

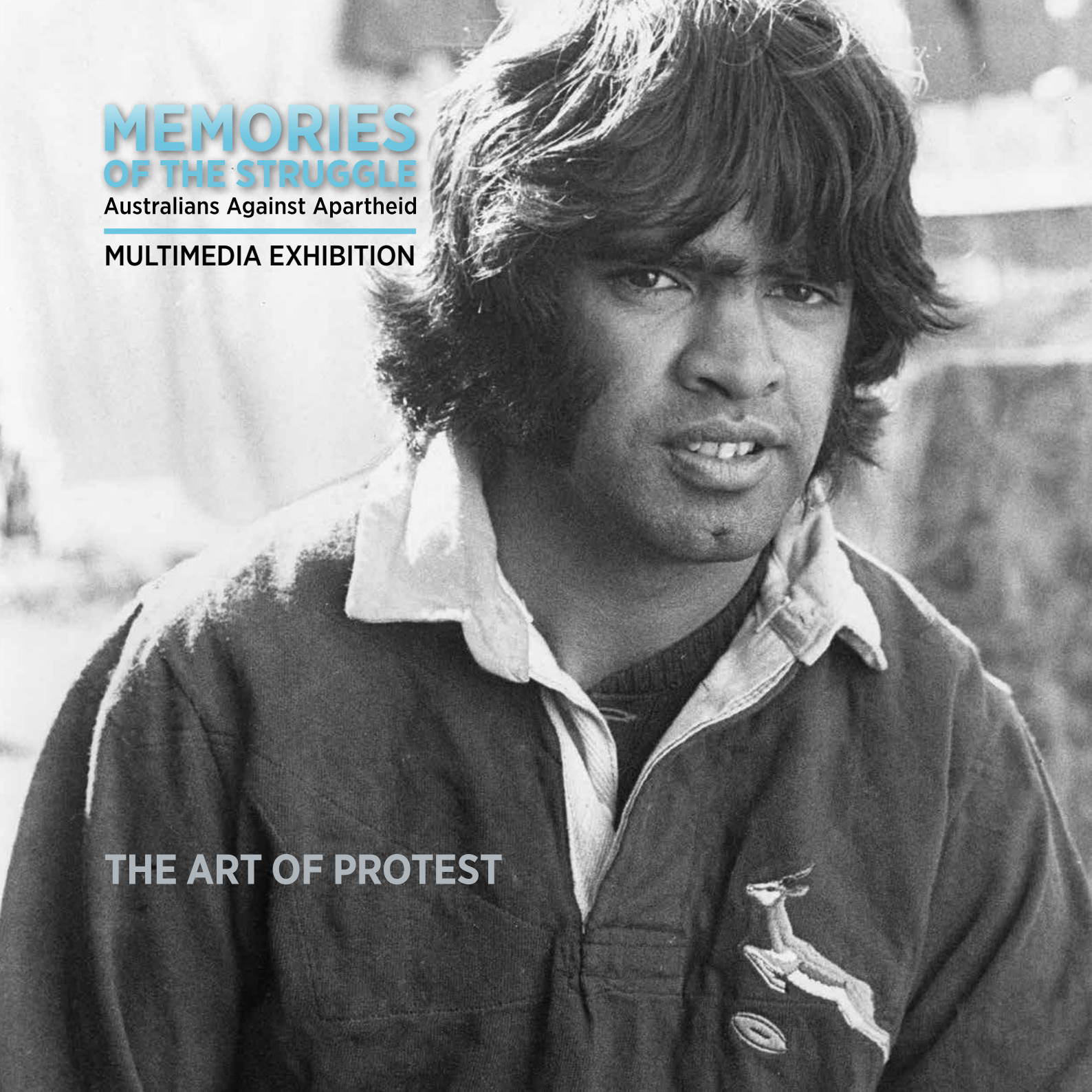
# MEMORIES OF THE STRUGGLE

Australians Against Apartheid

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MULTIMEDIA EXHIBITION

THE ART OF PROTEST





# MEMORIES OF THE STRUGGLE

Australians Against Apartheid

## THE ART OF PROTEST

- 2014 Customs House Sydney  
University of Pretoria
- 2016 Museum of Australian  
Democracy Canberra
- 2017 The Castle of Good Hope  
Cape Town

Protest in Sydney including from left to right Eddie Funde, ACTU President Cliff Dolan, Maurie Keane MP, Senator Bruce Childs and Johnny Makateni.  
Photo: State Library of NSW & Search Foundation

**THE ASAA TEAM**

CURATOR Angus Leendertz

## ASSISTANT CURATORS

Tracy Dunn (Director Ephemera Collections) &amp; James Mohr

## MUSEUM OF AUSTRALIAN DEMOCRACY CURATOR

Libby Stewart

## ASAA REFERENCE GROUP

Kerry Browning

Dr Meredith Burgmann

Jane Harris

Natalie Hendricks

Ish Larney

Patrick Wagner

## MULTIMEDIA Greg Miller &amp;

Georgia Wallace-Crabbe  
– Film Projects

## GRAPHIC DESIGN

Julia Park – Creative Park

**CONTRIBUTORS**

Father Richard Buchhorn

Will Butler and Pamela Curry – Australian High Commission Pretoria, Research &amp; Logistics, University of Pretoria Exhibition 2014

David Corbet – University of Pretoria Catalogue Design

Ken Davis &amp; Dr Helen McCue – APHEDA (Union Aid Abroad)

Professor Andrea Durbach – HRC Centre, University of New South Wales

Professor Gareth Evans – Former Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Dr Gary Foley – Victoria University

