

BETWEEN STATES OF EMERGENCY

PHOTOGRAPHERS IN ACTION 1985 – 1990





N E L S O N M A N D E L A
F O U N D A T I O N

Living the legacy

WE SALUTE THEM

The apartheid regime responded to soaring opposition in the mid-1980s by imposing on South Africa a series of States of Emergency – in effect martial law.

Ultimately the Emergency regulations prohibited photographers and journalists from even being present when police acted against protesters and other activists. Those who dared to expose the daily nationwide brutality by security forces risked being jailed. Many photographers, journalists and activists nevertheless felt duty-bound to show the world just how the iron fist of apartheid dealt with opposition.

The Nelson Mandela Foundation conceived this exhibition, *Between States of Emergency*, to honour the photographers who took a stand against the atrocities of the apartheid regime. Their work contributed to increased international pressure against the South African government and contributed to the ultimate downfall of apartheid.

On Sunday 21 July 1985 the government declared the second State of Emergency in the country's history.

Twenty-five years earlier the first Emergency was imposed after the Sharpeville Massacre and within days the ANC and PAC were banned. This marked the beginning of a massive clampdown on political dissent. In July 1985 Nelson Mandela and his comrades were in the twenty-first year of their life imprisonment for sabotage. He was in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town where after a 17-year battle he could buy newspapers.

Through the media and reports from outside, he was aware of the reinvigorated opposition sweeping the country and he continually lobbied the state to lift the Emergency, to release political prisoners

and to unban anti-apartheid organisations.

The 1985 Emergency was imposed less than two years after the United Democratic Front was launched, drawing scores of organisations under one huge umbrella. Intending to stifle opposition to apartheid, the Emergency was first declared in 36 magisterial districts and less than a year later, extended to the entire country.

Thousands of men, women and children were detained without trial, some for years. Activists were killed, tortured and made to disappear. The country was on a knife's edge and while the state wanted to keep the world ignorant of its crimes against humanity, many dedicated journalists shone the spotlight on its actions.

On 28 August 1985, when thousands of activists embarked on a march to the prison to demand Mandela's release, the regime reacted swiftly and brutally. People were severely beaten and shot. Some were killed in the aftermath. Thanks to the work of these photographers the Pollsmoor March and countless other events did not go unnoticed. Apart from some days of respite between renewals, the State of Emergency lasted effectively until 7 June 1990 except for KwaZulu-Natal where it was retained for longer.

Not all the photographers who took risks to tell the story of apartheid are featured on these walls, but the ones who are represent the whole. This exhibition features some starkly brutal images while others are more reflective and subtle. All denote the spirit of defiance that carried South Africa's people through those harsh years. Through the efforts and courage of these photographers, the apartheid regime was denied its wish to shroud South Africa in a blanket of secrecy.

WE SALUTE THEM



Photograph © LOUISE GUBB

THEY
WATERED
THE SEEDS
OF OUR
DEMOCRACY

Imagine living in a world without mobile phones, without email or Twitter or Facebook or Instagram, without the Internet and without digital cameras . . .

In a country which is characterised by racial segregation, prejudice, indignity and oppression . . .

With a government intent on hiding the excesses and inhumanity of its policies and security forces from public scrutiny, on subverting the principals of free speech and access to information.

In such a world, the work of journalists willing to risk life and limb takes on an almost saintly hue. Their work did not just benefit themselves or their publications; it enriched us all.

That is why many of us, who found ourselves actively engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle, went out of our way to cultivate relationships with journalists and keep them informed.

We understood that their role, showing and telling the world of the injustice and barbarity of the system, was often more important than our own.

A leader can only lead where others are willing to follow. But how could others follow if they weren't being told, if they did not know.

Disavowal was a key strategy of the apartheid government, particularly to shield itself from criticism when it did its dirtiest work.

If the world could not see photographs of the likes of the

imprisoned Nelson Mandela, perhaps it would forget him, the general argument went.

During the States of Emergency in the 1980s, as popular resistance reached its zenith, the clampdown intensified on what could be seen or heard.

Journalists' courage in challenging the restrictions, in covering the mayhem on the streets and publishing as much as they did, was fundamental to illuminating the immorality of the then-government and, conversely, the morality of the anti-apartheid struggle.

If the world could not see the oppression in South Africa, or hear the persuasive arguments of anti-apartheid leaders such as Allan Boesak, Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, how could we expect it to support our struggle? How could we expect it to divest from South Africa? Or invest in democracy and a just peace?

I salute the photojournalists, in particular, who documented our righteous revolution.

The roots of the term, a picture is worth a thousand words, are in the advertising industry. But it is a truism that extends across all of life.

They disregarded their personal safety to tell our story, all of our story, the South African story.

They watered the seeds of our democracy.

God bless them all.

ARCHBISHOP EMERITUS DESMOND TUTU

TRIBUTE TO SA PHOTOGRAPHERS



Photograph © MORRIS ZWI

Photographers gifted us to see, with our own eyes, the horrors surrounding us and often the horrors beyond our own individual community experiences.

Photography is generally viewed as a creative form of expression, a profession, or a platform for the capturing and documentation of our stories.

During the oppressive times of apartheid, we came to learn that photography was a combination of all the above and more. It became one of the most dangerous professions in the world. Photographers were shot at, arrested, persecuted and killed.

There is a tendency to undermine forms of visual art or stories in motion whilst disregarding the effort and dangerous sacrifices made by the storytellers who are first and foremost human.

They are mothers, fathers, somebody's children, siblings and life-partners. They too made the courageous choice to defy the system by demonstrating to the world, from behind the lens, the harsh realities of what apartheid meant and how it functioned on a day-to-day basis.

Due to the power of the lens, stories of survival were captured: the contradictions between calculated suffering and an attempt at normal existence became evident.

Many South African photographers were revolutionary practitioners who captured and archived every moment of our journey from apartheid to democracy.

In the eyes of the apartheid regime, because of the role they played, the man and woman behind the camera became the victim before it. Tragically we lost some of them in action.

We pay our respects to all the photographers and remember in our hearts those who are no longer with us.

ZINDZISWA MANDELA

CURATOR'S MESSAGE

Our visual concept of history would be a shadowland, vague outlines, without the courage and tenacity of photographers, and in the late 1980s South African photographers truly came of age in laying before the eyes of the world evidence of this country's appalling abuses.

The opening image of this exhibition, taken by Greg English at the funeral of the Cradock Four, the day PW Botha announced the first in a series of States of Emergency in the 1980s, stands as a portent of the pain, brutality and loss of innocence that lie ahead.

Many photographers and activists found their place on the Struggle frontline (Bradlow, Gubb, Kumalo, Ngwenya, Magubane, Mendel, Tillim, Weinberg and more) and these are the better-known images on show that carried great risk in their execution.

Ismail Lagardien's photograph of Firoz Cachalia's arrest at Wits embodies much of what 1980s South Africa represented: defiance, brutality, courage, duplicity, anger, betrayal, injustice and endurance.

And its backstory takes us further. The negatives were stolen in a 'burglary' in 1987 in which all of Lagardien's State of Emergency work was 'removed'. The image on display was scanned from a reject print that he had discarded for being unsharp.

Away from the frontline, *Between States of Emergency* also reflects the effect the Emergencies had on broader South African society.

We see the militarisation of white suburbia (Hilton-Barber, Lawson), forced conscription (Altschuler, Hutchings), apparent white ignorance (Wulfsohn), shattered communities (Goldblatt, Nunn) and peaceful defiance (Gubb, Mofokeng, Sols, Vallie, Weinberg, Williams).

That defiance is most perfectly captured in Paul Weinberg's image of a lone woman in Soweto confronting massive army vehicles patrolling the township shortly after the first State of Emergency came into effect.

Joe Alferts' image of fisherwomen in Kosi Bay may appear out of place, until its purpose as a tribute to slain activist David Webster becomes clear. It in turn resonates with Eric Miller's image taken two years before, with Webster deep in thought before a meeting at Cosatu House.

Benny Gool's moment of Colleen Lombard reuniting with her husband Rashid after her release from detention reinforces the strength of the human spirit that was so evident of the time. The same spirit decades earlier had held Peter Magubane steady during 586 days of solitary confinement.

Chris Ledochowski's closing image in which a free Nelson Mandela calls for the lifting of the State of Emergency before a democratic process could begin, marks the advent of South Africa's new era.

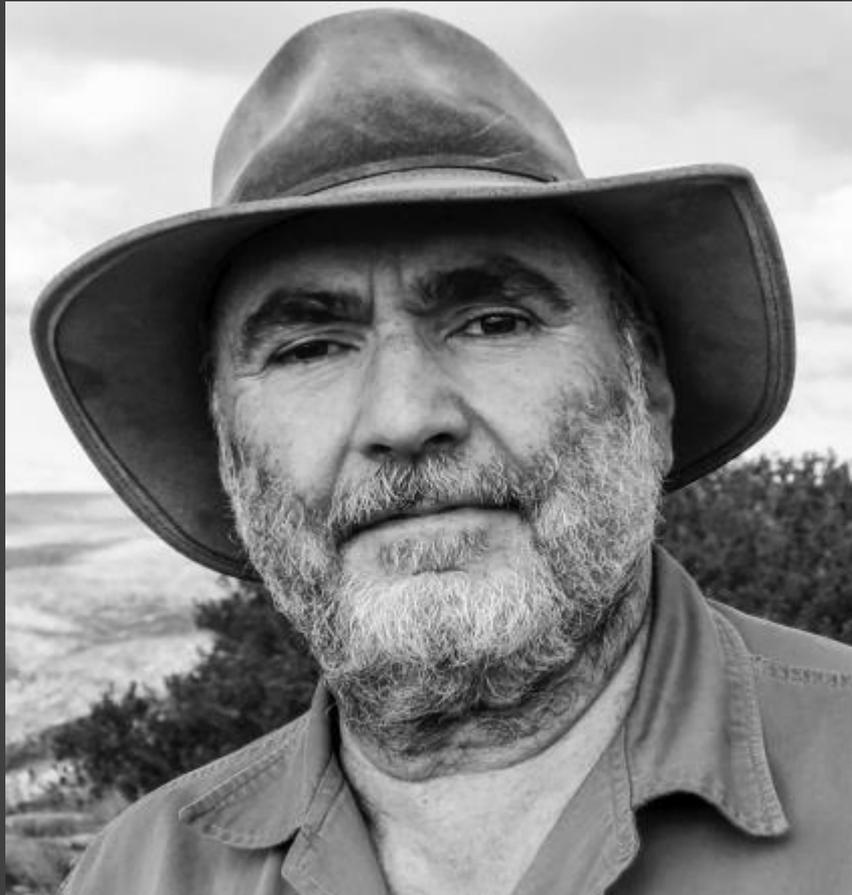
Yet today in that democracy, the role of photographers is no less important as myriad societal issues call for continued exposure through the lens.

