We must succeed! We will succeed!
>
> Amandla!
>
> - Inaugural Broadcast On ANC Radio by Walter Sisulu, 26 June 1963[266]

The epigraph above is an excerpt of what Walter Sisulu, the first Political Commissioner of the ANC armed wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), said during the first radio broadcast of any form by the African National Congress (ANC). The African National Congress, originally the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), was founded on 8 January 1912 as a Pan-African organization whose primary goal was to secure civil and political rights for (Native) Black South Africans as well as other marginalized South African communities. Changing its name in 1923, the ANC by the 1940s added the dismantling of apartheid to its primary mission. Following the Sharpeville Massacre in March of 1960—where 69 mostly Black South Africans were killed and 180 others were injured after police opened fire into a crowd of peaceful protestors rallying to oppose the apartheid pass laws—and protests led by the ANC and their rival Pan-African Congress (PAC) in the Massacre's aftermath, the administration of the National Party's Hendrik Verwoerd banned the ANC and PAC on 8 April 1960. This banning caused many ANC members to leave the country in exile, while many others went into hiding and attempted to fight the National Party government from within the country. If a banned

[266] Sisulu, Walter. " Broadcast on ANC Radio by W.M. Sisulu." *Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, compiled and authored by Padraig O'Malley*, 26 June 1963, omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv03445/04lv04015/05lv04016/06lv04017/07lv04018.htm.

person was caught or one was found supporting the ANC in any way, they could be jailed, fined, or even executed.

A few of those who went into hiding including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were housed by members of the banned South African Communist Party (SACP) at Liliesleaf Farm, the SACP headquarters located just outside of Johannesburg. It was during this time that these individuals decided that, due to the insistence of violence from the apartheid government directed at the ANC and their constituency, they would abandon the ANC's long-time liberation strategy of non-violence and create a military organization to fight apartheid through the implementation of guerilla warfare and sabotage campaigns. This military organization would come to be called "uMkhonto weSizwe" or MK for short. After two years of attacks carried out by the MK between 1961 and 1963, many ANC and MK leaders and general members, Mandela and Sisulu among them, had been arrested and sent (or would soon be sent) to the Robben Island Prison to serve life sentences. However, before being captured by police in the Liliesleaf raid of 11 July 1963, Sisulu—who was under banning orders at the time along with comrades from the SACP and Indian Congress—would air the first clandestine ANC radio broadcast on 26 June 1963.

The transcript of Sisulu's speech during this inaugural episode, as seen partially in the epigraph, expresses the tremendous obstacles the ANC and the larger Black South African community faced in this moment and foreshadowed the trials that were to come for the organization and its followers. Speaking of banishments, political imprisonments, abuses of power, violence, forced removals and pass laws, Sisulu insisted that every South African be prepared to meet the violence of the National Party apartheid government with violence, to be ready to sacrifice their lives if need be, and to follow the ANC's lead to liberation. Sisulu

admitted they were up against "tremendous odds" but believed that they would surely succeed. He also stated that the ANC would lead the people with "new methods of struggle." It is clear that he thought this would be done within the nation's borders but instead, due to the imprisonment of most of the ANC leadership including himself, the ANC was soon forced to leave the country and reorganize itself in exile.

This chapter looks at the African National Congress' use of Radio to combat apartheid while in exile. Following the arrests of much of the ANC membership and the organization's banning in South Africa, the ANC and MK left South Africa and set up operations in African led, recently independent nations such as Tanzania. Tanzania was the first exiled headquarters of the ANC but by the early 1970s, the ANC would move its headquarters to Lusaka, Zambia, where it would remain until the organization's banning order was lifted in February 1990. ANC radio followed the migration of its parent organization. After its inaugural clandestine "Freedom Radio" broadcast in South Africa in 1963, ANC radio in exile started in Tanzania with a 15-minute slot on "The Voice of Freedom" radio program in the late 1960s, then moved to a five-days-a-week, hour-long "Radio Freedom" program in Lusaka in the early 1970s. With Lusaka as the ANC and Radio Freedom headquarters in exile, Radio Freedom at its height had 6 stations in operation in Africa in as many countries. Radio Freedom would operate the entire duration of the ANC's time in exile, officially disbanding in the early 1990s.

As a part of its external mission[267], the ANC used radio as a central figure in its "Armed Propaganda" strategy, in which a guerilla army employs numerous smaller bombings, attacks

[267] 'External Mission' was a term the ANC used from the 1960's -1990's to signal their then primary operations in exile. It also signaled their goal to return to South Africa and overthrow the National Party government through guerilla warfare. After a 1978 policy review following a trip to Vietnam by the Revolutionary Council, the ANC formally adopted a new program called, "The Four Pillars of Revolution," including armed struggle, establishment of underground structures, popular mobilization and international isolation of South Africa that became the basis for their external mission. See: Ellis, Stephen. *External Mission: The Anc in Exile, 1960-1990*. Cary: Oxford University Press, 2014. pgs. 124 and 287.

and other acts of sabotage in conjunction with a strong propaganda machine to broadcast these attacks as just and impactful victories in the struggle against the oppressor. This is done in order to sway popular opinion to the side of the guerrilla army with the hopes of inspiring a mass insurrection. Key factors in achieving the ultimate goal of overthrowing the government through mass insurrection are how these victories are communicated and if they are able to win the minds of the people. To this end, Radio Freedom played a pivotal role in the ANC's liberation struggle.

Radio Freedom helped galvanize support for the ANC's external mission within the borders of South Africa, in their camps in exile, and around the world by communicating the ANC's continuous and steadfast operation abroad, victories in their sabotage campaigns, plans and strategies, and answering listener questions. What Radio Freedom did was announce survival – survival of the revolutionary movement, survival of comrades, survival of friends and family, and survival of South African indigenous cultural politics in exile. More importantly, at least for the purposes of this chapter, radio announced its ultimate goal: to return to South Africa and overthrow the South African apartheid regime.

With a goal of return and seizure, exile for the ANC was always perceived as a temporary condition. Epistemologically, this situated the ANC exile as never seeking, learning or gaining citizenship in a new home, but rather thought of their condition as transitory, merely a means to an end. However, national borders were not the only things transitory for these exiles. In order to return and seize their homeland, they counted on the ANC as an organization to look elsewhere for inspiration, strategy and resources to accomplish this goal. This process enveloped the ANC, its exiled leadership and general members in Black internationalism and the revolutionary politics of the era of decolonization in Africa in the midst of the Cold War. These circumstances ensured that the organization and the people that left South Africa, the politics and experiences

that defined them, would not and could not return—at least not exactly as they were. This implies another kind of transition, a transitory politics and ontology.

"The African National Congress, its Radio, its Allies and Exile" by Historian Stephen R. Davis and "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963–1991" by Historian Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, are two foundational articles on Radio Freedom that discuss the program in distinct but interrelated ways. Davis' essay traces the history of Radio Freedom as a way to discuss the dynamics of the relationship and influence the SACP had with and on the ANC in exile, while Lekgoathi's essay adds to the history uncovered in Davis' piece by focusing on the audiences of Radio Freedom, why and how they listened to Radio Freedom and the impact Radio Freedom had on their lives.

In this chapter, I move this work forward and consider the history of how the ANC and its radio (eventually called "Radio Freedom") developed in exile. I examine the radio programs' structure and content, as well as the importance of the radio programs' various segments, most centrally the ANC Women's Section radio segment, "Dawn Breaks," through a lens that interrogates how the Radio Freedom's programming spoke to the complexities of exile, indigeneity, settler colonialism, and revolutionary politics including armed struggle, armed propaganda and Black internationalism.

The Origins of uMkonto weSizwe (MK) and Radio Freedom

As the ANC was forced into exile following the events of the Sharpeville Massacre, its aftermath and the banning of the organization in South Africa in 1960, they were also forced to rethink the priorities, tactics and organizational structure of the organization.[268] For many ANC leaders, it became clear that non-violent direct action was no longer the single or even a viable

[268] Van, Wyk C, and Luli Callinocos. *Oliver Tambo*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1994. Print. pgs. 289–293.

strategy for fighting the apartheid regime. So, while operating underground around the city of Johannesburg in 1961, a few ANC leaders commissioned its armed wing, uMkonto weSizwe or the MK. MK members were eventually trained for combat and to commit acts of sabotage to disrupt the operations of the Afrikaner led National Party's apartheid government from bunkers in countries like Angola, Zambia and as far away as Egypt. However, while it was a guerilla military organization, it also centered culture and propaganda as key components to its ideological and structural operations. Only a few years after the founding of the MK, the ANC's armed wing hijacked South African airwaves when it broadcast messages over the radio. This radio program, later developing into "Radio Freedom," became an important site of recruitment and organizing for sabotage and protest actions within South Africa, for ANC members and sympathizers still living in the country, and those participating in anti-apartheid struggle throughout the world. Simultaneously, the broadcast became an important radical cultural site as they also played banned music, interviewed banned persons and read banned literature in open opposition of apartheid laws.

The MK was created in June of 1961 when Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo (also a leader in the SACP), Nelson Mandela and Govin Mbeki met in secret to discuss the creation of an armed wing. These four men made up the MK's initial high command with Mandela its first Commander in Chief and Sisulu the Political Commissar. Mandela is the name most commonly known among those who fought for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa, however, it was Walter Sisulu, one of Mandela's mentors in the struggle,[269] who was as important as any other in

[269] Walter Sisulu held many posts in the ANC over the years including an original member of the executive committee as secretary of the Youth League, a member of the Transvaal executive committee, and ANC Secretary-General. As ANC Secretary-General, he was one of the leading voices calling for the Defiance Campaign that began in 1952 with a general strike and was arrested soon after under the Suppression of Communism Act. This would be a consistent theme in Sisulu's life over the next decade where he was arrested, banned and/or put on house arrest a myriad of times under the Suppression of Communism Act – which culminated in him serving 26 years in prison after being sentenced to life with the rest of the infamous "Rivonia Group" beginning in July 1963. Sisulu's wife,

the ideological trajectory the MK and later ANC exiled radio. Sisulu came to be known for his "fearless, totally dedicated and formidable strategic and organisational abilities," which attributed to his lasting legacy as "…the main factor in transforming the ANC into a mass-based militant national organisation."[270] In fact, as both were heavily influenced and molded by the ideologies of Sisulu, the MK and eventually Radio Freedom became key organizing cogs to the launching, proliferation and maintenance of the ANC's membership recruitment and training, international programming, protest strategies and organizational structure while in exile.

With Sharpeville and its aftermath being the backdrop for the formation of the MK, it became clear to the four founders that their defense force had to move beyond non-violent resistance strategies and employ armed combat, sabotage, counter-hegemonic propaganda campaigns and other militant strategies in its fight against apartheid. After writing a constitution that employed a framework based in literature that theorized guerilla warfare from radical Marxists thinkers like Mao and Argentine Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara, to military theorist Carl von Clausewitz, the MK became this defense force.[271] The writing was done at the Liliesleaf Farm,[272] which was owned by Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe (two leading members of the SACP), and also served as the headquarters for the SACP. Since Sisulu and Mandela as well as the ANC, in general, were all banned at this time, this compound became a

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Albertina Sisulu (Thethiwe), who became the first woman member of the ANC Youth League and a formidable Anti-Apartheid activist in her own right, was also one of Mandela's mentors in the struggle. See: Ellis, Stephen. *External Mission: The Anc in Exile, 1960-1990*. (2014), Chapter 1.

[270] "Walter Ulyate Sisulu." *SAHO*, 1 July 2011, www.sahistory.org.za/people/walter-ulyate-sisulu. Accessed 26 Oct 2017.

[271] Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994. Print. pgs. 239-40

[272] This is the farm that was raided for the Rivonia Group in July 1963

vital safe place for them to organize[273]. Once created, the MK wasted no time planning their initial assault on the apartheid regime.

On 16 December 1961, not long after Chief Luthuli, as mentioned in Chapter 1, President of the ANC from 1952-1967, was awarded the African continent's first Nobel Peace Prize, the MK announced its existence with 57 bombings that were quickly followed by New Year's Eve attacks. Prior to these coordinated strikes, the MK released a statement announcing the beginning of their sabotage campaign. An excerpt from the statement reads:

> We of Umkhonto have always sought to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We hope, even at this late hour, that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realization of the dangerous situation to which Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war.[274]

However, the ANC and the MK were not going to hold their collective breathe for "the Government and its supporters" to come "to their senses." In many ways, they knew that they were already engaged in a civil war and it was time equip themselves with the tools to fight it.[275] So, in February 1962, Mandela was sent as a delegate of the ANC to a meeting for the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) in Ethiopia.[276] This kicked off a tour that lasted several months; Mandela visited various African and European countries meeting with high-ranking officials and procuring funds, weapons and other resources

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[273] Originally, the MK was supposed to be separate from the ANC – most of the MK's original membership was made up of white communists who could conceal Mandela and other ANC leaders in their homes – but it shortly became the official armed wing of the ANC. See: Ellis, Stephen. *External Mission: The Anc in Exile, 1960-1990*. (2014), pps. 24-28.

[274] Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. (1994) Print. p. 248

[275] This moment presented huge challenges for organizing against the apartheid regime. With the ANC banned, with the authority allotted to government officials to use the Suppression of Communism Act to arrest and detain anyone for anything, and the proliferation of informants infiltrating the ANC, for one reason or another high-ranking ANC leaders spent much of this time in jails or house arrest under banning orders. This was true of Chief Luthuli, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. When Mandela was arrested on 5 August 1962 it virtually began his life imprisonment that wouldn't be overturned until February 1990. In March 1963, Sisulu was found guilty of furthering the aims of the banned ANC and for his role in organizing a May 1961 stay-at-home campaign. On 20 April 1963, after being placed on house arrest, Sisulu skipped his bail conditions and went underground to the Liliesleaf Farm. It was during this stent underground that on 26 June, Sisulu and friends were able to hijack the South African airwaves and broadcast the first ANC MK broadcast that came to be known later as Radio Freedom.

[276] Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. (1994) Print. p. 250

to aid their fight to end apartheid. This tour ended with his return to Ethiopia to begin a six-month study of guerilla warfare – a course he only completed two months of before being recalled to South Africa by ANC leadership.[277]

What we see in the early formations of the MK—in early sabotage campaigns, travel, training and fund raising—is a persistent and intentional engagement with radical politics and praxis all over Africa and Europe. Much of this formation can be attributed to the ANC's close ties to SACP and their international contacts, especially with Mandela's travel to Europe and even considering the foundational texts used to create the MK constitution. However, in keeping with the founding ideals of the ANC as a Pan-African organization, the ANC's participation in PAFMECSA is just one example of the ANC's centering Pan-African ideals in its liberation theory. So even prior to formal exile, an ideological and organizational transition began to take place within the ANC. By creating its armed wing and abandoning non-violent direct action, the ANC was becoming a different and new organization.

Robeson Taj P. Frazier, when speaking about Gerald Horne's work on Black internationalism and transnationalism, makes an important point about political projects such as social movements and other "imaginings of transformation." He says that they "cannot be examined primarily or rigidly within a national context" but rather "must be comprehended as dialogic," or "in dialogue with global ideas, events and movements."[278] This was how the ANC was to create a new South Africa. This was the process of crafting the MK and the rest of their revolutionary movement in exile including its eventual use of radio. One important site that captured the nationalist imagination of the ANC's dreams for a new South Africa was Algeria.

[277] Ibid, pgs. 250-258
[278] Robeson, Taj P. F. "Sketches of Black Internationalism and Transnationalism." *The Journal of African American History*. 96.2 (2011), p. 231

Mandela once remarked, "the situation in Algeria was the closest model to our own,"[279] and with Algeria gaining its independence from France in July of 1962, the ANC spent considerable time and effort incorporating Algerian liberation techniques and theories into its own liberation strategies.

Frantz Fanon, the Martinique born psychiatrist, decolonial theorist and Algerian National Liberation Front member, was an important critical theorist and intellectual who studied and participated in the Algerian War for Independence. His work would go on to influence decolonial struggles all over the world. Fanon devotes his entire second chapter of *A Dying Colonialism*, (published in 1959 and translated to English in 1965) to the study of the effect of radio on the Algerian war. Fanon argues that radio played an integral and transformative role in the war for independence in Algeria. For Fanon, radio was able to raise the consciousness of the colonized and communicate important strategies and plans from distant locations.[280] Radio was so integral for Fanon that he once stated that buying a radio "meant paying one's taxes to the nation, buying the right of entry into the struggle of an assembled people."[281] Fanon as the quintessential example of the Black international figure—He was born in the Caribbean, was working for Algerian independence and his writing eventually circulated globally—is the foundation of what the ANC in exile, including the organization and its individual members, would become. As the radio was a key component to the Algerian liberation struggle, it was cogent of the ANC and MK to incorporate radio into their external mission.

Between the first sabotage campaigns of 1961 through the year of 1963, the MK carried out more than 200 bombings and other acts against the apartheid state in all major South African

[279] Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. (1994) Print. p. 259
[280] Fanon, Frantz. *A Dying Colonialism*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1965. Chapter 2
[281] Fanon, Frantz, Richard Philcox, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Homi K. Bhabha. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2004. p. 84

cities.[282] Yet the vague mission of these acts of sabotage—to destabilize the economy and inspire a popular insurrection that would see the MK return and liberate South Africa with guns blazing—was unsuccessful.[283] Among other failures, this was the pretext to the ANC and the MK's first endeavor into radio.

The first transmission for ANC radio was broadcast on 26 June 1963 from the home of Archie Levetan in Parktown, a white suburb in Johannesburg.[284] Using a makeshift radio transmitter and tape recorder Levetan, along with Denis Goldberg, Ivan Schermbrucker and Cyril Jones, played a prerecorded 15-minute "Freedom Radio" broadcast featuring the ANC's Walter Sisulu. Sisulu spoke about the urgency of the moment, the need for new leadership in South Africa and championed the necessity to take up arms in violent opposition to the apartheid state. Joining Sisulu was South African Indian Congress member Ahmed Kathrada who spoke of the importance of radio and urged the Indian community to join the struggle.[285] It is unclear how large the audience was for this clandestine foray into radio broadcasting; however, it did set the foundation for the purpose, content and boldness the radio program would embrace for the entirety of the ANC's time in exile.

Fittingly, it was the voice of Sisulu that launched the first broadcast of the program that later became known as Freedom Radio.[286] At the time, Sisulu was a banned fugitive hiding at Liliesleaf Farm. "I speak to you from somewhere in South Africa," Sisulu said, in this brief inaugural broadcast. "Never has the country, and our people, needed leadership as they do now,

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[282] Lodge, Tom. *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1984. p. 233.
[283] To this point, Oliver Tambo said, "Despite repeated attempts to return home in large numbers, this was never achieved." Van, Wyk C, and Luli Callinocos. *Oliver Tambo*. (1994), p. 320. Also, see:
Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 35.2 (2009): 350.
[284] Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009), p. 352. Also see: "Ten Myths About Struggle Icon Liliesleaf." *Sunday Times*, South Africa, 12 June 2011, pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times/20110612/281891589888434. Accessed 22 Oct 2017.
[285] Ibid
[286] Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009). p. 351

in this hour of crisis. Our house is on fire."[287] Sisulu's statement announced the presence of Freedom Radio and the ANC as the organization that would lead South Africa to a prosperous future aligned with the ideals of the Freedom Charter while also boldly rebuking the South African government.[288] This was the mission of the MK and its propaganda wing, to organize and lead the anti-Apartheid struggle in exile.

This initial Freedom Radio was short lived, however. Just weeks later, using a recording of the broadcast and possibly using an informant planted within the ANC, authorities captured Sisulu and comrades at the Liliesleaf Farm in the Rivonia Group raids on 11 July 1963. Also confiscated during the raid were plans for Operation Mayibuye ("come back" in Zulu), a plan to overthrow the South African government through sabotage campaigns and the mobiliziation of the South African masses in a People's War.[289] Facing the death penalty for violation of the 1962

[287] Sisulu's inaugural remarks provide an important critique of exile and the seemingly ubiquitous state power wielded by the South African government. First, his defiant and resolute declaration of his presence in South Africa – remember, he was a banned person who was a fugitive from the law at the time – was a purposeful act of insubordination that willfully disregarded the National Party's ability to control where he or the ANC could or could not be. This is also apparent in his proclamation of South Africa's need for leadership, insinuating a void in leadership at the time. Finally, his house on fire comment suggests a corporal knowledge of statelessness. One can't reside in a burning house, so this recognition by Sisulu gives insight into the ANC, as a Pan-African organization, and their understanding of their relationship to colonial rule. They, particularly Black South Africans (and through a global system of anti-Blackness, Black people writ large), in essence, live in a perpetual state of figurative exile while under the rule of the white supremacist state. Quote from: 'Broadcast on ANC Radio by W.M. Sisulu,' https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv03445/04lv04015/05lv04016/06lv04017/07lv0401 8.htm; also see: Smith, Chris A. "Radio Freedom: A History of South African Underground Radio." *The Appendix*, Austin, 20 Dec. 2013, theappendix.net/posts/2013/12/radio-freedom-underground-radio-in-south-africa. Accessed 26 Oct 2017.

[288] As discussed in Chapter 1, the Freedom Charter was the statement of collective freedom demands developed by the South African Congress Alliance, which consisted of the ANC and its allies, in the 1950's. It was a statement that demanded that the people govern South Africa and expressed a commitment to a non-racial South Africa, meaning that no special political, economic or social privileges would be afforded to any race and all would be equal citizens with equal rights in the country.

[289] Beginning in the late 1970's and early 1980's, the term "People's War" began to be used by the ANC and affiliate propaganda to describe their conflict with the South African government. The concept, used by the Chinese Communist Revolutionary Mao Zendong and later used by the Vietnamese in the Vietnam War, described a conflict between the people or the subordinate masses and a ruling government, class or faction. In a people's war it is important to maintain the support of the masses through propaganda campaigns and to mobilize these masses to engage the enemy deep in the countryside employing guerilla warfare tactics. This was one of the main strategies of the MK and ANC at this time and was effective in rallying support in and outside of South Africa. Radio Freedom and its section radio programs including Dawn Breaks were vital to communicating this people's war strategy to the people and garnering support for this approach. A good example of such a document is seen in a Dawn Breaks

Sabotage Act, 12 ANC members were arrested in the Liliesleaf raid, including Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, and became the defendants in The Rivonia Trial or the "trial that changed South Africa." Eight of the 10 defendants received life sentences including Mandela, Sisulu, Goldberg and Kathrada. Lionel Bernstein and James Kantor were acquitted.

Freedom Radio was only able to broadcast that inaugural program before this raid and with the majority of the people involved in it now serving life sentences, a void was left for this revolutionary radio program. With much of the ANC leadership now imprisoned and the ANC attempting to reorganize itself in exile, the ANC and Radio Freedom would remain relatively quiet over the next several years.

Radio Freedom Reemerges and Takes Shape

There are varying accounts as to when ANC radio reemerges in exile;[290] however, most academic observers agree that it emerges in the then ANC exile headquarters of Tanzania at least by the time of the Morogoro Conference in April 1969.[291] Championed by influential SACP members, the results of this conference yielded comprehensive organizational changes within the ANC. Changes included the ANC formally accepting whites, Coloureds and Indians as members; assigning sole authority for military planning to the Revolutionary Council; and both the ANC

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program timeline from 7 November – 26 December 1985 where there is an emphasis on organizing the people's war: "Women's Radio Programme." 7 Nov. – 26 Dec. 1985. Box 28, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka – Mayibuye PI, ANC Radio Freedom 1982 - 1987. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 11 Sept. 2017.

