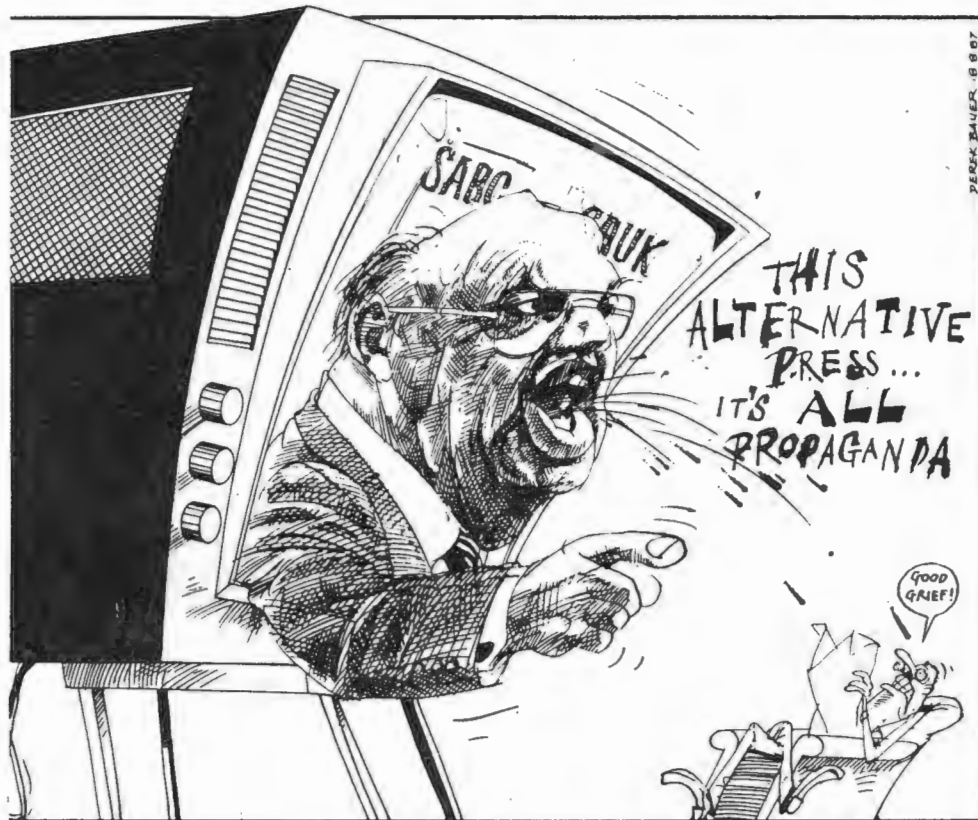


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CRITICISM AND CENSORSHIP IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN
"ALTERNATIVE" PRESS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE
TO THE CARTOONS OF BAUER AND ZAPIRO (1985-1990)



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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

AIMS

Cartooning is an extremely heterogeneous practice whose genealogy can be traced back to caricature (1). This paper does not concern itself with the diversity that can be found in the cartoons of Derek Bauer and Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro) (2), but rather chooses to focus on the potential of cartooning as a *critical art practice*.

Given that the "flipside" of criticism is censorship, the effects of censorship on cartooning together with cartooning's response to censorship will also be examined.

Cartoons published in the alternative press after the 1985 declaration of a State of Emergency, but preceding the unbanning of political organisations in February 1990, which comment directly on press or political censorship, as well as those which raise issues pertinent to censorship, provide the basis for examining the converse notions of criticism and censorship.

Having said this it should also be stated at the outset that whilst this paper focuses on particular cartoons produced in specific historical circumstances, it is also intended that this paper will have broader implications for the development of a contemporary critical art practice.

CRITICISM AND CENSORSHIP

This paper proceeds from the premise that criticism and censorship are oppositional and antagonistic concepts which seldom appear alone. Criticism, particularly when expressed publicly and directed at specific interest groups (eg. a ruling elite) frequently evokes censorship, whilst censorship and repression in turn breed criticism and resistance.

CRITICISM

The need for public criticism of the dominant order exists in any unjust society and South Africa is no exception. Characterized by gross social inequalities and stark contradictions, unjust societies, particularly those in crisis provide fertile grounds for political cartoonists. (3)

- 1). See Pissarra, M. "Prejudice and potential in political cartooning" p.138
- 2). Shapiro will be referred to throughout this paper by the name (Zapiro) which he signs his cartoons with.
- 3). Kanfer, S. p.94-95 notes that political caricature thrives in

Historically, highlighting grievances has been a common method of political agitation and mass-mobilization adopted by resistance movements. However this paper is not only concerned with this fundamental form of criticism, which is essentially the criticism of *others*, but also with exploring the notions of *constructive* criticism and *self-criticism*, and the implications these notions have for critical art practice.

As a qualified form of criticism, constructive criticism should not be mistaken for or confused with censorship. Rather the notion of constructive criticism is developed from the position that identifying grievances is only the beginning of solving a problem. Constructive criticism poses alternatives in order to arrive at a solution. Constructive criticism is based on the belief that a truly critical intervention is part of a process of social and political reconstruction.

Self-criticism is generally a less public form of criticism than the strands identified above, but is nonetheless an important aspect of developing a "real" rather than "solidarity" criticism (4) if South Africa is to develop what Albie Sachs has called a "culture of debate" (5). These notions will be returned to during the course of this paper. (6)

CENSORSHIP

Given that cartooning provides the focal point for this paper, the form of censorship most discussed in this paper is that of press censorship. However it is necessary to contextualise press censorship within the broader context of political censorship. The political role of press censorship is clearly articulated by Anton Harber, co-editor of the Weekly Mail, when he writes :

"Censorship provides the veil behind which other forms of repression can take place and be hidden from the public eye. Control over information in a divided country like South Africa is control over people - an ignorant people are less able to act, to organize, to campaign and to take control over their own lives giving people access to information and a greater range of views is part of a process of empowerment - it gives them the

times of social crisis.

- 4). Albie Sachs "Preparing for Freedom" reprinted in de Kok, I. and Press, K. (eds.) p.20
- 5). Quoted in a South editorial "Critical mirror for loyal members" (16/8/1990:18)
- 6). These issues were tentatively raised in a short paper delivered at the opening of the Recent cartooning in the Western Cape exhibition at the Centre for African Studies, UCT. See Pissarra, M. "Cartoons and criticism"

wherewithal to make their own decisions and to organize themselves." (7)

Press censorship in South Africa is seen by the opponents of the Nationalist Party government as "part of a broader strategy to neutralize the anti-apartheid movement" (8). Press freedom then must be seen as "inseparable from other basic freedoms" (9)

Consistent with this view of press censorship as merely one aspect of political censorship, the monthly newsletter published by the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) (10) does not only list incidents which directly involve the press, but also includes information pertaining to the restriction of political organisations, activities and individuals.

These include listings of numerous banning, restrictions, detentions, imprisonment, fines (11), warnings, threats (12), harassment, obstructionism (eg. arbitrary cost of registering publications or long drawn out court proceedings (13), the withholding of visas, work permits and passports (14), as well as abductions, arson, teargassing, shootings and the extreme acts of capital punishment and assassination of political opponents. (15)

It is clear from the methods briefly mentioned above that formal (or statutory) censorship is accompanied by informal means of repression. Deliberately vague drafted legislation, as well as sweeping police powers (particularly under the State of

- 7). "Always the first curb : The camouflage of censorship"
Anton Harber Weekly Mail Human Rights Focus (1988) p.14
- 8). "Is the pen still mightier than the sword ?" New Nation
3/9/1987:6. This view is also expressed by anti-apartheid
activist Abdullah Omar. See "Truth must be heard" South
21/4/1988:4
- 9). Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) national
organizer Libby Lloyd quoted in South "Media union to be
launched" (30/3/1989:4).
- 10). Launched in September 1986. See "Anti-Censorship Action
Group launched" Weekly Mail 19/9/1986:15
- 11). For the effects of fines on encouraging editorial self-
censorship see comments by South editor Moegsien Williams in
"Press faces a new 'low-profile' attack" Pat Sidley
Weekly Mail 4/8/1989:13
- 12). See "Newspaper prosecution threatens a form of censorship"
Weekly Mail 30/6/1989:8
- 13). See "The Mail in court...but we can't tell you why"
Irwin Manoim Weekly Mail 18/8/1989:5
- 14). "Always the first curb : The camouflage of censorship"
Anton Harber Weekly Mail Human Rights Focus (1988) p.14
- 15). Specific references cited above shed light on some of these
methods as forms of censorship.

Emergency) help create a climate of fear which encourages self-censorship. (16)

In addition to curbing the flow of information, censorship of the media is usually accompanied by processes of disinformation (17). Disinformation manifests itself in the compilation of school curricula where history may be re-written from the perspective of the ruling class, as well as in the selection and presentation of news particularly through state or semi-state media organs such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which is generally perceived by the opponents of the Nationalist Party government as a mouthpiece for government propaganda. (18)

It is clear from the above that censorship manifests itself in numerous ways. This paper does not seek to address each and every manifestation of censorship. Cartoons which specifically address press censorship and disinformation, as well as a select few which comment directly on restriction of political activity have been prioritized.

Outlined above are forms of censorship which are practiced against the political opponents of the present government. However censorship is not unknown within the ranks of the political Left. The fear of being labelled "divisive" or a "dissident" should one express one's own private view when that particular view contradicts the party line is a very real one. This point is however, very complex and not simply evidence of a lingering "Stalinism". It should not be forgotten that political organisations were forced by material conditions to develop secret methods of operating which were by their very nature "undemocratic". Self-criticism, particularly if aired through the mass media, risked inadvertently contributing to the barrage of

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- 16). This view is expressed by Professor Dennis Davis of UCT Law Faculty. Quoted in "West Cape bans on 119 groups lifted" Pippa Green and Jean Le May Weekly Mail 1/8/1986:8
17. See "The Disinformation Scandal" Anton Harber Weekly Mail 31/10/1986:1-2. For a discussion on the relationship between disinformation and censorship and the role played by the Bureau for Information see "The flip side of censorship" Anton Harber Weekly Mail 30/6/1989:
- 18). For examples of this view see comments by Rashid Seria and Ameen Akhalwaya in "Is the pen still mightier than the sword?" New Nation 3/9/1987:7. More recently the Argus reported that the SABC admitted [their] past omissions and promised unbiased, incisive journalism." (8/1/1991:2) See also "Television and disinformation" John Van Zyl in a SASPU publication commemorating National Press Day October 1989

negative criticism and disinformation already directed at liberation movements. (19)

The unbanning of political organisations on the 2nd February 1990 brings with it however the need for open debate. Njabulo Ndebele, president of the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) commented on this evolving situation when he noted at the COSAW Annual General Meeting on the 24th June 1990 that "...the culture of resistance has often subjected the individual to the total power of the group. This may have led to a situation where individuals are afraid of expressing private fears...The coming of freedom means also the freedom to express our fears...". (20)

Many editors, journalists, writers, academics, and artists, both liberal and radical, have publically expressed opposition to censorship by founding and joining organisations, most of whom are represented in the Campaign for an Open Media (COM) (21). Irwin Manoim, co-editor of the Weekly Mail, when asked if press censorship was warranted in certain circumstances, replied that : "Censorship is an attempt to deal with social problems by suppressing evidence of them." (22)

Qualified support for the abolition of censorship is also not unknown. For instance University of the Western Cape Afrikaans lecturer Ampie Coetzee has expressed the position that "Publishers should not publish books that contain any form of racism or ideological apartheid." (23)

Indeed the draft Bill of Rights proposed by the ANC explicitly outlaws racism (24). Will this logic be extended to visual representations, such as those which perpetuate racial stereotypes which may be deemed offensive ? Should it be ? These are questions South Africans need to debate, but which fall out of the scope of this particular paper.

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- 19). Some of these points are expressed in "Critical mirror for loyal members" South 16/8/1990:18
- 20). Ndebele, N. p.4-5
- 21). COM was launched in early 1990. It was founded by ACAG, SASJ, MWASA, ADJ, Conference of Alternative Editors and the Printing Paper and Allied Workers Union. See "United campaign for a free press" Philippa Garson Weekly Mail 2/2/1990
- 22). Faxed communication 13/11/1990
- 23). "'Censor racist children's books'" Sahn Venter South 9/7/1987:15
- 24). See Article 1 (2) and Article 14 (3 and 4) of A Bill of Rights for a Democratic South Africa - Working Draft for Consultation prepared by the Constitutional Committee of the ANC.

THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS

Historically critical graphics have required sympathetic publishers. In South Africa this role has been played in recent years by what is usually referred to as the "alternative" press (25). A fair amount of detail on the alternative press is presented here because it is necessary to recognize the heterogeneous character of the term in order to ascertain to what extent the cartoons of Bauer and Zapiro may be perceived as "alternative" or "independent".

The term alternative press is usually employed to describe publications which function outside of the "mainstream", "commercial" or "monopoly" press (26), ie. those publications not represented by the Newspaper Press Union (NPU).(27)

In addition publications labelled "alternative" are usually assumed to display "leftist" political tendencies - "independent" right-wing publications are never spoken of as part of the alternative press.

While certain common ideological characteristics, such as being defiantly anti-apartheid, may distinguish the "alternative" from the "mainstream", it would be a mistake not to recognize the alternative press as in itself representing a heterogeneous grouping. The term is used to refer to weekly publications such as the Weekly Mail, South (28), New Nation (29), Vrye Weekblad (30), and New African (31), as well as to locally produced and

25). For purposes of legibility the term "alternative" press will be written throughout the rest of this paper without inverted commas, except where particular emphasis on the term is due.

26). For discussion of the monopoly of the press by big business (Anglo-American, Rembrandt Van Rijn and Sanlam) see "The few who own so much" South 18/10/1990:17. For discussion of the relationship between the SABC and M-Net (consortium of newspaper companies - Nasionale Pers, Perskor, Argus, SA Associated Newspapers, the Daily Dispatch and Natal Witness) see Eric Louw and Harriet Gavshon "Just good friends : The SABC and the English Press" Weekly Mail 12/7/1985:14. See also "A TV supper for the Press" Weekly Mail 19/7/1985:11

27). New Nation 3/9/1987:6

28). Launched on the 19th of March 1987.

29). Published by the South African Catholic Bishops Council (SACBC). Launched on the 16th January 1986 "after five years of intense debate, consultation and research". ("A tradition of truth and justice" "Save the New Nation" Advertising supplement Weekly Mail (?) March (?) 1988:2

30). Launched late 1989. (Save the Press Campaign May 1989)

31). Launched in Durban in late March 1989.

distributed "community" newspapers such as Grassroots (32), Saamstaan (33), Indicator, and Al Qalam (34), and to organisational and trade union publications eg COSATU News and UDF News. The student press organized under the South African Students Press Union (SASPU), of which there are more than sixty affiliates, is also an important component of the alternative press, as are progressive journals such as Work in Progress (WIP) (35), and the SA Labour Bulletin, as well as magazines such as New Era (36). Numerous other educational, literacy, religious and childrens publications are also classified as part of the alternative press. (37)

Some of these publications are overtly identified with specific political organisations eg UDF News, others such as the New Nation (38), and to a lesser extent South (39), have become

- 32). Launched in March 1980. Its first organizer, (anti-apartheid activist Johnny Issel) was banned soon after and prohibited from taking further part. See "Days short of its tenth birthday Grassroots gagged" Gaye Davis Weekly Mail 24/2/1989:11
- 33). Initiated by Grassroots and launched in 1984. Its staff has been detained, restricted, charged, shot, and their offices have been petrol bombed. See "Read all about it. If the staff aren't in jail" Pat Sidley Weekly Mail 13/5/1988:21
- 34). First published by the Muslim Youth Movement in Durban 1973/1974. See "Beating the ban" Henry Ludski South 26/1/1989:13
- 35). First produced under auspices of SA Research Services (SARS) in September 1977. It has been subjected to a "Pattern of intermittent banning for the first 25 editions." *ibid*.p.12
- 36). First published in April 1986 by Grassroots. *ibid*.
- 37). See "Who and what is the alternative press?" SASPU National Press Day publication October 1989. Also "Gift for South" South 16/3/1989:9.
- 38). The New Nation's brief was to "reflect the daily struggles and aspirations of the oppressed majority" ("A tradition of truth and justice" in "Save the New Nation" advertising supplement Weekly Mail (?) 1988). It has however explicitly displayed its political bias towards the ANC. A vivid example of this was when the government released eight long term political prisoners. The cover of the New Nation displayed photographs of the seven ANC members against a backdrop of the black, green and gold flag of the ANC, and under the heading "ANC lives". Jafta Masemola, the other prisoner released, and incidentally also one of South Africa's longest serving political prisoners, belonged to the wrong party (the PAC). (New Nation 13/10/1989:1)
- 39). The government has frequently accused South of promoting the ANC. See "Why we were banned" South 3/9/1987:9. South itself has claimed : "South is not a mouthpiece for any political

increasingly closer to the African National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and United Democratic Front (UDF) alliance. Other alternative publications, particularly those who aim at a more "educated" or "academic" audience, such as the Weekly Mail (40), and WIP (41) are perhaps the most ideologically independent.

Most, if not all "alternative" publications were launched with the conviction that the political, economic and cultural realities experienced by the majority of South Africans were not being accurately reflected in the "mainstream" press.(42)

The staff of Grassroots, which is often cited as a "pioneer" of the alternative press (43), wrote in an early statement of objectives in 1980 that *"The present mass media in this country does not meet the needs and aspirations of the people. Neither are the people's problems and organisational efforts reflected in the daily newspapers since these articles are not considered to be 'newsworthy'".* (44)

Much of what historically has been considered "newsworthy" has been rejected by these publications. Sensationalism (45) and sexism (46), two of the stock components of the commercial press are largely absent from these publications.

organisation ...We speak for all those outside parliament."
See "Is the pen still mightier than the sword ?"
New Nation 3/9/1987:7

- 40). *"Our newspaper is an independent and critical publication...not a purveyor of one brand of criticism against apartheid and the present National Party government."* ("Not guilty" Weekly Mail 28/10/1988:11)
- 41). WIP's editor Glen Moss has argued that journalists should *"not support one particular tendency...but be committed to accurate informing and representing the realities of society, regardless of the consequences."* Quoted in "South Africa after Apartheid" New Nation 22/3/1989:5
- 42). The view that the alternative press "reflects" the realities of South Africa has been frequently argued by these publications. See "'Government promoting ANC'" South 14/4/1988:7. Also New Nation 3/9/1987:6
- 43). Other "pioneers" cited in the alternative press are Durban's Ukusa, Mamelodi's Eye, and Johannesburg's Speak.
- 44). Quoted in "Mere arithmetic won't explain why Stoffel's new victims matter" Shaun Johnson Weekly Mail 20/1/1989:12
- 45). South has acknowledged criticism of its coverage as sensational. See "South Annual Report" South 18/2/1988:11
- 46). *"The commercial media will stoop to every level to make a sale. We won't. We will not be sexist, for example. We will not publish pin-ups and cattle brigades.."* (South quoted in New Nation 3/9/1987:7)

Many of these publications have also attempted to challenge traditional methods of publishing with varying degrees of success. One of the most significant examples of this is the existence of editorial collectives rather than traditional hierarchies. This can be recognized as part of a democratic "tradition" established by community newspapers such as Grassroots and Saamstaan, as well as trade union and organisational publications. While some papers such as South are on record as stating the problems of attempting to democratize the processes of publication (47), others such as the New Nation have claimed success in this respect (48).

But perhaps the most important characteristic of the alternative press is that despite the fact that most of these publications have a circulation far smaller than the newspapers published by the large newspaper companies (49), there is a general perception by its proponents that these publications represent the views or interests of the vast majority of South Africans (50).

While the emphasis on this "vanguardism" differs between some of the alternative publications, there is at the end of the day more consensus and ideological common ground between alternative publications themselves, than with the commercial press who are more interested in securing maximum economic profits by selling advertising space than with reflecting the realities of South Africa. (51)

However, while certain persons argue that the term alternative press is a suitable label, others disagree.

Rashid Seria, the former editor of South, wrote in early August 1987 that : *"We are not ashamed of the label 'alternative media'...We are different to the commercial media. We have*

47). See "South annual report" South 18/2/1988:12

48). In its first editorial comment in January 1986 the New Nation declared : *"We are committed to establishing a newspaper that belongs to the people, and is accountable to the people; a paper that will have democratic structures in which the masses of our people will have a direct say."* A little over two years later the New Nation claimed to have *"...established firm democratic procedures in its newsroom. This makes every staff member accountable to the collective, which ensures that majority views prevail within the newsroom."* ("War on words" New Nation 17/3/1988:7)

49). see "Not Guilty" Weekly Mail 28/10/1988:11

50). In contrast the opponents of the alternative press see it as expressing the views of a small but radical minority.

51). For comment on the commercial orientation of the mainstream press, see "At altar of profits" Anthony Heard South 10/5/1988:10

different values." (52). Seria expanded on this in early 1988 at South's Annual General Meeting when he said : "We are an *alternative to the established papers in that our preoccupation is not institutionalized structures perceived from a liberal, reformist or official standpoint - nor do we have the shackles of vested interests. Our perspective is our community and the organisations which struggle against apartheid and exploitation, and our message is that of a non-racial democracy in a unitary South Africa.*" (53)

Other editors whose publications have been labelled "alternative" such as Ameen Akhalwaya of the Lenasia based Indicator, have argued that the term is problematic : "*Alternative media is a misnomer. What it implies, is that newspapers like 'Indicator' are different from the type of press one would expect in South Africa. But such newspapers reflect more of the thinking of the majority of the people in this country.*" (54)

Both the negative and positive characteristics of the term are commented on by former South African Society of Journalists (SASJ) president John Allen :

"If you look at the alternative press as an alternative to the established press, it is a positive description. But the general impression the word 'alternative' gives is that the established press is the press and that the alternative press is something extra , on the side. In fact, however, the alternative press represents the views of a massive majority." (55)

As Irwin Manoim noted in 1986 : "*The alternative press may not be alternative much longer. The country is changing. The old assumptions upon which the mainstream press was built are being eroded.*" (56)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A historical analysis of the particular period in which political cartoons are produced is essential to a fuller appreciation of political cartoons. Any ahistorical art-historical study of political cartoons, while being able to comment on the formal conventions and iconography of political cartoons would lose all sense of the cartoons immediate value, or priority. The *raison d'être* for political cartoons is to communicate with an *immediate* audience through the use of visual and literary texts (or parts

52). Quoted in New Nation 3/9/1987:6

53). "South Annual Report" South 18/2/1988:10

54). Quoted in New Nation 3/9/1987:6

55). *ibid.*

56). See "The case for the 'alternative' press" Irwin Manoim
Weekly Mail 6/6/1986:10

thereof), which function as *signifying* systems for the production of meaning, or provide positions for the consumption of meanings.

The cartoons discussed in this paper were all produced in a period of maximum political conflict and under conditions of unprecedented press censorship, but censorship and repression have been with us a lot longer than the period under review. Former Cape Times editor Tony Heard opened a speech for the Save the Press Campaign with the remark that he has never known a time when the press was not under severe attack by the government. (57)

While a detailed history of political and press censorship exceeds the scope of this paper it is useful to identify certain key dates and events affecting the freedom of the press not only during the period under review, but also preceding it.

Lobbies for censorship in South Africa can be traced back to at least 1898 in the Cape (58), but it is really the coming to power of the Nationalist Party government in 1948 which ushered in unprecedented degrees of censorship. In that year the "*contemptible English press*" was identified as one of "*two evil spirits in South Africa*" (the other being "*the princes of the church who preach rebellion*") by Nationalist Party MP J.C. Greyling in the House of Assembly (59).

The Press Commission of 1950 was mandated to make recommendations on "*the internal and external reporting and the general handling of news by the various newspapers and the desirability or otherwise of the control of such reporting.*" (60)

Steadily over the next 37 years, ie prior to the imposition of a partial state of emergency on the 21st July 1985, press freedom was severely curtailed by the publication of over one hundred laws restricting the flow of information. (61)

57). Speech printed as "Censorship blindfolds 'whites in defeat'"
South 30/6/1988:17

58). "Our censors - Botha's legacy" Harriet Gavshon Weekly Mail
Supplement 12/8/1987:4

59). South 31/3/1988:13

60). ibid.

61). "Always the first curb : The camouflage of censorship"
Anton Harber Weekly Mail Human Rights Focus (1988) p.14.
See also "Two sides to every story (But only the Govt
is heard)". Save the Press Campaign publication 1988

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (62), the Public Safety Act of 1952 63, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1952 (64), the Defence Act 44 of 1957, the Police Act 7 of 1958, the Prisons Act 8 of 1959, the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 (65), Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act of 1971 (66), Publications Act 42 of 1974 (67), the Criminal Procedures Act of 1977, the Protection of Information Act 84 of 1982, the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982 (68), are perhaps the best known of these laws which have all been used to restrict, ban or close publications since 1948. (69)

Perhaps the single most spectacular example of political and press censorship and repression preceding the declaration of a partial State of Emergency on the 21st July 1985 was on the 19th of October 1977 when the government banned 17 black consciousness organisations, two newspapers (the World and Weekend World), one editor (Donald Woods of the East London Despatch, and detained

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- 62). The Guardian, New Age, Fighting Talk, and the African Communist were all banned under this law. See New Nation 20/10/1989
- 63). In 1960 the Public Safety Act was used to temporarily ban New Age and Torch and to fine Contact heavily for subversion. See "Year of the jackboot" Pat Sidley South 20/12/1988:6
- 64). The Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act were both introduced in response to the 1952 Defiance Campaign. See "When press freedom dies" Maurice Hommel South 31/3/1988:13.
- 65). See Clarke, E.G. p.3
- 66). 1971 Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act (63 of 1971) requires newspapers (defined as periodicals published more than once a month, containing mostly current news and intended for public distribution) to register with the Department of Home Affairs. Publisher required to supply names and details of newspapers printer, distributor, editor, and directors of holding company. In 1981 The Post and Sunday Post were closed under a provision of the Act which stipulates that registration can lapse if the newspaper changes hands or is not published for one month. See Save the Press Campaign publication May 1989
- 67). In 1977 the Publications Act was used to ban 51 student publications and to declare 5 "undesirable" (New Nation 20/10/1989)
- 68). This act provides the Minister with arbitrary power of fixing registration fees of publications between R10 and R40 000. (Save the Press Campaign publication May 1989)
- 69). Some of these are listed by Clarke, E.G. (p.3)

another (Percy Qoboza of the World)), along with several other prominent journalists. (70)

Given this repressive context the views expressed by Zwelakhe Sisulu (71) at the Writers' Association of South Africa (WASA) conference in Cape Town October 1980 are not hollow rhetoric but rather the expression of the belief that any claims at impartiality in South Africa are in fact evidence of collusion with the ruling class (72). He said :

"In our situation the question is not whether one is a propagandist or not, but whether one is collaborationist propagandist or a revolutionary propagandist. Because we have expressed a desire for radical change in the scheme of things, we must be propagandists for change. If expressing the aspirations of the people is propaganda, if propaganda denotes one who opts for a commitment as an alternative to non-commitment, then surely we are propagandists."

