



Cape Peninsula
University of Technology

**SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF A RESISTANCE PHOTOGRAPHER IN THE 1980s IN
CAPE TOWN**

by

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Technology: Design

in the Faculty of Informatics and Design

at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology

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Cape Town

July 2014

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DECLARATION

I, Zubeida Vallie, declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and that the thesis has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Signed

Date

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to contribute to the field of documentary photography by looking at a resistance photographer who documented events during the liberation struggle against Apartheid in the 1980s in Cape Town, South Africa.

The research explores the richness, depth and complexity of the reflective knowledge of the phenomenon and develops a sense of understanding of the meanings of the circumstances and social context of the researcher. It considers the thoughts, observations as well as reflections regarding the meanings and interpretations of experience as a photographer in the 1980s.

The perspective of the research is to understand through the photographer's memory the phenomenon of interest in the exhibition *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* and in so doing argue for a consideration of the lives of those who not only lived during Apartheid but continue to do so after its demise.

In addition to thinking about questions of photographic representation, the study also addresses ideas of space, and unarticulated injuries and trauma. The photograph is well suited as a medium through which one may think about these difficult questions, for in its very inception, the medium is one of simultaneous absence and presence.

The study concludes with recommendations for future investigation in the documentary photography narrative in Cape Town, South Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- I would like to express my deepest appreciation of my supervisor, Irvine Meyer. This thesis would not have been possible without his patience, encouragement and guidance.
- Thanks to the Dean of the Faculty of Informatics and Design, Prof Johannes Cronje, and the Head of the Media Department, Prof Nirvana Bechan, for their continual commitment to lifelong learning.
- I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Siona O' Connell, curator of *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*, without whose persistence and invaluable suggestions this thesis would not have materialised.
- I am particularly grateful for the generous support and assistance given by my colleagues and students at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.
- I wish to thank Gustav Swart for his comments as the language editor.
- A special thanks to the resistance participants... then and now.
- Finally, I would like to show my greatest appreciation of my family and friends who have been greatly tolerant and supportive in my long, reflective journey through memory and the photographic archive.

DEDICATION

To the unsung heroes men, women and children in Cape Town who struggled against Apartheid.

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

Statement of research problem

The images of the exhibition *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*¹ were made during times and events that had a profound influence on participants, including mainstream and alternative media. Almost three decades later, it appears that the narrative of violence, loss and injuries has reverberations that are subdued in the rhetoric of the post-Apartheid landscape. I found it impossible to ignore the almost palpable and very different trajectory of the lives of participants, including photographers who have seemingly been obliterated from our struggle history and memory. This study, through my images, is an attempt to argue for the telling of another history of Apartheid, one that is implicated in the present (O'Connell, 2013).

Introduction and background to the research problem

The research investigates the socio-political spectrum of my personal reflections as a resistance photographer who documented events during the liberation struggle during Apartheid in the 1980s in Cape Town, South Africa. The research addresses the underpinning knowledge based on facts and reflections through my eyes. Through this research, I explore the richness, depth and complexity of the phenomenon and develop a sense of understanding of the meanings through the imagery of *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* via their circumstances and their social and aesthetic context (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

In South Africa, Apartheid was the major manifestation of the human evil, exclusion, racism and discrimination of the past century (Villa-Vicencio, 2008). In 1948, the National Party government came to power in South Africa (Mulholland, 2003). Hachten as cited in (Fattal, 1993) points out that Apartheid managed to endure forty-six years in South Africa partly because of a historically normalised visual discourse² of propaganda that supported its ideology of segregation based on discriminatory grounds of race and stringent censorship legislation.

Sparks as cited in (Fattal, 1993) is of the opinion that the ideological construction of Apartheid in South African history began with the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the racism

¹ The photographic exhibition entitled *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*, exhibits a collection of anti-Apartheid photographers Benny Gool, Adil Bradlow and Zubeida Vallie's photographs. It marks the first time that these photographers' work has been presented in a group exhibition in a post-Apartheid South Africa.

² Discourse, according to Michel Foucault, can be seen as a body of knowledge which has a history, social practices and political conditions. With discourse, certain 'ways of knowing' come to be known as true and more important. Some knowledge is privileged and other data becomes marginalised and neglected. The academic environment, the university and the world of research is a discourse (Badenhorst, 2007).

of the first Dutch settlers of the seventeenth century, with their segregation from the indigenous blacks³. Moreover, racism had been legislated by the government since the Native Land Act of 1913 that restricted all blacks to thirteen percent of the land. The National Party government won the election of 1948 on a platform that proposed an answer to the massive influx of urbanised blacks to white cities following World War II. Not only was blacks' land ownership and the right to live in certain areas systematically controlled through legislation, but also the right to move freely throughout the country, the right to marry certain people, the right to attend certain schools and the right to publish certain documents and images.

The visual impact of recent violence in various communities has shocked the world and shamed South Africans from all walks of life. Although violence is not new to our everyday reality, the current community violence (referred to by some as 'xenophobia' because most of the victims are foreigners), violence against women and children, police violence (like the Marikana Massacre), service delivery and political violence is of deep concern. This is particularly so for those who have struggled against Apartheid and have continued the work against the legacy of an unjust and brutal past (Ratele, Lazarus, van Niekerk, Suffla & Seedat, 2008).

According to Nichols as cited in (Fattal, 1993), the visual discourse that buttressed the policies of Apartheid and the struggle for liberation in South Africa was viewed from various perspectives, one of which was photography. In Keyan Tomaselli's view (Fattal, 1993), photography was a powerful tool of resistance: the camera was endowed with the power to testify. It exposed whites⁴ to the conditions that the National Party government policies (such as the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Immorality Act, to name but a few pieces of 'inequality' legislations) forced blacks into, and reflected on the inhumanities of Apartheid. According to Nichols as cited in (Fattal, 1993), Apartheid and censorship had an intimate relationship but one raises the question: how did the government of South Africa successfully mould the visual discourse to support their ideology of an exploitative white supremacy. Badsha as cited in (Fattal, 1993) points out that Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu wrote in the introduction to a photo-essay about forced removals:

I believed that when the Germans were asked how they could possibly have permitted Hitler and the Nazis to perpetrate the horrors of the holocaust, they replied that they did not know that those things were happening. It is possible for many South Africans and others to plead a similar ignorance about the evil consequences of

³ A generic term for all those who were classified as non-white under Apartheid system and, as a result, were disadvantaged and oppressed (Ramphela, 2008).

⁴ These were made up of the Afrikaans speakers, mainly of Dutch, German and French descent, and the English speaking colonists, mainly of British descent, who were in the minority (Mulholland, 2003).

Apartheid and the policies being applied against black people. After all, these things happen out of sight.

Sparks as cited in (Fattal, 1993) provides evidence that photography's ability to expose what the South African government tried to conceal, the injustice and inhumanity of being black, made it an effective medium of resistance in Apartheid South Africa. Denial was indeed an issue in South Africa. Photographer Ben MacLennan as cited in (Fattal, 1993) wrote at an installation of *The Cordoned Heart* exhibit Special Collections:

I am taking photographs because one day when something happens and there are changes in South Africa, I want to ensure that people won't be able to say we didn't know. We weren't told these things were happening.

Photographs have an intimate relationship with history. Photography in many ways is the first drafter of history. Sontag cites Benjamin (1979), who stated that photographs become standard evidence for historical occurrences and acquire a hidden political significance. Overnight, photographers can become the repository of that history. In the opinion of Weinberg as cited in (Fattal, 1993), photographers have a responsibility to understand the importance of their documentation as the historical record. The control of imagery becomes the control of history, which lies at the root of ideology. In South Africa, photographs transcended the divisive policies of Apartheid and empowered political efforts to organise and mobilise the resistance. Byerly as cited in (Fattal, 1993) points out that photography, like music, drama, dance and literature, stood on the front lines of the liberation struggle, unifying and energising oppressed South Africans.

Through my camera, I became a voice for those denied a vote and basic human rights, and was instrumental in bringing the South African struggle to the international arena (Hill & Harris, 1989). All non-state photographers experienced state repression at times. Some were beaten up by the security forces, others detained without trial. All had some of their film confiscated and were denied the opportunity to take photographs in conflict situations.

Research question

What was the significance of the role of photographs in both the construction and subversion of Apartheid?

Research sub-questions

- How did I circumvent laws of media control and censorship in the face of multi-dimensional propaganda, harassment and disinformation by the South African government?
- To what extent did the photographic evidence of the 1980s mobilise historical, political, economic, social and cultural consciousness in our racially divided Apartheid communities?

Research method

While the previous literature analysis contributes to the discourse of South African documentary photography, it unfortunately does not cover any personal reflective study. My narrative covers my reflective journey through the social and aesthetic values that underpinned my involvement in photography in the 1980s.

In light of the literature, I investigate the documents and the visual artefacts of *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* to establish the significance of the photograph within the visual history of Cape Town.

Objectives

- Establish my reflective interpretation as a South African on the socio-political events.
- Determine perspectives on my social consciousness towards neutrality and objectivity amongst resistance participants.
- Establish how contested political ideologies impacted on resistance and government propaganda (whether they advanced or inhibited them).
- Determine how political ideology and social consciousness took advantage of censorship (state took advantage to propagate their ideology and photographers faced specific challenges).
- Determine how the photographic evidence of the 1980s mobilised the resistance political ideology.
- Establish whether the 1980s were the high or low point of social and political defiance in the liberation struggle.

Current status of the research area

The twentieth century was marked by big wars. The year 2005 marked the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II, 30 years since the Vietnam War ended and 90 years since the battle of Gallipoli in World War I (Friel, 2006). In the year 2000, South Africa marked the 40th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre and the year 2006 marked 30 years since the 1976 student uprising.

Mobilisation

The visual impact as illustrated in Figure 1.1 (Robinson, 2008) of Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave from Mozambique, engulfed in flames, witnessed and captured by photographer Shayne Robinson from *The Star* in Ramaphosa, Gauteng, became the grim symbol of South Africa's xenophobic violence. South Africa will regret its moment of xenophobic madness for many years to come. According to (Ntshoe, 2002), the impact of violence on society due to political and ethnic rivalry is a well-known harassment phenomenon.



Figure 1.1 Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave from Mozambique engulfed in flames, 2008. Photograph by Shayne Robinson. Filmmakers Against Racism

This tragic episode and many more not only shamed us, they have also shaken our self-confidence in who we are and what we stand for (Hofmeyr, 2008). The fundamental challenge to South Africa's democracy will be lessons from the Rwandan 1998 genocide. How do we counter the perpetuation of the racial identities imposed on us by colonialism and Apartheid? It does not take a leap of imagination to realise that things can fall apart very quickly. Our entire socio-historical fabric can unravel within a few weeks; it took less than 100 days in Rwanda. In the opinion of Neville Alexander (2008), we should not lull ourselves to sleep because of political and intellectual short-sightedness; while Mamphela Ramphele (2008) points out that our Apartheid's isolation has made us insular. We need to acknowledge the depth of scars of racism in our still racially divided society. This forces us to rise to our challenges and seize the opportunities of being part of a rapidly globalising world.

Rituals of remembrance are important for healing wounds, learning lessons and moving on. However, remembering can be politically charged and fraught with blame and recrimination, especially when wrongs have not been, or cannot be, righted or the details of precisely what happened cannot be agreed upon (Friel, 2006). According to Ntshoe (2002), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report of 2001 documented the devastating impact of the political and ethnic violence of the Apartheid years on South African society, yet political and ethnic strife, originally fuelled by the Apartheid regime, still smoulders despite democratic governance and a new social order.

This gives rise to the following questions:

- Should there be an apology?
- Will it make any difference?
- Can or should today's generations, governments or institutions be held accountable for wrongs done by those who went before?

In the opinion of Friel (2006), these unanswered questions continue to overshadow many nations today. In Paul Weinberg's (1987) view, photography cannot be divorced from the historical, political, economic, social and cultural issues that surround us daily. Photographers are inextricably caught up in the process – they are not objective instruments but play a part in the way they choose to make statements. In Siona O'Connell's view, the photographs of *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* remind us now of a narrative of violence and of loss, the human cost demanded by Apartheid, and urge us to think about the crucial question: how may we yet be free (O'Connell, 2013)?

Resistance to Apartheid

Apartheid laws were strictly enforced by the police and by the army. Many opposed Apartheid, leading to significant events, such as:

- Federation of South African Women (FSAW) as shown in Figure 1.2 (Schaderberg, 1956) who organised a protest march in Pretoria against the Pass Law system in which 20 000 women of all races participated on the 9 August 1956 (Mulholland, 2003).



Figure 1.2 Federation of South African Women protest march against the Pass Law system, 9 August 1956. Photograph by Jürgen Schaderberg. South African History Online

- The Sharpeville Massacre of the 21 March 1960, depicted in Figure 1.3 (Magubane, 1960) where 69 people died and many more were wounded, revealed the level of frustration among the people and the level of fear amongst officials of the state. It created worldwide awareness and revulsion towards South Africa's policies (Mulholland, 2003).



Figure 1.3 Sharpeville Massacre, 21 March 1960. Photograph by Peter Magubane. Vivaafrika.wordpress.com

During the late 1960s, the Black Consciousness Movement was gaining in popularity. This was a movement that arose because of the political frustrations of blacks. In 1976, when it seemed that the government had crushed all significant opposition, people suddenly erupted in a fury of outrage and anguish. The event that caused this violent outbreak was the government's announcement that half the school curriculum would be taught only in Afrikaans (Mulholland, 2003:49).

- The visual impact of the emotive image of Hector Pieteron, captured by photographer Sam Nzima in Figure 1.4 (Nzima, 1976) which shows Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying Pieteron's limp body, with his crying sister, Antoinette Sithole, running along, exposed the police brutality at the student protest march in Soweto on 16 June 1976. The image immediately became an international symbol of Apartheid and youth resistance (Sabine, 2006).



Figure 1.4 Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying Hector Pieterse followed by his sister Antoinette Sithole, Soweto, 16 June 1976. Photograph by Sam Nzima. Globalbrief.ca

Iconic images

To name but a few, global iconic images that succeeded to mould national and international consciousness of critical eras are:

- The Farm Security Administration (FSA), an American government agency, developed an idea to create a pictorial record that would capture the effects of the Great Depression (1932-1936) on daily life. An example as shown in Figure 1.5 (Lange, 1936) the famous *Migrant Mother/Worker*, Nipomo, California, 1936, image sourced from the Library of Congress as cited in (Turner, 1988) made in the USA by Dorothea Lange during the Great Depression.

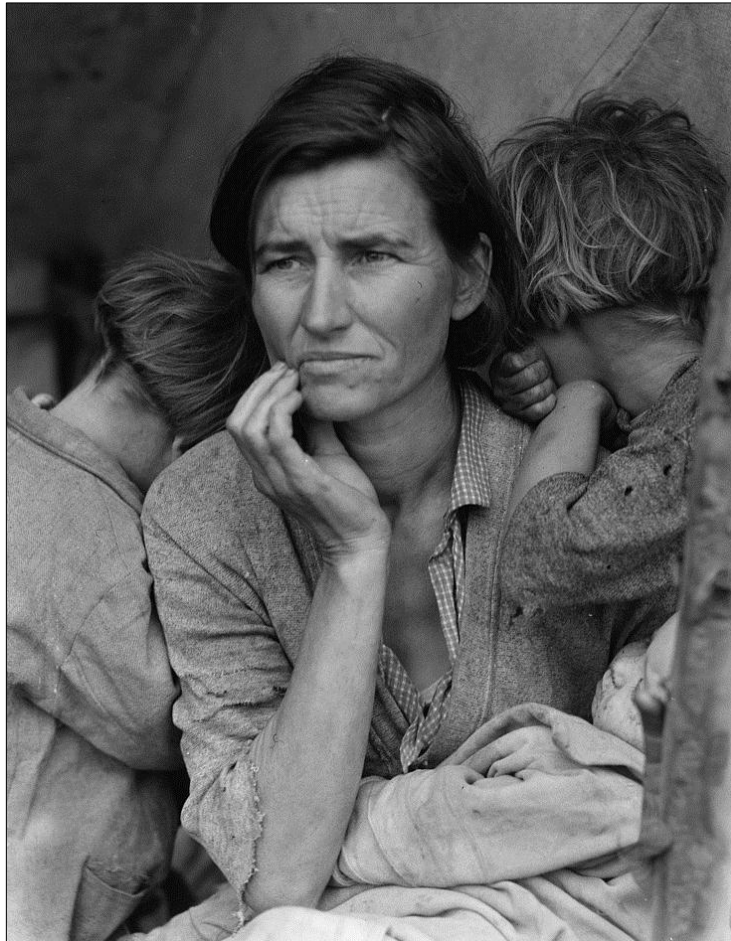


Figure 1.5 *Migrant Mother*, 1936. Photograph by Dorothea Lange. Library of Congress

- The image in Figure 1.6 (Korda, 1960) of Ernesto Rafael Guevara de la Serna (Ché), by photographer Alberto Korda in 1960, became the revolutionary icon symbol of the Cuban Revolution – yet the very capitalism he hated has turned him into a marketable logo. *Ché Guevara* lives on... but only as a fashion accessory (Burke, 2005).



Figure 1.6 *Ché Guevara, 1960. Photograph by Alberto Korda. 2.bp.blogspot.com*

- In a guerrilla war with no fixed battle lines, neither the Vietnamese nor the American government was able to exercise the degree of censorship imposed in earlier conflicts. This was certainly the case with Eddie Adams' 1968 *Vietcong Arrested* image as illustrated in Figure 1.7 (Adams, 1968). Without warning, the prisoner, supposedly a Vietcong lieutenant was assassinated by a Vietnamese chief of police (Mulligan & Wooters, 2005). The climatic image became a universal symbol of the vicious nature of the war. As a result, it served to polarise public opinion about American foreign policy. Demonstrations against the Vietnam War took place in the USA and spread globally. The Pentagon blamed the press, singling out the iconic image in Figure 1.8 (Ut, 1972) *Napalm Strike, 1972* of South Vietnamese children burnt by Napalm. After making the image, Nick Ut doused the naked Kim Phuc with water and rushed her to hospital. This image turned the tide of opinion and made it one of the most unpopular wars in American history (Yapp & Hopkinson, 1995).



Figure 1.7 *Vietcong Arrested*, 1968. Photograph by Eddie Adams. Juan314.files.wordpress.com



Figure 1.8 *Napalm Strike*, 1972. Photograph by Nick Ut. Terakopian.files.wordpress.com

Ghaffar and Feinstein (2005) cite Greg Marinovich as the only photographer who worked in South Africa to have written of his considerable psychological distress in the early 1990s as he photographed township violence in the run-up to South Africa's first multiracial elections.

To be a war media worker can be a hazardous profession. Evidence that media workers are indeed affected by work in the war zones can be found in the Vietnam War artefacts. Tim Page, who made his mark as a photographer in Vietnam, has written of his suicide attempt. International News Safety Institution as cited in (Ghaffar & Feinstein, 2005) points out that the conflict in Iraq has seen over 40 media workers lose their lives while others have gone missing. The challenge for this research will be to validate that the danger of the 1980s may have adversely affected the emotional lives of the participants (Ghaffar & Feinstein, 2005).

Censorship

During Apartheid, in addition to curbing the flow of information, censorship of the media was usually accompanied by processes of disinformation (Pissarra, 1991). Disinformation manifested itself in the compilation of school curricula where history was re-written from the perspective of the ruling class as well as in the selection and presentation of news, particularly through state or semi-state media organs such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which was generally perceived by the opponents of the National Party government as a mouthpiece for government propaganda (Pissarra, 1991). I reflect how political ideology and social consciousness took advantage of censorship.

Today, as society strives towards mutual respect and tolerance in overcoming contemporary global political conflicts, I question the integrity of photographers. For example, in the case of the Second Gulf War:

- How neutral have the embedded photographers been that operated together with outside military forces in the initial invasion of the country?
- How do photographers perceive their perspective of social consciousness towards neutrality and objectivity?

A selection of articles, books and film/video media that relate to resistance in the liberation struggle in South Africa

Articles selection

- Visualising Memories: The Hector Pieterse Memorial in Soweto (Sabine, 2006).
- Reporting Under Fire: Understanding Psychopathology of War Journalists. (Ghaffar & Feinstein, 2005).
- Making memory: Stories from Staffrider Magazine and testing the popular imagination (Manase, 2005).

- 'Lest we forget': photography and the presentation of history at the Apartheid Museum, Gold Reef City, and the Hector Pieterse Museum, Soweto (Newbury, 2005).
- The Next Liberation Struggle (Saul, 2005).
- The Photographic Art of Peter Magubane (Von Blum, 2005).
- Israel, Northern Ireland, and South Africa at a Crossroads: Understanding Intergroup Conflict, Peace-Building, and Conflict Resolution (Byrne, 2004).
- Reconsidering Postmemory: Photography, the Archive, and Post-Holocaust Memory in W.G. Sebald's Austerlitz (Crownshaw, 2004).
- "Healing the Nation:" Medicolonial discourse and the State of Emergency from Apartheid to Truth and Reconciliation (Lund, 2003).
- Patterns of student activism at historically black universities in the United States and South Africa, 1960-1977 (Franklin, 2003).
- Representing the Body Archivally in South African Photography (Firstenberg, 2002).
- The Impact of Political Violence on Education in South Africa: Past, Present, Future (Ntshoe, 2002).
- 'I Saw a Nightmare...': Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976) (Helena, 2000).
- The National Liberation Struggle in South Africa: A case study of the United Democratic Front, 1983-1987 (Houston, 1999).
- Photography and the Liberation Struggle in South Africa (Fattal, 1993).
- Protest Art in South Africa 1968-1976 (Clark, 1992).
- Criticism and Censorship in the South African "Alternative" Press with particular reference to the Cartoons of Bauer and Zapiro 1985-1990 (Pissarra, 1991).
- Images of the Holocaust (Milton, 1986).