Eddie Funde – ANC Australia

Irene Gale and Sybil Wakefield – CARE South Australia

Paul Kaplan – West Australia

Professor Peter Limb – Michigan State University

Michael Philips – MoAD 3D Model

Warren Ludski – Past journalist, Canberra Times

Audrey McDonald – Union of Australian Women

Reverend Dorothy McRae-McMahon – Uniting Church

John Myrtle – South Africa Defence and Aid (SADAF)

Lynette Simons – Mandela foundation

Jane Singleton – Mandela Foundation &amp; Sydney Peace Prize

Algernon van der Hoeven – South Australia

Klaas van Woldring – Northern NSW

# Voices and Memories

ANGUS LEENDERTZ | CURATOR

The global anti-apartheid movement was arguably the greatest social movement of the 20th century and Australia can be very proud of the important role it played in the demise of apartheid. The history of the anti-apartheid movement in Australia from 1950 to 1994 was a story waiting to be told.

## Introduction

In this exhibition, you will hear the voices and memories of some of the Australians, South Africans and people of other nations who worked hard over decades to bring about the end of apartheid. They often faced bitter opposition, and some were jailed for their actions. *Memories of the Struggle* pays tribute to the dedication and commitment of everyone who took part in the movement.

The source material for the exhibition was drawn from books, PhD theses and documentaries, but the majority of the information, photographs and other anti-apartheid memorabilia came from the personal and organisational archives of activists and supporters. This afforded us the opportunity to create a multimedia exhibition that speaks of the commitment of many Australians from all walks of life to supporting the struggle for democracy in South Africa. A picture emerges of continuous protest in the fields of politics, sport, the trade unions, civil society and the clergy. Many who led the vanguard of the anti-apartheid movement did so against the wishes of the state and federal governments of the day, and some sustained injury or were imprisoned as a result.

I immigrated to Australia in 1980 after completing my studies in Amsterdam. In Sydney, I started my design career doing corporate office, café & restaurant design, and after a time with a Sydney firm, I created my own design practice.

In 1997, I responded to Nelson Mandela's general call for skilled South Africans to return to their country of birth and assist in building the new free South Africa. After living overseas for many years, I moved back to Cape Town, where I changed the focus of my professional practice to the Heritage Sector and undertook skills-based craft training within the broader community. Some of these new-found skills were used in the landmark interiors of the Parliament of South Africa in Cape Town. I developed a number of prestigious projects, including sections of the Robben Island Museum and the Permanent Exhibition on Slavery at the Slave Lodge in Cape Town.

## The Australasian South African Alliance (ASAA)

I returned to live permanently in Sydney in 2010, and set about working with a small group of South Africans and Australians to raise funds for South African non-governmental organisations. It was from this start that the group called the Australasian South African Alliance (ASAA) came into being, and our first project was to organise a photographic exhibition celebrating Australia's role in the anti-apartheid struggle to mark the 20th anniversary of democracy in South Africa.

**PARTNERS****COVER**

Aboriginal activist Gary Foley wearing the same Springboks jersey he wore when leading demonstrations against the 1971 tour. Photo: Fairfax Syndication



CLOCKWISE FROM  
TOP LEFT TO RIGHT

MP Linda Burney speaking at the launch of the *Memories of the Struggle – Australians Against Apartheid* at NSW Parliament, 2014.

HE Mr Sibusio Ndebele South African High Commissioner to Australia is accompanied by HE Mr Adam McCarthy Australian High Commissioner to South Africa at a recent visit to the MoAD. Photo: DFAT

Dr Meredith Burgmann with former prime minister Bob Hawke and curator Angus Leendertz at the launch of the *Memories of the Struggle – Australians Against Apartheid* in Canberra.

HE Mr. Graeme Wilson with Archbishop Desmond Tutu. In memory of HE Mr. Graeme Wilson, former Australian High Commissioner to South Africa, who worked tirelessly to advance the Australia-South Africa relationship during his tenure and who was a driving force behind this exhibition.

The ASAA group with Gareth Evans at the opening of the *Memories of the Struggle* exhibition in Customs House Sydney, September 2014.

At the 2015 opening of the *Memories of the Struggle* exhibition, MoAD. From left to right: Anthony Abrahams (One of the Wallabies who refused to play the Springboks), Kerrie Browning, Sekai Holland and curator Angus Leendertz.



## The launch of *Memories of the Struggle*

*Memories of the Struggle – Australians Against Apartheid* was launched by Former Prime Minister Bob Hawke at the Parliament of NSW in early 2014 and was facilitated by NSW Leader of the Opposition and current Labour MP Linda Burney.

The first meeting of ASAA was held at the Sydney home of Jane Harris and James Mohr. Present were Meredith Burgmann, Tracy Dunn, Jane Harris, Natalie Hendricks, Ish Larney, James Mohr and Kolin Thumbadoo.

## The Seed funding

The ASAA drafted a proposal to the Australian High Commissioner in Pretoria, HE Mr. Graeme Wilson, put forward the idea of entering into partnership to curate a photographic exhibition which would celebrate 20 years of democracy. The exhibition would outline the historical ties shared between Australia and South Africa and the role they played in bringing about the downfall of apartheid in South Africa. It would also celebrate the efforts of those Australians who gave so much to the cause in those difficult years. The proposal was successful and we received seed funding from the Australian High Commission in Pretoria. Natalie Mendelsohn, Second Secretary at the AHC in Pretoria, facilitated the proposal and assisted High Commissioner Graeme Wilson in communications with our group. Sadly, Mr. Wilson passed away before the exhibition was realised in Pretoria, but his contribution was crucial to the project.