[290] Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009), p. 360

[291] This conference was held after the ANC's exiled membership began to wane due to issues the rank-and-file membership began to express in the MK camps. First, they noted the staggering bureaucratic divide between accommodations (including food, clothing, housing, etc.) for the rank-and-file in comparison to the leadership. Second, the *mgwenya*, or older generation, were deemed overly authoritarian in their leadership style and in disciplining practices aimed at subordinates. Lastly, and probably the most frustrating for the rank-and-file was the lack of action. They joined the MK to take up arms and infiltrate South Africa win their country back in armed conflict. However, years passed with little to no military action. See: Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009), p. 359. And see: Macmillan, Hugh. *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia, 1963-1994*. Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2013. Print. pps. 106–129: the memorandum itself is at 114–121.

and SACP adopting the *Strategy and Tactics* document previously drafted by Joe Slovo which outlined the organizations' shared vision of armed struggle within South Africa.[292]

While operating in Tanzania, the ANC was granted a 15-minute slot on "The Voice of Freedom," a program broadcast three times a week from the facilities of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), an external shortwave service of the Tanzanian Government to southern African countries. "The Voice of Freedom" differed from the initial Freedom Radio broadcast in that it also featured broadcasts from The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), Zimbabwe African National Union, and the National Liberation Movement of Comoro Islands. This 2-and-a-half-hour program allowed each organization 15 minutes to reach their home audiences and communicate prepared statements.[293] This broadcast was also different than the Freedom Radio broadcast in that it was not clandestine. This was an important moment for the ANC in exile. For the first time, it was able to communicate to a significant number of people within the borders of South Africa that the ANC was alive, well and active abroad.

In 1970, relations between Tanzania and the ANC deteriorated and save for a few representatives, the ANC's administrative offices and military units were temporarily relocated to the Soviet Union until a few months later when they settled in their new headquarters, the former British colony, Zambia.[294] The ANC and its guerilla forces were eventually allowed to return to Tanzania but the ANC's exiled home base would remain in Zambia.

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[292] There were objections with these concessions, especially by the older generation who claimed that the communists were given too much influence into the direction of the ANC's operations in exile and demanded a return to the Africanist ideals of the original Pan-African organization. However, what this did signal was the continued support of an entire movement that was far more organized and experienced in the kind of revolutionary work, the Communist Party. See: Ellis, Stephen, and Tsepo Sechaba. *Comrades Against Apartheid: The ANC & the South African Communist Party in Exile*. London: J. Currey, 1992. Print. pps. 54–56.

[293] Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009), p. 361

[294] Ibid, p. 362

By this time, the ANC and the MK were fully operational in a cell structure[295] and had established camps and operations not only in Tanzania and Zambia, but also in other decolonized Black-run countries including Ethiopia and Madagascar.[296] Zambia eventually became not only the ANC's headquarters in exile but also Radio Freedom's. The first Radio Freedom broadcasts were made from Radio Zambia in 1973. These were hour-long programs broadcast 5-days-a-week and were completely dedicated to the ANC and its agenda. This was huge for the exile movement that continued to lose membership due to lack of combat and major tactical loses, and as the temporary condition of their exile seemed to become more and more permanent.[297] The ability of Radio Freedom to talk directly to countrymen and women within the borders of South Africa—communicating plans, successes and triumphs, and announcing the ANC's continued presence on a seemingly daily basis—was vital to sustaining the ANC's influence over the masses and allowing the ANC to stake its claim as the vanguard movement for the dismantling of apartheid and creating a new South Africa. This allowed for Radio Freedom to grow equally as fast in programming and in influence: With Angola and Mozambique becoming newly independent nations due to the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, the ANC was allowed to negotiate with these countries to establish MK camps in their territories (or, at the very least, permit them to transmit Radio Freedom throughout their territories) thereby exponentially

[295] A clandestine cell structure is a method for organizing a group of people like resistance fighters, sleeper agents or terrorists in such a way that it can more effectively resist penetration by an opposing organization (such as a law enforcement organization). In a cell structure, each small group of people in the cell know the identities of only the people in their cell.

[296] At this time the SACP and ANC operated 4 Tanzanian Camps, which house a population of about 2,000 gurellias. See: Ellis, Stephen, and Tsepo Sechaba. *Comrades Against Apartheid: The ANC & the South African Communist Party in Exile*. (1992) p. 47

[297] Some narratives of these negative conditions in exile can be found at: Turok, Ben. *Nothing but the Truth: Behind the Anc's Struggle Politics*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2003. Print. p. 221; Bottoman, Wonga W. *The Making of an Mk Cadre*. Pretoria: LiNc Publishers, 2010. Print.; and Macmillan, Hugh. *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia, 1963-1994*. (2013). For an unmatched narrative of the tribulations of exile in a single family, see: Schuster, Lynda. *A Burning Hunger: One Family's Struggle Against Apartheid*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2004. Print.

increasing ANC and MK membership, especially with the thousands of youths who were fleeing the country after the Soweto Uprising.[298]

By the late 1970s, Radio Freedom had continued to develop into a popular and well-oiled machine whose DJ's, engineers and technicians were being trained and/or recruited from all over the world, including places like the Netherlands, the U.K., the Soviet Union and East Germany.[299] Due to these efforts, by 1984, Radio Freedom was operating in six countries with radio stations, (also referred to as radio units in some ANC/ Radio Freedom documents) in Angola, Tanzania, Madagascar, Ethiopia, Zambia and Mozambique.

The ANC, its members and Radio Freedom DJ's used Radio Freedom as a way to express their longing for home. Because of its willful defiance of the apartheid regime and constant challenge of the regime's narrative of an orderly, peaceful and prosperous South African citizenry, Radio Freedom was highly illegal and if caught listening, South Africans were subject to large fines and prison sentences. Evading the eye of informers and police became a full-time job for Radio Freedom listeners, so many created small listening parties of close friends and family members, where they would huddle around the radio to listen to the broadcast in the dark with volume low.[300] Still there were others who defiantly listened to Radio Freedom in more public, or at least in less restrictive private settings including shebeens (illicit bars that served

[298] This was a series of demonstrations in opposition to the Bantu Education Act (an Act that would require the language of instruction in all of South Africa to be Afrikaans) held by an estimated 20,000 South African students beginning in the Soweto Township that resulted in police opening fire on children on several occasions over the course of the demonstrations killing 176 young people (though some estimates of casualties go as high as 700). For more information on the Soweto Uprising, see: Nieftagodien, Noor. *The Soweto Uprising*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2015. Print; Brown, Julian. *The Road to Soweto: Resistance and the Uprising of 16 June 1976.* Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2016. Print.; and Ndlovu, Sifiso M. *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of June 1976*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2017. Print.

[299] Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009), pgs. 366-68

[300] Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and Its Audiences in Apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991." *Journal of African Media Studies. 2.2* (2010), p. 151

illegal spirits),[301] churches, and mosques. It could also be heard playing on buses and in taxis. Though outlawed, it became a part of the quotidian experience of South Africans on the fringes of society, especially Black South Africans. It became a way of achieving the ANC's goal to "politicize everybody" in the country.[302]

Radio Freedom Programming and Content

Radio Freedom transmissions, beginning at Radio Zambia and eventually expanding to their other units, had prerecorded introductions that famously opened its broadcasts with the sound of machine gun fire followed by the call and response chant, "Amandla Ngawethu," meaning "Power to the People."[303] This was often followed by a repetitive chant of "uMkonto weSizwe," performed by a chorus in harmonization. All stations then stated some variation of, "This is Radio Freedom, the voice of the African National Congress" and its military wing uMkonto weSizwe, "South Africa's time tested revolutionary movement. Born of the people into the front lines to spearhead the peoples' struggle for the seizure of power from the oppressors; a product of the battles of the African continent for liberation."[304] Machine gun fire then closed the introduction, DJ's gave the station identification and announced the agenda for the day's program.[305] These introductions varied a bit because they were done by the local DJs depending on their unit of operation but all followed this general format nonetheless.

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[301] Black South Africans were not allowed to consume alcohol under the Liquor Act of 1927. This bill also prohibited South African Indians from drinking but with the passage of The Liquor Bill Section 104 of the Liquor Bill of 1928 this prohibition for South African Indians was lifted.

[302] "Victor Matlou Interview by Karel Roscam." *Extra*. DUTCH VPRO TV, Netherlands, 1982. 9011300PEF_C.mov ANC Digital Collection. Africa Media Online, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 25 Oct. 2017.

[303] Smith, Chris A. "Radio Freedom" (2013); Compilation. "Radio Freedom Sign-On." *Radio Freedom: Voice of the African National Congress and the People's Army Umkhonto We Sizwe*, Rounder Records, 2009.

[304] Compilation. "Radio Freedom Sign-On." *Radio Freedom: Voice of the African National Congress and the People's Army Umkhonto We Sizwe*, Rounder Records, 2009.

[305] Dozens for Dawn Breaks Scripts and programme's can be found at: Box 28, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka – Mayibuye PI, ANC Radio Freedom 1982 - 1987. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. The majority these scripts and programme's show this typical order.

Radio Freedom constantly challenged the South African government's stance that Black South Africans did not deserve the protections of the government or deserve the right to be citizens of their home country. This was evident in their call to seize "power from the oppressors," from being "born of the people," and the organization being "a product of the battles of the African continent for liberation," as expressed in the program's introduction. This introduction of Radio Freedom, transmitted before every program, was broadcast in a variety of languages from native South African languages like Zulu and Xhosa to English,[306] reinforcing the ANC's stance that they represented the indigenous people of the land who were part of a bigger struggle to liberate the African continent more generally.

The ANC had long committed itself to this stance that it represented the indigenous peoples of South Africa by contesting Afrikaner's nativist claims to South Africa. Though South Africa officially gained independence from Britain on 31 May 1910 with the establishment of the Union of South Africa[307], this independence just allowed South Africa to sever colonial ties to the metropole, Great Britain. However, the country was still controlled by the minority white population, mostly made up of naturalized white South Africans of British and Afrikaner decent. This ongoing legacy of settler colonialism, including the fight against Afrikaner's claim to indigeneity, was part of the ANC's revolutionary struggle for South Africa. This undoubtedly had a lot to do with the MK's first sabotage campaigns being carried out on 16 December 1961, Dingane's Day[308], signaling their contestation of these settlers' claim to indigeneity by

[306] Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and Its Audiences in Apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991." (2010), p. 151

[307] This came after the Second Boer War and after years of negotiations with the ratification of the South Africa Act in 1909, which was formalized with the establishment of the Union in 1910.

[308] At this time, Dingane's Day was an Afrikaner holiday celebrating the Voortrekker (defined in the Webster's Dictionary as, "Dutch-speaking people who migrated by wagon from the Cape Colony into the interior from 1836 onward, in order to live beyond the borders of British rule") victory over the Zulu army (a major clan in what is today Northern KwaZulu-Natal representing the largest ethnic group in South Africa) in the Battle of Blood River in 1838. This allowed their continued migration into the interior of South Africa in order to settle the land. This

reminding the masses that this day and Afrikaner existence in South Africa was brokered by violent conquest in the early 19th century.

From the adoption of the freedom charter (as discussed in Chapter 1), to the creation of a bureaucracy in exile including shared power and governance, to their sharp critique of the apartheid regime and plans to seize control of their homeland, the ANC's work in exile was deeply informed by nationalist politics. This isn't to say that within the ANC ranks or with allied organizations such as the SACP there wasn't disagreement and contention on these matters; however, nationalism—and a particularly masculine form of it that centered armed conflict, violent revolution and male leadership—became the crux of its underpinnings. It was a nationalism that also contested the National Party's Republic of South Africa (est. 31 May 1961) that disregarded South African citizenship claims from the indigenous peoples of South Africa, which made up the ANC's base. The ANC challenged the idea that the Afrikaner-led National Party and those it served were indigenous to South Africa and maintained that they were settlers, colonizers and oppressors. It was a nationalism that stressed that the peoples' duty was to overthrow the government and seize "power from the oppressors." As was part of every branch of ANC operations, Radio Freedom also conformed to these nationalist politics. The most notable example was in how the program stressed the use of arms in the fight for South African independence.

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migration is known as "The Great Trek." On 16 December 1995, the holiday was officially renamed in South Africa to "The Day of Reconciliation," where the country acknowledges the significance of December 16th both for the Battle of Blood River but also the first sabotage campaigns led by uMkhonto weSizwe against the National Party government on 16 December 1961. In, Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. (1994) Print. pgs. 248-49, Mandela also talks about why the MK chose Dingane's Day to announce their existence, stating, "Afrikaners celebrate December 16 as the triumph of the Afrikaner over the African and the demonstration that God was on their side; while Africans mourned this day of the massacre of their people. We chose December 16 to show that the African had only begun to fight, and that we had righteousness – and dynamite – on our side." (249)

It's not clear when Radio Freedom began to use the machine gun introduction; a 1973 radio report from the Lusaka station makes no mention of this sound effect in the introduction and instead says that the program opened with a song featured on a 1970 album provided by ANC headquarters.[309] However, as Radio Freedom grew in popularity, this sound effect was used. For many listeners, the sound of the machine gun fire alone was inspiration enough in South Africa to continue in the struggle. Lekgoathi, using oral interviews and archival sources to compile his essay, "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963–1991," was able to track listener reactions to the program and how the community of listeners within the borders of South Africa received Radio Freedom. Lekgoathi shows that the machine gun sound in the introduction signaled the unwavering work of the revolutionary movement in exile and elicited a daily re-energizing affective response for many to remain faithful to the prospects of South Africa achieving its dreams of freedom.[310]

Radio Freedom played revolutionary music, reported the news, gave political commentary, conducted interviews, and shared information and plans for ANC campaigns including acts of sabotage for MK members such as general strike plans to be carried out by underground members of the ANC still living in South Africa.[311] This sometimes daily or weekly and many times one- to two-hour-long programming, all depending on which unit was broadcasting and the parameters set by the various stations they operated under, was an effective means of organizing an organization and exiled movement spanning the globe. It gave comrades, friends and family members a way to connect from afar with loved ones at home. It created a

[309] "Report of the Radio Unit to the Propaganda Committee". 6 June 1973. Box 7, Folder 3. ANC-London Internal Propaganda 1973-1985, Text Radio Programme (Radio Freedom) 1973. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017. p. 1.
[310] Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and Its Audiences in Apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991." (2010), p. 143
[311] "Victor Matlou Interview by Karel Roscam." (1982)

sense of community over the airwaves not possible on the ground. Radio Freedom was a spatial argument; it fought to keep exiled ANC leaders in the country of their birth. It gave people avenues to engage in common actions of resistance even from exiled places not controlled by South Africa. In other words, it gave exiles ways to engage home.

Beginning in the late 1970s and in an effort to maximize the impact of programming, Radio Freedom began to take steps to ensure consistent messaging, formatting and structure of radio programming for all Radio Freedom units around the African continent. The ANC Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) was organized into five sub-departments. These included the Publications Office, Library, Technical and Secretarial Staff, Research, Administration and Radio Freedom.[312] The DIP's goal was to organize and run the ANC's propaganda machine to "popularise [their] movement, […] organise the oppressed masses in South Africa for the struggle," and "make known to the people at home and indeed the whole world wide [their] policy, and [them] also, through propaganda expose the manoevres *[sic]* of the enemy thereby alerting [their] people as to the pitfalls intrigues *[sic]* and traps set by the enemy to crush and destroy the struggle and indeed their vanguard movement the African National Congress."[313] As propaganda was understood by the ANC as "one of [their] main weapons in [their] struggle" to eventually achieve their "historical goal, that of overthrowing the fascists in South Africa,"[314] within several archives I found that multiple memos as well as reports and directives from DIP, the ANC Youth League Secretaries, and Radio Freedom administration concerned with ANC propaganda generally, and Radio Freedom specifically

[312] "Department of Information and Publicity Circular to all D.I.P. HQ Personnel". 16 July 1979. Box 27, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017. p. 1.
[313] "Our Approach to Propaganda". ND. Box 27, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017. p. 1
[314] Ibid

emerged during this time period. The central concerns of all of these documents were that Radio Freedom broadcasts were not reaching the goals and impact that the organization desired.

The ANC was well aware that its guerilla operations were insufficient to take on the South African Defense Force alone. The Revolutionary Council decided that an overhaul of their military strategy and propaganda was necessary to combat this issue. As such, the ANC sent a delegation including "MK Chief of Staff Joe Slovo, Cassius Make, Oliver Tambo, and MK Commander Joe Modise"[315] to Vietnam in 1978 to speak with General Vo Nguyen Giap and hear about the lessons they learned from their more than a decade-long struggle against the U.S. and France. Giap spoke about the effectiveness of an "armed propaganda" campaign, in which success is calculated not in outright military victory, but in numerous spectacular attacks intended to have specific political effects. One ideal outcome was to inspire the masses to take up arms and engage in a people's war led by the vanguard guerilla army, which, for the ANC and the South African populace, would be the MK. This is why the ANC in exile stressed galvanizing the people at home and around the world in this fight. The ANC had to create an atmosphere, steer the dialogue and convince the masses they, the ANC, represented the best course forward for South Africa.

Most scholars recognize the ANC's armed propaganda era as beginning on "1 June 1980, when an MK unit detonated oil storage tanks at the Sasolburg refinery complex. In fairly rapid succession, MK guerrillas attacked a number of military and economic installations in South Africa, marking their first successful sabotage campaign in 20 years."[316] As armed propaganda was the strategy, DIP became an important branch of the ANC's exiled structure because it would allow, through Radio Freedom and ANC publications, even small acts of sabotage to be

[315] Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009), p. 368
[316] Ibid

communicated and broadcasted to the masses making the movement seem larger than life. Armed propaganda, then, was a particularly important segment of this nation-building project because the strategy specifically aimed to target and inspire the people to join the struggle. Knowing this, DIP understood that their job of disseminating propaganda was a vital weapon in this fight and as such, it had to be done well. This is why we see such an outpouring of concern in DIP documents, Radio Freedom memos and other ANC documentation in the late 1970s about the effectiveness of the ANC's propaganda wing.

An internal DIP headquarters memo dated 16 July 1979 outlines some of these concerns stating in part, "The state in which our propaganda is at the moment lacks much to be desired." The memo goes on to say, "If this is not quickly combated it will cause serious difficulties which will have far-reaching and grievous consequences…" where "…the movement at home and abroad is greatly hampered."[317] In a report from the Radio Freedom workshop held in Lusaka, Zambia 28-30 April 1983, it is reported that the political impact of Radio Freedom was "At best… very minimal."[318] And a document from the ANC official archives entitled, "Brief Evaluation of Radio Freedom Programmes and Some Proposals" from sometime in the early 1980s, states that the programming "…over the years… has become too usual, too formal and as such monotonous."[319] These issues weighed heavily on the administrations of DIP, Radio Freedom and the ANC's various publications including *Mayibuye*, *Forward*, *Dawn* and *Vow*, and instigated these divisions' review of ANC propaganda outlets and the restructuring of these branches to achieve desired outcomes.

[317] "Our Approach to Propaganda". (ND). p. 1
[318] "Report of the Radio Freedom Workshop Held in Lusaka From the 28 – 30 April 1983 The Year of Unified Action." 28 Apr. 1983. Box 27, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017. p. 10
[319] "Brief Evaluation of Radio Freedom Programmes and Some Proposals." ND. Box 27, Folder 4. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre – University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017. p. 1

Several issues contributed to the perceived lack of effectiveness of ANC propaganda. Receiving reliable feedback was a constant issue for Radio Freedom;[320] however, there was a general consensus that programming had become mundane and was perceived by many as "boring."[321] The ability of ANC DJ's to reach their audience in South Africa was challenging due to issues of marketing and publicity within the country while they were in exile,[322] the jamming of signals by the South African government,[323] and the stations' "weak transmitters also militate[d] against R.F. giving effective political leadership at home."[324] There were also personnel issues for all ANC propaganda where "the lack of personnel working in various publications [was] a contributing factor to the bad state of affairs."[325] As issues arose, they were evaluated and plans were put in place to rectify them. A lot of the time, the solutions implemented were extremely creative and innovative.[326]

In a 1982 interview with Karel Roskam for the Dutch VPRO TV Program, Radio Freedom Director of External Services, Victor Matlou, spoke about the importance of Radio Freedom to the struggle and the ways they were working to remedy issues they were facing.[327] Matlou spoke of Radio Freedom being central to igniting protests, sustaining movements and

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[320] "Report of the Radio Freedom Workshop Held in Lusaka From the 28 – 30 April 1983 The Year of Unified Action." (1983). p. 9.
[321] "Brief Evaluation of Radio Freedom Programmes and Some Proposals." (ND). p. 3.
[322] "Report of the Radio Freedom Workshop Held in Lusaka From the 28 – 30 April 1983 The Year of Unified Action." (1983). p. 11.
[323] Ibid. p. 10.
[324] Ibid. p. 2.
[325] "Our Approach to Propaganda". (ND). p. 1. These issues are also discussed in: "Brief Evaluation of Radio Freedom Programmes and Some Proposals." (ND). p. 3.
[326] Cedric Robinson, who coined the idea of the "Black Radical Tradition," not only considers major radical theorists of Blackness and its construction in his work, but also located the ever-present Black radical tradition that resisted white supremacy and anti-Blackness. Fred Moten contends, as part of the Black Radical Tradition that improvisation is one of the major repertoires that Black communities have used over its history. Such as the innovative ways the ANC in exile addressed issues they faced, Moten thinks of improvisation as a key resource to addressing issues of Anti-Blackness and maintaining this Black Radical Tradition. See: Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Print.; and Moten, Fred. *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*. (2003)
[327] "Victor Matlou Interview by Karel Roscam." (1982)

raising the consciousness of everyday South African citizens through the creation of various campaigns. One that he mentioned was organizing the smuggling of cassette tape recordings of radio freedom broadcasts into South Africa and giving them to bus and taxi drivers to play while working. This was an important step in reaching their target audience and politicizing those living in the country while superseding the government's attempts to block their program transmissions. Matlou also spoke of campaigns to popularize the Freedom Charter in South Africa, which had been banned for over 20 years, allowing many organizations to adopt it into their individual programs. Radio Freedom also played a key role in the protest of the 20-year anniversary of the South African Republic.[328] In 1981, Matlou remembered that Radio Freedom perpetually broadcasted the slogan, "No to the fascist republic and yes to the peoples' republic" for the entire month of May inspiring large segments of the South African population to join together in united labor struggles, and to refuse to celebrate the Republic's 20-year anniversary. Instead, Matlou said, "on more than 3 occasions" the people burned the flag of the regime and flew the ANC's flag in its place. When asked what the ANC needed from the Dutch people in the fight against apartheid and how best to address issues of personnel, Matlou remarked that recruiting trained Dutch journalists and technicians to join Radio Freedom unit staffs, as well as help creating quality programming were all vital when it came to reaching the people and in organizing prolonged struggle.[329] These strategies, combined with solidarity and support beyond fiscal donations, were key for Matlou in letting a country of "marooned" and "imprisoned" people know that they are not alone in this fight.

[328] The Republic of South Africa was founded 31 May 1961. Preceding the Republic was the Union of South Africa founded in 1910.

[329] Davis argues that many European countries sent radio equipment, engineers and other radio resources to the exiled ANC organization as a way to support and aid their war efforts without directly sending monetary contributions or weapons. Davis contends, "Western assistance took this form primarily because donors remained constrained by Cold War-era political sensitivities within their respective nations." Davis, Stephen. "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile*." (2009), p. 365

Matlou's interview showcases the lengths to which the ANC in exile went in order to move the people into a people's war against the apartheid government through its use of Radio Freedom. This work was about raising the consciousness of the people and letting the freedom charter inspire the trajectory of a new South Africa for and of the people devoid of its oppressive government. Exile continued in this case to be a temporary condition, but in many ways it proved, by virtue of their prolonged work and diligence to the cause in exile, that the ANC was in it for the long haul and that their vision for the future of South Africa was a just, merited and desirable outcome for all.

