

Art in the Emergency



Poster made for an exhibition of fine artworks to protest *Detention without Trial*, to be held at the Market Theatre in 1988; security police served banning orders on the exhibition while artists were hanging the pictures in the gallery. *Detention without Trial: 100 Artist protest*, artist Andrew Verster, Market Theatre, Johannesburg, 1988. No. 1534

'Art of the eighties reflects the struggling and resisting masses. Its allegory reflects workers in protest against the management, people resisting forced removals, people protesting against any form of injustice; and above all, art has become a tool for liberation.' (Matsamela Manaka)¹

The pressures of the Emergency had profound effects — both positive and negative — on the willingness and ability of artists to create art in the context of struggle.

Given the amount of pressure people worked under to produce these graphics, criticism of any kind was often not taken, or given, kindly. The art maker might be expected to toe the line, to limit the message to what had to be said, with little room for experimentation or aesthetics. Debate and discussion with the graphic artist about images, and about what was being said and done — which had been fundamental to the progressive cultural movement — seemed to fall away. This was not always the case, but where it occurred it posed a real and painful problem.

'The insurrection of 1984 to 1986 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 cause marginalisation ... Also many leaders saw cultural workers as groupings that were to fit into the gaps of political activity or to become "adverts" for the latest campaign.' (Nisa Mhlanga et al.)²

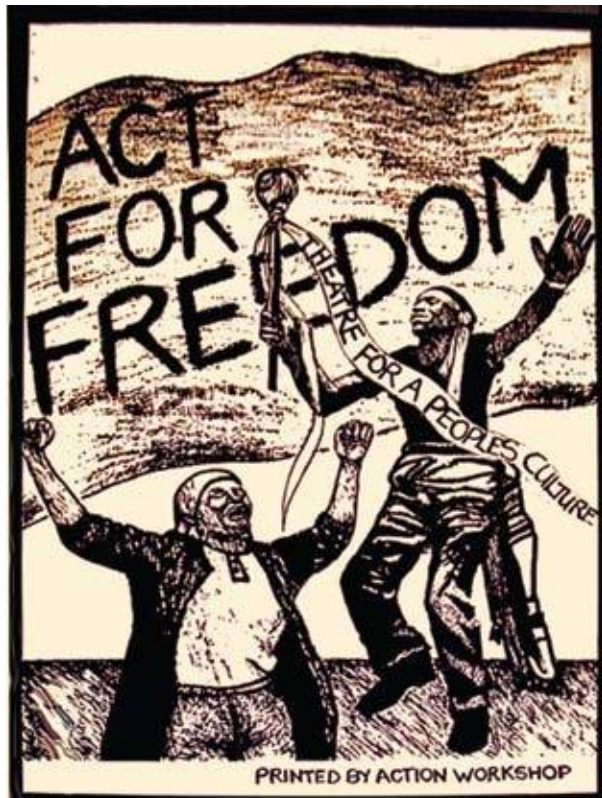
'What had been a fantastic movement simply began to diminish — over the later years of the 80s we could hammer the same thing.' (Trish de Villiers)³

But the results were not all negative. As Nisa Mhlanga points out, positive aspects of grassroots creativity emerged, even in the worst dark years of the Emergency. In the face of shootings, detentions, bannings, and bombings, the struggle continued, and grew. And the graphic expression of this struggle continued and also grew.

*Act for freedom, Action Workshop, circa 1988.
No. 2021*

Indeed, Justin Wells points out that on some occasions people could use artistic production as a condition to avoid the repressive laws and restrictions:

'Often we got around the Emergency legislation by producing as "culture" rather than as "political media". This could be an attempt to avoid the law — laws restricted how many people you could have in a meeting; but you could have as many as you liked in a cultural event. The ECC deliberately became more "cultural". We did a lot of plays, "live" broadcasts, guerilla theatre, big puppets...'⁴



'Let the arts be one of many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of movement and inspire millions of people to fight for the South Africa we envisage.'⁵

ANC president
OR TAMBO in January 8th
speech, 1985

Towards a 'people's culture'

The growing movement for 'people's culture' reflected this 'up-front' approach to resistance politics; and in turn wove into the growing militancy of the community. Cultural events became one of the key methods used to express community solidarity, demands, experiences and responses. Public events – including illegal mass meetings and marches – provided audiences and performance venues for poetry, theatre, music; and graphic expression.

Lionel Davis explained how CAP was restructured in the mid-1980s to incorporate this collective – indeed, democratic – approach:

'When CAP first started, the idea of individual creativity, leadership and contribution was very strong. Individual input formed the basic mode of operation. Tuition and training were offered by individual tutors who volunteered to work in a community-oriented project. The problem with this mode of operation was that it was dependent upon the vagaries of individuals who had time and the preparedness to work in the project. This was an unsatisfactory situation.

'We decided to restructure and democratise the entire project to include and involve students as well as the community in shaping the aims and functions of the organisation. In the process we developed what we call a participatory democracy with various checks and balances to ensure that no single individual is placed in a position where he or she can make decisions affecting others and the life of the organisation without consulting and involving everyone concerned.'⁶



Exhibition Let it be done before dawn, CAP, Cape Town, 1989. No. 1803



Towards a People's Culture; CAP circa 1987. No. 1807



May Day is Ours! series of all five silk-screen prints by CAP workshop, 1988; various artists involved including Justin Wells, Billy Mandandini, and others. Nos. 1116, 1969, 1968, 1970, 2596

Workshopping worker culture at CAP

CAP moved from Woodstock to Community House in Observatory, to share facilities with other organisations including COSATU. Lionel Davis commented:

'We have always done work for labour organisations. But when we moved to Community House our relationship with COSATU became very close. We were in touch with hundreds of workers on a daily basis. This brought about a very important extension in the democratic orientation of CAP. We were able to extend our facilities on a regular basis to various affiliates of COSATU. This enabled workers to develop the various media skills and to produce their own posters, T-shirts and banners. At workers' conferences and gatherings we participated in displays and the distribution of information.'⁷



Photo: *We shall govern*, Imvaba artists putting up backdrop to rally to welcome ANC members after their release from prison.