## The curators and reference group

Every member of the ASAA group worked hard to get the detail right and sustain the onward movement of the exhibition, but special mention must be made of the contributions of two people in particular – assistant curators, James Mohr and Tracy Dunn.

James Mohr tirelessly researched many archives for detail and photographs we could include in the exhibition, and Tracy Dunn catalogued all the information and ordered it for use in the final panels.

She also researched and coordinated the installation of the ephemera on display at Customs House, some of which is in the Museum of Australian Democracy (MoAD) exhibition. When we realised that not all the information we had collected could be included in the Customs House show, Tracy came up with the idea of making a scrapbook of our research. This scrapbook is one of the most interesting items in the exhibition.

Jane Harris, Natalie Hendricks, Ish Larney and Pat Wagner worked tirelessly throughout the life of the project and were an invaluable resource, never too busy to assist with whatever was required.

Julia Park, our graphic designer, became an indispensable member of the group, and it is she who is responsible for bringing elegance and legibility to the many complex strands of information presented in the exhibition.

## The research

At a meeting in July 2013 at a coffee shop in Glebe, Meredith Burgmann, Ish Larney and I began listing the network of individuals who were active in the anti-apartheid years. The entire reference group then mapped the decades of anti-apartheid activity in all Australian states and created a detailed timeline. Key organisations and individuals throughout Australia and abroad were consulted.

Out of this process, a timeline emerged that illustrated the full story of anti-apartheid activism across all layers of society in Australia from the mid-1950s to 1994, when Nelson Mandela became the first democratically elected president of South Africa.

Not all the information gathered could be used as there were constraints on both time and exhibition space, but all contributions are recognised and valued.

“We realised that we had the beginnings of a good exhibition, one that not only focused on the enormity of ending apartheid in South Africa, but one which illustrated the development of Australian society in the years of the struggle.” Tracy Dunn, 2014

Our work began in earnest. Peter Limb, author of *The anti-apartheid movements in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand*<sup>1</sup> was extremely helpful in providing information to the project concerning anti-apartheid activities in Victoria, Queensland, the Northern Territory and Tasmania.

Warren Ludski, a native of Cape Town and former journalist with the Canberra Times, made that newspaper's archive of photographs available to us at no cost. Without these acts of generosity, the exhibition would not have benefitted from the same richness of material.

I met with Jane Singleton, who organised the Nelson Mandela tour of Australia in 1991, and she made available the Australian Mandela Foundation archives. Meetings with Lynette Simons added considerably to my understanding of the events as they happened. Lynette, in collaboration with Penny O'Donnell, wrote *Australians Against Racism: Testimonies from the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Australia*<sup>2</sup>, which was a great resource for us. Photographs and other ephemera were shared freely with the project and valuable insights were gleaned from the authors' personal archives.

### Meredith Burgmann

Meredith Burgmann was a central contributor to this process, not only with her personal archive and her ongoing contact with so many people who were instrumental in the struggle of the time, but also for her academic rigour and tireless energy.

Meredith was a founding member of the Stop The Tours campaign and assembled a comprehensive archive of the sporting boycotts across a variety of sports. Apart from the numerous photographs and protest-related ephemera, she offered me the letters between her, a student activist at the time, and Sir Donald Bradman, the most famous cricketer in the world and chairman of Australian Cricket's Board of Control.

The Bradman letters document an important conversation in which Bradman questioned Meredith's protest actions and requested advice

on apartheid and the individuals targeted by it. After his death, Sir Donald's son wrote that amongst other factors, Meredith's letters helped his father to arrive at the decision to stop the tours of the racially selected South African cricket team in 1971/72.

### The Wallabies

The Wallabies put their principles ahead of their playing futures when they announced that they would not be available for selection to play against the all-white racially selected Springbok team in 1971. It was a choice that was not only without precedent in Australian sport, but was also very unpopular at the time. The tumultuous protests and disruptions led directly to a ban on all sporting ties with South Africa which, coupled with economic sanctions and product boycotts, helped greatly to hasten the downfall of apartheid. It demonstrates a period of modern Australian history of which we can be proud.

### A major role in the protests

Prominent Aboriginal activist Gary Foley played an important role in the protests against the Springboks and other South African sporting codes. He is known to have questioned the anti-apartheid actions of Australian activists when the issue of Indigenous rights at the time remained unresolved. In the interview for the exhibition he said

"It was important that we [made] our own people more politically aware not only about their own situation...but also the situations of other oppressed peoples around the world, the people of South Africa... what we saw to be part of an international underclass similar to us." Gary Foley, 2015



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT TO RIGHT

Protest against South African surf lifesavers at Sydney's Coogee Beach in March 1971. Frances Letters (lying down), Meredith Burgmann (holding on to reel). Photo: Fairfax Syndication

Anti-apartheid activist Meredith Burgmann, wearing a dark wig, and her sister Verity are arrested by police during the Springboks versus Sydney match at the Sydney Cricket Ground, 6 July 1971. Photo: Newspix

Former Wallabies and event organisers at the Heroes' Dinner in Sydney on 6 July 2001. L to R: Tom Hickie, Yvette Andrews, Bruce Taafe, Paul Darveniza, Meredith Burgmann, Anthony Abrahams, Barry McDonald, Jim Roxburgh, Terry Forman, and Jim Boyce.

v display at MoAD.

Aboriginal activist Gary Foley wearing the same Springboks jersey he wore when leading demonstrations against the 1971 tour. Photo: Fairfax Syndication

During the 1971 protests Aboriginal activists Paul Coe (left) and Billy Craigie mocked South African Prime Minister John Vorster's words when they wore Springboks jumpers provided by former Wallaby Jim Boyce. Photo: Fairfax Syndication

Jim Roxburgh (left), one of seven Wallabies players who refused selection for the 1971 Springboks tour, playing a game in the 1960s.