To each and every one of these fine photographers - and to the many more who would be featured here if space had allowed - my deepest respect, and a lifetime of good light.

Project manager Lucia Raadschelders' request for each participant to express their sentiment about this period in our history results in the edifying 'oneliners' featured on the exhibition.

ROBIN COMLEY

In memory of David Webster, whose work with the people of Kosi Bay was cut short when he was assassinated on 1 May 1989

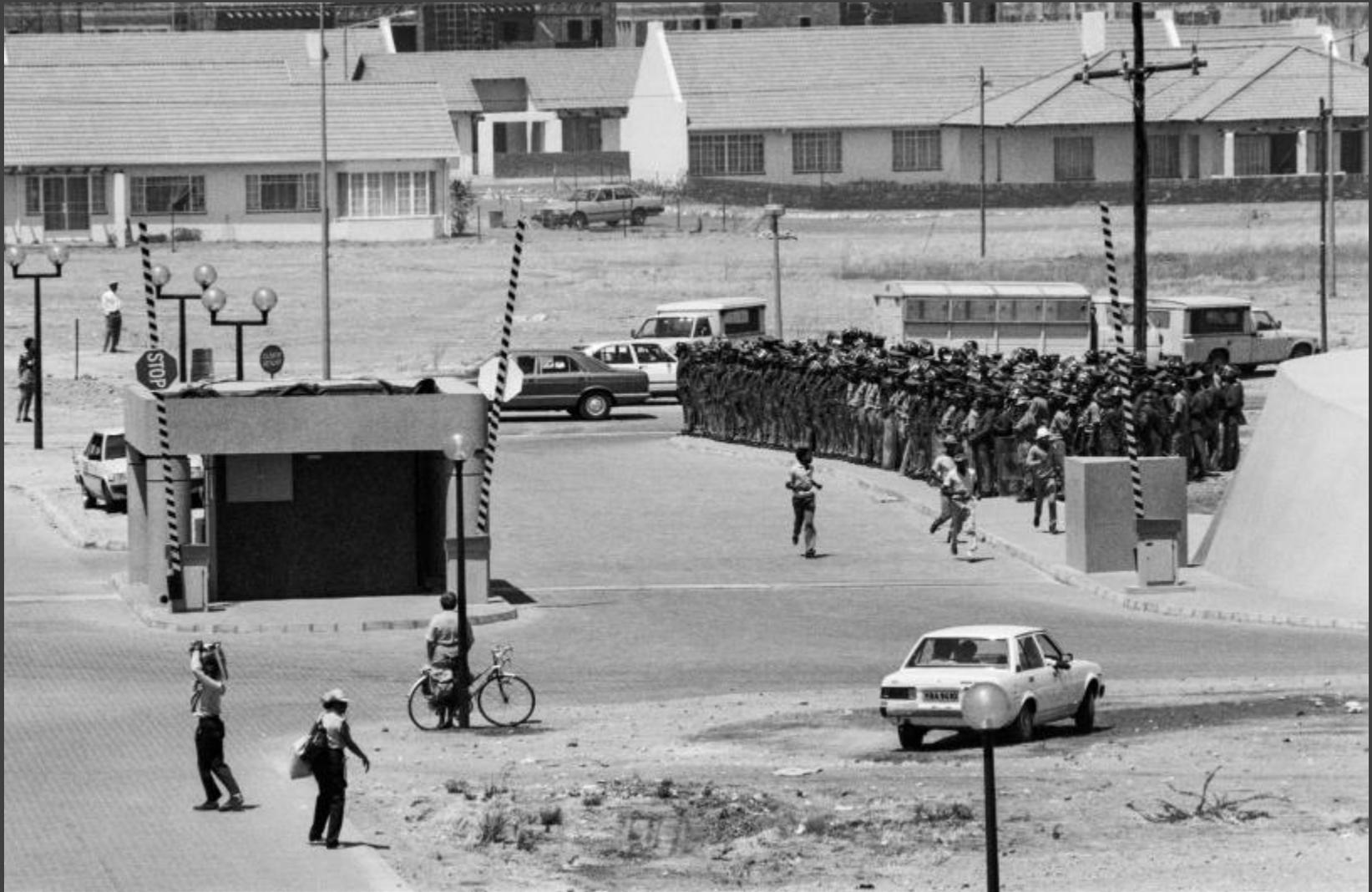


JOE ALFERS

JOE ALFERS was born in 1949 in KwaZulu-Natal. Graduating with a law degree, he worked for the Department of Justice to fulfill bursary obligations, but was dismissed for his political activities, and took up photography. He worked at the *Natal Witness*, the *Rand Daily Mail* and for Project ARAL, recording the rock art of Lesotho. His essay on Basotho migrant workers, in collaboration with Professor Jeff Guy, was part of Afrapix's *Cordoned Heart* publication. His photographic essay on fishing activity at Kosi Bay was first exhibited on the estuary shores. He created and managed media production units at the University of Bophuthatswana, where he did extensive documentary work; and Rhodes University, where his focus was on integrated digital media production.



"David Webster was doing anthropology research with the people of Kosi Bay in Zululand, while I was photographing in the same area. We met in 1988 and agreed to collaborate in recording the lives of the people, but his assassination meant the project was stillborn."



Police prepare to close the University of Bophuthatswana campus in Mmabatho in October 1985 to prevent a student prayer meeting for peace in South Africa.

The army uniform increases uniformity, while suppressing diversity and individuality. The repeating ritual of donning the 'mask' seems to act as a physical brainwashing tool



JENNY ALTSCHULER

JENNY ALTSCHULER began her career as a social-documentary portraitist and head of department of the Red Cross Children's Hospital Audiovisual Unit in 1981. She has exhibited locally and abroad, including at the 2007 inaugural Photoquai-Paris Biennale, the International Biennial of Fine-Art & Documentary, Argentina (2010) and Infecting the City, Cape Town (2013). During her term as Head of Photography at CityVarsity (2000-2011), Altschuler completed her MFA at Michaelis, UCT, receiving the Katrina Harries Print Cabinet Postgraduate Award for excellence in her practical body of work, Platform 24. (2009). The Cycle of Life and Death is a recurring theme in Altschuler's work, with the family album as the archive of love, mortality, loss and resilience of spirit.



"After every weekend pass, my husband David left home in a uniform that metamorphosed him from a tender lover into a shielded lieutenant, a suspiciously closed stranger."



Sarah, singing in her Sunday best, with her family home, a tent, in the background. Philippi, Cape Town. Mid-1980s (surname withheld at family's request)

Revolts and protests spread throughout the townships of South Africa in the summer of 1985



Photograph © PADRAIC O'MEARA

OMAR BADSHA

OMAR BADSHA was born in Durban in 1945. An artist, trade union leader, and anti-apartheid activist, he took up photography in 1976. He helped start the Afrapix collective and was also the head of the photography unit of the Second Carnegie Commission on Poverty and Development. In 1987 he established the Centre for Documentary Photography at the University of Cape Town. He is the head of the non-profit online history project South African History Online (SAHO) which he established in 1999. Badsha has exhibited widely and his work can be found in collections in South Africa and internationally. He has received a number of awards for painting and photography.



Police arrest a student whilst breaking up protests after the assassination of United Democratic Front leader and human rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge. August 1985



A policeman orders striking workers to disperse at a time when the South African government had not recognised black trade unions. Durban 1985

This picture represents defiance – defiance by those who grabbed Ashley Kriel’s coffin and ran with it, and defiance by journalists in covering the event



ADIL BRADLOW

ADIL BRADLOW began working as a journalist in the mid-1980s, initially as a freelance writer for *Muslim News*, a Cape Town community newspaper. In August 1985 his editor Farid Sayyid, suggested he take pictures to go with his story on the now infamous Pollsmoor March. He never looked back. He was hired by the international news agency The Associated Press in 1987. Apart from a short stint with Reuters he worked for The AP for 13 years. He switched to shooting video in 1999 and was soon working for international news organisations, covering conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and Asia.



Mourners carrying the coffin of slain African National Congress activist Ashley Kriel, react as police open fire. 16 July 1987



South African Police shoot teargas at University of Cape Town students who were protesting the upcoming whites-only election. 24 April 1987

I begin to tingle as Tutu rises over the mothers of those killed.
Twenty-one clicks later and this is the image



GILLE DE Vlieg

GILLE DE Vlieg was born in England during World War II and emigrated to South Africa in 1944. She joined the Black Sash in 1982 and then the Afrapix photographic collective. Many of her images were sent by Afrapix to anti-apartheid organisations abroad. She was detained for 37 days under the State of Emergency in 1986 and on her release she continued covering forced removals, protests, police violence and conscientious objectors amongst others. The *Gille de Vlieg Photographic Collection* is held by the South African History Archive. De Vlieg sees herself as an activist first and then a photographer.