Port Elizabeth rally, 1990. Photo courtesy Lou Almon

Imvaba Arts Association in the Eastern Cape

On May Day, 1986, Lou Almon and her husband moved to Port Elizabeth. The situation in East London had become untenable — Gavin had been detained, and people identified with the grassroots movements and trade unions were attacked and killed.

In Port Elizabeth, Lou worked with a community arts group called Imvaba. Imvaba provided 'a calabash of knowledge' around the arts, producing poetry, drama, and visual arts. As Lou recalls:

'During the State of Emergency everything was underground ... One of the reasons for forming Imvaba was a way around that. It was announced as an arts group, with poetry, drama, and the visual arts. The drama and writing sections became the COSAW (Congress of South African Writers) branch.

'I went to CAP to learn silk screening; but we didn't have the equipment, or the funding, to do it. In Cape Town and Johannesburg there was a much bigger, sympathetic white left with resources: in East London and Port Elizabeth it was minuscule. We depended on the trade unions, and COSATU; we were involved with them.

'Our father figure and mentor was George Pemba — a close and dear friend. He was the leading figure and spiritual head of the visual arts at Imvaba. I was appointed head of the visual arts department, and reported to him regularly.

'We saw Imvaba as a space — another "soft organisation" — just a soft organisation as opposed to a political organisation. We could do something for the children and do something for the youth. We were given the nod by political parties who were very underground at that time.

'From 1986 to 1994, every time there was a rally or a funeral, two or three days before, they would say "We need a backdrop". "We need a poster". We called them "Big Posters", huge mural-type things ... We used house paints on single-face cardboard, and PVAs. Once complete, we would roll them up and put them on the roof-rack of the car; drive to the meeting or rally; put it up for a meeting; take it down afterwards; use them as a once-off for a rally. They were backdrops for the event.

'In the Eastern Cape at that time, you would have 50 000 to 80 000 people in a rally. We knew the marshals, and they knew us. They would ask: "Where is Imvaba?". We would go in fast and put them up. Once one was in the rally one was secure. But we would take them down immediately afterwards. I suppose there was a level of ownership: we wanted to retain it [the mural], not leave it to be destroyed or confiscated by the security police. These "Big Posters" were one aspect of Imvaba's developing art.

'We all did individual work, and we organised exhibitions. We had our first Imvaba exhibition in 1988, at the trade union offices in Perl Road, Korsten. We invited Mzwakhe Mbuli to open the exhibition. We had Pemba's work. We all had our individual work as well. We also exhibited at the Grahamstown festivals in 1990, 1991..'

Some of Lou's comments on artistic influences and styles in Imvaba's visual work:

'There was the influence of Mexican, Russian poster art – but I don't necessarily think that was a problem. We were perhaps fortunate in that we did not have an academic approach. The University of PE existed, but it was not a resource or a viable support for us. We were very practical.

'We all fell under the influence of George Pemba. I suppose George's influence could be called Eurocentric — he adored Rembrandt and the Impressionists. But he also portrayed social situations, scenes. He painted scenes of early ANC meetings [in the 1940s and 1950s]. Pemba never wanted to be termed a political or township artist. He wanted to be recognised as an artist.

'Two of Imvaba's members were George's grandchildren.

'Michael [Barry] and I had formal training, but others did not.' (Michael Barry studied art at Michaelis, then went back to PE, where he taught at St Thomas' Senior Secondary School. Lou studied at Rhodes Art school for two years in the late 1970s, did one year at Michaelis, then changed to BA sociology at UCT.)

'Mpumi was one of the main designers — he had no formal art background then. After 1994, we entered into negotiations with the Technikon in PE to get formal training for Imvaba's members: Mpumi, Douglas Sepeto, Nkulani Gatsho. None of these had matriculated because of the schools boycotts and the unrest in the 1980s; Mpumi had been detained for a time.'

Imvaba members included Mpumelelo Melane, Sponono Nkopane, Liso Pemba (grandchild of George), Titus Pemba (deceased), Siphon Kulati, Gavin Mabie, Michael Barry, Mxolisi Ganto, George Pemba, Douglas Sapeta, Naomi MacKay, and later Annette du Plessis.



Michael Barry design for NUMSA calendar, date unknown

Cultural desks: to empower or control?