1. Limb, P. (2004), *The anti-apartheid movements in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand*, in South African Democracy Education Trust (Ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Vol. 3: *International Solidarity*, pp. 907-982, Unisa Press, Pretoria.

2. O'Donnell, P. & Simons, L. (1995), *Australians Against Racism: Testimonies from the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Australia*, Pluto Press, Sydney.

### The African National Congress (ANC) in Australia

As plans for the exhibition progressed, I made contact with key organisers in the Australian anti-apartheid movement and also went to South Africa to research the archive at Fort Hare University. From there, I travelled to Johannesburg to meet Eddie Funde, the ANC representative in Australia from 1983 to 1992. Eddie was central to the anti-apartheid movement and led awareness campaigns across Australia. It was he who facilitated important contact with the Australian trade unions, who were early supporters of the struggle for democracy in South Africa.

### The Australian Government

The role of Australian politicians was explored in our research, and the specific actions of three prime ministers are celebrated in the exhibition. Gough Whitlam, Bob Hawke and Malcolm Fraser all played an important part, demonstrating their commitment to ending the scourge of apartheid by applying sporting and economic pressure over the years and supporting various boycotts and bans.

### The Trade Unions

Australian trade unions played a pivotal role in the struggle for democracy in South Africa. Important contributors to this exhibition are Helen McCue, former head of Australian People for Health, Education and Development Abroad (APHEDA), Audrey McDonald, formerly of the Union of Australian Women, and Peter Jennings and Ken Davis from APHEDA, all of whom spent time and energy in informing me of the work of the unions and APHEDA during the struggle.

This group offered numerous stories, photographs and interesting ephemera for the exhibition, and James Mohr and I spent many hours investigating the APHEDA archive of the years prior to the first democratic elections and beyond. This group of Union organisers spent endless hours assisting with the timeline document which informed the exhibition, and were key to

Eddie Funde, the ANC representative in Australia, addresses the crowd at a Sydney rally in 1984. Standing alongside him is Stan Sharkey from the BWIU. Photo: State Library of NSW & Search Foundation

unravelling the web of organisations, individuals and political parties who played a role in the anti-apartheid movement in Australia.

Ken Davis of APHEDA contributed invaluable new information about the support of the gay movement for providing information and education about the spread and treatment of HIV/AIDS, as well as the work of the unions in this area both before and after 1994.

### The Pan African Congress (PAC) in Australia

Canberra-based Kerry Browning, who was married to Maxwell Humbelani Nemasivhanani, the PAC representative in Australia, provided important insights into the numerous activities and protests in Canberra over many years. Kerry provided posters, photographs and artworks relating to the struggle and facilitated our access to the National Museum of Australia's Kerry Browning Collection.

### South Africa Defence and Aid Fund (SADAF)

John Myrtle, the coordinator of the Campaign Against Racism in Sport (CARIS), worked closely with John and Margaret Brink, the founders of SADAF, which coordinated efforts to support the families of political prisoners in South Africa. John generously provided important history and significant insights into SADAF, as well as detailing his personal experiences of the sporting boycotts and the response of the clergy to apartheid.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT TO RIGHT  
 Former prime ministers who were all actively involved in supporting the struggle for democracy in South Africa. L to R: Gough Whitlam, Bob Hawke and Malcolm Fraser. Photo: Fairfax Syndication  
 Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and Oliver Tambo relax at Fraser's property, 'Nareen', near Hamilton in the Western District of Victoria. Photo: Fairfax Syndication  
 Prime Minister Bob Hawke greets Nelson Mandela in his office at Parliament House, Canberra, 23 October 1990. Photo: The Canberra Times  
 Prime Minister Bob Hawke, Eddie Funde and Cliff Dolan AO at Sydney airport on 25 September 1986. Photo: APHEDA  
 In 1985 the Southern Africa Liberation Centre was set up opposite the South African Embassy by the Soweto Mobilisation Committee, the ACT Trades and Labour Council and other ACT anti-apartheid groups. Photo: Kerry Browning  
 First national AIDS conference of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, funded by APHEDA, that was held near Soweto, South Africa, in 1991.  
 Dr Helen McCue and Audrey McDonald visit the *Memories of the Struggle* exhibition at MoAD.  
 Kerry Browning Canberra based activist at the *Memories of the Struggle* exhibition at MoAD.  
 Prime Minister Bob Hawke meets Oliver Tambo in 1987. Photo: APHEDA  
 Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser with Nelson Mandela, 1990. Photo: National Archives of Australia

### The role of the churches

#### Dorothy McRae-McMahon

Dorothy McRae-McMahon was the minister of the Pitt Street Church in the mid-1980s. After Archbishop Desmond Tutu's visit to Australia in 1987, her congregation began to support the anti-apartheid movement. Dorothy shared her experiences of that time and was happy to loan her human rights medal to the project.

#### Father Richard Buchhorn

Father Richard Buchhorn was a lifelong supporter of the struggle in South Africa and the plight of Aboriginal people in Australia. John Myrtle gave me access to the extraordinary archive of cards and letters that Father Buchhorn exchanged with the families of political prisoners in South Africa over many years. Some of the cards were sent in response to his letters, some to thank him for taking the time and effort to remember the recipients at a time when many of them were under house arrest or subject to banning orders, while other members of their families were languishing in prisons with little hope of being released. The intensely personal relationship between the individuals engaged in this correspondence shows the importance of this contact with an Australian to those hardest hit by apartheid.