Bishop Desmond Tutu at the funeral of 10 people killed by South African police in KwaThema. 23 July 1985



Winnie Mandela, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Andrew Mlangeni at the Welcome Home Rally in Soweto. 13 February 1990

Walter Dhladhla was a proud and committed photographer who dedicated his life to exposing the realities around him



WALTER DHLADHLA

WALTER DHLADHLA was born in KwaZulu-Natal in 1960. He started his photography career as a darkroom assistant for the Sunday Express where he was mentored by Herbert Mabuza. When the paper closed in 1985 he joined the short-lived Transvaal News Bureau and later Agence France-Presse. He rose to become AFP's Chief Photographer in Southern Africa and travelled widely chronicling the last decade of apartheid, the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and the beginnings of democracy. He was internationally recognised for his work which appears in many books. He died after a long illness in 2007, leaving two sons Andile and Sibonelo.



While about sixty percent of high school children stayed away from classes during the nationwide school boycott, primary schools were better attended. Soweto. July 1986



Protesters at Wits Medical School in Johannesburg after a meeting in response to the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign to protest racially segregated hospitals. August 1989

I was reminded of images of the chain gangs of the American southern states



JILLIAN EDELSTEIN

London-based photographer **JILLIAN EDELSTEIN** was born in Cape Town. She began working as a photographer in Johannesburg on the *Rand Daily Mail* and *The Star*. In 1985 she moved to England to study at the London College of Communications. Her portraits have appeared in many publications including *Vanity Fair*, *Interview* and the *New York Times Magazine*. She has received several awards including the celebrated Visa D'Or. Edelstein visited South Africa frequently from 1996 to document the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and in 2002 Granta published her award-winning book *Truth and Lies*. Her work has been exhibited internationally.



Workers toil on the False Bay railway line near the Cape Peninsula, while the overseer stands idly by.
February 1987



Khayelitsha was established in the late 1980s by the Nationalist government to accommodate former dwellers from the KTC and Crossroads informal settlements.

It was downtown Joburg on a third floor and the atmosphere was incredible –
toyi-toying in that small space



ELLEN ELMENDORP

ELLEN ELMENDORP moved to South Africa in 1988 after living and working in Europe and Latin America. She has documented anti-semitism in Poland; the 1969 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia; the latter years of General Franco's rule in Spain; Peron's return to Argentina and the fall of Ceaucescu in Romania. She joined the photo agency Afrapix in the late 1980s. Her work between 2004 and 2006 documenting virginity testing in KwaZulu-Natal was published in a book and in newspapers and magazines. Between 2000 and 2013 she worked for Impumelelo where she documented projects in rural areas and townships around South Africa.

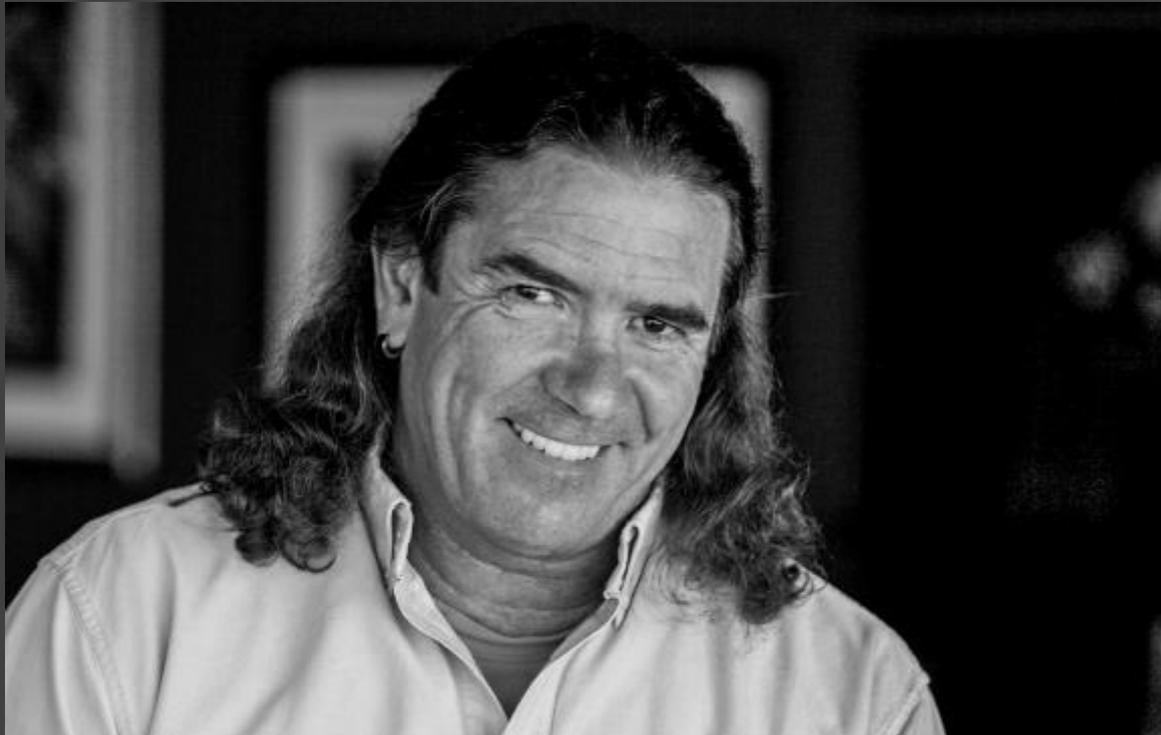


Terror Lekota and Moss Chikane express their joy at being released in 1989 after the Appeal Court reviewed their sentence in the Delmas Treason Trial.



Mourners line the streets on the day of the funeral of activist David Webster who had been murdered by the apartheid state. Johannesburg. 6 May 1989

Funeral of the Cradock Four. That day President PW Botha announced a State of Emergency would begin the following day, 21 July 1985



GREG ENGLISH

GREG ENGLISH started as a photographer on the Sunday Express, Natal Mercury and the Rand Daily Mail. He joined the agency United Press International in 1983 and then The Associated Press covering South Africa's anti-apartheid uprising of the 1980s. He moved to London in 1987 and has since covered events in over 70 countries. Since 1995 he has worked as a news cameraman. He took various courses at the London Film and Television School to enhance his skills as a lighting cameraman and to better understand the language of film. He has also made short films, music videos and commercials.



Funeral of the Cradock Four – Fort Calata, Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli – who were abducted and killed by security forces.
20 July 1985



Reverend Allan Boesak holds back a crowd who wanted to necklace a man who was named an informer at a funeral in George, Eastern Cape.
1 March 1986

There was spirited resistance and although they eventually recovered their land, this close-knit community was effectively destroyed by apartheid



DAVID GOLDBLATT

DAVID GOLDBLATT was born in Randfontein in 1930. He went to work for his father's men's outfitting store after matriculating. At the same time he took a B Comm degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. After his father died in 1962 he sold the business and became a photographer. He regards himself as 'an unlicensed, self-appointed observer and critic of South African society' which he continues to explore with the camera. Goldblatt, who founded the Market Photo Workshop in 1989, is an award-winning photographer whose work is published in 20 books and has been widely exhibited in South Africa and other countries.



Hasimia Sahib continued trading from his building that had been partially destroyed by the state in executing a proclamation to remove Indians from Fietas in Johannesburg to make room for whites. 8 March 1986