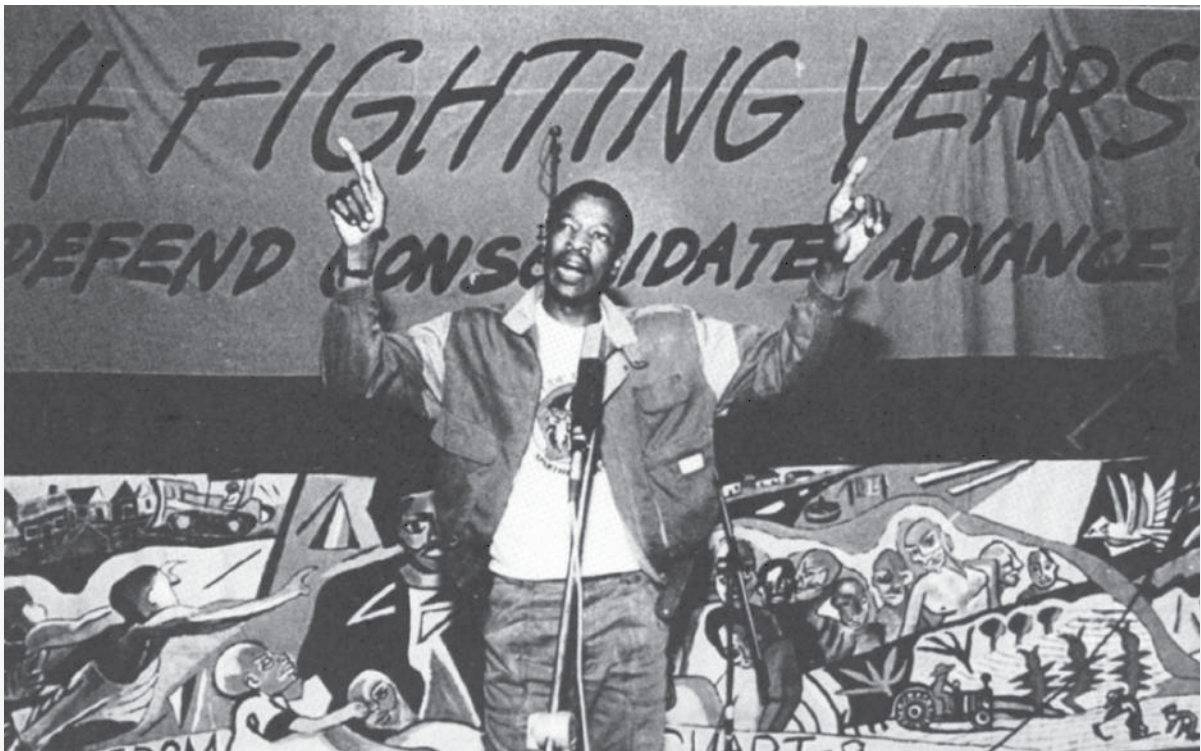
The resistance movement created its own structures to promote and direct cultural work. Following the Gaborone Culture and Resistance Festival in 1983, the ANC formally established a Department of Arts and Culture, to take responsibility for the international cultural boycott of apartheid on the one hand, and to support, develop, and interact with the internal South African cultural resistance movement on the other. In the later 1980s, inside South Africa, the UDF and COSATU both set up 'Cultural Desks', to work within South Africa to give political organisation and physical support to the concept that 'culture is a weapon of struggle'.

The UDF and COSATU Cultural Desks also played a role in enforcing and interpreting the worldwide cultural boycott against apartheid. The cultural boycott argument held that the minority in power should not enjoy foreign entertainers and artists while the majority were repressed. It was also argued that artwork made in South Africa which ignored the oppression and repression was dishonest, and should not be promoted overseas.

However, a blanket boycott of work produced in South Africa in overseas venues would also affect cultural workers of the resistance movement within the country. The UDF and COSATU Cultural Desks intended to provide ways and means to assist resistance cultural workers to exhibit and perform overseas, without having to rely upon apartheid-based structures and institutions, and preferably in contexts of international anti-apartheid solidarity.

Photo: poster detail with People's Poet Mzwakhe Mbuli performing in front of banners proclaiming Freedom Charter. Photo Paul Weinberg. Mzwakhe was employed as a silk-screen production worker at STP in the first half of the 1980s; detained in 1986; in 1987 he headed the UDF cultural desk. Detail of poster on page 176. No. 494

But for some South African artists, this position still caused difficulties. Not all artists saw themselves as members of the resistance movement, and it was undoubtedly difficult, and even dangerous, to make that alignment. Art that portrayed the hardship and oppression of apartheid met state repression inside South Africa. But if some works of art did not reflect that oppression, was the artist giving comfort to the enemy? Was the artist saying that life in South Africa could be normal or nice under apartheid? For artists who just wanted to pursue their trade, this sometimes appeared to be a no-win situation.⁹



The CASA Conference

The Cultural Desks achieved their most publicised success in December 1987, by organising participants to go to the Culture in Another South Africa (CASA) Conference in Amsterdam (the Netherlands). Billed as a follow-up to the Medu Conference in 1982, and a smaller conference in Amsterdam in 1984, it showcased the thriving liberation culture of South Africa, with visual arts and poster exhibitions, theatre, music and poetry. It brought 120 cultural workers from inside South Africa to Amsterdam for a week, away from the daily political pressures on their work that they faced under the Emergency at home. It brought 180 more South African artists from exile in various places around the world to meet with them.

UDF cultural desk head poet, Mzwakhe Mbuli, was detained before leaving South Africa, and did not attend the conference.

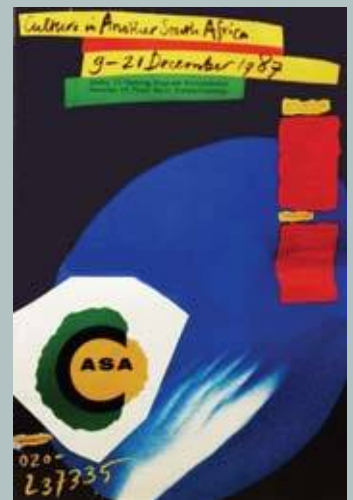
CASA looked at the development of resistance culture within South Africa, as well as the cultural boycott. It began to address plans for a future cultural policy of the ANC. It held workshops and a multitude of performances, in theatre, music and poetry, as well as a film festival, a photo exhibition, and an exhibition of posters.

