

INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War radically realigned global politics and led to a renewed interest in transnational civil society. The new civil society that helped bring down the Soviet Empire has been considered a major enabling element for worldwide democratization. Simultaneously, social movements addressing issues such as the environment and human rights globalized and increased their prominence within civil society. Leading such movements were inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), like the United Nations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), like Amnesty International and Greenpeace. Collectively known as international organizations (IOs), the reorganized worldwide society created an atmosphere where such IOs could proliferate and flourish, and become a significant factor in the post-Cold War world.

While IGOs are quite powerful, NGOs have achieved a dramatic impact working as non-state players in international society. Current scholars of international relations have begun to consider the implications of traditionally non-political actors advocating political and social causes. However, much of that work has focused on NGOs and their interactions with each other, the governments of nation-states and IGOs. Keck and Sikkink (1998) evaluate the prominence of NGOs and the transnational networks that such organizations form to frame issue debates and establish them on agendas of international concern. However, another important piece of the puzzle for NGOs to successfully promote a political or social agenda is the role played by individual non-state actors, and not just non-state organizations. Non-state actors often have a unique ability to impact an audience that may not be affected by NGOs, especially when these

non-state individuals are celebrities. As the number and power of NGOs has grown in the last two decades, it seems that the significance of famous activists aligned with NGOs and social movements has multiplied as well.

One preeminent example of celebrity activists are the brilliant Irish musicians known as U2. As advocates for both domestic and international social causes, U2 have added important strength to the NGOs and social causes they support for the past 25 years. U2 have used their celebrity status not only to speak their own minds, but also to communicate the thoughts and feelings that people in the world are not expressing for themselves. The politically charged lyrics that are characteristic of their albums are further supported by the group's social activism and involvement with numerous international organizations and charitable events. They have carried on the legacy of celebrity advocacy initiated by earlier famous activists and have used their celebrity status to influence an audience that may never have been reached by NGOs alone. U2 have focused many of their efforts in the social issues of Africa, and as a group have supported anti-war and famine relief efforts in Ethiopia and the anti-apartheid campaign in South Africa, among many others. More recently, U2's lead singer, Bono, has branched out from the group as a solo advocate for problems like Third World debt and AIDS, which plague the African continent, even though he is a professional musician. "I know how absurd it is to have a rock star talk about the World Health Organization or debt relief or HIV/AIDS in Africa," Bono admitted (Tyranigel 3). Nevertheless, that fame has provided Bono and U2 with many opportunities to draw attention to social causes around the world, particularly in Africa.

Yet if U2 have used their fame to bring attention to charities, events, and organizations for more than two decades, what good has it done? Has their involvement in social campaigns been worth their time and had significantly positive results in improving social problems? It is inevitable that questions arise about how much influence celebrities can have, and how that impact can be measured. The effectiveness of U2's activities can be evaluated according to Keck and Sikkink's (1998) method for analyzing the impact of transnational advocacy networks. The four cases of famine relief, anti-apartheid efforts, debt forgiveness advocacy, and AIDS activism reveal both strengths and weaknesses that U2 and other celebrities can bring to social movements. U2's involvement often brings the issues to the attention of their fans, their professional colleagues, the media, and world leaders that can cause change. However, that attention is often contingent upon the band's popularity, state policies and procedures, the strength of the IOs addressing the issue and their methods of activism. The band's efforts may also be weakened by the lack of a focus on specific target actors and the extent of the problem. Nonetheless, the four case studies show the valuable contributions of U2's well-defined agenda as the "the band with a conscience," and the opportunities U2 have used to form a platform of public support for various social organizations. More importantly, the four cases prove the significant political role traditionally non-political celebrities can play within international civil society.

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate U2's involvement in social organizations, and the benefits of their work by addressing the questions previously described. It will include a discussion of current trends and theories in international political relations, followed by a section about the historical precursors to current social advocacy networks,

organizations, and activists. The thesis will then outline Keck and Sikkink's (1998) method of evaluating the effectiveness of social activism, and analyze U2's influence in famine relief efforts, AIDS advocacy, the anti-apartheid campaign, and Third World debt forgiveness. It will document and record their social activity and political agenda in Africa, as they used their international fame as a promotional vehicle. With U2, music is



U2, L-R, Adam Clayton, The Edge, Bono and Larry Mullen, Jr.
Photo by Mark Seliger (rollingstone.com)

the priority, but acting on their beliefs is also a defining attribute. U2's political activism brings attention to a variety of social issues around the world, and one which deserves thorough investigation in the context of contemporary international relations.

TRENDS AND THEORIES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Beginning in the second half of the twentieth century, transnational social movements addressing problems of war, human rights, and socioeconomic justice led to the proliferation of IGOs and NGOs. Such organizations have dramatically affected the transnational relations of world politics in almost every issue-area, and have contributed to the formation of a global civil society. That society has redefined the relationships between countries, especially through critical political developments such as globalization and democratization. It has been argued that globalization and democratization have been crucial factors among the current trend of transnational social movements and of pushing social action beyond state borders (Smith, Chatfield and Pagnucco, 5 and Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 1). Together, these changes have encouraged the phenomenal proliferation and influence of NGOs within transnational relations. About 5,000 international NGOs, such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace and Drop the Debt, lobby international regimes and IGOs for a wide variety of causes (Risse-Kappen 3). Working as non-state actors, globalization and democratization have enabled these NGOs to become increasingly influential in different categories of activity while interacting with states, IGOs and other NGOs.

Globalization

Globalization has radically changed the way cultures, economies, governments, and human beings interact with each other. The implications of globalization are

significant, and social scientists are only beginning to contemplate what it means for civil society and social theories (Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 339). Yet globalization is nothing new; people around the world have been linked for centuries by social, economic and political exchanges (Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 340). However, the fact remains that an increasingly global perspective can substantially affect human character, human relations and social institutions. For many people in the late twentieth century, global interactions seem to be occurring on a more daily basis. It has allowed for the increased integration of all areas of society including cultures and economies. For many theorists, the close link between regional, national and political identity today seems almost a vestige from an earlier age (Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 340). Instead, it is more appropriate to consider human identity as fluid and changeable, and human relations as organized through flexible networks and organizations (Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 340).

Globalization has provided the opportunity for networks and organizations to grow, including NGOs, which provide critical support for social movements. NGOs, in a sense, have globalized. However, globalization seems to reduce the ability of states to act within their own borders because of the integration of transnational institutions. Social movements, therefore, are removed from their usual position of petitioning states to redress grievances (Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 1). Social advocacy networks and organizations must consequently direct their energies and resources toward international links and partnerships. This is illustrated by what Keck and Sikkink (1998) describe as the “boomerang effect,” where domestic social movements can bypass their own target state and appeal to international pressure from other nation-states and transnational organizations to accomplish their goals in their own countries. An excellent example of

this was the worldwide movement to end apartheid in South Africa, in which the South African opposition appealed to international forces like businesses and governments. An integrated movement was created which included the efforts of many different institutions, and after a long struggle, apartheid was abolished.

Just like the movement to eradicate apartheid, globalization is inherently complicated. However, it has resulted in a growth of opportunities for social action and movements. Admitting the complexity of the international sphere is not a way to avoid concrete definitions, hypotheses or conclusions (Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 30). Rather, it is simply recognizing it as what it is — a tangled process of cross-cultural and transnational interactions both domestically and internationally. Social movements in this setting are sometimes contentious, sometimes violent, sometimes successful, and sometimes a complete failure. However, the process of globalization has contributed to a global environment in which transnational collective action at work will be increasingly influential.

Democratization

Along with globalization, democratization has become a crucial factor in the global civil society of the late twentieth century. However, the world has been experiencing fundamental democratization for more than two hundred years. More people are allowed to participate in the political process as more societies extend suffrage to everyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, sex, or socioeconomic status. Through

democratization, people have increasing freedom from the control or interference of governments, as is evident in the growing legitimacy and protection of human and civil rights. The dissolution of the Soviet Union has also provided a further advancement for democratization by eroding the legitimacy and credibility of authoritarian rule on a global level (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 4).

Although threats of authoritarianism remain, the trend in democratization is evident in social systems at the community, regional, national and global levels (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 5). Important developments have influenced the movement toward democratization. Two of the most important developments have been the extension of “supportive norms” and “improved means of communication” (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 5). In terms of extending “supportive norms,” democratization has been augmented by the spread of ideas supporting individualism, the freedom of expression, and human and civil rights. Democratization is also boosted by the rights claimed by groups to use their language, practice their religion, and otherwise express their cultural traditions (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 5).

Improving “means of communication” also tends to promote democratization. Telephones, the Internet, televisions, movies, music, facsimiles and electronic mail allow for instant and mass communication. Recent innovations make rapid exchanges and sustained social interaction possible (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 6). As technology becomes more user-friendly and affordable, more people are able to organize and advance their interests both domestically and internationally. This creates an environment for NGOs to grow and flourish.

Along with globalization, democratization has become a notable factor in the post-Cold War civil society. These two elements have contributed to an environment that allows and even encourages the growth and influence of NGOs. They establish the exchange of information and ideas, and enable citizens to participate in government, social organizations and advocacy networks. In addition, globalization and democratization have created avenues of activism for individual social advocates, including celebrity activists. Together, individual supporters of social causes and networks of organizations operate in various categories of activity to reach their goals.

