By Judy Seidman SJ40001-0081-001

The South African Poster Movement



Introduction:

The media of resistance – posters, graphics in leaflets and magazines, paintings on banners and murals – holds a proud place in South Africa's visual heritage. Within this heritage, people have responded to repression and exploitation by developing their own visual imagery, symbols and styles of expression.

In particular, we identify here the political posters done over the 30 years from 1970 to the year 2000, as the South African Poster Movement. It qualifies as a movement in that: it produced a massive amount of artwork (well over 2000 separate poster designs), it generated its own iconography, styles, messages, and even techniques; it created its own artistic ideology and aesthetic approached; it emerged from and spoke to the experiences of a defined audience; it responded to a particular history; it formed organisations and structures to promote its artwork; the artists themselves interacted with each other, and this reflects in the art they produced.

The posters of resistance reflect the decades of struggle. They also incorporate centuries of growth and exploration within the South African visual arts-from the pre-colonial approaches that integrated aesthetics and belief within functional design, to the use of photographs to pinpoint changing realities, to the styles and skills of the fine arts in capturing unique expressions of ideas and perceptions.

When we concentrate here on the poster movement, we acknowledge that we by-pass the issues around advertising and commercial graphics in twentieth century South Africa. White-owned busi-

ness promoted European products and culture; ignoring and at times undermining the cultural store of the African majority. They produced images such as black woman as smiling domestic admiring her white washing; and an African madly peddling on a new bike to outrun a lion.

The white press exclusively employed white people for graphics, cartoons, and advertising. In 1906, the Johannesburg Star hired cartoonist Frank Hollend after interviews in London. As late as 1995, Johannesburg advertising companies told the editor of a magazine that her pages showed too many Black people; in 1999 a book publisher told an author that her manual on taking photographs in Africa—should contain more images of white people.

In the following pages, then, we will look at the growth of the graphics of resistance, as an aesthetic response to the realities of the black majority – as the visual record of their experiences and their ideals.

To do this, we will first survey the introduction of the print industry to South Africa, the changing technical capacity of that industry, and the accessibility of these new techniques to the resistance movement. At the same time, we will consider the different influences on the imagery and graphic style adopted by the resistance movement; and how these reflected the movement's changing beliefs and organisation. Finally, we will see how these come together in the posters of political struggle, in terms of imagery, organisation, and ultimately in terms of their contribution to the liberation of South Africa.

The History of Resistance: backdrop to the graphic protest

Political Resistance 1900-1945

Graphic expressions of the resistance to colonialism and economic exploitation parallelled the history of African resistance.

A few surviving artworks testify to the struggle against colonial conquest by South Africa's independent kingdoms ("primary resistance"). An etched horn shows the war against British conquest (circa 1870's). A rock painting shows Boer settlers shooting Africans raiding their sheep (assumed from the 19th century). The imagery made by African artists has for the most part not been preserved, or collected, or even classified as art.

The late 1800s and early 1900s saw the beginning of urban and industrial areas, the mines on the Reef, the sugar plantations and refineries of Natal. By the end of the 1800s African workers migrated to mines and plantations. Towns and cities emerged to support them, with their own complex of doctors, teachers, ministers, and journalists, and politicians.

The white settlers and the colonialist rulers divided up the land, the economy, and the government between them. The African population were assigned to the lowest levels of labour, dispossessed from the land they had assumed was theirs, excluded from government and from elections. Many Africans resisted.

In 1912 the Union of South Africa was created; in 1912 the South African Native National Congress (later to become the African Na-

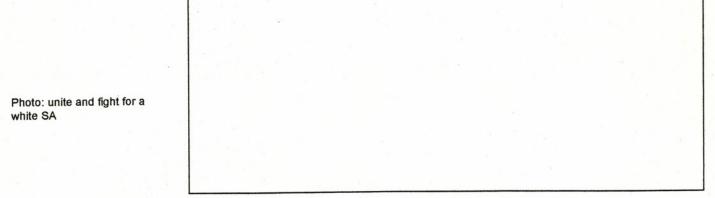
tional Congress) called for recognition and equality for the black population. In 1913, as the white government introduced the Native Land Act; the SANNC called for its. In 1913, Charlotte Maxexe led the first women's march against passes for women in Bloemfontein. In 1919 the first formal national black trade union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, was created.

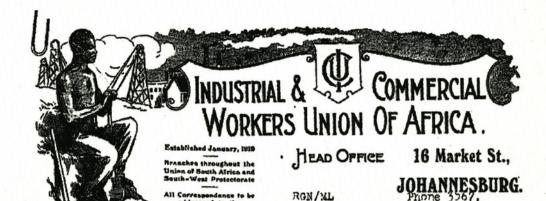
During the same decade, White workers migrating from the chaos of Europe (before and during World War I) brought ideals of socialism and trade unionism to South Africa's debates. But these ideals were soon juxtaposed to the benefits of racism and the colour bar to these same white workers.

When the mine owners attempted to eliminate white privilege in jobs and wages, white workers demanded that higher wages and job reservation were their right – as whites. The result was the Rand Revolt of 1922. The contradictions between the colour bar and the ideals of socialists shouted across the streets of Johannesburg and the Rand" Unite and fight for a White South Africa".

The colour bar remained. In succeeding years the government proposed addressing the problems of white poor and white workers by increasing curbs on the black majority and on black labour.

With the 1930s and 1940s, international progressive sentiment however began to encourage pro-democratic, anti-racist and fascist movements, putting the emphasis on a non-racial solution to South African society.





BRANCH

Letterhead and Masthead of Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, artist anonymous 1927

Note the use of line drawing, without shade; these drawing techniques were required by presses that could not afford the more expensive half-tone blocks. Official Organ: "THE WORKERS HERALD."

Mr. A.W.A. Champion,
Acting National Secretary, I.J.U.
16 Market Street,
Jonannesburg.

Resistance Graphics and resistance press 1900 - 1945

In the early 1900s, the nascent Black urban population produced their own newspapers and owned their own presses. These were closely linked to urban resistance politics.

In the first decade of 1900, these included newspapers such as John Tembu Jabavu's Imvo za baNtshundu (East London), Izwa laBantu (People's Voice, founded 1900 by Walter Rubusana, a minister of the Congregational Church), the South African Spectator (founded in Cape Town in 1901), Koranta ea Recoana (Bechuana Gazette, published in seTswana and English at Mafeking by writer and ANC founder Sol Plaatjie); and Ilanga lase Natal (begun in 1906 in Durban by John Dube, also a founder of the ANC). In 1913 the ANC established Abantu batho, which played an instrumental role in mobilising people against the Native Land Act, and for the anti- pass movement of women in free state. class & Colour p.136

Further, by the twenties and thirties, a wide range publications spoke for different sections of "the left", both black and white. Other trade unions published their own pamphlets and newspapers. In 1923 the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union published the Workers' Herald. The Communist Party produced Umsebenzi/The Worker. Later, the Johannesburg branch produced a roneoed magazine Inkhululeko.

Few copies of these African-owned newspapers have survived. But in any case, they did not have the technology to reproduce complex graphic artwork. Until the 1880s, mass printing techniques worldwide limited to printing only black/white and blocks of colour – techniques including line-drawings, etching and engravings. The process of reproducing "half-tones" (that is, allowing subtle changes of shade or colour in a printed area) was invented in 1884; the first South African company to produce half-tone blocks set up shop in Pretoria in 1894. The Argus newspaper began to print images on new Linotype presses, powered first by steam, then by electricity in the late 1890s.

P.O. Box 1672.

Ist. Sept. 1927.

Cape town,

But the ability to print complex graphic images and photographs, requiring both machine-driven Linotype presses and with half-tone blocks, demanded far higher capital investment in printing equipment that most progressive presses could afford. The technological advances in printing images of the 1890s- 1920s did not filter down to the smaller presses, which included the Black-owned press.

By the 1930s, smaller (and Black-owned) presses could not survive, especially as the Depression of 1929 hit. A white entrepreneur bought up the previously independent Black presses, forming the Bantu World press, which dominated the Black market for the next decades

artist unkergum

Iconography of resistance

As the African urban population organised and vocalised their demands, they began to develop symbols, designs, and a range of images around the issues they confronted. Given the technical limitations, many of these images and symbols could not be immediately translated into print. None the less, we can trace the early creation of an iconography that lies at the poster movement.

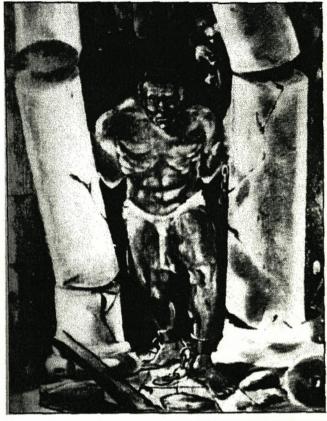
Records of a few isolated art works show that certain artists based in the black communities did not ignore the working-class ferment around them.

As the techniques for printing photographs became more obtainable, photographic portraits of black and worker heroes found their way on to pages of pamphlets and flyers. These tended to show standard head and shoulder portraits, building upon the studio portraiture well-established amongst the black urban and middle class society.

Recent research has shown that from the 1920s to the 1950s, photographic portraiture became a highly popular method for honouring and documenting urban existence, particularly – in South Africafor those viewed as coloured, Indian, and African.

"These solumn images of middleclass and working-class black families, crafted according to styles (in guesture, props and clothing) of Georgian and Victorian portrait painting, portray a class of black people who, according to my education, did not exist at the time they were made. " - Santu Mofokeng, 1999, sun indep

Studio portraits of leaders also adorned the stages in conferences in the. In one meeting, a photo of Albert Luthuli was raised to indicate the presence of the banned president. In apparent response to the threat, the security police threw ink over the image.



Mural painted by Comparing Hall used by ICU (Inchcape Hall, Johannesburg), of an AAfrican worker portrayed as Sampson pulling down the temple; painted early 1930s, destroyed 1942 when hall was demolished.

CPSA meeting, Johannesburg; portraits of Mosas Kotane (Gen. Sec of CPSA) and Bill Andrews (Nat. Chair), circa 1946. (Gana Makabeni second from left).



FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION



Far left: May Day 1939 booklet, cover, produced by a joint committee of South African trade unions

Right: Cover illustration from CPSA publication Freedom-Vryheid, 10 Mar 1941, Cape Town



FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION

Adapting the International Revolutionary Image

Many symbols and images used by the South African left, from the 20s through to the 50s, came directly from international revolutionary graphics. From the 1920s, the Communist Party of South Africa, and emergent (mostly white) trade unions, reprinted graphics from across the world in their newspapers and magazines.

Often these were easily reproduced woodcuts or linocuts or etchings. At times they broadcast the art of Socialist Realism. South African communists brought back posters from the new Soviet Union (A set of original Soviet posters, some dated as early as 1919 was confiscated by the South African security police during the 1950s, and placed in the SA National Library; these were later transferred to the SA National Gallery in Cape Town.)

Where these adapted International Revolutionary (mostly European) images were reproduced in early progressive (mostly white-run) publications, they often consciously or unconsciously magnified the attitudes of their organisations towards the African majority. Throughout the establishment of worker organisations in the twenties and thirties, debate raged over whether "class solidarity" actually meant breaking down racial barriers.

As late as 1938, the white trade unions were still split over whether May Day celebrations should include (black) Africans. The cover of the MayDay 1938 pamphlet (put out by the United May Day Committee) includes a white worker and nuclear family flying a red banner. (The pamphlet itself contains writing by Communist members Eli Weinburg and John Gomas: "Let us unite in common struggle against the capitalist system of oppression, exploitation, and war, for a better social order, without race hatred, with the right of work and leisure for everybody.") A 1941 graphic, on the cover of a CPSA publication, shows a white worker with a black and possibly female silhouette supporting him in holding up a banner in English and Afrikaans. Both pictures follow a common international, European – centred style.

At this time, there has been minimal research on early political graphics in South Africa. Some of these early South African political graphics survive piecemeal in archives; some are buried in security police files. But much has been lost. Thenji Mthintso, asked about visual records of her father trade unionist and activist Gana Makabena, commented: "We did not even keep that stuff from our own generation – how could we have it from my parents?" (interview Sept 1999)

Apartheid, African nationalism, and the images of social record

The end of World War II found South Africa the home to a growing, more literate, more urban Black population. The newly elected Nationalist Party government clamped down with formal structures of apartheid to control this influx. Thus in the 1950s, on the one hand black townships found their feet, with shebeens, churches, social halls and political organisations; on the other, the state imposed rules to separate whites from blacks, and different groups of blacks from each other - in group areas, in type of education, in business and in access to welfare, even in marriage.

The reaction was mass defiance. Organised resistance grew, with the 1946 African Miners Strike, the ANC Youth League and the Defiance Campaign, through the Alex Bus Boycott, through to the mobilisation around the Freedom Charter (1956).

The new Black urban culture found expression in the print media.. Zeke Mphaphelele recalls the role of Drum Magazine:

"What put it together? I think it was a kind of collective consciousness. People had been suffering, and people had been living in harsh conditions without a voice. Well, they found a voice then." – *Drum, Staffrider 1980 vol 3.1 p. 45*

Drum contributed to resistance graphics with an outpouring of photographic images. Jurgan Schadenberg headed the photographic department, and recruited and trained people such as Ernst Cole, Alf Khumalo, Victor Xashimba, Gopal Narassamy and others. Peter Magubane began as a driver and messanger, transferred to the photographic department. Before the mid-fifties, people were not particularly conscious of power of photographs - "virtually no photographers reporting on or recording events in the so-called non-white world". Every one of the photographers on Drum risked being beaten and arrested for taking photographs; and a whole body of images of oppression and defiance came into being.

In the 1940s and 50s, photographer Eli Weinburg worked as photographer for the pro-ANC and socialist *New Era* newspaper (under the editor Ruth First). He was banned and restricted, and forced to illegally photograph events such as the Congress of the People in 1956 (which he did from a roof across the street). After the restrictions forced him to stop publishing, he trained other photographers - the most notable was *New Era* photographer and journalist Joe Gabi (later imprisoned at Robben Island, exiled, and assassinated by the security police in Zimbabwe in 1983 - check date).

Photographers have often claimed their role is documentation, rather than "merely aesthetics". In the 1950s, photography took on the role of confirming and affirming the reality of apartheid's oppression, and the actuality of people's resistance.

Aesthetics – argument re what is objective



ANC meeting where Chief Luthuli was represented by a huge photograph, as he was banned from attending; security police later threw ink over the photograph; photo by Eli Weinburg.

Photo: Violet Hashe addressing ANC rally in Johannesburg, 1955; photo by Jurgen Shadenburg for Drum



FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION









Another graphic form that emerged out the 1950s resistance was graffitti – "the writing is on the wall". While people were trucked out of Sophiatown, and expelled from mission schools to bantu education, they painted their objections; making their claims to their own places visible.

(use sophiatown pic?)

In 1956, the ANC called for all the peoples of South Africa to draw up a declaration – the Freedom Charter. The subsequent mobilisation, and adoption of principles laid the framework for the liberation struggle and African nationalist governance. It also provided a wealth of symbols and images, which have been taken up in all forms of cultural works.

The African National Congress Handbook published in 1958 acknowledged:

- a Congress Calendar; a Congress Flag "The Congress flag represents the people (the black); the land and rolling veldt (the green); and the gleaming wealth of the country (the gold)";
- a Congress Salute -"Adopted in June 1949, the Congress salute is the right hand clenched with the thumb upraised. It represents the unity of the people of Africa"
- the "Congress Anthems" –Nkosi Sikelel'i Africa, and Morena Boloka.

The African nationalist movement also adopted a series of logos and symbols.



FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION

Above: Symbols of Resistance 1950s

African Nationalist colours: black green and gold

The ANC Wheel (with four spokes representing the organisationals supporting the ANC, which is the centre of the wheel

ANC symbol in 1980: shield, spear and wheel

SACTU logo and slogan, "An injury to one is an Injury to all"

Left: Graffiti in Sophiatown 1955 Jurgen Scadenberg Bannings and the armed struggle

On March 21, 1960, the apartheid government answered the growing mass resistance to apartheid by opening fire on an unarmed crowed of people protesting pass laws. Sixty-nine people died. The resistance movements called a general strike; the government imposed a state of emergency and banned the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, and the South African Communist Party.

In December 1960, the ANC announced the formation of its armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe; and declared an armed struggle against apartheid.

In the sixties, the lines of repression and resistance were established. The African National Congress put into place the pillars of its struggle: mass political resistance by the majority; the armed struggle; the international solidarity for democracy. The state countered with increasing repression, bannings and imprisonment, and the use of force.

Images from the Underground and from Exile

With the banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960, a gap appears in the visual record. Publication requires resources for printing, and distribution; it also requires an audience. With the emergency and the bannings, resistant political graphics were at least temporarily reduced to writing on the wall – painted or stencilled at night by those who were willing to risk police reactions.

But by the late 1960s, banned organisations did print material. Most often, it was produced overseas and smuggled into the country. This meant it had to be ephemeral, on thin paper for easy transport and rapid and illegal distribution. Sometimes, material was disguised under a false cover to be sent into South Africa. New images, however, were introduced: images and logos that told of "our soldiers".

During this time, the established South African "art world" sent a very explicit message out to would-be visual artists about the role of politics:

"Again it was not long when one famous African sculptor from Springs told me that Dumile "had his work hung in the offices of the ANC (- presumably in London), how dare an artist do that!"-Thami, autobio /4

Artists who would not accept the restrictions on their art often saw no option to continued expression of their resistance overseas.



Symbol of Umkhonto we Sizwe, man with Zulu short stabbing spear and sheild

MK Guerillas with rising sun, graphic used in The African Communist.





Perhaps the positive international revolutionary influence on graphic imagery in South Africa is personified in the work of Eli Weinburg . Weinburg was born in 1908 in Libau, now part of Latvia; as a child he lived through the First World War and the October Revolution of 1917 (crushed in Latvia); which he argues "led me in my youth to socialism and to the working class movement". (portait,5) In 1926, he worked as a part-time assistant in a friend's photographic studio in Latvia. Two years later, he sailed for Cape Town, after a brief period in jail in Latvia for participation in a general strike. In South Africa he joined the trade union and socialist movement, and recorded on camera, for the next five decades, his experiences of the South African struggle.

Vote Communist; CPSA, 1942 Inscription: Issued for the Candidates Printed by Prompt P&P, Johannesburg Litho print

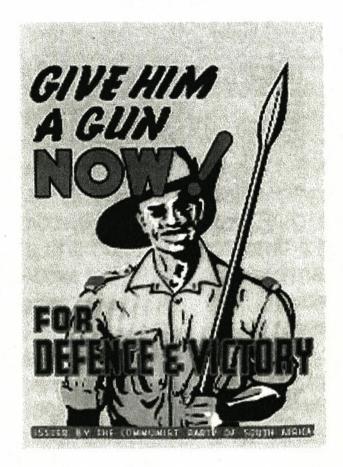
This election leaflet was produced by the CPSA for the Native Representative Council elections in 1942;



Issued by the Candidates, 66 Progress Buildings, Commissioner Street. Printed by Prompt P. & P. Co., 7 Harris Street, Westgate, Johannesburg.

Crush the Facist Reptile; Medical Aid for Russia, CPSA, 1942 Silkscreen

Give Him a Gun NOW? CPSA, 1941? Silkscreen



Support for Democracy: World War II

During WWII the South African population divided between pro- and anti- facist forces. Progressive organisations in South Africa campaigned in support of the Allies; and produced a series of posters in support of these campaigns. These ranged from advocating medical aid for the besieged Soviet Union, to promoting one of the most bitter points of the African nationalist movement: that black citizens of South Africa were encouraged to fight for the Allies overseas, but that the South African government denied them the right to carry guns.

These appear to be some of the earliest silkscreened political posters in South Africa. In the 1940s, silkscreening was a relatively new and untried technique. It had been introduced as an inexpensive and low-technology mass reproduction technique by the US government's public works programme in 1930s. By the 1940s, silkscreening was not fully viewed as "fine art"; but by the 1950s it was widely adopted by industry, and introduced into art schools in America.



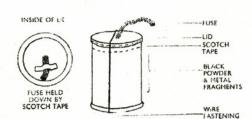
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The Freedom Charter, ANC litho print, 1956

SOME THINGS A FREEDOM FIGHTER SHOULD KNOW

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The Law Association of the Communication of the Com





THE AFRICAN **NATIONAL CONGRESS** SAYS TO VORSTER AND HIS GANG:



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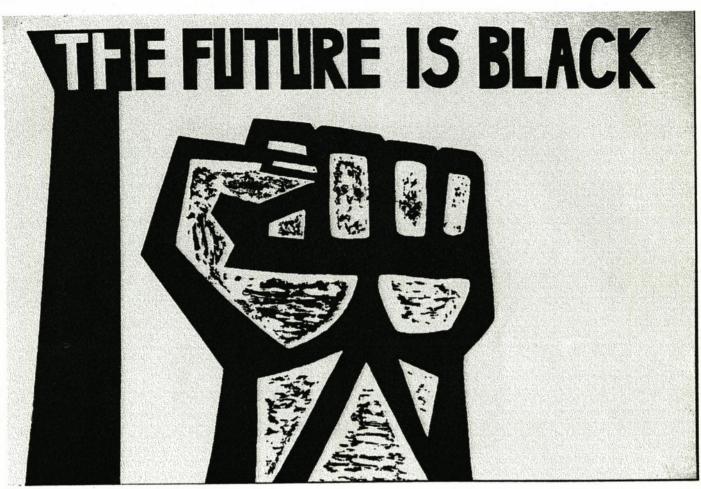
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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CALLS UPON YOU TO ORGANISE
EVERYWHERE TO WIN BACK OUR COUNTRY!

LISTEN TO THE YOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON RADIO EYERY SUNDAY, MODIOAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY ON SHORT WAVE 1, 19.44 METRES AT 8.45 P.M.

"Some things a freedom fighter should know..." ANC 1972 litho on thin paper, no attribution

One of a series of leaflets put out in the late 1960s/ early 1970s to popularise Mkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing. These were strictly illegal, published on very thin paper overseas and smuggled into the country. Photographs of MK soldiers used in published materials at this time were carefully chosen to be unidentifiable; any published pictures of the camps were vetted to ensure no guerilla could be recognised.



The Future is Black produced by Spro-cas II Johannesburg probably 1972/3

1970s Rebirth

"The Revolution will not be reviewed in the StarTonight"

-Allahpoets guoted in Staffrider June 1980 p. 40

Apartheid silenced the resistance of the 1950s with force. But by less than a decade later, the resistance movement began to find its feet. A black student, Steve Biko, began to talk of reasserting the voice of the black majority, of recognising, and then vocalising, their needs and wishes. He found resonance with the black students and young intellectuals; and with the poets, playwrights, and musicians; and with the visual artists.

Black Consciousness fed a new attitude towards Black and African culture and ideas and communities.

Of the major aims of this group, the following stand immediately out: to uplift Black life and present it through our own eyes: to interpret ourselves: to negate the slave mentality concept that a Black man is good ONLY if a White man says so, in fact to prove the opposite to this time-worn "norm": to highlight the works of

Black writers and to expose irrelevant racisms of the Shakespears and others: to believe in ourselves, and much more, to say we are proud and Black."

- Molefe Phete, Gabs, 1978/ Med

Medu Newsletter June 79

This wave of resistance culture swelled first in the circles of theatre, poetry, and creative writing, and spread from there to the visual arts. As Lionel Davis commented decades later:

"Black Consciousness made us realise the power of the painted word- the power of culture in the people's struggle."

Manaka Matsemela reflected on the impact of this emerging resistance on his generation of artists (Echoes, p.16): .

"African artists were made to relate more and more to the sociopolitical situation with a certain degree of political awareness. . .
Unlike some artists who were pre-occupied with the search for
an African idiom whose concern, to some extent, was an African
style, the Black Consciousness artists were more concerned
with the content of their work."

Cultural revolution and black consciousness

Mhloti Black Theatre started in Alexandra township in 1971; it provided a platform for youths such as Thami Mnyele to work through what the concept of culture meant to them and to their community. Thami Mnyele describes his experience:

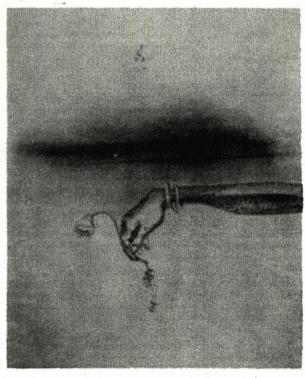
"Mhloti was composed of writers, musicians, painters, actors and a few members of the community, i.e. intellectuals, church people, etc. Our main theatrical piece was based on the thoughts of Malcolm X. It was in this play where I tried myself on stage Suddenly I was experiencing a surge of internal satisfaction . . .The actual engagement of the physical, standing there and towering over the little crowd of people of my township, seated, silent but nodding their heads occasionally, when I had made another good point, it was just great. The act of theoretical performance is more immediate than making pictures, I thought. Here is one surrounded by the community, alive, blood and sweat and flesh . . . set free from the loneliness and aloneness of paintings and confinement." (Thami, unpublished autobio p. 2)

Through Mhloti Black Theatre, Mnyele began to ask why the township musicians -Hugh Masekela, Mirriam Makabe, Kingforce Silgee, Dollar Brand, Zakes Nkosi - had become so critical to the survival of hope and resistance in the fifties and sixties; while for artists in the early 70s "conversation centred around the unfairness and the exploitation of the artists by art galleries, recording companies, publishing houses and how biased art critics and the editors were towards the artists' works.

"Standing there and towering over the little crowd of people of my township, seated, silent but nodding their heads occasionally ... the act of theatrical performance is more immediate than making pictures, I thought. Here one is surrounded by the community, alive, blood and sweat and flesh... set free from the loneliness and aloneness of painting and confinement."

The revival of culture in the townships, aligned with the new awareness of Black Consciousness and pride, led a growing number of cultural workers to being to re-evaluate the visual arts. In 1972, Thami left Alex for Rorkes Drift, to hone his skills in the visual arts.

While Black Consciousness sparked a cultural awakening in South Africa's townships, the early 1970s a political rebirth swept the subcontinent. Mass trade union strikes erupted in Natal in 1973. Freedom fighters won the liberation wars in Mozambique and Angola in 1975; governments in the then Rhodesia and South West Africa were under attack.



FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION



Untitled Thami Mnyele 1976, drawing from exhibition "A New Day", published with review in Staffrider, April 1980.



Meanwhile at Wits and UCT. . .

On the White university campuses, some students found a resonance in their own unhappiness with the positions the apartheid rulers expected them to adopt. Some found their place handing out leaflets supporting worker strikes and boycotts, demonstrating against the university administrations, and organising protests against the call-up into apartheid's army.

Franco Frescura did illustrations and cartoons for the Wits Student newspaper for 18 months in 1971-73: "My own ideal choice was not to pick up a gun, but to hit at what they (the powers that be-ed..) value most: personal dignity and reputation." They saw this as rebellion: "At one point, they refused to let me travel through (the Transkei), saying 'in view of the fact that you are a cartoonist, we cannot let you into homeland areas'." Frescura was rusticated for a combined publication of the cartoons he had done for Wits Student.

Kevin Humphries, working on the student newspaper at University of Natal Durban in 1972, recalls a similar attitude: "We just ignored censorship; we made it as outrageous as possible, sent the first copy to the Security Police. We'd be disappointed if we were not banned".

Through the student organisation Aquarius, students planted crosses on Wits library lawn to commemorate Sharpeville. Still later, they clogged the lawn with tents to symbolise rejection of the apartheid military. They invited Black poets such as Don Mattera and Sipho Sepamla to read poetry to them.

But white student groups still saw themselves as separate from black student organisations::

"As white liberal students we were being shoved away by Black Consciousness; the message came through that "our role is to work on white students and to change their consciousness; and not to interfere with black students". ruth sack?

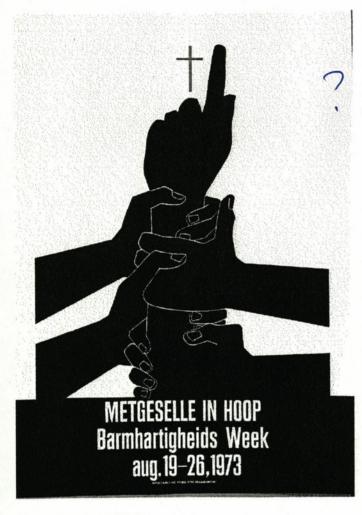


Left: "Everybody loves Wits student", litho Collection of student newspapers for which Franco Frascura was banned from Wits. 1976

Right: God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen, poster, litho, signed Franco Frascura, stamped Sprocas, U Wits 19 73

You Don't Need Tickets...silkscreen Franco Frascura, U. Wits 1973





Barmhamghelds Week Aug. 18-26, 1973 Author unknown litho published by Interchurch AID Braamfontein 1973

Political Media and Anti-Apartheid Awareness

From conscientising students, and their subsequent disruptive expression, this awakened anti-apartheid awareness moved towards more open resistance.

From 1969 to 1972, the <u>Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPR</u>O-CAS) produced a series of reports on apartheid, sponsored by the Christian Institute and the SA Council of Churches.

In acknowledging the role of Spro-cas, one must underline the role of the progressive Christian Church in raising the questions of how people survived under the conditions of apartheid. This commitment is reflected in the graphics, as well: the deep roots of liberation theology in South Africa contributed not only commitment and support for the struggle, but also a strong thread towards Christian imagery and symbolism, adapted in political graphics.

In 1972, the Spro-Cas Project went beyond reporting on apartheid to initiating "a project for social change".

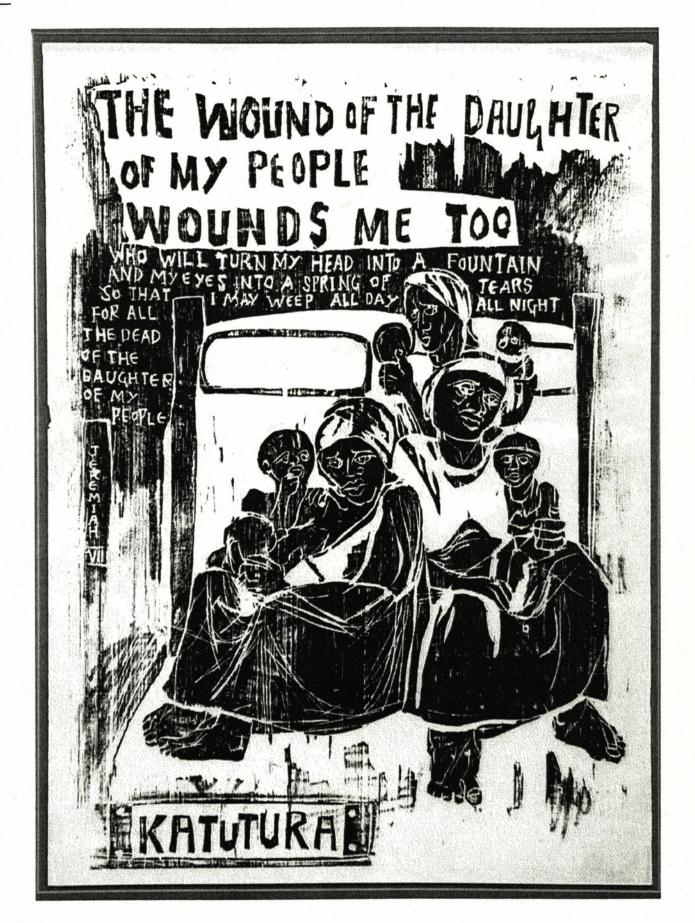
"Spro-cas II was structured into a Black Community Programme (BCP) by Bennie Khoapa and Steve Biko, and a social change programme, aimed primarily at whites and directed by former student activists such as Neville Curtis and Horst Kleinschmidt." (p.3 Ravan 25 years).

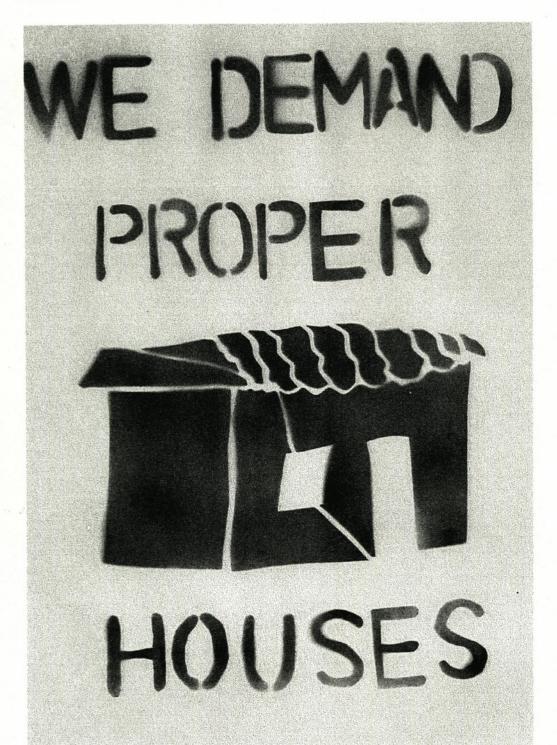
The transformed Spro-cas published "provocative posters intended to arouse white consciences to serious studies of national issues like migrant labour."

The BCP initiated a publishing programme, including books of essays by Steve Biko and Njabula Ndebele. Spro-cas used facilities of the Christian Institute, "in particular an old Heidelburg offset machine bought with funds donated by German churches". (p. 4 Ravan) The early banning of Steve Biko in 1973, combined with a growing demand for publication led to the creation of a separate publishing house, Ravan Press.