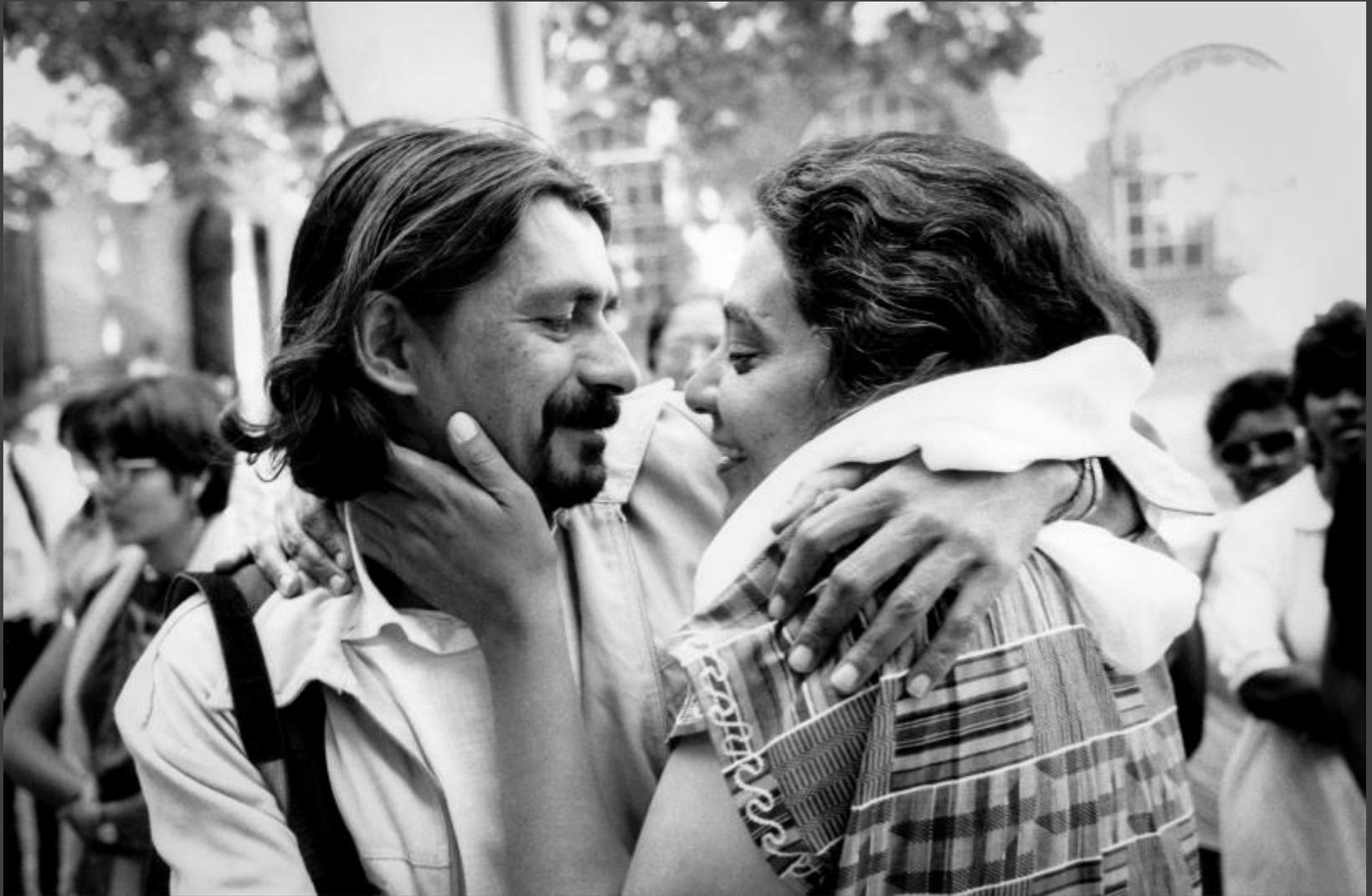
Luke Kgatitsoe sits where his house stood before the state destroyed it and the rest of the buildings when this farm was declared a 'black spot'. Magopa, North West. 21 October 1986

Good news was scarce during the State of Emergency



BENNY GOOL

BENNY GOOL has documented the liberation struggle, freedom and democracy in South Africa. His early photographs were published in the anti-apartheid newspaper *Grassroots*. He moved into television in 1990, undergoing training at the South African Broadcasting Corporation where he worked for a year before becoming Chief Photographer at the *Cape Times*. He has received a number of photography awards, including South African Press Photographer of the Year. As Special Assignments Photographer for Independent Newspapers, he documented the transformation of public institutions and covered the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, amongst other assignments. In 2000, Gool established the digital multimedia agency, OryxMedia Productions.



Colleen Lombard is greeted by her husband Rashid on her release from detention. She was tried with 13 others in the Yengeni Trial. December 1987



Activists set out for Victor Verster Prison to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. 1989

I wanted to capture an environmental portrait of Troyeville. Many feared the Group Areas Act so they didn't want me to use their names



JENNY GORDON

JENNY GORDON was born in Johannesburg in 1955. She studied Fine Arts and then freelanced in photography. She has taught photography at the Frank Joubert Art School, the University of the Western Cape, the University of Cape Town Summer School, CityVarsity School of Media and Creative Arts and Allenby College, and ran the Market Photo Workshop. An environmental portraitist, she has documented inner-city neighbourhoods, the Mai Mai Market and the formerly white working class suburb of Troyeville inhabited by all races in defiance of apartheid. Gordon lectures photojournalism at the Rhodes University School of Journalism and Media Studies.



Medical doctors Kedi and Wolfgang Rennert at their house in Troyeville, Johannesburg – one of the many inner-city areas where people lived together in defiance of the Group Areas Act.

© JENNY GORDON



A sangoma poses in the Mai Mai Market in Johannesburg. He, like many others, kept his stall, despite the Group Areas Act, by bribing officials

© JENNY GORDON

I needed to bear witness to the crimes perpetrated by police escorting vigilantes as they fired on residents and torched their homes to drive them from the area



LOUISE GUBB

South African-born photojournalist LOUISE GUBB started out in 1972 writing feature stories and taking photos for Beirut's Daily Star. She returned to southern Africa in 1977 to cover the Rhodesian War of Independence for The Associated Press and Gamma. She moved to New York in 1980, from where she covered stories such as China's emergence from a closed economy and Ethiopia's famine. She photographed the South African liberation struggle and the advent of democracy. Her work has appeared in international publications and she has participated in numerous photographic exhibitions. Her most recent photography focuses on health and human rights in Africa.

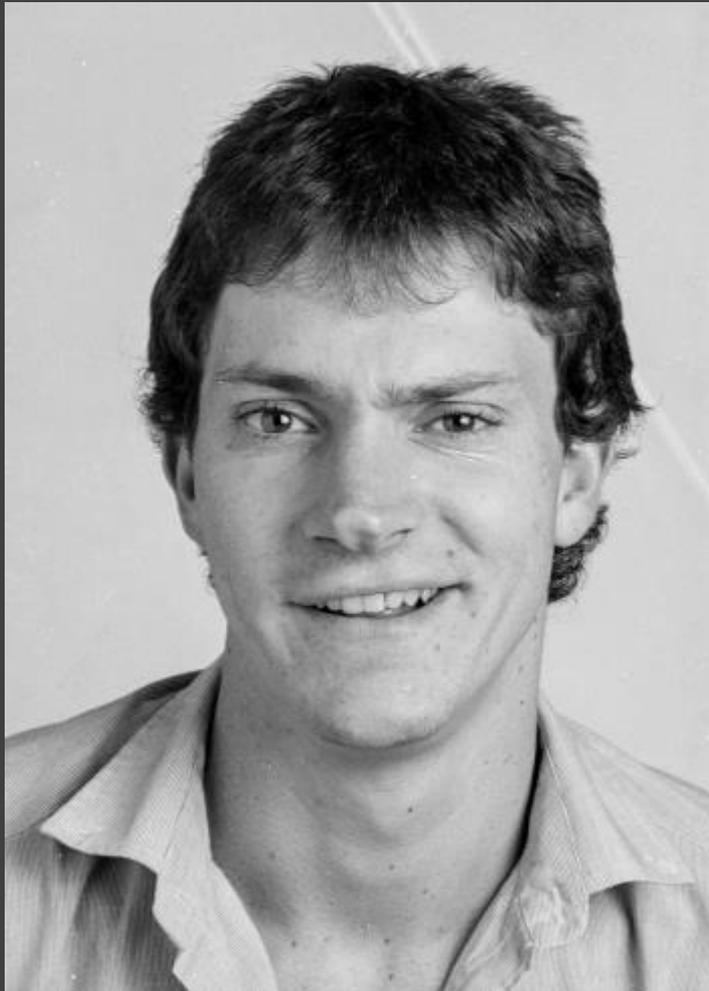


A young comrade watches as police-backed 'witdoeke' vigilantes attempt to violently drive residents of the KTC squatter camp section from their shanties. 10 June 1986



Anti-apartheid protestors resist attempts by a low-flying police helicopter to disperse them from occupying a 'whites-only' beach in Cape Town. 19 August 1989

Think crooked, shoot straight



STEVE HILTON-BARBER

STEVE HILTON-BARBER was born in Tzaneen in 1962. He received a Bachelor of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University. In 1986 he joined Afrapix and freelanced for Reuters in the Eastern Cape. In 1990 he started SouthLight Photo Agency with Paul Weinberg. He worked for the *Saturday Star* in 1992 and was the chief photographer on the *Mail & Guardian* in 1993 and 1994. He subsequently worked on a travelling exhibition which humanised and promoted the Maputo Corridor. Hilton-Barber was husband to Monica and father to Benjamin. He died of a heart attack on 23 May 2002.



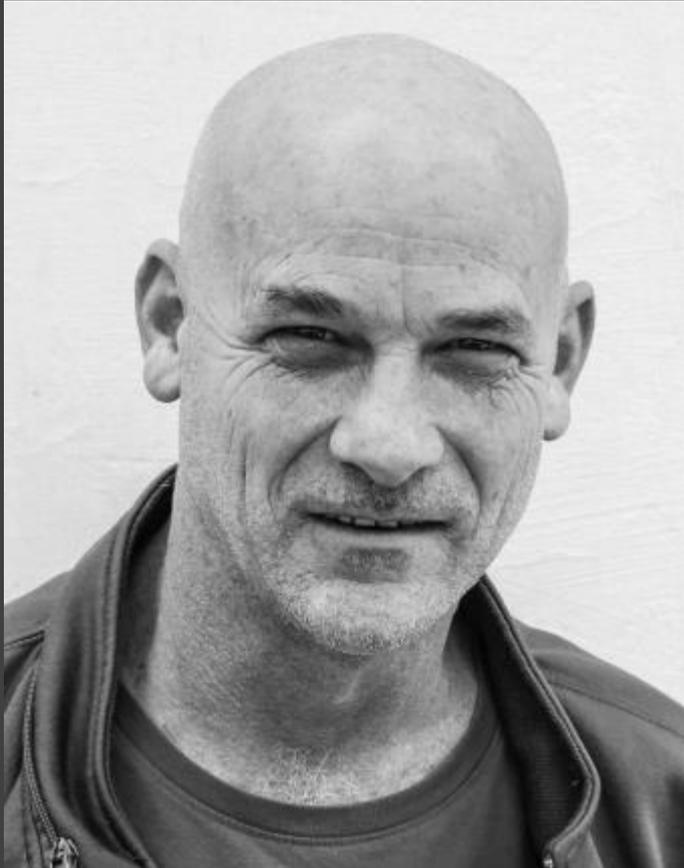
Street poster, Johannesburg. 1980s



Bathurst Show, Grahamstown. 1987

© STEVE HILTON-BARBER

It was a time of pain and brutality, but it was also a time of hope as we realised we could change the future



MIKE HUTCHINGS

Born of South African parents in London in 1963, **MIKE HUTCHINGS** grew up in various African countries. He completed an Honours degree in Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town in 1986. He then became active in organisations including the End Conscription Campaign and the South African Youth Congress. He worked as a freelance photographer and an occasional writer for a variety of organisations. He also contributed pictures to the Afrapix collective. In 1991 Hutchings joined Reuters and has since worked on a range of stories internationally. In 2011 he won a World Press Photo award for Sport.



