

# NEWSPAPER CARTOONS AS A REFLECTION OF POLITICAL CHANGE DURING THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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## ABSTRACT

The first Southern African cartoonists were probably the Stone Age Bushmen whose drawings adorn rock faces in this part of the continent. Modern cartoonists may use more sophisticated equipment but their drawings, although on recyclable print, also reflect a particular part of our history.

Are editorial cartoons important in the context of a given part of history? The following view of Schoonraad *et al* (1989:15) provides the answer: "A collection of cartoons covering a particular period, will present an unequalled graphic history of political and current events". They also add that the state of any nation is reflected by its newspaper cartoons.

Geipel (1972:9) argues that "to the historian, cartoons represent a priceless primary source of information about fleeting modes and morals of the passing generations".

In the last section of this article a collection of editorial cartoons from 1 January 1994 to 29 April 1994 is analysed in the context of the general election of 27 to 29 April 1994. Few commentators



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will disagree that the run-up to the 1994-election can be regarded as one of the most crucial moments in South African history.

The focus will only be on the editorial cartoon usually found on the centre pages of Sunday and daily newspapers and not on comic strips of which the majority are from US-syndications. The

only local comic strips that provide social and political commentary are "Ben, Babsie en Familie" and "Louis die Laeveld Leeu".

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Not much comment on the role of the editorial cartoon in political communication has been published locally. Works of Holland (1908); Quip(1930); Van Schoor (1981); Kotzé, D J (1988); Kotzé, D (1988); Berry (1989); Honiball (1989); and Schoonraad (1989) are known.

A search through the ABI-business periodical index unearthed a few international articles but the majority have limited value in doing a scientific communication analysis of editorial cartoons.

In the USA the first editorial cartoon appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1754 as a supplement to an editorial written by Benjamin Franklin (Hiebart *et al.*, 1991).

According to Kotzé (1988) the first local political cartoons were published in the *Grahamstown Journal* in 1831, although not on a full-time basis. At the end of the previous century the following papers published frequent cartoons: *The Cape Illustrated Magazine*, *The Cape Register*, *The Melon*, *The Knobkierie*, and *The Telephone*.

The important political communication role of local cartooning can briefly be illustrated by the following incidents (as described by Schoonraad *et al.*

(1989):

- \* Paul Kruger was deliberately targeted by the English Press before the Anglo Boer War;

- \* He retaliated by closing *The Star* for a while;

- \* It is alleged that D C Boonzaaier's cartoons had a hand in the downfall of Prime Minister Louis Botha;

- \* Certain cartoonists depicted Dr D F Malan as a Nazi sympathiser for his opposition to South Africa's entry into the Second World War;

- \* A cartoon of Fred Schilling became a subject of a mini-debate in the 1946 parliament;

- \* It was speculated that Etam and TO Honiball (two cartoonists) had an influential role in the outcome of the 1948-election when the National Party came to power (Schoonraad *et al.*, 1989).

The effect on white public opinion of "Swart gevaar", red communist plots, the Russian bear and other symbolic cartoons in Afrikaans newspapers since 1948 can be heavily debated.

Reflecting on historical observations it seems, and surely not unexpectedly, that in the past certain newspapers were biased towards specific political parties or ideologies. Given the changing political scene in South Africa, future cartoons must surely reflect the changing society and let's hope the changing democratic scene. Is it too much to ask that newspapers rather pursue

the national interest, instead of influencing the public opinion for the sake of a specific political party or ideology, through editorial policy, news content, news comment, and **editorial cartoons**. Newspapers should be free to mock any misdeed of any politician, influential person or institution with impunity - that will be true press freedom.

## **THE EDITORIAL CARTOON AS PART OF NEWS REPORTING**

Vergunst (1990:45) says:

Although the press cartoon is sometimes newsworthy, it always mediates meaning. Thus, enlisting the services of a cartoonist is not an arbitrary choice but a considered editorial decision.

The newspaper is the courier of the cartoon but the relationship should be symbiotic. The editorial cartoon should be regarded as a respected member of the journalistic armoury of a newspaper by enhancing its editorial content.

Depending on editorial policy, an editorial cartoon is the cartoonists' (or the news staff's?) view of the world we live in. The cartoon makes the reader think about some aspect of the news (Wainwright, 1972). It is therefore aimed at providing commentary on a serious point in the news of the day. This commentary is very often a light-hearted "chirp" about a person or an issue that might be difficult to report on in a news item.

