

Graphic Design for Social Justice  
in South Africa

by Latha Ravjee

Graphic Design for Social Justice in South Africa

Dissertation Submitted by Latha Ravjee

student no: 19950003

in partial fulfilment of the academic requirements for the

Master of Technology (M.Tech) Degree

in

Graphic Design

at the Durban University of Technology

Department of Visual Communications Design

Supervisor: Mr. R. Andrew

Co Supervisor: Professor I.G. Sutherland

Durban, February 2011



Graphic Design for Social Justice in South Africa

Dissertation Submitted by Latha Ravjee

student no: 19950003

in partial fulfilment of the academic requirements for the

Master of Technology (M.Tech) Degree

in

Graphic Design

at the Durban University of Technology

Department of Visual Communications Design

Supervisor: Mr. R. Andrew

Co Supervisor: Professor I.G. Sutherland

February 2011

Approved for final Submission:

---

R C Andrew, M.Tech., B.A., U.E.D. (Supervisor)

---

date

---

Prof. I. G. Sutherland M.A., B.A. (Hons), B.A., N.A.T.D. (Supervisor)

---

date

Durban, South Africa.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the National Research Foundation (NRF) for funding this project which falls within the NRF niche area in “Appropriate Design Education for Sustainable Development” at the Durban University of Technology.

Thank you to Richard Andrew and Ian Sutherland for supervising my study.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the following individuals who have roots in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and who have provided me with information about their personal experiences during the 1980s struggle for liberation, as well as their current involvement in the liberation struggle in South Africa: Asha Moodley from the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA); Deena Soliar from Umtapo Centre; Bradley Potgieter, who is currently non-aligned in the BCM; Patrick Mkhize from The Azanian Workers Union (AZAWU); and Kessie Moodley from the Worker’s College. Thank you to the many individuals who have provided assistance with related information, including Christopher Peter, from SOPA, and Arun Naicker from Umtapo Centre.

I wish to thank Piers Carey, Head of Department of Visual Communications Design at the DUT, for his insight on Graphic Design education, as well as his ideas about issues that relate to social justice and human rights.

Sincere thanks to Prof. Ashwin Desai, sociologist, activist, and critical thinker, for his perspective on ‘human rights’, and ‘social justice’ in the ongoing struggle for human dignity in South Africa today.

A special thanks to my family - especially my mom and dad for their support, and to my children: Jaz, Nikhiel, and Pali, who have been extremely patient during the course of my time-consuming work.

## DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own unaided work. It has been submitted for a Magister Technologiae Degree in Graphic Design in the Department of Visual Communication Design, Graphic Design Programme, Durban University of Technology (DUT), Durban. It has not been submitted before to any other tertiary institution

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
LIST OF FIGURES	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
INTRODUCTION	ix
Dissertation Outline	x
Methodology	xi
Literature Review	xii
CHAPTER 1	1
The Meaning of Social Justice and Human Rights	
CHAPTER 2	14
The Historical Power of Image to Effect Socio-Political Change	
CHAPTER 3	39
Post-Apartheid Sites of Remembrance in South Africa	
3.1 Apartheid Museum	
3.2 District Six Museum	
3.3 Cator Manor Heritage Centre	
3.4 Kwa Muhle Museum	
3.5 Robben Island	
3.6 The Constitutional Court of South Africa	
CHAPTER 4	58
Contemporary Graphic Design issues for Social Justice - and their impact and relevance in South Africa	
CHAPTER 5	78
Graphic Design executed during and arising out of this study	
CONCLUSION	88
REFERENCES	93
ADDENDA	99
Addendum 1: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Article 25 (1948)	99
Addendum 2: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976)	100
Addendum 3: Poverty Facts and Stats. Shah, A. (2006)	101
Addendum 4: "Fifa Brand Police on Patrol" (2010)	103
Addendum 5: Resolutions of the Umtapo "State of the Nation Truth Conference" (2010)	104
Addendum 6: Portfolio of Supporting Design Work	106

## ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I examine of the role of graphic design in the struggle for social justice in South Africa - with specific reference to the concept of human rights. I am motivated by an overwhelming awareness that the Bill of Rights in post-apartheid South Africa exists in striking contrast to the daily struggles for human dignity. In addressing this contradiction I present a historical examination that focuses on the visual impact of the creative combination of images and text to effect socio-economic and political change.

Drawing from Steve Biko's philosophy of psychological liberation and Paulo Freire's educational philosophy for critical thinking, I distinguish between propaganda and education. I take the stand that people are not really free if they blindly accept the myths of the established state order and I explore the various ways in which society is misguided by these myths.

I argue that unlike graphic design that maintains the status quo and represents the propaganda of the established order, 'graphic design for social justice' represents the voice of people's power against state power.

Through this study and practice I conclude that the role of graphic design for social justice in South Africa is to uncover the myths of state power by presenting scenarios that encourage critical thinking, dialogue and open debate about power and the abuse of power in the continued struggle for human dignity.

It is intended that this body of work, and the exhibition that results from it, contributes in part to the writing and documentation of a history of South African socio-political graphics.



*Fig. 1.0 - Say it Loud: Luba Lukova*

The very mechanism used to suppress expression and communication...

...speaks volumes about the act of suppression.

In itself it becomes a symbolic proof  
of the nature of struggle  
between the powerful  
and the powerless.

Latha Ravjee

South Africa

2011

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	TITLE	ARTIST, DATE, MEDIUM, SIZE, SOURCE	PAGE
Fig. 1.0	Say it Loud: Luba Lukova	Luba Lukova. 2009. Silkscreen. Size unknown. [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/">http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/</a> (Accessed 15 November 2010).	ii
Fig.1.1	Cross Cutting Human Rights	Centre for Economic and Social Rights. n.d. web page. Size unknown [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://cesr.org/basic">http://cesr.org/basic</a> (Accessed 30 March 2006).	09
Fig. 1.2	The Human Right to Freedom from Poverty	Peoples Movement for Human Rights Education. n.d. web page. Size unknown. [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://www.pdhre.org">http://www.pdhre.org</a> (Accessed 30 March 2006).	10
Fig. 2.1	Liberty Leading the People	Eugene Delacroix. 1830. Oil painting on canvas. 260cm x 325cm. [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://eugenedelacroix.org/Liberty-Leading-the-people-(28th-July-1830)-1830.html">eugenedelacroix.org/Liberty-Leading-the-people-(28th-July-1830)-1830.html</a> Accessed 3 September 2009	17
Fig. 2.2	The Third of May, 1808	Francesco de Goya. 1814. Oil Painting. 2.7x3.5m. Cavendish M., 1985: 308-309.	17
Fig. 2.3	Pyramid of the Capitalist System	Nedeljkovich; Brashich and Kumarich.1911.[Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://contentanswers.com/main/content/wp/en//b/b9/Anti-capitalism-colour.gif">http://contentanswers.com/main/content/wp/en//b/b9/Anti-capitalism-colour.gif</a> . (Accessed 17 September 2007).	19
Fig. 2.4	Capitalism is not healthy for Children and other living things	Ricardo Levins-Morales. n.d. Size unknown. [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://www.rlmarts.com">http://www.rlmarts.com</a> (Accessed 5 June 2010).	21
Fig. 2.5	Eat	Tomi Ungerer. 1967. Poster. Size unknown. McQuiston, 1993:2	21
Fig. 2.6	Le Petit Journal	Artist unknown. 1911. Medium unkown. Size unknown. McRae, 2001:240	23
Fig. 2.7	Die Geschiedenis van een Wereldreis	Hans Borrebach. 1950s. Drawing - book cover illustration. Size unknown. Pieterse, 1992:111	23
Fig. 2.8	Civilisation Equated with Colonialism	Adriaan Schakel. 1883. Textile - four edges of a scarf. Size unknown. Pieterse, 1992:232	25
Fig. 2.9	Iemand bij wien alles vergeefch is!	Artist unknown. Netherlands 1932. Medium unkown. Size unknown - postcard. Pieterse,1992:196	26
Fig. 2.10	Dobbelmanns Karnemelkzeep	Artist unknown. Netherlands 1910. Medium unkown. Size unknown. Pieterse,1992:196	26
Fig. 2.11	Daddy what did YOU do in the Great War?	Saville Lumley. 1917. Poster. Size unkown. McQuiston, 1993:20	28
Fig. 2.12	This is the Enemy	Barbara Marks. 1943. Poster. Size unknown. [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://www.nh.gov/nhs//ww2/ww35prt.html">http://www.nh.gov/nhs//ww2/ww35prt.html</a>	28
Fig. 2.13	Neues Volk - The Final Solution	Artist unknown. n.d. size unknown. [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://www.oddweek.com">http://www.oddweek.com</a> . (Accessed 10 June 2007).	29

Fig. 2.14	The Rise of the South African Reich	Artist unknown. 1986. book cover illustration. size unknown. Bunting, B. <i>The Rise of the South African Reich</i>	29
Fig. 2.15	Apartheid Pyramid	Strini Moodley. 1982. Diagrammatic representation at workshop: What is Black Consciousness	31
Fig. 2.16	Apartheid Signage	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.sahistory.org.za">http://www.sahistory.org.za</a> (Accessed 25 March 2006)	31
Fig. 2.17	Apartheid Walkways	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.sahistory.org.za">http://www.sahistory.org.za</a> (Accessed 25 March 2006)	31
Fig. 2.18	Sharpeville Protest: 21st March 1960	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.sahistory.org.za">http://www.sahistory.org.za</a> (Accessed 25 March 2006)	32
Fig. 2.19	Soweto Uprising: June 16th 1976	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.sahistory.org.za">http://www.sahistory.org.za</a> (Accessed 25 March 2006)	32
Fig. 2.20	The Front Line Album Cover	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.images.bluebeat.com/an/4/7/1/4.jpg">http://www.images.bluebeat.com/an/4/7/1/4.jpg</a>	21
Fig. 2.21	Carlos and Smith: Mexico 1968	Pieterse, 1992:150	36
Fig. 2.22	The Blouberg 1991: Return from Robben Island	Gool, B. <i>Design Indaba Magazine</i> . July 2001:27	37
Fig. 3.1	Caged Identities	(Online) Available WWW <a href="http://www.apartheidmuseum.org">http://www.apartheidmuseum.org</a>	42
Fig. 3.2	Video Footage in the Exhibition Hall	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.apartheidmuseum.org">http://www.apartheidmuseum.org</a>	42
Fig. 3.3	District Six Museum: exterior	(Online). Available from: <a href="http://www.capetowntravel.com/cpt_day/culture.asp">http://www.capetowntravel.com/cpt_day/culture.asp</a>	44
Fig. 3.4	District Six Signage	[Online]. Available from: <a href="http://www.capetowntravel.com/cpt_day/culture.asp">http://www.capetowntravel.com/cpt_day/culture.asp</a>	44
Fig. 3.5	District Six Floor Map	[Online]. source unclear	44
Fig. 3.6	The Last Days of Cato Manor	Ravjee L. 2007. Photograph	46
Fig. 3.7	Police Brutality against Protesting Women	Ravjee L. 2007. Photograph	46
Fig. 3.8	Fight to Save Cato Manor Rally	Ravjee L. 2007. Photograph	46
Fig. 3.9	Cato Manor Exhibition Hall	Ravjee, L. Photograph	46
Fig. 3.10	The Durban System: Entrance Hall	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.giuseppelanzi.org.Frontier/kwamuhle.html">http://www.giuseppelanzi.org.Frontier/kwamuhle.html</a> (Accessed 03 August 2009)	47



Fig. 3.11	Large Scale Pass Book	Ravjee, L. Photograph	47
Fig. 3.12	Robben Island Tower	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.travelbeat.net">http://www.travelbeat.net</a>	
Fig. 3.13	Robben Island Aerial view	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.travelbeat.net">http://www.travelbeat.net</a>	49
Fig. 3.14	Robben Island wall poster - showing inmates under armed watch	Ravjee, L. Photograph	49
Fig. 3.15	Nelson Mandela	Nuttal (et al).1999:66	50
Fig. 3.16	Robert Sobukwe	(Online) Available WWW: <a href="http://www.wits.ac.za/histp/sobukwe.htm">http://www.wits.ac.za/histp/sobukwe.htm</a> (Accessed 16 January 2006)	50
Fig. 3.17	Neville Alexander	Umtapo Centre Resource	50
Fig. 3.18	Strini Moodley	(Online). Available WWW : <a href="http://3.bp.blogspot.com/5320/nevillealexander.gif">http://3.bp.blogspot.com/5320/nevillealexander.gif</a> (Accessed 03 August 2009)	50
Fig. 3.19	Gateway to Robben Island: Upstairs Gallery	Umtapo Centre DVD: "In Memory of Strini Moodley"	51
Fig. 3.20	Gateway to Robben Island: Downstairs Gallery	Ravjee, L. Photograph	51
Fig. 3.21	Gateway to Robben Island: open display cabinets	Ravjee, L. Photograph	51
Fig. 3.22	Constitutional Court: Typography	Ravjee, L. Photograph	53
Fig. 3.23	Interior Design of the Constitutional Court of South Africa	Ravjee, L. Photograph	53
Fig. 4.1	Buy Nothing Day Sticker	Ravjee, L. Photograph	61
Fig. 4.2	Boycott Christmas	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.adbusters.org">http://www.adbusters.org</a> (Accessed 15 January 2009)	61
Fig. 4.3	McLibel Support Campaign Stickers	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.adbusters.org">http://www.adbusters.org</a> (Accessed 15 January 2009)	62
Fig. 4.4	Absolute End	McQuiston 2004:91	63
Fig. 4.5	Absolute Hangover	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.adbusters.org/spoofads/alcohol">http://www.adbusters.org/spoofads/alcohol</a> (Accessed 27 February 2007)	63
Fig. 4.6	Absolute on Ice	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.adbusters.org/spoofads/alcohol">http://www.adbusters.org/spoofads/alcohol</a> (Accessed 27 February 2007)	63
Fig. 4.7	Absolut Impotence	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.adbusters.org/spoofads/alcohol">http://www.adbusters.org/spoofads/alcohol</a> (Accessed 27 February 2007)	63

Fig. 4.8	Smirkoff	(Online) Available WWW: <a href="http://www.academic.brooklyn.c4ny.edu/education/progler/images/smirkoff.jpg">http://www.academic.brooklyn.c4ny.edu/education/progler/images/smirkoff.jpg</a> (Accessed 31 March 2008)	63
Fig. 4.9	Justin Nurse wearing controversial T-shirt	<i>Sunday Tribune Business Report</i> : 29/05/05	65
Fig. 4.10	Land Rover Freelander - "The Himba Advert"	House and Garden: December, 2000	66
Fig. 4.11	Day of the Heroic Guerilla	Elena Serrano. 1968. The Organization of Solidarity with People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL). Cuba. Meggs 1998:413	69
Fig. 4.12	Havana Grill Newspaper Advert	<i>Sunday Tribune</i> 09-01-2005	69
Fig. 4.13	Steve Biko	Umtapo Centre Resource	70
Fig. 4.14	Stoned Cherrie - Biko Print	2004. (Online) Available WWW: <a href="http://www.timeslive.co.za">http://www.timeslive.co.za</a>	70
Fig. 4.15	Mandela - the Freedom Fighter	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://www.sahistory.org.za">http://www.sahistory.org.za</a> (Accessed 25 March 2006)	73
Fig. 4.16	Statue of Mandela in Sandton Square	(Online). Available WWW: <a href="http://johannesberg.mydestinationinfo.com">http://johannesberg.mydestinationinfo.com</a>	73
Fig. 4.17	"I took a shower..."	(Online). Available from: <a href="http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-09-08-zapiro-in-zuma-cartoon-uproar">http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-09-08-zapiro-in-zuma-cartoon-uproar</a>	75
Fig. 4.18	The Rape of Justice	(Online). Available from: <a href="http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-09-08-zapiro-in-zuma-cartoon-uproar">http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-09-08-zapiro-in-zuma-cartoon-uproar</a>	75
Fig. 4.19	"I'm suing for damage to my reputation"	[Online]. Available from: <a href="http://www.zapiro.com">http://www.zapiro.com</a>	76
Fig. 4.20	The Official FIFA 2010 World Cup Logo	(Online). Available from: <a href="http://www.steamboat.socceracademy.com">http://www.steamboat.socceracademy.com</a>	77
Fig. 4.21	Zakumi: The Official FIFA 2010 Mascot	(Online). Available from: <a href="http://ninameyers.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/2885923160.jpg">http://ninameyers.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/2885923160.jpg</a>	77
Fig. 5.1	Umtapo Logo	Ravjee, L. 2006. Computer generated vector graphic. 148 x 210 mm	80
Fig. 5.2	Peace Club Logo	Ravjee, L. 2006. Computer generated vector graphic. 148 x 210 mm	80
Fig. 5.3	PHARE Logo	Ravjee, L. 2006. Computer generated vector graphic. 148 x 210 mm	81
Fig. 5.4	Ubuntu Logo	Ravjee, L. 2010. Computer generated vector graphic. 210 x 297 mm	81
Fig. 5.5	Crystal Clear Logo	Ravjee, L. 2010. Computer generated vector graphic. 210 x 297 mm	82
Fig. 5.6	Word-on-the-street Logo	Ravjee, L. 2006. Computer generated vector graphic. 148 x 210 mm	82

Fig. 5.7	Word-on-the-street (name) Logo	Ravjee, L. 2006. Computer generated vector graphic. 30x 10 mm	82
Fig. 5.8	Dire-bolical Materialism	Latha Ravjee. 2010. Computer generated vector graphic. 297 x 210 mm.	83
Fig. 5.9	FIFAKT	Latha Ravjee. 2010. Computer generated vector graphic. 210 x 297 mm.	84
Fig. 5.10	Duped	Latha Ravjee. 2010. Computer generated vector graphic. 210 x 297 mm.	84
Fig. 5.11	Lukova: Health Coverage	Luba Lukova: 2008. Social Justice - 12 Posters by Luba Lukova. 14 x 21in [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/">http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/</a> (Accessed 2 September 2009)	86
Fig. 5.12	Lukova: Censorship	Luba Lukova: 2008. Social Justice - 12 Posters by Luba Lukova. 14 x 21in [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/">http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/</a> (Accessed 2 September 2009)	86
Fig. 5.13	Lukova: Corporate Corruption	Luba Lukova: 2008. Social Justice - 12 Posters by Luba Lukova. 14 x 21in [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/">http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/</a> (Accessed 2 September 2009)	86
Fig. 5.14	Lukova: Brainwashing	Luba Lukova: 2008. Social Justice - 12 Posters by Luba Lukova. 14 x 21in [Online]. Available WWW: <a href="http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/">http://trendland.net/2009/05/14/speaking-with-images-luba-lukova/</a> (Accessed 2 September 2009)	86
Fig. 5.15	The 2010 Umtapo State of the Nation Truth Conference Logo	Latha Ravjee. 2010. Computer generated vector graphic. 420 x 297mm. Umtapo Centre	87

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress	PHARE	Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education
ASA	South African Advertising Standards Authority	POW	Prisoner of War
AZAWU	Azanian Workers Union	SASO	South African Students Organisation
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation	SOPA	Socialist Party of Azania
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement	WB	World Bank
BPC	Black People's Convention	WTO	World Trade Organisation
CESR	Centre for Economic and Social Rights	WWI	World War 1
EPZs	Export Processing Zones	WWII	World War 2
FIFA	Federation of International Football Associations	UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
IMF	International Monetary Fund	UM	Unity Movement
OAU	Organisation of African Unity	UN	United Nations
PAC	Pan African Congress	UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
PDHRE	Peoples Democratic Movement for Human Rights Education	USA	United States of America

## INTRODUCTION

This study aims to examine the role of graphic design in the struggle for social justice in South Africa - with specific reference to the concept of human rights.

The term 'social justice' has been used broadly, to refer to the power struggles and inequalities that exist in society. In addition, writing from a post-apartheid South African perspective, requires that we take cognisance of the socio-economic, political and psychological impact of apartheid power on the lives of the oppressed. Whilst focusing on the role of images to address social injustices, the two central themes in this study are: the struggle between state power and people's power; and the concepts of psychological liberation and critical thinking.

I have a personal interest in South African socio-political history, and a passion for socio-political graphics, which motivated the formulation of this study. A further motivation, from a post-apartheid perspective, is the awareness that the inequalities and injustices of everyday social reality, exist in striking contrast to the promise of the protection of human rights.

In addressing this contradiction, I present a historical examination that is centred around the following key questions:

(1) What does the term 'human rights' mean and how does knowledge of human rights relate to issues of social justice? Would knowledge of human rights better the quality of life of the poor and downtrodden?

(2) What is the role of graphic design in the struggle for social justice?

(3) How is the story about the injustices of apartheid power and people's resistance disseminated in sites of remembrance?

(4) What are some of the contemporary international and local graphic design issues for social justice?

(5) How can this study contribute to the production of design work for social justice in contemporary South Africa?

My concept of liberation in South Africa has been informed by a black consciousness perspective which emphasizes the liberation of the mind. Steve Biko's philosophy of psychological liberation, as compiled in the text, *I Write What I Like* (1978) has inspired me, and my main concern is that people are not really free until they liberate their own minds. That is, until they liberate their ways of thinking. This study takes note that social relations are largely dependent on how we construct

our identities. In contemporary South Africa, stereotypical ways of thinking about race and identity (inherited since apartheid) persist. I refer to this as 'the apartheid mind-set'. Stereotypes can however, be perpetuated as well as broken down by powerful graphic images - which impact on our daily social interactions. I therefore consider that graphic design is significant in addressing the wider context of social injustices that are constantly emerging in contemporary South Africa.

Consequently, there is a compelling need to develop a South African Graphic Design History which documents the changing images of oppression, resistance, and 'liberation', within changing historical conditions. It is my intention to contribute to that documentation by focusing on the main concepts around image and power, and by producing liberatory graphics.

Liberatory graphics produced during this study includes work commissioned by *Umtapo Centre - for Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education*. Umtapo is a social justice organisation that draws its inspiration from Steve Biko's philosophy of psychological liberation. Its teaching methods are based on Paulo Freire's dialogical problem-posing education. Liberatory graphics created as a result of this study reflect my personal graphic interpretation of the topic: "Graphic Design for Social Justice in South Africa." It includes a series of thirteen posters that present scenarios to encourage critical thinking about contemporary issues in the struggle for social justice in post-apartheid South Africa.

## **Dissertation Outline**

Chapter One addresses the questions, what does the term human rights mean and how does knowledge of human rights relate to issues of social justice? A broad overview of the western concept of rights is examined in historical context, whilst paying attention to the power relations that exist in society and on a global scale. This includes a closer examination of terminology like the 'rights of man', 'human rights,' and 'sub-human'. Such terminology is compared with the power of apartheid language, and is followed by a critical account of human rights and social justice issues in contemporary South Africa.

In Chapter Two, I investigate The Historical Power of Image and its significance in South Africa. The main focus is the development of the visual message and its impact on critical thinking. In the role of images to disseminate information, a distinction is made between propaganda and education, and the term 'graphic design for social justice', is defined. This includes a discussion on the significance of images produced during the development of the concept of human rights in the west. A historical overview of racist images, and images of state power in apartheid South Africa is taken into account, and the construction of meaning in relevant liberation graphics is interpreted in historical context.

Chapter Three presents an examination of Post Apartheid Sites of Remembrance. I was interested to examine how stories about the apartheid era are told to the younger post apartheid generation and tourists in particular. A selection of six museums and other sites of historical significance are considered. The content and manner of information dissemination is important, noting the challenge of democratic displays in changed historical circumstances.

Chapter Four focuses on Contemporary Graphic Design issues for Social Justice - and their impact and relevance in South Africa. I consider the various ways in which graphic design has fought back against state power and global capitalism in the older democracies. This involves a consideration of 'anti-consumerism', and social awareness campaigns that subvert existing messages to expose the myths of the advertising world. Relevant examples of design work in post-apartheid South Africa are included to explore contemporary issues of social justice.

In Chapter Five titled, "Graphic Design executed during, and arising out of this study", I present a report on the applied design work that I developed. It includes design work commissioned by Umtapo Centre; the creation of my own graphic identity; and my personal graphic interpretation of the struggle for social justice in South Africa.

## **Methodology**

This is a qualitative study based on primary documentary sources of images, print advertisements, posters, leaflets, photographs, and related design material that reflects and comments about current social reality in post-apartheid South Africa. It includes interviews with activists and individuals, who have agreed to be quoted, as well as involvement with Umtapo Centre, a non-profit organisation that teaches about peace, human rights and anti-racism. An extensive amount of reading of texts, which I discuss in the Literature Review, has informed this research process.

In order to achieve a basic knowledge about human rights and related social justice issues, I began my research by consulting the main international human rights documents. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - UDHR (1948), The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - ICESCR (1966), The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ICCPR (1966); as well as the South African Bill of Rights (1994). I have also relied on the following web sites: The South African Human Rights Commission (<http://www.sahrc.org.za>); The Centre for Economic and Social Rights (<http://cesr.org>); and The People's Movement for Human Rights Education (<http://www.pdhre.org>). As this study is undertaken from the discipline of graphic design, it was not my intention to offer an in-depth examination of these documents, but to familiarise myself with the concept of rights. Each of these documents are accessible, and are therefore not included in the appendix.

Because of the Black Consciousness focus on psychological liberation, I conducted personal interviews with activists who have roots in the now broadly termed, Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). I was interested to know their perspectives on human rights and social justice in post-apartheid South Africa. I was also interested to observe their responses to some images in the South African mass media that have caused controversy. Interviews were conducted with Deena Soliar from the Umtapo Centre; Kessie Moodley from the Workers College; Patrick Mkhize from the Azanian Workers Union (AZAWU); Asha Moodley from the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA) and Bradley Potgieter, an inaugural member of the Black Consciousness Organisation, the Azanian People's Organisation Azapo (in the early 1980s). He is currently non-aligned in the BCM.

Professor Ashwin Desai, sociologist, activist and critical thinker, was interviewed because of his involvement in community struggles for human dignity in post-apartheid South Africa. I was interested in his views about human rights, social justice and contemporary media images. I also interviewed Piers Carey, Head of the Department of Visual Studies, at the Durban University of Technology, for his views about controversial media images.

An abundance of research, design work, photographs and other images that document the role of the African National Congress (ANC) and its affiliates (also referred to as the Congress/Charterist movement), in the liberation struggle during apartheid, is available. This includes an archive of visual material that was created by the Anti-apartheid movement abroad, and is available online at <http://www.aluka.org/action>. Visual material from within South Africa is documented by the South African History Archive, and can be accessed online at <http://www.saha.org.za/collections.htm>. A selection of more than 300 posters from this archive, was published in 1991 by *The Posterbook Collective*, in a book titled: *Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s*. The content is representative of the Congress movement. Similarly, in a more recent study published in 2004, and titled: *Challenging Apartheid - Posters from the United Democratic Front and the End Conscription Campaign*, Pretorius & Sauthoff provide a more detailed and in-depth comparative examination of five sets of selected posters from these two groups. This comparative analysis is also the focus of Pretorius, in her master's dissertation titled, *Propaganda posters as visual rhetoric: an exploration and case study* (2004).

## **Literature Review**

As an alternate to the accepted mainstream perspective that challenged apartheid, I have drawn conceptually from Steve Biko's philosophy of black consciousness. With my main focus on psychological liberation, I have relied on various other philosophical and scholarly perspectives, which have intersected to inform the general direction of this study.

To examine the power of images, I have drawn from the Semiotics of Roland Barthes. Semiotics



is the study of how images and words (objects, spaces and even gestures) construct meaning. In his text, *Mythologies* (2000), written in France in the 1950s, Barthes presents a number of essays that demonstrate the ways in which the general public is led to make sense of the world around us. His essays are based on daily experiences with various forms of media communication. Barthes illustrates that, pictures, words, newspaper articles, adverts, gestures, spaces, public shows, wrestling matches, films, fashion and even toys, influence our ways of thinking, what we think, and how we think (2000:109). Drawing from the theories of French linguist, Saussure, Barthes employs Semiotic analysis, which involves the relation between two terms, the signifier and the signified. He explains that the *signifier* (for example, an image), and the *signified* (the concept that it expresses), work together to communicate a “*sign*” (2000:113), and this is how meaning is constructed.

Barthes aims not only to uncover how media communication is laden with meaning, but argues that such information is presented from the standpoint of the powers that be, and is based on a distortion of reality. Of major concern to Barthes is how the signs that we encounter in our daily activities construct meaning - which we take for granted. He refers to his own “feeling of impatience at the sight of the ‘naturalness’ with which newspapers, art and common sense constantly dress up reality” (2000:11), and refers to this distortion, as “myth”. Barthes maintains that “myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us” (2000:117). He therefore argues that in a capitalist society myth, presented from the standpoint of state power, is “depoliticized speech...its function is to empty reality” (2000:143).

When considering how people can be influenced and even brainwashed by the tactics of propaganda, it is interesting to interpret Barthes’ viewpoint in relation to that of Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire. Like Barthes, Freire, in his text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, argues against “the brain-washing tendencies of propaganda” (1993:96). Both Barthes and Freire examine the rhetoric of the powers that be and the manner in which the public is influenced to blindly accept the workings of the unjust socio-political order.

The leaders of some of the most influential revolutions in world history, regarded the oppressed as ‘the masses’, whose collective consciousness can be shaped. Freire, on the contrary believes that people are capable of thinking for themselves (1993:128). With a strong conviction, that “it is necessary to trust in the oppressed and in their ability to reason” (1993:48), he took this pedagogy further to work with adult literacy in oppressed communities. The aim of his liberatory educational philosophy and methodology, was that the oppressed would critically recognise the causes of socio-political and economic oppression for true liberation. Freire’s methodology is in essence the opposite of propaganda, in that he emphasizes critical thinking in the form of ‘dialogical problem-posing education’ (1993:64-65). He compares the methods and content of traditional formal education to the act of banking (1993:53).

He maintains that in a biased education system, the flow of information becomes a one-way process of the powers that be,

...in which students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor...Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits, which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat...the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits (ibid).

In this situation, Freire maintains, “it is people themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system” (ibid). Problem-posing education on the contrary, encourages critical thinking and dialogue, it demythologises, “...bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality...” (1993:64-5). The core of Freire’s argument is the psychological liberation of the oppressed, who in reality, should be able to express, discuss, and reflect on their own ways of experiencing the world.

In South Africa’s history of the liberation struggle (during the rule of apartheid), there are many parallels that can be drawn between Freire’s pedagogy and the liberatory philosophy of Black Consciousness, as espoused by Steve Biko. In his text, *I write what I like* (first published in 1978), Biko demonstrates an astute knowledge of the nature of apartheid power. Biko (2004:21-26), like Freire (1993:36) argued in principle, that in an unjust society it was not logical for the liberatory philosophy of the oppressed to be led by the oppressors. Like Freire, Biko aims towards the psychological liberation of the oppressed, and like Barthes, he aims to expose the myths of the powers that be. Biko states that, “the logic behind white domination is to prepare the black man for the subservient role in this country” (2004:30). He illustrates how apartheid thinking permeated every aspect of daily living when he states,

Born shortly before 1948, I have lived all my conscious life in the framework of institutionalised separate development. My friendships, my love, my education, my thinking and every other facet of my life have been carved and shaped within the context of separate development. In stages during my life I have managed to outgrow some of the things the system has taught me” (2004:29).

Biko’s philosophy of psychological liberation entailed that the oppressed critically recognise major points around which the system revolves...[to]...completely transform” it (2004:53). For Biko, it was important to uncover the *myth* about racial classification - that it was not natural, but a socio-political construct that was imposed as a tool of oppression. The aim of the apartheid government was to instill ‘group mentality’ (2004: 56;74), and the blind acceptance of pigeon-holed identities. Comparatively, Black Consciousness philosophy aimed to inspire positivity in the minds of the oppressed, to realise that they have the power to define themselves (2004:53). Biko rejected the state-imposed identity, “non-white” - the negative of white, and chose instead to use the term ‘black’ as the reflection of a positive mental attitude (ibid). This was in itself, a potent form of resistance. In conscientising the oppressed to think in terms of black solidarity, it challenged the very essence of the ‘divide-and-rule’ policy of apartheid power.

In his text, *Hegemony and Resistance: Contesting identities in South Africa* (2000), Reddy presents an in-depth historical analysis of race and representation. Like Biko (2004), Reddy highlights the power in the language of white domination. He states that the difference in the apartheid era of South African history,

...is not so much the incorporation of “new” laws...but the re-organisation of “old” laws, the “loudness” of the language of “race” and racial separation and the determination and confidence in state power to engineer the social formation into an ordered whole with each “group” allocated its own space and institutions (2000:145).

Reddy illustrates the nature of white racism that existed well before the implementation of apartheid law. As an example, he refers to the “Statutes of India of 1642” which governed the day to day living of Indian slaves, who were brought to the Cape by the Dutch (2000:30). Reddy brings to our attention that the colonial powers actually branded people on their faces, and reports that a law was passed in 1727 allowing branding on the slaves’ backs instead - “...out of consideration for the feelings of the Europeans, particularly pregnant woman, who might encounter them” (ibid). Considering that in colonial Europe, there existed pre-conceived, misguided and racist notions about other civilisations, he maintains that in the writing of history,

There appears to be little differences between English, Dutch, Portuguese, and French accounts indicating that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a body of European knowledge slowly developed about the Cape people (2000:16).

Whilst Reddy writes from a South Africa perspective, Smith in her text, *Decolonising Methodologies - Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999), writes from a Maori perspective, however she constantly makes reference to the entire colonised world. When considering the historical content of information dissemination, Smith’s text, has been invaluable in this study. She presents a critical view of what is accepted as universal truths and what counts as legitimate knowledge. Whereas the field is referred to as ‘Post-colonial studies’, I share Smith’s reluctance to use this term. She highlights the idea that it suggests ‘finished business’ and implies that colonialism is over (1999:98). Smith, like Biko, argues that “the colonization of the mind” persists (1999:59). She demonstrates the relationship between knowledge, research and imperialism, and maintains that “Western knowledge and science are ‘beneficiaries’ of the colonization of indigenous peoples” (ibid). Smith argues that “the term ‘research’, is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism” (1999:1); that it “...has been an encounter between the West and the Other. Much more is known about one side of those encounters than is known about the other side” (Smith:1999:8).

Like Freire, who attacks the content and methodology of traditional formal education, Smith questions the “methods of research, the theories that inform them, the questions which they generate and the writing styles they employ” (1999:39). She maintains that our own ways of knowing are structured through academic disciplines. Smith, therefore calls for a “decolonisation

of methodologies” (ibid) - and thus a careful and critical examination of the content and perspective of knowledge-presentation.

Smith draws from Said, who in his text, *Orientalism* (1978; 2003), focuses on western mis-representations of the East. He considers that in writing from a position of power, ‘Orientalists’ represented preconceived notions about the east, expressed in the “body of ideas, beliefs, cliches, or learning about the east”, that was either “paternalistic or candidly condescending” (2003:204-5). He states,

Orientals were rarely seen or looked at, they were seen through, analysed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined - or as the colonial powers openly coveted their territory - taken over (2003:207).

As such, historical information about the Orient was based on racism and prejudice. Although Said writes about the Orient, his text is about the colonial mentality and the distorted writing of history from the perspective of the West. Reading Said is therefore significant to any study that deals with issues of knowledge dissemination, racist representations, social justice, and critical thinking.

Reddy (2000), Said (2003) and Smith (1999), are concerned with the biased presentation of history, as written and represented from a position of power. Their texts are particularly significant in this study, and have inspired an interest in alternate stories and representations about the other side and sides of the accepted story in the reading of South African history.

In a related study, Pieterse, in his text, *White on Black - Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (1992), presents a historical documentation of western racist stereotypical representations of Africa and other colonised nations. Pieterse maintains that towards the end of the nineteenth century, “European hegemony, then at its height, was reflected in advertising along with colour, class and gender hierarchies” (1992:188). He shows that in product advertising for example, black people were represented from a particular angle: “as producers (workers or cooks) or servants, or as decorative elements, but *not as consumers* of the product” (1992:190). His extensive documentation spans more than two hundred years. It includes drawings, etchings, book cover illustrations, paintings, sculptures, posters, post-cards, photographs, trademarks, packaging designs and adverts. Although Pieterse does consider media images of the apartheid state, his presentation about South Africa in particular is limited. A documentation that focuses on racist media images of black people in colonial and apartheid South Africa is worthy of attention. It will contribute to a re-writing of South African history, and to the writing of South African graphic design history.

Considering current international issues that relate to graphic design, social justice, and critical thinking, I have referred to McQuiston’s texts on social and political graphics, (1993; 2004), and Klein’s text, *No Logo* (2002). Both McQuiston and Klein report on the creation of design work, in

various formats, that aims to fight back against state and corporate global power. Whilst McQuiston provides a visual documentation, Klein's research involves an in depth examination of the unethical practices of some of the most recognised global brands. These brands have closed their factories in the west, for the cheaper alternative of mass production in the poorer countries of the 'third world'. Here, people work in the most abusive conditions in factories located in special 'export processing zones' (EPZs). Klein argues that the company, by outsourcing work, cleverly avoids having to take responsibility for the rights of the workers.

Klein (2002) and McQuiston (1993; 2004), both warn that global corporate greed has the potential to dictate to local government at the expense of its people and the earth itself.

## CHAPTER 1

### The Meaning of Social Justice and Human Rights

Dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is not a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed...(Freire,1993:26).

An examination of the terms, 'Social Justice', and 'Human Rights' requires that we take cognisance of the power relations that exist in society. It also entails that we consider the impact of global power relations that have emerged historically, and that continue to exist in the 21st century.

In his text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1993), Freire, speaks about the nature and reality of human relations that are based on power and subjugation. Such situations of power arise out of, as Freire states, 'an unjust order' - of deliberate decisions by governments - thus the political structure comes into question. He refers to two classes in society: the oppressor (ruling class) and the oppressed (ruled). Political philosopher and economist Karl Marx (1818-1883) termed these classes, 'the haves' and 'the have-nots' - also referred to as 'the bourgeoisie' and 'the proletariat'. That is, the rich and the poor, or the powerful and the powerless.

This study views such power relations as continuing to exist today on a global scale...as the so-called 'first world' and 'third world'<sup>1</sup>, and as historical fact attests, the colonizer and the colonized. We could also refer to the 'thieves' and the 'dispossessed', as Smith does, in her text, *Decolonizing Methodologies - Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999:89). Arguing from an indigenous Maori perspective, Smith maintains that the trade of human beings in the colonial process, entailed the assumption that people were "commodities or goods and were actually available 'for sale' " (1999:88). According to Smith, "...territories, people and their possessions were stolen, not traded" (ibid). She reiterates this point by stating that, "one hundred blankets and fifty beads do not buy one hundred million hectares of land for the rest of eternity" (Smith:1999:89).

Referring to the need of European colonial hegemony to create, define and present hierarchical systems of classification, Smith states that:

One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we [the colonised world] could not use our minds or intellects. We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the 'arts' of civilization. By lacking such virtues we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilization but also from humanity itself. In other words, we were not 'fully human'; some of us were not even considered partially human (1999:25).

Whilst Smith speaks about the defining of people as 'human' and 'not fully human' or 'partially human', Freire, referring to the materialist standpoint of the oppressor class, states that it attempts



to transform everything, including the earth and people into “objects of its domination” (1993:40).

In his text *Orientalism*, Edward Said, uses the term “otherness” to refer to this practice in which Europeans viewed all ‘non-European’ peoples and cultures from a distanced position of assumed superiority (2003:07). Following Said, Reddy in his text, *Hegemony and Resistance - Race and Representation*, explains that the principle of difference that presented Europe and ‘its other’ as “radical opposites,” was the guiding force of colonialism (2000:21). Subsequently, it is interesting that the formulators of apartheid rule in South Africa used the term, ‘white’ to set themselves apart from the rest of the population. All ‘others’ were classified, ‘non-white’ (the negative of white), and were further categorised into race groups. ‘Apartheid’ is an Afrikaans word (derived from Dutch) that literally translates to ‘apartness’.

In his text, *I Write What I Like*, Steve Biko who wrote in the mid 1960s - 1970s in apartheid South Africa, refers to the impact of the negative terminology of oppression. He states that oppression is internalised by the oppressed individual when “...you begin to feel that there is something incomplete with your humanity, and that completeness goes with whiteness” (2004:111). Clearly the language of domination was a language of separation. It entailed a form of violence. It attempted to fill the mind with pre-conceived ideas and misguided notions of what is good, beautiful, civilized, and just - and what constitutes knowledge, truth and fact. It is in this sense that Biko calls for the psychological liberation of the oppressed, and Smith, like Biko, speaks of the need to “decolonize” the mind (1999:23). Biko, wrote from a black consciousness perspective, urging the oppressed to rise above the pigeon-holed identities assigned to them, and to recognize the power to define oneself (2004:115-116). Thus, according to Biko,

Thinking along the lines of black consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being, entire in himself...[it is]...the realisation... that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed (2004:74).

Young minds growing up in apartheid South Africa were expected to imbibe and regurgitate information that was represented as fact, and presented from a racist colonial perspective (Biko, 2004:31). The same minds became the working force - expected to know their place of subordination in society (Biko, 2004:113). Similarly Freire states,

[It] does not mean that the downtrodden are unaware that they are downtrodden. But their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submission in the reality of oppression (Freire, 1993:27).

Freire’s words are significant when we consider that it is “critical thinking” that is ‘impaired’ by the mechanical conditioning forces of everyday survival (1993:111). In South Africa, the apartheid regime banked on the fact that critical thinking would be impaired by submission in everyday social experience.

In this study I prefer to use the term 'stratified otherness', to explain the essence of the apartheid system, because it legally defined and separated people according to race groups - and this related directly to the socio-economic set-up of the country. This point is made by Biko when he states, "That we are oppressed to varying degrees is a deliberate attempt to stratify us not only socially but also in terms of aspirations" (2004:56).

As mentioned in this introduction, it is considered of fundamental importance that we take note of the power relations of race, class, and colonization (and particularly colonization of the mind), as we attempt to draw meaning for the term 'social justice'. Furthermore, when we view the injustices and inequalities of everyday social reality in post-apartheid South Africa, it is significant to ask: What role does 'human rights' play? What does the term 'human rights' really mean? Is it possible that knowledge of 'human rights' would better the day-to-day living conditions of the poor and the downtrodden? And in this sense, what then is the role of government - in a country with arguably one of the best 'Bill of Rights' in its constitution in the world today? A historical overview of the notion of 'human rights' and a clearer position on the meaning of 'social justice', and how these two concepts relate, is therefore necessary.

This study takes cognisance of the fact that prior to contact with western culture, indigenous peoples had formulated their own systems of knowledge and concepts of justice. They emphasised the values of human interconnectedness and the centrality of human relationships. Umtapo Centre for Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education, informs us that,

The Maori word for this interconnectedness is 'whakapapa', the Navjo word is: 'hozho'. An Nguni saying: "Umntu ngu muntu ngabantu", literally translates to: "a person is a person through other persons. A Shangaan proverb: "Rhinitiho rinwe a ri nusi hove" literally translates to: one finger cannot pick up a grain" (Macharia, Moodley & Soliar, 2002:129).

In South Africa, this concept is referred to as "ubuntu." The central idea expressed, is that "one's humanity (humanness), one's personhood is dependent upon one's relationship with others" (ibid).

The teachings of many religions in ancient civilizations (although we might not agree with their basic tenets and practices today) are believed to contain 'elements of the idea of human rights' or "precursors of human rights in their requirements to treat fellow human beings with dignity and help provide for each other's needs as a basis for a good community" (<http://www.udhr.org>).

The Hindu Vedas, the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, the Bible, the Quran (Koran), and the Analects of Confucius are five of the oldest written sources, which address questions of people's duties, rights, and responsibilities. In addition, the Inca, and Aztec codes of conduct and justice and an Iroquois Constitution were Native American sources that existed well before the 18th century (Shiman,1993).



## **The Emergence of the Concept of Rights in the West**

Historical landmarks in the development of human rights in the West <sup>2</sup> include the culmination of a civil war between the King and the victorious English parliament in 1689 - an event that led to the drawing up of the English Bill of Rights. However the 18th century 'Enlightenment' thinkers are credited with the introduction of the concept of human rights in Western philosophy. During this period, also known as 'The Age of Reason' or the 'Enlightenment', the idea of 'natural rights' or 'the rights of man' had become part of the political agenda. Of particular significance, is the role played by John Locke, who believed that people by nature had certain rights and duties including: liberty, life and the ownership of property (Jesseph,1998).

In her text on the history of human rights, Rayner states that the notion of 'natural rights' and politics was one of the major issues of contention during the English civil war - when the question posed was whether "natural rights could be handed over to rulers?" She explains the argument:

People in their 'natural' condition have unlimited freedom. If they choose to be ruled, they surrender either all, or some at least of this 'natural right' to their king or government, in exchange for civil society and peace. If they could surrender 'all', then people could be subjected to absolute government authority, and be under an absolute duty to obey (Rayner, <http://www.universalrights.net>).

Locke's argument about natural rights and the duty of the state, is explained in Jesseph (1998),

[If] the task of the state is to protect the rights of its people...the justification for a state's existence had to be found in its ability to protect human rights better than individuals could on their own. Locke declared that if a government did not adequately protect the rights of its citizens, they had the right to find other rulers.

Such thoughts were influential to the revolutionary leaders of the American Civil War (1775-1783) and the French Revolution (1789-1799). In America<sup>3</sup>, the war was fought between the European settlers and the colonial power of England. It led to the drawing up of the U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776), which proclaimed that 'all men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights'. In Europe, the French Revolution led to the drawing up of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789). And by 1791 the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights was drawn up (Creech,1998).

## **The 18th Century in Historical Context**

A crucial point to note when examining the eighteenth century time frame is that the term 'human rights' was being spoken about by European settlers in America long after the almost complete annihilation of the indigenous population there<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore despite 'human rights discourse' in England, France and other European countries during this period in history, the African continent had

been broken up into geographic areas - each controlled by the various European colonial nations. Children, women and men had been stolen from the African continent and taken as slaves for labour in America, Europe, and to other colonized lands, and as Smith points out, "...lands already taken from another group of indigenous people" (1999:27).

Pieterse, in his text, *White on Black*, maintains that although the practice of acquiring slaves was in existence amongst various nations throughout recorded history, it was during the European colonization of the other continents that slavery "acquired a colour" (1992:52). This change was due to a misguided notion of Christian religious entitlement<sup>5</sup> - used to explain the justification of the slavery of the African continent (ibid).

The term 'human rights' connotes a sense of human worth, human dignity, freedom and respect in our day to day human relations. However, it is important to note that during the development of Human Rights discourse, the term, 'the rights of man' did not refer to black people, nor did it refer to women and children. They were not represented in 'bills of rights' and 'declarations'. History reveals that they were regarded as subservient, based on race and gender demarcation - and black people were regarded as 'not-fully human'. That is to say, the political decisions and running of the western so-called democratic world and its colonies rested mainly on the deliberations of white men.

An important point to note is that some of the key proponents of human rights theory expressed derogatory notions about indigenous African, Indian and other colonised peoples. Reddy (2000:16-18) details how in philosophical writing beginning in the period of western expansion and colonialism, categories like the notion of the "savage other" in contrast to rational "civilised European man," become commonsense conceptions of the world.