DIP and Radio Freedom leadership also offered important insights as to how to fix the issues of effectiveness the program was facing in the late '70s and early '80s. This brainstorm is recorded in various internal documents and includes ideas such as the possibility of acquiring mobile transmitters or the creation of alliances with radio stations in countries like Nigeria in order to use their superior transmitters and other forms of radio technology to aid in getting more powerful broadcasts into South Africa.[330] They also proposed format changes to radio programming that would include the use of music, satire and written stories; utilizing newspapers more efficiently; breaking up interviews; employing the use of sound effects; dedicating specific days to different agendas and formats; and changing formats periodically to avoid them becoming mundane.[331] There was considerable effort spent considering how to publicize the program including producing "R.F. stickers/Posters/T.Shirts/QSL Cards/Cassettes etc" and ways to improve how they received feedback.[332]

[330] "Report of the Radio Freedom Workshop Held in Lusaka From the 28 – 30 April 1983 The Year of Unified Action." (1983). p. 10.
[331] "Brief Evaluation of Radio Freedom Programmes and Some Proposals." (ND).
[332] "Report of the Radio Freedom Workshop Held in Lusaka From the 28 – 30 April 1983 The Year of Unified Action." (1983). p. 11.

One of the most important changes Radio Freedom made was requiring reporting of unit activities beginning roughly in 1983. By doing this, Radio Freedom's administration could impose mandates of its five stations (located in Luanda, Angola; Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Antananarivo, Madagascar; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Lusaka, Zambia; and adding a seventh station in 1984 in Maputo, Mozambique),[333] and then review their activities and progress. This oversight made considerable inroads in ensuring quality and pleasurable programming, uniformity, a clear direction outlined by the top of the ANC organization, and timely engagement with problems that arose. A document entitled, "Directives to All Radio Units on Envisaged Propaganda Campaigns for the Year 1983," outlines several campaigns the ANC adopted in 1983 as part of its official plan of action that radio units were required to report and promote. These campaigns included actions centered on disavowing the Land Deal, forced removals, The President's Council, Community Councils and The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (OMSBPB).[334] This is an example of ANC leadership dictating radio content to ensure both continuity among radio units and a consistent and prevailing message for anti-apartheid struggle around the world as outlined by the vanguard movement, the ANC. It simultaneously disavowed the policies of the National Party run government, arguing against its treatment of the indigenous population of South Africa and claiming that when the National Party is removed, the nation would prosper under the leadership of the ANC government. Though radio reports, which outlined station activities and reported content discussed on various

[333] See Ibid. pp. 9-10 for the 5 active stations and the looking forward to Maputo station. See "Directives to all R.F. Units." 29 February 1984. Box 27, Folder 4. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017. p. 2. For proof that Mupato station was "working under somewhat difficult circumstances."

[334] "Directives to All Radio Units on Envisaged Propaganda Campaigns for the Year 1983." 1983. Box 27, Folder 4. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017.

programs, appear as early as 1973 in the archive ,[335] it wasn't until 1984 that all radio units were required to create log books for tracking equipment they received from headquarters and the scripts and content covered on each radio program. This directive also required each unit to submit quarterly reports that outlined progress of work, how they implemented directives from headquarters, any difficulties they experienced and the state of affairs within the radio unit.[336] This allowed for the development of new campaigns and initiatives to improve radio programming and to push anti-apartheid struggle forward. With these measures in place, Radio Freedom began to see exponential improvement in its impact both aesthetically and in popularity. What is clear from this history is that the ANC and its propaganda administration were hypercritical of themselves and participated in continuous self-critique. This boded well for the organization because through self-critique, it was able to confront various issues before they became impediments to the movement. Examples of this can be seen in how they strengthened their propaganda machine when issues of effectiveness arose and created the MK after rethinking its political commitments to non-violence and embraced armed struggle.

By the 1980s, the ANC also began to rethink its patriarchal politics. Like many large-scale anti-colonial organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, male leadership dominated the ANC. This led the organization to focus on the issues that predominately effected men in South Africa with little regard to issues that were particular to women, children, youth or any other segment of the marginalized population. Through the work of particularly women and youth comrades, and the organization's willingness to be self-critical, the ANC was able to confront its patriarchy in important ways. This is not to insinuate that problems with regard to patriarchy have ever been eradicated from the ANC, however as discussed in the next section, the organization did actively

[335] "Report of the Radio Unit to the Propaganda Committee". (1973).
[336] "Directives to all R.F. Units." (1984)

and deliberately confront its patriarchal tendencies and implemented several measures and initiatives to empower women comrades within the organization, especially on the airwaves.

Dawn Breaks: ANC Women's Section Radio

"Good evening fellow countrywomen, struggling mothers and daughters of South Africa, combatants of the People's Army Umkhonto weSizwe, compatriots. Greeting you this evening the 17th of January 1985, the year declared by our vanguard movement the ANC as The Year of the Cadre is Tintswalo Mageza. I shall be with you in this 30 minutes programme of Dawn Breaks. Dawn Breaks is the revolutionary voice of the ANC Women's section. We broadcast every Thursday evening at half past nine South African time, from the external service of radio Zambia, Lusaka on the shortwave 31 meterbands 9505 khz."[337] So began the 17 January 1985 broadcast of Radio Freedom's women's program, Dawn Breaks.

In this broadcast, host Tintswalo Mageza paid quick homage to the ANC's 1984 campaigns that supported its theme, The Year of the Women, while providing extended commentary on the main tasks presented in ANC President Oliver Tambo's January 8th statement,[338] which outlined expectations for 1985's theme, "The Year of the Cadre." Mageza's brief comments on The Year of the Women were particularly poignant. She said of it, "We must all in one voice say 'Long live the Year of the Women.' This was a year that added more pages to the glorious history of our struggle especially the contributions made by this powerful contingent of our struggle - the women."[339] In the midst of turning over to a new theme for the new year, Mageza made the important point by saying, "Long Live the Year of the Women" to

[337] "Dawn Breaks Programme of 17/1/85." 17 Jan. 1985. Box 28, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka – Mayibuye PI, ANC Radio Freedom 1982 - 1987. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 11 Sept. 2017. p. 1.
[338] January 8th Statements began in 1972, where the ANC President would give an address recapping the past years' accomplishments and looking forward to the new year. Statements took a hiatus from 1973 until 1979, and have continued until present day. January 8th is the founding date of the ANC.
[339] "Dawn Breaks Programme of 17/1/85." (1985). p. 1.

assert that the powerful history it advanced was not to be placed on the shelf and forgotten, but rather must be continuously elevated as a central feature in the struggle to liberate South Africa. President Tambo's January 8th Statement the year prior in 1984, where he introduced the year's theme and its stakes in the liberation struggle said, "Our struggle will be less than powerful and our national and social emancipation can never be complete if we continue to treat the women of our country as dependent minors and objects of one form of exploitation or another. Certainly no longer should it be that a woman's place is in the kitchen. In our beleaguered country, the woman's place is in the battlefront of struggle."[340] As Tambo insisted that the women's role was on the front lines of this struggle as linchpins to "national and social emancipation," and since its inaugural broadcast on 13 March 1980,[341] so, too, did the programming for Dawn Breaks. This was key in raising the consciousness of the entire ANC, exposing the organization to the plight of women and children in the struggle, and articulating the necessity to centralize these voices in order to realize true liberation.

Dawn Breaks should not be understood as a concession given to women in the struggle, but rather as a victory of the will of the ANC Women's Section to make their voices heard and their presence central to the nation-building project undertaken by the ANC and its disproportionally male leadership. Lekgoathi writes about popular Radio Freedom program segments that inspired listeners in South Africa to join the ANC or at least support their external mission. He focuses on testimonies by mostly male listeners and how they were inspired to join the movement by segments such as: "Voices of Freedom," a segment that featured prominent

[340] Compilation. "The Year Of The Women – A Message From The President Of The ANC, Oliver Tambo." *Radio Freedom: Voice of the African National Congress and the People's Army Umkhonto We Sizwe*, Rounder Records, 2009.

[341] "A Statement Prepared for the Opening of a Women's Programme on Radio Freedom – Lusaka Broadcast on the 13th March, 1980." 13 Mar. 1980. Box 27, Folder 4. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017.

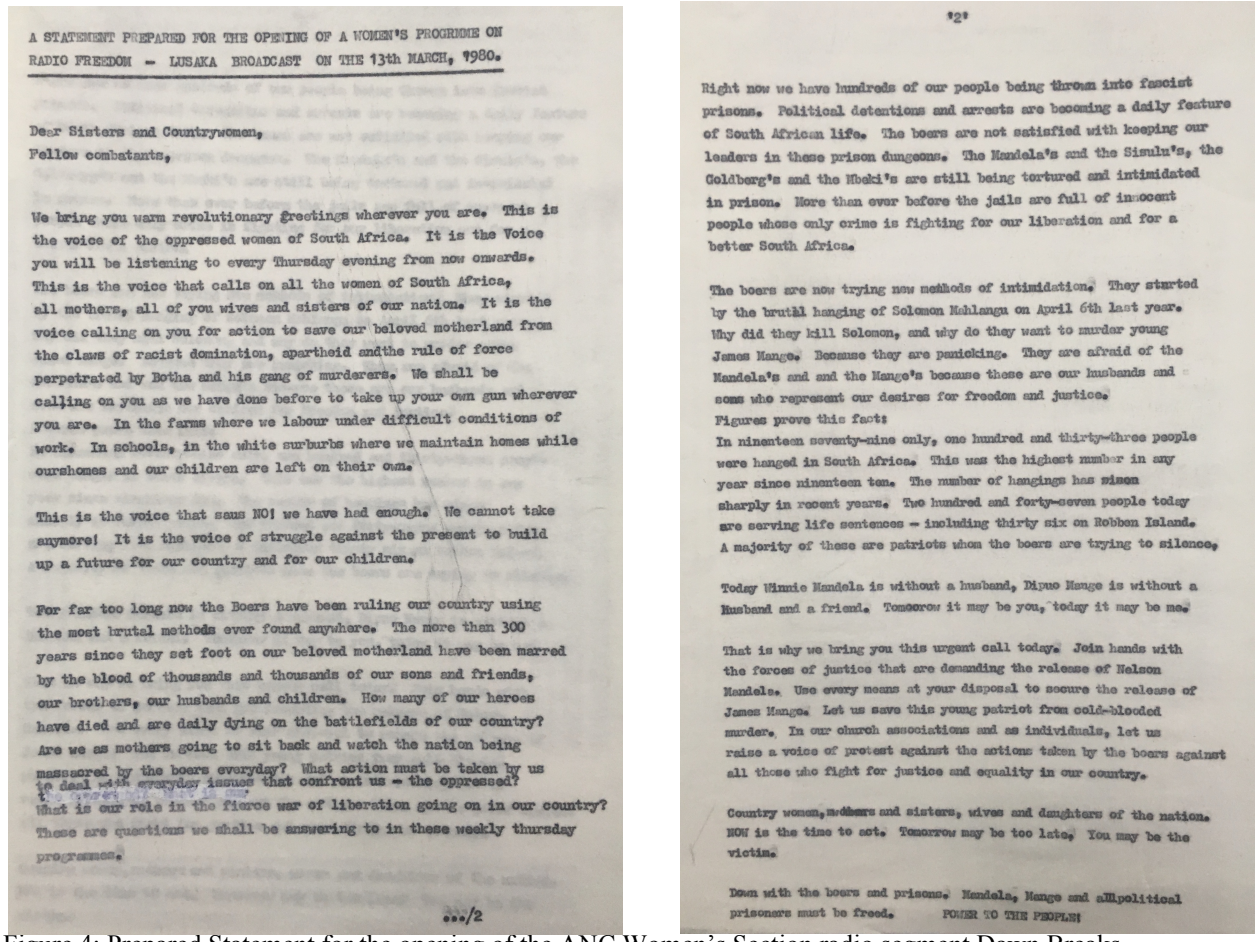
ANC leaders and general members as they discussed what they believed were key points to galvanize the masses; "A Call to Battle," a segment devoted to discussing updates on the people's war effort; and "Listeners' Corner," a segment devoted to answering questions and concerns from listeners who wrote to Radio Freedom.[342] For almost a decade of Radio Freedom, there was no segment dedicated to women, and so while Dawn Breaks was also a program segment intended to galvanize the masses into action, it was particularly interested in addressing issues that concerned women in the struggle. Before this and during the 1970s, mentions of issues involving women and children in radio reports, scripts and other documents were few and far between. It wasn't until 1980 that the women of the ANC would be able to consistently have their voices heard on radio.[343] Once a week for 30 minutes, one could argue, is minimal and speaks to the value Radio Freedom and the ANC writ large placed on the voices of women. Though women were DJ's for more segments than just Dawn Breaks, this point cannot be ignored and holds real weight. Though Dawn Breaks does little to remove the male-centric nationalist politics of the ANC, it does give insight into the issues, concerns, motivations, ideologies and actions of the ANC Women's Section and how they confronted both the ANC's patriarchal politics and fought alongside their male comrades in a people's war to liberate South Africa from its oppressors.

With its hard hitting political commentary, impassioned advocacy for marginalized South African populations including exiles, women and children, unwavering renouncement and brilliant critique of the apartheid regime, significant contributions in planning counter hegemonic campaigns, and overall commitment to the mission of the MK and ANC, there is little doubt that

[342] Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. "The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and Its Audiences in Apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991." (2010), pgs. 147-48

[343] For example, Page 5 of the "Report of the Radio Unit to the Propaganda Committee" (1973) talks about this particular radio station's work done on "commentaries" and notes that they did segments on "the threatened isolation of the South African Council of Nurses and the tasks of the black nurses at home," and "children's rights."

Dawn Breaks played a vital role in inspiring the ANC to adopt The Year of the Women as its theme by 1984. In these four years between the inaugural broadcast to The Year of the Women, and certainly in the years that followed, a continuous and prolonged commitment to addressing issues particular to women in the ANC's struggle against the apartheid regime was led by Radio Freedom's Women's Section radio segment, Dawn Breaks.



A STATEMENT PREPARED FOR THE OPENING OF A WOMEN'S PROGRAMME ON RADIO FREEDOM - LUSAKA BROADCAST ON THE 13th MARCH, 1980.

Dear Sisters and Countrywomen,
Fellow combatants,

We bring you warm revolutionary greetings wherever you are. This is the voice of the oppressed women of South Africa. It is the Voice you will be listening to every Thursday evening from now onwards. This is the voice that calls on all the women of South Africa, all mothers, all of you wives and sisters of our nation. It is the voice calling on you for action to save our beloved motherland from the claws of racist domination, apartheid andthe rule of force perpetrated by Botha and his gang of murderers. We shall be calling on you as we have done before to take up your own gun wherever you are. In the farms where we labour under difficult conditions of work. In schools, in the white surburbs where we maintain homes while ourshomes and our children are left on their own.

This is the voice that says NO! we have had enough. We cannot take anymore! It is the voice of struggle against the present to build up a future for our country and for our children.

For far too long now the Boers have been ruling our country using the most brutal methods ever found anywhere. The more than 300 years since they set foot on our beloved motherland have been marred by the blood of thousands and thousands of our sons and friends, our brothers, our husbands and children. How many of our heroes have died and are daily dying on the battlefields of our country? Are we as mothers going to sit back and watch the nation being massacred by the boers everyday? What action must be taken by us to deal with everyday issues that confront us - the oppressed? What is our role in the fierce war of liberation going on in our country? These are questions we shall be answering to in these weekly thursday programmes.

.../2

'2'

Right now we have hundreds of our people being thrown into fascist prisons. Political detentions and arrests are becoming a daily feature of South African life. The boers are not satisfied with keeping our leaders in these prison dungeons. The Mandela's and the Sisulu's, the Goldberg's and the Mbeki's are still being tortured and intimidated in prison. More than ever before the jails are full of innocent people whose only crime is fighting for our liberation and for a better South Africa.

The boers are now trying new methods of intimidation. They started by the brutal hanging of Solomon Mahlangu on April 6th last year. Why did they kill Solomon, and why do they want to murder young James Mange. Because they are panicking. They are afraid of the Mandela's and and the Mange's because these are our husbands and sons who represent our desires for freedom and justice.
Figures prove this fact:
In nineteen seventy-nine only, one hundred and thirty-three people were hanged in South Africa. This was the highest number in any year since nineteen ten. The number of hangings has risen sharply in recent years. Two hundred and forty-seven people today are serving life sentences - including thirty six on Robben Island. A majority of these are patriots whom the boers are trying to silence.

Today Winnie Mandela is without a husband, Dipuo Mange is without a husband and a friend. Tomorrow it may be you, today it may be me.

That is why we bring you this urgent call today. Join hands with the forces of justice that are demanding the release of Nelson Mandela. Use every means at your disposal to secure the release of James Mange. Let us save this young patriot from cold-blooded murder. In our church associations and as individuals, let us raise a voice of protest against the actions taken by the boers against all those who fight for justice and equality in our country.

Country women, mothers and sisters, wives and daughters of the nation. NOW is the time to act. Tomorrow may be too late. You may be the victim.

Down with the boers and prisons. Mandela, Mange and allpolitical prisoners must be freed. POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Figure 4: Prepared Statement for the opening of the ANC Women's Section radio segment Dawn Breaks

In Figure 4, this prepared statement for the inaugural broadcast of Dawn Breaks provides a glimpse into the intent and necessity of a radio segment that concentrated on organizing, empowering and giving voice to women in the struggle. This statement showcases the very specific point of view of Black South African women who performed the farm and domestic labor that took them away from their homes and children in order to earn a wage to support their

households by taking care of the homes and children of white people instead. As "country women, mothers and sisters, wives and daughters," women perceived and lived in the apartheid state, thought about the suppression of the everyday citizen, and experienced the possibilities for liberation informed by distinctive and crucial viewpoints in which to analyze the liberation movement. Dawn Breaks provided a critical space to cultivate and nurture these unique and equally vital perspectives and lived experiences.

The question asked many times and in differing terms, and in varying statements and mediums was, "What is [women's] role in the fierce war of liberation going on in [South Africa]?"[344] The consistent answer to this question from the ANC high command to Dawn Breaks DJs was that women should be on the battlefield side-by-side with their male comrades. In fact, there was a consistent call for women "to take up [their] own gun" and join the armed resistance movement.[345] President Tambo stated this fact when he declared, "Certainly no longer should it be that a woman's place is in the kitchen" but rather "the woman's place is in the battlefront of struggle."[346] This means women were called to the battlefront both as soldiers and as generals, as people literally wielding weapons and committing acts of sabotage as soldiers in the MK, and as tactical theorists and organizers, through the airwaves, of anti-apartheid struggle. This was evident in the mission and subsequent programming of Dawn Breaks, which increasingly became a revolutionary program segment calling for armed resistance while also providing important critique of the fascist South African government.

The opening statement of Dawn Breaks (Figure 4) calls for women to take up arms and fight for the dismantling of the apartheid regime. Based on the review of numerous Dawn Breaks

[344] "A Statement Prepared for the Opening of a Women's Programme on Radio Freedom – Lusaka Broadcast on the 13th March, 1980." (1980). p. 1.; Also, Figure 4: a)
[345] Ibid
[346] Compilation. "The Year Of The Women – A Message From The President Of The ANC, Oliver Tambo." (2009)

program timelines, audio recordings and scripts, the program focused a considerable amount of time inspiring women to join the MK and training women in the art of guerilla warfare. Broadcasts from 4 September through 30 October 1986 all focused on women and the MK.[347] They covered topics like why women should join the MK, rural women and the MK, profiles of women including "African," "Indian," "Coloured," and "White" women who joined the MK, and the "building of combat units – self defense units."[348] Other programs focused on how to create and use weapons from household materials and included such themes as, "How to make a home made hand grenade," "How to use hand grenades in our combat units," and "how to make a cocktail molotov petrol bomb."[349] These programs denote a commitment to incorporating women in the fight against apartheid not as support or behind the scenes but as front line combatants in this struggle.

Equally prolific in the record are programs that grapple with the role of women in various campaigns, how to build and sustain a movement, how to inspire and maintain alliances with influential groups internationally to aid in the dismantling of apartheid, and ways to celebrate women in the struggle.[350] These programs showcase a commitment to liberation strategizing by way of the Dawn Breaks programs that elevated women's voices in this regard. One such segment on 31 January 1985 featured the Head of the Women's Section and Executive Committee Member of the ANC, Gertrude Shope, who spoke about her experience at the Afro Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) Meeting on Women in Cairo, Egypt, on the 23rd

[347] "Women's Section Radio Programme Quarterly Time Table." 4 Sep. – 30 Oct. 1986. Box 28, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka – Mayibuye PI, ANC Radio Freedom 1982 - 1987. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 11 Sept. 2017.
[348] Ibid
[349] "Women's Section Radio Programme Quarterly Time - Table." 20 Feb. – 3 Apr. 1986. Box 28, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka – Mayibuye PI, ANC Radio Freedom 1982 - 1987. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 11 Sept. 2017.
[350] This program speaks in detail about women leaders: "Dawn Breaks Programme of 19/12/85." 19 Dec. 1985. Box 28, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka – Mayibuye PI, ANC Radio Freedom 1982 - 1987. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 11 Sept. 2017. p. 4.

and 24th of January 1985. Two questions were asked of Shope with regards to the meeting: "What {were} the objectives of this meeting" and "what exactly is the role of AAPSO in the struggle for women's equality?"[351] Shope's answers give insight into the ANC Women's Section as an organization that not only focused on issues involving those in South Africa but of equal importance the plight of oppressed people across the global South. As such, it became clear that the Women's Section, and thus, Dawn Breaks as a voice for and subsidiary of the Women's Section, was a Pan-African organization, a trusted ally for compatriots in the Middle East and Asia, and a forward thinking and strategizing unit in the fight against oppression globally, with particular interests concerning the plight of third world women and children. Shope, as proxy for the ANC Women's Section, engages Black internationalism in a way that diverges from Mandela's when, as proxy for the MK and ANC more than two decades earlier, he traveled to solicit funds and guerilla warfare training. Though both engaged politics of survival, Shope's mission was centered on talks of creating peace, equality and developing infrastructure in newly independent nations that could support safe and prosperous conditions for the betterment of Black communities.

The meeting Shope attended was in preparation for the United Nations (U.N.) World Conference on Women that was to be held in July 1985 in Nairobi, Kenya. It was decided in previous meetings that the AAPSO and the various organizations under its umbrella would attend this conference to engage its theme: Peace, Equality and Development. In order to "guarantee effective articulation of the perspective of women of the developing world, and to enhance the quality of the AAPSO contribution" at this conference, the meeting on the 23rd and

[351] "Interview with Comrade Gertrude Shope on the Meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO)." 31 Jan. 1985. Box 28, Folder 2. ANC Lusaka – Mayibuye PI, ANC Radio Freedom 1982 - 1987. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 11 Sept. 2017. p. 1.

24th of January was convened.[352] During this meeting, they discussed the issues they wanted to raise at the U.N. World Conference on Women, and the importance of each affiliated organization to mobilize their membership to attend.

The main issue discussed was the position of the AAPSO, as adopted in a resolution at their Sixth Congress meeting in Algiers in May of 1984, regarding a "disturbing trend" that the AAPSO and other democratic organizations noticed festering in preceding preparatory meetings. This "trend" was of various women's organizations around the world calling for the "playing down… of issues of great concern such as apartheid and Zionism" at the Nairobi Conference.[353] These organizations calling for this downplaying claimed that issues such as apartheid and Zionism were controversial, and "if placed on the agenda, might be politically divisive and may therefore negatively affect the outcome of the Nairobi Conference."[354] The position of the AAPSO was that "Southern Africa and the Middle East [were] hot beds of tension which drastically affect[ed] millions of women and children in these regions, and that therefore the UN Conference would not have done justice to the realisation of its objectives if such issues were ignored."[355] Exposing these moments of solidarity via radio with women's organizations around the world—such as the ANC Women's Section and various groups within the AAPSO drafting and confirming the resolution demanding that third world women's struggles not be ignored by Western, largely white, contingents of women and their self-proclaimed "universal" and "non-divisive" women's issues—was an important feature of Dawn Breaks. This spoke to an engagement with third world women's politics that was ongoing and particular. It gave voice to the work of the Women's Section not only as organizers of South African struggle, but also as a

[352] Ibid. p. 3.
[353] Ibid. p. 1.
[354] Ibid
[355] Ibid. pgs. 1-2.

powerful group organizing against the exploitation of women, specifically women of the global South.