LEFT TO RIGHT  
Dorothy McRae-McMahon with the 1988 Human Rights Medal. Photo: James Mohr  
Father Richard Buchhorn, with his parents, returning from Rome in January 1962. Photo: Richard Buchhorn  
Nelson Mandela is accompanied by Gareth Evans on his arrival in Canberra during his 1990 tour of Australia. Photo: *The Canberra Times*



### Former Foreign Minister Gareth Evans

Former Foreign Minister Gareth Evans was a friend of the Memories project from the beginning. His role as Foreign Affairs Minister in the Hawke Government's campaign against apartheid is well documented, and we were honoured when he agreed to open the Customs House exhibition in Sydney in September 2014.

“If we in Australia had washed our hands of apartheid, on the comfortable but indecent justification that it was too far away or too intractable a problem, we would not only have failed in our humanitarian duty, but have debased the very values which are the core of our sense of human dignity.” Gareth Evans, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1997

Gareth Evans was honoured with the Order of the Companions of OR Tambo (Silver) by the South African Government in Pretoria in April 2015, and he generously gave permission for us to display the medal and ceremonial staff in the exhibition at MoAD.

### The Museum of Australian Democracy (MoAD) Canberra

Following the success of the exhibition at Customs House Museum in Sydney and at the University of Pretoria in 2014, I approached MoAD about mounting an expanded version of the Customs House show. We were very pleased MoAD welcomed the opportunity to work with us on the expanded exhibition, which features a significant multimedia component but also includes new information unavailable to us at the time of the first exhibition.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT TO RIGHT  
*Memories of the Struggle* exhibition, reception area at Customs House Sydney, September 2014.  
*Memories of the Struggle* exhibition at MoAD 2015.  
Nelson Mandela at Sydney Opera House, 1990. Photo: Newspix  
At the opening of the *Memories of the Struggle* exhibition, MoAD in 2015:  
The ASAA team with curator Angus Leenderz, artist George Gittos, former Prime Minister Bob Hawke and HE Mr Sibusio Ndebele South African High Commissioner to Australia.  
Exhibit with multimedia screen at MoAD 2015.  
HE Mr Sibusio Ndebele South African High Commissioner to Australia with Counsellor v from the SAHC.  
HE Mr Sibusio Ndebele South African High Commissioner to Australia with former Prime Minister Bob Hawke.  
Photos: James Mohr



CLOCKWISE FROM  
TOP LEFT TO RIGHT

March Against Apartheid  
in Perth on 26 October  
1985. Photo: Paul Kaplan

The Soweto Day Rally  
held at Parliament House,  
Adelaide, in 1988 was  
a mass gathering of  
anti-apartheid activists  
led by former South  
Australian Premier Don  
Dunstan and supported  
by ANC representatives.  
Photo: Algernon van  
der Hoeven

The Matchstick Boat.

Australian Prime Minister  
Bob Hawke (left) with  
champion surfer Tom  
Carroll, 15 April 1993.  
Photo: Newspix

Cheyne Horan riding his  
'Free Mandela' board in  
Hawaii. Photo: Gordinho

Gay Solidarity Group  
banner in anti-apartheid  
rally, Hyde Park Square,  
Sydney, c. March 1988.  
Photo: Ken Lovett

## Anti-apartheid activism across the states

From the 1960s to the 1990s, activists in every Australian state and territory were involved in anti-apartheid protests. Groups representing students, trade unions, churches, Indigenous people, political parties, sportsmen and women, musicians and cultural figures sprang up in towns and cities everywhere. Beginning with small gatherings and protests in the 1960s, the momentum for change grew and pressure mounted on the federal government to take action against South Africa's racist policies.

Some of the largest demonstrations were against South African sporting teams playing in Australia. In 1971, a South African Springboks rugby tour drew protests in many cities, and South African surf lifesaving teams competing in Sydney and tennis players at White City also attracted large protests. In Canberra, much of the protest activity centred on the South African Embassy. The Southern Africa Liberation Centre distributed information about apartheid in a temporary structure set up opposite the Embassy. In Western Australia, waterfront unions took a strong stand against South African ships, while the South Australian Campaign Against Racial Exploitation became an active anti-apartheid body that engaged in extensive sanctions and boycotts. Individuals and groups throughout the country supported those being persecuted in South Africa, welcomed influential South African visitors, and rejoiced when anti-apartheid revolutionary Nelson Mandela was released from prison.

We expanded the reference group and invited contributions from Paul Kaplan in Western Australia, and Algernon van der Hoeven, Sybil Wakefield and Irene Gale in South Australia. We received a wealth of information from them concerning the timeline, as well as photographs, flyers and other ephemera emanating from their states.

Dr Klaas Woldring brought to our attention the support for the struggle in Northern New South Wales.

## The Matchstick Boat

Andrea Durbach is a South African educated lawyer who I met through my circle of South African friends. From 1985 to 1991, Andrea and her colleagues fought the largest death penalty case in South African legal history. The 'Upington 25' were convicted of the murder of one policeman, and 14 of the 25 accused were sentenced to death. The barrister in the case, human rights advocate Anton Lubowski, was assassinated in Namibia in 1989, after which Durbach came to Australia. She worked in a major law firm in Sydney where she qualified as an Australian lawyer, but she returned to South Africa in 1991 for the appeal against the Upington judgment. The appeal court overturned 21 of the murder convictions, and all 14 death sentences were commuted. Andrea says of the Matchstick Boat:

"Each week my clients would give me a shopping list, which curiously included boxes and boxes of matches. The boat is the result of their ingenuity and represents their imaginings and longing for freedom. It is my most treasured possession." Andrea Durbach

Andrea migrated to Australia after the appeal and is currently a professor of law and Director of the Australian Human Rights Centre at the University of New South Wales. I wrote to her to ask if she would allow us to include the boat in the MoAD exhibition and she replied, "I'd be happy to sail my boat to Canberra to be part of the exhibition".