It is also important to note that leading intellectuals in the west who formulated revolutionary theories about peoples' struggles against state power also viewed the colonised world from a position of superiority. Referring to Mill's text *On Liberty and Representative Government*, Said (2003:14) states that, "Mill...made it clear that his views...could not be applied to India...because the Indians were civilizationally, if not racially, inferior." Similarly, Marx and Engels who co-wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848 viewed colonised people as "people without history" (Pieterse, 1992:35). According to Pieterse, in a lecture on Africa, Hegel is noted to have stated,

The negro represents natural man in all his wild and untamed nature. If you want to treat and understand him rightly, you must abstract all elements of respect and morality and sensitivity - there is nothing remotely humanized in the Negro's character...Nothing confirms this judgement more than the reports of the missionaries (Hegel quoted in Pieterse, 1992:34).

## **The World Wars**

This study proposes that it is possible to contest the term “world war” - if we take into account the scramble for territory during the 19th century. The European acquisition of overseas land began with the ‘voyagers of discovery.’ The trade posts established during the early 1500s also traded people in the mid-Atlantic slave trade. Noting that by the 19th century, the continents of Africa, Asia, the America’s, and Australia were carved up, demarcated, and delineated into territories controlled by various European colonial powers, it can be argued that the term ‘world war’ ought to refer to the European colonization of the other continents.

However, considering that the world is dominated by the West, and that history is presented from a Western perspective, the term ‘world war’ is generally understood to refer to the two major conflicts between mainly ‘first world’ European countries, World War I (WW1) (1914-1918), and World War II (WW2) (1939-1945). It is important to note that of the various reasons to go to war, the main driving force behind both these wars was hunger for power and the acquisition of land.

Whilst the formation of the ‘League of Nations’ after WW1 was an attempt at international peace-keeping, two important outcomes are noted. Firstly, nearing the end of the war, de-stabilisation, landlessness and the extreme poverty of the majority of people in Russia (a key player in the war), led to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. The leaders, Lenin and Trotsky were inspired by the Marxist ideal of a communist alternative. Such ideals were to inspire many revolutionary freedom movements throughout the colonized world, including those in South Africa. Secondly, whilst the League of Nations was an international peacekeeping initiative formed in the aftermath of WW1, its ultimate downfall was its failure to stop the rise of the Third Reich in Hitler’s Nazi Germany. This lead to World War II - referred to as the largest and bloodiest war in history (Ostrower, 2005). It involved virtually every part of the world, (i.e. Including the colonies), and resulted in 40-50 million deaths (Hughs, 2006).

In Germany, the Nazi’s were instilled with the racist ideas of Adolf Hitler, and embraced the concept that the physical characteristics of the German race (white skin, blue eyes, and blond hair), their culture and religion, represented a superior form of humanity. In order to instill this notion of purity into the consciousness of people of Germany, they urged them not to marry into other races - especially Jews, whom Hitler blamed for all the evils of the world (Hoffman, 2005). In Nazi Germany the concept of racial separation eventually lead to legal physical separation in the public sphere, and culminated in the systematic annihilation of mostly Jews.

It is not often reported that other groups of people and individuals were also targeted in the ‘Laws of April’ and the ‘Nuremberg Laws’ which were designed by Hitler. These laws were passed,

... for the purposes of excluding people of Jewish ancestry from employment, education, housing, health care, marriages of their choice, pension entitlements, professions such as law and medicine, and public accommodations such as theatres, cinemas and vacation resorts. Nazi Germany then began to murder physically and mentally disabled people by gas, lethal injection and forced starvation. The regime was responsible for the racist and systematic massacre of six million Jews as well as millions of other civilians, including Gypsies, Communists, Soviet POWs, Poles, Ukrainians, people with disabilities, labor unionists, “habitual” criminals, Socialists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, homosexuals, Free Masons and indigent people such as vagrants and beggars. People were forced into concentration camps, subjected to ghastly medical experiments, starved, brutalized, and murdered (<http://www.udhr.org>).

### **Crimes Against Humanity and The United Nations**

The United Nations (UN) was established in 1945 after WW2. It aimed to achieve an international commitment that never again would any country be able to wage a war against a nationality, ethnic, or religious group, and systematically annihilate that group. Its vision was for universal peace. By 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was formally proclaimed in the UN. Its charter states that one of its main purposes is the promotion and encouragement of “respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion” (<http://www.udhr.org>). High-ranking Nazi officials were taken to trial at Nuremberg (a series of 13 trials from 1945-1949), and punished for committing war crimes, ‘crimes against peace’ and ‘crimes against humanity’ (ibid).

An important aspect of this study is to note the perspective of the story-teller in the writing of history. The generally accepted viewpoint after a particular conflict is the one presented by the victors. As one of the victorious powers in WW2, it is also interesting to note, that the U.S.A. was never held accountable for the inhumane act of dropping atom bombs in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In these cities, apart from the instant obliteration of surface area, and the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians, “thousands more died later of injuries from the effects of atomic radiation from the bombs” (Stokesbury, 2006). Such effects impacted on the next generation of children and included nervous system abnormalities, mental retardation and physical abnormalities (Encyclopaedia Britannica DVD, 2006).

### **The International Bill of Rights**

To date there have been numerous bills, treaties, declarations, covenants and other human rights documents adopted by the international peace keeping community of the UN. According to Flowers (<http://www.umn.edu>), whereas a declaration states agreed-upon moral standards, and is not legally binding, a convention/covenant/treaty is stronger in that it is legally binding to those who have signed it. The UDHR has therefore been seen as more of a moral code.

The Centre for Economic and Social Rights website (<http://www.cesr.org>), reports that today, the International Bill of Rights,

...comprises the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR -1948), and the legally binding Covenants: The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (which opened for signature in 1966, and entered into force March 23, 1976) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (which opened for signature in 1966, and entered into force January 3, 1976).

When viewed in historical context, an important point to note is that during the formation of the UN a number of countries were still fighting against colonial rule and were therefore not represented. The decolonisation of most of the African continent only occurred in the 1960s. In some countries this amounted to more than 20 years after the UDHR was adopted (1948). The 'legally binding covenants' referred to above entered into force more than 10 years after decolonisation, and this was largely due to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU),<sup>6</sup> formed in 1963.

Considering South Africa in historical context, it is interesting to note that the formal rule of apartheid began the same year that the UDHR was adopted at the UN (1948) - i.e. three years after the end of WW2 (1945). In his text, *The Rise of The South African Reich* (1986), Bunting contends that Nazi ideology provided inspiration to the thinkers and formulators of Apartheid in South Africa (1986:56-58; pp.302 ff). The dehumanising laws of the white racist government were clearly in violation of most of the human rights contained in the UDHR. For obvious reasons the apartheid regime did not sign. Of further significance is the fact that although apartheid laws were reminiscent of Nazi Germany, where the perpetrators were punished for committing 'crimes against humanity', the situation in South Africa was not viewed as a major issue for the immediate attention or intervention of the peace keeping body of the UN. Rather, it was isolated - left alone, economically sanctioned and boycotted, to an extent.<sup>7</sup>

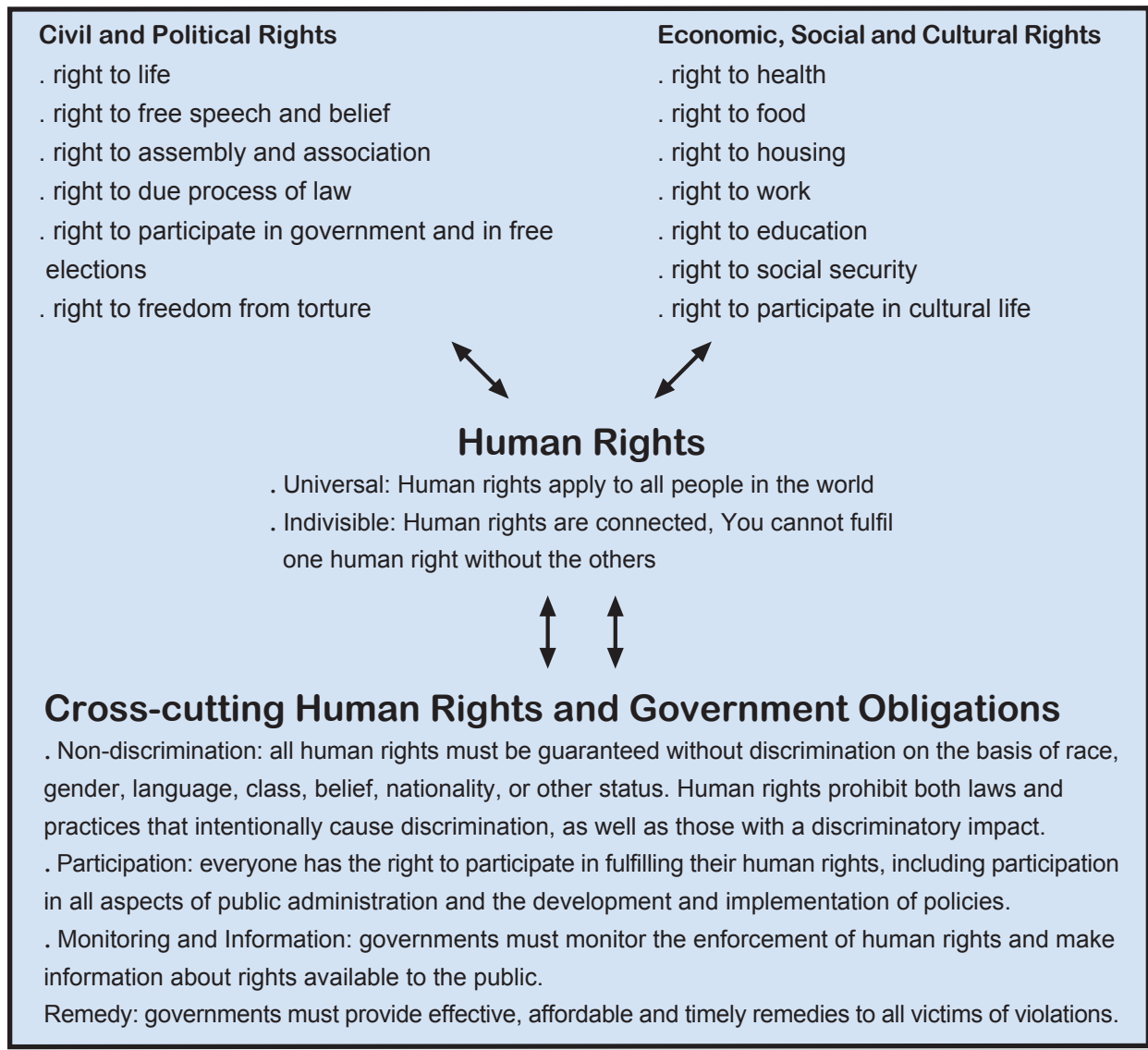
### **Categorizing Human Rights**

On their web page the Centre for Economic and Social Rights states that, inspired by the three themes of the French Revolution, human rights are sometimes divided into first, second and third generation human rights: *liberte* - the first generation of civil and political rights, including the right to life and political participation; *egalite* - the second generation of economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to subsistence; and *fraternite* - the third generation of solidarity rights, including the rights of citizens to "liberty and equality; freedom to worship, to think and express oneself, to vote, to take part in political life, and to have access to information" (<http://www.cesr.org>).

Human Rights are also categorised into negative human rights (rights to be free from), which refer to an individual's freedom of speech, religion and assembly and which restrict the actions

of government, and positive human rights (rights to) which “denote rights that the state is obliged to protect and provide...(such as)...the right to education, to a livelihood, and to legal equality” (ibid).

The Centre for Economic and Social Rights website also illustrates how all rights are connected (<http://cesr.org/basic>) - (fig. 1.1).



**Fig. 1.1 - Cross-cutting Human Rights and Government Obligations**

In South Africa, the opening clause, 7.(1) in the Bill of Rights states,

This Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996:6).

## Equality and Social Justice

The term 'social justice' is widely used and it is used within diverse and conflicting contexts. It also begs the fundamental question: Who is it that decides what is just? However, within the context of this study, the term 'social justice' has been employed to refer to the enjoyment of a quality of life of mutual respect, peace and dignity. That is, the term social justice is based on an understanding that all human beings deserve to be treated equally and are entitled to an equal share in the benefits of society. Thus, given the expectations of the concept of human rights to ensure a life of human dignity and respect, let us consider poverty in terms of 'social justice'. Noting the various bills and declarations and constitutions that currently exist, poverty in contrast, is the most conspicuous evidence of inequality and injustice in everyday social reality.

## The Human Right to be Free from Poverty

### The Human Right to Freedom from Poverty

The People's Movement for Human Rights Education

Human Rights & Poverty | [Governments' Obligations](#) | [Governments' Commitments](#)

## Human Rights and Poverty

### What is the Human Right to Freedom from Poverty?

Poverty is a human rights violation. Every woman, man youth and child has the human right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, to food, clothing, housing, medical care, and social services. These fundamental human rights are defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, CEDAW, the International Covenants, and other widely adhered to international human rights treaties and Declarations - powerful tools that can empower efforts for social and economic justice worldwide

### The Human Rights at issue

The human right to live in dignity, free from want, is itself a fundamental right, and is also essential to the realization of all other human rights - rights that are universal, indivisible, interconnected and interdependent. The right to be free from poverty includes:

- The human right to an adequate standard of living.
- The human right to work and receive wages that contribute to an adequate standard of living.
- The human right to a healthy and safe environment.
- The human right to live in adequate housing.
- The human right to be free from hunger.
- The human right to safe drinking water.
- The human right to primary health care and medical attention in case of illness.
- The human right to access to basic social services.
- The human right to education.
- The human right to be free of gender or racial discrimination.
- The human right to participate in shaping decisions that affect oneself and one's community.
- The human right for children to develop in an environment appropriate for their physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development

**Fig. 1.2 - The Human Right to Freedom from Poverty**



Although there are many views about why poverty exists, I consider poverty as a form of dehumanisation, and I agree with Freire that it is "...not a given destiny but the result of an unjust order..." (1993:26). I also agree with Shulamith Koenig, the executive director of 'The Peoples Movement for Human Rights Education' (PDHRE), who argues on her website that "poverty is a human rights violation" (<http://www.pdhre.org>) (fig. 1.2). Koenig draws our attention to article 25 of the UDHR (addendum 1), and article 11 of the Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (addendum 2), which detail the human right to an adequate standard of living. Focusing on the point that human rights are indivisible, interconnected and interrelated Koenig states,

Every woman, man, youth and child has the human right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, to food, housing, medical care and social services (<http://www.pdhre.org>). (fig.1.2).

Socio-economic reality today in the twenty-first century, reveals a widening gap between 'the rich' and 'the poor', 'the powerful' and 'the powerless' - not only in South Africa, or the African continent, but also on a global scale. Statistics presented by Shah (2006) unveil the magnitude of global injustices (addendum 3). If we agree that poverty exists because of an unjust order and as a result of deliberate decisions by governments, the meaning of true democracy must also be questioned.

In an article, titled "War, Social Inequality and the Crisis of American Democracy", David North from the world socialist website considers 'democracy' in terms of income distribution:

People often use the phrase, "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer." When we talk about the poor getting poorer, we are talking about the lower 90 percent of the American people. That embraces a very substantial population - 270 million out of 300 million, i.e., the vast majority of the American people...We are dealing with astonishing levels of social inequality. (2006)

For North, true democracy "embodies the rule of the people...[who]... in their broad masses represent a great threat, a danger, to those who control the vast aggregates of wealth" (ibid).

### **Poverty and Human Rights in Post Apartheid South Africa**

Taking note of Shah's (2006) statistics and North's (2006) concerns about true democracy, it is clear that inequality is the essence that the capitalist system thrives on - globally and locally. While North refers specifically to the USA, the democratically elected post-apartheid government of South Africa (once a people's liberation movement) has also become a major player in the power struggles of multinational global corporations at the expense of its people.

In South Africa we cannot boast about living in a democracy when we are witnessing an ongoing struggle for the basic human rights in poor communities. It is clear to see that although the government has through its structures and policies the power to eliminate poverty, all of the



interconnected rights listed by Koenig (fig.1.2) are what the poor, the homeless and the starving “have not” in South Africa in the twenty first century. This is the focus of Desai in his text, *We are the Poors - Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (2002). Referring to the reality of post-apartheid state power, and what he terms the “supposedly most progressive constitution in the world” (2002:13), Desai illustrates that state orders for “evictions, relocation, and disconnections vied with promises of housing, water, and a culture of human rights” (2002:16). He reports that soon after the so-called transition to democracy in South Africa,

Taxes on the rich were cut, exchange controls dropped, and tariffs protecting unionized South African workers from imports from sweatshops were abandoned. Around a hundred thousand jobs were lost each year and a million alone in 2001. Water, electricity, housing and health care were taken from those who couldn't pay...(2002:10).

When interviewed on 3 April 2008, Desai explained that the main problem that arose in South Africa's transition period was the “commodification of basic services” in line with the “macro-economic policies” of the ANC government. Arising from his working experience in poor communities, he emphatically states that,

A lot of people in South Africa have an amplified version of what rights they think they have, and actually those rights don't exist...(and) are almost mythical. There are people who are dying in our country because of a lack of food... people die in our country because of a lack of medical services, lack of access to water... (Desai, 2008:3).

An added concern in post-Apartheid South Africa is that human rights language (accessible in all eleven official languages) is also not easily understood. It is ambiguous and is ridden with legal technicalities.

In an interview on 1 April 2007, K. Moodley from The Workers College in Durban, makes a thought-provoking statement about the notion of rights in the continued struggle for human dignity in post-apartheid South Africa:

...the unfortunate thing is that this whole notion of rights has moved people away from what the true struggle is about. The struggle is about human dignity, about people fighting collectively around issues that will uplift a broader society. The problem with rights is that it starts to become individualistic, and given the current neo-liberal context that we live in globally and nationally, the notion of people looking after themselves, of being individualistic, of being selfish - especially living within a capitalist society - that has become the order of the day. So, rights have become individual rights, have become selfish rights ...is becoming - “what I can acquire”, as opposed to a time when there was struggle for collective rights, for collective upliftment. What has happened is that whilst there was a notion or a belief that the struggle was a creative one, and a collective struggle was located within fighting for a socialist order, we have been in the throws of capitalism and its neo-liberal agenda which has individualised everything, and that's why the notion of rights sometimes undermines the whole concept of rights and where does it exist within the broader context (2007).

Consequently, the reality - and the 'meaning' of 'social justice' and 'human rights', the relationship between these two concepts, and their controversial nature, is highly problematic in post-apartheid South Africa. Whilst systems do need to be put into place to ensure the enjoyment of a quality of life of mutual respect, peace and dignity, it is meaningless to talk of rights when the system in which it is meant to work is an unequal and an unjust one. The 'poor' or the 'powerless' or the 'oppressed' have a very real day-to-day experience of this injustice when they struggle against the ruthless force of government.

Following Freire, if the "perception...[of the downtrodden]...as oppressed is impaired by their submission in the reality of oppression" (1993:26-27), the task is therefore, to encourage critical thinking, and unmask the blinding forces of the socio-political order.

---

1. It is noted that geographically the world as we know it today has been carved up and delineated by European colonial powers, and such terminology (historical and present) stems from a western dominated system of knowledge. The concept of the 'third world' is itself problematic in that it carries negative hierarchical connotations, where the once colonized world is looked upon as under-developed, backward and economically dependant upon so called 'first world' and 'second world' (previously communist bloc) countries. It is further acknowledged that although associated with the positivity of the formation of the 'Non-Aligned Movement', in 1955, the political usage of this term at this point of history is also a point of continued debate.

2. This study uses the term, 'the West' to refer to the European colonial powers as well as North America. It is used in a similar sense to Edward Said's use of the term, "occident" when he refers to the "European Western experience of the Orient" (2003:1). Said maintains that "The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony..." (2003:5). This study also takes into account, Pieterse's view that the European colonial powers took their slaves to the American plantations, thus Pieterse explains that, "The legacy of several hundred years of western expansion and hegemony, manifested in racism...the racism that developed is not an American or European problem but a western one" (Pieterse, 1992:9).

3. I have referred to both the continent of North America ('America') and the U.S.A. in my text, noting that 4th July 1776 began a process of war and change that culminated in the official break-away of British and European settlers from their colonial powers and the eventual formation of the United States of America (<http://www.history-timelines.org.uk/events-timelines/14-american-history-timeline.htm>).

4. The indigenous population living in the land named 'America' was given the identity "red Indian" because of Columbus's confusion when he thought he landed on the shores of a previously colonised land, India. It is important to note further, that those indigenous people who survived were eventually confined to selected areas of land called 'Indian reserves' in America, and by the early 1800s "the Indian Removal Act" was passed to make more land available for the European settlers. "Indian" reservations still exist today as tourist attractions.

5. See 'The Curse of Ham' in Pieterse (1992:44) for an in-depth explanation of the Christian justification for the slavery of the African continent.

6. See Munchie, M. *Organisation of African Unity (OAU)* in 2006 World Book Multimedia Encyclopedia [CD ROM] 2005: The Software Mackiev Company.

7. Despite international pressure for sport and cultural bans, trade and arms embargoes numerous companies continued to uphold apartheid. For example the entire system of pass books and identity documents with fingerprints, and government agencies, the police and the military were dependant on American IBM computers. In 1978 IBM sales jumped to 250%; in 1982 the total sales were approximately three hundred million dollars, and in that same year 80% of the fifteen hundred South African employees were white (<http://www.csstudents.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.comp.html>).

## CHAPTER 2

### **The Historical Power of Image to effect Socio-Political Change**

We rid ourselves of the blinders of ideology by constantly asking ourselves: How do I feel? How is my life? What do I want? Am I getting what I want? - If not, why not? This is being conscious of the commonplace, being aware of your everyday routine. That real life exists - life in which you are active, a subject acting to achieve your desires - is a public secret that becomes less secret everyday, as the breakdown of daily life constructed around abstract based ideologies becomes more and more obvious (The Revolutionary Pleasure of Thinking for Yourself:1992).<sup>1</sup>

The questions that immediately arise when contemplating these words are: how did civil society get to the point where we have to consciously 'rid ourselves' of the 'blinders of ideology'; what are these blinders and how do they work? In this chapter I present a historical examination of the role of images in society - paying particular attention to how images construct...or unveil...the blinders of ideology.

A very generalised 'birds-eye view' of the history of humankind will show that from the beginning of the formation of societies some people have assumed power and have claimed dominion over others (children, women, and men), whom they deemed to be lesser. Such claims to superiority relied on the power of myth-creation. Myths were created - to present an explanation of the complexities of daily living, of growth, of death, and the projection of what happens after death. Most significantly for this study is the myth, (resulting in the blind belief) that some people were 'destined' to be served and others to serve. The judgement of people by the powerful, and their justification of this act, manifested in terms of: physical strength, religious ideology, physical differences and the ownership of items or possessions, that were deemed by the powerful to be of economic value. The result was the stratification within societies where the value or worth of families of people was based on their material possessions. Such blind or unconscious acceptance of power and force depended on the dissemination of information - on the role of image and word.

As human beings constantly imbibe information, many thought-provoking concerns arise - beginning with how we come to know and understand the world around us. The absorption of knowledge begins in childhood, and as our young minds develop, we amass information from various sources. The dissemination of information takes place during many years of formal education - both secondary and tertiary; in religious institutions; in our social and cultural interactions; and in our daily encounters with mass media communication. These sources predominantly represent the established official standpoint.

In this study I make a distinction between: information dissemination from the standpoint of state power, as opposed to information dissemination from the standpoint of civil society.

## **Clarifying the term 'Graphic Design for Social Justice'**

In contemporary society, the mass media bombards us with images and words in our daily routines. It is possible to refer to this visual display of images and words as graphic design. Graphic design can be defined as the creative composition of images and words, that communicate information to capture the attention of a targeted audience - for an intended purpose. We experience graphic design in the form of logos, leaflets, posters, book design, T-shirt designs, CD labels and covers, advertisements - in magazines, on bill boards, on television, on the world wide web, on our cell phones and on the products and packaging that we use, etc. Considering that graphic designers work within the creative departments of the advertising industry, which communicate for the business world, it is possible to associate the field of graphic design with serving the interests of and maintaining the capitalist system.

As previously stated, I consider the dichotomy regarding information-dissemination from the standpoint of state power, as opposed to information dissemination from the standpoint of civil society. I take into account the blind acceptance of the official one-sided flow of information, and I aim to identify and examine the role of images to present a counter viewpoint to that of state power. I therefore consider that there are also two sides to graphic design - and I make a distinction between:

- (a) Graphic Design which propagates the ideas of, serves to maintain, and represents the 'voice' of the 'established order'; and
- (b) 'Graphic Design for Social Justice' - which, on the side of the powerless, challenges injustice and creates awareness about power and control, thereby encouraging critical thought, dialogue and debate.

Following from the clarification of the use of the term "social justice" in Chapter One, 'Graphic Design for Social Justice' thus contributes to the ongoing struggle for the enjoyment of a quality of life, of human dignity and an equal share in the benefits of society.

## **The Blind Acceptance of Ideology and its Impact on Socio-political Change**

An example of the blinding effects of ideology can be observed when we consider the power held by the early Christian church. Historically, artists created images that were commissioned by the church. These images, although devotional, also had the effect of instilling fear in the viewer. In the work of artists like Hieronymous Bosch (c.1450-1516) who "painted from the standpoint of orthodox Catholicism" we encounter representations of a place called 'hell' (Cavendish, 1985:1018). During this time, actions and even thoughts that were considered sinful were driven into the consciousness of children, women, and men - and everyday living became organized around the fear of eternal damnation to this worst imaginable place. The church had become the powerhouse

of unquestionable 'divine' knowledge. Ordinary civilians were blinded from the fact that here was a set of ideas created over time by the human mind - visually presented in images and words by the human hand. The Hindu caste system in India is an example of the force of religion to socially distance the poor (oppressed), and designate them a name - 'the untouchables'. Although declared illegal in India's 1949 constitution, this socio-economic exclusionary practice is still observed in parts of India today - and is followed by those who firmly believe that their religion justifies their actions. The plight of the untouchables is reported on the website of Human Rights Watch in an article titled, '*Broken People - Caste Violence against India's Untouchables*' (2008).

When people knowingly treat each other in an unjust way, yet both parties accept an ideology (or a set of beliefs), which places one party in a position of divine privilege over the other, they are both incapable of critical thinking. It is in this sense that Marx, referring to the psychology of the oppressed, famously stated: "religion is the opium of the people" (1844:1).<sup>2</sup> Similarly Freire, who objects to the blind acceptance of the oppressive socio-political order that governs the daily routines of the poor and the downtrodden states,

As long as the oppressed remain unaware of the causes of their condition, they fatalistically "accept" their exploitation. Further, they are apt to react in a passive and alienated manner when confronted with the necessity to struggle for their freedom and self-affirmation (1993:46).

### **Exploring the Term: Propaganda**

An examination of the power of 'image and word' to disseminate information requires articulation of the term 'propaganda'. Although derived from the word 'propagate', and implying 'the spread of information', propaganda has come to be associated negatively as information that is distorted and not necessarily completely true. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica: 2006 DVD Propaganda is the,

dissemination of information - facts, arguments, rumours, half-truths, or lies - to influence public opinion...the more or less systematic effort to manipulate other people's beliefs, attitudes, or actions by means of symbols (words, gestures, banners, monuments, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyles, designs on coins and postage stamps...) (2006).

Similarly Stults (1998) defines propaganda as, "one-sided communication designed to influence people's thinking and actions...[and it suggests]...shady or underhanded activity". The Oxford dictionary defines propaganda as: "chiefly derogatory information esp. of a biased or misleading nature used to promote or publicize a particular political cause or point of view" (1999:1145). Stults makes a distinction between propaganda and education. He maintains that whilst an educator will present various sides of an issue for discussion, a propagandist, uses various techniques to influence and even deceive, in an attempt to tell people what to think (1998).



Similarly, the Encyclopaedia Britannica article on Propaganda states that “deliberateness and a relatively heavy emphasis on manipulation distinguish propaganda from casual conversation or the free and easy exchange of ideas” (2006). Therefore in the dichotomy between the powerful and the powerless, this study takes the view that propaganda represents the ideology of the powerful, while true education refers to the democratic process of gathering factual information that uncovers ‘the blinders of ideology’.

### **Heroes of Struggle for Socio-political Change in the West**

In the history of socio-political graphics we encounter images that capture the spirit of an era. The people portrayed in these images, become icons - they symbolise the causes and triumphs of entire struggles.

The setting in the painting, “Liberty Leading the People” (fig. 2.1) is the French Revolution (1789-99), one of the most influential struggles for socio-economic and political change in Europe. As previously mentioned in Chapter One, it was inspired by human rights discourse - expressed in the slogan, ‘liberty, equality, and fraternity’. Although it was painted in 1830 to commemorate the revolution, French Romantic artist Eugene Delacroix (1798-1863), has succeeded in communicating the excitement and glory of the revolution. He has designed this composition in a dynamic triangular format. Lady Liberty is armed with a weapon in her left hand, and with her right hand she triumphantly raises the tri-colour flag, which represents the new ideals of ‘liberty, equality, and fraternity’. All attention is directed to Liberty - by the placement of the figure, the brightness and the colours around her, the dynamism of her pose, and that she is painted semi-clad in contrast to the other figures in the painting. She has become the personification of the revolution - its icon.



**Fig. 2.1 - Liberty Leading the People**



**Fig. 2.2 - The Third of May, 1808**

When examined in historical context, it is interesting to take note of the leading role of Liberty,

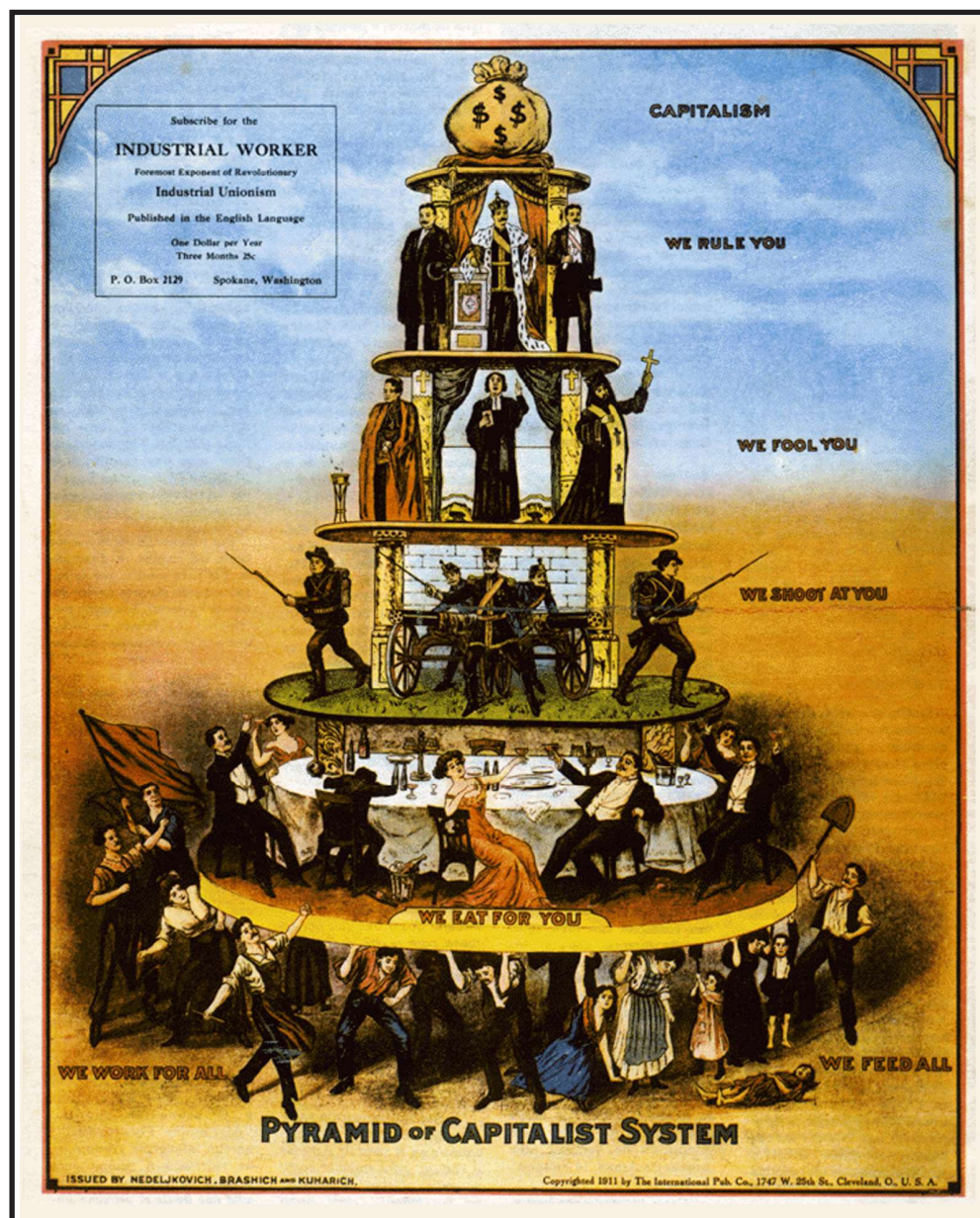
a woman. During this period in the history of western art, women were represented predominantly as passive, reclining, still and nude. It is possible to say that by portraying a woman as playing an active, powerful role in the struggle this painting makes a revolutionary statement in itself, however I am still uncertain as to why Liberty is bare-breasted. In addition, it is significant to note the “typical western gaze” in other paintings by Delacroix during this period of history in which his subject matter, largely based on myth, represents women in the harems of the East.<sup>3</sup>

In 1814 Spanish artist, Francisco Goya (1746-1828) painted “The Third of May 1808” (fig. 2.2) to commemorate the 1808 Spanish uprising against the invading French army. This painting is significant in this discussion because it presents an alternate view about the French. Goya, by focusing attention on the defenseless victims, makes a powerful statement about French brutality. According to Cavendish (1985:300), during the uprising, “Dozens of rioters were executed alongside numerous other captives, who had been arrested without any proof of their involvement in the revolt.” Goya draws the viewer into the scene to empathize with the main figure, who with arms outstretched, is about to become a martyr of the uprising. Every detail in the painting directs attention to this glowing figure. For visual emphasis and emotional impact he has been painted in stark contrast to the other figures in terms of action, clothing, colour, tone, facial expression and size. He is human in contrast to the mechanical depiction of the faceless soldiers, and although he is kneeling he is taller than the other victims. It is interesting to view this painting in historical context. The 1808 Spanish uprising took place nine years after the French Revolution. Noting the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity and the glory of the revolution captured in “Liberty Leading the People”, (fig. 2.1), the other side of the story about the French is documented by Goya in “The Third of May 1808” (fig. 2.2 ). That is, their ruthless occupation of another country. The perspective of the story-teller in the writing of history is one of the most important themes in this study.

### **The Power of Image to Encourage Critical Thinking**

Sometimes images that make political statements about socio-economic injustice within a particular historical context, seem to surpass the constraints of time and place. An excellent example is the “Pyramid of the Capitalist System” (fig. 2.3). Although it was created in 1911 in the U.S.A., we can still identify with its fundamental message today in the continued struggle against capitalist injustices in the twenty-first century.

A pyramid structure has been used to illustrate, in simple visual language, the true workings of the capitalist order. It depicts the quality of life of the different classes in society during that time, and demonstrates how the minority (rich), continues to amass wealth and live in luxury at the expense of the majority working class. This obvious injustice is indicated by the words at the base, which depict the working class, and which state: “We Work for All” and “We Feed All”.



**Fig. 2.3 - Pyramid of Capitalist System**

The next tier represents the bourgeoisie or the rich middle class, whose sedentary lifestyle is clearly dependent on the workers. This class is represented by the words: "We eat for you". Words pertaining to the soldiers in the next tier state: "We Shoot at You" - a clear indication of their function (as protectors of the state) to forcefully instill fear in those who plan to topple the system.

Above the soldiers are the clergy who hold up the cross to symbolize religious teachings of the church as well as the book. The book not only represents the bible but also the monopoly on knowledge held by the priests who were privileged because they were literate. Words pertaining to the power of knowledge they hold state: "We Fool You". This is a distinct reference to the propaganda or indoctrination of the church - that is, its "blinding role".



The topmost tier depicts the King and his men who make up the smallest number of people, and who state: "We Rule You". At the very top of the system is the bag of money that only the working class has worked for, but which is furthest away from them, demonstrating that they will never attain, or benefit from the product of their labour. The message about socio-political and economic injustice is explicit... that the entire system would not be able to function without the labour and support of the working class.

The power of this image is that it captures the essence of inequality and injustice that the capitalist system thrives on in such a way that even an illiterate person can understand it. It is significant to note that in the twenty-first century, we can still identify with the fundamental message of this poster. I make this point by reasoning that the very concepts of equality or classlessness and equal human rights for all, if put into practice, should in reality, see the capitalist system topple.

It is also possible to appreciate the essence of this image in terms of contemporary economic injustices on a global scale, if we were to substitute the bag of money and the King with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

Contemporary artist and activist Ricardo Levins-Morales, who is based in the USA, illustrates that in the twenty first century, the destructive force of the capitalist system persists. In the 'Capitalism is not healthy' poster (fig. 2.4), Levins-Morales depicts the effect that this damage will have on the future generation. It is not necessary to list all of the items that can be seen in the total image, but each item is a signifier that illustrates the nature of damage, whether it is consumerism, the moral degradation of society, or the destruction of the environment and the earth itself.

The human-like structure, with a glass of alcohol in one hand and a firearm in the other has become the television screen that engulfs her face. The overall interpretation is that the human spirit is missing from the image, hence the statement being made is that we must put an end to the system - or the future of humankind, and every semblance of life, is doomed for destruction.

Another example of an image that encourages critical reflection is Tomi Ungerer's poster, titled "Eat" (fig 2.5). It was designed in 1967 as a statement against America's involvement in the Vietnam War (1957-1975). The image is effective and eye catching because of its simplicity in terms of composition and use of colour. It is interesting to note that its symbolism can be interpreted as speaking on various different levels. Firstly, and as the message is intended, it makes a statement about the power and force of 'first-world-third-world' relationships. It is immediately read as 'eat Liberty' and on closer inspection, it is evident that a critical view is presented about the contradiction of America's 'democratising' agenda in the 'third world'. America is personified by the well-recognized symbol, the Statue of Liberty.



*Fig. 2.4 - Capitalism is not Healthy*



*Fig. 2.5 - Eat*

The image depicts America claiming to represent democracy, while ironically force-feeding its own ideals into Vietnam. Read in historical context, American angst with regard to the possible emergence of another communist country is therefore interpreted as ‘America knows what’s best for you, so eat the American concept of democracy...eat liberty. However considering that this poster is aimed at the American public, it can also be read as making a statement about power in general. It thus also questions the state of America’s so-called democracy by informing civil society that they will remain powerless if they also continue to silently accept and imbibe one-sided messages of the powers that be. However it must also be noted that a stereotypical and derogatory representation of the Vietnamese person with slanted eyes and yellow skin, is depicted. This is a very important observation in that this image portrays information in accordance with the classification of the earth’s people into distinct race groups. As we shall see later in this chapter, this stratification of race has been imposed on the world since the era of European expansion and colonization.

### **The Altered Meaning of Symbols in Changed Historical Contexts**

In Ungerer’s “Eat” poster (1967), he uses the Statue of Liberty to symbolise America (fig. 2.5). It is easy to understand why he chose to use this symbol, as it is a national monument in America and one of its most famous icons. The Statue of Liberty was actually presented to America by France in 1885 as a gesture of friendship. As previously discussed in Chapter One, the history of friendly relations between the two countries began within the context of 18th century human rights discourse and its influence on socio-economic and political change.

The American revolution (in which the colonial settlers in America won independence from Britain) took place from 1775-83.

In an online text titled, 'Symbolism of the Statue of Liberty', Ritter (n.d.), states that Liberty stands on New York Harbour, at a height of 151 feet and 1 inch. To ships entering the harbour she serves as a welcoming symbol. The pedestal on which she stands is made up of 13 layers of brick, which are meant to symbolise America's original 13 colonies. The true name of the 'Statue of Liberty' is 'Liberty Enlightening the World'. The flaming torch in her right hand is meant to "light the way to freedom showing humanity the path to liberty" (ibid).

A more informative text titled, "Statue of Liberty" (2008) states that in her left hand she holds a stone that has the words July 4, 1776 (in Roman numerals) embedded on it. This is the date of the American Declaration of Independence. Liberty is also traced back to the ancient Roman goddess, "Libertas who is the goddess of freedom from slavery, oppression and tyranny" (Statue of Liberty, 2008). This explains the classical style of the design, her style of dress and the broken shackles and chain that lie at her feet. Her right foot is raised to represent a movement forward. "Her crown is reminiscent of a halo and its spikes show similarities to those of the sun gods the Roman Apollo and Greek Helios" (ibid). Here the seven spikes represent the seven continents of the world. In 1984 the Statue of Liberty on Liberty Island, New York, was declared a UNESCO world heritage site. "Its symbolism has grown to include freedom, democracy as well as international friendship (<http://www.statueofliberty.org/statue/history>).

If we compare the positive representation of "Liberty Leading the People" (fig. 2.1) with the symbolism used in Ungerer's "Eat" image (fig 2.5), it is interesting to note how the meaning of an image can change over time.

In addition it must be noted that the meaning of an image and what it symbolises is drastically different when viewed from a position of power, and in contrast, from a position of powerlessness. Despite the struggles for social justice and human dignity that were taking place within some European countries, like Britain, France and Spain, these were the very colonial powers that had forcefully claimed ownership over indigenous peoples, and demarcated, claimed and named territories of overseas land as their own. It is thus interesting to ask what "Liberty Enlightening the World" represents to any surviving indigenous peoples of "America" - whom (his)story has named "Red Indian."

### **The Propaganda of European Colonization**

Whilst considering 'the blinding effects' of religious ideology, this study takes cognisance of the historical fact that the Christian church played a significant role in the European colonization of



Fig. 2.6 - Le Petit Journal



Fig. 2.7 - Die Geschiedenis van een Wereldreis

the other continents (Pieterse, 1992:65); (Said, 2003:100). Intertwined in Christian religious theory was the justification of the most inhumane acts of slavery and colonization. Referring to Europe's "systematic accumulation of human beings and territories", Said (2003:123) informs us that by 1914 European colonial dominion had "covered 85 percent of the earth's surface affecting every continent, but mostly Africa and Asia" (2003:41).

Despite his role in the development of human rights discourse (referred to in Chapter One), John Locke played a significant role in justifying European colonial expansion. He believed that vast expanses of wasted land lay waiting to be cultivated by 'rational European man' (Reddy, 2000:18). This view, also referred to as *terra nullius* (Pieterse, 1992:35), can be considered as a political extension of Locke's concept of a *tabula rasa*.<sup>4</sup>

It is significant to note how the colonial ideology or mind-set is represented in images created during this era. The common theme in Western colonial representations reveals the deluded and racist notions that European civilisation was physically, mentally, culturally and morally superior to colonised peoples. An example is "Le Petite Journal" (fig.2.6). In this image, again we see 'Lady Liberty'. It is interesting to consider how the viewer's idea of 'Lady Liberty' (the personification of France) changes when this image is examined in historical context.



In “Le Petit Journal”, Liberty clearly represents the propaganda of French colonialism. During this period of western expansion there existed a strong belief amongst the colonizers that they were bringing the blessings of civilization, wealth and peace to the conquered land (McRae, 2001:240). As an image of French propaganda, Liberty in “Le Petite Journal” is represented as a larger-than-life all powerful light-emitting source that showers her blessings on the indigenous people.

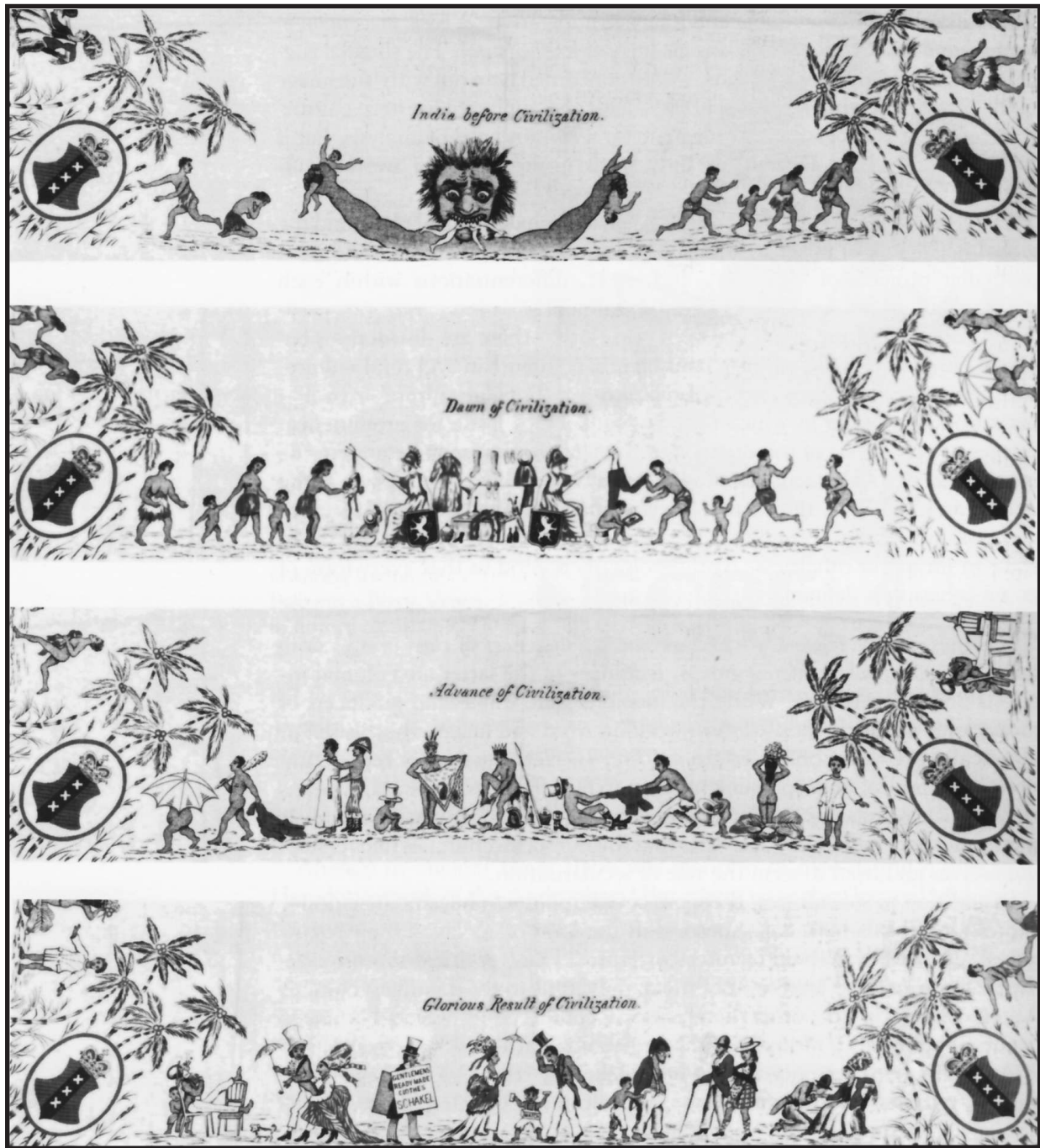
The illustration on a childrens’ book cover design, “Die Geschiedenis van een Werelreis” (fig. 2.7) shows the “image of the world from the point of view of European boys’ adventures - Africa lies at their feet” (Pieterse,1992:111). The gesture of subservience to the European continent and its people and animals is communicated. An African person, wearing wrist and ankle slave chains represents the continent of Africa, bowing down to Europe. That “Die Geschiedenis van een Werelreis” (fig. 2.7) was produced in 1950, demonstrates the fact that such a mentality (inherited from centuries before), remains deeply engrained in western consciousness as images and words, laden with meaning, become stereotypical and racist.