Books selection

While a large number of journal articles, book chapters and books have been published on the liberation struggle in South Africa, most studies have focused on formation, structure,

strategies, policies, leadership, membership, visual documentaries and activities of organisations (Houston, 1999). A selection is listed below:

- *South African Photography: 1950 – 2010* (Klask & Seippel, 2010) covers sixty years of documentary photography in South Africa.
- *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa* (Newbury, 2010) covers the evolution and discourse on the socio-cultural dynamics of documentary photography.
- *South Africa 1948-1994* (Mulholland, 2003) focuses on the struggle for political, social and economic freedom by the black majority in Africa.
- *Anthology of African and Indian Ocean Photography* (Léon, Fall & Chapuis, 1999) explores the rich history and diverse styles of the photographic medium in Africa tracing these visions from the birth of photography in 1840 to 1998.
- *Eye Africa: African Photography 1840 – 1998* (Sanner, 1998) celebrates more than a century of collective memory of photography on the African continent.
- *Women of South Africa: Their Fight for Freedom* (Magubane, 1993) shows the aspects of commonality in the struggles of all South Africa's women and the unity with which women of all race groups resisted Apartheid.
- *Robben Island Retold* (Staffrider, 1992) describes the notorious prison enclave where thousands of political prisoners were incarcerated, which since the early 1960s was dubbed the 'University of the Struggle'. The 'university archives' were established at the University of Western Cape's (UWC's) Mayibuye Centre between 1990 and 1992 for History and Culture in South Africa.
- *Apartheid the Facts* (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1991) uses photographs, maps, graphs and extracts from key documents to present facts about Apartheid in a comprehensive form.
- *Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s*, (Posterbook Collective of the South African History Archive, 1991) provides a powerful form of propaganda.
- *Mandela: Echoes of an Era* (Kumalo & Mphahlele, 1990) is a pictorial and verbal record of Mandela... not only as a public figure and a political icon but also as a man who experienced personal tragedy.
- The only photographic collective work on the documentation of the 1980s is the publication *Beyond the Barricades: Popular Resistance in South Africa in the 1980s: Photographs by Twenty South African Photographers* (Hill & Harris, 1989). The collection of photographs captures the inhumanity, injustice and exploitation the photographers witnessed during the repressive years of the 1980s under Apartheid (Hill & Harris, 1989).
- *The Fifties People of South Africa* (J R A Bailey's African Photo Archives, 1987) depicts political events and black culture that was disregarded by the white media of the time.

- *The Spirit of District Six* (Breytenbach, 1987).
- *A Different Kind of War* (Frederikse, 1987) it is a graphic history of resistance to Apartheid.
- *June 16: The Fruit of Fear* (Magubane, 1987) recounts how South Africa faced political turmoil in 1976. Demonstrations by children led to a nation-wide uprising where many were shot dead by the police and thousands were detained or forced into exile as refugees.
- *Apartheid: a vigilant witness. A reflection on photography.* Paul Weinberg (1987) points out the collective approach of the 1980s by photographers who brought amateurs and professionals, teachers and students together in an exciting fusion of ideas and cultures.
- *District Six* (Small & Wissema, 1986) both capture the spirit of a multi-cultural community before its forced removal.
- *South Africa The Cordoned Heart: Twenty South African Photographers* (Badsha, 1986) is a collection of work that emerged as a result of the Culture and Resistance conference in Botswana in 1982 and the second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa.
- *House of Bondage* (Cole, 1967) is a collection of work that documents the oppressive nature of dehumanising life as a black person under Apartheid. With the publication of *House of Bondage*, Ernest Cole circumvented the enforcement of stringent censorship laws by the National Party government.

The publication *Beyond the Barricades* is an excellent visual and documented artefact of the 1980s. However, the publication lacks input by the individual photographers. The preface and text were collectively written by Afrapix photographers, the Centre for Documentary Photography in Cape Town and other contributors. Documents and visual artefacts of the 1980s in the publication represent and interpret Apartheid and deal primarily with mass mobilisation and brutal repression (Hill & Harris, 1989).

Film/video selection

- *Behind the Lens* (Fish, 2014) a documentary film on South African photographers during the 1980s.
- *South African Anti-Apartheid Documentaries: 1977-1987* (Steenveld, 1991).
- *Images in Struggle: South African Photographers Speak* (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1990) is a video about their work and aspirations. In the video, all the photographers are concerned with documenting the developing liberation struggle as well as the lives and hopes of the South African people.

- *Fruits of Defiance*: focuses on events of the Defiance Campaign in 1989 from the perspective of people living in the Manenberg area on the Cape Flats in Cape Town (Tilley & Schmitz, 1990).

In light of the above literature and the documented evidence in *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*, I am reflecting on what inspired me to pursue the phenomenon to document the liberation struggle during Apartheid in the 1980s in Cape Town.

Economic value

Since the end of the Apartheid dispensation in South Africa in 1994, there have been many new memorials, book publications, documentaries, exhibitions, memory spaces, and museum displays that have sought to represent and interpret the country's recent history. Newbury (2005) points out photography's significance in relation to the visual economic value in the new heritage sites like the Apartheid Museum at Gold Reef City in Johannesburg, opened in 2001, and the Hector Pieterse Museum in Soweto, opened in 2002 (Newbury, 2005). Pretorius (2001) established in an interview with Sam Nzima that the original June 16 print and negatives disappeared, probably taken and destroyed when the security police raided the offices of *The World* in November 1976, removing boxes of photographs and documentation. Nzima sadly pointed out that he did not receive the small fortune the photograph had generated as he only obtained copyright in November 1998 (Pretorius, 2001).

Around the world, the way the past is interpreted and remembered is continually changing. The information revolution that is still in full flow is dramatically changing the way events are captured, recorded, interpreted and studied (Friel, 2006).

Research design

The research follows an interpretive paradigm with a qualitative approach using the reflective phenomenology method to gain insight into the phenomenon of interest through the documents and visual artefacts of *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*.

The perspective of the research is to understand the phenomenon of interest through my eyes. The study contains ideas, thoughts and observations as well as reflections regarding the meanings and interpretations of experience as a photographer in the 1980s (Maree, 2007).

Delineation of the research

- The research will not explore all resistance photography and photographers in the 1980s in Cape Town.
- The research will only interpret the meanings and understandings of my reflective journey as a resistance photographer in Cape Town through *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*.

Contribution of the research

The 1980s depicted one of the longest and bloodiest periods of political resistance to Apartheid, a time of mass mobilisation and brutal repression. The participants witnessed intimately the struggle, the euphoria and the tragedy as the state responded violently to this challenge (Hill & Harris, 1989). The research seeks to understand the significance of the role of photographs in both the construction and subversion of Apartheid, in the mobilising of opposition within the country and securing international support for the liberation struggle.

The historical significance of this period of resistance is that both activists and ordinary people began to look beyond the barricades of Apartheid toward a new South Africa. As communities were debating and discussing the shape of a future post-apartheid society, photographers were drawn into this process and began to question the traditional practice of photography (Hill & Harris, 1989).

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007), interpretive research focuses on describing and understanding phenomena within their naturally occurring context with the intention of developing an understanding of the meaning(s) imparted by the participant – a ‘seeing through the eyes of the participant’ – so that the phenomena can be described in terms of the meaning that they have for the participant. In effect, this means that the researcher becomes the instrument through which the data is collected and analysed (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

This research evidence aims to bring to life the extent of this period’s untold brutality, misery, suffering, pain and even death in Cape Town. It aims to provide irrefutable evidence of popular resistance and state brutality (Hill & Harris, 1989).

I reflect on my observations of meaning and interpretation of my experience as a photographer in the 1980s in order to create a record for future researchers. Qualitative research acknowledges an interactive relationship between the researcher and phenomenon

of interest, as well as that of the other participants and their own experiences, and how they have constructed reality based on those experiences (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

This personal experience set of beliefs and value-laden narrative is biased and subjective, but qualitative research accepts it as 'true'... especially for those who have lived through the experience. The stories, experiences and voices of the participants are the media through which the researcher explores and understands reality (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

Qualitative research asserts that every cultural and historical situation is different and unique and requires analyses of the uniquely defined, particular contexts in which it is embedded. Because of the specific historical, social, political, economic and cultural experiences underpinning each study, the findings cannot be generalised. The research, however, brings us greater clarity as to how people make meaning of phenomena in a specific context, thus aiding greater understanding of the human condition (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

Structure of the study

This thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 1

This chapter gives a general synopsis of the background to the research.

Chapter 2

This chapter gives an overview of the current literature by various role players on the visual appreciation of the documentary photograph.

Chapter 3

This chapter addresses my background and reflective journey towards *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*.

Chapter 4

This chapter outlines the method followed to achieve the outcomes set in the problem statement.

Chapter 5

This chapter summarises reflections, observations and analysis.

Chapter 6

This chapter summarises my reflections and observations, makes recommendations for future research.

Please Note: In order to ensure continuity some content from Chapter 1 is repeated in the narrative.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF THE CURRENT LITERATURE BY VARIOUS ROLE PLAYERS ON THE VISUAL APPRECIATION OF THE DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPH

Analysis of role of social photography and its function during Apartheid

Documentary photography defies comment: it imposes its meaning. It confronts us, the audience, with empirical evidence of such veracity as to render dispute impossible and interpretation difficult (Price, 2009).

The function of documentary photography in the service of radical politics was affected not only by the beliefs of individual photographers, but also by the uses of which photographs were commissioned (Price, 2009).

In South Africa, Apartheid was the major manifestation of the human evil, exclusion, racism and discrimination of the past century (Villa-Vicencio, 2008). In 1948, the National Party government came to power in South Africa (Mulholland, 2003). Hachten as cited in (Fattal, 1993) points out that Apartheid managed to endure forty-six years in South Africa partly because of a historically normalised visual discourse of propaganda that supported the ideology of segregation based on discriminatory grounds of race and stringent censorship legislation.

Sparks as cited in (Fattal, 1993) is of the opinion that the ideological construction of Apartheid in South African history began with the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the racism of the first Dutch settlers of the seventeenth century, with their segregation from the indigenous blacks. Moreover, racism had been legislated by the government since the Native Land Act of 1913 that restricted all blacks to thirteen percent of the land. The National Party government won the election of 1948 on a platform that proposed an answer to the massive influx of urbanised blacks to white cities following World War II. Not only was blacks' land ownership and the right to live in certain areas systematically controlled through legislation, but also the right to move freely throughout the country, the right to marry certain people, the right to attend certain schools and the right to publish certain documents and images.

From the moment Apartheid was introduced, photographers in South Africa were immediately aware of how these changes taking place in politics and society accordingly affected photography's visual language: The medium was transformed from a purely

anthropological tool into a social instrument. No one photographed the resistance against Apartheid better, more critically and incisively than South African photographers (Bunyan, 2013).

According to Nichols as cited in (Fattal, 1993), the visual discourse that buttressed the policies of Apartheid and the struggle for liberation in South Africa was viewed from various perspectives, one of which was photography. In Keyan Tomaselli's view (Fattal, 1993) photography was a powerful tool of resistance: the camera was endowed with the power to testify. It exposed whites to the conditions that the National Party government policies (such as the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Immorality Act, to name but a few inequality legislations) forced blacks into, and reflected on the inhumanities of Apartheid. According to Nichols as cited in (Fattal, 1993) Apartheid and censorship had an intimate relationship but this raises the question: how did the government of South Africa successfully mould the visual discourse to support their ideology of an exploitative white supremacy? Badsha as cited in (Fattal, 1993) points out that Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu wrote in the introduction to a photo-essay about forced removals:

I believed that when the Germans were asked how they could possibly have permitted Hitler and the Nazis to perpetrate the horrors of the holocaust, they replied that they did not know that those things were happening. It is possible for many South Africans and others to plead a similar ignorance about the evil consequences of Apartheid and the policies being applied against black people. After all, these things happen out of sight.

Sparks as cited in (Fattal, 1993) provides evidence that photography's ability to expose what the South African government tried to conceal, the injustice and inhumanity of being black, made it an effective medium of resistance against Apartheid. Denial was indeed an issue in South Africa. Photographer Ben MacLennan as cited in (Fattal, 1993) wrote at an installation of *The Cordoned Heart* exhibit Special Collections:

I am taking photographs because one day when something happens and there are changes in South Africa, I want to ensure that people won't be able to say we didn't know. We weren't told these things were happening.

Photographs have an intimate relationship with history. Photography in many ways is the first drafter of history. Sontag cites Benjamin, who stated that photographs become standard evidence for historical occurrences and acquire a hidden political significance (Sontag, 1979). Overnight, photographers can become the repository of that history. In the opinion of Weinberg as cited in (Fattal, 1993), photographers have a responsibility to understand the importance of their documentation as the historical record. The control of imagery becomes the control of history, which lies at the root of ideology. In South Africa, photographs

transcended the divisive policies of Apartheid and empowered political efforts to organise and mobilise the resistance. Byerly as cited in (Fattal, 1993) points out that photography, like music, drama, dance and literature, stood on the front lines of the liberation struggle, unifying and energising oppressed South Africans.

The photographers, through their cameras, became a voice for those denied a vote and basic human rights, and were instrumental in bringing the South African struggle to the international arena (Hill & Harris, 1989). All non-state participants experienced state repression at times. Some had been beaten up by the security forces and others detained without trial. All had some of their film confiscated and were denied the possibility of photographing in conflict situations.

Ghaffar and Feinstein (2005) cites Greg Marinovich as the only photographer who worked in South Africa to have written of his considerable psychological distress in the early 1990s as he photographed township violence in the run-up to South African's first multiracial elections. To be a war media worker can be a hazardous profession. Evidence that media workers are indeed affected by work in the war zones can be found in the Vietnam War artefacts. Tim Page, who made his mark as a photographer in Vietnam, has written of his suicide attempt. The International News Safety Institution as cited in (Ghaffar & Feinstein, 2005) points out that the current conflict in Iraq has seen over 40 media workers lose their lives, while others have gone missing. Reflecting on my own psychological well-being while witnessing and capturing the brutality and inhumanity of events in the 1980s, I am lucky to say that the conflict of the period has had no adverse effect on my personal emotional life (Ghaffar & Feinstein, 2005).

During Apartheid, in addition to curbing the flow of information, censorship of the media was usually accompanied by processes of disinformation (Pissarra, 1991). Disinformation manifested itself in the compilation of school curricula where history was re-written from the perspective of the ruling class as well as in the selection and presentation of news, particularly through state or semi-state media organs such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which was generally perceived by the opponents of the National Party government as a mouthpiece for government propaganda (Pissarra, 1991).

A brief history of documentary photography

As cultural media go, photography is a relative newcomer. The story of photography really begins in the 1830s when the first light-sensitive materials were used to successfully document an image (Dickie, 2009). The history and the introduction of photography to Africa

are concurrent with that of Europe and America. In Léon, Fall and Chapuis' view, the hugely significant *Anthology of African & Indian Ocean Photography* is the first collective overview on photography on the African continent. It explores the rich history and diverse styles of the photographic medium in Africa (Léon *et al.*, 1999). Is this exploration a true representation of South African documentary?

Documentary photography is a tradition that includes aspects of journalism, art, education, sociology and history. The photographer's goal is to bring the attention of an audience to the subject of his or her work and, in many cases, to pave the way for social change (Price, 2009). The nineteenth-century desire to explore, record and catalogue human experience both home and abroad encouraged people to emphasise photography as a method of naturalistic documentation. Amongst the first subjects of the lens were colonised peoples around the world. The camera was used as an instrument of symbolic control (Price, 2009).

Documentary and photojournalism are intimately linked and many practitioners of straight photography are interchangeably and described as either photojournalists or documentary photographers. Photojournalism narrates current events or illustrates written news stories (Price, 2009). Documentary photographers often have a mission to educate and enlighten, choosing to look at issues that are typically not the stuff of headlines but represent instead daily life, creating indelible images of subjects that are the periphery of our vision (Ingledeu, 2005).

In 1935, the American government established the Farm Security Administration (FSA), a government agency to document the Great Depression and drought in Central America. The FSA photographers Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein and others, coordinated by Roy Stryker, documented the terrible conditions of the mid-west farming community during the 1930s. The understanding and involvement of FSA photographers resulted in images that raised public concern and increased government aid (Langford, 1980).

From the 1930s, new or revitalised publications such as *Life* and *Picture Post* magazines began and most of the rhetorical devices of presentation were established – devices that allowed picture editors and designers to create powerful stories through the juxtaposition of image and text (Price & Wells, 2009). The 1930s was the decade in which more of ideas about documentary, together with its characteristic social and political objectives, were formed - with the work of the FSA project (Price, 2009).

The term 'documentary photography' came into common use after photographs made by the FSA were first published in America in the 1930s (Ingledew, 2005).

How documentary photography existed under Apartheid

South Africa has a long tradition of social documentary photography, dating back to the 1940s. An important contributor to the history of black South African documentary photography was Drum magazine during the 1950s. Drum magazine captured the happiness and sadness of life with a broader perspective of black culture, combined with a decade of defiance and popular resistance that mainstream media avoided due to restrictions imposed on publications by the National Party government (Schaderberg, 1987).

Arts journalist Sean O' Toole challenges the view in his review in the *Mail & Guardian* that *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* showcases three overlooked photographers. He reflects that the exhibition transports you back to a time of burning barricades, mass burials, whites-only beaches, compulsory military service, sneeze machines, press gags and mass marches. A time when Allan Boesak, Cyril Ramaphosa and Tony Yengeni were photographed marching under Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) banners in Cape Town. In his opinion, this is a remarkable study in optimism and thwarted hope (O'Toole, 2013).

O' Toole points out that Apartheid was an all-embracing idea: resisting it was a fact of daily life to men and women committed to an ideal. It may not clarify the instabilities and debasement that surround Mandela's passage to that other place, but it will make clear the wavering moral compass of a nation negotiating a future without a living saint (O' Toole, 2013).

I cannot recall being part of an exhibition post-1994 showcasing my 1980s photographs in South Africa or beyond. I attended the first conference hosted by University of Cape Town's Centre for Documentary Photography in 1988. I don't think this organisation has reached its full potential of inclusivity of all role players in reaching a broader audience in Cape Town. I have been at Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) since 1990 and we have not been part of any conceptual integrated projects other than the always-belated request to be part the Month of Photography Showcase. The exhibition coordinator will approach CPUT's photography programme on the eleventh hour to participate with a non-available exhibition venue in Cape Town. In the past, when we did participate, we were tucked away in a northern suburb gallery miles away from the hub of all the exposure and excitement what participants experience in Cape Town CBD where most exhibitions are held. As the facilitator of the Month of Photography Showcase, the Centre for Documentary Photography should

oversee that all major role players in Cape Town are well presented. Our alumni are well represented at all major publications throughout South Africa. The Centre for Documentary Photography is not fulfilling its ethos of inclusivity.

Drum photography

The significant history of documentary exhibitions in South Africa began with the arrival of *The Family of Man* exhibition in Johannesburg in September in 1958. The exhibition was organised and curated by photographer Edward Steichen in 1955 as a response to the Second World War and portrayed life in sixty-eight countries around the world.

Drum reviewed the exhibition as a story in its own right. Drum chose not to publish any images of South Africa. South Africa was only represented by four images in the exhibition, two by Constance Stuart Larrabee and two by Homer Page. Instead, the review was dominated by images of non-African black subjects, mainly African Americans. The aim was to educate Drum's audience about the power of photography as a means of recording the lives of blacks (Newbury, 2010).

Unlike other critics on the exhibition, the black photographers at Drum identified not with subjects in the photographs but instead with the image makers behind the camera. Drum's critique of Apartheid was not direct, nor did it represent a political strategy, but it did present a powerful visual argument that Apartheid could not succeed (Newbury, 2010).

The paradox during this period for South Africa photography was simultaneously a high point in the development of photographic humanism with *The Family of Man* exhibition and a low point with the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960 (Newbury, 2010).

Dorothea Lange's FSA photograph the *Migrant Mother* was included in the exhibition. The exhibition set out to emphasise all that humanity has in common. Roland Barthes, as cited in (Price & Wells, 2009), commented on the ambiguous myth of community whereby diversity between peoples and cultures was brought into focus in order to forge a sense of unity from this pluralism.

Nicholas Mirzoeff, as cited in (Barrett, 2006), makes a similar point about the frequent imaging of some subjects over others in Steichen's famous and immensely popular exhibition. Africans were photographed half naked while hunting with spears, carrying water or telling stories around a fire, symbolising that Africa is primitive and the West is cultured. In

Mirzoeff's view, Steichen also used photographs to assert American values and political superiority as universal truths, especially in the midst of the Cold War being waged against the USSR. American technological superiority (and by implication cultural superiority) was made visible to all who saw the exhibition (Barrett, 2006).

Drum's photographic humanism could not survive unscathed in the political climate ushered in by the Sharpeville Massacre. James Bailey, owner of Drum, felt that the political risks in printing Benson Dyantyi and Peter Magubane's photographs of the Sharpeville Massacre were too great. Instead the images were sent to Camera Press in London and were from there distributed to the world's press. The shape of socio-political documentary dominated South African photography. Increasingly suppressed by the National Party government, documentary photographers would look abroad for their audience, their central subject the ever-more-violent conflict between the government and its political opponents (Newbury, 2010).

Drum's black photographers honed their photographic skills under the leadership of German photographer Jürgen Schaderberg. In 1952 it was Bob Gosani, then in 1955 Peter Magubane and later Ranjith Kally, Ernest Cole, Alf Kumalo, Victor Xashimba, Gopal Naransamy, G R Naidoo and many others joined the photography department at Drum (Schaderberg, 1987).

Like the many phenomenal Drum photographers and others, Peter Magubane and Ernest Cole (amongst others) experienced personal sacrifices and suffering to contribute to the visual appreciation of documentary photography in South Africa.

I met Peter Magubane during the 1980s in Cape Town and in Johannesburg during the Mbeki Release Campaign rally. We kept in regular contact. In 1994, with the first democratic elections and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela, he arranged that Kerry Kennedy (daughter of Robert Kennedy and head of the Robert Kennedy Foundation in the United States of America (USA)) meet up with me. Interestingly, for the few days she spent in Cape Town, I took her along to my home in Athlone to meet my family, especially my sister Gadija who attended her father Robert Kennedy's 'Ripple of Hope' speech in 1966 at UCT, who recalled how he encouraged the audience to draw connections between the struggle to end Apartheid and that of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA (Fakier, 2013). We ate at Bibi's Kitchen in Wynberg, did a road trip to Stellenbosh (stopping at Mooiberg Farm Stall), Gugulethu, Manenberg, Mitchells Plain and my old neighbourhood in Newlands, thus exposing her to the realities of Apartheid.

Magubane started his career at Drum, then the Rand Daily Mail newspaper and has been with *Time* magazine since 1978. In the course of his career, he has been detained in solitary confinement, banned by the National Party government and spent time in prison for contravening his banning orders. He has suffered multiple gunshot wounds and had a gun placed to his temple while covering the Soweto uprising of 1976, after which he was arrested and detained. He has published many books, among others *June 16, 1976* and *Women of South Africa* in 1993 (Magubane, 1993).

According to Magubane, in the 1976 uprisings he watched scores of people gunned down by the police. The violence perpetrated on the oppressed bears the fruit of fear of the government. During Apartheid, South Africa faced turbulent times. Through imagery, activists engaged in the struggle for liberation and depended on the truth and honesty of photographers for attaining their ideals (Magubane, 1987).

