A tendency to avoid contentious issues in this way, to falsify social conditions, is an accurate reflection of accepted practices in South Africa. The works of artists like Preller can therefore be said to give expression to the aims of the dominant ideology by mystifying and romanticizing, i.e. distanc ing the life of the black man from the reality and experience of the white man. (Fig. 19). Artists like Bill Ainslee, George Boys and '»vin Atkinson, all of whom have adopted an abstract vocabulary of forms, could also be said to reinforce the interests of the dominant ideology through an avoidance of relevant social content. This contention finds further support in Ozynski's belief that abstraction in the South African context complements 'the powerfully repressive forces of State morality through its inability to express an active opposition to the ruling class.’ (Ozynski. University of Cape Town, 1979, p. 3). Given this situation, one could conclude, as Gavin Younge does, that

the political and economic dominance of the white middle classes ensures that it is their values and their culture which predominate. (Younge. University of Cape Town, 1979, p. 42).

This statement finds support in the views of other South African artists. Verster, however, argues that it is more specifically the culture of the Afrikaner that predominates. The Afrikaner, he maintains, has defined both his own identity and that of the other population groups living in South Africa. (Verster. University of Cape Town, 1979, p. 22). The effect of this on the visual arts has been to encourage a state of alienation between the artist and
his immediate environment, for he seldom has an active personal relationship with it. Consequently, South African art has become impotent and the visual artist is therefore simply 'either tolerated or ignored'. (7) (Dubow. University of Cape Town. 1979, p. 121).

The unwillingness of South African artists to oppose the dominant ideology is, in fact, so widespread and so complete that the government is able to 'use art extensively to promote the country's image abroad'. (Verster. University of Cape Town, 1979, p. 27). Whether black or white, academic or avant-garde, there are undoubtedly very few South African artists who do not contribute to the maintenance of the present political, social and economic conditions. Ironically, it is their insistence on ensuring the autonomy of art that has, and will continue to blind most artists to the fact that they are bound by powerful controlling forces.

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7. Gavin Younge suggests that a toleration of art in South Africa is more relevant in a consideration of content than in the actual form which works may take. An image of a resettlement camp for a limited edition of prints executed by him was subsequently banned when presented as a poster. (Younge. University of Cape Town, 1979, p. 44).
CONCLUSION

Whether capitalist or socialist, truly democratic societies traditionally encourage freedom of speech and action regardless of whether this may manifest itself in criticism against powerful and controlling institutions. In these countries the artist is at liberty to express his own artistic preferences provided that he does not, in the process, infringe on the rights of others. Yet his work is generally quite ineffectual: It plays little, if any, role in the life of most people and is subject to the whims of an acutely fashion-conscious market. Thus regardless of whether the images he executes are abstract or representational, socially relevant or not, it would appear that his art often becomes a peripheral form of entertainment. In many instances it is no more than a means of enhancing domestic interiors, and in capitalist countries, it has simply become another form of investment.

In South Africa, which is essentially oligarchic in its political structure, the State restricts the freedom of the individual. This restriction of freedom extends to the creation and presentation of cultural products - music, literature, theatre and the visual arts - which are all subject to censorship and may even be banned. The authorities thus pay artists 'the compliment of seeing them as ... potentially dangerous' when they do not conform to the canons laid down by the State. (Dubow. University of Cape Town, 1979, p. 117). It is, however, significant that in South Africa the visual arts are considered comparatively innocuous, and unlike literature and the theatre, they are therefore generally ignored by the
Censorship Board. With very few exceptions this is also true for art works of a political nature. (1)

The reasons for the distinction which the South African government appears to draw between the visual and other art forms is, as Gavin Younge has pointed out with reference to his poster, probably related to the actual medium of communication rather than just the content of the work. In other words, art forms which could attract a comparatively large audience or which may have a wide distribution, are subject to far more stringent governmental scrutiny if they are critical of existing social and political conditions, than politically or socially motivated painting and sculpture which are generally inaccessible to the public at large. Thus, unless the arts utilize mass communication techniques or mass media forms, they evidently pose no significant threat to the authorities. (2)

1. The poster by Gavin Younge discussed in Chapter IV is a significant exception.

2. An important exception to this tendency is provided by several images of political detainees executed by Paul Stopforth and chosen to represent South Africa in the Chile Biennale of 1982, but prevented from leaving this country because of the government's contention that they could not be considered as representative of mass public sentiment. This reaction could also be ascribed to the fact that one of the images, entitled Biko, would have proved politically embarrassing in the wake of an international outcry following Biko's death in detention. Significantly, the latter incident also tends to confirm Verster's belief that South African art is used as a propaganda tool by the authorities, i.e. that it is only of interest to them if it serves to promote the country's image abroad.
However, since art generally tends to have a limited relevance and is incomprehensible to all but an elite few (Clark, Albrecht, Barrett and Griff, eds. 1970), the possibility of communicating with a mass audience is unlikely. The consequent alienation of the majority of society by virtue of the form as well as the content of the artwork, thus places the contemporary artist in a precarious position.