The first Director of Ravan Press, Peter Randell, commented later: "The security police were understandably rather confused by the links between Ravan, Spro-cas, The Programme for Social Change, and the Christian Institute . . . and tended to see all these as merely the different heads of the same godless, leftist monster." The police banned four Spro-cas posters that attacked Apartheid. Wokpo Jensma's book "Where White is the Colour and Black is the Number" became the fourth Ravan Press title banned within Ravan's first two years (in 1975). Peter Randell responded to government attacks: "if the apartheid state charged us under the act with harming race relations, it would be a grotesque irony."(Ravan, 8)

Katutura artist unknown early 1970s? woodcut

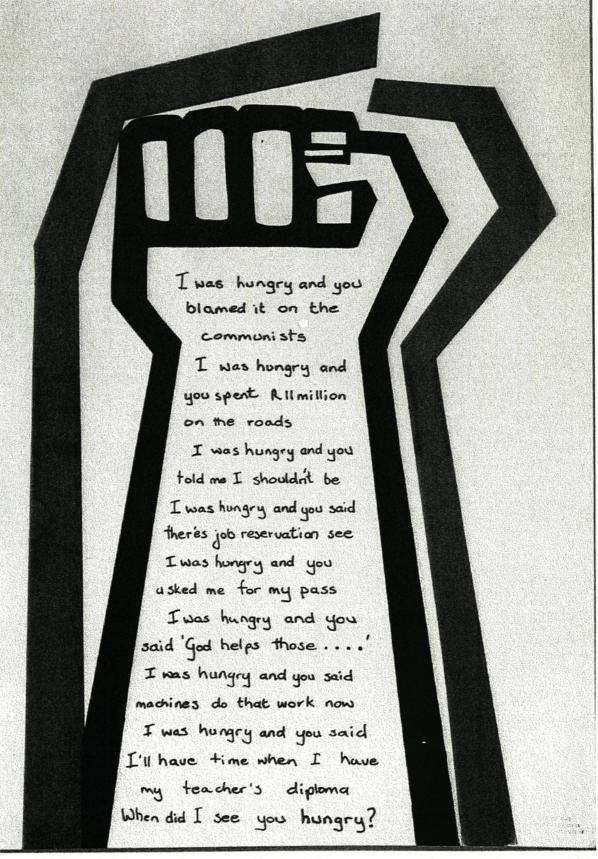




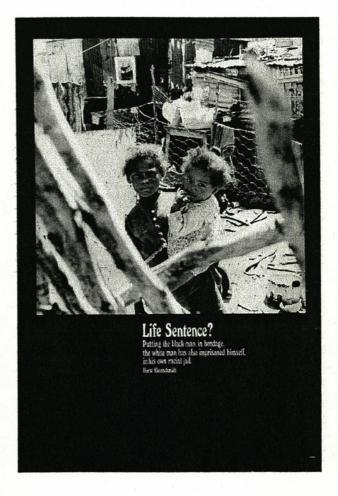
We Demand Proper Houses artist unknown Spraypaint and Stencill poster, Sprocas, Johannesburg 1973?

I was hungry and you blamed it on the communists

artist unknown Sprocas, Johannesburg 1974?





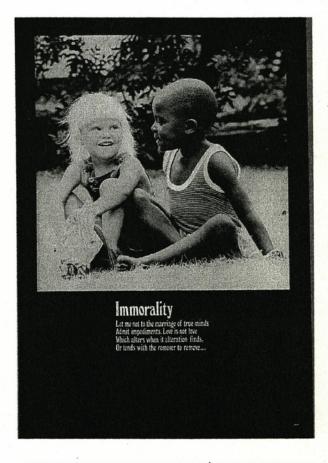


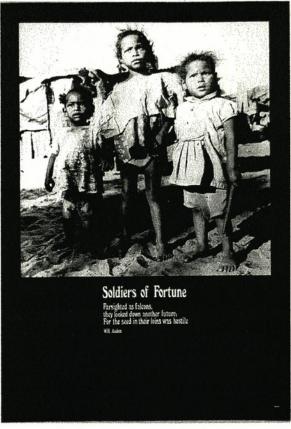


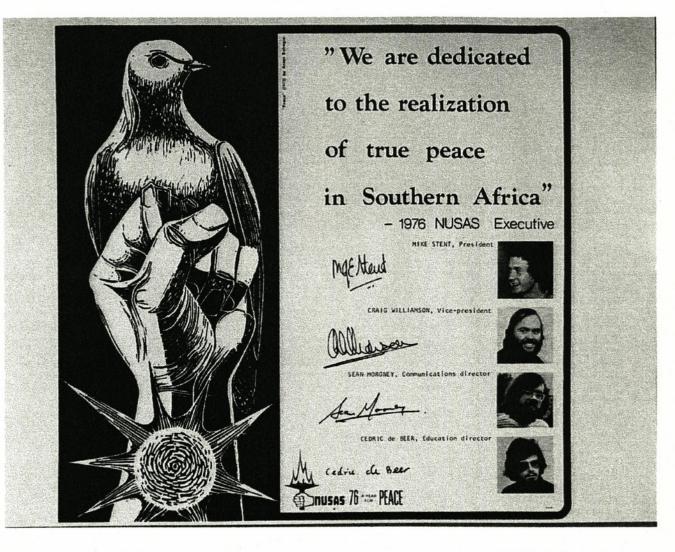
Fom a series of litho posters by SPRO-CAS on living under Apartheid

(left to right):
Pensions by race
Life Sentence?
Home is where the heart is
Immorality
Soldiers of Fortune

artist unknown Johannesburg 1974?



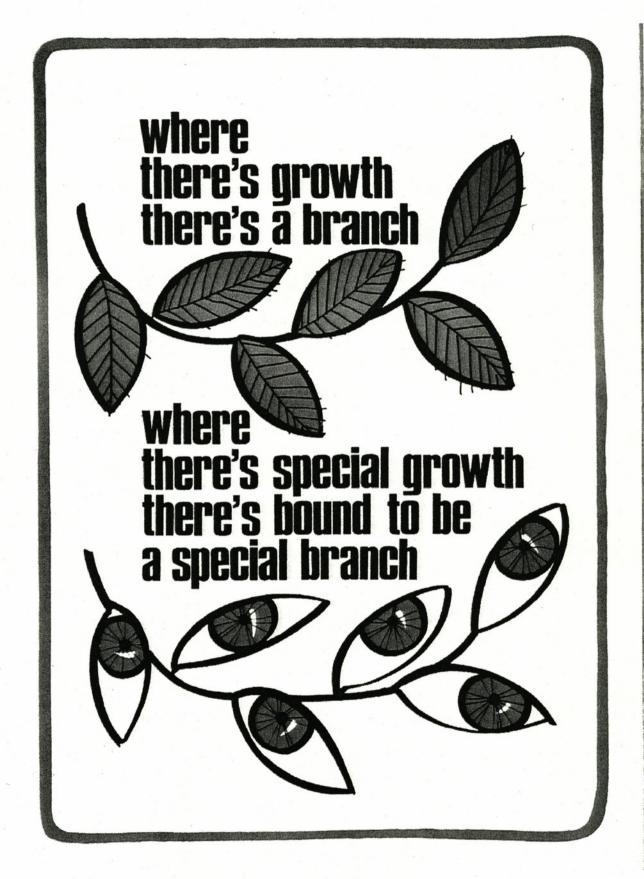




NUSAS election poster; artist unknown litho NUSAS Wits University Johannesburg 1973

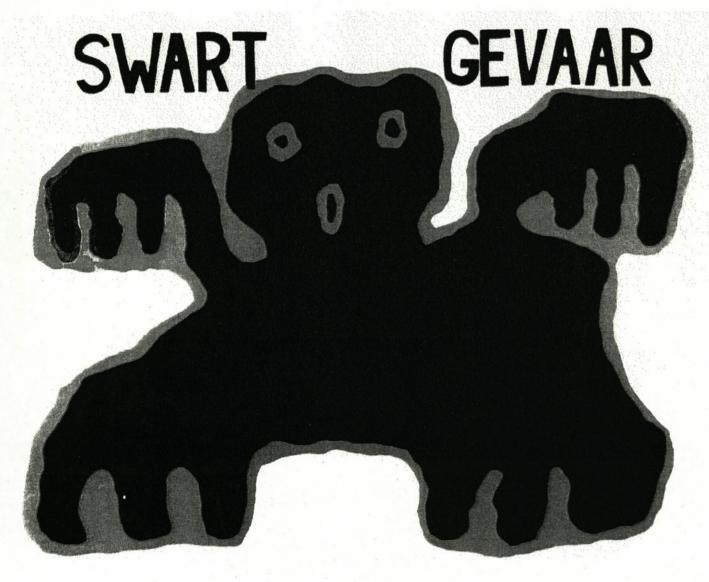
"For every branch. . ."
Artist unknown
SPROCAS 1975 (?)
litho
Johannesburg

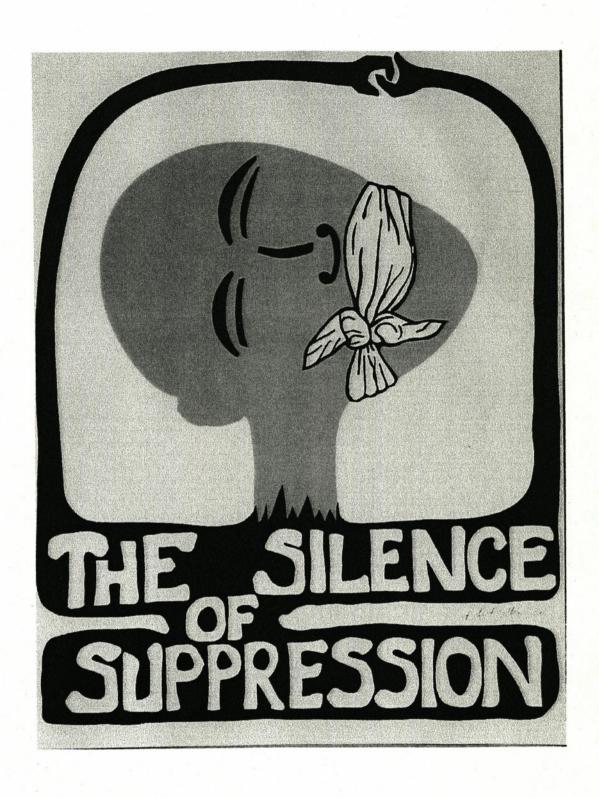
The NUSAS candidate for Vice President was Craig Williamson (exposed in 1981 as a SA spy).



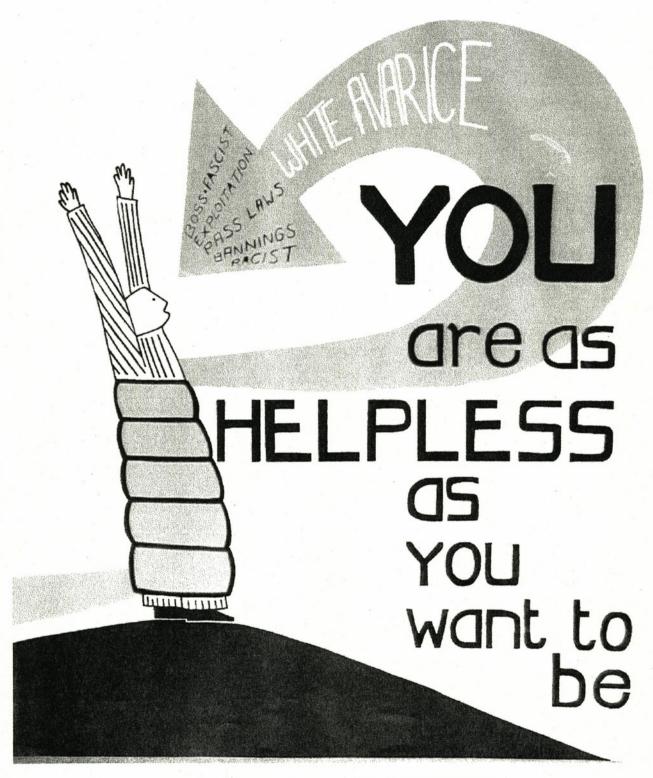
Swart Gevaar Wokpo Jensma, silkscreen

Wokpo Jensma's book "Where white is the colour where black is the number" (Ravan Press, 1974) was Ravan's fourth banned book.

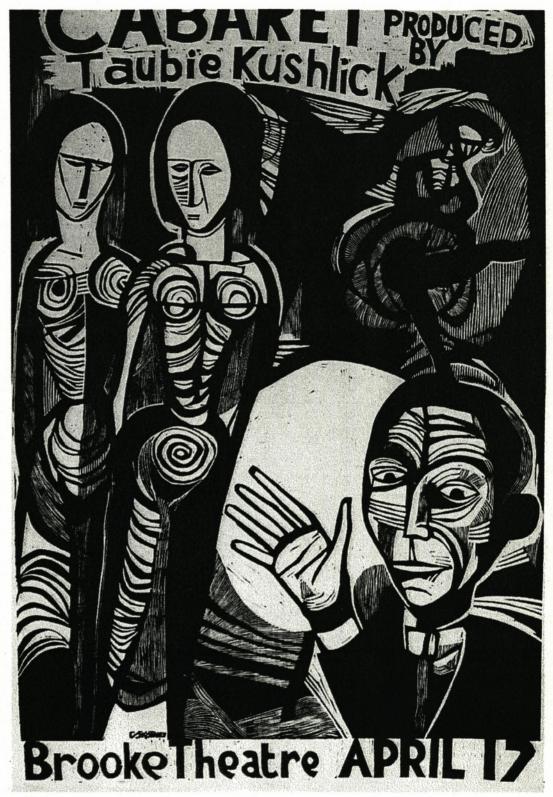




The Silence of Suppression Wokpo Jensma? Silkscreen Johannesburg 1974



White Arvarice: Are you as helpless as you want to be Franco Franscotti Stamped "Spro-cas" Braamfontein, Johannesburg 1975?

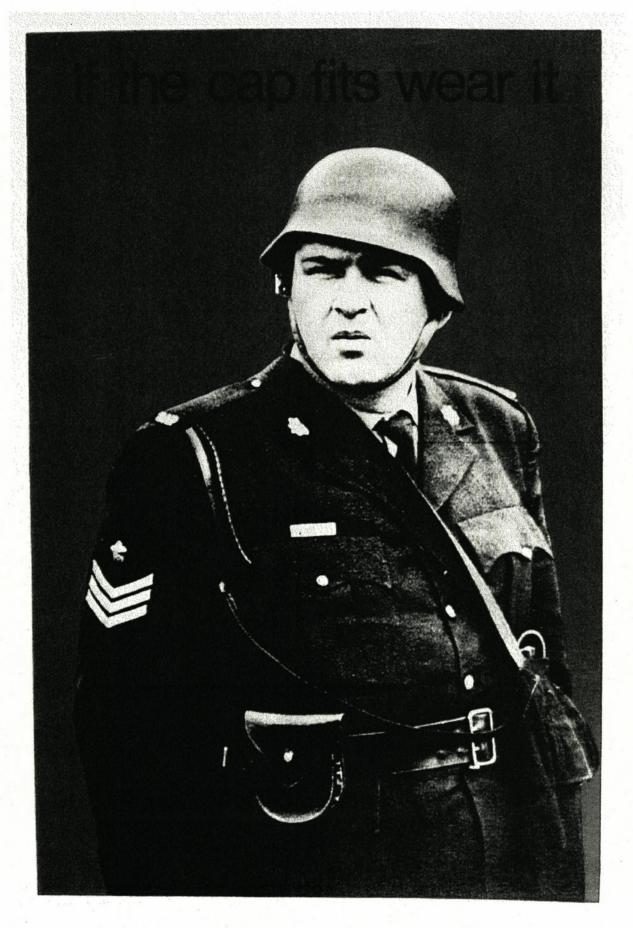


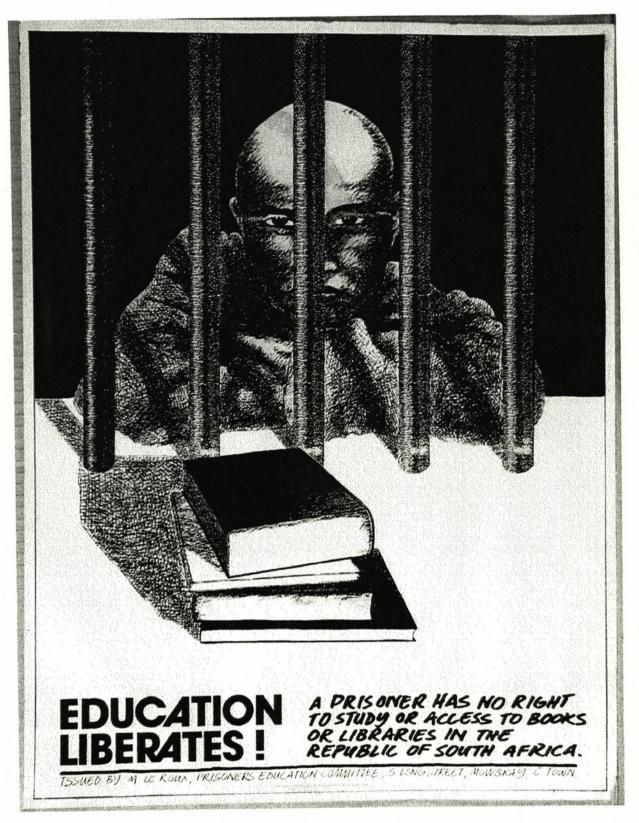
C. Skotness taught block printing techniques in his Polly Street classes, and is considered quite influential in the poster style developed in this period. However, several poster artists have commented that he discouraged students from engaging in political posters, as he felt it would discourage their art -making.

Cabaret
C. Skotness
signed C. Skotnes
Blockprint
1975?

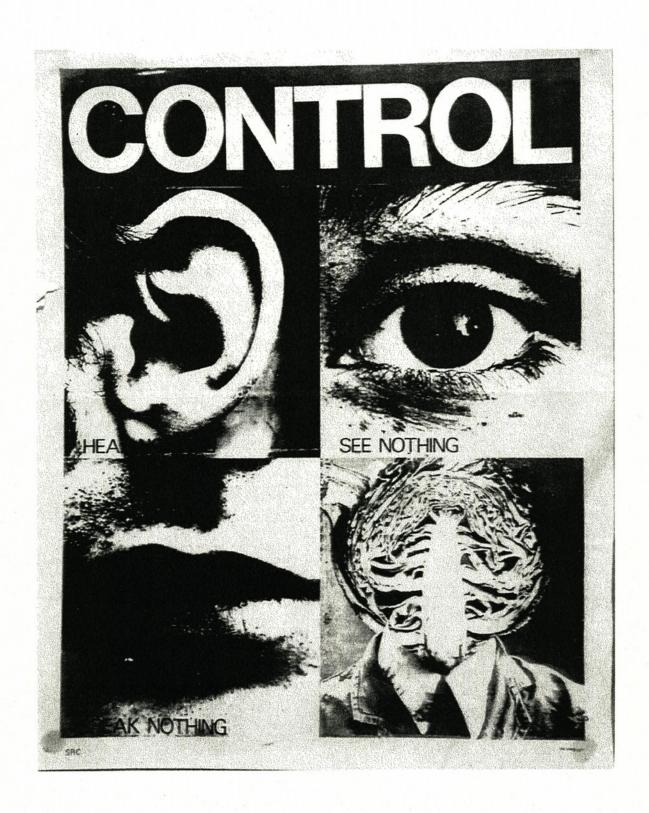
late sixties

FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION





Right: NUSAS poster artist unknown Johannesburg 1976? Education Liberates Issued by M. le Roux, Prisoners' Education Committee 5 Longstreet, Mowbray 1976?



Control artist unknown SRC UCT (check) litho 1975? South Africa is a cauldron of frustration and hope. the repression-resistance spiral is on a consistent, constant rise. The task of an artist is to capture it, for it in turn to fuel the spiral of change."

 Pitika Ntuli: May 1980, catalogue, Louder than Words

The '76 Uprising

On June 16, peacefully demonstrating students in Soweto confronted police bullets. The uprising spread rapidly to all of South Africa's townships.

In June 1976, Thami Mnyele, Fikgile and Ben Arnold held an art exhibition at the Dube YWCA. (Staffrider 1980 Sept Oct, p.41). In describing the exhibit, Thami wrote:

"It happened at a crucial time, when we had to make a decision and take a stand to say: were we involved in the struggle and life around us, or were we merely producing "pictures"?... Our exhibition was attended by thousands of people. In South Africa, as far as I know, not so many people attend art exhibitions, especially not people from the black sector. We had people standing at the door counting and there were more than a thousand people crammed into the place and there were more waiting outside. ... We the artists were very excited because it meant we communicated, you know, something clicked." (staffrider 1980)

The Dube exhibition, located within the June 76 uprising, received no attention in the Johannesburg art world, or in the press. But it became a signpost of a new attitude towards the arts, which permeated resistance culture for the next decade and a half.

The uprising in the townships in 1976 saw the struggle become a part of daily life. This actuality was rapidly translated into a new set of visual images. Youth living in the townships could see for themselves the burning buildings and cars, children shouting slogans in defiance of tanks, police beating heads. Press photographers turned these into two dimensional pictures on the front page of every newspaper.

For the graphic artist, this became an immediate and personal challenge. Thami Mnyele wrote:

"What is a good artist in relation to a freedom fighter? . . . I had managed to pick up most of the skills I needed which would enable me to be of service back home. To be of service is to integrate. The musicians of the fifties had not integrated into the community, they were the community itself. The community produced songs about the sudden ban of the African brew by the government; the community performed at a child baptismal ceremony and the community still performs at the funeral of a deceased member. Wouldn't it be good if I designed posters for these activities, painted banners, made postcards, Christmas cards, and taught these skills to those who need them?" (Thami, autobio)

Community arts: Fuba, Funda, CAP

"When I was a kid, if it was not political it was not art"

- Sidney Selepe, growing up in the Black arts community in the 70s and 80s

Many visual artists felt they had to come to terms with the community's resistance. Gavin Younge wrote of the concern in Cape Town: "Visual artists, however, did not appear to measure up to the commitment evidenced by writers and dramatists". (Township Art. p.) But the period following 1976 led to discussion groups looking at the visual arts.

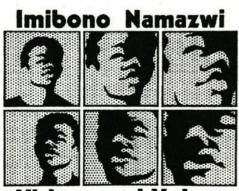
In May 1977 the Cape Arts Project (CAP) was formed, to provide arts education to the communities around Cape Town. Trustees included

the Christian Institute, SACHED, the Institute of Race Relations, UCT, and the Holy Cross Church in Nyanga.

CAP was formed as, first, a community arts organisation. Alongside the strand of people trying to relate arts to political struggle, there was always another area of activities – drama, pottery, and arts initiatives within the community.

Over the next two decades, CAP underwent shifts of power over whether it should align with resistant political structures, and the efforts needed for arts education as contrasted to production of struggle material. But there can be no question of its overall contribution – both in providing education and creativity in the arts, and in developing and popularising images of resistance.

In Soweto, in 1978, a group of writers, musicians, actors and visual artists came together to identify their needs and demands as Black Artists, in terms of the conflicts within their society. By 1980, this group formed the Federated Union of Black Artists (FUBA) under poet Sipho Sepamla. FUBA offered full courses in Johannesburg in the "fine arts" – covering drama, music, visual arts and dance.



Visions and Voices

EXHIBITION OF WORKS BY: JUDAS MAHLANGU VM.ZULU NAT MOKGOSI TAMI MNYELE JAMES SALANG & OTHERS

31 OCTOBER-13 NOVEMBER 1976 Opening: 6p.m. Sunday 31 st. October 1976

PLACE: BASEMENT DIAKONIA HOUSE 80 JORISSEN STREET BRAAMFONTEIN

White students and the art of rejection

If youthful black artists saw their art as taking them closer to their own communities, many rebellious white students saw their art studies as less irrelevant to their creativity.

"Thinking about it now, putting my student energy into Aquarius was in part to escape the very conservative art (in the art department)... The Acquarius stuff fed me emotionally; the fine art department made me feel battered, exhausted, tired. Nothing gave me inspiration there. I don't know, though, if I thought it through at the time." —ruth sack

John Berndt recalls that in Michaelis in the mid-70's, many artists "were unwilling to make the connection between their artistic ivory tower and the arts"; he viewed making posters for trade unions as a rebellion against "fine art", not an extension of it:

Franco Frascura was more blunt: "I held the position that "Aesthetics is Bullshit" – which upset guys in the Dept of Fine arts (at Wits)".

Many of these people turned to the "counter-culture" of France and America for inspiration. A number have quoted from the May 1968 French student rebellion as their giving their perception of postermaking for South Africa:

"The posters produced by the Atelier Populaire are weapons in the service of the struggle . . Their rightful place is in the centres of conflict, that is to say in the streets and on the walls of factories. To use them for decorative purposes, to display them in bourgeois places of culture or to consider them as objects of aesthetic interest is to impair both their function and their effect . . . Even to keep them as historical evidence of a certain stage in the struggle is a betrayal, for the struggle itself is of such primary importance that the position of an "outside" observer is a fiction which inevitably plays into the hands of the ruling class.

" 1969, Texts and posters by Atelier Populaire; Mai 68, Debut dune Lutte Prolongee, Atelier Populaire (book lent by Morris Smithers; the same approach has also been referred to by Ruth Sacks and John Berndt.)

Kevin Humphries went farther:

"I committed class suicide and went to join the printing industry; I thought I was joining the workers. I became an apprentice to a big repro company, and got the technical skills for printing...."

Visions and Voices
Exhibition poster
signed Franco Frascura
litho
Diakonia House
Johannesburg
1976

Media and emerging community structures

While artists and would-be artists were questioning the role of the "fine arts" in their community, the demand for printing material representing those communities grew dramatically. Organisations that had printing presses and were willing to produce this material faced an endless flow.

The SACHED Trust became known for its willingness to print for the community. Joe Setlabogo, the person running the press at SACHED, ran off stuff on the side for all kinds of community groups. Setlabogo involved the others on the staff in these jobs. By the time Thami Mnyele left SACHED, this "printing on the side" was well-established.

Organisations using SACHED print facilities included EDA, SACC, Mary Kadanas for Interchurch Media Programme, Catholic Bishops group – everyone started getting in on the act. "SACHED had an endless groups coming for graphics for youth groups – we used to do them on the side." recalled Kevin Humphries.

"It was that era – whoever came to SACHED would bring material to print. SACHED was just a job...but whatever we were doing was for the people", commented Mzwake Nhlabatsi.

In 1978 Thami Mnyele's job at SACHED was taken over by Mzwake Nhlabatsi and Kevin Humphries.

Staffrider:

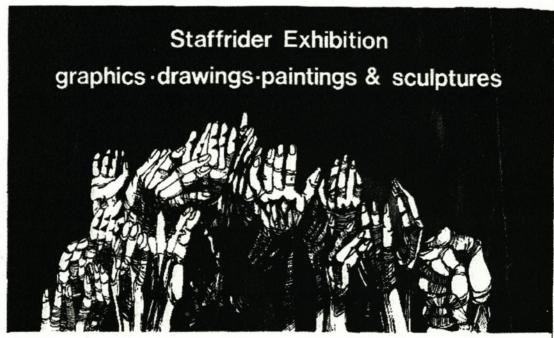
"A staffrider is, let's face it, a skelm of sorts . . A skilful entertainer, a bringer of messages, a useful person but . . . slightly disreputable. Our censors may not like him, but they should consider putting up with him. A whole new literature is knocking at the door, and if our society is to change without falling apart it needs all the messages it can get – the bad as well as the good.. . . "

"The aim of this magazine is not to impose "standards" but to provide a regular meeting place for the new writers and their readers, a forum which will help to shape the future of our literature. . . The writer is attempting to voice the community's experience ('This is how it is") and his immediate audience is the community ('Am I right").

(see Vol 1 no 1 editorial

The cultural movement in the townships that paralleled the 1976 student uprising was deeply interrelated with the revival of literature and poetry as well as theatre. These artforms needed their own outlets and organisation. The books of Raven Press, and the literary magazine Staffrider, published by Raven from 1978, created another outlet and audience for resistance imagery and graphics.

The very first edition of Staffrider was banned.



Graphic by Garth Erasmus
for poster adversing
Staffrider Exhibition
planned for the Market
Theatre in 1981; this was
cancelled because the
organisers felt the work
was not good enough for
exhibition.
(from copy published in
Staffrider)

35



"Song for Dollar", pencil drawing by Dikobe WaMogale Martins, published in Staffrider to accompany "Art is not Neutral", 1982.

Matsemela Manaka edited early Staffrider. As a visual artist and community arts education, as well as involved in drama, Matsamela Manaka ensured that the magasine exposed the work of the emergeant visual arts, both in graphics, "fine arts", and photography, as well as poets and writers. Indeed, "a who's who" of the visual arts was published in Staffrider: Thami Mnyele, Fikile, Dikobe WaMogale Martins, Mzwake Nhlabatsi, Garth Erasmus, Kay Hassan, Mpikayipheli, San Nhlengetwa, Nhlanhla Xaba, Mpathi Gocini, Manfred Zilla - to name only some - as well as some of well-known prints of Steve Biko by Paul Stopworth, and drawings by William Kentridge.

Kevin Humphries, who did layout for Staffrider, pointed out that:

"Staffrider generated artwork – people would send in all sorts of drawings, photographs, as well as poetry and writing. We'd take Thami's stuff that he left with friends. A momentum was building up, everyone came to us."

"Dikobe sent us pencil drawings – it was impossible to reproduce, they would go grey – we used to say, couldn't somebody get this guy some ink?"

Staffrider deliberately built upon "Black Art influences", emphasising linocut and print-making, and promoting artists such as Dumile Feni, Percy Sedumedi, and Gerard Sekota. In 198? Mzwake went to France to interview Sekota- at that time, Sekota's work had not been seen in South Africa for decades.

Photographs published in the late seventies and early eighties in Staffriders ensured the integration of "community perception" to struggle- photographers included Omar Badshaw, Paul Weinburg, Judas Ngwenya, Les Lawson, Jimi Mathews, Alf Khumalo,

The activities at Staffrider involved people on a day to day level. "People would arrive early in the morning, collect boxes of stuff to sell", recalls Kevin Humphries. "They were honest and brought back the money in the evening. Percy Sedumedi made incredible comics, "The Free Spirit", selling them by hand in the townships.

In 1980, Staffrider attempted to organise an exhibition of protest art at the Market Theatre; but it was cancelled. "There were times when we wanted to have a protest art exhibition – but the work wasn't good enough. Whatever they brought would not suit – it wasn't

talking about the time and situation they were in. It was just individuals expressing themselves, not focussed. There was also fear of backlash."

Graphic Equaliser

The company called the Graphic Equaliser came out of the crying need for pre-press work for progressive organisations and publications. By the late 70s many community groups relied upon Raven Press and Staffrider for production; but Raven had no funds or resources for this.

At Raven, recalls Kevin Humphries, "Everything was ad hoc – people would ask us how to do things, we would finish it. At this time, printers or publishers would propose covers, they could be anything useless, but people had to use them."

To fill this gap, Kevin started Graphic Equaliser with Andy Mason, who was working as a graphic designer at Raven, in 1981. They were joined by Mzwake Nthabatsi and Caroline Cullanin, and, and later Reedwaan Valley (in 1982/3). Raven assisted the formation of Graphic Equaliser by paying the first month's salary for Graphic Equaliser staff.

Graphic Equaliser staff were formally trained in the arts or print production: Reedwaan Vally and Kevin Humphries trained in graphic design and photo litho techniques; Mzwaki Nthabatsi trained at Rorkes Drift, and learned printing techniques at Staffrider. Caroline Cullanin trained in fine arts; Andy Mason had a background in fine arts and cartooning (he had previously produced the comic book "Vusi Comes Home".).

Kevin Humphries described the approach to images and the issues of art:

"There were no grey areas for us; we were people with technical as a well as artistic skills. We were a bunch of people with left-wing politics – we knew where our sentiments lay, we were sure where we were. . ."

"In terms of imagery: they (the community organisations) would come in with their images and ideas. People would come in, with confused ideas, too complicated, too much detail. One symbol on top of another, a bit like Russian Constructivist; that was OK. But we had to clean them up;

you know, make the lines flow, balance, make it work graphically."

"I would take their visually illiterate stuff and put it together, making the poster work. But it was a bit missing in those days - sometimes we just printed it; at the time that seemed right. We spent a lot of time redoing logos – most of them got another clean-up after 1990."

Reedwaan Vally commented:

"Most organisations gave us an initial brief; they were so busy they would leave it in our hands. They didn't really know what they needed (in terms of visual imagery, symbolism, design). We would produce a draft, and they would change it and remake it."

"There was a lot of background (to design) that came from schooling I spent a week or two learning about propaganda – it wasn't necessarily a bad thing: 'One man's propaganda is another man's hate mail'. The Soviet stuff was powerful, strong, rich in what it was saying to its people. But we realised that the imagery we needed was different from the Soviet images; we needed African design."

Reedwaan talks about trying to find for more "African" typefaces; but he comments: "in the old days all the type was limited to Eurocentric type styles". He never found one he was very happy with for political resistance graphics.