At Drum during the 1950s and the 1960s, Ernest Cole captured the dehumanisation of blacks by whites. He became a crusader to the outside world, highlighting the injustice of South African society and emphasising the necessity of reform. He reclassified himself as coloured⁵ to avoid harassment as a black photographer with pass laws restrictions that limited freedom of movement. He captured social conditions of everyday life in South Africa (Cole, 1967).

In 1959, Henri Cartier-Bresson's book *People of Moscow* influenced his documentary style. In 1966, he exiled himself to USA, where he became the first black South African photographer to publish *House of Bondage* in 1967, exposing the harsh realities of his homeland. He saw every aspect of South Africa's degradation with a searching eye and a passionate heart (Cole, 1967).

He pointed out that he realised that South African people would bring their own change and the publication *House of Bondage* would provide evidence to the children of South Africa (Cole, 1967). At the time of publication in 1967, the book was banned in South Africa and he was banned in absentia. In 1990, he died of cancer

Pierre-Laurent Sanner from *Revue Noire* interviewed me in the 1990s. His research contributed to the first collective overview on South African documentary photography in *Anthology of African & Indian Ocean Photography* and the *eye Africa: African Photography 1840-1998* exhibition at the South African National Gallery in 1999. According to Léon *et al.*, the significance of the publication and exhibition reflects on how African photographers see their countries and cultures, tracing these visions from the birth of photography in 1840 to

⁵ Under Apartheid people of mixed ethnic origin.

1998. They point out the images tell the many stories of Africa, both communal and individual, and show the breadth of photographic techniques that have been used over the years (Léon *et al.*, 1999). Neither fellow participants in *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* Benny Gool, Adil Bradlow nor my 1980s and 1996 body of work were seen as significant enough to form part of his interpretation of the history of South African documentary photography. My 1996 environmental portraits of Women in Cape Town forms part of the publication *Women by Women: 50 Years of Women's Photography in South Africa* (Comley, Hallett & Ntsoma, 2006).

Overview of conflict and censorship

Conflict photography has been approached as news photography, photojournalism and documentary, with each photographer striving to create pictures that force viewers to choose sides. There is not a no-man's-land in conflict photography (Ingledew, 2005).

The first front-line conflict photographer was the Englishman Roger Fenton, who was dispatched to the Crimean War in 1855, complete with a horse-drawn wagon to carry his cameras, glass negatives, developing lab and two assistants. Employed by *The Illustrated London News* magazine and given the blessing of the British War Office, he was under strict instruction to bring back a positive view of the war that would calm fears at home. He took over 300 pictures, not one showing the rotting corpses he mentioned in his letters (Ingledew, 2005).

Fenton's work was widely exhibited and inspired Mathew Brady to embark on ambitious campaigns to photograph the American Civil War between 1861 and 1865 (Ingledew, 2005). Brady and his team of photographers photographs showed smashed and bloated dead bodies strewn upon fields and lying in ditches. The photographs were exhibited, with no attempt made to censor their horror. The show caused a sensation amongst the New York public who fought to pay to see the pictures (Ingledew, 2005).

The Spanish-American War of 1898 fought in Cuba became the first war to be reported with printed photographs in newspapers, although these were published weeks after they had been made, having been transported over sea and land from the front line. This war has been labelled the 'first living-room war' as the impact of photographic images of death could reach into every home of a fighting nation for the first time (Ingledew, 2005).

At the outbreak of World War I, press photographers were allowed to follow the British army in France with little hindrance (Ingledeu, 2005). No photographs of dead allies are found in British newspapers or magazines of World War I, although there are many of the enemy dead. Official photographers were discouraged from documenting their own dead troops, as were official war artists (Ingledeu, 2005).

Photographers were eventually banned from the Western front, as was any photography made by the troops. The few snapshots that survived were taken by soldiers risking court martial. The photographs showed the total devastation caused by warfare, the miserable life in the trenches and the blind terror of going 'over the top' to fight (Ingledeu, 2005).

The American photographer Robert Capa took one of the most famous and controversial war photographs in 1936 during the Spanish Civil War. The photograph is known as '*Death of a Loyalist Soldier*', '*Soldier at the Moment of Death*' or '*The Falling Soldier*' (Ingledeu, 2005). Questions were asked about the picture's truth and authenticity. Why was Capa in front of the soldier? Why is there no sign of a wound? Capa's photo is now known to be the death of Federico Garcia Borell on the Córdoba front on September 5, 1936 and is still a powerful symbol of sacrifice (Ingledeu, 2005).

Photographs of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 were made from the planes that had dropped the bombs as they flew home from their missions in which a quarter of a million people had died (Ingledeu, 2005). The images of the skull-like mushroom clouds were to haunt the public's imagination for the next few decades, while all images of the victims of the bombs were censored in America for being too shocking (Ingledeu, 2005).

Vietnam was the first and last time in which the media was given the freedom to roam at will across the theatre of war. Photographers were able to travel to wherever they could hitch a ride by helicopter or truck. Their horrific pictures of the conflict swayed public opinion against the fighting and contributed to America losing the war. No government would take that chance again (Ingledeu, 2005).

During the Falklands War of 1982, the British government prevented access to the conflict by picking just two photographers to supply all the images to be published back home – one from a pro-government newspaper and one from a news agency (Ingledeu, 2005).

This level of censorship was repeated in the first Gulf War of 1990-91, though an extraordinary photograph of a charred Iraqi soldier incinerated in the moment of trying to

escape his tank, his head seemingly about to crumble to ash, was made by Kenneth Jareche on the road to Basra. He had somehow avoided the net of press restrictions to create the photograph. Jareche was shooting for *Time* magazine, whose editors killed the photograph, considering it to be too shocking. It was also censored by most newspaper editors. Jareche reflected that 'no one would touch my photograph' (Ingledew, 2005).

By the second Gulf War of 2003-04, American and British governments exerted a total stranglehold on the media by allowing access to the war only to a chosen few photographers and journalists who were 'embedded' in sections of the army, meaning that all their movements and activities were firmly controlled. All other members of the press were corralled at a media centre, many hundreds of miles from the front line, where the only information available was from the army's media spokespersons (Ingledew, 2005).

Censorship extended to a Pentagon ban on the publication of any photographs of American war dead, broken by the publication on the Internet of a photograph taken by a cargo handler of an American plane full of coffins draped in American flags (Ingledew, 2005). The Pentagon's ban on images of American dead returning from Iraq was broken on the Internet and the 'trophy' photographs emailed home from Iraq showing soldiers abusing prisoners would certainly never have reached newspapers prior to digital photography – the photographs would have been intercepted and investigated either by military censors or at the lab at the time of processing (Ingledew, 2005).

Analysis of various exhibitions

In most post-Apartheid South Africa critiques, the narrative on the documentary photograph is mainly from collectives such as Drum, Afrapix and the Bang Bang Club. *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*, for the first time, brought together three Cape Town-based photographers whose work had not been exhibited together and that had not been seen before. The local visual memory needs to be incorporated into the bigger picture of the post-Apartheid dialogue on the history of documentary photography no matter how small or insignificant the contribution. In July 2013, I was interviewed by independent film maker Liz Fish for a documentary on media in the 1980s.

The most contemporary internationally acclaimed exhibition *Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life*, curated by Okwui Enwezor and South African Rory Bester currently housed at Museum Africa in Johannesburg, offers an overview of the visual response to Apartheid. Yet again the exhibition predominantly features

photographers from the above-mentioned collectives. Through its repetitive participants and decision to expose the work of similar role players, the exhibition through its images explores the significance of the Apartheid struggle and its lasting impact on society (Bunyan, 2013).

In the opinion of Newbury, the two previous exhibitions that Okwui Enwezor *et al.* curated have been particularly influential in establishing a linkage for African photography and framing its interpretation within an international cultural arena. They are the 1996 Guggenheim exhibition *In/Sight: African Photographers 1940 to the Present* and the 2006 International Centre of Photography in New York's exhibition *Snap Judgements: New Positions in Contemporary African Photography* (Newbury, 2010).

On reflection on the post-apartheid visual discourse, I tend to wonder through which particular lens the interpretation of South African documentary photography is seen. The Mayibuye Archives at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) houses a diverse collection of Apartheid artefacts. I still need to see the representation of the 1980s in the South African Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg. Photographer Margaret Waller points out that Southern Africa and particular South Africa has emerged from brutal inhumane histories based in part on exclusion, so clearly who is included and who then becomes excluded is an extremely sensitive issue (Waller, 1999). What does it say about the history of the visual representation narrative on memory in the context of South African documentary photography?

CHAPTER 3

MY BACKGROUND AND REFLECTIVE JOURNEY TOWARDS *MARTYRS, SAINTS & SELL-OUTS*

Preamble

In the late afternoon of 6 September 2013, I am still at work as a photography lecturer at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) in Bellville, on the Cape Flats about thirty minutes from Cape Town's city centre. I am with third-year photography students working on a photo edit for their service learning project. Suddenly I realise the time and stop, informing them I need to leave immediately for home to refresh my soul for the opening of the exhibition where my photographs will be on show.

It is an astonishingly beautiful day, the notorious Cape South-Easter wind and lingering winter storms have relented, though not before leaving thousands of displaced families to regroup their lives in the wake of carnage. As I drive towards the city centre on the N2, the national road connecting Cape Town to the hinterlands, it is impossible to ignore Table Mountain, this iconic site that frames the city. There is not a cloud in sight – indeed it is picture perfect – and I realise the vista before me is painfully at odds with the sights, sounds and smells on both sides of the N2 and beyond. These are the areas of Khayelitsha, Langa, Gugulethu, Bonteheuwel, Heideveld, Bridgetown, Manenberg, Mitchells Plain, Lavender Hill, Grassy Park, Wynberg, Crossroads and Hanover Park among others, their picturesque names bearing little resemblance to the scarred and fractured landscape they label... a result of a collection of people being dumped in inhospitable and dusty areas as a result of the Group Areas Act of Apartheid.

From my home, I drive through Athlone, passing by familiar roads, churches, mosques, homes and community spaces whose names are imprinted in my mind in so many different ways. I whisper these as I pass. Klipfontein Road, Belgravia Road, St Mary's Church, Wembley Road House, Thornton Road, Alexander Sinton High School, St Athans Road Mosque, Athlone Hotel, Hewat Teachers' Training College, Essa Moosa's office, Bethel Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Church and Athlone Police Station. It seems fitting that I am reminded of these particular spaces right as I make my way to the Castle of Good Hope, the formidable structure on the edge of the city, with its five pointed bastions, the Dutch names of which we had to learn in primary school. Despite my fatigue, I realise it is not difficult at all to remember them - Leerdam, Buuren, Katzenellenbogen, Nassau and Oranje. I

am stunned when I easily recall the morning when in primary school that I missed the bus for a class excursion to the Castle, and my attendant disappointment when I realised I would not be able to eat the specially prepared eats in the food basket that my mom had painstakingly prepared.

This time, however, I manage to arrive at the Castle a bit earlier than the official opening time. Parking has been organised, giving me quick and easy access to the venue. As I enter the impressive courtyard, Table Mountain looms large, and I am taken aback when I see so many people have already arrived. There are children playing on the lawn, their parents and other guests already mingling and socialising. It seems to be festive; indeed there is a drinks table outside. I can hear the echoes of a jazz band and the air is completely still. Indeed, it seems as if the 6th September 2013 has unexpectedly delivered a fine day. I am not entirely sure what it is I feel. I am tired from a long day, I have yet to see the exhibition curated by Siona O'Connell and I search the throng for my fellow photographers, Benny Gool and Adil Bradlow, who share this and so many other moments with me. This is the opening of an exhibition of our Apartheid images and I am humbled at the hundreds of people taking time out on a Friday evening to see *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*: The photographs of Benny Gool, Adil Bradlow and Zubeida Vallie.

Photographs in the Good Hope Gallery, Cape Town

I am overwhelmed as I see the exhibition for the first time. It is hung quite unconventionally in a long, rectangular and impressive room. The images are all suspended, spine-like, from the ceiling of the Good Hope Gallery, a space that I soon learn used to be the banqueting hall of the Dutch East India Company. The framed A1 images hang in pairs, tethered, strangely moving as someone passes by. I recognise my images, which are being scrutinised by a few familiar faces, quite a few of whom feature in the exhibition. I see them looking at themselves, an eerie ghostliness, a result of the reflection of the glass, which results in eeriest of looking. I am not sure who is doing the looking. In addition to all these multiple gazes, I can hear the hooting of the taxis taking workers out of the city back to their homes on the city's outskirts. I can see the scarred spaces of District Six just a stone's throw from the Castle, the area an iconic site of forced removals.

It seems as if the air is still for a reason, and for a moment time and space seem to be all over the place. Nothing appears to be as it should: I am looking at people looking at themselves... and I am without the security of my camera. These photographs grab and catch me, tossing me between now and then and here and there. I realise then that this is in

many ways a looking at me, and a deep vulnerability emerges. I concede that these photographs have escaped the safety of the past, that despite some decades after first exposure, they have the ability to disturb me deeply. I wonder if these photographs, beautifully scanned, retouched, printed on art paper and framed in white frames, can attend to the anguish, injuries and scars of what they so poignantly and painfully represent. It is difficult to take my time to study each image – there are so many people – and in the milieu I am thrown back to when I first picked up a camera, when I am still a teenager and Cape Town, and the rest of the country, is going up in flames. Despite the throng, I retreat into these frames and think about how I arrived at this point.

Inspirational Years: Retracing and Remembering

Personal childhood

I grew up with photos. The most significant of many is the one of my parent's ever present wedding photograph centrally placed in its original frame and stand on the sideboard of the stinkwood dining room furniture in the lounge of our family homes in Newlands and in Belgravia. I am thinking: let me investigate if it is a Van Kalker image. I decide on a closer inspection, I see a signature written in pencil on the photograph. I pick up the stand, remove the glass frame, check thoroughly and to my surprise discover clear visible information on the back of the mount that the photograph was made by G Russ, Photo Studio, opposite Ackermans in Claremont and is dated the 18 October 1946. My parents celebrated their wedding day on 6 October 1946.

I have been fortunate to be surrounded by family photographers: my dad's cousins Gasant Hoosain and Rashid Adams, cousin Moosa Vallie, maternal cousin Sulaiman Williams, sister Gadija and the freelance mobile studio photographer who came to the neighbourhood every Sunday afternoon, capturing precious moments. Most of the images created by the freelance photographer are small prints, which appear to be in their original negative size: that of a medium format camera. I recall seeing the family photographers documenting the family celebrations and special events. My first Kodak instamatic camera, a gift from my sister Gadija, with the cubed external tungsten flash bulbs, one bulb on each side, which I manually turned with either a twelve or twenty-four exposure spool (film). After exposure, the film would be developed at Clicks or the OK Bazaar in Main Road, Claremont. The developing process was not today's hour service. The negatives and prints would be ready for collection after a few days in those iconic yellow branded packets from Kodak. The size of a print was approximately the size of a contemporary Polaroid camera image. Years later at high school,

I acquired a new Kodak camera with the print format similar to a current small postcard-size image.

While in Newlands, my brother Ebrahim salvaged a box of contemporary family photographs and identification cards from the garbage bin that my aunt Rabia Desai discarded during one of her spring cleaning days. Ironically, her granddaughter Rishka Chilwan also recently accessed the precious photographs for a campus project with Paul Weinberg at the University of Cape Town (UCT). My mom had the personality and capability of storing archival precious heirlooms in pristine conditions so holding on to the box of photos and identifications cards of her in-laws was no mean challenge. As time passed, the precious collection of family photographs dwindled. The younger members of our family discovered my mom's treasure. They would regularly visit and view the collection from the box and request the photographs of their parents, siblings or themselves... and my mom always obliged and gave freely.

In high school, as my interest in photography grew, I suggested to my family that we need to treasure the old family photographs that we still had in our collection and care. This was the beginning of a culture of a more organised family album. Until now, all our negatives and photographs were kept in boxes and plastic bags. As I am reflecting, I am thinking I should revisit at least one family photo album. An interesting observation on the images within the album reveals Movie Snap images on the pavement in Cape Town, studio images from Van Kalker in Woodstock, from G Russ in Claremont, the Union Buildings in Pretoria, picnics, formal and informal home portraits, my parents wedding, parties, father Christmas, the beach, christenings, religious celebrations, dinners, airport, holidays outside Cape Town, school and a few contemporary images of home in Belgravia.

I came across two precious images: the only photo of my paternal grandfather Moosa and a formal studio image of my grandmother Gadija with the only image of my dad as a baby on her lap. I occasionally view the photo albums, so this revisit was quite refreshing and brought back happy and sad memories, the photos ranging from my great-grandmother to contemporary images.

With my interest and personal collection of photographs, my brother Ebrahim gave me his Nikon Nikkormat camera and 50mm lens as he received them as a gift but they were never fully utilised. At my high school's adhoc Photographic Society meetings, Ashraf Adam introduced a dialogue on basic photographic needs. Due to the lack of space at school, we had no black and white darkroom facility. During my matric year, I thoroughly enjoyed

documenting in colour all the class events at school with my Kodak camera and later with my basic Nikon Nikkormat equipment.

Newlands history

My family lived in the southern Cape Town suburb of Newlands, which is another gem of Cape Town. It is bordered by the renowned Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens and the Liesbeeck River. It is adjacent to one of Cape Town's wealthiest suburbs, Bishopscourt and is close to the iconic Newlands rugby and cricket grounds, so it is no coincidence that rugby came to play a particular role in our family. It is a leafy suburb, well sheltered from the wind and is home to a few well-heeled schools. It is a stone's throw from the University of Cape Town, built on land bequeathed by British magnate Cecil John Rhodes. It is a mere ten minutes' drive to the city centre, along a scenic route framed by the Rhodes Memorial on one end and the sprawling Cape Flats on the other.

I was born at home in Hemlock Street North, Newlands, Cape Town, South Africa on the 21 October 1963, to parents Ismail and Amina Vallie (nee Patel). I am the youngest of five siblings, a sister Gadija, two brothers Ebrahim and Ahmedie and a deceased brother Mohamed, who passed away as a young infant. I am the 'laatlamatjie' of the family, as both my parents were forty-two years of age when I was born. My siblings are much older than I, Gadija by sixteen years, Ebrahim fourteen years, Ahmedie nine years and my deceased brother Mohamed by five years.

According to my mother, my paternal grandfather Moosa Vallie and fellow male members of his family arrived in Cape Town from India in the early 1900s as traders. Together, he and two others bought a house and settled in District Six before moving to Newlands when he married Gadija Waggie. He was one of the founding members of the Muir Street Mosque in District Six.

My memories of my pre-school years in Newlands are those of helping in the garden, playing games in the yard and street, horse riding, taking walks to Rhodes Zoo next to UCT, walking and playing along the Liesbeeck River with our dogs Whisky and then Nero, going to the Epping Fresh Produce Market with my dad and doing deliveries to shops and hospitals, a routine that continued during my primary school holidays. I recall quite easily the climbing of Newlands' trees, collecting acorns in our street for Miss Greeff and Miss Daniels, teachers at the primary school opposite our home, which I was supposed to attend before it was booted out of our area as a result of Apartheid. Nowadays, walks with dogs in Newlands forest and

alongside the river bank are reserved for those (and their domestic help) who are able to afford the exorbitant house prices in the area.

Generally today when I meet people, they still associate my surname with Newlands. I will be asked 'if I am a Vallie from Newlands'? It is quite difficult to respond in a manner that makes sense as I am at a loss for words to describe the schism that resulted from eviction. The property consisted of a number of houses. It was home to my great-grandmother, my grandparents, all ten of their siblings as well as six tenant families. I remember this as an extended family, who made lives as friends and neighbours for over five decades.

The area of Newlands is lush with fertile natural vegetation, the area lies in the high rainfall region of Cape Town just below Kirstenbosch along the Table Mountain range near the Liesbeeck River and natural water springs. Hemlock Street North was situated close to these natural phenomena. The public can still access these natural springs. On our large family property, we had pomegranate, quince and an assortment of fruit trees and vegetables, all grown organically with additional horse manure for fertiliser and basic watering. The water supply came from the local municipality reservoir in Newlands.

Rugby

The local Claremont-Newlands community passionately loved sports and especially the game of rugby. My family was no exception. The community produced great rugby players, teams and enthusiastic followers of the game. Despite political awareness, the love of rugby within the community still made members support the regional white rugby club matches at Newlands Rugby Stadium... notwithstanding the new seating arrangements. With the implementation of the segregation laws, non-whites were only allowed to sit on the south stand at the stadium.

Yet when the national side, the well-known and much-feared Springboks, played at Newlands Rugby Stadium, these same fans would automatically back the opposition - a phenomenon that still seems to plague rugby at Newlands... a legacy that some might not condone. My brother Ebrahim still does not attend matches at Newlands Rugby stadium, harbouring a deep resentment and anger that cannot be tamed despite the bright colours of the new South African flag.

Eviction

My mom was one of six siblings, whose roots too were firmly in this area. Her parents Rugaya and Osman Patel lived in Mark Road, Claremont, the suburb adjoining Newlands, where she was born on 29 June 1921. Tellingly, my father died at the age of fifty five in his new home of two years in Belgravia, Athlone on the 21 December 1976 and a few months after the Soweto student uprising. Perhaps the move was too arduous for a man who was unable to protect his family from eviction.

I recall my dad saying that my grandfather Moosa, who was blind, was very concerned about his freedom and the implementation of the Group Areas Act. At home in Newlands, he was able to move freely on the property unaided because he was familiar with his surroundings. He was able to easily make his way to our home for breakfast and walk to the stables and enjoy the company of the horses. His valid concerns were cruelly attended to by his death in 1964 before the family was forcibly removed to Belgravia, Athlone. This, however, was all abruptly annihilated with the uprooting of families through the Group Areas Act of 1966. The tenants were the first to leave and their children, who were my friends, disappeared from Hemlock Street North.

The destruction of our lifestyle started with the forced removal of families when the Claremont-Newlands area was declared a White Group Area in 1966. I enquired from my parents and siblings why the destruction and displacement of people was taking place – why our extended family, the neighbours, friends and playmates were relocated to areas on the Cape Flats. This was my first personal introduction to the realities of forced removal under Apartheid.