'The exhibitions made it painfully clear that South Africa is a potentially beautiful country with a people who, though surrounded by steel bars and barbed wire, can still let their imaginative creativity leap out and weave these tender images.' Mandla Langa¹¹

CASA resolutions

- 1.1 'That in the course of the struggle of our people against racist domination and exploitation there has developed a vibrant people's culture, rooted in South African realities and steeped in democratic values, in opposition to the racist culture associated with the apartheid regime. This democratic culture is characterised by a spirit of internationalism and a humanist perspective that derives from the best of the cultural heritage of the various people that make up the South African population ...
- 1.2 That cultural activity and the arts are partisan and cannot be separated from politics. Consequently, a great responsibility devolves on artists and cultural workers to consciously align themselves with the forces of democracy and national liberation in the life and death struggle to free our country from racist bondage...
- 4.4 That within the developing democratic people's culture and the organised formation it creates we must address all forms of oppression and exploitation, especially the triple oppression borne by the black women of our country, as members of an oppressed gender, oppressed nationalities, and exploited class. Democratic culture should strive to be anti-sexist and consciously promote the norms of equality between men and women...
- 5.5. That the idiom of this democratic culture must strive for authenticity and be accessible to the mass of our people by speaking to them in language and symbols that they understand.
- 7.7 That the struggle for the total isolation of the apartheid regime must continue ... the academic and cultural boycott are crucial, and must be maintained. However, in view of the growing significance of democratic culture as an alternative to the racist, colonialist culture of apartheid, the conference recommends that South African artists, individually or collectively, who seek to travel and work abroad should consult beforehand with the mass democratic movement and the national liberation movement.'

On visual arts, CASA confirms 'the importance of the role of visual arts in the national democratic struggle; noting ... that posters and other graphics have made a significant contribution to advance the national democratic struggle...¹⁰



CASA conference in Amsterdam; designed by a Dutch artist, 1987. No 2422



Workers Art Exhibition, Africa Cultural Centre, London, 1990. No. 2225



The Sun will Rise by Camaron Vuyiyi,
CAP for Board of Social Responsibility,
circa 1987. No. 3478

Collective input versus criticism and control

The debates around the roles of the Cultural Desks went further. Increasingly, cultural workers aligned to the resistance movement found themselves accused of toeing a political line, while their organisations faced accusations of imposing soviet-style restrictions on artistic expression.

From the time of the Culture and Resistance Festival in 1982, progressive cultural workers in South Africa considered their artwork as expressions of grassroots, mass-based resistance and as mobilising their own communities. They regarded their work as an artistic affirmation of democracy, and a rejection of totalitarian apartheid restrictions on cultural expression.

But by the later 1980s, critics and commentators and some artists increasingly denounced 'collective criticism', not as a representation of community spirit, but rather as an attempt to impose 'political correctness', perhaps with the intention of speaking to the lowest common denominator in the society. Resistance art was at times denounced as a mimicking of Soviet Realism. This approach saw political perspectives as restricting and denying the artist's individual freedom and personal expression.

Thus, an essay written in the 1990s describes the changing approach to resistance art of Camaron Vuyiyi, who first studied art and poster graphics at CAP:

'Whilst he freely admits that his work is reflective of the social, political elements of life in South Africa, he flatly refutes the concept that it could be termed resistance art. To him, good work should come from within the artist and not be a directive from a political group leader. This was a pressure that he had felt under the apartheid regime where a "cultural debt" advocated that black artists' work should become the weapon of the struggle...

'From a personal perspective, Camaron at this stage felt that he was losing interest. He wanted to deal with issues in his own way and not be directed into the popular concept of poster art. He firmly believes that posters, whilst attracting an audience, allow the recipient to glance and understand therefore dealing with an issue only in a literal way. However, as an artist, it is imperative for him that his audience engages with his work; to look, to search and to derive meaning for themselves rather than seeing his thinking behind a specific subject. In this way, his work has become a reflection of his own fears.¹²

As these debates swelled, some critics called for a rejection of the concept that 'culture is a weapon of struggle'.

Imaging and imagining heroes

Kevin Humphrey describes the art of this resistance:

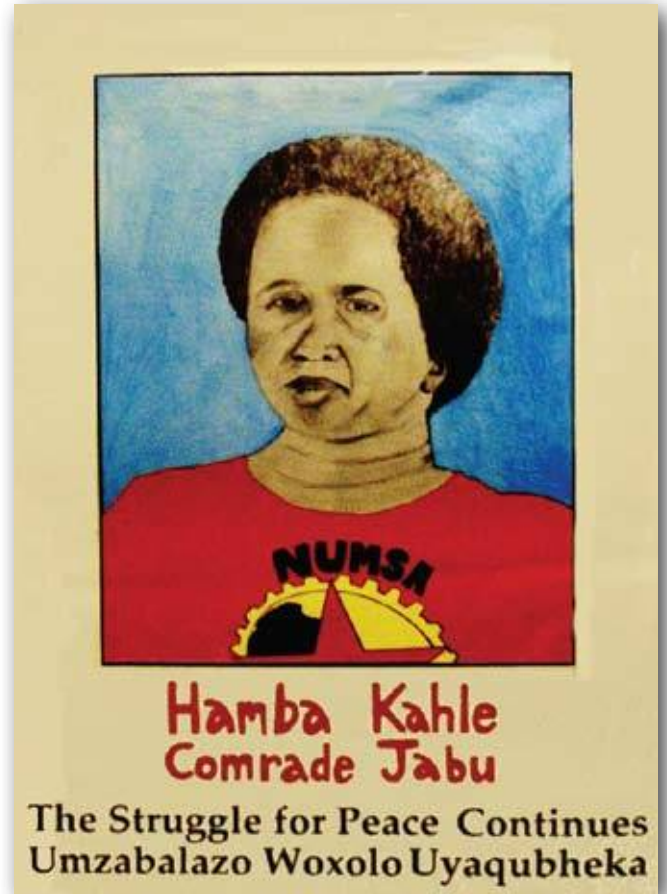
'Morris sent his young soldiers from the East Rand to us, these young men with photographs, a big photo with this one little face off to the side, that's him, the one who is dead. And they would want a T-shirt of the dead one. Of course, the photo was too small to print, it would blow up too grainy. Often, we had to redraw it. Mzwakhe and Zenele Mashinini often did the drawing.'¹³