Graphic Equaliser staff made effective use of struggle photography in their design, relying heavily on Afripics. Kevin Humphries noted that Paul Wienburg "was into iconography – using a photo to stand for a whole story in peoples minds. He would argue that people should "use the whole picture", but he never complained if it was redrawn."

Throughout the 1980s, the Graphic Equaliser concentrated on professional production for commercial print processes. It primarily served struggle organisations – churches, NGOs, trade unions, community organisations. At the same time Graphic Equaliser maintained an image of working "without politics, without political directives".

Shifty records shared offices with Graphic Equaliser. Mzwake Mbuli had them design his record cover. Besides covers for "the people's poet"; Graphic Equaliser did others for pop groups — Kevin Humphries commented "it was like a white thing — but a blip — it wasn't mainstream but it was a hell of a fun".

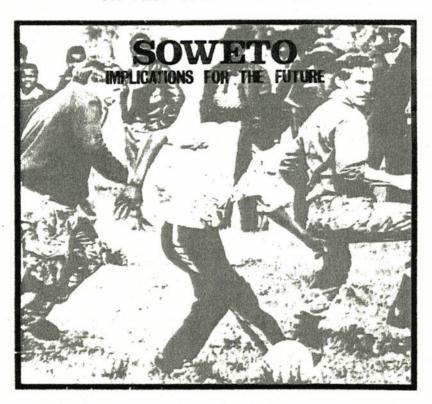
Graphic Equaliser managed to spend nearly ten years without drawing the unwanted attention of the police. Kevin Humphries said:

"Mzwake and I did a whole lot of work for Standard bank – every now and then you had to get promotional work, for money. And it kept us looking ok with the cops." writing available to children and less literate people.



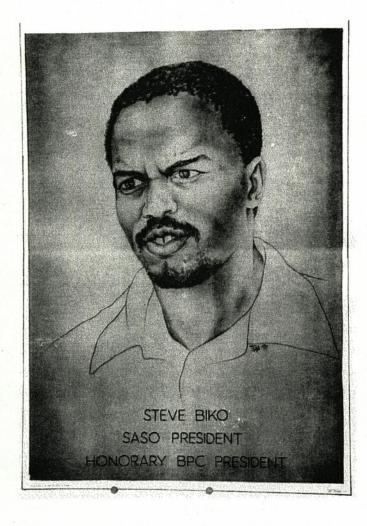
Portrait of Pascal Gwala Mzwake Nhlabatsi published in Staffrider 1986

AFTER THE BALL....



S.S.D. ALL-DAY SEMINAR SAT, 28 MAY STAFF-STUDENT DINING ROOM 9-30 A.M.

After the Ball SSO all-day seminar SSO Wits Silkscreen 1977 Right: Military Service: Focus on Alternatives NUSAS, Wits 1978 Our educational systems must train people for war





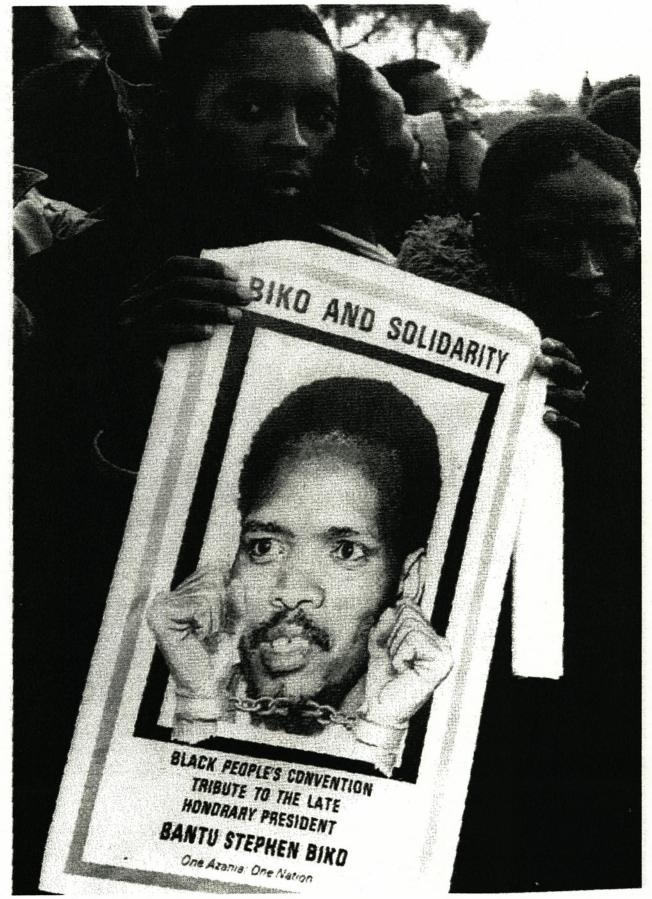
"...Many black people have come to appreciate the need to stand up and be counted against the system. There is far more political talk now, far more political debate and far more condemnation of the system from averae black people than there has ever been since possibly 1960 and before....

They are not prepared to be calmed down even at the point of a gun. And hence, what happened, happened. Some people were killed. These riots just continued and continued. Because at no stage were the young students - nor for that matter at some stage their parents - prepared to be scared."

Steve Biko SRC President Honorary BPC President TSS SRC Projects Comm. SRC Press, UCT 1975

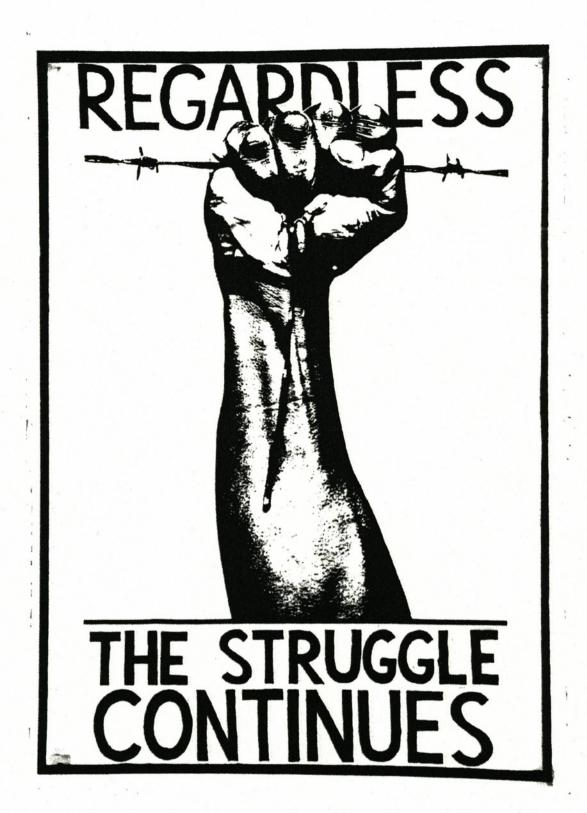
The spirit lives on Biko Tiss SRC Projects Comm SRC Press, UCT 1978

Opposite:
Youth carrying "Biko and
Solidarity" poster, Funeral
of Steve Biko, 1977
poster design by Dikobe
WaMogale Martins??
confirm!



41

FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION



Regardless, the Struggle Contiues artist unknown SRC UCT? 1977? Opposite: The slice hasn't got any bigger Varsity, UCT, Rondebosch Litho Esquire Press, Althlone Cape Town, 1980

Grassroots democracy

The Workers Speak

Spontaneous worker strikes erupted in Durban in 1973, parallel with and feeding to the growing political awareness building up to the 1976 eruption. Labour unrest reflected confidence among black workers to attack the colour bar, and demands for legal union representation. The government faced an increasing demand from manufacturing industry to relax the colour bar, and to meet the rising demand for skilled labour. By 1980, government amended the Industrial Relations Act, legalising some 70 000 black workers who were already mobilised illegally into 27 emergent Black trade unions.

By the late 70s, the emergent workers organisations began to call upon black communities for support in labour struggles. The demand for graphics from these emergent trade unions linked up to the graphics and print efforts of cultural activists and anti-apartheid students.

In 1979, the cultural activists working with Junction Avenue Theatre company in Johannesburg silkscreened a poster in support of workers dismissed in a strike against Fatti and Moni's pasta company. In 1980, Junction Avenue printed other posters on worker struggles, including the 1980 Red Meat Boycott in support of the Western Province General Workers Union, and the 1981 Wilson-Rowntree Sweet Boycott. In 1981, also, student groups supporting labour formed an organisation called Rock Against Management, which took up an ANC call to reject the government-proposed celebration of 20 years of the South African Republic.

The students and unionists who voluntarily turned out these early union posters formed a silkscreening organisation in 1983, called the Silkscreen Training Project, under Morris Smithers.

Organisations of Grass-Roots Democracy

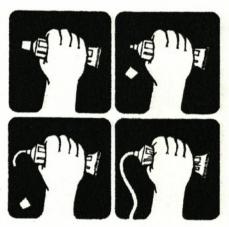
The first years of the 1980s saw a significant shift in forms of mass resistance against apartheid. From the unrest of Soweto 1976 a flood of youth left to join the liberation army. But many others remained to strengthen another pillar of the liberation movement: the mass movement.

Within a few years, people formed hundreds of local organisations representing different interests and demands within the community -civics, student, parent, and teacher bodies, trade unions, youth and women's organisations, church groups, groups against repression (giving support for political detainees and the End Conscription campaign), groups opposing the so-called "independence" of the homelands and the revisions of the apartheid government. They called for no rent increases for township houses. They demanded a boycott of the government's proposed "Tri-cameral Parliament". They called demanded a say in how the decisions that controlled their lives were made: they demanded grassroots democracy.

They called for a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and just South Africa.



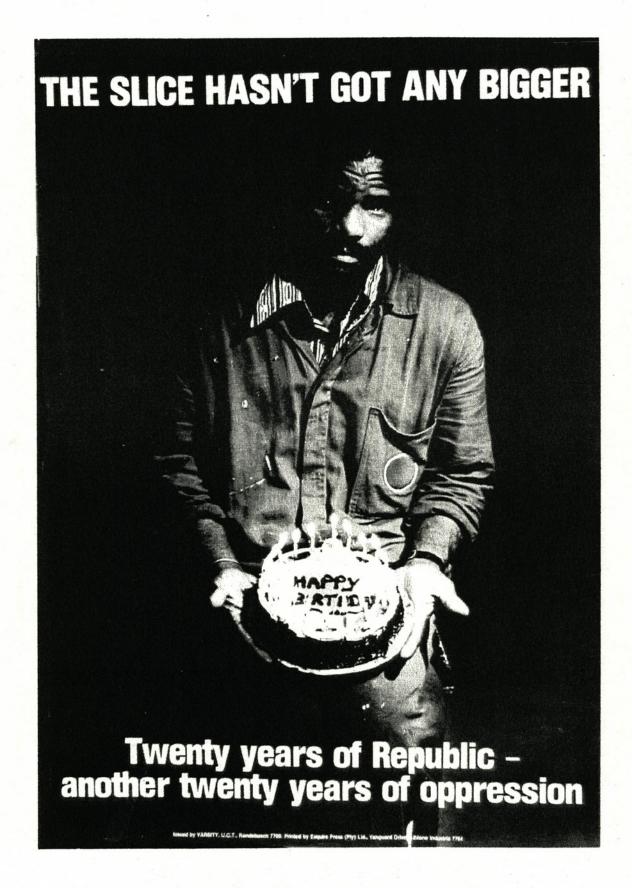
Metal and Allied Workers Union logo 1980 artist unknown

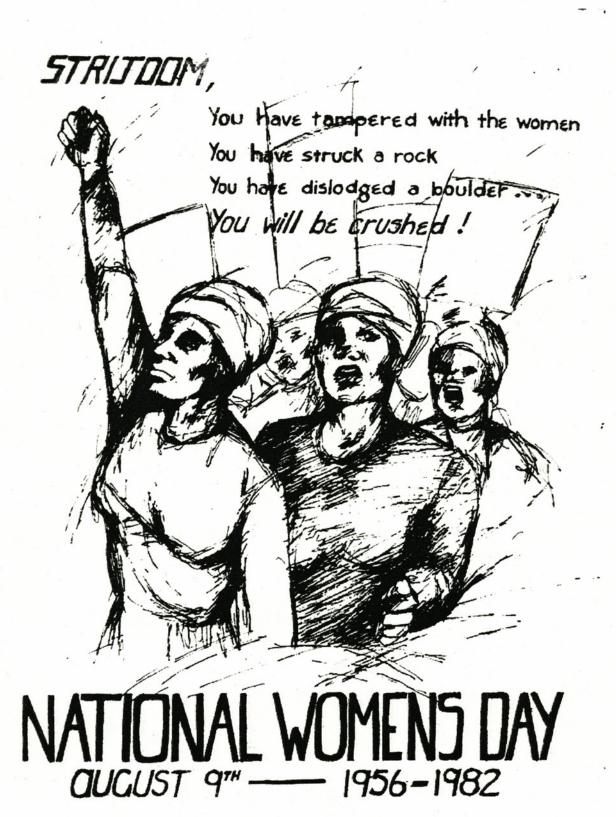


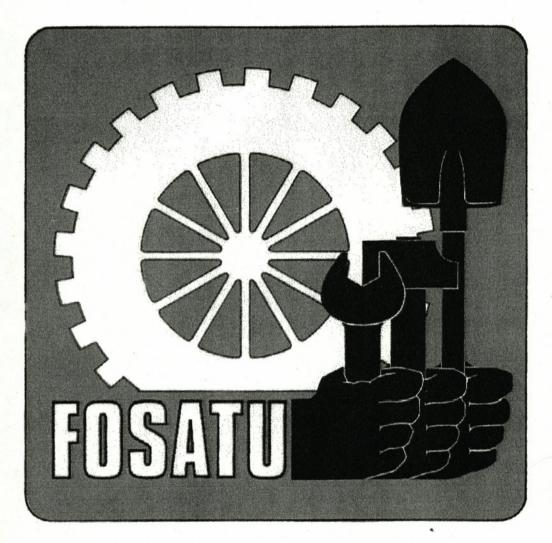
Colgate Strike design for pamphlet, 1981 design: Franco Frascura



Johannesburg Scooter Drivers Union logo formed 1982 design: Jonny Allexander







By the mid-1980s, there were over thirty emergent unions in South Africa. Some of these were organised into two federations: FOSATU (the Federation of South African Trade Unions) and CUSA (the Council of Unions of South Africa). In 1985, the federations and independent emergent unions began talks to form a single, united federation: COSATU.

FOSATU logo designed by Franco Frascura 1982

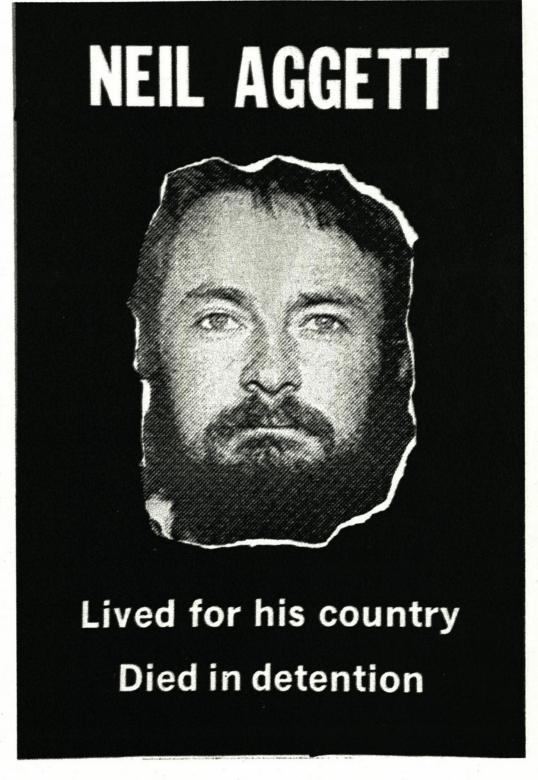
FOSATU stands for the Federation of South African Trade Unions, a fore-runner of COSATU. On 17 November, 1981, security police detained a number of officials from the emergent union movement: Emma Mashinini of the Commercial and Catering Workers Union, Dr Neil Aggett of the Food and Canning Workers Union, Dr. Liz Floyd, Sami Kikine, Thomazile Gqwetra and Sisja Njikelane of SAAWU, Alan Fine of the Hotel and Liquor Workers Union, Auret van Heerden and Barbara Hogan, both Student activists.

Neil Aggett died in John Vorster Square police station on Feb. 5, 1982, 70 days after his detention. Police claimed he was found hanging - the 51st person to die in security police detention since 1963.

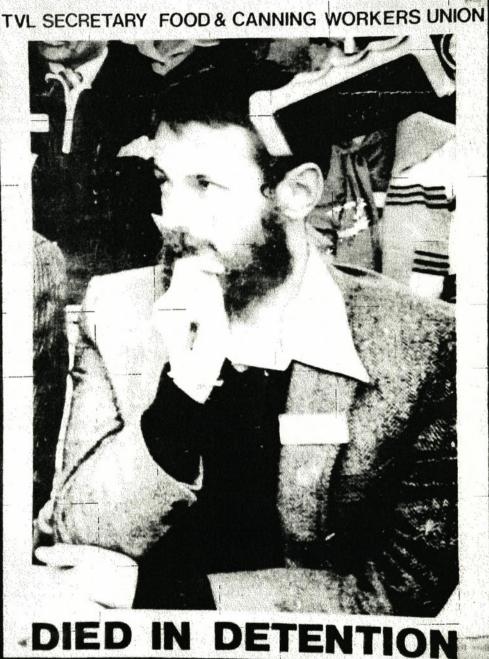
Only Barbara Hogan was charged, and sentenced to ten years for treason, for connecting emergent unions with the ANC.

By late 1983, all of the others were released without charges. Four required physical or psychiatric medical treatment upon release.

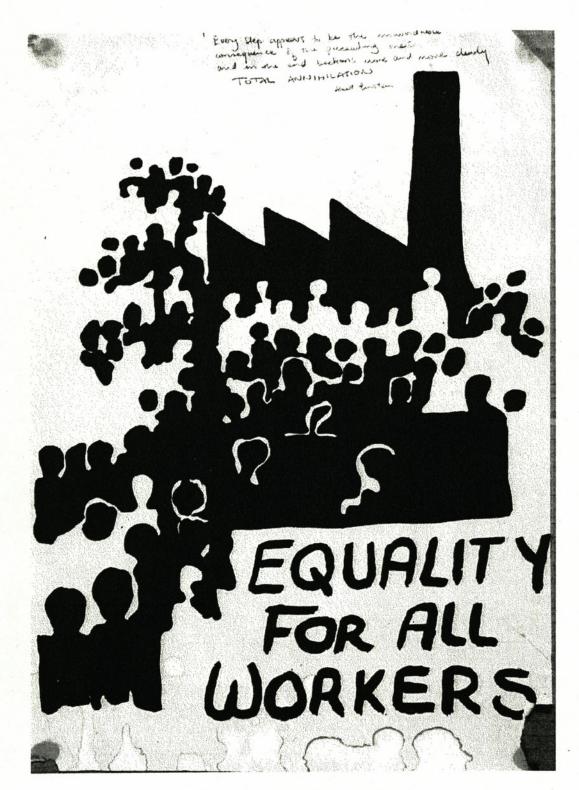
Neil Aggett: Lived for his country, Died in detention Artist unknown (check) Litho; used on funeral 1982



NEIL AGGETT



Neil Aggett TVL secretary Food and Canning Workers Union artist unknown litho Johannesburg 1982



South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) first Annual General Meeting design M. Smithers based on French 1968 poster silkscreen STP 1984





Medu 1978- 1985

"It was in Medu Art Ensemble where the role of an artist concretised itself: the role of an artist is to learn; the role of an artist is to teach others; the role of an artist is to ceaselessly search for the ways and means of achieving freedom. Art cannot overthrow a government, but it can inspire change. In Medu Art Ensemble we explore the possibilities of our artforms in the context of our time, place and events. Secondly, we would like always to be able to do things out of need so that we can be clear as to our account of them. Therefore it was in Medu that the artist does things, consciously . . . the whole little ensemble is a workshop, a classroom, a jungle through which the people must carve out a home. Thirdly, as the artist is involved with methods and materials, he is involved with himself or herself. We relearn to live again with one another. It is the culture we mean to help create." -Thami, Autobio, p.6

In 1977, a group of South African cultural workers recently forced into exile in Botswana came together to form the Pelendaba Cultural Effort; a year later they took the name Medu Art Ensemble. Membership ranged from 15 to 50, depending upon factors such as the leniency of the Botswana government towards SA refugees whose only claim to employment was their "art", and a Medu decision in 1979 to admit white members. By 1979 key participants in Medu included: artist Thami Mnyele, writers Wally Serote, Mandla Langa, Bechana Mokwena, photographer Tim Williams and trombonist Jonas Gwangwa. Medu created units to deal with graphics, writing, music, theatre, photography, film, and a unit for research and production.

Medu means "roots" in SiPedi. Jokingly, it was sometimes explained as "Media, Education and Development Unit", with its function as "Staffrider in Exile".

Medu members hammered out its principles in collective meetings, personal discussions, and through the process of producing art. It picked up on the artistic ideas and approaches developed in the political upheavals of the 1970s:

"In Medu we do not deal with principles but needs. We make posters to help popularise those events the people hold dear. We make postcards, calendars and we also organise gatherings to help explain the content of some dates of commemoration . . .Most of our visuals are done by both the artists and members of the community we live in, and are done with simple but clear style and methods. The intention is to avail the skills to more people so that they can use them in their own communities. Secondly our intention is to communicate as immediately as possible and with more people all the time. "-Thami, Autobio. p.6

Thami Mnyele also spelt out the importance of Medu's African roots:

"We in the Medu Art Ensemble believe that the existence of
'Art for Art's sake' was not there in our African traditional societies. We know songs and artwork which were created respectively for a particular event or action: eg. harvest song,
dancing mask, praise singing, etc. A musician would play his
instrument for inspiration or relaxation, just as he would harvest his crops when they were ripe or take up arms if his wellbeing was threatened. The point I make in this context is that
action should be undertaken because it is useful: if X is hungry then he must find food, not find prayer. The concept applies to art as well: what is its usefulness?"

"For me as craftsman, the act of creating art should complement the act of creating shelter for my family or liberating the country for my people. This is culture." - Thami, autobio. p.,7

Realism and Symbollism

Medu's imagery came, where possible, from real life around us: sketches of people and incidents and objects from life. This was particularly true in posters for music performances, which were based on sketches done in real life performances and rehearsals.

In the poetry book "The night keeps winking" Medu graphics unit artists each submitted sketches for illustrations. One of Thami Mnyele's submissions showed an armed guerrilla with a map of Southern Africa behind him. When a member suggested this was





Logo from the masthead of ANC publication Voice of Women, drawn by Thami Mnyele 1979



Back cover of the memorial service booklet on the death of Jenny and Katryn School, drawing Thami Mnyele June 1984.

ink, 1982 (CHECK DATE), from Wally Serote's poetry book "The Night Keeps Winking", published by Medu Art Ensemble, Gaborone

IllustrationThami Mnyele, pen and

fantasy, Thami said: "no, I sketched this at a briefing when I was in Angola." There was no further objection to using the picture.

Medu also recognised the importance of photography in images of struggle in Southern Africa; photographs became a foundation for creating new graphics.. Medu explored the use of photographs - as images in their own right, as symbols, within collages, and as inspiration for drawn images.

The "realism" debate also erupted over using the symbol of "woman with gun and baby". It was used several times by Medu artists. As the armed struggle progressed into the 1980s, various members argued that this might be symbolically satisfying as a statement on gender, but it was totally impractical. No sensible guerrilla would carry her baby into a firefight. Then an MK combatant told a Medu member this story: she placed her small baby under a bed when called upon to defend the MK residence she headed in Zambia. It was midwinter and the baby caught a cold. . . . Medu members decided to drop the image.

The problem with cliches

One seemingly unending debate cultural workers throughout Southern Africa engaged in could be entitled: the clenched fist – cliche or Art? In 1981, William Kentridge said in an interview in Staffrider:

"... the art of the clenched fist rings a bit hollow. The painters, who for fear of reducing the political import of their work, reduce their images to systematised diagrams of discontent (either torn trousers and hunched shoulders or fists – sentiment or bombast), create only scarecrows. We are fooled for a minute but after that we can ignore their work quite safely." (Staffrider, april 81, p. 47

Thami agreed:

" If you draw a fist because you think you must have a fist in revolutionary art, it becomes boring, a cliché. "He then added: "But if you draw a fist because you saw it in a demonstration, if it comes from your life, and each fist is new and real, then we are not talking about clichés." (Personal communication, 1982)

Thami's logo for the Culture and Resistance festival, touching hands sparking the flames of resistance, were drawn by him from his own hand touching the hand of another Medu member.

Medu posters deliberately repeated and developed liberation and ANC symbols: black green and gold, the ANC wheel, the words of songs ("You have touched a rock"). Medu marked "struggle days" – June 16, June 26, Dec 16, August 9 with posters and commemorative meetings. Slogans such as "The People shall Govern" promoted and reflected liberation doctrine.

The Southern African Influence

The strongest international influence upon Medu work came from

liberated Mozambique. Some earlier Medu posters took designs directly from Mozambican and SWAPO posters.

In 1982 Albie Sachs corresponded with Medu on the Murals of Mozambique – designed by Mozambican artists such as Malangatana and Craveirinha, involving collectives that included Chilean refugees who brought with them the South American tradition of mural-making.

Telling stories in graphics

In part in response to the Mozambiquan murals, and in part no doubt because of the strong literary presence in Medu (notably the participation of writers such as Wally Serote, Mandla Langa, Bachana Mokwena, Willie Kgotsistile), Medu graphics unit members explored design elements around portraying narrative and time on a two—dimensional surface:

"Particularly here we would like to emphasise the role of the narrative in the (Mozambique) murals. The visual arts encouraged by the Western World concentrate on taking instants of seeing out of time, snapshots with meaning only in terms of the artist's private way on interpreting colour or form. The murals that have begun to develop on the streets of Maputo on the contrary show us the image and the symbol as part of the process of the community's day to day activities. In the Hero's Circle mural, for instance, one event leads to another until victory, the establishment of people's power. Again, our culture has long acknowledged the indispensability of the story line as an effective vehicle. The narrative element manifests itself strongly in language and song. Therefore welcoming the narrative once more into the graphic arts opens many new possibilities." (Thami & me, p3 Images of a Revolution review.

Medu posters and graphics experimented with showing sequence,



directing the viewer's perception across the surface.

Collective production

Medu as a whole, and the Graphics Unit in particular tried to develop methods of producing works of art within a collective. Eurocentric visual arts were notorious for enforcing individualism and isolation, alienating the artist from the wider community. Although theatre, music and film demanded a collective approach by their very structures, collective approaches to the visual arts needed to be developed.

One approach was to discuss each symbol, image and slogan, and sometimes the impact of design and technique, with as wide a range of people as possible before putting marks on paper. This kind of collective would include anyone interested, whether they were by training visual artists or not. The idea was to ensure that images



Above: 25 de Junho de 1977 litho produced by the Mozambican Ministry Maputo 1977

Below: untitled drawing Thami Mnyele litho Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1984





Exhibition of Work by Judy Seidman Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone, Botswana 1984

Soviet Circus Artists Thami Mnyele Silkscreen ,Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1984

We Salute: Simon Mogerane, Jerry Mosololi, and Marcus Motaung Judy Sediman Litho (graphic for newsletter) Medu Art Ensemble 1983? check

captured what the community understood, experienced, and believed in. The results of this discussion would be given to one or several people to turn into a representation on paper. It would then be brought back to the collective for confirmation: does this really say, in visual images, what we talked about?

At other times, one of the unit would bring in a drawing or a photo, and the implications of the imagery would be debated.

Finally, the Medu Graphics Unit looked for methods of mass-production using materials and skills that would be readily available within community organisations and townships.

Silkscreening was widely accepted as relatively low-cost and simple technology. Relatively new techniques such as photostencils and water soluble knife-cut stencils made detail and precision feasible. Medu therefore explored ways to adopt the newer technologies to potential township conditions: where people might not have running water or electricity.

By 1984 the graphics unit proposed producing and distributing the "silkscreen workshop in a suitcase", consisting of a portable box with the necessary and appropriate equipment, that would enable organisations to make their own posters, even under illegal conditions. With the assistance of Dutch donors, a few pilot suitcases were equipped. However, with the destruction of Medu in 1985, they were never put into use.

Not all of Medu's posters directly related to the political struggle in South Africa. Many members were exiles. But Medu was located in Gaborone, Botswana, and the principle remained that art should serve the community and people where the artists live. To meet this principle, Medu musicians and theatre performed for the Gaborone community, Medu members taught the arts to Gaborone residents, and Medu units included Botswana and expatriate members. Indeed over the years from 1978 to 1985 Gaborone became a centre for the arts.

Working with the Botswana National Art Gallery and Museum, Medu volunteers ran art classes for children in Gaborone, both at the Museum and at the Trade Fair grounds (attracting from ten to fifty children, from seven to sixteen, mostly from Naledi, the informal settlement in Gaborone.)

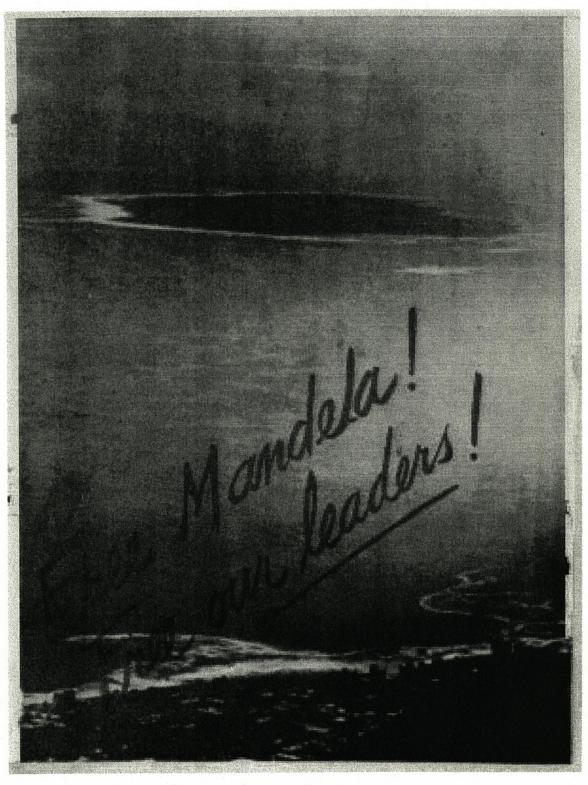
By arrangement with the prison's authorities for education, Medu members also taught art classes for long-term prisoners at the Gaborone prison; several of these students became full-time artists on their release.

In 1979, Thami Mnyele wrote:

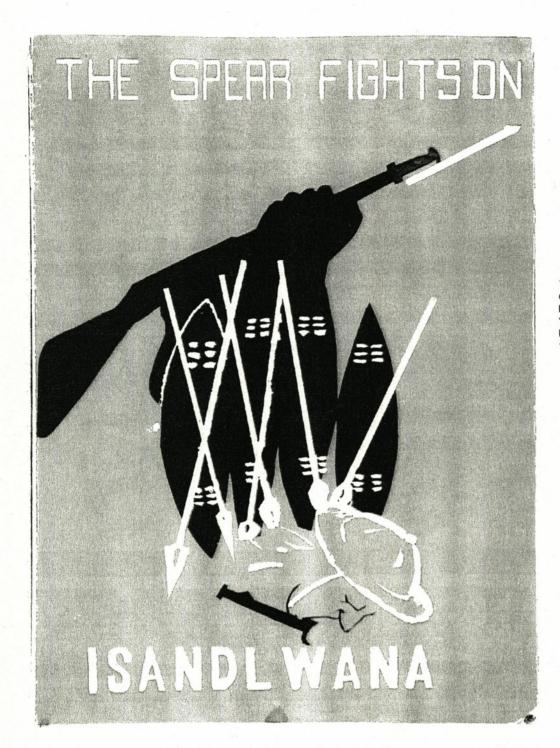
"I think my involvement with MEDU has inspired me a lot to the point of bafflement. In a situation like that in South Africa, artists operate as individuals and painters are exposed to very limited means of expression; like painting, sculpting and a few more. Poster art in South Africa, by blacks, has not been exploited yet.. Yet there is so much material, there is so much to work on in poster form. For instance, during the revolts of 76, there were few posters except scribbling something on walls and sheets of calico; and this is few numbers....One looks at poster work in Cuba or Poland, it is very developed, it is an art in itself and it serves a social purpose." -Mnyele, p40/41, Medu newsletter 2.1

By 1985, Medu had imprinted a new directiont on South Africa's peoples graphic representation.