This situation is augmented by the fact that western artists are still intent on creating unique objects which are often expensive and can therefore only be purchased by the comparatively wealthy few. This situation persists despite the reality of a world dominated by mass consumerism. While the trend towards mass production and mass consumption, particularly in the western world, has been encouraged by the forces governing capitalism, artists have continued to use antiquated modes of production in an apparent attempt to ensure their own exclusivity and uniqueness in the face of this development towards greater uniformity.

In most western countries - South Africa included - the major mass communications media, i.e. radio, television, newspapers and magazines, are either controlled by the State or by commercial companies whose primary motivation is the accumulation of profits. Thus apart from a few 'pirate' radio stations, 'cable' television stations, and 'alternative' newspapers and magazines which attempt to counteract the influence of the dominant ideology, but which tend to have a limited distribution, the only mass communication
form available to the artist who hopes to maintain his freedom of expression is the poster. 

Posters combining slogans with colourful and striking visual images were originally executed in the late 19th century to advertise commercial products and theatrical events. Although still used in a similar context on modern billboards, the medium has also acquired a growing political function in the 20th century. The suffragettes were the first group to use it extensively as a propaganda tool, but it has since become a major means of registering political protest. Its use by university students condemning the French government during the Paris riots of May 1968, is well documented. (Fig. 2). More recently, it formed part of the campaign launched by the Solidarity Trade Union Movement against the stringent laws controlling personal freedom in Poland. 

Posters of this kind, which are usually executed in an easily comprehensible style, and located in prominent public venues, must be distinguished from the recent tendency to reproduce originally unique works of art in poster form. For despite this trend, these unique works of art are still separated from mass produced posters by fundamental differences of intention affecting both style and content. This difference is highlighted in a comparison of the

3. As Gavin Younge's experience suggests, executing posters is no absolute guarantee against censorship. Nevertheless, it remains the only mass communications form relatively free from external control.

4. This discussion is indebted to Harper. (Harper, Millon and Nochlin, eds. 1980, pp. 150-153). For further information on the political use of posters, see the above article.
seemingly realist yet inaccessibly hermetic works executed by an artist like Salvador Dali during the late 1920's and early 1930's (Fig. 21), with the Constructivist posters of El Lizzitsky in which a visually striking pattern of forms was combined with political slogans before being located on large billboards in the streets of Moscow during the early 1920's. (Fig. 21). Thus while Lizzitsky's posters were intended for a mass audience, Dali's paintings were originally executed for an exclusive market. It is only in recent years that the latter have become widely accessible through reproduction, and now serve as an inexpensive means of interior decoration for the general public.

The ideas informing the works of artists, as well as politically motivated organizations which have used the poster as a means of mass communication, were of major consideration in the adoption of this medium for the 'Apartheid' posters which form the practical component to this research.

Particularly significant to these, as well as to politically motivated posters, is a desire to communicate what may be considered as a socially relevant content, in a comprehensible style, for a comparatively large audience. Responses to the 'Apartheid' posters

5. While the abstract works of most of the Constructivists were rejected following Stalin's rise to power, the Productivist wing of the movement remained active in industry until the early 1930's. Lizzitsky continued to execute political posters until 1932. (Prampton, 1968, p. 267).
suggests that this intention was successfully realized.\(^6\)

A further concern in the execution of the posters was the communication of a content pertinent to the South African situation. Believing that the vitality and success of an artwork depends on a direct relationship to the society in which it is executed, particular attention was paid to the need to encourage a greater consciousness of the realities of apartheid. It was, however, felt that the posters would probably not address an unlimited audience, particularly since they were created with the conscious realization that they reflected a personal experience of, and attitude to apartheid.\(^7\)

A further desire to break with the elitist and outmoded techniques which are still used in the works of the majority of visual artists, led to the decision to have the posters produced by photo-lithographic means. Furthermore, a style influenced by the clarity

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6. Frequent spontaneous contact occurred with people who found the 'Apartheid' posters accessible enough to feel that they could contribute ideas for new posters, to enquire about existing ones, and to express a preference for, or indicate the success of some as opposed to others. While response was obviously encouraged by the location of the posters on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand and on the streets of Johannesburg, many requests for posters were received. Moreover, those publically displayed were often defaced and covered with graffiti. (See Appendix II). The posters were sold for R6 (4 colour) and R3 (2 colour) and were taken or sent to the U.S.A., Britain, Germany, France and Australia.