Mzwakhe described the technique they used: they would try to create linocut effect using a knife to cut into paper stencils, then print on T-shirts or litho a poster.

It should, perhaps, be pointed out that at this time portraits were most frequently of 'the unknown soldier' in the townships, the draft resister going to jail, the missing or dead community activist. The graphics of the struggle did not produce a massive collection of heroic portraits of 'leaders', even those of the people of the stature of Mandela, Sisulu, or Biko.

There were several reasons for this. It was illegal to display pictures of banned or jailed leaders; up-to-date pictures of such leaders were unobtainable; and people living in the underground or in exile did not want their pictures displayed publicly. Besides these factors, many people felt quite strongly that we should not romanticise, or adulate, individual leaders: the leadership was collective; heroes were the struggling members of the community.

One way of getting around the laws against printing pictures of people in jail was to use a photograph with a strip 'blacking out' their eyes.



Jabu Florence Ndlovu, a NUMSA shopsteward, died with her husband and two daughters after Inkatha supporters and special constables of the KwaZulu police attacked her home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 May 1989. Poster: *Hamba Kahle Comrade Jabu*, artist unknown, KwaZulu-Natal, 1989. No. 1536



Free Our Comrades, artist unknown, circa 1986. No. 1696

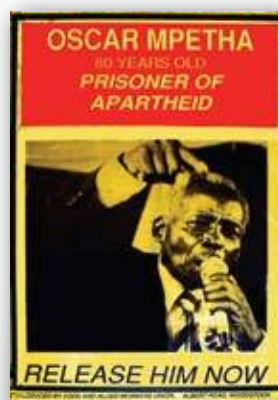
UDF and Congress: We stand by our leaders; artist prob. Dilip Waghmarae, for UDF, circa 1985, Johannesburg. No. 1155



6 March 1981 Two Years, artist unknown, Cape Town, 1989. No. 1825



Free Oscar Mpetha, artist unknown. No. 3546



Oscar Mpetha, prisoner of apartheid, circa 1988. No. 3546



Welcome home Oscar, 1989. No. 180

Photo: Oscar Mpetha as an official of Food and Canning Workers, with Ray Alexander (centre), Betty du Toit, and Maria Williams in the early 1950s, photo by Eli Weinberg.

Release Oscar Mpetha

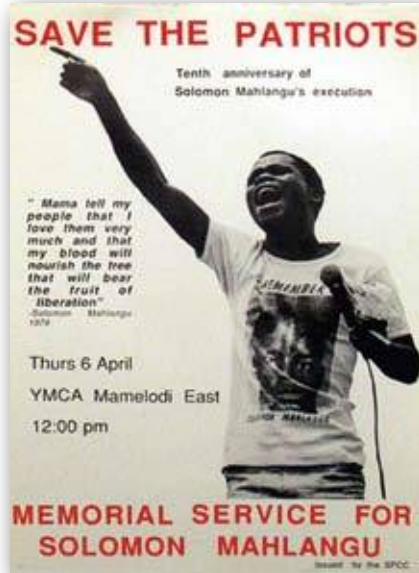
Born in the Transkei in 1909, Oscar Mpetha was an ANC official and a trade union activist in the 1940s. He was banned twice in the 1950s, then sentenced to four years in jail for furthering the aims of the ANC. In the 1970s, Mpetha became leader of the Nyanga Residents' Association in Cape Town. He was again arrested in 1980 and imprisoned for five years after being convicted of terrorism. In 1983 (while awaiting an appeal against his sentence), he was elected president of the UDF. In 1985 he became the oldest political prisoner on Robben Island. He was released with Walter Sisulu and others in 1989.

In 1981, Janet Cherry recalls making a NUSAS poster in the UCT printing shop about Oscar Mpetha, using the words 'On trial — Not guilty!' The police raided their offices and confiscated the print run, on the grounds that the case was sub judice, and the slogan anticipated the outcome of the trial.¹⁴