## The surfers who spoke out against apartheid

Australian surfers Tom Carroll, Martin Potter and Cheyne Horan spoke out strongly against surfing in the South African world of segregated sport. Tom Carroll ignited a storm in professional surfing when he alone announced his boycott of the South African leg of the Pro tour in 1985.



## George Gittoes

In our search for an Australian artist who had first hand experience of South Africa, we were very fortunate to find George Gittoes, who was willing to contribute to the project. A small selection of his South African suite has been featured in the exhibition.

“In 1993 I had witnessed the successful elections in Cambodia bringing an end to suffering caused by the Khmer Rouge. Humanity seemed to be on the right path and I knew that 1994 would see one of the greatest triumphs of the human spirit, ever, with Mandela leading South Africa into a future without apartheid. I wanted my art to express this joyous dance of freedom.” George Gittoes

In 2015, Gittoes was awarded the Sydney Peace Prize.

### THE LONG AWAITED KISS OF FREEDOM

1994 | oil on canvas | 45 x 67 cm

“Jacob and Elizabeth are both in their 80s. They are related to my friend Ali, who brought them over to me with a request. They had seen me taking



Polaroids. I think they thought I was some kind of commercial photographer. They offered to pay me to take a Polaroid of them together on this historic day at the Mandela Inauguration. They had spent their savings coming down from Soweto to be here and had their Sunday best clothes on.

They were still ‘high’ from hearing Mandela’s Rainbow Speech from behind his bullet-proof glass booth. I offered a couple of Polaroids for free, if they would pose for a sketch. The pose made their kiss last for a couple of minutes; long enough for a small crowd of appreciative supporters to form around us. As the kiss continued, the crowd began to cheer their delighted support. Everyone was feeling so elated they were searching for ways to express their joy.

It seemed this kiss said it all for those who witnessed it. This couple, as old as Mandela, ‘created’ ‘The Long Awaited Kiss of Freedom’. Now I have to stop writing as Elizabeth, having seen my sketch, wants a copy of it as well as the Polaroids. How can I refuse? She is as excited as a teenager. Jacob tells me today has made them feel like newlyweds.”

– George Gittoes, Pretoria, South Africa, 10 May 1994

## Multimedia

As the expanded content of the MoAD exhibition grew, Georgia Wallace-Crabbe and Gregory Miller of local production company Film Projects were commissioned to carry out a series of interviews with the main players in the story and to produce expanded video content for the exhibition. This included a multi-screen video wall which would tell the history of the Australian anti-apartheid struggle. Interviewees included former PM Bob Hawke, Meredith Burgmann, Zimbabwean Sekai Holland, Natalie Hendricks, Jane Harris, Bulelwa Freer, Tracy Dunn, union aid organisers Helen McCue and Audrey McDonald, Cheyne Horan (who rode a surfboard with the signage “Free Mandela” in the 1980s), Jack Munday (former secretary of the Builders Labourers Federation who led the green bans in the 1970s), and Aboriginal academic Gary Foley.

The video content features the new interviews combined with archival footage courtesy of the ANC Archive, the ABC, Frontyard Films, Abracadabra Films, Essential Media, and Alchemy Films, and archival photos from the National Library of Australia and private collections.



## The Exhibition

Working mainly with the material from our research, we collaborated closely with the MoAD production team and imposed the curatorial rigour required for an exhibition of this importance. Libby Stewart, the senior historian at MoAD, edited volumes of text and simplified the content to adhere to the museum’s standards whilst never losing sight of the story.

*Memories of the Struggle – Australians Against Apartheid* will travel to South Africa in late 2017 and will be hosted by The Castle of Good Hope, the oldest colonial structure built by slaves in South Africa in the centre of Cape Town, where it will run for three months. It will then travel to Johannesburg/Pretoria and Durban.



LEFT Multimedia screening interviews at MoAD.

RIGHT Georgia Wallace-Crabbe (left) and Tracy Dunn (right) in the foreground at the *Memories of the Struggle* exhibition opening in the government section of the exhibition at MoAD, Canberra in April 2016.

Photos: James Mohr





LEFT TO RIGHT  
Margaret Brink, wearing her black sash, leads SADAF supporters' vigil at the Sydney Cricket Ground. Photo: Sharon Zwi and the Brink Family

Anti-apartheid demonstrators lie on the street in Melbourne, Victoria, in protest at the 1971 South African Springboks rugby union tour of Australia. Photo: Newspix

Demonstration at Government House, Canberra, as the South African ambassador presents his credentials. Photo: *The Canberra Times*

On the field at Sydney Cricket Ground, July 1971. Photo: Wayne Davies

## 1948

- Start of the apartheid era: The Nationalist government of South Africa is elected and begins to enact laws to define and enforce segregation.

## 1955

- The Freedom Charter, the statement of principles of the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies, is officially adopted on 26 June 1955 at a Congress of the People in Kliptown, South Africa.
- Norman Jeffrey (Waterside Workers' Federation), the Australian representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions, promotes trade union support and helps develop contact with South African unions.

## 1959

- Chief Albert Luthuli, the President of the ANC and South African Council of Trade Unions, calls for the boycott of all South African products. In Australia the Waterside Workers' Federation and the Seamen's Union of Australia (SUA) enact an embargo on all South African flagged vessels.

## 1960

- The Sharpeville massacre takes place in South Africa. This is the government's response to a protest against the new apartheid Pass Laws, initiated by the Pan Africanist Congress under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. Sixty-nine demonstrators are killed.