Police manhandle a young man during a housing protest in District Six, Cape Town. 1989

© MIKE HUTCHINGS



Protesters against compulsory military conscription pin flowers to a rifleman standing guard outside the South African Defence Force headquarters in Cape Town. October 1989

© MIKE HUTCHINGS

The vibrancy and hardship of township life shaped my own outlook and became the subject of my early photographs



FANIE JASON

Brought up in Gugulethu, Cape Town, FANIE JASON'S photography career took off in the early eighties when he freelanced for *DRUM* and *Pace* magazines. Despite the reluctance then of South African newspapers to hire a black photographer from the townships, his work has appeared in publications around the world. Multi-award-winning Jason has worked in South Africa, Brazil, India, the West Bank, Kosovo and Rwanda. His work has been shown in South Africa, Mali and the United States, including at New York City's International Centre of Photography as part of Okwui Enwezor's acclaimed show *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*.



South African Defence Force troops in armoured vehicles patrol through KwaMashu Section B near Durban, after a fight broke out between Inkatha and the UDF. 1989



A man accused of being a police informer was beaten and about to be set alight in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, when the police saved him. 1988

© FANIE JASON

ALF KUMALO has left us with a powerful record of South Africa's transformation from apartheid to democracy



ALF KUMALO

ALF KUMALO was born in Johannesburg. He began his career in 1951 freelancing for *Bantu World*, where he took photographs and wrote stories. In 1956 he was employed at the *Golden City Post*. Kumalo's documentation of South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy included the 1956 Treason Trial, the Rivonia Trial, the Soweto Uprising and Nelson Mandela's release. In 2004 a solo exhibition of his life's work was shown at the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Later that year he was honoured by President Thabo Mbeki with the *Order of Ikhamanga* in Silver. Kumalo passed away in 2012.



A youth in Evaton on the East Rand gives thanks for the announcement that Nelson Mandela would soon be released after 27 years in prison. February 1990

© ALF KUMALO



Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu at Mandela's Soweto home following his release from Victor Verster Prison. February 1990

An instant of violence and pain in the months of repression that attempted to silence everyone



ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Born in Eldorado Park, ISMAIL LAGARDIEN worked as a photojournalist between 1984 and 1987. Following Nelson Mandela's release he was appointed as the first political correspondent of the *Sowetan*, and was the first correspondent from a black newspaper in Parliament's Press Gallery. After he left journalism he served as strategist and speechwriter for Joseph Stiglitz at the World Bank, taught International Political Economy and Global Finance and later worked in the Secretariat of South Africa's National Planning Commission in the Presidency. His interests in photography now focus on philosophy and sociology. Lagardien holds a doctorate in International Political Economy.



Police detain Firoz Cachalia, a law student, during protests at Wits University in Johannesburg. The man on the left had earlier posed as a student. August 1985



Confrontation: The first press engagement with government after the declaration of the State of Emergency in 1985.

I documented the ways white South Africans were facing political change, which I felt would influence the prospect of a peaceful future



LESLEY LAWSON

Throughout the 1980s **LESLEY LAWSON** freelanced for non-governmental education organisations, as a writer, editor and photographer covering gender, labour, development and human rights. A founding member of the Afrapix collective, she documented the lives of ordinary South Africans, using the camera to tell stories of endurance, courage and integrity in the face of injustice. Her show *Survivors* was held at the Market Theatre Photo Gallery in 1980. Later she photographed white worlds in a State of Emergency. In 1999 Lawson moved to England, but continued her engagement with southern Africa through development work around HIV issues.



Instructress at a shooting range. Johannesburg. 1988

© LESLEY LAWSON



Dress shop window. Johannesburg. 1986

© LESLEY LAWSON

The day marked the culmination of our collective efforts but also the beginning of the pursuit of individualistic expression



CHRIS LEDOCHOWSKI

CHRIS LEDOCHOWSKI was born in Pretoria in 1956. He studied at the Michaelis School of Fine Art at the University of Cape Town, where he majored in Photography. In the early 1980s he joined the Afrapix photographic collective as well as Afroscope, its film component. He photographed the anti-apartheid struggle and also documented the formation and development of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and related worker organisations. For over 30 years he has been working on a photographic project in Venda in the Limpopo Province. Ledochowski lives in Cape Town and regularly contributes to national and international exhibitions.



Demonstrators flee teargas in Cape Town in what became known as the Purple Rain March as police also fired purple-dyed water. 2 September 1989

© CHRIS LEDOCHOWSKI



Nelson Mandela delivers his first speech in 27 years from the balcony of Cape Town's City Hall on the day of his release. 11 February 1990

© CHRIS LEDOCHOWSKI

The determination and courage displayed by the student movement during the State of Emergency was inspiring



RASHID LOMBARD

RASHID LOMBARD worked as a political and hard news photojournalist for 28 years covering the anti-apartheid struggle for both local and international media. He now applies his expertise to the production and management of entertainment and entertainers. A former station manager of Fine Music Radio and former programming manager at P4 Smooth Jazz Radio, Lombard produced eTV's well-received programme Jazz Café. He founded esp Afrika in 1998 and served as the Director of the Cape Town International Jazz Festival from 2000 to 2014. In 2014 Lombard received the *Order of Ikhamanga* in Silver from the President of South Africa.



Poet James Matthews stands with students of Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone, Cape Town, as they participate in the nationwide school boycott in late 1985.



In July 1987 a group of Afrikaners met ANC exiles in Senegal. Back: Revel Fox, Trudie de Ridder, Andre Brink, Abraham Viljoen, Mike Savage, Jacques Kriel, Heribert Adam and Lourens du Plessis. Front: Peter Gastrow, Errol Moorcroft, Ilse Naude and Andre du Pisani.

A struggle without documentation is no struggle



DR PETER MAGUBANE

Born in Vrededorp, **PETER MAGUBANE** began his career at *DRUM* magazine in 1954. He was present at pivotal moments in South Africa including the proclamation of the Freedom Charter, the Sharpeville Massacre, the Rivonia Trial and the Soweto Uprising. On his release, Mandela asked Magubane to be one of his personal photographers. Magubane holds nine honorary doctorates and awards include the SA Press Photo of the Year, the Robert Capa Award, the order of Meritorious Service Silver Class from President Mandela, the Martin Luther-King Luthuli Award, the Cornel Capa Lifetime Achievement Award, and the SANEF Nat Nakasa Award. He has published 21 books and has held numerous solo exhibitions.



The funeral of 19 people killed in the Duncan Village Massacre that took place after the slaying of United Democratic Front leader Victoria Mxenge in 1985.



Armed combatants engage in running battles in Thokoza on the East Rand. These youths were bent on destroying a nearby Zulu hostel.

I have always appreciated the fact that Winnie allowed me to photograph her in such a private moment, during a particularly bad period in her life



JIMI MATTHEWS

JIMI MATTHEWS is a writer, stills photographer, editor, cameraman and producer. A graduate of the London International Film School, he has written and directed television documentaries and his work as a contributing cameraman has appeared in over 25 productions. Highlights of his television career include filming the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and the enthronement of Desmond Tutu as the Archbishop of Cape Town. After working for the international news agency Reuters for over 10 years, Matthews became the founding Head of News of eTV and was recently the Group Executive for News and Current Affairs at the South African Broadcasting Corporation.



Winnie Mandela reading a letter that reached her in Brandfort in the Free State to where she had been banished by the apartheid state.

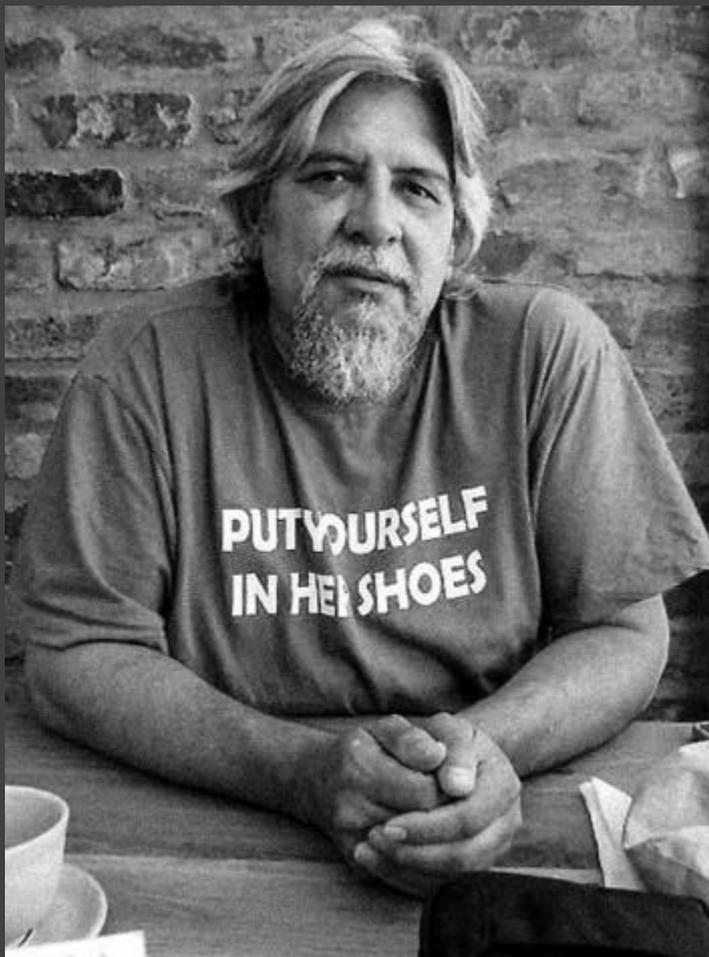
© JIMI MATTHEWS



Throughout the dark years of apartheid, women stood fast in the struggle for liberation.