Van Schoor (1981) emphasises that the really good cartoon is never vulgar, or derogatory. This distinguishes the momental cartoon from the timeless master piece that has a message that sticks and therefore appeals to the intelligent reader.

The main challenge of daily newspaper cartooning therefore lies in the problem of producing a drawing that reflects a real issue each day of the week without becoming boring or irrelevant. A further problem is that the intended target market must be able to grasp its meaning. An added value of the editorial cartoon is that it adds a smile to the editorial pages especially in violence-prone South Africa or during the interim political period before the next elections.

## **COMMUNICATION DIMENSIONS OF THE CARTOON**

In the run-up to the elections only a small hand-full of cartoons did not have a political angle. Newspaper cartoons are therefore a very important form of **political communication**. Cartoons informed and commented on day-to-day political issues and deeds as illustrated by Tables 1 to 4.

Cartoons are obviously a form of **mass communication** because according to Kotzé, D (1988:61) "a cartoon is a form of communication between the cartoonist/newspaper and the readers".

A picture is supposed to be worth a thousand words but this well-worn expression is nowhere more true than in the art of cartooning. Cartooning can therefore be regarded as a form of **pictorial communication**. To be effective editorial cartoonists use the art of caricature, by employing a few strokes to exaggerate character, personality, or features to make a point and communicate meaning. At its best, an editorial cartoon, a few centimetres by a few centimetres can say more than a few hundred words - because cartooning is primarily based on and pokes fun at human nature.

The cartoon is also an art form, although a peculiar form of art, for a peculiar purpose. It is not fine art but graphical art - "writing" by drawing, that is **graphical communication**. Through direct and simple illustration it is meant to inform, reform or to amuse. That is very important - a cartoonist is therefore journalist and artist.

Political editorial cartoons also reveal insights into "unofficial" attitudes, views, and reactions that appeal to ordinary people. It can be regarded as **unofficial communication** because the real reaction to political characters, deeds, and situations might be too "dangerous" to express in ordinary news reporting. Cartoons may therefore be a reflection of the true history of a certain historical moment because it is not always possible to explore an issue or event

in a formal news article. A cartoon can subsequently "replace" a news story.

The editorial cartoon is also a form of **indirect communication** because it relies on subtle influencing and personal perceptions. Van Schoor (1981) describes the cartoon as a disjointed commentary on human behaviour. It illustrates fallacies and incompetencies. News features have to describe events before critical comment can be made, while a cartoon can describe and comment simultaneously - probably the best advantage of a cartoon. The cartoon is therefore, in a sense, an expression of criticism and social protest against people, institutions, and events

In the run-up to the 1994 election political cartoons had **propaganda potential**. It could have (and in many cases have) been deliberately biased towards political figures, parties, attitudes and values - which makes these cartoons very effective communications instruments to influence public opinion. A debatable point is whether certain cartoonists deliberately "targeted" the individuals and parties who did not want to take part in the elections.

In their epic work on cartooning Schoonraad *et al.* (1989:11) make a very interesting observation:

During the 18th and 19th centuries the cartoon played a major role, especially in Britain, in forming or **influencing** the political minds and

**opinions of people to whom the printed word was largely inaccessible because of illiteracy.**

This must also be true in present South Africa where thousands of newspaper readers have had limited schooling or have to read an English newspaper because no tabloids are available in their mother tongues. It can also be debated whether the cartoon is becoming even more important because people read less editorial content due to lack of interest or time.

Kotzé, D (1988) adds that one of the functions of the political cartoon is to strengthen and reinforce the political attitudes of the readers supporting its editorial policy.

Cartoons are very **multi-dimensional** and according to Schoonraad *et al.* (1989) the following dimensions exist:

- \* **Metaphor** - a transfer of a figure of speech that rests on comparison. A symbol (an ox-wagon) can substitute a real person or situation (the Conservative Party);
- \* **Nuance** - a vague reference without stating a fact explicitly (*Rapport* repeatedly changed the C in ANC to the hammer and sickle symbol of communism);
- \* **Implying** - implied inclusion of an idea, statement or thought (Inkatha and Freedom Front figures were depicted doing death-defying stunts);
- \* **Interpretation** - explaining relevance

or meaning (Mr Mandela's statement that men should be more helpful in doing household chores led to men being depicted doing the dishes);

- \* **Analogy** - a shared similarity between elements that may differ substantially (Inkatha and CP-figures depicted as spoilers);

- \* **Symbolism** - a pictorial array of symbols is used to summarise expression or comment A certain politician was often depicted as a tortoise. A symbol can therefore be recalled in later cartoons. Physical features of people can also become symbols - a big nose or bushy eyebrows; and

- \* **Entertainment** - Cartoons form political opinions and are informative, but they also provide entertainment through caricature, heckling and satire (caricatures of Ferdi Hartzenberg, Eugene Terre'Blanche and Peter Mokaba to name a few).