7. It would be presumptuous for a middle class white South African to reflect on the social conditions of black South Africans.
of visual and verbal expression characteristic of contemporary advertisements, was adopted in an attempt to reach an audience educated in the unambiguous forms of the medium through constant exposure.

In addition to the use of everyday objects to give subtle expression to a negative attitude to the political realities of apartheid, visual and verbal puns, which serve to reveal and extend the symbolic implications of dominant metaphors like the Afrikaner bull (Plates 2, 4, 7 and 9) and the sheep (Plates 10, 14 and 18) provide further links with techniques used in advertising.

One of the primary functions of the use of the metaphor is to transfer the concept of separate development to the products appearing in the posters. While these products have no direct relationship to any political ideology, they are made to serve as vehicles for commenting on the system of apartheid. The metaphor is thus seen as an unexpected but effective means of establishing interactions between images and ideas. (8) Although it operates through a play on words which sound the same but have different meanings, the pun is used in much the same way as the metaphor.

Similar techniques are used in contemporary advertisements. But whereas modern advertising is generally concerned with effecting a positive association between the product being advertised and

8. Aristotle described metaphors as 'things that are related to the original things, and yet not so obviously related - just as in philosophy also an acute mind will perceive resemblances even in things far apart'. (Johnson, 1981, p. 7).
the concept, object or environment to which it is linked, the 'Apartheid' posters invert this process. Their primary aim is therefore a satirical one since they advertise the concept of separate development as a negative 'product'.

A complete understanding of the posters is dependent on a reasonably fluent command of both English and Afrikaans, as well as an awareness of the association and interaction between the literal and figurative meanings of the words and images used. The basic implications of most of the posters can, however, be discerned in the use of easily recognizable images like the Afrikaner bull, which is intended to be seen as a verbal pun on the word 'Afrikaner'. The Afrikaner is, in turn, associated with the statutory institution of racism in South Africa after 1948. A similar mode of association operates in the use of the sheep, which is a traditional metaphor for the unthinking human being, the 'ja-broer' or yes-man who follows political and social dictates without considering the implications of his actions. Further associations between the bull and the idea of obtuse strength and intransigence are also intended, while the sheep could be seen as its symbolic opposite. Together, these two images give expression to what may be considered as irreconcilable characteristics of white South Africa.

In several of the posters an attempt is made to place the 'Apartheid' product in a casual, everyday situation (Plates 1, 3, 4 and 6) to give expression to a feeling of constant, daily contact with the realities of racism. Some of these make a further, literal reference to the colour, white, to draw attention to the importance
of issues concerning colour or race in the South African context. (Plates 1 and 3).

Where a single image like the bull provides a context for racial prejudice, additional variable meanings may be implied in the associated slogan, the product itself or the setting in which it is placed. Thus Apartheid Filters (Plates 2 and 4) suggests bad health through an association with cigarettes, and makes reference to the idea of filtering, which serves to separate tar from the lungs of the smoker, much as apartheid serves to separate black from white South Africans. Similarly, a barren landscape setting (Plate 2) is intended as a symbol of a society in which there is no growth or beauty, while 'twak' is not merely the coarse, pungent, boer tobacco, but also means 'nonsense' when it is translated literally from the Afrikaans usage of the word (Plate 7).

Apartheid Fat (Plate 9) conflates the English and Afrikaans meanings of the word 'slim' (thin and clever) to comment on the stubborn insistence of the 'obese' white population who live off the fat of the land; while Petty Apartheid (Plate 13) suggests a pun on the mindlessness of apartheid through an association with dog food.

It also reaffirms, through the inclusion of a fence, the separation and bondage of the different population groups implicit in Apartheid Filters (Plates 2 and 4), while the 'Beware of the dog/ Pasop vir die hond' sign suggests a potential for aggression. The verbal metaphor used in Apartheid Nuts (Plate 17) works on a pun involving the implication of madness, as well as the idea of a 'hard nut', i.e. a problem for which there is no
easy solution and which can therefore not be 'cracked' at will. 