The 1980's saw the closure of several newspapers particularly those aimed at or read by non-white constituencies or adopting a more liberal perspective than the mainstream press (73). The economic recession would take the official credit for the closings and retrenchments which characterize rationalization.

On 15 March 1985 the South African Association of Newspapers (SAAN) announced the closure of the liberal newspapers Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Express (74). They were closed in May 1985 (75).

70). See "Biggest media crackdown" South 20/10/1988:4. The 19th October is now commemorated as National Press Freedom Day.

71). For profiles on Sisulu's first-hand experiences of both formal and informal censorship see "Detained: The union leader turned editor" Sefako Nyaka Weekly Mail 4/7/1986:14. Also "Top award for Sisulu" Mono Badela South 1/12/1988:18, and "Free ?" New Nation 8/12/1988:5

72). The paper which Sisulu was to edit, the New Nation, has stated that *"when newspapers claim to be neutral they are in fact serving the interests of the ruling class."* See "War on words" New Nation 17/3/1988:7

73). Some of the papers closed were the Post, Sunday Post, Friend, Sowetan Sunday Mirror, Soweto News, Cape Herald, amongst others. See "Some papers close, some bloom" Sidley, P. Weekly Mail 2/8/1985:5, and "Remember the days when a newspaper told us the news" Raymond Louw Weekly Mail 20/12/1985:9 . Also "Roll of the dead" Weekly Mail 2/5/1986:15, and Save the Press Campaign publication May 1988

74). "Roll of the dead" Weekly Mail 2/5/1986:15

75). The Sunday Express was to merge with the Sunday Star. "Remember the days when a newspaper told us the news ?" Raymond Louw Weekly Mail 20/12/1985:9

On the 14th of June 1985 the Weekly Mail was launched by retrenched journalists from the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Express. The Weekly Mail was the only one of the alternative weeklies which existed at the time that the Emergency was imposed in July 1985. It will be seen that despite the climate of closures and retrenchment that characterized the period, the Emergency failed to prevent the emergence of a press committed to disseminating information as boldly and widely as possible.

The emergence and survival of the alternative press owes much to developments in technology, particularly the invention of Desk Top publishing, which effectively changed the rules of publishing. Less labour and skills training is required for production using the new technology. In addition desk-top publishing is in many ways more economical and less cumbersome than the machinery owned by the commercial press, its laser print providing a quality even better than the orthodox printing presses used by the daily newspapers. (76)

By the imposition of the 1985 State of Emergency all the Emergency powers which had been delegated to the security forces in the preceding State of Emergency in the 1960's (77) had been written into the everyday laws of the land. (78)

Apart from further eroding human rights in South Africa by for example, preventing the courts from "*setting aside of any order, rule or notice issued under [Emergency] regulations or any condition determined thereunder...*", the Commissioner of Police was given total control over any information relating to police action under the Emergency regulations. (79)

At the beginning of the Emergency the press was warned by the Police Commissioner, General Johan Coetzee to "scale down" coverage of "unrest".(80). Coetzee's mandate was formidable : "*The Commissioner [of Police] may issue orders relating to the control, regulation or prohibition of the announcement, dissemination, distribution, taking or sending of any comment on*

76). See "The case for the 'alternative' press" Irwin Manoim Weekly Mail 6/6/1986:10

77). March 1960 declaration of State of Emergency by Governor General C R Swart. Lifted in 1961 (except for Pondoland).

78). This is according to attorney Geoff Budlender. Quoted in "*Power without limits for the police*" Weekly Mail 26/7/1985:14

79). Emergency regulations quoted in "From a state of lawlessness to a state beyond law" Anton Harber. Weekly Mail 26/7/1985:13

80). "The General and the Editors" Weekly Mail 26/7/1985:14

or news in connection with these regulations or any conduct of a force or any member of a force regarding the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or the termination of the state of emergency.". In case this was inadequate the following "ouster" clause was included : "No interdict or other process shall issue for the staying or setting aside of any order, rule or notice issued under these regulations or any condition determined thereunder..." (81)

In November 1985 new press curbs were introduced, including a ban on publishing photographs of "unrest" (82). In March 1986 the State of Emergency was lifted (83), but re-imposed on the 12th June 1986 with "considerably tougher" regulations (84), this time affecting the whole country.

On the 15th June 1986 General Coetzee "Forbade journalists to report or comment on the conduct of any member of the Security Forces engaged in the maintenance of public order. At the same time he barred journalists from entering black townships, or 'any other area in which unrest is occurring', for purpose of reporting what is happening." (85)

The courts successfully challenged aspects of the Emergency regulations declaring some of them invalid. Harber has pointed out that of the five key elements in the Emergency regulations: the 'ouster clause' which attempted to prevent the courts from setting aside Emergency measures; the unchecked powers of arrest and indefinite detention; extensive media curbs including the power to confiscate or suspend 'subversive' publications based simply on the opinion of a cabinet minister or a senior policeman; restrictions on almost all the activities of resistance organisations; as well as providing indemnity for Security Forces acting 'in good faith' under the regulations, were all undermined to some extent by the courts (86).

"These decisions were remarkable because of the existence in the Emergency provisions of an 'ouster clause', a clause explicitly stipulating that no court could challenge the regulations." (87)

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- 81). Emergency regulations quoted in "From a state of lawlessness to a state beyond law" Weekly Mail 26/7/1985:13
- 82). "The last unrest pictures from the last moments before the blackout..." Weekly Mail 14/11/1985:1
- 83). See "Picking up the political pieces" Anton Harber Weekly Mail 14/3/1986:14-15
- 84). "Rule of the big stick" Weekly Mail 13/6/1986:1
- 85). "The Big Four" Patrick Laurence Weekly Mail 27/6/1986:8
- 86). "Always the first curb : The camouflage of censorship" Anton Harber Weekly Mail Human Rights Focus (1988) p.14
- 87). "'Consult your lawyers,' said the Bureau. So they did. And with some effect..." Carmel Rickard Weekly Mail

"Nevertheless the prohibition on 'subversive statements' still affects the press on a daily basis because newspapers are at risk of being seized if, in the Minister's opinion, the publication is deemed to be subversive." In addition "Reports on the conduct of Security Forces and photographs of unrest and Security Force conduct are still prohibited. Journalists are not permitted to be present at the scene of unrest." (88)

In late August 1987 South African Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha drew a distinction between "organized conventional media" and the "unconventional revolution supporting press". In motivating for greater powers to act against the press Botha argued: "What we are dealing with here is propaganda, and that cannot be dealt with by means of the present legislation" (89).

At that point the Emergency Regulations empowered him to take "action" if in "his opinion" a publication contravenes regulations (90). The regulations conferred wide discretionary powers on the Minister which could not be challenged unless one could prove "bad faith" on the part of the Minister or his assistants. (91)

This created the situation where, as newspaper lawyer Norman Manoim put it : "Propaganda has now become whatever the Minister thinks it is. He has created a category of vague statements. Freedom of the press is whatever he says it is previous media regulations didn't have the same subjective power. The new restrictions have been designed to give the Minister power that would be extremely difficult to test in court. They are sufficiently wide - even by state of emergency standards - to interpret." (92)

On the 10th December 1987 all newspapers and foreign correspondents were required to submit all future reports on the unrest situation for pre-publication censorship (93).

In February 1988 17 political organisations were "restricted" allowing them only "to maintain offices, conduct administrative work and pursue legal matters." (94), and in March 1988 the New

1/8/1986:8-9. See also "Five crucial areas the courts set aside" Anton Harber Weekly Mail 1/8/1986:8

88). Anton Harber *ibid*

89). See New Nation 3/9/87:6

90). "Bid to ban South" South 7/4/1988:2

91). "Restrictions attack ALL newspapers" Save the Press Campaign publication, no date [mid/late 1987])

92). New Nation 3/9/1987:6

93). "When press freedom dies" Maurice Hommel South 31/3/1988:13

94). "Defiance!" South 25/2/1088:1

Nation became the first of the alternative publications to be suspended from publication for three months. However it was when the State of Emergency was renewed on the 12th June 1988 that a turning point in press repression can be identified. Of the new media regulations gazetted one inadvertently served to unite the press both "commercial" and "alternative" for the first time under the banner of the Save the Press Campaign. (95)

This regulation read that : "After July 31 it will be illegal for news agencies to operate unless they are registered with the Director General. The name and address of every journalist, commentator, news correspondent or photographer must be supplied...illegal to quote banned and restricted organisations." (96)

Section 7 of the media regulations provided for suspension of unregistered publications for up to 6 months. (97)

According to Irwin Manoim : "At first, mainstream editors ignored the issue It took their lawyers to convince the publishers of the major newspapers that a 'licensed' press would have credibility with no-one. For the first time, both mainstream and 'alternative' press united on an issue. And for the first time, we succeeded. The registration issue was quietly scrapped." (98)

This did not however mean an easing of censorship and repression. All alternative publications lived with constant reminders of the possibility of closure. In the mid year South was suspended for a month (99), and in November Weekly Mail was similarly silenced. (100)

Ironically rather than crippling alternative publications, international and local support and interest meant that censorship boosted sales. In March 1989 Irwin Manoim noted that : "If anything, Stoffel Botha's actions have enhanced our reputation and ensured that circulation soared." (101)

- 95). See "Stoffel Botha has united his opponents" Irwin Manoim South 1/12/1988:9 . Also "Defiance in the wake of closures" Henry Ludski South 23/2/1989:14
- 96). "Anger at latest media curbs" Grassroots July 1988
- 97). "Mere arithmetic won't explain why Stoffel's new victims matter" Shaun Johnson Weekly Mail 20/1/1989:12
- 98). "Stoffel Botha has united his opponents" Irwin Manoim, South 1/12/1988:9
- 99). South reappeared on the 15th June 1988 "with a bumper edition... and as gutsy, hard-hitting and outspoken as before". (South 15/6/1988:1)
- 100). "Stoffel silences the Weekly Mail" Grassroots November 1988:2
- 101). "Gift for South" South 16/3/1989:9

1989 saw an increasing number of court appearances by editors and journalists, with even the editor of the mainstream press Sunday Times, Tertius Myburgh, being charged under the Internal Security Act for quoting a "restricted" person .(102)

The cut off date for the cartoons discussed in this paper (2nd February 1990) represents a relaxing of many of the laws affecting the media, but this does not mean the end of censorship and repression. At time of writing the largest ever libel case instituted against the press in South Africa's history is underway. The case itself concerns allegations published in the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail that senior police officers were involved in the assassination of political opponents of the government. (103)

102). "The *Mail* in court...but we can't tell you why"
Irwin Manoim Weekly Mail 18/8/1989:5

103). The Vrye Weekblad have also had to contend with their offices being bombed on the 4th of July 1990. See "Bombs, banning muffle free speech" ACAD Update July 1990

CHAPTER TWO : BAUER AND CENSORSHIP*"DEREK BAUER'S WORLD" : AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CARTOONIST AS ANARCHIST*

Bauer's cartoons have been a regular feature in the Weekly Mail since October 1985. Apart from thumb-nail sketches of politicians and other prominent individuals, his cartoons have since the outset usually appeared on the letters page under the heading of "*Derek Bauer's World*".

The title emphasizes that the views expressed in the cartoons do not necessarily reflect the editorial policy of the paper, but represent an individual viewpoint. This is despite the fact that the co-editor and cartoonist usually agree on a theme (104). Bauer is still given considerable license by the editors (105). Within the confines of his "world" the rules or ethics are determined largely by the cartoonist himself.

William Feaver articulates a view of cartooning and caricature as inherently irreverent when he writes that : "*the right of [caricaturists] to insult at will [is] essential to the rude health of caricature.*" (106). Similarly Bauer speaks of "*a beautiful truth in anarchy, in the overthrowing of the serious*" (107). Bauer can be seen as fitting into what is generally perceived as the dominant tradition in political cartooning which for the purposes of this paper has been designated "anarchic" or "independent". The implications of this strategy for critical art practice will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

BAUER AND CENSORSHIP

This chapter shall provide commentary on specific cartoons of Derek Bauer's which were published in the Weekly Mail and which comment directly on press, media and political censorship, or which raise issues pertinent to a consideration of the critical function of cartooning. While it is inevitable that some analysis will accompany the interpretation of the cartoons, the main arguments will be more fully developed in the final chapter.

Many of Bauer's comments on censorship deal not only with press censorship, but more generally with the broader notion of political censorship. There are several cartoons however, which can be said to be directed at censorship of the media in particular.

104). D.Bauer personal communication 8/1/1990

105). See interview with Bauer p.71

106). Feaver, W. p.11-12

107). See interview with Bauer p.82

ON PRESS CENSORSHIP

The earliest to comment directly on press censorship (*Fig.1*) was published in December 1986 (108). In this cartoon a cylindrical bird cage is drawn off centre. It is shown to be tilted slightly, which can be read as representing the act of swinging slowly, or as suggesting a certain precariousness for the even more precarious occupant of the cage. Bauer has not drawn the bird but rather he has cut out very roughly the shape or *suggestion* of a bird from an English newspaper article and added some ink to the newspaper. The bird's one wing which has already been partially clipped extends beyond the confines of the cage and is in dangerously close proximity to a sharp pair of scissors (censorship) which is wielded by an (unseen) hand who takes instructions from an unseen senior. ("*Ja, clip its wings...just in case*"). Descent, as opposed to ascent (flight) is evoked to the left of the cage through the use of line and stipple effects.

The cartoon is carefully composed, the contrast between the aesthetic qualities and the brutal content of the graphic communicates a sense of unease. The caged bird serves as a metaphor for the restricted press, its brutalised wings representing the violent nature of censorship.

A captionless and untitled Bauer cartoon published in April 1987 (*fig.2*) (109) visually represents the eradication of media freedom. All that remains on this battle field is a tangled debris consisting of a smashed television set, a broken camera and cassette recorder, microphone, reels of tape and/or film. However while the first cartoon (*fig.1*) is a bleak, if not outrightly pessimistic perspective on the future of a "free" press in South Africa this second cartoon contains elements of optimism. Rising out of this devastated landscape is a solitary hand clutching a quill pen. The pen extends beyond the picture frame and has been positioned by the editors so as to suggest that it is Bauer's own hand writing his name. The pen can be read as representing the resilience of journalism and/or cartooning despite the "onslaught" against the media.

In September 1987 Bauer produced a cartoon concerning censorship which commented on the absurdity of censorship by using humour (*fig.3*) (110). In this cartoon Bauer ridicules the government's attempts to silence the Weekly Mail and shows it as a response based on fear. The Government is represented by P.W. Botha. He is accompanied by the SABC. Botha, and to a lesser extent the SABC, display irrational responses verging on hysteria. ("*Aaaaiiiiiiiiiiiii It's...it's..The Weekly Mail*"). Fear, panic and

108). Weekly Mail 12/12/1986:12

109). Weekly Mail 30/4/1987:20

110). Weekly Mail 4/9/1987:12

frustration are all implied by the several conflicting directions in which former State President P.W. Botha is fleeing, clutching his head, evidently not having anticipated the encounter with a Weekly Mail reader. Small touches, such as the two circular "eyes" above the SABC screen and the two eyes which are seen being disturbed from reading the Weekly Mail, add to the enjoyment of the cartoon. Cartoons such as this one mock the governments need to silence the press. The particular cabinet ministers in charge of enforcing press and political restrictions would become favourite targets for cartoonists attacking state censorship, and would frequently be subjected to humour being used in such a way as to ridicule their actions. Ironically, the use of humour, may contribute to their inability to react specifically against cartoons. Humorous cartoons, no matter how provocative, are always potentially "just joking" and society takes a dim view of those in power who prove lacking in humour.

The entry and exit of Stoffel Botha

Former Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha will be remembered as representative of a concerted attempt by the Nationalist Party government to curb press dissent. If he is remembered as an individual it will probably be due, in part at least, to the numerous cartoons in which he features. It would appear that Stoffel Botha was a fully developed feature of Zapiro's iconography before Bauer began to represent him rather than the head of state (P.W. Botha) in cartoons commenting on press censorship.

The earliest appearance of Stoffel Botha in Bauer's cartoons in the Weekly Mail is at the end of April 1988 (Fig.4) (111). It is a less than dignified representation of Stoffel Botha as a hallucinating drug addict, his "fix" being censoring the alternative press. Before him lie used syringes labelled Work in Progress, South, New Nation and Grassroots. Botha pleads : "*Please please the Weekly Mail quick !*". The singlemindedness of purpose of the addict / Botha counters any suggestion of openmindedness, the manic psychological state represented totally unsuited for cool, objective judgement. Bauer's familiar inkspot/blood analogy adds a violent character to the cartoon.

In October 1988 amidst the renewed threats directed at the Weekly Mail, and published a day before the paper was closed for a month, Stoffel Botha is represented as a masked executioner (fig 5) (112). Stoffel Botha is portrayed as essentially bored and small-minded. He laments "*I'm lost! Washed-up forgotten...*"

111). Weekly Mail 29/4/1988:12

112). Weekly Mail 14/10/1988:10. For discussion of Zapiro's representations of Stoffel Botha as an executioner see p.31-32

Stoffel Botha reappears in January 1989 in a Bauer cartoon which was integrated into the newspaper with an article on censorship of the alternative press (113) rather than the customary "Derek Bauer's World". (*fig.6*)

"Don't say I didn't warn you" Botha quips. He stands smugly with his hands clasped behind his back, wearing a pin-stripe suit and skull and crossbones tie. Botha's ears and portliness are exaggerated considerably. While his face is seen frontally, his belly is in profile and his legs are in three-quarter view. The resulting contortion suggests a shifty, mischievous character. The qualities usually associated with skull-and-crossbones such as death and destruction, danger and poison can all be associated with the condition of the wretched creature at his feet who represents the alternative press. This figure has suffered multiple stab wounds and appears to have been critically wounded. The weapons used are quill pens and paint-brushes, and the blood/inkspot analogy is again apparent.

Stoffel Botha's sudden political retirement in May 1989 is less than flatteringly recorded by Bauer (*fig.7*) (114). With the words "*Oh my...it's the election*" Botha flees into the distance. In small print Bauer adds "*on behalf of all cartoonists we mourn your departure ou Stoffel*".

ON POLITICAL CENSORSHIP

The release of aged ANC and SACP leader Govan Mbeki in December 1987 after 23 years in jail (115) provided Bauer with an opportunity to represent the overlap between political and press censorship (*fig.8*) (116). Mbeki's movements and activities were severely restricted soon after his release. Not being allowed to speak to the press was only one such restriction.

In Bauer's cartoon a gagged Govan Mbeki is interviewed by unnamed journalist with a crooked tongue. "*Mr. Mbeki sir...how do you feel about your release*". There is a stark visual contrast between the two figures emphasized by both scale (Mbeki's head looms large), as well as graphic technique (Mbeki's features are cross-hatched, and hence more "realist" than the interviewer who

113). "Mere arithmetic won't explain why Stoffel's new victims matter" Shaun Johnson Weekly Mail 20/1/1989:12

114). Weekly Mail 12/5/1989:12

115). Although influenced by factors such as Mbeki's poor health and age, his release was also used as a test case by the government in order to assess the effects releasing long term political prisoners would have on the internal political climate, and can be seen as a "curtain-raiser" to Mandela's release over three years later.

116). Weekly Mail 18/12/1987:12

is more schematic and distorted). In addition Mbeki is silent, effectively prevented from communicating. The interviewer who is clearly either insensitive or simply cruel, is closely observed by Mbeki.

A cartoon published a month before the Mbeki cartoon (*fig.9*) (117) is a more general comment on censorship which can be interpreted on several levels. A blindfolded senior white male announces that "*There are no political prisoners in South Africa*".

On one level the cartoon can simply be read as representing the "cocoon" that many white South Africans choose to live in, in which case the man is simply expressing his ignorance.

The man can however, also be taken to represent the government who were more inclined at the time to define political prisoners as "criminals" or "terrorists".

In addition the similarity between the composition and the "talking-head" format of television news is also difficult to ignore. The last two readings make the cartoon more than a comment on ignorance arising from censorship. The use of a blindfold visually undermines the authority of the speaker. The "official" position ("no political prisoners") is shown to be unfounded in reality. The cartoon then is also a comment on disinformation - what we are told (by the government or SABC) may not be truth, for that is plain to see.

Despite the possible interrelated readings which arise from the cartoon, it remains remarkably coherent, each reading adding to, rather than cluttering or confusing the cartoon.

Bauer has dealt with political prisoners as a theme in the Weekly Mail since April 1986 (*fig.10*) (118). Play-Pen deals with imprisonment. The concept is probably developed from widely published accounts of youths, some of them still children, languishing in detention. Play-Pen clearly indicates an interest in representing emotional and psychological states of mind through visual means. Pain, anxiety, frustration, and resistance, are all signified through details such as the twisted head (which provides the focal point of the picture), the jail bars (which dissect the pictorial space), the clenched fists, Casspir, AK-47, and not least the naked light bulb (which it is suggested has been left on to prevent sleep).

Mandela as jailed and jailer

Several of Bauer's cartoons which take political censorship as their concern are representations of the jailed leader of the then banned ANC, Nelson Mandela. Bauer's visual representations

117). Weekly Mail 13/11/1987:12

118). Weekly Mail 4/4/1986:10.

of Mandela are all the more interesting because of the fact that the government had banned photographs of him. The few "legal" photographs of Mandela were several decades old (119). Bauer would find ways of representing the issues concerning Mandela, rather than the man himself.

The first of these (*fig.11*) (120) was published in September 1987 when Mandela's release was rumoured to be imminent. Mandela is represented as a weathered but dignified bird locked in a cage, behind him are the empty cages of released Russian "dissidents" Sakharov and Shcharansky, and to his side the open cage of the recently released Wynand Du Toit (121). Without resorting to slogans or captions Bauer communicates both the overdue release of Mandela, as well as the dignity and steadfastness that characterized his years in prison. It is however, under the circumstances necessary for Bauer to name Mandela for the cartoon to have specific, as opposed to general comment.

Bauer would re-use birds and bird-cages as metaphors for imprisonment on the colour cover for the Christmas 1989 edition of the Weekly Mail (122) Recently released political prisoners (Rivonia trialists [Walter] Sisulu, [Ahmed] Kathrada, [Raymond] Mhlaba, Delmas Trialists [Popo] Molefe and ["Terror"] Lekota, and veteran trade unionist [Oscar] Mpetha) are represented as birds set free by state president F.W. De Klerk. A large agitated bird ["Nelson"] which has outgrown its cage, watches with its wings/hands on its hips.

In July 1989 Bauer chose a different way to visually represent Mandela (*fig.12*) (123). The cartoon refers specifically to press disclosures that P.W. Botha had tea with Mandela at Tuynhuis, the official residence of the State President. Neither Botha nor Mandela are named in the cartoon as the identity of the characters would be obvious to the readership.

Bauer tactfully avoids the difficulty of drawing someone he has never seen. A standing Mandela is represented from behind, wearing prisons uniform, his feet attached to a ball and chain.

119). Even using these was not easy. A Sue Williamson poster based on a 1964 photograph of Mandela which was published by the Bureau of Information in June 1986 was withdrawn by the publishers on legal advice. See "Why no poster" South 28/7/1988:9. See also "The first legal photo of Nelson Mandela in 22 years" Weekly Mail 6/6/1986:1

120). Weekly Mail 11/9/1987:12

121). See footnote 145. A cropped and slightly modified version of the cartoon (Mbeki's name replacing that of Du Toit's) would later be re-used by the Weekly Mail. (15/7/1988)

122). Weekly Mail 21/12/1989

123). Weekly Mail 14/7/1989:12

He is present but silent, an anonymous statistic. Only his hands which stir the hot cup of tea define him in visual terms as Black.

Facing Mandela, but distanced by a table which has been placed slightly to the side towards the wall, Botha stands near the open door. In contrast to the difficulty of visually representing an unseen, unheard and unknown Mandela, Botha was at this point well developed in Bauer's iconography as a cartoon character. In this particular instance Botha's jaw is somewhere between his own and that of a crocodile or hippo. He is barefoot. "*Look...be reasonable...try to put yourself in my shoes !*" Botha reasons with Mandela. The stark blackness seen through the door and window serves to visually contrast the world outside with that "inside" (prison).

Based on what little available visual information there existed at the time as to Mandela's physical appearance, Bauer dared a facial representation of Mandela in late January 1990 (*fig.13*) (124). At this stage world pressure (particularly sanctions), was forcing the government to take note of political demands, such as the release of Mandela and political prisoners. It was even cynically suggested at the time that Mandela was of more use to the ANC in jail than out.

