

APARTHEID AND CINEMA

by

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The first cinema show was exhibited to a special group of white South Africans on April 19, 1895 in Johannesburg.¹ That makes South Africa one of the first partakers of the 'motion picture' novelty. Cinema has since remained part of the South African social and cultural fabric, although only one scholar, Thelma Gutsche, has studied in any detail the history of the cinema in that country.

This paper proposes to discuss and analyze two major aspects of the subject that have been overlooked by film historians. The first is a historical survey of those films which the South African power structure allowed the Blacks to see and participate in. The second objective is to examine how and why those films were selected, and the social impact they were intended to have on the Black community in South Africa.

URBAN SCENE SETTING

The Dutch East India Company's employees established a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. After two bloody campaigns against the Khoikhoi, 1659-60 and 1763-74, the Dutch went on to defeat the Xhosa in frontier wars in 1779-81 and 1793. But in 1795 the British displaced the Dutch at the Cape. In 1803, the Dutch temporarily restored their hold over the Cape until the British reoccupied it for the second time in 1806 and subsequently declared permanent sovereignty over the Cape in 1914.² Hence the British began to implement their policies and establish their alien institutions in what became geopolitically known as South Africa.

From 1836-38 the Boers embarked on what historians call the Great Trek. After yet another bloody war, this time against the Zulu, the Boers won the battle of Blood River and established a Boer Republic in Natal. In 1867, diamonds were discovered near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. This discovery is very significant in that it became a great landmark and, perhaps more than anything else, may be responsible for shaping the history of South Africa as we know it today. The discovery of diamonds and the subsequent discovery of the first important gold field in the Transvaal acted as a catalyst for Europeans, particularly the British, to emigrate to South Africa. It should be noted that the wars in which the indigenous Africans were defeated, and the discovery of both diamonds and gold had major social and economic consequences.

With the establishment of large farms and plantations in the Transvaal and Natal, the Zulus and Xhosas, whose pastoral mode of life depended on the availability of land, lost their cattle with the loss of their land to the European colonialists.

These conditions led to the introduction of the European mass infrastructure. Roads were built, cities grew and denominational schools and churches sprang up quickly. The speedy accomplishment of these expensive projects were facilitated by the abundance of forced labour. Besides, the cost of running government projects was heavily subsidised by the arbitrary taxation of the Africans; as this report reveals:

Then the tax came. It was 10s. a year. Soon the Government said, that is too little, you must contribute more; you must pay £ 1. We did so. Then those who took more than one wife were taxed; 10s. for each additional wife. The tax is heavy, but that is not all. We are also taxed for our dogs; 5s. for a dog. Then we were told we were living on private land; the owners wanted rent in addition to the Government tax; some 10s., some £ 1, some £ 2 a year. After that we were told we had to dip our cattle and pay 1s. per head per annum.³

Thus the Africans were deliberately forced to participate in the new capitalist social and economic order. Given that a considerable number of the Africans could not afford to pay the levied taxes, they were faced with two unpleasant choices: either to default and go to prison to work without pay or go to work in the mines, plantations and in the urban centers. Either way, the authorities succeeded in realizing their intentions. Once the Africans became established in this new environment, the authorities realized they needed some form of entertainment or means of social control to divert the African's mind from the harsh realities he had to endure. According to a 1906 Transvaal Government report,

In 1896, there were over 90,000 male Africans working on the Rand as miners, 43,000 others employed in support services as domestics, teachers, artisans, clerks, and prisoners living around the Market Square.⁴

As the numbers of Africans continued to grow in these urban centers, social organizations evolved naturally. Night clubs sprung up, so did beer halls. For the first time Africans came into contact with western music, mostly from the United States.⁵ It should be noted, however, that from the be-

ginning there was an intricate interrelation between ethnic background, petty economic classes, religious affiliation, and educational achievements as bases of association. The new social circumstances often came to mean closer relations between fellow workers and members of a common religious denomination and other social organizations at the expense of ethnic ties. African churches and other cultural organizations multiplied around the mine centers.

As is often the case among urban dwellers, some African musicians sensed that they could benefit financially from selling entertainment; singing and band groups were started. There were dance bands as well as marabi bands like the famous Japanese Express of 1929. Although they entertained different social classes, a wide range of income, educational level and age was apparent at the famous halls of entertainment.⁶ These parties, dances and concerts which the urbanized African adopted in his new cultural environment, were necessary to provide a kind of communal diversion which had the appearance of making life more meaningful and also create expressive cultural images which provided room for emerging social value systems.⁷ On the subject, J. Ngubane wrote:

The stratification and class oriented-social networks evolving among Africans in early Johannesburg were expressed by the nature and diversity of performance styles, the places where they were staged and the social identity and aspirations of their participants. Simultaneously, the failure of white authority to acknowledge a social hierarchy among Africans reinforced levelling processes and spurred the growth of a self-conscious nationalism among the middle classes. The latter became progressively more embittered in proportion to the growth of their socio-economic and political expectations.⁸

Despite the prevailing racial barriers in every facet of life, the authorities did not keep a blind eye on the cultural activities of this emerging African urbanized class. Whites became aware that Africans might take advantage of their music and use it as a cultural political weapon. The historical lesson about the formidable role the arts can play in the struggle against fascism was not lost to the whites, so they had to devise means to control the African music and other forms of entertainment. They stepped in and gained control of organizing, programing, and making artistic decisions. A distinguished African actor and the recipient of a 1982 Tony Award, Zakes Mokae, put it this way:

In South Africa, Whites control everything. They control our music, subject it to western aesthetic criteria, and tell us how good or bad it is. It's preposterous, what do they know about our music if they don't even understand us as a people? It's only a matter of time. They will never succeed in interpreting our culture for us,⁹

proof enough of the words of the eminent African intellectual leader and theoretician, the late Amilcar Cabral:

History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it also teaches us that, whatever may be the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the permanent organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned.¹⁰

In some isolated cases, however, there were some progressive whites who lent support to the African cultural groups. The Bantu Men's Social Center in Johannesburg, the Syndicate of African Artists enjoyed a multi-racial patronage. This community-based performing group was the brainchild of Ezekiel Mphahlele and Khabi Mngoma. But as Mphahlele points out,

... the Whites got scarcer as greater pressure was exerted by those who have taken it upon themselves to direct the lives of whole communities "according to their own lives," with all the cynical ambiguity the phrase possesses. The powers that be, instead of legislating against the multi-racial audiences those days, were content to wag a finger of cold war at white patrons. It worked, we retreated to our townships 'to develop along our lines'. We couldn't see the lines and foot prints. They had got so mixed up with other foot prints in the course of time, and the winds had been blowing away some, too.¹¹

Indeed, Mphahlele's Syndicate tried 'to develop along their own lines.' Left with no option, the Syndicate became political and appealed for support from their compatriots. The message was loud and clear:

We are beginning to create a Cultural Front
in our struggle towards self-determination and
we rely on you to help.¹²

Despite the banning of their cultural Opinion Magazine

following their articulated message, and the arrest of the Syndicate members, the group was the only well organized urban cultural movement to define and promote the cultural identity and socio-political aspirations of South African urban Blacks at the time.¹³ Around the same period, open air cinema shows and commercial films had increasingly become a common feature in townships and mining establishments.