Apartheid Skyfies (Plate 20) suggests geographical fragmentation and is intended as a reference to the 'chips' or homeland 'segments' prescribed by the policy of separate development. Another analogy is that drawn between the Voortrekker Monument and the idea of monumental propaganda to which totalitarian governments often resort. (Fig. 21).

The posters and wallpaper (9) dealing with the 'ja-broer' theme all use the sheep as a symbol of conformity, but like the Afrikaner bull posters, their meanings ultimately vary in relation to the product and its setting. Thus the hieratic image of a figure wearing a sheep-covered tie, serves to foreground the conservatism of the ever-conforming yes-man (Plate 18), while the sheep-covered wallpaper is a metaphor for yes-men who cover up social and political realities through an unwillingness to break away from the conservative racist flock. (Plate 14). Less explicit is the 'ja-broer' aerosol can (Plate 10) which is a reference to poisonous insecticides, or alternatively, to deodorants, the instant but temporary answer to bad smells.

In three of the posters, colloquial phrases or words of abuse appear in the associated slogans, but are also extended, either literally or figuratively, to the visual images. Apartheid se Voet

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9. It should be noted that the execution of the wallpaper involves an intention which accords directly with that of the posters. In both instances, the primary aim was to achieve mass communication of a socially relevant content. The intention in choosing wallpaper as a medium was therefore determined by the metaphorical associations suggested in the idea of covering something up.
(Plate 5), loosely translated as 'apartheid be damned', uses the 'velskoen' as a reference to the emphasis which is placed on skin colour in South Africa, while the shoe itself is poised in a threatening position. Apartheid se Moerkoffie (Plate 11) relies on an association between the literal meaning of moer (ground - as in ground or filter coffee - and bolt), and the crude metaphorical reference to violence in the colloquial phrase: 'ek sal jou moer'. The screws, rather than ground coffee found in association with the packet, provide a further extension of this metaphor through the phrase: 'screw you', which can be associated with the Afrikaans phrase: 'jou ma se moer'. Die Doos (Plate 15) also has crude and derogatory implications through the figurative use of the word 'doos' in Afrikaans. A further reference is made to matches, which are literally inflammable, as well as to the idea of worthless values through the name 'white elephant'. On closer inspection, what appears to be a white elephant, proves to be a mammoth. This draws attention to the fact that apartheid, like the mammoth, should be extinct.

A similar association between apartheid, and the concept of living in the past and having outmoded ideas, is established in Apartheid Airways (Plate 12), where an antiquated mode of transport is given ironic implications through an association with a common catch-phrase of modern airline advertisements. Furthermore, the phrase 'fly now, pay later...' suggests future retribution in the face of the present lack of concern towards racial discrimination in South Africa. The representation of a 'laager' on the can of lager beer in the Apartheid Lager poster (Plate 16), is another reference to an out-
moded form of transport, the ox-wagon, which the Voortrekkers used to form 'laagers' when threatened from without. Hence, too, the implication of a 'laager mentality', a colloquialism commonly used to give expression to the idea of a limited, self-interested, defensive and narrow perception of a situation. Further negative references to apartheid are intended through the association with alcoholism in the degrading context of a gutter.

The lemon in Apartheid Lemon (Plate 8) hovers above the landscape, a bitter, acidic bomb which threatens to fall and explode. At the same time the policy of separate development is seen to be a 'lemon', i.e. a 'bad buy' or a 'dud'. The bottle of 'witblits' in the Witblits poster (Plate 19) refers to the potent home-brew of the power-drunk Afrikaner whose authority was established in 1948 with the election of the Nationalist Party to govern South Africa. Furthermore, it refers to the destructive white lightning (witblits translated into English) of apartheid. 

In most of the posters, a blatant and direct association of Apartheid with South Africa is ensured through the 'Product of South Africa/Produk van Suid Afrika' label which serves to reaffirm the inescapable reality that apartheid is a product of South Africa.

Although a dependence on metaphor has, at times, been regarded as a means of ensuring exclusivity and alienation, and has even been referred to as 'the most radical instrument of dehumanization' by

10. The above explanations present some, but not all of the associations implicit in the posters.
Ortega y Gasset (Ortega y Gasset, 1968, p. 35), its present use in advertising suggests that it may be able to overcome these problems. Thus it was intended that the creation of metaphorical 'apartheid' products, rather than the use of images of violence and horror to which people are constantly exposed in newspapers, magazines, films and television, and against which they therefore tend to build up a defensive armour, would invite interest through their unexpected and novel use of a medium generally reserved for commercial advertisements.