Categories of NGO Activity

Within the new global civil society, democratization and globalization have helped form an environment in which NGOs and individual activists have increased their influence in transnational relations. While mainstream international relations research has been preoccupied with states as central actors in world politics, the realist approach to international relations as a constant struggle for power between nations is no longer the primary focus. Globalization and democratization have increasingly allowed for the growth of NGOs. These organizations, working as non-state actors, have mobilized transnational resources in national conflicts, generated constituencies for the creation of international policies, and targeted institutions that impact interstate relations. Their activities may be placed into five categories: creating and mobilizing global networks, participating in multilateral political arenas, facilitating interstate cooperation, acting within states, and enhancing public participation (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 260).

By forming global networks as the first category of activity, NGOs gather information on local conditions through worldwide contacts, and alert a global network of supporters to conditions requiring attention (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 262). They create a network to respond to emergencies and are able to mobilize pressure from outside states (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 262). Through participation in the second area of activity within multilateral political arenas, NGOs build coalitions with state governments, IGOs and other NGOs (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 262). They can raise new issues and participate diplomatically in IGO activities (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 262). This, in turn, leads to the third category of activity, facilitating interstate cooperation, especially by serving as third-party sources of information in expanding policy options (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 262). While acting within states, NGOs can make links to local partners, work to harmonize state policies, and campaign for support of humanitarian aid and development programs as a fourth form of activity (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 262). Finally, they may also encourage public participation by enhancing the general knowledge of an issue, provoking public protests, and increasing the public's knowledge of international negotiations and institutions (Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 262).

It is obvious that NGOs have a variety of arenas where they must be active to increase their influence and reach their goals. However, globalization and democratization have served as catalysts for establishing that influence and fulfilling goals. While faced with challenges in each area of activity, NGOs must become adept at designing multiple-arena strategies to gain international support from governments, citizens, and other IOs.

HISTORICAL PRECURSORS TO CURRENT ADVOCACY NETWORKS AND INDIVIDUAL ACTIVISTS

A review of history illustrates social campaigns that have become predecessors to modern movements and advocacy networks. They include the 1833-1865 Anglo-American campaign to abolish slavery in the United States, as well as the international women's suffrage movement from 1888 to 1928 (Keck and Sikkink 39). A campaign to eradicate footbinding in China was led by Western missionaries and Chinese reformers between 1874 and 1911 (Keck and Sikkink 39). Western missionaries were also active with British colonial authorities in the 1920 to 1931 campaign against female circumcision in Kenya (Keck and Sikkink 39). The cases show that transnational advocacy networks and social activism are not a phenomenon of the past fifty years, but have actually been around for many years.

However, historical social movements and modern advocacy networks do have a particular element where they differ. That dissimilarity is the increasing prevalence of activism among individual non-state players, such as celebrities, musicians, and actors. Many famous individuals have given their energy to social causes throughout history. It seems, however, that the visibility and activity of famous advocates have expanded in the past fifty years. For example, musicians and comedians used their talents to entertain troops and support the war effort in the 1940s. Some celebrities even promoted war bonds to help finance World War II. By the late 1960's, other social causes were benefiting from the activism of famous advocates. Actor Marlon Brando lent his time and effort to the American Indian Movement in its struggle for civil rights and social equality.

Jane Fonda served adamantly as an anti-Vietnam activist. The late Princess Diana of Wales, along with actress Elizabeth Taylor, has lobbied on the part of AIDS victims around the world. Actresses Audrey Hepburn and Angelina Jolie have donated their time to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and are among many other famous activists, like Arnold Schwarzenegger and Kurt Russell. The famous have been able to take their positions as celebrities, and combine it with politics at a new level.

The musical world has also seen many advocates for social change who are able to use their celebrity status to speak about social causes and act on their beliefs. Musicians, unlike most actors and other celebrities, are in distinct positions with the advantage to sing songs and write lyrics about the causes they support. Woodie Guthrie and Bob Dylan are two of the most obvious examples of musicians who have created songs of social protest. Johnny Cash has lobbied for prisoner's rights and John Denver supported environmental conservation. Other famous activist musicians include Bruce Springsteen, Neil Young, Willie Nelson, Elton John, Bob Geldof, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Peter Gabriel, Sting, Peter, Paul & Mary, John Denver, Bob Marley, Michael Stipe, Paul Young, George Michael, and Phil Collins, among many others. Newcomers to the world of music and celebrity activism include Alicia Keys, Gwen Stefani, Shaggy, Nelly Furtado, Wyclef Jean, and Jennifer Lopez. This activism ranges from AIDS advocacy to racial equality and environmental conservation.

One of the most famous of all socially conscious groups is Ireland's own U2. Bono, The Edge, Adam Clayton, and Larry Mullen, Jr. have achieved a level of superstardom and used that fame to be labeled the "band with a conscience." Their

politically charged lyrics have developed a certain characteristic that is more potent when joined with their involvement in social movements. “I like this idea that rock ‘n’ roll is politics,” Bono admitted (“Rattle”). Politics has become inseparable from U2 and their music. They have chosen to lend their time and effort to numerous international and domestic causes since they became a band in 1978. They have worked with organizations such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace, as well as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. They address problems from all over the world, like racism and hunger, in addition to issues in Ireland, like religion and unemployment.



U2, back row L-R, Adam Clayton, Bono, Larry Mullen, Jr., front row, The Edge.
Photo by Mark Seliger (rollingstone.com)

U2's global fame has provided them with the opportunity to create a platform of public support for different social causes. The fact that they have so passionately immersed themselves as advocates for change proves the group's personal commitment to activism around the world. Bono, the band's lead

spokesman, explained, “To be interested in the rest of the world is necessary for all of us, and we need it” (Bozza 2).

Fortunately for U2, and the rest of the world, global political changes coincided with their musical fame which together created the opportunity for them to capitalize on their stardom. The 1980s and 1990s provided the chance for U2, as non-state actors, to become involved and increasingly influential in domestic and international politics. U2 have taken advantage of their position as popular culture celebrities along with the political context of the last two decades to become influential and effective social activists.

Although measuring the impact of U2's activism is inherently difficult, it is significant and should still be addressed. It is inevitable that questions arise about how much influence celebrities can have on social causes, as they work as traditionally non-political actors. What tactics are the most effective at sending a message? Are benefit concerts more persuasive than diplomatic negotiations? What is the larger political connection in developing a global civil society? These questions can be addressed by analyzing case studies of U2's involvement in social campaigns, including Band Aid/Live Aid, Artists Against AIDS Worldwide, the Artists Against Apartheid/Sun City project, and Jubilee 2000/Drop the Debt.

FIVE STANDARDS FOR EVALUATING SOCIAL MOVEMENT SUCCESS AND FAILURE

The greatest challenge in making the assertion that non-state actors can play an influential role in domestic and foreign policies is proving it with solid evidence. The traditional realist approach to international relations of using military strength and economic measures to induce political change is not the only theoretical explanation. The world experienced radical political changes following the fall of Communism in the former Soviet Union. Globalization and democratization opened avenues for NGOs to grow and expand their influence as non-state actors within world politics. In addition, individual activists like U2, and Bono in particular, have been involved in numerous organizations during their careers as musicians. The impact of non-political players in the complex world of domestic and foreign affairs is difficult to assess, but Keck and Sikkink (1998) describe five different levels of network impact to analyze effectiveness (201).

The first level is framing debates and getting issues on national and international agendas (Keck and Sikkink 201). Before any changes can be made to social structures and institutional arrangements, world leaders and their constituents must be aware of the issues before them. That can be accomplished through organizational reports, international conferences, public announcements, press releases, or lobbying efforts. For rock star activists, like U2, the first step is often accomplished through organizing charitable concerts, or releasing benefit albums or singles.

The second stage is encouraging “discursive commitments” from states and other policy actors (Keck and Sikkink 201). Once the world’s leading politicians, IGOs, and

citizens are conscious of a particular social issue, NGOs and activists focus their efforts on establishing solid verbal commitments from governments and other IOs in support of the issue. This second step is a starting point for activist networks to garner transnational support for their interests, and is a necessary precursor to the final three levels of advocacy in creating tangible changes.

Causing procedural change internationally and domestically is the third level for determining impact (Keck and Sikkink 201). By affecting procedure, NGOs can influence the steps taken by governments and other organizations when reacting to a given situation. NGOs can cause governments and other IOs to reevaluate their protocol and courses of action for addressing domestic and international issues. This determines how and when they become involved in various circumstances. However, the third step of causing procedural change is a significant challenge to reach. The step from obtaining discursive and verbal support to causing actual procedural changes in dealing with a social issue can be a daunting task. Nevertheless, it is a necessary stage for NGOs and activist networks to reach to be successful at accomplishing their goals.

The fourth step is the ability to affect the policies of governments and IGOs (Keck and Sikkink 201). By affecting policies, NGOs and activists can be more effective in realizing their objectives and attaining success in their efforts. This stage is especially important because it determines the future of the issue and how it will be addressed by the policies of governments and IGOs. It may include legislative adjustments, as opposed to the third level of effectiveness which may only include procedural adjustments that

determine how governments apply their established policies. The fourth level of effectiveness actually changes the policies.