The abnormal activities in the neighbourhood made me aware of the abnormal laws. I was unable to access Newlands swimming pool but watched with envy the white bathers and their family picnics through the fence. The children of white families living in Mill Street in the railway cottages at Newlands Railway Station became territorial. This conflict of racism resulted in small pitched battles between the white and the black children. Hemlock Street North became known as ‘our street’ and Mill Street was ‘theirs’. Our numerical advantage always led to victory. When my extended family, friends and neighbours in the street became uprooted, I only had my faithful dog Nero to protect me as the atmosphere between us remained hostile. Our vibrant and close-knit neighbourhood became desolate and lonesome with no children other than my one set of cousins, who lived next door. They were my only playmates around during the week. Over weekends, I would see the other family members. All our immediate family and friends relocated to the Cape Flats.

Move to Athlone, Cape Town

My grandparents, Moosa and Gadija Vallie, owned a property the size of ten domestic plots in Newlands. As land owners, our family was able to live in the area much longer than most. I remember my father, as the executor of the family, negotiating with the Group Areas Board officials. They frequently visited our home in Newlands to remind my father that the property needed to be sold to them. My father was always adamant that he would not sell and was always successful in negotiating an extension on the permit to reside in the area. He always reminded the extended family that were it up to him, he would never sell. This created quite a bit of tension amongst some of his siblings that were not happy with his foresight that in years to come the value of property in Newlands would skyrocket. His vision was confirmed by today's ridiculously high prices of property in Newlands. Shortly after my father's death in 1976, the remaining family living on the property in Newlands was served with an eviction order from Group Areas Board. It read that no family was allowed to reside on the property. The property was only sold in 1978 to the Group Areas Board for R64 000-00 and three months later my brother read in the local newspaper that the property was on sale for R450 000-00.

Since the forced removal of the Claremont-Newlands Muslim community, the mosques in the neighbourhood (Claremont Main Road, Stegmann Road and Harvey Road) still generate a congregation for Jumuah on a Friday, during Ramadaan for Taraweeh evening prayers, on special religious days and social celebrations. The three mosques are still a daily place of worship and many of the community members of the old neighbourhood still attend the mosques. My brothers Ebrahim and Ahmedie still attend Stegmann Road Mosque on a Friday and all special occasions. My family moved in stages from Newlands in 1974 to Fifth Avenue, Belgravia, Athlone. Our current home in Belgravia stood unoccupied for approximately three years as none of my family was interested in moving to the Cape Flats. Eventually my brother Ahmedie, sister Gadija and I started the move to Belgravia with our great aunt Fatima joining us for a short period. Gradually the others joined. The public transport for Gadija travelling to work in Woodstock was traumatic and inconvenient.

A few months later, my mother Amina joined us. She always pointed out that she only realised how windy Cape Town was when she moved to the Cape Flats. The secluded area of Newlands evaded the hectic South-Easter wind. She also pointed out that the Cape Flats exposed her to poverty. My father and later my brother Ebrahim joined. This was an emotional and tense period for the family. Whilst writing this, I am overwhelmed as I recall Ebrahim kicking the removal boxes in the passage of our home in Newlands. Eventually,

after much emotional trauma, we were finally reunited again as a family in one home in Belgravia.

This was our new home and many readjustments needed to be made by all members of the family. After a few days in Belgravia, Athlone, our family dog Nero ran back to Newlands. It seems that, whilst animals were unable to make the transition, people were expected to. He remained in Newlands with Kallie, a family friend who became the caretaker on the property. Kallie was responsible for caring and overseeing the last remaining horse Domino who, strangely enough, was also served with an eviction notice.

The love for horses in our family started with my great-grandfather's transport business, which my grandfather Moosa inherited from his father-in-law with his sons my father Ismail and his brothers. Eventually, after many years of hard work, the horses were replaced with trucks. The horses were kept on for social rides until their retirement years, which they enjoyed in Newlands until the very end. I recall my memorable and enjoyable rides in Newlands with my uncle Rannie Vallie and brother Ebrahim. Our home in Belgravia was not conducive to stabling horses on the property as it was far too small.

The one thing that I surprisingly enjoyed in Belgravia, Athlone, was eating thinly sliced bread, whereas in Newlands the Duens Bakery truck delivered the daily bread at home and my mother usually enjoyed cutting the bread into chunky slices that were not very convenient at school when trying to eat a quick illegal sandwich during class.

Lessons learnt at school

I started primary school in 1970 at Portia Primary in Lansdowne on the Cape Flats, the dusty locale established by the Apartheid government through the Group Areas Act of 1966 when all non-whites were forcibly removed from areas deemed white. It was astonishing to me, as a six-year-old, that I was unable to attend the school right opposite my home. Together with two more primary schools from Claremont-Newlands area, Stephan Regan Primary School was relocated to Lansdowne on the Cape Flats and renamed 'Portia Primary'. Travelling to my new school was challenging and was perhaps a defining moment in how we were to navigate our lives in segregated Apartheid.

A number of teachers from the old Stephan Regan Primary School in Newlands knew me. As a very young child, I attended all the school functions and watched the physical education activities in the playground from the fence or from our garden stoep. My first grade-one

teacher at Portia Primary was Miss Greeff, who was my grandmother's neighbour from the neighbouring suburb of Claremont.

Notwithstanding familiar faces, Portia Primary struggled to match the beauty of its uprooted predecessor. Despite all the best intentions of the staff and familiar faces, I was aware this school was in many ways a poor substitute and alien in so many ways, with different sounds, sights and textures.

I remember in 1976 when I was in standard five (grade seven) at primary school, I saw a mass of high school students marching pass the school and stopping alongside the school fence. The protest was in solidarity with the June 16th killing of Hector Pieterse in Soweto and aimed to mobilise students in the anti-Apartheid struggle. Our teachers were quite nervous and instructed their young charges to return to their classrooms... but the image of older students urging us to hear their message resonated. I saw their injuries as a result of the crackdown by security police. This memory is further etched by the visual impact of the powerful image of Hector Pieterse, captured by photographer Sam Nzima, which shows Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying Pieterse's limp body, with his crying sister Antoinette Sithole running along. It exposed the police brutality at the student protest march in Soweto on 16 June 1976. The image immediately became an international symbol of Apartheid oppression and youth resistance (Sabine, 2006).

As siblings, we completed our schooling at Livingstone High in Lansdowne Road, Claremont. According to the National Party government, this was a school for coloured children. All my siblings and most of my family attended the school. Livingstone High School was well-known historically as an academic and political institution for boys and girls of all races. My older siblings attended the school through the turbulent 1960s amid the detention and banning of teachers and student strikes like the one against the banning of black students attending coloured schools. At school and during the 1980s, all people of colour were collectively referred to as black. Now, under our new democratically elected government, black has been redefined into the same required race categories of the old Apartheid government. The policies of Apartheid created division and barriers at schools and all spheres of life. When I attended the school during the late '70s and early '80s, we also had strikes against the government's policy of black students in attendance. With teachers like Richard Dudley, who was banned but given permission by the state to teach at the school, and Allie Fataar, who went into exile in the 1960s, were both family friends, the tradition of inclusivity of all races at the school continued during the Apartheid years.

During my high school years, the political awareness and educational teachings by the Livingstone family of teachers and students continued to instil non-racialist principles and values that I will always treasure and respect. Staff and students at Livingstone believed in political diversity and were affiliated amongst others to the New Unity Movement (NUM), African National Congress (ANC), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and Pan African Congress (PAC).

Livingstone had many extra-mural educational societies. My interest in photography drove me to join the Photographic Society with my small Kodak instamatic camera. In standard nine, after attending the South African Committee on Sport (SACOS) soccer tournament at Athlone Stadium, Ashraf Adam (a fellow student and friend at school) who was the president of the Photographic Society, showed me how my brother's Nikon Nikkormat camera operated. This was my first step towards considering photography as a career choice.

The student community and others in the Athlone area and beyond were opposed to the philosophy and teachings at Livingstone. We were seen as sell-outs for not joining public student protests or observing the school boycotts. Teachers and students continued with the teaching and learning programme at the school. Our protest action would take place on the school grounds with the continuation of our school programme. The New Unity Movement ethos had a strong presence at the school through the ideology of senior teachers like Richard Dudley, who prioritised education before liberation (Wieder, 2008).

My schooling seemed to be marked by travelling - when I started primary school I needed to travel from Newlands to Lansdowne and when I started high school I needed to travel from Athlone to Claremont. What was clear was that the high schools were extremely proactive during student protests. On protest days in Belgravia, Athlone students usually took a short cut through our property, which is between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, as they knew it was one fewer fence to jump to avoid harassment from the security police.

As a top achiever at Livingstone High School, my sister Gadija applied for a permit from the educational department to be granted permission to study Medicine at the University of Cape Town, but her application was unsuccessful. Although she had no interest at all in the field, she was referred to Architecture and (unsurprisingly) she dropped out during her first semester. She ended up being employed at South African Nylon Spinners in Bellville. My brothers Ebrahim and Ahmedie continued in the family business of transport contractors. It seemed as if Apartheid did more than force us to move our home: it demanded that we relinquished our dreams.

In addition to formal schooling, as members of a devout Muslim family, my siblings and I had formal Muslim classes after school, and it is no coincidence that the influence of a particular Imam was profound. He urged us in very subtle ways to think about our lives in Apartheid, our duties to each other and of great possibilities (Fakier, 2013).

The Imam

When family friend Imam Abdullah Haron was appointed Imam of Stegmann Road Mosque in Claremont in 1955, he implemented many new ideas, including gender inclusiveness, and allowed women to participate in activities at the mosque and encouraged students to seek tertiary education in foreign countries. He hoped that my dad Ismail would allow my sister Gadija to study overseas (Fakier, 2013). As editor of the Muslim News, he made the newspaper as representative as possible and he used his sermons and public lectures to critically speak out about the injustice towards blacks perpetrated by the National Party Apartheid government. In 1966, he became a member of the PAC, a party dedicated to overthrowing the Apartheid. This made him a security risk for the government. In 1969, he was detained and tortured for four months. He eventually died at the hands of the feared security branch police amid claims that his death was a result of an accident. This incident mobilised all and forced everyone to confront head-on the complex challenges of Apartheid in our community and family (Desai & Marney, 2012).

I recall being upstairs on a Tramways bus at the age of six with my mom and aunt Minnie following Imam Haron's funeral procession. Men walked from City Park in Athlone to Mowbray's cemetery with thousands of followers and bystanders along the route. He became one of the Liberation Struggle's most respected and admired leaders.

The South African Context

According to Julie Frederikse (1987) in South Africa, the National Party government fully controlled the well-orchestrated propaganda and censorship surrounding the dissemination of information and activities of the South African Defence Force involvement in the South African border wars. South Africa claimed that they were working towards regional peace and stability, yet from the mid-1970s it worked towards systematically destabilising the sub-continent (Frederikse, 1987). The destabilisation response was in the form of cross-border attacks when the Portuguese empire fell in 1974 and independent Mozambique and Angola began offering support to South African government's enemies, the ANC and the South West

African People's Organisation (SWAPO) fighting for majority rule in Namibia (Frederikse, 1987). The South African media operated under strict instructions from the South African government and only exposed positive images of the Border War to calm the fears at home. Only victims of the enemy were published and the arrival of SADF members in body bags was censored.

In 1983, a whites-only referendum endorsed the new South African constitution. The constitution provided for a new tricameral parliament with separate chambers for coloured, indian⁶, whites and a new executive president enjoying far-reaching powers. In 1983 at the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Allan Boesak and others called on civil society to fight the National Party Apartheid government's proposals. The government and its media ignored the UDF launch, focusing instead on a rugby conference aimed to break South Africa's sporting isolation. The formation of the UDF highlighted the continuity between past and present struggles (Hill & Harris, 1989). This identity mobilised the oppressed majority to fight the Apartheid government. The year 2013 marked the 30th anniversary of the UDF.

Ruth Prowse Art School

After matriculation, I was accepted at Hewat Teachers' Training College in Athlone to pursue a career in teaching. After much serious soul-searching and with my language challenges, I decided on a gap year. With my interest in photography and not knowing much about the possibility of pursuing a career in the visual arts discipline, I decided on two part-time short courses at Ruth Prowse Art School in Woodstock and studied Photography and General Drawing as part of a bridging course to determine my passion and possible career choice. This is where I was introduced to a bit of black and white darkroom theory and practical photography. With my Nikon Nikkormat and 50mm lens, I started to create, process and print my own black and white photographs on either 125 or 400 ASA Ilford film. The material, the film and paper, could be purchased at the art shop at Ruth Prowse or from outside stores.

Through people at Ruth Prowse, I discovered the more specialised photography stores like Audiolens in Rondebosch, Noyes in Kenilworth (where I met Yunus Mohamed, now a photographer at Die Burger) and La Scala in Claremont. The quality of the prints was of a much better standard and you had a choice of different film brands like Ilford, Fuji, Agfa and others. Back then, at La Scala in Claremont opposite the Claremont Gardens, I met Mike

⁶ Most are descended from indentured labourers or slaves who were brought into the country by the British from India in the mid-19th century. Subsequently, traders also immigrated.

Ormrod, the friendly and ever-helpful salesperson who is now the owner of Orms Photography, a professional service provider to photographers in Cape Town.

The processing and printing chemicals, the developer, stop and fixer within black and white photography needs precision handling. With practice, you master the sequence, the importance of temperature, time and organisational skills. I had many productive working hours at Ruth Prowse; I befriended a day student, Jonathan Comerford (a screen printer now based in London). With his assistance, I was able to venture into the darkroom during the day for longer working hours. This opportunity created more practice and my printing quality improved. I started thoroughly enjoying the whole process of producing and being responsible for my own work. I still see Jonathan annually when he conducts a short course as a guest lecturer in graphic design on Bellville campus with Edwine Simone. I was a part-time student at Ruth Prowse and I recall a few images featured in the year-end exhibition. My enjoyment and what I achieved at Ruth Prowse determined my choice in pursuing photography as a full-time career.

At Ruth Prowse, photography was more incorporated as a subject than a full-time course. The institution only provided a basic black and white darkroom with no real studio facilities and theory. The photography offered was more a self-discovery of personal reflection and interpretation of interest.

Peninsula Technikon (PENTECH) and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) reflections

During my year at Ruth Prowse, I saw an advertisement in the newspaper about the PENTECH's photography course. I enquired, attended an interview and started the course in January 1984. Whilst busy completing my registration form, I recall lecturer Irvine Meyer pointing that he is ten years my senior... today he is my senior colleague. On arrival at PENTECH for orientation at the beginning of the new academic year in 1984, and only being the second first-year intake of students into the course, our class of six was instructed to clean the students' darkroom and general working area. I recall the mess in the darkroom: old exhausted chemicals still in the developing trays, photographic paper - prints and test prints all over the place, in the water troughs, around the enlargers, loading cubicles, on the floor and along the print drying areas. The place looked terribly untidy and messy... it appeared like everyone had to leave in a rush.

The following week we met our senior students. The class reminded them about the chaos and our cleaning session on the first day of orientation. With the course being new and small, the students all became one big family... my happy years. I was passionate about photography, I excelled more as a person on campus and I was interested. At school, I felt disjointed and not interested in some of my subjects. I will always regret not doing Art as a subject at school.

The current photography programme at CPUT is still at the same facility where the course started in 1983 at then-PENTECH in the art and design building on Bellville campus. It will be relocating to the Roeland Street campus in 2014. During my student years on campus, the same building housed the management of the institution - headed by Franklin Sonn as the rector, the education and art and design departments, the library, the cafeteria and most administrative support staff.

As students, we were extremely fortunate in that most of the photographic materials were initially supplied at no cost by the department. You needed your personal basic equipment. I had my Nikon SLR camera and Nikon 50mm lens. Students with Nikon equipment were able to rent additional gear per day at no cost from the department. Bulk black & white and colour negative and transparency film were issued to all students, processing and printing chemicals were freely available when needed. The processing and printing of all assignments and projects needed to be fully completed on campus. This controlled environment provided the practice and confidence needed within the industry. During the analogue photography period, the full process and results of projects were a much more laborious process - extremely time consuming compared to what can be achieved today in contemporary digital photography.

My PENTECH student years provided me with an opportunity to document the socio-political liberation struggle in Apartheid South Africa, taking part in protest, dodging security police and being detained on several occasions. Seeing, witnessing and capturing the violence, the brutal repression and the injuries suffered by both the activists and ordinary people... while not knowing decades later this collection of work would to become an essential part of *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*.

On campus, I met fashion design student Fatima Haron, the daughter of Imam Haron. I recall an emotionally charged mass meeting where she provided oral evidence on her personal sacrifice she and her family made towards the liberation struggle. I think most students present were not privy to the facts of her dad's involvement.

With my interest and passion, I had to juggle my socio-political documentary work with my student projects with this additional work and time constraints. For convenience, I converted our domestic small toilet at home into a permanent darkroom. My cousin Rashid Vallie made the conversion: a small hole was cut in the bottom corner of the door for the temporary electric supply cord and black felt material was used to over the window and door to create a light tight environment. A configured counter in an 'L' shape was designed to fit above the cistern. This was for the wet chemical area and for dry enlarger work surface. The working area was small and tight but it was efficient. At the kitchen sink, I processed and washed my film. I can still see evidence of grey chemical stains from the black and white fixer in the grout of the toilet tiles. The shower curtain rail was the drying area in which negatives and prints were secured with looped string and pegs.

My freelancing started while I was still a student. This provided an opportunity to work with many different photographic personalities and in the darkrooms of the Cape Town Press Centre, *The Argus*, the *Cape Times* and Eric Miller whilst continuing in the darkrooms on campus, home and at Groote Schuur Hospital as a medical intern photographer and Tygerberg Hospital where I completed my specialised medical photography during my third year of study. During my student and professional years, I sold my work to international, national and local news agencies, newspapers, NGOs and to ordinary private clients. I usually received payment but at times I was not that lucky... though it was seen as a contribution towards the fight for freedom.

My Nikon Nikkormat 35mm SLR camera and 50mm Nikon lens were my equipment when I started my career. I was extremely fortunate that my student expense was fully covered by my family. The availability of campus equipment was great but at times limiting. Daily equipment was issued and returned between 08h30-09h00 and any transgressions caused your usage to be banned for a week or longer. As my needs and student numbers grew, I realised that I needed to invest and acquire my own equipment. I recall my first second-hand 135mm lens. Within a few weeks, the outer focusing ring came undone but luckily I was fully reimbursed by Noyes. On the streets, I admired the established photographers but never felt intimidated by them or their photographic gear. I just passionately created my images by observing the unfolding of events. With my freelance work, I acquired along the way a new 35mm and 70-210mm Nikon zoom lens and a Metz 45 CT 5 flash.

Tygerberg Hospital experience

I enjoyed the freelance spirit that accompanied contributing to my personal archives, local NGOs, local and international exhibitions, International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), foreign news agencies, local and alternative publications, etc. With my open-mind and freelance duties, I had a wonderful opportunity to work with diverse and influential media workers. Tygerberg hospital's photography department gave me permission to process my work but when they realised that some of my work was on protest action I was no longer invited to go along on lunch. Eventually one person slipped up conversationally by referring to me as a 'terrorist'. At least I then understood the mood but my main objective was to complete my specialised medical portfolio.

All other medical departments and people were great to work with and very helpful. During the year, I was blocked from applying for a photography job at Tygerberg hospital: suddenly the due date for the application was brought forward without my knowledge or my being informed by the head of photography. When this happened, I informed them I was not available to do darkroom work because I had gained the experience on campus and I needed to work on my portfolio. The person they employed was a white woman who was unable to go into hospital on her own to do a job requirement. At the time, it served me well: I was able to do jobs on my own and gained a great portfolio by year's end. I still have evidence of my specialised medical photography project.

PENTECH protests

My passionate inspiration to pursue photography was initiated by my documentation of class activities at school, family social events, the Ruth Prowse Art School where I discovered that I would like to pursue photography as a career, my formal training at Peninsula Technikon and informal interaction with my peers. My hands-on experience as a student freelancer during the 1980s has been invaluable in my development in the art of photography. The 1950s, 1960s and 1970s have been important periods politically and photographically in South Africa, but the 1980s provided me with an opportunity to document the current socio-political events that were to become an essential part of our history.

Besides the mass meetings and the occasional police presence at PENTECH, I was not present on major days of protest on campus. On the days police took major action on PENTECH campus, I was documenting brutality, suffering and pain elsewhere. I would attend class in the morning, refresh and process my film, at times acquire an additional lens

and then generally gravitate back to Athlone as the area became a hub for opposition and media workers. Due to the continual disruptions, classes were eventually suspended and I only wrote my second-year final exams in January of the following year. My photographic street experience of the 1980s was an opportunity to learn on the job. No formal or peer teaching environment would have been able to provide me with the knowledge and experience I have gained during this period, witnessing and photographing the unforeseen.

Organisations under the auspices of the United Democratic Front (UDF) were willing to share information of upcoming events with media workers who were interested in documenting what was happening in the country. When police moved into the area, the community was mindful and sympathetic towards the protesters: ordinary people did their best to secure the safety of all concerned citizens from police brutality.

I was more present at UWC when students protested against government atrocities. The PENTECH community usually joined UWC academics and students in mass meetings and protest action. On one of the many protest days, Prof Jake Gerwel the then-rector of UWC suggested that a few of us should accompany him to the pool area until the atmosphere on campus calmed down. The police were on campus arresting people, raiding buildings, a car was on fire from a teargas canister, etc. To our dismay, the pool was being refurbished: no water, no possible picnic at the pool. The iconic grey granite structures at the old entrance of UWC will always serve as a reminder of the battles fought at the site. The police and the security branch used the container depot opposite the main entrance of UWC campus as their surveillance and vantage point. On another occasion while police were shooting from across the road towards the main entrance, Gerwel pulled me down on the ground behind one of the granite structures. He reassured me that they were live bullets. I got to know the UWC staff via freelancing for Zubeida Jaffer, who was the media and communication officer at the university.

Athlone protests

Being part of the community and witnessing the injustice, inhumanity and brutal repression by police and security forces inspired me to join the protest action in my neighbourhood. Under the UDF, organisations in Cape Town organised and mobilised a mass march to Pollsmoor Prison on the 28 August 1985 in solidarity with people in detention and the violent atrocities by the state. On the morning of the march, I decided to first go along with my aunt Zuliega, uncle Dawood and a few others to Southfield, an area much closer to Pollsmoor Prison. The logic was that the area was more accessible to the prison and people knew it

would not be an easy undertaking. Before arriving at the arranged house, we drove past a traffic cop. With no provocation, he possibly notified the riot squad. Surprisingly, not before long, the house was surrounded by eleven riot and private security branch vehicles of all shapes and sizes. A senior riot squad official came into the house and questioned my uncle at length... luckily no one was detained. Officially, the vehicles were escorted from the area and eventually we all drove back to Athlone.