Throughout the period in which the posters were executed, an awareness of the inability of the visual artist to remain socially and politically neutral, was maintained. The belief that the function, form and content of the artwork is inevitably informed by external forces, i.e. by ideological, social, political and economic considerations, has therefore been of seminal importance both to the 'Apartheid' posters and to the present dissertation.

11. It must be realized that Ortega y Gasset's statement was made in 1925 when his book, The Dehumanization of Art was first published, i.e. before the development of modern advertising techniques.

12. This potentially positive function of the metaphor is recognized by Aristotle, who maintained that it could play a 'philosophically significant role in the making of persuasive arguments'. Metaphor, he maintained, 'is a powerful means of achieving insight'. (Johnson. 1981, p. 5).

13. This problem is dealt with in the Introduction and Chapter Two. (See also Tax. Baxandall, ed. 1972).
APPENDIX I

In an attempt to gauge the attitude to art of artists living and working in South Africa, I sent out a questionnaire to seventy South African artists on 1st February, 1982. My intention was to determine their views on the function, relevance and meaning of their own work, as well as their attitude to the role of art in general. Nineteen replies were completed and returned, while several of the questionnaires sent to black artists were evidently incorrectly addressed and returned unopened. The majority of artists to whom the questionnaire was sent were chosen at random from a booklet published by the South African Association of Arts, although several known through personal association were also asked to answer the questions.

The questionnaire comprised five different sections:

1. What is the relevance of art?
2. What form of art do you produce?
3. Is your artwork relevant?
4. Is your artwork relevant within the South African context?
5. Any further comments?

The questionnaire thus focused on the problem of relevance in art; the artist's personal interpretation and definition of the term itself; the relevance of his work with regard to form, which can be variously interpreted as a reference to the technique, style, medium, and content; and the artist's perception of the specific
relevance of his art to the South African context.

The questionnaire was motivated by a desire to determine the South African artist's attitude to the relationship between art and society, to establish whether he regards this as a relevant issue, and to determine what he believes he has to offer to the South African public.

In a letter accompanying the questionnaire, I requested that the artist return his answers in a self-addressed, stamped envelope which I had included in the hope of encouraging a large response by reducing the overall effort involved for the respondent. I also indicated that replies would be welcome regardless of whether or not the artist was willing to reveal his identity. Only one anonymous questionnaire was returned, while a further two were completed with the request that the writer's identity must not be revealed. Several respondents were highly critical both of the questionnaire and of my unstated but assumed intentions in sending it to them. None of the latter replies were anonymous.

Most of the replies tended to confirm my belief that South African artists do not have a unified identity and that they generally regard the socio-political climate in South Africa as irrelevant to their work.

In essence, the replies to the questions were as follows:
1. What is the relevance of art?

Three artists did not answer this question. Those who did, considered the problem of relevance as both complex and relative, arguing that it is determined by factors such as the artist's personality and perception of the world, the attitude of his audience to the role of art, the influence of the society in which he lives, as well as the historical factors to which he is subjected. (Robert Hodgins, Terry King, Paul Stopforth and Gunter van der Reis). However, most of those who answered the questionnaire ultimately concluded that relevance is determined by essentially personal, private issues, with emphasis being placed on the autonomy of the artist and his work. (Erica Berry, Richard Cheales, Christo Coetzee, Robert Hodgins, Helmut Starcke). Consequently, almost all the respondents believed that their art addresses a very small, elite audience (Paul Stopforth) and that it has no relevance to the general public. (Robert Hodgins and Christo Coetzee).

2. What form of art do you produce?

This question was motivated by a desire to determine whether or not answers given to the first and second questions could be reconciled with answers given to the third and fourth questions.

In the replies which I received, most people spoke about the anthropomorphism of their work, usually adding certain qualifications in an attempt to clarify preferences with
regard to style and content, and also indicated the medium and techniques used. Several did not, however, recognize the intended ambivalence of the word 'form' as a possible reference to technique and medium as well as style and content.

3. Is your artwork relevant?
All those who answered the question maintained that their work is relevant but often gave no indication of the possible reasons for coming to this conclusion. (Walter Battiss, Erica Berry, Larry Scully). Those who did discuss the relevance of their work tended to repeat answers given to the first question: They therefore spoke of a generally unspecified personal relevance (Christo Coetzee, Jo Rorich, Helmut Starcke, Paul Stopforth), or relevance to a limited audience.