As previously mentioned Smith (1999:25), makes the point that indigenous societies were regarded ‘not fully human.’ She states that they were “considered not civilized enough to have systems, they were not literate, their languages and modes of thought were inadequate” (1999:28) It is clear that in the colonial process, the knowledge systems of indigenous societies was totally ignored. Daily living in terms of the organisation of time and even clothing, was measured according to western standards (Smith,1999:53-54). This point is also expressed by Biko (2004:60).

In “Le Petit Journal”, (fig. 2.6) Liberty is represented as the personification of France. It is interesting to note that the British colonial powers used the same device with Britannia, the personification of Britain. In “Civilisation Equated with Colonialism” (fig.2.8) the civilising mission’ of the colonial mind-set is communicated on the design around the four edges of a scarf. The images are demarcated into four different periods in the development of colonialism in India. Clothing is the main theme.

The first panel is titled, “India before Civilization”, which displays the recurring colonial image of sacrifice and cannibalism. In the next panel, European’s have entered the scene, and are passing out clothing to the indigenous people by means of tridents (attributed to Britannia). This panel is titled, “Dawn of Civilization”. In the other two panels, “Advance of Civilization”, and “Glorious result of Civilization”, Indian people are shown wearing the clothes provided by the British Colonial power (Pieterse,1992:232).

Again, when viewed in historical context, it is fascinating to note that indigenous Indian clothing like saris and dhoti’s, woven from cotton, and existing long before the emergence of such fabrics in development of western civilization, are absent from the scene.<sup>5</sup>



**Fig. 2.8 - Civilisation Equated with Colonialism**

Colonial images and words, and their significations, attest to the west's obsession with setting itself apart from the rest of the world's civilisations. According to Pieterse (1992:9), the racist stereotypical images that developed during colonialism, continue to be recycled in the western mass media. For example, blatant racism is communicated in an English postcard from 1922, in which the following words communicate the idea that God made black children by mistake: "God made little niggers, He made them in the Night, He made them in a hurry, and forgot to make them white!" (Pieterse, 1992:169).



**Fig. 2.9 - Iemand bij wien alles vergeefs is!**



**Fig. 2.10 - Dobbelmanns Karnemelkzeep**

A typical example of a racism in a Dutch media image can be seen in “Iemand bij wien alles vergeefs is! ( fig.2.9). It was created in 1932. The English translation is, “Someone for whom all is in vain”. It shows a white child trying to wash the colour off a black child. According to Pieterse, the concept of attempting to rectify god’s mistake for ‘the poor black child’ was frequently recycled in colonial advertisements for soap (1992:169). This can be seen in an earlier Dutch soap advertisement in 1910 for “Dobbelmann’s Karnemelkzeep” (fig. 2.10). It reads, “if only you too had washed with Dobbelmann’s Buttermilk Soap”. According to Pieterse, such a display of image and word was based on the European historical encounter with black people - where “a transformation which is proverbially impossible has become the condition for blacks to be acceptable” (1992:196).

Pieterse maintains that, terminology such as, black/white, dirty/clean illustrates the foundations of racist thinking. Associated with this practice is the conviction that, to attempt to educate and civilize black people is a task taken in vain, in the same way as trying to white-wash skin colour (ibid). According to Pieterse,

In a social cognitive perspective in which ‘clean’, ‘white’, fair, ‘light’, ‘good’ go together as the foundation of aesthetics and civilization, it is obvious that ‘dark’, ‘black’, ‘dirty’, ‘sinful’, ‘evil’ will be grouped together as well. This is where soap and hygiene come in, in accordance with the historic conjunction of Cleanliness and Godliness (ibid).

Similarly, in the liberation struggle during apartheid, in South Africa, Steve Biko explains the racial connotations in the use of the words “black” and “white” and their ‘blind acceptance’ in the English language. He states that the negative terms, ‘black market’, ‘black sheep of the family’ and the general use of the word black refers to anything that is bad, inferior and unwanted in society. Comparatively, when the word ‘white’ is used it refers to ‘beauty’, to ‘angels’ (Biko, 2004:114).

## Propaganda Images Produced During the World Wars

In his text, *A History of Graphic Design*, Meggs maintains that propaganda is at its height during war time. He states that by WW1, governments had realised the power of the poster as a medium of propaganda and relied on it for visual persuasion (Meggs, 1998:251). Referring to the nature of propaganda posters during WW1, McQuiston, *In her text, Graphic Agitation - Social and Political Graphics since the Sixties* (1993) states,

For governments faced with the problem of selling a war to their public - and sustaining it with the consequent drain on money, supplies and human life - the obvious solution was to approach the professionals who knew how to sell ideas and products: commercial artists. In this fashion the modern advertising poster became the main vehicle for sustaining one of the most devastating wars in history (1993:20).

When considering the power of image and word to influence how people think, it is important to take into account Barthes' (2009) focus on visual analysis. Barthes demonstrates how images can be analysed and interpreted, and how they construct meaning. He presents examples of numerous signs that are at work as we experience them in our day-to-day living. He maintains that "every object in the world can pass from a closed, silent existence to an oral state, open to appropriation by society..." (2000:109) - because of the meaning that is attached to it, meaning that we take for granted.

An examination of how signs and significations work is evident in "Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?" (fig. 2.11), a British WW1 propaganda poster. In this poster the setting is intentionally futuristic. The target is the man, who is a potential army recruit. The message is very clear, yet the method is subtle. Its purpose is to instill a feeling of guilt in the viewer to influence him to join the army. On closer inspection it will be noted that every image and every gesture in the poster represents something - for example, paternal bonding and a comfortable lifestyle accentuated by the warmth of the yellow painted walls. The possibility of leisure time points at economic position, which is further signified by the clothing worn by the family.

As a futuristic image, the idea communicated, is that the children have grown up and are admiring their father for his role in the great war - the little girl is reading about it and the boy is playing with his toy soldiers. By representing an ideal family scene that every man can identify with, this poster is directed at every potential British army recruit. It is interesting to note the absence of the mother. Her role is unimportant. The spotlight is the man. He is signified as the provider, and the source of moral guidance. The sole responsibility of ensuring the quality of life presented in the image rests on him.

The aim of the poster therefore is to get the message across that this quality of life will only be realised if he makes the decision to fight in the war.





Fig. 2.11- Daddy, what did *YOU* do in the Great War?



Fig. 2.12 - This is the Enemy

According to McQuiston (1993:20), “Britain entered the war with no conscription” and therefore shaming and guilt were used as persuasive devices that aimed to achieve a “psychological grip” on the viewer (ibid). An important observation, which we do not realise immediately, for its social impact is the representation of toy soldiers. Barthes draws to our attention, the manner and nature in which toys, as an early encounter have the power to influence our ideas. He holds that toys are “essentially a microcosm of the adult world” - specially designed and presented to children as miniature versions of the things taken for granted by adults (2000:53).

Following Barthes, although seemingly innocent and unimportant to the overall message, in “Daddy, what did You do in the Great War?” (fig. 2.11) the little boy playing with toy soldiers, in fact represents the ‘naturalness’ of the idea of having these items in society. Considering that every detail in the image is a ‘visual signifier,’ placed there “to fill to the brim” the overall idea designed for communication (Barthes, 2000:17), Barthes contends that,

Toys always mean something, and this something is always entirely socialized, constituted by the myths or the techniques of modern adult life: the Army, Broadcasting, the post office, Medicine (miniature instrument-cases...) (2000:53).

That is to say, these items are already acceptable in adult society. So when children play with toy soldiers, guns and army vans, they are already accepting the concept of war as a normal human

activity without ever having had the chance to think about it (ibid). This is essentially what Barthes refers to as a “mythology”, a “decorative display of what-goes-without-saying,...(an) ideological abuse” (2000:11) – or ‘the blinders of ideology’.

During WW2, the Allied forces used various methods of persuasion to identify the Nazis as a threat to everything that was valued in society. In the poster titled, “This is the Enemy” (fig. 2.12), we see a book, symbolising the bible. It is being pierced by a dagger held in the hand of a Nazi, who is identified by the swastika symbol on his sleeve. The poster depicts a very simplistic image that identifies the enemy by association with the graphic symbol. The idea communicated is that the Nazis, by threatening the essence of Christian ideology, should be identified as morally evil.

In a German poster from WW2, titled “Neues Volk: The Final Solution” (fig. 2.13), a blatantly racist statement, is rationalised and presented to German civil society. It depicts a German doctor and a Jewish patient. The text reminds people of the cost of 60 000 marks of German taxpayer’s money that would be required to care for the Jewish patient during his lifetime. It also draws attention to a Nazi publication, called ‘The New Folk’ which contains a better, or final solution. The ‘final solution’ refers to Nazi death camps, especially built to ‘solve the Jewish problem’. (<http://www.oddweek.com>).



Fig. 2.13 - Neues Volk: The Final Solution

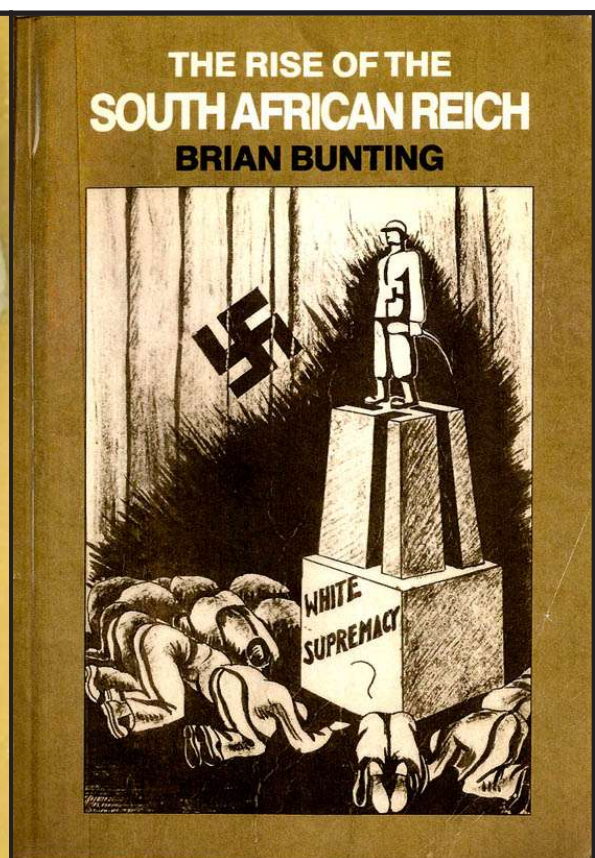


Fig. 2.14 - The Rise of the South African Reich



The effectiveness of Nazi visual propaganda was coupled with Hitler's gift for verbal persuasion. He identified the German physical characteristics of white skin, blue eyes and blonde hair to evoke strong feelings of racial superiority in the German people. Coupled with a Nazi version of Christian fanaticism, Hitler in his many speeches, associated the Jews with everything that was politically, economically, socially, and even morally unacceptable to German national pride. Once Hitler, and his chief propagandist, Joseph Goebbels were successful in creating an 'us' and 'them' situation in the consciousness of the German people, Jews (whose skin colour was also white) needed to be easily identified in public spaces. This meant that every Jew had to sign an official register in which his or her identity was stamped, and the oppressive, controlling, dehumanising power of image entailed that every Jew was required by law to wear an arm band displaying the Jewish Star of David. Easy visual identification eased the process of systematically excluding Jews from society - from their jobs, their universities and schools - and, (as previously mentioned in Chapter One), the ultimate forced removal to the concentration camps where millions of men, women and children were gassed to death.

In his text, *The Arts of the Third Reich* (1992), Adam highlights the importance that the ideological engineers of Nazi Germany attached to the power of images. He states,

They discovered that art not only could carry a political message but was also a perfect medium for creating and directing desires and dreams. It was able to programme people's emotions and direct their behaviour (1992:10).

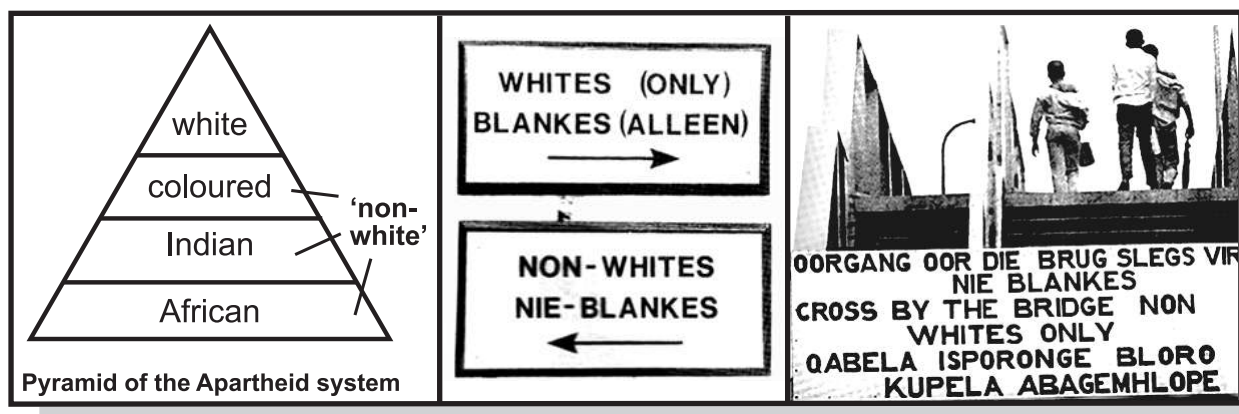
It is clear to see that the reason the racism of the "Third Reich" (Nazi regime) won over the minds of the German people was the effectiveness of their methods of visual persuasion. They utilised the power of image and word to construct and propagate racial myths. Ordinary people stopped thinking for themselves and became indoctrinated by the blinders of Nazi ideology which permeated every aspect of daily living - and manifested,

...in almost every painting, film, stamp, and public building, in the toys of the children, in people's houses, in tales and costumes, in the layout of villages, in the songs and poems taught in schools, even in household goods. The cultural infiltration of every sphere of life never ceased. Sometimes subtle, working on the subconscious, sometimes crude, working on fear. It never stopped until it brainwashed almost the whole nation (Adam, 1992:21).

Writing during the height of apartheid in South Africa, Bunting in his text, "The Rise of the South African Reich" (1986), draws ideological links between Nazi Germany and the Apartheid regime (1986: 56-58). He states, "South Africa is not yet Nazi Germany, with its concentration camps and gas ovens. But the attitude of mind which produced such inhumanities in Nazi Germany is there..." (1986:521). The image and text together on Bunting's book cover (fig. 2.14) illustrate ideological parallels of white supremacy between the Third Reich in Germany (1933-1945) and the Apartheid regime in South Africa (which was implemented in 1948 and disbanded in 1994).

## The Power of Images and Words in Apartheid South Africa

By 1948 the language of white racism that already existed in South Africa was systematically entrenched - physically, socially, politically and economically by the engineers of apartheid. The entire system was based on securing the privilege of 'the white race'. It was officially implemented with its own language - a language of otherness, based on racial categories. The Apartheid language of power and domination permeated every aspect of daily living, as people were separated as 'white' or 'non-white' and the 'non-whites' were further classified into race groups.



*Fig. 2.15 - Apartheid Pyramid*

*Fig. 2.16 - Apartheid Signage Fig. 2.17 - Apartheid Walkways*

In "Pyramid of the Apartheid system" (fig.2.15), the essence of racial group classification in Apartheid South Africa is illustrated. It is best explained by Reddy, when he states,

The distribution of power and privilege within the system followed the spatial and social configuration of a pyramid where a class and ethnically divided "white" group occupied the uppermost space. On the other side of a geographic, social, psychological, economic and political barrier was the equally divided "non-white group. While social and spatial mobility was "freely" allowed within the "white" group, similar movement was severely limited and confined to within the "ethnic community" to which an individual was assigned in the non-white group (2000:146).

That is, whilst the 'white' group at the top of the pyramid comprised all European descendants, English, Dutch, German, Portuguese, etc. Those who were classified 'non-white' were further sub-divided.<sup>6</sup> This was known as the "Divide and Rule Policy" of apartheid. The entire country was classified into race groups and demarcated, into areas allocated to a particular race group only.

The psychological impact of this system of legally entrenched 'otherness' is especially significant in that it attempted to control a person's every movement in separate societies. In public spaces where it was unavoidable that "whites" and "non-whites" came into contact with each other, the power of image and word was used to remind people of their boundaries and limitations. This can be seen in the "Apartheid Signage" (fig. 2.16 ) and Apartheid Walkways (fig 2.17)

Referring to the essence of racism in the “Divide and Rule Policy” Reddy (2000:130-131) maintains that in apartheid South Africa,

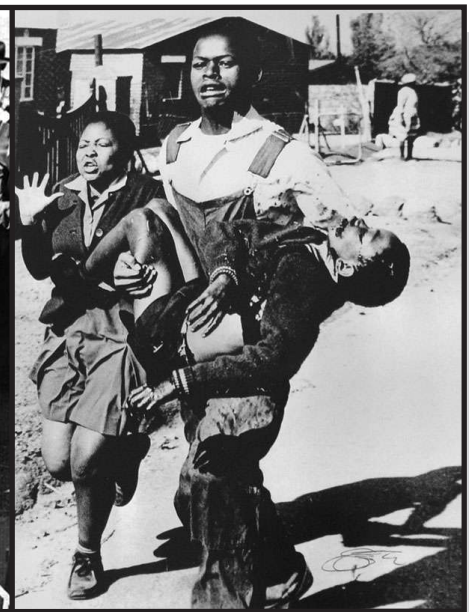
The ‘racial category’ was everything; individual persons did not exist outside group categorization. The group defined (especially the quality) and determined where and with whom the individual person could live, work, own land, worship, have sex, attend school, obtain health services, play sport, enjoy entertainment or marry. Those few spheres of interaction that legislation could not prescribe (like interactions on public roads, walkways and unplanned social gatherings) were satisfactorily “racially” secured by social and individual prejudice.

## Two Significant Acts of Resistance to Apartheid Legislation

During apartheid, there were many organisations and individuals who dedicated their lives to the struggle - involving themselves in numerous events of protest, defiance or rebellion against state power. Two photographic references, the “Sharpeville Protest: 21 March 1960” (fig. 2.18) and the “Soweto Uprising: June 16th 1976” (fig. 2.19) have been included in this discussion as they each capture defining moments of resistance against the forces of apartheid legislation. Both photographs document historical moments of peoples’ struggles against state power and have come to symbolise events that each marked a turning point in the liberation struggle during apartheid.



**Fig. 2.18 - Sharpeville Protest: 21st March 1960**



**Fig. 2.19 - Soweto Uprising: June 16th 1976**

The South African history archive online reports that in 1960 a nationwide protest against the notorious pass system had been organised by the ANC and was scheduled to commence in April. Following their breakaway from the ANC, the Pan African Congress (PAC) lead by Robert Sobukwe organised their own anti-pass protest on the 21st March. The Pass system was a method of control devised by the apartheid engineers, to keep the indigenous African population out of the cities.

They were however allowed in as workers because the economy relied on their labour. The pass (which is discussed further in Chapter Three) was a document that granted people permission to be in the city for a stipulated purpose and for a specific period of time. (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>). Robert Sobukwe and the PAC had planned the anti-pass campaign to be a peaceful protest, and the authorities were informed about their intentions. At a press conference held on Saturday 19th March 1960, Sobukwe stated that the campaign would be “conducted in a spirit of absolute non-violence”. People were urged to leave their passes at home and to present themselves for arrest at police stations all over the country. The logic of the organisers was, “if thousands of people were arrested the jails would be filled and the economy would come to standstill.” (ibid).

As planned on the morning of the 21st March 1960, people in Sharpeville gathered at a field near the police station and then began to chant and sing freedom songs as they marched peacefully to the police station. Eye witness accounts report that the mood of the crowd was cheerful and high-spirited (ibid). The now famous image of the “Sharpeville Protest: 21st March 1960” (fig. 2.18) shows that the crowd was armed with only placards. It is also clearly communicated in the photograph that although people were protesting against the pass laws, placards on the scene draw attention to the wider struggle for human dignity in South Africa during apartheid. The grievances are for the basic of human rights.

According to the South African History Archives, by midday 300 armed police were facing a crowd of 5000 people in Sharpeville. At 13:15 a policeman was accidentally pushed over and a scuffle broke out at the front of the police station.

The crowd began to move forward to see what was happening. In a moment of panic, one of the policemen opened fire, the others joined in...Firing lasted for approximately 2 minutes leaving 69 people dead, and according to the official inquest, 180 people seriously wounded (ibid).

All this because people didn't believe that they should require permission to walk around freely in the country of their birth. Although there were other protests country wide, the difference in Sharpeville was that “the police fired live ammunition on the crowd” who had no weapons, and women and children were amongst the casualties (ibid).

...eye witness accounts attest to the fact that the people were given no warning to disperse...they were shot in the back as they were fleeing the scene. The presence of armoured vehicles and air force fighter jets overhead, also point to unnecessary provocation, especially as the crowd was unarmed and determined to stage a non-violent protest” (ibid).

Photographic documentation of the massacre at Sharpeville reached an outraged worldwide audience, which for the first time, witnessed the true nature of the power of apartheid law. The South African History Online web page states, that “The United Nations Security Council and governments world wide condemned the police action and the apartheid policies that prompted



this violent assault" (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>). However within South Africa, the prime minister, Dr Verwoerd praised the police and doubled their budget (Bunting, 1986: 411). He declared a state of emergency, which gave the police limitless power. The ANC and PAC were banned and thousands were detained for months without trial.

The events of Sharpeville marked a turning point in the history of the South African Liberation Struggle during apartheid. Operating underground, the leadership of both the ANC and PAC decided that non-violence in the form of defiance campaigns and peaceful protests was no longer an option. They resorted to armed struggle and in 1961, "...both parties launched military wings of their organisations..." (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

A number of activists who managed to seek political asylum on the African continent and overseas, began to mobilise for sanctions against South Africa. As previously discussed in Chapter One, despite the obvious 'crimes against humanity' committed by the apartheid regime, the international peace-keeping community of the United Nations could do nothing to stop the continued implementation of racist laws which began in 1948. In his text, "The Rise of the South African Reich", Bunting presents an in depth examination of the apartheid laws and their impact on human dignity in a chapter titled, "South Africa's Nuremberg Laws" (1986:158). Bunting clearly links Apartheid legislation to that of Nazi Germany.

Bunting reports that the "Bantu Education Act" passed in 1953, transferred Bantu Education from the provinces to the Department of Native affairs" (1986:172). According to Bunting, before the act was passed, a commission was set up to, "report on education for Africans 'as an independent race' and to devise syllabuses...to prepare natives more effectively for their future occupations..." (1986:158). The commission concluded that a special type of education was required - one that "should be framed so as to fit the African child into the society to which he would eventually belong...a separate African one..." (ibid). During the debate on the bill Verwoerd was determined to make the point clear that the only worth of native African people in European community was one of labour, not equality (Bunting, 1986:260). Verwoerd is noted to have reasoned,

What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?...That is absurd. Education is not after all something that hangs in the air. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life (ibid). He is noted to have announced that "Natives (blacks) must be taught from an early age that equality with Europeans (whites) is not for them (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

It is significant to consider Freire's philosophy of education in relation to the engineers of apartheid education. Following Freire, in an unjust system, like apartheid, the role of education is to condition the oppressed to experience and unquestioningly accept everyday social reality.

The role of the educator,

...is to regulate the way the world “enters into” the students. The teacher’s task is to organize a process, which already occurs spontaneously, to “fill” the students by making deposits of information, which he or she considers to constitute true knowledge. And since people “receive” the world as passive entities, education should make them more passive still, and adapt them to the world. The educated individual is the adapted person, because she or he is better “fit” for the world. Translated into practice, this concept is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors, whose tranquility rests on how well people fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it (Freire, 1993:57).

However the authorities in South Africa decided to use the power of language as a barrier to keep the oppressed subdued. In the early 1970s the government set in motion, a process of enforcing the Afrikaans language (derived from Dutch) as a medium of instruction for fifty per cent of the subjects taught in all secondary schools. Afrikaans was the official language of the National Party. Implementation of the new decree was scheduled to begin in the township of Soweto, where classes were overcrowded and “there was a great deal of discontent about the lack of facilities” (ibid). Students and parents together mobilised to address these issues, but the catalyst for a planned uprising on the 16th June 1976 was the outrage that ensued when students were told that they will by law be taught in a language they did not understand and would have to write exams in that language.

High School students, inspired by the philosophy of Black Consciousness planned a mass protest on the 16th June. They went to their schools as usual in the morning, but on this day, instead of singing the ‘Lords prayer’, at assembly, they sang ‘Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika’ (God Save Africa), the anthem of the Liberation Struggle. They marched out of their schools, meeting other schools on the way as they made their way to Orlando Stadium, where they had planned a mass meeting. (Nuttall et al 1998:103).

Again, like the photographs that document the Sharpeville protest, pictures of the marching students in Soweto 1976 show the excitement of the day. They carried placards that denounced the forced use of Afrikaans. The police sprayed tear gas to disperse the crowds, some of whom retaliated with stones. Then, without warning, live ammunition was used on the children (Nuttall, 1998:105).

One of the most reproduced images of the liberation struggle, especially in the 1980s is “The Soweto Uprising: June 16th 1976” (fig.2.19). Today, it has come to symbolise the entire struggle in South Africa during apartheid. It shows the dead 12 year old Hector Pieterse (one of the first two children that were shot), being carried by an unknown student. Hector’s sister is running at his side. The horror in her expression captures the emotion of the day when children armed with only placards, stones and aspirations for quality education met the barbarity of apartheid power.

Sixteen years after the Sharpeville massacre, the international community and the UN were still shocked at the atrocities of the apartheid regime, although the sanctions movement had gained

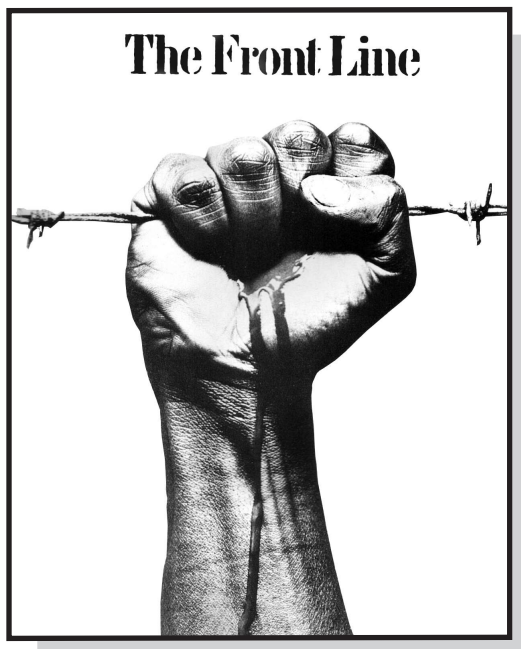


strength. Inside South Africa all Black Consciousness organisations were banned, the leaders either already sent to Robben Island, or detained like Biko (who in 1977 was murdered in prison).

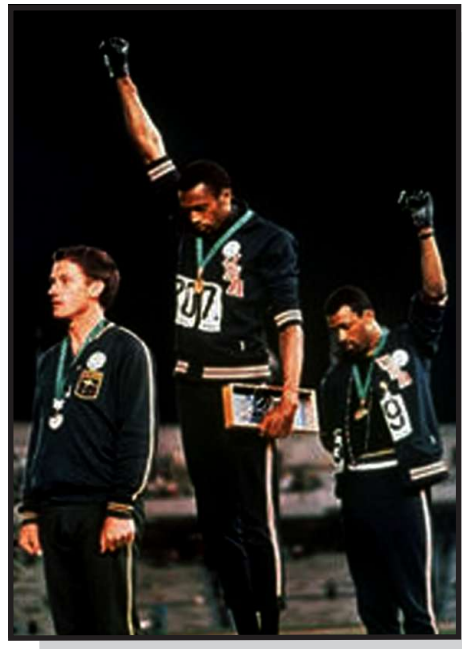
### The Power of the Clenched-Fist Image

... for resistance movements probably all over the world, but in particular the black consciousness movement, the clenched fist salute has been a universal symbol of resistance to oppression and exploitation of all kinds. The clenched fist embodies the power, the unity, the will, the determination of oppressed and exploited people to overcome their circumstances. So it is easy to see why the security forces and the law makers of the apartheid regime would have identified that image (although it was the logo of a reggae band)... as being too close to a symbol of resistance to be ignored.

When interviewed in 2007, Bradley Potgieter explains an incident in the early 1980s when he was caught and imprisoned for putting up posters in the city of Durban, and then beaten up in prison because of the T-shirt that he was wearing. Potgieter was an inaugural member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the first Black Consciousness Organisation to be formed (in 1978) after the death of Biko. As a fan, he had bought the T-shirt designed by the reggae band, "The Front Line" (fig. 2.20). The image was in fact the cover design of their album. The authorities regarded the image as a banned image because of the power communicated by the clenched fist.



*Fig. 2.20 - The Front Line*



*Fig. 2.21 - Carlos And Smith in Mexico 1968*

Similarly "Carlos and Smith in Mexico 1968" (fig.2.21) is a now famous photograph - taken at the 1968 Olympic games in Mexico. Both American medallists, "Tommie Smith and John Carlos, winners of the 200 metres...bowed their heads on the platform of honour and gave the Black Power salute, fists raised in black gloves" (Pieterse,1992:151). They were subsequently suspended from the American Olympic team (ibid).



*Fig. 2.22 - The Blouberg 1991: Return From Robben Island*

“The Blouberg 1991: Return from Robben Island,” (fig 2.22) is a significant image in South African history, in that it captures the moment when black freedom fighters had just arrived back on the mainland in Cape Town’s Water Front aboard the ‘Blouberg’. Some of them had been imprisoned for more than 30 years. I find this photograph worthy of attention because the different power salutes which communicate differing ideological perspectives are evident. According to the photographer, Benny Gool, “...these men were from different political parties - you can tell by the clenched fist (ANC) and open palm (PAC)...” (Design Indaba Magazine, July 2001:27).

The clenched fist has now become ambiguous to read, however it is significant to note that there were brief periods in South African socio-political history when there were actually three distinguishing power salutes: the fist with thumb extended (ANC), the open palm (PAC) and the clenched fist (Black Consciousness). This point was clarified in a telephone conversation with Imrann Moosa,

on 12 November 2010. Moosa, an inaugural member of Azapo, believes in the philosophy of Black Consciousness, but is non-aligned to the organisations in the broadly grouped Black Consciousness movement that exists today. According to Moosa, the ANC salute, which was more distinct during the 1960s Defiance Campaign, is also referred to as the Mayibuye sign. He states further, that “The Black Power Salute adopted by the BCM was a conscious attempt at unifying the older liberation movements, quite apart from emphasising Black Solidarity and adopting a universal salute.” (Moosa:2010).

When one examines historical photographs, especially those taken during the 1959 Treason Trial, the Mayibuye sign is unmistakable, and the “The Blouberg 1991: Return From Robben Island” photograph is significant because it is almost as if the gestures, not so apparent for 30 years were frozen in time.

In this chapter we have seen that the power of images to effect socio-political change encompasses an entire history of meaning, and is defined by the perspectives of “state power” as opposed to that of “people’s power”. However we have also seen that significations and interpretations and the information that is disseminated, change within changed socio-political and historical circumstances. It is therefore interesting to consider the dissemination of information about the liberation struggle during apartheid, in contemporary South Africa.

---

1. Like the previous editions of this essay, *The Revolutionary Pleasure of Thinking for Yourself*, the author has chosen to remain anonymous. This quotation is from the *Sharp Press* edition, Arizona, 1992

2. This famous dictum originally appeared in a text by Marx in 1844, titled, *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*. This reference was sourced (online) 2011. Available WWW: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>

3. In a painting titled, “The Women of Algiers” (1834), It is clearer to see that the entire scene has been constructed out of Delacroix’s imagination. The painting is meant to depict the interior of a room in a harem, however there is nothing real about the scene. Even the women have manly features, which points to the reality that Delacroix used men as models. The painting presents a typical example of the “western gaze”

4. Locke compared the human mind at birth to a blank slate or a “tabula rasa”, i.e. without innate ideas, without reason or knowledge. This statement is made in view of Pieterse who states that Locke’s view about the state of nature “was one which cojoined nature with reason” (1992:32); and Reddy’s explanation of Locke - that “Where there is no mixing of labor with nature, there is no property and the “wasted land” still belongs to all men in common until “the industrious and rational” man comes along (2000:18).

5. Cotton was grown in the Indus Valley Civilisation (now North East India and Pakistan) at least 2000-1700 years B.C. - and early representations also depict religious Indian deities wearing draped sarees long before the development of western civilisation (<http://www.puja.com/sari/hstry/hstry.htm>).

6. In 1959, the apartheid regime introduced a further subdivision of people into the categories, “Cape Colored, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, ‘Other Asiatic’, and ‘Other colored’.” (Reddy, 2000:140).

7. Potgieter, B. 2007. Interviewed by L.Ravjee, Durban 2 March

## CHAPTER 3

### Post Apartheid Sites of Remembrance in South Africa

History is made by men and women, just as it can also be unmade and re-written, always with various silences and elisions, always with shapes imposed and disfigurements tolerated... Edward Said (2003:xiv).

In his text, *Orientalism* (first published in 1978), Said refers to western misrepresentations of the East - which entailed a process of information gathering and re-presentation from a position of assumed superiority. It was a process that involved an “imaginative construction” about ‘Europe’s other’, and refers to the body of knowledge, depicted throughout Europe’s colonies. Said describes it as, “a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines...” (2003:2). Smith, who draws from Said, maintains that this body of knowledge “...was undeniably also about power and domination”(1999:60). According to Smith,

History is also about power. In fact history is mostly about power. It is the history of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others. It is because of this relationship with power that we [the colonised world] have been excluded, marginalised and ‘Othered’ (1999:34).

It is in this light that Said (2003:3), argues that the process of information gathering entailed a systematic ordering of the world, in which ‘the colonised other’ was negatively positioned - by “making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it”. Similarly, referring to this one-sided record of history, Reddy draws from Said, and states that, “European judgement, study, disciplining and illustrating of Africa presupposed a carefully constructed African silence. African reliance on oral tradition was consciously ignored” (2000:23).

Considering the way in which stories about the past are told, and taking into account the historical advent of the museum in the colonial process, it is interesting to draw from Smith, who states,

...indigenous Asian, American, Pacific and African forms of knowledge, systems of classification, technologies and codes of social life...were commodified as property belonging to the cultural archive and body of knowledge of the West ...(where)... indigenous property is still said to be housed in ‘collections’, which in turn are housed either in museums or private galleries, and art and artefacts are often grouped and classified in the name of their ‘collector’ (1999:88) (emphasis, mine).

Smith’s main concern is the methodology, legitimacy, validity, as well as the morality behind this entire practice of information-gathering and dissemination, which she calls, “research through imperial eyes” (1999:56). She illustrates the process of dehumanisation and disorder, which sent “bones, mummies and skulls to the museums, art work to private collectors, languages to linguistics, ‘customs’ to anthropologists, beliefs and behaviours to psychologists” (Smith, 1999:28).



When examining the dissemination of information in a society with a colonial history, it is thus important to note the position of the museum in the broader socio-political context. Historically, 'the museum' was a place that contained and presented information from the standpoint of the dominant culture. It served to "legitimate antagonizing and dehumanising views about indigenous peoples" (Smith, 1999:11).<sup>1</sup> As such, museums erected in the apartheid era presented information from a western colonial perspective, and their content and communication reflected that mind set. It is also important to note the visitor's experience of the space. Movement was controlled and restricted - and select images and artefacts were presented for the purpose of encouraging a particular way of knowing. Thus, following from Chapter Two, the information contained within these museums, represented the propaganda of western domination.

Said's words about the re-writing of history are remarkably pertinent in South Africa today. Since the disbanding of apartheid structures and apartheid laws, there arises an expectancy that more democratic ways of re-presenting information in museums and other similar sites would emerge.

Taking into account the significance of the museum per se, Foucault, in his text, *Of Other Spaces*, (1967) draws attention to the hierarchy of spaces within a society. He also makes a distinction between a "utopia" and a "heterotopia". A "utopia", according to Foucault, is a perfected form of society, and is thus an "unreal place". Comparatively in a heterotopia, for example in a museum - which is a real place, "a perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time" is organized (1967:5). Foucault refers to the museum, as "a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages" (ibid). That is, the contents are removed from their original socio-political and historical context. However it is interesting to view the museum in terms of his concept of the mirror. According to Foucault, the mirror presents a special "mixed, joint experience", which exists both as a utopia, "a placeless place" and a heterotopia. He states,

...(It) does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy. From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there...it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there (ibid).

Although the museum, like the mirror, reflects how society sees and knows itself, it is still an "other" place. Following Barthes (2000), it can be said that the museum exists as a spatial text, a system of communication - of signs that construct meaning and significance - representing a particular viewpoint of reality.

In addition, if we consider that the meaning of signs and sign systems change with changes in historical circumstances, it should follow that "the museum" in apartheid South Africa and "the museum" in post-apartheid South Africa, given the change in the perspective of the story teller,

will communicate a different set of signs and significations. The story is now told by those who were dehumanised by the racist apartheid regime. That is to say, there is an expectancy that the distorted account of (his)story that we were forced to learn in apartheid education, is being unmasked, and we now have the potential to tell (her)story and (our)story from our perspective. Drawing from Paulo Freire, who maintains that communication must be dialogical for it to count as true education (1993:73-74), the challenge for post apartheid South Africa is therefore to tell 'our' story authentically - and in an educational, democratic and dialogical manner.

In her text, *The Museum, the Tour, the Senses*, Butler (2003:2-3) refers to "exotic cabinets of curiosity" - presented in museums during the colonial 'age of discovery.' She points out that in such museums the visitor's experience was a passive one. Referring specifically to emerging museums in post apartheid South Africa, Butler maintains that they are now no longer seen as "dead spaces that separate objects from a multi-sensory and affective world" (ibid). Instead she notes a "shift toward democratizing the field of vision, so that exhibits are relevant to a broader public's concerns and histories" (2003:3) This entails the experience of the visitor on many levels, including "songs, stories, speech, film, etc" (ibid). Butler states that a more "participatory culture" is called upon; hence the "re-invention" of the concept of the museum is necessary (2003:2-3).

In this chapter I present an examination of select sites of remembrance in post-apartheid South Africa. This includes physical places of captivity that have been transformed, the re-construction of those that were destroyed, and newly erected places that were designed to tell 'our' story. Considering the concept, content and manner in which information is presented, the following sites have been chosen for discussion:

- 3.1. *The Apartheid Museum* in Johannesburg, which presents a generalised record of apartheid; resistance to apartheid; and the first democratic election in the history of South Africa;
- 3.2. *The District Six Museum* in Cape Town and, 3.3. *The Cato Manor Heritage Centre* in Durban, Both these sites tell the specific stories of mass removals of people, following the state's demarcation and allocation of space - according to racial categories;
- 3.4. *The Kwa Muhle Museum* in Durban, which deals with pass laws and influx control of the indigenous population, who needed official permission to be in the city.
- 3.5. *Robben Island*
  - 3.5.1. *The Gateway to Robben Island Exhibition* on the mainland of Cape Town - which contains an exhibition of posters created during the liberation struggle, as well as information and memorabilia from the prison.
  - 3.5.2. *The Robben Island Tour* - including the notorious maximum security prison site, and;
- 3.6. *The Constitutional Court Building* in Johannesburg, a site that was designed to represent the highest law of post apartheid South Africa - embracing the ideals of democracy as enshrined in the constitution of the country.

My interest is to examine the power of images and words (i.e. graphic design) to present information that recaptures and reconstructs memory about the struggle for human dignity during the apartheid era of South African history. It is important to note that in the history of South Africa, racist laws were implemented since colonial times - in the mid 1850s<sup>2</sup>. The apartheid era refers specifically to the time frame 1948-1994, when the country was ruled for the first time, by the Afrikaner National Party, and the legal system of racial segregation was implemented.

Each post-apartheid site examined, aims to communicate information about various aspects of apartheid, and includes the historical context, purpose and significance of the space/site and its structures; the symbolism; as well as the visitors experience of the site, its educational value and its accessibility. Cyberspace has also been included for its educational and 'potentially democratising'<sup>3</sup> role, and the access to information outside office hours. The Constitutional Court of South Africa is also significant in this study, in that through the use of symbolism, the architects, designers and artists involved in the project, attempted to capture the essence of democracy in a building.

### 3.1. The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg



*Fig. 3.1 - Caged Identities*



*Fig. 3.2 -Video Footage in the Exhibition Hall*

The Apartheid Museum site was constructed as a privately funded project and is built on a portion of the land, which houses the Gold Reef Casino Complex in Johannesburg. Considering this site in its socio-economic historical context, it is interesting to note that the concept for the museum arose when bidders for the casino, "were obliged to include a social responsibility project..." To date one of the various points of controversy around the site is the role of the Krok Brothers who funded the project<sup>4</sup> (<http://www.apartheidmuseum.org>).

Despite the contradiction of its association with a gambling establishment in post-apartheid South Africa, the actual information presented in this space demonstrates a reasonable attempt to capture the essence of the apartheid era, through its photos, installations and displays. Numerous symbolic structures have been included in the museum to enhance the visitor's experience.

To demonstrate the apartheid regime's control of public space, there are two entrances to the museum. Entrance tickets are issued in the form of plastic credit cards, each having either the words, "white" or "non-white" printed on them. Tickets designate which entrance is to be used by the ticket-holder, to demonstrate legal segregation in the public sphere enforced by law. The purpose of this practice is to present a thoughtful reflection about race and racism, and the power of apartheid language in imposing identity - and controlling movement in public spaces in terms of that identity. Following this symbolism is a display that contains blown-up prints of identity cards, issued by the apartheid government (fig.3.1). Each card shows clearly, the racial classification of the holder. The manner in which the identity cards are exhibited (enclosed within a metal cage) is purposefully designed to communicate control and subjugation in terms of imposed identity.

The space within the museum is designed such that the visitor embarks on a journey that culminates in the 1994 transition period to democracy. Throughout the museum, there are large format prints of photographs and posters from the liberation struggle. Figure 3.2 shows the numerous monitors, which are found in strategic spots within the space of the museum. These monitors present continuous real footage and snippets from various historical moments, including police brutality and civil resistance to apartheid. In one area of the museum, nooses hang from the ceiling to represent the deaths in detention of political prisoners during apartheid. The events during the Soweto Uprising of June 16th 1976, one of the turning points in the history of the liberation struggle, are screened in one of the larger rooms. Visitors are able to view real footage of the events that took place when school children took to the streets of Soweto. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, the children were protesting against the forced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. The police opened fire killing many.

Graphic presentation of this kind of factual information in the form of posters, television footage and zoomed-in images of captivity and struggle, is crucial to the understanding of this era. It educates the present generation of South African youth, and tourists. To the apartheid generation, a substantial amount of such visual information was previously banned, and therefore the presentations recapture memory - it makes us look back and recall, so that the journey ahead is equipped with meaningful lessons from our past.

On the official web site of the museum, an educational guide for grade 9-12 teachers of Human and Social Science, called *Understanding Apartheid*, can be downloaded. In its first issue - like both Said (2003) and Reddy (2000) - the point is made about the importance of keeping memory alive, and Czechoslovakian writer, Kundera is quoted and explained, as follows:

The struggle of [people] against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting. ... (that is) ... the past is always in danger of being controlled and manipulated by those in power. In the past, the histories of ordinary South Africans were deliberately forgotten. South African museums displayed exhibitions that related mainly to the rich and powerful, while the memories and experiences of ordinary people were regarded as irrelevant (<http://www.apartheidmuseum.org>).



### 3.2. The District Six Museum in Cape Town



**Fig. 3.3 - District Six Museum: exterior**



**Fig. 3.4 - District Six Signage**



**Fig. 3.5 - District Six Floor Map**

Compared to the Apartheid Museum, there is a marked difference in the visitor's experience of the District Six Museum. There are no elaborate installations or a complex symbolism. Rather, it tells a story in a simple, truthful and effective manner that draws the visitor in and achieves an emotional response and empathy. The story tells of the dehumanisation and displacement of the society that once lived in District Six. Displacement was a direct consequence of apartheid law.

District Six was a residential area in Cape Town and was known as such because it was named the sixth municipal district of the city of Cape Town in 1867. The Cape was a colony of the Dutch East India Company. The Apartheid era of South African history began in 1948. Crucial to the success of the system of apartheid, was the stratification of people into four race groups. In the 1950 session of parliament, the Population Registration Act, was passed and every person living in South Africa had to officially register themselves under a pre-determined race group. The notorious Group Areas Act, passed in the same session, ensured that only people classified into a particular race group could live in the area, designated by the state, for that race group (<http://www.districtsix.co.za>).

By the 1960s, District Six was one of the areas in the country that had developed into a diverse and cosmopolitan community. However in 1966, it was declared a Whites Only area under the Group Areas Act, and the forceful mass removal of more than 60 000 people started in 1968. People watched in horror, when the bulldozers arrived, and years of family memories were systematically flattened to the ground. In this way, the history of an entire community was wiped out. People were set apart, displaced, and disconnected from their ways of life; their means of living (having lost their property and their businesses), and their contact with friends, and family. Social networks were destroyed, all in the name of the racist vision of keeping race groups apart and securing the purity of the white race. The only structures that survived were places of worship (ibid).

The District Six Museum is today housed in a surviving old church building, which used to be the Methodist church (fig. 3.3). As you enter the museum the first thing you see is a large hand drawn map on the wooden flooring (fig. 3.5). In an attempt to reconstruct and reconnect, the map marks street names and house numbers of the families that had lived there before demolition. People having 'marked the spot' where they once lived many years ago have only through the efforts of the team of curators, managed to make contact with families that they had last seen almost fifty years ago. Street names, apartheid signage and other remnants of District Six have been salvaged from the area and are displayed throughout the museum, recapturing memory (fig. 3.4).

The majority of the people who lived in District Six were sent to the barren land, known today as the Cape Flats, an area that is riddled with all sorts of socio-economic problems, notably drug addiction of the youth. The museum plays a further role in addressing the problems faced by the community living in the Cape Flats. It also extends its role to assist in the re-construction of other displaced communities, and has networked locally and internationally (ibid). There is no entrance fee to the museum. Anyone can walk in off the street, and numerous exhibitions and projects are organised to encourage community participation, dialogue and remembrance through oral history.

When examining this site in terms of history, memory, and identity, it is significant to recall and compare Smith, in relation, who illustrates the impact of power involved in the process,

... of systematic fragmentation...that disconnected people from...their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world (1999:28).

The power of Smith's words can be felt in the District Six Museum.