The Nationalist Party government, paralysed by the fear of losing the support of its traditional constituency, appeared unable to release Mandela. Bauer commented on this shift in the balance of political power by playing on the ambiguity between jailer and jailed. State President F.W. De Klerk is represented as a jailer. The difference in style of government between P.W. Botha and F.W. De Klerk means that representation of F.W. De Klerk is far more understated, and hence ambivalent, than his predecessor.

De Klerk reluctantly frees Mandela ("*Okay...you're free*") but it is De Klerk that appears to be retreating into a cobweb laden prison cell, almost as if he is inviting Mandela to join him. As with the other representations of him, Mandela is silent. The silence of Mandela in these cartoons maintains the mystique that the government inadvertently cultivated around Mandela the prisoner.

* THE CENSORED

In June 1986 a cartoon of Bauer's, together with a considerable number of features, was on the advice of the Weekly Mail's lawyers restricted to comply with Emergency regulations (*fig.14*) (125). In August 1988 Bauer produced a cartoon representing the Minister of Defence Magnus Malan as a military tank (*fig.15*) (126). Malan accuses the End Conscription Campaign : "*You are the*

124). Weekly Mail 26/1/1990:14

125). Weekly Mail 20/6/1986

126). Weekly Mail 5/8/1988

vanguard of those forces that are intent on wrecking the present dispensation and its renewal". "Who? Me?" questions the small figure representing the ECC. This cartoon, read in conjunction with specific articles concerning military conscription, contributed to the government's decision to remove the Weekly Mail from circulation. (127)

But censorship does not begin with government prosecution or action but with self-censorship. Bauer has stated that he "[doesn't] want to drop the Weekly Mail in shit" (128). The Weekly Mail has censored Bauer on several occasions for two very different reasons : legal and political.

Firstly as in the restricted cartoon of June 1986, the Weekly Mail is essentially protecting itself from government prosecution. Another example of the Weekly Mail applying censorship for legal purposes can be seen in a cartoon of August 1987 (*fig.16*) (129). This cartoon was produced in response to the departure of Cape Times editor Tony Heard. Heard's departure was seen at the time as a politically motivated act engineered by his employers under government pressure (130). In the original cartoon submitted by Bauer for publication the central figure who represents the Managing Director of Times Media Ltd. (the newspaper company which owns the Cape Times), Gordon Mulholland, contained a speech bubble which read : "I love the smell of blood in the morning", which is a reference to the film Apocalypse Now. At the bottom of cartoon was a caption : "In memoriam Tony Heard" (131). The Weekly Mail fearing being prosecuted by Mulholland, probably for public defamation (132), erased the speech bubble and replaced the caption with another : "Cape Times : The sickle is mightier than the pen".

The result of the editorial intervention, albeit justified on legal grounds, means that the precise content is obfuscated. Not many people are familiar enough with Mulholland to recognize him as the figure cutting down a wheatfield of writers (represented by the hand and quill-pen motif). The reference to the Cape Times in the caption, rather than clarify the cartoon's content,

127). "Why your Weekly Mail disappeared from the shelves"
Weekly Mail 12/8/1988:3

128). See interview with Bauer p.78

129) Weekly Mail 14/8/1987:12

130). Heard had published an interview with a "listed" person (ANC president Oliver Tambo). See "Editor Heard risked three years jail" Clare Harper Weekly Mail 8/11/1985:3

131). D.Bauer personal communication 8/1/1990

132). Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber notes in the foreword to Bauer's S.A. Flambe : "There are not many people who can make editors worry about defamation in a caricature. Bauer has done this to us often".

confuses it. In trying to interpret the published version the reader may be forgiven for mistaking Mulholland for Heard, with any resulting interpretation likely to be unclear.

A second example of censorship practiced by the Weekly Mail is motivated by political rather than legal considerations. One such example was published in December 1985 (*fig.17*) (133). Opposed to economic sanctions as a method for exercising pressure on the government Bauer represented Archbishop Desmond Tutu, an advocate of sanctions, in prayer : *"And God...while you're at it...help us starve the bastards out!"*. The anti-sanctions content of the cartoon clearly did not reflect the position of the editors or of many of the readership, and the editors intervened with letraset. *"Bishop Desmond Tutu as seen nightly on SATV"* has been inserted in an attempt to alter the content of the cartoon. The published version becomes a comment on the representation of Tutu by the SABC (here designated by the general term "SATV"), rather than as an anti-sanctions cartoon.

CHAPTER THREE: ZAPIRO AND CENSORSHIP

INTRODUCTION TO THE CARTOONIST AS POLITICAL ACTIVIST

Zapiro's cartoons discussed in this paper were produced within a shorter period than the Bauer's discussed in the previous chapter. Most of them were published in South between March 1987 and February 1988.

Zapiro differs from the tradition of political cartoonist as anarchist. His cartooning grew out of his political activism producing media for organisations such as the UDF and ECC. If Zapiro's position has precedents in the history of satirical graphics, it is closer to explicit party political propaganda (much of which is historically anonymous or collective), or to a tradition of caricature as rooted in morality. (135). The implications of political alignment for critical art practice will be discussed more fully in the final chapter.

ZAPIRO AND CENSORSHIP

This chapter will examine specific cartoons which comment directly on media censorship, as well as cartoons exposing or countering disinformation, and cartoons which have been censored.

ON CENSORSHIP OF THE MEDIA

Cartoons commenting directly on media censorship can be broken into two different groupings : cartoons commenting on the restriction of news on SABC; and cartoons which are specifically concerned with press censorship.

The news on SATV

Zapiro produced two cartoons in September 1987 which represent the government's control of the SABC, in particular its control over the news. In the first cartoon (*fig.18*) (136) P.W. Botha's hand crosses the television screen and throttles Riaan Eksteen, the Director General of the SABC, who informs us : "We [the SABC] are (glug) looking into (ug) measures to tighten up (skxx) procedures in the (gurk) flow of (urk) news..." Eksteen's head extends beyond the confines of the television screen and picture frame, and appears ready to burst. His tie extends to the front of the picture plane. The tie is patterned with small representations based on the logo for His Masters Voice, except

135). Baudelaire wrote of Daumier that : "to assess his true worth Daumier needs to be analysed both as an artist and as moralist". See Wechsler, J. p.317

136). South 3/9/1987:14

that the dog listening to the gramophone appears to be expressing varying degrees of amazement to the recording. In contrast to the violence represented on the screen, the depiction of the control switches to the side is relatively objective as in a technical diagram.

In the second cartoon (*fig.19*) (137) the concept is similar to the first. P.W. Botha is again represented as the final arbitrator for the news. This time, instead of the Director General of the SABC, we see a white male newsreader. The television is positioned in Botha's mouth. "Good evening. Here is the...(glug)...news...". The implications are that what is permissible to broadcast (or publish) has to have government approval (or be swallowed or eaten), and also that the SABC is little more than the vocal chords of the government.

Stoffel Botha and the return of the Dark Ages

All of Zapiro's cartoons which are specifically directed at press censorship invariably involve Stoffel Botha, and were prompted by the increased powers given to Botha in order to combat the "unconventional revolution supporting press" (138).

In two of the four cartoons representing Stoffel Botha as the agent of government censorship, he is represented as a servant of P.W. Botha, and in the remaining two he is seen performing his task as an executioner (censor). All the cartoons are set in a medieval context, which, as will be discussed later, may have implications for avoiding censorship. The medieval context could, in the popular imagination, be associated with the notion of "Dark Ages", which would be an appropriate metaphor for an era characterized by oppression and censorship rather than enlightenment.

The Emperor's New Clothes (*fig.20*) (139), a reworking of Hans Christian Anderson's fairy-tale, is the first of the series, and was first published in August 1987 (140). The two Bothas are both

137). South 24/9/1987:12

138). See Chapter 1 p.17

139). South 27/8/1987:14

140). The Emperor's New Clothes has been published several times in the alternative press. Eg. an undated Save the Press Campaign publication (possibly October 1987).

In Zapiro's absence South re-used a badly cropped version to accompany editorial comment ("Countdown to closure"), as well as a reduction of the detail of Stoffel Botha on the cover (10/5/1988:1,9). The detail of Stoffel Botha was used again on the cover of the 14/1/1988 edition of South with the caption "Stoffel Botha acts". A detail (Stoffel Botha charging the alternative press) was reprinted as late as

present. P.W. Botha, depicted naked except for his crown, state president's sash and medallion, and glasses. He orders Stoffel Botha to "charge" the alternative press ("*Stoffel, charge him with spreading blatant distortions and miserable lies !*"). The alternative press is represented as an unassuming, almost Robin Hood-type character (but without crossbow). He wears a press-card in his hat, and is positioned on the left of the cartoon. He is busy recording what he sees with a feather on a scroll. He asks "*Why is the emperor wearing no clothes ?*" Stoffel Botha is dressed as a medieval knight but with a dunce's cap on his head. He is shown responding to his master's order - "charging" the alternative press with a halberd. Grovelling in the bottom right hand corner of the cartoon are three disreputable characters. One of them holds a video camera labelled SABC "*O Master, your attire is perfect ! Who is the royal tailor ?*" The other two, who are visually similar if not identical, are crouched submissively on the ground. ("*Oh your Highness, what a lovely outfit !*" and "*Beautiful clothes, your Excellency*"). They wear press cards in their hats ("Press" and "Pers") and represent the commercial press, both English and Afrikaans.

Stoffel Botha appears for the first time as an executioner in September 1987 (*fig 21*) (141). The Friendly Executioner accompanied an editorial article (142). He is represented as a masked, bare-chested executioner holding a double-edged axe ready to decapitate his next victim. The victim is a blindfolded, spindly limbed creature, with his hands tied behind his back. Although the victim ostensibly represents the press in general (there is a card indicating "press" in his hat) the cartoon, due to the context of its publication (ie. in South in a climate of press repression which was mainly directed at the alternative press), also reads as a comment on official attempts to curb the alternative press in particular. The fact that the "press" here is represented in identical clothing to the figure representing the alternative press in *fig 20* as well as in the figures in the following cartoon (*fig.22*) reinforces this more narrow interpretation of the cartoon. The bloodstains of previous victims are clearly evident on the execution block, suggesting a series of executions. Botha's speech bubble is in sharp contrast to widely-held views concerning the arbitrary character of censorship (143). It reads : "*My friend, you will be happy to know that with the help of our panel of objective experts, everything is being done in as scientific a manner as*

January 1989 on the front page of the New Nation with the caption "Stoffel Botha strikes again" (New Nation 12/1/1989:1)

141). South 10/9/1987:17

142). "Let Tambo be Heard" Rashid Seria South 10/9/1987:17

143). See Chapter 1, p.17

possible...". Positioned in a Punch and Judy set are three overweight, middle-aged, white men. They are named in the cartoon as a "Panel of experts provided by the directorate of media relations". The "puppets" unanimously pronounce the alleged offender guilty.

In "*Dom Duiwels*" published in Grassroots in April 1988 (*fig.22*), Zapiro once again likens the act of censorship to the act of execution by decapitation. Stoffel Botha returns as the masked executioner, wiping the blood off his axe as the blindfolded head of his victim (New Nation presscard in medieval hat) leaves its body and bounces violently out of the picture frame. A queue of similarly dressed and blind-folded journalists (representing the Weekly Mail, Grassroots, Out of Step, Saamstaan, WIP and South respectively) await a similar fate. ("*Dom Duiwels ! All you had to do was to stop telling the truth...Next !*")

A less grim representation of press censorship was published in a Save the Press Campaign pamphlet in June 1988. (*fig.23*) "P.W. Quixote and Sancho Stoffel" is a re-working of Miguel Cervantes' Don Quixote. In this instance the use of a literary setting is particularly interesting, given that publication (and hence writing itself) is under attack. Stoffel Botha is likened to Don Quixote's uneducated and obedient servant (Sancho Panza). Based on a scene in the original version "P.W. Quixote" informs "Sancho Stoffel" that the windmills on the horizon (which are cut out of newspaper and named Grassroots, Weekly Mail and Saamstaan), are demons - "*Look Sancho...More evil demons !*". "Sancho" is armed with an axe and ready to respond immediately ("*Iole ! Let's get 'em !*"). Behind them are crosses cut from newspaper and named after the newspapers (New Nation and South) which had been temporarily banned by Stoffel Botha. (144)

ON DISINFORMATION

Several of Zapiro's cartoons are concerned with disinformation. They tend to deal with the subject in two ways. Firstly by *exposing* disinformation, and secondly by *countering* it.

Spook Stories (*fig.24*) (145), which was published in April 1987, communicates the concept of disinformation in unambiguous terms. Zapiro uses the idea of a "bed-time story" (albeit a "spook-story" intended to frighten the children in the cartoon) to achieve this end. The ANC is represented by South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha as a communist demon about to attack its (presumably innocent) sleeping victims. The different responses of the terrified white children and the young black child who is clearly neither misled nor amused by what he

144). See Chapter 1, p.17-18

145). South 15/4/1987:14

is hearing, communicates in simple terms the fact that the image of the ANC portrayed by the government is grossly distorted.

A second example of exposing disinformation adopts a similar tactic to *fig.9* where the visual image contradicts the caption (*fig.25*) (146). This cartoon, published in October 1987, refers to widespread allegations about the collusion of the security forces with vigilante forces against the "comrades" in squatter settlements in the Western Cape.

The caption is particularly lengthy and occupies considerable space in the graphic. It reads : *"The allegation that the S.A.D.F. is currying favour with certain squatter leaders in order to win support for the new town councils and to install conservative puppets as councillors is devoid of truth and thus not worth commenting on."*

The drawing, despite the seriousness of the subject, is humorously treated. A vigilante, cigar in mouth and wearing the white head-band that identified the vigilantes, and for which they were known as *witdoeke*, is welcomed to "the operational area" by the SADF. The door to the (presumably "official") car which has transported him is opened for him, and a hastily unrolled carpet, presumably red, has been provided.

Both cartoons discussed above are clearly concerned with *exposing* disinformation, either by questioning the authority of the "story-teller" (*fig.24*), or by boldly contrasting what is represented visually against what we are ("officially") told (*fig.25*). By making processes of disinformation visible, both cartoons provide "alternative" readings of events.

Developing alternative readings of events can be seen as an attempt to *counter* disinformation by presenting viewpoints, which in the cartoonist's view, are closer to the "truth".

This is particularly evident in a cartoon published in June 1987 which deals with what the government and the media usually choose to call "black-on-black violence" (*fig.26*) (147).

Lying dead on the ground are two political activists. They are presented with equal visual emphasis. The one is named as a member or supporter of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the other as a member or supporter of the UDF. To the right of the cartoon, a black, balaclava-clad, hired killer dressed in black, gun still smoking in his right hand, is paid for his deed. The hand that pays him is white and the sleeve indicates a striped jacket or suit.

146).South 8/10/1987:13

147).South 4/6/1987:10

The intention of the cartoon is to explain, in as concise a manner as possible, the methods used by the government in order to "divide and rule". While editorial censorship, as we shall see below, has created a certain ambiguity as to the identity of the "pay-master", the cartoon succeeds in countering disinformation by providing an alternative narrative.

THE CENSORED

Zapiro's political position was sufficiently close to that of South's to not have to contend with political censorship from the editorial staff. There would however be much contention between cartoonist and editors concerning the limits to which cartooning could be pushed in order to survive legal censorship (148)

As indicated above, *fig 26* has been subjected to censorship. In the original version the pay-masters hand has been identified as that of the South African Police (SAP). The editors, presumably acting on on legal advice, cropped the printed cartoon so that the alleged culprit remains unnamed in the published version.

One cartoon that's caption was changed by the editors was published in September 1987 (*fig.27*)(149). In the published version, an overweight, moustachioed, bespectacled secretary to the State President calls into P.W. Botha's office : "It's for you, Sir...It's the people of South Africa...They also want to do a swap - and your name has been mentioned". In his left hand he clutches a newspaper named by Zapiro as *Daily Grovel*. The headline reads "Big prisoner swap today !" and refers to a prisoner swap arranged between the South African, Angolan, French and Dutch authorities (150). In smaller print the newspaper reads "Now free Mandela". The pre-editorial letraset version read: "You [P.W. Botha] for Mr. Mandela" where "and your name has been mentioned" has been inserted. Once again, fear of government censorship has resulted in the blunting of the explicit content of specific cartoons. (151)

A cartoon of Zapiro's which has the distinction of being one of the few cartoons to be officially banned for distribution and possession, was issued as a calendar for 1987 by the UDF in the

148).See interview with Zapiro p.57-58

149).South 10/9/1987:15

150).The South African authorities exchanged one hundred and forty five prisoners (Dutch citizen Klaus De Jonge, French citizen Pierre Albertini, and 143 Angolan soldiers) for a single South African soldier captured in Angola (Major Wynand Du Toit).

151).According to Zapiro some readers did not understand the published version. personal communication July 1988

Western Cape (152). The exhibition at which the original copy was first shown was titled About Time - Images of South Africa. It formed the visual arts component of the Towards a Peoples Culture festival. Hours before the exhibition opened the entire festival was banned. The authorship of the full-coloured pen and ink and wash drawing is in itself censored (153).

The image itself is a joyous representation of the South African Police (SAP) and Defence Force (SADF) attempting to impose "order" on a vibrant township. The strength of the cartoon lies in its humorous and detailed representation of numerous concurrent events, as well as in its references to specific individuals and types of person. Apart from luminaries such as UDF patrons Archbishop Tutu and Alan Boesak, numerous western Cape activists can be recognised. (154)

Although precise reasons for censorship are often unclear, Zapiro himself not knowing to what extent, if any, his cartooning practice was responsible for his detention (155), in this instance it is tempting to believe that any consideration of the publication as "subversive" or "undesirable" must have been motivated not only because of the fun that is made of the SAP and SADF in the cartoon, but also because of the joy and optimism which is expressed.

152). It has recently "unbanned" itself (ie. it has been reprinted). It is reproduced in Williamson, S. p.92

153). A close look at the bottom right hand corner shows that the cartoonists signature has been removed.

154). These include Zapiro's mother Gaby (seen selling cakes), his sister Yvonne (with computer paper), as well as Zapiro himself with sketch pad in hand, (a line drawing of a policeman as a pig is on the pad), and pencil and brush in back-pocket, holding hands with Karina Turok, whom he has since married.

155). See interview with Zapiro p.59

CHAPTER 4

ANARCHISTS AND ACTIVISTS AND CRITICAL ART PRACTICE

Having discussed specific cartoons in the preceding two chapters, the aim of the conclusion is to tease out some of the issues which have been raised during the course of this paper, in particular the implication that "anarchists" and "activists" have for developing a critical art practice.

While recognizing that the respective points of entry for Bauer and Zapiro are different, and in some ways diametrically opposed, it would be crude simply to contrast the two strategies of intervention without recognising the overlap that exists between these strategies, and to explore both the possible advantages and limitations of "anarchy" and "activism" for political cartooning.

In order to achieve this end it is necessary to identify who and what is subjected to criticism in the cartoons of Zapiro and Bauer, as well as to consider the character of this criticism.

Much of Zapiro's cartoons contain comment critical of the Nationalist Party government, the South African Defence Force (SADF), the South African Police (SAP), as well as of the "official" political opposition represented in the Tricameral Parliament. Also targeted by Zapiro are the SABC, the Chamber of Mines, the far right, homeland leaders and "rebel" sports tours. In addition, powerful "friends" of the South African government such as British Premier Margaret Thatcher and American President Ronald Reagan, are also lampooned by Zapiro.

Repression, censorship, disinformation, corruption and destabilisation, are the dominant themes with which the groupings named above (usually represented by their leaders), are shown to be associated .

Zapiro is far gentler in his representation of representatives of the extra-parliamentary opposition to Nationalist Party rule. The UDF, South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the ANC, South African Council of Churches (SACC), and Black Sash all escape the physical distortion and sometimes undignified contexts to which the government and its allies are subjected. (156) (*fig.28*)

In contrast to Zapiro, Bauer, according to Anton Harber, *"treats all people as equals. He sees everyone he draws as equally*

156). These organisations are generally represented by their leaders ; Oliver Tambo (ANC), Beyers Naude and Frank Chikane (SACCC) Sheena Duncan (Black Sash). COSATU, UDF and SAYCO are represented less by leaders than by generalised representations of "comrades" or "workers".

disgusting." (157). This is more or less consistent with the views that "If you're going to be in favor of something, you might as well not be a cartoonist" (158) and that "In consistently applied caricature there are no 'heroes'" (159), which can also be seen as closer to an older view of caricature articulated by Champfleury who wrote : "a true caricaturist could never be popular because he revealed the weaknesses, lies and deformities of humanity." (160)

In Bauer's terms the fact that Zapiro reserves his criticism for the opponents of the ANC/SACP/UDF/COSATU alliance, more specifically the government and its allies, means that he is "not a cartoonist" (161).

However, the above definitions of caricature/cartooning do not acknowledge the heterogeneous character of the practice, and while claiming pedigree ("true caricaturist"), represent a selective view of the function of cartoons (specifically political cartoons). (162)

Contrary to the view of cartooning expressed above, Zapiro develops the potential of cartooning as a didactic practice. While this would clearly contradict Champfleury's view that "Caricature should not preach" (163), the politically partisan character of Zapiro's cartoons is motivated by a sense of social injustice and inequality, and a belief that in order to assist the process of political and social change it is necessary to work jointly with the organised formations of political resistance (more specifically those under the rubric of the "Mass Democratic Movement"), which represent the ideals with which the cartoonist himself has openly identified. (164)

Seen in this perspective, Zapiro's cartoons should not only be seen as party political propaganda, but also as motivated by a sense of morality (165). This is not to suggest however that moral outrage is peculiar to politically aligned or "activist" cartoonists. The "anarchist", although theoretically politically

157).Anton Harber "Foreword" in Bauer,D.

158).Contemporary cartoonist Patrick Oliphant quoted in Paulson p.185

159).*ibid.* p.203

160).Quoted in Stamm,T.D. p.58

161).D.Bauer personal communication 8/1/1990

162).Stamm notes that Champfleury's definition of caricature was "tailored" to serve "as a pictorial exemplum of [his] Realist theories" (p. 54)

163).Stamm p.62

164).See interview with Zapiro p.59-60

165).As Patten (p.332) has noted "satire is a weapon of the dispossessed". This implies a fundamental partiality.

"independent", "neutral" or "non-aligned" may also be motivated by a sense of morality.

Bauer's Mbeki cartoon (*fig.8*) is a case in point. Caricature here has clearly not been "consistently applied". The relative dignity accorded Mbeki compared to the visual representation of his interviewer make it very clear who is the "hero" in this cartoon. There are two ways of interpreting this. In the first instance it could be argued that the stark polarities of South African experience, particularly during the Emergency, has begun to affect Bauer's political position as a "fence-sitter" (166).

This interpretation may be supported by the fact that whereas early Bauer cartoons were fairly indiscriminate in their targets, towards the end of the Emergency they tended, like Zapiro's to be directed at the government, its agents and allies.

There is however another interpretation which is that Bauer is simply acceding to pressure from the Weekly Mail constituency. In order to maintain his regular cartoon spot he cannot, for example, criticize Mandela to the extent that he can a government representative. (167)

Bauer and Zapiro approach the combination of written texts and visual image with different understandings which are consistent with the fundamental differences between the approaches of both cartoonists to their work.

Bauer's emphasis is primarily visual (168), in fact it is tempting to conclude that the subject in Bauer's cartoons is often the drawing itself. For instance the title Play-Pen (*fig. 10*) can, in addition to the meanings indicated earlier, also be understood as referring to the *pen* of the cartoonist himself, the *play* being the act of drawing itself. The frequent use of apparent "accidents" such as ink spots and finger-prints in his cartoons, particularly in order to suggest blood, can also be seen as implying a self-consciousness about the character of the media (ink) which he employs.

Bauer's approach to cartooning is closer to conventional notions of "art" than "propaganda" (169), and he will as far as it is possible, avoid the inclusion of labels which may help identify

166). See interview with Zapiro p.53,67

167). Bauer himself has offered this interpretation. Personal communication 8/1/1990

168). See interview with Bauer p.76,81

169). See interview with Bauer p.79

the subject (170). This at times causes the content of his cartoon to be unclear, even to a contemporary audience (171).

Contrary to this, Zapiro *"does not shy away from the propagandist quality in [his] work"* (172). Zapiro places his major emphasis on developing his concepts, taking particular concern to be intelligible to as broad a spectrum of his viewers as possible (173). The inclusion of written text contributes to "fixing" the message, and as such is not considered to weaken the cartoon.

While Bauer's political "independence" may suggest a greater scope for developing a critical art practice, it also provides its own limitations. For while political "non-alignment" provides "anarchists" with the space they need in order to "overthrow the serious" (174), they are also perceived as mavericks. As Paulson noted of Gillray *"[he was] too likely to shoot in several directions at once to be a reliable political marksman."* (175)

This of course, has implications for state censorship. Cartoonists who do not represent particular organized political organisations or interest groups can be allowed considerable license, even if they may be considered offensive in the short term. (176)

Bauer's cartoons, on occasion, serve to confirm the messages transmitted in the "dominant" rather than "alternative" media. His anti-sanctions cartoon (*fig.18*), for example, conforms to images of Archbishop Tutu promoted by both the State and commercial press of the "fat Bishop" who could afford to call for economic sanctions against South Africa.

Another example of Bauer's cartoons which reinforces rather than counters the "dominant" version of events was published in May 1986 (*fig.29*) (177). It refers to the animosity between the recently launched, militant trade union COSATU, and the rival union launched by Inkatha soon after. Not only does the image itself conform to [white] stereotypes of blacks as barbaric, but it's political content is also muddled. The caption *"An injury*

170). See interview with Bauer p.81

171). See interview with Bauer p.80-81

172). See interview with Zapiro p.63

173). See interview with Zapiro p.48

174). See interview with Bauer p.82

175). Paulson p.185

176). The point that visual art which is not representative of specific political groupings is not considered to endanger "state security" is made in Pissarra, M. "Prejudice and potential in political cartooning". See p.140 together with footnotes 43 and 47 of the same paper.