© JIMI MATTHEWS

Julle kan maa' New York toe gaan, maa' ek bly in die Manenberg,
said Abdullah Ibrahim



RAFS MAYET

RAFS MAYET is a Durban 'boykie' who has been involved in photography since 1983. He learnt the basics in Omar Badsha's darkroom, later joining the Afrapix collective. After working at the *Daily Dispatch* in East London, he returned to work at the *New African* newspaper in Durban until the release of Nelson Mandela, after which he started to freelance for various publications. He was the first to exhibit at the North Sea Jazz Festival in Cape Town in 1999 and has curated and co-ordinated the production side of the Duotone Gallery at the Cape Town International Jazz Festival since 2004.



Abdullah Ibrahim performs at Durban City Hall in 1990 for the first time after 16 years of exile. During this period he helped spread the message of the struggle through various awareness and fundraising performances.



Lawrence Zondi, leader of the BTR Sarmcol strikers addresses workers in a church hall in Mpophomeni, KZN, in 1986. This longest strike in the history of South Africa – 13 years – was only resolved in 1998.

Seconds before the brutal phalanx of riot police descended, it had felt like a moment suspended in time as they stood, holding each other, not moving



GIDEON MENDEL

GIDEON MENDEL was born in Johannesburg in 1959. He studied Psychology and African History at the University of Cape Town. He began photographing in the 1980s – the final years of apartheid. One of the major focuses of his work is the issue of HIV/AIDS. Since 2007, he has worked on *Drowning World*, an art and advocacy project about flooding that is his personal response to climate change. The winner of multiple photographic awards, Mendel has worked for many of the world's leading magazines. His first book, *A Broken Landscape: HIV & AIDS in Africa* was published in 2001.



Police attack a group of protesters who had been assembling to demand the release of Nelson Mandela, Cape Town 1985

© GIDEON MENDEL



Young men, rocks at the ready, wait to attack a security force vehicle following a mass funeral in Duduza on the East Rand. July 1985

© GIDEON MENDEL

I was not prepared to put my cameras down in the face of what the state security forces were doing to destroy any opposition to apartheid



ERIC MILLER

ERIC MILLER left the corporate world for the 'real world' of South Africa under a State of Emergency. He joined Afrapix which sent his work to solidarity organisations abroad. His pictures also appeared in the *Weekly Mail*, *New Nation*, and other progressive publications. He worked for the international news agency Reuters for three years from 1988. He has worked in over 45 countries, more than half of these in Africa. He has covered events including the Rwandan genocide, famine in Sudan and child soldiers and abductions in northern Uganda. Miller works largely around issues of health, human rights and social development.



During the State of Emergency and a railway workers strike, police search Cosatu House on 29 April 1987. They arrested workers pointed out by a man wearing a balaclava.



Activist David Webster contemplates his speech before addressing a meeting at Cosatu House in Johannesburg in 1987. Webster was assassinated on 1 May 1989.

Doing the toyi-toyi, she is daring and proud



SANTU MOFOKENG

SANTU MOFOKENG's interest is in the unconventional. A photographic enquiry into spirituality has continued throughout his career and produced the evocative series Chasing Shadows. His explorations of landscape invested with spiritual significance form part of a wider enquiry into space and belonging, the political meaning of landscape in relation to ownership, power and memory. His recent urban landscapes go beyond political and social commentary into meditations on 'existential madness – the absurdities of living'. Mofokeng has received numerous awards including the Ernest Cole Scholarship to study at the International Centre for Photography in New York. His work has been exhibited internationally.



Comrade Sister, White City, Jabavu

© SANTU MOFOKENG & LUNETTA BARTZ, MAKER



Golf in Zone 6, Diepkloof

© SANTU MOFOKENG & LUNETTA BARTZ, MAKER

Reaching for my camera to capture the picture of the moment was my only evidence and truth for the world to see



JUDA NGWENYA

JUDA NGWENYA began taking pictures at weekend social gatherings in the 1970's while working as a shop packer during the week. In 1981 he freelanced for the *Sowetan* and two years later joined *The Star*. He worked with Reuters for 20 years from 1995 and as its chief photographer for southern Africa from 1999. He has covered news across the world including bomb blasts in Nairobi, the Korea-Japan 2002 World Cup, floods in Mozambique, the Sydney Olympic Games and civil wars in Liberia. Ngwenya has received several awards and has judged competitions including the World Press Photo Awards.



Police fire teargas and purple-dyed water at anti-apartheid demonstrators in Cape Town in what became known as the Purple Rain March. 2 September 1989



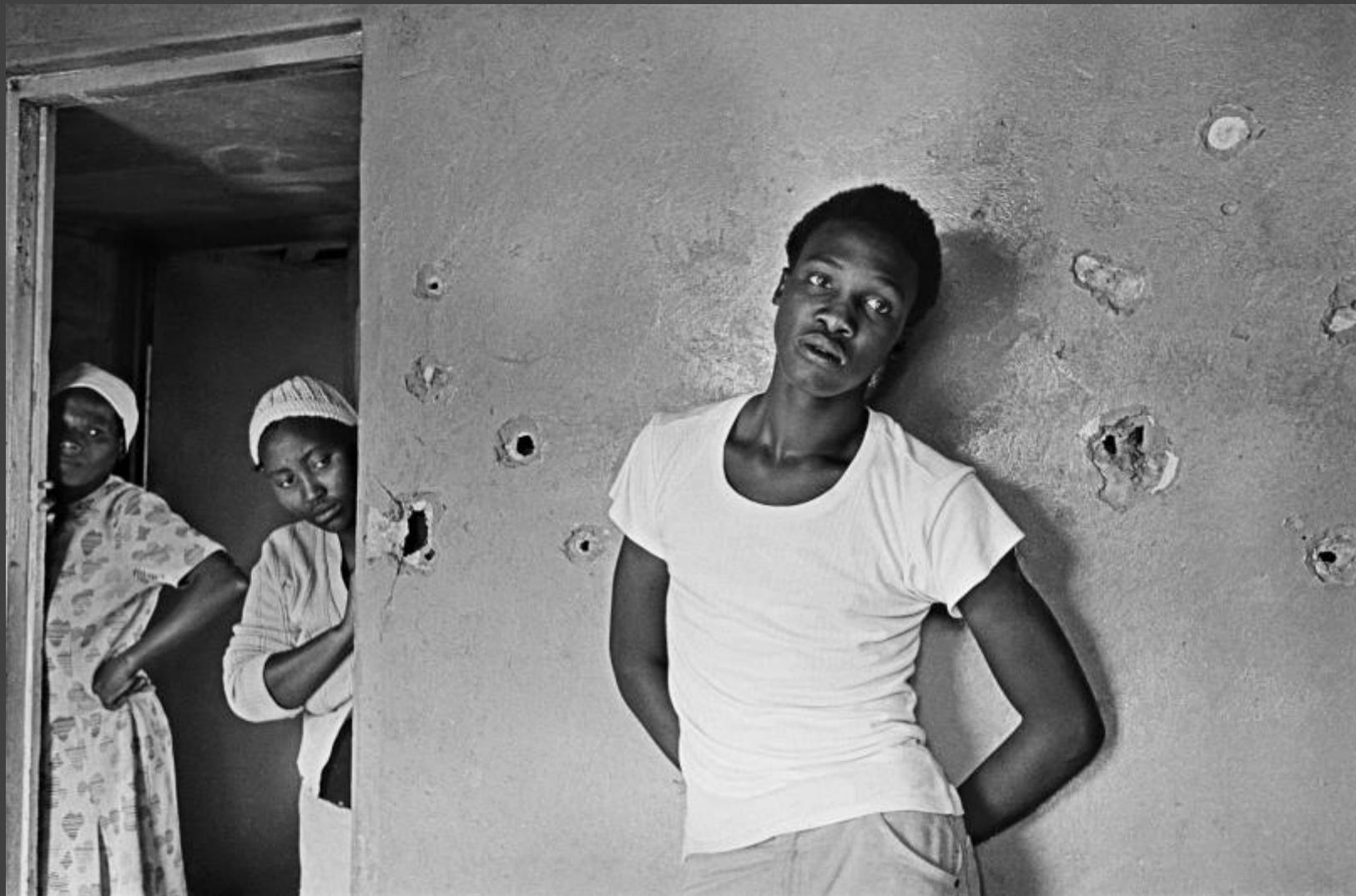
SA Youth Congress education officer Ephraim Nkwe and fellow detainees walk from Hillbrow Hospital after ending their hunger strike in the hope of imminent release. 16 February 1989

The youth bore the brunt of the assault, both on apartheid and by apartheid; they paid the ultimate price for what we call freedom today