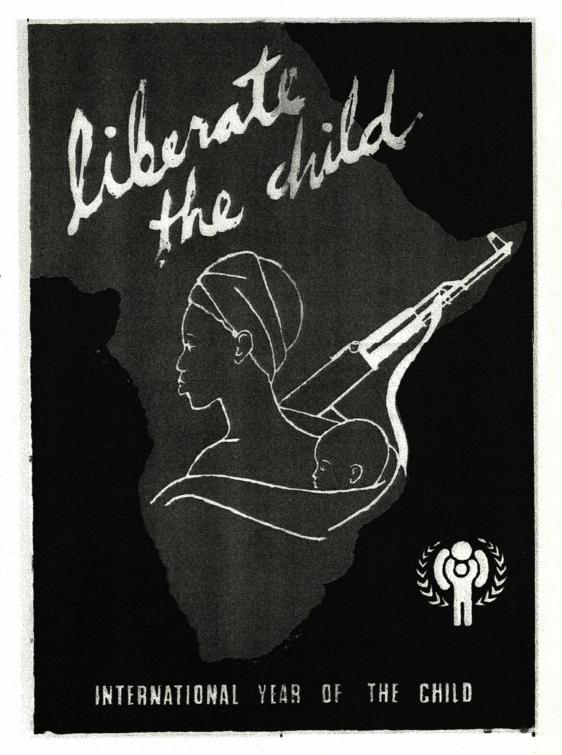




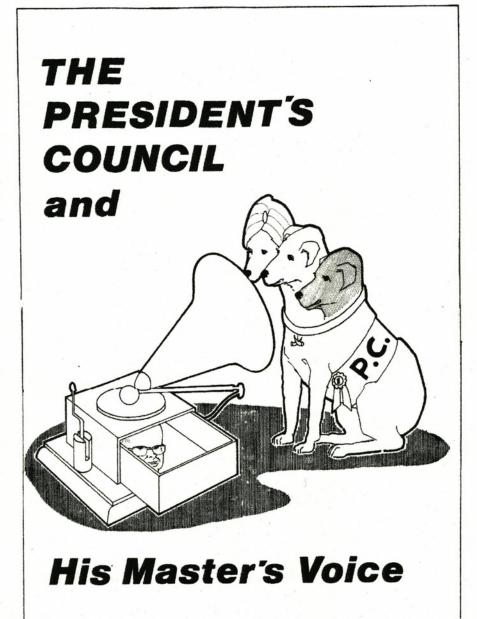
Free Mandela! Free our Leaders! Collective design Medu Art Ensemble litho print 1979



The Spear Fights On: Isandiwana Commemoration of Dec 16 (Hero's Day) 1979 ? check authors Medu Art Ensemble 1979



Liberate the Child Albio Gonzolas and Thami Mnyele/ Medu Art Ensemble silkscreen 1980

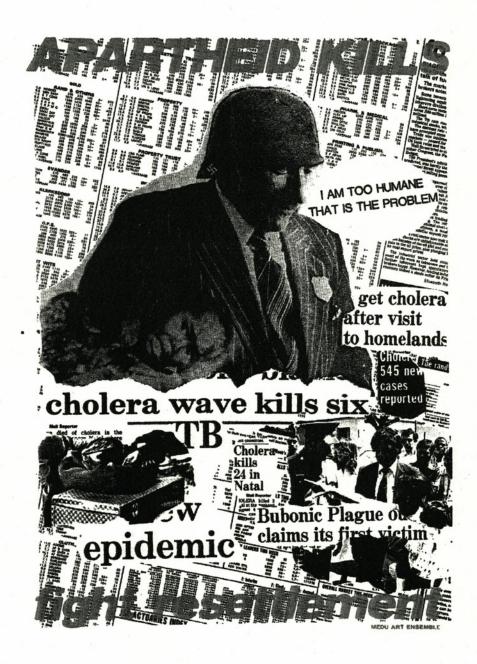


The Presidents Council and his Master's Voice Thami Mnyele and Albio Gonzolas Medu Art Ensemble litho print 1979

This poster reflected popular opinion of the role of the President's Council, which hand-picked leaders from the Indian, Coloured and African groups to advise the South African president- as an alternative to free and fair elections for all.

Apartheid Kills Fight resettlement

Medu Photography Unit and Medu Graphics Unit (Mike Kahn, Tim Williams, Thami Mnyele, Gordon Metz, Judy Seidman)
Collage newspaper and photograph;
litho print of black with red silkscreened over.





THE COURAGE OF THE YOUTH ENSURES OUR VICTORY

MEDU ART ENSEMBLE



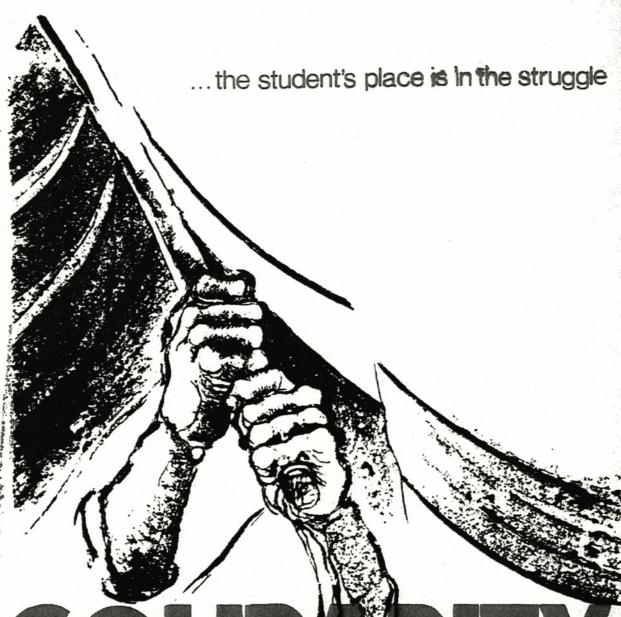
MEDU ART ENSEMBLE

above: The People Shall Govern Judy Seidman Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone Silkscreen 1981

Left: The Courage of Youth Ensures our Victory Albio Gonzalas Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone Silkscreen 1981

The People Shall govern was an ink drawing made into a nife cut stencil, based on a photograph by Eli Weinburg of the crowds outside the Kliptown 1956 meeting that adopted the Freedom Charter.

These were printed as part of Medu's campaign to popularise and commemorate days of importance to the liberation struggle (June 16 and June 26).

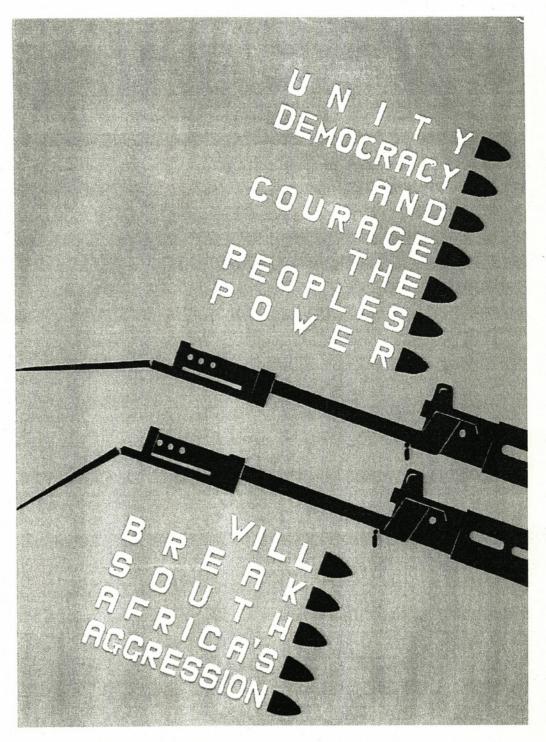


SOLDARITY

with the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia

Solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia Thami Mnyele Silkscreen Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1982

Unity, Democracy and Courage Albio Gonzolas and Thami Mnyele Medu Art Ensemble, Gaborone 1983





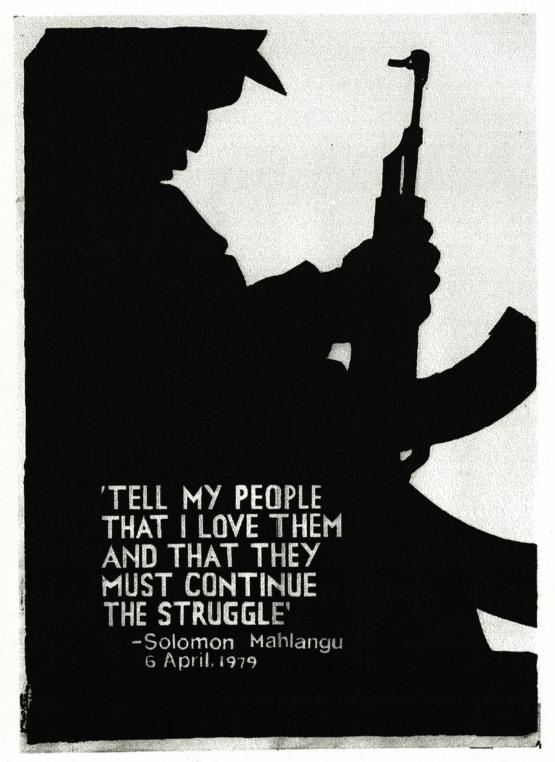
LONG LIVE BOTSWANA-MOZAMBIQUE FRIENDSHII

Seja bem vindo camarada machele Thami Mnyele Medu Art Ensemble silkscreen 1982 (?)

On the occaision of Machel's visit to Gaborone.



Organise, Unite for People's Power Thami Mnyele Medu Art Ensemble Silkscreen 1983



"Tell my people that I love them ...
J. Seidman
Silkscreen
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone
1982

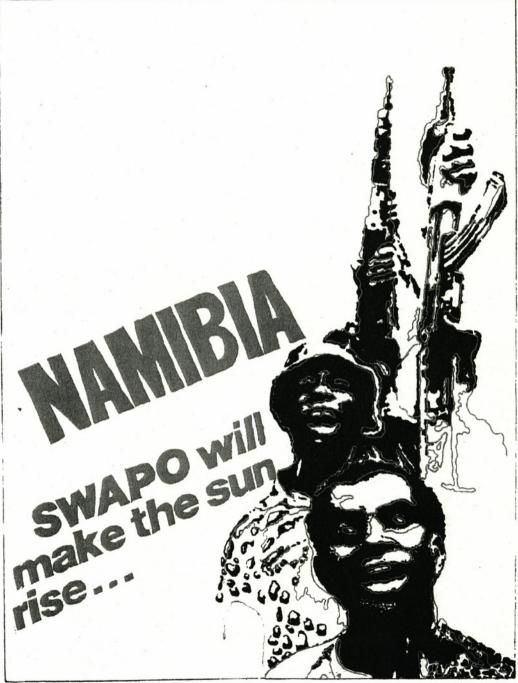
Commemoration for Solomon Mahlangu, executed by the SA government for MK activities in 1979.

Medu's name does not appear on this poster, as Medu had to publicly comply with the neutral position of Botswana towards the armed struggle.

Morris Smithers with other ANC supporters pasted this poster up in Johannesburg, and on the pilings under Harrow Road. It was ripped down by the police quite rapidly.

Namibia: Swapo will make the sun rise Thami Mnyele silkscreen Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1982

A later print was made changing the slogan, after a complaint that it "sounded too much like an advertising for soap powder".



meau art ensemble



NOW YOU HAVE TOUCHED THE WOMEN YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK YOU HAVE DISLODGED A BOULDER, YOU WILL BE CRUSHED, 9 AUGUST SA WOMEN'S DAY



In the original discussions, there was an intense debate about whether the woman's hand should be smaller; the collective decision was that the larger hand in a clenched fist indicated women's strength.

This design was later adopted by the Federation of South African Women when it was relaunched inside South Africa in 1984 (check date), and has been Above: SADCC Judy Seidman Silkscreen Medu Gaborone 1983 (check date)

Poster designed for the first SADCC meeting, held in Gaborone, to show Medu's support for political co-operation between front-line states.



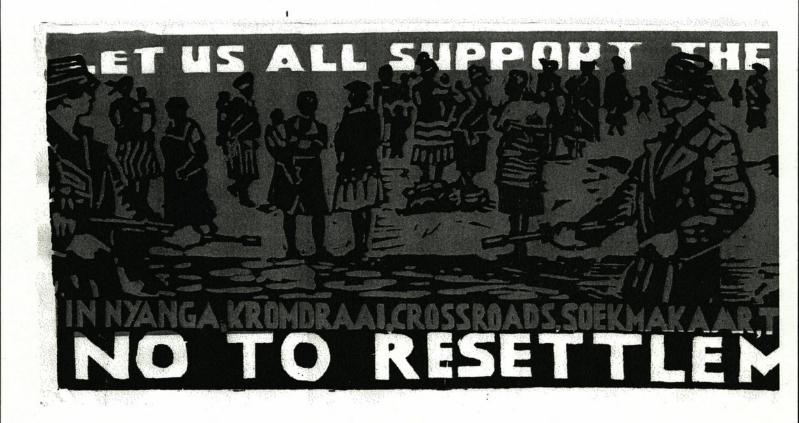
June 26: SA Freedom Day Judy Seifman silkscreen as oiled-out, then drawn into photocopy of photo of Kliptown 1956 Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1983 South African Medu Artists also contributed to the Botswana community, showing their solidarity for progressive struggles in all of Southern Africa.

Above:
Solidarity Day
Thami Mnyele
Silkscreen
published for the University
College of Botswana Propaganda and Information committee
Gaborone,
1982

Below:
Mosadi ke taris ya sechaba
(seTswana for "the woman ties
the nation on her back")
J. Seidman
offset litho
poster and logo designed for
the Botswana woman's movement
1983

the propagation committee information sents: and information appresents: and the U.C.B presents: and t







MEDU ART ENSEMBLE

Above:
Let us all support the fight!
No to resettlement!
drawing based upon print of
woodcut by Mpikayipheli (NEEDS
CHECK) from Star newspaper,
which was photocopied, enlarged
and simplified; colours, words and
design by Thami Mnyele and J.
Seidman, silkscreen
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone
1982

Right:
Post • Sunday Post....
Judy Seidman
litho print
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone
1982

The newpapers and journalists cited were banned by the apartheid state.

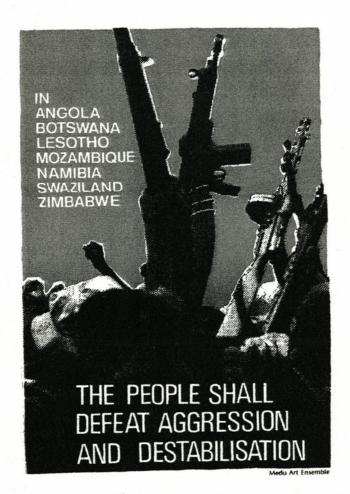




let us arm ourselves with the fearlessness of Shaka; the vision and endurance of Moshoeshoe; the dedication and farsightedness of Sol Plaatjie; the military initiative and guerilla tactics of Magoma..."

DECEMBER 16 HEROES-DAY

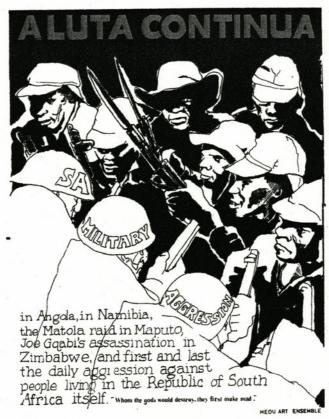
South Africa



Opposite page:
December 16, Heroes Day, drawn
by Thami Mnyele, from photograph
from Mozambique
litho drawing and silkscreened print
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone
Botswna
1982

Above The People Shall Defeat Aggression and Destabilisation, designed J. Seidman and T. Mnyele, from photo of FAPLA, litho Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1983

A luta Continua . . . drawing by J. Seidman, litho with silkscreened red words Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1981





The Gaborone Culture and Resistance Festival

"As politics must teach people the ways and give them the means to take control over their own lives, art must teach people, in the most vivid and imaginative ways possible, how to take control over their own experience and observations, how to link these with the struggle for liberation and a just society free of race, class and exploitation." —DIKOBE, Cult and Resistance Symp unpub p.3

In July 1982 Medu hosted a conference and arts festival in Gaborone, Botswana. About 5000 people attended: writers, musicians, visual artists, photographers, dancers, actors. Thami Mnyele chaired the conference; Dikobe WaMogale Martins was National Organiser in South Africa.

"The theme of the Exhibition is Art towards Social Development", and it reflects the constant battle among cultural workers to find a place for themselves in society which is not merely that of light entertainers but one of making an important contribution to the development of society. . . . "

"In South Africa, a number of cultural groups and organisations, including Raven Press, FUBA, CAP and Open School co-operated to set up steering committees to collect together cultural workers to enable them to contribute their work: paintings, graphics, sculptures, photographs, films, plays, poems and music to these events

"... it is hoped that this exposure, experience and effort will lead to greater co-operation and collective work among cultural workers in South Africa in the years ahead, with the aim of heightening the level of culture

in South Africa and to encourage cultural workers to be part and parcel of the communities from which they come."

 Background information to the exhibition, symposium and Festival of South African arts,

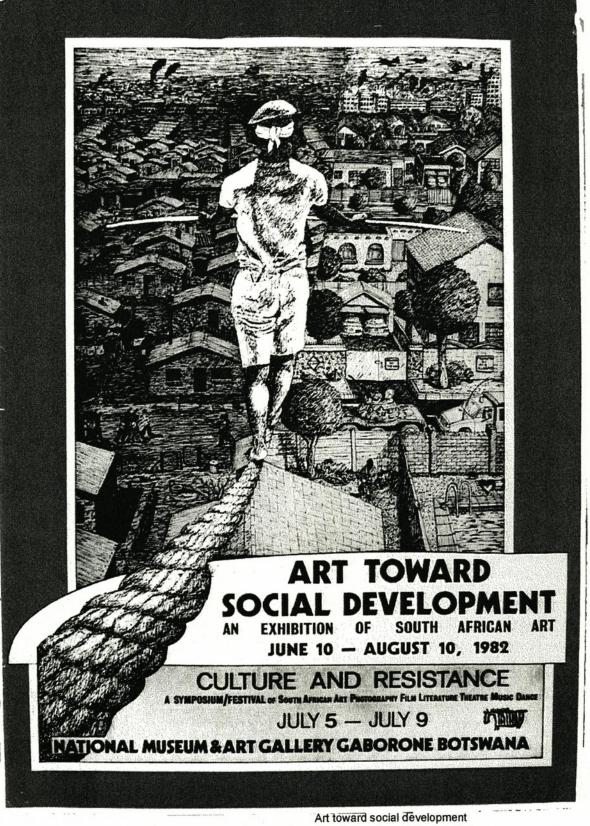
The ideology of the conference came out strongly:

"... I cannot begin to argue the art for art's sake argument in a situation where children are being shot and killed for protesting at injustice. Any South African artist who dares to uphold this argument as relevant for South African culture, only demonstrates his utter disrespect for our dead, and a certain shallowness in the understanding of our culture. The South African situation demands an interest in an art that presents an imaginative vision of life rather than one which argues aesthetic strategy." – jantjies, 8.

The festival further reaffirmed the continuity between those in exile and cultural practitioners inside South Africa. This surpassed itself on the first night, when busses from Cape Town, after twenty hours on the road and waiting at the border, arrived to the Gaborone university hall and a stage where KingForce Siljee jammed with Jonas Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela and many others.

The conference also reinforced the call for a cultural boycott of apartheid. The international art world should support and promote the South African expression of resistance, which was repressed within South Africa's own borders. But the ruling South African elite should gain no comfort from inviting international entertainers to show pieces in Sun City while South Africa's majority suffered.

"We all got together then – it pulled us together – it was like we were told "yes, carry on with what you're doing"... – Kevin Humphries



Art toward social development
Thami Mnyele and Gordon Metz
Offset litho
Botswana National Museum and Art Gallery
Gaborone, 1982



Don't Entertain Apartheid — support the Cultural Boycott! poster workshoped by Medu , drawn by Judy Seidman, silkscreen, Medu Art Ensemble, Gaborone 1982.

The Culture and Resistance Conference promoted the concept of a cultural boycott:

QUOTE

Opposite:
Dr Neil Aggett: Unite, mobilise,
avenge his death.
J. Seidman
silkscreen
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone 1982.

R. NEIL AGGETT VL. SECRETARY, FCWU, AFCWU

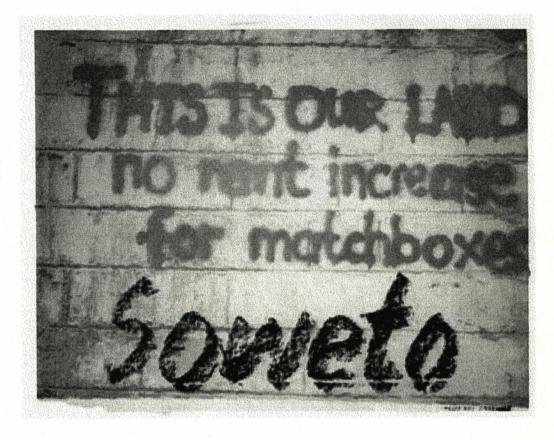


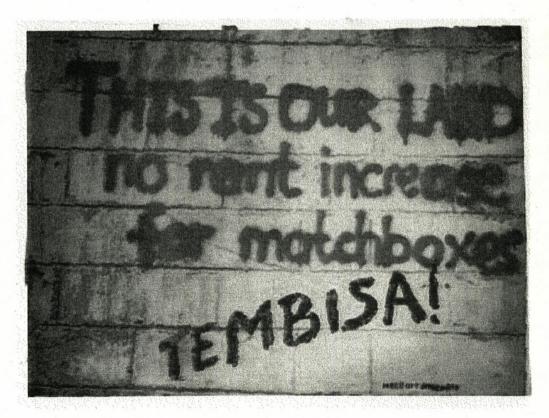
No Rent Increase for Matchboxes: Soweto
Medu Collective
litho background, silkscreened
name of town
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone
1984

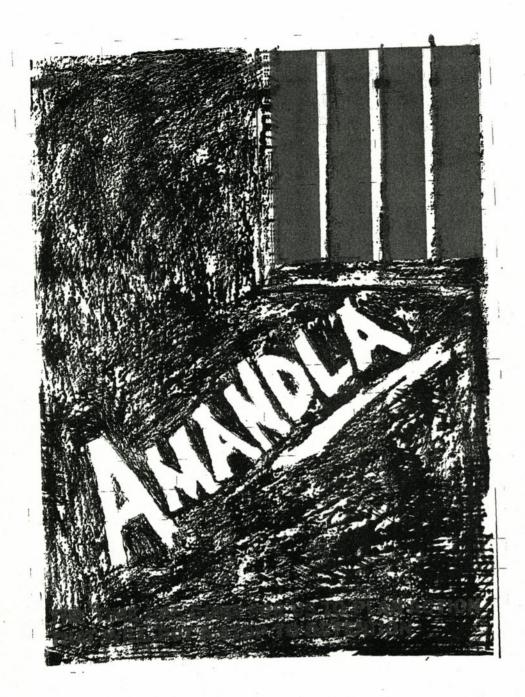
No Rent Increase for Matchboxes: Tembisa
Medu Collective
litho background, silkscreened
name of town
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone
1984

In 1984, there were a series of uprisings in townships following the attempts by Black Local Authorities to impose rent and rates increases on people living in government housing ("matchboxes") - most of the township populations.

This poster was determined by a Medu meeting representing all Medu participants (writers, actors, musicians as well as visual artists and photographers); which agreed on the slogan and graphitti style; as well as on creating a basic slogan where the name of each township could be added depending upon which area exploded.







Amandla: designed by collective, created by G. Metz and T. Mnyele. silkscreened Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone. 1983

Welcome Home Dorothy Thami Mnyele silkscreened Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1984.

Designed by Mnyele to commemorate the release of Dorothy Nyembe after xxx years in prison; she had been the longest serving woman MK prisoner.

FORWARD TO



UMITUANO (OMITA)

Among the changeds of pointing presurers and decement propriet in South African july since

by ordy with the mon, have been struggling squiner the influence openities organic Disnessly Nyambe.

handed down to a woman (15 years) may well approximate them all Mary has been a life of declarate

We salate her in the year of her release - 1984.

preturi epesdi graphics/Hedicarts

Forward to Unity and Committment Thami Mnyele and Tim Williams Medu Art Ensemble Litho 1984

Welcome Home Dorothy Thami Mnyele Silkscreen Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1984

Postor by Mods Art Essemble

May.

JONAS GWANGWA & SHAKAWE with DENNIS MPALE

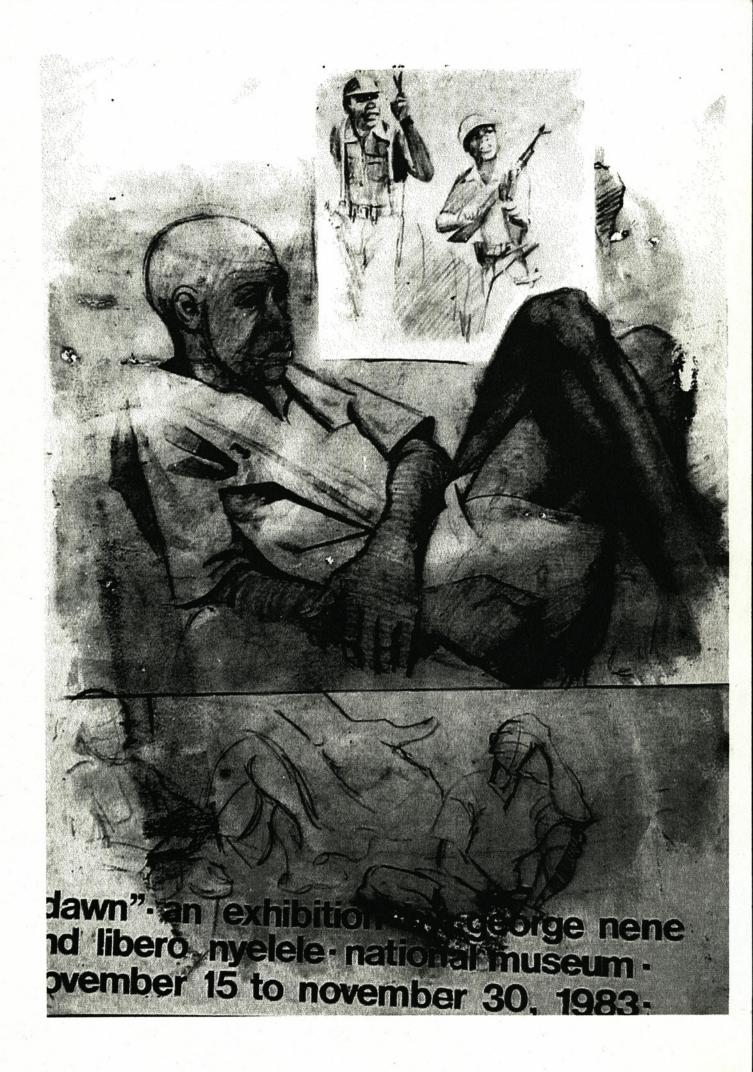


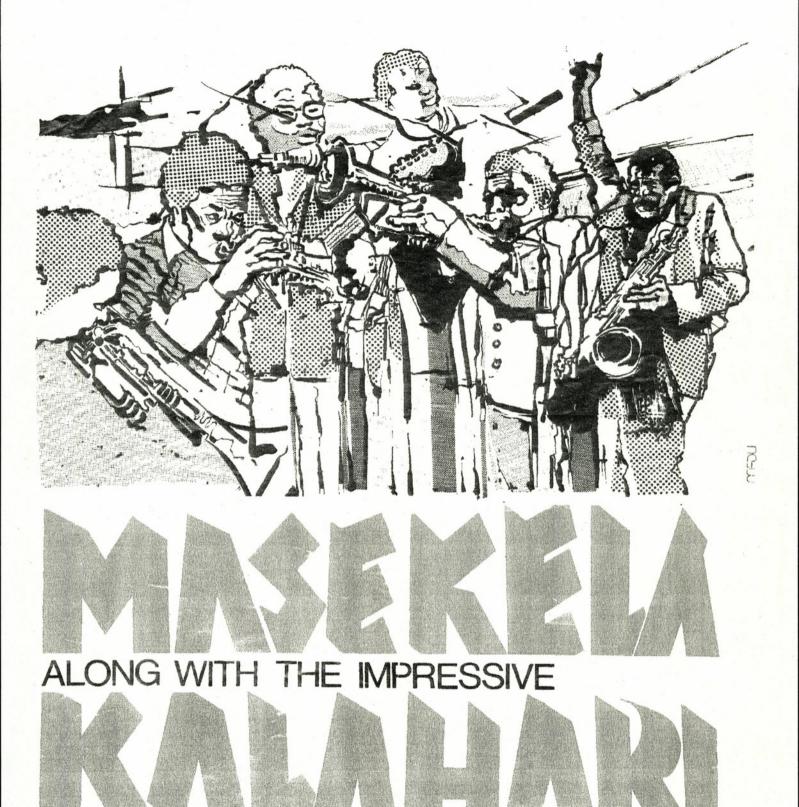
"George Nene was born in Bulawayo in 1954. He attended school in Bulawayo until Form 2. He recieved art lessons at the Mzilikazi Art Centre. He then left Bulaway to join the Anti-Facist Forces (ZAPU - ed.). . . . While fighting as a guerilla in the western part of Zimbabwe, his group was ambushed by the Rhodesian Security Forces. All his comrades were killed, but he managed to survive and cross into Botswana with his AK47. To enable him to rejoin the ZIPRA forces in Zambia and contiue the struggle against the racist regime, he robbed three shops at gun-point. He was arrestedby the Botswana authorities and is presently serving a ten year sentence at the High Security Prison in Gaborone." - SA Gonzales, Medu newsletter 1984

George Nene completed
Cambridge O and A level degrees
in art while in prison. He was
released having served his
sentence in 1987; then went to
Sweden to complete a university
level art programme. He returned
to Zimbabwe to become head of
the Mzilikazi Art School in
Bulawayo; and remains a leading
artist in Zimbabwe today.

Above: Jonas Gwangwa and Shakawe with Dennis Mpale Judy Seidman silkscreen Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1984 "Opposite:
Dawn", an exhibition of George
Nene and Libero Nyalala,
designed J. Seidman and T.
Mnyele from drawings by Nene
silkscreen
Medu Art Ensemble
1983.

Shakawe was a band organised by the Medu Music Unit; sketches for this poster were done in rehersals.



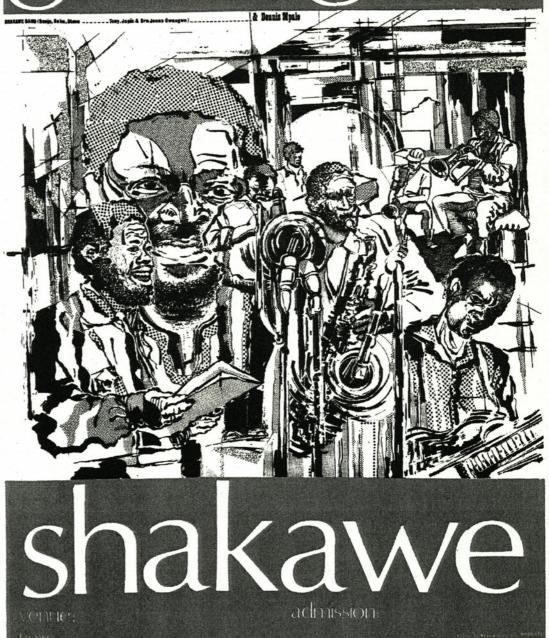


gwangwa

Above: Detail from: Masakela and Kalahari Thami Mnyele Lithograph Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1984

Opposite:
Jonas Gwangwa and Shakawe,
Thami Mnyele,
litho
Medu Art Ensemble
Gaborone,
1984

Sketches used in the drawing of these posters were made from real life performances during the Gaborone Culture and Resistance festival in 1982; including musicians such as Hugh Masekela, Kingforce Silgee, Jonas Gwangwa (in Masekela and Kalahari); and poet Willie Kgotsesile and Jonas Gwangwa (trombone behind) in shakawe.







Thamsanqa kaMnyele (Thami Mnyele)

Thami Mnyele was born in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg, the third of five children, on 10 December 1948. His father was a minister of religion, his mother a domestic workers. In the sixties, his father and mother separated; as his mother worked as a domestic worker in the white suburbs, Thami lived with his brother and later his uncle. Thami was nine during the Alexander bus boycott, and twelve at the time of Sharpeville.

By the late sixties, he moved with the youth in SASO. His mother sent him to a boarding school in Pretoria; there were no art classes, but there were pens, pencils and paper. He began to draw when he was fourteen. In his last year of matric his mother could not afford school fees, and he dropped out.

In 1971, he joined Mhloti Black Theatre. "From time immemorial", he wrote years later, "Black talent in South Africa was white-produced, white-directed, and even white-owned! The result was a misrepresentation in the arts of what Black life and Black theatre was all about. Its aspirations, desires and wishes... everything that was negative was Black. On top of the above humiliations, the Black man was shamelessly and

shamefully exploited. Mhloti Black Theatre emerged because of and as a result of this muck. To fight and to begin the eradication of it for all eternity."

By 1972, Thami decided his personal direction lay in the visual arts: he secured a grant to the ELC Art Centre in Rorkes Drift, Natal, where he received one year only of formal art training. After a year he had to leave: as the family breadwinner, he had to be employed in Alexandra if his mother was to keep her house there. Thami got a job as an illustrator for SACHED Trust, where he worked for the next seven years.

In 1976, he held an exhibition of his art work, with Ben Arnold and Fikile, in the Dube YWCA, a community hall in Soweto.

Then, in late 1979, Thami was forced into exile in Botswana. In Gaborone, some fourteen kilometres from the South African border, he became a leading figure within Medu Art Ensemble.

But Thami also rejected any separation between his art and the demands of South African resistance. He quoted Sekou Toure: "To take part in the African revolution, it is not enough to write revolutionary songs; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves and of themselves." Thami took this argument further: "Our work hasn't yet developed above the mere stage of protest: we're still moaning and pleading. And even that we do with inferior craftsmanship and insincerity. We must partake actively in the struggle to paint sincerely."