In the process, the fourth stage can lead directly into the fifth and final level of analyzing effectiveness, which is to influence the behaviors of target actors, whether governments, individuals, or other IOs (Keck and Sikkink 201). When world leaders and governments are persuaded to alter their policies and procedures that deal with a certain area of interest, their own behaviors and attitudes may also be affected. Their reactions to future situations may be impacted by the changes made in addressing earlier issues, and they may begin to respond similarly.

Of course, the domestic structure of target institutions plays a significant role which influences how they are open to leverage. Keck and Sikkink (1998) argue that countries which limit or block political participation may cause citizens to seek international connections to more effectively promote their claims (202). When channels between a government and its constituents are blocked, the boomerang pattern of international influence may occur. Domestic NGOs and activists directly bypass their governments and seek transnational allies to try to place pressure on their states from outside sources (Keck and Sikkink 12).

However, domestic structures are only a starting point for understanding the conditions under which some networks can be effective. They do not fully explain why some transnational networks succeed and why others fail. Networks are obviously more successful and effective when they are well-organized and have clearly focused their goals. They must also be able to target the appropriate policymakers and world leaders

using the most efficient methods and maximizing their resources. Keck and Sikkink (1998) believe that varying results from efforts in similar institutional arrangements are attributable to the nature of the issue and the networks involved (202).

Yet Keck and Sikkink do not address the ways in which network effectiveness can be augmented by individual players, like celebrities, that are associated with such transnational networks. Celebrity advocacy is an increasingly important element within the political sphere and must be considered. U2 have been able to draw attention to certain causes on their agenda using their fame and celebrity status that other activists do not have. However, they have often relied on the advocacy of other advocates and NGOs as a starting point for their own social work. Furthermore, it is not only celebrities who can be effective in supporting social causes and creating change. In fact, organization networks would not survive without the membership and participation of individual people supporting all types of causes. One is not necessarily more important than the other. What is apparent, however, is that the fame of celebrities can be used as an asset. Well-known transnational networks have power to direct change that may be limited for smaller, less powerful organizations, whether they are state actors or non-state actors. Likewise, popular or famous individuals within such networks are able to influence the public and various governments in different ways than individuals who are unknown. Therefore, well-known social organizations, and the celebrities associated with them, have the capabilities to convince others to support their social causes because of their distinguished positions in global society.

This is an example of the notion of soft power in transnational relations. Soft power is the ability to reach a goal through the attraction of ideals and values, using moral and verbal persuasion (Kegley and Wittkopf 462). This is the opposite of hard power, which is the ability to exert influence in global politics through tangible resources such as military might and economic capabilities, as opposed to coercion based on ideas (Kegley and Wittkopf 462). Traditionally, the concepts of soft and hard power have been used to describe the types of power that states can use to satisfy their objectives. However, NGOs and social advocacy networks have a form of soft power to persuade policy actors, IOs, governments, and individual activists to support their efforts.

Not only do NGOs and advocacy networks possess a type of soft power, but individual activists do as well. Yet the soft power of individuals is more than the soft power of states, which is sometimes described as the power to persuade. Individual activists, such as celebrities like U2 and Bono, have much more than the ability to persuade. They are able to shape the agenda in transnational politics, and define the terms of debate and discussion. Ultimately, they can cultivate a base of support from other individual activists, celebrity colleagues, fans, the media, governments, NGOs and IGOs.

Famous activists, therefore, have an unusual form of soft power to accomplish much more than persuasion. They have the capabilities to establish a global influence in inter-governmental relations, while attracting attention from the media and support from their fans and colleagues. For U2, such influence has been applied in many different situations, both domestically in their home country of Ireland, and around the world.

They have been able to use their stardom as musicians to bring the attention of the public, governments, networks, and the media, to social causes of all types.

Their impact, however, is more difficult to determine, but can be evaluated using the five levels of effectiveness for transnational activist networks outlined by Keck and Sikkink (1998). U2's efforts through Ethiopian famine relief, AIDS advocacy, the anti-apartheid movement, and Third World debt forgiveness all illustrate campaigns that



Bono reaches out to his audience. Photo by Barry Brecheisen
(rollinastone.com)

reached various levels of effectiveness and success. While the anti-apartheid movement reached all levels of effectiveness outlined by Keck and Sikkink, U2's involvement in famine relief was a one-time event that achieved the

second stage of success. Bono's participation in Artists Against AIDS Worldwide has brought attention to the epidemic and accomplished Keck and Sikkink's second level of effectiveness. Finally, Bono's activism with Jubilee 2000 and Drop the Debt has reached all five levels of effectiveness according to Keck and Sikkink, although the debt issue has not been completely resolved.

CASE STUDIES

Band Aid/Live Aid

Starting in the early 1980s, U2 began to regularly and quietly put their time and energy into charity projects and benefit concerts. They have been consistent and passionate supporters of Amnesty International, and need no convincing of the role that entertainment can fulfill in spreading the organization's message of freedom. Their work with the Band Aid and Live Aid projects, therefore, was not the first time they had publicly taken a political stance. They were two of the earliest and most important political activities of U2, which solidified their beliefs in the relevance of rock 'n' roll. U2 have always been known for their political beliefs on everything from religion to pacifism through their powerful lyrics, especially on albums like "War." As the "band with a conscience," many social causes wanted their time and U2 had many causes to which they wanted to contribute. Yet they were somewhat reluctant because many artists had jumped on the charity bandwagon simply to boost their lagging careers or to promote previously released music. However, U2's call for assistance with Band Aid and Live Aid came from the Boomtown Rats' Bob Geldof in October 1984, and they were unable to refuse.

Geldof was an Irish musician living in London who saw a British Broadcasting Corporation television documentary on Africans dying of hunger in Ethiopia. He was so moved by the story that within days he was on an airplane to Ethiopia to see firsthand the atrocities of the famine. He returned to London and wrote a song with Midge Ure, of Ultravox, titled "Do They Know It's Christmas?" and encouraged nearly forty of his

colleagues to be a part of the recording. If there was one group that did think rock 'n' roll could make a difference it was U2, who accepted Geldof's offer to participate. Bono explained, "The 1960s music that inspired me was part of a movement that helped to stop the Vietnam War and there is no reason why contemporary music cannot have a similar importance" (Bowler and Dray 183).



Cover design of the "Do They Know It's Christmas?" Band Aid single.

Bono and Adam Clayton participated in the studio session and were part of the single that changed the face of fundraising forever. They sold it at Christmas and Geldof formed the Band Aid Trust with the profits as a charity to provide food for people in Africa.

The record was so successful that in the beginning of 1985, the idea of a concert to raise money for the cause was suggested. Eventually the concert mushroomed into sixteen hours of music from around the world, featuring many of the biggest stars of the time. "Bob Geldof had inspired, bullied and begged the greatest acts in popular music to donate one day of their lives to the cause of famine relief" (Dunphy 255). In fact, what Geldof used was his own soft power to convince other artists through verbal and moral coercion to want what he wanted. He was able to convince more than thirty groups to support his efforts for famine relief. Some of the participants were Men at Work, BB King, Black Sabbath, Elvis Costello, Run DMC, Sting, Phil Collins, Paul McCartney, REO Speedwagon, Crosby, Stills & Nash, Brian Adams, The Beach Boys, Dire Straits,

Queen, David Bowie, The Pretenders, The Who, Santana, Sade, Elton John, Madonna, Tom Petty, Kenny Loggins, George Thorogood, Neil Young, Eric Clapton, Led Zeppelin, Duran Duran, Patti LaBelle, Hall & Oates, Bob Dylan, and of course, U2.

The various artists performed on July 13, 1985 at John F. Kennedy Stadium in Philadelphia and Wembley Stadium in London. Video clips of starving children and refugee camps ran in between sets from rock 'n' roll legends. The videotape of the concerts was eventually broadcast in more than 170 countries. It has been estimated that the concerts reached two billion people with another one billion listeners on radio ("Global"). Geldof admitted, "Live Aid became the focus of everyone's frustration and anger and shame. Very quickly, it became a sort of phenomenon." A phenomenon it was, which at the time had raised the most money ever for charity by a single event ("Live"). The funds were used for projects in Ethiopia, Sudan, Mozambique, Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali.



The Live Aid concerts seemed to touch the spirit of humanity and bring the world together for a higher cause. Live Aid was a general condemnation of war, and the terrible impact it can have on the lives of people away from the front lines (Bowler and Dray 118). While famine relief was the immediate goal of the event, Ethiopia's civil war was the centerpiece for activism because it was a contributing cause of the famine and drought. Yet for once, the rock stars and their audience felt they could do something, and were empowered by the crusade for justice for those stricken by drought and civil war. Nobody

was so naive to assume that the money raised would solve the problem, but at least the audience, as well as artists like U2, took an interest in what was happening in the rest of the world. “Live Aid was the most magnificent consciousness-raising exercise of the 1980s, succeeding in an afternoon and evening where clergy and charity professionals, preachers in empty churches and bureaucrats on expense accounts had failed for two decades” (Dunphy 255). Its success in raising awareness, in addition to funds, is probably the greatest legacy of Live Aid. It provided relief to the innocent victims of Ethiopia’s civil war, even if that relief was only temporary and did not cause a permanent peace. Yet that was not the mission of Band Aid and Live Aid. The goal was to raise public awareness and funds, which they did very successfully. In the process, Band Aid and Live Aid set the template for the concept of the benefit concert and single. It inspired many more charitable concerts, singles and albums by a myriad of artists, and encouraged the notion of celebrity activism. Hundreds of social issues and organizations would be assisted and promoted in the future by celebrity activists, not just famous rockers.