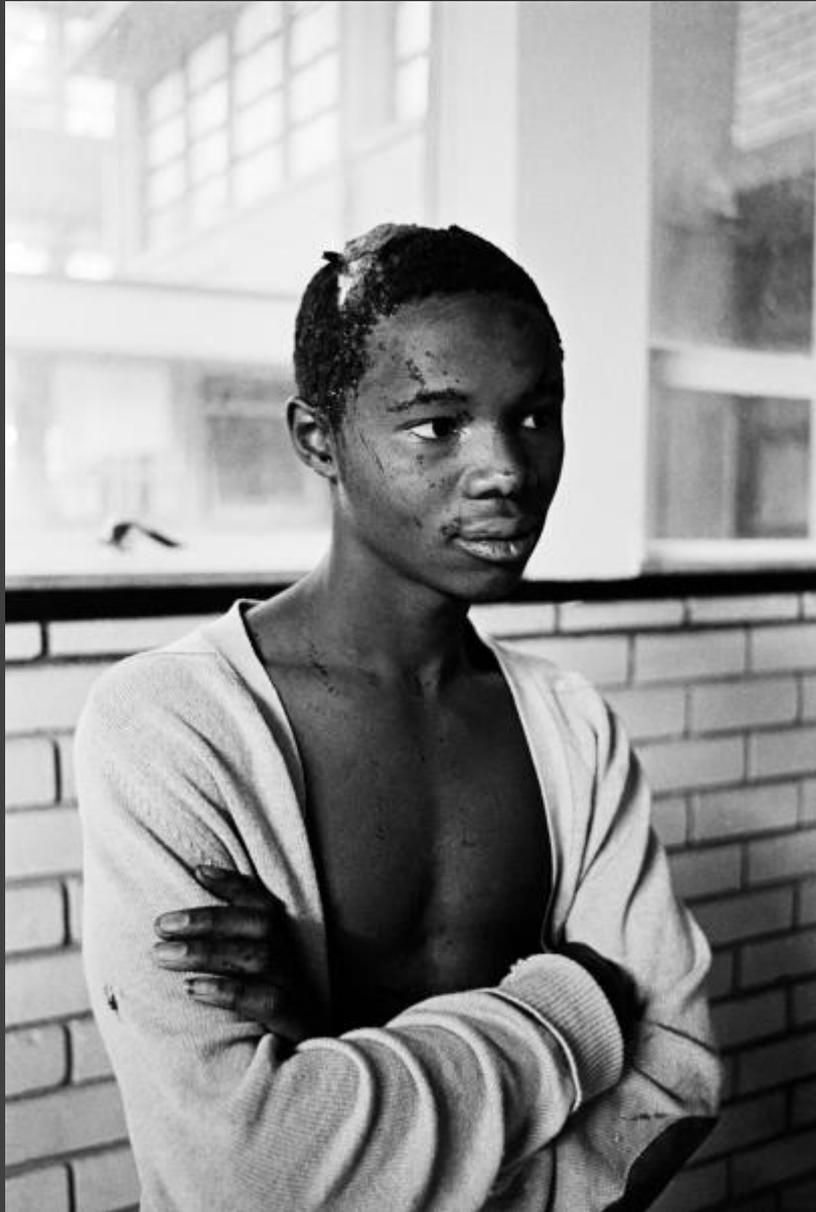


CEDRIC NUNN

CEDRIC NUNN was born in KwaZulu-Natal, of 4th-generation mixed-race parentage. He began taking photographs in Durban in the early 1980s. He soon moved to Johannesburg and joined Afrapix in 1982 and was a member until it closed in 1990. He has continued to work independently as a documentary photographer and artist, showing his work in galleries and museums in South Africa and abroad. He was previously also director of the Market Photo Workshop in Johannesburg. In 2011, he won the first FNB Joburg Art Fair Award. Nunn lives in Hillcrest, KwaZulu-Natal and Johannesburg.

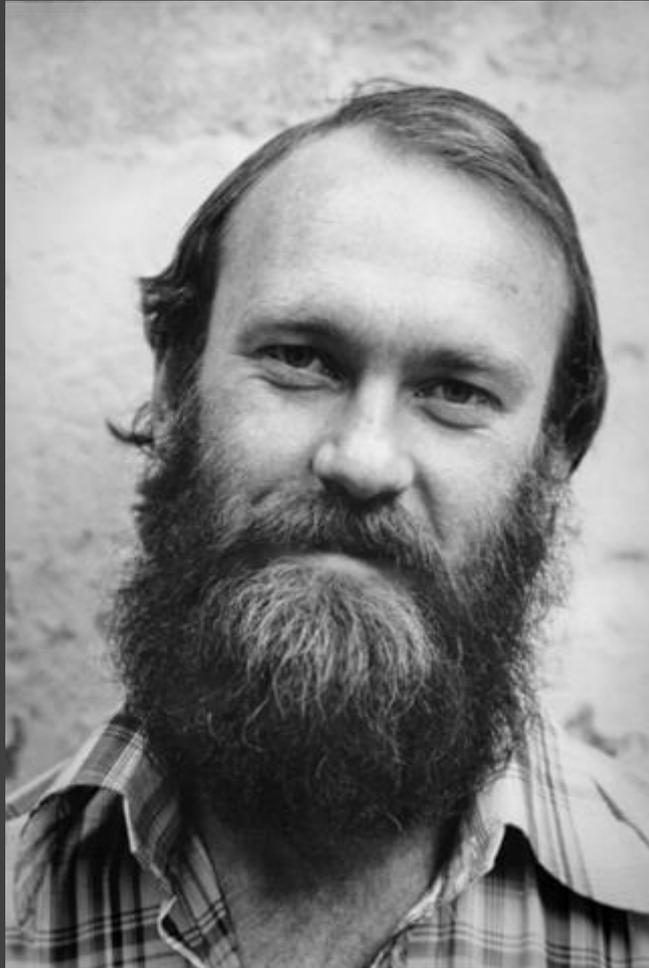


Victor Ntuli outside his home in KwaMakhutha, KwaZulu-Natal in which 12 members of his family were shot dead by security forces the previous night. January 1987



A young man who had been injured in an attack by Inkatha members in Mpophomeni, near Howick, KwaZulu-Natal, during the Sarmcol strike of 1986.

BILLY PADDOCK once threw his film out of the back of a police van to avoid having his pictures confiscated



BILLY PADDOCK

A candidate for the ministry, **BILLY PADDOCK** became a photographer after serving a jail sentence for refusing to serve in the apartheid army. His photographic work and news writing focused mainly on the rise of anti-apartheid activity in the 1980s. He began with the collective Afrapix and subsequently travelled around South Africa for Agence France-Presse and *The Guardian*. His courage in the face of state repression was legendary. Paddock died in a car crash in 1994 leaving as his professional legacy a body of work chronicling the last years of apartheid rule in South Africa. His personal legacy stands as a testament to his commitment to freedom.



Funeral for the 14 victims of the 1985 Queenstown Massacre in which security force members opened fire on residents attending a consumer boycott meeting.



The UDF's *Christmas Against the Emergency* in 1986 called for candlelight, supporters to remain sober, to visit detainees' families and to sing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

What I still think about today is why they fired teargas into that bus.
There was no provocation or obvious reason



TREVOR SAMSON

TREVOR SAMSON has been a professional photographer for over 35 years covering events across Africa ranging from the anti-apartheid struggle to animal rescue and release, and corporate social investment projects. He has won numerous awards and accolades and his work has been published throughout the world. Mostly self-taught, Samson did a three-year apprenticeship in photolithography at Beith, then worked as a photographer at the *Rand Daily Mail*, *Sunday Express* and later *The Star*. He covered news for international agency Agence France-Presse between 1985 and 1992. Samson now works as a freelance photographer from his base in Cape Town.



A woman falls from a bus in KwaNdebele, north of Pretoria. Police had fired teargas into the moving vehicle. May 1988



Mourners at the funeral of assassinated civil rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge at Rayi Cemetery outside King William's Town. August 1985

One Municipality for One City



CECIL SOLS

CECIL SOLS worked as a freelance photographer with a collective of social documentary photographers in the 1980s to early 1990s, helping to expose the atrocities of apartheid and to empower young black South Africans through media training. He collaborated with the Afrapix collective and Dynamic Images, which provided photographic and video training 'to serve underprivileged and oppressed people'. Sols was attracted to social documentary photography as an important tool to bridge the social gap between communities in South Africa.



Fathers carry each other's sons at a protest march by residents of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape during nationwide calls for the abolition of segregation.



Youths march in protest against violence in Tembisa, east of Johannesburg, where clashes between the IFP and ANC saw many hundreds lose their lives.

The tension in the Indian township of Phoenix was palpable



DESENI SOOBEN

DESENI SOOBEN graduated in Photography at Natal Technikon and began contributing to Afrapix. She photographed trade union gatherings, End Conscription Campaign meetings and the funerals of anti-apartheid activists amongst others. When S'bu Mngadi asked her to freelance for *City Press* she spent three years accompanying him and Fred Khumalo, covering vast areas of KwaZulu-Natal. Soobben has been teaching in the Department of Journalism at the Durban University of Technology since 1995. She holds an MA from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Her photographic exhibition alongside Cedric Nunn and Rafs Mayet, entitled *Lights, Camera, Fire*, was held at artSPACE Gallery in 2013.