In the years in Botswana, Thami made and exhibited graphics, drawings, and fine arts, and organised cultural workers through Medu Arts Ensemble. In those years he also participated fully in Mkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

On June 14, 1985, he was shot dead outside his Gaborone home in a cross-border raid by the SADF.

The originals of this drawing, and the drawing on the following page, are believed to have been taken by the SADF in the raid in which Thami Mnyele died.

Thami Mnyele, untitled, pen and ink drawing reproduced on litho 1985 Gaborone Botswana





Thami Mnyele, untitled, pen and ink drawing reproduced on litho 1985 Gaborone Botswana



A woman's place is in the struggle Judy Seidman silkscreen (pencil drawing oiled out to make stencil) Medu 1984

JENNY AND KATRYN



MOURN: FIGHT

Jenny and Katryn: Don't Mourn: Fight Graphics done for memorial service held in Gaborone Thami Mnyele and J. Seidman Photograph and pencil drawing Medu Art Ensemble Gaborone 1984

Jenny Curtis-Schoon and her six year old daughter Katryn were killed by a parcel bomb sent to their home in Angola in 1984.

Marius and Jenny Schoon had lived in exile in Botswana from 1979 to 1983; Marius was a member of the Medu Writers' Unit.

At the time of writing, South African "super-spy" Craig Williamson is awaiting a decision by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on whether he should be given amnesty for their assassination.

After Culture and Resistance

After the Culture and Resistance festival, Gaborone and Medu were seen as a centre for South African arts. Musicians such as Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa lived there; South African bands from Bayete to Sakhile would make the trip to play with them. Thami Mnyele went as a spokesperson to conferences in Amsterdam, and the exhibition from Art for Social Development toured the world as representative of South Africa's liberation art.

But Medu itself came under increasing pressure by the apartheid state. Posters were banned on publication. People who travelled from South Africa to visit Medu were questioned and searched.

Within South Africa, more and more artists took up the call from the conference for "Culture as a weapon of struggle".

The UDF was formed, and resistance turned violent with riots against the tri-cameral parliament, and rent increases for township homes. Medu members had to ask themselves, can we still play the same role in relation to South African art?

Also, the pressures of the liberation war increased in all the front-line states. On — the SADF entered Lesotho and killed 42 people, as refugees and ANC workers. In April 1984, an ANC activist was killed in a car bomb in Gaborone. An attempt in Botswana on the life of Marius Schoon, who was in the Medu writers group, failed; but the Schoons were forced to leave Gaborone. Then on June 28 his wife Jenny and six year old daughter Katryn died in a parcel bomb in Angola.

In February 1985, Thami Mnyele wrote of culture in South Africa:

"Today walls are funously burning, blown up. Our people are cleansing themselves of the culture of silence, wherein to exist is only to live. Thinking is difficult, speaking the word forbidden. But we can look forward. Tomorrow, when our people rebuild those walls, our understanding, our history, our victory will be part of that reconstruction. When national liberation frees the



Security policeman Major Crisig Williamson displays what he described as ANC prepagands retrieved from houses and offices attacked by South African commandes in Gaberone last Friday. The documents and posters were displayed at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

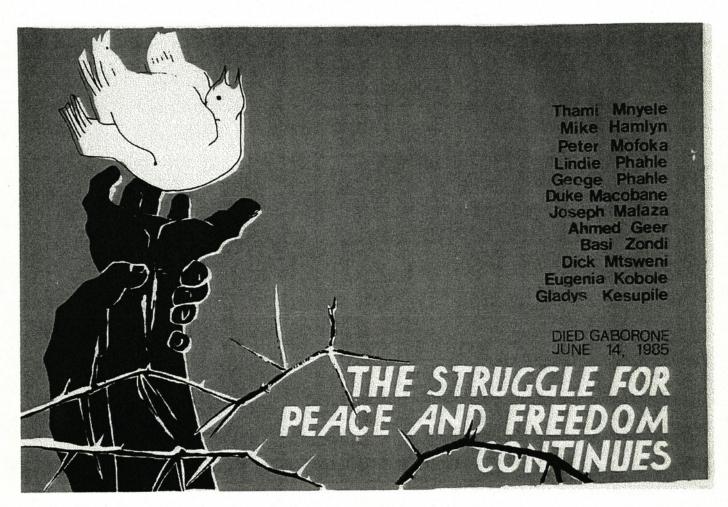
Security policeman Craig Williamson displays the contents of Thami Mnyele's portfolio after the SADF raid on June 14, 1985; the police have to date (1999) denied that they have the artworks that were in the portfolio in their possession.

The picture Williamson is holding up is the cover design Thami was doing for an Amandla record at the time of his death; the long picture on the desk is a colour version (in pastel) of the graphic on p. xxx of this book. The portfolio was believed to contain all of Thami's latest artwork, as he was due to leave Botswana permanently to move to Zambia the day after he died. His wife had left the country a few days before.

Photo clipped from Rand Daily Mail, June 1985.

people from the morass of oppression and ignorance, it also frees art. There can be no greater promise for any culture."- Thami and me, Images p. 5

At 1 am on June 14, 1985, SADF troops attacked SA exiles living in Gaborone, mostly targeting Medu members. They killed twelve people: one of the dead was graphic artist Thami Mnyele. Medu Art Ensemble ceased to exist.



The Struggle for Peace and Freedom Continues Judy Seidman Silkscreen Gaborone June 1985

Poster made for the joint funeral of victems of the SADF raid on Gaborone, June 14, 1985.

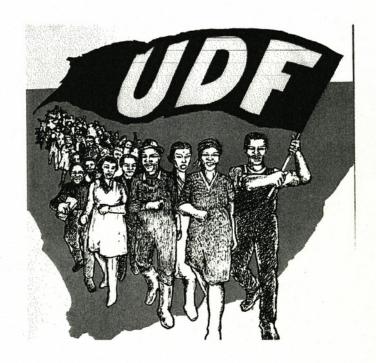
Botswana officials forbid Medu from commercially printing a poster for the funeral, as it might be viewed by the apartheid government as provocative.

However, a bus-load of mourners to the funeral from Johannesburg wore t-shirts made at STP in Johannesburg with Thami Mnyele's portrait.



FOR ME AS A CRAFTSMAN, THE ACT OF CREATING ART SHOULD COMPLIMENT THE ACT OF CREATING 'SHELTER FOR MY FAMILY OR LIBERATING THE COUNTRY FOR MY PEOPLE. THIS IS CULTURE."

Thami Mnyele Judy Seidman silkscreen Gaborone June 1985



Building Community Voice

The early 1980s saw the growth of mass-based, democratic community groups, demanding improved living conditions and human rights for all of South Africa's people. These groups made contacts between themselves, and with the outlawed liberation movements. In August 1984, over 475 of these organisations from across the country came together in Cape Town to form the United Democratic Front. This heralded a new stage of mass struggle.

The impact on the burgening poster movement was dramatic. All of these organisations needed organised media structures to put forward their points of view, to mobilise their members and their communities. This need fed into the enthusiasm nurtured in the Medu Festival in Gaborone, 1982. People in the mass movement embraced the slogan that "Culture is a Weapon of Struggle"; and some began to establish ways to use that weapon in posters, banners, and graphics. In different parts of the country, activists and artists began to create structures which could give visual expression to the people's demands.

Community Arts Project

"A decision was taken by the Western Cape organisers that CAP should serve as a springboard for cultural events.' This proved to be a turning point for CAP. The role of the artist was discussed in depth at the festival, and CAP began to redefine itself in terms of its direction as a training and service centre to all cultural workers..." (fnote: CAP IS 10, flyer fr 1988 giving a history and the then programmes run by cap, TDV dissertation appendix)

Artists returned from the Culture and Resistance Festival to South Africa, with a mandate to "take it back home"; to create an art that spoke to and of a people in struggle. John Berndt and Lionel Davis said they came back with a specific directive: to establish a postermaking unit within CAP, to serve the community organisations within the mass movement; and to revitalise the photographic unit.

The CAP Production Unit was formed from artists working with CAP (Patricia De Villiers, Gabby Chimonais, Lional Davis, John Berndt) to provide support for grassroots community organisations. It made its services available to organisations like CAYCO, UWO, and the

emerging trade unions – the many small bodies that represent the black community, and would eventually form the United Democratic Front . CAP itself moved from Mowbray to Community House in Salt Rivier, to be closer to community organisations.

There was some tension between the new CAP silk-screening project and the existing CAP arts education project. With the developments of the 1980s that led to the UDF, power shifted within CAP, between those who saw their objective as training people within the community in arts skills, and people who wished to align CAP to the Mass Democratic Movement.

Trish de Villiers recalls:

"As people who started out as artists (in CAP), we gave more emphasis to developing people as artists – we banged our heads against walls because we emphasised training – not only artistically competent and literate, but also technically competent. The emphasis was on the handmade image and the process of generalising their own images; to draw pictures and translate them into images."

The Production Unit took a populist, equalitarian attitude towards image-making: "you didn't have to be an artist to make an image, make a poster".

At first, the silkscreen project did not see itself as making artistic posters; the primary focus was political. "We (the artists) designed for others – but nobody was learning; so we changed to teaching", commented Lionel Davis. From 1985 CAP ran workshops to train community organisations to do their own posters and t-shirts, and to develop their own imagery. People who came on courses to make posters were often quite separate from those taking arts courses at CAP

Most activists who attended the workshops on behalf of organisations had little visual vocabulary for struggle; the workshops focussed on developing this vocabulary. Some people working on posters felt that the "language of struggle" was adhered to "somewhat slavishly" – barbed wire, police vehicles, clenched fists. On the other hand people who came in and wanted to be artists felt forced to use this language. Drawings and photographs would be put together

with the more standard symbols from international socialist and revolutionary movements: symbols, banners and flags, even design from other revolutions. Activists who saw themselves as political quickly adopted this language

"After a while some people got gatvol of fist/flag/banner; of the wake-up call and people marching and bearing arms", recalls Trish de Villiers.

This political stance where political image meant an instantly recognisable symbol or photograph did not mean a total ignorance of drawing, style and design.

Posters designed for theatre (mostly for drama school UCT) provided opportunities to explore the "artistic" side. Students working in the CAP arts education projects began to reflect these images of struggle in their drawings and paintings and "art" prints. Some, like Billy Mandandi and Cameron Vuyaye, went on to study at Machaelis.

Photographs as iconography

Participants in poster workshops were encouraged to use photographs. Photos were held to be "safer" and more realistic. For the most part, however, these were not photos that participants took themselves.

Reworked version of photo of Hector Peterson, used in a poster for a June 16 prayer meeting,

Some photographs came from immediate conflicts: one poster commemorates the deaths in Craddock using a photograph of an unidentified dead body shot on the street (not directly related to the Craddock killings). A photo of church dignitaries marching is used to announce a church protest meeting.

Other photos have been used and reused until they reached the level of an icon or a symbol. The most well known of these is the 1976 photograph of Hecter Peterson carried by a friend. It came to symbolise June 16 – Trish de Villiars commented that even youths who had been five or six in 1976 would insist on using that picture for the commemoration.

"... Take as an example the picture of Hector Petersen being carried through Soweto by his friends on June 16th 1976...This image has been used repeatedly for the last 14 years as a symbol of struggle. It has been drawn, silkscreened, etched, linocut, painted, sculpted, stencilled, used as graffiti. I have seen it being used in a hurried and careless way – a quick image for posters being printed on the night of June 15 – and have also seen it painted with care and respect and reverence by someone who apparently hadn't done much painting, but who was obviously moved in a very real way to seize on this image and paint it. Yet I'm sure this work could easily be overlooked as another piece of hack agit prop." – stacey stent, Spring is Rebellious, p. 77

John Berndt further pointed out that people did not use these "photographic icons" as simple unmediated images. They worked to make each new use a statement that belonged to their group and their time. The photo would be blown upon photostat machines, cut and collaged, the contrast changed, or even redrawn – "they made it their own".

The CAP production unit deliberate built up a file of photographic images of the struggle, which could be use to compile a poster or graphic within a workshop.. Gabby Chaminouis still has the image collection used in CAP poster workshops.

By 1990, the CAP production unit determined to apply the principle of "work with images people make for themselves" to the use of photographs. They ran a photographic workshop under Roger Meintjes from Afrapix. Primrose Talakumeni and Mavis Mthandeki – both domestic workers – participated in the workshop:

"Almost without exception observers commented on the 'new' appearance of the photographic images – the difference in perspectives and attitudes of 'taken' and being 'taken' – compared with the usual professional photograph." -trish dissertation.

CAP's production also experimented with low-cost and low-technology silkscreening. However, making dyes from natural material such as beetroot proved to be laborious and indeed more expensive than travelling to town to buy a pot of commercial ink. For immediate and urgent use, workshops tended to respond that this was impractical.





Vakalisa:

Based in Cape Town, Black artists who previously contributed to Staffrider - photographers, writers, and artists including (amongst others) James Mathews, Pascal Gwala, Matsemela Manaka, Garth Erasmus, Mavis Smallberg, Patrick Hole, and Rashid Lombard formed an organisation called Vakalisa. Vakalisa sought to provide a platform where the ideas and personel of the black community should develop collectively and independently.

"Vakalisa Art Associates accept the responsibility that artists and cultural activists have a duty to identify and respond to the needs of the community that they find themselves in. Vakalisa strives toward a closer cooperation with other cultural groups who share a common progressive ideology and further seeks to encourage other individuals to work collectively with others in their own communities to establish similar cultural collectives."- vakalisa calendar, 1985

Silkscreen Training Project

In Johannesburg, Morris Smithers formed the Silkscreen Training Project. in Nov. 1983

Like the CAP production unit, Smithers conceived of STP as a production and training centre for community organisations in poster making. STP was planned to spread the skills of mass production, and eventually to "encourage little workshops springing up in the townships". (In 1982, Morris expressed his surprise that, upon visiting Medu, he did not find a "vast grey factory full of workers busily producing posters" Medu posters were usually printed at night in a borrowed classroom or other building).

Design discussions in workshops usually took 2 hours. "CAP had the advantage that it existed to teach art within the community - it

had systems in place to workshop art and imagery." commented Smithers. "But there was no reserve of trained artistic talent. at STP. . . the system fell into the trap of being caught up in frenzy – poster production became a conveyor belt situation, with no time for reflection, planning, it was hands on. Organisations sent different people each time, with no continuity and heavy turn-over of people working on the posters."

"We wanted to use the whole thing as a way of developing a range of skills – the skill of expression, using images that were relevant, that resonated with people. We never got to the point where we sat down and asked 'what are we doing artistically': just found imagery and ideas"

Often these workshops would "take what was current" – "notably photographs, and fists in the air". Imagery was eclectic, with little emphasis on "art". Sometimes posters were made by just putting down the factual information – it was not worth the effort of major art on something which was just advertising a meeting. At times, images and designs were taken directly from overseas posters or existing local posters.

Following workshops with activists to conceptualise the poster, STP designs were often completed by a person with artistic and graphic training, such as Morris Smithers or artist Jonny Campbell.

Because they could not afford letraset sheets, they would buy one set and photocopy it, blow it up to size on the photostat machine if necessary; and trace each letter by hand on to the stencil. Some material was typeset at MARS (Media and Resource Services) — a semi-commercial typesetting organisation that worked with the democratic movement.

STP's financial limitations – it was funded through donors – meant that it could not employ a large number of people. Rather it relied

upon participation from community organisations: "the organisation would send a team of people, workshop the design, and produce it." STP employed Mzwake Mbuli (later "the peoples' poet") and Xeba (?) to supervise production. STP would handprint up to 2 000 copies; although generally they would send designs to a commercial press if the run would go over 500.

COSATU - "One Country, One Federation"

On 1 December, 1985, the Congress of South African Trade Unions was launched under the slogan: "One Country, One Federation". It joined together 33 unions represented 450 000 workers; within three years it had grown to 700 000 workers.

This provided a new need for print – dealing with large-scale commercial production in hundreds of thousands of copies. For this audience, as Reedwaan of Graphic Equaliser noted, "naive and low-tech printing created obstacles where they did not need to be".

Much of this work fell to the Graphic Equaliser. Reedwaan commented: "While doing work for organisations, we would teach skills – at some point down the line the people we worked with would produce these things themselves. eg. we worked with the original pre-COSATU unions (eg. FOSATU)- but most of those we taught did not have the machines to use it on.

"STP and CAP produced "high impact" materials, posters, banners, t-shirts, caps. They produced them under pressure, and they would not last long on the streets. We did 40-page books. We were able to prepare work that was sophisticated, made to last. The books would not fall apart – it gave you more options on the aesthetic side."

To meet this demand, COSATU determined to set up its own printing facility. Under Marlene Powell, with advice from Graphic Equaliser, COSATU established a media unit, using recently - introduced DTP computer technology.

COSATU also determined to set up its own litho printing press. In early 1987, a Hiedelburg press, capable of mass printing A2 colour litho, was acquired. On May 1, as it had completed the first colour of its first run of an A2 poster, the security police bombed the COSATU headquarters in Johannesburg, destroying - amongst other things-the new printing press. Recent testimoney before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission leaves no doubt that the bombing was ordered by the highest levels of the apartheid government. (

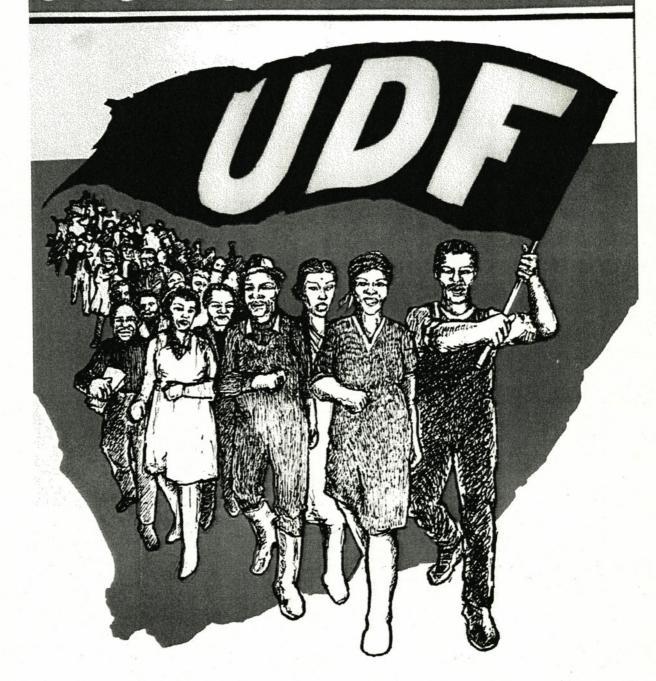
After this, COSATU relied on the commercial press for mass printing.



Cosatu logo: An injury to one is an injury to all

UDF logo/poster; version of UDF logo on a poster,
Drawing Nick Sacks,
Layout: Carl Becker, first public litho issued by UDF,
Ferrierastown
Johannesburg
1984

UDF UNITES - APARTHEID DIVIDES



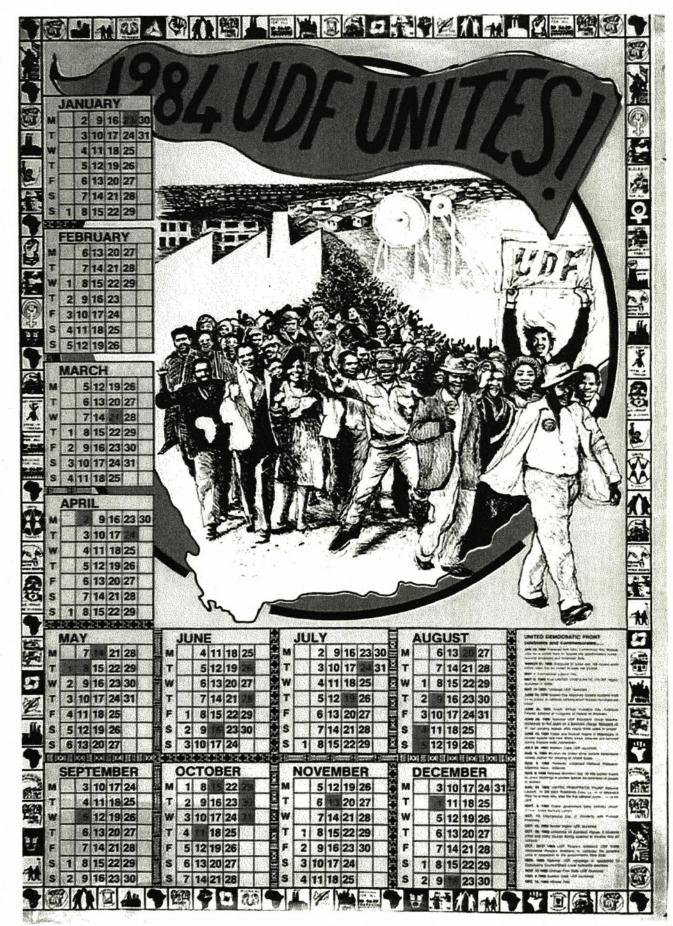
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT NATIONAL RALLY - 20 AUG CAPE TOWN

leaved by UDF PO Box 25063, Ferreirastown 2046

UDF CALLS FOR One Person One Vote ISSUED BY KHOTSO HOUSE, 52 DE VILLIERS STR

UDF calls for One Poeple, One Country, One Person One Vote artist unknown issued by UDF, Khotso House Johannesburg 1984

Opposite: UDF calander artist unknown 1984



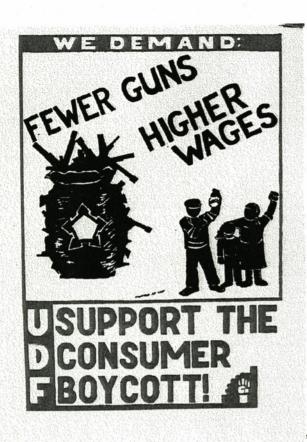
WE DEMAND:

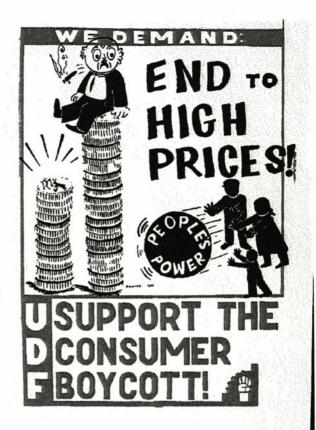
S ADTICE OUT PS!
& POLICE OWN SHIPS!
OF THE TOWN SHIPS!



USUPPORT THE DISONSUMER BOYCOTTI

PRINTED AT CAR, CHAPEL BIRELT WOODSTOCK





We Demand: SADF and Police Out of the Townships!

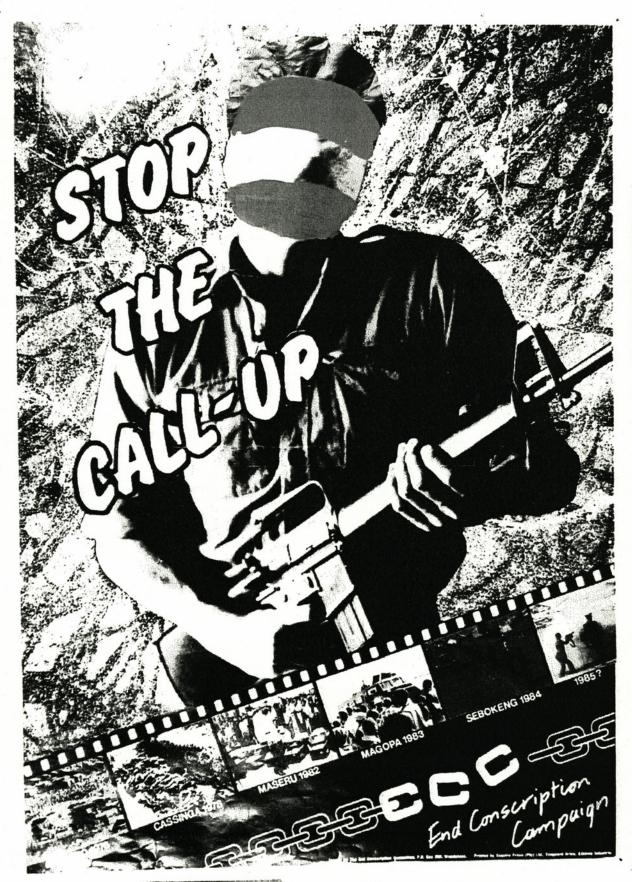
We demand: Fewer Guns, Higher Wages!

We demand: End to High Prices!

We demand: Free all Detainees and Political Prisoners!

4 of a series of 5 posters on the UDF and the State of Emergency; designed and printed crudely in workshops on the West Coast organised by Bridgett Pitt "cleaned up" and printed at CAP, Stamped: Printed by CAP, Woodstock 1985





STOP

Stop the Call-up artist uninown issued by the ECC litho printed by Esquire Press Woodstock 1984

Stop Apartheid Wars drawn by Jonny Campbell (who worked for STP) done for ECC, printed at STP Johannesburg 1984?

End Conscription

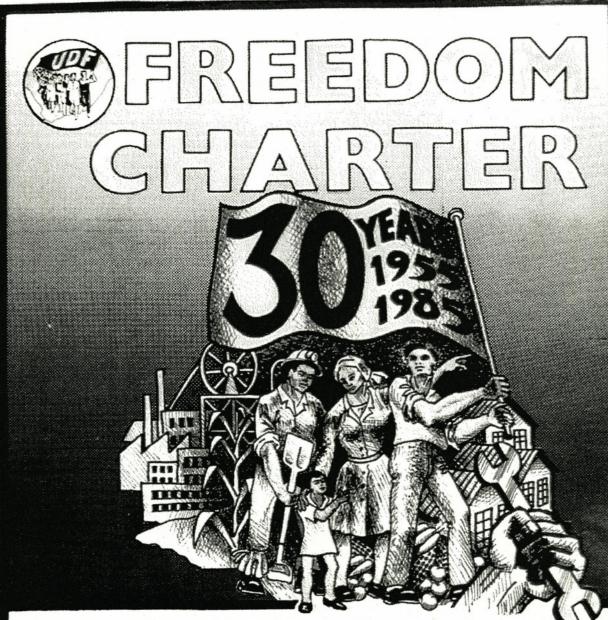
Apartheid taught whites to hold themselves separate from the struggles of the black communities – with the stark exception of when they needed force to suppress those communities. All white – but not Black- males underwent military conscription. They served on the borders with the liberated front-line

states, and in the black townships not far from their own apparently peaceful "white" suburbs.

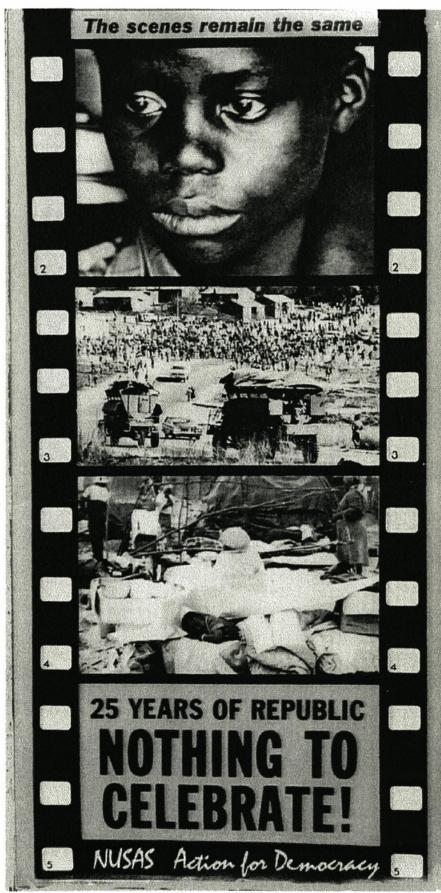
Throughout the 80s white youth protested this, and white students and artists risked rejection and hostility and punishment by families, nieghbours and those in author-

ity by resisting conscription.

Poster-makers working with the End Conscription Campaign often had formal art and design training: the ECC graphics reflect this, through the more design -oriented use of lettering, repetition and pattern; and the more concious evocation of "Art" imagery.

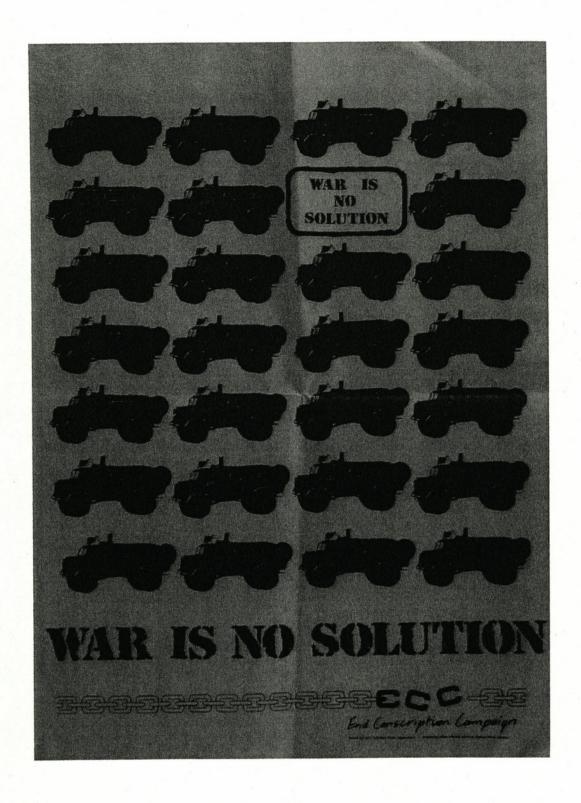


MASS MEETING ATHLONE CIVIC CENTRE Sunday 30 June 2.30pm



Freedom Charter 30 years; Mass Meeting Artwork originally done by John Alessandri, done for JODAC, this silkscreen poster done by CAP 1985

Nothing to Celebrate issued by NUSAS litho Observatory Cape Town 1986



War is no solution artist unknown End Conscription Campaign Observatory, Cape Town litho published by Allies Publishing House, Athlone date?





Graphics from Exile 1980 - 1990

By the 1980s, the African nationalist movement in exile had developed its own media capacity. The ANC owned printing presses in Lusaka, Angola, and Tanzania, as well as having material printed through supporting organisations in Europe, the Soviet bloc, and in the United States.

In the early 1980s, Thami Mnyele spent some time in the MK camps in Angola, and later in Lusaka. During these trips he worked with the printers in both places, designing posters, mastheads, and even stickers under the ANC's name.

In 1982, Miles Pelo went to Lusaka after a brief period in Medu Art Ensemble; then went to Cuba to study graphics, and later to the ANC printing press in Tanzania. Still later, he continued studying graphic design in England.

After 1984, with the assistance of Swedish aid, the ANC school at Samafco established a silkscreening unit.

Practicing South African artists in exile, such as Dumile Fene, contributed their work for posters, books, and other printed materials.