Van Schoor (1989) identifies the following dimensions:

- \* **Presentation** - whereby unique features of a situation or person can be grotesquely overemphasised (Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's moustache was greatly exaggerated);

- \* **Exposing** - the cartoon is not only heckling but also an instrument to expose blatant or subtle fallacies, hypocrisies, and treacherous political tricks (the Apla and PAC-statements); and

- \* It also acts as a safety valve -

through humour pent-up political annoyance can be released (especially in the Black press).

The following dimensions are identified by Kotzé, D (1988):

\* **Condensing** - It freezes or condenses a whole sphere of political reference into one depiction. A cartoon can depict a run-up to an event or add further spice to the reputation or characterisation of an individual (Peter Mokaba doing a dance while chanting "Kiss the farmer! Kill Miss SA");

\* **Simplification** - The cartoon assists the reader to understand the environment surrounding an event or individual depicted in the cartoon (the "togetherness" of prominent leaders visiting the ZCC-gathering at Morija);

\* **Mobilisation** - A cartoon makes propaganda for or against a cause or individual (many cartoons were especially biased against individuals and parties who did not want to take part in the elections);

\* **Explaining reality** - Although difficult, the cartoon explains actions or events by depending on the ideological frame of mind of the observer (the split in Afrikaner politics was visualised by alienating Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg);

\* **Indicting reality** - A cartoon can challenge the existing political attitudes by criticism and protest or by portraying a more desirable or ideal situation than the present situation. (In one cartoon Gen

Constand Viljoen had a ballot paper behind his back while Dr Hartzenberg hid a weapon behind his back.); and

\* **Influencing** - An attempt is made by the cartoonist to influence reality or to direct it into a specific direction (Apla being depicted as having to bow to outside pressure and retracting their statements like "Kill the boer").

Taking its multi-dimensionality into consideration it can be concluded that in politics the cartoon is one of the most well-known, legitimate but dangerous weapons available in journalism. No politician, high profile individual or institution can ignore its communication effect and its influence on public opinion.

### **Themes, reaction, and trends**

As already mentioned, analyses of local newspaper cartoons have been neglected in the past. The following collections have been published: Political cartoons reprinted from *The Star* (Holland, 1908); cartoons selected from *The Star* (Quip, 1930); cartoons from the Anglo Boer War (Van Schoor, 1981); the cartoons of D C Boonzaaier in *Die Burger* between 1915 and 1924 (Kotzé, 1988); a cartoon history from *The Star* of 40 years of National Party rule (Berry, 1989); and a biographical and historical book on South African cartoonists (Schoonraad, 1989).

In the USA the following topics have been reported to get special attention in editorial cartoons: Racism, war, social issues and female-male

relationships (Astor, 1991); civil rights, the police, homelessness, foreign affairs, popular culture, and the everyday life of African Americans (Astor, 1992); and even the business community (Anon, 1990).

Some political figures have also been favourite cartoon topics. A book has been published on cartoons depicting the highly criticised reign (1965 to 1992) of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos (Knipp, 1993).

Editorial cartoons do not make the cartoonists immune to backlashes. Several cartoonists who opposed the Persian Gulf war have received a tremendous amount of flak, including death threats (Astor, 1991). Incidents of law suits, major public outcry, and boycotts have been reported by Buckman (1991); Fitzgerald (1992); Astor (1993a); Astor (1993b); Fitzgerald (1994) and Stein (1994).

Fear of expensive court cases may unfortunately lead to restraint, on the part of newspapers, of targeting specific political parties or influential people. This may be a very interesting issue in future. Lamb (1992) reports that courts in the USA, with near unanimity, have considered editorial cartoons as opinion or rhetorical hyperbole and therefore as protected opinion.