THE BIOSCOPE

The name Bioscope originates from the first apparatuses used to project moving pictures in 1898. There was no standardization or agreement as to which name to use. Some called it the Kinetoscope, others cinematograph, and still others referred to it as the Kinematograph, moving or motion pictures. The British finally settled on "Cinema," on the Continent it was shortened to "Kino," in America, "movies," but the stubborn South African conservatives retained the name "Bioscope."¹⁴ In South Africa people talk about going to the bioscope and not to the cinema. In this paper, for the sake of consistency, the words cinema and film will be used interchangeably. The bioscope, on the other hand when used, it will be referring to a "movie house."

It should be noted that although South Africa became a Union in 1910, it remained a dominion within the British Commonwealth. Hence British culture, economic and political influence continued unabated. After World War I, the British Government did not like the idea that the American Film Industry had dominated their sphere of influence. The British Government, business and film circles, realized that the Empire's economic and political interests were both in jeopardy. The main concern was the economic aspect of film industry¹⁵ but there was also fear about the spread of alien ideas and philosophies. Its power as a propaganda medium was believed to be incredible. Addressing a meeting of African Society in 1931, J. Russell was very explicit:

A successful film has a greater circulation than any newspaper and than any book except the Bible.¹⁶

Added the pioneering propagandist, Sir Stephen Tallents:

Cinema is the greatest agent of International Communication; Its moral and emotional influence was incalculable.¹⁷

By the mid 1920's films were strongly regarded as the appropriate means to teach and influence the African. Commercial films, both American and British, were seen as a threat against

the South African establishment because of their unpalatable image of the whites that was being screened. Some sources in the Union Government believed that the success of their policies over the African depended largely on the degree of respect which they could inspire. 'Primitive' people were not supposed to be exposed to demoralizing films representing criminal and immodest actions by Whites. In the eyes of the African, Whites were to be perceived as Saviors, smart, intelligent, and decent. As Teshome Gabriel points out, in the United States, from the outset, films have ridiculed the minorities, particularly the Blacks, and glorified the Whites:

... from the beginning of films, the Blacks were portrayed as "childlike" lackeys meant for abuse and condescension. The earliest example of a film dealing with a wholesale stereotyped character is FIGHTS OF NATIONS (1905). In this film the Mexican was caricatured as a "treacherous fellow", the Jew as a "briber", the Black as a "cake walker", "buck dancer", and "razor-thrower". The White race was presented as the bringer of peace to all mankind.¹⁸

Of all the races on the Earth none has been so deliberately and systematically slandered as people of African descent.

COLONIAL FILMS AND THEIR IMPACT ON AFRICA IN GENERAL

Commercial films have traditionally exploited popular misconceptions and nearly succeeded in creating an Africa that is highly distorted and far removed from reality as the tales of nineteenth century travellers. Unable to comprehend the languages, customs and other aspects of the African culture, both commercial and ethnographic filmmakers refuse to see Africans as a people sharing basic experiences common to all mankind. Africa is projected as a reservoir of wild animals and painted savages who play a negligible role.¹⁹

It is important that we understand the ideas in some feature films of major film companies. Stories of nineteenth century naive writers such as M. Rider Haggard have portrayed Africa as a cloak of mystery. These tales are of savage African 'tribes' behind impenetrable forests and of heathen rituals many years old, and these ideas still linger in contemporary novels by Graham Greene, John Buchan, and many others. They still depict hair-triggering stories about inaccessible mountains filled with ghost-guarded treasures and frightening forests that harbor enormous scorpion-swallowing baboons in troops of thousands that uproot sorghum fields and lynch lions. The two footed animals are dramatised in banquets of uncooked meat, washed down with mead from horns and calabashes.

From the outset the cinema was quick to realize the commercial potential of these fanciful ideas. Rider Haggard's She, a story of a bizarre African 'tribe' with a White Queen who remained ageless through the milleniums, proved so irresistible to Hollywood producers that two films were made of the story. King Solomon's Mines, a story about an unbelievable wealth amassed by a strange African ethnic group, and protected by a combination of witchcraft and savagery against four fearless British adventurers was another box-office success. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) introduced yet another white Queen in Trader Horn, equipping her with a cave furnished with human skulls and a retinue of painted Africans, brandishing spears.

The commercial cinema did not forget about the beasts of the African jungle. Ironically, these beasts were treated better than the Africans on the screen! Tarzan of the Apes, made in 1918, was perhaps the forerunner of an endless succession of Tarzan escapades, which have continued to the present day; and the early Martin Johnson animal epics Congorilla, find a parallel in some of Walt Disney's African productions, such as African Lion.²⁰ It may be interesting to point out that whether Africans or animals were being portrayed in these films, the style and method used by script writers appear to have been similar. It is quite obvious that some ideas were superimposed upon African scenery by a bizarre form of deductive reasoning. The fact that these concepts did not reflect the African reality was of no consequence to the film magnates. For an MGM African epic, animals were flown from New York into East Africa to liven the action, and an assortment of gaudily dressed Africans provided the decor for a melodrama between two popular African stars. In these grandiose epics, the African people play either scenery props, picturesque crowds with spears of bizarre unintelligent menials.²¹

In addition to the false exotic films, there was what can be characterized as colonial and racial films. This attitude had greater currency in Britain and South Africa. Africans were to be patronized, civilized and 'protected'. White heroes were constantly patronizing. Henry Scobie, the star of Graham Greene's novel on life in Sierra Leone, The Heart of the Matter, is known as Scobie the Just. "Sandy the Strong, Sandy the Wise, Righter of Wrongs, Hater of Lies," sings the African Chief, played by Paul Robeson, in praise of Sanders, the British District Commissioner in Sanders of the River. In all these films, the justification of continued British presence is unmistakable: when not backward, ignorant and, therefore, in need of protection and guidance, the African was malignant, requiring the force of law from God.²²