4. Is your artwork relevant within the South African context?
The majority of artists seem to feel that a specific contextualization of art with regard to time and place is limiting and irrelevant. Instead, relevance is seen in terms of what are said to be universal issues, usually dealt with in anthropomorphic terms. Most of the respondents thus believe that they can give expression to ideas that are universally valid through a personal perception of 'truth'. Some artists (Erica Berry and Terry King) do, however, regard a specificity of context as important to their work: both use the natural
indigenous environment as source material. In contrast to this, Helmut Starcke stresses the need to decontextualize art altogether, maintains that he regards it as an indulgence of the senses, and believes that the work which is 'engaged, applied, functional ... is less and less Art (with a capital A.)'

5. Any further comments?

The additional comments received attempted to extend or clarify answers given to the previous questions. But several artists used this space, as well as that provided for answering the previous questions, to criticize my assumed intentions and the questionnaire itself. The questions appear to have been perceived as threatening, and answers received were therefore defensive and often rude and derisive.
The posters were produced in 1981 and 1982 and were located mainly on the streets of Johannesburg and the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand. In the city centre and selected suburban areas they were placed in shop windows, on walls, poster boards, vacant sites, building sites and any other places which did not infringe on municipal by-laws controlling damage to public and private property. In most instances, the posters were placed where other posters - generally advertisements for theatre, movie and live musical entertainment - had already been located. Several suitable new locations were also discovered in the process, and have since been appropriated by local commercial advertisers using the poster medium. On campus, the posters were located on the notice boards scattered along main walkways, in the Senate House Sweet Shop, and the front window and notice board of the Gertrude Posel Gallery. Several posters were also published in student literary and commercial magazines: Wits Wits '81 contained two posters and Frontline Vol. 2, No. 1, 1981, published a further three posters, while two also appeared in Wits Student Vol. 33, No. 13, 1981 and one in Stet Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1982.

The Frontline and Wits Student posters were accompanied by interviews in which I tried to express my attitude to the role of art in society. Posters were also exhibited as part of the student Art Exhibition held in the Gertrude Posel and Studio galleries at the beginning of 1982. These were pasted up in the courtyard separating
A few gallery in the basement of Sauer House. Several more were included in the exhibition held in conjunction with the Culture and Resistance Symposium in Botswana in July, 1982. In the streets of Johannesburg, the posters were pasted up in the following areas:

**Braamfontein**
Ameshof Street, De Beer Street, De Korte Street, Corner De Korte and Melle Streets, Jan Smuts / Jorissen Street, Corner Jorissen and Henri Streets, Corner Jorissen and Simmonds Streets, Corner Smit and Henri Streets and Station Street.

**City Centre**
Commissioner Street, (The Carlton and Kine Centres), Corner Commissioner and Sauer Streets, Corner Commissioner and Von Wieligh Streets, Corner President and Von Brandis Streets (The Supreme Court).

**Donkeldale**
Cecil Avenue.

**Fordburg**
27th Street.

**Hillbrow**
Vorster Street.

**Killerne**
Corner First Street and Killings Avenue.
Hiiner Park
Corner Jorrison Street and Eliza Avenue and Fourways Road.

Orange Grove
Louis Botha Avenue and Hathorn Avenue.

Rosebank
Oxford Road, Corner Oxford Road and Baker Street and Oxford Road and Tyrwhitt Avenue.

Yeoville
T-junction at Louis Botha Avenue and Bedford Road, Raleigh Street, Rocky Street and Corner Rocky and Raymond Streets.

With the exception of two instances in which they were exhibited in a gallery situation, the posters were therefore located in areas with a potential for mass communication. As is apparent from the locations chosen, particular emphasis was placed on the city centre and northern suburbs of Johannesburg. This selection was deliberate and was motivated by a belief that while the relevance of the works to the South African context may be widespread, they would inevitably reflect the perception and attitudes of a white middle class South African. Thus although reactions to the posters were received from blacks and whites alike, they were consciously directed at the white elite of the northern suburbs and Wits Campus.

Apart from the people who wrote, telephoned or made personal enquiries about the posters, there were many more who tried to destroy or mutilate them, or alternatively, to remove them with the
obvious intention of keeping them. This, as well as comments
written in favour of, or against the visual and verbal implications
of the posters, have been recorded in photographs included in the
present appendix."(1).

A more comprehensive visual documentation of the location of the
posters, as well as the responses which they encouraged, will form
part of the exhibition of the practical work.