On the day of the Live Aid concert, “U2 captured the spirit of the global jukebox more than any other artist” (Bowler and Dray 183). They were compassionate and angry and committed, but refrained from any offensive gestures or inappropriate song selection. This allowed the music to speak for them. U2's collective statement on Live Aid came in the form of a press release, but the press chose not to use it.

U2 are involved in Live Aid because it’s more than money, it’s music . . .
but it is also a demonstration to the politicians and policy-makers that
men, women and children will not walk by other men, women and

children as they lie, bellies swollen, starving to death for the sake of a cup of grain and water. For the price of Star Wars, the Mx missile offensive-defence budgets, the deserts of Africa could be turned into fertile lands. The technology is with us. The technocrats are not. Are we part of a civilization that protects itself by investing in life . . . or investing in death? (Bowler and Dray 184)

U2's passion for social causes was becoming evident. Not only were they growing as famous rock stars, they were also developing as humanitarians. The event was not about selling more albums or enhancing the band's reputation, although that may have been the view of the cynics. "For U2, Live Aid reinforced the band's belief that music could change the world" (Stockman 50). They were optimistic about the positive role that rock 'n' roll could establish for itself in global society, even though immediately after the concert they questioned their purpose as rockers in a world of notoriously pernicious behavior.

At the concert, U2 planned to play three numbers, but only had time to deliver two fiery songs, "Sunday Bloody Sunday" and "Bad." Unable to accept the huge distance between the stage and the audience, Bono went into the photographer's pit and pulled a young girl from the crowd. He slowly danced with her for a few moments before embracing others, emphasizing the need for solidarity in the face of such a terrible crisis. U2 had broken through the politics and with simple emotion pleaded, "We are all the same, we have food, they don't, please help" (Bowler and Dray 184). U2 were the band that defined Live Aid by going beyond a usual crowd-pleasing performance. The

symbolic gesture of performer and audience, music and people, captured the unique atmosphere at Wembley Stadium, part compassion, part rock concert, part union of humanity (Dunphy 4). They involved the audience interactively, an act which defined the new activism within rock 'n' roll. It was a politically effective move that not only brought the issues to the attention of the audience, but helped convince the viewers to adopt U2's goals of alleviating famine and condemning war. Live Aid confirmed that with a little help from its friends, rock 'n' roll, even though associated with wasted lives, with sex, drugs, booze and egotism, could agitate in favor of decency, compassion and real love (Dunphy 255)

However, Bono and U2 questioned their actions and the responses from their fans, colleagues, and the media. Bono did not know if his interactions with the crowd would be well-received. He later conceded,

The next few days were the blackest depression . . . I thought I'd made a big mistake and misjudged the situation . . . I always resented the stage as something that would try and contain us and the music. But it ended up looking wrong, like I was coming down off our pedestal to the masses. I didn't mean to do it at Live Aid. (Bowler and Dray 184-185)

After the concert, Bono went driving for a few days and contemplated his purpose in the rock world. He confessed, "At Live Aid the whole question of Africa and the idea that millions were dying of starvation brought back the stupidity of the world of rock 'n' roll" (Bowler and Dray 185). While driving around Ireland, Bono met a sculptor working on a bronze piece of a man which he called "The Leap." The sculptor had watched the

Live Aid concert on television and was inspired to capture the spirit of the day, especially U2's part. Bono thought, "If a person who's so removed from rock 'n' roll can understand that, maybe it wasn't such a big mistake" (Bowler and Dray 185). In fact, it was not a mistake at all.

Bono tried to make sense of the Live Aid effort and the success of U2 by visiting Ethiopia with his wife, Alison Hewson. While working on a World Vision educational relief project for a month, they witnessed first-hand the impact of Western economic policies on the African continent. However, Bono purposely kept the trip away from the press to avoid the tabloid headlines about being a pop star savior. Nevertheless, the trip as well as Live Aid had a lasting effect on the superstar. In fact, Live Aid had evidently been so successful that it was celebrated ten years later in a spectacular six and a half hour anniversary broadcast on July 15, 1995.

The most important outcome of the Live Aid benefit concert was the worldwide awareness that it raised by bringing the problem of starvation to the attention of millions of people. Of course, the money raised was also monumental, through ticket sales, donations, and sales of the Band Aid single, which was, at the time, the best selling single ever in Britain. Yet the profits would not last forever, nor would they solve the problem of famine and world hunger. The coordinators and participants in the Band Aid single and Live Aid concert knew this from the start.

Still, Band Aid and Live Aid activities were at least able to outline the issue of world hunger for a global audience that surely included powerful politicians and policy-makers. They successfully accomplished Keck and Sikkink's (1998) first stage of

network activist effectiveness by framing the famine and civil war issues and getting them on the agenda. Attention from the media informed even more people about the problem, the benefit single and the concert, even if they did not hear the song or see the performances at JFK and Wembley Stadiums. With more people knowledgeable about the topic, support was gathered for other organizations dealing with such problems, like the International Red Cross. Everyday citizens, NGOs and IGOs were able to place pressure on politicians to encourage discursive commitments from states and other policy actors. By encouraging such commitments, Band Aid and Live Aid reached Keck and Sikkink's (1998) second stage of advocacy effectiveness, even if those commitments were never fulfilled.

The benefits, however, did not reach Keck and Sikkink's (1998) third level of causing procedural changes, their fourth level of affecting policy, or their fifth level of influencing the behavior of target actors. The famine in Ethiopia did find relief in the assistance it was provided by the Band Aid single and Live Aid concert. However, food shortages are still a global concern. People still starve. Third World countries still have to borrow large sums of money to alleviate their depressed economies. The benefits did not cause all First World countries and other target actors to change their foreign aid policies and procedures. The potential stages of effectiveness of the benefits were limited, especially by the nature of the issue, which is as a timeless problem that has existed long before U2. Possible successes were also restricted by time, which allowed the issue to fall from people's consciences, and money, which could not provide relief forever.

Nevertheless, the Band Aid single and Live Aid concert showed rock superstars and their audiences just how far messages can be carried through music. Musicians realized the value of putting politics into their music (“Global”). U2 have always had politically charged music, but Band Aid and Live Aid ignited a fire of activism in which their actions actually reflected their lyrics. Together with the other performers, they used their soft power, like Geldof, to persuade their audiences and colleagues to support their famine relief and antiwar efforts. The social and political environment enabled the globalization of such ideas, which combined with the popularity and influence of the participating artists to create the desired result — a successful effort to alleviate Ethiopia’s troubles.

Band Aid and Live Aid also taught megastars the value of a group effort, with almost forty participants in both the single and the concert. U2 themselves were not solely responsible for any successes enjoyed by the benefits. Yet their involvement, along with the collaborative efforts of their colleagues, helped to increase awareness and raise funds to address the problem. The spirit of working together to address social issues, such as world hunger and famine, is the most significant lesson to come out of Band Aid and Live Aid. Perhaps policy-makers, IGOs and NGOs could take note.

Artists Against AIDS Worldwide

The Band Aid and Live Aid legacy set the template for the activism of musicians through the idea of producing benefit singles to support social causes. Following Band

Aid and Live Aid, U2 became advocates for more social causes, benefits and organizations, like Self Aid, the Red Hot & Blue Project, Amnesty International, Greenpeace, and the Global AIDS Alliance. Bono's individual activism led him to participate in the NetAid Benefit concert to support the United Nations Development Program fight world poverty (Uhelszki "NetAid"). By 2001, the Artists Against AIDS Worldwide (AAAW) campaign also attracted Bono's attention and his sympathy for the people of the African continent plagued by the AIDS epidemic. Like Band Aid and Live Aid, AAAW was a collaborative effort by musicians, who used their talents to produce a one-time benefit single. With the goal of raising money and awareness of global issues, the participants of both causes were able to reach Keck and Sikkink's second stage of effectiveness.