Given Britain's imperialist role in Africa, her film hero in Africa necessarily differed from the individualistic law-

defying hunter or lover of her American film competitor. British films extolled the virtues of her colonial officials, police, district commissioners, civil servants, and settlers. Sanders of the River, 1935, starred Paul Robeson in the role of Bosambo, a servile African king who saves a British District Commissioner's life and secures for his people the continuance of British protection. Not surprisingly, the theme of Britain's imperial burden in Africa dominates and provides an excellent illustration how the British cinema was a reflection of British official ideas and policies.²³

It is important to note that Sanders of the River was Robeson's first major appearance in British films. A man of his talents was betrayed and promptly put to the task of convincing the International Community that Africa needed British 'protection'. The London Daily Herald enthusiastically noted:

If we could only give every subject race a native king with Robeson's superb physique, dominant personality, infectious smile and noble voice, problems of native self-government might be largely solved.²⁴

Ironically, despite Robeson's passionate concern with African culture, the film turned into a glorification of British colonial rule. It should be noted, however, that the scenes in which he did not appear had been 'doctored' without the actor's knowledge, and at a special preview an angry Robeson stormed out of the movie house in protest.²⁵ The damage, however, had already been accomplished.

In 1943, the British released a film designed to deal with contemporary African political and social problems. Men Of Two Worlds, supposedly a liberal film tells of Kisenga, an African musician, composer, and pianist, who after fifteen years in Europe gives up the concert hall and returns home to the Litu people. He finds them under the spell of Magobe, the 'witch doctor', with a benevolent British officer unable to convince the people that they must escape the dreaded tsetse fly. The film revolves around the conflict between Magobe, the embodiment of darkness, evil superstition, and Kisenga, the British-trained African. As expected, Magobe is discredited, and the people save themselves by moving from the area. The film ends with Kisenga acknowledging his people's need for him and giving up his career in order to help them toward 'progress'. Not surprisingly, the film was overwhelmingly received by the British press. Paradoxically, Ebony magazine also naively praised it and noted that; Men Of Two Worlds marks the first break with tradition, and portrays Africans with sympathy and respect.²⁶

For many years small film units worked within restricted

budgets, faithfully reflecting the psychology of the imperialist powers, and were anxious to appear enlightened, and able to guide their subjects along 'civilized' paths to 'progress'.

In 1935-37, the Bantu Educational Cinema experiment made the following observation:

Books are of little use to a people of whom more than ninety percent are illiterate. The moving picture offers a possible substitute.²⁷

Obviously these films had the express purpose of impressing the African mind. Although some of the people behind these films had good intentions, it's quite clear today, perhaps more than ever before, as to what they have been able to accomplish. They succeeded, to a large extent, in selling to the African the capitalist political system, as the dominant economic mode of production. These films became a medium for commercial advertisement of European products and have also helped in impressing on some of the Africans, western cultural values.

Some of these films instructed the African on better methods of growing cash crops for export. Today, African countries continue to grow coffee, tea and cocoa, i.e., crops most of their populations do not consume, while at the same time growing less food, which is the most basic item for their survival. Instead, African governments appear to find it convenient to import food from the west while some elites import drinking water from Europe despite the abundant water resources at home! This is not to imply that all this has been caused by the films discussed above, but some of this attitude of 'self-hate' would appear likely to be partially influenced by films.

HOLLYWOOD AND ITS PORTRAYAL OF PEOPLE

We have seen how colonial cinema has been successful as a form of cultural imperialism. These films were not about Africans, but about what the colonialists and the imperialists thought and felt about Africans. The films were conceived, written and produced from either Britain, or the United States, and then exported to Africa to entertain the 'natives'. Some scenes were shot in Africa by British or American film producers and used in Africa for political, economic and social propaganda. It is important here to point out that we cannot discuss the history of the African image in cinema without examining the context within which Hollywood has portrayed Black Americans. This is important in view of the Hollywood/South African connection.

We know that historically the depiction of Blacks in Amer-

ican films has traditionally been noted for its injustice and distortion. Hollywood has established and consolidated the stereotyped concept of Blacks as a socially inferior group. Therefore, servility and laziness are the main characteristics of the Black race. In some instances Blacks are portrayed variously as subhuman, and superhuman.²⁸ Commenting on D.W. Griffith's portrayal of Blacks in the film "Birth Of A Nation," film historian Donald Bogle observed:

Blacks are always big, baaadd Niggers, oversexed and savage, violent and frenzied as they lust for white flesh. No greater sin hath any black man.²⁹

Added social critic Daniel Lead:

... docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing.³⁰

Such caricatures in which Blacks were systematically viewed collectively as clowns, morons, and subhuman, formed the stereotype of early American cinema. Writing in the Journal of Negro Education, Dr. Lawrence Reddick summed it up:

By building up this unfavorable conception, the movies operate to thwart the advancement of the Negro, to humiliate him, to weaken his drive for equality and to spread indifference, contempt, and hatred for him and his cause: this great urgency for the communication of ideas and information, therefore, functions as a powerful instrument for maintaining the racial subordination of the Negro people.³¹

With more Blacks becoming filmmakers, and the emergence of individual progressive White sympathisers, there have been slight improvements. But it will probably take very long before a decent film approach to Blacks will correct the wretched record of discrimination which lasted until World War II, and which still continues unabated in many movies. Interestingly, up to 1915 nearly all Black parts in American films were played by Whites. Negro buffoonery supplied the theme of such films as The Wooing And Wedding Of A Coon, and the "Rastus" and "Sambo" series, now happily burried and no longer in circulation.³² Ironically, this was described as a genuine Ethiopian comedy. All these early films portrayed Blacks either as a Colored Clown with the most minute intelligence, or as a devoted nigger who 'knows his place'. Uncle Tom's Cabin, in 1909, was directed by Edwin S. Porter, who used a white actor to play the part of Uncle Tom. Harriet Beecher Stowe's sincere indictment of

slavery was debased in its translation to the screen.³³

It would be safe to say that the 1909 cinema emerged as a melodramatic hearts' and flowers' piece, largely concerned with the dog-like devotion of Uncle Tom for the little daughter of his white master. Uncle Tom's Cabin was reproduced in 1915, this time with a black actor, Sam Lucas, in the title role. More reproductions were done in 1918 and 1927, respectively. Given the above role concoction, it should be no surprise why Blacks indeed have placed the words 'Uncle Tom' on the list of gross indignity in their vocabulary.³⁴

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTION

Although both American and South African entrepreneurs had for years screened American made movies at the end of the depression, big American companies concluded deals with the South African authorities to do big business. In 1931, Colonel Edward A. Schiller, Vice President of MGM, one of the biggest and most distinguished film production corporations in the United States, opened their first Super-cinema, the Metro Theatre in Johannesburg.³⁵ It had the capacity seating just under 3,000. In 1932, in the presence of government officials, The Passionate Plumber, a comedy featuring Buster Keaton, Polly Moran, and Jimmy Durante was exhibited.³⁶ By law Africans were not allowed to attend films in places like the Metro Theatre. Metro Theatre, owned and operated by MGM, assumed the rights to distribute films of United Artists, British and Dominion films, and London Films Production in South Africa.