By then the march, with religious and community leaders and ordinary people from the community, reached the foot of the railway bridge in Kromboom Road in Athlone. The police took violent action to contain the march from overflowing into the white area of Rondebosch East across the bridge. Benny Karlie, my classmate at PENTECH, captured a few wonderful images of the march. According to another classmate, Saleh Isaacs, who was then working as a photographic freelancer for the *Property Times* at the *Cape Times*, informed me that homes on Kromboom Road in the Rondebosch East area were selling on average for R35 000.00. The white homeowners of the area became nervous of the protest action by communities surrounding their neighbourhood that were opposed to the Apartheid government.

Witnessing police brutality against the oppressed community at the march made me realise that I would be able to cope under the violent confrontational circumstances. The march inspired me to start my photographic journey to document the struggle for liberation.

After the Pollsmoor march, I started out on my own in documenting activities within the Athlone area. Since the march took place on a Wednesday, Wednesdays became the dominant day for protest action in the Athlone area. I was familiar with my neighbourhood and could comfortably blend in so I decided to discard my camera bag and replaced it with an ordinary brown leather bag. When police appeared, I would innocently stand around and blend in with the protesters and general community on the street, with my camera securely tucked into my handbag and tightly held under my armpit.

It was under these circumstances in the streets of Athlone that I started meeting local and international photographers and media workers. It was a great place to network with community leaders, activists, local people, local and international media workers as the local oppressed community informed the media workers about protest action. It was in Belgravia Road, Athlone that I met Jimi Matthews, Rashid Lombard, Benny Gool, Adil Bradlow, Eric Miller, Louise Gubb, John Rubython, Willie de Klerk, Reza Deghati, Chris Everson, Craig Matthew, Anton Swartz, Aziz Tassiem, Yunus Mohamed, Fanie Jason, Sharief Jaffer, Ambrose Peters, Obed Zilwa, to name just a few. My classmate Saleh Isaacs introduced me

to Jimi Matthews as their wives are cousins. During the week, after attending class, I would meet up with Jimi Matthews, Rashid Lombard and others in Athlone and weekends to document protest activities and funerals. Jimi Matthews, Rashid Lombard and I were once caught up in a car chase in the streets of Athlone. The car was an old faded-blue modified Toyota and eventually we were cornered by police. To our surprise, the notorious Major Dolf Odendaal from the riot police force saved the day but we were still escorted to Athlone police station. At the police station, a police officer wanted to know from Jimi Matthews if I was one of the many 'groupie women' that hung out with the media workers. Jimi Matthews indeed needed to convince him that I was a photographer.

My passion and hard work in photography was rewarded when Jimi Matthews and Rashid Lombard from the Vakalisa Art Collective nominated me to attend Culture in Another South Africa (CASA). I attended a few Vakalisa meetings where creative interactive and mentorship discussions took place and a few women's group meetings in Athlone, of which I was probably the youngest. Whilst assisting with the Mbeki Release Campaign, my mother provided food for dinner to the committee members who worked on the campaign. When my mother died in 2005, one of her AMC cooking pots was still not returned by the organising committee who promised to return it in 1987 as I left to attend the CASA conference.

Namibia

I undertook many photographic road-trips during the 1980s, one with Benny Gool and others to Lawaaikamp in George in a car with many banned copies of the *Grassroots* newspaper in the boot. The newspapers and we arrived safely at our destination, braving roadblocks with our charm and courtesy. The morning of Oscar Mpetha's funeral in 1989, Benny Gool, Eric Miller, Aziz Tassiem and I made a spontaneous decision to travel to Namibia to document the political developments in the country.

In the afternoon, we left by car. It was my first trip to Namibia and we drove as far as the Namibian Angolan border, which was still under South African occupation. Luckily I met Tony Weaver on arrival in Oshakati and he arranged free accommodation for me with a filmmaker. John Liebenberg, a South African freelance photographer, showed us two massive deep mass graves where South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) insurgents were buried. The graves appeared as dug holes for swimming pools. Upon closer inspection, one could see a thin layer of sand over what I assumed were random corpses underneath. According to Liebenberg, bodies were regularly dumped from Casspirs into the holes and

covered superficially with a thin layer of sand. While surveying the gruesome find, we were closely watched by the occupants of two Casspirs.

During 1989, I covered the distance by car thrice from Cape Town to Namibia. Whilst on the second trip to Namibia, I was flown home with a bent sternum... an injury I sustained in a car accident wherein the vehicle rolled on the road to Lüderitz in the Namib Desert. When I was discharged from hospital in Windhoek, the people I worked with took me to Anton Lubowski's home. Shortly after the visit, he was killed under suspicious circumstances. It was great to see Rashid Lombard in Windhoek and I appreciated the moral support. The media workers continued to the northern areas of Namibia and I returned home. To my surprise, I received a warm welcome at the airport in Cape Town from media workers who were there for the departure of the Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Cameras and Comrades in the 1980s

The late 1960s and early 1970s was a difficult period for the growth of documentary photography in South Africa. Photographers were in exile or subjected to banning orders, they were unable to work and censorship restrictions under Apartheid were at its peak for publications. All mainstream media became the mouth piece of well-orchestrated propaganda from the government.

Apartheid laws were strictly enforced by the police and army. Many opposed Apartheid, leading to significant events such as the Federation of South African Women's (FSAW) protest march against the Pass Law system, in which 20 000 women of all races participated on the 9 August 1956 in Pretoria, and the Sharpeville Massacre of the 21 March 1960, where 69 people died and many more were wounded. These events revealed the level of frustration among the people and the level of fear amongst officials of the state. It created a worldwide awareness and revulsion towards South Africa's policies (Mulholland, 2003).

During the late 1960s, the Black Consciousness Movement was gaining in popularity. This was a movement that arose because of the political frustrations of blacks. In 1976, when it seemed that the government had crushed all significant opposition, people suddenly erupted in a fury of outrage and anguish. The event that caused this violent outbreak of protest was the government's announcement that half the school curriculum would be taught only in Afrikaans (Mulholland, 2003).

The image that epitomises the visual impact on the reality of the 1970s period is the emotive image of Hector Pieterse, captured by photographer Sam Nzima, which shows Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying Pieterse's limp body, with his crying sister, Antoinette Sithole, running along, exposed the police brutality at the student protest march in Soweto on 16 June 1976. The image immediately became an international symbol of apartheid oppression and youth resistance (Sabine, 2006).

This created a new breed of militant, engaged and committed documentary photographers like Rashid Lombard, Jimi Matthews, David Goldblatt, Omar Badsha, Peter McKenzie, Paul Weinberg and others who emerged in the late 1970s determined to expose the socio-political struggle and injustices of Apartheid in South Africa. By the early 1980s, there began to emerge a common sense of purpose amongst a number of these photographers who saw themselves as part of a much broader coalition of cultural resistance. The Culture and Resistance conference in Gaborone, Botswana in 1982 was crucial in developing this collective awareness and common commitment and gave legitimacy to the idea of culture as a weapon in the liberation struggle (Newbury, 2010).

By the 1980s, South African photographers had established a number of photo collectives/agencies such as Vakalisa, Afrapix, Dynamic Images, The Brotherhood and The Black Society of Photographers. Vakalisa participants who attended the first arts festival on Culture and Resistance in Botswana in 1982 collectively validated the importance of the cultural struggle and gave legitimacy to the claim that artists, photographers and writers had a part to play in opposing Apartheid. The importance of the conference in setting the agenda for photography in South Africa cannot be overestimated. At the conference, Peter McKenzie called on documentary photographers to accept their responsibility to participate in the struggle (Newbury, 2010). The socio-political photographers saw the possibilities of photography as a means of educating people about poverty, exploitation and oppression, realising that photographs offered proof of conditions hidden from the public eye (Ingledew, 2005).

The visual success of the photograph at the conference determined the publication and exhibition of *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart* in 1986. The work by twenty South African photographers was prepared as evidence for the second Carnegie Inquiry into poverty and development in Southern Africa (Badsha & Wilson, 1986).

The evidence of the exhibition was comparable to the 1890 success when documentary photographer Jacob Riis exposed the appalling living conditions Manhattan's Lower East Side when he published *How the other Half Lives*. This caused public outcry and was the

catalyst for social change: whole city blocks were torn down to be replaced by public parks and playgrounds (Ingledew, 2005). Photographer Lewis Hine also believed that published photographic evidence could effect change. He photographed the wretched working conditions of the poor across the whole of America in the early 1900s, in particular child labour in factories. He was sponsored in his efforts by public and private organisations concerned with the welfare of the poor (Ingledew, 2005).

At a later conference, Culture in Another South Africa (CASA) in Amsterdam, Netherlands in 1987, the call for documentary photographers to participate in the struggle for freedom was repeated. I was a participant at CASA as a result from my participation and exposure in community-based exhibitions, publications, Vakalisa Arts Collective and being a freelance contributor to Afrapix and IDAF. At the conference, I met exiled photographers Graham de Smidt, George Hallett and others from outside and within South Africa.

Many participants emerged from CASA with a collective awareness of a common identity and commitment to document and expose the atrocities and injustice of Apartheid (Sanner, 1999). Many self-taught black photographers took up the challenge. In the opinion of Peter McKenzie, the success of the photograph was not measured primary in aesthetic terms but by the impact of the images condemning Apartheid and raising the consciousness of national and international audiences (Newbury, 2010). During the interview on *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* exhibition in 2013, Benny Gool echoed Peter McKenzie's sentiments on appreciation in the content and meaning of the photograph.

In Cedric Nunn of Afrapix's view, the photograph should signify a deeper meaning. Afrapix was a photo news agency whose objectives were to expose the atrocities and injustice of Apartheid through the photograph and to train a new generation of black photographers as photography in South Africa was still very much a white-male-orientated profession. The aim of Afrapix was to train photographers to develop a trained eye and a critical vision capable both of analysing the images put out by Apartheid propaganda and creating counter images (Sanner, 1999).

The 1980s depicted one of the longest and bloodiest periods of political resistance to Apartheid, a time of mass mobilisation and brutal repression. The visual aspects are evident in the hugely significant *Beyond the Barricades: Popular Resistance in South Africa* published in the 1980s by twenty photographers. The photographers and I witnessed intimately the struggle, the euphoria and the tragedy as the state responded violently to this challenge (Hill & Harris, 1989).

Interestingly, Greg Marinovich and Joao Silva in *The Bang Bang Club* as cited in South African History Online (Anon., n.d.) discuss the evocative reaction to the images in *Beyond the Barricades*, which was amplified by the evocative text that recounted real tragedies. They make reference to one image in Figure 3.1 the 'Trojan Horse Incident' my only image in the book with the caption that reads:

Young pallbearers stand at solemn attention at the funeral of three boys killed in the 'Trojan Horse Incident,' when police, hiding in the back of a van, opened fire on a crowd, Cape Town, 1985 (Hill & Harris, 1989)

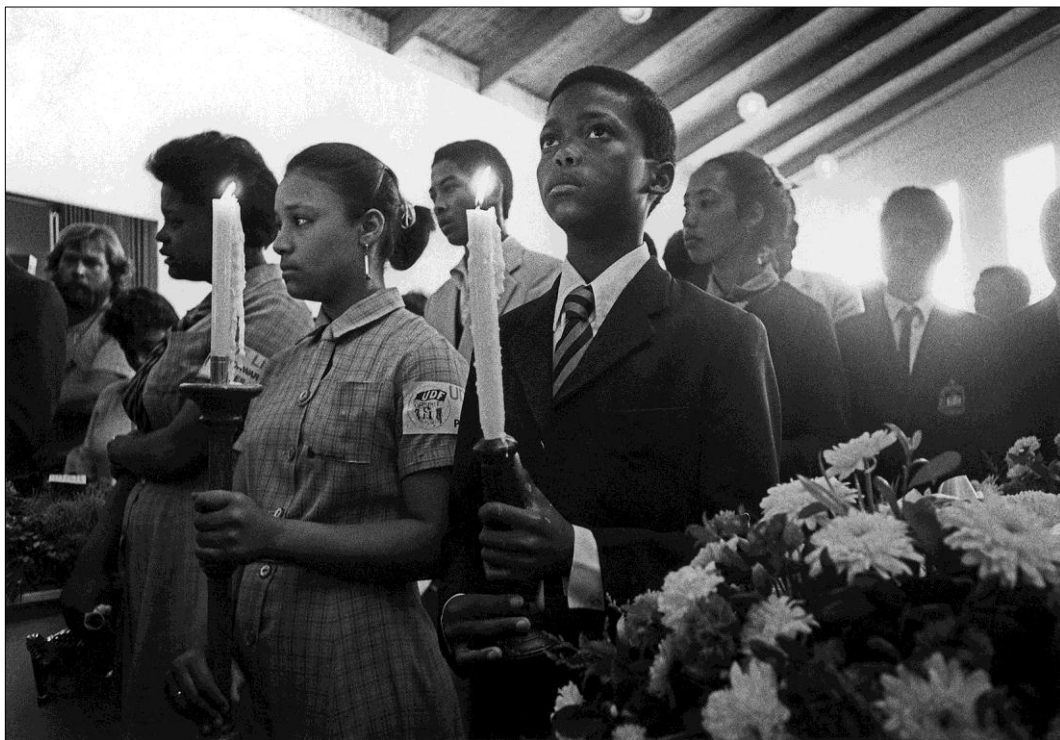


Figure 3.1 Young pallbearers stand at solemn attention at the funeral of three boys killed in the 'Trojan Horse Incident,' Athlone, Cape Town, 1985. In Hill, I. T. & Harris, A. 1989. *Beyond the Barricades: Popular Resistance in South Africa in the 1980s: Photographs by Twenty South African Photographers*. London: Kliptown Books

On the day in 1985, three young people, Michael Miranda (aged 11), Shaun Magmoed (aged 16), and Jonathan Classen (age 21) were killed and scores were injured. In Marinovich and Silva's views, the documentation in *Beyond the Barricades* provided the most damning evidence against the Apartheid government's brutal repression (Anon., n.d.).

In the 1980s, the camera and the photographer became a voice for those denied basic human rights and were instrumental in bringing the South African struggle for freedom to the international world. To control the level of censorship, the state responded by focusing their

attack on the media. Many media workers were accused of being instrumental in the violent uprising against the government. In an attempt to control the photographs of the 1980s that were published in the international media, the government declared the second State of Emergency in 1986, which gave more power to the police, the military and the president. The state could implement curfews controlling the movement of ordinary people and prevent the media from covering any unrest or entering an area declared an unrest area (Hill & Harris, 1989).

At the beginning of my 1980s socio-political photographic journey, I met Jimi Matthews who by then worked in television and photographer Rashid Lombard who also acted as Jimi's sound technician. Initially, most of the local self-taught photographers in Cape Town worked three jobs: their full time work, part-time photography and activism. Later, I met photographers Benny Gool, Leon Muller, Willie de Klerk, Eric Miller, Adil Bradlow, Sharief Jaffer, Guy Tillum, Fanie Jason, Obed Zilwa, Chris Ledochowski, Yunus Mohamed, John Rubython, Ambrose Peters and many more local, national and international media workers.

In Cape Town, my immediate circle of local media workers were employed at news agencies and worked as freelancers, in particular Jimi Matthews, Rashid Lombard, Benny Gool, Eric Miller, Adil Bradlow, Anton Swartz, Aziz Tassiem, Sahm Venter, Ayesha Ismail, Chris Gutuza and others, who became one big family that watched out for each other and were there to help when anything went wrong.

Most times, Eric Miller, Adil Bradlow (who worked for Reuters and AP respectively), Benny Gool, and I would be in one vehicle travelling to events, at times one of them would comment that should their bosses in Johannesburg know about our travelling and working arrangements they would be fired on the grounds of conflict of interest. Working together was a safety mechanism protecting each other's backs when we were busy looking ahead through the viewfinder, focusing the lens on harrowing, often dangerous circumstances. With the brutality and the intimidation from the state, the media and the oppressed masses appreciated the true meaning of 'I have got your back'.

Amsterdam misadventure

In Amsterdam in 1987, while I was attending CASA, my camera gear was stolen. With the organiser's kindness and with the embarrassment about the circumstances of the theft, they replaced my gear. The replacement was a Nikon FE2 camera, 35mm Nikon lens and Metz 45 CT 5 flash.

Later I added a Nikon FM camera, a Metz 32 CT 3 with a quantum battery pack. My 35mm lens became my standard lens on my camera. The implementation of the state of emergency and draconian press restrictions during the 1980s made me decide to acquire a simple Canon MC (micro compact) film camera with a manual detachable flash... this convenience facilitated a non-jeopardising presence. I recall observing a Black Sash protest on Greenmarket Square surrounded by security police with photographers and media workers in a non-working capacity. With the aid of Jimi Matthews, I was able to capture precious moments randomly from my waist and avoided arrest.

Role of Gender in 1980s

Most documentary photographers covering the events in the 1980s in Cape Town were male, with the exception of Anne Laing who worked for the Cape Times and yet was not the friendliest person in town. When South Africa became the flavour of the international media, Louise Gubb returned home in 1985 to cover events in South Africa. She was friendly, brave and inspirational. Gubb poignantly pointed out that the privilege of photojournalism is that you are trusted by the public. In 1996, when she relocated to Cape Town, I created my self-portrait in her kitchen when I did my photographic project on Women in Cape Town.

During the 1980s, I did not reflect much on being the only local woman photographer covering events. I generally worked along with my fellow colleagues as an equal. Being a woman photographer was never an issue, respect was mutual amongst the media workers. Just prior to Adil Bradlow's full-time appointment at Associated Press (AP) news agency, the then-bureau chief in a job interview informed me that my work was fine but he was unfortunately looking for a male photographer. At the same time, as a freelancer I was successfully contributing images to AP. I walked out of the Cape Sun Hotel thinking 'freaking hell'. Ironically, over the years I continued to freelance at AP, Reuters and Agency France Press (AFP) when their photographers were out of Cape Town or when they needed additional work. Photographers Adil Bradlow, Eric Miller and Rashid Lombard respectively knew on their return to Cape Town that I posed no ethical threat and that their jobs would be intact.

The 1990s

Since the beginning of 1990, I was no longer involved on a full-time basis as a freelance photographer and I started my full-time lecturing duties at the then-PENTECH in Bellville.

In Derek Charles Catsam's view, South Africa became a war zone between 1990 and 1994. The violence was in reality both a direct manifestation of Apartheid and a phenomenon formented by the government and its draconian security forces. As the prospects for change within South Africa became more likely, the government hoped to divide the masses that supported Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC) coalition from the minority who followed Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) (Catsam, n.d.).

As with any war, on the scene (but literally behind the camera) were photographers who were both part of and yet separate from the stories they covered. They were Greg Marinovich, Joao Silva, Kevin Carter, and Ken Oosterbroek, better known as 'The Bang Bang Club'. They worked differently from the photographers who worked in the 1980s as their understanding was that they were photographers first and foremost. They did not continue or subscribe to the ethos of the 1980s photographers who accepted the responsibility to participate in the resistance. Their motto was they provided a service, often at great personal risk, and usually in such a way that inevitably made them enemies within the Apartheid state and sometimes among the factions their photographs depicted (Catsam, n.d.).

With the first democratic elections in 1994, the photographic story of South Africa changed: Apartheid was no longer the flavour of the foreign media and the foreign audience was no longer interested as South Africans had reached their goal and achieved democracy.

Many photographers who documented the socio-political turmoil during the 1980s have turned their attention to social issues that beset the new South Africa (Newbury, 2010). In 1996, I completed my environmental portraits project on Women in Cape Town for my Bachelor of Technology qualification at PENTECH.

During the 1980s, I participated in many photographic exhibitions. I recall the End Conscription Campaign's (ECC) photographic exhibition *South Africa in Conflict: Protest, Resistance and Power* in 1986. My photograph in *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* with the caption: 'Youth protest, erecting barricades as a defence against police brutality in Belgravia Road, Athlone, Cape Town, September 1985' was published in their brochure as shown in Figure 3.2 to promote the event and the anti-war film festival. My name/by-line was handwritten in under the photograph. At the exhibition, my photograph was withdrawn and I cannot fully recall why. I think it was something about another photographer who had similar images. At the time, I found it strange and I speculated: was it an oversight from the ECC organisers not to use an image produced by one of their own members, a white male photographer... or what. Reflecting on current publications, I have become more critical of

the selective memory from researchers and my 1980s ECC speculation has been confirmed in *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa* when Newbury (2010) discusses Dave Hartman's image in Figure 3.3 (Hartman, 1985) that is very similar to one I produced.

A Photographic Exhibition

South Africa in Conflict

Protest, Resistance, Power



ZUBEIDA VALLIE.

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC Exhibition draws together a range of photographic material in an attempt to supplement the severely restricted media coverage of what is the reality for most of South Africa. Photographers have all too often been prevented from effectively documenting the actions of the security forces.

The exhibition covers all areas of South Africa, and draws strongly from photojournalistic sources. An attempt has been made to include social documentary work, presenting a broader perspective of our society.

'South Africa in Conflict: Protest, Resistance, Power' provides for photographers committed to recording the social and political upheaval in South Africa.

The exhibition will be held in the Baxter, and will be opened on Sunday 6th April with a cheese and wine, at 6.30pm. Prof Colin Bundy, Prof of History Dept UCT, will address the opening.

**Much thanks to those newspaper editors who allowed their staff to contribute.
Thanks to Afrapix.**

ECC

Figure 3.2 End Conscription Campaign Anti-War Film Festival & Photo Exhibition Brochure, April 1986. ECC, PO Box 208 Woodstock



Figure 3.3 Belgravia Road, Athlone township, Cape Town, September 1985. Photograph by Dave Hartman. LA573-2-5. UWC Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives. In Newbury, D. 2010. *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa*. Pretoria: Unisa Press

Technical details of production

Before owning a flash, I would manage to shoot in low light conditions in places of worship and meetings with a slow shutter capturing the ambience and atmosphere of the moment. My image of the young pallbearers at Shaun Magmoed, Michael Miranda and Jonathan Classen's funeral at the Bethel Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Church in Hazendal in Athlone. They were victims of the 'Trojan Horse Massacre' in 1985 in which security forces hid in wooden crates on the back of a railway truck from where they ambushed and killed three young people and injured scores who part took in protest action in Thornton Road in Athlone. The image was made at a slow shutter speed of 1/15 or at a 1/8 per second on 400 ASA Ilford black & white film shot at 200 ASA and this was the one that was published in *Beyond the Barricades*. During the same period and at the same church in Hazendal, Athlone, my car's two tyres were slashed one evening during a mass meeting - presumably by the security police.