This was also evident in the other agenda items of the Cairo meeting. In particular, Shope discussed how the various member groups called for these issues to be made central concerns of the larger organizations of which they were a part to "ensure that discussions on contemporary women's problems [did] not take place in a vacuum."[356] The fact that Shope discusses this on Dawn Breaks—on the radio—is important to note. She is making it clear to the listeners of the program that not only would this be reported on the radio but also as an Executive Committee Member of the ANC, that she would make sure it would be discussed in meetings with other ANC leaders.

This work was always a staple of Dawn Breaks programming since it was established in 1980. However, this is due to the work of the Women's Section, which created Dawn Breaks as a continuation of the work it had been engaged in since its inception decades prior. In an interview for Radio Freedom Luanda on 3 February 1979, Jaqualine Molefe, a leading member of the ANC Women's Section at the time, was interviewed about the role of the Women's Section in the movement. In this interview, Molefe gives a history of the contributions of women in the ANC and the anti-Apartheid struggle, acknowledges the sacrifices of women heroes and other ANC leaders, and speaks about the role the ANC Women's Section planned to play in the 1979 International Year of the Child as proclaimed by the U.N. As the interview progressed, Molefe depicted the history of the Women's Section as in step with the history of the ANC writ large, especially in exile. To this point, Molefe stated that, "Since the ANC was banned in 1960, it

[356] Ibid. p. 2.

meant that all its component sections including the Women Section were illegalised" [357] and as a result of decades of "fighting courageous battles against the racist regime" participating "in all the major campaigns and demonstrations against oppression and exploitation, in strike movements for better wages and better working conditions and in all activities aimed at bringing about a just government in the interest of [the] people," women had "been imprisoned, tortured, house arrested, banned and banished," [358] just as any other ANC member or famous leader had been over this history. She mentions Ester Maleka who was arrested in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, Paulina Mogale who had been imprisoned and tortured for her work in the struggle, and Dorothy Nyembe who was a political prisoner along with Mandela at this time, as forgotten heroes to be acknowledged in the record of the struggle. These forgotten heroes coupled with the "mothers who could not stand idle and watch the cold-blooded murder of [their] children," who "together with the whole nation, stone in hand, confronted the heavily armed racist murderers" during the Soweto Uprising,[359] are all evidence that the establishment of Dawn Breaks was not the beginning of women leaders organizing, theorizing and fighting for liberation within the ANC or the larger anti-apartheid struggle. In fact, it suggests a prolonged history and engagement in step with any comrade's contributions to the movement.

The point of this argument is not to suggest that women's contributions are important because they are equal to the contributions of male compatriots—though it can be argued and the record suggests that women were a part of this movement from the beginning and contributed in some large part to the advancements made in the struggle at every step simultaneously. Instead,

[357] "Exclusive Interview with Comrade Jaqualine Molefe a Leading Member of the Women Section of the ANC." 3 Feb. 1979. Box 27, Folder 4. ANC Lusaka Mission Mayibuye, ANC DIP 1980-1981. Liberation Archives, National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre –University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. 13 Sept. 2017.
[358] Ibid. p. 1.
[359] "Exclusive Interview with Comrade Jaqualine Molefe a Leading Member of the Women Section of the ANC." (1979). p. 1.

women's role in this movement are important to acknowledge because they express perspectives of marginalization, exploitation and oppression that are unique and vital to the realization of any true liberation. Molefe stated, "As part of the oppressed and the most exploited and humiliated, SA women [were] involved in" all aspects of the struggle[360]. This acknowledgment of the vexed position of South African women—and I assume she means particularly Black South African women—suggests that there existed points of view particular to Black South African women that represented the "most exploited and humiliated" segment of the South African population. From this standpoint, Black South African women were able to offer critiques of the apartheid regime that considered it from uniquely subjugated positions in society. This allowed women to perceive the movement through an intersectional analysis of oppression and because of this, liberation must be perceived through an equally intersectional analysis. In line with the canon of Black feminist ideology, this liberation was never about the liberation of just women. The Women's Section of the ANC was deeply concerned with the plight of the men, women and children of South Africa and the oppressed world.

Within myriad documents, from Dawn Breaks scripts to radio freedom timelines, DIP reports, interview transcriptions, speeches, memos and other forms of ANC official documentation, there exists an extensive record of this assertion. In the opening statement of Dawn Breaks (Figure 4) there is a call for "all the women of South Africa, all mothers, all of [the] wives and sisters of [the] nation" to use the new radio program to confront the history of the slaughter of "thousands and thousands of [their] sons and friends, [their] brothers, [their] husbands and children."[361] It also later affirms the need for women to fight for the release of their

[360] Ibid
[361] "A Statement Prepared for the Opening of a Women's Programme on Radio Freedom–Lusaka Broadcast on the 13th March,1980."(1980). p. 1.

leaders, including Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, who were political prisoners at the time.[362] These documents consistently featured statements in support of men and women comrades who were imprisoned, tortured, banned, exiled or executed by the apartheid regime. The focus of these women organizers' advocacy was liberating all oppressed people, and their specific positionality allowed for an expansive and inclusive liberation praxis.

This inclusive liberation praxis cannot be more evident than in how the Women's Section advocated for children. Using the Shope and Molefe interviews as examples, Molefe agrees with Shope's assertion that apartheid and issues with regard to economic development "drastically affects millions of women and children,"[363] when she states that, "in SA today, infant mortality figures are among the highest in the world."[364] Molefe goes on to point out various other issues presented to children by the apartheid system including malnourishment, improper medical care, no access to "free and compulsory education," child labor exploitation by "white farmers and industrialists," illiteracy and juvenile delinquency.[365] As both Shope and Molefe spoke about the international organizations the ANC Women's Section was organizing with, including AAPSO, the UN World Conference of Women, the Pan-African Women's Congress, and the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), these issues involving children and apartheid were not only central to the ANC Women Section's work within the larger ANC but were also causes they championed on the international level. Upon return home, these issues and any plans to combat them were then broadcasted on the airwaves through Dawn Breaks as ways to rally

[362] Ibid, p. 2.
[363] "Interview with Comrade Gertrude Shope on the Meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO)." (1985). p. 2.
[364] "Exclusive Interview with Comrade Jaqualine Molefe a Leading Member of the Women Section of the ANC." (1979). p. 2.
[365] Ibid

women all over South Africa, women in the various radio hosts' exiled homes, and women across the globe to fight against South Africa's repressive state and to fight for their children.

To take seriously the history of the ANC Women's Section is to understand their unwavering commitment to the liberation of all oppressed people, particularly South Africans. Dawn Breaks, then, was a continuation of the commitment of ANC women pioneers to fight apartheid in exile while also being a trailblazer in raising the consciousness of the ANC, as well as South African freedom fighters at home, in exile and those in solidarity around the globe.

Conclusion

The story of Radio Freedom and its role in the fight against apartheid is one that must be considered in the context of Black internationalism, decolonial struggle around the world (in particular settler colonial states on the African continent), and the politics of exile. These phenomena in conjunction with one another produce an important figure to consider in the theorization of the African Diaspora, the South African exile. Operating distinctly from the overtly cultural exiles previewed in Chapter 2 and the ones considered in depth in Chapter 4, who become "citizens" of different countries and who develop new ideas about what citizenship means, the ANC exile perceived the state of exile much differently, as a transitory and temporary condition. In this way, the ANC exile never remade home in exile. In fact, home was always the place of their birth, their ancestral homeland, South Africa.

In Radio Freedom and in particular its Women's Section segment, Dawn Breaks, one is offered a record of oppositional media that was used as a means to organize and galvanize a people's war in South Africa and around the world for the elimination of apartheid within South Africa from a multitude of clandestine bunkers in exile. This radio program being housed within the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) while being run through the armed wing of

the ANC, the MK, shows how this revolutionary organization used media and propaganda as weapons in their fight for the liberation of South Africa. The ANC, MK and Radio Freedom literally used this armed propaganda and this cultural work as a way to create new futures and produce the South Africa of their radical dreams. This work was done within bunkers around the African continent and in conjunction with organizations and leaders around the globe.

In Chapter 4, my focus shifts to a different set of cultural exiles: those who were professional writers, actors and musicians exiled for their cultural work's opposition to the apartheid regime. These exiles found themselves itinerantly on the move from the global South to the global North and back again, their time in exile defined by the question of home. Was home South Africa (in fact, was it ever South Africa?)? Was home where they lived in exile? Or was it something completely different, not tied to geographic locations but to common ideas and perspectives? Home was always already in flux for these exiles and was something that became a dominating preoccupation for them as they remade their lives around the globe. Through their lived experiences and cultural works, these cultural exiles were forced to rethink several important transitioning characteristics of their lives including their citizenship status transitioning from South African to exiled persons, their transitioning political contexts from apartheid to globalized forms of anti-Blackness and xenophobia, and from local South African performers and writers to artists producing work on the international stage.

Chapter 4 – Citizens of Africa: *Cultural Exiles In and Out the West*

> The hardest thing in exile was dreaming, because you dreamed that you were at home.[366]
>
> - Abdullah Ibrahim

> I'm living in Guinea but as I said, I, am a citizen of Africa.[367]
>
> - Miriam Makeba

Introduction: "Show Me the Way, My Brother"

Miriam Makeba[368] was a fairly popular singer in South Africa in the 1950s performing with various bands and groups across genre and class lines. In a nation that operated under the racial caste system of apartheid, Makeba, who later developed into an international superstar, was a Black South African woman unable to perform in segregated venues. This, in turn, limited her ability to support herself financially as a singer while also stifling the growth of her popularity in South Africa and around the world. Makeba was outspoken about the injustices of apartheid and took part in a docudrama film entitled, *Come Back, Africa*, which allowed her to leave the country in 1959 to attend a film festival in Italy where the film was receiving an award.

Soon after, Makeba met the Black American actor, singer and activist Harry Belafonte who assisted her in gaining entry into the U.S. where she quickly became a star. Performing alongside some of the greatest musicians in the world including Belafonte, Makeba enjoyed instant success. In order to disguise that the U.S. itself was a state of racial oppression, the U.S. media, while celebrating her rugged Africannness, painted a picture that the U.S. "saved" Makeba—in essence, a "damsel in distress"—from the "real oppressive state," which

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[366] Hirsch, Lee, Sherry S. Dean, Desireé Markgraaff, Vusi Mahlasela, Jeremy Cronin, Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Sophie Mgcina, Dolly Rathebe, Sifiso Ntuli, Abdullah Ibrahim, Duma Ndlovu, Johanna Demetrakas, Clive Sacke, Ivan Leathers, Brand Jordaan, and Dave Matthews. *Amandla!: A Revolution in Four Part Harmony*. Santa Monica, California: Artisan Home Entertainment, ©2002, 2003.

[367] Makeba, Miriam. "Blast From the Past: With Vocalist Miriam Makeba." Say Brother. By Harold Stuart. Boston: Black Repertory Company, 1971. Online. openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/sbro-mla000943-blast-from-the-past-with-vocalist-miriam-makeba. Accessed 12 December 2014

[368] Miriam Makeba, birthname Zenzile Miriam Makeba, was born in Prospect Township, Johannesburg, South Africa on 4 March 1932

was made to be South Africa. Makeba's social and spatial mobility were largely determined by these nation-states and their ability to exercise their sovereignty in granting or rebuking citizenship. This is a theme that would constantly animate the narrative of Makeba's life.

In 1960, Makeba attempted to fly home to South Africa to attend her mother's funeral. It was the first time she had attempted to go home after leaving for Italy in 1959 and in doing so, she found that her passport had been cancelled. Makeba was exiled from her home country of South Africa due to her outspokenness with regards to apartheid. However, this did not stop her from speaking out against the apartheid state. In 1963 and then again in 1964, Makeba, using her popularity to gain access to important forums across the globe leveraged an invitation to speak at the United Nations (U.N.) in New York City where she delivered historic speeches calling for international support to end apartheid in South Africa. Unfortunately, South Africa would not be the only country that didn't want Makeba around: In 1968, when Makeba married Black power revolutionary, Stokely Carmichael,[369] her popularity waned in the U.S. She soon found herself unable to book shows in the U.S. as the media ran smear campaigns focused on her and her infamous husband.[370] This, in effect, mobilized Makeba's informal exile from the United States and in response to the backlash, Makeba and Carmichael moved to Guinea, a country in the Western region of Africa. Makeba continued to perform in venues across the globe.

In a 1971 interview with a Boston TV program roughly three years later, Makeba, who at the time was living with Carmichael in the recently independent West African nation of Guinea, discussed her life since falling out of American favor. After being asked where she and her

[369] Though Stokely Carmichael changed his name to Kwame Ture after moving to Guinea in 1968 in honor of friends and independent African heads of state, Kwame Nkrumah, president of Ghana and Sékou Touré, president of Guinea, I refer to him as Stokely Carmichael throughout this chapter for the sake of consistency.

[370] To this point, Makeba said, "Its been in newspapers, I, we have clippings of it, where people say we cannot support someone who is married to somebody who wants to destroy the United States." See: Makeba, Miriam. "Blast From the Past: With Vocalist Miriam Makeba." Say Brother. By Harold Stuart. (1971)

husband were living, Makeba uttered the phrase that has become the crux of this chapter, "I'm living in Guinea but as I said, *I, am a citizen of Africa*. (Emphasis mine.)"[371]

Thousands of South African exiles, like Makeba, were forced into the position of theorizing what Africa meant to them in a context of subjugation through their lived experiences mediated by coercive meanderings from the global South to the global North and back again by way of their new subject position as exile.[372] Central to this theorization was navigating the theoretical space and tensions presented when considering what it meant to be Black in multiple spatial contexts, from national to translocal and from transnational to global. To bring some clarity to these ideas, South African exiles used Pan-Africanism, critiqued citizenship discourse and confronted anti-Black spatial politics as ways to better understand their lives while also helping them to dream and create futures for themselves, futures based in justice, liberation and freedom. Cultural exiles provide particularly poignant analyses of these ideas through their cultural works and practices, and their lived experiences, which provide a diverse and rich archive to interrogate how exiles in general dealt with their lives as largely stateless citizens of nowhere.

What came to characterize this community of exiles or what became their ultimate goal was a deep desire to find, create, liberate or return home. This desire was situated in and animated by countless emotions, feelings and ideas that structured their lives and their thoughts

[371] Makeba, Miriam. "Miriam Makeba Interview." Live at Berri's Salonger. Stockholm: 1966. Online. www.youtube.com/watch?v=lExbPP8zmUg. Accessed 12 December 2014

[372] In an April 1978 *New York Times* article titled, "'Aparthied' Divides South Africans in Exile," author Lesley Oelsner when talking about how many South African exiles had recently come to the U.S. states, "Figures are hard to come by, but what information is available suggests that at least 2,000 South Africans, black and white, have come in the last two years, joining several thousand earlier arrivals who had been trickling in at the rate of a few hundred a year." (36) Oelsner goes on to say that if it weren't for the issues people faced with receiving passports, this number would have been higher. So, by the late 1970s there were roughly 5,000 to 7,000 or more South African exiles in the U.S. The article also talks about, alongside racially repressed South Africans, joining this exodus was a growing group of white South Africans who were anticipating Black South Africans taking control of the country and it being unsafe for whites there if this occurred. See: Oelsner, Lesley. "'Apartheid' Divides South Africans in Exile," *New York Times*, Apr 11, 1978. p. 39

around the uncertainty of ever realizing their dreams of home. This manifested itself in multiple ways, from desiring to belong and creating Pan-African and artist-activist networks in the West, to the longing for home that sometimes produced bouts of depression, hopelessness and even suicide. It also manifested itself in resistance to global anti-Blackness and oppression including challenging national citizenship discourses, and participating in anti-apartheid and various liberation movements in the West and decolonizing Africa, all with the dreams of one day returning home to South Africa free and joyous.

So in her 1971 Boston interview, Makeba's statement that she was a citizen of Africa speaks to more than just the dozens of passports she was issued by African countries[373] or her nickname "Mama Africa." It speaks to her 12 years of life experience as a South African exile who had travelled the world and embraced the good and bad of countless Black communities within it. She speaks to her experiences of being forced out of and welcomed into multiple settler colonial societies as well as communities in the global South. She speaks to doing this all as an African woman who critiqued Western standards of beauty, and presented her own standards and analyses of class, grace, power, womanhood, personhood and Blackness. What Makeba theorized here was an Africa that South African exiles, particularly cultural exiles, began to identify and hold dear at this time; one that was not contained within geographic or national borders but was a Pan-African idea of a global Black community in opposition to white supremacy and anti-Black politics therein.

Whereas Miriam Makeba was in many ways successful in finding home in exile before being able to return to South Africa after 30-plus years in exile, writer and *King Kong* musical

[373] "Exiles: Miriam Makeba." BBC. BBC, London, [ND]. RIM.HAF.2013-0712, BBC MCV-1386 Mayibuye Archives Video Recording TWO Collection. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017.

composer Todd Matshikiza[374] was not so lucky. Having decided in 1953 that they did not want to raise children in a South Africa that had just passed the Bantu Education Act,[375] Todd, his wife Esmé and their children would have to wait seven more years—until the jazz opera's unprecedented success and subsequent European run—before they were able to leave the country.

In his writings for *Drum* and later his autobiographical works, Matshikiza was always critical of white society and often took white liberals to task. He aimed his pen at National Party leadership as well for their role in the continued oppression of South Africa's Native Black South African populations. What astounded Matshikiza was that though he was able to move about in public and private spaces in Europe in ways he could only dream of in South Africa, he was just as cynical and disillusioned by white society in London as he was in South Africa. Having dealt with the glass ceilings of the literary and musical institutions of Europe, dealing with housing and employment discrimination and being unable to find inspiration for his creativity outside of its source, South Africa, Matshikiza moved his family to Zambia to work first for a radio station and later as a musical archivist in 1964. However, this move did little to lift his spirits or allow him to be creative in ways that were rewarding and necessary. In 1968, Matshikiza died in Zambia an alcoholic, disillusioned and heartbroken.

Matshikiza's story is an unfortunately common one among South African exiles. For many, exile was simply too traumatic and too hard to bear and resulted in addiction, substance abuse, depression, hopelessness, premature death and suicide. A large portion of this community

[374] Todd Tozama Matshikiza was born in Queenstown, South Africa in 1920 or 1921.
[375] The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was an apartheid policy that was to require that the median of instruction for all of South African children would be done under the Afrikaner language. This would include but not limited to Math, Science, Literature, etc. For more information, see: "Bantu education and the racist compartmentalizing of education." *SAHO*, 10 June 2016, www.sahistory.org.za/article/bantu-education-and-racist-compartmentalizing-education. Accessed 18 April 2019.

were Native Black South Africans who were dealing not only with coerced or forced relocation outside their home country and globalized forms of anti-Blackness, these exiles were also perceived as primitive, exotic others from the global South migrating to the global North. The combination of these systematic forms of oppression, for some, was insurmountable.

In this chapter, "Citizens of Africa: *Cultural Exiles In and Out the West*," I look at various South African cultural exiles, with Miriam Makeba and Todd Matshikiza as main characters, and examine what they did and how they understood their lived experiences while in exile. I trace the history of South African cultural exiles that confront the West as students, performers, teachers, archivists, radio personalities, political leaders and writers. I consider what politics they took up and the trajectory of their personal, political and professional lives in Europe and the United States, spanning South Africa's era of exile. Though my emphasis is on those who had already reached a level of success in South Africa, which allowed them to move outside of the country or, because of this success and their political commitments were forced outside of the country, I am also keenly attentive to how all of this affected their families and the communities in which they came to live. I look at the children born in South Africa and those born in exile and follow the ways they were made to understand the world and their relationship to South Africa. I also spend time considering the influences of South Africans on politics in the West with particular interest paid to Miriam Makeba, her political work and her critique of Western beauty standards. What I have uncovered is that this vast community thought deeply about what being exiled and Black meant in a larger context than that of just self-reflection but as one that offered important insights into the possibilities of Black solidarity and liberation

movements. In so doing, these exiles and their cultural works theorized the vexed position of Black people globally through their meditations on their lives as exiled subjects.[376]

"African Sunset": Cultural Exiles Head West

> Everybody who came to our barbershop wanted their hair straightened. We did a great deal of processing, which was the big thing for black hair in those days. Singers wanted processes, and also pimps and preachers. The older barbers tended to customers who wanted normal haircuts, while the younger barbers did pumps to get pumped up. Nobody around Plainfield kept their hair natural. I remember the first time I ever saw real natural hair. It was a little later, maybe 1960. My friend Ernie Harris and I were going to a meeting in New York City, and we were walking around midtown. On the sidewalk, we saw a woman with her hair all nappy and natural. We started laughing at her. Ernie probably said something. I don't know if we were coming from a barber's point of view or if that was just a natural reaction given the styles of the times. We had never seen anybody sporting hair like that, and certainly nobody doing so and feeling proud about it. And then damned if we didn't end up in the same office with that woman at CBS later that day, and damned if it wasn't Miriam Makeba, the South African singer, who had just had a hit with 'The Click Song.' Ernie almost never got embarrassed, but that time he did. She was real cool, though, real articulate about her choices, and clear about the differences between Africans and Americans, especially when it came to hairstyles.[377]
>
> - George Clinton

The epigraph to this section, the words of funk legend and Parliament Funkadelic leading man, George Clinton, give a layered point of entry to discuss Miriam Makeba, her arrival to the U.S. and the cultural landscape of the time which also foreshadows how she and other African migrants, whether exiles, refugees or voluntary migrants, would influence Black popular culture in the U.S. in the years to come. When Makeba landed in the U.S. in 1959 to perform on *The Steve Allen Show* with the aid of Steve Allen by way of her "older brother", as she

[376] To do this work, I incorporate and interrogate primary and secondary sources from various archives and apply an interdisciplinary methodological framework to present a layered and thorough analysis of themes including displacement, depression, longing and belonging, Pan-Africanism, anti-Blackness, and challenging citizenship discourse. These themes emerge in secondary materials and the interviews, autobiographies, newspaper articles, cultural works and music of Matshikiza, Makeba, their families and the many other cultural exiles that I examine in this chapter.

An important source for me in this chapter comes from Hilda Bernstein and her collection of 325 transcripts of interviews she conducted with South African exiles in Europe between 1989 and 1991 that are house at the UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives at the University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. Much of the interviews I site, particularly from Hugh Masekela, Blanche La Guma and her sons, John Matshikiza and Esmé Matshikiza, come from Bernstein's amazing work. When analyzed together these materials provide important insight into the lived experiences, political conflicts and aesthetic intentions of cultural exiles in the diaspora.

[377] Clinton, George, and Ben Greenman. *Brothers Be "yo Like George, Ain't That Funkin' Kinda Hard on You?": A Memoir*. New York: Atria Books, 2014. Print. pps. 22-23

affectionately called her mentor, Harry Belafonte, she was virtually unknown to American audiences. Makeba met the actor, singer and civil rights activist Belafonte in London while in Europe to promote the docudrama *Come Back, Africa*, by American film director, Lionel Rogosin. The film is a depiction of the impoverished and oppressive conditions for South Africa's majority Black population that was shot mostly in South Africa's crumbling Black cultural hub of Sophiatown. The film was made in secret to evade curtailment by the apartheid state and featured Makeba in a small but memorable cameo in which she sang two songs for friends in a Sophiatown shebeen.