THE CENSORSHIP BOARD

By 1910, although film screening was not wide spread in South Africa, the extraordinary popularity of the moving pictures had drawn attention to their social significance. They were not only regarded as a cheap means of entertainment and instruction, but also as a potential menace to public welfare. In July the same year, cinema's social menace was well exposed. On July 4, a black boxer by the name of Jack Johnson, defeated Jeffries (a white boxer backed by Corbett) in the United States. Race riots ensued in which reportedly hundreds were killed and thousands injured. It was reported that prisons were filled to overflowing capacity, and troops had to be called out. A film had been taken of the fight, and fearing that the exhibition might further disturb the public peace, the mayors of many American cities prohibited its showing. On July 6, The Natal Times and The Natal Witness urged a similar and united action on the part of all South African municipalities (in which the control of public amusements was then vested). On July 7, The Bloemfontein Friend endorsed this appeal which the Sunday Times and Sunday Post also supported. Meanwhile in Europe and America,

controversy had broken out. The Canadian Government banned the film and movements were launched in Australia and New Zealand demanding that their governments prohibit its exhibition. On July 8, an order was issued from the government office in Pretoria instructing the police, of the four provinces, to prohibit the exhibition of pictures of the Johnson - Jeffries fight. On July 9, the town clerk of Johannesburg notified all owners of places of entertainment, warning them not to show the film, or incur the expense of importing it (which had apparently had been done) as the Municipal Council would definitely prohibit its screening.

This appears to have been the signal for the outbreak of caustic controversy in which the Churches also participated in a flood of correspondence to the press.³⁷ It was pointed out that the sole menace of the film was the inculcation of racial hatred which could instantly be prevented by prohibiting its exhibition to Coloured people. In time, the outcry died away, but it had effectively demonstrated the social importance of the cinema in particular. The public actively desired to see films that were considered destructive; however, no machinery, except direct Union Government action, existed for censorship other than arbitrary prohibition by each separate municipal council.

The protests against the showing of the Johnson - Jeffries film on the grounds of its possible provocation of racial disturbance foreshadowed a steady stream of protests against cinema's vulgarity and suggestiveness. During 1910, 1911 and 1912, this movement gathered momentum particularly at the Cape where, in April 1913, it culminated in the formation of an all white Voluntary Committee. It was not until 1930, however, that Dr. D.F. Malan, the Minister of Interior, introduced the Bill to the House of Assembly. The Bill sought to establish a national censorship board. It appears to have provided little consolation to the opponents of allegedly arbitrary censorship. Its provisions (against which film companies were opposed) being too exacting that their enforcements could permit no film to escape whole or partial banning. In criticising the Bill, one of the country's influential dailies was prompted to comment:

The nature of the discretionary powers of the proposed Board may be judged from the list of prohibited films. The list is little short of amazing and if the provisions were narrowly interpreted, most of the films which come to South Africa would be liable to rejection ... Surely it is a mistake to dictate beforehand and in such detail which is and what is not to be allowed.³⁸

On March 26, the Bill was further considered and read for the third time. The Senate then discussed it, making various amendments, and on May 26 it was finally debated in the House of Assembly. On June 3, 1931, the Entertainments (Censorship) Act became law.³⁹ The select committee chaired by Dr. Malan, the Minister of Interior, also included six appointed members of the Minister's choice. Specifications of censorable items included the following:

- (1) Impersonations of the king
- (2) Scenes holding up to ridicule or contempt to any members of the king's military
- (3) Treatment of death
- (4) Nude human figures
- (5) Scenes containing reference to controversial or international politics
- (6) Passionate love scenes
- (7) Scenes representing antagonistic relations between capital and labor
- (8) Scenes tending to disparage public figures
- (9) Scenes tending to create public alarm
- (10) The drug habit, white slave traffic, vice or loose morals
- (11) Scenes calculated to affect the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the public
- (12) Scenes calculated to bring any section of the public into ridicule or contempt
- (13) Scenes of juvenile crime and, in case of older persons, scenes of the technique of crime and criminality
- (14) Scenes of brutal fighting
- (15) Scenes of drunkenness and brawling
- (16) Pugilistic encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans

(17) Scenes of intermingling of Europeans and non-Europeans

(18) Scenes of rough handling or ill treatment of women and children.⁴⁰

One Afrikaan member of the House bitterly criticized the Bill claiming that it left more doors open in that it covered public performances only. He feared that private associations could still manipulate the law and screen propaganda (especially Russian and Communist) films to their members. There was nothing, he charged, to prevent natives forming themselves into such associations and thus becoming susceptible to subversive propaganda. A compromise was reached and an amendment adopted which read:

No person shall exhibit in public or in any place which admission is obtained by virtue of membership of any association of persons or for any considerations, whether direct or indirect, or by virtue of contribution towards any fund, any cinematography film . . . Provided further that the minister, or a person delegated by him for the purpose, may in his discretion exempt from the preceding provisions of this section any particular class or cinematograph films or film advertisements or any cinematograph film intended for exhibition to any particular circumstances.⁴¹

Clearly the Amendment Act rendered private showing of uncensored films impossible, while private showings of 'beneficent' films, uncensored, was rendered possible by the minister or his designate's special sanction. In 1931, the institution of the National Board of Censors was characterized by an immediate cessation of the sensational incidents which had belonged to the provisional provincial censorships. Empowered to grant certificates prohibiting performances to Natives, Coloreds, or children, the Board, obviously consisting of no African member, was especially particular about the films 'natives' and children could see! While Europeans, their children above the age of 12, and in some cases Coloreds were allowed to see most films, Africans, or Natives as they preferred to call them, were treated as European children under 12 years of age.⁴²