## 1963

- Having fled to Sydney in 1961, John and Margaret Brink form the South Africa Defence and Aid Fund (SADAF) with other South African expatriates, to help families of political prisoners in South Africa and to educate the Australian public.
- Dennis Brutus and John Harris form the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, resulting in a ban on South Africa at the Tokyo Olympics. Brutus later twice visits Australia to bolster the anti-apartheid movement.

## 1963–64

- As a result of the Rivonia Trial in South Africa, 10 leaders of the ANC are charged with sabotage and other violent actions. Eight are convicted and jailed for life, including Nelson Mandela.

## 1966

- SADAF arranges a tour of Australia by Robbie Resha, ANC Director of International Affairs.

## 1969

- Campaign Against Racism in Sport (CARIS) formed by John Myrtle, John Brink and Logan Moodley following writer Dennis Brutus's call for Australians to protest against sporting links with apartheid South Africa.
- Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) forms with Denis Freney, Meredith Burgmann and Peter McGregor co-convening with CARIS on the 'Stop the Tours' Campaign.

## 1970

- On 27 February black dye bombs are thrown into Drummoyne Olympic swimming pool to protest against the upcoming Australian swimming team tour of South Africa.
- On 5 December there is a protest at Sydney airport against a visit by Dr Dani Craven, President of the South African Rugby Union.
- In March there are demonstrations against South African surf lifesaving teams at Sydney's Coogee Beach and in Wollongong, and against South African tennis players at White City, Sydney.
- In March the Reverend Richard Wootton leads a Presbyterian Church delegation to South Africa for six weeks. They observe the effects of apartheid at first hand, meet ANC and church representatives, and make contact with Anglican and Catholic leaders.

## 1971

- The United Nations General Assembly declares 1971 the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.
- Former Wallaby Jim Boyce and six eligible players boycott the upcoming tour by the South African rugby team, the Springboks. Anthony Abrahams, Paul Darvenzia, Terry Forman, Barry McDonald, James Roxburgh and Bruce Taafe are the first Australians to refuse selection on political grounds. Prime Minister Billy McMahon calls them 'a disgrace to their country'. Opposition Leader Gough Whitlam, South Australian Premier Don Dunstan and Western Australian Premier John Tonkin speak out against the tour.
- In March there are demonstrations against South African surf lifesaving teams at Sydney's Coogee Beach and in Wollongong, and against South African tennis players at White City, Sydney.
- In March the Reverend Richard Wootton leads a Presbyterian Church delegation to South Africa for six weeks. They observe the effects of apartheid at first hand, meet ANC and church representatives, and make contact with Anglican and Catholic leaders.
- In June there is a large demonstration at the first Springboks rugby match in Perth. Violence and arrests continue at later games in Melbourne, Sydney, Canberra and Brisbane.
- In June and July British anti-apartheid leader Peter Hain tours the country to advise and support the Australian Anti-Apartheid Movement.
- In August Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen declares a state of emergency following mass arrests at a Springbok game in Brisbane.
- In August Meredith Burgmann is given a two-month jail sentence for her anti-apartheid protest activities in Australia.
- The Australian Cricket Board (ACB) cancels a tour by the South African cricket team over the summer of 1971–72. Sir Donald Bradman, Chairman of the ACB, declares there will be no further cricket tours involving South Africa until its teams are chosen on a non-racial basis.

## 1972

- In its first week in office in December the Whitlam government bans South African sporting teams from entering or transiting through Australia. It also places a ban on sporting tours involving South African teams. Subsequent governments maintain these bans.

## 1973

- The Southern Africa Liberation Centre (SALC), the Sydney-based information and public education office, is established to promote liberation struggles in Africa with major input from Sekai Holland, one of the founders of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Australia.

## 1974

- In October there are protests against South African golfer Gary Player at the Australian Golf Club, Sydney. Kaye Bellear, Meredith Burgmann, Ken Davis, Terry Johnson, Angelo Rosas and Robert Tickner are all arrested.
- The Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) is formed by exiled South African student leader Neville Curtis to coordinate anti-apartheid and anti-racism activities across Australia.

## 1975

- Western Australian chapter of CARE is established in Perth by Betsy and Dave Buchanan, Lesley Corbett, Paul Kaplan and Les Stone.

## 1976

- On 16 June the Soweto Uprising, led by high school students, takes place in South Africa. Up to 700 are killed by police. Rallies and marches of support for the protestors are organised by SALC.

## 1977

- On 15 June the Gleneagles Agreement is signed by members of the Commonwealth Heads of Government. Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser plays a leading role in the formation of the agreement, which is designed to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa. It is the first Commonwealth-coordinated action against South Africa's apartheid regime and comes in the wake of public outcry over police repression following the 1976 Soweto Uprising.
- A Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) office is established in Australia.
- Qantas withdraws flights to South Africa in protest over the murder of Steve Biko, a prominent activist who died as a result of brutal police treatment.
- The Waterside Workers' Federation refuses to handle South African vessels.

## 1978

- Protests are held against the South African Cricket International XI in Sydney.

## 1979

- Wallabies tour of South Africa is cancelled by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser.

## LEFT TO RIGHT

Protest against South African Airways in Sydney in 1984.  
Photo: State Library of NSW & Search Foundation

Anti-apartheid rally in Canberra in 1987 led by Maxwell Nmadzivanani and Kerry Browning. Photo: Kerry Browning

Members of Thabo Mbeki's ANC delegation and ALP leaders meet at the ANC Regional Conference in Sydney in September 1989. Mbeki (third from the left, with Gareth Evans on his left) later became the second post-apartheid president of South Africa. Photo: APHEDA

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela at an official luncheon in the Great Hall of Parliament House in Canberra with Prime Minister Bob Hawke, 23 October 1990. Photo: *The Canberra Times*



## 1981

- Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser refuses permission for aircraft carrying the Springbok rugby team to refuel on Australian territory en route to their controversial 1981 tour of New Zealand.