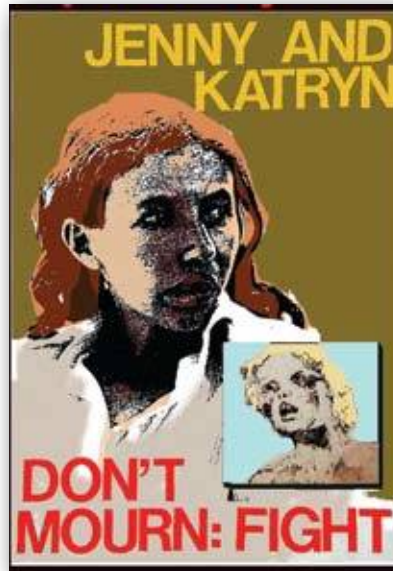


Telling of our heroes and martyrs

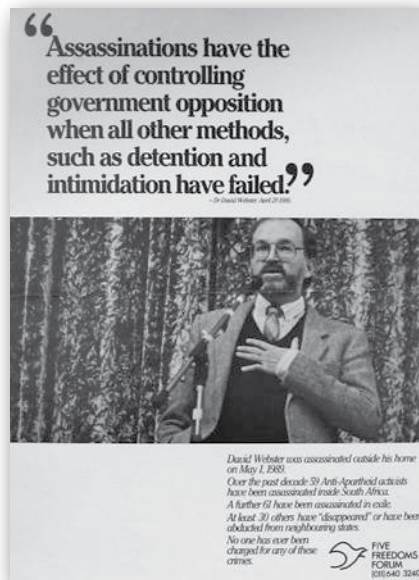
In many cases, the main surviving images of heroes and heroines are in posters and T-shirts commemorating their deaths.



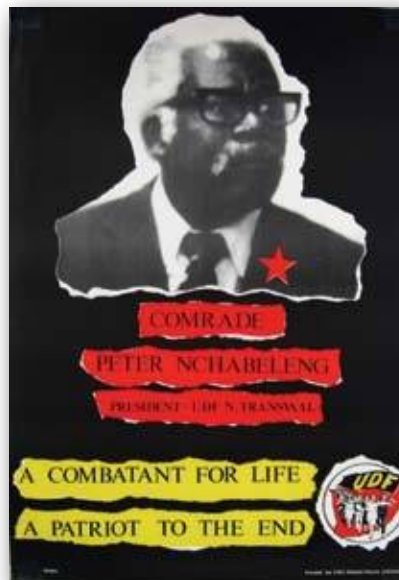
Save the Patriots: Memorial Service for executed ANC cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mamelodi, 1989. No. 1026



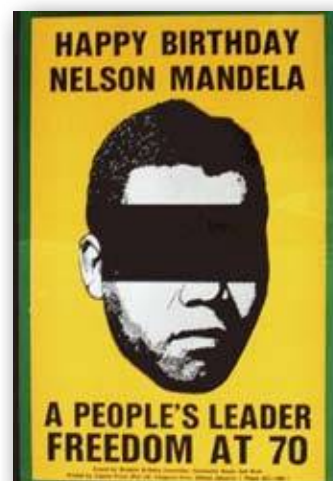
Jenny and Katryn: Don't Mourn: Fight, Botswana Memorial service for ANC activist Jenny Schoon and her 6 year old daughter Katryn, killed by a bomb in Angola in 1984. No. 2748



University of Witwatersrand academic Dr David Webster was assassinated outside his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1989, by agents of a clandestine SADF unit, the Civil Co-operation Bureau. No. 350



Peter Nchabeleng was an ANC and later UDF leader in the Northern Transvaal, who died in police custody in Lebowa homeland, on April 11, 1986. He was given the accolade of 'Hero of Heroes'. No. 552