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BOARD OF CENSORS GOES TO WORK

Before the war against fascism injected a new liberalism into the American cinema, Hollywood had been the least place to make the South African censors and authorities uncomfortable. It started, therefore, slowly with multi-star musical films in

which black entertainers such as Louis Armstrong, Lena Horne, and Trinidadian beauty queen Hazel Scott, took their rightful places among white entertainers. Given the slightly changed 'political' and social climate, it appears public reaction was 'cool'. Today, it is normal for Blacks and Whites to appear in films and other forms of entertainment in a single act. Although most of the films in which Blacks starred were somewhat reactionary, to the South African Authorities it was despicable.⁴³

William Wellman's 1943 film "The Oxbow Incident", portrayed a black preacher, Leigh Whipper, protesting against the lynching of white men. In one scene Whipper opposes a southern army officer; Whipper says:

I come from a race which has always had to bear the brunt of lynch law; and lynching is no way to settle things for either black or white people.⁴⁴

Several American war films showed the courage of black soldiers. A case in point was an MGM film Bataan,⁴⁵ which was presented with an award by the NAACP. Another example was Sahara,⁴⁶ in which Humphrey Bogart starred. Blacks were treated fairly in Stanley Kramer's The Men, and Home Of The Brave, Michael Curtiz's Casablanca and Night and Day, to name a few.

But Breaking Point may have been the most important film in which Blacks and Whites were treated alike as human beings. The black actor, Jaun Hernandez, appears as an old comrade-in-arms of Harry Morgan. Never before had a white/black friendship been splendidly brought to life on a screen. Hernandez's death by a gangster's hot lead, emotionally affects Morgan, and his subsequent massacre of the outlaws appears to be a direct retribution for the assassination of his companion. Nor did the director forget to end the film on a piercing note of a small black boy, the son of Hernandez, standing lost and bewildered on the quay side, while an ambulance takes the wounded Morgan away to a hospital, and has his arm amputated. The boy is still unaware that his father is dead. The crowd disperses, and there is a long shot of the boy on the deserted dockside. He is forgotten and ignored. That single silent scene is the strongest and most articulate in all the films featuring Blacks this writer has ever seen in the American cinema.⁴⁷

In the United States, the social and political atmosphere was ripe for Blacks to become 'humanized' subjects of film for what Professor Teshome characterized as the dilemma of the 'social acceptance gap' of black emancipation. Several reasons account for this; firstly, as mentioned above, black filmmakers had already emerged and started to 'correct' their image in

films. Secondly, the effects of World War II -- in which Blacks fought side by side with Whites ostensibly for freedom and self-determination against Nazism that raged in Europe. Thirdly, McCarthyism of the 1950's may have influenced white liberals in Hollywood to find allies in Blacks who, historically, had been victims of social and political injustice. The Civil Rights Movement and the NAACP's persistent struggle against injustices in all forms contributed to the new 'spirit' in cinema.

On the other hand, in South Africa the new developments taking place in the American film industry were received with characteristic disdain. As a result, political intervention in film was evidenced in the matter of the films censored. In South Africa, any film determined to be 'political' or 'pornographic' is banned outrightly. Curtiz's Breaking Point was found 'inappropriate' for the South African multiracial society!⁴⁸

There were several American films banned by the South African authorities. For the purposes of this analysis, we will examine only three major films banned between 1936 and 1950. These were: Green Pastures (1936), Home of the Brave (1949), and No Way Out (1950).

Green Pastures was an adaptation of Marc Connelly's successful Broadway play. Directed by Connelly and William Keighley, and released by Warner Brothers, it was one of the best all black spectacles since 1929. An all black production, Green Pastures was distributed to South Africa and banned instantly because it suggested that God, Moses, Noah, the children of Israel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Angel Gabriel were all black. The film is a southern piccaninny's conception of the Old Testament. God is kindly, somewhat a shabby black preacher, and Heaven is a rural resort which features choir singing and barbecue picnics. In the United States the film was acclaimed by both white and black newspapers:

A beautiful film - the screen version of the tender, gently pathetic, curiously touching Negro miracle play.⁴⁹

For the New York Times, this is the way the influential daily saw it:

That disturbance in and around the musical hall yesterday was the noise of shuffling queues in Sixth Avenue and the sound of motion picture critics dancing in the street. The occasion was the coming at least to the screen of Marc Connelly's naive, ludicrous, sublime and heartbreaking

masterpiece of American folk drama . . . It still has the rough beauty of home spun, the irresistible compulsion of simple faith.⁵⁰

But Professor Sharifa said in an interview with this writer that The Green Pasture's characterization of the religion of the Blacks was a caricature and that the only thing in it was childlike faith.⁵¹

The censors who banned Little Egypt because of its exhibition of surfeit of bare navels, promptly rejected Home of the Brave because they termed it seditious due to portrayals of friendship and the prospects of commercial cooperation between a black soldier and a white marine.⁵²

In No Way Out, the film revealed the American black as a 'civilized' human being, capable of compassion, aware of his power, and cynical about white patronage. In this film, Sidney Poitier plays the role of a young black doctor and saves the life of a murderous black-hating white man (Richard Widmark). The film depicts a full scale riot which ends in black victory. At the end of the film the black man stands over the wounded white man. Against the swelling clamor of the sirens of approaching police cars and ambulances, the doctor's voice says over and over in a most confident manner:

Don't cry white man . . .
No way out.

South Africa, which had legalized racism (Apartheid) only two years before the release of No Way Out, could not stand Africans seeing such a film. It was written and directed by Joseph Mankiewicz, who also scripted and directed All About Eve.⁵³ In South Africa films suggesting that Blacks and Whites can work together, let alone be equal, are not their piece of cake.

It is important to note that South Africa in the 1920's was also highly influential in shaping the censorship policy of some African colonies. Films shown to the African miners on the Rand were subjected to additional and more severe censorship by Ray Phillips (a missionary), a social worker with the American Board of Missions. At the time Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) got its films from South Africa. In addition, it relied upon the grading of the South African censors. It became a convention that Africans were not admitted to European cinemas.⁵⁴

D.W. GRIFFITH IN SOUTH AFRICA

If there was a filmmaker in the world with whom South Af-

rica fell in love, it was the American filmmaker, D.W. Griffith. In South Africa he was even more revered than Charlie Chaplin. If a survey on films shown in South Africa between 1914 to 1923 were conducted, there is no doubt that Griffith's works would have scored highest. In a span of nine years, he was able to show nine films in South Africa, including the infamous Birth of a Nation, actually screened in 1931. More about this film later. The rest of the films referred to here are:

Judith of Bethulia 1914.
The Battle of the Sexes 1915.
The Avenging Conscience 1916.
Intolerance 1918.
Macbeth 1919.
Broken Blossoms 1920.
Orphans of the Storms 1923
Way Down 1922.