## 1983

- In June the ANC Support Group (Sydney) is formed by anti-apartheid activists and expatriate South Africans to raise funds to support an ANC office in Australia.
- On 16 December ANC representative Eddie Funde arrives to set up a national office in Sydney's Trades Hall with the support of the Building Workers' Industrial Union (BWIU).
- Maxwell Nmadzivanani is nominated as the PAC representative to Australasia.

## 1984

- Australian People for Health, Education and Development Abroad (APHEDA), the ACTU aid organisation, is established by Helen McCue and Cliff Dolan. They begin discussions with senior ANC personnel about scholarships and other development support.

## 1985

- Headquarters for the PAC office are established in Griffith, Canberra, with assistance from the Builders' Labourers Federation.
- APHEDA implements extensive development assistance programs with the ANC.
- The Australian ANC Support Committee (AANCSC) is established to support the work of the ANC office in Australia.
- Sydney People Opposed to Racist Tours (SPORT) is established to oppose cricket tours to South Africa led by Kim Hughes, who had represented Western Australia and Australia as well as Natal. WACARE is heavily involved in protests against the Rebel Cricket tour to South Africa.
- Southern Africa Liberation Centre is established on grounds opposite the South African Embassy in Canberra.

- Students Against Racism and the Soweto Mobilisation Committee (SMC) organise a Boycott SA Products Campaign to protest against major supermarkets stocking South African products.

- 16 June is marked as Soweto Day. The Southern Africa Liberation Centre organises a seven-month-long, 24-hour picket line outside the front of the South African Embassy, endorsed by the ACT Trades and Labor Council and rostered by SMC and union members.

- The Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in the Bahamas establishes an Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to investigate the South African issue. Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser is appointed co-chairman with former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo.

- Australian Anti Apartheid Movement NSW is formed with Michael Clifford as Secretary to mobilise public opinion and organise concerts, letter writing and consumer boycotts.

## 1986

- Between February and May the Commonwealth EPG tours South Africa, meeting ministers and becoming the first international group of leaders allowed to visit Nelson Mandela in prison.

- On 17 April Eddie Funde and the AANCSC meet with Minister for Foreign Affairs Bill Hayden.

- In June a week of Action Against Apartheid takes place with numerous events organised around Australia for the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising.

- South African attaché Koos Albert is expelled from Australia following an assault on a protestor.

- On 26 August Eddie Funde and the AANCSC meet with Prime Minister Bob Hawke to discuss the possibility of assistance for the ANC and sanctions against South Africa.

- Australia rescinds the landing rights of South African Airways.

- Malcolm Fraser calls for the release of South African political prisoners as a result of his visit to South Africa as co-chairman of the Commonwealth EPG.

## 1987

- In January Nelson Mandela is given the Freedom of the City of Sydney.

- ANC president Oliver Tambo tours Australia in March and April. Thousands attend a talk at Sydney Town Hall. The AANCSC is actively involved and the Solidarity Choir is formed for the occasion.

- South African ANC Support Group Sydney is formed by expatriate South Africans living in Sydney to raise funds for and provide information about ANC programs in Australia.

- The Mandela Foundation of Australia is set up to raise funds for political prisoners and other victims of apartheid. Prime Minister Bob Hawke and former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser are co-patrons and former South Australian Premier Don Dunstan is its first president.

## 1988

- In October police raid the Canberra homes and offices of Maxwell Nmadzivanani of the PAC and Kerry Browning and charge both with arson attacks on diplomatic cars. Eventually, all charges against Nmadzivanani are dropped and Browning is acquitted on all counts.

- The ANC Solidarity Group (South Australia) and the South Australian trade union movement mount a successful campaign to prevent representatives of De Beers Consolidated Mines being hosted in South Australia to present their 1988 award for jewellery design.

- In December the first major event to support the ANC office in Australia, a New Year's Eve ball at the Gazebo Hotel, raises the profile of, and funds for, the ANC office in Sydney.

## 1989

- An assassination attempt is made on Eddie Funde and his family, with bullets fired into his Sydney home.

## 1990

- The President of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk, announces the lifting of bans on the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and other organisations.

- On 11 February Nelson Mandela is released unconditionally after 27 years' imprisonment.

- In October Mandela tours Australia, welcomed by Prime Minister Bob Hawke and greeted by huge crowds. On 24 October the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans, hosts a major event at the Sydney Opera House to welcome Mandela. Forty thousand people turn up.

## 1991

- Visit to Australia by Walter Sisulu, Deputy President of the ANC, and his wife, Albertina.

## 1993

- Key ANC leader Chris Hani is assassinated at his home in South Africa. A memorial service for him is held at the Uniting Church, Pitt Street, Sydney.
- Australians for Democracy in South Africa forms to raise funds for the electoral process in South Africa, with former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam as Chair and Michael Raper as National Convenor.

## 1994

- On 27 April the first South African democratic election is held. The ACTU helps set up polling stations in Australia to enable South Africans to vote. Nelson Mandela is elected South Africa's first black president, effectively ending apartheid.
- ADISA organises a large and joyous celebration in Petersham Town Hall (with Gough Whitlam presiding) to mark the coming of democracy in South Africa.



**MEMORIES  
OF THE STRUGGLE**  
Australians Against Apartheid

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MULTIMEDIA EXHIBITION