I overexposed my film by one stop. This was determined with the Zone System calibration test under the supervision of my then-lecturer Irvine Meyer. The results of this test were applied to all my cameras and film - technically one should run the test on each camera. Printing was done mostly on glossy paper, a requirement for the transmission of the images

to the foreign photographic agencies head offices like Reuters, AFP, and AP for international clientele distribution. My negatives and contact sheets were filed together for quick reference. Presently, the negatives and contact sheets are stored separately in no order. As I sifted through my hundreds of negatives and trannies for *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*, I created another file with all selected negatives in new negative filling sheets. By creating new files over the years, I managed to create filing chaos/nightmare.

CHAPTER 4

THE METHOD FOLLOWED TO ACHIEVE THE OUTCOMES SET IN THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

My photographs: The content analysis

This is my personal interpretation of the significance on my contribution to the struggle for freedom through my documentary photography in the 1980s. I witnessed the suffering, brutality, pain and even death of activists and ordinary people at the hands of the National Party government during Apartheid in Cape Town. My photographs are political engaged and I was passionate about how I witnessed and documented activities. I would hope that my body of work represents a compassionate factual record of sufferings and the conditions that activists and ordinary people endured under Apartheid. My documentation contributed to bringing the South African struggle for freedom to national and international consciousness. I started out without being commissioned by a client.

My work in *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* is mainly black and white, with the exception of two colour transparency images, and I recall the technical input. My photographic gear consisted of basic equipment, Nikon FE2 & FM film cameras, 50mm, 35mm, 200mm lens and a Metz flash. The material is black & white 400ASA Ilford film, black & white Ilford glossy paper and Fuji chrome transparency film. My black and white images created between 1984-1986 were mostly processed and printed on campus, as it was more convenient, and thereafter at home, the *Cape Argus*, the Cape Town Press Centre and in Eric Miller's darkroom. Since my campus days, my colour negative and transparency film were processed at photography outlets. I personally did my black and white processing and printing. It was great to be accountable for what I created and its technical outcomes.

With practice, I developed my style in seeing, using my camera's viewfinder as a final cropping tool so that I very seldom had the desire to crop an image. I was a contributor to anti-Apartheid organisations inside and outside the South Africa, to local and international mainstream news agencies, Reuters, Agence France Press (AFP), Associated Press (AP), *Cape Times*, *Cape Argus*, *South*, *Grassroots*, *Staffrider*, *Afrapix*, University of Western Cape (UWC), International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), and yet I cannot recall to whom these images were sold, where they were published, exhibited or if they were just generally filed away.

Photographers and other media representatives at events were by nature generally competitive, yet the small crowd I associated with professionally and socially became more like family. We shared information, car rides, and darkroom facilities and socialised at events to kill time. We were caring and helpful, checking each other's backs when needed. Many media workers got to know my mom and with her friendly and caring nature she enjoyed entertaining them at home with her eats.

A common feeling at events in the 1980s, be it a funeral, a protest, a mass meeting, a court case or any other form of protest action, was to witness the atmosphere, the camaraderie, the resilience, the joy and celebrative festive mood of activists and ordinary people fighting the struggle for freedom. Media practitioners merged with the activists and ordinary people to become one big crowd at events.

Personal reflection on Yengeni Trial and its background



Figure 4.1 Attorney Christine Berger, Colleen Lombard and Zuraya Abass outside the Supreme Court in Cape Town during the Yengeni Treason Trial 1988-1991

Figure 4.1 was created with a wide-angle lens with natural available sunlight of attorney Christine Berger accompanied by her clients co-accused Colleen Lombard and Zuraya Abass during the Yengeni Treason Trial (1988-1991). The women are stylishly dressed in the ANC Women's League colours of green and black, walking along the pavement outside the Supreme Court building with its majestic Sir Herbert Baker-inspired architectural features. The presence of a man in the distance on the edge of the frame in a formal dress suit subtly adds to the formalities of the legal environment. The women appear very relaxed, making direct eye contact proudly, smiling yet knowing their fate and the reality of being charged under the Terrorism Act. The Apartheid Supreme Court has since been renamed the Western Cape High Court, testimony to the small hints of change in our current landscape of political redress.

The timeline as cited in Zoominfo (Anon. n.d.) on how the Yengeni Treason Trial unfolded follows. In September 1987, Tony Yengeni, Colleen Lombard, Zuraya Abass, Jenny Schreiner, Gertrude Fester and others were arrested. In March 1988, they were charged under the Terrorism Act under the infamous Section 29 and in March 1991, a year after the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, they were all indemnified.

Colleen Lombard a close friend was fellow photographer Rashid Lombard's wife. I met Colleen Lombard and Zuraya Abass through Rashid Lombard and other activists. We lived in the same neighbourhood. The image was not just about the subject matter that filled my frame on the street. They were my friends we visited each other's homes, socialised at parties, meetings, protests, gatherings and picnics. The making of this photograph was close and personal, yet out of respect and the constraints of the time it was only in 2013 that I approached Colleen Lombard on the subject.

She shared personal details of events during this period in her life (Lombard, 2013). The first thing she voices is her embarrassment of association with the name Yengeni within the current context of corruption within politics and the government of South Africa. All these years yet the trauma of interrogation, torture, violence and abuse are still fresh, raw and unresolved. Can one ever overcome, heal and recover from this type of suffering at the hands of security police and others? Colleen Lombard shared her most intimate unpublished memories during this period. I made a copy of the original set of documents. I hope her detailed descriptive writing has contributed to her healing process. During our recent chat, the emotional trauma of this period was still very evident and she was unable to remember the specific dates of her incarceration and treason trial. Reading her factual story of events on loosely typed pages gave me tremendous insight into her personal journey.

In her narrative, Colleen (Lombard, 2001) recalls returning at four in the morning to her cell at Parow Police station from a clandestine outing that included sitting with security police in a tinted-window vehicle in a stake-out in the parking area of the Jazz Den in Salt River, monitoring activities of comrades and acquaintances making their way into the party venue. Exhausted, intimidated by her experience, she emotionally shares her inner-most feelings:

I know I cannot live – I prepare to die. I take the plastic bag the boere have overlooked in my case and hold it over my head and begin to breathe deeply, my thoughts are with and for my children. We won't have to suffer for 15 years. But my will to live is strong. I want to live! I want to breathe! I hear the soft singing of a freedom song: 'Manyanani basebenzi, manyanani, stand together workers'...comrade who are you?

With the presence of most international, national and local media outside the Supreme Court, and not personally working towards a specific deadline, I was not overly rushed to immediately have my film processed. Once home, I did the processing, made a contact sheet and filed them together.

Discussion of Robben Island



Figure 4.2 The Robben Island daily ferry the Diaz Kaapstad on arrival at Quay Five at Cape Town Harbour accompanied by prison personnel, political prisoners Ashley Forbes and others on their release from Robben Island Prison, 1991

The layers of this photograph in Figure 4.2 create the ambience of this image: the people, the boat, the buildings and the mountain. The early morning sunlight in the background on the mountain, the commercial/industrial harbour's control tower building, the grain silos, the

clock tower that now houses the Robben Island Gateway, the four workers and several more buildings contextualises the environment of the period, time and when the image was made.

Most people on the boat are in shadow with a slight touch of directional side lighting. The boat is crowded: prison personnel, a young toddler with his/her parent are arriving for work while Ashley Forbes and a few political prisoners are in the foreground in one corner of the boat. Only one ferry operated per day: one arrival and one departure from Cape Town Harbour. There were no commercial tourist ferries like we have currently operating from the Robben Island Gateway today. A surprise gaze by personnel at the large welcoming committee, a show of warmth, happiness and jubilation, a salute from one of the prisoners on the boat to the welcoming crowd all adds to the early morning atmosphere and the significance of the event. After many emotional greetings, hugs and kisses, Ashley and others with their families were whisked away in two mini kombi taxis to a formal welcome and press conference at The Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture in Chapel Street, Cape Town.

Discussion of the Defiance Campaign



Figure 4.3 Activist June Esau in a celebrative mood at a Defiance Campaign mass meeting at Bonteheuwel Civic Centre, Cape Town, 1989

Figure 4.3 captures the excitement of June Esau standing on a chair with extended arms in the air saluting women who have played a significant role against the struggle for freedom. Activist June Esau was one of many who suffered and made personal sacrifices to achieve the ultimate goal of freedom. With June Esau's celebrative spontaneity and with my quick response, I was able to capture this horizontal black and white image but the foreground crop is messy. She, with others in the image, has suffered the same fate of arrest, solidarity confinement, brutality of interrogation and torture. I recognise jubilant faces in the sea of people: Colleen Lombard in the foreground, Charlene Houston with the broad smile, Jean Benjamin partially obscured in the background and faces that I know but names that have eluded my memory. I am good at recognising people but the in same breathe badly in acknowledging the person by name. While sourcing and cross-checking information for captions, June Esau via her brother Cecil Esau (a fellow activist in the '80s) was able to provide trade unionist Elijah Barayi's name as he features in another image.

The Defiance Campaign mass meeting in Bonteheuwel was one of many organised under the auspice of the UDF. Activists and ordinary people attended meetings outside their own neighbourhood as a means to mobilise communities. In the late afternoon, as the crowd exited the venue, we were teargassed and violently attacked by police that had been monitoring the proceedings of the day. Benny Gool's image of teargas, chaos and pandemonium outside the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre captures the mood, violence and the brutality of the same day.

Description of a funeral



Figure 4.4 Mass funeral at the Gugulethu Cemetery, circa 1985

Figure 4.4 shows a mass funeral entering the Gugulethu Cemetery in Klipfontein Road with graves in the background. The angle of the image was achieved when I climbed onto the roof

of a bus outside the cemetery. I recall being on the roof of the bus with photographer John Rubython, founder of the Cape Town Press Centre in Shortmarket Street, Cape Town, with whom I went to the funeral. He introduced me to his protégé Obed Zilwa, who went on to work for the *Cape Times* and then AP and is current running an events company with his wife Leonora Da Silva. My position gave me the opportunity to create a tight portrait format image focusing on the main subject with subtle detail to contextualise the environment. The natural sunlight highlights the five coffins with their loosely placed strategic white crosses that bear all the personal details of the deceased. At the end of the burial ceremony, the white crosses are placed at the head of each grave. The young male pallbearers, mostly with their back towards the camera, are dressed in khaki, a symbol of affiliation/respect to the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the 'Spear of the Nation'. Six subtle salutes follow from the congregation.

A formally dressed man in a black suit at the top left appears to be one of the undertakers who assist with the procedure of the day by directing the congregation to where the burial takes place in the cemetery. During the '80s, most if not all burials took place on a Saturday in the townships making the cemeteries extremely busy and overcrowded.

I cannot recall under what circumstances the deceased died. Funerals generally started early in the townships on a Saturday morning. I recall that by the time the funeral procession was on its way to the cemetery after many long hours. I needed to relieve myself urgently. The men I worked with were always conveniently able to stand behind a tree or whatever was available and discretely relieve themselves. In this situation, I was fortunate to have been able to randomly knock on someone's door along the route to the cemetery. I recall being in Namibia in 1989 and not being so lucky: in my bright orange t-shirt, I sat in the bush along the Namibian-Angolan border with bare vegetation having a pee while my friends Eric Miller and Benny Gool patiently waited at a distance in the kombi along the road.

Background to a protest



Figure 4.5 Benny Gool, Moulana Faried Esack and others at a Call of Islam protest outside the General Post Office, Darling Street, Cape Town, circa 1985

The image as shown in Figure 4.5 was made on the pavement outside the General Post Office in Darling Street, Cape Town. The protest by Call of Islam, an affiliate of the UDF, was in solidarity with countries like South Africa, Namibia, Libya and others who had suffered political manipulation from the USA government's foreign policy during the Ronald Reagan era of 1981-1989. The posters assist with contextualising the information of this period.

The protest and picketing attracted an audience of ordinary workers in Cape Town's CBD. The architectural feature of an indented step in the building was utilised to elevate the protesters. With this slight height advantage, Moulana Faried Esack used the opportunity to address an impromptu gathering as this was an illegal demonstration and activity. Under the State of Emergency regulations and the Riotous Assemblies Act, protest was severely restricted and permission could only be granted by a magistrate.

Benny Gool and Roger Friedman currently co-own Oryx Media in Cape Town. Faried Esack continued his theological studies and is currently a professor in Islamic Studies and Head of

the Department of Religion Studies at the University of Johannesburg. He is still a highly committed activist and a critic of liberation.

Story of a student protest at UWC

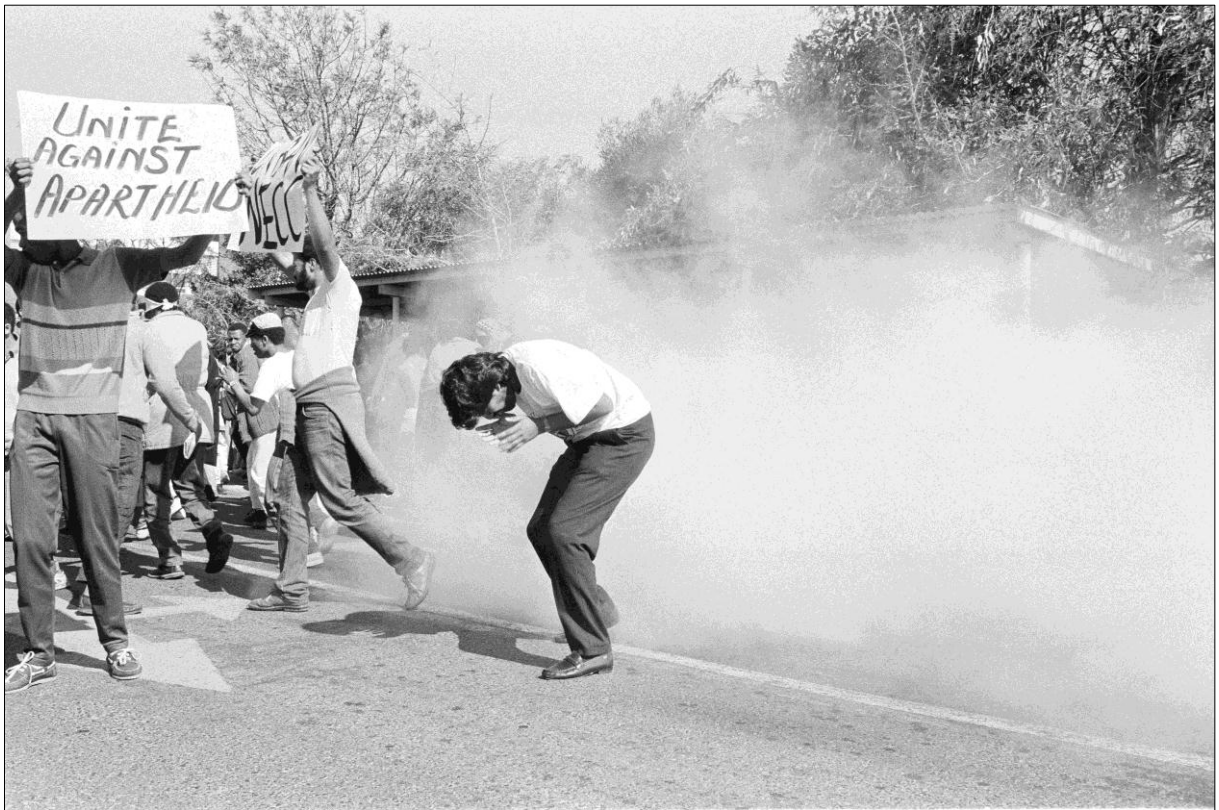


Figure 4.6 Student protesters overwhelmed by teargas on the University of Western Cape (UWC) campus, Bellville, Cape Town, circa 1987

In Figure 4.6 made at UWC, staff, students and members of the media flee the rising cloud of teargas. I see Pat Govender overwhelmed, trying to recompose himself. While closely studying the image, I see a surprise, photographer Fanie Jason in the background looking terrified. This chaotic conflict and turmoil was an almost daily occurrence on campus between police, security police and the UWC community fighting for justice. Police would occupy and raid the institution on a regular basis, assaulting and arresting people during their sieges. I saw badly injured students and a car on fire purely due to police violence. The police surveillance on campus was well co-ordinated from a good vantage area on top of a tower across the main entrance in Modderdam Road at the container depot.

Professor Brian O’Connell, current rector and vice-chancellor at UWC, points out that in the mid-1980s, under the leadership of Jake Gerwel, the institution openly defied the Apartheid university policies by declaring itself an intellectual home for the democratic Left that openly sided with the struggles of the oppressed and exploited masses. The classroom was transformed into a terrain of debate and struggle with the emergence of approaches to people’s history and people’s education. The appointment of Archbishop Desmond Tutu as the Chancellor of the University signalled that the institution was a place that valued iconic leaders whose work was also marked by a sense of humility as well as an attachment to the collective ethics of justice that had been forged in a liberation movement. The campus community adopted a stance of connecting excellence in leadership with a commitment to service (O’Connell, 2013).

Analysis of the Open Beach protest



Figure 4.7 Mass protest for Open Beaches on Strand Beach, Saturday 19 August 1989

The mass demonstration on Strand Beach in Figure 4.7 is a photograph of protesters against the racially segregated beaches. In the foreground is a boy juxtaposed with the large municipality signboard on the reality of racial segregation. The best beaches in South Africa

were preserved for the white minority. The white sand and the seawater were off limits to the black majority. Archbishop Desmond Tutu and ordinary people in their thousands descended onto whites-only beaches along the coast of South Africa and demanded open beaches for all. The tranquillity of the conservative coastal town of Strand, which is approximately 40km from Cape Town along the east coast, was rocked by the action of the masses.

At the protest, most media practitioners were soon arrested by police. Journalist Ayesha Ismail and I were separated from the men and placed in a car while the men were placed in a truck. We were all driven to Strand Police station. On challenging the police about being separated, I was amused at the conservative reply 'no women are transported in the back of the truck'. Initially, I felt apprehensive but I felt much safer when we were arrested and held together.

Once at the police station, as we entered the Charge Office, Dr Ivan Toms of the End Conscription Campaign was on his way out. As he exited without a word, I handed him my two roles of film. Later that Saturday afternoon, my mom and I collected my film from him in Bishopscourt. The trust and the camaraderie were one of the unique attributes of the time. The two young personnel at the Charge Office at the police station were overwhelmed, confused by all these culturally diverse faces and intimidated procedurally. Eventually, unprocessed and uncharged, we all casually and slowly walked out of the building back to the beach. It was a surreal moment of happiness and relief. From Strand Beach we drove to Bloubergstrand Beach along the West Coast where thousands of people occupied the white sands and created major traffic jams along the beach.

Tale of arrest at a protest



Figure 4.8 Cape Town March, 13 September 1989

In this image in Figure 4.8 I see many recognisable faces in the sea of people in the Cape Town March of 13 September 1989. It was created when thousands of people from diverse socio-political backgrounds in Cape Town responded to a call for peace and an end to police brutality and violence. The march was organised after the deaths of more than 20 people around Cape Town from clashes with police and army personnel during the boycott of the racially segregated tricameral parliament on 6 September 1989.

The march began outside St. George's Cathedral in Wale Street, and then proceeded down Adderley, Strand, Buitenkant, Darling Streets and onto the parade. The march was led by religious leaders, the mayor, academics, activists, and ordinary people of Cape Town. With no visible presence or confrontation by police, the march was peaceful and successful. This success triggered national marches throughout the large city centres around South Africa.

I recall sitting late afternoon at the Cape Town Press Centre in Shortmarket Street shortly after collecting my processed transparency film of the march from Cameraland with Yunus

Mohamed from *South*, an alternative newspaper, requesting an image. With *South's* bad reputation of misplacing never to be found or returned images, I decided to give him a sloppily composed image where the angles and the lines were not level. To my surprise, the image made from the first floor balcony from the Melotronics shop in Adderley Street was printed on the front page of *South* the following morning. In the sea of many people, fellow journalist Chis Gutuza was recognised by his mom who was under the impression that he was still at Saamstaan in Oudtshoorn or Northern Cape. All my selected images on the march were confiscated en route to IDAF in London and disappeared in the '90s at one of the monthly evening screenings organised by Eric Miller at City Varsity in Cape Town.

Unlike previous protests, like that of a few days prior in Cape Town's CBD, protesters were violently arrested and dispersed by a water canon dispensing purple dye on Greenmarket Square. During this protest on a Saturday morning, I was arrested in Keizergracht Street in District Six with fellow Reuters photographer Eric Miller and bureau chief Brendon Boyle while still approaching Cape Town by car. At the 'Purple Shall Govern' protest, as it became known, approximately 60 media workers with a few innocent tourists with cameras were rounded up by police and held at Caledon Police Station in Cape Town for the day.

Discussion of Athlone protest



Figure 4.9 Youth protest, barricades erected as a defence against police brutality, Belgravia Road, Athlone, Cape Town, September 1985

This photograph in Figure 4.9 of burning barricades erected by protesters was made on the corner of Lawson and Belgravia Roads in Athlone, September 1985. It is dominated by the shadows of the onlookers, the photographer, the drum of the municipality road works, the two protesters, the overturned municipality truck, the protruding wooden scaffolding, the rubble under the truck slowly igniting creating bellowing grey and black smoke. The elements show the resilience of the protesters, their frustration and decision to damage state property and endanger their lives to achieve justice. It is 2014 and the road surface in Belgravia Road still shows burn marks of 1980s protest action. This raises questions about service delivery and what does Design Capital 2014 mean when essential upgrades is neglected in areas beyond the city centre?

When the police arrived, I recall photographer Willie de Klerk of the *Cape Argus* grabbing me to follow him and others to the safety of their car.

With this image, I recall the time spent on the streets of Athlone. As a student protester witnessing the injustice, inhumanity and brutal repression by police and security forces on the streets of Belgravia, this got me inspired to use my photographic skills to document the violent atrocities by the state.

On many a day, I would meet up with Jimi Matthews, Rashid Lombard, Eric Miller, Benny Gool, Adil Bradlow, John Rubython and others. Amongst many anecdotes, I recall the day Jimi Matthews, Rashid Lombard and I were caught up in a car chase: being pursued by police in an old battered blue modified Toyota around Belgravia and Thornton Roads. Eventually being cornered by more police reinforcement in Limerick Road; we were surprised when the notorious Major Dolf Odendaal of the riot police saved us. A police officer was instructed to accompany us in the car and we were escorted to Athlone police station. At the police station, Rashid Lombard and I remained outside while Jimi Matthews went to the Charge Office. The officer on duty was not convinced that I was a photographer: he saw me as a stereotypical woman 'groupie' that frequented media workers... no wonder my bag was not searched. Jimi Matthews had to reassure him of my position and Essa of Essa Moosa and Associates came to our rescue. 'What an asshole,' I thought and off we drove.