Among the South African viewing audience of 1916, Griffith was perceived as the most outstanding producer. According to the Johannesburg Daily The Star, his reputation approached that of fetishism.⁵⁵ Here's a 1916 South African newspaper advertisement about D.W. Griffith's films:

THE AVENGING CONSCIENCE

BY

D.

W.

GRIFFITH

Query: Why have we billed GRIFFITH'S name in huge type and the film is very small?

Answer: Because anyone can invent a title but there is only one GRIFFITH.⁵⁶

Obviously, a case can be made that in his time, Griffith was a filmmaker of considerable repute. Indeed, some western film historians regard him very highly and his film Birth of a Nation as a pioneering classic of the cinema. Less generally said, however, is that Birth of a Nation was perhaps the first example of a motion picture to indulge in a blatant racist denigration of the black people. The film reveals hatred, intolerance and sheer bigotry. It is on record that various scenes were banned after they had sparked serious race riots in the United States. It covers the history of the American Civil War and the reconstruction immediately following it. The major feature of this sad period (in the producer's own words), was the 'Black Stronghold' on the defeated southern states.

Lynch, the mulatto character in the film, is portrayed as

boorish and lustful. His lust extends beyond political power to embrace lascivious grimaces beamed to a white girl, Elsie Stoneman. Subsequently, the inevitable rape attempt occurs, following the northern politician's refusal to allow his daughter to marry the mulatto. Clearly, the pathological obsession of some American Whites with the black rape of the white woman is unmistakable, and seems to have appeared or even 'occurred' with amazing frequency in American literature of the past century. Birth of a Nation could as well be the first film to dramatize this obsession.⁵⁷

Griffith was a southerner, and for a while he reacted with quintessential arrogance and stupidity to the wave of indignant criticism which greeted his film. Rabbi Stephen Wise called it an intolerable insult to black people. The Nation thought it was improper, immoral, and injurious. Griffith retaliated with a pamphlet called The Rise and Fall of Free Speech in America in which he reportedly said that the attacks on his beloved film were deliberately unfair. It may be interesting to note that the cast portraying Mulattos and Blacks in the film were Whites painted black. Should it be surprising, then, that D.W. Griffith's films were the darling of his racist cousins in South Africa?

CANADA LEE AND SIDNEY POITIER IN SOUTH AFRICA

On the brighter side, there were films made by liberal Whites during the 1950's of which Alan Paton's South African Epic, Cry The Beloved Country, was perhaps the most important. The film starred Canada Lee as an old village priest journeying to Johannesburg in search of a son gone astray. In the city, where he is touched by poverty, filth, and bewildered by racism. He is aided in the search by a young priest played by Sidney Poitier. Considered by some African scholars to be both patronizing and paternalistic, the film also attempts to plea for racial harmony and reconciliation. Lionel Nkagane, a young South African black actor also played a minor role in this film directed by Zoltan Korda.⁵⁸ The present writer asked Mokae, who acted in David Millin's production, "Legends of Fear", what he thought about films in South Africa in general and more specifically about Korda's production in relation to Blacks:

Many people both in the film industry and outside have often put that question to me. First of all, the film's title says Cry the Beloved Country. Whose country is it? It is the usual liberal, paternalistic stuff which in effect, suggests that if only the African can be more disciplined, have faith in the white man, be patient and believe in God, the situation will

improve. How long are we going to wait for the Almighty to save us from bondage? For South Africa, there is only one answer. It's a people's revolution. Period.⁵⁹

While Professor Povey (a South African white), of the UCLA department of English, agrees with some of Mokae's views, he believes that there ought to be some way of accommodating all the races in South Africa to live in harmony. He adds that any meaningful understanding between the races will perhaps take a long time because the Afrikaans are largely illiterate and, therefore, lacking in their analytical perception of the impending political realities.⁶⁰ Cry, The Beloved Country is a very decent Anglo-Saxon propaganda piece. To a large extent, however, it succeeds in diverting the blame of the repugnant white minority power structure in South Africa from the English and points an accusing finger to the Afrikaans. True, the Afrikaans control political power and they were responsible for legalizing apartheid. Not only did the English lay the foundation for what the latter has accomplished, they also control the economy. The point is that both are equally guilty, in the judgement of human conscience.

What is particularly interesting about the film is its timing of production. It was shot three years after the Whites of English descent had suffered political defeat in the "democratic" elections of 1948! Given the arrogant attitude of the Afrikaans towards the English since their assumption of political control, the latter's behaviour is only natural, i.e., to appear to sympathise with the African who has always been the victim of social injustice from both sides. As indicated above, these circumstances are not unprecedented, there are parallels in American history of the 1950's - "the red-baiting witch hunt" - when white liberals became supporters of the black cause. Film being enormously powerful as a medium of communication, Cry The Beloved Country can be said to be Nadine Gordimer, Alan Paton, Sarah Gertrude Millin, and William Plomer all rolled together. One wonders, nonetheless, why the film cast had to be imported from America to portray African characters and the social problems surrounding them in their own country. What this infers, perhaps, is that the African who lives in the western world for a long period may be the 'right' person ultimately to lead his 'savage' people, for his long stay overseas has cleansed him of the African devil!

PROPAGANDA FILMS

A Zulu's Devotion was produced by a new South African company known as the African Film Production (AFP) in 1916. Briefly, the AFP was established partly for the production of local propaganda, and partly because American fiction films be-

came very expensive. A Zulu's Devotion was written and produced by Joseph Albrecht. The theme centered around a Zulu farm labourer shown frustrating the designs of two colored thieves and rescuing his little mistress from their clutches. Goba was the star of the film, the first African to do so.⁶¹ Like his American black counterpart in the Hollywood movies of the day, Goba was portrayed as a servile brainless but faithful servant. He later became what Gutsche describes as one of the AFP stars. How a faithful African servant could become a star anywhere is anybody's guess!