177). Weekly Mail 9/5/1986:10

to one is an injury to all" is a COSATU slogan, and would have been more appropriate to a representation of conflict between two of COSATU's affiliated unions, than between two rival groupings. The use of a sickle (COSATU) and hammer (UWUSA) is equally misleading. While COSATU is usually associated with Socialism, UWUSA advocates capitalism.

The cartoon contributes little in terms of political content. Instead of highlighting difference and conflict between the two unions, it suggests that "black" unions share a common agenda, which is being undermined by their inability to solve matters in a civilized manner.

"Activist" cartoonists, on the other hand, are not simply expressing individual perspectives, but also that of their particular political organisations. While on one level this in itself can create constraints for cartoonists (178), its "representative" character can also strengthen the political impact of the cartoons.

Despite the fundamental differences in approach indicated above, there are also several common features shared by both cartoonists. Neither of them see humour as a necessary constituent of cartooning (179), and when they use humour it is seldom purely for entertainment. Rather, humour is a means of expressing the absurdity of particular circumstances and is generally at the expense of the subject (eg a specific politician), rather than being the subject itself (180).

In addition, both recognize that the cartoonist has to operate within the limitations of general public awareness. Their answer to doing this is to use what Bauer calls "symbols" or what Zapiro calls "archetypes" (181).

While in academic terms the notions "symbols" and archetypes" may beg definition, what both cartoonists are essentially referring to is the eclectic use of reference points that are sufficiently established in the popular imagination so as to be recognized and understood.

There are several implications arising from the use of "popular reference points" as defined above. On one level it has implications for the "specific" or "universal" character of cartoons. A well known reference may mean that a cartoon's

178).See interview with Zapiro p.66

179).See interviews with Zapiro and Bauer pp.55,76

180).Reference here is to the notion that the task of cartoonists (like comedians) is to crack jokes in order to entertain and amuse their audiences.

181).See interviews with Zapiro and Bauer pp.61-62,72

content, or at least a part of its content, may be legible to an audience unfamiliar with the specific character and circumstances which initially prompted the cartoon. On another level it has been suggested that "*Multivalence is a convenient escape from censorship*" (182). In other words, the ambiguity between *specific* and *general* content allows cartoonists greater license to represent their "victims" in absurd contexts (eg. *fig.4* and *fig. 20*) and survive prosecution for defamation of character. (183)

The ambiguity or tension between the *specific* and *general* content of political cartoons can also be seen in the representations of individuals, particularly prominent political and social figures. These individuals are invested with wider meaning. Despite the fact that they exploit specific physiognomic characteristics of particular politicians, these representations are generally more concerned with politicians as symbols of specific political ideologies than with politicians as individuals. Specific individuals may provide the initial points of departure, or putty so to speak, with which the cartoonist remoulds the individual's particular physiognomic characteristics so as visually to invest particular qualities associated not only with that individual, but also with the particular interest groups, organisations, political parties or ideologies which they represent.

Developing an iconography which is accessible without being cliched, and abstracting broader issues from concrete examples without losing focus or punch, are two of the problems which must be addressed by a cartoonist keen to communicate with a diverse audience without sacrificing "integrity" (both artistic and political).

CRITICISM IN A CULTURE OF RECONSTRUCTION

It is a characteristic of the era before the second of February 1990 that open political debate was suppressed. Banned publications were usually political in character. At present many of these publications are being officially unbanned (184).

A look at any list of publications banned recently shows that the censors are more occupied with combating "obscene" material. This is in sharp contrast to the previous situation. (185)

182). See Hofmann, W. p.364

183). See also Pissarra, M. "Prejudice and potential in political cartooning" p.141

184). See "No banning this week" Cape Times 4/8/1990:5

185). "The annual report (1984/85) of the Department of Own Affairs shows that less than 7% of publications submitted for banning come from the public...A total of 622 publications were considered prejudicial to state security - against only nine complaints against pornographic material. The 622 does not include publications by illegal

Despite this apparent "glasnost", political intolerance of views expressed by differing political tendencies has caused untold death and destruction in the last year. The need to encourage political tolerance and open and critical debate is essential in order to begin to reconstruct a nation that is characterized by political and cultural diversity.

While the banning of political organisations encouraged the development of a "culture of secrecy" and contributed to the party-political character of Zapiro's cartoons, it will be interesting to see whether, having returned recently from studying in the United States, Zapiro's criticism will continue to be reserved exclusively for "the enemy", or will begin to adopt a more independent perspective, itself in line with calls by the ANC leadership that journalists should not be propagandists for the ANC, and that a free and critical press is necessary in order to develop democracy (186).

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has stated : *"We need a strong, independent and courageous press to communicate across the divides that wreck our country...The freer the press, the greater the possibilities for individual rights and personal liberty, for building a nation imbued with a spirit of tolerance and humanity."* (187). "Criticism", Mandela said shortly after his release, *"even though sometimes it is painful, is valuable - because it enables us to avoid some of the pitfalls into which we have fallen in the past. It is in the interests of the struggle as a whole."* (188)

In the context of this paper the sentiments expressed above may read as a vindication of political non-alignment, more specifically as pertaining to Bauer. However the "anarchist" may also have lessons to learn from the "activist".

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- organisations, which are automatically banned." ("The book that beat the ban" New Nation 23/10/1986:19
- 186). There have been several such statements reported in the press, most of which are qualified by sentiments that racism cannot be allowed to be encouraged. See for example National Executive Committee (NEC) member Aziz Pahad quoted in "ANC wants a free 'responsible' press" Cape Times 11/5/1990:2, Constitutional expert Albie Sachs quoted in "ANC wants a free and lively press" Argus 6/6/1990:11, and Sechaba editor Francis Meli quoted in "ANC editor's 'yes, but' to a free press" South 19/7/1990:19
- 187). See "Media's vital role for democracy" Cape Times 15/10/1990:6
- 188). See "South Africa 'needs to retain a free press'" Argus 26/2/1990:2

Particularly as we move from a culture of resistance (189) to a culture of reconstruction and development, criticism is increasingly encouraged to adopt a constructive character. (190)

This is not to suggest that cartoonists should relinquish their historical role in satirising "others", particularly those in power, but that they should also sometimes take time to reflect on the nature of their criticism. Attacking others is easier than asking questions about oneself, and while self-criticism is perhaps more introspective than public, it is necessary to examine to what extent, if any, cartoons can not only expose society's weaknesses, but also contribute to the solving of social problems. (191)

Both positions, the "activist" and the "anarchist", are undesirable if taken to their extremes. The unquestioning party loyalist may prove to be more of a burden than an asset for a political organisation particularly as changing political circumstances demand that positions and strategies be constantly re-examined. Anarchy for anarchy's sake may produce social comment which is more irritating than enlightening.

The combination of word and image in order to comment on contemporary events, issues and individuals or interest groups means that the cartoonist can be seen as practicing a form of "graphic journalism". Cartooning can be seen as "the ultimate editing exercise" (192) its ability to summarise complex issues in "shorthand" being an obvious strength.

Political cartoonists are indeed fortunate that the heterogeneous character of cartooning provides them with differing models for inspiration, without providing rules.

189). The question of the appropriateness of the notion of a "culture of resistance" within an evolving political situation is discussed in Pissarra, M. "The visual arts in the culture of resistance"

190). For example Weekly Mail co-editor Irwin Manoim, when questioned recently as to whether his paper encouraged certain forms of criticism over others, replied "*We particularly encourage critical debate on the shape of a post-apartheid South Africa.*" (190)

191). A similar view was expressed by the New Nation in 1988 : "*Journalists should not only report on what happens in society, but should also help find solutions to the problems of our country.*" (17/3/1988:7)

192). Weekly Mail Cartoonist Stacey Stent. Personal communication November 1990

APPENDIX 1INTERVIEW WITH ZAPIRO (25/7/1988)

M.P. *When and where were you born ?*

J.S. In Cape Town on the 27th of October 1958.

M.P. *Where were you schooled ?*

J.S. At Rondebosch Boys' Junior and High.

M.P. *Have you travelled ?*

J.S. Yes, I have. I went on a trip as a child to Europe to see my mother's family, which was a fantastic experience. Some people negate those kinds of experience but it was an amazing one - to Britain and a little bit to Italy. Six weeks, then I travelled in 1978 again, on a table tennis tour a bit of a pawn of the Taiwan/South African relationship that was being set up. We were the first sports tour there. I was in Taiwan for three weeks and in a couple of other really interesting places. Then, in 1981, I travelled on my Architectural fourth year all over Europe. Among other things, I met some interesting cartoonists. At the end of 1987 I travelled to Israel, about which I learned a lot, and to Turkey.

M.P. *Where have you lived ?*

J.S. Always in Cape Town except for a few months spent "up north" when I was in the army - which is another whole story.

M.P. *When and where did you begin to do satirical drawings ?*

J.S. It's difficult to say exactly at what point they would start to be called satirical. I started drawing when I was really young. I had been having some nightmares. }
My mother gave me pen and paper and said, "Start to draw these things and then see what comes up". It really helped. That was my first experience with drawing imaginary things as opposed to drawing from real life.

I suppose satirical drawings really started a few years later at school when I was quite young (about ten or eleven, perhaps). I used to draw teachers whom I felt worthy of a bit of lampooning. I also did a weekly cartoon spot in a school magazine which sometimes caused a few hackles to be raised.

M.P. *How were they received by most people ?*

J.S. I felt that tremendous sense of response that people give to incisive cartoon drawing which gave me quite a kick. I suppose that it was the beginning of some sort of anti-establishment, maverick feeling. That is what a cartoonist often is - a kind of maverick, and obviously it gave me a tremendous kick from that point of view as well. } well
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M.P. *What is the extent of your formal training ?*

J.S. Very little, in terms of cartooning. I didn't take art at school: I was taking academic subjects at the time and was somewhat discouraged from taking art. At university I did a Bachelor of Architecture which was later changed to Bachelor of Architectural Studies, which is also, not, related to cartooning. I then went to Michaelis. I was there for less than half a year, doing graphic design. I had to pull out of that to go to the army: they wouldn't give me deferment any more. I had weekly classes with Andre Van Zyl doing life drawing and a bit of painting. }

M.P. *Do you, or have you, worked in the commercial art sector ?*

J.S. Yes, I have. After I finished with the army I decided not to study further because I felt quite frustrated having to be inactive in fields where I wanted to be involved. I decided to do things by myself. In order to make money, to work in organisations which interested me, I got the odd commercial job. So I started off with the balance more in the commercial sector and doing only the odd political job.

M.P. *Have you taught, or do you teach, art of any kind ?*

J.S. Not formally, but I've been involved fairly often in workshops with school pupils and I've done the odd workshop at university. I did a workshop with SIG (Social Issues Group). I did one with PAAG (Pupils' Awareness Action Group). I've done a little course with CAP (Community Arts Project) where I was teaching three people: two from the Eastern Cape, organisationally based in Eastern Cape, and one from the Domestic Workers' Union.

Another interesting thing I did was teaching a township cartoonist for a while. Something really heavy came out of that experience. I was teaching a guy that I had been put onto by an organisation I had been involved with and then he just disappeared and I never heard anything more. Because I was busy I didn't keep contact. A couple of months later I heard that he was one of the seven people who was killed in that shoot-out in Guguletu. The police alleged that they were all trained guerillas. In fact I knew him to be - well, I can't say that with 100% certainty, but as far as I was concerned he was just a young, developing cartoonist. I had been at the funeral and had stood in the guard of honour over the coffins. I suddenly realized that he was one of the people who was in the coffin. It was really quite an experience.

M.P. *Where do you publish your work ?*

J.S. I've had a large number of drawings published in South. I was on retainer for South last year and into this year. I've had a few drawings published in the Weekly Mail, in Grassroots, in Die Suid Afrikaan, in the Save the Press Campaign and of course in the commercial publications that I mentioned earlier: Woolworth's in-house stuff, and a few agencies - that sort of thing. Then, more recently, quite a number of my drawings have

been published by magazines and newspapers in features that they've run on work that I've done.

M.P. *Have you had any options for publications which you've refused or declined ?*

J.S. Yes, I have. One example that immediately springs to mind is something I was doing for an agency where they asked me to draw the then Minister of Transport Schoeman in a car holding up an object which was not specified. I refused to do it because, first of all I did not want my stuff to become some sort of plug for the Nats, which is quite possible because it was an Afrikaans agency, and secondly not knowing what the stuff was, I felt dicey about the whole thing.

M.P. *Have you exhibited your work in group or in one-person shows ?*

J.S. The first time I put anything on exhibition was at the EEC exhibition at the end of 1985, at the Baxter. I had two drawings that I did and considered worth putting up were published in the Weekly Mail after the exhibition. The next time I put any work up was the [UDF] calendar, at the end of 1986 in the Towards the People culture festival. The art exhibition component was called About Time. The whole festival was banned so the exhibition was taken down very quickly before many people had a chance to see it. Another year and a half passed before I exhibited again. This was my first one-person show at the Baxter, Laughter in the Belly of the Beast, which was work that I had been doing - odd bits and pieces since those two Weekly Mail drawings - but most of the work I had done in the last 18 months for South and other publications.

M.P. *Why did you choose the Baxter as a venue?*

J.S. Very, very difficult decision. I'm still not 100% sure about the Baxter. This is partly because the sort of spin-off that I'm getting is that I'm being pushed as a young and up-and-coming careerist in some circles (and

that worries me immensely) and partly because the Baxter is fairly "white". I did try and get St. George's Cathedral, but I found that I would have to censor the drawings, which I was not prepared to do. I said I was not prepared to take out even one drawing or even tamper with them for exhibition, but came against Church Councils and church wardens, although I have to put on record that Dean King was very supportive of the whole thing. I feel Cape Town doesn't have a perfect venue and that's a very big problem. I intended to get at least one set of drawings which would circulate in the townships. My detention actually prevented me from doing that. I'm hoping still to do it because I feel that is very important to get a travelling exhibition that would travel from venue to venue. It wouldn't necessarily have to be the originals because I feel the most important part for the people would be the political content, the "message".

I've exhibited quite a couple of times in a very ad hoc way at events put on by organisations, such as the COSATU event. I've sent drawings of mine to Johannesburg as well for another COSATU event and I've had some exhibited at other ECC events. A recent exhibition of my work was put up at UWC under the auspices of the Save the Press campaign.

M.P. *How many of your prints were sold at the Baxter?*

J.S. I'm not quite sure: I haven't worked it out yet. I was intending to work all that stuff out when I was detained two days after the exhibition was closed so I don't know how many prints or posters were sold.

M.P. *What materials do you use ?*

J.S. For publications in newspapers I used flexible nibs and black Indian ink, also with the odd spatter which I use with a toothbrush and frisket, not possessing enough money for an airbrush. I suppose I could get one some time, but I haven't as yet got one. I love working in

colour as well when I get the opportunity. Then I use Dr. Martin's inks, which are fantastic.

M.P. *When and where do you usually draw ?*

J.S. I draw a lot in all sorts of places and circumstances. I do contact drawing for my work all over the place. When I'm sitting in meetings, when I'm just mooching around at home, before I go to sleep or whenever an idea comes to me. I have very irregular working hours, so again there's no specified time for that. I try as best I can, especially recently, to work during normal working hours but it just doesn't work out like that though. Other kinds of drawings, just doodles and sketches of people and things - sort of letting my mind wander - that happens all the time. The finished work I do in the studio because I've got all my equipment there.

M.P. *How long does it usually take you to accomplish a drawing ?*

J.S. That's quite a difficult one. They vary tremendously. The conceptual part of it is the part that varies far more greatly than the finished product part of it. The concept may come to me within the first thirty seconds or it may come after three or four hours of grappling; which obviously makes an enormous difference to the entire time taken for the drawing. Then the actual finished product part of it would also depend on the complexity of the drawing. Perhaps a day for a complex one, say a cartoon that would go in a newspaper, perhaps half a day. Say anything from about three hours to five hours or so.

M.P. *And when you draw specific characters - Faried Essack, Chris Heunis, say - or just the heads of the characters ?*

J.S. Characters without any sort of specific political content take, I should say, half-an-hour to an hour, depending on how much I put into them.

M.P. *Do you consider there to be any loss of quality in transferring the work from the original to the printed form?*

J.S. It depends on the degree of reduction and it depends on the process used. Very often the degree of reduction and the process used are both not satisfactory, in which case there is a big loss in quality. If it's not reduced too much and if they are using a good bromide [camera] and all is well when it is put on the page it often looks crisper and nicer even in the reduction and on the page.

M.P. *What status do you accord the original? How and where is it kept?*

J.S. I haven't made my mind up about this. I usually have the originals lying about in a cardboard folder, which sort of gets things put on top of it and I sometimes forget about them. At some point, then, I've got to take cognisance of the fact that they are originals and that I'm going to do something with them, like exhibit - which is what happened to me recently. The status question that you asked is again a very dicey one. I feel tremendous reluctance to put them up as art objects to the point where they are going to be bought for a lot of money and would land up in some rich person's lounge. I haven't made my mind up about that yet.

M.P. *Are most of your drawings the result of direct observations and experience, or are themes sometimes suggested to you? If so, by whom?*

J.S. Most of my drawings are from my own observations and experiences, yes. But I do like to work very much with whoever the client is, be that an organisation - in which case I would meet with the people involved - or a newspaper or magazine. Occasionally I've taken an idea

in toto from one of those kinds of groups and used it and done my own (tape ends)

M.P. *Do you usually work from a preconceived idea ?*

J.S. I work very much on a conceptual basis. I divide concept and technique of drawing into two very separate categories. I have one book where I only draw concepts. They can be verbal or graphic or both. I start by working from an issue. I examine it and find a whole lot of different conceptual ways to illustrate that issue. Once I've got that then I start expanding on that graphically and build up the cartoon from there.

M.P. *How clear is the idea before you begin? Do you clarify the idea as you work ?*

J.S. Very seldom. Very, very seldom. I think the method that I've just outlined illustrates that I very seldom let a lot of the idea evolve whilst I'm doing it. There are obviously nuances that change, satiric things, graphic things, expressive things, and perhaps emotional things that start coming out in the way that I draw, but the basic concept is almost always preconceived.

M.P. *Do you depict particular persons and circumstances or do you attempt to portray a broader human condition?*

J.S. I've often thought about that one. I try to do both in the same drawing as often as possible. There are some drawings which are one and some that are the other. But generally what I try to do is have a few levels working at the same time so that if I have a particular issue or set of circumstances to illustrate, I'll try and put that in the broader context in South Africa and perhaps even in the still broader global or historical context.

M.P. *Do you ever work from photographs ?*

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J.S. Almost always when it comes to political cartooning because the photograph is very accessible to me. Not only that, the photograph and the television image - which is something else I work from - are the images that the viewer invariably has as their source of reference too, so it works from me to them in quite an easy way.

M.P. *What advantages or disadvantages does your chosen medium have in relation to other media, such as photography ?*

J.S. I think that the greatest advantage that my medium has is, perhaps more than almost any other "art" medium that I can think of. I can put everything that I have in my head down on paper as near as I can represent it. I think it allows one to do more than photography does. Although we can want to manipulate images, one can certainly use a tremendous amount of conceptual manipulation in photography.

M.P. *Which cartoonists have affected or influenced your style and your attitude ?*

J.S. The first ones were not political cartoonists. I sort of fell in love with Hergé's Tintin when I was about six and I've always loved them even though I don't always agree with much of the ideology of Tintin any more: there's a tremendous amount in it that really offends me, but I still love it. It's one of those love-hate relationships now. The next thing was again not political but a more philosophical thing: Peanuts. When I was about nine or ten, before it became a massive, massive craze, I latched onto that and I fell in love with it. Then after that was Astérix - still sort of non-political - and then came a whole bunch: Dave Marais, here in South Africa; Ronald Searle, not really political, but very incisive. After that, a whole series: Gary Trudeau of Doonesbury, Gerald Scarfe and Ralph Steadman, who have more

recently influenced my work tremendously. At home, Derek Bauer. Now Derek Bauer, Gerald Scarfe and Ralph Steadman I see very much as anarchist cartoonists, some more than others, but the body of their work is more the kind of incisive looking around, poking fun and actually taking pot shots in a fairly widespread sort of way without really jumping off the fence and stating a clear political position. So I get a lot out of those three artists graphically but I get very little out of their political insights. Then the other cartoonists I'm influenced by to a certain extent are George Grösz, whose work I love. and Saul Steinberg even though it is difficult to see their influence necessarily in my work. There are one or two others whom I look at a lot and I feel that, like Garry Trudeau of *Doonesbury*, their work is going to start manifesting itself in my work when I get into more comic strip stuff, Clare Bretecher, Jules Feiffer, Steve Bell, who does *If* in the *Guardian*, those sort of people.

M.P. *Have any 'high art' sources affected your style and your attitude?*

J.S. I suppose not as much as cartoonists have affected me. I'm always interested in high art and I'm emotionally affected by those things but I certainly don't think that you could call them influences to the same extent that cartoonists have affected me.

M.P. *Do you produce painting or sculpture in addition to cartoons?*

J.S. Not at the moment I don't. I have done a little bit of painting in those weekly classes I mentioned earlier but nothing really that expressed what I would like to paint. I will definitely do it in future. As for sculpture, I worked a bit in plasticine, not in the 'high' art sense at all - I worked for a clay animation

company for a short while and I really enjoyed making three-dimensional things in Plasticine.

M.P. *Would this work differ in any way substantially from your satirical drawings ?*

J.S. Very much indeed. In some particular instance I was mainly doing some illustrations for the way a children's book could appear if made in an animated form, so it would differ tremendously in content and mood from the political stuff.

M.P. *You have mentioned the calendar. Have you produced work in other popular media, such as T-shirts, posters, cards and so on ?*

J.S. Yes, very often, through my work in organisations. That is how my work started. I didn't even specify earlier on but those are, in fact, how I got into doing a greater amount of political cartooning. The first thing I started doing was cards followed by posters, then banners, T-shirts, stickers, logos, the works. Only the odd political cartoon, so-called, which would illustrate things in magazines or pamphlets put out by these organisations.

M.P. *What is your attitude to film as an artistic media ?*

J.S. I love film: I see a tremendous connection between film and cartooning. The greatest connection I can think of there is Fellini, who is a cartoonist and I think he may have been a cartoonist before he was a film-maker. But the whole method of evolving a movie as a kind of cartoon that happens in someone's mind is something that Fellini particularly has perfected. The other very strong connection is story boarding which evolves really from the Disney studios where they perfected that particular way of setting out an animated cartoon movie as a story board. It got taken up by many other sorts and forms of film making.

M.P. *Is your emphasis visual or verbal or is it a combination ?*

J.S. I think in many of my drawings I would have to say "both", but sometimes I enjoy making a very punchy graphic with little or no verbal content.

M.P. *Are your drawings always accompanied by text ?*

J.S. Not always, but mostly, I would say, even if the text is a one line, one or two or three word caption. Very often I combine graphic and verbal comment.

M.P. *Do you read or write poetry ?*

J.S. Not so much poetry. I have done. I used to be interested in rhyming couplets and funny stuff a la Ogden Nash or that sort of person. I did a fair amount of that at one stage. On very infrequent occasions I've written some more emotional kind of poetry, just off the cuff.

M.P. *Is humour a necessary constituent of your work ?*

J.S. Not at all. Humour is just one possible catalyst for releasing a certain sort of reaction in the viewer. Other kinds of catalysts could be anger, sadness or a purely intellectual connection of two ideas. I see humour as an expression of divergent thinking: it's making connections that might not otherwise be made. I do not think, however, that humour is the only form of divergent thinking - in other words, you can make connections with other mechanisms. I would use the particular emotion, if you want to call it that, which most suits the particular issue, that's what I would use.

M.P. *Do you consider yourself to be a serious person ?*

J.S. Yes, I do. I'm actually a very serious person although I get quite manic sometimes, but I think I am a serious person - too serious.

M.P. *Do you read comics?*

J.S. Yes I do. Recently I got into Judge Dread, which I love. I like underground comics: The Fabulous Freak Brothers, Fritz the Cat. I read Doonesbury of course, I read Steve Bell, I read all the ones that I've mentioned.

M.P. *Which newspapers do you read ?*

J.S. The Weekly Mail; the New Nation - not enough, I'm afraid, although I think it is a very good source of information; South, with reservations; the Cape Times and the Argus with tremendous reservations. In fact, the Cape Times slightly more than the Argus although I don't know if there is any special reason for reading the Argus any more. Occasionally, very occasionally, the overseas papers: bits and pieces from overseas papers.

M.P. *So you never look at the Afrikaans press?*

J.S. I'm afraid that it is so occasional that I could hardly put it down. It's obviously a gap in my knowledge of what certain people will be thinking. I've been doing things for the Suid Afrikaan and I should really know more about what those people are thinking, especially if one is courting the kind of liberal-to-left wing Afrikaners who are amenable to some sort of change.

M.P. *Do you read novels ?*

J.S. Not very often. I love certain novels that I do get to read. I'm not very interested in spy thrillers or whatever: I'm more interested in novels about meaningful contemporary lives, if I can sound as grand as that. For example, I just read a novel called Brother of the More Famous Jack by Barbara Trapido. I thought that was a great novel. If I get to read four or five a year, that's about it.

M.P. *Non-fiction ?*

J.S. A bit more than I read novels. I will read, say, a book like Tom Wolfe's The New Journalism or Dispatches by Michael Herr : that kind of book, probably six or seven a year.

M.P. *And academic journals ?*

J.S. Oh, this is an embarrassing question. Very, very little. Perhaps WIP - that is the only one that would fall into that category.

M.P. *Do you read or look at art books ?*

J.S. Yes, I do that all the time, in a very piecemeal sort of way but continuously, so I'll read a chapter here and a chapter there. (I'll look at reference stuff.) I'll take stuff out of the library every few weeks. I've got a large library of my own which I look at all the time.