The AIDS crisis around the world is devastating and the impoverished African continent is especially suffering. In the same time it takes to play a three minute song, six children will have died from AIDS and another 24 will be infected ("Artists"). Each day, 5,500 people die from AIDS in Africa and in ten years one out of every five children will be an AIDS orphan ("Artists"). According to Artists Against AIDS Worldwide, that is 40 million AIDS orphans across the continent ("Artists"). The poverty in Africa exacerbates the problem. The average American spends more than \$100 every month for healthcare, while the average African spends \$10 a year on all healthcare ("Artists"). The problem is growing worse because wealthy governments are not donating as much foreign aid as they promised, and the majority of poor countries are simply trying to repay loans instead of pay for healthcare ("Artists"). The expense of healthcare also makes it inaccessible, and some African leaders deny the severity of the AIDS epidemic ("Artists"). Bono's

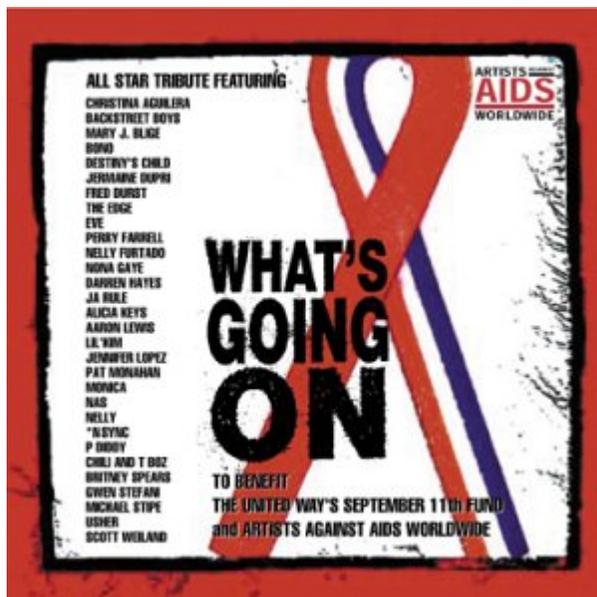
advocacy is an attempt to address such crippling statistics. “In like 100 years time [we] could be remembered for an entire continent getting flushed down the toilet. Or, be remembered for the time when actually the world woke up to its responsibilities to its neighbors. Distance does not decide who your neighbor is,” Bono acknowledged (“Artists”).



AAAW works through artists and world leaders addressing such a crucial global concern. The organization was founded in 2001 by Leigh Blake, a journalist, film and music producer who also coordinated the Red Hot & Blue Project for World AIDS Day on December 1, 1990, in which U2 participated (Chatterton 171). Her AAAW organization was established to give contemporary musicians an opportunity to creatively induce change in the global battle against AIDS. AAAW is a non-profit organization designed for famous musicians to raise awareness and money for direct care for those affected by AIDS worldwide. “Young people get a lot of their information these days from the lifestyles and beliefs of their favorite pop stars,” Blake explained, “We’ve begun Artists Against AIDS Worldwide to give artists a viable outlet for their activism — an organization in which they could use their powerful voices toward change” (“Artists”).

Which celebrity is, not surprisingly, actively involved in AAAW? U2's Bono, the champion of social causes and political activism through music as well as work with charitable organizations. Bono asserted, “If it takes a bunch of pop stars to make people wake up to this crisis, so be it. The AIDS crisis in Africa demands we do all we can for

the continent” (“Artists”). Fortunately for Bono, his continued popularity has provided him with the chance to bring the issue to the attention of his fans, politicians, the media, and his fellow musicians. Free from the troubles of a lagging career, Bono remains in a prominent international position of influence, even among his peers. His soft power of persuasion has again triggered the interests of his musical colleagues. Other artists who have involved themselves with AAW include Christina Aguilera, The Backstreet Boys, Mary J. Blige, Destiny’s Child, Jermaine Dupri, Fred Durst, Eve, Nelly Furtado, Nona Gaye, Darren Hayes, Ja Rule, Wyclef Jean, Alicia Keys, Aaron Lewis, Lil’ Kim, Jennifer Lopez, Nas, Nelly, NSYNC, P. Diddy, ?uestlove, Britney Spears, Gwen Stefani and Michael Stipe. Stipe admitted, “My hope would be that people who are not aware of this problem would become aware of it through this. That’s a pretty simple hope” (“Artists”).



Cover design of the “What’s Going On” Artists Against AIDS Worldwide album.

The celebrities who have aligned themselves with AAW remade Marvin Gaye’s song entitled, “What’s Going On” for the benefit album of the same title. The album actually has nine remixed versions of the song, and was released on October 23, 2001. The fact that Bono and his fellow rock stars are still working together for a social cause like AIDS, even in the twenty-first century, shows the lasting impression

that Band Aid and Live Aid have had on pop culture. One important lesson from AAW

is that rock 'n' roll is still politically relevant, and is at the core of the AAW campaign. All the funds collected from the project, and all future AAW projects, go directly into the hands of people and organizations that can make a difference in the war against AIDS. The funds will support the initiatives and missions of AAW and its partner charities, such as the United Way, The Global Aids Alliance, The Hope For African Children Initiative, and the Africa Alive! Youth AIDS Initiative. "What's Going On is bringing a message of hope and compassion from our artists to so many Africans who are suffering the devastating impact of AIDS," noted Blake. "It is our greatest hope that we can help inspire our political leaders to save the lives of all those children and parents so that we can create a better world together" ("Artists").

AAW has realized the importance of collaborating efforts with other NGOs. Collectively, they have reached Keck and Sikkink's (1998) first stage of effectiveness through framing debates and getting the AIDS issue on the agenda. Its target actors and policymakers, however, are not clearly defined because the AIDS problem is so widespread. Nonetheless, AAW has begun to reach Keck and Sikkink's second level of activist effectiveness by encouraging discursive commitments from states and other policy actors. In May, 2002, Bono traveled to Africa with United States Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill to see the effects of AIDS and foreign debt on the impoverished continent. The unlikely pair visited Ghana, South Africa, Uganda, and Ethiopia with the goal of highlighting the need for developing the economies of the region, but not interfering in them ("Bono"). Bono asserted, "We have to empower the people on the ground to work on these issues as part of a clear and transparent process" ("Bono"). O'Neill praised Bono's efforts as a figurehead and media-attracting mouthpiece. "This is

a person who has invested enough of his own time and energy to learn about and go see on the ground what life is like,” O’Neill acknowledged (“UN and U2”). Bono’s passion for social causes seems to have made an impression not only on his fans and colleagues, but also on the world’s political leaders.

Bono also makes it a habit of referring to his top-priority political and social causes during U2's performances. U2, however, are not involved with AAAW as a group, but it was U2 that first gave Bono his celebrity status which he has used as political leverage. AAAW is Bono’s solo act, but his superstar status has allowed him to branch out from the group and donate his energy on an individual basis to the causes of his choice. He has been able to collaborate with other celebrities on the “What’s Going On” project, despite being without The Edge, Adam and Larry. This alone is evidence of Bono’s personal agenda, even aside from that of U2. He has taken the lead not only as a member of the “band with a conscience,” but also as the individual musician with a conscience with a solid commitment to social causes like AIDS.

The commitment of pop stars and the music industry marks a watershed moment . . . As the anti-apartheid and the drop the debt campaign have shown in the past, the music industry can hold the key in reaching a mass audience and explaining what’s going on. The chances of beating AID have just increased exponentially,” assured Dr. Paul Zeitz, the Executive Director of the Global AIDS Alliance. (“Artists”)

Organizers of NGOs are beginning to recognize the important influence of celebrities on their fans, and their useful abilities to reach a specific audience.

Meanwhile, Bono's tireless efforts and global influence has profoundly integrated many different areas. His activism encourages the globalization of concern for AIDS victims and the worldwide effort to deal with the issue. Thanks in part to the global democratization of the past two decades, citizens around the world have increased access not only to their governments, but also to information about issues like AIDS and organizations like AAAW. With the spread of more open political structures in the post-Cold War era, democratization has helped facilitate the awareness of problems that are a global threat, such as AIDS. Bono works as a catalyst for such awareness, and AAAW was fortunate to attract his support and leadership, although any value placed on his involvement is speculation based on his earlier activities because the campaign is so new. Fortunately, AAAW has collaborated its efforts with other AIDS organizations, as well as superstars, who hold a unique influence in the roles of non-state, social activists. If anything can be deducted from Bono's past advocacy efforts, his work with AAAW will prove to be worthwhile.

With his worldwide fame, among fans of his music and policymakers alike, Bono has been able to frame the debate surrounding the AIDS epidemic and establish the issue on the agendas of world leaders. However, the efforts of AAAW and Bono are limited. At some point, the "What's Going On" single will fade from people's consciences and will no longer be aired regularly on television. Audiences may start to ignore the constant production of benefit albums, singles and concerts because they are so common. Political structures and international relations might not result in democratization and globalization that augment his opportunities for involvement. Bono's popularity is also not eternal, nor is his soft power to influence and his access to the media, fans and other

musicians. Should the day arrive that his preeminence has completely waned, his activism will be meaningless. So far, though, that day has not arrived, and Bono has made the most of his celebrity status. He has become quite a persuasive diplomat, and through exercising his soft power should be able to convince states, policy actors and even other celebrities to support the causes he so passionately advocates. Of course, just how much and when procedures and policies will change at the both the international and domestic levels is not obvious. Keck and Sikkink's (1998) last three stages of activist network effectiveness, therefore, have yet to be realized by AAW.

Furthermore, the final three effectiveness levels of changing international relations policies and policymakers can easily be time-consuming, especially when addressing problems that have spread so rapidly and become so devastating, like the AIDS epidemic. Nevertheless, Bono's reputation as a "musician with a conscience" has brought him much acclaim and success outside the world of music, so AAW has reason to be optimistic about the future.

Artists Against Apartheid

Following World War II, the Union of South Africa's government set out to strengthen white control of the country by implementing the policy of apartheid in almost all social relations. Such policies included the requirement that all non-Europeans carry passbooks to travel and prohibited interracial marriage (Brown 110).