Character analysis of cleric



Figure 4.10 Father Peter-John Pearson in a church hall in Bonteheuwel where the congregation were teargassed and attacked by police after the funeral of ANC members Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams, 5 August 1989

Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams were two ANC activists in their early twenties when they were killed by an explosion outside the public toilets in Old Klipfontein Road, Athlone. It was an emotional funeral service I knew Robbie. On the morning at the funeral on the 5 August 1989 at St Mark's Catholic Church in Lawrence Road, Athlone there were no incidences of police violence. The photograph shown in Figure 4.10 was made when violence erupted in the afternoon when police fired several rounds of teargas to disperse mourners enjoying refreshments at the after-funeral service at a church hall in Bonteheuwel.

While driving home along Vanguard Drive from the Maitland cemetery with Jimi Matthews and Anton Swartz or Aziz Tassiem, I distantly noticed a cloud of teargas rising in the sky between the homes of Bonteheuwel and we decided to investigate. One of my 'radar moments', as my friends would say, in detecting police activity. I managed to capture this mayhem, overwhelmed by the teargas, barely able to see, compose or focus Father Peter-John Pearson creatively within my viewfinder. He had the same challenge whilst trying to relate how the chaos was created. The image may physically only represent one person but

the chaos, the disrespect and the disregard towards the sanctity of the church represents the inhumanity and brutality of the State.

The shot captures the symbolism in the teargas-polluted hall with the almighty cross overlooking the chaos, the scattered paper plates, serviettes, overturned trestles and chairs, the divine highlight created by the sun through the window cutting across the floor and Father Pearson standing overwhelmed by teargas with his burning eyes barely open and a scarf in his hand to help shield his face while he explains to Jimi Matthews what has transpired moments before we arrived. The incident epitomises the cruelty of police in the 1980s.

Today, a life-size memorial of remembrance of Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams has been erected close to where both succumbed to a violent death fighting for freedom. Currently, Father Peter-John Pearson is chairperson of the Working Group and the director of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishop's Conference's parliamentary Liaison Office.

Discourse on press freedom under Apartheid



Figure 4.11 A gagged journalist outside Newspaper House in Cape Town protesting against the draconian press laws during the Save the Press Campaign, 1989

This illegal photograph in Figure 4.11 of the lone female journalist picketing outside Newspaper House in St George's Mall was created of the Save the Press Campaign during the State of Emergency in 1989. The three visible posters in the image capture the headlines of integrated role players of this period. On the left, the public meeting poster on the pole above the garbage bin with opposition lawyer Essa Moosa and *Cape Times* editor Tony Heard, the *Cape Times* poster with president P W Botha's State of the nation address in the *Cape Times* framed glass box against the wall and the Save the Press Campaign poster held by the journalist with a protest message to Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha 'stop Stoffel's gags'. The woman in the background reading the displayed published photographs of Newspaper House appears completely oblivious to all the foreground protest activity. During this illegal protest, a male journalist was eventually arrested by police.

In 1989, Cape Town and the Western Cape played a leading role in the Defiance Campaign and initiated support for the Save the Press Campaign with media protests against restrictions on press freedom under the State of Emergency. With the new restrictions, the government set up a Bureau for Information whose daily press briefings were to be the only official source of news the media could publish. With the immediate black-out and silence, the state launched the most ferocious onslaught of violence against the opposition of Apartheid. Press censorship was seen as part of a broader strategy to neutralise the opponents of the State.

In 1987, South African Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha as cited in (Pissarra, 1991) drew a distinction between organised conventional media and the unconventional revolution supporting press who promoted 'propaganda'. With the renewed State of Emergency in 1988, it was illegal for media publications to operate unless they registered with the state. These draconian censorship and repression laws inadvertently united all media, commercial and alternative, for the first time under the banner of the Save the Press Campaign.

All media workers opposing the inhumanities of Apartheid suffered under these draconian laws. I recall the day in 1986 when television journalist George D'Ath was killed by witdoeke vigilantes in Nyanga. It was during the well-orchestrated mass destruction of UDF supporters in squatter camps in Crossroads against witdoeke acting on behalf of and aided by security forces. It was during the month of Ramadaan (fast) and I constantly choked on teargas with the overwhelming near-faint feeling and the inability to quench my thirst. The morning of his death, I saw George and others in a street in Nyanga.

During this period, media workers were barred from entering a township. On a Saturday morning, I accompanied media workers to a mass funeral in Crossroads. Unable to drive

directly to the event, we parked close to the Klipfontein community settlement and walked quietly through the thick bush to successfully circumvent the police and reach the open-air mass funeral service. I am reflecting and thinking: maybe the Gugulethu mass funeral photograph could possibly be of the victims of the Witboeke conflict. I think George D’Ath was the first media worker killed in the 1980s in Cape Town.

Comparison between then and now



Figure 4.12 Trevor Manuel, Reggie September, Dullah Omar and others at a mass demonstration in Cape Town during the Defiance Campaign, 1989

The Join hands for Peace & Democracy demonstration in Figure 4.12 was one of the many non-violent protests during the Defiance Campaign in 1989 that attracted and mobilised activists and ordinary people of Cape Town under the auspice of the UDF. In this black and white photograph made on the corner of Adderley and Strand Streets in Cape Town’s CBD, we see prominent activists and ordinary people like Trevor Manuel, Reggie September, Dullah Omar, Mr Chavda with the ANC flag, Mr Khan in the background and others. I recognise most faces but unfortunately I am unable to put a name to them. The unknown

faceless arm on the left connecting with Trevor Manuel symbolises and represents the many faceless/ordinary people who made personal sacrifices to gain our freedom.

How I wish our current protest action could resonate with the phenomena of the 1980s where activists and ordinary people are juxtaposed at protests. However, in the 1980s, the protests were about fighting for freedom and the protests of today are about broken promises.

Looking at the photograph, seeing a prominent 1980s figure like Trevor Manuel and others, I reflect on the values that we learnt from the UDF and on the current state of the nation. Have the activists in government and the ordinary people who disappeared into civil society become complacent with upholding the rights of people as stated in the Freedom Charter and in the new Constitution of South Africa? Why do police still respond in a brutal and violent fashion in the line of duty as seen with the recent mass killings at Marikana and at service delivery and political demonstrations?

In the 1980s, the UDF ethos was strongly based on non-racialism, non-sexism and equality. Today, these values have been redefined as greed in the form of vast accumulations of wealth by a small group of politically connected individuals, nepotism in the form of unskilled corrupt politicians, autocratic rule in the form of introducing and bulldozing the State Information ('Secrecy') Bill into law, race, ethnic consciousness, nationalism, high levels of violent crime and many more social ills. We have achieved many good things since democracy in South Africa but with these destructive values and the non-accountability of role players we as civil society have to commit to become active agents of socio-political change.

CHAPTER 5

REFLECTIONS, OBSERVATIONS AND ANALYSIS

Prior to exhibition

Prior to the opening of the exhibition at The Cape of Good Hope Gallery at the Castle in Cape Town on 6 September 2013, I provided my students at CPUT with this question:

Write a one-page description of the content of the exhibition *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*. You should include commentary on the context of the venue (the Castle of Good Hope) and a critical analysis of the current wave of protests in Cape Town that draws contrasts between the events depicted in the exhibition and those of today.

It was part of an awareness programme so that students can apply their critical thinking and analytical knowledge in analysing the visual artefacts within our documentary history in their own contemporary way. The question was inspired by our current violent protests by communities and protests of the 1980s. Similar intensity... yet two complete different agendas. In my opinion, the current protests are due to broken promises and disillusionment with the current government's non-delivery while the 1980s protests were about fighting for freedom.

The significance of the opening of the exhibition *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* on September 6, 2013 has many layered meanings in the political history of South Africa. The South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, widely considered the primary architect of Apartheid, was assassinated in Parliament in the House of Assembly in Cape Town on September 6, 1966 by Dimitry Tsafendas. Another significant event within the political history of South Africa was the general elections of the last tricameral parliament that was held on September 6, 1989 in which the National Party won, resulting in the deaths of many ordinary South Africans opposing the elections.

I recall the day of the 1989 elections and seeking shelter from a house on Manenberg Avenue in Manenberg on the Cape Flats in Cape Town while police in a 'Rambo' fashion walking openly down the road shooting live ammunition indiscriminately at people. The excellent footage of Brian Tilley in *Fruits of Defiance* captures the evidence of the events that unfolded on the day in Manenberg (Tilley & Schmitz, 1990). The local community in Manenberg made burning barricades out of all their garbage and unused materials from backyards to block and sabotage police movement.

The press conference the following day at St George's Cathedral's church hall in Cape Town was attended by the Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak, families of the deceased and a large contingent of media workers all scurrying for a good visual vantage point. I recall a foreign female photographer possibly working for a big agency coming in late at the press conference with absolute arrogance, showing no respect and blocking our view. I tapped her on her bum with my foot and a few words concerning 'respect' and she had no choice but to move out of my way. I think photographer Eric Miller recounts the incident much more clearly. I recall the loud wailing of grief by one of the mothers whose child was killed. She wore a white jersey and scarf sadly and emotionally describing how her pregnant daughter was killed by the police. On September 6, 1989, according to South African History Online (Anon, n.d.) twenty nine demonstrators were killed by South African police in Cape Town while protesting the elections. I needed confirmation after all these years.

The easy concept of the captions was that the images were created during the 1980s but more factual details were needed. While looking at the selected images, it transported me back to the events and the people, the participants, the martyrs, saints and sell-outs who made the images.

When I started with the captions, I emailed and called my friend Sahm Venter, a journalist who worked at Associated Press (AP) during the 1980s, to identify the full name of the attorney Christine who was walking along with Colleen Lombard and Zuraya Abass outside the Supreme Court in Cape Town during the Yengeni Trial. Jimi Matthews, who worked at Visnews and Reuters and Ayesha Ismail, who worked at *South*, got involved to provide and confirm the name. During my visit to Colleen Lombard she informally narrated about her circumstances during the Yengeni Trial, unfortunately she was unable to provide attorney Christine Berger's surname.

Though I met and have known Colleen Lombard since the 1980s, it was the first time I personally asked her intimate questions about her experience and involvement in the liberation struggle, particular during the Yengeni Trial and events leading to her arrest. My initial interest was generally around the caption information but she really shared and reflected on much more of her most intimate and emotional memories, something that I will always treasure. On my visits to Colleen Lombard prior to the exhibition and during our casual conversations, I realised that the psychological emotional trauma of the violence she and possibly others suffered is still extremely fresh and unresolved. Due to sensitivity I still need to determine from her if she at any time since her release from prison during the 1980s has undergone any form of professional counselling concerning her torture and suffering at the hands of the South African National Party government. The more pleasant memories

shared was the detours to her family home visiting Rashid Lombard and her kids unofficially made possible by a good Samaritan policeman whilst en route from Pollsmoor Prison to court or en route to be interrogated. I recall her saying that she remembered seeing her mother's face in the sea of people for the first time when she was released and only wanting to hug her, only to be swamped by all and sundry... a moment that is still extremely vivid to her. Colleen Lombard pointed out that the yearning only to be with your own family was overtaken by concerned activists and the community welcoming her back into society and into the liberation struggle (Lombard, 2013).

I was telephonically and via email in contact with June Esau, as I needed information about the location of the venue of the image in which she appears standing on a chair with her arms raised in the air above a seated audience in an overcrowded community hall. Along with this information, her brother Cecil Esau provided Elijah Barayi's name. He was one of the march leaders under the COSATU banner (Esau, 2013).

Siona O' Connell provided me with Father Peter-John Pearson's contact details. I made contact and he provided me with an update to the funeral details. Initially, I thought that the image in which he appeared was that of Anton Fransch's funeral in Bonteheuwel but he asserted that the aftermath chaos was at Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams's funerals (Pearson, 2013). Both died in an explosion outside the public toilets in the Athlone CBD area in Old Klipfontein Road. I knew Robbie personally as he was a visitor to our family home.

Reflections on the exhibition

The first thing my friend Nohra Moerat mentioned to me at the opening of the exhibition was that this was probably the first time that my family and friends were seeing my work (Moerat, 2013). She was spot on: I am bad at marketing and promoting my work, or generally speaking about my personal accomplishments. Nohra Moerat, a good friend of Zuraya Abass, pointed out that it was strange that all these things were happening in the month of September: the tenth anniversary of Zuraya's passing.

On the night of the exhibition, Nohra Moerat responded with a WhatsApp message at 23h08:

Thank you for a truly wonderful experience. What memories (Moerat, 2013).

Father Peter-John Pearson so eloquently and aptly summarised his feelings on the exhibition with his WhatsApp message on 10 September 2013:

It's a magnificent exhibition and the opening was a most wonderful gathering of activists and friends and bonds were strengthened, ideas exchanged and courage shared and memories swapped. All of this surrounded by such wonderful, thought-provoking photographs made it a special moment. Thanks you for your courage and skill then and now (Pearson, 2013).

June Esau's WhatsApp message on the 11 September read:

It brings a lump in my throat (Esau, 2013).

Colleen Lombard was just blown over by all the photographs, especially of the ones of her, Zuraya Abass and her family attending the Yengeni Trial, adding:

The raw memories (Lombard, 2013).

Lauren Kansley and Leanne de Bassompierre, CPUT journalism alumnae whom I taught and currently a colleague and a radio journalist respectively, pointed out at the opening of the exhibition that this was a completely new side of me previously unknown to them (Kansley & de Bassompierre, 2013). I don't really reflect much about my own experience and achievements in class.

Gaireya Swartz, a CPUT photography alumna, responded with a Short Message Service (SMS):

Words fail me when I try to describe the array of emotions when I looked at the work on display. It was extraordinary to say the least (Swartz, 2013).

Rishka Chilwan, a UCT Michaelis fine art alumna, responded with a SMS:

It gave me some insight in what you, my parents, and your fellow photographers had to go through during those years (Chilwan, 2013).

According to Jackie Scheepers, a colleague at CPUT said she cried when she viewed the photographs. The 1980s brought back emotional memories: her deceased husband Ronnie Morris was a journalist at the *Cape Times*. He died in April 2008 (Scheepers, 2013).

Reflections from CPUT third year photography students of the exhibition

According to Ethan Patience:

Apartheid protests were basically about the inequality towards people based on their skin colour. Currently the coloured protesters are protesting for the same reason the black people did in the Apartheid era. We are supposed to be a democratic country yet with all these employment equity acts and BBBEE laws the coloured people feel that the black people are getting jobs much easier than themselves (Patience, 2013).

Curt Lottring points out:

The images hold a strong value not only to the photographers who have risked their lives not only to get the images, but also to tell their side of the story (Lottring, 2013).

In Nico Maneveld's view:

The images clearly depicts the sacrifices one had to make and also it left me asking myself how did they overcome that point and commence forward to the point that we are now? Being a young individual, being exposed to the photography industry it tells me that these photographers had lots of pride in their work and they dedicated their lives in order to show us what they were experiencing in those years (Maneveld, 2013).

Lola Lourens points out that the *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* exhibition was really an amazing event to attend:

I think the Castle of Good Hope was a suitable place to host the *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* exhibition. It was part of the Apartheid era and Apartheid was a human rights atrocity and the Castle of Good Hope was well known as a place where human rights atrocities occurred, such as slavery. Slaves were tortured and chained against the dungeons' walls. The castle was a head quarter for slaves.

Apartheid was a very sad and discriminating time. I don't understand how people could be judged on their race. How a beach, a park bench and lots of other things could be for one race only. I think the images captured a great overview of that time so that people can see and understand how things were.

Although Apartheid is over, some parents still carry on those feelings to the next generation. That's why there is still so much racism in this world (Lourens, 2013).

According to Bertram Malgas:

At the time, walking through the prints hanging from the ceiling there were lots of different reactions. There were those who were in the images, reliving the emotions captured in the photographs. While others studied the photographs, trying to make sense of what was happening in the images (like me). It was interesting to see the

different scenes captured by the three photographers, showing the struggles faced by protesters in the 80s.

These pictures serve as a reminder of the hard road taken to get to where we, the country, are today. It is ironic that the venue where the exhibition is being held was the Castle of Good Hope. Once a fortress built by slaves for the colonial government, it is now a reflection on how far the country has come. It reflects what the exhibition stands for, a past once filled with struggle to achieve an 'equal' and free future. As a younger photographer, it shows me how important photography (photographers) was in the struggle days. It was used as a tool to expose the events, everyday people and characters that fought passionately for change. Unlike today: I feel photography is taken for granted and people are not really using it to promote change much as it was back in the day, where the young people of today are just taking 'selfies' and documentary images of this afternoon's lunch. The exhibition also made me realise that I must not doubt the importance of my images. Even if I am still a student, keeping my photographs is important because I never know when or where they can be used in the future (Malgas, 2013).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

My reflections and observations at the exhibition *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*

As I stand with my back against the wall of the impressive Good Hope Gallery at the Castle of Good Hope, I am flanked by Benny Gool and Adil Bradlow. We struggle to make eye contact with each other... I think that the space is heavy with all kinds of emotions as we see familiar faces and realise the absence of those captured by our camera lenses who are no longer alive. I am between these images of burning tyres, sacrifice, evidence of families torn apart and far too many funerals and deaths.

I am overwhelmed by the huge crowd as I see faces from the photographs: Colleen Lombard, June Esau, Peter-John Pearson and Michael Weeder. I hear the noise from grandchildren of activists, music from the Delft Jazz Band, people reminiscing and commemorating the significance of their contribution and sacrifices in the 1980s. In that moment, I am aware of the toing-and-froing of time and space... and the present is sharply brought into focus as a former Truth and Reconciliation Commissioner and leader of the Black Sash Mary Burton begins her opening address.

For the first time, Benny Gool, Adil Bradlow and my images are brought together in a post-Apartheid Cape Town. With this process, I critically re-examine the writing and imaging of the anti-Apartheid struggle. Through these particular moments captured by the lens, I consider the absences in the Apartheid archive and thought about the representation of another narrative from three very ordinary people. This reflexive imaging speaks to me of my own unarticulated injuries and trauma and these images allow me to consider my history and my present even though the moments of exposure occurred decades ago. It is with shock and debilitating sadness that I realise that there are contusions that stubbornly refuse to subside: that these moments captured by the lens have the uncanny ability to cruelly remind me of the catastrophic effects of our violent past. Looking at these images, which look back at me, I am rendered mute in response for this time I am unable to pick up my camera to make sense of what is unfolding before me.

Should the imbalances of our contemporary visual discourse be addressed or redressed? Photographs link the past to the present but they cannot address the persistent and nagging questions of reconciliation and nation building. Against these images, which are precariously suspended from the ceiling of the Castle, I ask through which lens the history of South Africa

is written. The collective struggle by thousands of unidentifiable and nameless ordinary people also included ordinary photographers with often unidentified collections. What is the significance of these photographs? Is the story of the anti-Apartheid struggle complete? Or are there countless more images, whispers, songs and experiences that have yet to unfold – and which may render clues as to how we lived during Apartheid and how we still live after its demise?

Within the South African context, there is a space to share this memory of atrocity by all participants and not just a selective few from a predominant photo collective. I reflect and realise that my images stored in files all these years have become part of the silenced narrative of our past.

As Mary Burton completes her speech, I turn around to see where Benny Gool and Adil Bradlow are. I am taken aback when I realise they are not there. I scan the crowd in a vain effort to find these two men who always had my back. It is then, in an arrestingly poignant and profoundly sad moment, that I realise the landscape has irrevocably changed. Benny Gool and Adil Bradlow have gone, and the ties that joined us together in our mutual quest for freedom have been worn away. It seems as if the violence of the past, the witnessing by our cameras, could not sustain the idealism, the passion and the vigour of three young and eager photographers who met up on the burning streets of the Cape Flats.

Overview on reflections and anecdotes shared by guests at the opening of the exhibition *Martyrs Saints & Sell-Outs*.

People openly shared their disappointment, comparing the time of collective ethos, strengths of togetherness, compassion, respect, sacrifices and losses of the 1980s with the current mismanagement of our country by politicians who do not uphold the constitution and the dignity of its people. An activist pointed out that the whole transformation of our country is going pear-shaped with individuals who are in power personally enriching them and forgetting about the ordinary person in the street.

According to a concerned citizen, many people are disillusioned by our democracy and some are drawn to the dangerous rhetoric from politicians and traditional and local community leaders, who have their own agendas that are not in the interest of people in our country and the world who have adopted South Africa as their new home. Ordinary people reflected shared sentiments that as civil society we should become more proactive, much like the UDF

that served during the 1980s to instil pressure and hold the government accountable to its non-delivery and abusing human rights as defined in the constitution.

General critical reflection on the current state of South Africa

As we look back on democracy, it is appropriate not only to reflect on the hills we have scaled but to be aware of the many that remain if we are to fortify our democracy and ensure its continued health for future generations (Asmal, 2009). According to Desmond Tutu as cited in (Ramphele, 2008) at the opening ceremony in 1996 of the first hearing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):

We are charged to unearth the truth about our dark past; to lay the ghosts of that past so that they will not return to haunt us. And that we will thereby contribute to the healing of a traumatised and wounded people – for all of us in South Africa are wounded people – and in this manner promote national unity and reconciliation.

The visual impact of recent violence in various communities has shocked the world and shamed South Africans from all walks of life. Although violence is not new to our everyday reality, the current community violence (referred to by some as 'xenophobia' because most of the victims are foreigners), violence against women and children, police violence (like the Marikana Massacre), service delivery and political violence is of deep concern. This is particularly so for those who have struggled against Apartheid and have continued the work against the legacy of an unjust and brutal past (Ratele *et al.*, 2008).

My comparative interpretation of protests in the 1980s was about fighting for freedom and the current protests of today are about broken promises.

The visual impact of Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave from Mozambique, engulfed in flames, witnessed and captured by photographer Shayne Robinson from *The Star* in Ramaphosa, Gauteng, became the grim symbol of South Africa's xenophobic violence (Robinson, 2008). South Africa will regret its moment of xenophobic madness for many years to come. According to Ntshoe (2002), the impact of violence on society due to political and ethnic rivalry is a well-known harassment phenomenon.

This tragic episode and many more not only shamed us, they have also shaken our self-confidence in who we are and what we stand for (Hofmeyr, 2008). The fundamental challenge to South Africa's democracy will be lessons from the Rwandan 1998 genocide. How do we counter the perpetuation of the racial identities imposed on us by colonialism and Apartheid? It does not take a leap of imagination to realise that things can fall apart very

quickly. Our entire socio-historical fabric can unravel within a few weeks; it took less than 100 days in Rwanda. In the opinion of Neville Alexander (2008), we should not lull ourselves to sleep because of political and intellectual short-sightedness; while Mamphela Ramphele (2008) points out that our Apartheid's isolation has made us insular. We need to acknowledge the depth of scars of racism in our still racially divided society. This forces us to rise to our challenges and seize the opportunities of being part of a rapidly globalising world.