### **3.3. The Cato Manor Heritage Centre in Durban**

The Cato Manor Heritage Centre presents information about the 'mixed' community that developed just outside Durban city centre. The area was named after the first mayor of Durban, Christopher George Cato, an English man who was given the area in 1865<sup>5</sup>. In the early 1900s, the Cato family began to rent out plots of land to Indian market gardeners, who were initially brought to South Africa by the British to work in the sugarcane fields as indentured labourers<sup>6</sup>. In the 1920s, Indian families began to rent out small plots of land to the indigenous African population. A mixed community later developed in a shack area known as Mkhumbane. The indigenous were "prohibited by law from buying their own land" (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

The apartheid state, which came into power in 1948, was intimidated by the large, mixed community of Cato Manor. 1949 saw the race riots of Cato Manor. A single incident was the spark (fuelled by high rent rates, poor living conditions and overcrowding), that erupted into racial violence.

Considering that this incident took place just a year after the Apartheid government came into power, the psychology of otherness and racial stratification must also be considered. Furthermore, with regard to oral histories, numerous eyewitness accounts implicate the government as having played a role in the riots.<sup>7</sup> By 1950, the Group Areas Act was passed, designating Cato Manor a white area. Like District Six of Cape Town, in Durban this area was demarcated for mass removals of “68,000 Africans and 10,000 Indians” to racially segregated townships (Reddy, 2000:145). These townships (Umlazi, Chatsworth and Kwa Mashu) were situated further away from the city centre - which was reserved for the white population<sup>8</sup>.



**Fig. 3.6 - The Last Days of Cato Manor**



**Fig. 3.7 - Police Brutality against protesting Women**



**Fig. 3.8 - Fight to Save Cato Manor - Rally**



**Fig. 3.9 - Cato Manor Exhibition Hall**

The Cato Manor Heritage Centre documents the conditions, struggles, moments of rebellion against state power, and the words and actions of the people who lived there, before the entire area was demolished. In fig. 3.7, an iconic photograph from the South African liberation struggle during apartheid, we see state violence against protesting women. They were protesting against the legislation of pass laws as well as the state's regulation of alcohol consumption, that declared the brewing of home made beer illegal. This was the main source of income for these women.

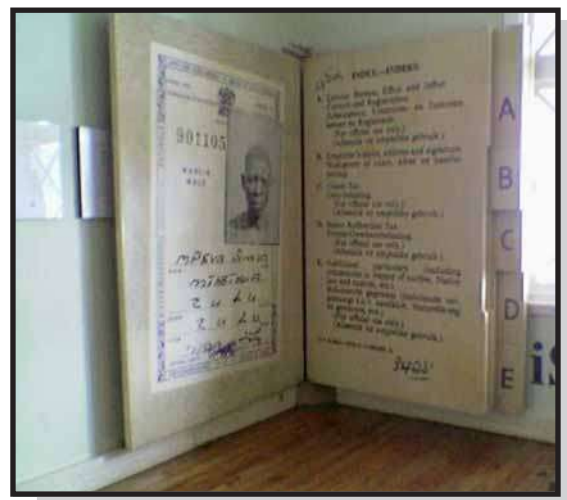
A Television (circled) is mounted on the wall (Fig. 3.7.) It provides a glimpse of actual recorded events in Cato Manor, thus depicting the atmosphere and spirit of life in that place at that time in history. In Fig. 3.6-3.9 we see examples of some of the large wall prints of historical photographs and blown up press cuttings about Cato Manor before forced evictions to the townships.

Towards the last days of life in Cato Manor, political mobilisation and a message of unity is obvious in the protest posters. In a rally to conscientise residents (fig. 3.8), the words on hand-drawn posters state: “Is group areas one of the penalties of being born black”, “Save us our homes and our schools”, “Down with Ethnic Grouping”, and “Group Areas is Piracy against voiceless people who Pay Land Tax”. These posters clearly communicate the struggle for human dignity and rights in terms of racism and capitalism. Whilst walking around the display, the visitor is also able to hear continuous voice recordings of activists who talk about the history of Cato Manor. A display board titled, ‘Oral Histories’ indicates whose voice is currently being heard.

### 3.4. The Kwa Muhle Museum in Durban



**Fig. 3.10 - The Durban System: Entrance Hall**



**Fig. 3.11 - Large Scale Pass Book**

The Kwa Muhle museum is an example of an old colonial building (built in 1928) that has been transformed in post-apartheid South Africa. During apartheid this building symbolised the power and force of the racist system of government. It housed the ‘Native Administration Department’, which enforced the pass laws. Its role was therefore to restrict the movement of Indigenous African people.

In order to be allowed into the city, men had to produce a pass book, which granted them permission to work there. Fig 3.11 is a blown up wooden construction of a pass book on permanent display in the museum. The legal requirement was that a pass book had to be produced on demand, and numerous pass offence raids took place in the city.



Considering the role of images and words in the struggles of the powerless against the forces of power, it is significant to note the function of official documents in systematic oppression. In apartheid South Africa such documentation served to render the oppressed, voiceless. Reddy (2000:148) states that “..the holder [of the pass book] could not be trusted. Instead the pass serves as a textual authority that speaks on behalf of the holder whose silence is assumed.”

In his text, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, Bunting, explains the consequences for those people who were caught without a pass,

...Men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children are caught in frequent and massive raids, to be swept off by police if they are not in possession of proper permits. At the Bantu Commissioners court they are charged, sentenced, fined or imprisoned, and then deported, often handcuffed and under armed escort. Many of them are sent ‘back’ to reserves they have never seen, ‘homelands’ where they have no home (Bunting, 1986:496).

The emphasis of the displays in the Kwa Muhle museum is the influx control and the pass law system, however the museum also depicts the general history of the development of the city of Durban. The impact of the beer hall system on the lives of African men and women is also a focus. Numerous information posters and photographs are displayed throughout, as well as a re-construction of typical living quarters of migrant labourers, and a beer drinking display that contains life size sculptures of African men.

Another important, dehumanising and degrading event that took place at the building was the physical examination of people for fear that they might contaminate the city. This experience is documented in Biko’s text, *I Write What I Like*. At the SASO/BPC<sup>9</sup> trial in May 1976, Biko states,

...you are made to stand naked in front of some doctors supposed to be running pus off you, because you may be bringing syphilis to the town he tells you. Now it is inhuman the way it is done. Three people are lined up in front of him, all naked, and he has just got to look at all of you. Now I must feel that I am being treated as an animal, and as you enter the room where this is done in Durban there is a big notice saying: “Beware - Natives in a state of undress (1978:111).

This illustrates not only the actions but also the polarity communicated in the language of the entire system of domination, based on otherness, and with the intention to impact on the psychology of people.

The Kwa Muhle museum houses other visiting exhibitions (with related themes) on an ongoing basis. The museum is easily accessible, as it is situated in the city centre. There is also no entrance fee. Considering information dissemination in cyberspace, an interesting point to be noted is that the Durban city web site states that, “Kwa Muhle is in no sense an apartheid museum. Nor is it an African History Museum” ( <http://www.durban.gov.za/durban>). Comparatively, a combined, informative web site by The Consolato D’Italia Durban, The Scalabrini Development Agency, and



The Local History Museum begins with,

Kwa Muhle Museum: The Transition of Space. This is a museum about Power and Powerlessness, and the struggle for dignity by ordinary people. Let this never be forgotten. Let us be mindful of the abuses of the past and celebrate the human capacity, in all its diversity and richness, to overcome  
(<http://www.giuseppelanzi.org/Frontiere/kwamuhle.html>).

### 3.5. Robben Island

Since the 1960s, Robben Island was notoriously known as a maximum-security prison for black political prisoners of the apartheid regime of South Africa (fig. 3.12 - 3.13). The majority political prisoners, like Nelson Mandela, were banished to the Island where they were sentenced to life imprisonment. As revolution became imminent, negotiation between Mandela, leader of the ANC, and the apartheid government in the 1990s, led to the release of prisoners from the Island, the disbanding of the apartheid state, and peaceful transition of power for majority rule. Today Robben Island is a famous landmark. It was turned into a museum in 1997, and in 1999 it received designation as a World Heritage site. There are two parts to the visitors' experience about Robben Island, which present historical information - the gallery and the tour of the island.



*Fig. 3.12 - Robben Island Tower*



*Fig. 3.13 - Robben Island Aerial View*



*Fig. 3.14 - Robben Island wall poster - showing inmates under armed watch*

### 3.5.1. The Gallery: The Gateway to Robben Island

*The Gateway to Robben Island* is an exhibition housed on the mainland of Cape Town's Waterfront. Information gathered from the exhibit presents the island's history. The first political prisoner on the Island during colonial times was Autshumato. He was imprisoned there in 1658 when he protested against the movement of the Dutch settlers beyond their temporary fort. He was a leader of the Khoikhoen and interpreter for the Dutch. 1669 saw the imprisonment of Krotoa, whose crime was that she married a Dutch man, Pieter van Meerhof. When he was killed, Dutch society rejected her and her three children and she was banished to the Island where she died at the age of 31. Religious leaders from the Dutch East Indian colonies were imprisoned on Robben Island, in 1681. When the British captured the Cape from the Dutch, a flood of new prisoners from the British colonies was brought to the island in 1806. Makana was imprisoned there in 1819, after he led an attack on Grahamstown with a 10 000 strong warrior force. He drowned in 1820 when he attempted to escape. After 1840 some prisoners from the colonies were brought to the mainland for their labour.

In general, Robben Island was a place designated by the powerful for the unwanted in society. It was a place, which Foucault refers to as an "other" place - a place of difference and exclusion from society, a place of incarceration and banishment. It had previously (from 1895-1961) been a leper colony - a place for leprosy patients as well as 'the insane'. In the 1960s, the apartheid government decided that the potent ideas of politicised individuals had to be distanced - their voices silenced. A number of black male political prisoners were banished to Robben Island, arriving there with their hands and feet in chains (fig.3.14).



**Fig. 3.15 - Nelson Mandela**



**Fig. 3.16 - Robert Sobukwe**



**Fig. 3.17 - Neville Alexander**

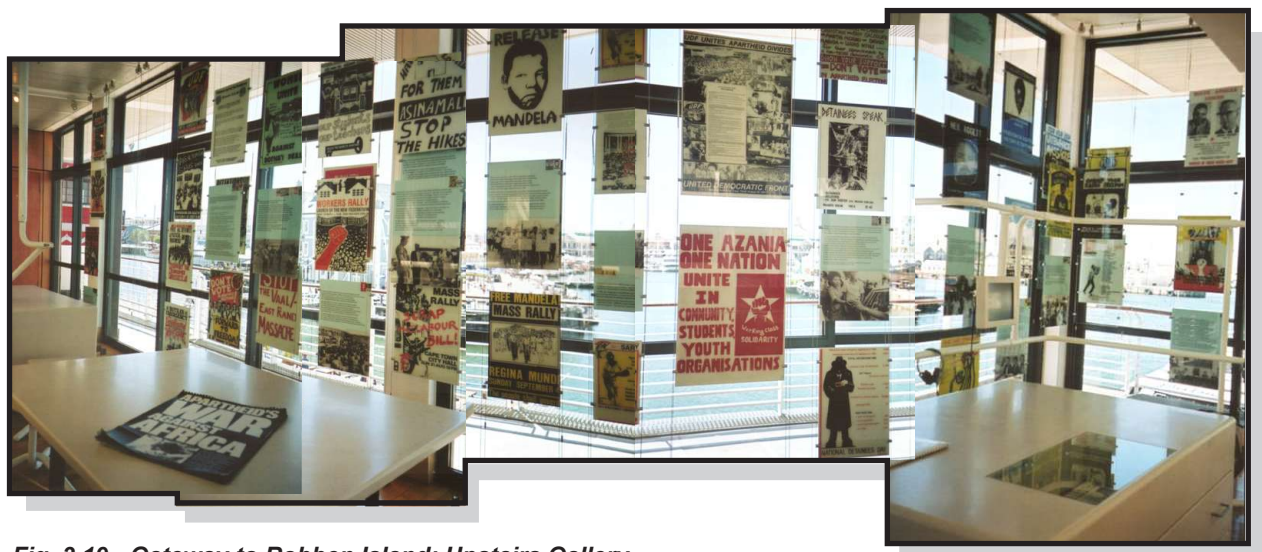


**Fig. 3.18 - Strini Moodley**

Political leaders imprisoned on the island include Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC) - whose name has become synonymous with Robben Island (fig. 3.15), and Robert Sobukwe (fig.3.16) from the (PAC). In the mid 1960s, Neville Alexander (fig.3.17) from the Unity Movement, and in 1976 Strini Moodley (fig.3.18) from the Black Conscious Movement (BCM) were also imprisoned there. They were each leaders that represent different ideological perspectives on 'liberation' during the struggle against apartheid state power<sup>10</sup>. This fact has not been clearly communicated in the overall display.

The exhibition in the upstairs gallery contains previously banned graphic material that has been retrieved since the dismantling of apartheid structures. It is important to note that today, much of the visual material designed during the liberation struggle has not survived. Liberation graphics were not always undertaken by professional designers. Created very quickly and by hand, such items for mass communication were banned and it was always feared that they would be confiscated by the apartheid state. Many organizations also lacked the funds, and printing companies were afraid to take the risk of printing material that they knew would be banned. However a substantial amount of surviving posters, pamphlets and T-shirt designs from the ANC, SACP and their affiliates have been studied, researched and archived, and are viewed in the gallery (fig.3.19).

The bulk of visual material in the gallery (fig.3.19) is representative of the ANC, its revolutionary arm, *Umkonto we Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation), and its populist movement within South Africa, the United Democratic Front (UDF). This material represents the spirit of a time when these organisations upheld the Freedom Charter<sup>11</sup> as the document, which mapped their way forward to an ideal of a non-racial<sup>12</sup> democratic society.



**Fig. 3.19 - Gateway to Robben Island: Upstairs Gallery**



**Fig. 3.20 - Gateway to Robben Island: Downstairs Gallery**



**Fig. 3.21 - Gateway to Robben Island: Open display cabinets**

Fig. 3.20 - 3.21 indicate that the visitor is able to walk about the exhibition, read the informative posters on the walls, and open cabinets at random to view artefacts from the island. Touch screens (circled), are also available, making it possible for the viewer to navigate through snippets of information, which includes live footage of resistance against apartheid. Also contained in the cabinets are objects, items and images that have survived to tell the story of life on the island. Large format prints of historic images are mounted on the walls.

### **3.5.2 The Robben Island Tour**

Whilst the Gateway to Robben Island provides essential background information and sets the mood for the rest of the tour, the dissemination of information continues on the ferry trip to the island, where the attention of the visitor is directed to a documentary video. The prison tour provides information at many different levels. The visitor's experience of the space itself is guided by an ex-prisoner. This makes verbal communication possible - for an eye-witness account. Throughout the tour visual material in the form of large posters and wall sized photographs are viewed, and reveal that power exerted on the prisoners included senseless physical labour like the breaking of lime stones and the carrying of stones from one place to another, and back again.

The prison system consisted of a stratification of prisoners who were kept in different portions of the prison. It was important for the apartheid officials to remind these political activists that equality amongst race groups was inconceivable, so when it came to the simple human activity of eating, even food rations were allocated according to race groups.<sup>13</sup> This power system was an attempt to entrench 'otherness' and racial thinking amongst already politicised activists.

Whilst the apartheid regime's disregard for human dignity is blatantly obvious, the story of Robert Sobukwe exemplifies its brutality. Sobukwe was due for release from prison on the main land; instead he was sentenced to Robben Island at the same time as Mandela. A special condition was, however, attached to Sobukwe's sentence. It required that he was kept separated from the other prisoners and never allowed to utter a word. He was thus banished to a space, a little house, on the other side of the island. As the charismatic leader of the PAC, Sobukwe's gift was the ability to impart knowledge. The worst punishment was to deprive him of human contact. This experience from a post-apartheid visitor's perspective leaves you with a hollow nauseating pain. It epitomises the apartheid regime's disregard and denial of the most basic of human rights. The often quoted text below, demonstrates the spirit, intelligence and vision of the man that was Robert M. Sobukwe:

We are fighting the noblest cause on earth, the liberation of mankind;  
They are fighting to entrench an outworn, anachronistic, vile system of oppression.  
We represent progress; They represent decadence. We represent the fresh fragrance  
of flowers in bloom; They represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation.  
We have the whole continent on our side. We have history on our side. We will win.



Fig. 3.18 is a still from the video footage of Strini Moodley's visit to Robben Island more than twenty years after his release. Standing outside the cell he once occupied, he explains that the number 2776 meant that he was prisoner 27 in 1976. At the end of this visit he left behind a message for activists in post-apartheid South Africa:

Every freedom fighter today, has to be a peace activist. A peace activist is not just interested in the absence of war, but is more concerned about the quality of life of every human being in the world (Umtapo Centre DVD: In Memory of Strini Moodley).

### 3.6. The Constitutional Court Building

The site that is known today as Constitution Hill is very significant to South Africa's history in that it tells diverse stories, within changing socio-political contexts. It was built in 1892, during the Gold Rush when there was a sudden increase in crime, and a fort was built around an existing jail. It functioned as a structure to watch over the town's people, the railway and the mines. Its existence was therefore one of control, at the time of Paul Kruger's Republic. After the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), this power structure was taken over by the British and used as a jail. In 1908, visiting Indian lawyer, Mahatma Gandhi, known for his philosophy of passive resistance, became involved in the struggle for human rights, and was imprisoned at this site. During WW2 members of the Ossewabrandwag, a fascist neo-Nazi wing of the Afrikaner Broederbond, with active links to Adolf Hitler were held at the Old Fort (Sunday Times Special Feature: 21-03-2004).

The apartheid regime inherited the site in 1948. During apartheid this structure was also used as a prison. It held criminals as well as political activists, but mostly ordinary people who were arrested for pass offences. By the 1950s many freedom fighters were held there in connection with the Freedom Charter. The apartheid government believed that the document contained communist aims, and the detained were accused of treason. They are remembered today as 'The Treason Trialists'. The 1960s saw the imprisonment of Robert Sobukwe and many others from the PAC, after the anti-pass protest on 21 March 1960. (Law-Viljoen, 2006; Sunday Times Special Feature: 21-03-2004).



**Fig. 3.22 - Constitutional Court: Typography:**



**Fig. 3.23 - Interior design of the Constitutional Court of South Africa**



Constitution Hill as a site in post apartheid South Africa, is the culmination of a very long, and intense project, involving architects, judges and designers. Following the first democratic election in 1994, a special place to house the new constitution was required. It would represent the highest law in the country. Law-Viljoen, in her text, *Light on a Hill - building the Constitutional Court*, reports that the Old Fort site "... seemed to have all the necessary qualities for a site that would stand at the junction between South Africa's past and future" (2006:07). From the outset, the team that conceptualised the project wanted to break with the traditional ideas and experiences of civil society within a court building. It was their intention to revolutionise the space and structures, to be more welcoming and to represent democracy, to be "... easily accessible to ordinary citizens ...(and)...could stand with dignity, but without the intimidating presence usually associated with courts" (Law-Viljoen: 2006:07).

The space itself had undergone changes over time when other physical structures were added. Today it comprises: The Old Fort, the Women's Jail, Number Four (a section for black men), and the Awaiting Trial Block. These structures remain to tell the story of apartheid, and recapture memory. The main areas post apartheid, are the Constitutional Court and an important space called Constitution Square. A team of South African architects, Janina Masjoda and Andrew Makin (based in Durban), and Paul Wygers (from Johannesburg) won an international competition to reinterpret and redesign Constitution Hill. According to Law-Viljoen (2006:11), they were successful in their attempt to capture the ideals of democracy in South Africa. Their task included the visual interpretation of the following concept:

...What does the face of democracy look like when manifested in a building? What does that democracy say when it speaks through the experiences of the users of and visitors to a building designed to reflect the values of that democracy? (ibid)

The design team did not rely on the exhausted, cliched representations of huts and structures normally associated with the superficiality of theme parks, game lodges, casino's and other similar tourist destinations. Rather, every detail, in local contemporary visual language, represents symbolically, the transformation from apartheid to democracy - even the use of typography. The typographic style used in the signage was designed by local designer, Garth Walker, and represents a complete break with the serif-style signage, normally associated with official buildings. Law-Viljoen reports of Walker's style, that it "has its roots in informal street designs" (2006:169). In terms of communicating to the public, the connotation of the typeface was therefore very important, and an in depth analysis of Walker's graphic interpretation, is presented by Sauthoff,<sup>14</sup> who also informs us that,

The letters on the facade are three-dimensional and individually cut from acrylic and the words 'Constitutional Court' appear in the 11 official languages of the country in four of the colours of the South African flag (red, green, blue and yellow). Each individual language receives equal typographic treatment reinforcing an affiliation with the new democratic order (2006:11), (fig.3.22).

It was decided that a special place, called Constitution Square be incorporated into the design, and positioned just outside the court doors. The square was intended as a place of congregation, a place where the public could gather. Materials used to build the 'Great African Steps' are the actual bricks taken from the partially demolished 'awaiting trial block' building. The intention to use the old bricks was that they would symbolise a link with the past, a "physical connection of history and place" (Law-Viljoen, 2006:39). The steps take you up the hill between the 'Number Four' prison to the Constitutional Court. The walk itself is meant to represent a walk between the past and the future and is symbolic of the transition from the brutality and evil of apartheid on the one side, to the ideal values of freedom, equality and dignity on the other. The use of slanted columns are intended as an architectural metaphor representing the trees under which African villagers traditionally discussed important matters with their elders. The purposeful abundance of light throughout the space, and most importantly, within the court interior, is intended to represent openness, accessibility and transparency (Sunday Times Special Feature: 21-03-2004).

I conclude this chapter by agreeing that more democratic ways of knowledge dissemination have certainly emerged in post-colonial, post-apartheid museums in South Africa. As we have seen, this includes a multi-sensory experience for the visitor, who is presented with an ongoing, display of digital footage, and oral recordings. Displays demonstrate the power of graphic design to present history in such a way that school children, students growing up in the twenty-first century and tourists, who did not experience apartheid, are given a wealth of information about this era. Touch screens, also mean that the modern technologically efficient generation could navigate through the information. In places like Robben Island, the visitor is also able to engage with the tour guide (an ex-prisoner), for a first hand account about his experiences. By presenting the destructive force of apartheid, its language and the design of space in terms of "otherness", the role of the museum has been transformed into a site of remembrance and reconstruction.

In sites like the District Six museum, the active participation of the visitor is important and supersedes the confines of the museum building. This includes projects undertaken with the displaced community, and continued recordings of oral history. A critical view of the 'change in the perspective of the story teller', post-apartheid, must however, also be noted.

An overview of the general content of information presented reveals in essence, the history of the ANC, and its affiliates i.e. the present tri-partite government of South Africa. In contemporary South Africa, it is thus possible to postulate that key words like 'The Freedom Charter', 'The Liberation Struggle' and 'The People Shall Govern' are almost nostalgic references that simply function as the rhetoric of the ANC. In the interest of democratic displays, it is therefore important to recall Said's words about the writing and re-writing of history. In contemporary South Africa, Said's words can be interpreted as a caution to guard against the propaganda of the new powers that be. It is therefore important to ensure that the new established order does not silence the input, disfigure,

or completely obliterate the role played by the other liberation movements, like the PAC , the BCM, the Unity Movement, as well as individuals in the struggle during apartheid.<sup>15</sup>

Following an interview with Desai (2008), the glaring fact about socio-economic reality in South Africa today, is that the liberation struggle is far from over. This statement begs many questions: Who is telling the story from the side of the poor? Who were poor during apartheid, and why do people remain homeless and marginalised today? Robben Island itself can only be experienced if you can afford the ticket price. An entrance fee is required for the Apartheid museum. If we consider Constitution Hill, what does the experience of a poor, homeless person walking through the space entail? Is it possible to argue that what he or she sees are simply meaningless words like 'freedom', 'rights', 'dignity', and does it not therefore still exist as an 'other' place? Is it not a contradiction when the court rules against the poor on basic human rights issues, like the Phiri Water Rights case, as an example?<sup>16</sup>

In this chapter, we have seen the effectiveness of graphic design in terms of presenting information and constructing meaning about the past. However, following from Freire (1993) and Said (2003), what remains a challenge in contemporary South Africa is to ensure that the content of such presentation does not entail one-sided propaganda, but dialogical education that includes current problem posing dialogical graphics.

---

1. Reference is made to the British and French role in the dehumanisation of Sarah Baartman, who was exhibited in Europe as a freak in 1810, and whose body parts remained on display in the *Musee de l'Homme*, in Paris until 1974. After being placed in storage, her remains were returned to South Africa only in 2003, where she was finally laid to rest (<http://www.africafilmv.com/pages/features/NF194Moodley.htm>).

2. On its apartheid time line page, the South African History Online website begins its timeline with the "Masters and Servants Acts", passed between 1856 and 1904; However to illustrate this point, I draw attention to the 1913 *Black Land Act No 27*, which "*Prohibited blacks from owning or renting land outside designated reserves (approximately 7 per cent of land in the country)*" (<http://www.sahistory.org>).

3. The term 'potentially democratising' has been used to draw attention to the fact that a large majority of people in post-apartheid South Africa, continue to live in rural areas, squatter camps and poor urban areas where there is no access to electricity, clean running water, or decent houses. That is, we are not yet a society in which the majority of our people have access to the internet and the point being made is that we are not yet a truly democratic society.

4. The Krok brothers built their wealth on the proceeds acquired from selling a face-whitening product to black women during apartheid. The role of such products in the psychological oppression of black people is documented on the official web page of the museum by Mike Steinbank. His documentation includes the physical damage that the skin-lightening cream had caused to some of the women who used it. Steinbank is currently engaged in a dispute with the Krok brothers over intellectual property rights (<http://www.apartheidmuseum.org>).

5. The South African History website reports that Englishman, George Christopher Cato came to South Africa as a trader. After being elected as the first Mayor of Durban, he was granted the area of land by royal decree in exchange for land that he owned near the harbour. The area became known as Cato Manor, and lies behind the present day University of Kwa Zulu Natal - Howard College. ([http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/places/villages/kwazuluNatal/cato\\_manor/history.htm](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/places/villages/kwazuluNatal/cato_manor/history.htm))

6. Approximately 16 300 Indian slaves were brought to the Cape by the Dutch from 1684 -1838. However, when slavery was abolished in 1838, the British (a colonial power in both India and South Africa) brought Indian labourers on special 'contracts' to work in the sugarcane fields of Natal. November 16, 1860 saw the arrival of the first boat of Indian indentured labourers in Natal (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>). Professors, Desai and Vahed in their text, *Inside Indian Indenture - A South African story 1860-1914*, present us with an invaluable documentation of the lives, the spirit and the stories of these workers. They show that in essence the British had simply invented a new form of slavery, and called it indenture (Desai and Vahed, 2010).

7. Numerous eye witness accounts continue to report that white individuals played a major role as instigators in the violence, after having rubbed black shoe polish on their faces and hands.

8. Smith (1999:52) draws our attention to the social demarcations and territories imposed by colonial powers: "There is a very specific spatial vocabulary of colonialism which can be assembled around three concepts: (1) the line, (2) the centre, and (3) the outside. The 'line' is important because it was used to map territory, to survey land, to establish boundaries and to mark the limits of colonial power. The 'centre' is important because orientation to the centre was an orientation to the system of power. The 'outside' is important because it positioned territory and people in an oppositional relation to the colonial centre..."

9. In September 1974 many leaders of the black consciousness movement were arrested and their SASO offices in Durban were raided. The SASO-BPC trial began in June 1975 and lasted until December 1976. Biko was subpoenaed to give evidence for the defence and was cross-examined for the first week of May 1976. Of the 13 detainees that appeared in court, 9 were convicted of terrorism and sentenced to a minimum of 5 years on Robben Island. See (Biko, 2004:109).

10 -12. Historically, the ANC and its affiliates (referred to as the Congress/Charterist movement), did not have a guiding liberatory philosophy, but held the *Freedom Charter*, an important historical document, as mapping the way forward to their vision of a more just society. The exception (ideologically) is the Communist Party - which confusingly remains part of the neo-liberal capitalist, tripartite alliance government of South Africa today. Membership was open to all. They believed in *non-racialism* (i.e. a denial or non-existence of racism). The Pan African Congress broke away from the ANC, and a difference lies in the historical development of their definition of "African". The PAC was the first liberation organisation to introduce the name, Azania for the country, when true freedom is achieved. The Black Consciousness Movement espouses the concept of *anti-racism* (i.e. actively opposed to racism). The BCM emphasized the psychological liberation of the oppressed. That is, being 'black' was the reflection of a positive mental attitude. This definition excluded those whose skin colour was black, but who aspired towards whiteness. By the 1980s, they included and adopted a Marxist-Leninist approach to their perspective on liberation. Their liberation document is the *Azanian Peoples Manifesto*, which called for an *anti-racist, anti-sexist, socialist Azania*. The Unity Movement has been associated with the revolutionary philosophy of Trotsky. Its liberation document is known as the *Ten Point Plan*. For a more in-depth explanation of ideological differences and terminology, see Reddy (2000:169-215).

13. Food rations determined by racial classification are today exhibited as posters in the prison display.

14. For an in depth analysis of the typeface design for Constitution Hill, see Sauthoff, M., *An alliance of Style, situation and content: The design of a typeface for South Africa's Constitutional Court*, 2006 online: [http://www.up.ac.za/dspace/bitstream/2263/3084/2/Sauthoff\\_Alliance\(2006\).pdf](http://www.up.ac.za/dspace/bitstream/2263/3084/2/Sauthoff_Alliance(2006).pdf)

15. This point is made in view of well documented evidence that Stalin, when he came to power in Russia, arranged for artists to airbrush Trotsky out of photographs and history books, in an attempt to obliterate his role in the revolution (Almond, 1996:33). "*Revolution - 500 years of struggle for change*"

16. The Centre for Applied Legal Studies Press Statement 26 August 2009, titled, "*Phiri Water Rights Case Heads to the Constitutional Court on 2 and 3 September 2009*" reports that the Phiri Water Rights case lasted for five years. The ruling in 2009, was supported by all 9 judges in the Constitutional court, who ruled against the poor, and reasoned that free basic water policy is 'reasonable' and pre-paid water meters (PPMs) are 'lawful'. Whereas an unlimited amount of water was available for a flat rate previously, the introduction of meters required that water supply be cut off immediately if people did not have enough money to buy their water credit (Nic, on <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article355>).

## CHAPTER 4

### **Contemporary Graphic Design Issues for Social Justice - and their Impact and Relevance in South Africa**

Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes - freedom of the press and other media; freedom to receive or impart information or ideas; freedom of artistic creativity; and academic freedom and freedom of scientific research. This right does not extend to propaganda for war; incitement of imminent violence; or advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm

(Section 16, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996).

Marking the excitement around the adoption of South Africa's Bill of Rights in 1996, an exhibition of fine art prints was opened at the Durban Art Gallery by Judge Albie Sachs from the Constitutional Court of South Africa. It was opened on 10th December 1996, International Human Rights Day. Each image, created by artists all over South Africa, was hand-printed in black and white relief by Jan Jordaan from the then Department of Fine Art, Natal Technikon. Noting the injustices of apartheid power and the apartheid regime's violation of human rights, each of the 29 images in the Artists for Human Rights portfolio is a visual interpretation of one of the clauses in South Africa's new Bill of Rights (Vinsen & Stiebel: 2006). The exhibition was significant in that it captured the spirit and positivity in the early period of the transition to democracy in South Africa.

In this chapter it is my intention to explore, in particular, the right to artistic expression in relation to the power of image to create meaning and encourage critical thinking. I begin by considering some of the issues around graphic design, social justice and critical thinking in the older democracies. I am interested to know what these issues are and how graphic designers abroad have engaged with them. Thereafter I consider some images that have sparked controversy around the issues of artistic expression and human rights in post-apartheid South Africa.

In her text, *Graphic Agitation 2 - Social and Political Graphics in the Digital Age (2004)*, McQuiston states,

Resistance to the power of governments or political doctrines has manifested itself historically in familiar forms - whether through actions, as in revolutions, strikes and protests, or through graphic opposition, as in cartoons, caricatures, poster campaigns, graffiti and the underground press. In recent years, however, resistance has grown towards another source of control - that of global corporations or multinationals. This new power is perceived as an invasive force that creeps through societies, cultures and individual lives with stealth. More powerful and potentially more manipulative even than governments...(2004:76).

This chapter also demonstrates that power struggles in contemporary South Africa can be examined within the wider context of people's power against state-supported corporate globalisation.



McQuiston's documentation of visual material is supported by in-depth textual information. It includes international design work that presents food for thought about socio-political and economical injustices and photographic references of international mass action against the global powers. She also draws from Klein who, in her text, *No Logo* (2002), provides us with the background information - the facts and figures that unmask the nature of this power.

Klein not only focuses on the power of branding, and the intrusive character of its advertising in the richer, economically dominant countries of the world, but also its impact on the world's poorer countries. She reveals that, through their practice of outsourcing work, global mega brands conveniently shirk responsibility of their overseas work force. More often than not, that work force involves the abuse of women and children in sweatshops in the 'third world' (Klein, 2002:197-198). *No Logo* involves the reader on a personal level by exposing the truth about the oppressive, unethical, and immoral practices and the conditions in some factories located in special Export Processing Zones in the poorer countries of the world. Klein's documentation makes us think twice about the brands that we buy. In contemporary South Africa we recognise these brands. They are advertised all around us. By supporting them, we unknowingly and unconsciously support the unethical and immoral actions associated with their production.

Klein's text was first published in 2000. At that point in history, South Africa was a relatively new democracy - and was not dealing with issues on the same scale as other, older democracies. The importance of Klein's research is that it provides, in essence, a lesson for civil society - a lesson about the influence that global powers can have on local government.

### **The Language of Non-commercial Design**

With its aim to subvert the status quo, it is significant to note some of the terminology used to express new ideas in the language of non-commercial design. According to Klein, consumers having become more critical about the nature of advertising, realised that it depicted an unreal "happy, stable consumer society" and represented the idea, the false promise that such a lifestyle "was accessible to all" (2002:304). That is, they began to recognise the myths of the capitalist system. This led to meaningful 'consumer activism', 'anti-consumerism', and the rise of the 'anti-advertising movement'. The anti-advertising movement "attacked ads not for their faulty imagery but as the most public face of a deeply faulty economic system" (ibid). In the 21st century, the nature of capitalism has proliferated. It has penetrated the earth and impacted on the sustenance of its people with ruthless, destructive power. This obsession with acquisition and profit is referred to as, 'globalisation', and explained by McQuiston as,

...the process whereby a growing number of countries of the world have become part of a global economy involving 'free trade', which is run and regulated by international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the World Bank (2004:29).

These international agencies together with economically more powerful countries and multinational corporations, have come to symbolise the pervasive face of a “deeply faulty” world economic system. People have also increasingly come to realise the myths represented by the words, ‘globalisation’ and ‘free trade’. That is, such terms do NOT refer to the ideal that all the world’s people could share all the world’s resources. Klein’s text is pivotal in de-mythesizing the new global capitalist world order. It is commonly referred to as the bible of the anti-globalisation movement.

### **The Corporate Invasion (and public reclaiming) of Public Space**

In the richer, economically more dominant countries of the world, the corporate sponsorship of public spaces has become a growing concern as consumers ask whether advertisers “have any legitimate right to invade every nook and cranny of our mental and physical environment” (Klein, 2002:291). Representing the hub of media activism against corporate globalisation is *Adbusters Magazine*, which is based in Canada and on the world wide web. Kalle Lasn, the editor, argues that people “should have the right to talk back to images they never asked to see” (Klein, 2002:280). The liberating act of talking back to images involves the practice of “culture jamming”. The terms, “subvertising”, “anti-advertising”, “ad-busting”, and “spoof ads”, are all used to describe the deliberate action of jamming, altering or changing the intended corporate message of an advert or bill board, to make it socially, politically and economically relevant. With the intention to “seize back public space”, images are confrontational. They fight back, challenge and attack the status quo, distorting corporate icons and other symbols of power.

Considering its impact on critical thinking, Klein argues that contemporary corporate advertising “has become about the disappearance of space and the lack of meaningful choice” (2002:291). Culture jamming, according to Klein, “rejects the idea that marketing - because it buys its way into our public spaces must be passively accepted as a one-way information flow” (2002:281). McQuiston explains it as “the subversion of the dominant, corporate run-culture through a variety of creative means in order to initiate a re-thinking of how we all want to live in the twenty first century” (2004:79).

The focus of this study is to examine artistic expression and its impact on critical thinking. It is therefore significant to note that the introductory text on the adbusters web site states, “We are a global network of culture jammers and creatives working to change the way information flows, the way corporations wield power, and the way meaning is produced in our society” (<http://www.adbusters.org/about/adbusters>).

The “Buy Nothing Day” sticker (fig. 4.1), published by *Adbusters* is a powerful image in which the designer uses a bar code as a symbol of consumerism. It is meant to represent the controlling force of the system, and alludes to the bars of a jail cell. The image depicts people breaking the bars and thus the act of breaking free from control. Numerals and letters are carefully chosen to

spell the words, “Escape Captivity”. In a very effective message people are urged to think critically, that the best blow to the system that thrives on materialism, is to not buy anything, even if it’s just for one day.

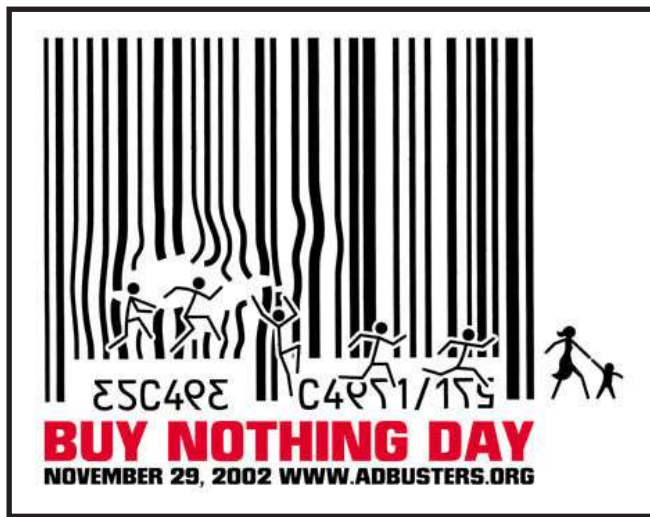


Fig. 4.1 - Buy Nothing Day Sticker



Fig. 4.2 - Boycott Christmas

“Buy Nothing Day” (fig. 4.1) and “Boycott Christmas” (fig.4.2) are both national and international campaigns publicised by *Adbusters* on the world wide web. The “Boycott Christmas” sticker can be downloaded from the Adbusters website. It is the cut-out section of a poster that urges potential shoppers not to feed into the commercial frenzy that Christmas has become. Their message is: “Giving presents is a *good* thing when you *feel* like it, not when you’re *coerced* into it” (<http://www.adbusters.com>). Again, people are encouraged to think about the impact of Christmas sales on corporate greed, and to make a difference by boycotting Christmas. It is this concern about critical thinking that prompts McQuiston to state that, “the commercial mass media has been overtaking our lives and our brains - our mental space” (2004:79).

### Challenging Corporate Mis-information

Concerns about the one way flow of information, mis-information, and the right to information were issues that came to the fore in the now famous McLibel trial in the UK. Greenpeace activists were driven to target the McDonalds fast food brand, and had been campaigning against the brand over their unethical practices since the mid 1980s.

In 1990 McDonalds decided to take action, and to hold the activists liable for the damaging content of their message to consumers. The two activists, David Morris and Helen Steel, who did not succumb to the threat of corporate power, found themselves involved “in the longest running civil libel case in British history” (McQuiston, 2004:80).



*Fig. 4.3 - McLibel Support Campaign stickers*

Although the activists were found guilty on a number of counts, they emerged victorious when the court ruled in their favour and stated that they were justified in their claims that McDonalds,

“Does exploit children” with their advertising, produce [s] “misleading” advertising, are “culpably responsible” for cruelty to animals, are “apathetic” to unionization and pay their workers low wages (McQuiston, 2004:80; Klein, 2002:237).

The McLibel Support Campaign stickers (fig. 4.3) illustrate a typical example of creative resistance against a corporate global brand. The designs cleverly mimic and subvert the advertising of McDonalds. Although the name McDonalds does not appear anywhere on the stickers, the distinct shape of the ‘M’ is easily recognisable as the McDonalds logo. The words ‘McHunger’, ‘McDestruction’, ‘McJunk’, and ‘McLibel Writs’ (i.e. court order), are strategically placed to intercept the ‘M’. The visual statements are effective and their message about global injustice, environmental issues, genetically modified food, and the suppression of criticism is immediately understood. The aim was to encourage consumers to think, to make intelligent choices, and mostly to get the message across that people are more important than profit. In this sense the trialists were victorious. They successfully created a negative impact on the public image of the brand, exposed the truth about its practices, and raised issues about the nature of corporate power.

### **Social Awareness Campaigns**

Another significant example of the role of anti-advertising to encourage critical thinking can be seen in the Absolute Vodka subvertisements designed by *Adbusters*. The existing advertising concept of Absolute Vodka was mimicked and subverted to draw attention to the long-term effects of alcohol consumption. Like the McLibel Support Campaign stickers, the Absolute Vodka subverts are easily understood by people who are already aware of the brand, recognise its logo and associate the colours and typography used in the subvert, with the brand. In the Absolute Vodka subvertisements, recognising the shape of the bottle is most important for the message to be



effective. Just the word ‘absolut(e)’ and the image of the bottle of vodka are signifiers of the brand, but its meaning has been changed to draw awareness to the negative effects of consuming the product. So while the public understands the subvertisements to refer to the brand, they are cautioned against its consumption. The message is not to buy the brand, but to draw attention to the meaning of the image. That is, the existing meaning of the brand and the values that are attached to it are altered by positioning its signifier in a variety of different contexts to reconstruct its signification.

The “Absolute End” subvertisement (Fig. 4.4) presents us with a snapshot aerial view of a crime scene where a death has occurred. Even people, who have never been present at the scene of a death or murder, still recognise what’s happening because at some point in our lives we would have seen a similar scene on a film or a television series about crime. At a crime scene white chalk is normally used to outline a dead body. In this anti-ad, we see instead, the outline of the unique shape of a bottle of Absolute Vodka. The word absolute confirms the brand identity, and the term, “Absolute End” clearly indicates that the person who died was consumed by alcohol.

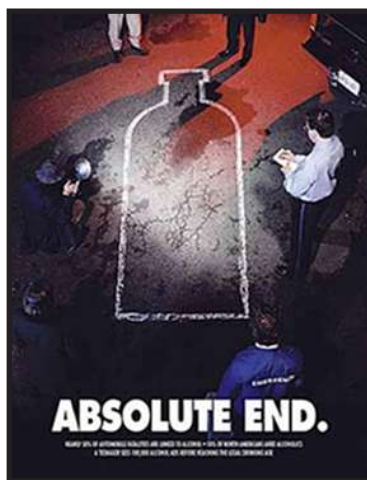


Fig. 4.4 - Absolute End

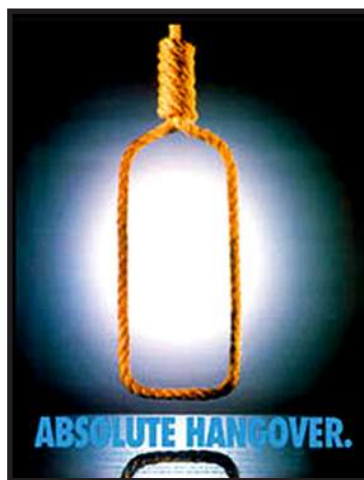


Fig. 4.5 - Absolute Hangover

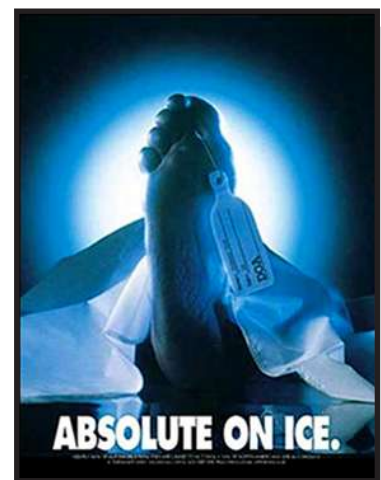


Fig. 4.6 - Absolute on Ice



Fig. 4.7 - Absolute Impotence



Fig. 4.8 - Smirkoff



The concept of being consumed by alcohol is also communicated in the “Absolute Hangover” subvertisement (fig.4.5), where the shape of the bottle is used to symbolise a noose.

Similarly in the “Absolute on Ice” subvertisement (fig.4.6.), the bottle-shaped tag, attached to a person’s foot suggests that the setting is a morgue. The parody in the ‘Absolute Impotence’ subvertisement (fig. 4.7) is also clearly understood, when image and word work together to communicate the long-term effects of alcohol abuse on male sexual performance. Klein reports an interesting method of resistance to corporate power: When adbusters was faced with the threat of a legal action, they responded to Absolut Vodka by “challenging the brand to a public debate on the harmful effects of alcohol. Absolut backed down” (Klein, 2002:288).

The “Smirkoff” subvertisement (fig. 4.8) clearly targets the Smirnoff Vodka brand. The brand name ‘Smirnoff’ has been altered to spell “Smirkoff”, and it speaks directly to the viewer. The message targets a knowing public - familiar with visual parodies - that this image is not poking fun at the brand, but has a serious message to communicate, and should therefore not be greeted with a smirk. In the composition, all the children are the same height. Whilst the other three are happy, smiling, free children, attention is drawn to the bottle in which the image of a battered child is superimposed. This child, with bruises and a bandaged arm, is in complete contrast to the others. She is not smiling and her hands are not free. We understand the image to make specific reference to child abuse. Depicting the abused child as imprisoned by the bottle, is symbolic of the detrimental effects that alcoholism has on innocent victims, who as children, are bound to this quality of life. Each of the subvertisements discussed (figs. 4.4 - 4.8), communicate the essence of subvertising or anti-advertising. It is the idea - the message and its social implications - that are more important than the product.

Following from the discussion in Chapter Two, the capitalist system in publicising advertisements for Vodka, sell us the glory and excitement of a happy lifestyle as a result of consuming the brand. The subvertisements distort the brand name and unveil the myths, or blinders of the capitalist system to illustrate the dire consequences of over-consumption of the product. Subvertisements appeal to the public to think.

### **Subvertising in Post-Apartheid South Africa**

An early case of subvertising in South Africa, after the transition to ‘democracy,’ was the “Laugh it Off” campaign, which visually attacked the Carling Black Label beer brand. Justin Nurse’s T-shirt designs received much publicity when South African Breweries (SAB) took the artist to court. Some messages on his T-shirt designs read: ‘Black Labour - White Guilt’, and ‘Black Neighbour - White Fence (fig. 4.9). After a very long battle in the legal system, the artist eventually made it to the constitutional court of South Africa to defend his right to ‘Freedom of Expression’ and



**Fig. 4.9 - Justin Nurse wearing controversial T-shirt**

emerged victorious. Nurse chose to focus on the sensitive issue of race in South Africa, which is still problematic and will be for years to come.

I was interested to know what some social justice activists thought about the “Laugh It Off” campaign, and the following responses are significant. In a personal interview with Asha Moodley, from the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA), she maintains that whilst the message was a very powerful one, the phrase “Laugh It Off” was a cause for concern. According to Moodley, “...I would laugh it off if it were a thing of the past but I don’t think one *can* laugh it off”. Referring to the ‘Black Labour - White guilt’ T-shirt, Moodley questioned whether Nurse’s motivation was a ‘genuine concern for the workers’ or was he “also exploiting a particular kind of situation to ironically increase his own profits” (2007).