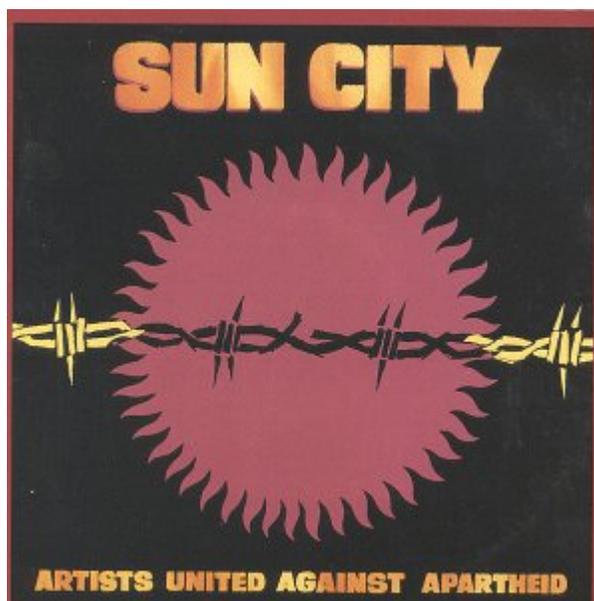
Protests against the racial policies increased during the second half of the twentieth century through violent strikes and revolts, but most leaders of the opposition, including African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, were either in prison or in exile. The United Nations (UN) Security Council reprimanded Pretoria, and insisted that the South African government “initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination” (Brown 115).

However, words alone were not enough to induce change, even though the government faced further isolation from the international community through economic sanctions and alienation from its African neighbors who were no longer ruled by their white minorities. In 1983, the UN majority thought that recent parliamentary reforms were inadequate, and the time had come for “outraged world opinion” to “translate these [UN] declarations and resolutions into universal action” (Brown 119). That included action not only against the regime in Pretoria, but also against governments and corporations which continued to cooperate with South Africa (Brown 119).

Multinational banks such as Citibank and Barclays Bank cut off loans to Pretoria by the mid-1980s, while the French government banned all new investments in South Africa (Brown 120). In 1986, Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, a black South African leader, addressed the UN and urged further sanctions against South Africa. The movement to end apartheid in South Africa spread worldwide. It even included celebrity musicians who assumed roles as international activists and collaborated on the Artists

Against Apartheid (AAA) Sun City project. In particular, a giant complex called “Sun City” had been built to attract famous acts to perform despite the United Nations’ embargo on entertainers playing in South Africa. The 1985 endeavor was organized by producer Arthur Baker and Little Steven Van Zandt of Bruce Springsteen’s E Street Band, who recorded an album of anti-apartheid songs by artists who strongly protested South African apartheid and all that Sun City symbolized. All of the proceeds from the Sun City album went to political prisoners in South Africa. Just a few of the artists that gave their performances for this cause were: Bono, Eddy Grant, Miles Davis, Melle Mel, Run DMC, Pat Benatar, Jackson Browne, Bob Dylan, Jimmy Cliff, The Fat Boys, Peter Gabriel, Bonnie Raitt, Bruce Springsteen, Lou Reed, Keith Richards, and Charlie Watts, among many others.

Bono added vocals to the “Sun City” song, which renewed his enthusiasm both for rock ‘n’ roll and his work in Africa. He went back to his hotel room, and not having slept for two days, wrote “Silver and Gold.” The song turned out to be so strong a piece, particularly in the context of the AAA project, that it made its way onto the “Sun City” album.



Cover design of the “Sun City” Artists Against Apartheid album.

In 1985, Live Aid had initiated an activist streak in U2 that had previously been concealed, but occasionally surfaced in the form of benefit concerts and political announcements in favor of humanitarian causes. The AAA project was a further push that Bono embraced wholeheartedly. “After all how could any man of conscience stand idly by while a political system existed that was built upon discrimination against the colour of a man or woman’s skin?” (Bowler and Dray 197).

However, while always welcoming the release of Nelson Mandela, U2 were never able to give full public support to the cause because of Mandela’s refusal to condemn violence (Bowler and Dray 200). Bono understood the desire to take up arms in the desperate situation created by apartheid, but conveyed in “Silver and Gold” that pacifists in all circumstances must never agree with the use of physical force. He focused on the economic injustice of South Africa, and the love of money being the root of all evil. For white South Africa, disintegrating apartheid would give others opportunities, jobs, and the right to make money at what seemed to be the expense of white South Africans. At its core, that threat was among the strongest reasons it was maintained for so long. The end of apartheid and a new administration signaled the beginning of the end of white hegemony.

Fortunately, the new government of F.W. De Klerk began relaxing apartheid restrictions in 1989. By 1990, Nelson Mandela was freed after 27 years of imprisonment, and became president while leading the ANC to an overwhelming victory in the 1994 federal elections, with De Klerk as deputy president. In 1995, the last official vestiges of apartheid were dismantled, but the new government faced the daunting task of trying to

address the inequities produced by apartheid, in addition to issue of unemployment, public education, and crime.

The contribution made by the Artists Against Apartheid Sun City project to the anti-apartheid movement was a testament to what people can do when working together from all different areas of influence. Their activism and condemnation of apartheid opened the eyes of its listeners to a problem that was half a world away. It brought the attention of musicians and fans alike to a situation that threatened the very fabric of freedom that is fundamental to many countries. Van Zandt remarked, "I hope it is something that hangs around forever. I think this type of social movement is a necessary part of the pop experience" ("Hilburn").

As far as achieving Keck and Sikkink's (1998) primary stage of framing debates and getting the issue of apartheid on the agenda of global concern, the Sun City project was a part of a unified movement that was very successful. Bono and Adam Clayton were only a part of a worldwide movement to end apartheid. They were among numerous other artists, corporations, labor unions, churches, educational institutions and writers that became social activists to stop apartheid and the racist South African regime. Together, their efforts reached and surpassed Keck and Sikkink's (1998) secondary level of effectiveness. The commitments made by nation-states and other policy actors, like the UN, collectively with economic embargoes and celebrity boycotts were sufficient in convincing Pretoria to dismantle apartheid.

That carried the global anti-apartheid movement to Keck and Sikkink's (1998) third stage of effective influence. The third level was a challenge to reach, and was never

achieved by Band Aid and Live Aid. AAAW has not yet accomplished the step of causing procedural changes in both domestic and international realms. In South Africa, however, the anti-apartheid movement was phenomenal at reaching Keck and Sikkink's (1998) fourth and fifth stages of advocacy network effectiveness. The country's domestic policy was changed forever, along with the behavioral trends of South African leaders. The De Klerk and Mandela administrations were initiators of a new South Africa, without its racist policies. It was no longer necessary for Mandela's followers to resort to violence in battling their oppressors. AAA and the anti-apartheid movement had a clear target — the regime in Pretoria — but it also targeted other governments and businesses that had previously cooperated with the South African administration. The AAA Sun City Project and the participating musicians were able to exert soft power that especially influenced their global audience to oppose apartheid. The Project also attracted media attention to the issue and began to expose the atrocities of the racist system. AAA was part of a network of activists that augmented the globalization of the movement against apartheid.

The 1980s were fortunately a time of expanding worldwide democratization, which was also a beneficial element in the anti-apartheid campaign. People around the world were striving for racial equality and universal opportunities to participate in government. The struggle to abolish apartheid was fueled in part by international efforts to globalize democratic forms of government.

Yet apartheid was not eradicated overnight, or even over a few years. Apartheid's formal end did not coincide with its social end, and segregationists and racists still exist. Nevertheless, the most important lesson to be derived from the AAA Sun City Project is

that when more elements of influence are involved in an activist network, the more changes will result. The campaign to end apartheid was a choreographed and cooperative effort from governments, IOs, NGOs, businesses, educational institutions, labor unions, and churches, among others. The music and entertainment industries played no small part. While economic sanctions and international businesses refusing to cooperate with Pretoria may have held been financially coercive, the influence and soft power exerted by rock stars must not be underestimated. The globally unified campaign to abolish apartheid was an overall success because it changed South Africa's future, and U2's Bono and Adam Clayton were active participants in that movement through the Artists Against Apartheid Sun City Project.

Jubilee 2000/Drop the Debt

Many people know how it feels to owe money on a home loan or a credit card, but it is another scenario altogether to be deeply in debt and unable to repay it at any time. The situation is complicated when the debt was acquired by someone who left it for others to repay. Individuals who become deeply indebted can file bankruptcy, but indebted countries do not have that same option. Their governments owe unfathomable sums to wealthy governments and international institutions, which take on the responsibility of determining levels of repayment and debt relief. Jubilee 2000, and its successor organization, Drop the Debt, along with U2's Bono, believe this is unjust and must be changed. Bono's fight for debt forgiveness is not just a matter of altruism. "It's about justice. These people were lent money under false pretenses," he asserted

(“Making”). “Before the Cold War had thawed out,” he continued, “. . . the West supported regimes financially to keep back . . . communism. The money’s never got through to their people. The double injustice is that (they’re) still repaying those . . . loans. Most of the debts are unpayable” (“Making”).