Makeba was a hit in Europe. She wowed the audiences at the Venice Film Festival with her amazing voice, regal personality and authenticity of sound, style and language. These were the characteristics that drew Belafonte to Makeba and it was what prompted him to call in favors to get her a visa to come the U.S. to perform for television audiences and in venues like the Village Vanguard in Greenwich Village, New York City, where she would later perform several residencies. It wasn't long until the U.S. also fell in love with Makeba as Europe did months earlier. Her first smash hit, "The Click Song," was something fresh, new and pleasing to the American ear. A song performed in the South African indigenous language of Xhosa, it features a distinctive clinking sound in its pronunciation. Makeba enjoyed chart topping success with this song and with a brilliant and provocative performance style and genteel humility in interviews on various TV programs and in live performances around the country, Makeba within a year of her arrival was a superstar and held the position within American popular culture as the preeminent African cultural ambassador to the U.S. Scholar Louise Bethlehem attributes much of this success "across the various phases of her exile" to Makeba's ability to counter the condition of exile's "threat to her person and personhood by marshalling the resources of the distinctive

conviviality of her urban South African formation."[378] For Bethlehem, Makeba's ability to draw from and perform a distinctive conviviality in the tradition of Sophiatown's Third Era New Africanism (which, as discussed in Chapter 2, developed over the 1940s and 1950s in South Africa), gave her tools to navigate the harsh social and cultural terrain of exile and the West. This allowed Makeba to achieve success while not sacrificing her distinctive social, cultural and political perspectives in the U.S.

Another key factor that contributed to Makeba's success at this time was her unapologetic and unwavering commitment to her talent and authentic self, a commitment also bred within the Third Era New African moment and Sophiatown renaissance. As the words of Clinton denote in this section's epigraph, natural Black hair was not fashionable within U.S. Black popular culture during the early years of Makeba's burgeoning American career. These were the times of the conk for young men or the perm for young women, where hairstylists chemically relaxed the tight curls that typified their Black client's hair to make it slick and straight. Makeba wore her hair short and in its natural state, sporting a low-cut Afro hairstyle. This drew the eye of critics, writers, booking agents and even Black popular communities, who largely praised her music and performance while also pondering and questioning the simplicity of her hair style and fashion choices. For some, as evidenced by Clinton's comments, her hairstyle was outright hilarious and deserved ridicule. It was a curious decision but she was also exciting and new, and together it all created the buzz that allowed Makeba to sustain commercial success in the U.S. until the late 1960s.

Makeba was aware of Western beauty standards and that some believed she would benefit from incorporating these styles into her performance brand. This started early in her U.S.

[378] Bethlehem, Louise. "'Miriam's Place": South African Jazz, Conviviality and Exile." *Social Dynamics*. 43.2 (2017): 243-258. Print. p. 249

career: Before she opened at the Village Vanguard for her first residency in the U.S., Belafonte's team decided to take Makeba to get her hair done at a salon, which in those days meant getting her hair straightened. Makeba wrote years later about the experience saying, "I cannot look in the mirror. I'm too afraid. When I get back to the hotel I see what was done to me. I cry and cry. This is not *me*. I put my head in the hot water and wash it and wash it. I am not a glamor *[sic]* girl."[379] Very early on, she completely rejected the idea that she had to conform to American or Western standards of beauty to the tune of literally washing them out of her hair and from her life. She was convinced that she could exist and prosper in this environment just as she was and was unwilling to consider any ideas contrary to the matter. Much like her response to Clinton and his associate, where she "killed them with kindness," conversation and conviction, Makeba's future responses to such standards and critics were to confront them directly and personally. Surely in response to half a decade of both aggressive and passive aggressive comments about her style and hair choices, Makeba made it a point, in an April 1964 letter to *Drum* magazine readers and to her South African fan base more generally, to stress her unwavering and continued commitment to represent African womanhood and beauty in what she thought to be authentic and true to her people. These comments read:

> Africa is not rich but we African people do have richness in many ways in our culture. We must get education and advance ourselves according to western standards, of course, but does this mean that our girls should wear wigs and the many other things which I find unnecessary, like lipstick and all that? I have been most successful here and everywhere without all these things and I really find that most people and even our own men prefer their women wearing their own hair and looking much plainer. Yes, they have to be smartly dressed, look neat and clean. But I and many South African people I've met abroad feel we don't have to change the way we look physically to match or equal western standards. We are beautiful the way we are and look.[380]

What Makeba is grappling with here is what proponents of New Africanism in South Africa had been thinking through for decades: How does one stay true to their cultural specificity

[379] Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Print. p. 75
[380] Makeba, Miriam. "Miriam Makeba Writes to Drum: I Miss You So Much." *Drum,* Apr. 1964, p. 23

but also embrace new forms of technology and education that come with Africa's confrontation with the West? In other words, Makeba drew a line in the sand from what was helpful for Africans to appropriate from Western culture (i.e., education), but was also vigilant of what she believed to be harmful to the soul and legacy of what indigenous South Africans made beautiful and powerful within the history of South African cultural life. This steadfastness made a huge impression on U.S. Black communities embroiled in civil rights conflict in this moment. Black people in the U.S. were searching for positive images of Black people and looked to Africa much of the time to fulfill this desire. Historian Ruth Feldstein argues, "Makeba was rejecting standards of beauty defined by Americanness and whiteness. Her self-representations had a particularly significant impact because of her fame, and because she was associated with a diasporic Pan-Africanism, anti-apartheid activism, and American civil rights activism."[381]

As a visual representation of Pan-Africanism, diasporic Blackness and success, Makeba's popularity grew in step with other Black leaders, cultural figures and organizations who were embracing Pan-African ideas and stressing the importance of authentic Black cultural life and practices. This group included Malcolm X, James Baldwin, Stokely Carmichael, the Nation of Islam (NOI) and later, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, The Us Organization and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). What Makeba gave them was, as George Clinton stated in the epigraph to this section, a popular, regal and beautiful person who wore her "hair all nappy and natural," and did so very obviously "feeling proud about it."

During the decade of the 1960s, as the leaders and groups above were championing "Black is Beautiful," and "Black Power" slogans, natural hair—especially the Afro—became a huge fashion trend. It took over Black communities across the U.S. and simply put, "The look

[381] Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013), p. 76

[was] Miriam's….She gave Americans the chance to see it on television, and that's where it all started."[382] Makeba, in 1966, put "into words the political ideas about black freedom and power for women that for six years she had performed and disseminated with her body"[383] when she stated that natural hair was becoming so popular to African American women, in particular, because it "makes you have a good feeling. It's as though Negro women are finally admitting they're proud of their heritage… A Negro woman should look natural, and that's what this new look is trying to say….Those who press their hair and buy wigs are running away from themselves."[384] What was clear early into Makeba's U.S. career was that she intended to make her presence felt and would not shy away from topics she was passionate about. Her success made this possible, but she did not allow this success to prevent her from speaking out on issues she thought were important. In many ways, this would eventually cost Makeba this success, at least in the U.S., in the years to come.

In contrast to Makeba's instant success story, Todd Matshikiza found it difficult to achieve professional success outside of South Africa. After a wildly successful run of *King Kong*, the jazz opera, across South Africa from 1959 into 1960, the show got picked up for a follow-up run in London thereafter. John Matshikiza, son of Matshikiza, said of his parents that they "took the opportunity afforded by *King Kong*'s being bought for a London run to get passports and leave the country, temporarily it seemed at the time. They really thought they were going to be leaving the country for two or three years because I think everybody had the optimism that everything would change in South Africa in a matter of years, shortly after

[382] Lee McDaniel, quoted in Klemesrud, Judy. "Her Hairdo Started the 'Afro' Trend," *New York Times*, Oct 8, 1966. p. 38
[383] Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013), p. 76
[384] Klemesrud, Judy. "Her Hairdo Started the 'Afro' Trend," *New York Times*, Oct 8, 1966.

Sharpeville."[385] Initially, the Matshikizas shared the optimism that many within South Africa held that, post-Sharpeville, the world would come to their aid and the days of apartheid were numbered. Having composed the music for the musical as well as he and his wife not wanting their children educated under the Bantu Education Act, this was the opportunity Matshikiza and family were waiting for, it was their chance to leave apartheid South Africa. Esmé Matshikiza, Matshikiza's wife, who was a social worker and stay-at-home mother, remembered, "The year John was born, the South African Government passed the Bantu Education Act 1953 and this was the point at which we decided that we had to try and get away from South Africa."[386] She went on to say that "[w]e very nearly went to Rhodesia because Jim Bailey of *Drum*, Todd was by this time working for *Drum*, needed somebody to run the paper or to edit it in Salisbury at that time. But changed his mind and Todd refused to accept this wage that he was offering him, so we didn't go to Rhodesia."[387] Instead, it was *King Kong* that would eventually get them out of South Africa and the realization of a dream that they "would one day be able to see Britain."[388]

However, once the London run of *King Kong* ended in 1961, a full year after the Massacre at Sharpeville,[389] the optimism that apartheid was soon to be exorcised from South Africa quickly waned. This dream of seeing London just as quickly became a nightmare, as they

[385] "John Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Kentish Town, Stockholm: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1589. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 1

[386] "Esmé Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." London: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1588. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 2

[387] Ibid

[388] Ibid, p. 1

[389] The Sharpeville massacre was an event that occurred on 21 March 1960, at the police station in the South African township of Sharpeville. After a day of demonstrations against pass laws, a crowd of about 5,000 to 7,000 protesters went to the police station. The South African Police opened fire on the crowd, killing 69 people and injuring 180 others. Because of protests that followed, the South African government intensified its repression of its citizens of color, particularly Black citizens, by instituting a 5-month state of emergency, banning oppositional groups like the Pan African Congress (PAC) who were leading the Sharpeville pass law protest before the massacre and the African National Congress (ANC), and silencing oppositional voices through banning, arrest, house arrest and exile. In essence, this event kicked off the era of exile in South Africa. For more information, see: Lodge, Tom. *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.

never thought "that [they] would actually become exiled in Britain and things like that."[390] The Matshikizas found that a return to South Africa was not possible and Matshikiza realized he needed to forge a life for him and his family in London. This proved to be much more difficult than he expected: Housing and employment discrimination, his lack of Western credentials, the inability to break through the glass ceiling and the good ol' boys network within European literary and music society, and a deep feeling of loss and longing for South Africa, all contributed to Matshikiza being unable to create with, use or develop his literary and musical gifts in Europe.

Matshikiza's 1961 autobiography, *Chocolates for my Wife*, chronicles his last days in South Africa and his early days in London. Within the text, Matshikiza provides various stories about the differences between South Africa and Europe but stresses that racial tensions exist in both places. In one such story, Matshikiza describes the trouble his family had finding housing in Europe once they arrived due to covert forms of housing discrimination. He writes, "Esmé had pencilled *[sic]* another advertisement. Two rooms, kitchen and bath… I took a quick note of the address and hailed me a cab. The Indian gentleman was interviewed and asked to wait a while. I was interviewed and informed the place had been taken. Then the landlady called the Indian gentleman back to the desk."[391] Esmé remembered other trials for the Matshikizas, especially with regard to Matshikiza trying to find his way into the literary and music scenes in London as "difficult, extremely difficult." She went on to say, "He got the odd job as journalist, writing for this magazine, for that paper, some pieces like this. Never really got a proper job. Very nearly got a proper job once with the BBC but at the very last minute, when he was about to take on the

[390] "Esmé Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." London: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1588. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 1

[391] Matshikiza, Todd. *Chocolates for My Wife*. Cape Town: D. Philip, 1982. Print. p. 48

job, they changed their minds because he had been .. he had been asked by the ANC to take a group of musicians to the Algerian Independence Celebrations, so he went along there."[392] Matshikiza was never a formal member of the ANC and though Esmé also did some work for the ANC office, "which was down in Gloucester Road, South Kensington" in London, she told Hilda Bernstein in an interview while in exile, "Todd was never really a formal member of the ANC, and neither have I ever been but we are supporters of the ANC but never ever really formally a member."[393] However, these political commitments clearly had an adverse effect on Matshikiza's employment opportunities. Though he did some freelance work for BBC, he was never hired full time.

This caused much mental anguish for Matshikiza; he was in a foreign place and couldn't make an imprint in the ways he was able to in South Africa, neither as a writer for *Drum* nor as an accomplished musician. His son John, thinking in hindsight about the problems his father had integrating into European society offered, "I think the assumption was, you know, moving into a bigger pool where things were freer and there was .. my father I'm sure felt that he would be able to develop as a composer and as a writer and found a lot of doors closed to him in a country where who you know and what your background is is *[sic]* very important and what your educational certificates say, and so on which he .. also he didn't have anything that was relevant to that nor in fact did my mother."[394]

King Kong didn't enjoy the success in London as it had in South Africa, and some of this can be attributed to the changes made by the white production team to Matshikiza's original

[392] "Esmé Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." London: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1588. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. pps. 2-3
[393] Ibid, p. 3
[394] "John Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Kentish Town, Stockholm: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1589. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 1

score of *King Kong.* This was done in order to make it more palatable for white London-based audiences but it resulted in the dilution of the play's uniqueness and brilliance. As discussed in Chapter 2, Matshikiza was tormented by these changes. He dreamed of white people drinking his brains through a straw and constantly pondered the impossibilities of evading the ever-present "white hand," a concept he thought of as white people always using people of color to do their bidding and to profit off of. What this also did was misrepresent his work to potential employers and collaborators. If Matshikiza's actual compositions were heard by the European popular, there is no telling if there would have been the opportunities presented to him to pursue a career in music in Europe. Because of the actions of *King Kong's* "white hand," we will never know.

For every Miriam Makeba, Letta Mbulu and her husband Caiphus Semenya, all of whom came to the U.S. with recording contracts or had contacts that allowed them to make an immediate imprint on American society with relative success, there were dozens more whose stories more closely aligned with the marginal, if not failed, professional integration into the global North experienced by Matshikiza. The teacher and award-winning author of *A Question of Power* Bessie Head found it difficult to publish her novels and deal with publishing companies in Europe. Though she didn't travel to the global North and went instead to neighboring country Botswana to teach, Head's fame as a writer largely developed posthumously. In fact, many cultural exiles came to the West not ready to enter the professional arena at all. Though doyen South African trumpeter Hugh Masekela and doyen South African literary figure Es'kia Mphahlele would eventually enjoy great success—Masekela would become a central figure in the late '60s and '70s in influencing jazz as a genre embracing worldly rhythms and sounds allowing for the emergence of new kinds of jazz compositions,[395] and Mphahlele would write

[395] Robin D.G. Kelley's, *Africa Speaks America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times*, is a text, in large part, about Africa's influence on Jazz and Jazz on African identity formation in the 1950s and 1960s. I argue that

award winning novels and teach at major universities—Masekela first went to London, then to the U.S. as a student. And Mphahlele, though having worked as a teacher in a variety of roles and in multiple countries from Nigeria to France, came to the U.S. as a Ph.D. student.

Like Makeba, Masekela owes his arrival to the U.S. to Belafonte who was able to leverage his contacts, along with the contacts of Masekela's friends including Makeba and American jazz legend Dizzy Gillespie, to get Masekela a music scholarship to Manhattan School of Music in New York. South African journalist, Nat Nakasa, like Masekela, also came to the U.S. on a scholarship. After writing for publications such as *Drum* and *The New York Times,* and even founding a quarterly literary magazine called *The Classic*,[396] Nakasa applied for a Nieman Fellowship, a journalism program at Harvard University out of fear for his future employment prospects in South Africa due to the 1963 Publications and Entertainment Act.[397] Nakasa was accepted for 1965 intake but was not granted a visa by the South African government. Like many Black intellectuals of the time, in order to accept this scholarship, Nakasa would have to accept an exit visa, thereby forfeiting his South African citizenship, rendering him unable to ever return to South Africa. In October 1964, Nakasa arrived to Cambridge, Massachusetts.[398]

Before arriving to the U.S., Masekela had spent about a year at the Guildhall School of Music in London with the help of the anti-apartheid chaplain Archbishop Trevor Huddleton and

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Africa's influence on Jazz on continued to grow through the 1970s, especially with regards to South African musical exiles coming to the US. See: Kelley, Robin D. G. *Africa Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012. Print. p. 5

[396] Brown, Ryan L. "A Native of Nowhere: the Life of South African Journalist Nat Nakasa, 1937-1965." *Kronos*. 37.1 (2011): pps. 47-48

[397] The 1963 Publications and Entertainment Act was an apartheid law that allowed the South African government broad powers to ban or censor content it deemed unfavorable to the interest of the country

[398] Nathaniel Ndazana Nakasa (12 May 1937 – 14 July 1965) better known as Nat Nakasa was a South African journalist and short story writer. For more information on Nat Nakasa, see: Brown, Ryan L. "A Native of Nowhere: the Life of South African Journalist Nat Nakasa, 1937-1965." (2011): 41-59. Print.

international friends and fellow musicians such as Yehudi Menuhin and John Dankworth.[399] He left for London just after the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre and just six weeks after an encounter he had with South African police for being found sleeping on a white colleague's couch.[400] Masekela had been waiting on his visa for three years prior to this incident and it just so happened to arrive a month before the police returned to arrest him.[401] At that time, Masekela was enjoying the success of the Jazz Epistles, the band he formed in 1959, performing to record-breaking audiences in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The band included Dollar Brand (later known as Abdullah Ibrahim), Kippie Moeketsi, Makhaya Ntshoko, Johnny Gertze and Masekela, and was the first African jazz group to record an LP.[402]

Es'kia Mphahlele's story is one marked by several transitions from the global South to the global North and back again. Mphahlele, who was a writer and teacher, was banned from teaching in 1952 because of his work as a secretary with the Transvaal African Teachers' Association which had been organizing against the then proposed Bantu Education Act. After teaching in a community school in Orlando Township for a short period and then spending a year between work as a messenger in a lawyer's office and as a high school teacher in Maseru, Lesotho, Mphahlele "joined *Drum* magazine… as a fiction editor and political reporter."[403] After a while he realized he "didn't like journalism one bit" and having the burning desire to teach, he moved his wife and three children to Lagos, Nigeria to teach at first at a high school, then a

[399] Lee, Sarah. "Obituary: Hugh Masekela," *The Times/ The Guardian*, 28 January 2018. Online: www.thetimes.co.uk/article/hugh-masekela-obituary-qnhgmqt33. Accessed 17 April 2019.
[400] "Hugh Masekela Interview With Hilda Bernstein." No Location Listed: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1576. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 5. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 3
[401] Ibid
[402] Ibid, also: Russonello, Giovanni. "Hugh Masekela, Trumpeter and Anti-Apartheid Activist, Dies at 78," *The New York Times*, 23 January 2018. Online: www.nytimes.com/2018/01/23/obituaries/hugh-masekela-dies.html. Accessed 17 April 2019.
[403] "Es'kia Mphahlele Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Mazimbu, Tanzania: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1625. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 1

grammar school and eventually at the University of Ibada from 1957 to 1961. There he completed his master's degree "as an external student of UNISA" and was offered a job as the Director of the African Programme of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Paris, France in 1961.[404] In this role, he set up writers and artist's clubs and organized education and writer's conferences in Africa. With a perpetual desire to teach and the Congress of Cultural Freedom wanting to establish a physical center in Africa, in 1963, Mphahlele moved his family again, this time to Nairobi, Kenya to run this center. After three years and feeling a lack of hospitality from the locals of Nairobi, Mphahlele decided to pursue his Ph.D. in the U.S. at the University of Denver in Colorado at the suggestion of a friend he'd met in Kenya who had attended the university. While Mphahlele finished his Ph.D. in two years, his wife, Rebecca, simultaneously finished a Master's in Social Work.[405]

Whether to perform, to study or to teach, the common thread that binds the flight of these individuals from South Africa and their subsequent induction into the global North, is that they were all escaping South Africa's apartheid system and searching for ways to lead free and purposeful lives as cultural producers in the world. In order to develop and express their critique of the repression they faced in South Africa, they had to leave the country and face an equally cruel and repressive world. Some were able to navigate this terrain better than others; however, there always existed a longing for home and they continuously carried a feeling of betrayal by the laws of their homeland as they embarked on their journeys in the wide world. They left for many reasons, mostly coerced through legislation like the Suppression of Communism Act and

[404] Mphahlele said that Americans discretely financed the Congress of Cultural Freedom with American money in order use the program as vehicle to spread democracy around the world. See: "Es'kia Mphahlele Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Mazimbu, Tanzania: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1625. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. pps. 2-3
[405] Ibid

the Publications and Entertainment Act—both of which limited what these cultural producers could say or speak out against in their works—and the Bantu Education Act, which made many of their jobs as teachers and parents next to impossible. And as you will see in the next section, some even left South Africa to perform overseas and when they tried to return, found that their South African passport had been cancelled.

At the root of all this was the apartheid state which legitimated and facilitated the removal of many oppositional cultural producers from the country through legislation and policies, either through direct deportation and formal exile, or by creating the conditions that left many with no recourse but to leave the country. South Africa is not unique in these actions because as we will see in the sections to follow, a central feature in nation-state formations in the global North, especially settler colonial nations, is the furious regulation of its citizens especially with regard to migration, and social and spatial mobility. Considering this from the standpoint of Black populations and nation-state's historically aggressive surveillance of these populations, this fixation is only heightened. Paying close attention to who was made mobile and immobile, who was granted entry into a particular nation and who was expelled from it, and what politics were most central to the nation itself and those individuals that the nation attempted to control the mobility of, I argue that South African cultural producers, through their lived experiences and cultural works, when read together, were able to develop a sharp and varied critique of the state and citizenship discourse that relied heavily on the concepts of Pan-Africanism, Black solidarity movements and fighting against anti-Blackness globally. This was done in order to form a new kind of global Black community, or Makeba's idea of "Africa," of which she conceived herself a citizen.

"Where Does it Lead?": (Re)Making Life, Community, and Futures in Exile

In a three-part *Drum* article beginning in the April 1960 edition entitled, "Miriam Makeba: Lady of Song," with subsequent parts of this article published in the following two months, author Casey Motsisi covered the life story of Miriam Makeba who had just hit it big in the U.S. and was a budding international singing sensation. In this article, Motsisi describes the franticness of Makeba's departure from South Africa. She had already been invited to go to the Venice Film Festival in November of 1959 to promote *Come Back, Africa* and was just waiting for a passport that would allow her to travel to Europe to attend. Due to the near impossibility of receiving passports in the country and the bureaucratic nightmare it was to be issued one, particularly for Native Black South Africans, Motsisi reports, "nobody knew whether she would make it or not, but we all had our fingers crossed. And when she did go, it was such a hustle she even forgot to kiss her mother goodbye!"[406] Instead, in the months awaiting her passport, Makeba recorded her farewell to South Africa in a song by her female singing group, The Skylarks, with Makeba as the featured vocalist entitled, "Miriam's Goodbye to Africa." The song was released soon after she left the country with lyrics that expressed her feelings about the sudden change in her and her family's life:

> Goodbye, Mother,
> Goodbye, Father,
> And to you, my little baby – goodbye,
> Until we meet again.
> Farewell to friends,
> I'm leaving.
> May the Good Lord be with you all.
> Though I'm leaving, my heart remains with you.
> I'll miss all my relations,
> And the sunshine of my homeland.
> Farewell… God bless you all.[407]

[406] Motsisi, Casey. "Miriam Makeba: Lady of Song." *Drum,* Apr. 1960, p. 29
[407] Ibid

South Africa, as a state formation with ultimate authority over the mobility of those who reside within its borders, is implicated as the formation that activist and music producer, Sifiso Ntuli, characterized as "schizophrenic,"[408] by way of the passport chaos Motsisi reports and the climate in which this Skylarks song was created. The South African government was an entity that at one point would limit the mobility of Black South Africans and tie them up for months, if not years in bureaucratic red tape, utterly unwilling to allow them to access professional opportunities overseas and then, an instant later, be willing to divide families and make individuals hyper-mobile through the granting of temporary passports or exit visas, or through banning orders, passport cancellations, and exile.