As already mentioned racism is a very contentious issue in editorial cartoons in the USA. Intended to take a swipe at racism, a 4 February 1994, editorial cartoon in the

*Sacramento Bee*, backfired and brought huge criticism and boycotts over the use of the term "nigger" in the caption (Stein, 1994). A front page apology by the CEO of the paper's parent company resulted.

Thibodeau (1989) reported on an analysis of the depiction of blacks in a weekly magazine, the *New Yorker*, between 1946 and 1987. This analysis tried to determine how often blacks appeared as characters and whether the proportion of blacks portrayed had changed over time. The cartoons were also examined for further changes in the styles of characterisation of US blacks since World War II. The most important findings were that styles of portraying black characters changed in keeping with the changing political climate in the USA. All cartoons from the earliest period (1946 - 1955) presented blacks in stereotypic occupational roles; cartoons in the late 1960's and early 70's were dominated by racial themes; and blacks appeared in "token" roles in the majority of cartoons from 1976 to 1987.

It would be interesting to evaluate future trends in local newspapers. Many of the new politicians are not well known to the general public - the ingenuity of cartoonists will probably overcome this very quickly. The reaction to caricatures and cartoon-depiction of the new breed of politicians and bureaucrats in the "New South Africa" will be fascinating to watch because policy,

speeches, deeds and misdeeds, and competency will hopefully be greatly scrutinised by a press which has been promised much freedom of speech and criticism. A cartoon can hardly reform an individual or institution but it has the power to raise questions and motivate public opinion.

## EDITORIAL CARTOONS IN THE RUN-UP TO THE 1994 GENERAL ELECTION

In this section cartoons published from 1 January 1994 up to the general elections of 27 to 29 April 1994 are analysed to identify themes, incidents, characters, characterisations, and different views.

Only cartoons from *Beeld*, *Rapport*, *The Star*, and *The Sowetan* are analysed, and hopefully would portray, a wide variety of press coverage, views, and expressions.

Tables 1 to 3 summarise the content of this collection of editorial cartoons. (Note: Indexed information on cartoons was retrieved from the data bank of "Die Instituut vir Eietydse Geskiedenis" at the University of the Orange Free State.)

*Beeld* depicted Dr F. Hartzenberg and Gen. C. Viljoen in many cartoons and therefore, as expected, emphasised Afrikaner politics quite extensively. *Rapport* had a pre-occupation with Mr Nelson Mandela and did not extensively cover Afrikaner politics as would have been

expected.

The following major role players were depicted in the cartoons: ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, Freedom Alliance, Bophuthatswana Government (also depicted by Mr L. Mangope), RSA Government, and the National Party. *Beeld* placed much emphasis on the Freedom Alliance and the Afrikaner Volksfront, while *Rapport* heavily focused on the ANC. *The Sowetan* targeted the IFP extensively.

Taking Table 3 as an indication the most important issue was the participation or non-participation of political parties or groupings in the election. This reflects the view of many political commentators that the participation of the Freedom Front and the IFP probably diverted a political disaster.

Table 4 analyses editorial cartoons published in *Rapport* in the run-up to the election. These cartoons were arbitrarily chosen as a set to analyse their multi-dimensional communication qualities, as identified by Van Schoor (1981); Kotzé (1988), and Schoonraad (1989). The use of symbolism, implying, nuance, condensing, analogy, entertainment, and explaining reality are very evident. The wide variety of dimensions identified, highlight the huge communication potential of editorial cartoons, which prove that an editorial cartoon IS worth a thousand words. It must be emphasised that this analysis is



**Table 1 : Political parties/political groups/organisations depicted in editorial cartoons from 1 January 1994 to 28 April 1994.**

	Beeld	The Star	Rapport	Sowetan	Total
ANC	9	10	5	7	31
Inkatha Freedom Party	4	9	1	10	24
Freedom Alliance	7	7	1	1	16
Bophuthatswana Government	4	4		7	15
SA Government	1	6	1	4	12
National Party	4	1	1	4	10
Afrikaner Volksfront	6	1		2	9
Kwazulu Government	3	3		2	8
Interim Council	2	3		2	7
AWB	4	3			7
Conservative Party	3	2		1	6
IEC	2	2		2	6
PAC	1	2		3	6
Right wing elements	3	1		1	5
SA Communist Party	2		1		3
APLA		1		2	3
ANC Youth League	1		1	1	3
Democratic Party				3	3
Transkei Government	1	1			2
Self defence units			1	1	2
Ciskei Government	1	1			2
Radio Pretoria	1	1			2
ACDP	1				1
Nehawu				1	1
Swapo	1				1
Popcru				1	1
SA Police Union				1	1
Umkhonto we Sizwe				1	1
Cosatu		1			1

subjectively based on the ability of the researcher to identify the relevant dimensions.