Stickers produced by the ANC: top: May 1st; Join us, organise (unknown artist, 1984)

centre: may-day! (Thami Mnyele, 1984)

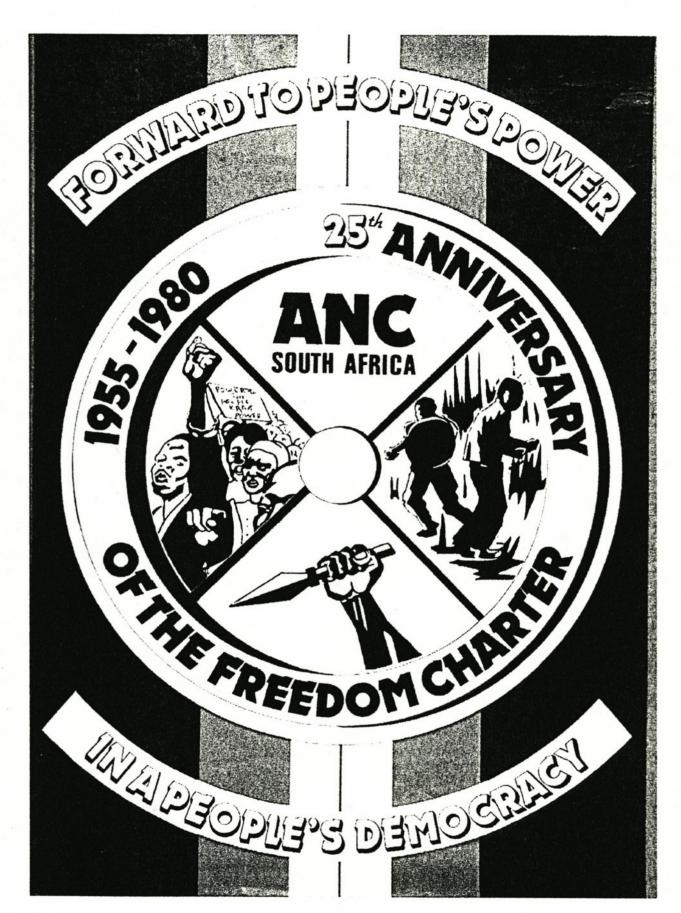
bottom: Unite for victory (J Seidman, 1984); graphic later used in NUM poster (printed by STP). Mayihlome ke Nako artist unkown African National Congress Litho Tanzania 1980

MAR He Roko

YIHL-III

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

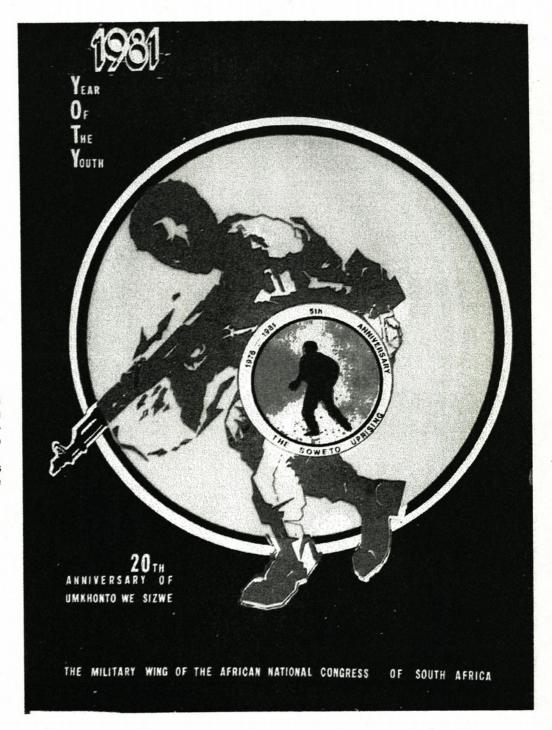


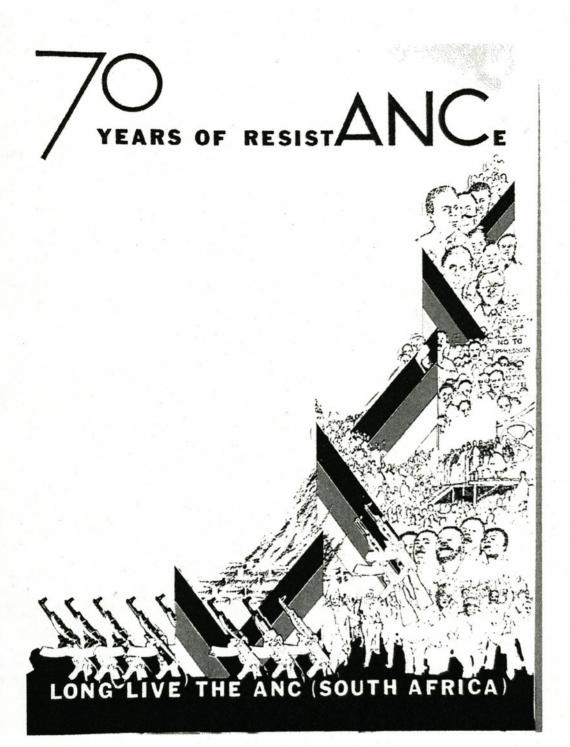


Right: 1981: Year of the Youth artist unkown African National Congress Litho Tanzania 1980

1981 Year of the Youth 21 Anniversary of Umkhonto we Si`zwe Artist unknown offset litho ANC Tanzania 1981

The ANC in exile declared each year dedicated to mobilisation in one aspect of struggle. ANC artists in exile developed posters to promote that aspect - thus, 1981 was Year of the Youth, 1984 was the Year of Women, 1986 was the Year of MK.

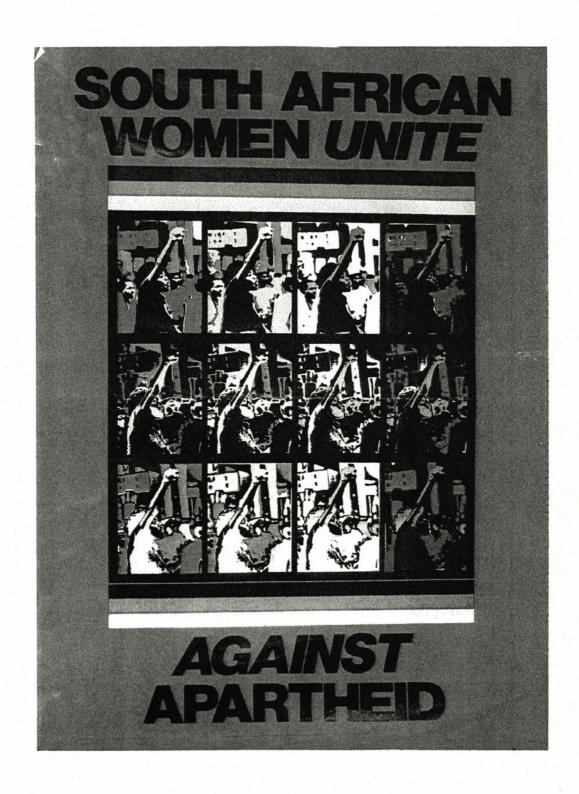




70 Years of Resistance Thami Mnyele and Albio Gonzolas litho printed African National Congress Lusaka 1982

70 - ANC 1912 - 1980 Thami Mnyele litho printed African National Congress Lusaka 1982

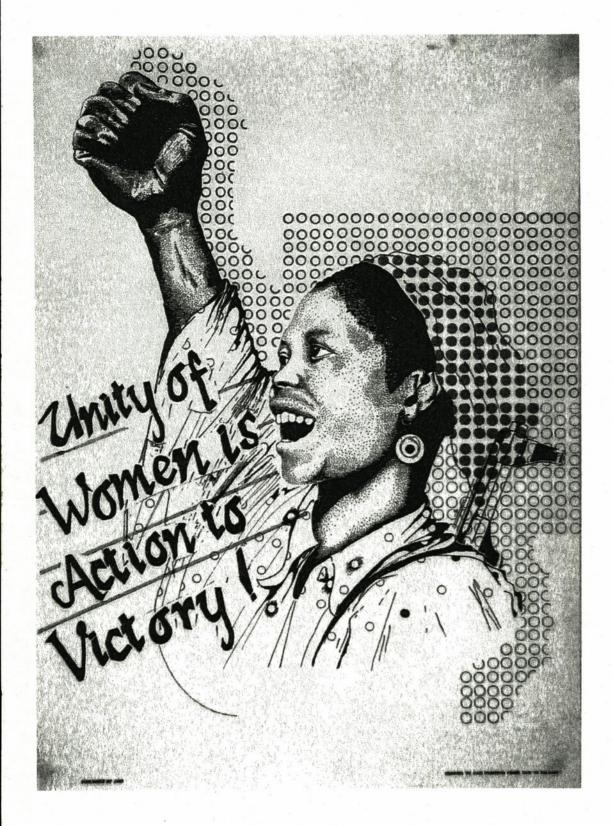




South African Women Unite Against Apartheid artist unknown African National Congress Lusaka 1984



Year of the Women artist unknown litho cover of calander African National Congress Lusaka 1984



Unity of Women Miles Pilo African National Congress Tanzania 1984

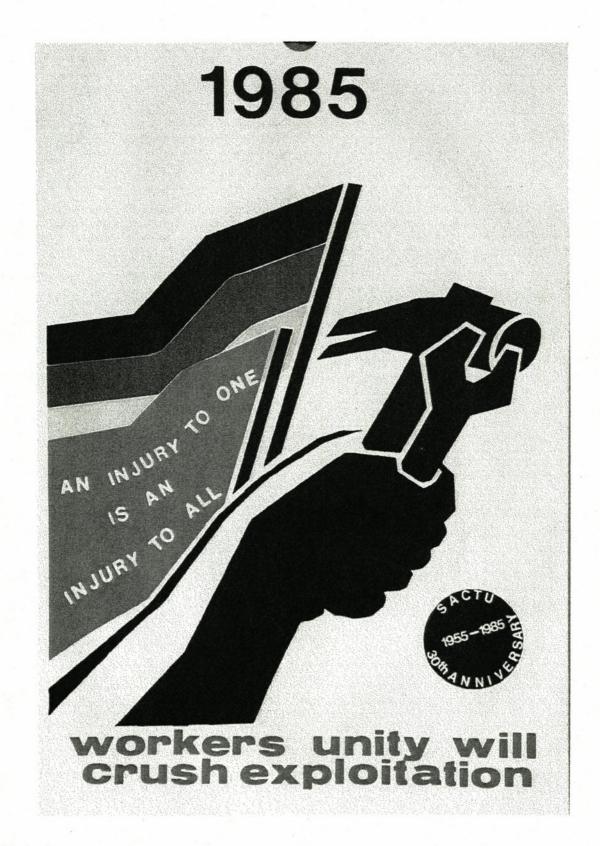
WOMEN UNITE!



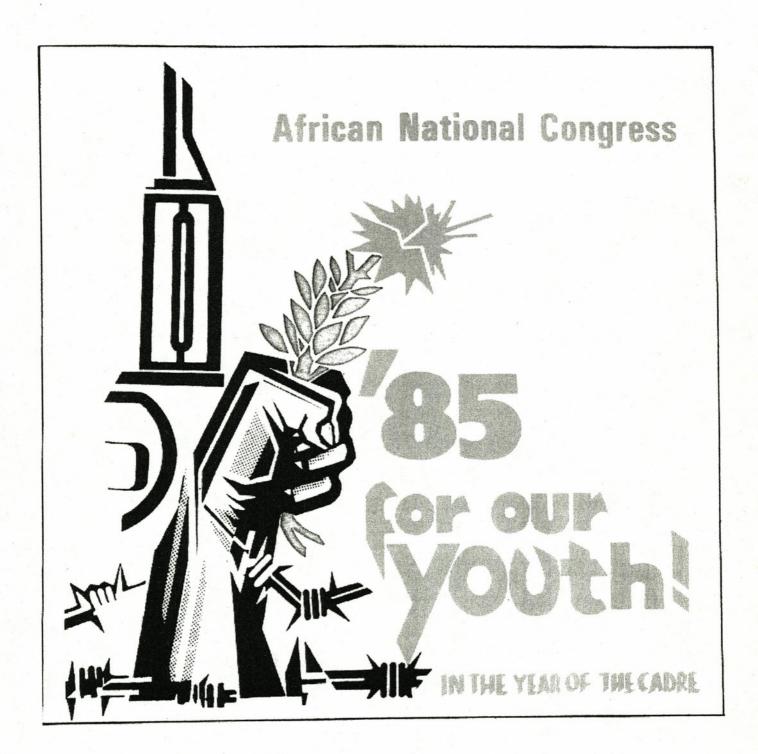
the need for unity is the need for People's Power. It is the power against starvation, removals, resettlement and disease

FORWARD TO YEAR OF WOMEN!

Forward to Year of the Women Thami Mnyele litho African National Congress Lusaka 1984



1985 SACTU calander cover J. Seidman Lusaka, SACTU 1985



'85 for our Youth Thami Mnyele African National Congress Lusaka 1985





SACTU (1) Thami Mnyele litho Sactu, Lusaka 1985

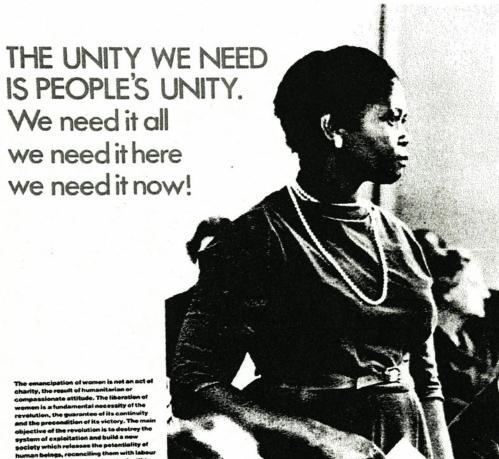
SACTU (2) Thami Mnyele litho Sactu, Lusaka 1985

DOROTHY NYEMBE 15 YEARS IMPRISONMENT WELCOME HOME!



JAILED-1969 * RELEASED-1984 SYMBOL OF THE COURAGE AND RESILIENCE OF OUR WOMEN

Dorothy Nyembe Artist: THami Mnyele litho African National Congress Lusaka 1984



ORGANISE FIGHT ON!

Organise, Fight On! Poster of Lilian Ngoyi artist Thami Mnyele African National Congress 1984

Forward to the Year of the Women Poster of Violet Hashe (using Jurgan Schadenburg photo 195...see page....) artist Thami Mnyele African National Congress Lusaka 1984



... to organise our womenfolk into a powerful; united and active force for revolutionary change. This task falls on men and women alike — all of us as comrades.

FORWARD WITH THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN!



FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION

Workers Unite -Crush Apartheid artist: possibly Thami Mnyele African National Congress Lusaka 1985

Shortly before his death, Thami Mnyele did a series of posters in Lusaka. Although he had no training in paint (as opposed to drawing), he said that he had experimented with colour painting during that time.

If so, this is one of the few existing paintings by Mnyele in full colour.

December 16 Heroes Day Poster to celebrate the launching of Mkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military Wing. Thami Mnyele African National Congress Lusaka, 1985.

We salute the weorkers Thami Mnyele Litho African National Congress Lusaka 1985

Technique:

The photograph of a crowd was developed as a diapositive, then the surface was scratched with a sharp instrument to etch the lines of the faces and hands.



We salute the workers



Forward with many of the second second with the second sec



1986: Year Of Umkhonto we Sizwe Judy Seidman photostat (unprinted) Gaborone 1986

In the face of oppression: Graphics under the State of Emergency

Six months after it was formed in 1984, "persons unknown" vandalised STP, smashing its new photostat machine and wreaking its equipment. Late that year the police confiscated posters.

As part of its programme of teaching poster-making to community groups and outlying areas, STP held a formal workshop in Huhudi at the school hall. Morris describes his lasting memory of this workshop: "it was getting to be dark, candles were burning because no electricity; all around the room adults and kids from the township were looking into the windows." Following the workshop, Huhudi activists set up their own silkscreen printing shop in a township garage (donated by a sympathetic business person), with electricity and running water. But it was fire-bombed in 1985, and never restarted.

Medu closed after a number of its members and supporters were killed in a cross-border SADF raid in 1985.

CAP was harrassed by the police, but not closed down.

The COSATU press was blown up.

The imposition of the States of Emergency, beginning in 1985, hit hard at progressive graphics production. Previously "legal" work was outlawed, which left publicity banned, and those producing it subject to police attention. By Feb. 1988, the UDF was banned and Cosatu forbidden to play a political role.

Kevin Humphries put it:

"The States of Emergency were big. We did a lot of work for Taffy Adler – banners and stuff. We'd spend all night finishing the banners, in the morning he would come in and say, can't use it, its been banned. By the end of the 80s we were crazy."

At the start of the first state of Emergency in 1985, Morris Smithers was detained for 4 months. In Nov 1986, police came to arrest STP staff, but the staff went into hiding. Smithers was again detained two months later; and another 5 STP members

were detained over subsequent months.

Activists and workers putting posters up at night had trouble with the police.

Lionel Davis points out: "It needed defiance for people to print these. . . A young man named Bathandwa came back to the Transkei from CAP, wearing a t-shirt: he was shot dead in the street."

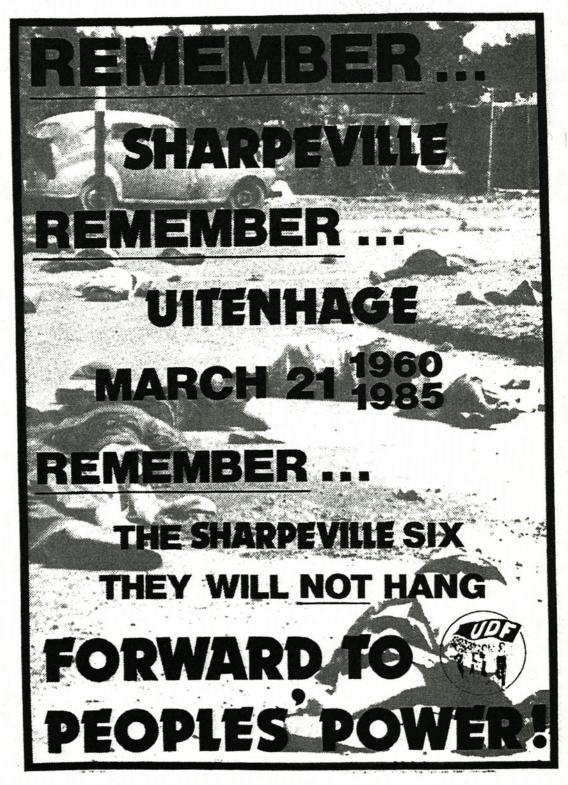
Even the poster collection collected and preserved to become the book Images of Defiance was kept in hiding; and smuggled from one author's house to another in fear of police raids.

And the toll taken on graphic activists went beyond physical danger - the pressures affected people's ability to create. The pressures of the struggle ensured people produced "not art but propaganda".

"The insurrection of 1984-6 and the violence thereafter has had both negative and positive effects on grassroots creativity. Of serious negative implications has been the lack of self-criticism in grassroots activity . . . Any criticism could be "labelled" as :anti-", any "false step" could case marginalisation. . . . Also many leaders saw cultural workers as grouping that were to fit into the gaps of political activity or to become "adverts" for the latest campaign." – Nisa Mhlanga et al, spring 101

"What had been a fantastic movement simply began to diminish – over the later years of the 80s we could hammer the same thing," remarked Trish de Villiers.

Kevin Humphries describes the kinds of pressures they faced: 'Morris sent his young soldiers from the East Rand to us, these young men with photographs, a big photo with this one little face off to the side, that's him, the one who is dead. And they would want a t-shirt of the dead one. Of course the photo was too small to print, it would blow up too grainy. Often, we had to redraw it. Mzwake and Zenele Mashinini often did the drawing."-



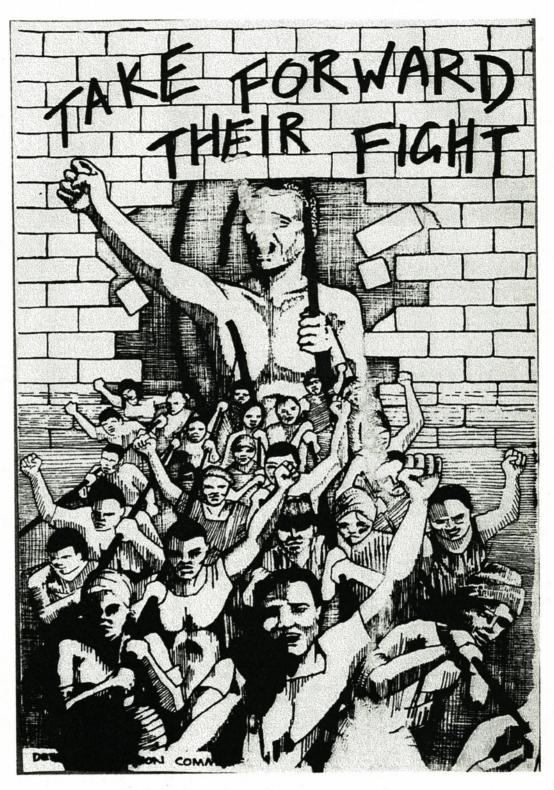
Remember Sharpeville Jonny Campbell and Morris Smithers design STP issued by UDF Khotso House Litho Globe Printers, Johannesburg 1985

SUPPORT SHARPVILLE SIX

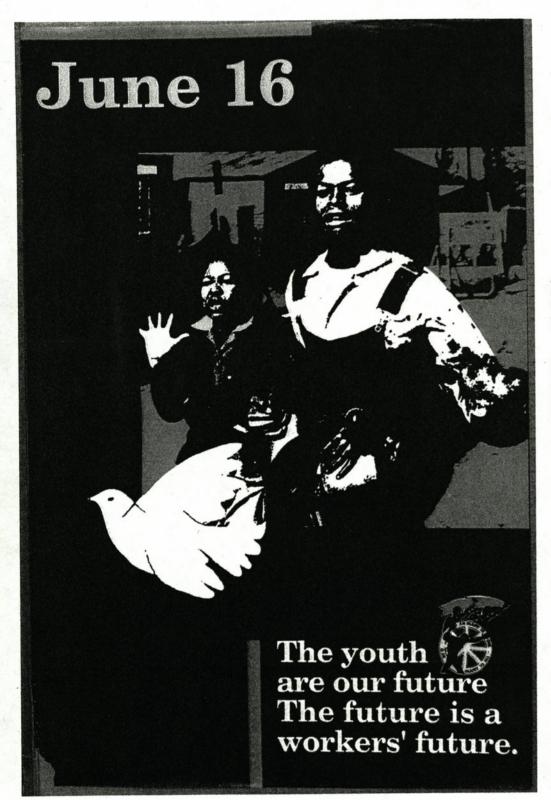
WE WILL NOT ALLOW THEM



DOWN WITH PUPPETS
AWAY WITH APARTHEID
FORWARD TO PEOPLES POWER



Support Sharpevill Six -We will not allow them to hang - UDF printed by Globe Johannesburg 1986



June 16 – the youth are our future issued for Cosatu litho Johannesburg 1985

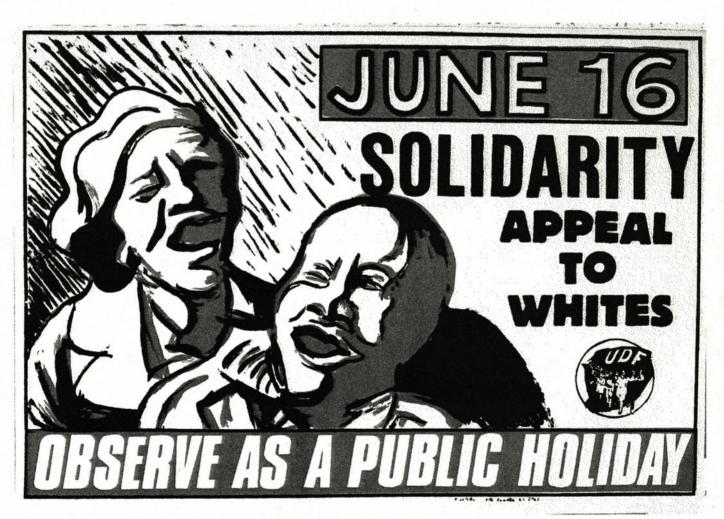
Stayaway June 16 UDF and Cosatu Cape Town, printed by Esquire Press, Athlone, litho 1987





Mass Actrion for People Power – June 16 and flag: From joint training programme workshop, including Women's League, key artist NtlolileMakhytsha (now known artist) Cosatu Printed at CAP Cape Town late 1980s?

June 16 Solidarity appeal to whites -JODAC Johannesburg silkscreen 1986



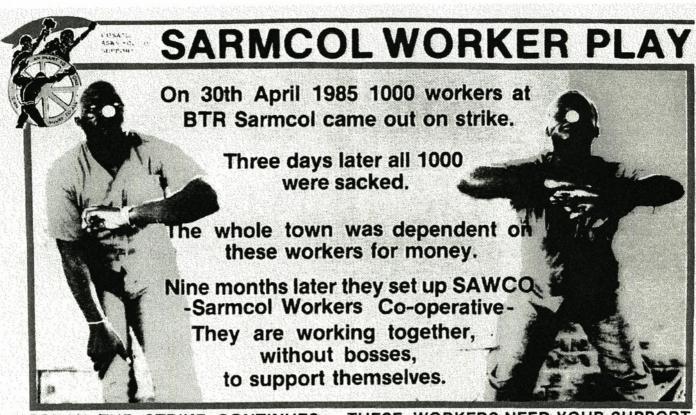


SUPPORT



SPEKENHAM WORKERS FIGHT FORLIVING WAGE KEEP YOUR HANDS OFF OUR JOBS





TODAY THE STRIKE CONTINUES - THESE WORKERS NEED YOUR SUPPORT

Support Spekenham Workers: Workshopped with FAWU led by Lionel Davis final drawing by Martin Stevens; Silkscreen black on white 1989

Sarmcol Worker Play designed by Trish de Villiers for Cape-Town showing of BR Sarmcol play silkscreen printed at CAP, 1986(?)

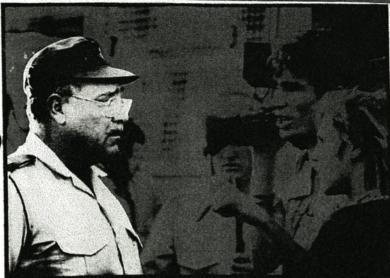
CHURCH IN PROTEST



A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT JUSTICE IS LITTLE MORE THAN A GROUP OF BANDITS

National Press Day 19 October

STOP



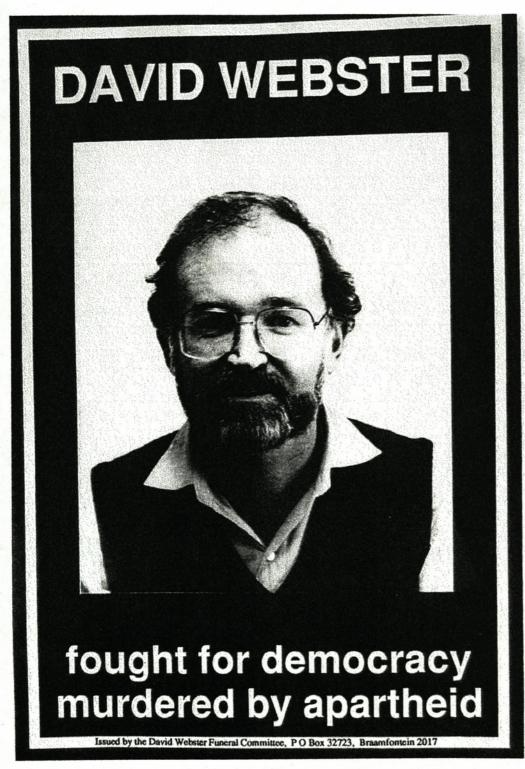
POLICE STATE

We want a free press

Issued by Saspu

Church in Protest; artist unknown ssued by WPCC Printed Esquire Press Athlone litho,

Stop the Police State photo of Brian Tilly and policeman artist unknown SASPU at Wits University litho Johannesburg 1989



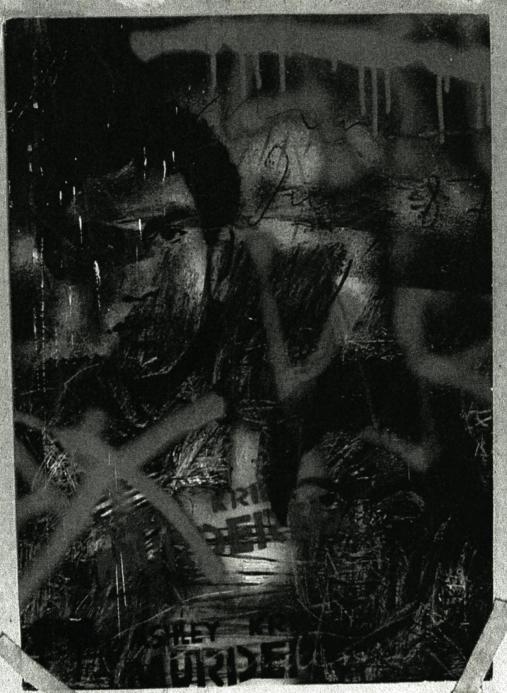
David Webster fought for democracy, murdered by apartheid artist unknown offset litho Johannesburg 1989

David Webster was assassinated on May 1, 1989 in Troyville, Johannesburg. This poster was made for the funeral.

Ashley Kriel Pictured artist get info! Paint, paper mixed media 1987

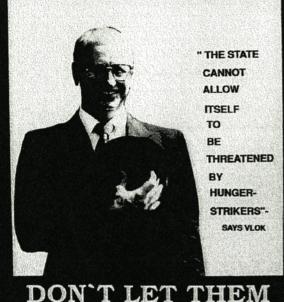
Ashley Kriel was shot dead by police in ---- in ---- in Cape Town. This poster was carried around the streets of ----to commemorate his death. . . .

MOHIST KKITA



ASHLEY KRIEL PICTURED"

300 DETAINEES STARVING TO DEATH



DON'T LET THEM DIE! painting by _____ paint, mixed media on hardboard and paper 1987

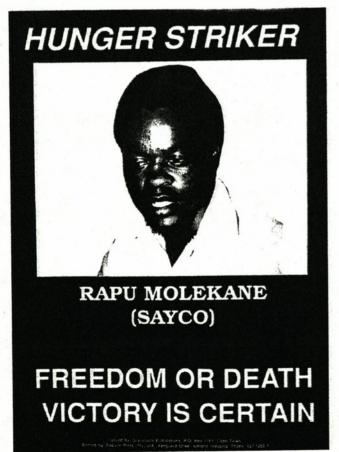
Ashley Kriel

Ashley Kriel was shot by police in _____. This poster was drawn and taken around the streets as part of the mourning and protest against his death. CONFIRM INFO

300 Detainees Starving to Death

Hunger Striker Rapu

MolekaneGrassroots
Produced by grassroots media staff
with CAP assistance
printed Esquire Press Athlone
,litho
1988 (check)



Free All Detainees Issued by the Hunger Strikers Committee litho printed by Globe, Johannesburg FREE ALL DETAINEES



LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

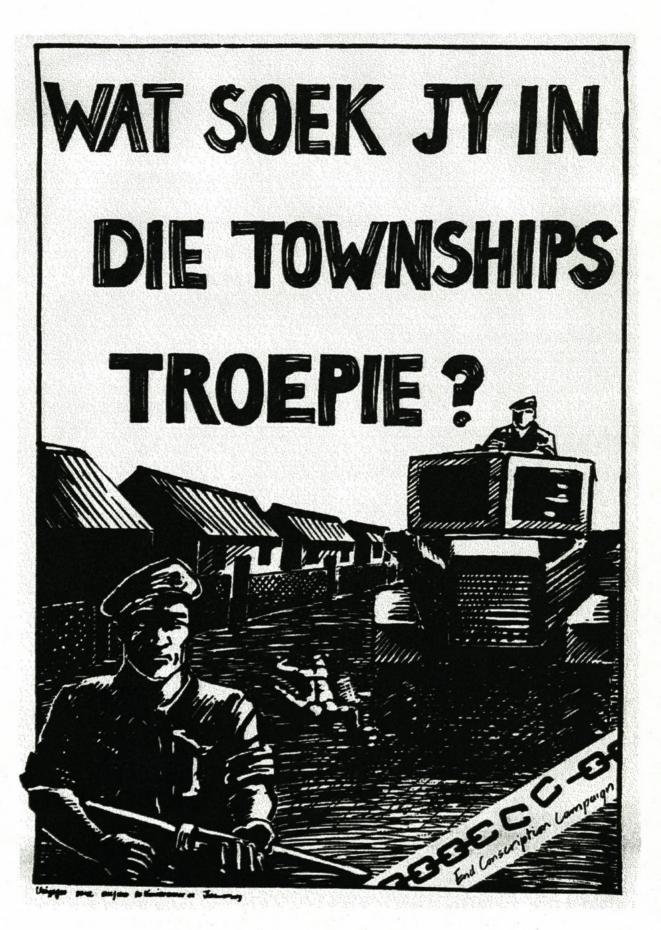
ISSUED BY THE HUNGER STRIKERS COMMITTEE

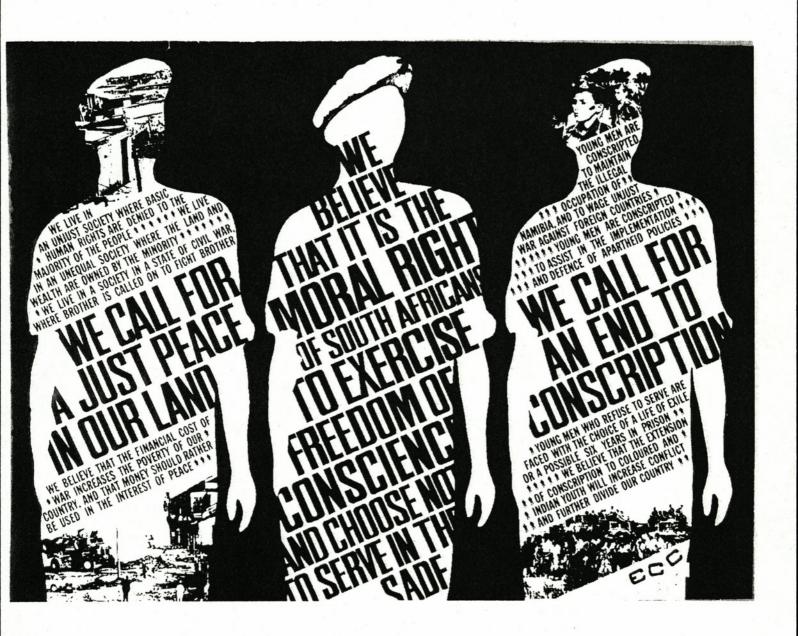
GLOBE



Eindig Nationale Diensplig ECC at STP Silkscreen Johannesburg 1986

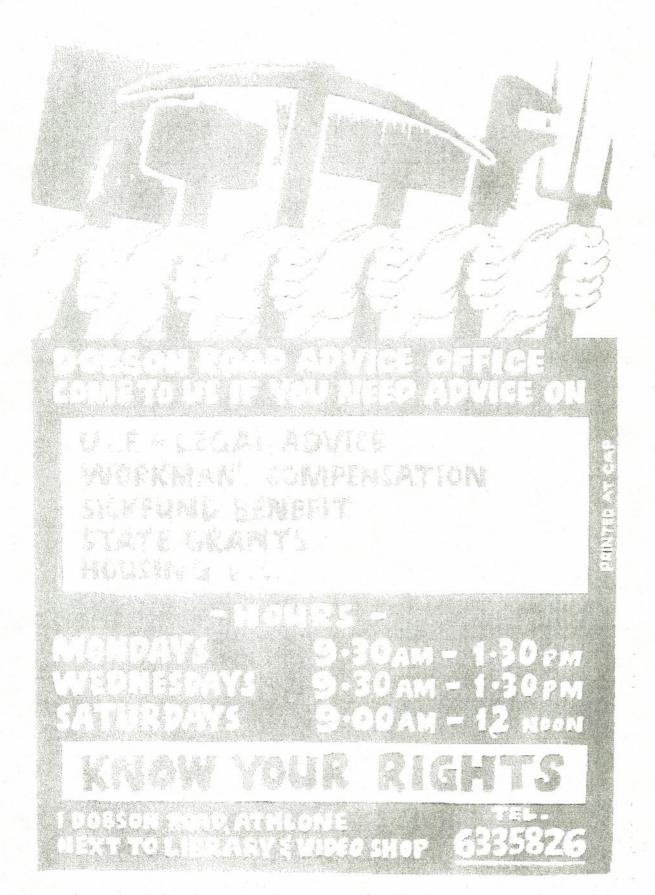
WAT SOEK JY IN DIE TOWN-SHIPS TROEPIE? ("What are you looking for in the townships, soldier?") ECC silkscreen Johannesburg 1987





We call for a just peace in our land.... litho ECC Cape Town 1986

Dobson Road Advice Officegraphic designed for a year planner by Clive Helford; Workshopped with Advice Office personnel led by Lionel Davis silkscreen printed by CAP, Cape Town date?