1. Also recorded because it was felt to be of considerable
significance to the research, is the fact that political
posters were often placed on or around the 'Apartheid'
posters, thereby strengthening and giving continuity to
the messages contained in both.
Title: 'Apartheid Washing Powder'
Size: 50 x 76 cm.
Medium: Colour photograph
Location: For copyright reasons, this poster could not be reproduced for public display.
Quantity: 1

PLATE NO. 1
Title: 'Apartheid Filters'
Size: 18.5 x 25 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (4 colours)
Location: Wits Wire 1981

PLATE NO. 2
Apartheid Toothpaste

Title: 'Apartheid Toothpaste'
Size: 3.5 x 8 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (black and white)
Location: Wits Wits 1981

PLATE NO. 3
Title: 'Apartheid Filters'
Size: 34.5 x 40 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (4 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B. Wits Campus and Frontline Vol. 2, No. 1
Quantity: + 130
Distribution Date: 14/6/81

PLATE NO. 4
Title: 'Apartheid se Voet'
Size: 31 x 42.5 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Quantity: ± 160
Distribution Dates: 19/7/81 and 2/8/81

PLATE NO. 5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title:</th>
<th>'Outydse Apartheid'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Size:</td>
<td>32 x 42.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium:</td>
<td>Photographic lithograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2 colours)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Location:     | Streets of J.H.B., Wits Campus.  
|               | Wits Fine Arts Student     |
| Quantity:     | + 150                       |
| Distribution  |                             |
| Date:         | 30/8/81                     |

PLATE NO. 6
Title: 'Apartheid Twak'
Size: 30 x 43.5 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B., Wits Campus and Wits Fine Arts Student Exhibition 1982
Quantity: +175
Distribution Date: 31/1/82

PLATE NO. 7
Title: 'Apartheid Lemon'
Size: 25 x 31 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (4 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: 220
Distribution Dates: 14/3/82 and 28/3/82
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title:</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium:</td>
<td>Photographic Lithograph (2 colours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
<td>Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus</td>
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<td>Distribution:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dates:</td>
<td>25/4/82 and 23/5/82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Title: 'Apartheid Ja-Broer'
Size: 37.5 x 47.5 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location: Streets of J.h.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: + 110
Distribution Dates: 31/5/82 & 8/7/82

PLATE NO. 10
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title:</strong></th>
<th>'Apartheid se Moerkoffie'</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Size:</strong></td>
<td>35 x 47 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medium:</strong></td>
<td>Photographic lithograph (2 colours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location:</strong></td>
<td>Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quantity:</strong></td>
<td>+ 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distribution Dates:</strong></td>
<td>18/7/82 and 29/8/82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLATE NO. 11**
Title: 'Apartheid Airways'
Size: 35 x 49.5 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B., Wits Campus and Stet Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1982
Quantity: 110
Distribution Date: 15/8/82 and 29/8/82

PLATE NO. 12
Title:  'Petty Apartheid'
Size:  35 x 49.5 cm.
Medium:  Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location:  Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity:  + 100
Distribution Date:  29/8/82

PLATE NO. 13
Title: 'Apartheid Plakpapier'
Size: 55 x 800 cm. (role)
Medium: Silkscreen on wallpaper

Quantity: + 24m.
Distribution Date: 26/9/82

PLATE NO. 14
Title: 'Apartheid Flakpapier'
Size: 55 x 800 cm. (role)
Medium: Silkscreen on wallpaper

Quantity: + 24m.
Distribution Date: 26/9/82

PLATE NO. 14
Title: 'Die Door'
Size: 43 x 61 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: + 100
Distribution Date: 26/9/82

PLATE NO. 15
Title: 'Apartheid Lager'
Size: 28 x 37 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (4 colours)
Location: Streets of J H B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: + 120
Distribution Dates: 17/10/82 and 24/10/82

PLATE NO. 16
Title: 'Apartheid Nuts'
Size: 35 x 49 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: + 100
Distribution Date: 24/10/82

PLATE NO. 17
Title: 'Apartheid Ja - Broer'
Size: 35.5 x 48 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: + 100
Distribution Dates: 31/10/82 and 19/12/82
Title: 'Apartheid Witblits'
Size: 27 x 37 cm.
Medium: Photographic Lithograph (4 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: + 110
Distribution Date: 6/10/82

PLATE NO. 19
Title: 'Apartheid Skyflies'
Size: 41.5 x 50 cm.
Medium: Photographic lithograph (2 colours)
Location: Streets of J.H.B. and Wits Campus
Quantity: + 100
Distribution Dates: 6/10/82 and 13/10/82