In this tradition, with her passport in hand, the 26-year-old Makeba left for London, eventually finding her way to the U.S. leaving her eight-year-old daughter, Angela Sibongile Makeba, better known as Bongi (a shorted version of her middle name Sibongile)[409] in the care of her mother back in South Africa. By the time of Motsisi's April 1960 article, Makeba had already accomplished a great deal and developed a reputation as a bourgeoning superstar in the U.S. In this short amount of time, she had performed on television programs like *The Steve Allen Show*, performed at legendary venues like The Village Vanguard, The Blue Angel and Chicago's Blue Note; she'd met and developed relationships with world famous musicians and artists like Harry Belafonte, Dizzy Gillespie and Miles Davis (not to mention George Clinton), and began recording her first American album with RCA Records.[410] It was all going well until an event in South Africa rocked Makeba—and the world at large—to the core. The Sharpeville Massacre

[408] Hirsch, Lee, Sherry S. Dean, Desireé Markgraaff, Vusi Mahlasela, Jeremy Cronin, Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Sophie Mgcina, Dolly Rathebe, Sifiso Ntuli, Abdullah Ibrahim, Duma Ndlovu, Johanna Demetrakas, Clive Sacke, Ivan Leathers, Brand Jordaan, and Dave Matthews. *Amandla!: A Revolution in Four Part Harmony*. Santa Monica, California: Artisan Home Entertainment, ©2002, 2003.
[409] Anonymous. "Bongi Makeba: In Dedication and Memory of Bongi Makeba," *Miriam Makeba Foundation*, 23 January 2018. Online: www.miriammakeba.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=44&Itemid=260. Accessed 17 April 2019
[410] Motsisi, Casey. "Miriam Makeba: Lady of Song." (1960) p. 28

compelled her to question the glamorous life she was living while so many, including her family, suffered from apartheid in her home country.

Just weeks after her 27th birthday, on 21 March 1960, police opened fire on a crowd of peaceful protestors, killing 69 and injuring 180 others, just outside of the Sharpeville Township police station. These protestors were brought together by the Pan-African Congress (PAC) and its infamous leader Robert Sobukwe to call for the end of pass laws in South Africa for Native Black South Africans. This event came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre, an event that took the lives of family members and friends of thousands from all over the country and all over the globe including two of Makeba's uncles.[411] This tragedy only heightened Makeba's resolve to be reunited with her daughter, so by August of 1960, Bongi had successfully joined her mother in the U.S.[412] However, the celebration of Bongi's arrival was short-lived as Makeba was informed not long after Bongi's arrival that her mother had passed away in South Africa. Wanting to return home to bury her mother in their traditional ways—her mother was a "sangoma," or a traditional Swazi healer[413] —Makeba attempted to fly home only to be told that the South African government had cancelled her passport. This was the context in which Miriam Makeba was made aware that she had been exiled from her homeland.[414]

For Makeba, the apartheid state's sovereignty over her spatial mobility was exercised in various ways. First, she was placed in limbo, wondering if she would ever be granted a passport

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411 Quoting Louise Bethlehem, "For her part, Makeba was tied to the Pan-Africanist Congress, through bonds of identification and, not least of all, mourning: two of her uncles were among those massacred at Sharpeville in 1960" Bethlehem, Louise. ""Miriam's Place": South African Jazz, Conviviality and Exile." (2017) p. 250. For this quote, Bethlehem sites: Makeba, Miriam, and James Hall. *Makeba: My Story*. New York: New American Library, 1988. Print. p. 97

412 Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013), p. 68

413 Makeba, Miriam, and Nomsa Mwamuka. *Makeba: The Miriam Makeba Story*. Johannesburg: STE, 2005. Print. p. 21

414 "Exiles: Miriam Makeba." BBC. BBC, London, [ND]. RIM.HAF.2013-0712, BBC MCV-1386 Mayibuye Archives Video Recording TWO Collection. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017.

to pursue opportunities afforded to her by her incredible gift of singing outside of the country. Considering the impulsiveness of the state's repressive apparatus, once the government did grant this request, Makeba had to move in haste as to not miss her opportunity to leave. Finally, when it was learned what projects Makeba had taken part in after leaving the country, especially being involved in *Come Back, Africa*, she was restricted from ever returning to the country with her passport permanently cancelled. This kind of control exerted over an individual's mobility was not only spatial but it was also social; it was not only physically enforced but it was coerced as well. Nakasa being only offered an exit visa to pursue his education at Harvard, Mphahlele being unable to teach in South Africa due to his organizing against the Bantu Education Act, the same act that coerced the Matshikizas to escape from South Africa in the interest of their children's well-being, all of these are examples that showcase how the South African government limited individuals' social mobility, which resulted in their coerced migration that later became official exile through the cancelling of passports. On the other side of this migration story, however, are the countries that received these exiles and incorporated their narratives into their respective nation-building projects in multiple ways that resulted in these exiles' restricted social and spatial inclusion into the receiving countries and/or their social and spatial exclusion from these receiving countries.

The Matshikizas came to Britain not only to escape apartheid but also because *King Kong* had been picked up for a run in the country and Matshikiza believed he would be afforded opportunities to advance his professional career there. In essence, London made Matshikiza a promise it had no intention of keeping. Regarding *King Kong*'s arrival to London, it was reported, "'King Kong' has hit London in the solar plexus. That's what the English are saying on the radio here. 'King Kong' is a Knock Out. That's what the papers say. And every night the

Princess Theatre, which can take two thousand people every time, is completely sold out."[415] The early success of *King Kong* and wide ranging reportage in Britain showcases a kind of progressive hospitality and desire for worldly entertainment that satisfied the country's project of presenting itself as the world's most progressive and worldly metropolis. There is an air of paternalism, bourgeoisie, eroticization and elitism to this kind of incorporation that is evidenced especially after considering the lack of social mobility afforded the cast and crew of the play following its run and the quickness these early forms of praise for the play turned into scathing critique and ridicule.[416] In other words, Britain did allow these people to come into its borders for the country's viewing and entertainment pleasure, but once this entertainment did not match up to their "fine tastes" and high standards, they were done with the *King Kong* cast and crew and would not provide them with the resources to stay and thrive in the country. In fact, the social climate itself was one that pushed such performers and migrants to the margins. This was what the Matshikizas felt as they tried to integrate into British society and instead were confronted with housing and employment discrimination. Exasperating the issue, the glass ceiling and good ol' boys network were obstacles Matshikiza could not overcome, especially with a lack of Western respected credentials.

The early 1960s were a time characterized largely by the decolonization of Africa. In March of 1957, Ghana became the first sub-Saharan country in Africa to gain its independence from a European colonizer. Over the next several decades, dozens of African nations followed

[415] Matshikiza, Todd. "How King Kongers Hit London: They Knocked That City Flat." *Drum*, Apr. 1961, p. 30

[416] For instance, David Coplan quotes critic Robert Muller who said of the play: "Politically, *King Kong* is about as dynamic as a bag of laundry. Everything, including the gangsters and social misery, has been agreeably prettified … A full-blooded entertainment this may be but a whistle and a wiggle are no match for the policy of apartheid. One swallow of black and white collaboraton doesn't make a summer of South Africa's bleak shame." (Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008. Print. p. 216) David Coplan contributes most of this critique and ridicule to the lack of overtly political messages in the play during a time of wide ranging African independence struggles. (Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. (2008) p. 216)

suit including several countries from all over the continent sympathetic to the cause of South African exiles, especially the external mission of the exiled organization and vanguard movement for the seizure of power of South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC). These countries included Guinea (October 1958), Madagascar (June 1960), The Democratic Republic of the Congo (June 1960), Nigeria (October 1961), Algeria (July 1962), Kenya (December 1963) and Zambia (October 1964).

John Matshikiza remembered that during this time, "unlike half the cast of *King Kong*, [his parents] were not prepared to go back to South Africa, until serious change had occurred. So they struggled on in London for a while and then started receiving offers from newly independent Africa, or shortly to become independent Africa, and notably Kenya and Zambia to go and work there, which struck them as a very good idea, so [they] went to Zambia in 1964."[417] They moved after being recruited by a representative in London from the United Nations Independence Party (UNIP) who informed the Matshikizas that the soon-to-be independent Zambia was interested in bringing in skilled individuals to live and work. Matshikiza's BBC experience and Esmé's experience as a social worker made them perfect candidates.[418] In Zambia, Matshikiza worked "for Radio Zambia and then at a later stage, [worked] for the information ministry… developing a Zambian musical archive… of traditional music."[419] Esmé

[417] "John Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Kentish Town, Stockholm: [ND]. Print. MVA-7: 1589. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 1
[418] "Esmé Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." London: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1588. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 3
[419] "John Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Kentish Town, Stockholm: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1589. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 1

also worked, "first as a social worker, and then as a personnel manager with a multinational company and then later on for the United Nations."[420]

This Zambia move for the Matshikizas highlights how a state formation's social climate can yield coercive migration. Britain's inability to be socially inclusive certainly allowed the Matshikizas to consider leaving and the emotional and inviting tug of Africa became something they were unable to ignore. Similar circumstances would eventually cause Miriam Makeba to leave the U.S.

As the times changed, so too did the U.S.'s political relations and feelings toward the continent of Africa. During the mid-1960s, Black popular politics in the U.S. were transitioning from a Civil Rights Movement discourse to a more radical one based in the Black Power Movement. Simultaneously, due to Cold War politics and the decolonial era in Africa, the U.S. as a state formation that was once willing to offer a kind of progressive hospitality to African migrants, politically moved toward a blanket suspicion of newly independent African countries, their migrating citizens, Black Power political organizations and leaders in the U.S., and all of these groups' potential ties to the Left. As these transitions were occurring (probably more accurately *because* of these transitions) the U.S.'s love affair with Miriam Makeba also began to deteriorate. This fate was sealed in March of 1968 when Makeba married the man largely credited with coining the phrase "Black Power," the revolutionary theorist, Stokely Carmichael.

To be clear, through a thorough analysis of *Billboard* magazine, by tracking the number of mentions of Makeba's name in it and by tracking song charts, historian Tyler Fleming shows that Makeba's popularity had already started to wane prior to this marriage.[421] The results of this analysis gives credence to the idea that the U.S.'s transitioning political feelings and relationship

[420] Ibid, p. 2
[421] Fleming, Tyler. "A Marriage of Inconvenience: Miriam Makeba's Relationship with Stokely Carmichael and Her Music Career in the United States." *Safundi*. 17.3 (2016): pps. 328-29

with decolonial Africa had already begun to effect Makeba's popularity in the country when she married Carmichael. To understand how she fits into the narrative of this transition, one must first look at the politics she took up during her nine years in the U.S. prior to her marriage to Carmichael.

Makeba, from early on in her time in the U.S., was a vocal advocate for anti-apartheid struggle and civil rights in the U.S. Feldstein notes, "She and Belafonte often performed together and separately on behalf of the SCLC, SNCC, ACOA, Student Aid Association of South Africa and other civil rights-oriented organizations."[422] Makeba's status both as a South African woman performer and as an exile "helped to create comparisons between American civil rights activism and anti-apartheid activism, contributing to an emerging liberal consensus that extremes of racial discrimination in or out of the United States were harmful."[423] Makeba's conviviality and grace made it easy for politicians and the American populace to be swayed to this liberal perspective toward the civil rights movement and anti-apartheid struggle. This was something that was purposeful as "Belafonte groomed Miriam to present an image of a shy retiring village girl" not only to achieve popularity and success as a performer, but also to express her developing political leanings.[424] Lewis Nkosi, in April of 1962, wrote an article for *Drum* in which he covered Makeba's "Special African Song Night Programme" performance for the U.N. in New York City. The event was by invitation only and was attended by dozens of distinguished international politicians. Nkosi wrote, evidenced by this performance, "No longer just a township singer, Miriam has developed a concern for people and problems outside her stage career."[425]

[422] Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013), p. 70
[423] Ibid
[424] Nkosi, Lewis. "Miriam Sings a New Song." *Drum,* Apr. 1962, p. 19
[425] Ibid

These concerns were more than just about the grand civil rights and anti-apartheid struggles. Makeba was also deeply concerned with the quotidian lived experiences of individual South African exiles and how they were adapting to the West. Hugh Masekela was one of these exiles and once told a story of his feelings of alienation in the United States:

> I remember my first year. I was sitting in Central Park and I was talking to myself. I hadn't spoken Zulu for a long time, or Sotho. I was beginning to dream in English and it was starting to worry me. And I was sitting there, and so as not to forget the language, I was talking to myself… And some people were looking at me in Central Park and they called the cops, and they said, "I think that guy maybe is losing it," you know?[426]

These were the kind of stories that would be shared at Makeba's New York apartment, the "nerve center where entertainers and diplomats from Africa mingled with African Americans."[427] Masekela's feelings of alienation and experiences with confrontations and clashes with the Repressive State Apparatus of Western society (i.e., having the cops called on him), showcase the raw reality of finding oneself in a country that is culturally incommensurate with their own, not to mention xenophobic.[428] Ntuli described exile as "a spiritual desert," devoid of the color,

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[426] Hirsch, Lee, Sherry S. Dean, Desireé Markgraaff, Vusi Mahlasela, Jeremy Cronin, Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Sophie Mgcina, Dolly Rathebe, Sifiso Ntuli, Abdullah Ibrahim, Duma Ndlovu, Johanna Demetrakas, Clive Sacke, Ivan Leathers, Brand Jordaan, and Dave Matthews. *Amandla!: A Revolution in Four Part Harmony*. Santa Monica, California: Artisan Home Entertainment, ©2002, 2003.

[427] Feldstein, Ruth. ""The World Was on Fire": Black Women Entertainers and Transnational Activism in the 1950s." *Oah Magazine of History*. 26.4 (2012): 25-29. Print.

[428] To this point, one of the constant debates that South African exiles had among each other and within their new home communities was in comparing and contrasting the differences between South Africa and the global north with regards to alienation, repression and discrimination. Was one more devastating than the other? What were the similarities and differences between these locations? Hugh Masekela, when thinking about the plight of previous generations of Black Americans in comparison to Black South Africans stated that the United States "at the time was worse than South Africa, where they were being lynched at any time, you know, the only problems we really had were with the police and they were quite rough problems, but it was not like the South where it was like a free-for-all on African peoples there." ("Hugh Masekela Interview With Hilda Bernstein." p. 1) Nat Nakasa, on the other hand, though he thought it "possible to draw parallels between the Negro's exclusion from the mainstream of society" with that of South Africa, he ultimately believed that "the more vicious degradation" belonged to his "own people in South Africa." ("Ndazana Nathaniel Nakasa." *SAHO*, 17 Feb. 2011,www.sahistory.org.za/people/ndazana-nathaniel-nakasa. Accessed 18 April 2019) Makeba's feelings on the matter were much closer aligned with Nakasa's. For example, following a SCLC performance in Atlanta in 1962, Belafonte and Makeba were denied entry into the cities most elegant restaurants. In response, Belafonte asked the press, "What can we as Americans say to a guest like Miss Makeba? She comes from a land of oppression, only to find a situation like this." Makeba, however, was barely bothered by the situation, later commenting, "I'm from South Africa, which makes Atlanta look like the cradle of democracy." (Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013) p. 71)

cultural nourishment and communal infrastructure that was the foundation of their lives. This was an exilic consciousness, or as defined by Huma Ibrahim, a deep knowledge of not belonging both in one's home country or one's exiled country, that this community engaged with constantly.[429] So, as a way to work against this framework, Makeba used her apartment and her, as described by Nkosi, "impromptu township parties,"[430] as ways to bring this community together, to speak their native tongues and to feel a sense of home away from their homeland. Being a place where Americans and Africans intermingled, Makeba's apartment became a place for her to develop her politics and engage with others to expand her political commitments.

Having performed for various civil rights and anti-apartheid organizations, Makeba had a little-known but brazen reputation within these circles as a consistent advocate for these struggles. Still, American popular audiences knew Makeba as little more than a unique cultural representative, and wildly talented and gracious South African vocalist. It wasn't until 1963, when Makeba testified before the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, and then again in 1964, both times condemning the National Party government and calling for world leaders to come to the aid of South Africa, that this perception began to change. It was here that Makeba "defined herself as a political subject talking about global affairs,"[431] and in the midst of Cold War politics and decolonial African struggles, her Pan-African views and commitments began to be seen as suspicious by American authorities.

Fleming notes, "The United States faced various turning points within the Civil Rights movement (particularly after the assassinations of MLK and Bobby Kennedy), the escalating conflict in Vietnam, rising Cold War tensions, and America's increasingly meddlesome foreign

[429] Ibrahim, Huma. *Bessie Head: Subversive Identities in Exile*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996. Print. p. 2
[430] Nkosi, Lewis. "Miriam Sings a New Song." (1962) p. 21
[431] Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013) p. 73

policy agenda (particularly in Africa)."[432] This caused the American government to grow weary of those they felt were sympathetic to Leftist global politics, "particularly as Black Power activists increasingly connected domestic American racial struggles to African independence and the anti-apartheid movement."[433] Makeba, being a Black South African exile living in the U.S., who was outspoken with regards to apartheid and racial oppression, was the ultimate example of such an individual. This reputation was cemented when in the midst of all of this Makeba married Carmichael. In fact, in 1967, "Upon discovering her ties to Carmichael… the U.S. government targeted Makeba for surveillance."[434] This is shown by the fact that Makeba's "FBI file begins just before the press covered news of the relationship (showing the FBI not only knew of the relationship months before the press but also how the bureau approached any association with Carmichael with suspicion)."[435]

In his article, "A marriage of Inconvenience: Miriam Makeba's Relationship with Stokely Carmichael and Her Music Career in the United States," Fleming, meticulously analyzes Makeba's marriage to Carmichael and how it spelled disaster for her career in the U.S. I highlight Fleming's focus on how this marriage effected the perception of Makeba by the American mainstream to better understand how men and patriarchal nation-state formations or nations largely determined Makeba's mobility as a global subject. However, by centering Makeba's presence and her influence on these men and nation-states in this discussion, I also offer a counter narrative that concludes that these men and nations benefited economically, socially and culturally from these relationships far more than Makeba did.

[432] Fleming, Tyler. "A Marriage of Inconvenience: Miriam Makeba's Relationship with Stokely Carmichael and Her Music Career in the United States." (2016) p. 322
[433] Ibid
[434] Ibid, p. 320
[435] Ibid

Makeba's marriage to Carmichael was heralded as the quintessential "Pan-African" marriage. With dignitaries from all over the African continent including "Tanzania, Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville, Dahomey, and the United Arab Republic" and U.S.-based Black Freedom Struggle leaders such as "members from the Poor Peoples Campaign's Washington headquarters" in attendance, this wedding was a spectacle of Pan-Africanism like nothing before.[436] The wedding was covered by the mainstream and Black press including *Ebony*, which added, "[The wedding] included representatives of free African nations, Afro-American jazz musicians, black ghetto businessmen and militants, and a score of the 'the world's few decent white people.'"[437]

The spectacle of this union began to change the way Makeba was perceived by mainstream America, her target audience. The ways in which Makeba was perceived as tied to her marriage were very different than the ways Carmichael was perceived. This was a highly gendered and heteronormative perception of marriage where the woman is understood as an extension or representation of the man whose political commitments, ideas and cultural works become the definition of the marriage and both individuals as a whole. In other words, Makeba was represented through the media and the popular imaginary as nonexistent outside of her marriage once she married Carmichael. So, because Carmichael was associated with a retreat from the non-violent strategies of the preceding civil rights era and instead championed "Black Power" slogans and advocated for self-defense, even if this self-defense merited violence, "Makeba began to lose the support of conservative Americans (irrespective of race) as well as black communities who espoused respectability and restraint over Carmichael's radicalism."[438]

[436] Ibid, p. 321
[437] Ibid
[438] Ibid, p. 323

This proved disastrous for Makeba's career in the U.S. where within a year's time, Makeba went from being a prominent figure in American popular culture and highly sought after performer in venues across the country, to a virtual afterthought. Fleming showcases this in his article detailing how she disappeared from mentions in the press over this short period, how her record sales declined and how shows that were booked for her to perform all over the country were abruptly and ubiquitously cancelled.[439] This resulted in Makeba and Carmichael accepting an invitation from Ahmed Sékou Touré, the controversial leader of the newly independent West African nation, Guinea, to move to the country and call it home.

Figure 5: President's Giant Cigarettes Ad featuring Miriam Makeba from page 44 of the May 1960 *Drum*

Makeba's journey out of South Africa to the U.S. and then back to the African continent can be traced through the interventions of men and patriarchal nation-state formations into Makeba's life at every detour. Though some of these interventions produced positive outcomes for Makeba along the way, many did not, and in fact, many used Makeba's perceived femininity

[439] Ibid, pps. 325-34

and rugged Africanness as ways to profit, both socially and economically, or to advance nation building projects tied to masculine forms of hospitality and chivalry (i.e., the idea of saving a damsel in distress), and forms of dominance and repression (i.e., creating the conditions for coercive migration and exile).

For instance, the U.S. as a state formation was seen as progressively hospitable by its acceptance of Makeba into the country and its audiences' praise of her talent once she was exiled from her home nation, South Africa. However, once it was identified that her political beliefs were in some ways oppositional to U.S. foreign policy and dominant national identity, she became a target for governmental surveillance and was eventually coerced into leaving the country. Even corporations found ways to use Makeba's fame to sell their products. Along with the Coca-Cola ad discussed in the Introduction Chapter (see Figure 1), Figure 5 shows a President's Giant Cigarettes advertisement featuring a makeup-less and smiling Makeba, donning an elegant off-the-shoulder dress and regal earrings with script written in a first person narrative acknowledging those that helped her get to the U.S. to achieve her success, such as President's Giant Cigarettes.[440]

Belafonte, though he facilitated Makeba's arrival to the U.S. and helped her achieve international success, still profited from his encounter with her in important ways. With his ability to claim her as his protégé, their joint Grammy Award winning protest album produced by Hugh Masekela in 1965 entitled, "An Evening With Belafonte/Makeba,"[441] and the countless performances throughout the 1960s where they shared the stage, Makeba allowed Belafonte to remain culturally, socially and musically relevant in the 1960s providing revenue, expanding his

[440] As of now, my research has found no mention of President's Giant Cigarettes contributing to Makeba's ability to get to the US or achieve fame other than in this advertisement.
[441] Fleming, Tyler. "A Marriage of Inconvenience: Miriam Makeba's Relationship with Stokely Carmichael and Her Music Career in the United States." (2016) pps. 315, 325

global reach as a humanitarian and solidifying his position as an advocate of Pan-Africanism. Similarly, Carmichael's "Black Power" ideology and commitment to Pan-African ideals are in many ways proven by his marriage to Makeba.

Regardless, Makeba was never one to submit or surrender to being dominated by anyone without a struggle. Instead, after being effectively exiled from two countries, the U.S. and South Africa, she developed her own perceptions and theorizations of exile in opposition to those wielded by the various forms of domination that attempted to define her life. Makeba, through these theorizations, exerted her autonomy over her life and mobility. This is evident in her response to interviewer Harold Stuart when he asked Makeba about her U.S. exile in a 1971 WBGH Boston television interview for a series called "Say Brother":

> Stuart: Do you think your marriage to the very controversial Stokely Carmichael had anything to do with your career here in this country, with your not being booked for, let's say over a year?
>
> Makeba: Well I definitely think so, becu, I don't think so I know so because many people have said it. Its been in newspapers, I, we have clippings of it, where people say we cannot support someone who is married to somebody who wants to destroy the United States and so on and so forth but of course I love him, it doesn't bother me.
>
> Stuart: What, what country are you presently living in?
>
> Makeba: I'm living in Guinea but as I said, I, am a citizen of Africa.[442]

What Makeba articulates in this passage is the existence of a kind of social and epistemological citizenship that is not tied to specific sovereign nation-states or traditional bordered communities or regions, but instead, implies a citizenship that is tied to a shared history with colonial confrontation and resistance to anti-Blackness. In other words, the phrase, "I am a citizen of Africa," points to the presence of a diasporic affective community that she terms, "Africa." "Africa" in this sense is not about the continent as a geographic location (for instance, she was not a citizen of South Africa at this time due to her exile, so she couldn't literally be a

[442] Makeba, Miriam. "Blast From the Past: With Vocalist Miriam Makeba." Say Brother. By Harold Stuart. (1971)

citizen of the entire continent). But she understands her citizenship to be of a larger idea of "Africa" that transcends normative conceptions of citizenship or her residence in the West African country of Guinea. This is a Pan-African construction of a citizenship to "Africa" and at the heart of this critique is the creation of a home to belong to that cannot be taken away by patriarchal nation-state formations.