Rituals of remembrance are important for healing wounds, learning lessons and moving on. However, remembering can be politically charged and fraught with blame and recrimination, especially when wrongs have not been, or cannot be, righted or the details of precisely what happened cannot be agreed upon (Friel, 2006). According to Ntshoe (2002), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report of 2001 documented the devastating impact of the political and ethnic violence of the Apartheid years on South African society, yet political and ethnic strife, originally fuelled by the Apartheid regime, still smoulders despite democratic governance and a new social order.

This gives rise to the following questions:

- Should there be an apology?
- Will it make any difference?
- Can or should today's generations, governments or institutions be held accountable for wrongs done by those who went before?

In the opinion of Friel (2006), these unanswered questions continue to overshadow many nations today. In Weinberg's (1987) view, photography can't be divorced from the historical, political, economic, social and cultural issues that surround us daily. Photographers are inextricably caught up in the process – they are not objective instruments but play a part in the way they choose to make statements.

Today, as society strives towards mutual respect and tolerance in overcoming contemporary global political conflicts, I question the integrity of some photographers.... for example in the instance of the Second Gulf War:

- How neutral have the embedded photographers been that operated together with outside military forces in the initial invasion of the country?
- How do photographers see their perspective of social consciousness towards neutrality and objectivity?

Since the end of the Apartheid dispensation in South Africa in 1994, there have been many new memorials, book publications, documentaries, exhibitions and museum displays that have sought to represent and interpret the country's recent history. Newbury (2005) points out photography's significance in relation to the visual economic value in the new heritage sites like the Apartheid Museum at Gold Reef City in Johannesburg, which opened in 2001, and the Hector Pieterse Museum in Soweto, which opened in 2002. Pretorius (2001) established in an interview with Sam Nzima that the original June 16 print and negatives disappeared, probably taken and destroyed when the security police raided the offices of *The World* in November 1976 and removed boxes of photographs and documentation. Nzima sadly pointed out that he did not receive the small fortune the photograph had generated as he only obtained copyright in November 1998.

Around the world, the way the past is interpreted and remembered is continually changing. The information revolution that is still in full flow is dramatically changing the way events are captured, recorded, interpreted and studied (Friel, 2006).

In the opinion of Fazila Farouk, director of The South African Civil Society Information Service, it is well worth celebrating twenty years of freedom from Apartheid but we must be careful not to conflate this celebration with triumphalist and misguided talk of achievement during our two decades of democracy. Farouk points out that Freedom Day, April 27, 2014 the 20th anniversary as a democracy has unleashed a barrage of commentary aimed at reflecting on the country's development. According to Farouk, many of South Africa's political leaders today are not people who were historically born into privilege. However, it is evident that they have adjusted to the culture of the privileged and lost touch with those they have left behind, creating the disconnection between the ruling elite and the ordinary citizens (Farouk, 2014).

In Imam Rashied Omar's view, the capitalist environment in which post-apartheid South African subsists has bred attitudes of entitlement and greed in all strata of our society, rich and poor alike (Omar, 2014). Unless the moral values and behavioural patterns that define our society are transformed from a culture of altruism and caring, our country's progressive constitution and Bill of Rights will remain an unrealistic dream. Omar points out that, as a community in Cape Town, we should commit ourselves to becoming active agents of social change. He advises that we should seize this moment and ensure that 2014 becomes the year in which we advance the struggle for social and economic justice in South Africa (Omar, 2014).

We cannot build a future for South Africa without remembering the past: what happened once can recur. Veteran journalist and political commentator Allister Sparks mentions that the Freedom Charter declares that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. What is currently happening in South Africa is the betrayal of the national democratic revolution. In the opinion of Sparks, President Jacob Zuma's vision is restricted to his own personal security. His current leadership has induced a national culture of 'me-ism', of greed, corruption and self-advancement (Sparks, 2014).

Jay Naidoo, former minister in the presidency of Nelson Mandela's cabinet, points out that in 1994, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, the government vowed to deliver a people-centred democracy committed to reconstruction, development and delivering a better life to all the citizens... not just a chosen few. There is mounting anger and resentment towards what is perceived to be a plundering elite who are intent on looting the economy. In Naidoo's view, one cannot help but wonder how insulated South Africans are from similar kinds of extraordinary events unfolding in North Africa and the Middle East. He does not believe that the revolution will happen today or tomorrow, but he does believe it would be foolish on our part to think that we have set ourselves so solid a foundation that it could withstand similar ruptures ripping through our society (Naidoo, 2011).

In the opinion of Naidoo, the cracks are already visible. South Africa, a country of high levels of violent crime, constant abuse, rape and murder of children and staggering brazen levels of corruption, the loudest political protests have largely been framed as responses to mere service delivery inefficiencies. Chris Waldburger adds: in the face of gross moral breakdown, our public conversation has confined itself to a critique of mere workings of the government (Waldburger, 2011).

If the government opts for inaction in the face of these challenges, then we as a nation could face our 'Egyptian moment'. Society should not become less complacent because when revolt does happen, and eventually it will, it will affect each and every one of us (Naidoo, 2011).

The issue is how will the government/society we choose to manage challenges and more importantly how will the government/society choose to address the aspirations of the millions of unemployed youth in our midst (Naidoo, 2011).

If 1994 marked the end of decolonisation in Africa, then events on January 25, 2011 in Egypt marks the beginning of post-colonial politics. It is a political consciousness that is patriotic in the sense of wanting the best for the country. It is, however, not defined by narrow,

nationalism, race, ethnic consciousness, autocratic rule, repression, nepotism and crony capitalism: vast accumulations of wealth by a small group of politically connected 'tenderpreneurs' (Godsell, 2011).

Sadly, as the colonialists packed their bags, many of those who took their place resemble their former masters: the same palaces, police practices, states of emergency, state-controlled media, and economic plunder. Throughout history, including recent African history, it is sadly clear that the ending of one evil regime is no guarantee of its being replaced by one qualitatively better. Political freedom, economic progress and social advancement have to be built, defended and sometimes rebuilt by each generation (Godsell, 2011).

In Omar's view we have witnessed via media channels and social media networks, visual imagery of pro-democracy demonstrations and social activism in the streets of different regions in the world. Ordinary people – poor, middle class, young, old, men, women, educated elites and workers using the power of collective action and social solidarity to shape their own destinies against socio-economic deprivation and a denial of the basic freedoms of people (Omar, 2011).

After these remarkable events, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, the Middle East, Africa and the world will never be the same again (Omar, 2011). The end of a repressive regime is not the change but rather an opportunity for change.

According to Omar (2011), there are important lessons that these countries can learn from the South African experience. Since 1994, after the first post-apartheid democratic elections, civil society and non-governmental organisations representing ordinary people became progressively weaker. The once-powerful liberation movement's dynamic leaders and activists were drawn into state structures and government bureaucracy.

As a consequence, South Africans have become reliant on the state to provide solutions to the country's myriad social challenges and have lost the cohesion of a strong civil society committed to social justice that led to the demise of the Apartheid state.

Real change will only come if independent civil organisations and strong social movements in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, the Middle East, Africa, South Africa and elsewhere in the world, constantly hold their leaders and all those in power accountable to their moral and political mandate (Omar, 2011). In each case, according to Greg Mills (2011), there are different specifics, but a common denominator is a lack of democracy and economic opportunity.

Whatever the immediate challenges, people's power has shown that seemingly invulnerable regimes can fall.

In Mills' view a new democratic country should not become weary or let its guard down in the struggle for social justice and transformation. Every new day of a post democracy should be viewed as a new opportunity to reinvigorate and strengthen collective efforts to mobilise the masses for social change. Such organisational fortitude will enable people to face up to the task of transforming and building a new social order (Mills, 2011).

The real challenge facing any country's social movement will be not only to concern itself with free and fair elections, but more importantly to build new democratic institutions that will root out endemic corruption and address the needs of the poor. This is a mistake Africa has made, which has resulted in a defective model of democratic transition. The opposition merely replaces a dictatorship with a new version that still compromises the interest of the people (Mills, 2011).

Omar points out that the struggle continues after political and social transformation. Citizenry has to maintain its momentum and continue to pressure its new leaders and indeed world leaders to fulfil all the people's aspirations for a more just and humane world (Omar, 2011).

The past shapes our present and launches us into the future. Our memories define who we are as people (Rolletta & Wales-Smith, 2008). In the opinion of Salley Gaule as cited in (Fattal, 2008), resistance photography has received little attention from academia yet it was an important element of the struggle for liberation in South Africa. Saul (2005) points out that as the 1980s wore on, they became a decade of marked escalation of the popular struggle but also of increasing repression by the state. Hachten as cited in (Fattal, 2008) points out that Apartheid managed to endure for forty-six years in South Africa partly because of a historically normalised visual discourse and stringent censorship.

Photographs have an intimate relationship with history. By moving the horrors of Apartheid within view, photographs not only lured the dominant class into observing suffering and injustice, to which they would otherwise have been oblivious, but also mitigated the credibility of an outright denial of abuses of human rights. Denial was indeed an issue in South Africa (Fattal, 2008). In the opinion of Badsha as cited in (Fattal, 2008), he believes that when the Germans were asked how they could possibly have permitted Hitler and the Nazis to perpetrate the horrors of the Holocaust, they replied that they did not know that those things were happening. It is possible for many South Africans and others to plead a similar

ignorance about the evil consequences of Apartheid and the policies that applied against oppressed people.

Recommendations for future research

There are still a number of issues to be investigated in the documentary photography narrative in South Africa.

These are but a few that derive from my research:

- Establish the whereabouts of photographs of the 1980s confiscated by the South African National Party government.
- Determine how photographers dealt psychologically with the emotional trauma of violence.
- Digitise my photographic material, making it more accessible and marketable.
- As an outreach programme, the state should introduce an educational programme in schools on visual memory for students to see the significance of popular resistance and state brutality. This could promote tolerance, values of self-worth and respect.
- The National Archives of South African or a private institution could collate data from Cape Town resistance documentary photographers to showcase a permanent inclusive exhibition and narrative representing the socio-political struggle during Apartheid in the 1980s.

In closing, this journey through *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* has been illuminating in many ways as I used my camera as an observer, a participant and a photographer to ask questions and search for answers about my past and the photographic archives it created. These questions around memory and the archives are complex and it has become apparent to me that *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* represents a particular point in a representation of a narrative... one that has multiple pasts and entry and exit points. In thinking about this and the way forward, I know that, as a South African photographer and educator, I will always think about my moral intent as a visual artist in the post-Apartheid landscape. This is why the content and meaning of the exhibition compels us to think about a past and a future in different ways. It urges us to consider a writing of a different narrative about the socio-political photograph and in so doing asks us to think about what kind of place we want South Africa to be.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

I am a graduate of Peninsula Technikon (PENTECH) and I currently lecture in the Photography and Journalism programmes of the Media Department in the Faculty of Informatics and Design at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT).

I was born in 1963 in Newlands, Cape Town and since 1974 live in Belgravia, Athlone as the Group Areas Act of 1966 forcibly removed my family from Newlands (refer to Chapter 3 Inspirational Years: Retracing and Remembering in the narrative for more detail).

Between 1985 and 1989, I worked as a freelance documentary photographer and photojournalist. My work has been published by amongst others Reuters, Associated Press, Agence France Presse, *Los Angeles Times* (USA), *Expression* (Sweden), IDAF, Afrapix and other international and local publications such as *Staffrider*, *Grassroots*, *South*, *Weekly Mail*, *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times*. Since January 1990, I have been employed at the then-Peninsula Technikon now Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

I have participated in exhibitions, publications and presented at conferences, including:

- Exhibited in *South Africa in Conflict: Protest, Resistance, Power – Anti-War Film Festival*, Cape Town, 1986.
- Presented and exhibited in Amsterdam at the Culture in Another South Africa Conference, 1987.
- Published in *Beyond the Barricades*, 1989.
- Featured in *Images in Struggle: South African Photographers Speak*, an IDAF film, 1990.
- Exhibited in a solo exhibition *Images of Women in Cape Town*, PENTECH, Bellville, 1996.
- Presented at Women Image Makers Symposium, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1998.
- Published in *Women by Women, 50 Years of Women's Photography in South Africa*, 2006.
- Exhibited in *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* exhibition at the National Arts Festival, Grahamstown, 2013.
- Exhibited in *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* exhibition at The Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town, 2013.
- Featured in *Behind the Lens*, a documentary film on South African photographers during the 1980s, 2014.

Socially, I have a keen interest in current affairs, reading newspapers and magazines. I enjoy working with people, cooking, jewellery design, caring for my cat and animals. I have a great interest in frail care: I was my mother's care giver until 18 November 2005, an experience I will forever treasure.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Additional images: *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* exhibition



Figure A.1 ANC Women's League, Women's Day meeting commemorating women political prisoners, Langa, Cape Town, circa 1985

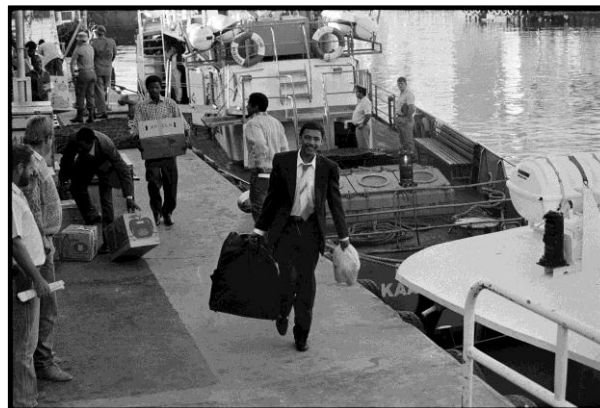


Figure A.2 Ashley Forbes amongst freed political prisoners disembarking at Cape Town harbour on their release from Robben Island Prison, 1991



Figure A.3 Cheryl Carolus at a SWAPO solidarity meeting, Cape Town, circa 1987



Figure A.4 Colleen Lombard and Zuraya Abass co-accused in the Yengeni Trial 1988-1990 with family members at the Supreme Court, Cape Town



Figure A.5 Elijah Barayi, Chris Hani, Jay Naidoo, Allan Boesak, Cyril Ramaphosa and Tony Yengeni at a COSATU march, Cape Town, circa 1990



Figure A.6 Ebrahim Rasool at home with his parents on his release from detention, July 1988



Figure A.7 Funeral of Ernest Payi, Langa, Cape Town, 1988



Figure A.8 Mary Burton from Black Sash and others at an End Conscripton Campaign meeting, UCT, Cape Town, 1986



Figure A.9 Ayesha Bibi Dawood trade union activist welcomed home at Cape Town International Airport, 1991



Figure A.10 Trevor Manuel with his then wife Lynne Matthews and son Govan on his release from detention, 1988

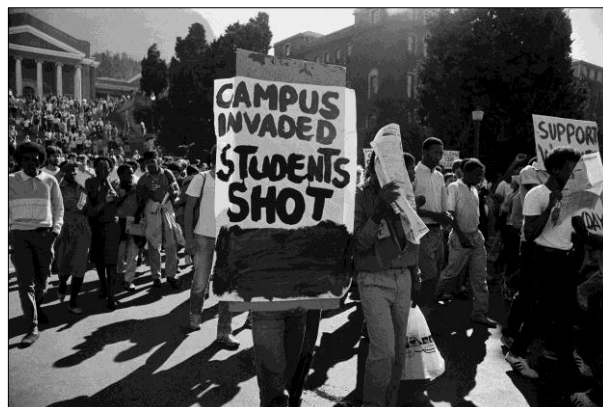


Figure A.11 UCT students and others protest against police brutality, UCT, Cape Town, 1985

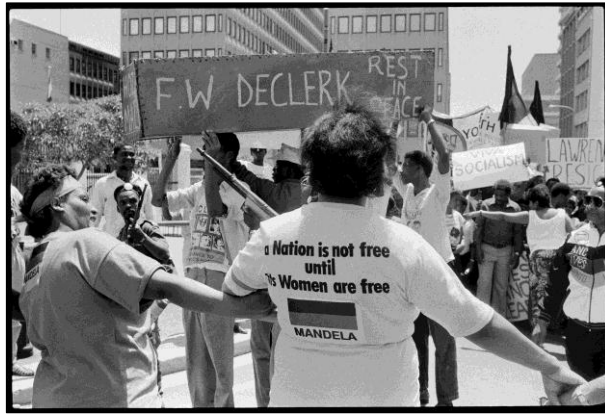


Figure A.12 Workers protest outside parliament, Cape Town, circa 1989

Appendix B

Transcript of reflective and participants interview: *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs*

Roger Friedman: Were you a photographer or were you an activist or what were you doing at the time?

Zubeida Vallie: Well, I was a photographer. When I started off, I was a student photographer in the '80s when our neighbourhood really became fairly active within student youth protests – and it was an automatic thing: being a photographer, being a student photographer, being inquisitive, being, you know... 'what is happening around'. I thought: "Well, I can cope with what is happening on the streets." That was initially without my camera and once I determined that the camera will be just another extension in documenting what is happening. And I did it, though without thinking, "For whom am I doing it?" It was purely a personal documentation of things happening in my neighbourhood. That is where it started.

Roger Friedman: And what was going on in your neighbourhood?

Zubeida Vallie: Well, we moved from Newlands to Athlone and that was in 1974. You tend to move around in your area, you tend to familiarise yourself with the community, with the people and everything. It started off as purely street photography, just documenting that. From there it moved on to meetings and then I received requests from the community, which included NGOs, to use my photographs.

I just gave them without thinking about payment and all those things, you know: you are a student, you are living at home... you don't need to think about rent at the end of the month and those types of dynamics.

Roger Friedman: Now where did you come across these other two? All three of you seem to be very different in where you come from and your make-ups and personalities so I do not know what you have in common. Where did you meet and how come the three of you kind of hung together?

Zubeida Vallie: Well, what I can recall, we met in Athlone on the streets and that is how you actually started chatting: that was part of networking with the community, with other photographers. Then, informally, we would make contact with each other. ... I could drive. Most people had hired cars but preferred – maybe subconsciously or unconsciously – to be part of a safety mechanism so you are not alone, in your own vehicle.

Roger Friedman: What is the relevance to this story of the fact that you are a woman? Is there any relevance?

Zubeida Vallie: Personally, I don't think so. I remember there were not too many women – besides those in the foreign media. But locally within our own circle – our weekly, daily circle – some were journalists but, if I am not mistaken, I was the only woman within our circle.

Roger Friedman: As a female photographer, do you think it might have been a bit easier? Because I assume the boere would not have been so quick to moer you if you were a woman. Were there advantages to being a woman?

Zubeida Vallie: Well, I think the only time it was very funny, I think they (the men) were in the police van at the Strand at the Open Beach protest when Ayesha Ismail and I were then taken to a car because the cops said, "Oh, these are women"... everyone giggled in the truck. No, I do not think they pulled back. I mean, you were just seen as part of the opposition. The authorities did not look at you as a lesser gevaar. At the police station in Athlone, the day when Jimi Matthews, Rashid Lombard and I were arrested after being chased around Athlone in a blue, fairly beaten-up little car (but one with a super engine in it)... eventually they caught up. When we got to the Athlone police station, they asked Jimi Matthews if I was one of the 'groupies' and he had to convince them: "No, she is not one of the 'groupies', she is a photographer."

Roger Friedman: Tell us a little bit about some of the photographs that are particular favourites of yours that have been selected in this exhibition. Siona O' Connell is suggesting you seem to shoot more women than the most photographers?

Zubeida Vallie: I need to think now. Strangely enough, is it a comfort thing? I would go to women's meetings and was probably the youngest there. Technically, I was part of the 'youth' but I was more in the women's structures.

Roger Friedman: Which is your favourite picture in the exhibition?

Zubeida Vallie: Let me just think quickly. Well, my favourite image would probably be the one in Bonteheuwel with Father Pearson. We drove down Vanguard Drive after the funeral and I said, "I think that's teargas."

Someone said, "Oh, you are like a radar" We drove there and it was fairly chaotic after the police – they had left the scene after creating the chaos. And that was an image that I could barely make because the air was so tight with teargas and, if you look closely, you can actually see it in Father Pearson's eyes. And somehow that image is still very vivid. Picking up the camera means that you hope that everything is where you want it because you want to capture all the little signs of the chaos: the cross in the back and everything.

Benny Gool: We were shooting stuff... we were documenting a struggle because it was the right thing to do.

Zubeida Vallie: Sure, I think there is definitely a difference between the two eras in that the eighties were not about promises. It was about the way forward and now it is about peoples dissatisfaction...what they are doing now is about broken promises.

Roger Friedman: Hold on, hold on, hold on. If the '80s was about hope...

Zubeida Vallie: It was about the way forward. The '80s, if you are comparing the two protest eras, then the '80s, for me, were about hope and a way forward. The protests that we currently have in the country, like those in Cape Town, are more about frustration at promises that are not being met.

Roger Friedman: It is about hope, yes. Another way of looking at this question – which I was going to ask as the last question – is the title of the exhibition, which ends with *Sell-Outs*. It is the same question.

Zubeida Vallie: The '80s, if you are comparing the two about protest then the '80s, for me, it was about hope and a way forward. The protests that we are having currently in the country at the moment, like in Cape Town – they are more about promises that are not being met and frustration.

Roger Friedman: But in thirty years' time, it will be that Dr O'Connell has an exhibition of photographs of people who documented this struggle.

Zubeida Vallie: Repetitive type of thing?

Roger Friedman: My last question: the name of the exhibition... what is a *Sell-Out*?

Zubeida Vallie: My interpretation of *Martyrs, Saints & Sell-Outs* is, if you look at the photographs and you look at the people in the images, during the '80s they were the *Martyrs* and *Saints* you admired them and it was this admiration that you have for these individual people that made sacrifices. I know people who died during the process of these sacrifices which they made for the country. The *Sell-Out* part refers to the process whereby the new democratic government came into power and the community became fairly complacent – it is almost like 'we were all together, surely the government is actually going to hold on to those ethical values and together take us through ... and now'... but unfortunately I think that is where the *Sell-Out* part comes in. You listen to sound bites on the radio where that same person that you actually had lots of respect for in the '80s tells you that it is fine, the introduction of the – Information Protection Bill – and you wonder, "if this was the '80s, that same person would have been very anti the whole establishment and now that same person has become very the complacent." What is very sad is that individual people in government are not publicly voicing their disappointment in the unethical values and actions of corrupt people in government and how accountability has become almost non-existent.