M.P. *Do you read political theory ?*

J.S. Again, not enough. I feel a tremendous lack of education in that department. In the five years or so that I've been involved with organisations I've tried to pick up things through the workshops I've attended and through the readings I'm forced to do for the different seminars I've attended.

M.P. *What is the effect of censorship on your work ?*

J.S. It's quite a multi-faceted effect. It starts with the knowledge that I can't work with certain subject matter or that I can't show things in a certain way. I'm already inhibited when I put pen to paper, knowing that the authorities will be waiting to prosecute or confiscate or ban or whatever. Further, the intermediaries that I have to get past - the editors and the legal advisers, many of whom I disagree with when I feel that they are being too conservative in their understanding of the censorship that is being applied, or when I feel that they are being too

cautious about the regulations and not using all the loopholes that exist. Perhaps that is also part of the slightly headstrong "give it a full go" mentality that I work with. So it's a very inhibiting thing.

M.P. *How much of your work has been censored or banned ?*

J.S. Only one major drawing that I did, the UDF calendar for 1987, has been banned as an object on its own. There was a fair outcry about that and it also affected my own personal safety at the time. Other drawings of mine have been in publications that have been banned, so I don't know to what extent, if any, some of them have contributed to the banning of the publication.

M.P. *But, for example, when you changed a S.A.P. badge on a sleeve, or removed Mandela's name from a cartoon ?*

J.S. Sorry, you are actually reminding me of something that I should have said. I am aware at all times of the authorities and of the intermediaries in terms of what I do and what I put down. I try to make political ideas fairly explicit and so, if I want something to say "S.A.P." I may well do it graphically with the force's badge or I may actually write "S.A.P." not in the old-fashioned style of writing it right across somebody's face or across a field or the sea or something like that - that is the old-fashioned concept - but I rather try and incorporate it in the graphic. What I didn't say before is that on many occasions what I try to push through is changed either through the editors pushing for a change or through the legal people interpreting a particular clause or regulation and telling me that it is not possible. In which case I've got to change it physically on a copy of the drawing or, on occasion, the original has got to be changed. On occasion, too, I've not seen the changes at all and it has gone through behind my back, on a copy usually, but on the original sometimes.

M.P. *How much harassment do you get from people who are antagonistic towards your cartoons?*

J.S. I've had antagonism from the police, especially after the publication of the calendar. It was not only the fact that they were doing their job - to come and look for me and look for this calendar - but they had taken tremendous umbrage to the way they were shown on the calendar as pigs. That has now come up again during interrogation in my period of detention - the fact that they are very offended by this representation which, I assured them was not something that I had started up but merely a tradition that I had continued. But they are antagonistic. Not all of them, some of them actually think it is quite funny, but most of them are very offended. Other than that I get the odd comment from people about the fact that they think I am over the top, or that they think I am unfunny. I've had that a couple of times in the press. James Ambrose Brown, being a notable, described me as a cartoonist with his pen dipped in vitriol. At the exhibition there were comments about my work being one-sided, which would be a fairly typical white South African view of my work, seeing as they get a sort of hundred percent proof "other side" every night on the SABC and in much of what they see in the papers.

M.P. *How responsible do you think your activity as a political cartoonist was for your detention?*

J.S. It is difficult to say how much that was responsible and how much was due to the crossed wires that happened when the police informers give haywire information. I couldn't work out the exact sort of balance of that but it was a bit of both.

M.P. *To what or whom do you consider yourself responsible or accountable?*

J.S. I consider myself [to be] accountable to and responsible to the struggle for liberation in South

Africa. That does sound a bit grandiose so if you bring that down to a slightly more pedantic thing, I consider myself to be responsible to organisations with whom I have worked and do work - the organisations that are non-racial, democratic and, I suppose progressive (in the broad sense of the word).

M.P. *Can you make a living in South Africa producing political and social satire?*

J.S. I think you can make a living doing those things. I think it would be best for your financial security to do the odd commercial job just to add to your finances. I think it would be a bit thin if you were to do only political and social satire.

M.P. *Do you consider that you could make a living as a satirist in another country?*

J.S. Yes, I think one could definitely make a living as a satirist. I haven't really thought about moving to other places or made any investigations but I would say without hesitation that one would make a living as a satirist in many Western countries. I would like to investigate some of the other countries that I would be keen to live in, but I can't really say until I have investigated them.

M.P. *In what way, if any, would you anticipate a change in your subject matter and your approach if you had to leave this country for a substantial period of time?*

J.S. I am leaving this country for one year at least, two years possibly, and the kinds of changes I anticipate are that I will get a global perspective in a far greater way than I get here. We often have a narrow focus because of the intense issues that we're concerned with and because of the cutting off from the rest of the world that we are experiencing. Without being preconceived about it, I don't anticipate changing my basic views about this country.

M.P. *The following terms have or could be used to describe your work. How do you feel about the following terms: Cartoonist?*

J.S. Fine, although I quite like the epithet "political cartoonist".

M.P. *Artist ?*

J.S. I don't mind being described as an artist but again I prefer something a little more directed towards something political.

M.P. *Satirist ?*

J.S. Yes, I like that term.

M.P. *Political cartoonist ?*

J.S. Probably my favourite.

M.P. *Social commentator ?*

J.S. Also, but there again I have that hesitation: I mean, even an all-out anarchist who is not directed can be described as a social commentator. I don't want to be an armchair critic or a fence-sitter.

M.P. *Cultural worker ?*

J.S. Very nice. In fact that one goes hand in hand with "political cartoonist". If I were described as a political cartoonist and cultural worker that would probably cover it.

M.P. *Political activist?*

J.S. Okay, you can add that one as well I'd be happy with that.

M.P. *Media terrorist ?*

J.S. Obviously an epithet that is pure propaganda on the part of the right.

M.P. *Is there anything that I've neglected asking you that you consider important?*

J.S. Yes, I think there are one or two things. The first one that springs to mind - I don't know what sort of question it would answer - is that I feel that it would be an omission on my part if I didn't mention the way I see cartoons. Cartooning, for me, is a way of expression through archetypes. The way of finding

archetypes that reflect situations and that reflect issues. You can have archetypes for situations and you can have archetypes for people and those archetypes are things that are sometimes just below the surface and people perhaps simply don't make those connections. But as a cartoonist, one's constantly looking for them. If you scratch just below the surface of your own mind, sort of brainstorming on a piece of paper, you suddenly pick up connections between things that are floating around in your brain and the issues that you are dealing with every day and sometimes those are quite startling connections. When you then make those connections with your graphic you have a tremendously powerful emotional reaction that can occur for you and for your viewer. It is certainly one of the things that I am looking for all the time. They can be literary things; they can be graphic things from other artists; they can be things from very crass things like television and they can be things that spring up overnight. For example, let's take a character like J.R. from Dallas or a very literary thing like Don Quixote, whom I've used before; you could personify someone sorry; you could liken someone to the Devil, which is an old one; you could liken it to God or whatever; you could set a whole series of characters in Caesar's time. That's the sort of stuff of cartooning for me.

M.P. *Is that a way of transcending limitations of time and circumstance - your work is specific, you refer to particular cabinet ministers and issues - is this a way of making an issue more universal?*

J.S. That's one thing - trying to make the issue more universal. The other thing is trying to make the issue more intelligible to people who may be quite confused about the complexity of some of the things going on around them. There's another thing that one's trying to do, actually - it is trying to make them see something in the way that you see it. In a sense there is a lot

of propaganda content to that but I certainly don't shy away from the propagandistic element of cartooning. If I feel something strongly then, even if it is going to be contentious or offend people, I will do it. There is something else that I would add to that as well: some of the things I have alluded to are quite geared towards the literate person, are quite geared to the eurocentric view of things, and one can get a lot of pleasure out of seeing culturatti or the informed politicians responding to those things. When one has to go further than that and get archetypes that will be intelligible to people who don't have that sort of background, that's a very big challenge and it's an incredibly difficult thing to do. I'm struggling with that all the time. I think some of the drawings that I've done have managed to do that because I've seen them cause a response at, say, COSATU events where I've watched people who are obviously working class people - looking at things, analyzing them and understanding the message.

M.P. *What would you say are the criteria that make a good or effective cartoon ?*

J.S. I think the basic message should be easily understood whether the cartoon has only graphic content or it has graphic and some verbal content. I think that if there is verbal content it shouldn't be so much that you have to read a tremendous amount before you understand. If there is a large verbal content it should be additive, it should add to your understanding of the issue. The basis should be understood after a very perfunctory scrutiny of the drawing. I think what makes a good cartoon also is something that works on different levels. I've already talked about that. Another aspect that ties up with what I've just been talking about is that Eurocentric arty paradigm and the way that more literate or educated people who have that sort of background can understand things. The actual

sources of influence are in my case quite often fairly Eurocentric or American and I'm struggling with that. I would like to feel that a more African feeling could start showing in my drawings because I feel that it should be the whole nature of the work that starts to assert something about where we are. I feel that it is quite difficult in this country because I think that most cartoonists have been influenced by those very traditions and not by African tradition.

M.P. *I think that is quite inevitable, though. African artistic tradition is more sculptural - although it depends how broadly you want to take the concept of art -. There is very little pictorial tradition and when there is, it is generally temporary and part of ritual so it's not as if there were a tradition of painting to draw upon.*

J.S. This is what I have found out. There are things which I could do: I don't quite know yet, but I would try to assert something more of this place and that's something I'll be working towards.

M.P. *Have you ever had any allegations of racism in your depictions of black people in your work ?*

J.S. No, I've never had that. It's something that I was thinking about earlier that should be examined: what the constraints are, your social, ethical restraints in terms of how you draw. I feel those constraints tremendously and therefore I'm hell of a careful about the way I draw people from different race groups. In this country it's particularly explosive and particularly problematic. Some of the black people I drew when I was still more influenced by the Gallic tradition, the Astérix/Tintin stuff, some of the black people I drew there, I would not like to show people now. There is a tremendously racist content to that tradition of drawing and I was still following that tradition on a fairly blind way and not realizing what I was doing in terms of showing prejudice. I haven't

done anything like that since I've started publishing my own work.

M.P. *Do you think Bauer is a part of that tradition?*

J.S. Well, it's a little dicey, but yes I do. I think he certainly may not be overtly racist but I think he is definitely part of that kind of tradition where the graphic takes priority over everything. Certainly the graphic representation of black people as black objects with big, round, rubber lips and white eyes with dots in the middle is a very powerful graphic representation, but it's also hell of a racist. I think he tends to be very slack about being sensitive to those sort of things and I've heard a large number of allegations of racism from people in progressive organisations.

The other thing I find intimidating is knowing what sort of content of groups racial, sexual and other stereotypes to include in crowd scenes. I feel tremendously constrained about that sort of thing. I often feel that the most powerful representation would be one which showed the kind of prejudices I'm trying to avoid. It would be a most powerful representation graphically to show, say, two people confronting each other, but I feel constrained then to represent people in a way more suited to a banner or poster - something with a more popular appeal. It can weaken the immediate graphic impact of things unless one tries to resolve the relationships between poster-type images and cartoons. I feel that's one thing that I've been working on quite hard over the last year and I think I've achieved a certain degree of success in that.

M.P. *Can you comment on the division of cartoonists into, say, "ideologues" and "anarchists" ?*

J.S. The "ideologue" category can include people who are left, far right or liberal - it includes all people who are pushing a political line whether they are

political, party hacks or incisive thinking people pushing a particular kind of line. The anarchist bracket includes people who are either sitting on the fence or who like taking pot-shots at anything. Among the ideologies I find right-wing cartoonists and right-wing humour in general incredibly weak, incredibly forced - with a few exceptions, liberal cartoonists have a lot to play with because they are not hidebound by the constraints which hamper left-wing cartoonists or people tied to progressive groupings. They and the anarchists have the most scope because they are appreciated by the kind of person who likes intellectual playing around. Among the ideologues the left and progressive bunches are very constrained because they are constantly being brought up sharp by groupings that they deal with who feel that they are overstepping the mark in one particular direction or not attacking a certain issue with the degree of reverence that they should be, or whatever. There is quite a didactic quality that I feel sometimes pervades work that I start to do and there's a bit of constraint from that point of view. I feel that someone like Tony Grogan would fit far more into the ideologue category than Derek Bauer because Tony Grogan is a liberal ideologue, fairly PFP-oriented, who pushes a consistent political line based on the human rights and liberal issues in which the PFP is involved whereas Derek Bauer on the other hand will do cartoons that are far more vicious than Tony Grogan's - about the Nats, say, and about the right wing on occasion. On occasion he will also do drawings that are quite reactionary about world issues or world views about South Africa - far more than Tony Grogan would do - and then he will also do drawings that are incredibly satiric and don't have any relation to any political grouping whatsoever; they're purely inside the head of Derek Bauer. I must also put on record that I think Derek Bauer is superbly talented graphically and I think he is

superbly talented in terms of cartoon concepts. I do have a big problem, though, with the fence-sitting and anarchism that he and some other people engage in. I don't feel that we can afford that kind of luxury. Some people would give their eye-teeth to have that sort of slot he has, to put a message across.

APPENDIX 2 :INTERVIEW WITH DEREK BAUER 27/7/1988

M.P. *When and where were you born ?*

D.B. In 1955 in East London.

M.P. *Where did you go to school ?*

D.B. To Cambridge until Standard 5. From Standard 6 to matric I went to Tech. I did a technical matric. I did woodwork as a matric subject.

M.P. *Have you travelled ?*

D.B. I've travelled throughout South Africa extensively. I've been to Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia.

M.P. *Where have you lived ?*

D.B. In East London until I was 21. Then I lived in Pretoria for two years (the SADF). Since then I've lived in Cape Town.

M.P. *When and where did you begin to draw satirical drawings?*

D.B. At school.

M.P. *How were they received ?*

D.B. They weren't end products. [They were] sort of drawings of teachers and things to laugh at, at the back of the class.

D.P. *Nonetheless how were they received by the people who saw them ?*

D.B. Very well received.

M.P. *What is the extent of your formal training or education.?*

D.B. I did a three year graphic design diploma at the East London Technicon.

M.P. *Do you or have you worked in the commercial art sector?*

D.B. Yes I worked at De Villiers and Schonfeldt which changed to Younge and Rubicam. I worked there for two years as a lay out artist and a renderer, and eventually as a junior art director. Then I moved to

Rightfords I was there for a year as an art director. Then I ran my own sort of advertising design business with my wife who's a writer for about three and a half years, and then Susan got a commission to write a book which...we were already overtaxed in terms of different functions we performed in order to satisfy a client and when she got this commission it sort of left me out on a limb so I went into partnership with a guy that I had known for quite a long time and had a trial period for three months [but] the partnership never really went through and I was very disillusioned with advertising as a whole in terms of what I was doing. So I was either going to do carpentry or upholstery. I looked around in the carpentry and cabinet making area and I went to see a couple of pro's., and they were just out of my league completely in terms of machinery. You need a lot of capital to start that sort of thing and a lot of experience which I didn't have. So I went into the sort of drawing league.

M.P. *Have you taught or do you teach art of any kind ?*

D.B. I have taught at the Cape Town Institute of Art for about a year to evening classes - part-time design, graphic design [and] fashion drawing. I'm going to be giving a 15 week course, one night a week at Tech., for three hours a night starting on the 8th August.

M.P. *Have you been, or are you involved in community arts projects ?*

D.B. I don't actually know what you mean by that really. For instance I've done work for Grassroots Educare - book covers, brochure designs, leaflets, little characters, logos but not as such. I got involved in one thing which was the Detainee's Parents Support Committee exhibition.

M.P. *Where do you publish your cartoons?*

D.B. The first was a magazine called Business which went

bankrupt after the first appearance. Then Frontline took some of my stuff. Then the Weekly Mail which was the first newspaper. Then the Argus. Since then I've appeared in Inside South Africa, Excellence which is a sports magazine, Style, Art Director, and after that the supplementary in the Sunday Star.

M.P. *Have you exhibited your work in group or one-person shows ?*

D.B. I haven't exhibited my cartoon stuff. I had three exhibitions after I came out of art school, but that's art stuff, fine art stuff. Although I trained at graphic design. I did graphic design because I thought I could learn something from graphic design, whereas they could teach me nothing in fine art. Which is the arrogance of youth isn't it ? But it was borne out that I was right, because they don't actually teach you anything in fine art. They teach you sort of theory, they don't teach you how to mix colours, they don't teach you how to get your own pigments, or how to make brushes, or how to make ink. They don't teach you how to make things or how to glaze, at least they didn't at the art school that I went to. I think if you want to learn to be a painter, you should be able to speak the language. Once you can speak the language then you can break it down, or do what you want to do with it, but you can't have an illiterate writing a book.

M.P. *Do you intend exhibiting your cartoons ?*

D.B. I do, I don't...It's a pure speculation thing. I don't know if they're going to sell or what, but I would like to. From the marketing point of view I think it would increase the sales of the book, increase an awareness of the book, give editors something to write about in their newspapers when this thing comes to town. It's my advertising training coming out in me [Laughs].

M.P. *What materials do you use ?*

D.B. I use mainly pen and ink with water colour wash, but I

like using other materials. The thing is the practicality of the thing in terms of crisp lines, and the reproduction on crap paper and crap layout and all the rest of it - the way that newspapers are put together, and I've got to give forth the crispest image to start with because it's going to get stuffed up.

M.P. *So you do consider that there is a loss in quality during the transfer from original to published work ?*

D.B. Yes, I think it's a great sadness...Most of the people can't tell the difference and those who can don't care. It's a terrible thing. I could cry about it but you learn to live with it - you have to.

M.P. *When and where do you usually draw ?*

D.B. I usually draw most of the time because I'm pretty busy. I have regular work which is the Argus, Weekly Mail, Excellence which comes out four times a year, the Sunday Star every two weeks, Laughing Stock is going to appear bi-monthly. There is a lot of regular work and I also do free-lance work for advertising agencies which is like the real bucks - that's where you have some money for a change.

M.P. *How long does it usually take you to finish a drawing ?*

D.B. It varies on the interest I place on the drawing. For instance with the Argus there's a lot of sub-editor interjection, and I hate them for this because they interfere with my work, you know what I mean ? Weekly Mail gives me carte blanche, Sunday Star gives me carte blanche, Excellence I can more or less use my own interpretations to illustrate the story - people sort of trust what I'm doing, or they've got me doing it because they like what I'm doing, that's fine I like that. Whereas with the Argus 90% of the time they have dictate what the cartoon should be : the topic, what should be happening, what should be said, and therefore an Argus cartoon would take me anything from half an

hour to two hours, whereas when I started with the Argus it would take me up to eight hours to do a cartoon. I still try to spend double the time on the Weekly Mail than the Argus because I've got carte blanche. I can plant my own idea. It also has an international market.

M.P. *What status do you accord the original ? How and where is it kept ?*

D.B. I accord my originals, the good ones, quite a lot of status. I keep them well. I want to exhibit them. I'm putting together a book. I want to have a series of exhibitions with the launching of the book and I want to sell them as art pieces. I'm talking about the good ones, the eight hour ones, the ten hour ones.

M.P. *Are most of your drawings the result of direct observation and experience, or are themes sometimes suggested to you, if so by whom ?*

D.B. I think that when you're dealing with political cartoons, you have to deal with symbols, because you are dealing with a sort of one-liner situation. It has to have an immediate [impact] - people have to know what's going on.

So you tend to use things like proverbs or nursery rhymes, known situations, which you twist something around. That doesn't always happen - I think that the inspiration comes from so many places - reality, comic books, other peoples drawings, Guernica, you name it.

M.P. *Do you usually work from a pre-conceived idea ?*

D.B. Yes, on commercial things. You see the thing is if you are in my situation where you have to earn so much money every month in order to survive, or in order to maintain a particular standard of living which you have grown accustomed to, you have to do something.

Therefore you have to get the work out. You have to do it like business. You have to sit down, work out an

idea. If you have to do it very fast I do a pencil sketch on a small piece of paper, then I redraw it on a bigger sheet of paper. That's if I want to do it fast. If I want to do it slow I don't do any of that. I just do it straight on to the paper. I think those are the best ones because you are concentrating on drawing the lines rather than copying the pencil lines. You actually see what you are drawing rather than drawing what you're seeing. The line is real, it's like a crack in the wall in real life. You're not following the thing, you're actually drawing something one to one, there's no guide lines. Those I love, I love doing that and then sometimes you have to correct it, but I think that also adds to it.

M.P. *Do you depict particular persons and circumstances, or do you attempt to portray a broader human condition ?*

D.B. It depends from job to job really. IT's a very broad question. For instance a cartoon strip [can] catch the more [broader] human condition, more I would think than a political cartoon. A political cartoon is a topical thing, and has a specific function in the newspaper. You can't fool yourself that it's anything else, it's sort of support for the leader.

M.P. *But for example, if you represent [Minister of Constitutional Development] Chris Heunis, is Heunis Heunis, or is Heunis somebody or something else as well as being Heunis ?*

D.B. One actually develops a relationship with a certain character completely, and after a while one doesn't use references and you sort of get used to that basis, and you get comfortable with a certain distortion which for you expresses the character of the person. Also I have access to the Argus library, and you can go and look at fifty pictures of Ronald Reagan, and you can actually capture a specific emotion, or a split second of an emotion that the camera can catch that you can work from and can expand on. It can be very subtle, Whereas

on the other hand one does tend to characterise the person [tape ends].

M.P. *How often do you work from photographs ?*

D.B. I actually have a photographic library of prominent characters that I have collected ever since I started out in newspapers, magazines, etc., because it is impossible to keep them all in your head, but the key South African figures I can still draw from memory, so I don't use photographs for them unless I want to, if I feel like it, if it needs it, if I have a particularly good photograph or particular expression that I know I have in stock that I want to express.

M.P. *Do you think cartoons have any advantages over photographs ?*

D.B. That would be, I think, a very personal thing. Some people prefer photography and some people prefer cartoons. You can express the same sort of things that you do in cartoons in a photograph.

M.P. *You don't think you have more freedom in cartooning ?*

D.B. I don't know. It gives you more freedom and less freedom, because the trouble especially with political cartoons, is that you have to keep on this very simple tight rein of communication - it has to be so understandable all the time. That is a limitation, and it's also the strength actually of the cartoon because you can open the Leader page and the thing you will see first is the cartoon. Because it's immediately available, you don't have to read through the whole column or whatever. I think that is an advantage. I think photography has that as well depending on who the photographer is. Like [David] Goldblatt takes terribly good satirical photographs of people. I don't know if you've ever seen the one of the kids playing at...I think it's one of the dams in the Transvaal, with toy-guns and they're playing like dare devils... excellence! I think there's black neighbours or a

maid. The kind of satire in that is very powerful.

M.P. *Which cartoonists have affected or influenced your style or attitude ?*

D.B. [Ralph] Steadman, [Ronald] Searle, [Gerald] Scarfe, who else ? Herriman. Do you know [Herriman's] Krazy Kat ? The greatest ever ! There are hundreds, Walter King, Pogo, Schultz.

M.P. *Locally ?*

D.B. I'm afraid not.

M.P. *Would you say any "high" or "fine" art sources have affected your style or attitude ?*

D.B. Yes, I think so. I think that the sort of angular properties of Picasso...I don't think one can escape Goya really if you're a Western art student, because his paintings are like cartoons. I mean I'm talking about cartoon strips now. I'm not talking about "painter", I'm talking about "communicator". I think there is a big difference there. You know the one with the firing squad [Third of May 1808]...it's like a cartoon, no it's not a cartoon - it's a beautiful painting.

M.P. *Do you produce painting or sculpture in addition to cartoons ?*

D.B. I paint, but I wouldn't call it painting because if I had to count my paintings over the last five years, it's probably two. But I'd love to, I really would like to get into it, also sculpture, but I don't have the time.

M.P. *Do you think this work would relate to or differ from your satirical drawings ?*

D.B. I think it would do both. Depending on the individual piece. Some of it would relate to and some of it would differ substantially.

M.P. *Have you produced work in other forms of popular media*

such as T-Shirts, posters, etc.

D.B. Yes, T-Shirts, and I do poster designs for people when they pay me for it, freelance.

M.P. *Are your drawings always accompanied by text ?*

D.B. Not always.

M.P. *Is your emphasis visual or literal or both ?*

D.B. [Pause] I think my emphasis is visual.

M.P. *Do you read or write poetry ?*

D.B. I used to in my romantic youth, I used to write a lot of poetry, a lot of which I've kept but it's terrible, really terrible.

M.P. *Do you write prose ?*

D.B. Yes, I've written a book actually, but I don't think it's very good. I don't think I'm a writer. I think some of the ideas in there are quite nice, and some parts of it quite funny, but I don't consider myself a writer, but I do write. But obviously when you're writing a cartoon strip, you have to write the story before you can even start, because you can't start, you can start, but then you find you fall into traps which you could have avoided if you wrote the skeleton flow of ideas, the breaks or where you are going to put in the punch line, that kind of thing, or how you're going to open each time. You have to actually work it out. You have to write a script.

M.P. *Is humour a necessary constituent of your work ?*

D.B. Not always. It depends on the cartoon. Sometimes it's humorous, sometimes it's satirical, sometimes it's horrific.

M.P. *Do you consider yourself to be a serious person ?*

D.B. At times. I think in the long term, yes I'm a serious person, but I think in the short term I try not to take myself too seriously, but it's difficult. It's a trap

that we all fall into very often.

M.P. *Do you read comics ?*

D.B. Yes, I actually grew up on comics. Comics and radio. I read comics in the course of my work but I haven't actually sat down and read comics for quite a while now.

M.P. *Do you read newspapers ?*

D.B. Yes, I read news[papers] all the time. The Weekly Mail, South, Cape Times, Argus, and I read magazines. I try to read the Spectator, and occasionally a a very good British right-wing article.

M.P. *Do you read novels ?*

D.B. Occasionally. I don't really have time. I really do work all the time. And when I'm not working I'm looking after Harry. Sue and I share Harry, we don't have a maid. He's going on for three, so it's sort of nursemaiding and working.