The second propaganda film by the AFP was De Voortrekkers, a historical epic whose scenario had been written by historian Gustav Preller in collaboration with Harold Show, the producer specially imported for the purpose. The film was a reconstruction of the Great Trek culminating in the Battle of Blood River. Goba played the role of an embattled, spear-brandishing, painted Zulu commander. Twenty thousand Africans were collected, five hundred rifles said to be of the period, and forty trek wagons made to authenticate the occasion. Thousands of the Africans who were ordered to make a fanatic attack on the Laager did exactly that and trouble ensued:

At a given signal, the natives charged the laager furiously, but instead of recoiling and falling 'dead', continued into the Laager itself where blows with Europeans were exchanged.⁶²

Mounted Police intervened apparently to prevent the Africans from destroying the Laager in earnest. Having been savaged by the police, the Africans ran away and retakes were rendered impossible. However, at a later date, the film reconstruction of the Battle of Blood River, from the African's perspective, was accomplished. When the film was released, it is said to have inspired an American counterpart in The Covered Wagon. Another historical reconstruction, Symbol of Sacrifice, in which the British claimed an easy victory over the Zulu at Isandhlwana, scene of the infamous massacre of 1879 in Zululand, was released. King Solomon's Mines was the second film produced by AFP.⁶³

In August 1930, In The Land Of Zulus, another film produced by the AFP (the first sound film of African life) was released to the South African public. It was later screened in London and it seemed to have had a favorable reception. The film was a documentary about the visit of the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone. From then on, many more films were consistently made especially those dealing with economic production. In 1938 the AFP produced various other films including a documentary dealing with the manganese mining industry commissioned by the department of mines.

The AFP produced The Golden Harvest of the Witwatersrand, which was a long documentary over 7,000 feet on nine reels.⁶⁴ The film dealt in detail with the gold mining industry, dubbed with natural sound, covering the entire process from the recruiting of African labor to the actual extraction of gold. But the film was not found commercially suitable for showing in South Africa because of its boring nature, so it was gainfully sold to Britain for use in mining colleges and other educational institutions.

From Red Blanket to Civilization, also produced by AFP is a film which demeans African traditional life and glorifies western culture. Apparently the cameraman was able to shoot the Xhosa wedding, initiation ceremonies, missionary posts, labor recruiting depots, and the African labor force on the mines. This film was shown to Africans throughout the Union of South Africa.⁶⁵ It was exhibited at Wembley and also screened in London to the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. From Kraal To Mine, a series of films made in various areas by the AFP, covered Natal, Zululand, Ciskei, Northern Transvaal, and Basutoland (present day Lesotho). For many years, the use of films for propaganda purposes was practiced by the government and companies, but the majority were imported from the U.S. and Britain.⁶⁶

ENTERTAINMENT CINEMA FOR AFRICANS

For many years, racial discrimination and economic factors made it impossible for Africans and non-Europeans to attend the bioscopes. Even special provisions for them to enjoy cinema were not contemplated for many years. In 1920, initial steps were taken to provide cinema as a form of entertainment to non-Europeans. It became general practice, therefore, to admit them regardless of race to the gallery of bioscopes or to the front seats in order to prohibit them from interacting with Europeans. With the passage of the Censorship Act, non-Europeans were restricted to certain types of films.⁶⁷ This move angered non-Europeans, especially the economically well-off Indians and Coloreds. It also caused resentment among them. When the number of Africans increased in the townships and mine industries, film companies found it expedient to exploit that market. Bioscopes catering for non-Europeans were built especially around Cape Town.

These cinemas had a definite identity as such and their programmes consisted almost exclusively of 'wild westerns' and musicals. The 'tickey bioscope' of the suburbs soon became a popular feature among the non-European of the community.⁶⁸

Moreover, the 'Tarzan' types were also increasingly popular among the Africans who, in those days, were not aware how such films ridiculed their race.

For the African miner, Rev. Phillips instituted cinema shows on the mine compounds. These were severely censored films which proved extremely successful and influenced both the Chamber of Mines and the Municipal Native Affairs Department to take interest.^{6,9} For many years, the question of occupying the leisure time of the Rand's vast African population had been unanswered. Rev. Phillips' weekly exhibitions provided it. The Municipal Native Affairs Department arranged for shows to be given in municipal compounds and the Chamber of Mines took over the organization and ran it through the Native Recruiting Corporation. Exhibitions were given at no charge.

FILMS FOR EDUCATION

There was an outcry from government circles that western films could be detrimental to the relationship between Africans and Europeans. Some films, they argued, were exposing Africans to too much American way of life, and could ultimately influence the urbanized native to seek equality with his European boss. It was therefore agreed that most American films were unsuitable for the Africans. The Union Education Department was charged with the duty of recommending appropriate films for Africans and non-Europeans. Among other things, it recommended that propaganda films about soil erosion, overstocking, nutrition, health and child welfare were urgently required for the natives. Mobile cinema units were proposed. The department castigated what it described as cheap cinema for the natives in towns:

Cinemas were, as a rule, only low grade undesirable films of the Wild West, and gangster and thriller types are shown.⁷⁰

The following is a list of films which were commonly shown to the Africans in the reserve.

- (1) Venereal Disease
- (2) Nutrition
- (3) Life and Customs of the Ama Zulu
- (4) Life and Customs of the Watusi
- (5) Growing and Ginning of Cotton
- (6) Life and Customs of the Pygmies
- (7) Prevention of Blindness
- (8) Thrift

These films which were supplied by the publicity committee of the Union Education Department, were also narrated by Afri-

cans.⁷¹ The Tea Market Expansion Bureau (an advertising agency of International Tea Growers' Association, London), operated mobile cinema units to visit reserves, locations and mines "educating" people to develop taste for consuming tea and other products.

CONCLUSION

In film parlance, South Africa is part of the "global village". From earlier days to the present, the influence of cinema has been and remains tremendous. The films examined here clearly illustrate how cinema can create images and information which determine our beliefs, attitudes and, ultimately, our behaviour. Most of the films do not correspond to the realities of social existence. Messages and images that intentionally create a false sense of reality and thereby produce a consciousness that cannot comprehend actual conditions of life, personal or social, are manipulative propaganda. Manipulation of human minds is an instrument of conquest. The African is not only suppressed by the fascist minority regime, he is also taught 'self-hate' through the powerful medium of moving pictures. Films provide an excellent opportunity to divert people's attention from their immediate problems as Mphahlele noted:

... we forgot our hunger, weariness, everything else, lost in the exciting movements of the movies.⁷²

These films clearly reveal to us the working mind and intentions of the South African power structure. As sources of information, these films can provide excellent trends of historical, economic and socio-political development of Blacks in South Africa. As we saw earlier, South Africa set precedents for racial discrimination in censorship and segregation in viewing. This was later adopted in East and Central Africa. Through these films we are also able to establish the economic and socio-political link between the capitalist world and South Africa. A case can also be made about the unfortunate role black Americans were made, and continue to play, in the subjugation of the African through films. Witness Robeson in Sanders Of The River, Canada Lee and Poitier in Cry The Beloved Country.