WETHE UNEMPLOYED DEMAND

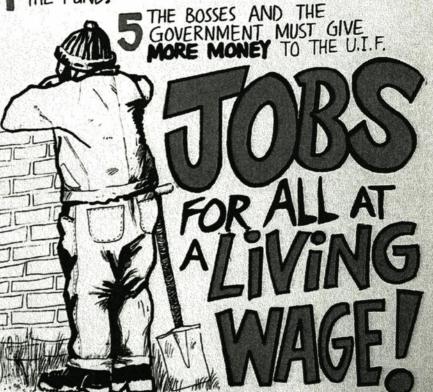
1 ONE U.T.F. (UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND) FOR WORKERS IN S.A.

2 WE WANT MORE U.I.F. MONEY FOR A LONGER PERIOD.

WE WANT BETTER, MORE EFFICIENT

ADMINISTRATION OF U.I.F.

4 WORKERS MUST HAVE MORE CONTROL OVER THE FUND.



Abvice office from Ro. Hot 9 H

Biship Lavis Advice Office Lionel Davis Silkscreen CAP Althlone 1987?

Jobs for all at a living wage! Lionel Davis designed picture for another poster, this one laid out by Garth Erasmus;

printed by Allies Printing Services, Athlone, date?

Lionel Davis

Lionel Davis was born in 1936, in Cape Town He did not initially see himself becoming an artist: although he experimented with drawing as a youth, he lost interest when he left high school at st. 7. There was no support for art, no institutions to attend, or role models for an artist in his community.

In 1964 Davis was sentenced to five years on Robben Island under the Suppression of Communism Act. He did some drawing while awaiting trial; but although from 1966 Robben Island prisoners had access to study materials, he had no art supplies while in jail. Upon his release, Davis was put under house arrest; he lost his job and needed an outlet decided to do creative work. He began to draw again. He joined the community arts education programme – CAP - in 1977; he worked there, as a student, a cleaner, and administrator; and eventually a full time member and teacher.

In 1979 CAP sent Lionel Davis to Rorkes Drift Lutheran Art Centre. He found the school too puritanical. And, while the management of Rorkes Drift had said they would teach silkscreening, they did not. Davis felt drawing and print-making had come to be "regarded as being a burden to Rorkes' Drift; the school was supported through the sales of crafts", not art.

In 1981 he returned to CAP, without completing his course. With other artists from Rorkes Drift, he

became involved in printing linoprint and silkscreen at CAP. In 1982, he was instrumental in organising busses of Cape Town artists to attend the Culture and Resistance Festival in Gaborone. On their return, he helped organise the CAP silkscreen production unit.

After a decade as a key artist and teacher at CAP, Davis returned to art school, this time at Michaelis, to finish a fine arts degree.

BISHOP LAMIS ADMIGE OFFICE

- * UIF
- * PENSIONS
- * GRANTS
- * WORKMANS ** COMPENSATION
- * LEGAL ADVICE
- * HOUSING PROBLEMS
- * Student advice etc. Come and see us!

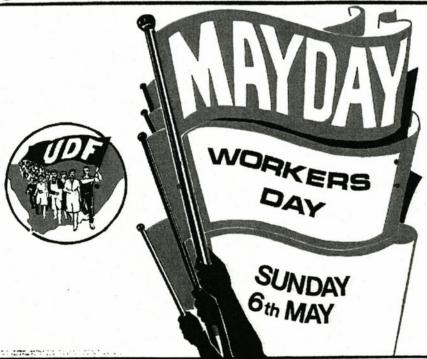
ST.MARTIN'S CATHOLIC HALL (FATHERAMA) BISHOP LAVIS, EVERY THURSDAY FROM 7PM Till lopm

Enquiries: 93[606]

ISSUED BY (BLAC) BISHOP LAVIS ACTION COMM

UDF Calls Workers Unite! Silkscreen CAP Althlone date?

UDF CALLS WORKERS...UNITE!



SPEAKERS

Oscar Mpetha & Others

MUSIC

Basil 'Manenberg' Coetzee Feathes Vukani Trevor Parker & Others

DRAMA

FOOD ON SALE

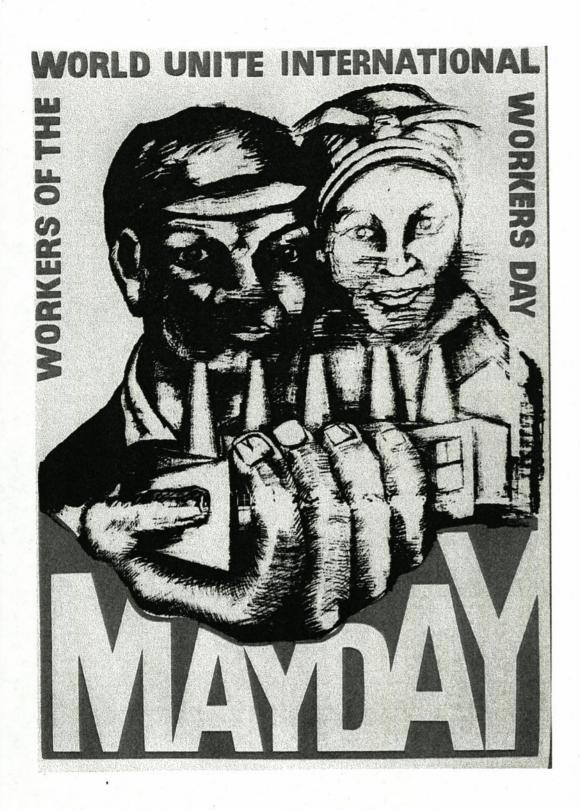
FREE ADMISSION

FUN CITY . HEIN RD . ATHLONE . 11-6 pm



Farm and domestic workers must be covered by the Labour Relations Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act now!

Domestic and Farmworkers Organise or Starve Charlotte Schaer published by Cosatu Litho 1989

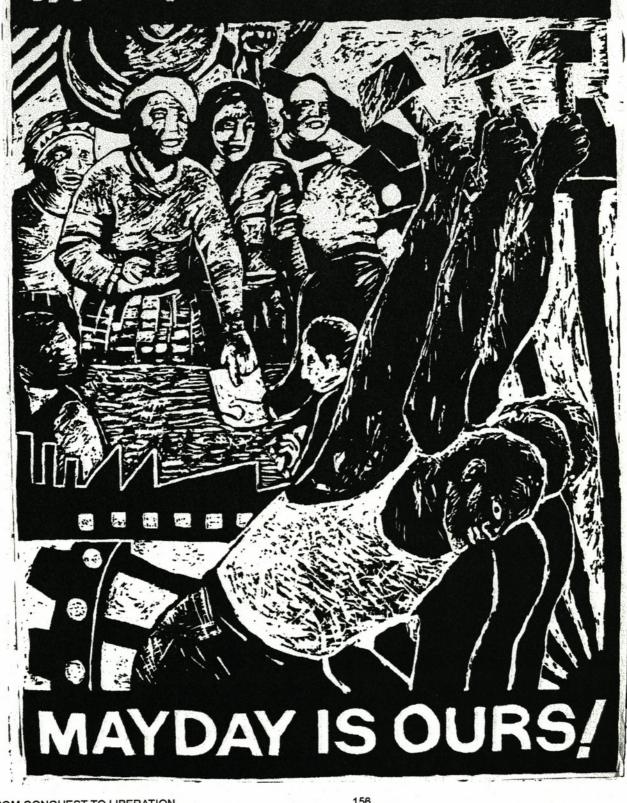


World Unite International Workers Day Mayday: Martin Stevens, silkscreen CAP Cape Town 1989 Mobilise May Day is Ours two part s of 4-part paste-together poster-mural from CAP workshop. silkscreenCape Town 1988





THE FACTORIES





"In the World"
2 parts from 8
part series by
Artists Collective; included
Trish de Villiers,
Gabby
Chaminois,
other women
artists; original
drawings which
were turned
into posters
silkscreen
CAP
1988



YOUTH UNITE! ARM YOURSELVES WITH KNOWLEDGE FOR FREEDOM!



MAY DAY IS OURS!

On list flay every year workers all over the world comtogether to celebrate flay Day the remember defeats, but we celebrate our witners. Everywhere we know about to deconditions in our factories and communities, we all know about attacks from the bosses and the government; we all need unity and solidarity to take our struggle forward to a new society.





MAY DAY BELONGS TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!



Over 100 years ago workers said: no more exploitation from the bosses! We demand a 8-hour working day! This was the beginning of Play Day. On 1st May 1886, 350 000 workers in America went on strike for an 8-hour day. They won a big victory

Today in South Africa we are also fighting exploitation by the bosses. We are demanding a living wage and a 40-hour week!





We also know about attacks from the bosses and the government. During the big May Day strike in America in 1886, the police killed six workers and four of titler leaders were later hanged.

Today the Botha government is using the State or Emergency and new Labour Laws to attack workers and our communities, Uners we meet on Play Day, we speak with the voice of working class solidarity and unity, wile strengthen our organisations to derent ourselves.

MAY DAY BELONGS TO THE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA!



Workers in South Africa have been celebrating May Day for over 80 years. Today on May Day we unter amound our shared chemands, lies: A living wage for all! Jobs for all! Decent housing for all! Today Mouth Unemployed, Student, Womens and Civic organizations join the Unions to celebrate May Day May Day is a symbol of the leadership of the working class in our writed straugle for democracy and receden.

May Day is ours. It is a day which belongs to the workers of South Africa. It is a day which belong to the workers of the world. It is a day which we share with all our alles in the struggle against



MAY DAY IS OURS!



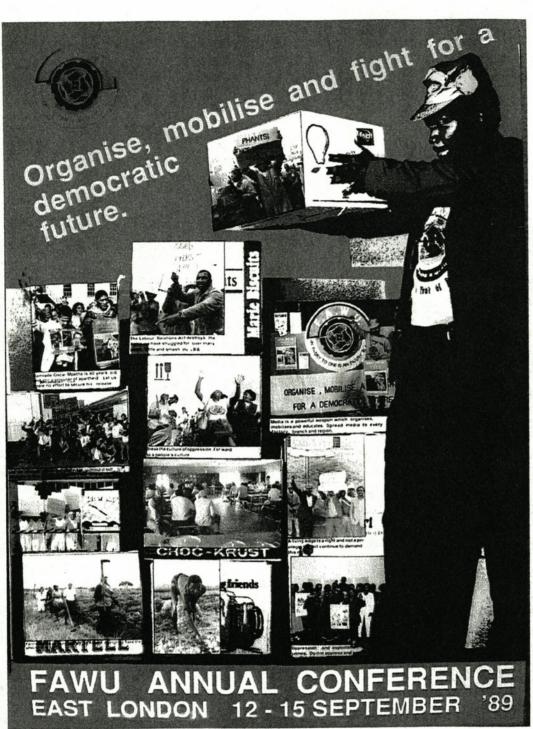








Youth Unite Arm Yourselves litho 1989

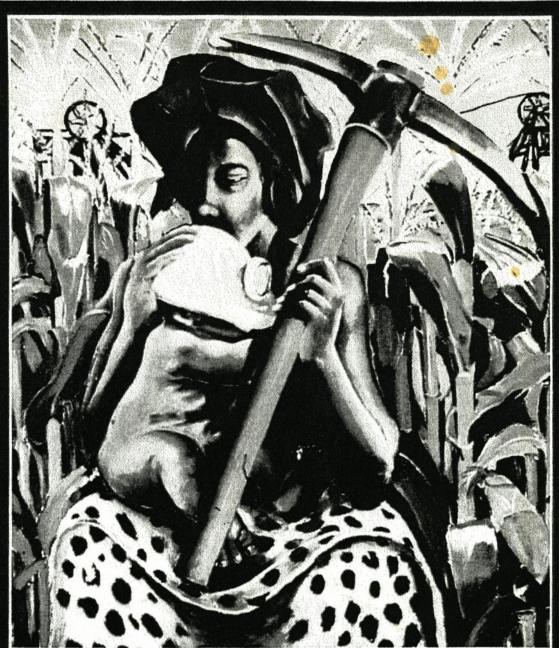


FAWU Annual Conference designed by John Berndt, standing figure is photo of Chris Matiya by John Berndt CAP
Cape Town
1989

Chris Matiya now (year 2000) runs the Khayelitsha silkscreen workshop. He became involved in making posters as a COSATU member in CAP workshops.

Opposite and subsequent pictures: In 1989, COSATU put out a calander, using artwork about the South African working class.

Opposite: Madonna of the Mines, Billy Mandani 1989??



Madonna of the Mines, by Billy Mandini



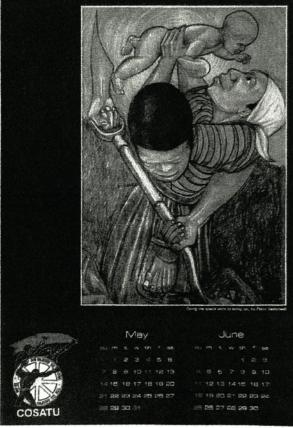
January

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February

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The Mdantsani Bus Boycot (1984) Lou Alman

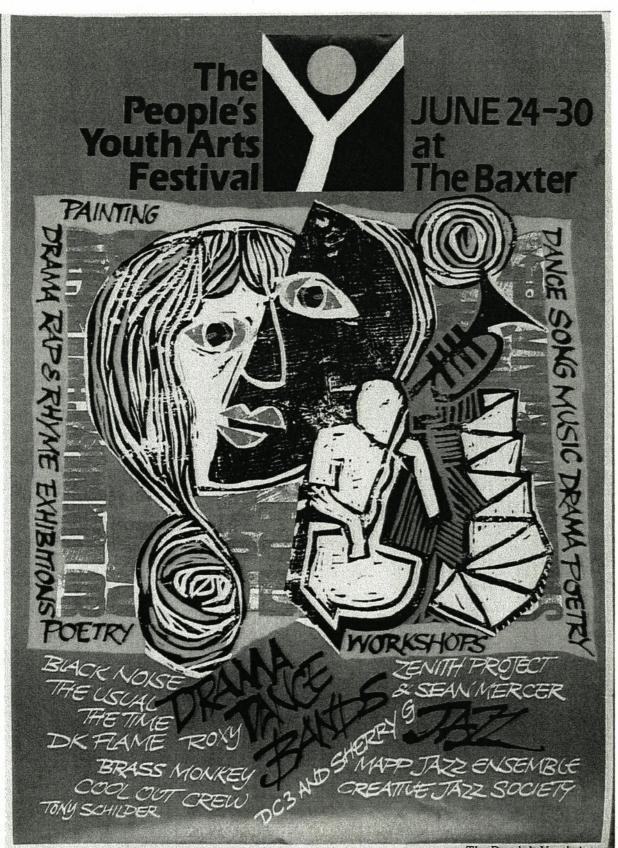
Doing the spade work to bring joy (1989) Percy Sedumedi

Detail from a NUMSA painting about the first shop stewards' Council on the East Rand in 1981 showing the struggle against the bull-dozing of squatters' shacks.

Detail of a mural at Community House in Cape Town produced by the Community Arts Project (CAP) (1989?)



Detail from a mural at Community House in Cape Town produced by the Community Arts Project (CAP)



The People's Youth Art
Festival (no information?)



Grassroots Cultural Evening, Grassroots publications, Printed Allies Printing Services, Cape Town - no date

PRINTS BYJUHIN



ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL-UPPER FOYER-LONDON SET8XX 1 SEPTEMBER-4 OCTOBER 1987-ADMISSION FREE DAILY 10 am - 10,30 pm

ANC LIVES



Walter Sisulu



Raymond Mhlaba



Wilton Mkwayi



Oscar Mpetha



Ahmed Kathrada



Andrew Mlangeni



Elias Motsoaledi

ADVANCE TO PEOPLE'S POWER

Prints by JKohn Muafangejo Exhibition poster for works of John Muafangejo London 1989

ANC LIVES: Advance to People's Power unknown artist Done before ANC was unbanned and Mandela released, but after Sisulu was released - late 1989



Welcome Home artist unknown silkscreen 1990

Poster made to welcome Nelson Mandela on his release from Pollsmore Prison; note only photograph from the 1960s was available for use before Mandela's release.

1990: Liberation and the Poster Movement



1990: The Year of Peoples' Action for a Democratic South Africa

1990 negotiations and elections

The ANC, PAC and SACP were unbanned in 1990. Mandela was released. Exiles returned. The long process of negotiation and transition slowly manoeuvred majority rule into place.

For people whose lives in the 1980s were wrapped into resistance graphics, a strange period commenced. The technical and financial issues of the new period were clearly very different from those community-based poster workshops that supplied the struggle.

Community groups looked to the ANC for open, national leadership—HQ was expected to send out the message from national level. It would be delivered through millions of copies, presumably printed by the apolitical commercial press.

More and more, the ANC's national HQ used computer designs from their own media room, or graphics worked out by the most established advertising agencies. (These included, for instance, the one who had just won an international design prize for a TV advert, with a mouse walking on a steering wheel.)

Poster workshops declined. Resources for community –based media dried up. Community media which had survived through the 1980s – magazines like Speak, Learn and Teach, and Work in Progress - folded through lack of funds.

With the elections, political parties turned to a more standard concept for posters: candidate name and photo, party affiliation and logo, basic party colours.

By the elections, a poster for the ANC was expected to pass this test

"Can you read it from a car travelling down the R24? "- or, in Cape Town, "Klipfontein Road"? As Trish de Villiers pointed out, this was "highly suggestive of the targets of its rallying call . . . if the

text of a poster can be eye-catching and legible at speed, then the other considerations are 'nice' but unimportant." (Trish de villiers, 1991, DipAdultEd UWC dissertation, p.18)

People with the technical skills to deal with mass printing went into government and business. But many of the activists who had participated in print workshops and low-tech screen printing did not have the qualifications or the know-how to do this.

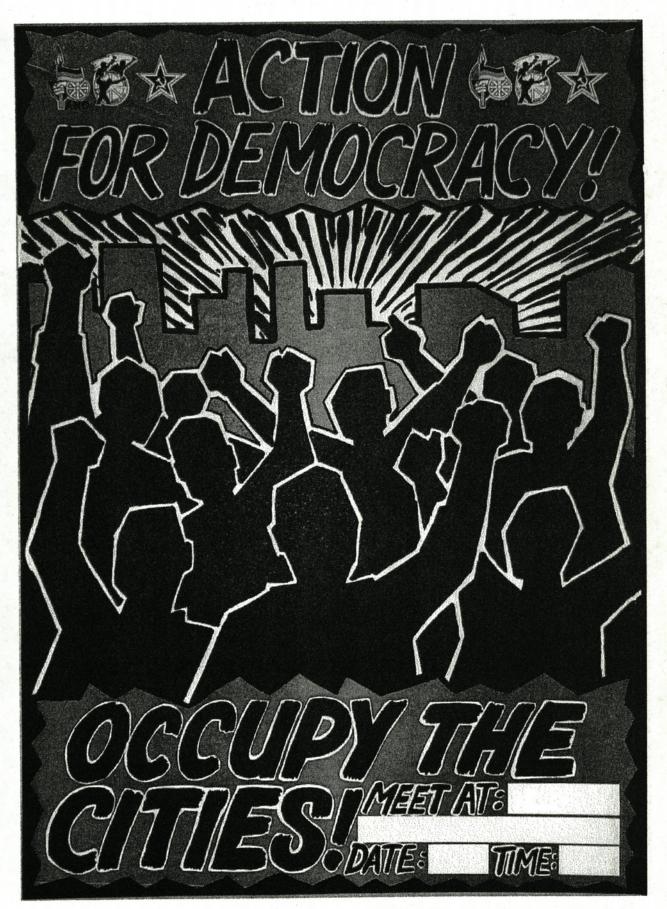
Mzwake joined the Gauteng Government in late 1998; he now does graphics within the Office of the Premier. "It's a continuation, but on a different level; its more an exchange between departments; but we are still doing things for the provinces." Morris Smithers has worked as a consultant on graphics and art-work for the Ministry of Water Affairs and other departments.

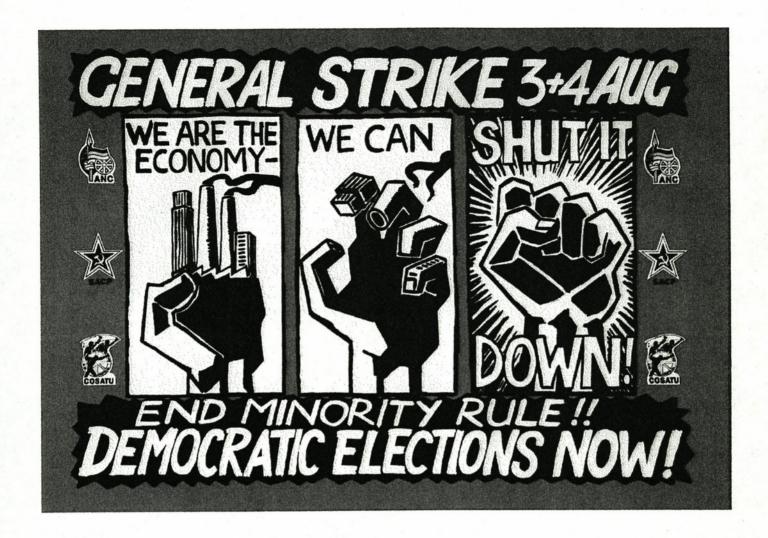
Reedwaan Vally has established his own DPT and pre-print company in Johannesburg, and still produces much of the graphics and design for the trade unions and other progressive organisations. Kevin Humphries now works for the Gauteng Department of Health on media related to HIV/AIDS.

Trish de Villiars works as a freelance graphic designer and illustrator in Cape Town.

A number of people continued their interest in graphics and visual communication by going to art school (or back to art school); and finding a career in the changing fine art world. These include artists Lionel Davis and Billy Mandandi.

Where the new government, parties, trade unions and NGOs conduct mass-based campaigns, they continue to rely on the aesthetic principles - and often the personnel- of the poster movement of the 1980s. These posters reflect gender issues, trade unions and labour rights, and HIV/AIDS; although almost all, today, are printed on litho machines in larger print-runs.





ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY STP litho 1991?

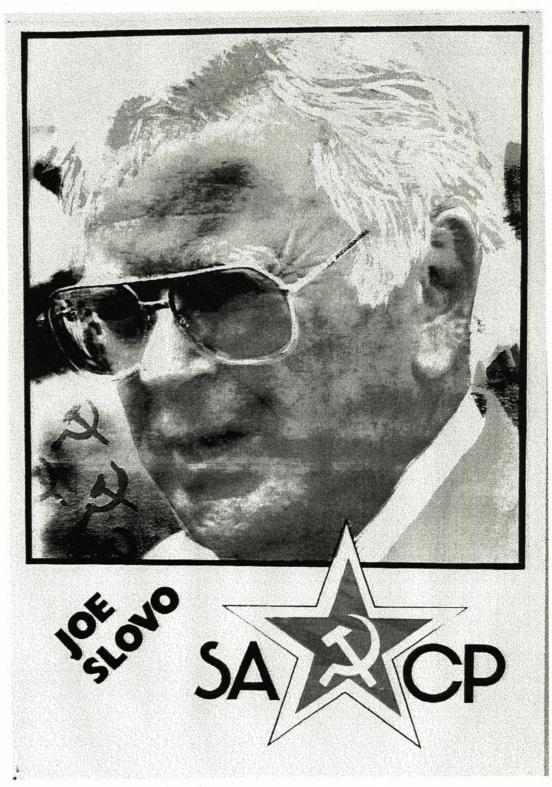
General Strike 3 + 4 Aug STP litho 1991?

Posters put out by the now unbanned tripartite Alliance, calling for mass action to move dowards the removal of the still-ruling apartheid government, negotiations, and a democratic resolution to the struggle.



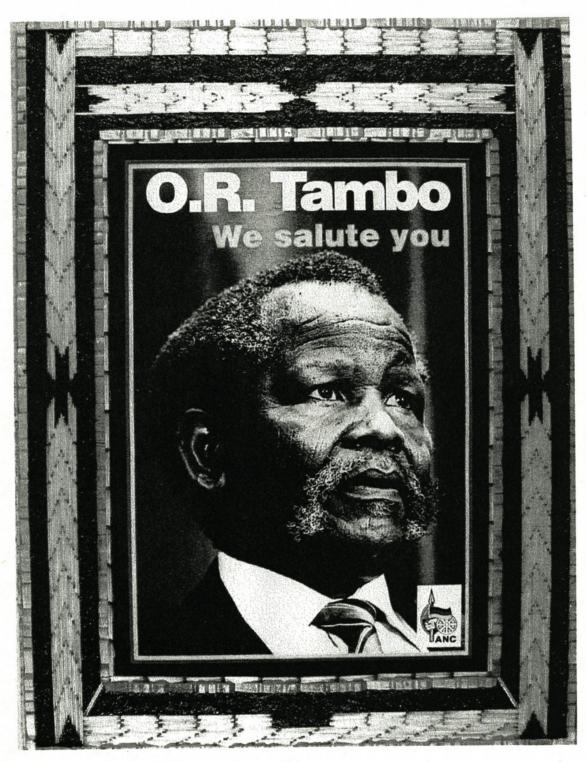
SACP
Dikobe WaMogale Martins
litho -one of 12 posters designed in
prison 1991
printed upon release by SACP
1992

"For the artist to refrain from mentioning the freedom of the black press, dismemberment of the homeland into fragmented reserves, malnutrition, hunger and starvation that go hand in glove with forced removals of communities, is in itself a political act." Dikobe, Art is not neutral.



Jo Slovo SACP John Berndt and students CAP Production Unit Silkscreen 1992 (?)

Poster designed to welcome Joe Slovo back from exile.



WORLD LITERACY YEAR 1990



FOR MORE INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT

ADULT LEARNING PROJECT (ALP) TEL.: 685 3330 ADULT LITERACY CENTRE (ALC) - TRANSKEI TEL.: (0471) 310226 EASTERN CAPE ADULT LEARNING PROJECT (ECALP)TEL.: (041) 54 3141

> World Literacy Year Adult Learning Project Artist unknown Transkei litho 1990

MAYDAY 1991

Retrenchments

in the gold in mines since 1987:

100 000

Forecast for

1991: 40 000

Mayday 1991 P. de Villiers Silkscreen CAP Production Unit 1991

80 ANC leads issued by Shell House ANC, printed Sherano Johannesburg 1992







National Women's

Conference

16 - 18 August 1990 Vuyisile Mini Centre



The nation will never be free until the women are free!

FAWU National Women's Conference artist unknown FAWU, Salt Rivier Cape Town 1990



ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

National Launch

Sunday 12 August Curries ountain Stadium Durban, 10am-4pm.

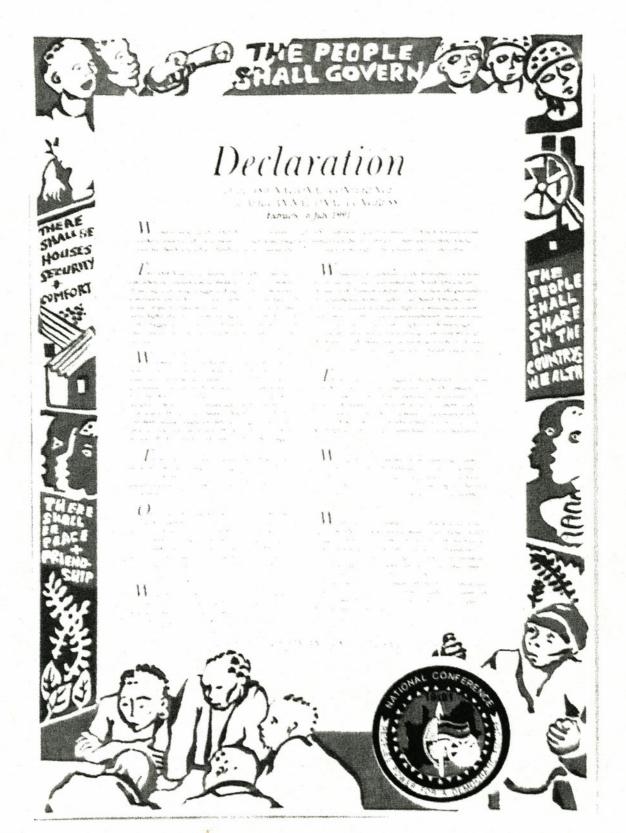
Speakers:

Cde. Nelson Mandela Cde. Albertina Sisulu

Cde. Lindiwe Mabuza

Issued by ANC Women's League, 20 St Andrews Street, Durban, 4001

ANC Women's League National Saunch Drawing Charlotte Schaer ANC 1990 Produced for the relaunch of the ANC Women's League inside SA after the unbanning of organisations.



Declaration of the 1992 National Conference of the ANC (held in Durban) J. Seidman Litho ANC HQ, Johannesburg 1992

Asinimali/ Food for All artist unknown ANC HQ Johannesburg 1991/2?



ANC dema

VAT contrasics

prought relief for all

An Exhibition of Photographs by 2 UWCO Trainees at the CAP Media Project Venue. Commontin Date. 21 House SPUT RIDER

The Way we Live
Exhibition poster for —— and ——.
both trained at CAP as photographers 1991????; subsequently exhibited

in New York

ERIP artist unknown UWC litho 1992/3?

EDUCATON FOR PEOPLE, POWE 11811

ERIP can be contacted at:

Community House 41 Salt River Road

Salt River Tel: (021) 474917

Prefab OM University of the Western Cape Bellville

Tel: (021)9592132 or 9593088

Fax: (021)9592536

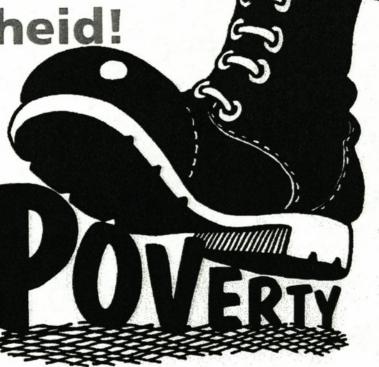
POSTAL ADDRESS: Private Bag X17 UWC Bellville

7530

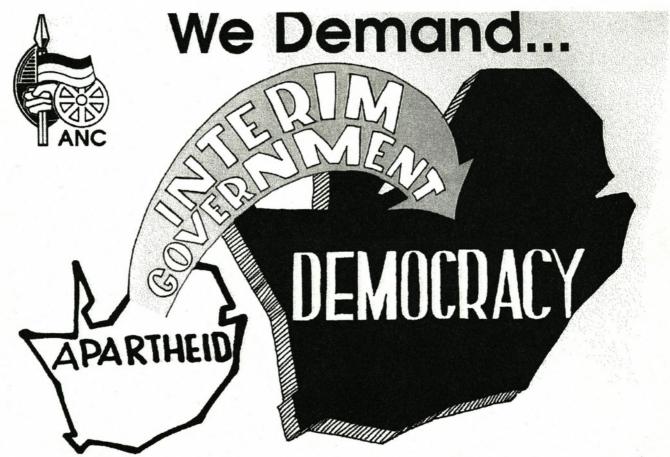


Demand a People's Budget!

End Poverty! End Apartheid!



Forward to a Constituent Assembly!



Forward to a Constituent Assembly

Demand a People\s Budget artist unknown ANC HQ Johannesburg 1991/2?

We Demand aInterim Government Morris SMithers??? ANC HQ Johannesburg

Campaign for Peace and Democracy rolls on



Pince June, millions of South Africans have taken action against the undemocratic De Klerk regime. The message is clear: We want peace and democracy now!

Over four million people teck part in the largest over stay away, while over two million actively to part in rather, marches, occupations of cities and other actions.

But this is not the end. The massacre of unarmed demonstrators in Cokes is just one example of the determination of De Klerk and his properts to cling to power. This carrier go unchallenged. The Campaign for Peace and Deriversky must continue until all our demands are men.

Interim Government and Constituent Assembly

We demand a sovereign Considered Assertify which will be elected on the basis of one-person, one trace in a continuous vices: told. Recently, the government provisionally asserted general some error elements regarding the Constituent Assertify. But they and retire on high personalizes and is their succepts to divide beant Africa (obtained by asserting states). Interface we must constitute to companying for a truly democratic CA and prevent any assertings by the governments to undermostate democracy. We must always all, perpart for elections to cause that the wines of the ANC carries the day. Decision for a Constituent Assertify must be uppervised by effective bullets which will crosser free personal activity (throughout the least. The National Party should use the allowed to be bean inferior and player.