M.P. *Do you read non-fiction ?*

D.B. Yes. I actually read more non-fiction than fiction. I read things like Barbara Touchman for instance, which is more like historical...factual story form. I find History fascinating. I'm not really a novel reader. I'd rather read a book on History or practical woodworking. Something that you can learn something from, although my wife would shoot me down for saying so. But she's a literary person and I'm not. I'm more a practical "hands" person.

M.P. *Do you read any academic journals ?*

D.B. Like what ? [Laughs]

M.P. *Do you read or look at art books ?*

D.B. Yes, all the time. Especially in book shops. I get caught in book shops for hours and hours on end when

I'm not supposed to be there. I'm supposed to be somewhere else.

M.P. *Do you read political theory ?*

D.B. Occasionally. I mean there's so much political theory bandied about in this country - it's like blog, blog, blog...I'm saying some dangerous things here !
[Laughs]. I mean I've read bits and pieces from here and here but not really. I'm very much more interested in the overall world political view than the peculiar South African. I think [South Africa] is one little piece. I know it sounds crass living here and saying that, but I actually believe it. I think there's so much shit flying around. For instance a particular story which really sickened me the other day - I heard that Sweden has a major arms exporting business and these are the same people who fund peace projects, and yet they are arms manufacturers. I mean it's so weird one can't figure it out.

M.P. *So it's when you read things like this that you start to work on ideas ?*

D.B. Well, that makes me a serious person. Watching a video on Mother Theresa and what she's doing compared to what I'm doing makes me feel like such a slug. Although I don't think that I have the capacity of being that sort of person. But that's what makes me a serious person, but I'm a bit more frivolous than that.

M.P. *What is the effect of censorship on your work ?*

D.B. Well the Argus is complete. Obviously one censors oneself - I don't want to drop the Weekly Mail in the shit. I think one censors oneself. One tries to push it as far as possible. Sometimes you don't know. Sometimes it gets to the Weekly Mail and they say "Look you're going to have to change that line", and they change it.

M.P. *Which of your work has been censored or banned ?*

D.B. When they first declared the Emergency one was completely banned or restricted. Certain attacks on the left have been censored by the Weekly Mail because it's not their line. It's sort of being naughty, the cartoonist being the naughty boy, can't criticize left in left-wing newspaper, which is a bit sick too, anyway...

MP. *How much harassment do you get from people who are antagonistic to your cartoons ?*

D.B. None. I've never been harassed. I had one telephone call from an irate Rhodesian, pertaining to a cartoon I did on the Sealous Scout guy who got kicked out of the Transkei. He told me that I did not really understand the situation and how sensitive the whole thing was. That's the only occasion.

M.P. *What would you say are the social and ethical constraints towards being a cartoonist ? Or put another way, to what or whom do you consider yourself responsible or accountable to ?*

D.B. This is a question that was asked at the [Weekly Mail] "Book Week", of the writers responsibility to the constituency, and I think that the whole question is sick because an artist only has a responsibility to his subject and to himself. Fuck the constituencies, fuck the political parties, fuck the political persuasions, fuck the mood of the day. You only have responsibility to your art-work, to your subject, to yourself. If it's anything else it then it stops being art. It becomes propaganda or advertising.

M.P. *Can you make a living in South Africa producing political and social satire ?*

D.B. Yes, you can. You have to be quite dedicated. I think you have to be prepared to work hard, and to eat a lot of shit until you get established.

- M.P. *Do you consider that you could make a living as an artist/satirist in another country ?*
- D.B. Yes, I think so. I think that they would probably pay a lot better, and you'd also get paid in real money instead of in "monopoly" money.
- M.P. *If you were to leave this country for a substantial period of time, in what ways if any, would you anticipate a change in your subject matter or approach?*
- D.B. I think that obviously the subject matter would change because the majority of the stuff that I do is concerning South Africa. So subject matter would change and I think that the emphasis is different say, in England as opposed to America, as opposed to Australia, in terms of what you would be doing if you were doing political cartooning. Have I answered your question ?
- M.P. *But do you think you would still be focussing on political characters ? I mean if you're drawing [Margaret] Thatcher it's not that much different from drawing...[D.B. interjects]*
- D.B. Thatcher here, except that when you draw Thatcher here you draw it very crude - there's no finesse to the politics. When you draw [P.W.] Botha here you can put finesse to the politics because more people understand the situation. When you're in England you'd draw Botha crude and Thatcher with much more subtlety to the idea, of what she's doing, or what she's saying. Because I think you have to work within the public awareness. This is what the deputy editor of the Argus keeps telling me because you are selling the newspaper to blue collar workers. They don't understand what you're saying, they don't see it simple, honest, straight-forward.
- M.P. *I must be honest, I did not understand your last cartoon in the Weekly Mail.*
- D.B. Which was ?
- M.P. *I think Stoffel Botha writing an "A", and somebody dictating...*

D.B. No, no, no, that was [George] Dukakis and [Jesse] Jackson writing "Do not feed the animals" on the fence, and inside the fence was P.W. [Botha] as a crocodile, "die groot krokodil"...did you not get it?

M.P. *I thought it might be P.W. as the crocodile, but I didn't actually recognize Dukakis. I said to somebody "Who's this ? And they said it's Stoffel Botha.*

D.B. Now there's an example for you. Dukakis is not well known visually in this country for people to recognize him. I can tell you that if I showed you the photograph that I worked from you'd see immediately. You see that's the problem you have to deal with all the time.

M.P. *Do you have a resistance to actually writing "Dukakis" ?*

D.B. I do. It's like admitting defeat. It's like "I'm not communicating", it's like "I can't write this paragraph, therefore I'm going to draw a picture to explain what I mean". In a novel that would be ridiculous, whereas "I'm drawing this picture, but in case you don't know what I mean I'm going to write this paragraph". I think you're wasting your time if you're not communicating, rather throw it away. I'd rather communicate visually, but obviously in the entanglement of the Argus and the weird, and half-baked and weak concepts that one has to portray, one uses these labels and tags and ties [tape ends].

M.P. *The following terms could be used to describe you or your work. How do you feel about the following terms : cartoonist ?*

D.B. Sure.

M.P. *Artist ?*

D.B. Yes I think sometimes I get there. I don't think it's great, but I'm very young and I'm still working at it [laughs]. I think that Occasionally something that I draw does excite me, inspires me. Then I think you can call it art. It goes a bit beyond the political cartoon.

M.P. *Satirist ?*

D.B. Sometimes it's applicable.

M.P. *Political cartoonist ?*

D.B. Could be applicable.

M.P. *Social commentator ?*

D.B. Also could be applicable.

M.P. *Cultural worker ?*

D.B. I don't think so. It's a bit vague.

M.P. *Political activist ?*

D.B. No, I'm not a political activist.

M.P. *Media terrorist ?*

D.B. [Laughs] Well I don't know. You see there's a beautiful truth in anarchy. In the overthrowing of the serious, the seriousness of things. That kind of terrorism I can use, but I'm not into blowing people up. I'm not into violence on either side.

M.P. *Yet it could be said that a lot of your cartoons are extremely violent.*

D.B. No, they're not violent, they express violence. But how can a cartoon be violent ? It's an inanimate object [laughs]. I mean it's a horrific world that we live in. I mean children get burnt with cigarette ends and put into micro-wave ovens. It's that kind of world that we live in. When I draw violence in a cartoon I'm not pro-violence. I'm expressing horror, that kind of thing.

M.P. *Have you ever had any allegations of racism concerning any of your work ?*

D.B. Apparently one of the ANC guys asked Anton Harber in London why [the Weekly Mail] put that ugly picture of [Oliver] Tambo in the paper. And also when Samora Machel died, I did a very, very gentle caricature of Samora Machel superimposed over a cross with "Rest in Peace" over it. There was a letter in the Weekly Mail saying I was a racist and all that sort of thing. But I think that's over reaction. Because I think that if this country was controlled by a minority of blacks and I drew P.W. Botha like I draw P.W.Botha, wouldn't people call me racist ?

APPENDIX 3 : ACRONYMS USED

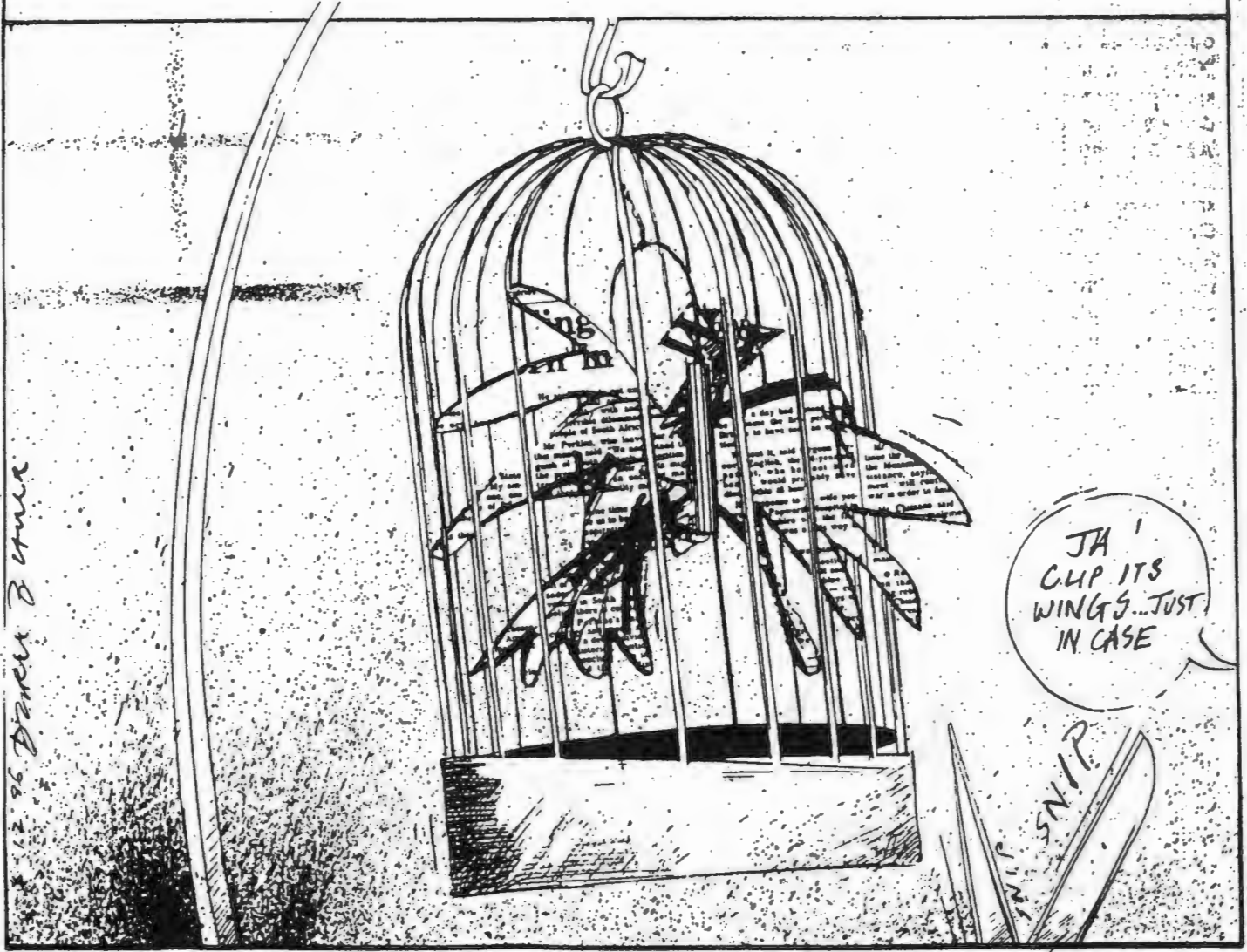
ACAG	Anti-Censorship Action Group
ANC	African National Congress
ADJ	Association of Democratic Journalists
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
COM	Campaign for Open Media
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
ECC	End Conscription Campaign
MWASA	Media Workers Association of South Africa
NPU	National Press Union
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
SAAN	South African Association of Newspapers
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAP	South African Police
SASJ	South African Society of Journalists
SASPU	South African Students Press Union
SAYCO	South African Youth Congress
UDF	United Democratic Front
WASA	Writers Association of South Africa
WIP	Work in Progress

APPENDIX 4 : ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>fig. 1</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	12/12/1986
<u>fig. 2</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	30/04/1987
<u>fig. 3</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	04/09/1987
<u>fig. 4</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	29/04/1987
<u>fig. 5</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	14/10/1988
<u>fig. 6</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	12/05/1989
<u>fig. 7</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	18/12/1987
<u>fig. 8</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	13/11/1987
<u>fig. 9</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	04/04/1986
<u>fig.10</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	11/09/1987
<u>fig.11</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	21/12/1989
<u>fig.12</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	14/07/1989
<u>fig.13</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	26/01/1990
<u>fig.14</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	20/06/1986
<u>fig.15</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	05/08/1988
<u>fig.16</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	14/08/1987
<u>fig.17</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	13/12/1985
<u>fig.18</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	03/09/1987
<u>fig.19</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	24/09/1987
<u>fig.20</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	27/08/1987
<u>fig.21</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	10/09/1987
<u>fig.22</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>Grassroots</u>	April 1988
<u>fig.23</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>Save the Press</u>	June 1988
<u>fig.24</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	15/04/1987

<u>fig.25</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	08/10/1987
<u>fig.26</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	04/06/1987
<u>fig.27</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	10/09/1987
<u>fig.28</u>	ZAPIRO	<u>South</u>	04/06/1987
<u>fig.29</u>	BAUER	<u>Weekly Mail</u>	09/05/1986