This paper does not pretend to have exhausted the subject of film as an instrument of social control. If it manages to invoke the critical powers of better equipped researchers, inciting them to produce better results from their investigations of the matter, the intentions of this effort will be considered to have been fulfilled.

NOTES

1. Thelma Gutsche, The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa 1895-1940. Howard Timins (Cape Town 1972) p. 9.
2. George M. Fredrickson, White Supremacy, a comparative study in American & South African History (Oxford University Press, New York 1981) p. 283.
3. See Margery Perham (ed.) Ten Africans (London, 1936), p. 74.
4. Results of a Census of the Transvaal Colony and Swaziland, 1904. Transvaal Government 1906: XVII.
5. T. Matshikiza, "Music for Moderns" in Drum, July 1957.
6. Margery Perham, African Apprenticeship (London, 1974), p. 146.
7. A. Cohen, Two Dimensional Man (Berkeley, 1975), p. 53.
8. K. Ngubane, "South Africa's Race Crisis: A Conflict of Minds" in H. Adam (ed.) South Africa: Sociological Perspectives (Oxford University Press 1971) p. 13.
9. An interview with Zakes Mokae, A South African Black Professional Actor. Works in Hollywood and Las Vegas, February 1983.
10. Amilcar Cabral: Return to the Source, Selected Speeches Edited by African Information Service (New York: Monthly Review Press 1973) p. 39.
11. Ezekiel Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue. (Anchor Books edition: New York, 1971) p. 154.
12. Drum, January/February 1952.
13. Ibid.
14. Gutsche, op. cit., p. 27.
15. L-A Notcutt and G.C. Latham (eds.), The African and the Cinema (London, 1937) p. 243. See also Bell, Letter to The Times, October 4, 1926.
16. J. Russell, "The Use of the Cinema in the Guidance of Backward Races," Journal of the African Society, XXX (July 1931) p. 238.

17. S. Tallents, The Protection of England (London, 1932) p. 29.
18. Gabriel, Teshome, "Images of Black People in Cinema: A Historical Overview." Ufahamu, Volume VI, Number 2, 1976, p. 134.
19. Vaughn J. Koyinde, "Africa and the Cinema" in Langston Hughes (ed.), An African Treasury (New York, 1960) p. 89.
20. Flamingo Magazine, June 1960
21. Ibid.
22. Donald Bogle, Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films (New York: The Viking Press, 1973) p. 97. Paul Robeson also appeared in King Solomon's Mines as Umbopa, the Shona Chief; he also appeared in Proud Valley as an African servant, and Song of Freedom where he plays homage to colonial rule. See also G., Teshome, op. cit., p. 140, and Natalie Barakas, Thirty-Thousand Miles For the Films (Blakie & Sons, Glasgow, 1937) p. 69.
23. Ibid.
24. London Daily, Herald, December 10, 1935.
25. Bogle, Loc. Cit.
26. Ebony Magazine, May 1946.
27. L.A. Notcutt and G.C. Latham (eds.) op. cit.
28. Bogle, op. cit., p. 135.
29. Ibid. p. 13.
30. Daniel J. Lead "From Sambo to Superspade: The Black in Film", Film and History Volume II, Number 3, September 1972. See also G., Teshome, op. cit. p. 134-35.
31. Lawrence D. Reddick, "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Motion Pictures, Radio, The press and Libraries," The Journal of Negro Education, XXIII, summer 1944, p. 370. Dr. Reddick identified some stereotypes of Blacks: the happy slave, the devoted servant, the savage African, the sexual superman, the superstitious church-goer, the mental inferior, the super athlete, the natural musician, and the unhappy non-white, to name a few.

32. Herbert Kretzmer, "The Negro in Films," The Forum, January, 1954.
33. Ibid.
34. Bogle, op. cit., p. 6.
35. The Star -- November.
36. Ibid.
37. The Star -- July 9, 1910. See also Cape Times, July 9, 1910.
38. The Star -- March 8, 1931.
39. Report of the Select Committee on the Entertainments (censorship) Bill, March 1931, p. 4.
40. Ibid., p. 6.
41. Ibid., p. 24.
42. Gutsche, op. cit., p. 303.
43. Kretzmer, op. cit. p. 51.
44. William Wellman, The Ox-Bow Incident, 1943.
45. MGM, BATAAN, 1943.
46. British Film Production, Sahara, 1943, Rex Ingram, a black actor, appears in the film as a magnificent Sudanese Soldier, engendering audience affection as he heroically kills a Nazi soldier and sacrifices his life in the name of the "free world."
47. Directed by Michael Curtiz, The Breaking Point, 1943.
48. Kretzmer, op. cit., p. 55.
49. New York World Telegram (cited by Bogle, op. cit. p. 68).
50. New York Times, May 10, 1937.
51. Interview with Professor Sharifa Evans, February, 1983.
52. Kretzmer, op. cit., p. 51.
53. Joseph Mankiewicz, No Way Out, 1950.

54. Gutsche, op. cit., p. 140.
55. The Star -- July 20, 1916.
56. Ibid.
57. D.W. Griffith, Birth of a Nation. See also Bogle, op. cit., p. 135, and Teshome, op. cit., p. 135. Film available at Media Center UCLA.
58. Produced by Zoltan Korda, Cry The Beloved Country, 1952. See also Sidney Poitier's autobiography, "This Life" Alfred A. Knopf (New York, 1980) p. 136. Drum -- December, 1951.
59. Zakes Mokaie, Professional South African Black Film and Theater actor (Interview). See also Theater Magazine, Yale University, Spring, 1982.
60. Interview with Professor Povey. He also said that during his stay in South Africa he believes Africans were shown substandard movies.
61. Gutsche, op. cit. p. 313.
62. Ibid.
63. Natalie Barkas, op. cit., p. 151.
64. Fredrickson, op. cit., p. 313.
65. S. Kirkland -- The Forum, December 1930.
66. The Star -- February, 1935.
67. Gutsche, op. cit., p. 356.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. R. Phillips, "The African and the Cinema," Race Relations, volume II (June 1936) p. 42.
71. Adult Education in South Africa, Report by a Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Minister of Education (Pretoria, 1945), p. 118.
72. Mphahlele, op. cit., p. 40.

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