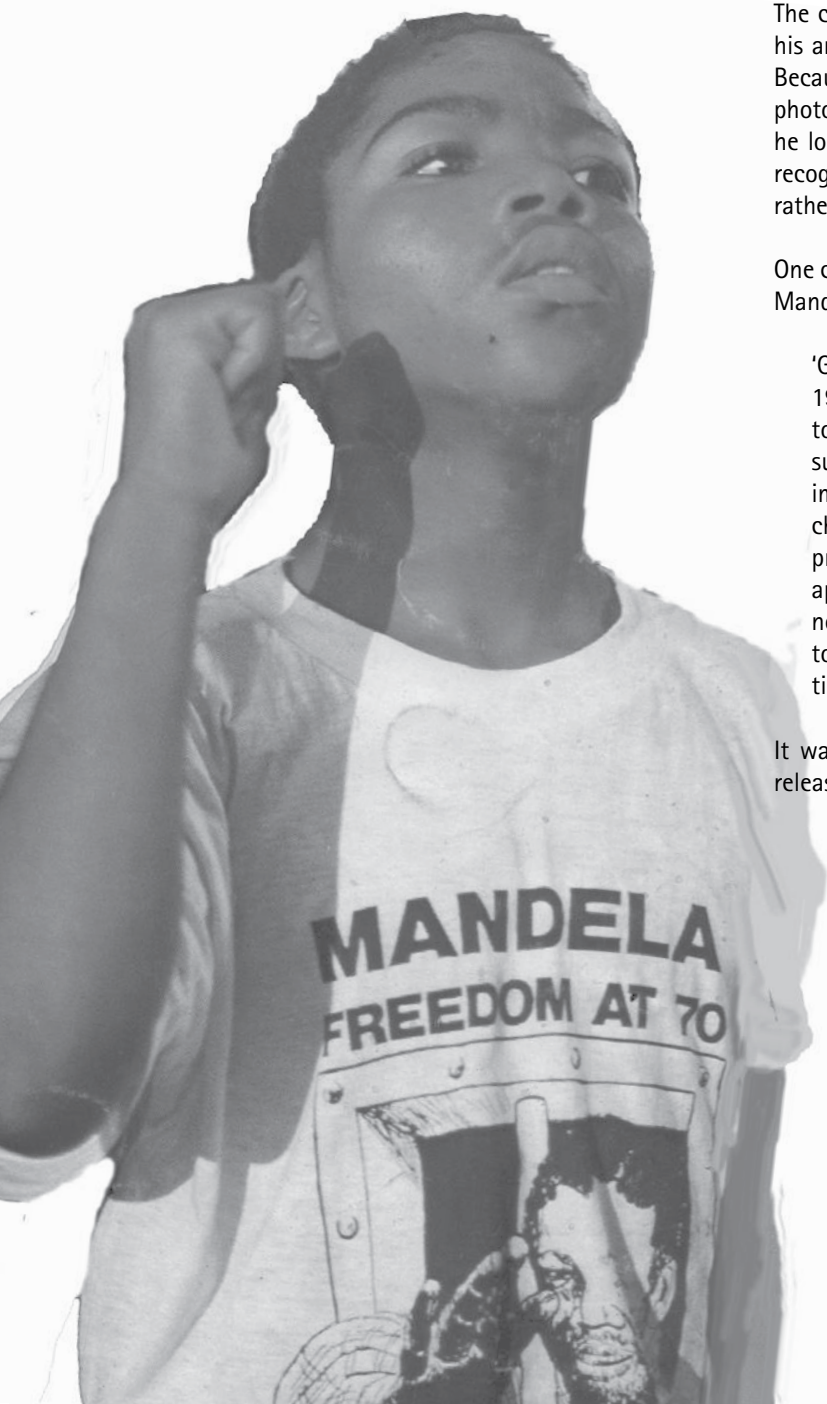
Images of Mandela

The campaign to free Nelson Mandela ran from the time of his arrest and trial in 1963 to his release in February 1990. Because his image was banned, graphic artists used older photographs, and drew pictures based upon reports of what he looked like in prison. Both the artists and the audiences recognised that these images were symbolic and idealised, rather than realistic portrayals.

One commentator described artist Garth Erasmus's graphic of Mandela's image screened onto walls:

'Garth used an image of Mandela's face from the 1950s to create a template. Whilst it was supposed to create a sense of mystery (no one being quite sure what Mandela now looked like after years of imprisonment), it was also a subtle way to suggest change, a symbol of interesting resonance at this present time in the country's history. This image appeared in work throughout Cape Town with the now-famous slogan 'Free Nelson Mandela', and was to become part of a popular form of protest at this time.'¹⁵

It was hardly surprising that Mandela's photograph on his release became a national symbol, an icon in its own right.



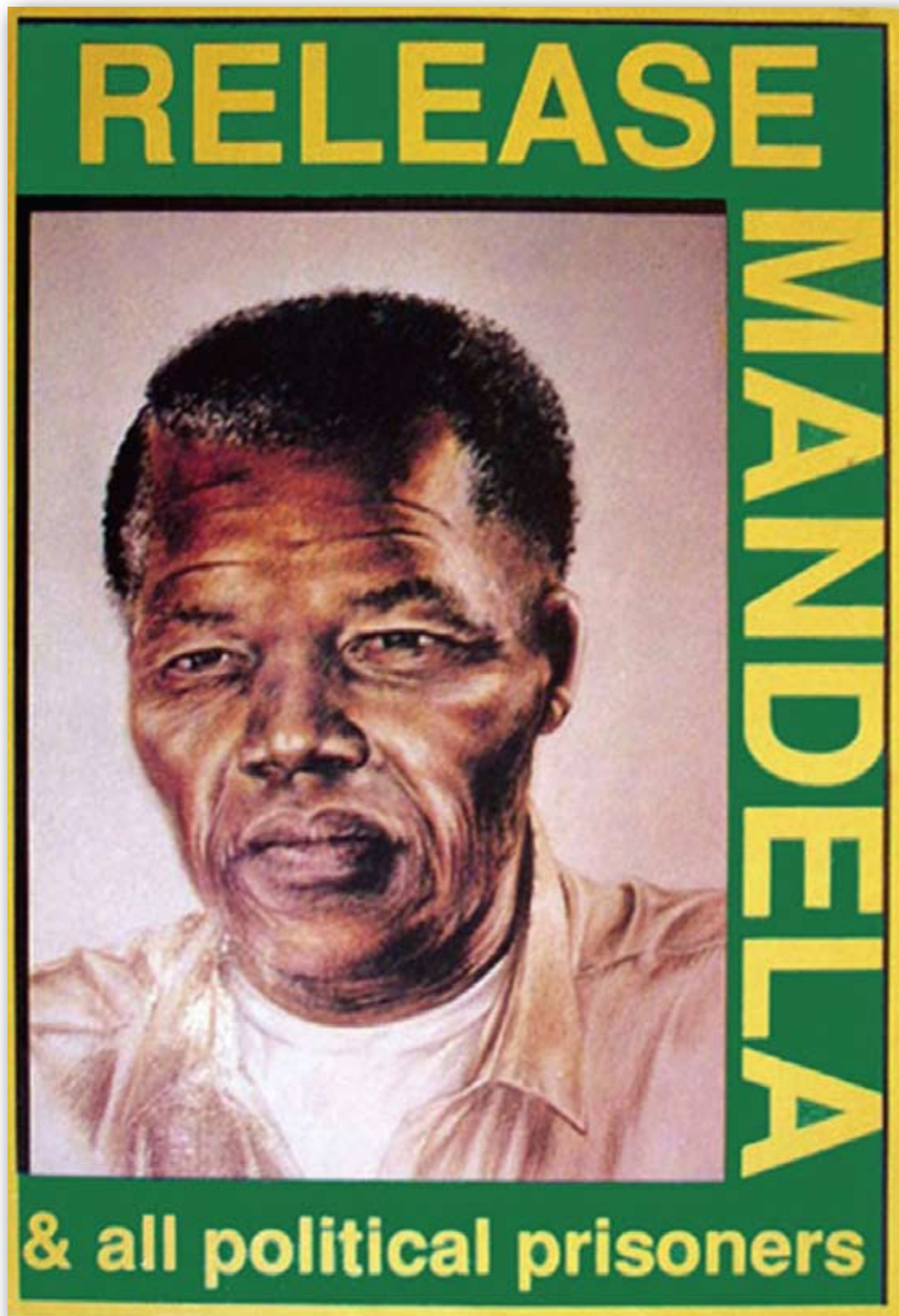
Above left: Calendar by the Release Mandela Committee of UDF, 1985, uses a photo of Mandela taken during Treason Trial in 1963. No. 2097