## CONCLUSION

In the first section of this article editorial cartoons in newspapers, as a very important facet of journalism, were discussed. Cartoons depict important issues and opinions and have multi-dimensional

communication qualities that can be described by the following:

- \* Metaphor, nuance, implying, interpretation, analogy, symbolism, entertainment (Schoonraad, 1989);
- \* Presentation, exposing, and a safety valve (Van Schoor, 1989); and
- \* Condensing, simplification, mobilisation, explaining reality, indicting reality, and influencing

**Table 2 : Political figures and other individuals depicted in editorial cartoons**

	Beeld	The Star	Rapport	Sowetan	Total
Mr N Mandela	6	10	7	7	30
Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi	6	9	1	10	26
Mr F W de Klerk	3	7	1	9	20
Mr L Mangope	4	4		8	16
Dr F Hartzenberg	9		1	2	12
Gen. C Viljoen	9	1		1	11
King G Zwelithini	3	2	1	4	10
Mr E Terre'Blanche	6	2		1	9
Mr J Slovo	3	1	2		6
Gen. B Holomisa	2	1	1	1	5
Judge J Kriegler	2	1	1	1	5
Judge R Goldstone		3		2	5
Brig O Gqozo	1			2	3
Mr P Mokaba	1		1	1	3
Mr Kader Asmal			2		2
Mr Pik Botha				2	2
Ms P de Lille	1	1			2
Mr C Ramaphosa			1	1	2
Dr Z de Beer				2	2
Dr P Mulder	2				2
Mr R Cronjé	2				2
Mr R Meyer			1	1	2
Mr H Kissinger	1	1			2
Mr C Makwetu		1		1	2
Mr R Kasrils			1		1
Dr P Jordan	1				1
Gen. G Ramushwana				1	1
Dr J T Delpport	1				1
Dr G Bartlett	1				1
Mr Naas Botha	1				1
Mr S Nujoma	1				1
Mr D Keys	1				1
Dr C Mulder	1				1
Mr W Ratte	1				1
Mr L Shill				1	1
Mr H Kriel				1	1
Lord Carrington	1				1
Gen. M Geldenhuys	1				1
Gen. J v/d Merwe				1	1
Prof W Okumu				1	1

**Table 3 : Issues/events depicted in editorial cartoons from 1 January to 29 April 1994**

	Beeld	The Star	Rapport	Sowetan	Total
Freedom Alliance demands/actions	8	10	1	3	22
SA Government actions	3	5	2	6	16
Crisis in Bophuthatswana	3	4	1	7	15
Inkatha Freedom Party	1	6	1	7	15
Policy of political parties	3	2	3	4	12
Political campaigning	5	2		4	11
Violence	2	3	2	4	11
ANC actions/policy	2	1	4	3	10
Zulu King issue	3	1	1	4	9
Volkstaat-issue	4	3		1	8
Candidate lists	4	1	2		7
National Peace-keeping Force saga	2	2		3	7
Actions of Interim Council	3	3			6
Third force in the Police		3		3	6
IEC problems	3	2		1	6
Democracy	1	4			5
Far-right wing activities	3			1	4
Ballot problems		3		1	4
State of Emergency in KwaZ-Natal				4	4
External influences	1	2		1	4
PAC/Apla actions/policy	1	1		1	3
Strikes		1		2	3
Miss South Africa Competition	1		1	1	3
National anthem and flag issue		2		1	3
International mediation fails	1	1		1	3
Radio Pretoria saga	1	1			2
Squatter issue		1		1	2
Problems in Lesotho				2	2
Whites should leave	1	1			2
The "Afrikaanse Taalstryd" in 1994	2				2
Housing crisis			1	1	2
Whites hoarding food	1	1			2
ZCC visit of political leaders		1		1	2
Threats	1	1			2
Fuel price	1				1
Economic issues	1				1
The lost generation		1			1
Provincial government		1			1
Speeding of political convoys				1	1
New defence force				1	1