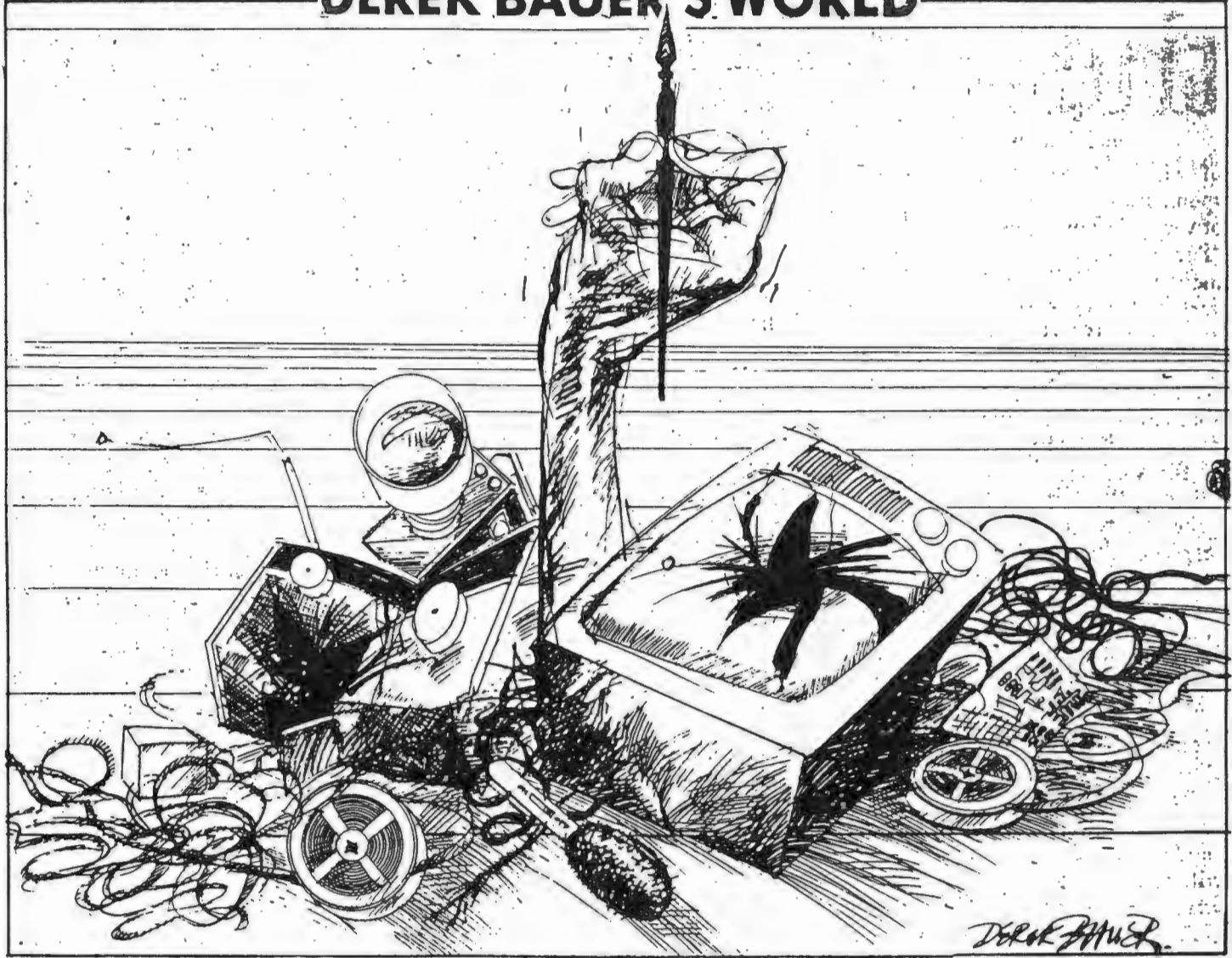
12 56 Darker Brown

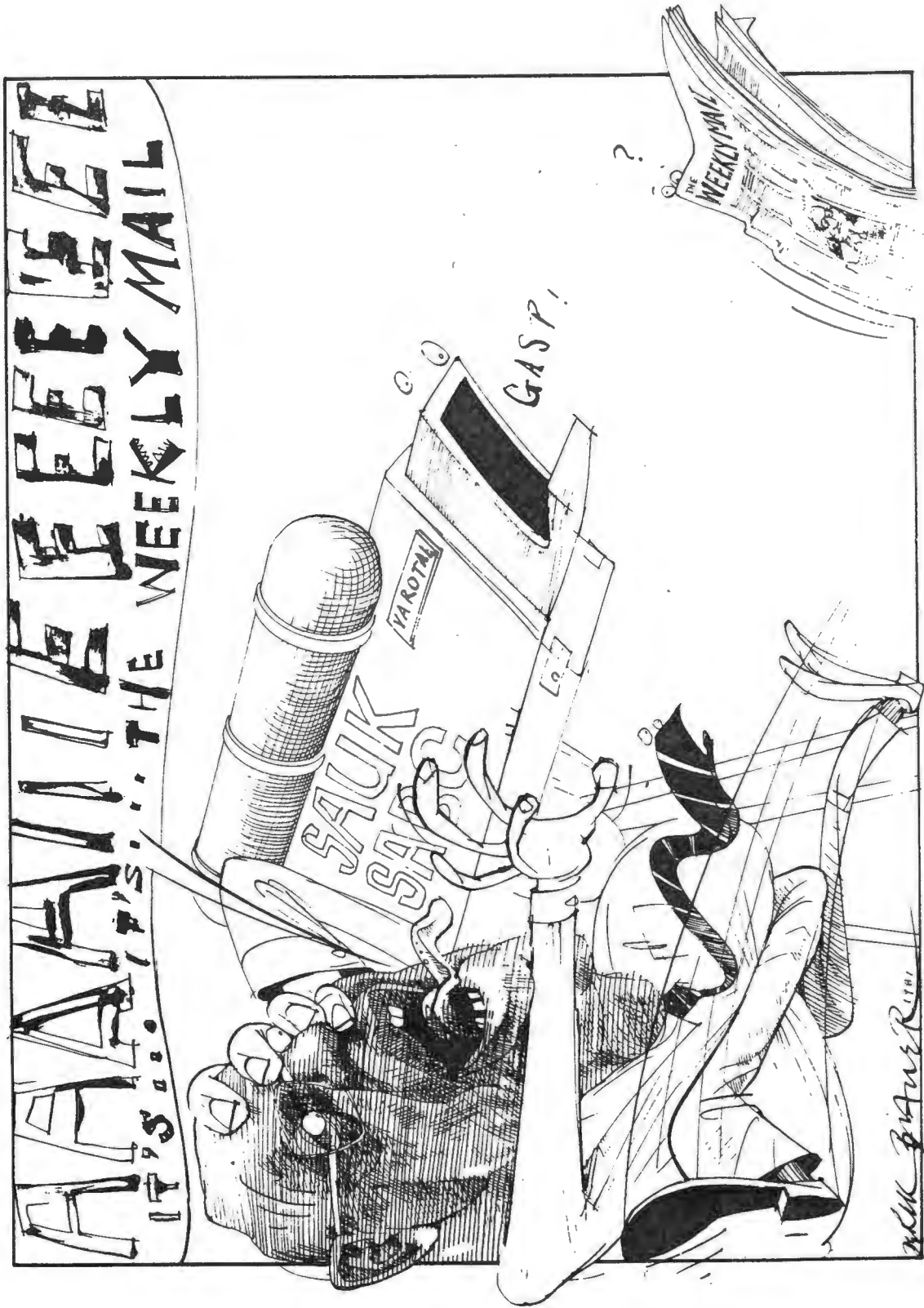


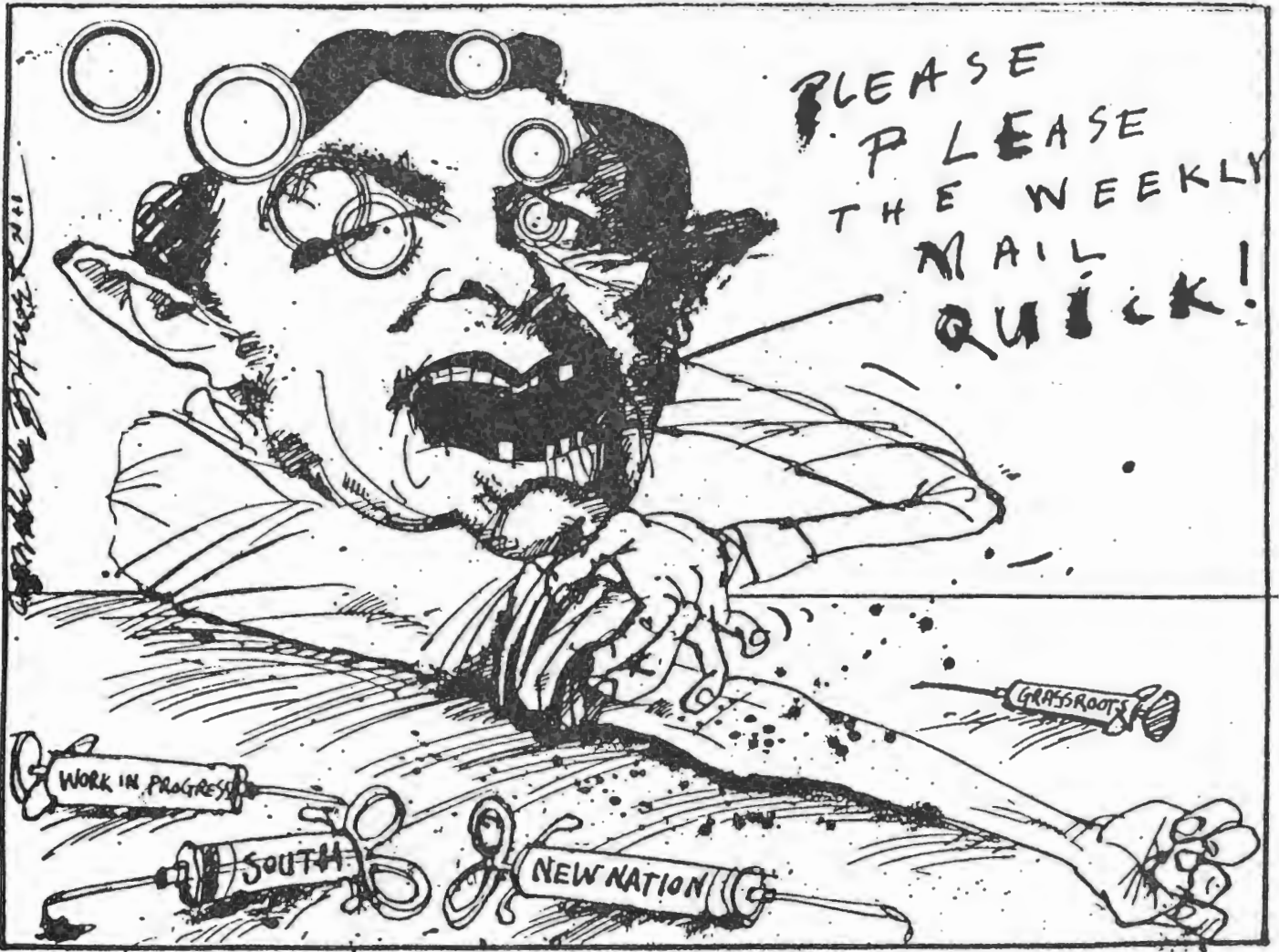
JA I CLIP ITS WINGS...JUST IN CASE

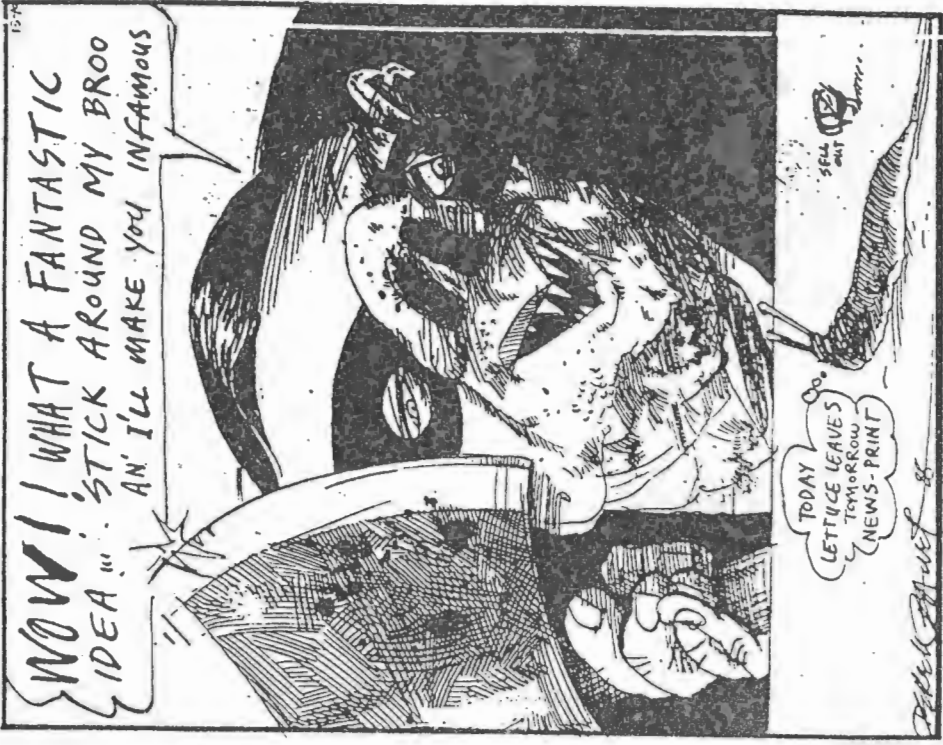
SNIP

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD









HAVE BEEN TESTING THE LIMITS SINCE THE SEVENTIES



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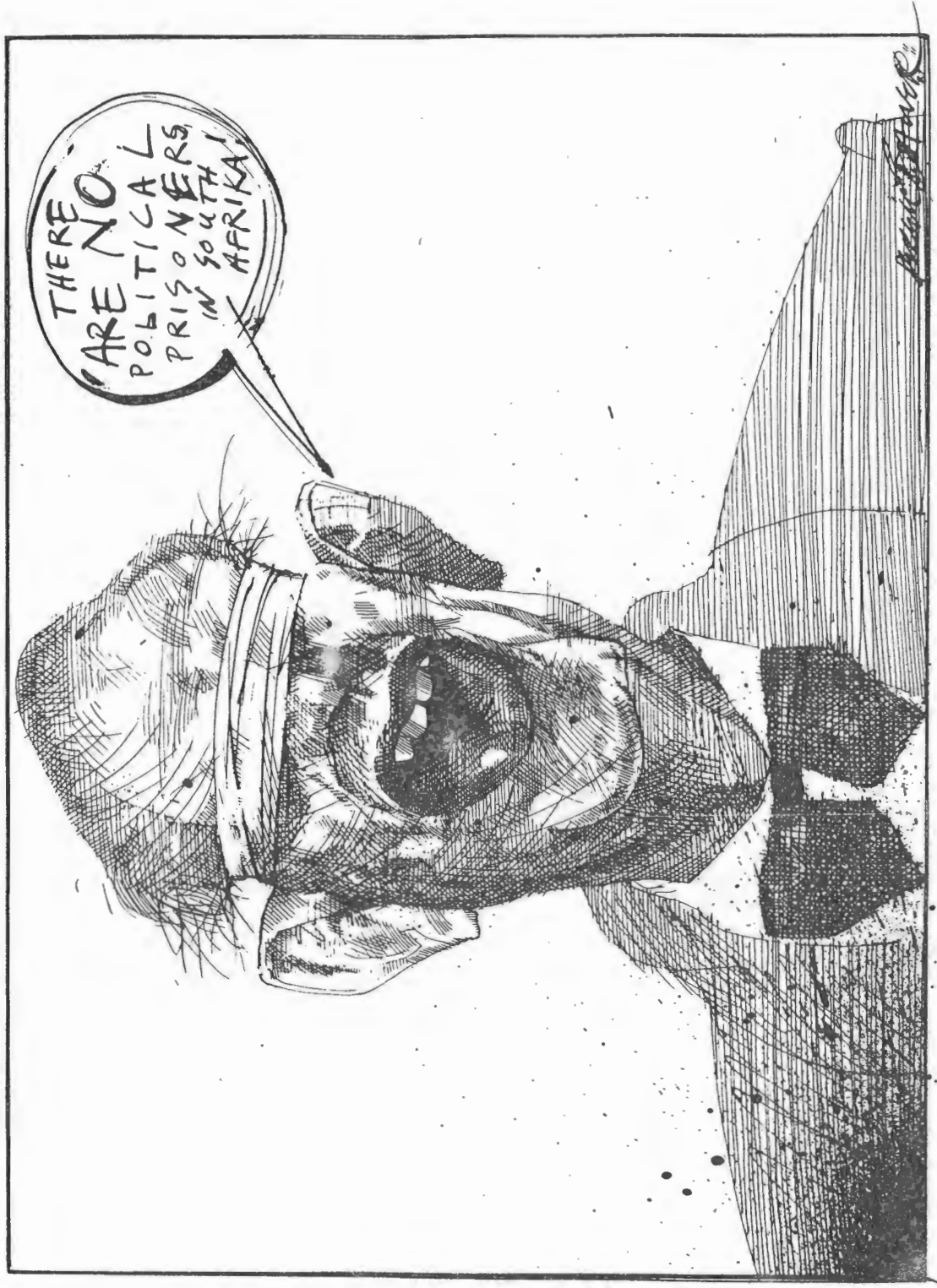
DEREK BAUER'S WORLD

**OH MY
IT'S THE
ELECTION**



*We know your department are...
...the belief of all authority
...the name your department are...*

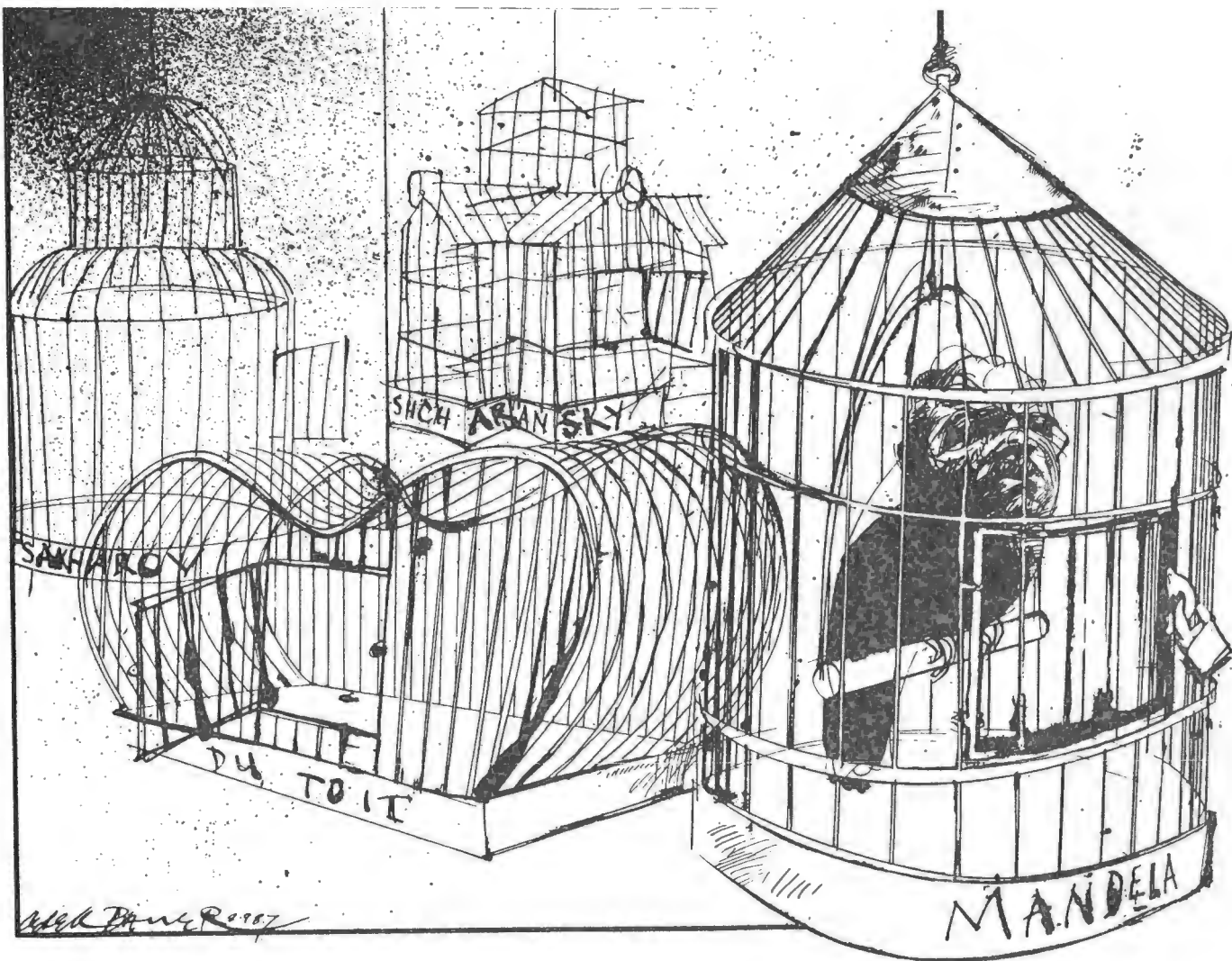




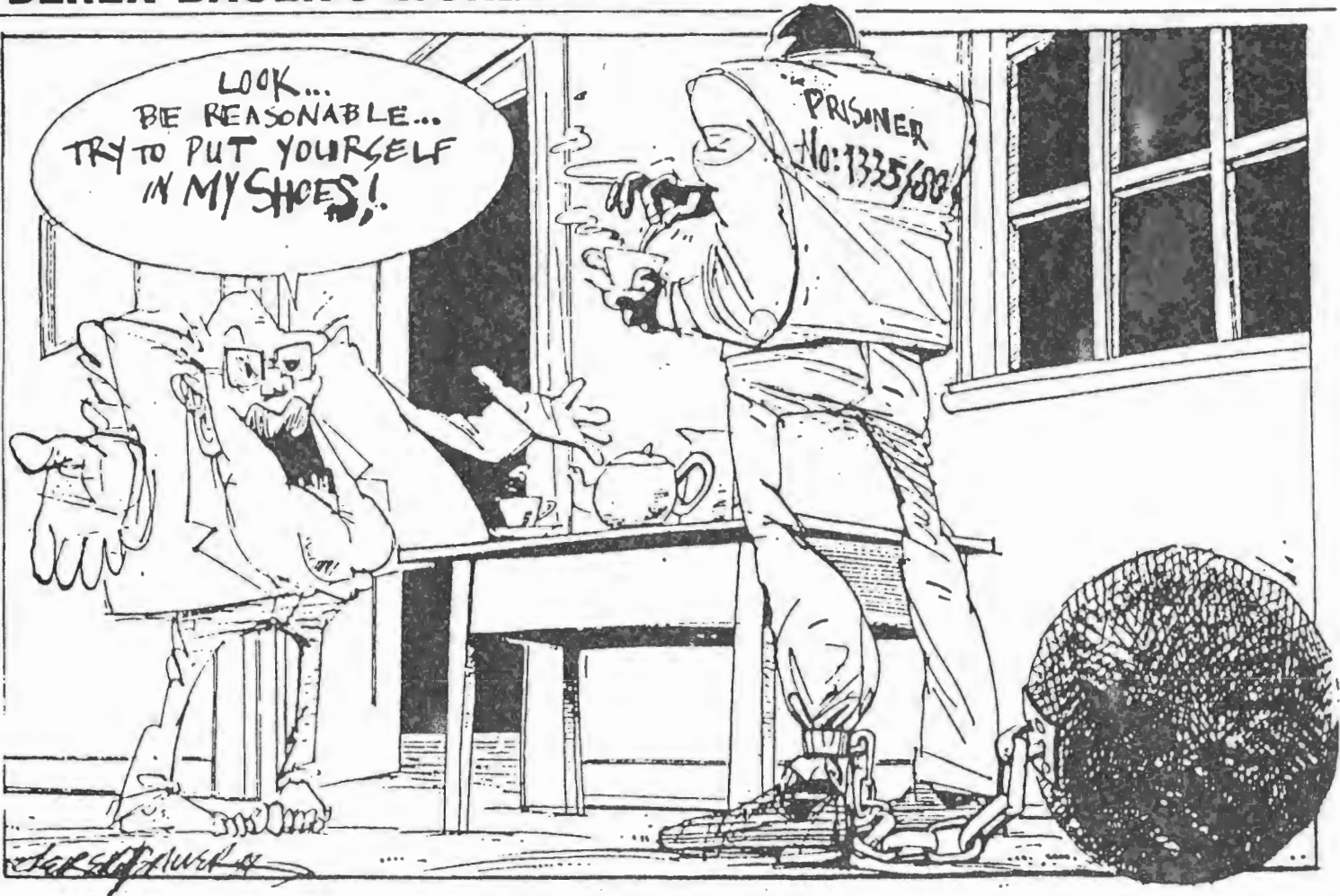


MARK BAKER '86

play-pen



DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



WORM'S EYE VIEW

We remain happy —

GOOD noise — we're an emergent nation again. I am authorised by (so called to avoid confusion with hostile Commonwealth Persons), to instruct you to remain cheerful. Not only will getting contravene regulations but our beloved and respected me to tell you that the. Firstly, the has told Parliament the purpose of the is to ". We will all have the right to — and the will have the right to decide where to us. Secondly, Louis le Grange has assured us that the police will act "within the confines of the law". Since, this will usher in a new era of freedom. Finally, has urged us not to "over-react" to the economic consequences of the emergency. He believes it is unpatriotic to resort to over-reaction when. Both he and the chief of our diplomatic, have explained the reasons for this instruction. The they point out, could rescue our economy by making our exports cheaper, a truth illustrated by that ancient saying, "any export in a storm". Since you are no longer entitled to read subversion (except for the of events on the TV news), this worm endorses these remarks and suggests a slogan which will reflect the fact that the emergency is good for us all.

is eminent? The Eminent Person's Group's attempt to avert sanctions who are determined to show they are the toughest kids on the blockade. The EPG report seems likely to ensure the next Commonwealth team to visit here will be officially sanctioned. Despite this, the have hailed it as a triumph. "We have always said," a spokesman revealed, "that talks with our leaders would persuade foreigners to us in a new light". NO smoke without getting fired? The American army has introduced tough new clamps on smoking. To prevent recruits endangering their own health and so depriving the military of its right to do that for them, it will bar recruits from lighting up in public. Here we don't deny our a public light — we just deny the public any

THE American tourist sandwich — a large chicken with lots of bread. American tourists, alarmed by the threat of Libyan reprisals and nuclear fall-out, have become so rare in Britain that Margaret Thatcher has shown her gratitude to a party of US tourists by entertaining them to tea and sandwiches. Our own tourist industry also faces hard times as foreigners seek to avoid the of those who Libya. The Reserve Bank has thus urged to follow Thatcher's lead and woo tourists here with hospitality — would be the ideal host since he has long been the life and sole of his Party. There's only one problem. We will be to offer foreigners sandwiches, since the country has — so the tourists will be offered instead. This means the gatherings will be hosted by Louis Nel.

SO that's what they mean by a hunting Party? Conservative Party chief whip Jan Hoon claims the Nats are the "bitlong party". (Because they will only negotiate with blacks if the outcome is cut and dried?) He alleges they want to adjourn parliament soon so they can go hunting. (I've got news for him — I thought the Nats preferred passing the buck.

GORILLA warfare? Conservative Party MP Kuos van der Merwe says are "like Grade One schoolchildren" because they have taken to sending him bananas during parliamentary debates. Kuos, of course, needs no encouragement to slip up on matters of skin, but he is probably angered at the suggestion he is off the old block. But why is Kuos angry? Doesn't this prove the CP's claim that are at the top of the political tree?

OUR rulers have long believed the best form of Defence is a tax. The government has announced new exemptions from GST: the most exciting news is that it is to stop taxing live chickens. So is going to leave the in his alone?

Steven Friedman

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD

RESTRICTED Reports on these pages have been censored to comply with emergency regulations

LETTERS

Why is Viktor Frankl lecturing an stress symposium?

THE Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (Oasssa), an organisation made up of progressive psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers, is dismayed by Professor Viktor Frankl's participation in "The First SA Stress Symposium". Frankl, of the University of Vienna's medical school and the US International University of San Diego, is billed as the guest lecturer at this symposium. He is a man of international stature as an academic and a psychotherapist. His participation in this symposium cannot but enhance its credibility. The symposium has been organised part by the SA Defence Force's Department of Psychiatry at 1 Military Hospital. Officers of the SADF are to chair several of the sessions and to present various papers. In fact several papers focus specifically on stress as it relates to soldiers.

Oasssa recognises Frankl's academic and clinical contributions to the science of psychology, and that he is an internationally acclaimed figure in the field of psychotherapy.

If he should do so he would show his of the policies of and of the Issued by the Transvaal Branch of Oasssa, Johannesburg

YOUR picture in the WM of June 6 showing the in Braamfontein confirms me in my long held opinion that we are very much of

I can well understand why the authorities concerned will not permit TV coverage

that a once esteemed country could have

minimise government. As far as industry is concerned, the only just policy of government is to keep right out. Government should not own industries, nor dictate to people how to run them. Anyone should be allowed to open any business anywhere and negotiate whatever employment contracts they choose with whoever they choose. Bullying is no basis for a viable economy. — M Burton, Wynberg, Johannesburg

— Ray Capel, Heidelberg DUNCAN INNES' defence of state control over industry was deficient in that it however democratically elected it might be. The essence of the state — any state, not just ours — is for it consists of that group of people who use while at their rules, while at the same time claiming that the use of by anyone else Using they step in where they feel voluntary interaction between people should be eliminated.

To believe in the state, then, is to believe in and to believe in state involvement in industry is to believe in as a basis for economics.

Although neither Gavin Relly nor Duncan Innes (WM, June 6) mentioned it, the reason some people want state control over industry is to redistribute wealth from the present shareholders to the workers and/or unions. Similarly, laws have in the past where they were perfectly happy and prosperous. This government control so as to leave them in an artificially weak bargaining position in (mining) labour markets. Needless to say, the fact that the government of the day made them more than willing to oblige the mine owners by The more the mines the more the state

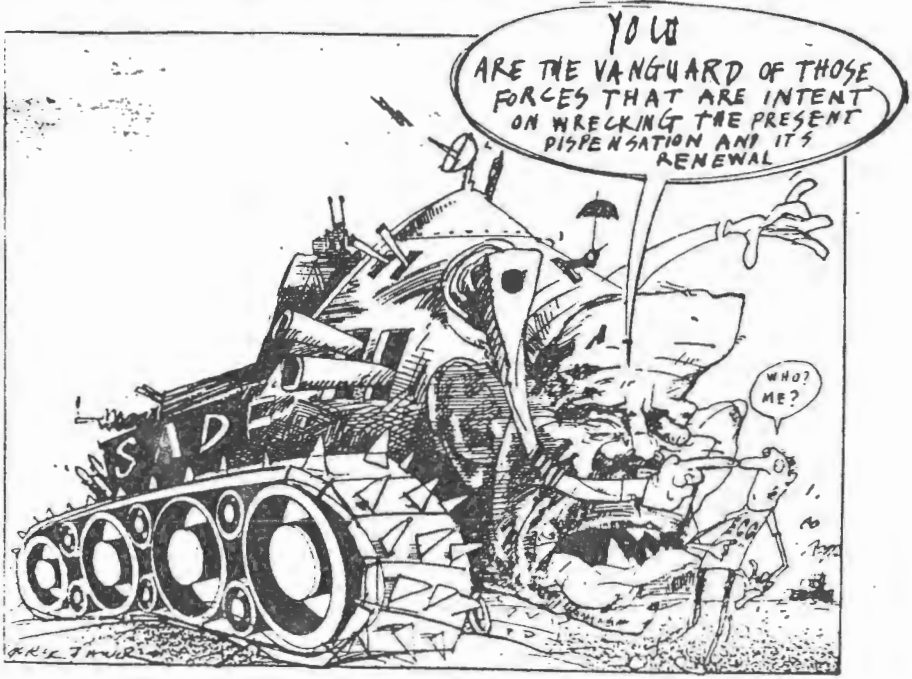
Regardless of the form it takes, state interference in the economy is a matter of Even if the state is democratically elected, the problem does not go away, for all that happens then is that the majority exploits the minority, instead of vice versa. Although fewer people might be exploited that way, the total amount of exploitation will not necessarily be less, as the exploitation per person could very well increase. Government always to change it is merely to change the one must minimise one must

What logical reason can you give if you deny that the ANC is what it is — a communist-led terrorist organisation which is determined to establish a Marxist one-party state in South Africa? Please explain to me and other South Africans how an ANC takeover could be in the interests of the people of South Africa and the Free World. — Curious, Pretoria

Do you agree with the Soviets that the USSR is a "multiracial democracy"? The Kremlin would be unlikely to dispute that description. Do you doubt that there are any Marxists in the British Labour Party, the Swedish government or the World Council of Churches? Do you know who the churchmen, opposition politicians and businessmen were who visited the ANC in Lusaka, and their reasons for doing so? We are well aware that there are communists in the ANC. We have published a centrespread feature on the subject, (WM April 11) which pointed out that of black political organisations

RESTRICTED Reports on these pages have been censored to comply with emergency regulations

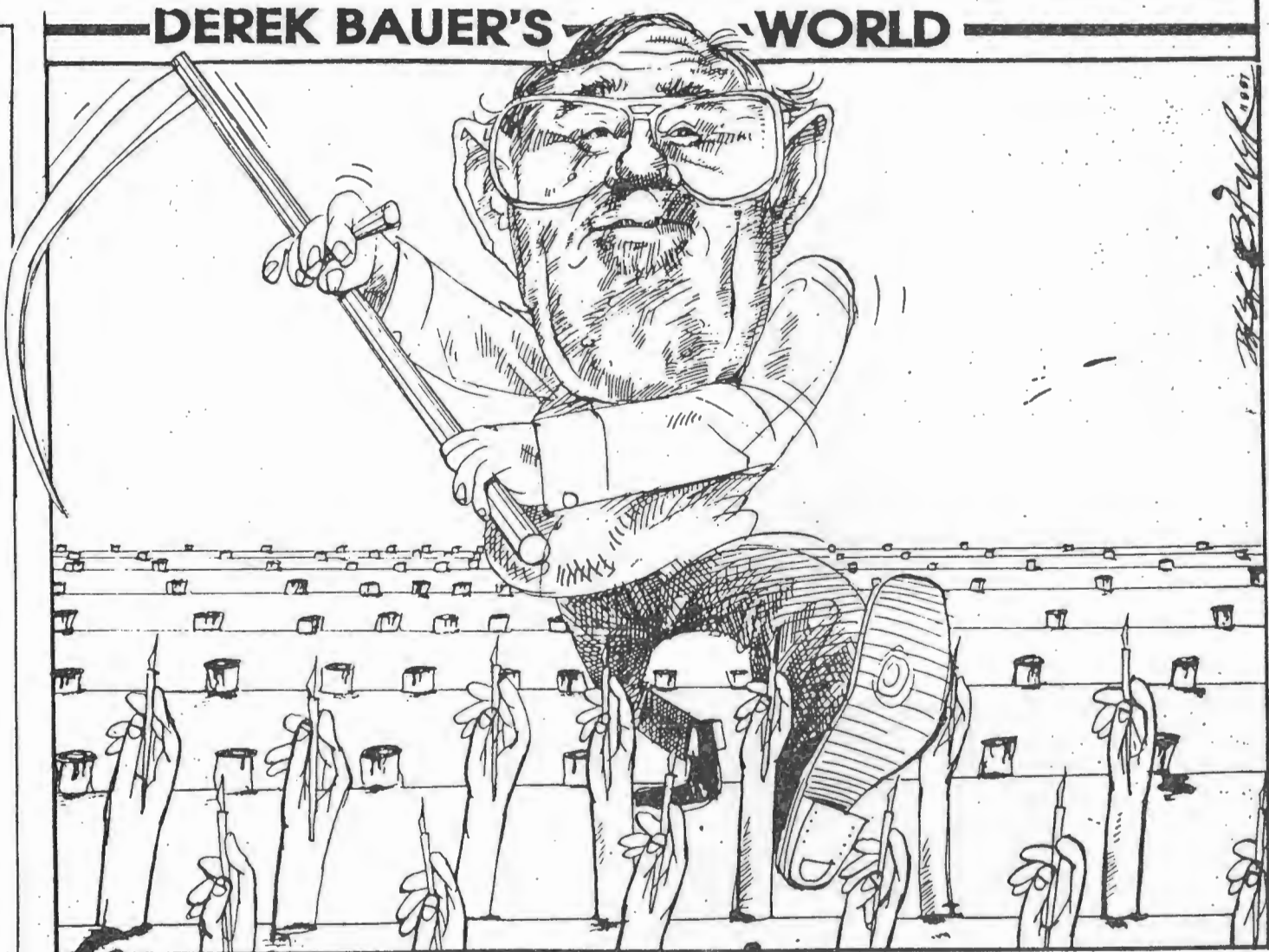
From one general to another



THERE is no liberty of speech, no liberty of the press, and all the ordinary liberties of the public have been taken away. We have nothing less than a despotism such as we find nowhere else in the world where there is any semblance of constitutional government ... I will do my best ... to prevent the people coming under slave rule ... as a result of the acts of the minister of defence who would do well to listen to the voice of the people.