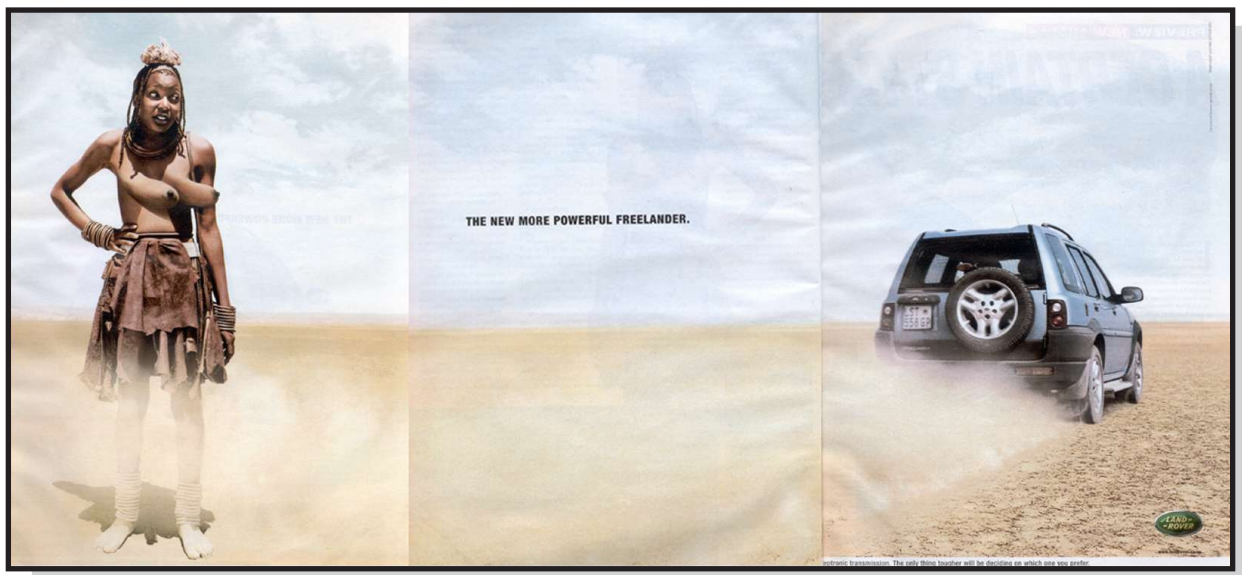
A similar view was expressed by sociologist and activist, Prof. Desai, who in an interview, argued that Nurse did not really push the boundaries of Freedom of Expression - it was rather “a reinforcement of the label - essentially a part of the commodification” (2008). He maintains that by taking it to court, it gave the brand more publicity, and increased its sales. Considering Nurse’s statements made within the context of present day socio-political and economic reality, Desai stated, “It’s stupid in many senses because actually, the public spokespersons of SAB these days are black people - who seem to have no guilt anyways ...There are as many black people with white fences in Zimbali, Mt. Edgecombe...(ibid). Both Desai (2008) and Moodley (2007) note that the overall effectiveness of the visual message is dependent on the designer’s concept of reality.

Piers Carey, Head of the Department of Visual Studies, at the Durban University of Technology made a similar point. In an interview, he stated that Nurse raised a whole lot of issues which were “very important and healthy to discuss - not least the draconian controls that corporations have over creativity and comment...” (2008). However, he maintains that the “Laugh It Off” T-shirts would have been more effective in making a satirical point had he (Nurse), “tossed them off a bit less and thought about them a bit more carefully...as perhaps the issues deserved” (Ibid).

For artists and the creative design communication field in general, Justin Nurse's subverts were significant. In post-apartheid South Africa it was one of the very first instances where an artist emerged victorious in the Constitutional Court, having defended the idea of 'Freedom of Expression'. It demonstrated that artistic comment in a democracy is valued and defended by law.

### Perpetuating Stereotypes

In post-apartheid South Africa, people were shocked to see a racist and sexist three page (fold-up) advert for the new Land Rover Freelander (fig.4.10), which appeared in numerous local magazines. It depicts a desert landscape in which a vehicle has whizzed past a bare breasted woman dressed in traditional clothing. Her legs are partly obscured by the dust that is left behind. She is looking in the direction of the vehicle, and her breasts have been digitally manipulated to follow in the slipstream. Although the entire image can be read on many textual levels, the actual wording states: "The new more powerful Freelander...The only thing tougher will be deciding on which one you prefer".



**Fig. 4.10 - Land Rover Freelander - "The Himba Advert"**

On closer consideration, every design element in this composition is positioned to contrast with the vehicle. There is no doubt that the language of this ad perpetuates stereotypical and derogatory views about indigenous people, which as we have seen in chapter two, have been inherited since colonial times. This view is expressed by Jeanne van Eeden, who presents an in-depth critical analysis of this particular advert in her text, *Land Rover and the conquest of the gendered Other* (2006). In her analysis, van Eeden states that,

The signs are embedded in a network of signifiers that refer to the colonial narrative of invasion conquest, domination, and empire building, which is carried forth into the twenty-first century, seemingly without scruple (2006:02).

She situates the scene in Namibia, identifying the representation of the woman as a Himba woman from the Herero tribe. The GP number plate on the vehicle also signifies that the scene is in Southern Africa. She also states that her interpretation is “based on the premise that the driver of the Freelander is a white male”, and explains the viewpoint that in similar colonial representations, even if the westerner cannot be seen in the picture, we are still conscious of his presence (2006:7).

Furthermore it is interesting to note the connotation of the word, “Freelander” in relation to the “idea that Africa is primitive and subject to exploration and conquest” (Van Eeden, 2006:2). The advert reads from left to right, and when analysed in terms of race, gender and class, Van Eeden considers the following binary oppositions that mark a distinction between:

male/female, white/black, first world/third world, coloniser/colonised, self/other, civilisation/primitivism, fast/change/slow;changeless, urban/rural, exploring the land/of the land, active/passive, action/reaction, upper middle class/lower class;classless consumerism/nomadic lifestyle (2006:8-10).

Consequently, “the dominant ideas encapsulated in the Himba advertisement reinforce a mentality that favours masculinity, technology, progress, and mastery of nature” (Van Eeden, 2006:8).

The South African Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) received numerous complaints from the public, and from the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on Gender Equality, and the Namibian Ministry of Foreign Affairs amongst others. Van Eeden explains that the advertising agency, TBWA Hunt Lascaris, stated that their concept was “a harmless parody and exaggeration designed to amuse the consumer” (2006:02). However the advert was banned. The ASA found it to be offensive, insulting, racist, sexist and exploitative, and also that it was “...the misuse, abuse and distortion of the woman’s nudity that violates human dignity” (ibid). As a result, all the magazines that had published it were required to print a statement from the ASA, explaining why it was discontinued - and the brand was obliged to pay the costs (Van Eeden, 2006:01).

### **Distortion from the Standpoint of Capitalist Power**

Whilst we have referred to the altering of images and their significations as ‘culture jamming’, when it is done from the position of corporate power, Klein calls it ‘culture vulturing’, (2002:84). This is an appropriate term, considering that corporate branding aims to “colonise” or devour every available marketing space (Klein,2002:300). Klein shows that when the big brands realise the power in the language of resistance, they appropriate it too.

When they realised that humour and social awareness in brand-attacking increased sales, they attempted to create and thereby control their own subvertisements. Klein reports, as an example, that Nike approached Ralph Nadar, the most powerful leader of the consumer rights movement to feature in a new brand advert. According to Klein, they were willing to pay him \$25 000 to hold

up a Nike sneaker and say, “another shameless attempt by Nike to sell shoes” (Klein,2002:84). This is just one example of corporate desperation. Nadar rejected the shameful nature of the proposal - he refused to endorse a message directed by the brand itself, and he refused the money. Had he accepted, the brand would have been able to exploit Nadar and the message that his image symbolised, to draw attention to the brand - even if it was a negative message. Most importantly, it would have achieved its aim to target an intended audience - i.e. a once more complex, impenetrable, thinking market - by utilising its own imagery and its own language.

Marketing strategies and the advertisements they create have gone as far as to exploit the socialist icons of people’s liberation movements for capitalist gain. As we have seen, whilst this is done purely for the sake of profit, the added bonus for the capitalist agenda is the effect on the construction of meaning. By incorporating images of revolutionaries in their visual communication they speak from a position of power - thus diluting the meaning and therefore the potency of the representation.

A typical example of distortion from the standpoint of Capitalist power is the now ubiquitous image of Ernesto (Che) Guevara. Che was an Argentinian medical doctor who became committed to the struggle for socio-economic justice and human dignity in South America and the world at large. He became involved in the struggle in Cuba, and was influential as one of the Marxist revolutionary, leaders of the Cuban Revolution of 1956-1959. While in the process of training a guerrilla force for an uprising in Bolivia in 1967, he was captured and executed by the Bolivian army.

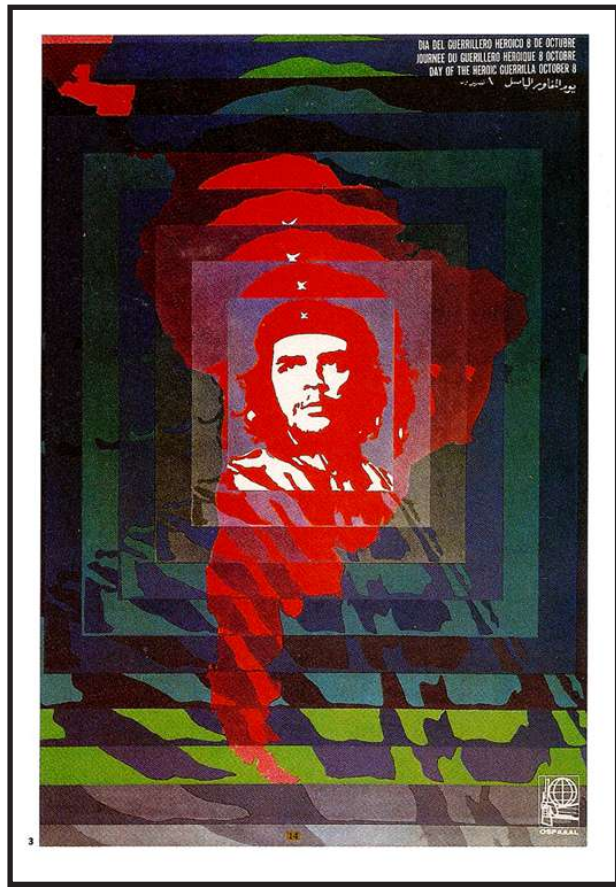
Today we see the use of Che’s image everywhere - mostly on T-shirts, but also marketing products in the most alarming contexts. In this discussion, I have included two contrasting images of Che, The “Day of the Heroic Guerilla” (fig. 4.11) and the “Havana Grill Newspaper Advertisement (Fig. 4.12). Each image was produced at a different period in history.

The “Day of the Heroic Guerilla” (fig. 4.11) is a poster designed by Elena Serrano and produced in Cuba (1968) by *The Organization of Solidarity with People of Asia, Africa and Latin America* (OSPAAAL). In his text, “A History of Graphic Design” (1998), Meggs comments about this poster, that it depicts the image of Che as “a symbolic icon” that “transcends South America” and “represents struggle against oppression throughout the Third World” (1992:412). According to Prof. Kunzle , an art historian,

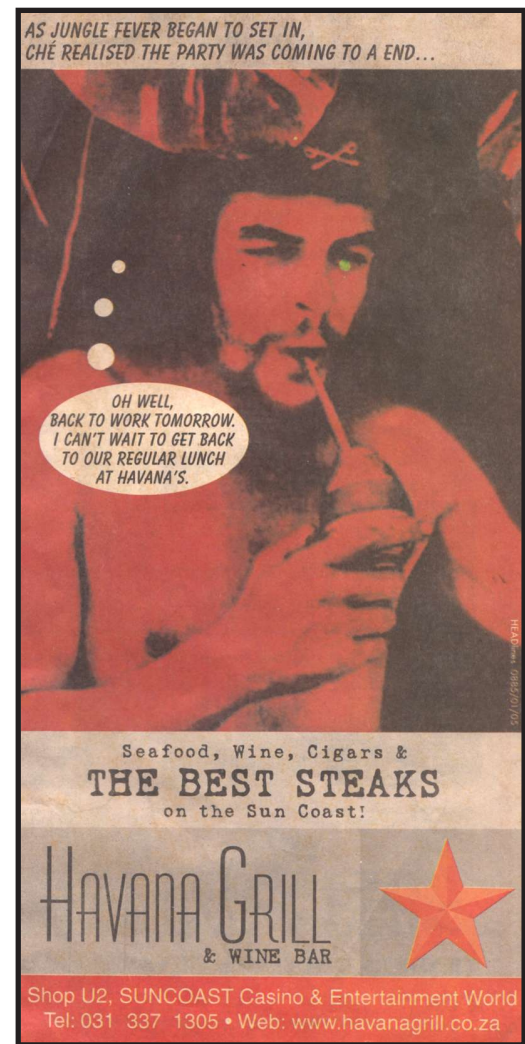
Ernesto “Che” Guevara is one of the most appealing figures of our century...his attractiveness to artists has been universal. His likeness - effervescent frame of hair and curly beard, ever-present starred beret - has been one of the most reproduced icons in history...[He is]...widely seen as an ideal - the embodiment of self-sacrifice, of struggle for social justice and for an alternative, non capitalist future (1997).

Comparatively, an example of the way the symbolism of the image of Che has been diluted is evident in contemporary South African advertising. The “Havana Grill and Wine Bar” in Durban





**4.11 - Day of the Heroic Guerrilla**



**Fig. 4.12 - Havana Grill Newspaper Advert**

has based their newspaper advertising concept on the Cuban Revolution (fig. 4.12). In a series of newspaper adverts, they have used historical photographic references of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. They have added speech bubbles to the photos and included their own text - putting words into the mouths of the revolutionaries - to draw attention to the "Havana Grill and Wine Bar" specials. The result is that the meaning of each image has been distorted. Taken out of the context of the Cuban revolution, some of the most ludicrous statements are now being made by the revolutionaries, thus reducing the power and the authenticity of the image. When interviewed on 18 April 2008, Carey stated that this marketing strategy is,

...basically just a case of cheap exploitation: on the one hand it's trivialising what the Cuban revolution was about...it's exploiting a sort of romantic notion of revolution for commercial gain. In trivialising the Cuban Revolution, it helps to trivialize all forms of social progress, social justice, of revolutionary change, or even, any kind of progressive change...I think one has to look at it as a thoroughly reactionary campaign. But the trouble is that if one raises any of these kinds of criticisms, one would only be accused of having no sense of humour...One can see that they're intended to be humorous - but if you actually know anything about Cuba and what the Revolution was about, then they stop being funny quite quickly

Sadly, it seems that in contemporary South Africa, the visual language of capitalism has managed to dilute or even obliterate the role of social justice icons like Che Guevara. This is evident when you ask the youth, who wear all sorts of Che marketing gear, “Who is this man?” - And the answer you are most likely to get is: “Oh, he is that dude with the beret”. The image of Che, and what he represented, is becoming more and more distorted and meaningless, with passing time.

A similar distortion is beginning to arise, and is evident in the commercialisation of the image of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko (1946-1977), who became a martyr of the liberation struggle during apartheid (fig. 4.13). His image has appeared nameless and voiceless on the T-shirts of a South African fashion label, Stoned Cherrie. On the actual garments, there is no indication of who Biko is or what he stands for (fig. 4.14).



*Fig. 4.13 - Steve Biko*



*Fig. 4.14 - Stoned Cherrie - Biko print*

The following factual information about Steve Biko has been sourced jointly from timelines at the Steve Biko Foundation online (<http://www.sbf.org.za>), the South African History Archives online (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>), and the text, “I like What I Like” (Biko, 2004:1-2):

Biko played a leading role in student political activity at the University of Natal Durban (UND) in the mid 1960s. He was a medical student at the UND “non-European section.” In 1968 he was instrumental in the break-away from the white dominated students body, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

In 1969 Biko and others formed the South African Students Organisation (SASO) to cater specifically for the needs of black students. He was part of a collective that formulated the philosophy of Black Consciousness, which stressed on the psychological liberation of the oppressed. He was elected SASO’s first president and was also one of the founding members of the Black People’s Convention (BPC) in the same year.

When in 1970, Biko was elected Chairman of SASO publications, he began to publish a monthly SASO Newsletter. It contained articles written by Biko, which he titled "I write what I Like", and which he signed as "Frank Talk". In 1972 the university terminated his medical studies, and he immediately began to focus attention on community work at the Black Community Projects (BCP) in Durban. At the age of 26, he was one of seven SASO members who were banned by the state. His banning order specified that he was not permitted to engage in any political activity, and he was not allowed to be published or quoted. He was restricted to King Williams Town (his hometown) for five years. During this period Biko was imprisoned several times without trial - arrested under section 6 of the Terrorism Act (sometimes for more than a hundred days) - and then released without being convicted.

In May 1976, Biko was subpoenaed to testify at the 'SASO Nine Treason Trial'. It became clear from the line of questioning, which lasted five days, that what was really on trial was the philosophy of Black Consciousness. The trial, which ended in December 1976, is also referred to as the 'SASO-BPC' trial. It resulted in all nine accused being sentenced to Robben Island for between 5-6 years. It is significant to note that whilst his comrades had already been banished to Robben Island, Biko was arrested in March 1977, and then released. He was arrested again in July, when he was charged, and then acquitted.

Biko was last arrested on 18th August 1977, again under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. This time he was confined to a prison cell in Port Elizabeth where he was left naked, and manacled for 20 days. On the morning of the 6th September, he was taken for interrogation to room 619 of the Sanlam building. In the room he was again left naked, handcuffed and with one leg chained to a grille. The next morning he was badly beaten up during interrogation - having sustained several injuries to his head. Officials and medical personnel indicated in their reports that his condition presented no cause for emergency medical attention, although his speech was slurring, he was incoherent and his upper lip was bruised. Five days later, he was taken on an eleven-hour journey to Pretoria lying at the back of a Land Rover - still naked and manacled. Biko died of brain injury caused by the blows received to his head.

This truth was only revealed in 1997 when the policemen responsible for his death admitted their guilt. They came forward at the prospect of being granted amnesty for apartheid crimes at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which was set up in 1995. "The TRC found that Biko's death was a gross human rights violation" (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

This background information about Biko is crucial when presenting a critical view about the use of his image and what it represents in contemporary South Africa. Steve Biko the man, was a young, vibrant, intelligent, outspoken, articulate leader of the Black Consciousness Movement.

In her text, "Steve Biko and Stoned Cherrie: Refashioning the Body Politic in Democratic South Africa" (2007), Vincent questions how we are to read the inversion of Biko's image from a highly politically recognised symbol to a "...frivolous and purely decorative project of fashionable adornment with its associated connotations of bourgeois excess..." (2007:83). She states that in the liberation struggle during apartheid, political activists communicated a clear message of defiance when they wore a T-shirt with Biko's image on it. They also showed political alignment to the philosophy of Black Consciousness. Comparatively, Vincent maintains that the image of Biko on a Stoned Cherrie T-shirt, is more difficult to read in contemporary South Africa (2007:81). Although Vincent seeks to present a variety of possible readings, this study agrees that finding the nameless image of Biko on the catwalks of "capitalism's most extreme expressions of consumerist excess...is a disrespect and betrayal of his legacy" (2007:83). Vincent also considers the circumstances around Biko's death and makes the point that for the authorities, keeping him stripped and manacled was part of the process of dehumanising him, "stripping him of his sense of identity...his human dignity...his humiliation and subsequent murder" (2007:84).

The Stoned Cherrie brand was created in 2000 by Nkhesani Nkosi, a black female entrepreneur, who states that her aim was "to make history part of our popular culture" (Vincent, 2007:86). In Nkosi's view, according to Vincent, "...Stoned Cherrie's appropriation of Biko's memory and legacy is part of [a] renaissance springing from the imagination of our own people, reconnecting us with our legacy and own memories" (Nkosi quoted in Vincent, 2007:86). However, it is difficult to understand how a peoples' history and memory is illustrated in a design that renders Biko nameless and meaningless. The Stoned Cherrie Biko T-shirts are therefore viewed in a similar light to the Che Guevara T-shirts. The person wearing it does not necessarily know who Biko was, or what he represented.

In his text, "Murder by memory: Remembering Biko to forget him", Mphutlane Wa Bofelo (2007) argues that Biko is not "the ideologically neutral humanist that he is portrayed to be" in contemporary South Africa. He states,

Biko is presented as an icon whose only claim to fame is the monumental piece of literature, I write what I like, and dying a lonely and gruesome death in an Apartheid cell...Biko subscribed to the philosophy of Black Consciousness and his affinities were towards a pro-poor, pro-working class political agenda geared towards an egalitarian society" (wa Bofelo, 2007:1).

Explaining what he means by "murder by memory", Wa Bofelo also compares how the corporate media is destroying or killing the image of Che Guevara by "de-linking" Che from what he represents. He warns that if not combated, Biko too will turn into "a piece of iconoclast and collectors item," as attempts are made to "de-link" him from the philosophy of Black Consciousness, the BCM and radical working-class oriented politics" (2007).



Thus like the image of Che, the image of Biko is used simply because it communicates a sense of the rebel, the freedom fighter, the non-conformist...and this is what capitalists are selling. This is what uninformed consumers, especially the youth will remember about Che and Biko. This study therefore views the commercialisation of the images of Steve Biko and Che Guevara as a trivialization of what both heroes represented. Their socialist ideals are diametrically opposite to the existing capitalist neo-liberal society and world in which we live, and relevant to the contemporary struggle against this system. Examined within this context, it is clear that the potency of what Biko and Che represent has been diluted and their images distorted for materialistic ends.

Unlike the images of Biko and Che, I have viewed the “commercialisation” of the image of Nelson Mandela quite differently. “Mandela -the freedom fighter” (fig. 4.15) was the most widely recognised image of him whilst he was imprisoned on Robben Island. It was popularised by the anti-apartheid movement abroad, and the Congress/ Charterist Movement within South Africa. From the moment of his release, Mandela did not escape press coverage on a world-wide scale. In South Africa we now saw a very tall, older, wiser-looking man - the central figure in the media during the so-called transition to democracy. His image was further popularised by the ANC alongside code words like ‘rainbow nation’ for example. Mandela’s image has since become ubiquitous in any imaginable form of corporate promotions in the business world and the tourist industry of contemporary South Africa. Today, the Nelson Mandela Foundation has itself made a commercial project out of Mandela. Money generated from this project has created, fashioned and projected an image of an almost mythical saint-like hero of the South African Liberation Struggle during apartheid.



*Fig. 4.15 - Mandela - the freedom fighter*



*Fig. 4.16 - Statue of Mandela in Sandton Square*

However, when viewed in historical context, it is significant to note that whilst South Africa was on the verge of revolution in the late 1980s, Mandela was already beginning peaceful negotiations with the apartheid regime. He has never claimed to be a socialist. Even after his presidency, he is still part of an ANC-lead government that passes laws which privilege the business world at the expense of the poor - who (as previously discussed in Chapter One) continue to earn a pittance, and are evicted, their water and electricity services cut when they are unable to pay their bills.



When interviewed on April 03, 2008, Desai presented a general response on images and 'the media': He used the phrase, "nothing sacrosanct" and made the point that it should come as no surprise that Mandela agreed to having a six meter bronze statue of himself erected in Sandton Square (fig. 4.16). Sandton square has now been renamed Nelson Mandela Square - "the site of the worst amount of capitalism and excess" (2007). According to Desai there are no icons left "the beautiful thing about Che Guevara is he still lives in the mind" (ibid).

Mandela has himself courted the attention of celebrities, attracted funds for charities and encouraged big business donations for the tourist industry. It is only now that the Mandela Foundation has lost control of the world-wide use of his image to sell just about anything, that legal measures are being taken to protect 'the Mandela brand'. This includes the controversy over a series of lithographs (sold for millions of dollars) that Mandela was said to have signed but didn't.

Therefore, unlike the manner in which the meaning of Che's and Biko's images have been diluted and distorted by capitalists, the image of Mandela and the ideals he is meant to represent has, from a capitalist standpoint, been taken to the height of glorification - to the cult of the celebrity.

### **Nothing is Sacrosanct**

In contemporary South Africa, once voted and elected into office, politicians easily get themselves into awkward situations, and make the most ludicrous statements that simply cannot go without a response from the critical eye of the public.

The most effective responses are visual statements. It is important to recall Barthes, who states, "pictures, to be sure, are more imperative than writing, they impose meaning at one stroke, without analysing or diluting it" (2000:109). The political cartoonists of the day, say it like it is. They aptly present updated versions of the stupid things that some politicians do and say. In so doing they continually push the boundaries of artistic expression and test the limits of tolerance.

South African political cartoonist, Jonathan Shapiro (known as Zapiro), is noted for the controversy that his cartoons generate. Of particular significance is the constant depiction of Jacob Zuma, currently the president of South Africa, with a shower over his head. The history of this signification goes back to 2006, when Zuma (then acquitted of rape) made an outrageous remark that after having sex with an HIV positive woman, "he took a shower to minimise the risk" of HIV infection. This was a shocking statement when we consider that South Africa has the highest statistics of HIV and Aids infection in the world, and also the dangerous implication that such a message conveys to the youth. Zapiro created a powerful visual statement in response to the remark - (fig. 4.17) - and all of his subsequent depictions of Zuma have included the shower over his head. It has become a part of Zuma's caricatured anatomy.



Fig. 4.17 - I took a Shower...



Fig. 4.18 - The Rape of Justice

Known as *the Rape of Justice Cartoon*, fig.4.18 shows a woman being held down by four men. Zuma, identified by the shower over his head, is unbuckling his pants. One of the men is looking at Zuma, and saying “Go for it Boss”. Read from left to right, the men are identified as the ANC youth league, the ANC, the SACP, and COSATU. (i.e. the tripartite alliance government of South Africa). They are all implicated in the act. The woman represents the justice system. She is blindfolded and is identified by the sash she is wearing as well as the scales that she is reaching out to - attributed to the historical representation of Lady Justice. This cartoon has caused the greatest uproar from Zuma supporters, as well as the greatest admiration for being so succinct in its comment about the abuse of the justice system in post-apartheid South Africa. Clearly not distressed, fig.4.19 shows the artist’s response to the threat of legal action over a combined number of his cartoons about Zuma: An infuriated Zuma is demanding R15 million from Zapiro for damaging his reputation. Zapiro replies sarcastically, “Would that be your reputation as a disgraced chauvinistic demagogue who can’t control his sexual urges and who thinks a shower prevents aids?” Zapiro believes implicitly that the constitution protects his right to freedom of expression.



Fig. 4.19 - I'm suing for Damage to my Reputation

### State Supported Corporate Globalisation

As the South African government, began its preparations to host the 2010 FIFA<sup>1</sup> World Cup, a number of social justice concerns became evident to civil society. Desai & Bond, in a text titled, *World Cup Woes for South Africa* (2010) illustrate that millions of funds that could have been spent on uplifting the quality of life of the poorest citizens in terms of food, decent shelter, running water, quality health care and education, was spent on world cup infrastructure and the building of state-of-the-art stadiums in the major cities.

To critical thinking people the reality of Naomi Klein's warning, about local governments succumbing to the power of global corporations, hit home fast. World cup preparations provided the perfect example for critical reflection about people's power against state supported corporate globalisation, as commercial branded territories were officially drawn. A well-publicised newspaper article titled, *Fifa Brand Police on Patrol*, warned the public country-wide that "no brand but the Fifa brand (fig. 4.20) will be allowed in the commercial restriction zones in and around the stadiums" (Natal Mercury: 07-05-2010 Sapa). This impacted negatively on informal traders who normally earned a living selling food outside existing stadiums (Desai & Bond 2010). Only unbranded packaging of food and drinks were allowed in the stadiums, and no newspapers were allowed. FIFA claimed as its trademarks various combinations of the words, "FIFA", "World Cup", "South Africa", "2010", and Zakumi (the FIFA 2010 mascot - fig.4.21). (Refer to addendum 4).

Yet again, Klein's warning about the unethical practices of big brand companies was realised in South Africa, when the truth was revealed about the mass production of Zakumi, the official 2010 Mascot (fig. 4.21).



**Fig. 4.20- The Official 2010 FIFA World Cup Logo**



**Fig. 4.21 - Zakumi :The Official 2010 FIFA Mascot:**

An article that appeared in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper on 2010-03-10, reported that a local company “owned by a member of parliament from the ANC” contracted the work to a Chinese sweatshop, which employed teenage workers on a 13 hour shift. This despite the unemployment rate in South Africa (<http://www.mg.co.za>).

In this chapter, I investigated how other designers both locally and abroad have dealt with issues of social justice. I have also considered the various ways in which one can push the boundaries of freedom of expression for the purpose of creating dialogue and debate. This has lead to a focus on my own role as a graphic designer for social justice, and in Chapter Five, I present the context of the supporting design work that has been undertaken during the course of this study.

---

1. In my text I make reference to ‘FIFA’, which is the acronym for the Federation of International Football Associations; however it is noted that in some texts it is simply referred to as ‘Fifa’ - which I have used where direct quotations were necessary.

## CHAPTER 5

### Design Executed During and Arising out of this Study

Graphic material has been produced on an on-going basis throughout this study, and this chapter presents background conceptual information as well as some examples of supporting design work, which is to be exhibited.

The first part comprises material produced during a working relationship with a non-profit community-based organisation, “Umtapo Centre” i.e. commissioned work. In the second part, I discuss the creation of a graphic identity for social justice design work. This is followed by an account of my personal graphic interpretation of the topic: ‘Graphic Design for Social Justice in South Africa’, in which I present examples of design work that aim to encourage critical thinking and dialogue.

#### Working with a Community Based Organisation: Umtapo Centre

From the outset it was my intention to produce design work that would be used by a chosen non-profit social justice organisation. The idea was to uplift the quality of the organisation’s existing visual communication - by presenting social justice issues in simpler, effective, and more meaningful graphic language. *Umtapo Centre - for Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education* was approached because of its emphasis on psychological liberation. The centre is based in Durban, and has its roots in the BC movement. It was inaugurated in 1986 whilst South Africa was still governed by apartheid laws. At the time of its inception, there was an increase in violence and intolerance within oppressed communities, and Umtapo aimed to address that issue. Umtapo’s vision is: “To have a society that will be characterised by social and economic justice and values that are consistent with the spirit of Ubuntu, an African philosophy”. The concept of Ubuntu as stated in their general information poster is:

...a shared vision leading to communal responsibility for sustaining life on our planet. 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am' or in Zulu, umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu...[It is] the capacity to express compassion, justice, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interests of building, maintaining and strengthening the people, the nation, the society...A person with ubuntu is open to others, affirms others, does not feel threatened by others’ strengths or abilities because he or she recognises that we all belong to a greater whole.

The choice of the word, Umtapo is significant. It is a Zulu word, and refers to a place that one can go to for empowerment - providing knowledge skills, and information for self-liberation (ibid).

Today Umtapo Centre is a non-partisan, non-profit, non-government organisation, and it focuses on community upliftment with projects that encourage critical thinking. Peace activists are trained



by Umtapo, and numerous training camps are organised with the aim to empower the youth of South Africa by encouraging them to develop a questioning mind. Women's leadership programmes, adult education and literacy are also organised by Umtapo on an ongoing basis. Deena Soliar, the coordinator, expresses the importance attached to the role of women in society:

Violence against women and children constitutes one of the most destructive and dehumanizing acts of peacelessness in any society because it impacts negatively on women who are the backbone of the home, the community, and society... (Peace Afrika Newsletter, 2009:5).

The centre has added immense value to this study. My personal interest in Umtapo's work is that their philosophy draws from Steve Biko's philosophy of psychological liberation, and their teaching methods for Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education (PHARE) draws directly from Paulo Freire's work. This is evident in their mission statement which reads:

To empower and enable people, particularly youth and women, through popular education and participatory development, to take control of their own lives in the struggle for peace, justice, and self-reliance... Popular education enables people to develop an analytical and questioning mind and a scientific approach to understanding the realities around them and thereupon act to create the conditions for peaceful and sustainable living. It is an ongoing and continuous process, which includes constant action and reflection (Umtapo General Information poster:2006).

Design work for this study began with the Umtapo logo (fig. 5.1) - which is a re-interpretation of the existing visual material. The statement, "free the mind...free the land" was conceived by Strini Moodley, and communicates the importance attached to psychological freedom. Strini Moodley has been very influential to my own understanding of the concept of race and racism.

Still evident in post-apartheid South Africa is the blind acceptance of apartheid-imposed racial categories which continue to construct group identities. In South Africa 2010, official forms like those used in the Department of Education, for example, still ask you to indicate your race group. In contrast, in an Umtapo workshop conducted by Strini Moodley, he maintains that accurate scientific evidence proves that there is only one race - the human race. He denounces the so-called science of race which categorises all of humankind into four races. According to Moodley (2000), the four race categorisation used by the apartheid regime was inherited from the time of the mid-Atlantic slave trade. He defines racism as:

...a disease that is spread by one group that uses real and/or imaginary differences to oppress another group or groups, politically, socially, economically and culturally, in order to sustain itself in power (Umtapo Centre DVD: Racism).

In 1998 Umtapo developed an "African Peace Education Training Programme for Community Peace Activists", which led to the creation of Peace Clubs.

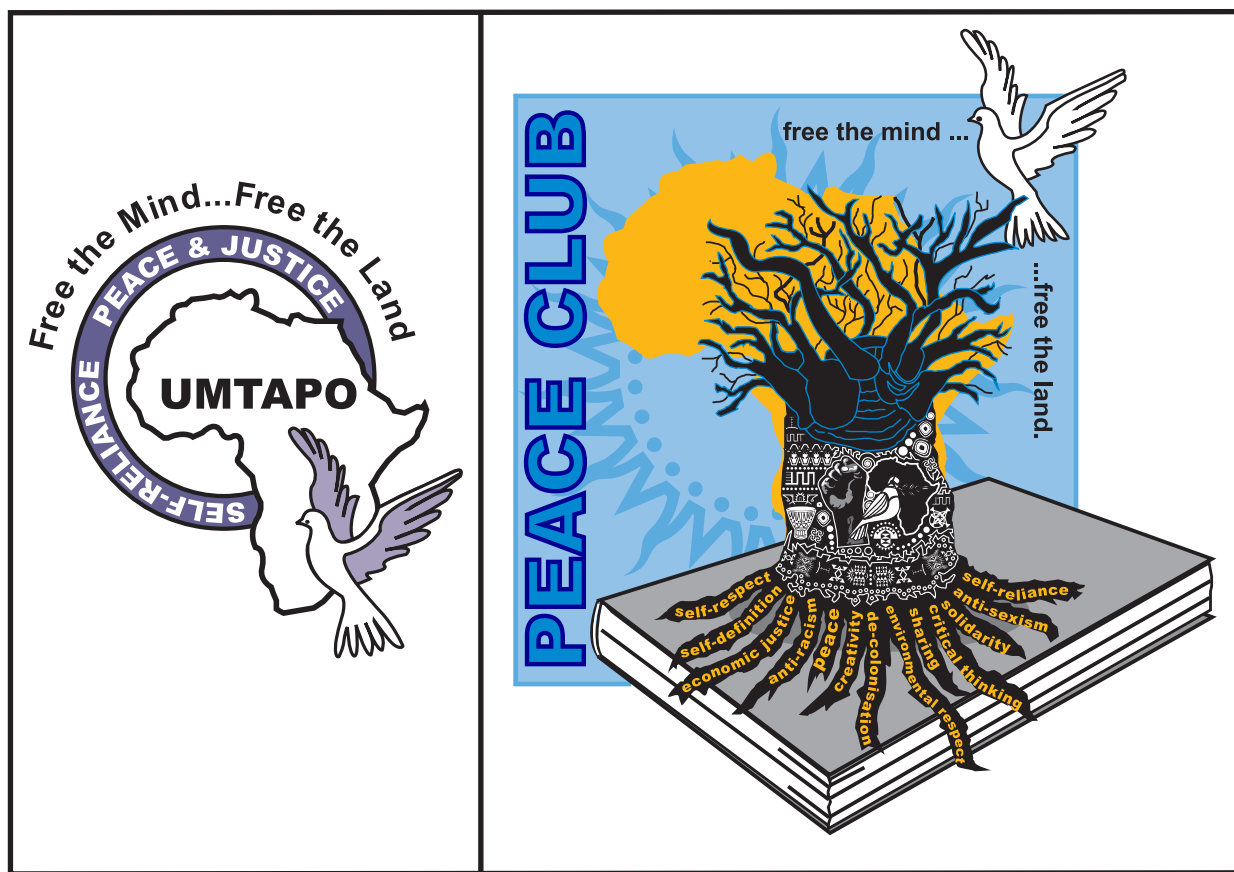


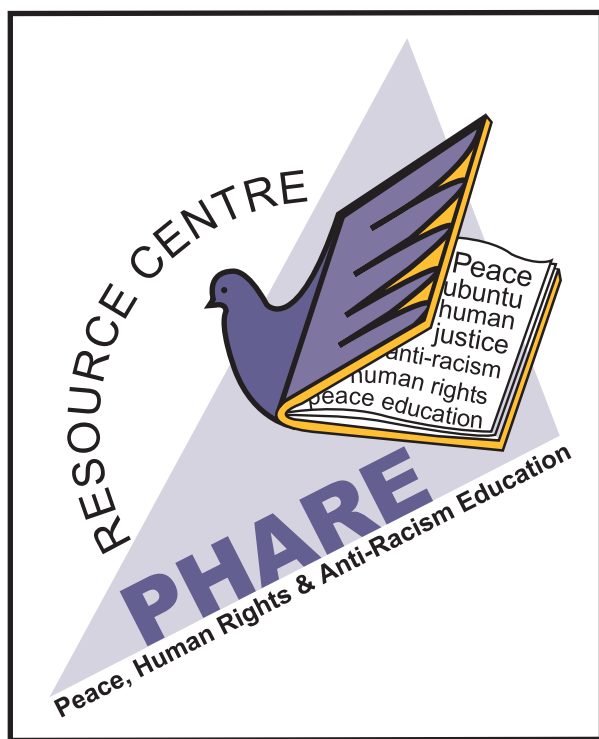
Fig. 5.1 - Umtapo Logo

Fig. 5.2 - Peace Club Logo

Today Peace Clubs are a major component of Umtapo's PHARE programme. In the May 2009 issue of Umtapo's *Peace Afrika Newsletter*, the organisation reports that 75 Peace Clubs were established in secondary schools throughout 7 provinces in South Africa (2009:09). As part of this study, I designed the "Peace Club logo" (fig. 5.2). On instruction from Umtapo, it includes the words, self-respect, self-definition; economic justice; anti-racism; peace; creativity; de-colonisation; environmental respect; sharing; critical thinking; solidarity; anti-sexism; and self-reliance - which are the basic aspects of Umtapo's teachings.

Thus far twenty eight of the Peace Clubs in Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Western Cape, have Resource Centres set up (ibid). The resource centres required their own logo, referred to by Umtapo as the "PHARE logo" - which stands for Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education (fig. 5.3). Umtapo reports that through Peace Club activities and leadership roles in Representative Councils of Learners (RCLs), members have not only played a major role in transforming their schools into safer places of learning, but have also improved their academic results (Umtapo Peace Club Pamphlet: 2009).

In 2009 Umtapo launched a campaign to revive the spirit of Ubuntu. I designed the "Ubuntu Logo" (fig. 5.4) for this campaign. Soliar, quoting Mattera states,



*Fig. 5.3 - PHARE Logo*



*Fig. 5.4 - Ubuntu Logo*

Ubuntu is supposed to embrace the values of caring, sharing, respecting, and being compassionate. Don Mattera, the poet and activist, says: “No religion is higher than compassion” and since compassion is a component of Ubuntu, it goes without saying that Ubuntu is above all religions, all faiths, all cultures, all communities, all political parties (Peace Afrika Newsletter, 2009:66).

The bulk of the work to be exhibited comprises aspects of the various educational and social justice campaigns organised by Umtapo, and includes, logo designs, pamphlets, banners, DVD labels and covers, posters, T-shirts, newsletters, invitations, reports, a resource manual and general computer generated vector images.

### **The Creation of a Graphic Identity for Social Justice Design Work**

There came a point during this study, when the need arose to create an identity for the kind of design work that was being produced. It also led to personal clarity of vision, and resulted in the decision to register a design studio that focused mainly on ‘graphic design for social justice’. It was registered as ‘crystal clear visual communication c.c.’ It positions itself as an alternative design studio.

Rather than perpetuate the voice of the established order, I see my role on the side of community struggles against state power. As such, the aim of my graphics is to encourage people to think critically, instead of blindly accepting and imbibing abstract propaganda.



Fig. 5.5 - Crystal Clear Logo

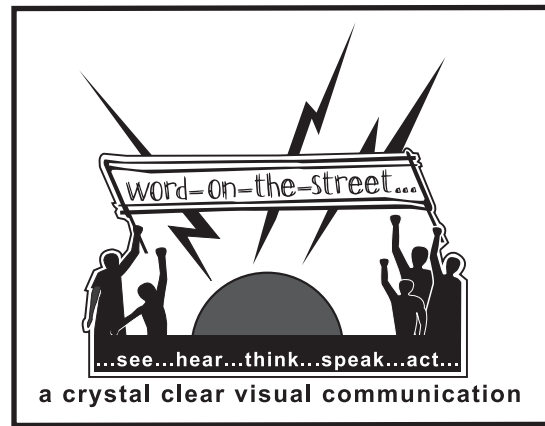


Fig. 5.6 - Word-on-the-street Logo

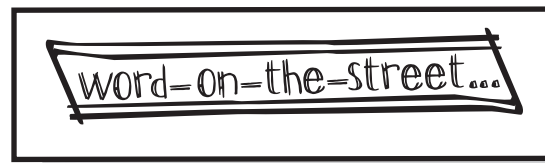


Fig. 5.7 - Word-on-the-street (name) Logo

I recognise the urgency to work with community movements. My strength is that I have the skill to collaborate on projects that unpack more complex concepts, which I can re-present in simpler graphic format for the purpose of encouraging dialogue. I am emphatically against the idea of people being seen as “the masses” whose ideas can be shaped or moulded to a particular ideology, or a given way of thinking. This is expressed in the “Crystal Clear Logo” with the words, “...see...hear... think... speak...act...” (fig. 5.5).

### Personal Graphic Interpretation: “word-on-the-street”

There also arose a point in this process where I was engaging with social justice issues on an ongoing basis, and I wanted to express my personal viewpoint. That is, I experienced a need to produce design work that was unrelated to Umtapo Centre. This led to the creation of the ‘word-on-the-street’ logos (fig. 5.6 - 5.7). *Word-on-the-street* is a more radical graphic identity. The design work produced aims to agitate and provoke with controversial images and words that encourage critical thinking, by uncovering the truth about state power.

Typical examples of word-on-the-street graphics provided food for thought about the impact of the South African governments extravagance in preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Dire-bolical Materialism (fig 5.8) was the first image circulated during the world cup. It was conceptualised after a conversation with Asha Moodley. We had overheard someone talking about Marx’s theory of dialectical Materialism, and Asha turned to me and wittingly stated, “You mean diabolical materialism!”. At that moment in time it seemed the perfect phrase to capture, in one visual



**Fig. 5.8 - Dire-bolical Materialism**

expression, the reality of state supported corporate globalisation and its impact on our daily routines and our sense of freedom. The word, 'diabolical' also reflects Judith Williamson's reference to the "politically unjust, materially exploitative, spiritually crushing system" of global capitalism (2002:07). I altered the term, using the word 'dire' to communicate the urgency and seriousness of the message and the disastrous effect of this power on our cost of living, our landscape, and our daily lives. The negative shape in the middle of the poster is undoubtedly recognized as the image of Zakumi, the world cup mascot.

Technically, the image is not there. This was done deliberately, because being the first image I designed; I was hesitant about copyright issues. Zakumi is armed with a trident, similar to that attributed to the colonial goddess, Britannia (previously referred to in Chapter Two). This visual statement is a response to the much-publicised statement that all world cup cities are FIFA territory. It communicates a multitude of issues and facts (previously discussed in Chapter Four), about FIFA's power in relation to human rights and freedom in Africa.

The Question, "Where is Azania?" is strategically placed on a football at Zakumi's foot. It is meant to communicate another impending blow - and a reminder that the struggle continues. ('Azania' is previously explained on page 57).





Fig. 5.9 - FIFAKT



Fig. 5.10 - DUPED

Similarly, in “Fifakt” (fig. 5.9) and “Duped” (fig. 5.10) the guiding conceptual origination was to take note of the nonsensical spending of billions by the South African government at the expense of the quality of life of the poorest of its people<sup>1</sup>. Due to lack of funds to print T-shirts, these images were circulated via email by ‘word-on-the-street’ during the World Cup. All three images communicate the same concept. Whilst the text message on the email of “Dire-bolical Materialism” began with the words, “A copyright on this image ‘Diabolical Materialism’ would be absurd!”, the general text included in each of the three messages stated:

Hello friend, Please open the attachment...copy it...forward it...print it...paste it in your daily working, talking, thinking space...stencil it...put it on a T-shirt...Help Spread the word...the-word-on-the-street.

The email message of the “Fifakt” image (fig. 5.9.) was titled, “its the truth”. In this design, I have incorporated the well-recognised image of the ‘kicking man’ from the Fifa 2010 World Cup logo. Since the position of his legs resembles the formation of the letter “F”, it was utilized to spell the word “Fifakt”, (which is a combination of Fifa and Fucked). The image depicts the reality and significance of the entire world cup event on the lives, hopes and dreams of the people of Africa. It communicates the sentiment that it was not South Africa’s or Africa’s world cup, but Fifa’s world cup.

In the image, although it is the South of the continent that is being kicked by FIFA, it has a destructive impact on the entire continent. The green and yellow circles in ANC colours, represent the ANC-led government of South Africa, and alludes to a target sign that has marked Africa. The total image therefore is a representation of the impact of the combined effort of both state power and global power on the African continent for this event.

The email text message for the “Duped” image (fig. 5.10)<sup>2</sup> stated,

Howzit, This is a re-interpretation of an early coke advert, which depicted the brand as the world's best friend. I have pleasure in mimicking the imagery to communicate within the context of the world cup in South Africa 2010 - which is just one aspect of the wider struggle for peace and human dignity...

I received numerous positive responses to my images, and the word was spread further after a response from Professor Patrick Bond from the Centre for Civil Society (CCS) at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. I subsequently made contact with the Durban Social Forum and joined the protest march in Durban city centre during the FIFA World Cup. At the protest, there were numerous organisations from various ideological perspectives. Everyone had rallied together around a common cause: peoples power against global and state capitalism - i.e. against the force wielded of both FIFA and the South African government against the people. It was at the march that I had realised that there is so much more meaningful work to do to increase the clarity and potency of visual communication in the struggle for social justice in South Africa.

### **Personal Creative Inspiration**

My personal style draws from the work of Luba Lukova. I am influenced by her boldness of image and her clarity of visual communication. Although I have only achieved this with the 'FIFAKT' image, Lukova demonstrates the ability to inspire critical thinking - using one image, and one word only. In a series of posters titled *“Social Justice 2008, 12 Posters by Luba Lukova”*, she makes diverse visual statements about social reality, the nature of control and the rhetoric of the powers that be. “Health Coverage” (fig. 5.11), “Censorship” (fig. 5.12), “Corporate Corruption” (fig. 5.13), and “Brainwashing” (fig. 5.14) are examples. Refer also to Lukova’s “Speak” poster (fig. 1.0 - on pg. ii).