**Table 4 : Analysis of editorial cartoons published in Rapport from 2 January 1994 to 24 April 1994**

DATE	DESCRIPTION	DIMENSION
1/2/94	Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa are depicted as working in a packaging department of a store. Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk are shopkeepers.	Symbolism
	Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg is depicted as a disgruntled customer who is in the store to exchange an "unwanted Christmas gift".	Analogy
	He seems not to have opened the gift.	Interpretation
	It seems as if there is a gang (Mandela, De Klerk, Meyer, and Ramaphosa) against Hartzenberg.	Influencing
	The whole process of negotiation between those who want to vote and those who don't want to vote is depicted in this cartoon.	Condensing. Explains reality
	There is a slogan on the ribbon of the gift - "van ons almal aan ons almal" (from us all to us all).	Condensing. Explains reality
1/9/94	This cartoon depicts self-defence units fighting each other.	Explains reality
	The C in ANC is substituted (five times) by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the communist party is "behind" the ANC.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
1/16/94	Tarzan, Jane and a chimpanzee is depicted as being on the candidate list of the ANC.	Entertainment
	The C in ANC is substituted by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the communist party is "behind" the ANC.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
	Comment from a little bird - "Tarzan van die ANC" - from Tarzan of the apes. ANC substitutes apes.	Analogy
	The issue of candidate lists is highlighted.	Condensing
1/23/94	Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg is depicted as a president of a dream castle.	Explain reality. Exposing
	Words in an Afrikaans song are substituted - "My hartjie (hartland) my liefie (liefland) die son sak weg".	Analogy
2/8/94	This cartoon comments on candidate lists. Mrs Bobbit who dismembered a part of her husband's anatomy is suggested as a candidate. The comment is: "Ja. Kom ons vat haar, sy sal skerp wees" - she will be sharp.	Analogy

Table 4 : continued

2/13/94	Comment is made about Mr Nelson Mandela's opinion that 14 year-olds should also be able to vote. This cartoon suggests that they should also be able to marry and be eligible to receive housing subsidies.	Entertainment. Simplify. Explain reality
	The word "huis" (house) is used a few times - Mr Huisamen of the Ministry of Housing ("behuising"), is saying ("elke huis het sy kruis (stem/vote?)", "huissubsidie" (housing subsidy).	Metaphor
2/20/94	This cartoon heckles the medling of Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Kader Asmal into the Miss South African competition. They are depicted as flea market operators trying to sell a straw doll. The little bird comments that she is not that pretty but very political	Entertainment
	A hammer and sickle is also for sale - a communist plot.	Implying
	The C in ANC is substituted by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the communist party is "behind" the ANC.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
2/27/94	A beauty parade with Mr Nelson Mandela as Miss SA Today, and Mr Joe Slovo as first princess and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa as second princess. This cartoon comments Mr Mandela's successor and reflects on the previous week's cartoon on the Miss SA competition.	Entertainment. Analogy
	Mr Thabo Mbeki is depicted as tying a rope to the ankle of Mr Ramaphosa - taking his position?	Implying
	A SACP ghost is waiting in the wings and says: "Dis nie lank nie - dan vat ek oor!"	Mobilisation. Implying
	The C in the ANC on Mr Ronnie Kasrils' tie is substituted by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the communist party is "behind" the ANC. There is a hammer-and-sickle symbol on Mr Mandela's pedestal and on his crown.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
3/6/94	A guillotine (Mr Mangosutho Buthelezi) has sliced the clothing of the backside of Mr Nelson Mandela. The comment is: "O Gat-sha!".	Analogy
	The bird comments: "Nou sal daar vrede wees in ons tyd".	Explain reality
	Mr Buthelezi is a guillotine.	Symbolism