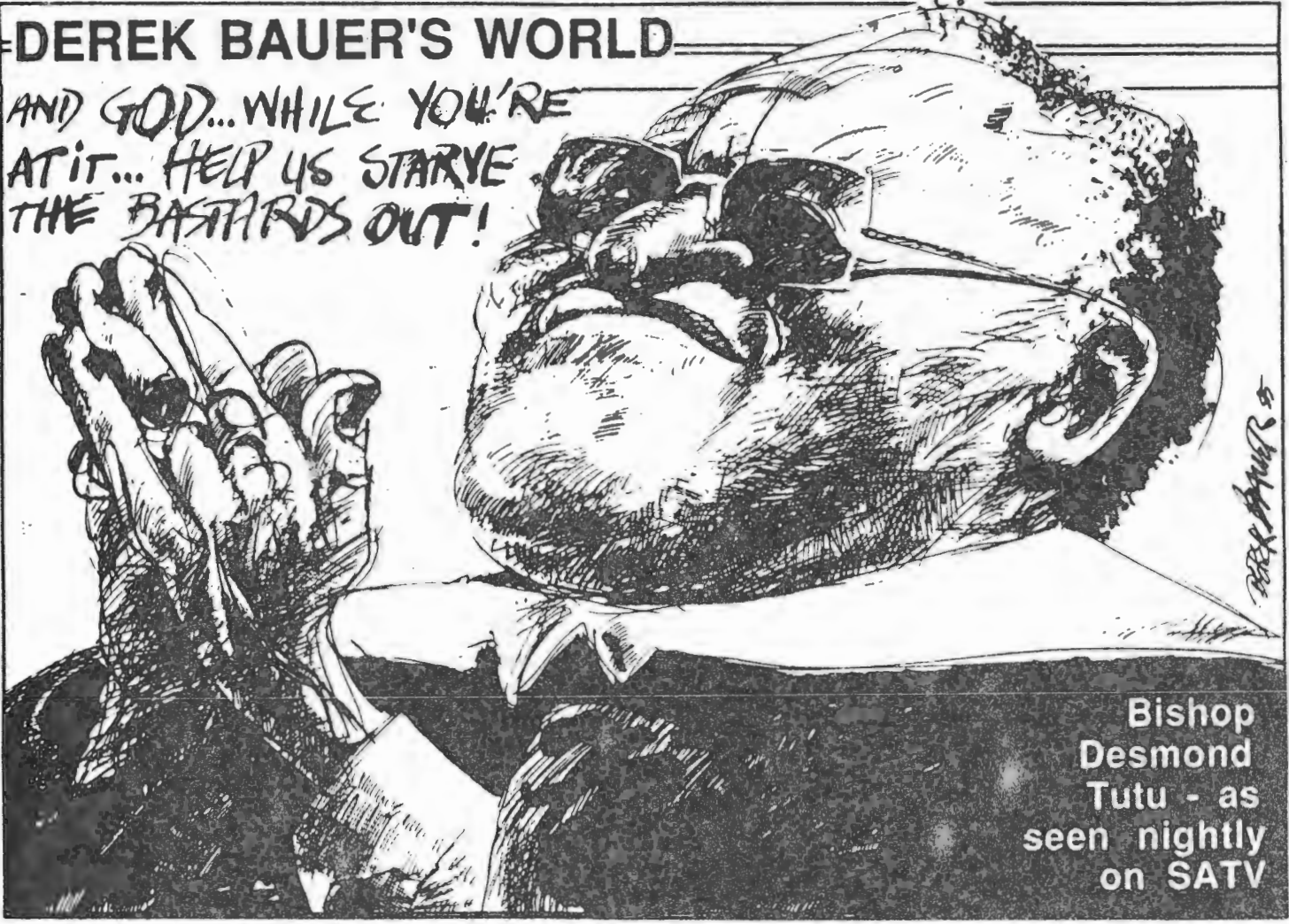
General Barry Hertzog, opposing the conscription of South African soldiers to fight in Namibia in 1915

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



Derek Bauer.com

CAPE TIMES: THE SICKLE IS MIGHTIER THAN THE PEN



DEREK BAUER'S WORLD

AND GOD... WHILE YOU'RE
AT IT... HELP US STARVE
THE BASTARDS OUT!

Derek Bauer '85

Bishop
Desmond
Tutu - as
seen nightly
on SATV





GOOD EVENING.
HERE IS THE...
(GLUG)... NEWS...

22/9/87 Z. Piro

STOFFEL,
CHARGE HIM
WITH SPREADING
BLATANT DISTORTIONS
AND MISERABLE
LIES!

"WHY IS
THE EMPEROR
WEARING NO
CLOTHES?"

ALTERNATIVE
PRESS

THE
EMPEROR

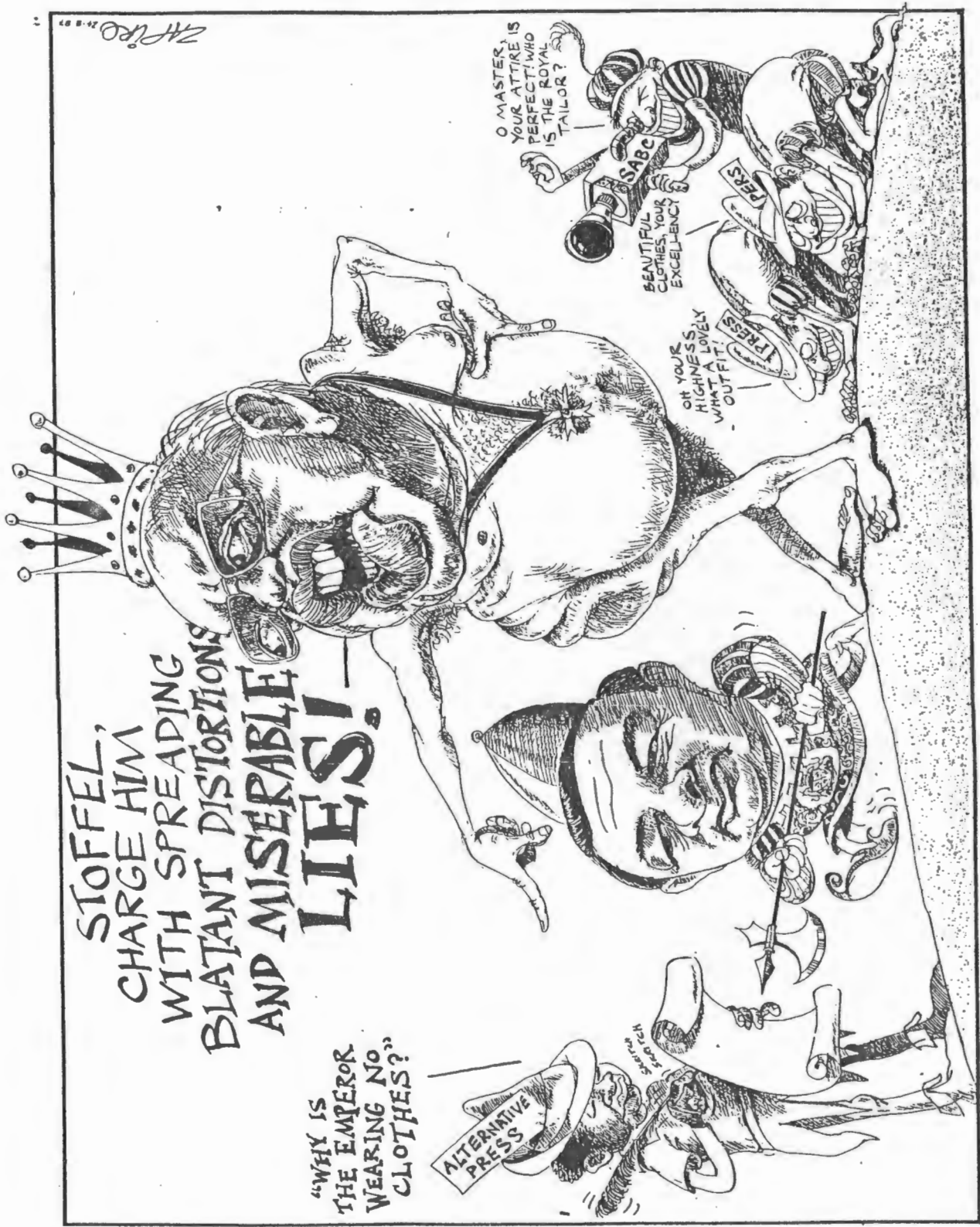
OH YOUR
HIGHNESS
WHAT A LOVELY
OUTFIT!

F.P.R.S.

BEAUTIFUL
CLOTHES, YOUR
EXCELLENCY

S.A.B.C.

O MASTER,
YOUR ATTIRE IS
PERFECT! WHO
IS THE ROYAL
TAILOR?



ZAPKO 24-8-87

South VIEW

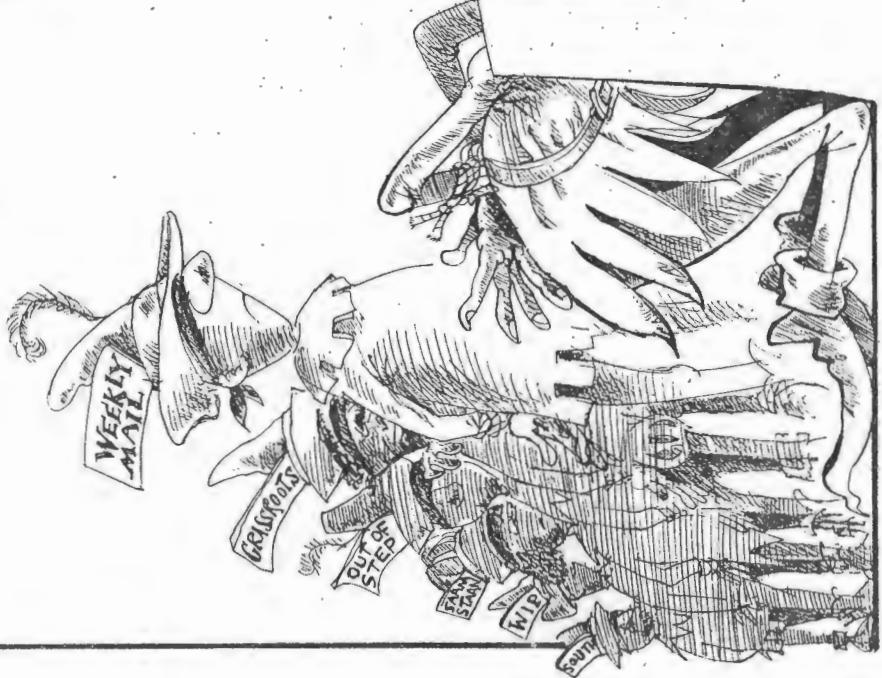


MY FRIEND,
 YOU WILL BE
 HAPPY TO KNOW THAT
 WITH THE HELP OF OUR
 PANEL OF OBJECTIVE
 EXPERTS, EVERYTHING
 IS BEING DONE IN AS
 SCIENTIFIC A MANNER
 AS POSSIBLE....

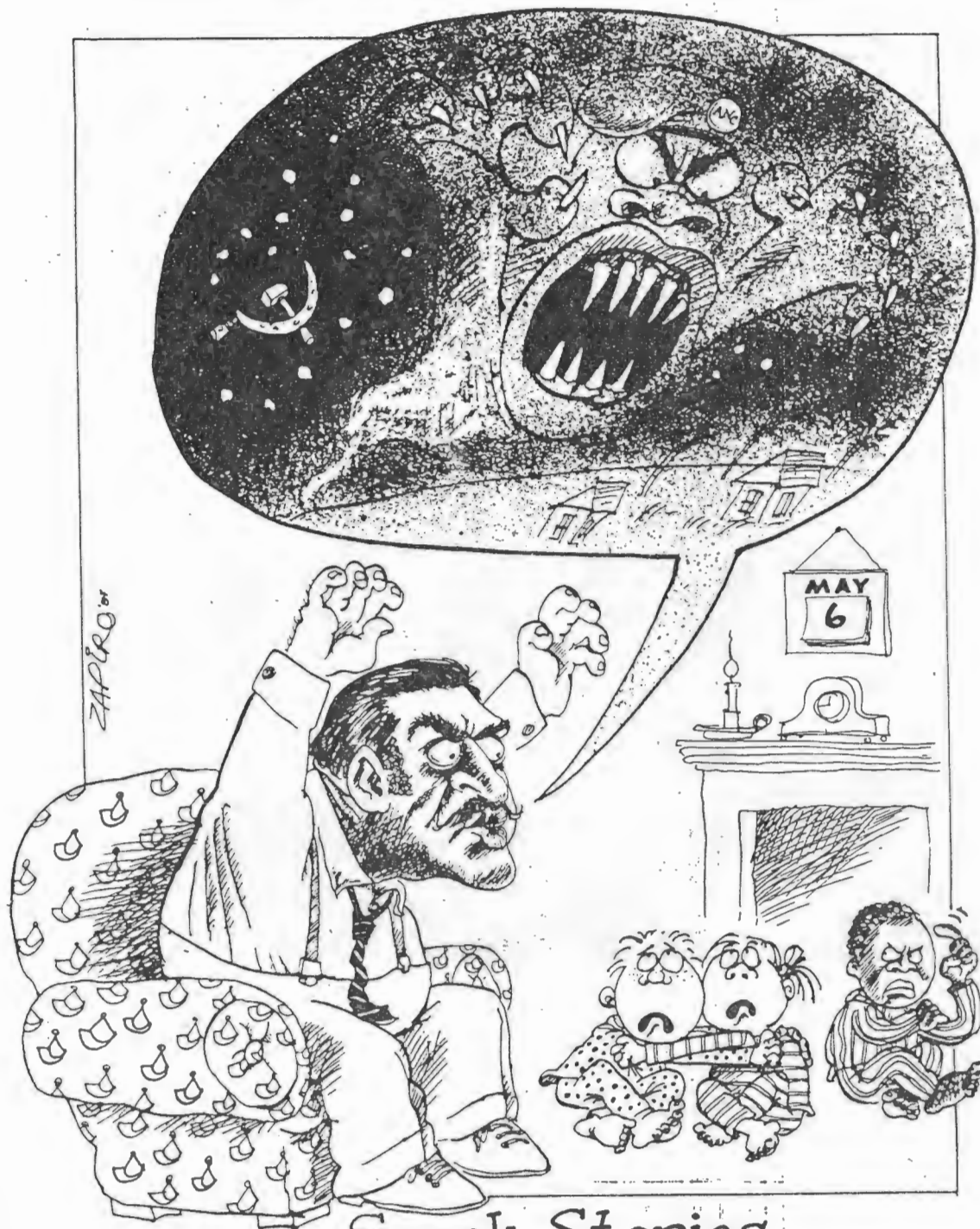
The Friendly Executioner

ZAPKO 2-4-88

DOM DUINWELS!
ALL YOU HAD TO DO
WAS TO STOP
TELLING THE TRUTH....
NEXT!



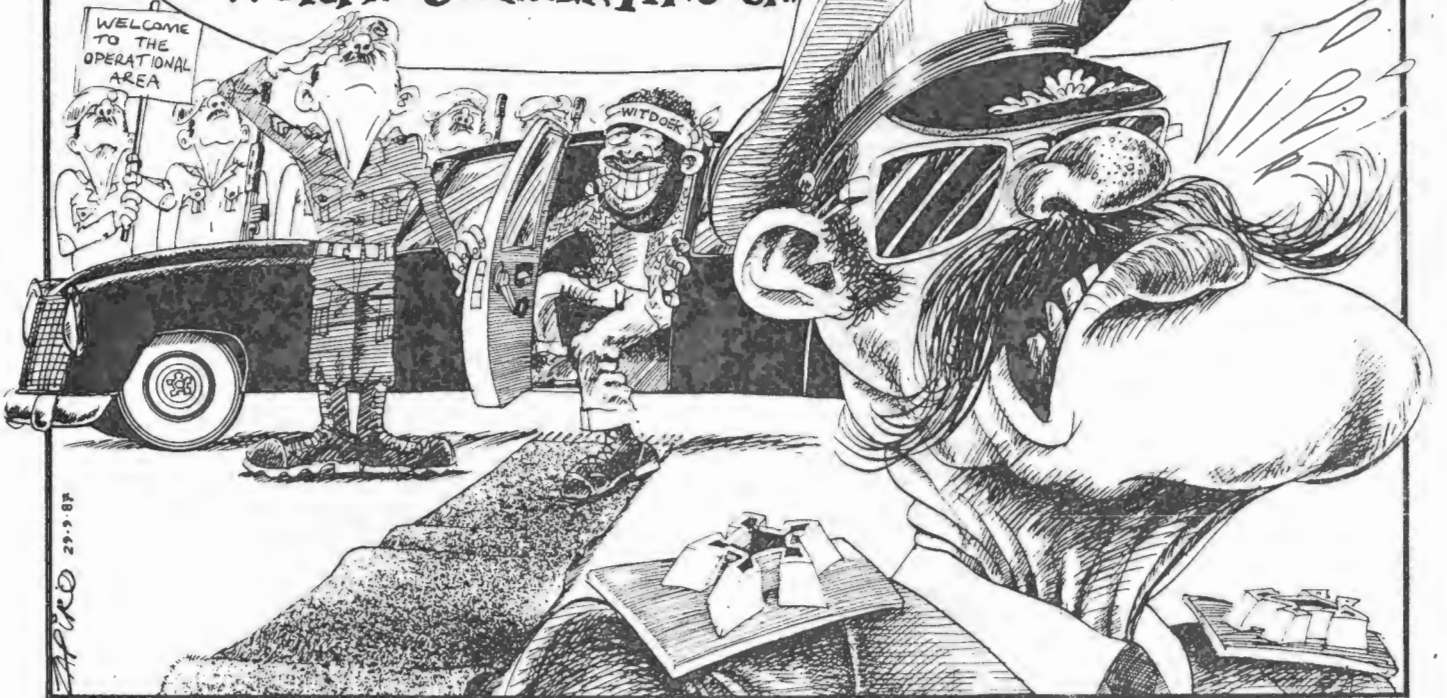




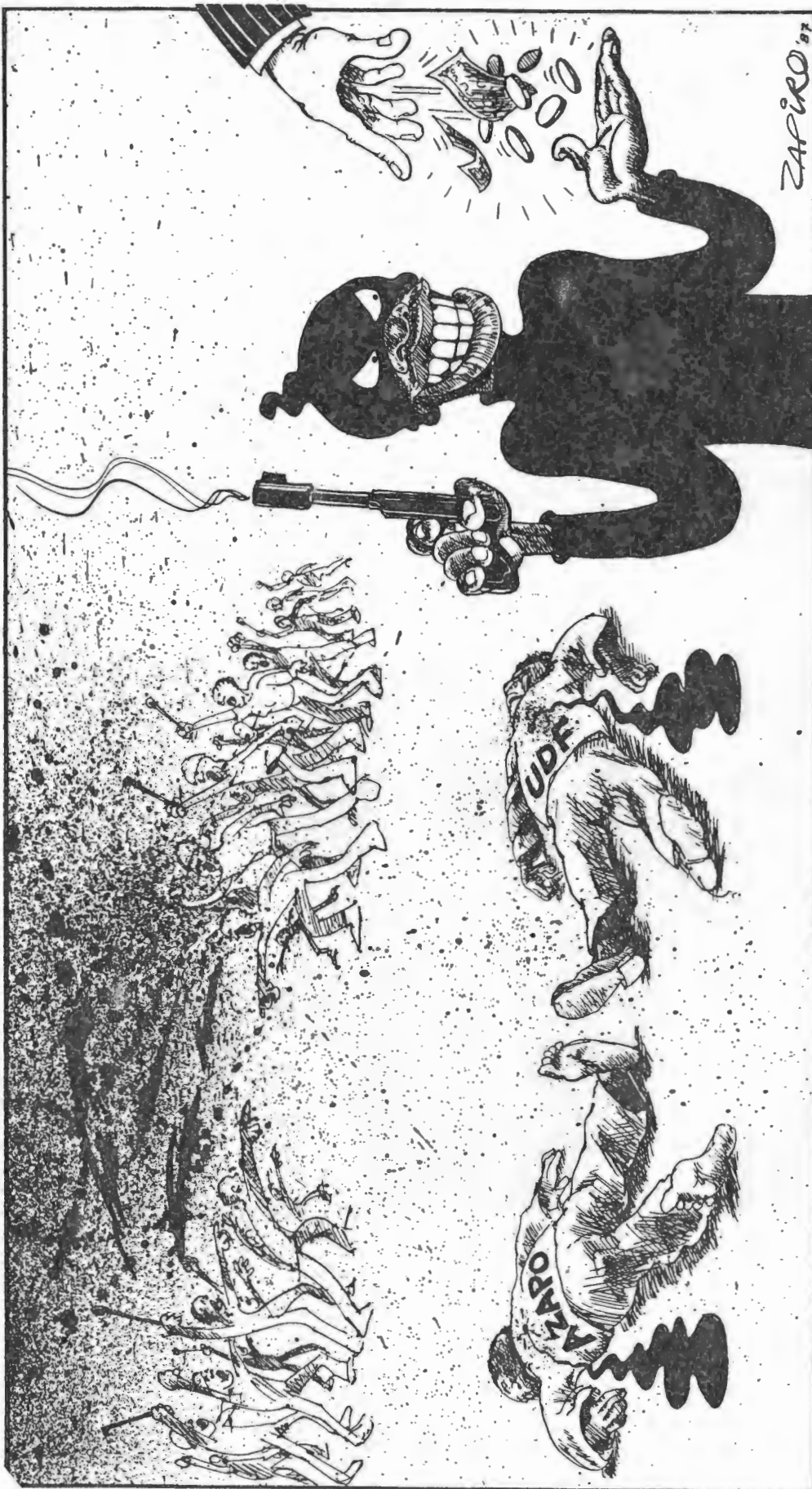
Spook Stories

THE ALLEGATION THAT THE S.A.D.F. IS
CURRYING FAVOUR WITH CERTAIN SQUATTER
LEADERS IN ORDER TO WIN SUPPORT FOR THE
NEW TOWN COUNCILS AND TO
CONSERVATIVE PUPPETS AS
IS DEVOID OF TRUTH AND
WORTH COMMENTING ON.

INSTALL
COUNCILLORS
THUS NOT



APRO 27.2.87



ZAPIRO
8-7-87

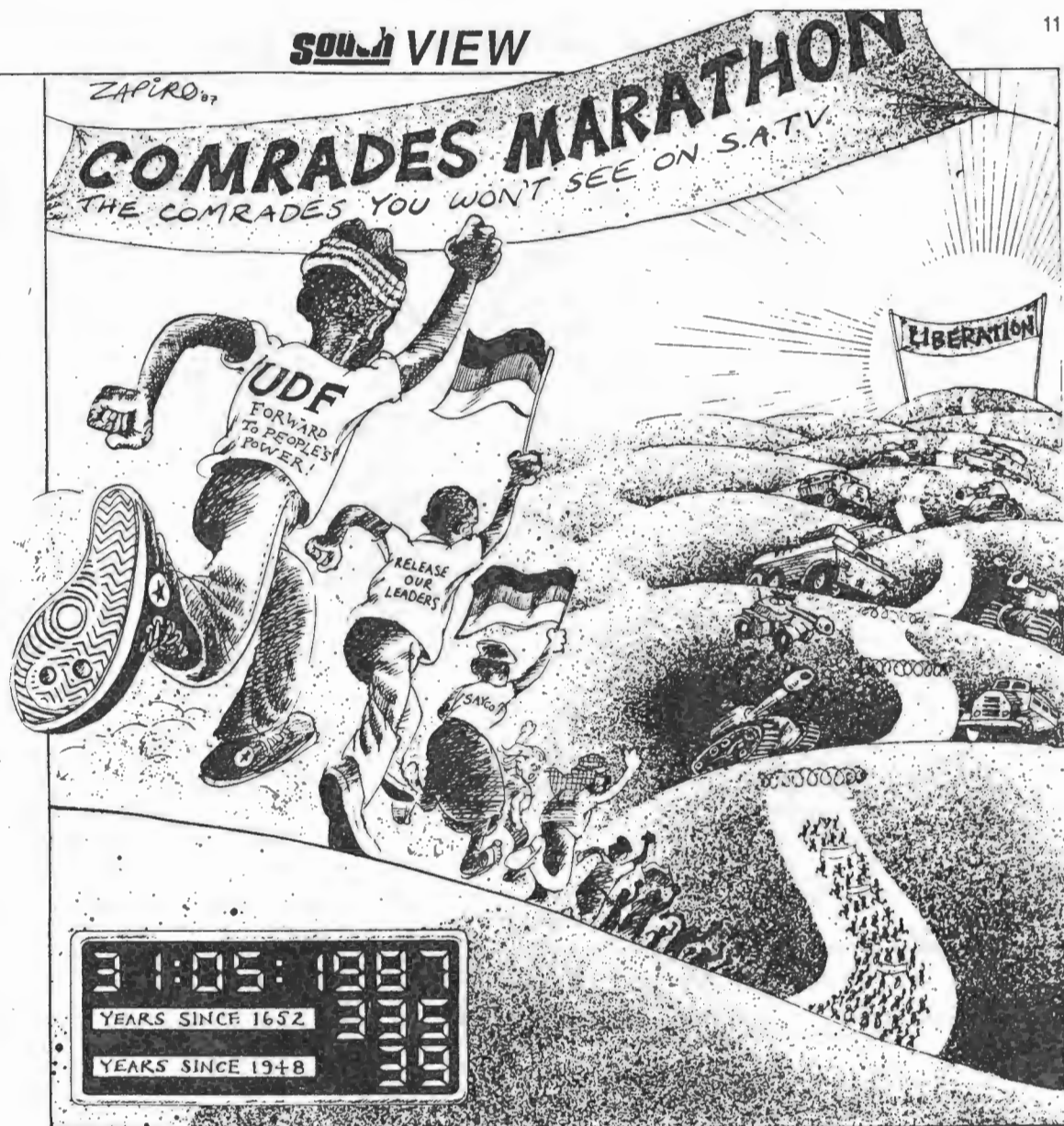
It's for you, Sir...
It's the people
of South Africa ...
They also want to do a
swop — And your name
has been mentioned



SECRETARY
TO THE
STATE PRESIDENT



SOUTH VIEW



DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



Derek Bauer '86

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

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