I admire Lukova’s work for the simplicity, clarity and immediacy of each message. The beauty of her work is that the combination of one powerful graphic image with just one word or term requires no explanation. Each poster speaks for itself. In addition, although published in the U.S.A., her statements are understood internationally. The viewer does not even have to be English-speaking to understand the message in each image.

In contemporary South Africa, Lukova's graphic design for social justice posters become more and more relevant as we feel the government exerting new forms of control on our day to day living. Lukova's images make us stop and think about the government's double-dealing actions, and its rhetoric about rights and human dignity.



**Fig. 5.11 - Lukova:**  
**Health coverage**

**Fig. 5.12 - Lukova:**  
**Censorship**

**Fig. 5.13 - Lukova:**  
**Corporate corruption**

**Fig. 5.14 - Lukova:**  
**Brainwashing**

## The Truth Conference Logo

One of the last and most significant images produced during this study is the "Truth Conference Logo". It is significant because of its relation to the topic, 'Graphic Design for Social Justice in South Africa'. Furthermore, it marks an overlap between commissioned work and personal expression. It was originally designed as one of a series of linocuts that reflect my personal opinion, however there arose an urgent need for a logo for Umtapo's 'State of the Nation Truth Conference' scheduled to take place in Durban on 24-25th September 2010. The original design was stylised in a new composition, and presented as a vector graphic. The "Truth Conference Logo" (fig 5.15) was the chosen image out of four logo design options that I presented to Umtapo.

The image is essentially a re-interpretation of the "Eat Liberty" image (previously discussed in Chapter Two). I thought it appropriate to re-interpret the image using the South African Bill of Rights. This proves very interesting when viewed within changed historical circumstances, and when rights are viewed within the current context of neo-liberalism in a capitalist post-apartheid South Africa. This image arose out of a thought process that began during an interview with Professor Desai (2008) who argued that human rights in South Africa is almost mythical, considering, as one example, that so many people are dying of starvation in our country.

In this design, the figure lying down represents the people of South Africa, being force-fed the bill of rights. The stylisation of the person's eyes into spirals as well as the jagged lines on the head



**Fig. 5.15 - The 2010 Umtapo State of the Nation Truth Conference Logo**

represent an inability to think clearly. That is, the people of contemporary South Africa are blinded or dazed by the myths and false promises of the powers that be (the ANC-led government). This power is represented by the hand with ANC colours.

It is intended that this design initiates discussion and dialogue about the rhetoric of rights in post-apartheid South Africa. The resolutions of the State of the Nation Truth Conference are included in the Addendum.

In the continued struggle for freedom in South Africa, social justice issues emerge on a daily basis. The role of the graphic designer, in community struggles against state power, is essential. Designers who design for social justice are not only able to present large concepts in a clearer, simpler, more easily understood way, but are also pivotal in provoking and agitating for the purpose of critical thinking and open debate. It is in this sphere of design that I see my role, and through this study I have achieved a clarity of vision.

1. Information essential in the conceptual process was sourced from daily press cuttings, and also includes a viewing of the documentary *"Fahrenheit 2010"* at the Centre for Civil Society, UKZN (12-03-10).

2. This image is a re-interpretation and a stylisation of an early Coke advertisement that appeared on the cover of Time Magazine, USA in May 1950. See McQuiston, L., 2004:4), *Graphic Agitation 2- Social and Political Graphics in the Digital Age*, Phaidon Press Ltd: London. In this ad, Coke depicted itself as the World's best friend.

## CONCLUSION

This study began with questioning the guarantee of human rights, as expressed and protected by the constitution of post-apartheid South Africa, whilst observing the inequalities and injustices of everyday social reality. Together with a passionate interest in the historical and conceptual development of socio-political graphics, these were the main motivating factors. My aim was to examine the role of graphic design in the struggle for social justice in South Africa - with specific reference to the concept of human rights.

At the early stage of the research process I held the naive assumption that all that was needed to better the quality of life of the poor, hungry, homeless, and marginalised people in contemporary South Africa was to make them aware that they have rights which they can claim. I considered that the role of graphic design was to create awareness about rights.

On closer examination of the concept of rights as well as information gathered from relevant texts, from interviews with community activists, and a working relationship with Umtapo Centre, I achieved a clearer focus. A turning point in my own perception occurred during a personal interview with Prof. Desai who argued that human rights is “such a nebulous concept - it’s everything and nothing” (2008). Arising from his working experience in poor communities, Desai made the statement that human rights are so inaccessible; they are “almost mythical” (ibid). This made me take a closer look at Barthes, whose aim is to uncover the myths presented from the standpoint of state power. Barthes maintains that by dressing up reality, and thus distorting meaning, the capitalist order is able to impose its ideology on ordinary people who blindly accept its myths (2000:11; 117). At this point I began to think more critically about my topic.

The underlying assumption in creating awareness about rights is that the government is committed to ensuring the enjoyment of human rights. In essence this includes satisfying the basic necessities for living a life of human dignity and peace. However, the very nature of the capitalist system creates a society in which the rich get richer at the expense of the poor. Desai brings to our attention that in the daily struggles for food, basic shelter, electricity, and clean running water (commonly outlined as the basic human rights), the neo-liberal government of post-apartheid South Africa, responds with evictions, electricity disconnections and water cut-offs for people who can’t afford it (2002:72). Following Desai, I have also drawn from Freire (2000) who like Barthes (2002), is concerned with how people blindly accept the injustices that govern their day-to-day living. I agree with Freire, who contends that injustices are not a given destiny, but exist as a result of an unjust socio-political order...of deliberate government decisions (1993:26-27). In this context, Biko’s philosophy of psychological liberation becomes more meaningful. Biko encourages people to think critically about the causes of their oppression. Subsequently it became clear to me that creating awareness about rights is meaningless when the system in which it is meant to work is unequal and unjust. Thus, whilst my focus is on the dissemination of information, I designed this study



around two central themes: the struggle between state power and peoples power, and the concepts of psychological liberation and critical thinking.

The key terms used in this study have been defined and contextualised to clarify their significance, and the research process has led to the following outcomes:

A critical examination of the meaning of '*human rights*' and '*social justice*,' and how these two terms relate, required a historical analysis of the development of the concept of rights. We have seen that, interwoven in the development of human rights is the historical fact of European colonialism. Colonial misconceptions and the colonial imagination gave rise to a knowledge system that presented racist, derogatory views of colonised peoples. Ideas about the "rights of man" were being formulated during a time when colonised peoples were regarded as inferior, "sub-human", and "not fully human" - and therefore not worthy of having "human" rights. It was therefore important to take into account, power struggles in society in general, as well as within the larger context of "first world" - "third world" relations. I concluded that there is no clear-cut definition of either of the terms, "human rights" and "social justice". The term '*social justice*,' as it is used in this study, is nonetheless clarified to refer specifically to the struggle for the enjoyment of a life of mutual respect for human dignity and peaceful living. It is based on an understanding that all people deserve to be treated equally and are entitled to a fair share in the benefits of society.

Examining the '*role of graphic design*' involved first defining the term graphic design. It was defined as: the creative composition of images and words, which communicate information to capture the attention of a targeted audience - for an intended purpose. The primary role of graphic design involves the dissemination of information. In the struggle between the powerful and the powerless, the conceptual and communicative power of image and text in society was examined in historical context. During the European colonisation of the other continents, images played a central role in the creation of a western knowledge system. Graphic images helped to perpetuate derogatory views about colonised peoples. In apartheid South Africa, these graphic images played a key role in entrenching white racism, otherness and 'apartness'. In a capitalist society such as apartheid and contemporary South Africa, graphic design through the power of advertising communicates a false sense of reality. It represents the voice of state power, and imposes the ideology of the capitalist order on ordinary people who blindly accept its myths. These myths are recycled in our educational institutions and in our social and cultural interactions.

The term, '*graphic design for social justice*' required a distinction be made between the dissemination of information from the standpoint of state power, as opposed to liberatory images presented from the position of people's struggles against state power. This study therefore defines "graphic design for social justice" as the dissemination of visual information (images and words) that challenges injustice and creates awareness about power and control. "Graphic design for social justice" is actively engaged in the ongoing struggle for the enjoyment of a life of mutual respect for human dignity and peaceful living.

*'The role of graphic design for social justice'* therefore, is to uncover the blinders of ideology, and unveil the myths of the established socio-political order. Clearly on the side of the powerless, graphic design for social justice challenges injustices by creating awareness about power, control and blind acceptance. Following from Paulo Freire, graphic design for social justice entails the creative production of images and text that present scenarios to encourage critical thinking, dialogue and debate. It is educational, in contrast to the propaganda of state power. It aims to present dialogical, problem posing graphics for true liberation.

*'The role of graphic design for social justice in South Africa'*, required acknowledging the significance of the socio-economic, political and psychological impact of apartheid power on people's lives. In my examination of *'Post-Apartheid Sites of Remembrance'*, I considered the effectiveness of graphic design in presenting information and constructing meaning about the past. I concluded that the manner in which information in these sites (compared to information dissemination in colonial museums) has been presented, is more dialogical, and technologically advanced. However, I was concerned with the content of information presented. I concluded that a trip to post-apartheid sites of remembrance, presents for tourists and the younger generation who have not experienced apartheid, only one side of the story of resistance to state power. We are told the story of the ANC or the present 'Tri-partite Alliance' (i.e. the leading party in the present government of South Africa). The role of other individuals and liberation organisations like the Pan African Congress, the Unity Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement have almost been written out of history.

Thus, in the writing of a history of South African socio-political graphics, there is an urgent need for researchers to document visual material that represents the alternate perspectives on the concept of liberation in the struggle during apartheid. This study has motivated a further enquiry into this aspect of South African graphic design history. In the displays that are presented in sites of remembrance, I have drawn attention to the importance of presenting many sides of the stories of the past, from which the public and tourists are meant to learn. I have therefore stressed that the role of graphic design for social justice is also to ensure that information dissemination in these displays are educational, and that they include current problem posing dialogical graphics for true education.

In my text I have made numerous references to "the liberation struggle during apartheid," to draw attention to the fact that the term 'liberation struggle' does not refer to a moment that is frozen in history. As long as there exists homelessness, hunger, joblessness, no access to clear running water, no access to safe electricity, sub-standard health care, poor quality education...the liberation struggle continues.

I therefore concluded that the use of code words, like 'the struggle', 'the constitution', 'human rights', 'social justice,' 'the people shall govern', and other wonderfully sounding sugar-coated words, is that they become the mythology and the rhetoric of the established state order.

In my exploration of contemporary international graphic design issues for social justice I demonstrated how it is possible to view the power struggles in post-apartheid South Africa within the wider context of people's power against state-supported corporate globalisation. The FIFA 2010 World Cup being hosted in South Africa in June 2010 provided the perfect backdrop for highlighting the significance as well as the nature of the struggle for social justice on a global scale.

In the older democracies one of the main issues tackled by social justice activists is the corporate sponsorship of public space, which they argue, impacts on the freedom of choice and critical thinking. The biggest concern amongst social justice activists in South Africa 2010 was the multi-millions that were unnecessarily spent on building state-of-the-art stadiums and the preparation of world cup infrastructure in the major cities. Their argument was that the same passion and finance could have easily been invested in addressing homelessness, hunger, joblessness, access to clear running water, access to safe electricity, improving the conditions of hospitals, focusing on access to quality education, and building more schools. Once FIFA arrived, it demarcated and declared its territory around the stadiums. It protected its partner brands (the official sponsors of the event). It imposed legal restrictions on the poor - like the informal traders who were hoping to sell local products, especially food, near the stadiums. It employed brand police to ensure the protection of the FIFA brand name. It set forth a ludicrous attempt to claim copyright over various combinations of the words, 'World Cup', 'South Africa', and '2010'. Following Naomi Klein's (2002) warning about the nature of Corporate globalisation, it was no surprise to social justice activists when controversy arose over the FIFA mascot being mass-produced in a Chinese sweatshop. FIFA attempted to control what people wore to the stadiums, what they ate and drank, and even what they read at the matches. Newspapers were banned. Clearly there was no choice ...no brand but FIFA and its partners. All these issues are more common in the older democracies where graphic designers are actively involved in reclaiming public space and fighting against such power by attacking the logos of mega global brands, and visually subverting them to alter their meaning.

In the struggle for social justice in South Africa there remains a myriad of causes that graphic designers could involve themselves in. There is an urgent need to not only visually document these struggles but to enhance the potency of the visual message to encourage critical thinking. I realised this when I joined the protest march in Durban city centre during the FIFA World Cup. I was most interested in the fact that although there were numerous organisations involved in the struggle for social justice, they had all rallied together around a common cause: peoples power against global and state capitalism - i.e. against the force wielded of both FIFA and the South African government against the people.

Working with Umtapo Centre, has added great value to this study, especially because of their emphasis on psychological liberation and critical thinking. By producing design work for the organisation, which bases its methodology on Paulo Freire's educational philosophy, I achieved a clearer personal focus in this study. The organisation held numerous discussion forums, which

I attended. The topics for discussion were always relevant to the current struggle for social justice, and included dialogue about new forms of state power that are constantly emerging in contemporary South Africa.

As I write this conclusion, a grave concern has arisen in South Africa about the government's plan to pass the "Protection of Information" bill. Activists involved in people's struggles against state power have referred to it as the "Secrecy Bill", as it will give the government the power to classify any information, 'protected'. This includes the power to suppress media freedom. This act of power raises all sorts of concerns, notably freedom of the press and artistic expression, but most importantly, the free flow of information, transparency, accountability and in effect - the silencing of whistle blowers. Considering state intervention into the rights and freedoms we think we have, a further point worth noting is the impact of political power on academic freedom. Professor Desai, an invaluable source of information for this study is known and admired by many critical thinking South Africans for his open, honest and meaningful criticism of state power. Today he remains banned from partaking in any academic activity at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, despite an international petition in his support.

Whilst the nature of my focus has been more conceptual, it is intended that the body of design work produced for Umtapo centre, as well as my personal graphic interpretation, will contribute to the documentation of South African graphic design history. My focus on contemporary graphic design issues for social justice includes examples of controversial images in the South African media. It is my intention that this study contributes in part to a writing of South African graphic design history.

By focusing on psychological liberation and critical thinking, I hope to have presented a view of the 'bigger picture' - a wider theoretical context, for further research studies that are undertaken from a South African graphic design perspective.

## REFERENCES

- adbusters (online). Available WWW: <http://www.adbusters.com> (Accessed 18 July 2009)
- Adam, P. 1992. *The Arts of the Third Reich*. London: Thames and Hudson
- aluka (online). Available WWW: <http://www.aluka.org/action>. (Accessed 12 February 2010)
- Apartheid Museum (online). Available WWW: <http://www.apartheidmuseum.org> (Accessed 24 May 2007)
- Atomic Bomb*. 2005. in Encyclopaedia Britannica 2006 Ultimate Reference Suite [CD-ROM]: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc.
- Benjamin, R. (ed). 1997. *Orientalism - Delacroix to Klee*. The Art Gallery of New South Wales
- Biko, S. 1978. *I Write What I Like*. African Writers Series. London: Heineman Educational Books Ltd.
- Biko, S. 2004. *I Write What I Like*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa
- Barthes, R. 2000. *Mythologies*. London: Vintage
- Broken People - Caste Violence against India's Untouchables* (online). 2008. Available WWW: <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/24485/section/6> (Accessed October 15, 2009).
- Bunting, B. 1986 *The Rise of the South African Reich*. London: International Defence Aid Fund for Southern Africa.
- Butler, S.R. 2003. *The Museum, the Tour, the Senses*. Paper delivered for the CONSERT meeting. 13 November 2003 (online). Available WWW: <http://www.david-howes.com/WebButlerMuseum-Tour-Senses.doc> (Accessed 25 March 2009)
- Carey, P. K. 2008. Interviewed by L. Ravjee, Durban. 18 April
- Cavendish, M. 1985. Goya in *The Great Artists - Their lives works and Inspiration*. Marshall Cavendish Weekly Collection Part 10. London: Marshall Cavendish Ltd.
- Centre for Economic and Social Rights - Basic Primer, (online). Available WWW: <http://cesr.org/basic> (Accessed 30 March 2006)
- Concise Oxford Dictionary. 10th edition. 1999. Oxford University Press
- Constitutional Hill Souvenir Supplement. 2004. Independent Newspapers: Durban
- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. 1996. Act 108 of 1996
- Creech, J. 1998. Age of Reason, in WorldBook Multimedia Encyclopaedia [CD-ROM]. USA: IBM Corporation
- Desai, A. 2002. *We Are The Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press



- Desai, A. 2008. Interviewed by L.Ravjee, Durban 3 April
- Desai & Bond. 2010. *World Cup Woes for South Africa* (online). Available WWW: <http://www.solidarity-us.org/current/node/2935> (Accessed October 2010).
- District Six (online). Available WWW: <http://www.districtsix.co.za> [Accessed 22 July 2009]
- Durban City website (online). Available WWW: <http://www.durban.gov.za/durban> [Accessed 02 July 2009]
- Encyclopaedia Britannica 2006 Ultimate Reference Suite* [CD-ROM] Britannica Inc.
- "*Fahrenheit 2010 - a Matter More Important than Life or Death*" [documentary] viewed at the Centre for Civil Society, UKZN (12-03-10).
- Flowers, N. (ed), (n.d.). *What are Human Rights?* (online). Available WWW <http://www.1.umn/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-1/whatare.htm> [Accessed 02 July 2009]
- Friere, P. 1993. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London: Penguin Books.
- Foucault, M. 1967. *Of Other Spaces - Heterotopias*. (online). Available WWW <http://www.foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heterotopia.en.html> [Accessed 05 January 2007] Hoffmann,
- Goldstone, C. *Sutcliffe pay boost up to R1.7m a year* (online). Available WWW <http://www.abahlali.org/node/6513> (Accessed 14 December 2010)
- Gool, B. in Design Indaba Magazine, July 2001
- Hoffmann, P. 2005. *Adolf Hitler* in 2006 World Book Multimedia Encyclopedia [CD ROM]:The Software Mackiev Company
- Huddleston, T. 1990. *Father Huddleston's Picture Book*. London: Kliptown Books
- Hughs, T.A. 2006. *World War II* In *Encyclopaedia Britannica 2006 Ultimate Reference Suite* [CD-ROM] Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc.
- Jesseph, D.M. 1998. *John Locke* In WorldBook Multimedia Encyclopaedia [CD-ROM]. USA:IBM Corporation
- Klein, N. 2002. *No Logo*. New York: Picador
- Koenig, S. Peoples Movement for Human Rights Education (online). Available WWW <http://www.pdhre.org> (Accessed 30 March 2006).
- Kundera - Quoted on <http://www.apartheidmuseum.org> (Accessed 23 July 2009)
- Kunzle, D. *Seeing Che* (online). Available WWW: <http://www.ucla.edu/htm1971010seeingche.html> (Accessed 02 July 2006)
- Kwa Muhle Museum (online). Available WWW: <http://www.giuseppelanzi.org/Frontiere/kwamuhle.html> (Accessed 02 July 2006)

- Law-Viljoen, B. (ed). 2006. *Light on a Hill: Building the Constitutional Court of South Africa*. David Krut Publishing
- Lazar, C. and Magubane, P. 1993. *Women of South Africa - Their Fight for Freedom*. Canada: Little, Brown and Company:
- Macharia, D., Moodley, S. and Soliar, D. 2002. *African Peace, Human Rights and Ant-Racism Education: A Resource Manual for Educators and Trainers*. (2002). Funded by The European Union Foundation for Human Rights in South Africa (EUFHRSA)
- Marx, K. 1844. *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right 1844* (online) 2011 Available WWW: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm> (Accessed 7 March 2011).
- Mail & Guardian Online* (online). Available WWW: <http://www.mg.co.za/> (Accessed 18 July 2006)
- McRae, A. (ed.) 2001. *The Illustrated History of the World - From the Big Bang to the Third Millenium*. McRae Books : Florence, Italy
- McQuiston, L. 1993. *Graphic Agitation- Social and Political Graphics since the Sixties*, London:Phaidon Press Ltd.
- McQuiston, L. 2004. *Graphic Agitation 2- Social and Political Graphics in the Digital Age*, London:Phaidon Press Ltd.
- McQuiston, L. (curator). 2004. *Upfront and Personal -Three Decades of Political Graphics from the United Kingdom plus Southern African Political Graphics'*. South Africa: British Council of South Africa.
- Meggs, P. B. 1998. *A History of Graphic Design*. 3rd ed. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Mkhize, P. 2007. Interviewed by L.Ravjee, Durban 21 May
- Moodley, A. 2007. Interviewed by L.Ravjee, Durban 4 July
- Moodley, K. 2007. Interviewed by L.Ravjee, Durban 24 March
- Moodley, S. 1982. "What is Black Consciousness?" Azapo Workshop
- Moodley, S. 2000. Umtapo Workshop: *Racism*. Umtapo Centre Resource: DVD
- Moodley, S. (n.d.). in *In Memory of Strini Moodley*. Umtapo Centre Resource: DVD
- Moosa, I. 2010. Telephonic Interview with L.Ravjee, Durban, 12 November
- North, D. 2006. War, social inequality and the crisis of American Democracy. Part Two (online). Available WWW: <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2006/Nov2006?dn2-nis.shtml> (Accessed 8 December 2009)
- Nuttall, T. (ed). 1998. *From Apartheid to Democracy - South Africa 1948-1994*. Wright, J.; Hoffman, J.; Sishi, N.; and Khandlhela. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Shuter & Shooter (Pty) Ltd.

- 'OSPAAAL' - Organisation of Solidarity with People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (online). Available WWW: <http://www.wikipedia.org/OSPAAAL> Ostrower, G.B. (Accessed 18 July 2006)
- Ostrower, G.B. 2005. *League of Nations* in 2006 World Book Multimedia Encyclopaedia (CD ROM):The Software Mackiev Company
- Peace Afrika Newsletter*. May 2009. Vol13. No1. South Africa: The Umtapo Centre Peace and Anti-Racism Project
- Peoples Movement for Human Rights Education (online). Available WWW: <http://www.pdhre.org> (Accessed 30 March 2006).
- Phiri Water Rights Case Heads to the Constitutional Court on 2 and 3 September 2009* - Press Statement from The Centre for Applied Legal Studies 26 August 2009 (online). Available WWW: <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article355>. (Accessed 15 December 2009)
- Pieterse, J. N. 1992. *White on Black - Images of Africa and blacks in Western Popular Culture*. New Haven: London: Yale University Press.
- The Poster Book Collective (1991). *Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s*. Johannesburg: Ravan
- Potgieter, B. 2007. Interviewed by L.Ravjee, Durban 2 March
- Propaganda*. in Encyclopaedia Britannica 2006 Ultimate Reference Suite [CD-ROM] Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc.
- Ravan Press, *Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s*.
- Rayner, M. (n.d.) History of Human Rights - up to WW2 (online). Available WWW: <http://www.universalrights.net/main/histof.htm> (Accessed 10 March 2006)
- Reddy, T. 2000. *Hegemony and Resistance: Contesting Identities in South Africa - Race and Representation*. England: Ashgate Publishing
- Ritter, B. (n.d.) Symbolism of the Statue of Liberty. (online). Available from WWW: [http://www.ehow.com/abpout\\_7231258\\_symbolism-statue-liberty.html](http://www.ehow.com/abpout_7231258_symbolism-statue-liberty.html)
- The Revolutionary Pleasure of Thinking for Yourself*. 1992. Tuscon, Arizona: Sharp Press
- Said, E. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd
- Sauthoff, M. (ed) and Pretorius, D. (2004), "Challenging Apartheid - Posters from the United Democratic Front and The End Conscription Campaign" in *Image & Text*, 2004 Number 11, University of Pretoria
- Sauthoff, M. 2006. *An alliance of Style, situation and content: The design of a typeface for South Africa's Constitutional Court*. (online). Available WWW: [http://www.up.ac.za/dspace/bitstream/2263/3084/2/Sauthoff\\_Alliance\(2006\).pdf](http://www.up.ac.za/dspace/bitstream/2263/3084/2/Sauthoff_Alliance(2006).pdf) (Accessed 15 January 2008)
- Shah, A. 2006. (Online). *Poverty Facts and Stats*. Available WWW: <http://www.globalissues.org/tradeRelated/Facts.asp>

- Shiman, D.1993. in *Teaching Human Rights*. University of Denver:Centre for Teaching International Relations Publications. Edited by Flowers, N. (online). Part 1:1. Available WWW: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-1/short-history.htm> (Accessed 18 July 2006)
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies -Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York: Zed Books Ltd
- Soliar, D. 2007. Interviewed by L.Ravjee, Durban 9 March
- South African History Archives (online).. Available WWW: <http://www.saha.org.za/collections.htm>. (Accessed 15 December 2009)
- South African History online (online). Available WWW: <http://www.sahistory.org.za> (Accessed 15 December 2009)
- South African Human Rights Commission. (online). Available WWW: <http://www.sahrc.org.za> (Accessed 13 October 2008)
- South African History timelines - Apartheid legislation. (online). Available WWW: <http://www.sahistory.org/timelines/legislation> (Accessed 03 November 2010)
- Statue of Liberty* (online). 2008. Available WWW: <http://info.newkerala.com/top-travel-destinations-of-the-world/statue-of-liberty.html> (Accessed 15 February 2209)
- Stephen Bantu Biko: Biko's death - a timeline.(online). Available WWW: [http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/special%20projects/biko\\_steve/timeline.htm](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/special%20projects/biko_steve/timeline.htm) (Accessed 15 December 2009)
- Steve Biko Foundation (online). Available WWW:<http://www.sbf.org.za>
- Steve Biko Timeline (online). Available WWW: <http://www.sbf.org.za/stevebikotimeline.asp> (Accessed 15 December 2009)
- Stokesbury, J.L. 2005. *World War II*, in 2006 World Book Multimedia Encyclopedia. [CD ROM]:The Software Mackiev Company
- Stults. 1998. *Propaganda* in WorldBook Multimedia Encyclopaedia [CD-ROM]. 1999. USA: IBM Corporation
- Sunday Times. 21-03-2004. Special Feature on the Constitutional Court Court
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (online). Available WWW: <http://www.udhr.org> (Accessed 6 August 2007)
- Van Eeden. 2006. J, *Land Rover and the conquest of the gendered Other* [Online]. Available WWW: <http://www.uwc.ac.za/arts/gendervisuality/JeanevanEeden.doc>. (Accessed 27 January 2007)
- Van Hoorn. 2008. *Zapiro in Zuma Cartoon Uproar* [Online]. Available WWW: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-09-08-Zapiro-in-zuma-cartoon-uproar> (Accessed 15 January 2010)
- Vinsen, C. & Stiebel. 2006. Artists for Human Rights - History. [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.ahrt.org.za/content/view/1/2/> [Accessed 1 May 2009).

- Vincent, L. 2007. "Steve Biko and Stoned Cherrie: Refashioning the Body Politic in Democratic South Africa" Published in *African Sociological Review* 11, 2, 2007, pp.80-93 [Online]. Available WWW: [http://www.codesria.org/./06\\_Vincent.pdf](http://www.codesria.org/./06_Vincent.pdf) (Accessed 15 January 2010)
- Wa Bofelo M. 2007. "Murder by Memory: Remembering Biko to forget him" (Online). Available WWW: <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/42880> Pambazuka News: Pan-African Voices for Freedom and Justice, Issue 315 posted on 2007-08-02. (Accessed December 2010).
- World Book Multimedia Encyclopedia*. 2006 [CD ROM]: The Software Mackiev Company.
- Williamson J. 2002. *Decoding Advertisements - Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* 3rd edition. London and New York: Marion Boyars



## ADDENDA

### Addendum 1:

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

#### **Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

- (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
- (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

(<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a25>)

## Addendum 2:

### **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**

<http://www.un-documents.net/icescr.htm>

Adopted by General Assembly of 16 December 1966

#### **Article 11**

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.
2. The States Parties to the present Covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programmes, which are needed:
  - a. To improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition and by developing or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources;
  - b. Taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries, to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need.

### Addendum 3:

Poverty Facts and Stats -by Anup Shah (<http://www.globalissues.org/traderelated/Facts.asp>)

1. Half the world — nearly three billion people — live on less than two dollars a day.
2. The GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of the poorest 48 nations (i.e. a quarter of the world's countries) is less than the wealth of the world's three richest people combined.
3. Nearly a billion people entered the 21st century unable to read a book or sign their names.
4. Less than one per cent of what the world spent every year on weapons was needed to put every child into school by the year 2000 and yet it didn't happen.
5. 51 percent of the world's 100 hundred wealthiest bodies are corporations.
6. The wealthiest nation on Earth has the widest gap between rich and poor of any industrialized nation.
7. The poorer the country, the more likely it is that debt repayments are being extracted directly from people who neither contracted the loans nor received any of the money.
8. 20% of the population in the developed nations, consume 86% of the world's goods.
9. The top fifth of the world's people in the richest countries enjoy 82% of the expanding export trade and 68% of foreign direct investment — the bottom fifth, barely more than 1%.
10. In 1960, the 20% of the world's people in the richest countries had 30 times the income of the poorest 20% — in 1997, 74 times as much.
11. An analysis of long-term trends shows the distance between the richest and poorest countries was about:
  - 3 to 1 in 1820
  - 11 to 1 in 1913
  - 35 to 1 in 1950
  - 44 to 1 in 1973
  - 72 to 1 in 1992
12. "The lives of 1.7 million children will be needlessly lost this year [2000] because world governments have failed to reduce poverty levels"
13. The developing world now spends \$13 on debt repayment for every \$1 it receives in grants.
14. A few hundred millionaires now own as much wealth as the world's poorest 2.5 billion people.
15. "The 48 poorest countries account for less than 0.4 per cent of global exports."

16. “The combined wealth of the world’s 200 richest people hit \$1 trillion in 1999; the combined incomes of the 582 million people living in the 43 least developed countries is \$146 billion.”

17. “Of all human rights failures today, those in economic and social areas affect by far the larger number and are the most widespread across the world’s nations and large numbers of people.”

18. “Approximately 790 million people in the developing world are still chronically undernourished, almost two-thirds of whom reside in Asia and the Pacific.”

19. According to UNICEF, 30,000 children die each day due to poverty. And they “die quietly in some of the poorest villages on earth, far removed from the scrutiny and the conscience of the world. Being meek and weak in life makes these dying multitudes even more invisible in death.”

20. That is about 210,000 children each week, or just under 11 million children under five years of age, each year.

21. For economic growth and almost all of the other indicators, the last 20 years [of the current form of globalization, from 1980 - 2000] have shown a very clear decline in progress as compared with the previous two decades [1960 - 1980]. For each indicator, countries were divided into five roughly equal groups, according to what level the countries had achieved by the start of the period (1960 or 1980).

Among the findings:

Growth: The fall in economic growth rates was most pronounced and across the board for all groups or countries.

Life Expectancy: Progress in life expectancy was also reduced for 4 out of the 5 groups of countries, with the exception of the highest group (life expectancy 69-76 years).

Infant and Child Mortality: Progress in reducing infant mortality was also considerably slower during the period of globalization (1980-1998) than over the previous two decades.

Education and literacy: Progress in education also slowed during the period of globalization.

23. “Today, across the world, 1.3 billion people live on less than one dollar a day; 3 billion live on under two dollars a day; 1.3 billion have no access to clean water; 3 billion have no access to sanitation; 2 billion have no access to electricity.”

24. The richest 50 million people in Europe and North America have the same income as 2.7 billion poor people. “The slice of the cake taken by 1% is the same size as that handed to the poorest 57%.”

25. The world’s 497 billionaires in 2001 registered a combined wealth of \$1.54 trillion, well over the combined gross national products of all the nations of sub-Saharan Africa (\$929.3 billion) or those of the oil-rich regions of the Middle East and North Africa (\$1.34 trillion). It is also greater than the combined incomes of the poorest half of humanity.

26. A mere 12 percent of the world’s population uses 85 percent of its water, and these 12 percent do not live in the Third World.

# Fifa brand police on patrol

"BRAND" police would patrol World Cup stadiums to make sure the Fifa brand was not "hijacked", the world football body said in Joburg yesterday.

No brand but the Fifa brand will be allowed in the commercial restriction zones in and around stadiums.

Soccer fans will sip their cold drinks in "neutral, clear" glasses, would eat food served in "un-branded wraps" and will not read newspapers, since newspaper sales are not allowed inside stadiums, it said.

"We plan to have teams in each of the cities looking out... for brand hijackers," said Fifa rights protection manager Mpumi Mazibuko.

Businesses situated in the zones around World Cup stadiums will be allowed to do business, as long as there is no Fifa-related marketing activity or ambush marketing.

Fifa marketing director Thierry Weil said the world football body also allowed businesses to sell their products at the fan fests.

"The restriction is, it must be unbranded but you will still make

money, so this unbranded one is not harming anyone," said Weil.

Informal traders will also be allowed to do business outside stadiums, as long as their products were not branded.

But Fifa needed to protect its commercial affiliates, said Weil.

"When you buy a car, you buy it completely... you don't let everybody drive the car and it is the same for our partners: they bought the car, they want the key and they want to be ensured they are the only ones driving the car," Weil added.

Several local businesses have felt the brunt of the Fifa brand police. Fifa considers its trademarks to be "2010 Fifa World Cup South Africa", "2010 Fifa World Cup", "Fifa World Cup", "World Cup", "World Cup 2010", "Football World Cup", "SA 2010", "ZA 2010", "South Africa 2010", "Ke Nako - Celebrate Africa's Humanity", "Soccer World Cup" and "Zakumi".

It took a Pretoria pub owner to court to get him to remove banners and flags that said, "World Cup 2010" and "2010 South Africa", while it took Metcash to court for

selling lollipops branded "2010 Pops".

The manufacturer of a keyring holder was taken to court because it bore the year "2010", a vuvuzela and the South African flag. Low-cost airline Kulula was asked to withdraw an advert declaring that it was the "Unofficial National Carrier of the You-Know-What".

Quizzed about the reasons behind complaining about Kulula, Mazibuko said it was a "combination of elements" that led Fifa to believe the advert was irregular.

Asked if the strong action did not perhaps damage the brand, Weil replied: "We need to be strong, we need to protect our brand."

Weil said people wearing branded T-shirts would be allowed into stadiums - if they did not move together wearing the same T-shirts in big groups.

Also, vuvuzelas with small brands on would be allowed in, but not vuvuzelas bearing "huge words". "We will most probably ask the person not to bring the vuvuzela in," said Weil. - Sapa



## Resolutions of the Truth Conference, September 2010

We, the participants to the national **State of the Nation Truth Conference: Towards a National Dialogue**,

### **Noting that:**

1. The conference has been the result of the concern that while the new order ushered in the demise of colonialism, segregation and apartheid, and the replacement of the old racial oligarchy with a new and more inclusive order, what has not happened is the replacement of political and economic structures with a system that is egalitarian.
2. While the conference is a culmination of a two and a half year process of research, discussion, reflection and consultation, it does not signify an end, but rather the beginning of the second phase of the struggle towards a national dialogue and the truth.

### **Resolve:**

1. To acknowledge the spirit of volunteerism and activism demonstrated by hundreds of comrades throughout South Africa during the process.
2. To thank the UMTAPO Board and community for their vision and foresight, informed by the spirit of Steve Biko and his lifelong quest for a true humanity. The vision which is shared and has been contributed to and expanded by many other revolutionary leaders of the liberation movement, has given rise to the Truth Conference process intended to initiate a national dialogue to ascertain the state of the nation and explore the pathways to the total liberation of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa/Azania.
3. To thank the Heinrich Boll Foundation for the financial support that made this gathering possible. At the same time we acknowledge the many individuals and organisations that contributed both small and large sums of money as well as other contributions in kind to ensure that this conference took place.
4. To salute the rebirth of the spirit of self reliance that drove our struggle for liberation from the shackles of apartheid and resolve to strengthen the spirit in the continuing struggle for liberation from the shackles of the capitalist system for a world without exploitation, oppression, violence and discrimination of any kind.
5. To constitute a National Truth Committee in order to carry out the following tasks:
  - a) Coordinate the follow-up process to this Truth Conference, of research, discussion, reflection and consultation on all the key issues addressed or raised at this conference.
  - b) Publish a comprehensive report on the Truth Conference and disseminate it nationwide by means of the print and electronic media.
  - c) Receive, discuss and act upon reports from the provincial Truth Conference Committees on the practical conduct of the campaigns agreed upon by this Truth Conference.
  - d) Liaise with other initiatives working along similar lines.
6. To publish and distribute **The Truth**, a popular quarterly digest of news and comment on developments in South Africa, which will aim to expose the corrupt and predatory activities of the rich and powerful and promote the spirit of activism, self confidence and organisational ability of the urban and rural poor, especially of the most marginalised sections of the working class, such as rural women and unemployed youth.
7. To convene a Report Back Conference before July 2012 in order to deliberate on the way forward.

### **Further noting** (based on the deliberations of the conference commissions), that:

1. The NEO-Liberal approach to managing the South African economy does not serve the interests of South Africa's majority.
2. The ravages of a history of life of perpetual division under colonialism, racism & capitalism coupled with the current trend to negate the most positive elements of African Culture makes the identification and fostering of a National Culture a daunting but crucial task.

3. The state has entrenched a dual health system, one for the rich and the other for the poor, and that it is a health system that functions at odds with South Africa's human rights culture adopted since 1994.
4. The current educational system is dysfunctional and in serious crisis, requiring an urgent, radical and transformative alternative.
5. The law in SA does not completely address the fundamental disparity that exists in our society and that a vigilant and critical citizenry is essential to hold those who lever political power accountable.

***We hereby resolve:***

1. To embark on the following campaigns:
  - a) A campaign for an equal, quality and free People's Health System for all including awareness campaigns on the NHI
  - b) A campaign for a single system of free, compulsory, equal and quality education for all, including tertiary education.
  - c) A campaign against the oppressive increase in the price of electricity and for the development of a sustainable and environmentally sound energy and water plan for South Africa
  - d) A campaign for the creation and support for co-operatives to create work and dignity for people. Cooperatives are the building blocks for an alternative economic system.
  - e) A campaign for genuine redistribution of the land, considering ownership and use of land
  - f) Campaign for the inclusion of work by African scholars in the school system
2. To resist all forms of cultural imperialism and ethnocentrism and to explore the different layers of meaning that overlay the concept of ubuntu and to identify Ubuntu as the embodiment of a caring society and to place this concept at the centre of the unfolding national culture.
3. To counter regressive portrayal and perpetuation of oppressive culture and promote the culture of liberation as defined in the paper and to form a sub-committee to ensure that every aspect of culture must succinctly reflect a culture of feminist analysis, understanding, and political commitment, inter alia, only then can we believe we are practicing a holistic culture of liberation.
4. To promote in-depth research which must highlight and expose the true nature and extent of the oppression and exploitation of Women and Girl children in particular, and of all gender-marginalised groups and individuals in general.
5. To promote and conduct local initiatives to enhance educational potential of poor communities - examples are reading clubs, teachers' resource groups, library campaigns, girl-child movement, adult education.
6. To initiate discussions to change the values of the neo-liberal ethos of individualism and competitiveness now ruining the next generation.
7. To establish a Truth School for economic literacy. Among many other relevant issues, it will explore and analyse the current economic system and consider alternatives, it will look into matters such as the origins of the constitution, origins of the property clause, and publicise such information.
8. To establish a research entity incorporating researchers and community-based paralegal organisations to effect a number of immediate and long-term goals such as: to research statutes that are discriminatory and to campaign for the extension of all constitutional rights to non-citizens, to research existing mechanisms to effect citizenship rights, particularly with a view to making meaningful inputs to the proposed South African Human Rights and Equality Commission.
9. To commission research on the Alternative Economic Order and to report back on relevant issues such as socialism, feminism and the role of the youth in such an order. In this regard, to establish a formal think-tank (to include any established ones) to formulate the economic order contemplated above.
10. To establish a Tactical Unit to assist with obtaining a better understanding of a variety of concepts, ideas & theories on which there may not be optimal consensus.

# Portfolio of Supporting Design Work

## CONTENTS

<b>List of Figures</b>	i
 <b>Part One: UMTAPO CENTRE - Free the Mind...Free the Land...</b>	 111
Design Work Commissioned by Umtapo Centre for Peace, Human Rights and Anti-racism Education	
 <b>Part Two: Crystal Clear Visual Communication</b>	 156
The Creation of a Visual Identity for Social Justice Graphics: "Crystal Clear Visual Communication" - see...hear...think...speak...act...	
 <b>Part Three: word-on-the-street</b>	 159
Personal Artistic Expression and Graphic Interpretation of the research topic includes,	
 A series of 13 posters titled: "Graphic Design for Social Justice: South Africa 2010 - by Latha Ravjee")	 161
 Related Design work created as a result of this study	 174

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIG.	TITLE	DATE	MEDIUM	SIZE in mm	PAGE
1.1	Umtapo Logo	2006	vector graphic	210 x 297	111
1.2	PARE (Peace & Anti-Racism Education) Logo	2006	vector graphic	210 x 297	111
1.3	PARE Logo (options)	2006	vector graphics	148 x 210	112
1.4	Final PHARE Logo ( Up-dated to include 'Human Rights')	2010	vector graphic	210 x 297	112
1.5	Peace Club Logo	2006	vector graphic	148 x 210	113
1.6	Peace and Empowerment Sustainability Model	2008	vector Illustration	210 x 297	114
1.7	Life Illustration	2008	vector Illustration	210 x 297	115
1.8	Umtapo General Information Poster	2008	digital vector design	584 x 840	116
1.9	Strini Moodley: June 16th Poster	2008	vector Illustration	420 x 584	117
1.10	June 16th 1976: Soweto Uprising - (graphic interpretation)	2008	vector Illustration	210 x 297	117
1.11	Umtapo June 16th Banner	2008	vector: canvas print	1000 x 3000	118
1.12	Strini Moodley Memorial Lecture Banner	2006	vector + Photoshop (P/S)	1000 x 3000	118
1.13	16 Days of Activism and Beyond Banner	2007	vector + Photoshop (P/S)	1000 x 3000	119
1.14	Ubuntu Logo (Options)	2010	vector graphics	148 x 210	120
1.15	Ubuntu Logo (Final)	2010	vector graphic	210 x 297	121
1.16	Ubuntu Campaign: DVD Label Design	2010	vector graphic	115 x 115	122
1.17	Ubuntu T-shirt Design	2010	vector for silk-screen	210 x 297	122
1.18	It's in your hands - T-shirt design (options) for the 2008 Campaign against the abuse of women and children	2008	vector graphic	105 x 290	123
1.19	T-shirt design (options) for the 2008 Campaign against the abuse of women and children	2008	vector + Photoshop (P/S)	148 x 210	124
1.20	Final Approved T-shirt design for the 2008 Campaign against the abuse of women and children	2008	vector graphic for silkscreen	A4 screen	124
1.21	Peace Club Pamphlet (First page)	2009	vector + Photoshop	297 x 210	125

FIG.	TITLE	DATE	MEDIUM	SIZE in mm	PAGE
1.22	Peace Club Pamhlet (Reverse)	2009	vector + photoshop	297 x 210	126
1.23	Steve Biko Portrait 1 (Graphic Interpretation)	2006	vector graphic	210 x 297	127
1.24	Steve Biko Portrait 2 (Graphic Interpretation)	2006	vector graphic	210 x 297	127
1.25	Steve Biko International Peace Awards Banner	2007	vector graphic	3000 x 1000	128
1.26	The 2009 International Steve Biko Award Invitation (Front page)	2009	vector + Photoshop	210 x 297	129
1.27	The 2009 International Steve Biko Award Invitation (Reverse)	2009	vector	210 x 297	130
1.28	Invitation Insert: 2009 International Steve Biko Award	2009	vector + Photoshop	165 x 200	131
1.29	DVD Label Design: 2008 International Steve Biko Awards	2009	vector + Photoshop	115 x 115	131
1.30	DVD Cover Design: 2008 International Steve Biko Awards	2009	vector + Photoshop	270 x 185	132
1.31	Cover Design of Umtapo report by board member, Professor David Macharia - University of Nairobi	2009	vector + Photoshop	420 x 210	133
1.32	Section of layout from Umtapo report	2009	vector based	420 x 210	134
1.33	Page 51 of layout: Umtapo report	2009	vector + photographs	210 x 297	135
1.34	Page 8 of layout: Umtapo report	2009	vector + photographs	210 x 297	136
1.35	Cover Design of the 2009 Umtapo Peace Afrika Newsletter	2009	vector + Photoshop	442 x 308	137
1.36	Section of layout from the 2009 Umtapo Peace Afrika Newsletter (Contents + Page 1)	2009	vector based	420 x 297	138
1.37	Section of layout from the 2009 Umtapo Peace Afrika Newsletter	2009	vector based	420 x 297	139
1.38	2010 - 'No to Racism in Sport and Society' Pamphlet (F)	2010	vector graphics	420 x 297	140
1.39	2010 - 'No to Racism in Sport and Society' Pamphlet (B)	2010	vector graphics	420 x 297	141
1.40	2010 - 'No to Racism in Sport & Society' DVD label design	2010	vector graphics	115 x 115	142
1.41	2010 - 'No to Racism in Sport & Society' T-shirt design	2010	vector graphics for silkscreen	A4 silk screen	142



FIG.	TITLE	DATE	MEDIUM	SIZE in mm	PAGE
1.42	Ubuntu and Self Reliance Handbook Cover	2010	vector graphic	A4 book	143
1.43	The 2010 Steve Biko International Peace Awards Invitation (Front)	2010	vector + Photoshop	210 x 297	144
1.44	The 2010 Steve Biko International Peace Awards Invitation (Reverse)	2010	vector + Photoshop	210 x 297	145
1.45- 1.46	The 2010 Steve Biko International Peace Awards DVD cover and Label design	2010	vector + Photoshop	120 x 120; 115 x 115	146
1.47	Steve Biko Peace Awards - Recipients Banner	2010	vector graphic on digital print roll-up banner	850 x 2000	147
1.48	Steve Biko International Peace Awards - Recipients Banner	2010	vector graphic on digital print roll-up banner	850 x 2000	148
1.49	The 2010 Stop Racism and Xenophobia Banner	2010	vector graphic on digital print roll-up banner	850 x 2000	149
1.50	The Umtapo Alumni Banner	2010	vector graphic	850 x 2000	150
1.51	The 2010 'State of the Nation Truth Conference' Logo Options	2010	vector graphic	148 x 210	151
1.52	The 2010 'State of the Nation Truth Conference' Banner	2010	vector graphic on canvas	1000 x 3500	151
1.53	The 2010 'State of the Nation Truth Conference' DVD cover & label design	2010	vector + linoprint + P/S	120 x 120; 115 x 115	152
1.54	The 2010 Peace Africa Newsletter (Cover Design)	2010	vector + Photoshop	442 x 308	153
1.55	The 2010 Peace Africa Newsletter (Contents + page 1)	2010	vector	420 x 297	154
1.56	The 2010 Peace Africa Newsletter (Layout - example 2)	2010	vector + Photoshop	420 x 297	155
2.1	crystal clear visual communication (ccvc) logo	2009	vector based on linoprint	210 x 297	156
2.2	ccvc business card (Front & Reverse)	2009	vector	90 x 55	157
2.3	ccvc compliments slip	2009	vector + Photoshop	100 x 210	157
2.4	ccvc letterhead	2009	vector + Photoshop	210 x 297	158
3.1	word-on-the-street logo design	2010	vector + linoprint	297 x 210	159
3.2	Exhibition Invitation for this portfolio of supporting design work	2010	vector + linoprint + P/S	124 x 269	160
3.3	Poster 1 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + linoprint + P/S	584 x 840	161

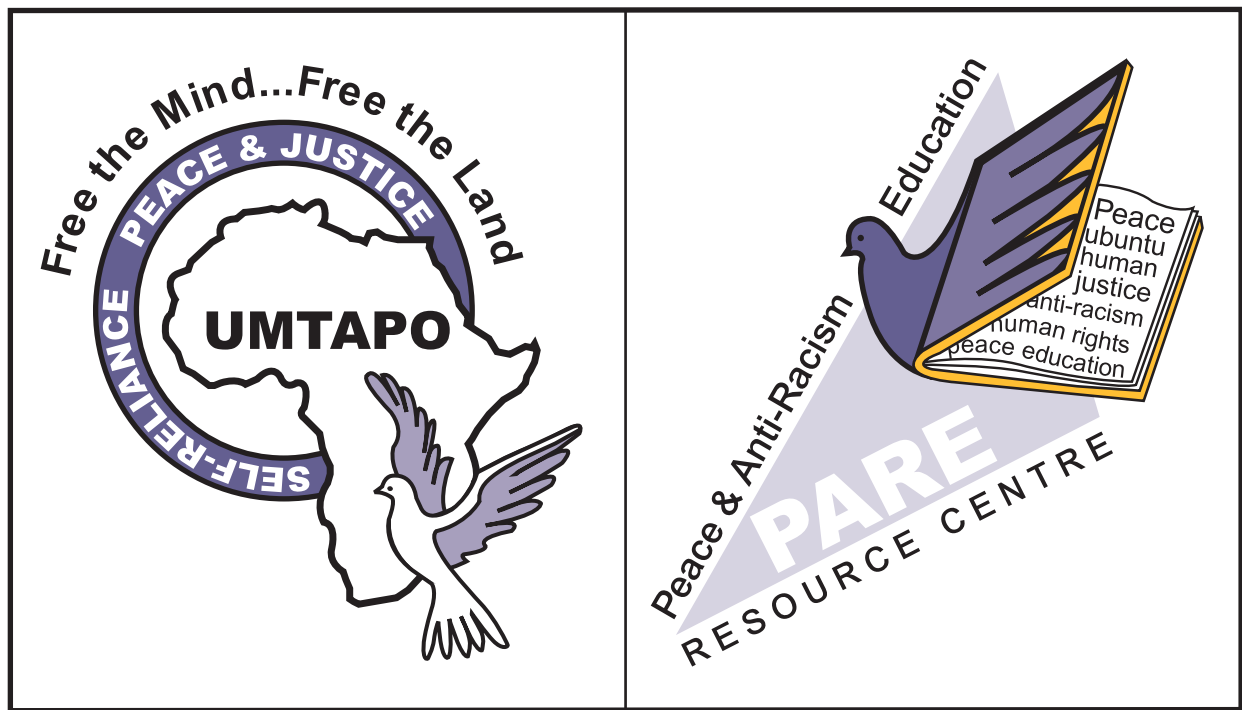
FIG.	TITLE	DATE	MEDIUM	SIZE in mm	PAGE
3.4	Poster 2 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + photoshop (P/S)	584 x 840	162
3.5	Poster 3 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + linoprint + P/S	584 x 840	163
3.6	Poster 4 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + Photoshop	584 x 840	164
3.7	Poster 5 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + Photoshop	584 x 840	165
3.8	Poster 6 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + Photoshop	584 x 840	166
3.9	Poster 7 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + Photoshop	584 x 840	167
3.10	Poster 8 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + Photoshop	584 x 840	168
3.11	Poster 9 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + Photoshop	584 x 840	169
3.12	Poster 10 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + linoprint + P/S	584 x 840	170
3.13	Poster 11 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + linoprint + P/S	584 x 840	171
3.14	Poster 12 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + linoprint + P/S	584 x 840	172
3.15	Poster 13 - Personal Expression	2010	vector + Photoshop	584 x 840	173
3.16	COP 17 - Logo Jam 1	2010	vector graphic	148 x 210	174
3.17	COP 17 - Logo Jam 2	2010	vector graphic	148 x 210	174
3.18	COP 17 Summit Icon - Jam 1	2010	vector graphic	148 x 210	175
3.19	COP 17 Summit Icon - Jam 2	2010	vector graphic	148 x 210	175
3.20	T-shirt design (Front) for Durban City International People's march on COP 17	2010	vector graphic including linoprint for silkscreen	210 x 297	176
3.21	T-shirt design (Back) for Durban City International People's march on COP 17	2010	vector graphic	210 x 297	176
3.22	UNFCCC - Logo Jam	2010	vector graphic	210 x 297	177
3.23	Market -Tears Poster - designed for the Early Morning Market Support Group	2010	vector graphic + P/S	584 x 840	178
3.24	'Trash the Polluters' - Protest poster 1 against Engen	2010	vector graphic	584 x 840	179
3.25	'Shut Down the Polluters' - Protest poster 2	2010	vector graphic	840 x 584	179
3.26	'Engen Kills' - Protest poster 3	2010	vector graphic	840 x 584	179
3.27	'Too Toxic' - Protest poster 4	2010	vector graphic	584 x 840	180
3.28	'Save the Future - Act Now' - Protest poster 5	2010	vector graphic	584 x 840	180

## Part One

### Umtapo Centre - free the mind...free the land...

At the outset of the research process I had established a working relationship with social justice organisation, The Umtapo Centre for Peace, Human Rights and Anti-racism Education. Throughout my study, I have been commissioned by Umtapo Centre to create their design work and layout - (figs. 1.1 - 1.66), which are documented herein as Part One of the supporting visual material.