Above centre: *Free Mandela*, source unknown. No. 3201

Above right: *Happy Birthday Mandela: A people's leader*. No. 211

Release Mandela and all political prisoners

1989 drawing done by an unknown artist after talking to people who had seen Mandela in prison. It was printed in a number of grassroots media. This poster, in ANC colours, was printed by Marlene Powell for COSATU's 1989 National Conference in Johannesburg. It was taken from the printers direct to COSATU delegates in their hotels and plastered over the buses transporting them to the conference, to ensure distribution before the police could suppress it.



Release Mandela,
designed but not
drawn by Marlene
Powell, COSATU, litho,
Johannesburg, 1989.
No. 3260



Mandela Released!, photo taken upon Mandela's release, made into ANC poster after ANC unbanned in 1990. No. 801

Talks and the way forward: towards 'one person one vote' in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa

Meanwhile, the ANC segued into a new phase: sometimes called 'talks about talks', and then 'negotiations'. The mass movement refused to accept increasing restrictions and quietly fade away: indeed, the number of people openly defying apartheid only increased.

In response, a section of the 'establishment' — businessmen, intellectuals, and even some government-aligned politicians — began to seek out ways to position themselves within the coming new society. Some travelled to meet the ANC in exile, to talk about the future. Conferences were organised within the country.

In September 1989, President PW Botha resigned, to be replaced by the more reformist, 'verligte' ('enlightened', in Afrikaans) FW de Klerk. A number of imprisoned ANC leaders (though not yet Mandela) were released, to massive welcome-home celebrations throughout the country.

In February 1990, FW de Klerk unbanned the ANC and the PAC, and released Nelson Mandela. Arrangements were made for the return of some exiles; and the long process of negotiating an end to apartheid began.

Timeline: defiance, talks and the end of the 1980s

- The Defiance Campaign, a passive resistance campaign, is launched in July 1989 by the MDM.
- The first known meeting between President PW Botha and Nelson Mandela takes place on 14 July 1989. This follows several secret meetings between representatives of the government and the ANC from 1985.
- The last general election for the Tricameral Parliament takes place in September 1984, marked by nationwide protest action and repression. On election night alone, over 20 people die in Western Cape townships.
- FW de Klerk becomes State President on 20 September 1989 after the resignation of PW Botha in August. De Klerk introduces a series of reforms over the following years. The National Security Management System is replaced by the National Co-ordinating Mechanism (NCM). The State Security Council is stripped of many powers. Many of its sub-structures are dismantled.
- On 15 October 1989, Walter Sisulu and seven other high-profile prisoners (seven ANC members and one PAC member) are released by FW de Klerk.
- In February 1990, the Berlin Wall falls, which is the symbolic end of the 'communist threat' and is used by FW de Klerk as a justification for liberalising the government's strategy.
- On 2 February 1990, FW de Klerk announces the unbanning of liberation movements and other organisations, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of restrictions on thirty-three organisations, and a moratorium on judicial executions.
- On 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela is released.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Matsemela Manaka, *Echoes of South African Art*, p. 17.
- 2 Nisa Mhlanga et al., *Spring is Rebellious*, 1990.
- 3 Trish de Villiers interview.
- 4 Justin Wells interview.
- 5 O.R. Tambo, ANC New Year's speech 1985, quoted by Barbara Masekela in *RIXAKA*, special issue: *Culture in Another South Africa*, London 1988, p. 20.
- 6 Lionel Davis, quoted in *Staffrider*, 8(3 & 4), p. 50.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Lou Almon interview.
- 9 While the liberation movement cultural bodies, and the UDF and COSATU cultural desks had a huge impact on artists working at the time, and held conferences which reflected the cream of South Africa's art in all fields, relatively little exists in the literature about their impact upon the creation of art. The material in this section comes primarily from personal experience of numerous debates in the 1980s about the role of liberation politics in the arts; and the statements of the COSATU and UDF cultural structures.
- 10 Casa Resolutions, *Rixaka* special issue, 1988.
- 11 Mandla Langa, quoted in *Sechaba*, March 1988.
- 12 Poppy Morris, 'In search of a Rainbow nation: A study of protest art under an apartheid regime'. <http://www.devon.gov.uk/dcs/crossings/art/poppy/>
- 13 Kevin Humphrey interview.
- 14 Janet Cherry interview.
- 15 Poppy Morris, 'In search of a Rainbow nation: A study of protest art under an apartheid regime'. <http://www.devon.gov.uk/dcs/crossings/art/poppy/>



Photo: Youth holding up a poster at a meeting in 1989.

Poster: Long Live the ANC, artist unknown, Johannesburg, 1989. No. 1823