Much of the problem began in the 1960s when Third World nations borrowed money for economic development and improving the standards of living in their countries. However, the borrowing governments were not able to create economies that could afford to repay the loans. Some of the administrations, like Mexico and Venezuela, used the loans to pay previous debts, while other loans were never used for their intended purposes and were embezzled by corrupt politicians. Bono explained, “They [foreign loans] weren’t a lot of the times honestly incurred. The truth of it is . . . a lot of these loans were made irresponsibly in the first place, to dodgy dictators who ran off with the cash, and it’s not fair to have the next generation carry that debt burden” (Chandross).

By 1982, interest rates were so high and export profits so low that Mexico told its creditors that it could not repay its debts. The two main international financial institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, intervened with strict, new loans to help pay the interest. The pattern was repeated over and over in the following years, but the additional loans only added to the burden. To acquire new loans, governments had to agree to impose very rigid economic programs in their countries in order to reschedule their debts or borrow more funds. These programs have become known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), and have particularly affected

countries of sub-Saharan Africa, whose economies are already the poorest in the world (“Jubilee”). Essentially, the poorest countries have become bankrupt.

The debt crisis also has a serious impact on the health, education and employment of impoverished nations and their citizens. “Debt is tearing down schools, clinics and hospitals, and the effects are no less devastating than war,” stated Dr. Adabayo Adedeji of the African Centre for Development Strategy in Nigeria and a former Under Secretary General of the United Nations (“Jubilee”). Infant and child mortality rates are on the rise in countries such as Zimbabwe and Zambia (“Jubilee”). Many schools are being forced to charge fees through SAPs, so fewer people are able to afford an education (“Jubilee”). Real wages have fallen in most African countries by fifty or sixty percent since the 1980's, and in Zambia, Tanzania and Ghana, over twenty percent of the working population is unemployed (“Jubilee”).

As a result, many underdeveloped countries have turned to the profitable trafficking of illicit drugs, a perpetual problem for First World nations. Furthermore, as developing countries struggle to repay their loans, they are forced to minimize their imports, such as manufactured goods from Western countries (“Jubilee”). This causes economic setbacks in the countries demanding repayment. Before the debt issue became such a severe crisis, Europe sold about one-fifth of its exports to the Third World, especially Africa (“Jubilee”). By 1990, African countries imported little more than one-tenth of Europe's exports (“Jubilee”).

Environmental damage has been another side effect, due to dam projects, deforestation, power plants, charcoal-driven industries and other development. One way

to pay back foreign debts is to milk the earth's natural resources and cut back on environmental conservation programs. Brazil, for example, owes US\$112 billion and is also the world's largest deforester ("Jubilee"). The devastation caused by foreign debt to economies, education, healthcare, and the environment, among others, are factors that often lead to political instability. In turn, they can contribute to protest, violence, and even war.

Since the late 1970's the West has been increasingly concerned that the Third World will not be able to repay its debts, but previous repayment plans have been unsuccessful. In 1996, the IMF and the World Bank produced a debt relief initiative which for the first time contemplated the cancellation of debts owed to them ("Jubilee"). What came to be known as the "Heavily Indebted Poor Country" Initiative (HIPC I) proposed eighty percent debt forgiveness from the creditor countries based on SAPs implemented by the indebted nations ("Jubilee"). Uganda and Bolivia received debt cancellation in 1998, but fell victim to falling commodity prices and depressed economic growth ("Jubilee"). Mozambique had to pay only one percent less in debt payments than before HIPC I ("Jubilee"). In reality, the initiative proved to be completely inadequate.

Under growing pressure from debt campaign groups, led by Jubilee 2000, a second "Heavily Indebted Poor Country" Initiative (HIPC II) was launched and promised broader, faster, and deeper debt relief ("Jubilee"). Jubilee 2000 was an international coalition of Western charities such as Christian Aid and Comic Relief that campaigned for the cancellation of the unpayable debts owed by the world's poorest countries to the world's richest countries and institutions by the end of 2000. By the end of that year,

US\$12 billion had been canceled and in some countries that debt relief made a tangible difference (“Jubilee”). In Mozambique, for example, US\$60 million was released through debt relief, and the government’s budgets for development in healthcare, education, agriculture, infrastructure and employment training have all benefited (“Jubilee”). On average, debt reduction due to the HIPC II has been just over one-third of what is owed, although most countries still pay one and a half times more in debt repayments than they do for healthcare (“Jubilee”).

As of February, 2002, 42 countries had been labeled “heavily indebted poor countries” and 24 had been approved for debt relief under HIPC II (“Jubilee”). Bolivia, Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda had reached the completion point of total debt forgiveness (“Jubilee”). Fourteen countries have not been approved for debt relief, in many cases due to internal conflicts, terrorism concerns, or human rights violations (“Jubilee”).

Bono has been a major supporter of the debt relief campaign and first drew attention to the issue at the Brit Awards in London on February 16, 1999, when he accepted an honor on behalf of Jubilee 2000. He explained to the crowd that the organization’s master plan was “an idea that might give the Millennium some meaning,” and completely immersed himself in the cause (Uhelszki “Busy”). For example, on June 19, 1999 Bono, his wife Ali, and The Edge all took part in a demonstration at the G8 Summit in Cologne, Germany, a high-level meeting of Western governments and banks to plan the fiscal strategies of the developed nations of Europe, the United States and Japan. Bono exerted a form of soft power by convincing other musicians including The

Edge, to support the campaign. Many of his colleagues follow his lead when promoting social causes, like debt forgiveness, such as Lauryn Hill, Pavarotti, Oasis, the (former) Smashing Pumpkins, REM, the Beastie Boys, Michael Jackson, and Bob Geldof, the musician who first received U2's support for Band Aid and Live Aid in the mid-1980's. Participants in the G8 Summit protest joined hands in a human chain around the building where the summit was taking place and submitted a petition of 17 million signatures to the Summit asking for action to “drop the debt” (“News”).

The 1999 Cologne G8 Summit resulted in the Cologne Debt Initiative, a commitment from the G8 creditors to cancel the debt by making contributions to the HIPC trust fund, which is administered by the World Bank. Pledges to the fund total \$2.6 billion, and about \$1 billion have been paid. The United States committed to make contributions totaling \$600 million, and during fiscal years 2000-2003, Congress appropriated \$769 million for debt relief, which satisfied the United States' commitment made in 1999 (“Jubilee”).



Bono with Pope John Paul II, Vatican City, September 1999 (time.com)

After 2000, the organization was renamed Drop the Debt, which continues the campaign aimed at politicians from the world's richest countries who are owed

billions of dollars in debts from the world's poorest countries. Bono has taken on the role

of a roving ambassador for the campaign, and has regularly spoken with officials and politicians from several countries asking them to forgive Third World debt. He has visited the United Nations' Headquarters in New York, the White House in Washington, D.C., 10 Downing Street in London and The Vatican in Rome. Following his visit with United States President George Bush on March 14, 2002, Bono admitted that he is a professional musician, not a career diplomat. However, if he can make a positive impact on global civil society as an ambassador and activist, he is willing to give his time to social advocacy.

It is much easier and hipper for me to be on the barricades with a handkerchief over my nose — it looks better on the resume of a rock & roll star. But I can do better by just getting into the White House and talking to a man who I believe listens, wants to listen, on these subjects.

(Saraceno)

Many politicians and world leaders have listened. Whether Bono is aware of his soft power or not, he exercises it regularly, and uses his position as a famous rock star and social activist to gather support not only from his colleagues, but also from the world's political and



Bono, second from left, with U.S. Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, left, Microsoft chairman Bill Gates, second from right, and other global leaders during a panel discussion at the World Economic Forum, New York City, February 2002. (Daniel Acker/Associated Press)

financial leaders. On February 2, 2002, Bono was a panelist at New York's World Economic Forum, and was joined by politicians and top business executives like U.S. billionaire Bill Gates and former Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo (Barrett). Zedillo reasserted the continued need for foreign aid. "The bottom line is we still need money. We need to empower the people to share the benefits of globalization" (Barrett). Despite their differences, the panelists seemed eager to align themselves with the singer in his push for debt forgiveness. Gates and Bono unveiled their "DATA Agenda" for Africa, which is Debt, AIDS and Trade for Africa, in return for Democracy, Accountability, and Transparency for Africa ("Gates"). "Now is the time," Gates declared, "I hope governments see this as the turning point" (Barrett).

Bono also managed to convince U.S. President Bush to commit a \$5 billion increase in U.S. aid to developing nations in March of 2002 (Tallant). In addition to meeting with the current U.S. President, Bono has discussed debt relief with Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, former Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers, U.S. National Security Advisor Condoleeza Rice and former U.S. president Bill Clinton, among others. After meeting with former President Clinton, the United States canceled all debts owed to the United States ("Tour"). Bono has also discussed the crisis with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, former French Prime Minister Jaques Chirac, current French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, and Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien.

Canada has been a world leader in debt cancellation by forgiving more than \$1 billion, and has stopped collecting payments from eleven countries committed to political and economic reform (Gamble). U2's frontman has also met with U.S. Senators Orrin

Hatch and Jesse Helms. At eighty years-old, the conservative Helms is famous for being racist, homophobic and an anti-AIDS crusader opposed to foreign aid. Then he met Bono.