Table 4 : continued

3/13/94	Disruptions of NP meetings and the riots in Bophuthatswana are depicted under the heading - "n Vrye en regverdige verkdesing".	Explains reality. Condensing
	The C in ANC is substituted by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the Communist Party is "behind" the ANC.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
3/20/94	Mr Nelson Mandela, and a few ANC cadres are running away from King Goodwill Zwelthini and Mr Mangosutho Buthelezi.	Simplify. Condensing
	King Goodwill Zwelthini and Mr Mangosutho Buthelezi are dressed in traditional Zulu clothing and carry traditional weapons.	Symbolism
	Judge J Kriegler says: "Ek sal jou beskerm".	Entertainment
	The C in ANC is substituted by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the communist party is "behind" the ANC.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
3/27/94	A huge frog with the words ANC and SACP on its chest has just made a meal of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana (misspelt in this cartoon).	Symbolism
	This cartoon comments on a comment by Mr Joe Slovo: "Two down - one to go".	Implying
	The skeletons of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.	Symbolism
	A small frog (Kwazulu) is next?	Implying. Symbolism
	The C in ANC is substituted by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the communist party is "behind" the ANC.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
4/3/94	A policeman and a very scared police dog is delivering a summons ("lasbrief") to a very down-and-out character. This cartoon is about the ANC's "own investigation" into the Shell House shootings.	Symbolism
	There is a lonely dove (peace dove?) on the roof of the house.	Symbolism

**Table 4 : continued**

4/10/94	An impetuous Gen Bantu Holomisa is hiding behind Mr Nelson Mandela. This cartoon is based on Gen Holomisa's statement that the NP feed voters a porridge and ink mixture which will influence them to vote for the NP.	Condensing
	Gen Holomisa is much smaller than Mr Mandela. The little bird says: "Kinders moet gesien word en nie gehoor word nie".	Symbolism
	Gen Holomisa is handling an AK-47.	Nuance
	The C in ANC on Mr Mandela's tie is substituted by the hammer-and-sickle symbol of communism - the communist party is "behind" the ANC.	Symbolism. Nuance. Implying
4/17/94	This cartoon comments on the statement by Mr Mandela that the salaries of officials should be cut.	Condensing
	Blue train (methylated spirits) for hobo's and the gravy train for politicians are mentioned.	Metaphor
	One of the hobo's holds a sign saying: "Met my vingers in die till gevang - kan nie werk nie". His hand is bandaged.	Implying
4/24/94	This cartoon has a lot to say. Mr Mandela is carrying Mr Joe Slovo on his back while singing; "He ain't heavy he's my brother". An elephant is watching which relates to the television commercial of ISM.	Symbolism. Analogy
	Mr Mandela is struggling while Mr Slovo looks happy.	Symbolism
	Mrs Winnie Mandela is running alongside asking: "Nelson - het jy my dan so gou vergeet?". She is thinking about Grootte Schuur, the presidential home.	Condensing
	Mrs Mandela holds an opened box of matches and wears a necklace with a small tyre as pendant.	Implying. Nuance

(Kotzé, 1988).

Cartoons fall into the ambit of political, mass, pictorial, graphical, unofficial, and indirect communication and have a tremendous influence on public opinion through its propaganda potential.

In the second part of this article an analysis of newspaper cartoons in the run-up to the 1994-elections clearly illustrates that these cartoons reflected the real role players, issues, and events. After analysing a set of cartoons published in *Rapport* it can be concluded that symbolism, implying, nuance, condensing, analogy, entertainment, and explaining reality were widely used.

Certain points, such as the creation of an Afrikaner Volkstaat and the Zulu King-issue, were raised by cartoonists during the elections but have not been closed. They are still simmering under the surface.

The question of participation or non-participation in the elections was a very crucial one. The media played its role in highlighting the position of parties or people on different sides of the fence. *Rapport*, surprisingly did not really cover the major split that developed in Afrikaner politics during this saga. They chose to "expose" the ANC as a communist organisation by repeatedly substituting the "C" in ANC with the hammer-and-sickle symbol.

In addition the different newspapers depicted the non-participation lobby

in many precarious situations where Dr Hartzenberg, Mr Mangope and Dr Buthelezi were involved in aeroplane crashes and the abandonment of sinking ships. In other situations these personalities were depicted as backward (riding on donkeys) or looking "down and out". Their depiction in these situations was a concerted effort on the part of the media to illustrate where non-participation is going to lead to. The intention was to swing the opinion of CP- and IFP-supporters towards voting. This was probably the most important topic discussed during the run-up to the elections and it is no surprise that cartoons reflected it extensively.

## FINAL REFLECTIONS

This analysis is probably not extensive enough to provide the whole picture on newspaper cartoons as indicators of political change. It is to be hoped that in the distant future historians, journalists, and scholars will analyse these cartoons and grasp their importance as reflections of social commentary on the run-up to THE election.

**We are preserving our Bushmen rock art. I plead that we will preserve the art of editorial cartooning for those who will, in time, study it as part of their history.**

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