*The publisher of the figures 1.1 - 1.66 (page2 - page 47) is: The Umtapo Centre: Durban, South Africa.  
www.umtapocentre.org.za.  
email address: info@umtapocentre.org.za*



**Fig. 1.1. Umtapo Logo**

**Fig. 1.2. PARE (Peace & Anti-Racism Education) Logo**

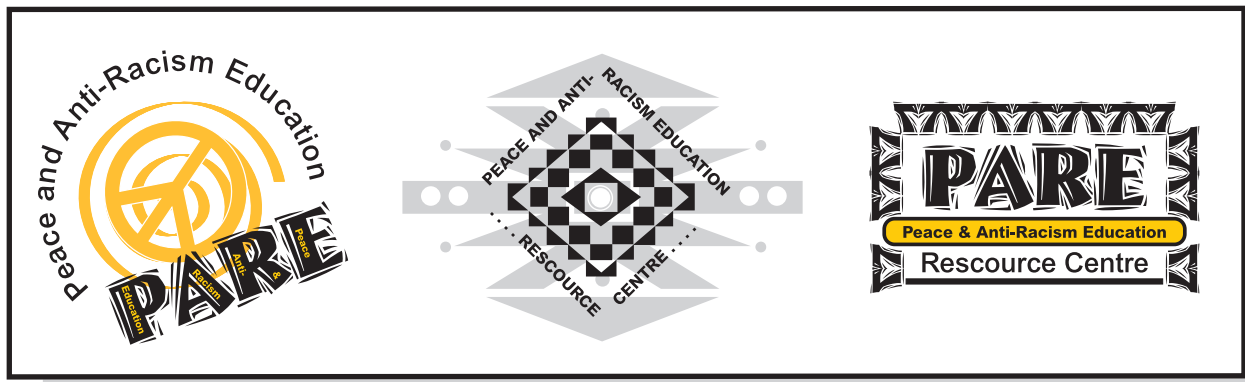


Fig. 1.3. Umtapo PARE Logo (options)

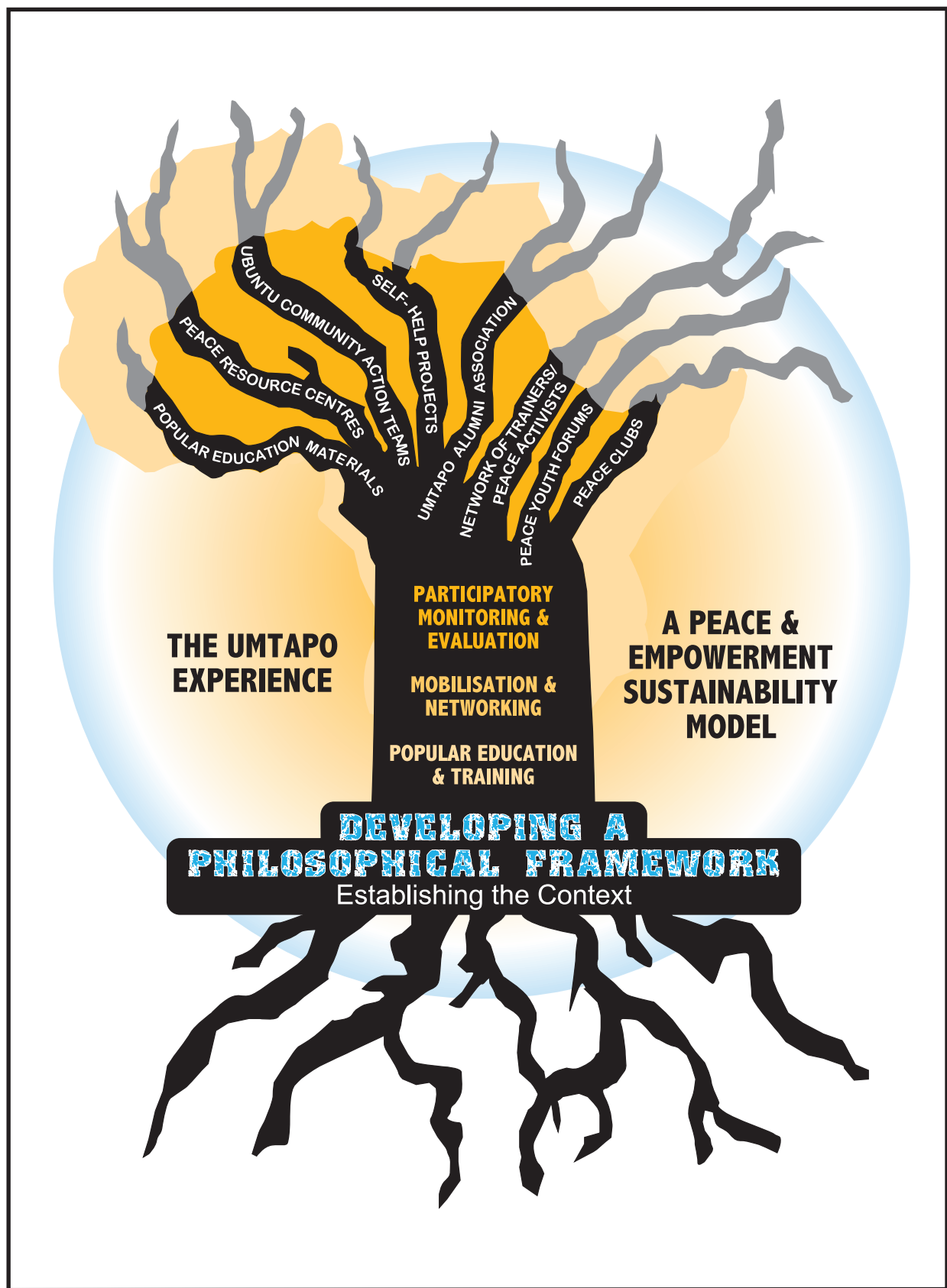


Fig. 1.4. Final PHARE Logo ( Updated to include 'Human Rights')



Fig. 1.5. Peace Club Logo





*Fig. 1.6. Peace and Empowerment Sustainability Model*



Fig. 1.7. Life Illustration

# UMTAPO CENTRE

There is no way to Peace... Peace is the way

## vision

A society that will be characterised by political, social and economic justice, and values that are consistent with the spirit of Ubuntu, an African philosophy.

## mission

Umtapo's mission is to empower and enable people, particularly youth and women, through popular education and participatory development, to take control of their own lives in the struggle for peace, justice, and self-reliance.

Popular education enables people to develop an analytical and questioning mind and a scientific approach to understanding the realities around them and thereupon act to create the conditions for peaceful and sustainable living. It is an ongoing and continuous process which includes constant action and reflection.

"LIFE is paramount. It is the source -without life there can be nothing. Indeed, the purpose of revolution is to ensure the continuation of life; the search for liberation is to ensure a qualitative change in the life of the oppressed and exploited communities throughout the world...So liberation movements, therefore protect life; struggle for its continuation, for qualitative change in the values and value systems that govern human relationships. Liberation Movements, by that token, are opposed to death and fight against the agents of death."  
(Strini Moodley 1988: at the launch of Umtapo Centre)

## values and principles

The Umtapo Centre's work is value-based and it adheres to and promotes the following values and principles:

- . Self-Reliance
- . Ubuntu
- . Peace
- . Popular Education
- . People-centred development
- . Anti-Racism and
- . Anti-Sexism

The approach is based on understanding the origins and history of violence and racism in Africa and how these realities have impacted on our individual and collective conduct. This is the starting point on the route to true liberation in AFRICA. ***If we do not know who we are and where we come from, we will not be able to determine where we want to go.***

UMTAPO is a Zulu word for a place where one can find something one needs in order to be empowered...in a broad sense, it is a place that provides knowledge, skills and information to liberate oneself.

Free the mind... Free the land



### HUMAN RIGHTS \* SOCIAL JUSTICE



Fig. 1.8. Umtapo General Information Poster



Fig. 1.10. June 16th 1976: Soweto Uprising - (graphic interpretation)

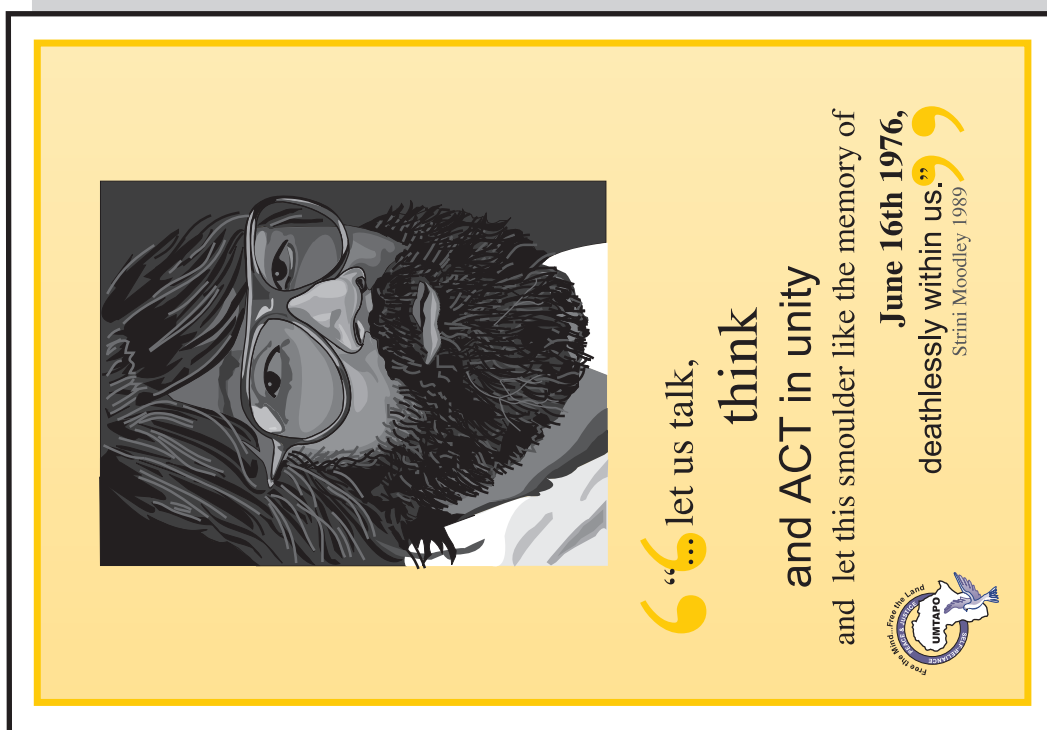


Fig. 1.9. Strini Moodley: June 16th Poster



Fig. 1.11. Umtapo June 16th Banner



Fig. 1.12. Strini Moodley Banner





Fig. 1.13. 16 Days of Activism and Beyond Banner



*Fig. 1.16. Ubuntu Logo (Options)*



*Fig. 1.15. Ubuntu Logo (Final)*



**Fig. 1.16. Ubuntu Campaign: DVD Label Design**



**Fig. 1.17. Ubuntu T-shirt Design**

# Its in your hands...

hitting, kicking, slapping, punching, strangling, threatening to burn you with the iron, isolating you from other people, mocking you, ridiculing you in front of your children, swearing, shouting, threatening to stab you with a knife, choking you, always telling you that you are ugly, taking all your money, locking you up, not allowing you to get a job, telling you its all in your head, saying that you are mad, finding fault with everything that you do, not allowing you in public, encouraging your children to disrespect you, destroying property, criticising the clothes that you wear, hurting your children when you are powerless, forcing you to have sex



## Help Stop the Abuse of Women and Children

*Fig. 1.18. It's in your hands - T-shirt design options for the Umtapo 2008 Campaign Against the Abuse of Women and Children*





*Fig. 1.19. T-shirt design options for the Umtapo 2008 Campaign Against the Abuse of Woman and Children*



*Fig. 1.20. Final approved T-shirt design for the 2008 Umtapo Campaign Against the Abuse of Woman and Children*



Fig. 1.21. Peace Club Pamphlet (First page)



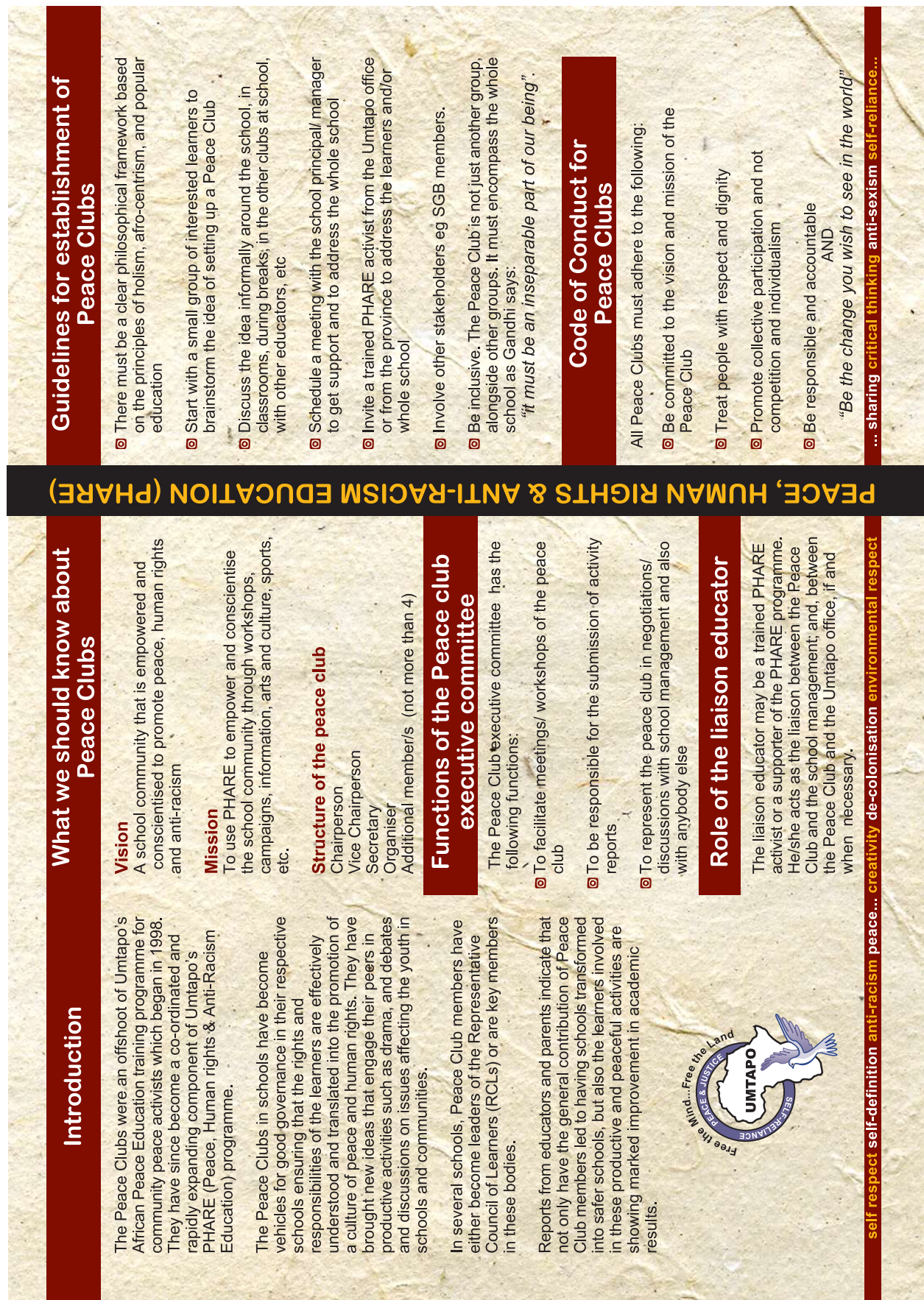


Fig. 1.22. Peace Club Pamphlet (Reverse)



***Fig. 1.23. Steve Biko Portrait 1 (Graphic Interpretation)***



***Fig. 1.24. Steve Biko Portrait 2 (Graphic Interpretation)***



Fig. 1.25. Steve Biko International Peace Award Banner





Fig. 1.26. The 2009 International Steve Biko Award Invitation (Front page)

## International Day of Peace

The International Day of Peace was first celebrated in 1982 on the second Tuesday of September by peace organisations throughout the world. On 7th September 2001, the General Assembly of the United Nations decided that, beginning in 2002, the International Day of Peace should be observed on 21st September each year. It invited all member states, organisations of the UN system, regional and non-governmental organisations and individuals to commemorate the Day in an appropriate manner, including through education and public awareness, and to cooperate with the United Nations in establishing a global ceasefire.

## Why Steve Biko International Peace Award?

The Umtapo Centre, greatly inspired by the clarity of vision, creative wisdom and commitment of the late Stephen Bantu Biko, announced the dedication of an annual award in his memory on 12th September 1996 on the occasion of its tenth Anniversary. It was an award to be given to those unsung heroes/heroines who had dedicated themselves in different ways to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Previous recipients have included: the late Mrs. Winnie Mottalepule Kgware from the North West Province, the first woman to lead a political organisation in South Africa; Ms. Mary Mkhwanazi: community activist from Umlazi who was the founder and first president of the South African Domestic Workers Union; and Ms. Anne Hope, who was responsible for adapting the Paulo Freirean approach for South Africa and who co-authored the Training for Transformation manuals which were banned in South Africa in the 1970s.

With the Declaration of a UN-recognised International Day for Peace in September, it seemed logical for Umtapo to combine its Annual Steve Biko Award with the International Day for Peace. And so was launched the Steve Biko International Peace Award in September 2003, dedicated to those who have and who continue to make a contribution to the freedom of the oppressed all over the world.

Some of the recipients of the Steve Biko International Peace Award have been: Professor David Macharia of Kenya, a committed adult and popular educator on the African continent.

Dr. Don Mattera of South Africa, poet, cultural and political activist and committed peacemaker practised medicine in Nigeria and in the ghettos of Los Angeles. He joined other concerned people in 1973 in establishing a Community Self-development Effort of small farmers, and has worked since as a full-time non-salaried facilitator (Learner-Teacher) in COPODIN...a Peoples' Organisation (PO) that has operated for many decades, principally on a self-reliant basis, not seeking donor funding.

Dr. Oshadi Mangena who worked for the Christian Institute which was banned in the late 70s. She spent many years in exile and came back to the country to continue her work as an activist, particularly in championing the women's struggle.

Dr. Neville Alexander was convicted of conspiracy to commit sabotage and was imprisoned at Robben Island from 1964 until 1979. He is currently director of the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town. He has done much pioneering work in the field of language policy and planning in South Africa.

## Who was Steve Biko?

Steve Biko was one of the foremost figures in South Africa's struggle for liberation. Murdered by the security police when he was only 30, he had already established himself as a leader through his work as a political activist, propagating the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

Stephen Bantu Biko was born in King Williamstown, Eastern Cape, on 10th December 1946. In 1968, then a medical student, he was instrumental in the formation of SASO (South African Students Organisation) of which he was elected first President in July 1969. Banned and restricted in the early 70s, he continued to defy the oppressors and galvanised the oppressed people of South Africa. In January 1977 he was appointed honorary president of the BPC (Black People's Convention), an organisation he helped to found in 1972.

On 18th August 1977, Biko was again detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was arrested at a roadblock while on a major mission to discuss unity amongst the liberation forces of Azania. He was taken to Port Elizabeth, where he was kept naked and manacled. He was murdered in detention on 12th September 1977.

*"The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."* Steve Biko

## Paulo Freire and the Steve Biko International Peace Award

In a unique development, Umtapo presented the 2005 award posthumously to the late revolutionary Brazilian popular educator, Paulo Freire, whose ideas and pedagogy influenced Biko's own thinking and formed the basis of Umtapos modus operandi since it was established.



Freire died in May 1997 but his work continues today through the voices of others like Umtapo Centre who carry the message. Paulo Freire's family received with great happiness the opportunity of this award:

"We feel extremely touched to know that our father is remembered in Africa side by side with this great African leader, Steve Biko"

Lutgardes Costa Freire

*"Sooner or later the oppressed will perceive their state of depersonalization and discover that as long as they are divided they will always be easy prey for manipulation and domination. Unity and organizing force can enable them to change their weakness into a transforming force with which they can re-create the world and make it more human."*

Paulo Freire

Fig. 1.27. The 2009 International Steve Biko Award Invitation (Reverse)



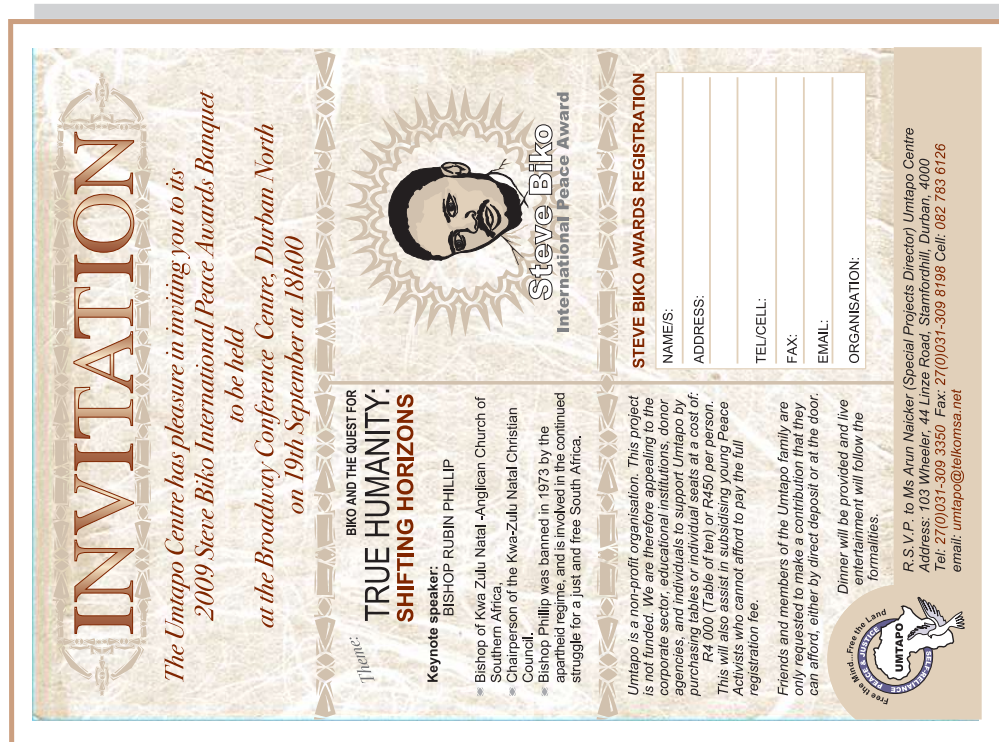


Fig. 1.28. Invitation Insert: 2009 International Steve Biko Award



Fig. 1.29. DVD Label Design: 2008 International Steve Biko Awards



Fig. 1.30. DVD Cover Design: 2008 International Steve Biko Awards





**Fig. 1.31. Cover Design of Umtapo report by board member, Professor David Macharia - University of Nairobi**



### Monitoring of Community-based Programs and Projects

Umtapo programmes are monitored all the time. This ongoing monitoring takes place through the Umtapo national office and, when possible field visits are made to assess the impact. Regular reports on all activities from all field centres and trained youth are collected and collated by the central office. Umtapo maintains a database on all these activities and regularly sends back to the relevant groups advice and the necessary support based on their reports.



### Monitoring and Evaluation at the Training Level

Umtapo also monitors and evaluates all its training courses. As this is done in a participatory manner, it also empowers the trainees on how to do similar exercises in their own training endeavours.

The whole exercise begins on the discussion (usually in small groups and then plenary) and agreement on the objectives of the training course. At the beginning of each day, a programme of activities is presented. Then, at the end of the day the group looks back on how the whole exercise was conducted and suggests improvements for the next day. This monitoring exercise ensures that the training proceeds as planned with the necessary adjustments effected if and when needed.

The whole course is evaluated in depth at the end. Such evaluation, normally done in groups using a pre-prepared instrument, checks on the satisfaction of the objectives that had been agreed upon; the effectiveness of the methods and techniques employed; and cooperation among participants, on the one hand, and them with facilitators, on the other. The evaluation also attempts to find out the participants' feelings on their readiness for tasks for which they were being trained.

40

Umtapo keeps records of these evaluations and makes use of them in its design and execution of future training programs. Thus, the participatory monitoring and evaluation informs future strategic planning in an ongoing Action-Reflection cycle.



*“As people existing in a continuous struggle for truth, we have to examine and question old concepts, values and systems. Having found the right answers we shall then work for consciousness among all people to make it possible for us to proceed towards putting these answers into effect. In this process, we have to evolve our own schemes, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values”*

Siere Biko

41

Fig. 1.32. Section of Layout from Umtapo Report

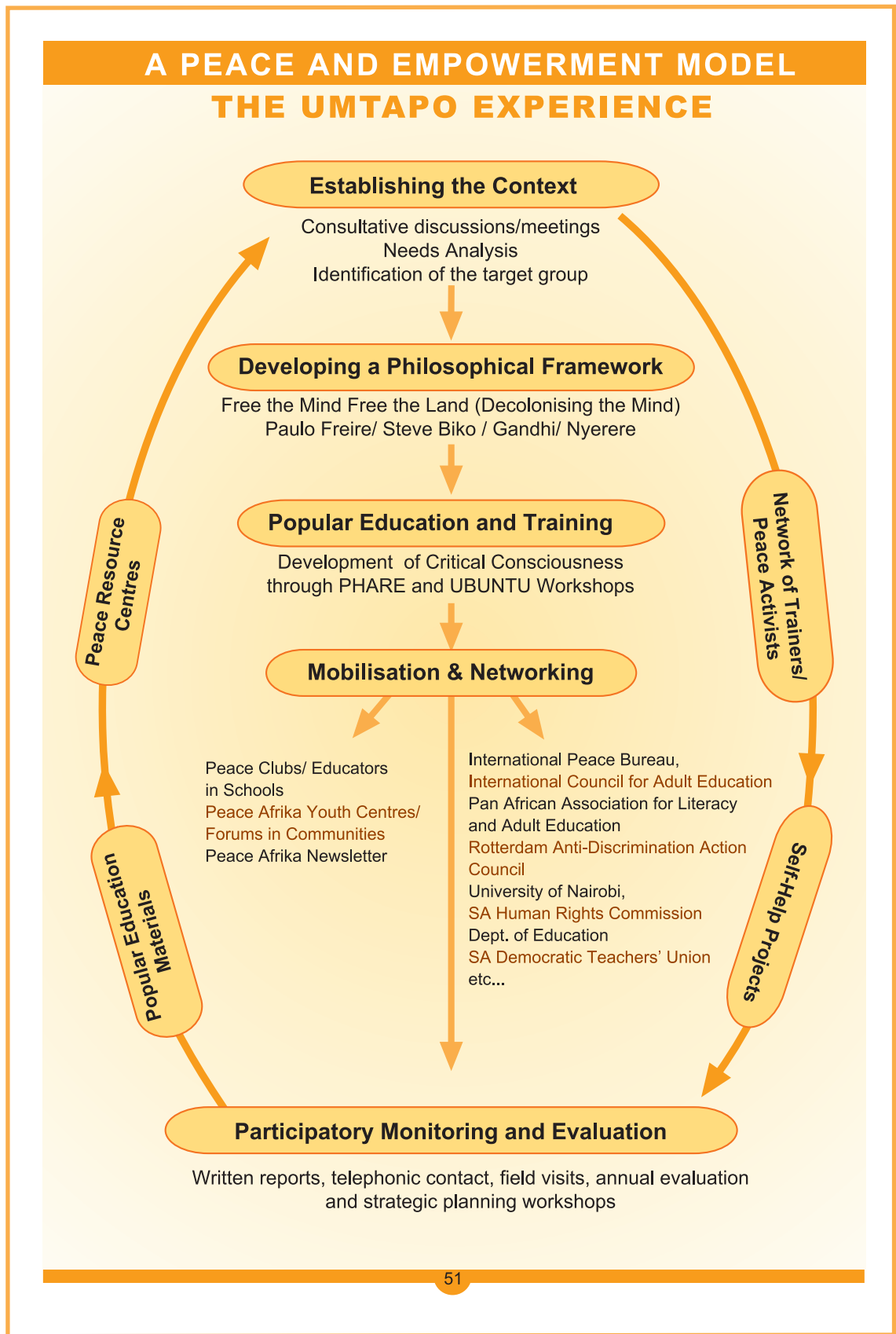


Fig. 1.33. Page 51 of Layout from Umtapo Report

*“I am a teacher who favours...  
democracy over dictatorship  
of the right or left.*

*I am a teacher who favours  
constant struggle against any form  
of discrimination,  
against economic domination  
by individuals  
or social classes*

*I am a teacher who opposes  
the current capitalist order  
that has brought about  
the aberration of misery  
amidst plenty.”*

*Paulo Freire*



Fig. 1.35. Cover design of the 2009 Umtapo Peace Afrika Newsletter

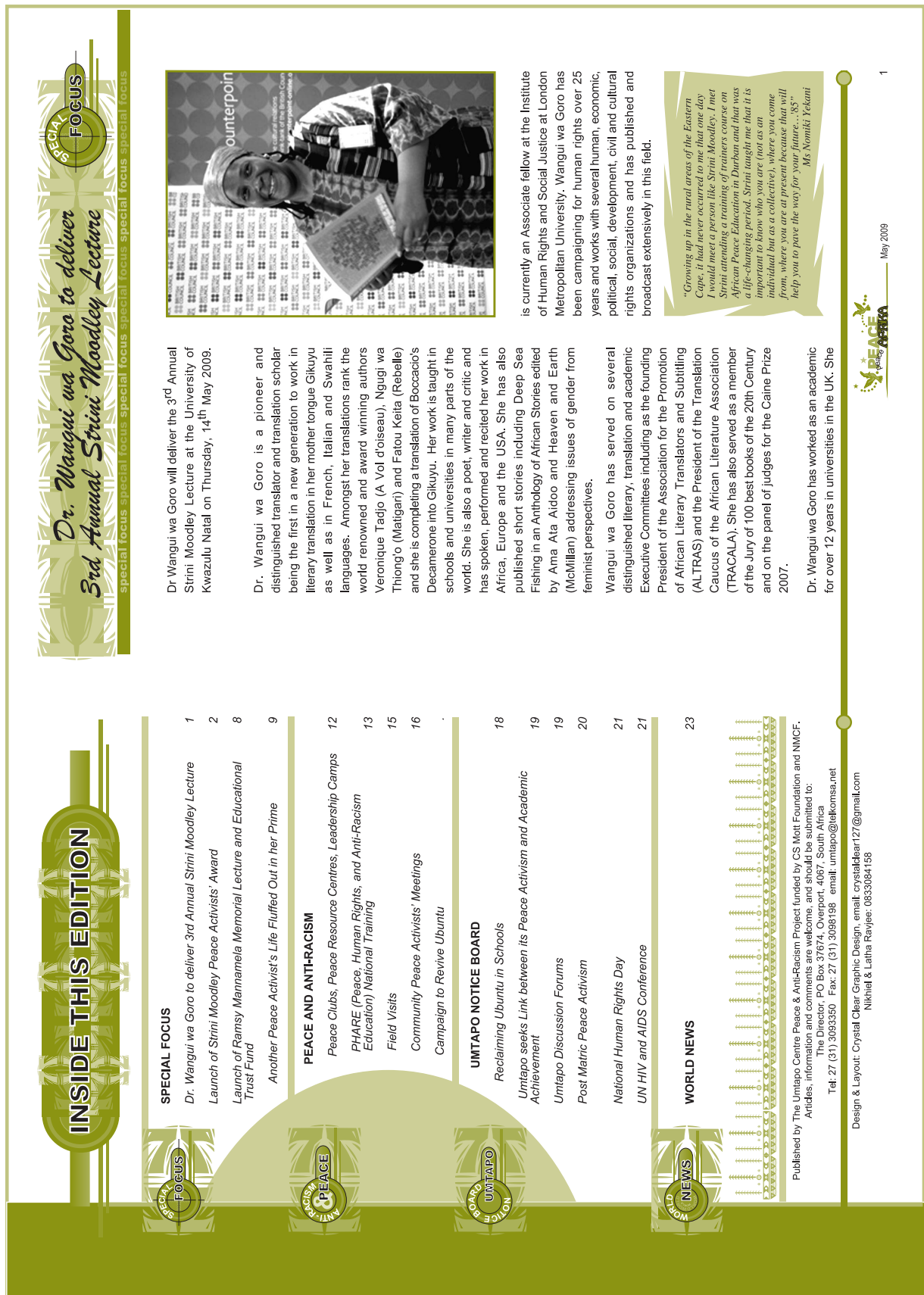


Fig. 1.36. Section of layout from the 2009 Umtapo Peace Afrika Newsletter (Contents + page 1)





Fig. 1.37. Section of layout from the 2009 Umtapo Peace Afrika Newsletter



Fig. 1.38. 2010 Campaign: 'No to Racism in Sport and Society'- Pamphlet (Front)

## Racism in Soccer

"Give it to the black. Show that black piece of s\*\*t that you are better than him"

These were the words of former national coach of Spain, Luis Aragones, talking to Spanish international Antonio Reyes in reference to world class footballer, Thierry Henry. (October 2004)

Today, French international, Henry, heads the group of FIFA's Ambassadors against Racism.

Racism in sport is a scourge that finds its most overt expression in soccer because of its huge following across the spectrum. Today, particularly in Europe, racist slurs, monkey chants and spitting on black players continues to plague the sport. At the same time, because of such a massive following, soccer has great potential in uniting people.

On March 21, 2010, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said: "The role of sports in changing attitudes towards racism is potentially immense – especially sports like football which attract huge and passionate live and TV audiences".

## Say NO TO RACISM in Soccer and in Society

In reality, what is expressed by spectators, coaches and/or players is racial prejudice or xenophobia, both of which are based on ignorance and insecurity. Racism includes all of these but goes deeper. It is a deliberate act used to oppress and exploit people in order to maintain power. The apartheid regime in South Africa was the most blatant articulation of this.

## FIVE THINGS everyone should KNOW about RACE

- 1. Race has no genetic basis.**  
Not one characteristic, trait or even gene distinguishes all the members of one so-called race from all the members of another so-called race.
- 2. Skin colour really is only skin deep.**  
The genes influencing skin colour have nothing to do with the genes influencing hair form, eye shape, blood type, musical talent, athletic ability or forms of intelligence.
- 3. Most differences are within, not between, "races."**  
Of the small amount of total human variation, 85% exists within any local population, be they Italians, Americans, Kurds, Koreans or South Africans. That means two random Americans may be as genetically different as a South African and an American.
- 4. Race isn't biological, but racism is still real.**  
Race is a powerful social tool that gives people different access to opportunities and resources. Governments and social institutions have created advantages that disproportionately channel wealth, power, and resources to different groups of people.
- 5. Colour blindness will not end racism.**  
Pretending racism doesn't exist is not the same as creating equality and justice. Racism is more than stereotypes and individual prejudice. To combat racism, we need to identify and remedy social policies and institutional practices that advantage some groups at the expense of others.

## Umbuntu Embrace Diversity in the Struggle for True Humanity

## AFRICA says NO TO RACISM and Yes to UBUNTU

From a continent that has been carved up and brutalised from a region where a people were enslaved and dehumanised! Where puppet regimes and colonised minds continue to wreak havoc!

Today, AFRICA, the undisputed CRADLE OF HUMANKIND, hosts, for the first time, the greatest sporting event in the world and it says to people all over the world, welcome to your birthplace, embrace humanity.

## UBUNTU is what South Africa-Africa - offers to the world

Ubuntu is the capacity to express compassion, justice, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interests of building, maintaining and strengthening the people, the nation, the society.

The word 'ubuntu' implies a shared vision leading to communal responsibility for sustaining life on our planet. 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am' or in Zulu, *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*



FREE THE MIND...FREE THE LAND ... UMTAPO CENTRE FOR PEACE AND ... ANTI-RACISM EDUCATION ...

Fig. 1.39. 2010 Campaign: 'No to Racism in Sport and Society' - Pamphlet (Reverse)



*Fig. 1.40. 2010 Campaign: 'No to Racism in Sport and Society' - CD Label*



*Fig. 1.41 2010 Campaign: 'No to Racism in Sport and Society' - T-Shirt*



Fig. 1.42. Ubuntu & Self-Reliance Handbook Cover



# INVITATION

The Umtapo Centre has pleasure in inviting you to its  
2010 Steve Biko International Peace Awards Banquet  
to be held at

the Broadway Conference Centre, Durban North  
on 25th September 2010 at 18h00

## STEVE BIKO AWARDS REGISTRATION

Name:
Tel.
Mobile:
Fax.
Email:
No of people attending:

**NB.** Since this programme is not funded, we would appreciate a donation at the door. Doors will close at 8pm on the night of the function.

*Dinner and dance will follow the formalities*

**The Deadline for registration is 6th September 2010.**



R.S.V.P. to:

**Ms Arun Naicker (Special Projects Director) Umtapo Centre**

Address: 103 Wheeler, 44 Linze Road, Stamfordhill, Durban, 4000

Tel: 27(0)031-309 3350 Fax: 27(0)031-309 8198 Cell: 082 783 6126

email: [umtapo@telkomsa.net](mailto:umtapo@telkomsa.net)

Crystal Clear Visual Communication

*"We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize."*

*Let us march forth with courage and determination,  
drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood.  
In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa  
the greatest gift possible - a more human face."*

(Steve Biko)

# 2010 Steve Biko International Peace Award



*The Truth*  
is revolutionary!  
**LET THE SPIRIT OF BIKO LIVE ON**

144



### International Day of Peace

The International Day of Peace was first celebrated in 1982 on the second Tuesday of September by peace organisations throughout the world. On 7th September 2001, the General Assembly of the United Nations decided that, beginning in 2002, the International Day of Peace should be observed on 21st September each year. It invited all member states, organisations of the UN system, regional and non-governmental organisations and individuals to commemorate the Day in an appropriate manner, including through education and public awareness, and to cooperate with the United Nations in establishing a global ceasefire.

### Why Steve Biko International Peace Award?

The Umtapo Centre, greatly inspired by the clarity of vision, creative wisdom and commitment of the late Stephen Bantu Biko, announced the dedication of an annual award in his memory on 12th September 1996 on the occasion of its tenth Anniversary. It was an award to be given to those unsung heroes/heroines who had dedicated themselves in different ways to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Previous recipients have included: the late Mrs. Winnie Motlalepule Kgware from the North West Province, the first woman to lead a political organisation in South Africa; Ms. Mary Mkhwanazi; community activist from Umlazi who was the founder and first president of the South African Domestic Workers Union; and Ms. Anne Hope, who was responsible for adapting the Paulo Freirean approach for South Africa and who co-authored the Training for Transformation manuals which were banned in South Africa in the 1970s.

With the Declaration of a UN-recognised International Day for Peace in September, it seemed logical for Umtapo to combine its Annual Steve Biko Award with the International Day for Peace. And so was launched the Steve Biko International Peace Award in September 2003, dedicated to those who have and who continue to make a contribution to the freedom of the oppressed all over the world.

Some of the recipients of the Steve Biko International Peace Award have been: Professor David Macharia of Kenya, a committed adult and popular educator on the African continent.

Dr. Don Maitera of South Africa, poet, cultural and political activist and committed peacemaker.

Dr. Seinde Arigbede of Nigeria, trained as a Medical Doctor and as a Neuro-Scientist. He practised medicine in Nigeria and in the ghettos of Los Angeles. He joined other concerned people in 1973 in establishing a Community Self-development Effort of small farmers, and has worked since as a full-time non-salaried facilitator (Learner-Teacher in COPODIN... a Peoples' Organisation (PO) that has operated for many decades, principally on a self-reliant basis, not seeking donor funding.

Dr. Oshadi Mangena who worked for the Christian Institute which was banned in the late 70s. She spent many years in exile and came back to the country to continue her work as an activist, particularly in championing the women's struggle. Dr. Neville Alexander was convicted of conspiracy to commit sabotage and was imprisoned at Robben Island from 1964 until 1979. He is currently director of the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town. He has done much pioneering work in the field of language policy and planning in South Africa.

### Who was Steve Biko?

Steve Biko was one of the foremost figures in South Africa's struggle for liberation. Murdered by the security police when he was only 30, he had already established himself as a leader through his work as a political activist, propagating the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

Stephen Bantu Biko was born in King Williamstown, Eastern Cape, on 10th December 1946. In 1968, then a medical student, he was instrumental in the formation of SASO (South African Students Organisation) of which he was elected first President in July 1969. Banned and restricted in the early 70s, he continued to defy the oppressors and galvanised the oppressed people of South Africa. In January 1977 he was appointed honorary president of the BPC (Black People's Convention), an organisation he helped to found in 1972.

On 18th August 1977, Biko was again detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was arrested at a roadblock while on a major mission to discuss unity amongst the liberation forces of Azania. He was taken to Port Elizabeth, where he was kept naked and manacled. He was murdered in detention on 12th September 1977.

*"The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the minds of the oppressed."*  
(Steve Biko)

**Paulo Freire and the Steve Biko International Peace Award**  
In a unique development, Umtapo presented the 2005 award posthumously to the late revolutionary Brazilian popular educator, Paulo Freire, whose ideas and pedagogy influenced Biko's own thinking and formed the basis of Umtapo's modus operandi since it was established.