He's a religious man so I told him that 2103 verses of scripture pertain to the poor and Jesus speaks of judgment only once — and it's not about being gay or sexual morality, but about poverty . . . I quoted a verse of Matthew Chapter 25 : 'I was naked and you clothed me.' He was really moved. He was in tears. Later he told me he was ashamed of what he used to think about AIDS." (Tallant)

Clearly, Bono has had a powerful political impact by meeting with the government leaders of the world. He has worked as a lobbyist and has even convinced his



Bono with U.S. Senator Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Washington D.C., June 2001
(Stephen Jeffe/Agence France-Presse)

political opponents, like Senator Helms, to support his efforts. As a result, it is unmistakable that Bono and the Drop the Debt campaign have done a superior job at framing the debt relief debate and putting it on the agendas of the world's

political, religious, and business leaders. Together, they have easily reached Keck and Sikkink's (1998) first level of advocacy effectiveness, as well as their second stage of success by encouraging discursive commitments from policy actors. Through Drop the Debt's support of HIPC II, procedures for economic development, along with the repayment or cancellation of debts have been changed both nationally and internationally.

Therefore, the debt forgiveness campaign has begun to achieve Keck and Sikkink's (1998) third step of advocacy success by causing procedural changes.

The movement has also led to the revision of foreign aid policies, and by erasing debts, some policies have been completely changed by the efforts of Drop the Debt and Bono. However, the IMF and the World Bank have yet to cancel all of the debts owed by Third World nations. While policies have not been affected worldwide on all levels, the campaign has started to fulfill Keck and Sikkink's (1998) fourth level of effectiveness by affecting the foreign aid and loan policies of some countries.



Bono and Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill wear traditional outfits presented to them by the villagers of Wamali, Ghana, in May, 2002. (Saurabh Das/Associated Press)

Furthermore, Bono's ability to change the behavior of target actors has been phenomenal. In May of 2002, Senator Helms proposed a bill for \$500 million dollars of foreign aid to deal with the situation in Africa, in addition to the U.S.'s new commitment to boost aid by \$10

billion in 2004-2006 through the Millennium Challenge Accounts ("O'Neill"). Bono also made a ten-day trip to four African countries with Secretary O'Neill to draw attention to the acute needs of the poverty-stricken region using Bono's celebrity status and O'Neill's position in the U.S. government ("O'Neill"). In the past, O'Neill has criticized aid programs as a waste of billions of dollars that have always failed to generate real

economic development (“O’Neill”). Bono is trying to persuade O’Neill that African countries need foreign aid to develop their infrastructure, like road systems and clean water supplies (“O’Neill”). O’Neill seems to be responding to Bono’s efforts. O’Neill admitted, “We the world have got to deal with this problem . . . This is doable” (Nessman). How the world will deal with the problem is still unknown. Nonetheless, Bono has led the Drop the Debt campaign has influenced behavior changes of its target actors. Together, they have successfully accomplished Keck and Sikkink’s (1998) fifth stage of effective advocacy.

Bono’s involvement in the Jubilee 2000/Drop the Debt campaign has developed very differently from his activism with other social causes like Band Aid/Live Aid, Artists Against Apartheid and Artists Against AIDS Worldwide. His debt efforts have had nothing to do with benefit concerts, singles, or albums like the other three projects. Bono has become an ambassador, meeting like a diplomat with the world’s top leaders in business and politics. His roles in the debt campaign and AAWW are both completely separate from any U2 group effort. This has distinctly shaped his debt cancellation activism, in addition to showing the potential functions that non-state, celebrity activists can fulfill within global politics. He possesses soft power to attract support for his advocacy from his peers, his fans, the media, and the world’s economic and political leaders. It was U2 that first allowed him to establish his presence as a famous rock star, but he has taken the initiative to use that position as an international social activist.

SIGNIFICANCE AND CONCLUSION

In the days of Cold War politics, no one thought that a rock star like Bono with his blue sunglasses could be so influential in world political relations. Yet the four preceding case studies reveal three critical points about the significance of non-state celebrity activists and the post-Cold War world. The first point is that the democratization and globalization in the past two decades have resulted in an important shift in global political culture and international relations. Secondly, the cases show that even though U2 are



Bono sporting his signature blue sunglasses. (time.com)

phenomenal activists, they cannot solve the world's troubles. Finally, U2 have a form of soft power to influence their audience to support certain social causes, but U2's advocacy is limited by cultural, social, and political factors.

Toward the end of the Cold War, ideas about protecting human rights and the environment, among many other issues, started globalizing. The spread of such ideas has given activist networks an advantage to further promote their causes. Democratization has also opened avenues of activity for IOs and their representatives, like U2 and Bono, to reach more citizens, politicians, business leaders and educators. The four case studies

demonstrate the evolving political society at the end of the twentieth century and its impact on international relations and transnational advocacy.

These global changes have provided not only IOs, but also celebrity activists like U2 and Bono, with the opportunity to realize the positive influences they can have in popular culture. U2 are one group that has taken full advantage of their position in society to exert their soft power on their fans, world leaders, the media and other musicians. The idea that individual activists possess soft power is a new notion, but quite significant. Whenever U2 and their celebrity colleagues agree to participate in a social movement, they have the ability to immediately attract the attention of the media, as well as their fans. While exercising their soft power, U2 are able to persuade their audience to support the social causes that are favored by U2. Their power to influence must be acknowledged and used responsibly. As celebrities, they are in unique positions of influence that are not always enjoyed by IOs and other activists. However, when celebrities are aligned with IOs, who collaborate their efforts with governments, business and other social institutions, the chances of creating change grow exponentially. That is the significance of megastars in the realm of international relations, and for U2, that significance will probably not fade in the near future.

However, U2's power is limited. Their involvement does not guarantee instant success in achieving the goals of social movements and advocacy networks. U2's direct political action has not always been well-received (Bowler and Dray 101). In 1986, following the successful Live Aid performance, U2 spearheaded the line-up of musicians at the Self Aid event to combat unemployment in Ireland. However, instead of

demanding a new government policy to address the persistent problem, people were asked to send donations for the unemployed and advertise job vacancies. This insulted the jobless and made them feel like charity cases, because they wanted government reform, not handouts (Bowler and Dray 104). Perhaps Self Aid was showing the fatigue of all the “Aid” activities. Maybe the participating artists and event organizers were naive and overestimated their influence on the public and the government. If nothing else, it was a sure indicator that musicians alone cannot solve the world’s problems, including unemployment in Ireland.

Nevertheless, their involvement with Band Aid/Live Aid, Artists Against AIDS Worldwide, Artists Against Apartheid, and Jubilee 2000/Drop the Debt has been nothing less than extraordinary. As non-state actors, U2 and other famous activists have been able to offer a distinct perspective and different influence from outside the traditional political realm. Each case illustrates the different influence that U2, and other celebrities, have with their fans within popular culture, and their ability to persuade world leaders to listen to their demands.

Band Aid/Live Aid demonstrated the importance of what rock stars can accomplish when they pool their efforts in support of a social cause, like famine relief and the condemnation of war. That unification of musicians was so successful that organizations like Artists Against AIDS Worldwide have carried on the legacy of rock star social advocacy into the 21st century. To this day, tribute albums, singles and concerts are politically relevant in reaching an audience that may never read an Amnesty International report or be aware of the crippling effect that AIDS has on the world.

U2's role in the Artists Against Apartheid/Sun City Project also showed the ability of rock stars to express to their fans the issues facing people around the globe. That, in turn, involved their audience with a worldwide movement to eradicate South African apartheid. However, the efforts of celebrities and musicians were part of an integrated campaign with other social institutions, governments and international corporations. The Sun City album did not end apartheid, but it did play significant part by using musicians to attract their fans, as well as their colleagues, to the anti-apartheid mission.

Unlike Band Aid/Live Aid, AAW and AAA, the Jubilee 2000/Drop the Debt campaign has taken on a whole different approach. The organization has not created a benefit album or concert by a group of famous musicians, nor is that its goal. Instead, it has focused on diplomacy, and Bono's efforts have redefined him as an ambassador, not just an activist singer. He is playing an entirely different role as a lobbyist and spokesman, but only because he first acquired fame as a rock star. If Bono were not the well-known frontman of U2, his opportunities to induce change would be drastically different. Instead, his celebrity status has enabled him to be a talking head that attracts attentive listeners around the world.

Nonetheless, U2's activism has generally been met with desirable results. In all of the cases, though, it was not U2, or even Bono, who were solely responsible for creating change. U2 alone did not abolish apartheid, and no one has solved the problem of AIDS. The cases do prove that celebrity activism has altered the behaviors of politicians, everyday citizens, and even other superstars. While some have been more successful according to Keck and Sikkink's (1998) standards for evaluating activist networks, all

four of the cases studied have reached some stage of effectiveness. They have outlined debates and put issues on the agendas of the world's leaders, besides encouraging verbal commitments from states and other policy actors. The advocates, like U2, have been responsible for procedural changes at both domestic and international levels. U2, along with networks of activists and international organizations, have not only affected policies, but have also influenced the behaviors of target actors. As non-state individuals working with world leaders and global advocacy networks, U2 have made an extraordinary impression in the realm of international relations and celebrity activism.

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