This epistemic community creates a point of entry for disparate Black communities globally to connect to and participate in solidarity movements. It allows exiles to find places to belong, even if temporarily, as they long and fight for their homeland. To this point, Makeba has said she never intended to be away from her home but when the banning order came down, she had no way to get back, which was "very painful…" She continued, "It's just the feeling you get that here are people fighting and struggling and you're away from all of it. I think many of us, students, politicians, artists and writers from South Africa who find themselves out here are trying our best in our respective areas to make it known to the world that we do have this huge problem of apartheid, and I don't know how much it does but, that's the best we can do."[443] Makeba was successful in many ways at finding this epistemic community and the space necessary to belong while she fought and longed for home. In other words, she was able to belong within the concept of "Africa" until she could physically find her way home to South Africa. Makeba was adamant: "I would not like to think or believe that I will be in exile eternally, no. If I thought that then I would just lay down and die. But the only thing that makes me want to be able to go on living with this pain that I feel from being away from my home, is the fact that I know I will go home someday soon."[444]

[443] "Exiles: Miriam Makeba." BBC. BBC, London, [ND]. RIM.HAF.2013-0712, BBC MCV-1386 Mayibuye Archives Video Recording TWO Collection. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017.
[444] Ibid

Though finding this "Africa" and believing in the *fact*, as she termed it, that she would be home soon, was in large part effective for Makeba, it did not work for all South African exiles. As we will see in the next section, for many, home was lost in exile and so was hope; for many others still, 'home' became such an abstract concept that even if they were able to get back to South Africa someday, after decades in exile (some who left were in their late teens to mid-twenties when they left the country), they, their families and their children questioned if South Africa would ever be home again or was ever home to begin with.

"Mayibuye": The 'Lovely Lies' in Coming Home?

For Todd Matshikiza and his family, their return to the continent of Africa was supposed to be a liberating experience, where Matshikiza could move back to his mother continent in the newly independent and Black-run country of Zambia and be afforded the opportunities to create that were denied to him in London. Sadly, however, this dream never came to fruition. After four years of working for Radio Zambia and as an archivist for the Information Ministry, Matshikiza could not find inspiration for his creative impulses, and became a shell of himself and a heavy drinker. His health slowly dissipated over this period until he died on 4 March 1968 in Lusaka, Zambia. His family credited his demise to a broken heart as he yearned for his homeland of South Africa. Esmé, thinking back on the last days of Matshikiza's life remembered, "He just missed home... He just couldn't bear the thought that he was never going to see his brothers again, and maybe that he was never going to see home again and when he was on his death bed, he just kept imagining that he was back in Queenstown, all the time he was just back home."[445] John affirmed his mother's memories contending that his father died "feeling unfulfilled… by

[445] "Esmé Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." London: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1588. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 4

the inability to return to the source of his creativity, which is South Africa." John finished this memory suggesting, "I'm sure he felt there were not the right kind of opportunities for him, either in London or in Zambia, to really become ...be the creative person that he was. So he .. he died in some despair I think."[446]

This kind of despair, heartbreak and even hopelessness were unfortunately common for South African cultural exiles. Paul Gready, in his article about the Sophiatown 'set,' (which was the key Black male writers of *Drum* in the 1950s) notes, "(Can) Themba, (Bloke) Modisane, and Matshikiza all died, disillusioned in exile."[447] Even more heart breaking was the death of Nat Nakasa in exile, who "committed suicide in 1965 in New York"[448] by leaping to his death from a friend's 7th story apartment.[449] For many, the inability to be home in South Africa was too much to bear. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, Black township life and the physical and emotional violence of apartheid also produced bouts of rage, madness, hopelessness and suicide. "Home" then was always fleeting for Black South Africans, both in exile and within the apartheid state. This is what Huma Ibrahim meant with her use of the analytic "exilic consciousness," where the condition of exile implies that one does not belong in their new exiled "home" or their original "home."[450] This framework produces a state of perpetual homelessness where for the South African cultural exile, "the exile condition has proved to be as ambiguous as life in South Africa."[451] This was the importance of Makeba's theorizations of "Africa," the idea. It was the

[446] "John Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Kentish Town, Stockholm: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1589. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 2
[447] Gready, Paul. "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World." *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 16.1 (1990): p. 160
[448] Ibid
[449] Brown, Ryan L. "A Native of Nowhere: the Life of South African Journalist Nat Nakasa, 1937-1965." (2011) p. 57
[450] Ibrahim, Huma. *Bessie Head: Subversive Identities in Exile*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996. Print. p. 2
[451] Gready, Paul. "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World." (1990) p. 160

saving grace for many of these exiles from succumbing to hopelessness and depression, and gave them a place, even epistemologically, to belong and from which to fight for their homeland.

The fact that Makeba's body could not physically be in South Africa did not prevent "Makeba's music" from "doing well outside the U.S." and remaining "popular across much of the world," which allowed her iconography, music and thus, her influence to circulate within South Africa.[452] Makeba hints at this idea when, during a 1966 interview in Stockholm, Sweden, she responded to a question from her interviewer about state repression in South Africa:

> "My records, for instance, have been banned since 1962 in South Africa they do not sell them anymore, people who have them just have to play them privately and hope that nobody that shouldn't hear them, hears them."[453]

Though illegal, Makeba's music and advertisements such as those featured in Figures 1 and 5 still circulated fairly widely in South Africa. The people who played her music privately in South Africa performed a political critique of and collective action against nation-state sovereignty. As apartheid laws dictated, South Africans were forbidden from playing Makeba's music because the apartheid regime feared that Makeba's outspokenness against them would inflame political dissention by its Black Native residents within the country. However, Makeba suggested there were people playing her music in spite of these laws, which also suggested that those who played her music in spite of the state's provisions rejected the nation-state's sovereignty over their lives and instead thought of themselves as belonging, at least ideologically, to some alternative kind of epistemological citizenship, or Makeba's idea of Africa. Moreover, by playing Makeba's music, this collective not only resisted the apartheid state's control over their lives but in theory, Makeba's exile as well. By still playing her music in a country that her body was exiled from, she still moved throughout the country and inspired

[452] Fleming, Tyler. "A Marriage of Inconvenience: Miriam Makeba's Relationship with Stokely Carmichael and Her Music Career in the United States." (2016) p. 329

[453] Makeba, Miriam. *Live at Bern's Salonger, Stockholm, Sweden, 1966*. South Africa: Gallo Record, 2003. Sound recording.

Black South Africans to resist the unjust apartheid system. Through affect and her music, Makeba became present in South Africa, moving, connecting, and transmitting oppositional politics throughout the country.

This Pan-African concept of Africa is what became the driving force behind Makeba's political commitments to the African continent during her international career prior to and following her informal exile to Guinea. Makeba's first trip and performance on the African continent post arrival to the U.S. was to "Kenya to support Tom Mboya and the campaign for Kenyan independence"[454] by performing at several events over the course of a few days in the country that was meant to aid Kenya's "Youth Helps Youth" campaign for destitute kids in late 1962.[455] During her visit, she spent time with children at a rescue center, performed at Kaloleni Hall and before she left to return to the U.S., she stopped by the Starehe Youth Centre where she donated a television.[456] Following her 1962 trip to Kenya, Makeba's next trip to Africa happened the following year, where she "went to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for the founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), an organization committed to 'African nationalism—and Pan-Africanism' as 'one of the determinant forces of the sixties.'"[457] Makeba talked about these trips to the continent of Africa in her letter to her South African fans and *Drum* readers published in the April 1964 edition of *Drum*. In it, she spoke about her time in Ethiopia, telling her fans, "I saw all the independent African heads of states. What a thrilling experience it was. When I sang for them at the palace in Addis, I couldn't help thinking how wonderful it would be if Sobukwe was sitting among them."[458]

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[454] Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013) p. 72

[455] Anonymous. "Miriam Comes Back To Africa." *Drum*, Jan. 1963, p. 9

[456] Ibid

[457] Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. (2013), p. 72

[458] Makeba, Miriam. "Miriam Makeba Writes to Drum: I Miss You So Much." *Drum,* Apr. 1964, p. 23

These trips showcase Makeba's deep commitment to Pan-Africanism and of her own Africanist political leanings,[459] while her remarks to her South African fans in her letter express a longing for home that implies a feeling of abandonment and betrayal by the South African state. Not having the possibility for Pan-African Congress (PAC) leader, Robert Sobukwe or any other South African leader to be present at the OAU also highlights some of the contradictions and shortcomings of Makeba's theorizations of an epistemic Black community that she termed "Africa."

In 1980, long after her 1973 divorce from Carmichael, Makeba, along with her former husband and lifelong friend, South African Jazz legend, Hugh Masekela, travelled to Lesotho for a concert appearance. Lesotho is an enclaved country, the only one in the world outside of the Italian peninsula, where it is completely surrounded and within the borders of another country, which, in the case of Lesotho, is South Africa. Makeba was literally surrounded by the country of her birth but in a completely different country simultaneously. Reflecting on this experience years later, Makeba talked about her feelings of sitting on the balcony of her Holiday Inn hotel room where she could literally look over the Lesotho border and for the first time in over 20 years, her eyes could rest on the land of her birth. About this heartbreaking experience she remarked that it was "painful to look over."[460] Masekela was able to meet with his family at the

[459] Makeba's Africanist leanings can be seen in her mention of Robert Sobukwe, the Pan African Congress (PAC) leader who split from the African National Congress (ANC) and their non-racial South Africa politics to create his own group that centered Africanist politics – politics that carried the motto of building "Africa for Africans," instead of an ANC leader like Nelson Mandela. As the main rivals to the ANC in organizing for the seizure of power of South Africa from the apartheid government, Makeba's mention of Sobukwe and the PAC as the leadership she wished to see at her OAU performance points to a political leaning toward the PAC's Africanist ideology. Makeba, having had two uncles who died at the PAC's pass law protests at Sharpeville Township during the Sharpeville Massacre and combined with these comments regarding Sobukwe, Makeba's commitment to Africanist ideologies can be observed as probably common within her family.

[460] "Exiles: Miriam Makeba." BBC. BBC, London, [ND]. RIM.HAF.2013-0712, BBC MCV-1386 Mayibuye Archives Video Recording TWO Collection. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017.

border but Makeba's celebrity and infamy with the regard to the South African state made it impossible for her to do the same. She was "so near and yet – not nearly near enough."[461]

The lyrics to one of Makeba's songs express well what she must have felt during her time in Lesotho:

> In the cities of a hundred foreign lands
> Not one word of pity or a helping hand
> I watch them as they pass me by, to a place called home
> They all have somewhere that belongs to them, but me
> I have to roam[462]

In these lyrics, one can hear the tormented feelings of an exile realizing that others have a home to go to, "somewhere that belongs to them," where on the contrary, exiles must roam aimlessly without "pity or a helping hand." Seeing South Africa and being unable to embrace it must have felt a lot like this. Moments like Makeba's time in Lesotho or South Africa's non-participation in the OAU really expose the limits to the idea of epistemological citizenships. Though they can help with mental health and placate feelings of loneliness, the physical state of exile and the condition of one's body being outside of one's homeland or made non-citizen within one's homeland, complicate the idea of autonomy within this kind of citizenship discourse. Though she argued that her epistemological citizenship was within "Africa" the idea, and though she carried passports for various African countries by the time of her Lesotho performance,[463] she still intimately knew all too well that within South Africa, her body, at least for the time being, was illegal and could not enter the country.

Physically, Makeba and her daughter, Bongi, were unable to go home to South Africa. In fact, though Makeba was able to eventually return to South Africa in 1990 following the release

[461] Anonymous. "Miriam Comes Back To Africa." (196) p. 7
[462] Makeba sings this song to open the film: "Exiles: Miriam Makeba." BBC. BBC, London, [ND]. RIM.HAF.2013-0712, BBC MCV-1386 Mayibuye Archives Video Recording TWO Collection. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017.
[463] Ibid

of ANC leader and political prisoner Nelson Mandela from prison, Bongi never did. Bongi died in 1985 at the age of 34 from complications following childbirth of a stillborn child and was buried in Conakry, Guinea while still in exile.[464] At the time of her death, Bongi had begun a relatively successful career as a singer in her own right having made several recordings as a part of two different groups, "Bongi and Judy," with Judy White, daughter of American singer, guitarist, songwriter, actor and civil rights activist Josh White, and "Bongi and Nelson," with her American husband Harold Nelson Lee. She recorded one solo album in 1980 entitled, *Bongi Makeba, Blow on Wind*. Bongi's music featured political themes such as odes to Pan-African leaders like her titles, "Malcolm X" (1965, 1972) and "Lumumba" (1970) and she frequently performed with her mother on stage during tours. Twenty-five of Bongi's 34 years on earth were spent in exile and her children Nelson Lumumba Lee (born 1968) and Zenzi Monique Lee (born 1971) had never seen South Africa at the time of her death. The complex relationships with exile and South Africa for children of cultural exiles, such as the story of Bongi Makeba, were common and they present real questions for how the condition of exile remakes home or even problematizes and/or expands the definition of home as a concept not only for the cultural exiles banned by the South African government but their children as well.

Take, for instance, the story of so-called Coloured South African writer and ANC member Alex La Guma and his family, especially his sons Barto and Eugene and their children. La Guma is a renowned South African Coloured writer most noted for his classic collection of short stories entitled, *A Walk in the Night and Other Stories* (1963). The title story in this collection, "A Walk in the Night," is his most celebrated work as it tells a story of a young man so enraged by the apartheid system that he mistakenly kills a poor white man in the Coloured

[464] Anonymous. "Obituary: Miriam 'Mama Africa' Makeba," *BBC News*, 11 Nov. 2008. Online: news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7719318.stm

neighborhood of District Six in Cape Town, South Africa. However, La Guma was also a fiercely committed organizer against the National Party government as one of the 156 defendants in the infamous South African Treason Trial,[465] and through his years spent in leadership with both the South African Coloured People's Organization (SACPO) and eventually a "Chief Representative of the ANC based in Cuba but representing the whole of Latin America."[466] Before La Guma moved his family to Cuba, his commitment to the struggle, including his writings that exposed the harsh conditions of apartheid yielded him and his wife, Blanche, who also had an unwavering commitment to the freedom struggle, much time spent on house arrests and in jails under banning orders. Blanche remembered,

> Alex had been in prison several times, from the time of the Treason Trial in 1956 and subsequently again on several occasions. And I .. when it came to the 90-day solitary confinement clause in 1963, Alex went to prison and I went with him and .. to the same prison, but kept apart. I wasn't aware that he was there until I heard his famous cough and his singing. We then .. I was released and Alex was kept on and released later. In 1966, he again went .. that time it was under the 180-day solitary confinement clause. He was under house arrest from 1962 and throughout that time, when he was in prison, he had to come back to house arrest.[467]

It got to the point for the La Gumas that they could no longer effectively fight apartheid from within the country. Being constantly surveilled and imprisoned left them little time to organize in ways that could yield any positive results. However, "It was a ruling of the ANC at that time that you don't leave until you are instructed to leave."[468] It wasn't until 1966 while Alex was serving a prison sentence that Blanche finally received orders from the ANC leadership to make arrangements to leave the country, and when Alex was finally released later that year, he agreed that leaving would be the best course of action for his family and for their participation in the

[465] The Treason Trial was a trial in Johannesburg in which 156 people, including Nelson Mandela, were arrested in a raid and accused of treason in South Africa in 1956. The main trial lasted until 1961, when all of the defendants were found not guilty. For more information, see: "Treason Trial 1956 - 1961." *SAHO*, 30 March 2011, www.sahistory.org.za/article/treason-trial-1956-1961. Accessed 18 April 2019.
[466] "Blanche La Guma Interview With Hilda Bernstein." London: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1547. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 5. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 2
[467] Ibid, p. 1
[468] Ibid

movement. With sons Eugene (10 at the time) and Barto (who was 7) in tow, the La Gumas first went to England in 1966, then to the Soviet Union in 1970 and then to Cuba in 1978.[469]

In a 1990 interview with Hilda Bernstein in London, Blanche La Guma talked about the circumstances that led her to move back to London in 1986. She remembered, "So I was in Havana assisting [Alex La Guma] for .. from 1978 to April of 1986. Alex died in 1985 and then I came back to London. In all, since I left South Africa, I've now been away, in October it was 24 years. In October 1990. That's 24 years."[470] When Alex died in 1985 of a heart attack (he had suffered several heart attacks in the years the preceded his eventual demise), the La Gumas had been in exile for almost 20 years. Barto and Eugene were in their late 20s with lives and families of their own at this time. Blanche said that she "decided to come back" because she "had one son living in Moscow, married and living in Moscow with two sons (Eugene), … (and) had one son in Africa, working for the ANC, that was Barto."[471] The La Guma kids had made homes in different countries and when asked by Bernstein about a six-week trip she would be taking to South Africa and whether she considered herself to have put down roots in London, Blanche replied,

> "Oh, most certainly, let's be very honest about this. I am a South African and I lived in South Africa for many years but over the 24 years that I've been away, I couldn't be floating all along. I had to get stationed so that I could work and live really. So I took out British citizenship. I have a home here and I work here. And I have learnt to live among the Londoners because its no good being here in London and still living in South Africa. You had to fit in with the lot here. So over these number of years, I've also gone quite a bit older. I have settled here."[472]

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[469] Ibid. According to Blanche La Guma, during this entire period Alex travelled a lot and in fact, moved to Cuba some years before Blanche and the kids came in 1978 propagating the cause of the ANC and garnering support for the removal of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Over this time, Blanche worked as a midwife, nurse, house mom and manageress at *Soviet Weekly*, while the La Guma children went to school. The boys, years later talked about how originally it was tough leaving South Africa, remembering how kids made fun of their accents and how they struggled to connect with kids from South Africa in exile. Some of this had to do with the La Guma name, as Barto remembered. Their mother and father's reputations created an atmosphere around the La Guma children that was serious and mature, which made the La Guma boys' interactions with children their age and those children's parents awkward much of the time. However, they soon got used to all of this and settled into a routine.

[470] Ibid, p. 2

[471] Ibid, p. 3

[472] Ibid, p. 4

Home, for Barto and Eugene, and even for Blanche over the 24 years they had been in exile, was completely different than what it was when they left South Africa. Blanche, a committed freedom fighter for the liberation of South Africa, was now a British citizen and though she was going to visit South Africa shortly at the time of her interview with Bernstein, her roots were by then laid in London. Eugene, who at the time was living in Moscow, Russia, had two sons that he described as, "They are white."[473] His sons knew nothing of South Africa and were Russian citizens born and raised. Eugene, on the other hand, was not a Russian citizen and instead classified himself as "officially sort of stateless."[474] The various kinds of citizenship statuses and countries of residence that Blanche, her children and her grandchildren occupied, present the vexed and contradictory relationship exiles and their families had with nation-state citizenship discourses in exile. The story of the La Gumas gives a wide-ranging account to consider the complexities of home making processes as exiled subjects, particularly for the children of South African cultural exiles and their children.

These complexities became more apparent when the release of Nelson Mandela from prison signaled the possibilities for exiles to come back to South Africa. After decades in exile, real questions arose about the possibilities for exiled South Africans to ever truly belong to a South Africa that, for the duration of their time in exile, they longed to return to. On 11 February 1990, then South African President F. W. de Klerk released Nelson Mandela from Victor Verster Prison amid growing domestic and international pressure, and to avoid the growing certainty of a racial civil war. Mandela spent 27 years in prison split between Robben Island, Pollsmoor Prison, and Victor Verster Prison. That day, Mandela held his wife, Winnie Mandela's hand in

[473] "Eugene La Guma Interview With Hilda Bernstein." London: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1548. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 5. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 4
[474] Ibid, p. 3

front of an enormous crowd who came to celebrate their beloved freedom fighter's release; the event was broadcast live across the world.[475] This signaled the collapse of apartheid and over the next four years, Mandela and de Klerk led efforts to dismantle the system, which resulted in the 1994 multiracial general election in which Mandela led the ANC to victory and became president of South Africa. With Mandela released and apartheid soon to be defeated, beginning in 1990, the 30-year era of exile in South Africa was coming to an end and South African exiles began to come back home after clearing bureaucratic hurdles.

In the meantime, on 16 April 1990, Nelson Mandela traveled to Wembley Stadium in London to attend what he regarded as an official international reception in the form of a concert entitled, "Nelson Mandela: An International Tribute for a Free South Africa." This concert was broadcasted to more than 60 countries and featured an enclave of artists including American soul singers Anita Baker and Patti LaBelle, and actor Denzel Washington, as well as dozens of exiled South African musicians who were living all over the world including singer Letta Mbulu, her husband Caiphus Semenya, all of the members of the Manhattan Brothers (not including Miriam Makeba), and Jonas Gwangwa, among many others. During the event, Mandela was present on stage for about 45 minutes and during this time he delivered a speech that called for continued sanctions against South Africa while imploring people from every corner of the earth to maintain their commitment to apartheid's abolition.[476]

A short documentary film made in 1990 by director Michael Robins and produced by Arekopaneng/ IDAF called, *Blowing Home*, documented the rehearsals and insights of South African exiled musicians as they prepared for the concert at Wembley Stadium.[477] However, one

[475] Lodge, Tom. *Mandela: A Critical Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Print. pps. 399-402
[476] Prokesch, Stephen. "Mandela Urges Support for Sanctions," *The New York Times*, 17 April 1990. Print.
[477] Among them was Letta Mbulu who spoke about being excited about seeing the Manhattan Brothers who she had not seen since 1961 while they were performing in London for the European run of the South African jazz opera

of the main themes of the film concentrated on the excitement of exiles about the prospects of going home. Singer Lorraine Mahlangu said, "I feel like taking the next flight and go home and sing for my people." Jazz drummer and vocalist Brian Abrahams and singer Letta Mbulu shared similar remarks about never feeling as if they belonged where they lived in exile and never thinking of home as anywhere else but South Africa.[478] Also among these cultural exiles featured in *Blowing Home* was John Matshikiza who echoed an enthusiasm for the event and in his interview with Bernstein reiterated the feelings of excitement of Mahlangu, Mbulu and Abrahams about the prospects of a return to South Africa saying, "There's always been the drive to be around long enough to see the day dawn when you can go home."[479] However, Matshikiza intimately understood the complexities and limitations of this idea that the exiled community would have the opportunity to come home because though many did come back, many exiles didn't survive the duration of the exile period. To this point he said:

> My father died in 68 and Nat Nakasa committed suicide in New York. There are other survivors. Mphahlele is still around and is back in South Africa and is doing apparently very creative searching work there. There are survivors among jazz musicians, the jazz pioneers are there, they exist. But you know, we have lost large, large, large numbers and I think it was a whole generation that was very seriously affected.[480]

Matshikiza's use of "survivors" observes a kind of traumatic foregrounding for the condition of exile that he highlights through the mention of his father and Nakasa's deaths, the loss of "large, large, large numbers" of colleagues who died in exile, these losses affected a

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King Kong. Others spoke about the issues with the performance, noting the limited 40-minute time slot meant for all of the dozens of exiled South African artists to somehow perform together with only days to rehearse and prepare. These logistical concerns were heightened by the fact that American performers like Anita Baker and reggae groups like Aswad were allotted similar time slots, a perceived injustice by several of the exiled South African artists who felt they should be the main attraction with their obvious intimate knowledge and emotional proximity to Mandela and the movement to expel apartheid from their homeland.