■ Release all political prisoners now.
More than 400 political prisoners remain limited hars, two ages of the National Party. Many externactivities have been detailed and other god during the mass action campaign. All of these must be released. The regime 's attempt to link the release of remaining political privileges with passions for the

Violence must be brought to an end

Stop state murdorers
-State cover operatures such as the CCB and security position networks must be surgered. The government claims there are no such operatures the interviews of these units in the Yaar Triangle, Adda in the Enterior Capp and other areas shows two well that these units continue to operate.

*Yours, dipheral and continues to bereach, all operate flowers such as Konvort and 10 and 52 (featabless). The

government cays that they have been distracted and integrated into the SADF and SAP. What this emans or those there countries community as female satisfic.

is that they continue executing as senso serve. Assurpted and change southly liene hierabets implicated in the violence. Many such officers remain in the anny and police, van der Westholsen who is chief of SADF Military Intelligence and many more. The encert face lift of the SAP commissed impetion has one dealt with the real communication of the fits women.

F Stop the state-sponsored vigilantes

But the currying of all wreppers in public thinkinghing the country. The government has done this cody in "united areas", where people have already been killed. Even in these areas, the police do not services by endorce the bas.

Clused, cearch and frince bioriels wind as haven for access. Upgrade all bossels. The government refuses to do this and calls for more sally used our antique

Free political activity in all parts of the country

The engine says it is not proposable for the expectation and incorporate tasking glacin in Carker, KaraZado, Brogheshater and Florida and action Termination and action the same for a protocological and action to the himselfance are been to be there in a protocological and action to the care transfer are been to the same and the care of the same and the depositly approximate to request evident to some the water a

International monitoring

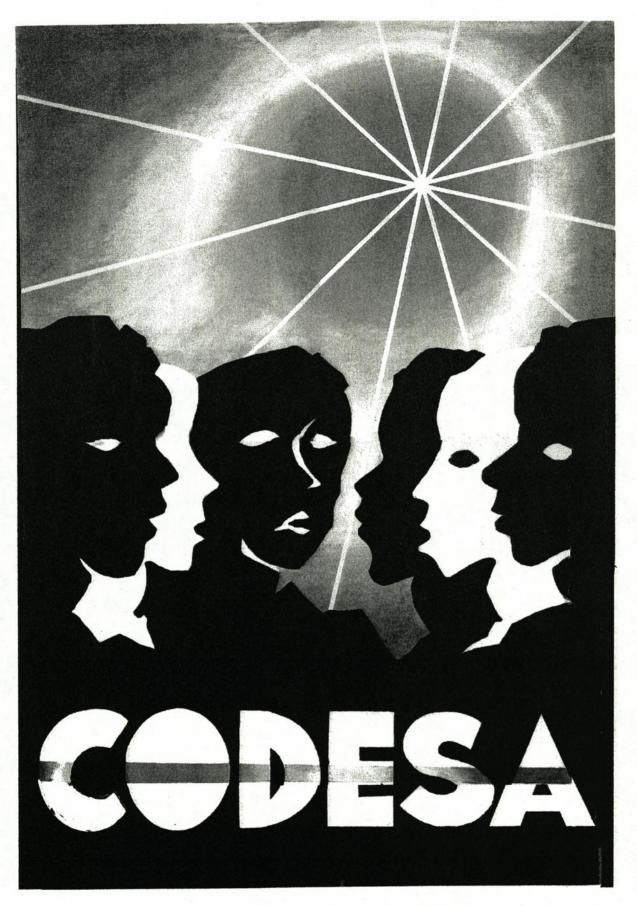
the edge of the Louise Newson, Linguistance of African Unity and person in consistency the scription in the News District in energy district in the News Linguist State of the LTM Sections Constant State are regarder with all Sections. the terminate and comment there is no making the designation of the comment of th

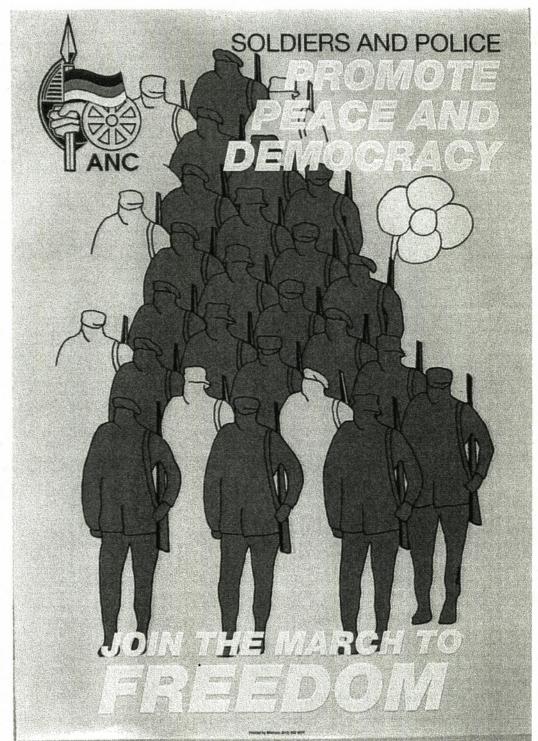
Goszs and De Klerk have the blood of Bisho on their hands De Klerk and his puppets must go! Forward to an Interim Government!



Campaign for Peace and Democracy roles on poster artist unknown; The Beast of Bisho image by Zapiro litho issued by ANC, COSATU, SACP 1992 (?)

Peace, Freedom and the vote; We demand interim constitution – Paola Shell house Johannesburg 1992





One case showing the effects of these political shifts upon the graphics came with the design for CODESA. Initially the organising committee, composed of officials from the whole range of political parties involved in the transitional talks, asked the major advertising agencies (such as Hunt Lascaris and Ogilvy Thompson) to bid for a contract for the design. Two days before the presentation, Murphy Morope, as administrator of the committee, realised that no progressive designers had even known about the bidding process; and contacted several. On that short notice, two bids were recieved from designers associated with the poster movement. In the event, the contract was split between a poster/backdrop design by an artist previously with Medu, and a major ad agency (who did the letterheads and logo).

Opposite: CODESSA poster Judy Seidman CODESSA administration 1992

Promote Peace and Democracy artist unknown ANC Hc Johannesburg 1992



Stop Savimbi's war! Recognise elected Angolan govt! ANC HQ 1993 ?

14th Anniversary of the control of t

"My blood will nourish the tree of freedom"



A new culture of learning for a democratic South Africa



Issued by the ANC Youth League, 14th Floor, Shell House, 51 Plein Street, Johannesburg 2000. Phone: (011) 333-6750

zHonour Solomon Mahlangu Artist unknown published by ANC youth League offset litho Johannesburg 1993

We demand the Exit Gate for minority rule! Judy Sediman litho SACP 1993





Chris Hani
Poster produced for mass funeral
artist unknown
litho
issued by ANC, Cosatu, SACP
Johannesburg
April 1993

Oppostie: Remember Chris Hani Vote ANC artist unknown ANC HQ, Johannesburg 1994

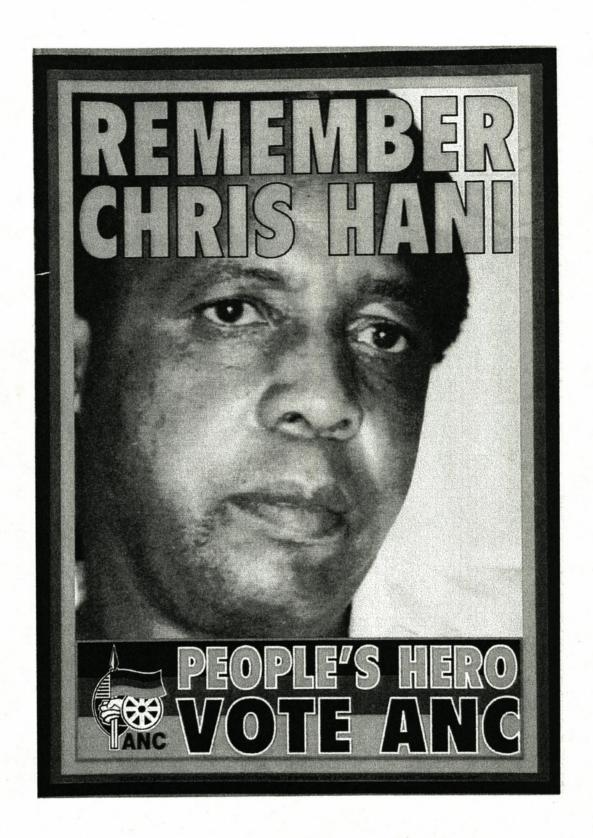
Chris Hani was assassinated in April 1993, a year before South Africa's first democratic elections. Hani had been the head of the SACP; Chief of Mkhonto we Sizwe; and a member of the ANC's national executive.

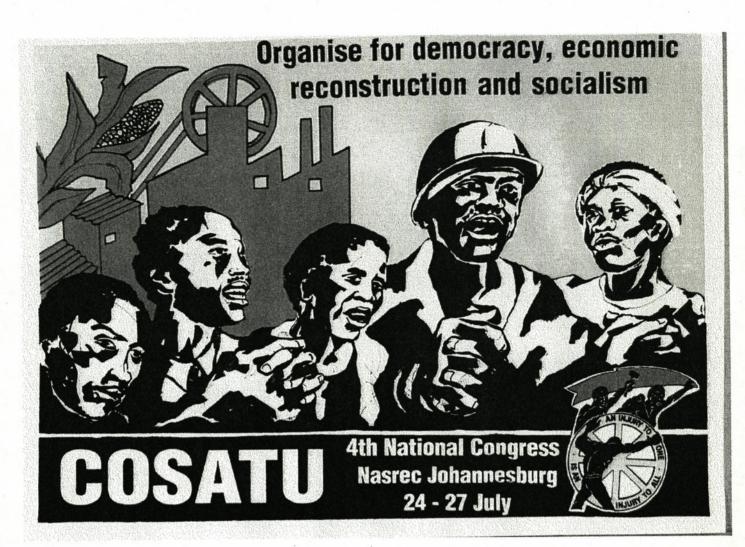
"He served the cause of the liberation movement with distinction, earning the respect and love of millions of our country. His death demands that we pursue that cause with even greater determination."

- Nelson Mandela, quoted on funeral service.

In the same way that those who crucified the Lord Jensus Christ did not understand the implcications of the act for the whole created reality, so is it with Janus Waluz and those who planned this act with him. He pulled the trigger to end the life of Chris Hani but in this act he has pulled the trigger to end the life of the racist regime which he wanted to save. In pulling the trigger he has released unstoppable engery, which will destroy apartheid and usher in a new non-racial and just South Africa."

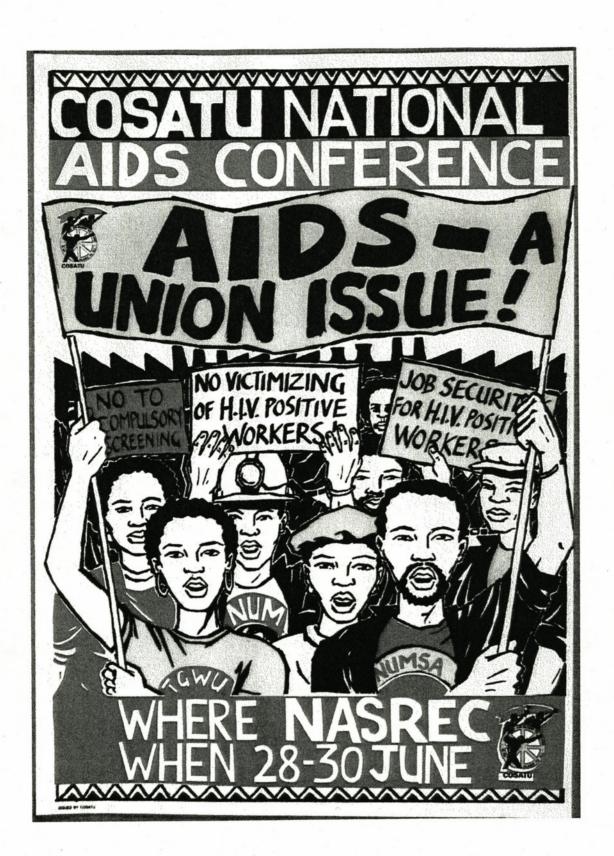
- Frank Chikane, (then) General Secretary SACC

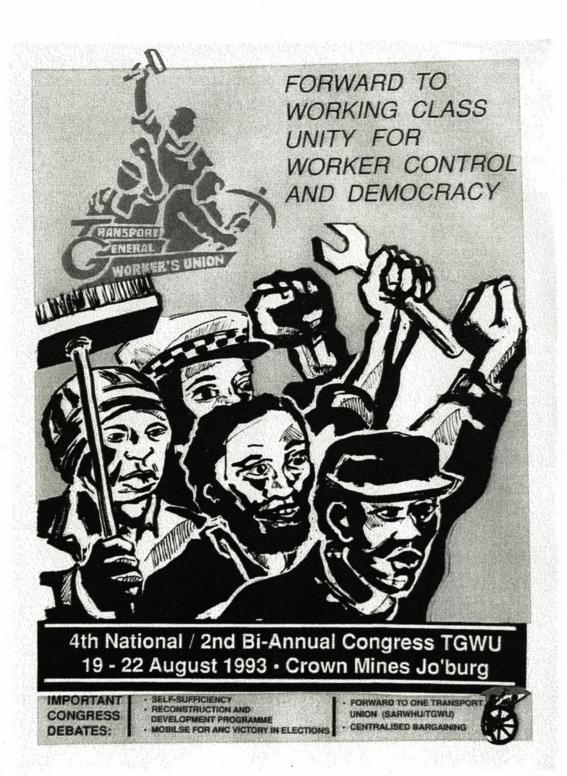




Oranise for democracy, economic reconstruction and socialism Judy Seidman litho issued by COSATU

AIDS - A Union Issue! Artist unknown Cosatu Litho Johannesburg 1994?





TGWU Congress Judy Seidman issued by TGWU/COSATU Johannesburg 1995? check

FOR APARTHEID CRIMES



FW De Klerk

Wanted for crimes against the people of South Africa

- Commander in chief of the apartheid war machine and its death squads
- Overall head of carrupt government departments
- Head of the government delegation blocking Codesa's negotiations for an interim government

SWEEP THE CROOKS AND ASSASSINS OUT OF POWER!



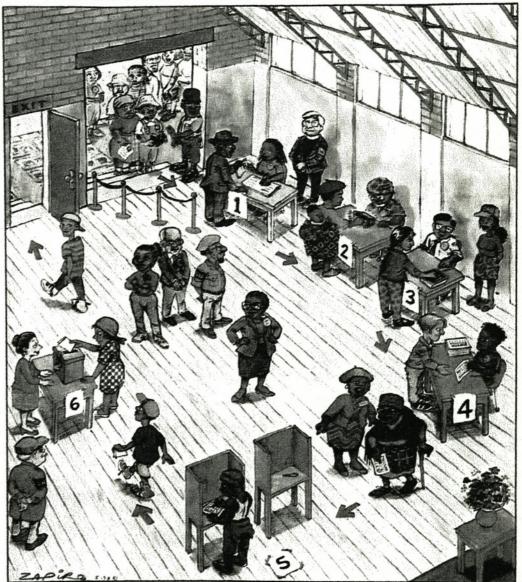
Issued by the South African Communist Party, PO Box 1027, Johannesburg
Printed by Exitgate

Wanted: FWde Klerk artist unknown SACP published by Exitgate Johannesburg 1993

VOTING STATION ISIKHUNGO SOKUVOTA ISITISHI SOKUVOTELA

With the agreement to hold democractic elections in April 1994, the interim government, donor agencies, political parties, and the Independent Electoral Commission began campaigns to ensure people registered to vote, and to teach people how to vote.

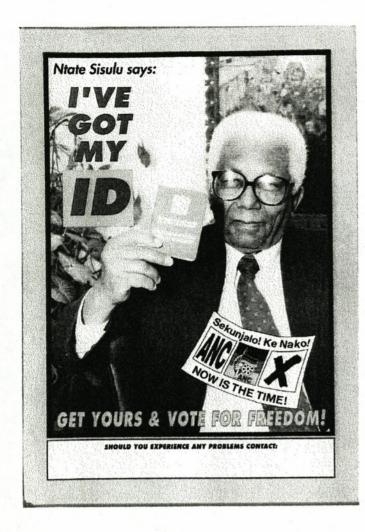
The adjoining poster had to be withdrawn and replaced after in the run-up to the election the decision was made to use a double ballot (one for provinces and one for national); the picture only showed one ballot being cast.

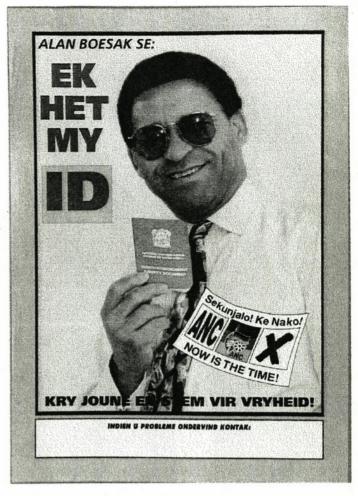


- Voting Station Zapiro Voter Education and Elections Training Unit ERIP, University of the Western
- Cape 1994
- 1. Show ID or voter card
- 2. Check hands
- 3. Mark hands
- 4. Get ballot paper
- 5. Make cross on ballot paper
- 6. Put ballot in box
- Veza umazisi wakho (ID) noma ikhadi lokuvota
- 2. Hiolwa izandla
- 3. Cwilisa izandla ku inki
- 4. Thola iphepha lokuvota
- 5. Yenza isiphambano ephepheni lokuvota
- 6. Faka iphepha lokuvota ebhokisini
- Veza isazisi (ID) sakho okanye ikhadi lokuvota
- 2. Qwalasela izandla
- 3. Yenza uphawu ezandleni
- 4. Fumana amaphepha okuvota
- 5. Yenza u nxi (X) ephepheni lokuvota
- 6. Faka iphepha lakho lokuvota ebhokisini

A VEETU POSTER (VOTER EDUCATION AND ELECTIONS TRAINING UNIT)

VEETU is a project of ERIP at the University of the Western Cape, in partnership with Alesis (East London), CCLS (Durban), HAP-ODS (Johannesburg)

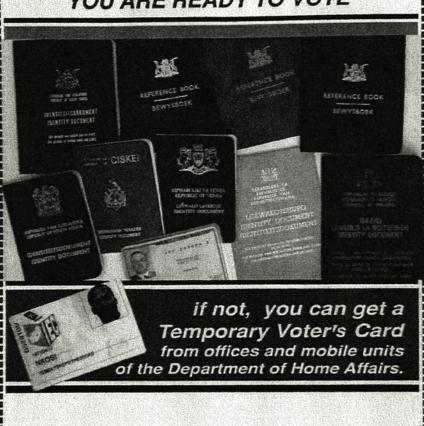




Above:
I've got my ID
- two of a series of ANC and
Community leaders
a. Walter Sisulu
b. Alan Boesak
Artist unknown
ANC Department of Information
and Publicity
Iitho
1994

READY TO VOTE

If you have any of these documents
YOU ARE READY TO VOTE



SUED BY THE VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME OF THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COM-

Ready to Vote Judy Seidman Litho Independent Electoral Commission Vote Education Programme 1994



Faith will help our nation grow Judy Seidman Litho Independent Electoral Commission Vote Education Programme 1994 Nelson Mandela The People's Choice ad agency? 1994



TSEBA DITOKELO TSA GAGO KA GA GO BOUTA



KHOMISENE YE E IKEMETSEGO YA DIKGETHO

Lenaneo la go Ruta go Bouta la independent Electoral Commission e tletse go tlo kgonthisisa gore o kwesisa ditokelo tsa gago tsa go bouta.



Election Leaflet Independent Electoral Commission Johannesburg February 1994

UVOTO LWAKHO LUYIMFIHLO YAKHO



Uyakuba wedwa xa uvotayo.



Iphepha lakho lokuvota alinadilesi yakho, inombolo okanye igamalakho.



Akukhonamnye onokuqonda ukuba eli liphepha lakho.

AKUKHONAMNYE ONOKUQONDA UKUBA UVOTELE BANI

The Independent Electoral Commission Voter Education programme produced these leaflets to teach first-time and semi-literate voters how to cast a ballot. These were produced in seven national languages.

Political violence in KwaZulu, and the boycott of the elections planned by Inkhata, led to doubts if the pamphlet should be distributed. However, the mandate facing the Electoral Commission was to cover the whole country equally.

Seven young men were employed by a commercial distribution agency in KwaZulu to give out the leaflets in the Ulundi area. They were abducted, tortured, and killed while trying to complete this task. No one was arrested or charged.

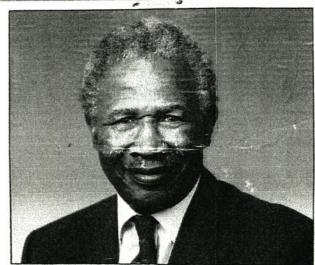
MANDELA FOR PRESIDENT



FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION

206





VOTE PAC



BUTHELEZ



The time has come



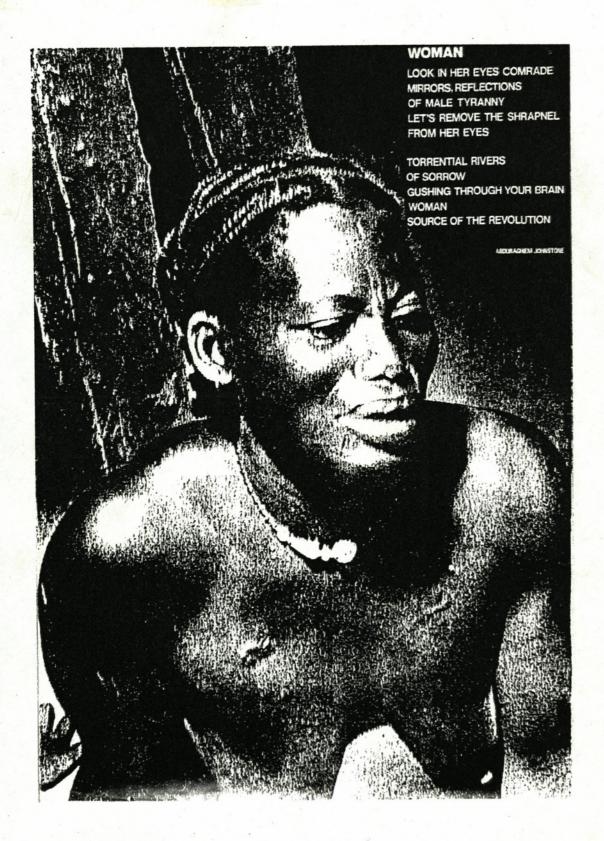
207

FROM CONQUEST TO LIBERATION

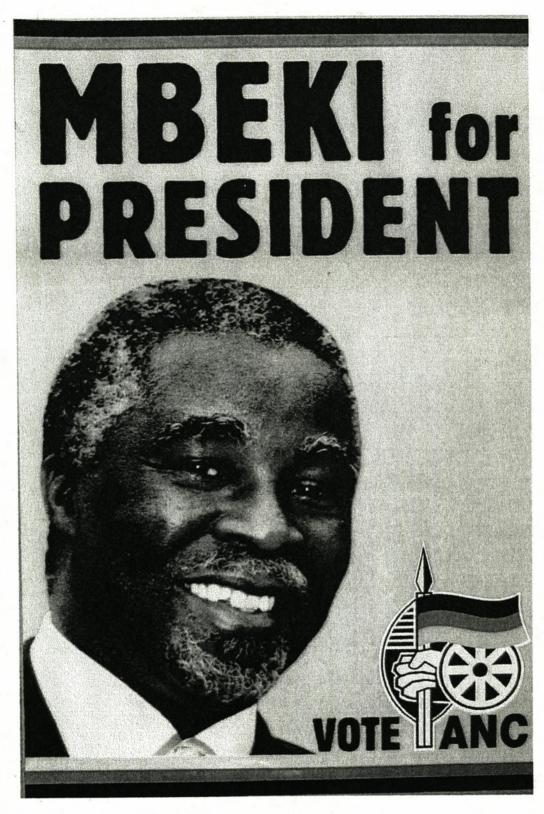
Vote PAC, Pan Africanist Congess 1994

Buthelezi Inkatha Freedom Party 1994

Mandela 1994; designed by advertising firm Olgilvie Thompson for ANC HQ (check Charl)



Abduraghiem Johnstone: designed by Gabby working with Johnstone, printed commercially CAP Cape Town 1997



Mbeki for President; Vote ANC ANC Publicity Johannesburg 1999

After years of struggle . . .















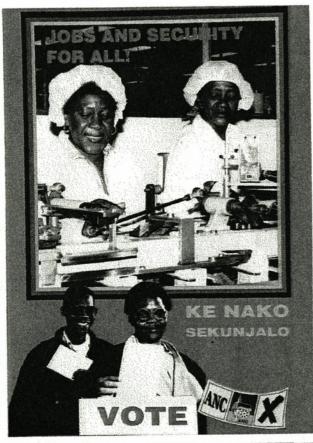




NOW IS THE TIME FOR FREEDOM!

VOTE

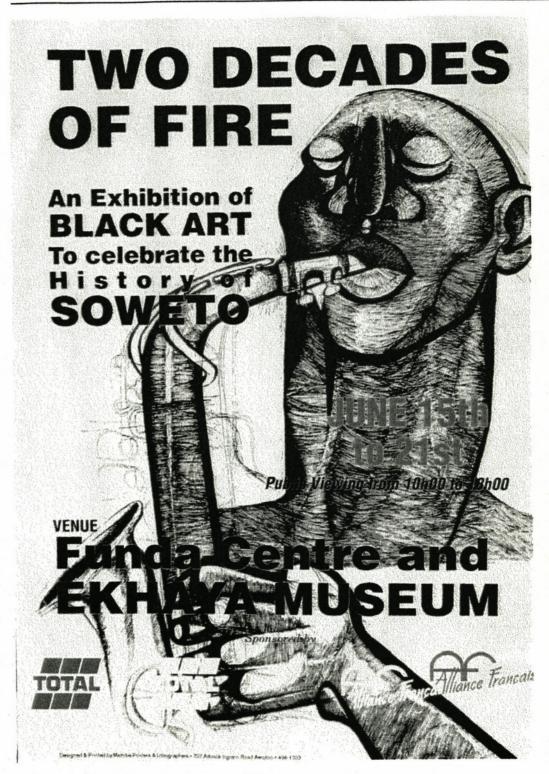








Now is the Time - VOTE ANC
A series of posters put out by ANC
pulbicity and
information, commemorating the
struggle and putting forward the
demands of the Freedom Charter
as election committments.



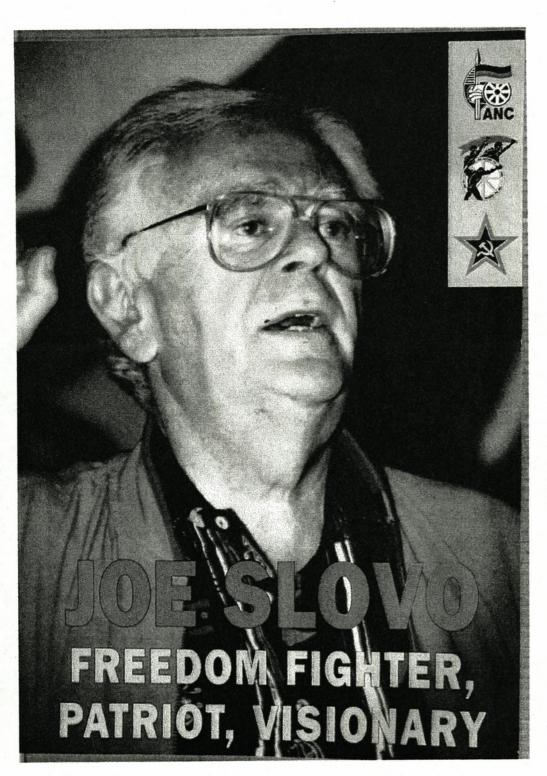
Two Decades of Fire
An exhibition of Black art to
celebrate the History of Soweto
Artist Charles Nkosi??? check
Funda Centre and Ekhaya Museum
Soweto
1997



Stop AIDS Now Charlotte Pedan National Progressive Primary Health Network 1995



Women we fought for the vote Now we must claim our rights Judy Seidman SPEAK Magasine Johannesburg 1977



Joe Slovo: Freedom fighter, patriot, visionary artist unknown Produced by the ANC< COSATU, and the SACP for Slovojs funeral in Johannesburg, 1997???

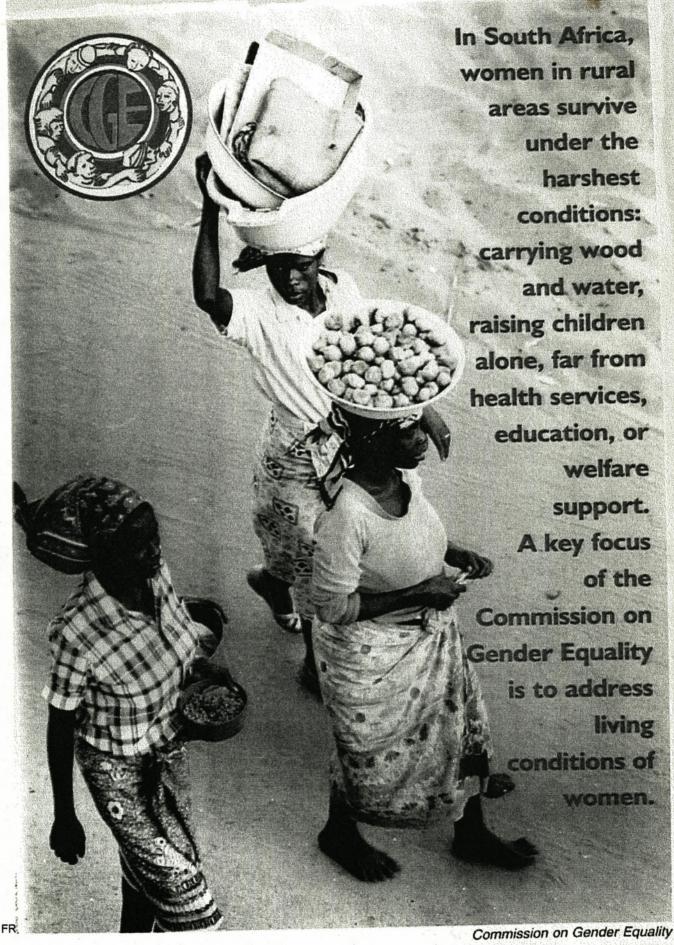


Issued by the Department of Justice

Violence against women is a crime Judy Seidman Department of Justice Printed by the Government Printers Pretoria 1998



Two posters from a series of 5 commissioned by the Commission on Gender Equality by J. Seidman and M. Waller Photo (right) by Cedric Nunn Johannesburg



The Boers took the hunter-gatherers -- "the San" -- to be aggressive, hostile, and less than human. Skirmishes erupted between white farmers and San. "According to the white settlers, violent encounters started because San took their livestock. But it is also clear from the same accounts that farmers often took surviving San as servants." p.97

From the 1700s up to as late as 1932 (in the then South-West Africa), colonial/settler governments issued hunting licences for settlers to kill Bushmen, as they would for lion or elephant. People who refused to work for white farmers were forced further into the mountains and into the desert.

Today, the most recent descendants of these outcasts are allowed to live as "huntergatherers" in modern game parks, under the label of Bushmen. They are however denied the right to hunt with firearms, or even iron-tipped arrows, or to keep cattle herds).

Today, the term "Bushmen" usually refers only to these few who survive as "huntergatherers", about 120 000 people in total in Southern Africa.

For millennia Khoi herders and farmers, and Bushman hunter-gatherers shared the lands of Southern Africa. Herders and farmers supplied hunter-gatherer communities with grain and carbohydrates, in return for wild meat and hunting products (such as ivory and ostrich eggshells). In some areas iron age peoples employed Bushmen to collect firewood for heating up smelters. The exchange was by no means one-way: early European travellers in 1833 mention Bushmen shaman using trance to heal Khoi herders. The Pondomise reportedly had permanent contracts with Bushmen rain-makers as late as the 1920s. In contrast, Botswana cattle farmers employed hunter-gatherers as labourers (in positions similar to serfs in Europe): these people are today called the BaSarwa.

Some rock paintings showing conflict between people armed with shields and spears (farmers) and those armed with bows and arrows (hunter-gatherers). By the 18th century hunter-gatherers and the expanding farming societies began to compete for resources: as more land was put under grain, wild-life became more scarce. But the divisions between these life-styles were not rigid. European travellers Burchell and Campbell found hunter-gatherers (whom they called the San) in 1822 by the lower Riet River: these people kept cattle, goats and sheep, as well as hunting.

But with the arrival of European settlers this relative "peaceful co-existence" between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists shattered. White settlers traded with the pastoral Khoikhoi, gaining control of their herds and settling on their land. The Khoikhoi herders were reduced to employed – or enslaved – labour for the Boer farmers. Those who refused to work as labourers often returned to a life as hunter-gatherers, with the addition that the Boer herds were now "fair game".