PLATE NO. 20
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<thead>
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<th>'Monument'</th>
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<tr>
<td>Size</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Photographic lithograph (2 colours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Wits Campus. (Legal advice led to the avoidance of distribution elsewhere).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>+ 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>13/10/82</td>
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</table>

PLATE NO. 21
DOCUMENTATION OF LOCATIONS AND RESPONSES TO THE POSTERS
NEIL AGGETT

Lived for his country
Died in detention

TWAK

TWAK
APARTHEID
WHITE ELEPHANT
MATCHES - VUURHOUTJIES
PRODUCT OF SOUTH AFRICA

CONDEMN REPRESSION
SOLIDARITY
FORT DARE
THE BOOT

APARTHEID SE VOET

OF THE FUTURE
LIST OF FIGURES

FIG. 1 Yellow Horse. Lascaux.

FIG. 2 Chefren (from Giza) (c. 2530 B.C.). Diorite, 161.7 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

FIG. 3 Poseidon (Zeus ?) (c. 480 - 450 B.C.). Bronze, 200.8 cm. National Museum, Athens.


FIG. 5 G. Rietveld. Schroder House-Interior (1924).

FIG. 6 R. Hauschenberg. Retroactive (1964). Oil and silkscreen ink on canvas, 147 x 205.8 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.

FIG. 7 A. Warhol. Four Campbells Soup Cans (1965). Oil and silkscreen on canvas, 58.8 x 88.2 cm. each.


FIG. 9 V. Surikov. Menshikov in Exile (Late 19th century).

FIG. 10 Agit-Prop Train of the October Revolution (1919).

FIG. 11 A. Rodchenko. Reclining chair for a theatre production (1929).

FIG. 12 V. Stenberg. Construction in Space (c. 1921). Iron, 74.7 x 27.5 x 153.4 cm. Whereabouts unknown.

FIG. 13 V. Tatlin. Monument to The Third International (1920).

FIG. 14 Kozma Petrov-Vodkine. The Death of a Comrade (1926).
LIST OF FIGURES


FIG. 16  A. Van Wouw.  Women's Monument (1914).


FIG. 18  G. Sekoto.  Yellow Houses, Sophiatown (1940).

FIG. 19  A. Preller.  The Kraal (1948).

FIG. 20  S. Daniell.  Bushman Armed for an Expedition (1831).

FIG. 21  S. Dali.  The Persistence of Memory (1931).

FIG. 22  El Lissitsky.  Propaganda poster in a street of Vitebsk (1920).

FIG. 23  French Student Protest Poster (1968).
FIG. 1: Yellow Horse. Lascaux.

FIG. 2: Chefren (from Giza)
(c. 2530 B.C.).
Diorite, 161.7 cm.
Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
FIG. 3: Poseidon (Zeus?).
(c. 460 - 450 B.C.).
Bronze, 200.8 cm.
National Museum, Athens.

FIG. 4: T. Géricault. Portrait of
Eugene Delacroix (c. 1818).
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.
FIG. 5: G. Rietveld. 
Schroder House—Interior (1924).

FIG. 6: R. Rauschenberg. 
Retroactive (1964). 
Oil and silkscreen ink on canvas, 147 x 205.8 cm. 
Wadsworth Atheneum, 
Hartford, Connecticut.
A. Warhol.

Four Campbells Soup Cans (1965).
Oil and silkscreen on canvas.
48.8 x 88.9 cm, each.

FIG. 9: V. Surikov. Menshikov in Exile (Late 19th century).

FIG. 10: Agit-Prop Train of the October Revolution (1919).
FIG. 11: A. Rodchenko.
Reclining chair for a theatre production (1929).

FIG. 12: V. Stenberg.
Construction in Space (c. 1921).
Iron. 74.7 x 27.3 x 153.4 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.
FIG. 13: V. Tatlin. Monument to The Third International (1920).

FIG. 14: Kazimir Malevich. The Death of a Comrade (1920).

FIG. 17: P. St. Pfort,  
Desiree (1978).  
Gertrude Posel Gallery,  
Johannesburg.

FIG. 18: G. Sekoto. Yellow Houses  
Sophiatown (1940). Oil.  
Johannesburg Art Gallery.

FIG. 21: S. Dali. The Persistence of Memory (1931).
Oil on canvas. 23.2 x 31.9 cm. 

FIG. 22: El Lissitsky.
Propaganda poster in a street of Vitebsk (1920).
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