[478] Robins, Michael, Letta Mbulu, Caiphus Semenya, Lorraine Mahlangu, Nathan Dembuza Mdledle, John Matshikiza, and Brian Abrahams. *Blowing Home*. Arekopaneng, South Africa: IDAF, 1990.

[479] "John Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Kentish Town, Stockholm: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1589. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 7

[480] Ibid, pps. 6-7

whole generation, and the jazz pioneers' "survival." It also implies that exiles carried this trauma with them as they returned to South Africa. However, this trauma was not only caused by their time in exile but, through their exilic consciousness, this trauma began in South Africa with their relations to apartheid. Member of the Manhattan Brothers and the original actor who played the lead role of "King Kong" in the South African jazz opera *King Kong*, Nathan Dembuza Mdledle speaks to this in *Blowing Home* when he says, "I'm looking forward, of course, to going back to South Africa, but to a better South Africa. By better I mean… humanitarian crowds where people look upon people as human beings."[481] For Mdledle, South Africa was never a true home for him before he left the country due to apartheid but he hoped it could be transformed and made into one upon his return.

For some, the trauma of the condition of exile was something they could easily overcome while for others it was much harder to do. For instance, Matshikiza mentions Mphahlele, who was a grown man when he originally left the country and who had moved back to South Africa in 1977 after waiting on a visa for 5-plus years.[482] Six years after coming back, he was able to develop South Africa's first African Literature Department at the University of Witswatersrand in Johannesburg.[483] Mphahlele's ability to successfully come back to South Africa and immediately be productive and make a lasting impact on the country gives credence to the idea that some were able to overcome the trauma of exile, return to South Africa and make it a home. However, Matshikiza, who studied acting in London and had become a highly sought after actor with a filmography that includes titles like *Cry Freedom* (1987) and the TV movie *Mandela*

[481] Robins, Michael, Letta Mbulu, Caiphus Semenya, Lorraine Mahlangu, Nathan Dembuza Mdledle, John Matshikiza, and Brian Abrahams. *Blowing Home*. Arekopaneng, South Africa: IDAF, 1990.
[482] "Es'kia Mphahlele Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Mazimbu, Tanzania: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1625. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 3
[483] Ibid, 4

(1987), developed his career and settled into a lucrative life of his own in the West. In addition, "a lot of the most effecting things in (his) life" were his experiences all over the African continent, not just while "living in Zambia, but touring from Zambia, frequently to Tanzania, to Kenya, Botswana, working in Botswana" and so on as well.[484] So, for Matshikiza, to think of South Africa as a home was much less likely.

And then there are the questions that arise when we think of people like Miriam Makeba and what she was coming home to. Makeba's last memories of South Africa before being invited back by Mandela in 1990 included her uncles, her mother and her daughter, all of who had passed away during her time in exile. These four family members of Makeba's were central to her memories of home and were what, in many ways, made South Africa home in the first place. Without these people, how could this be the home she remembered? After spending more than half of her life in exile, leaving at the age of 26 and returning a woman approaching 60, could South Africa ever be home again?

Conclusion

Black South African cultural exiles found themselves navigating a world that was both foreign and familiar to them. New countries meant encounters with new opportunities, new social and political contexts and new people but it also was familiar in the sense that, as was the case within apartheid South Africa, they found themselves in places that insisted they did not belong. What this showcased was an exilic consciousness that grew in South African exiles throughout the years. Apartheid taught them about displacement and loss, as did exile. Apartheid taught them about depression and longing, as did exile. Apartheid, however, also forced them to

[484] "John Matshikiza Interview With Hilda Bernstein." Kentish Town, Stockholm: [ND]. Print. MCA-7: 1589. Hilda Bernstein Interviews Volume 9. UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives – University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. 18 Sept. 2017. p. 6

seek alliances and create new forms of community that could resist this regime. So, too, did exile.

What animated this familiarity, or what was created to allow these cultural exiles the theoretical space to connect with disparate communities globally in order to bring about real change in local contexts was what Miriam Makeba termed an idea of "Africa." This idea became an anchor for many South African exiles hoping to oust the apartheid government and to one day return to a free and just homeland. In the meantime, South African cultural exiles produced cultural works, participated in political movements, theorized their condition and (re)made home and family all over the globe. Their lived experiences in exile produced some of the most expansive cultural works and critical theorizations for anti-apartheid politics, challenging citizenship discourse, struggling against global anti-Blackness, creating Black solidarity ideologies, and questioning the sovereignty of nation-states.

The lives of Miriam Makeba and Todd Matshikiza, in particular, showcase two polls at the ends of the spectrum of the kinds of experiences South African cultural exiles had in exile. Their stories give light to a history that provides us with a blueprint to understand contemporary Black cultural movements confronting anti-Blackness and the state. If taken seriously, these stories show us the triumphs and failures of those that came before so that we might learn from them and continue their fight for justice, freedom, peace and a true home in this world.

Epilogue

> This movement, therefore (one among others, equally important, in other parts of the world), has led from a primordial nomadism to the settled way of life of Western nations then to Discovery and Conquest, which achieved a final, almost mythical perfection in the Voyage.
>
> In the course of this journey, at least as far as the Western peoples who made up the great majority of voyagers, discoverers, and conquerors were concerned, consolidates itself at first ("my root is the strongest") and then is explicitly exported as a value ("a person's worth is determined by his root"). The conquered or visited peoples are thus forced into a long and painful quest after an identity whose first task will be opposition to the denaturing process introduced by the conqueror. A tragic variation of a search for identity. For more than two centuries whole populations have had to assert their identity in opposition to the processes of identification or annihilation triggered by these invaders. Whereas the Western nation is first of all an "opposite," for colonized peoples identity will be primarily "opposed to" –that is, a limitation from the beginning. Decolonization will have done its real work when it goes beyond this limit.
>
> - Édouard Glissant[485]

The story of how I arrived to this dissertation project and how, toward the end of writing it, I finally understood the stakes of it and why I wanted to write it in the first place, I think it speaks to a 'structure of feeling', Raymond Williams' concept of how thoughts and ideas are based on a sense of purpose and a trajectory that may not yet be articulated in a fully evolved form or through traditional forms of communication and knowing but that are interpreted largely within a knowing self-subconsciousness.[486] Though never intended to be a socio-historical study, my chapter titles, devoid of predetermined or premeditated intent, beginning with "Belonging Nowhere" and ending with "Citizens of Africa," speaks to my study being informed by the academic field of History's mandate to articulate change over time, and a structure of feeling that speaks to a progressive narrative trajectory of developing forms of radical self-identification and citizenship discourse, community making processes and alternate forms of belonging. However, far more important than identifying the methodology of the dissertation, this structure of feeling guided me towards a project narrating a story of South African cultural producers during the

[485] Glissant, Édouard. *Poetics of Relation*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2010. Print. pps. 16-17

[486] For a text that provides a good breakdown of Williams' work, See: O'Connor, Alan. *Raymond Williams, Writing, Culture, Politics*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1989. Print. To read Williams directly, See: Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. Print.

country's exile period to help clarify my fixation with contemporary Black diasporic phenomena.

As a scholar of South African history and African American culture, when I began thinking about the connections between the Black communities in each nation, questions arose for me about how Blackness may function as a global idea that opens avenues for disparate Black communities to connect, exchange cultural ideas and join together in political and social solidarity movements. These questions are what led me to the story of South African cultural producers during their exile period and to the answers this narrative provided. However, before I arrived to studying South Africa's exile period, I was first intrigued by a multifaceted and consistent form of cultural and political connection that I noticed occurring as a kind of Fanonian idea of a "collective unconscious"[487] between African Americans and Black South Africans during the years of 2014 and 2015, particularly among Black youth. I wondered what social phenomena animated this connection? What histories allowed for such intermingling and cultural development? And what could this connection yield with particular interest to social justice for both locales?

During the years of 2014 and 2015, the youth driven cultural and social movement that dominated Black popular culture and media globally was the bourgeoning U.S.-based Black Lives Matter Movement. The movement, which was created by 3 Queer Black Women, was founded on 13 February 2013, where they began using the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter on social media outlets in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the murder of teenager, Trayvon Martin. During the next few years, a consistent and troubling number of similar incidents of Black people being killed in police custody across the country continued to emerge

[487] Fanon challenges Carl Jung's idea of the "collective unconscious" as an innate racial/biological concept to assert that it is indeed a cultural formation. See: Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967. Print. p. 145

including the deaths of Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, Aiyana Stanley Jones, among many others. Soon this hashtag garnered wide-ranging support and its founders began to galvanize this support by formalizing a Black Lives Matter organization and movement. Alongside issues with the over-policing of low-income minority communities, police brutality and state sanctioned murder of Black people, the #BlackLivesMatter movement also actively confronted issues of sexism, homophobia, and the devaluation of Black lives globally.[488] The viral nature of this movement's hashtag as well as its organizational structure that is organized though dozens of chapters around the world has allowed the movement to spread across the globe and to unite Black people against issues of global anti-Blackness.

As such, #BlackLivesMatter is not the only contemporary movement struggling against the devaluation of Black life. Beginning mid-October of 2015 at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) with a three-day student led campus lockdown that eventually spread to over 20 South African universities, the #FeesMustFall movement arose in South Africa.[489] Students declared that #FeesMustFall in response to a proposed 10.5% fee increase at the top South African schools and launched a #NationalShutdown blocking entrances and roads causing the suspension of classes at some universities. Students rejected a proposed alternative by Minister of Higher Education Blade Nzimande of a 6% fee hike and led protests at the South African Parliament and the Luthuli House, the headquarters of the African National Congress.[490] This all culminated

[488] Garza, Alicia. "A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement by Alicia Garza" (2014). As a co-founder of the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag/movement this piece gives great insight into the motivations of the #BlackLivesMatter movement.
[489] Kekana, Masa, Lauren Isaacs, Emily Corke. "Tuition Fee Protests Shut Down 2 of SA's Biggest Universities." *Eye Witness News*, 19 October 2015, ewn.co.za/2015/10/19/Fee-protests-shuts-down-3-of-SAs-biggest-universities. Retrieved 22 Nov 2015.
[490] Anonymous. "Protests grow over university fee hikes." *eNCA*, 19 Oct 2015, enca.com/south-africa/no-fee-increase-spread-other-varsities. Retrieved 23 Nov 2015.

with South African President Jacob Zuma announcing that there would be no fee increase through 2016.[491]

To understand the #FeesMustFall and #NationalShutDown movement one must first consider the racial politics that are at the epicenter of this struggle. These protests were the largest South Africa had seen since the fall of legalized apartheid; however, it is the persistence of the apartheid regime and structural anti-Blackness in the country that undergirded the national debate on tuition fees. Months prior to #FeesMustFall protests, students at the University of Cape Town, tired of the status quo of white supremacy in the country, occupied campus buildings and led #RhodesMustFall protests until the bronze statue of the British colonialist Cecil Rhodes was removed from the primacies.[492]

In South Africa the top 10% (a large majority of which are white) of the country's population owns between 60-65% of the total income. Where 80% of the South African population is Black they make up less than 25% of college enrollment in the country.[493] In 2005, 63% of Black children lived in households that earned less than 800 rands (currently trading at about 14-1 USD), compared to only 4% of white children.[494] In 2006, 70% of South Africa's land was still owned by whites.[495] More than one-third of the population occupies 13% of the

[491] Anonymous. "Wits University Suspends 10.5 Percent Fee Hike." *Eye Witness News*, 17 October 2015, ewn.co.za/2015/10/17/Wits-University-suspends-10-point-5-percent-fee-hike Retrieved 22 Nov 2015.
[492] Kamanzi, Brian. ""Rhodes Must Fall" – Decolonisation Symbolism – What is happening at UCT, South Africa?" The Post Colonialist, 29 March 2015, http://postcolonialist.com/civil-discourse/rhodes-must-fall-decolonisation-symbolism-happening-uct-south-africa/ Retrieved 9 Nov 2015.
[493] These statistics I took from Ochieng, Akinyi. "The Racial And Generational Politics Behind South Africa's #FeesMustFall Protests." *OkayAfrica,* 26 Oct 2015, okayafrica.com/fees-must-fall-south-african-protests-racial-and-generational-politics/ Retrieved 22 Nov 2015
[494] Durrheim, Kevin, Xoliswa Mtose, and Lyndsay Brown. *Race Trouble: Race, Identity, and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011. Print. p. 17.
[495] Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2007. Print. p. 260.

land, often within shantytowns and other environments stricken with extreme poverty.[496] All together, these statistics expose the real devaluation of Black life in South Africa.

At the heart of #BlackLivesMatter and #FeesMustFall is a deep dissatisfaction and rejection of policies that create conditions of repression and suffering for Black populations. This dissatisfaction and rejection animated a transnational dialogue, one that connects local issues with resistance strategies and actions within transnational networks of Black radical thinkers and communities.[497] What I found myself interested in here was what I perceived as the ease with which these conversations and connections were being made between these vastly different Black communities, not only geographically but also with regard to their distinctive histories confronting state repression and colonial rule.

An example of this kind of connection, simultaneously happening alongside the conversations between the largely viral social movements of #BlackLivesMatter and #FeesMustFall, can be found in the story of the socio-political foundations of Compton, California-based rapper Kendrick Lamar's sophomore studio album *To Pimp a Butterfly*. Months leading to this album's 15 March 2015 release, Lamar had been outspoken about various facets of the #BlackLivesMatter movement providing another voice to the complex and controversial radical Black political discourse of the times. The album by all accounts was quickly heralded as a masterpiece, weaving complex narratives of Black ghetto life and fantasy, institutional racism and structural oppression, and globalized Blackness with interesting caveats throughout the

[496] Cliffe, Lionel. "Land Reform in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*. 27.84 (2000): 273-286. Print. p. 274.

[497] Texts that are helpful to consider how these Black radical networks are formed are: Edwards, Brent H. *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003. Print., and Head, Bessie. *A Gesture of Belonging: Letters from Bessie Head, 1965-1979*. London: SA Writers; Portsmouth, NH : Heinemann, 1991. Print. Edwards considers how radical politics are shared transnationally through translation of global texts. Head, a prolific South African writer, creates a global Black radical community through letters to colleagues around the world. Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993. Print., theorizes Black networks through the transnational cultural exchange routes found in the Atlantic (ocean) world.

album where he engages South Africa and its native Zulu and Xhosa peoples. *To Pimp a Butterfly's* timing of release was surely one of its most important features. Speaking directly to the events of the time and the radical politics being developed in the #BlackLivesMatter movement, Lamar's album quickly became a must-have and was a text with which radical thinkers and actors had to engage.

In June of 2015, this only became truer when Lamar performed the song "Alright" from *To Pimp a Butterfly* at the BET Awards while standing on a vandalized police car. Fox News pundits such as Geraldo Rivera and others claimed the performance "incites violence," to which Lamar responded, "How can you take a song that's about hope and turn it into hatred?"[498] The hope this song possessed was never better exemplified than on Sunday, 26 July 2015 at the inaugural #BlackLivesMatter Conference held at Cleveland State University. Outside the conference, attendees confronted and protested transit authority police for being pepper sprayed after blocking the street so that a police cruiser could not take a 14-year-old child to prison. In the midst of it all the crowd began singing and chanting, "We gon' be alright, we gon' be Alright, we gon' be alright….," in reference Kendrick Lamar's song.[499] The perceived injustice of the 14-year-old being arrested was the call that yielded the response of these protestors blocking the police and joining together in song.

In an interview with Hip Hop news editor, Rob Markman for MTV, Lamar told Markman that much of *To Pimp a Butterfly* was written and inspired from a trip he took to South Africa. There are references to South African native Zulu people in the song "Complexion (A Zulu Love)" but the tracks "Alright" and "How Much A Dollar Cost?," in particular, were songs

[498] More information can be found here: Gordon, Jeremy. "Kendrick Lamar's "Alright" Chanted by Protesters During Cleveland Police Altercation." *Pitchfork*, 29 July 2015, pitchfork.com/news/60568-kendrick-lamars-alright-chanted-by-protesters-during-cleveland-police-altercation/. Retrieved 4 Nov 2015
[499] Ibid

Lamar stated were both inspired by his trip. On "Alright", the repetitive chant of "We gon' be alright," Lamar has said was a sentiment that came from the struggles he witnessed in the country. Lamar said of South Africa and his album that, "Going out there really inspired [him]. [He] wrote a lot of records out there. Just going to South Africa and being able to move around out there like [he] did. That was a turning point."[500] His song, "How Much A Dollar Cost?" was based on an encounter he had with a man in Johannesburg. About the experience, Lamar remembered, "It blew my mind... These are moments. It's more than just handing somebody a dollar. Me talking to him, was simply a thank you from God. I felt God speaking through him to me."[501]

Being present in South Africa and being moved by his experiences in the country laid the foundation for the art he produced in *To Pimp a Butterfly*. This inspiration and the product it yielded later gave the protestors at Cleveland State University the tool to voice their collective feelings in the moment of their confrontation with the police when they sang "Alright." Then watching the viral campaign of #BlackLivesMatter protestors in the U.S., #FeesMustFall protestors used the same online and protest technologies of the #BlackLivesMatter movement to inspire and guide their collective actions in South Africa. This all speaks to a collective unconscious that is mediated by a co-constitutive transnational dialogue and exchange that simultaneously confronts anti-Blackness locally and globally.

Though all of this was interesting and I found the connections between Black U.S. and South African social movements provocative, as they spoke to globalized anti-Blackness and the ways in which Black communities engage in solidarity movements especially through cultural

[500] Harris, Christopher. "Kendrick Lamar Says The Overall Theme Of "To Pimp A Butterfly" Is "Leadership"." *HipHopDX*, 2 April 2015, hiphopdx.com/news/id.33218/title.kendrick-lamar-says-the-overall-theme-of-to-pimp-a-butterfly-is-leadership. Retrieved 4 Nov 2015
[501] Ibid

forms and productions like Kendrick Lamar's *To Pimp a Butterfly*, and even throughout the duration of the writing of my dissertation and investigating cultural producers during the exile period of South Africa, up until this very moment as I write this epilogue while finalizing my final chapter, I still wondered: What was the point? Why did this study matter, especially in a so-called postmodern and so-called neocolonial world?

It wasn't until Thursday, 14 February 2019, that I truly understood the stakes of my project and why this structure of feeling led me to it. On this day, Dr. Manthia Diawara, renowned Malian New York University Cinema Studies Professor, award-winning cultural studies theorist, filmmaker, and author, who was invited by the African and African American Studies Research Center (AAASRC) at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), came to campus to screen his latest film, "An Opera of the World," in order to reflect upon the perils of South-North migration and the hopes and dreams of those fleeing from Africa to Europe. In order to introduce the purpose for the film and the theoretical themes that were foundational to it, Diawara's opening lecture offered a context for *An Opera of the World* based on the work of Martinique-born cultural theorist, Édouard Glissant. Glissant, the French writer, poet, philosopher and literary critic was also known as a Frantz Fanon contemporary and a critic of Aimé Césaire and the Négritude movement largely because of their roots and recovery emphasis in defining Blackness. Diawara credited Glissant as an original scholar who theorized that the "creolization" of Black communities was central to understanding the contours of Blackness, especially as a useful form of identify formation for communities across the Black diaspora. In this way, Diawara posited Glissant as a genealogical predecessor of Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall and other cultural studies scholars who study Blackness through the analytics of hybridization, creolization, Black Atlantic theory and selective appropriation.

Diawara, in discussing various Glissant texts,[502] spoke about some of the doyen of Black hybrid identity scholarship's most notable ideas including the importance of replacing continental thinking with relational thinking. Continental thinking, for Glissant and Diawara, is a key problem with the Négritude movement and the movement's thinking, as it is fixed thinking, placing the origins and thus "actual" Blackness only within the historical chronology that links back to these specific origins. Instead, Glissant asks us to perceive of Blackness as relational and always evolving depending on specific contextual, historic and social relations. To this, Diawara told a story of a friend of his who whenever the two were to depart from one another after a visit would remark to Diawara, "Stay Black!" where he insisted his friend should instead tell him, "stay becoming Black." Later in his lecture, I also took similar meanings from Diawara's phrase, "comparativism is humanism," which speaks to the idea that the process of creolization is one situated within relations between different peoples that are always already becoming themselves. However, these relations, for Diawara, much of the time and interestingly enough, are only made possible by oppressive forces.

The most memorable part of Diawara's lecture for me, the part that really showcased to me the stakes of my project, was his argument that one completely unintended but positive effect of colonialism is that disparate communities were forced together and could converse and build solidarities with the hopes of dismantling the colonial power. The following day at UCSD, on 15 February 2019, the Black Studies Project at UCSD hosted a lunch where Diawara could speak with graduate students. Before lunch started, I had a moment with the extremely gracious scholar and I asked him about this idea. I told him that what I took from it was that, in many ways, this

[502] A couple of good texts to begin with for more of Glissant's theories are: Glissant, Édouard, and J M. Dash. *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992. Print.; and Glissant, Édouard. *Poetics of Relation*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2010. Print.

unintended but positive effect of colonialism could be summarized as colonialism, by bringing together these oppositional communities, creates the conditions for its own demise. His response was one of affirmation, stating that he was glad that his point came through clearly but also warned that there was no guarantee that these communities could connect because of barriers like language, xenophobia, infrastructural issues, political and social oppression, disenfranchisement, colorism and so on that could prevent these communal developments and solidarity movements.

For me, this is why "Be(long)ing" is so important. This study looks to a time when colonial powers made the conditions for their own demise, first by creating the conditions for internal migration of rural communities around the country to urban communities, allowing disparate South African ethnicities to intermingle during the urbanization of South Africa; and second, when large segments of oppositional voices were exiled and then used transnational and Pan-African connections to build liberation strategies, networks and create an international anti-Apartheid movement. These connections were by no means easily made and were not perfectly executed. However, this story is one that is useful both as a story of successes and failures.

This story also matters because if we take the history I present in this dissertation seriously, and we take seriously the words of Diawara as situated in those of Glissant with regard to hegemonic forces creating the conditions for their own demise, then maybe we can see this contemporary globalized moment of anti-Blackness as also creating the conditions for its own demise through simultaneously creating the conditions for Black solidarity between the U.S., South Africa and Black communities across the globe through cultural producing forms including albums like *To Pimp a Butterfly* and Black social movements such as #BlackLivesMatter and #FeesMustFall. These communities have the power to win in the same

ways the ANC, through lessons learned through an exilic consciousness and Pan-African connections, was eventually able to seize power over South Africa.

Again, I do not mean to romanticize this seizure of power by the ANC, surely there are limitations to the idea that the ANC has ever totally controlled the country. As an example, one need not look any further than the economics of the country, which represents a huge critique of post-apartheid South Africa and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission—the commission that helped transition the country from National Party rule to ANC rule—where it is argued that the commission and the ANC gave up too much in negotiations by not demanding the redistribution of wealth in the country. If one just takes a glance at the main proprietors of land, income, resources and corporations within the country, it wouldn't take long to notice the vast and dramatic racialized disparities that exist in these areas—with the lowest positions of this strata disproportionately represented by Black South Africans while white capitalists disproportionately represent the highest.

However, the ANC's seizure of power is not only worth studying because of its victories but also because of what can be learned from its mistakes. This would surely make a great study to follow my own and I look forward to the scholar(s) who take(s) this up. Moving forward to the monograph for "Be(long)ing," following the words of Diawara who said, "comparativism is humanism," I plan to highlight more of these relational, comparative and transnational connections between African American and Black South African cultural producers from the 1940s-1980s with regard to their fight against anti-Blackness, against racial segregation and against Black second class citizenship discourse. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, again, if taken seriously the words of Glissant and histories like the one presented in this dissertation, there exists a pathway to challenging anti-Black and repressive hegemonic power

through the interactions of disparate Black communities that may never have engaged one another without the repressive anti-Black work of this very hegemonic power. This paradox is ultimately about cultural production, producing the cultural ties that can bind communities into collective action and liberation struggle, and analyzing what can be surmised from this process and its products.

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