Freire died in May 1997 but his work continues today through the voices of others like Umtapo Centre who carry the message. Paulo Freire's family received with great happiness the opportunity of this award:

*"We feel extremely touched to know that our father is remembered in Africa side by side with this great African leader, Steve Biko"*  
(Lutgardes Costa Freire)

*"Sooner or later the oppressed will perceive their state of depersonalization and discover that as long as they are divided they will always be easy prey for manipulation and domination."*

*"Unity and organization can enable them to change their weakness into a transforming force with which they can re-create the world and make it more human."*

(Paulo Freire)



Fig. 1.44. The 2010 Steve Biko International Peace Awards Invitation (Reverse)



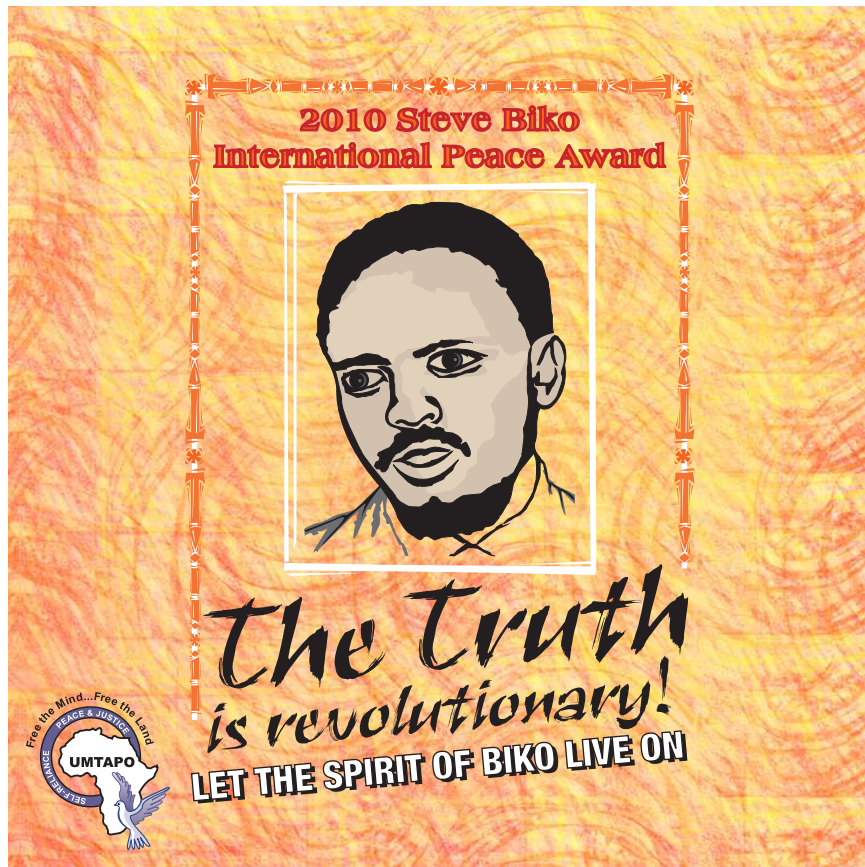


Fig. 1.45 - 1.46. The 2010 International Steve Biko Awards - CD Cover and Label Design

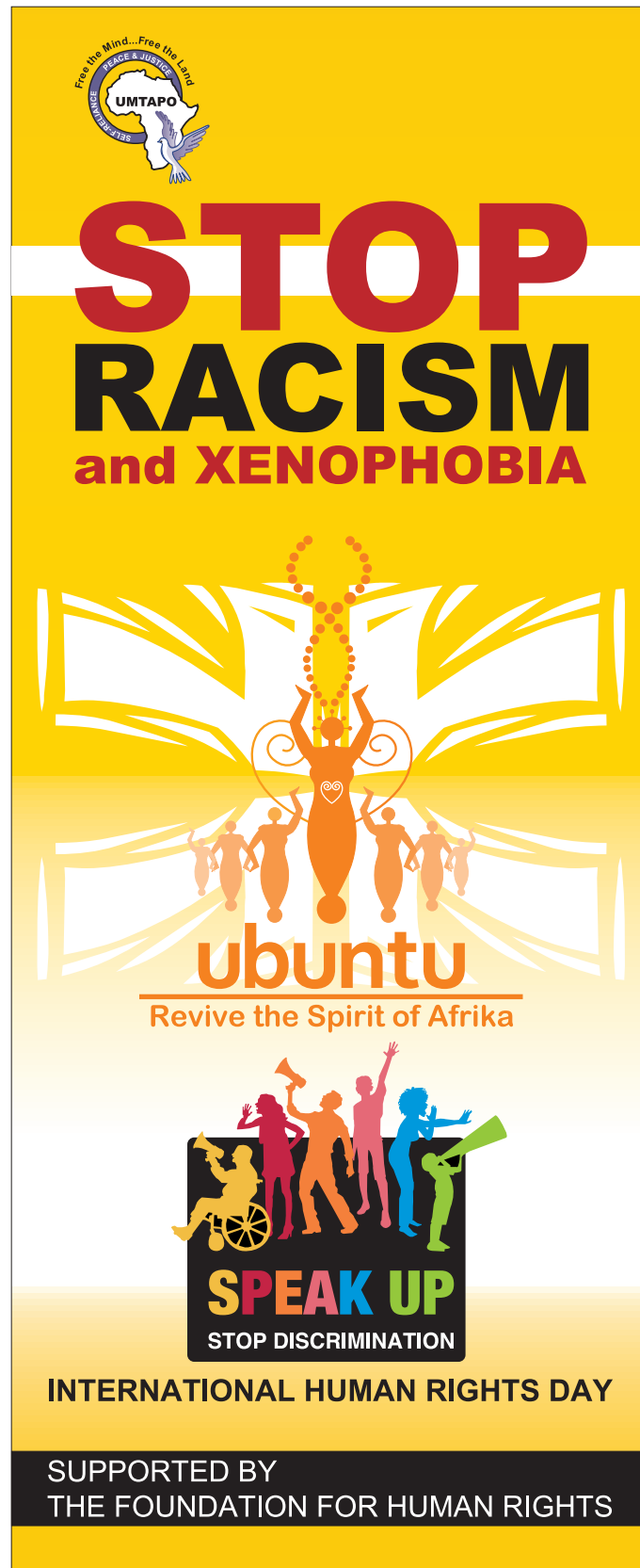


**Fig. 1.47. Steve Biko Peace Awards - Recipients Banner**

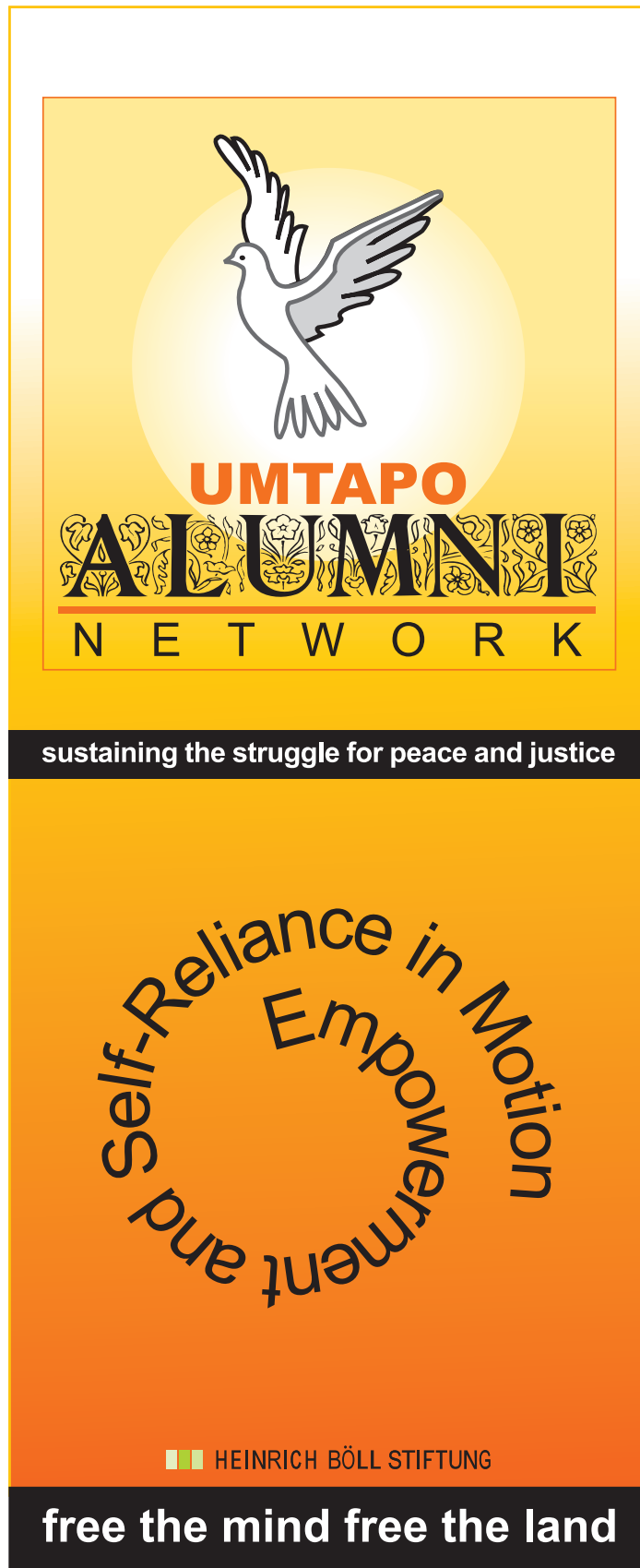


**Fig. 1.48. International Steve Biko Peace Awards - Recipients Banner**





*Fig. 1.49. The 2010 Stop Racism and Xenophobia Banner*



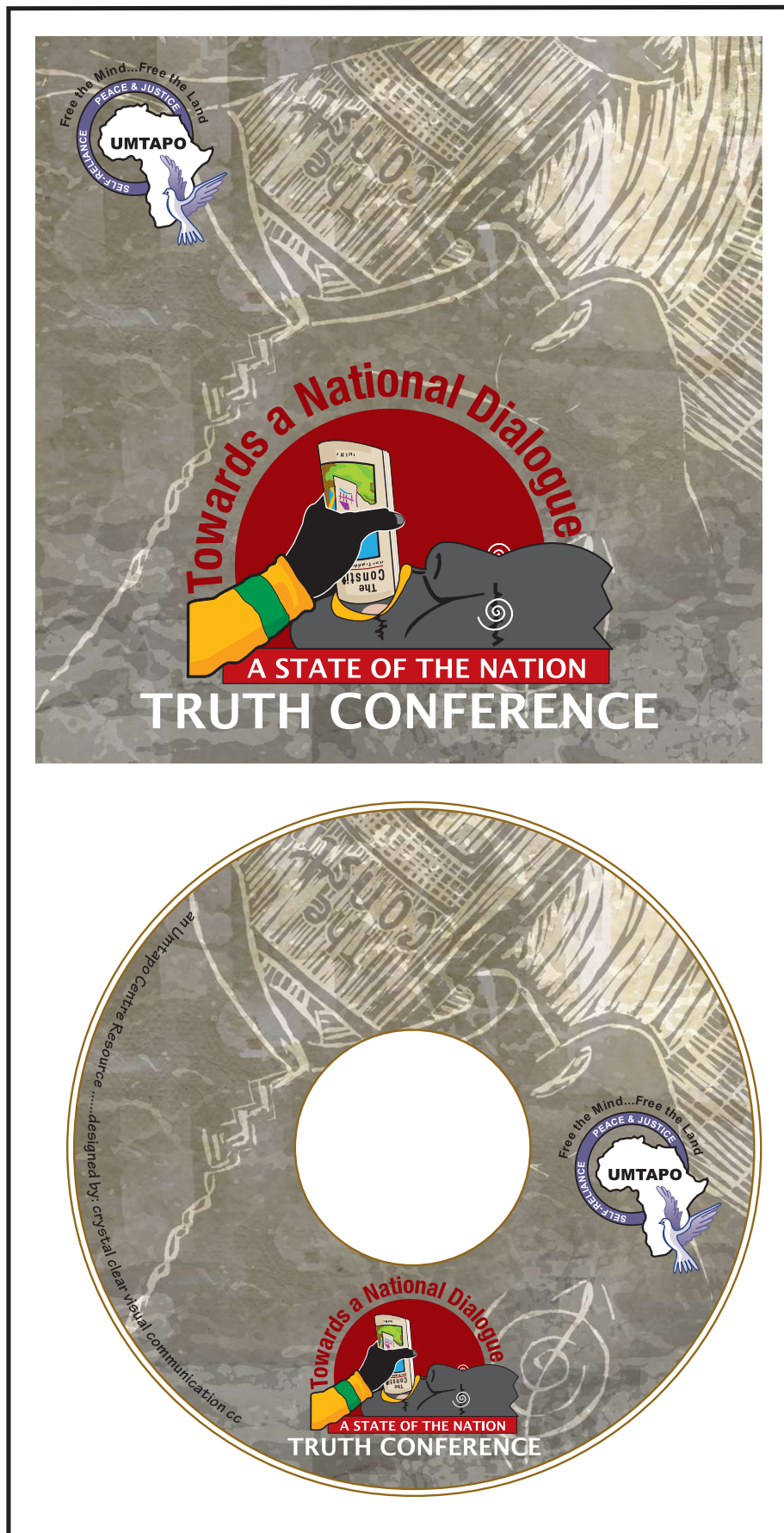
*Fig. 1.50. Umtapo Alumni Banner*



Fig. 1.51. The 2010 Truth Conference Logo (Options)



Fig. 1.52. The 2010 State of the Nation Truth Conference Banner



**Fig. 1.53. The 2010 Truth Conference CD Cover and Label design**



Fig. 1.54. The 2010 Peae Afrika Newsletter (cover Design)



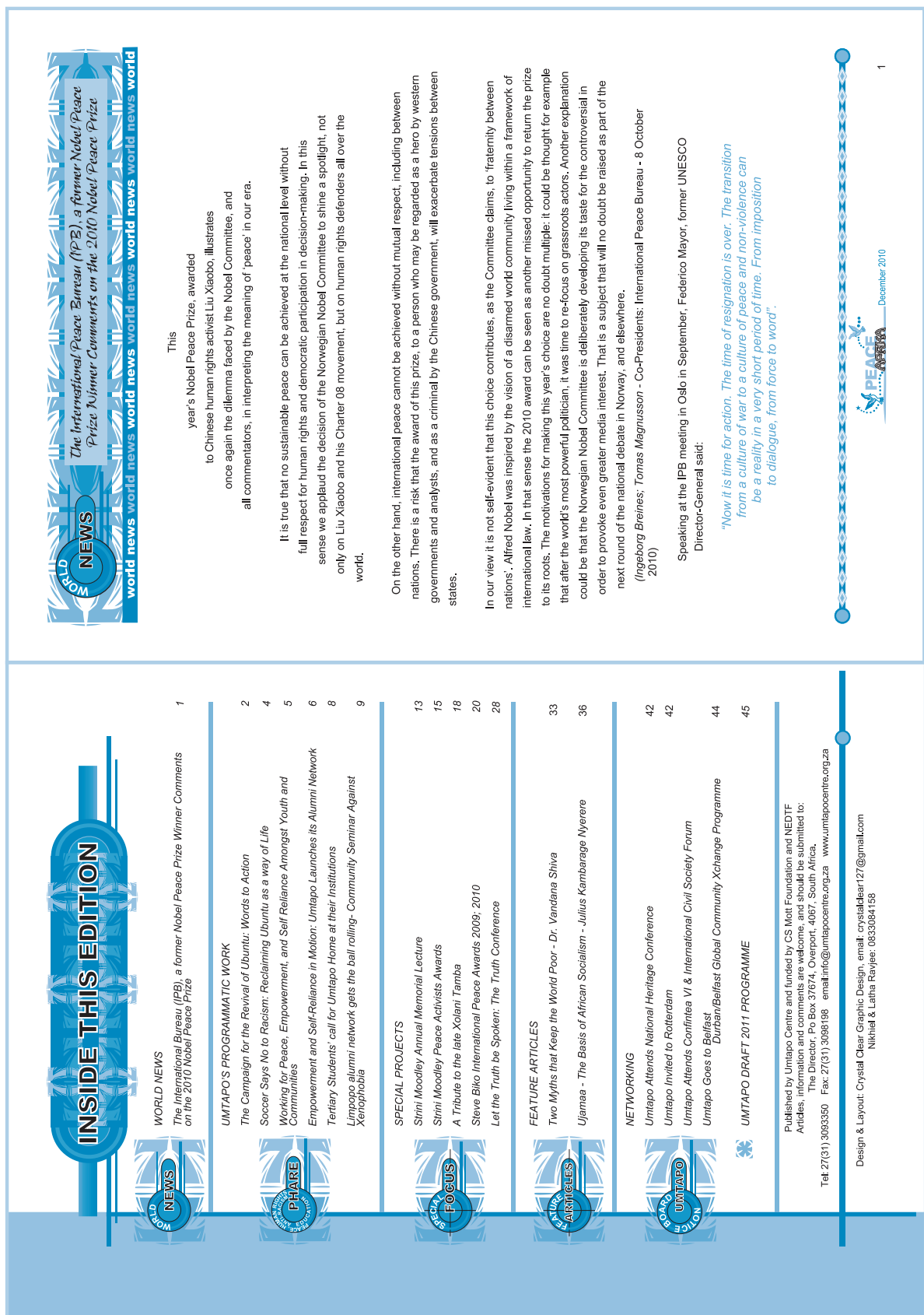


Fig. 1.55. The 2010 Peace Africa Newsletter: Layout (Contents + page1)



Fig. 1.56. Peace Africa Newsletter: Layout (Example 2)

## Part Two

### crystal clear visual communication cc

Crystal Clear Visual Communication is a design studio created and conceptualised by myself and owned and managed by my son, Nikhiel. It was formed specifically as an alternative design studio which focuses on 'Graphic Design for Social Justice'. Rather than perpetuate the voice of the established order, we see our role on the side of community struggles against state power.

We are emphatically against the idea of people being seen as “the masses” whose ideas can be shaped or moulded to a particular ideology, or a given way of thinking. This is expressed in the “Crystal Clear Logo” with the words, “...see...hear... think ... speak...act...”

Nikhiel & Latha Ravjee

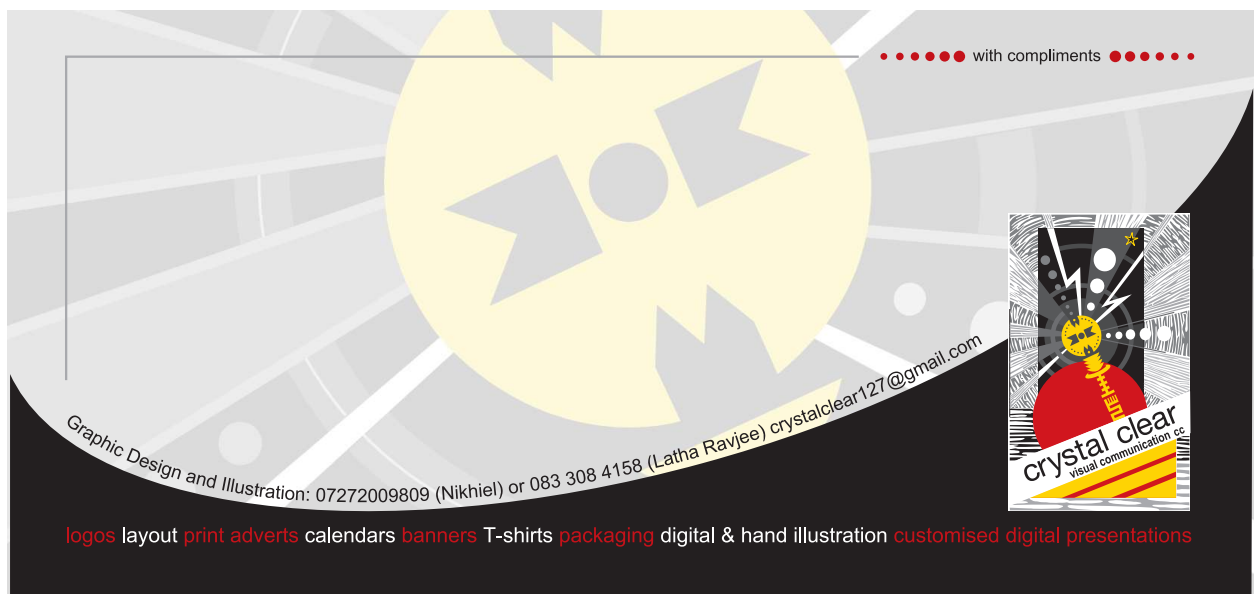
email: crystalclear127@gmail.com



**Fig. 2.1. crystal clear visual communication logo**



**Fig. 2.2. crystal clear visual communication: Business Card (front and reverse)**



### **2.3. crystal clear visual communication: Compliments Slip**



**Fig. 2.4. Crystal Clear Visual Communication cc - Letterhead**



# Part Three

## word-on-the-street

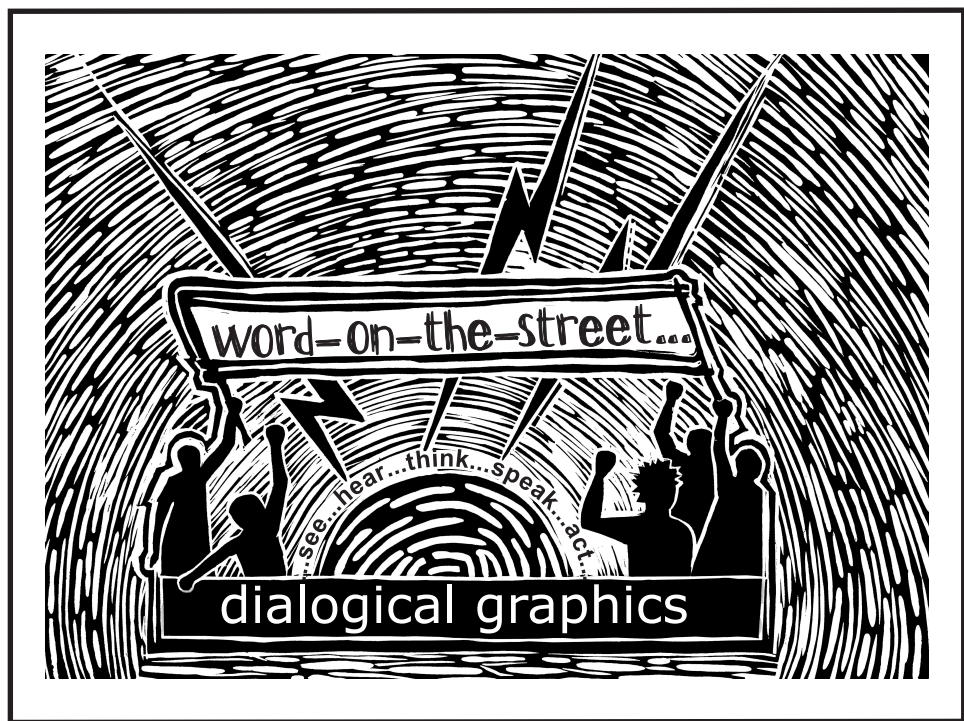
“word-on-the-street” is a more radical graphic identity - created to express my personal viewpoint. Through my “word-on-the-street” graphics I aim to present scenarios that agitate and provoke with images that uncover the true nature of state power.

“word-on-the-street” - like ‘crystal clear visual communication’ aims to encourage people to dialogue - to think critically, instead of blindly accepting and imbibing abstract propaganda of the established order.

The series of 13 posters contained herein have been designed as a result of the research process and constitute my personal graphic interpretation of the topic:

“Graphic Design for Social Justice in South Africa”

email: wordonthestreet.247@gmail.com



**Fig. 3.1. word-on-the-street logo**

*You are invited to attend the opening of  
an exhibition:*

**GRAPHIC DESIGN...**  
**...For SOCIAL JUSTICE**



**SOUTH AFRICA 2010**  
*by Latha Ravjee*

**Date: Friday 30 September 2011**

**Venue: Thekwini College - Centec Hall**  
(Corner of Earl Haig & Hendry Roads),  
Morningside, Durban.

**Time: 6:00 for 6:30pm**

**Guest Speaker: Professor Ashwin Desai**

For further information contact: Jaz: 082 744 3322  
Latha: 083 308 4158 or Nikhiel: 072 720 9809  
or email: [crystalclear127@gmail.com](mailto:crystalclear127@gmail.com)

**Viewing will be open until 6pm: Saturday 1st October**

**Fig. 3.2. Supporting Design Portfolio: Exhibition Invitation**

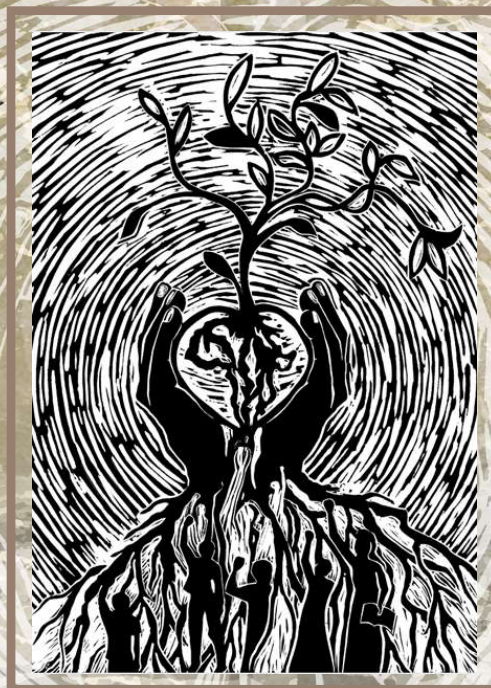


# GRAPHIC DESIGN...

"LIFE is paramount.  
It is the source -  
without life there can  
be nothing.

Indeed, the purpose  
of revolution is to  
ensure the  
continuation  
of life...

...the search for  
liberation is to  
ensure a qualitative  
change in the life of  
the oppressed and  
exploited  
communities  
throughout the  
world.



Liberation  
Movements  
therefore  
**PROTECT LIFE...**  
Struggle for its  
continuation - for  
qualitative change in  
the values and value  
systems that govern  
human relationships.

Liberation  
Movements  
by that token, are  
opposed to death  
and fight against the  
agents of death."

STRINI  
MOODLEY  
1988

## ...For SOCIAL JUSTICE

SOUTH AFRICA 2010

*13 Posters by Latha Ravjee*

Fig. 3.3. Poster 1 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression





Fig. 3.4. Poster 2 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression

2010 Words -  
eleven languages...



...Meaningless to the  
Poor

crystal clear  
visual communication cc

see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.5. Poster 3 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



# 2010 Reasons...

## "POVERTY IS A HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION"

The Human Right to live in dignity free from want is a fundamental human right...and includes:

**The human right to an adequate standard of living.**

The human right to work and receive wages that contribute to an adequate standard of living.

**The human right to a healthy and safe environment.**

The human right to live in adequate housing.

**The human right to be free from hunger.**

The human right to safe drinking water.

**The human right to primary health care and medical attention in case of illness.**

human right to access to basic social services.

**The human right to (quality) education.**

The human right to be free of gender or racial discrimination.

**The human right to participate in shaping decisions that affect oneself and one's community.**

The right for children to develop in an environment appropriate for their physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development."

**POVERTY**  
**is not a Given**  
**Destiny, but the**  
**RESULT of an**  
**unjust socio-**  
**political**  
**order**  
paraphrased from Paulo Freire

The Peoples Movement for Human Rights Education- [www.pdhre.org](http://www.pdhre.org)

**You slog to earn  
a decent living  
you get paid  
a pittance  
you can't afford  
the basic  
necessities  
for living  
food, shelter, water  
the state  
disconnects  
water and  
disconnects  
electricity...  
the state evicts  
(forcibly removes)  
you from your home**

*Latha Ravjee*

Ashwin Desai

## .....why people remain homeless

crystal clear  
visual communication cc

see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.6. Poster 4 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



Fig. 3.7. Poster 5 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



Fig. 3.8. Poster 6 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



# 2010 job expectations...



## DUPED!

# ...thousands of lives - shattered

crystal clear  
visual communication cc

see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.9. Poster 7 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression

2010 Lessons to be  
learned...



...about state greed

crystal clear  
visual communication cc

see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.10. Poster 8 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



# 2010 Desperate Measures...

free flow of information transparency public debate  
dialogue accountability free speech freedom of artistic  
expression media freedom truth openness dialogue  
accountability free speech transparency freedom of  
artistic expression media freedom truth openness dialogue  
media freedom transparency public debate accountability  
public debate accountability free speech transparency  
openness dialogue free flow of information transparency  
debate accountability free speech openness  
transparency public freedom truth  
debate freedom of artistic expression transparency  
expression truth freedom of information transparency  
public debate dialogue accountability transparency  
media freedom truth openness free flow of information  
freedom of artistic expression dialogue truth truth...

**CENSORED**

APARTHEID STYLE  
LEGISLATION  
South Africa  
2010

Protection of Information Bill - South Africa 2010.

Lutha Rayce

## ...to Protect State Secrets...

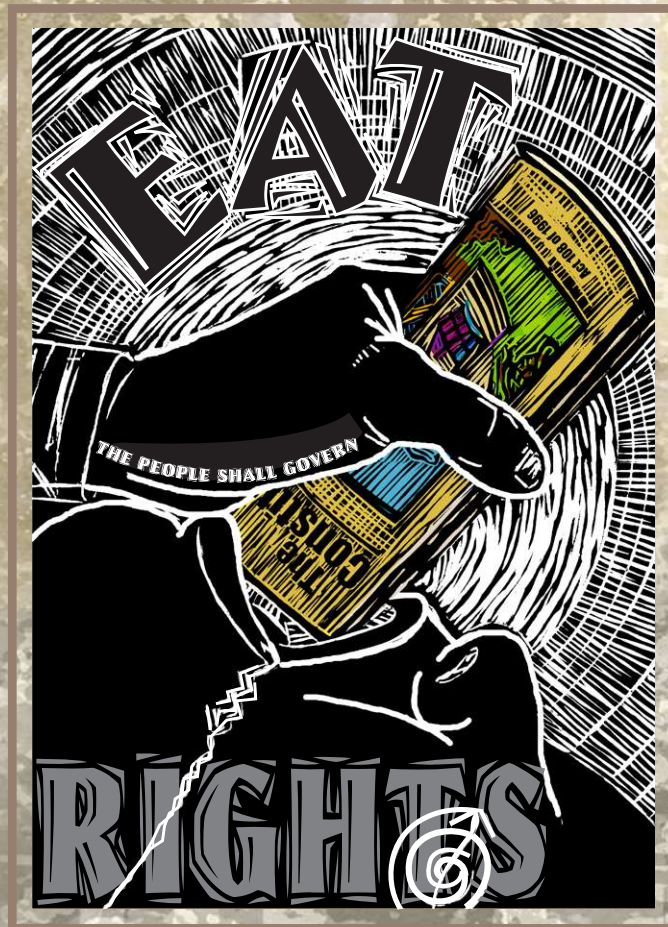
crystal clear  
visual communication cc

see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.11. Poster 9 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression

# 2010 State Imposed myths...



## ...about liberation and rights

crystal clear  
visual communication cc

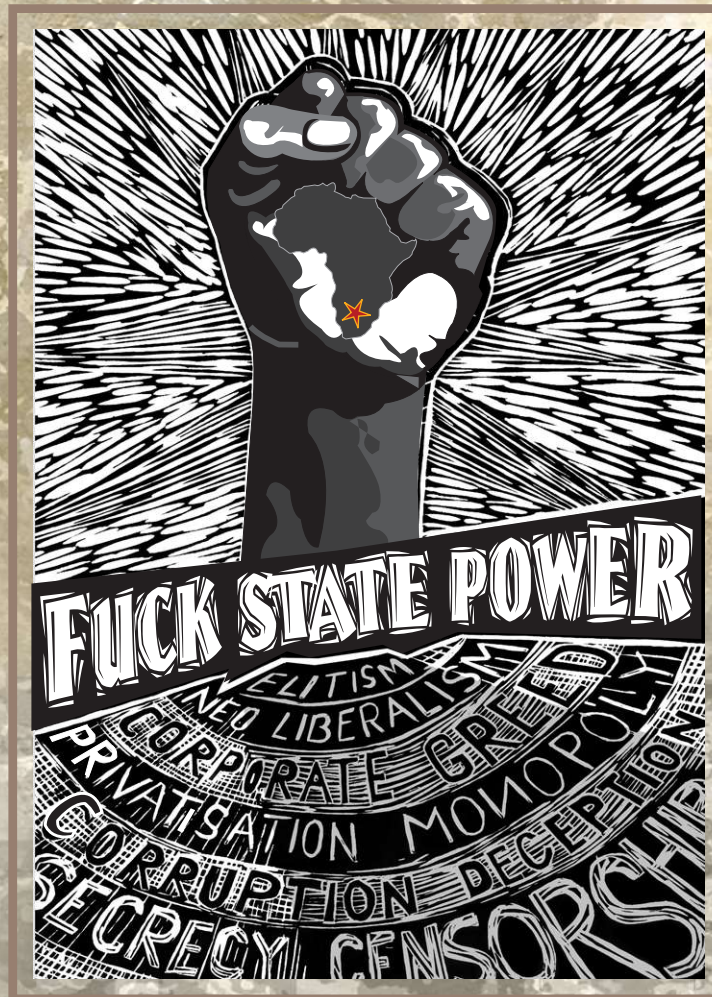
see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.12. Poster 10 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



**2010 Reasons...**



**...for civil outrage  
and insurrection**

crystal clear  
visual communication cc

see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.13. Poster 11 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



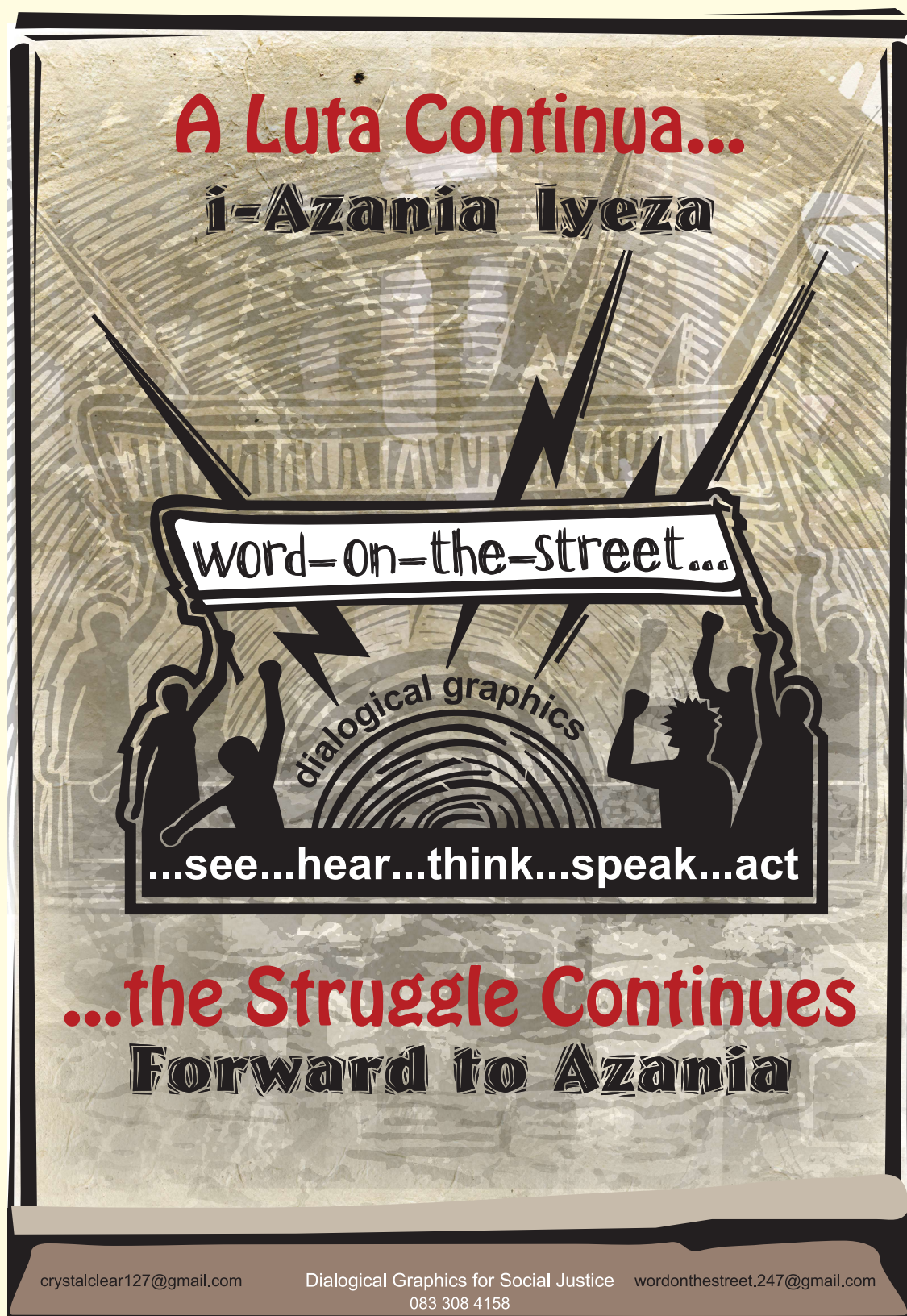


Fig. 3.14. Poster 12 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression



...2011 conference of  
the global elites...



...who exploit the earth  
for profit

crystal clear  
visual communication cc

see...hear...think...speak...act...

word-on-the-street...

Fig. 3.15. Poster 13 of 13 - Personal Artistic Expression

Related design work produced as a result of this study:



Fig. 3.16. COP 17 - Logo Jam 1



Fig. 3.17. COP 17 - Logo Jam 2

Official COP 17 Logo



**Official COP 17 Summit Icon:**  
***"Working Together - Saving Tomorrow today"***



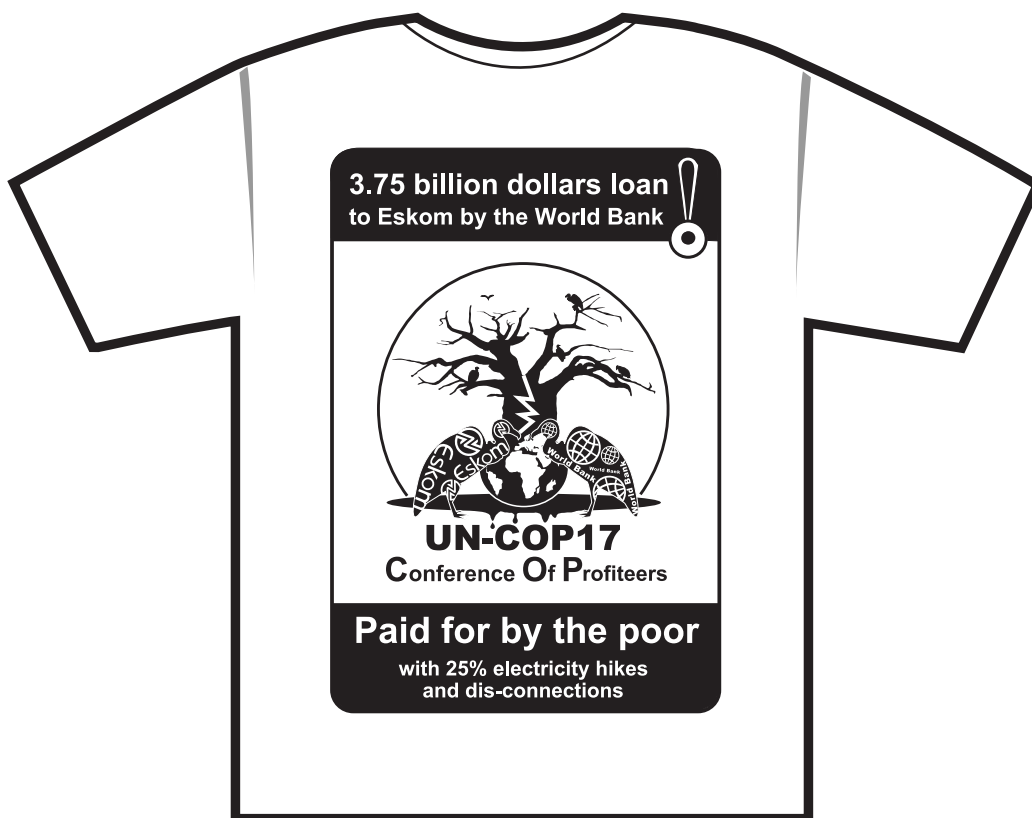
**Fig. 3.18. COP 17 Summit Icon - Jam 1**



**Fig. 3.19. COP 17 Summit Icon - Jam 2**



*Fig. 3.20. T-shirt design (front) for Durban City Global Peoples march on Cop 17*



*Fig. 3.21. T-shirt design (back) for Durban City Global Peoples march on Cop 17*



Official UNFCCC Logo



United Nations  
Framework Convention on  
Climate Change



Fig. 3.22. UNFCCC Logo - Logo Jam

The Early Morning Market Community presents

# Market Tears

An historic multi-media  
production



**24th & 25th**  
September  
2010

**DUT (Cane Growers Hall) - M.L.Sultan Campus**

**(Fri) 3pm: R20.00 and (Sat) 6pm: R40.00**

**TICKETS AVAILABLE AT: 031 563 1722**

**word-on-the-street...** see...hear...think...speak...act... (a crystal clear visual communication)

Fig. 3.23. Market-Tears Poster: Designed for the Early Morning Market Support Group



Fig. 3.24. 'Trash the Polluters': Protest Poster 1 Against Engen

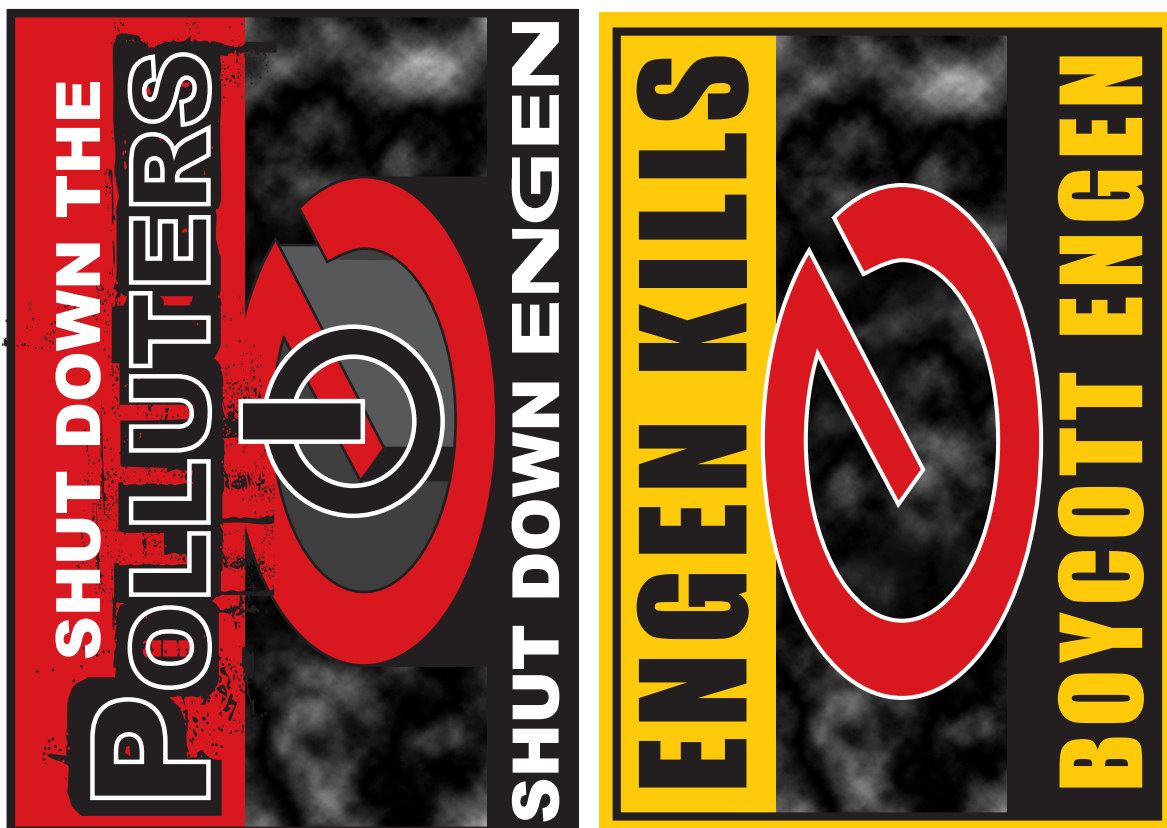


Fig. 3.25 & 3.26. "Shut Down the Polluters" and 'Engen Kills' - Protest Posters 2 & 3



Fig. 3.27. 'Too Toxic' - Protest Poster 4 Against Engen

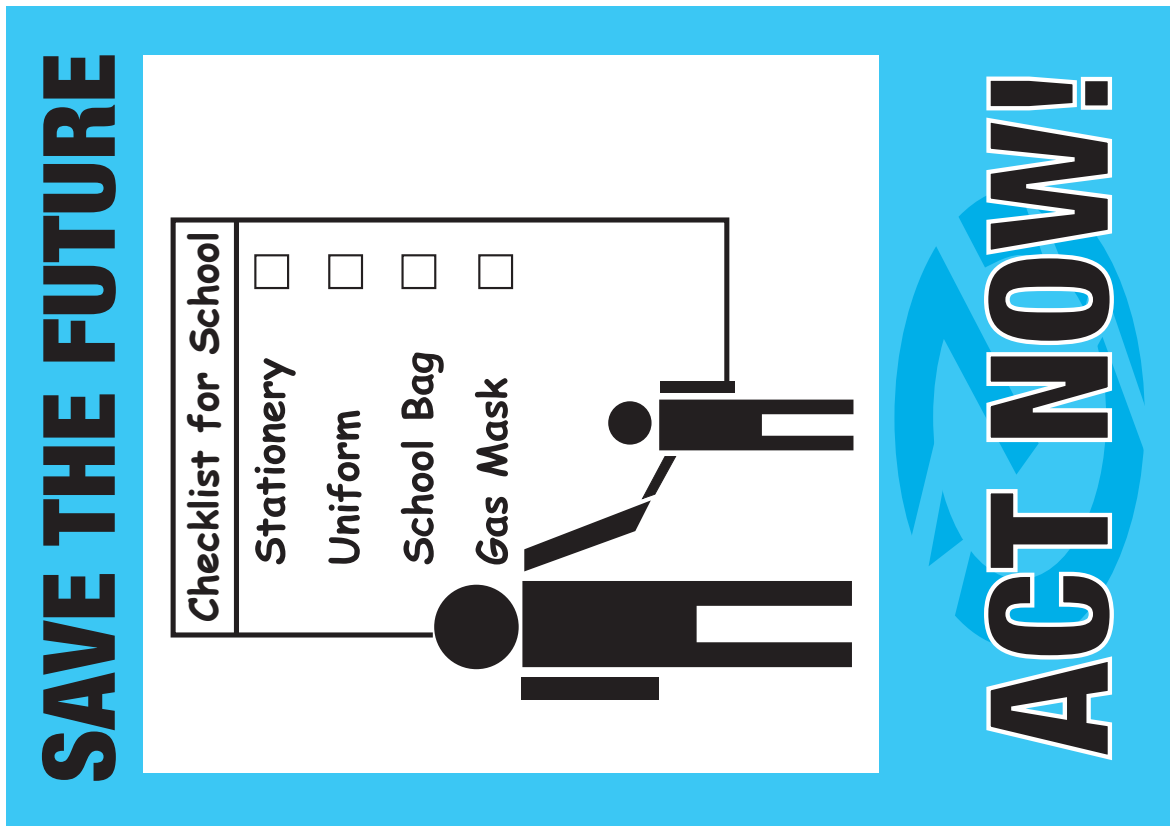


Fig. 3.7. "Save the Future - Act Now" - Protest Poster 5 Against Engen