A South African police officer directs a police armoured vehicle through Phoenix, near Durban at the start of the Inanda Riots. September 1985



Women gather to sing while men attend the burial ground during the funeral of a local resident known as 'Goldfinger'. KwaNdengezi, Pinetown. January 1988

Photographs didn't interest me at first, it was only a way to see my own country



GUY TILLIM

GUY TILLIM was born in Johannesburg in 1962 and lives in Cape Town. He started photographing professionally in 1986. He worked until 1990 with the Afrapix collective. His work as a freelance photographer for South African and foreign media included positions with Reuters between 1986 and 1988, and Agence France-Presse in 1993 and 1994. His many awards include the Prix SCAM (Societe Civile des Auteurs Multimedia) Roger Pic in 2002. His series *Avenue Patrice Lumumba* has been shown at the Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson in Paris, amongst others.



Rival groups fight for control of the KTC and Crossroads informal settlements, Cape Town. June 1986



Rival groups fight for control of the KTC and Crossroads informal settlements, Cape Town. June 1986

© GUY TILLIM

As civil society, we should become more pro-active and hold our government accountable



ZUBEIDA VALLIE

ZUBEIDA VALLIE was born in 1963 in Newlands, Cape Town from which she and her family were forcibly removed under the Group Areas Act. She is a graduate of the Peninsula Technikon. Between 1985 and 1989, she freelanced for, among others, the international news agencies Reuters, The Associated Press and Agence France-Presse and many publications in South Africa and around the world. Her work has been widely exhibited and published in both documentary films and books. For the last 26 years Vallie has lectured in photography at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.



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



Shortly after this image was taken, police with helicopters, whips and teargas dispersed protesters participating in a campaign to end racial segregation of beaches. The Strand, Cape Town. 19 August 1989

We called ourselves the 'Taking Sides Generation'



PAUL WEINBERG

PAUL WEINBERG is a South African-born documentary photographer, filmmaker, writer, curator, educationist and archivist. He began his career in the early 1980s with South African NGOs, and photographing current events for news agencies and foreign newspapers. He was a founding member of Afrapix and South, the collective photo agencies recognized locally and internationally for their uncompromising role in documenting apartheid, and popular resistance to it. His images have received awards and have been exhibited and published locally and abroad. Weinberg is currently Senior Curator of Visual Archives at the University of Cape Town, where he also lectures in the Centre for Film and Media Studies.



A lone woman protests as soldiers patrol Soweto in military vehicles, days after the State of Emergency came into effect. July 1985



Mourners rampage after the memorial service for youths killed by booby-trapped hand grenades at Duduza on the East Rand. ANC infiltrator Joe Mamasela had planned the killings. July 1985

It was a privilege to be working as a photographer during that stage in South Africa's history



GRAEME WILLIAMS

For thirty years, award-winning photographer GRAEME WILLIAMS has created highly personal photographic essays reflecting his response to South Africa's complex evolution. During the 1980s, under apartheid, he produced numerous poignant projects and joined the collective, Afrapix. Between 1989 and 1994 he covered South Africa's transition to democracy for Reuters and other news organizations. Since then he has produced a distinctive and contemporary body of work. His photographs are housed in permanent collections worldwide including The Smithsonian and Duke University (USA) and the University of Cape Town. He has staged solo exhibitions in New York, London, Paris and Johannesburg.



'Coloured' residents of Reiger Park are attacked by members of right-wing groups and the municipal police in Boksburg while staging a 'protest picnic' at the traditionally whites-only recreation area. 1989



A woman is comforted after being beaten by police. She was returning to her office after doing her shopping and was mistaken for a protester. 1986

The Space and Distance Between



Photograph © ELLEN ELMENDORP

GISÈLE WULFSOHN

GISÈLE WULFSOHN began her photography career as a darkroom assistant at The Star newspaper in 1979. She moved into magazines and focused on the anti-apartheid struggle for the Afrapix collective. Wulfsohn's work over 20 years documenting South Africa's struggle against HIV/AIDS is regarded as seminal. Her photographs of many of South Africa's woman leaders form the Malibongwe exhibition curated by the Apartheid Museum. After her death from cancer on 27 December 2011, the Gisèle Wulfsohn Mentorship in Photography was established at the Market Photo Workshop in Johannesburg. Wulfsohn's archive is held at the University of Cape Town Library for Film and Media Studies.



Black people were officially barred from 'whites only' beaches under the Separate Amenities Act of 1953. Lookout Beach, Plettenberg Bay. 1986



The non-violent women's resistance organisation the Black Sash attempted to bring the Struggle to the attention of suburban whites. Durban. 1987

I still believe in the inherent goodness in our world



HETTY ZANTMAN

HETTY ZANTMAN began working as a photojournalist in 1984 with the Rand Daily Mail and went on to the Sunday Star, the Sunday Times, and foreign agencies Agence France-Presse and Sygma. Her work has appeared in numerous local and international magazines. She is currently Cape Town-based and is an advertising and commercial photographer. Her images hang in galleries in the USA and France and in private collections. "Photography dwells in the strange dimension between fact and fiction. I live happily and insanely immersed in both. I feel an unrelenting need to connect with beauty and weird, imperfect things everywhere."



Anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph (1905 – 1992) and her beloved Labrador photographed at her modest home in the Johannesburg suburb of Norwood where she was under house arrest.



A public lavatory at a garage in a farming area in Mpumalanga in the 1980s, 30 years after the introduction of racial segregation laws.

This photograph, used on the front page of the Weekly Mail, was one of the reasons that the issue was banned



ANNA ZIEMINSKI

ANNA ZIEMINSKI is a Cape Town-born photographer and photo editor/projects. In 1996, she took on a 'stringer' position with the international news agency Agence France-Presse and in 2005 was posted as photo editor to New Delhi, India where she currently resides. Her images have been included in a number of group exhibitions, both national and international, and are housed in various photographic archives and permanent collections. In 1985 she relocated to Johannesburg and in 1988 became a member of Afrapix. Her photographs were widely used in the alternative press and the international media and in addition, she pursued self-initiated social documentary



A child of Chief Ampie Mayisa is comforted at his funeral. Chief Mayisa was beaten to death by police-protected vigilantes during conflict over a forced removal in Leandra township. January 1986

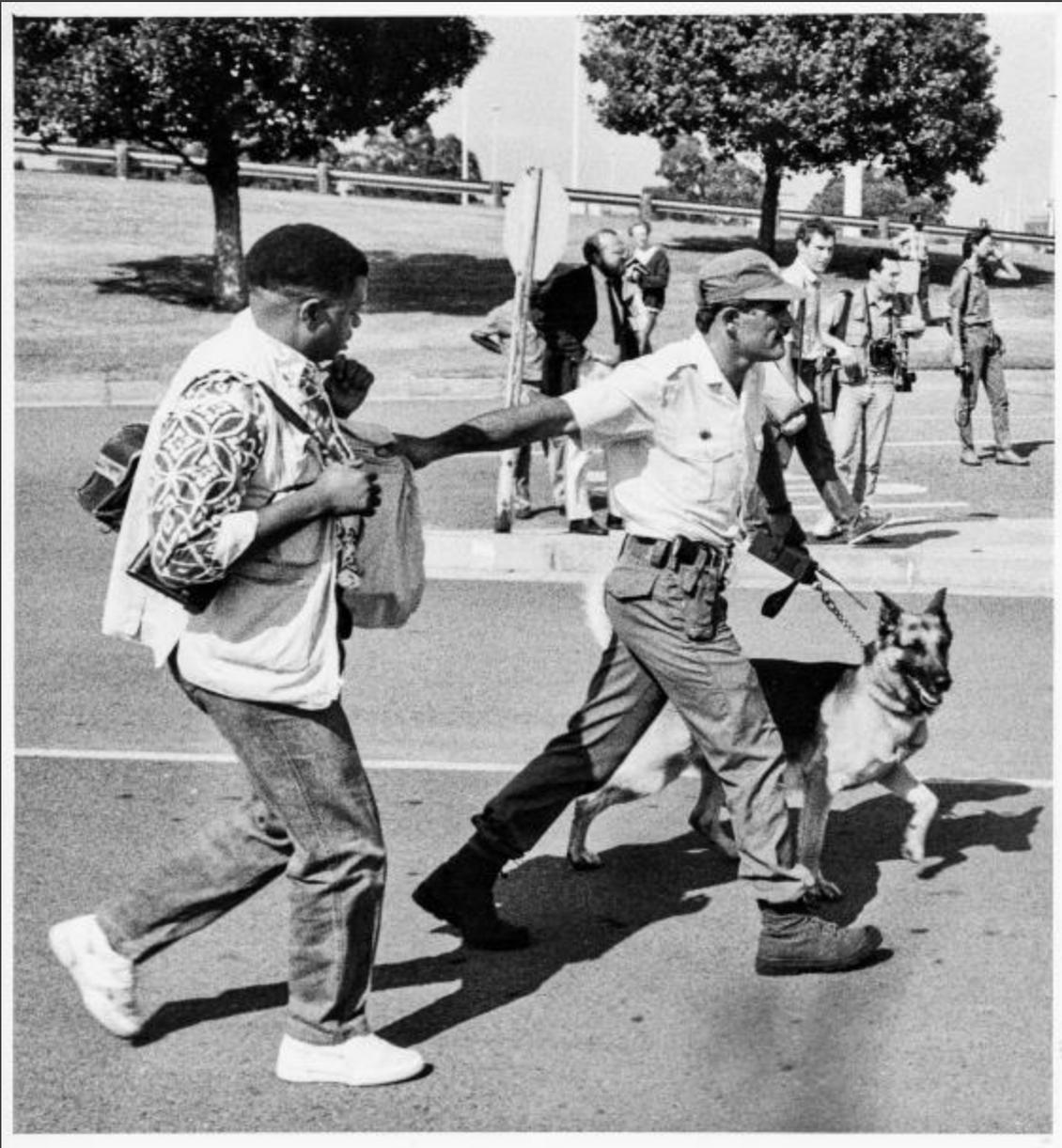


South African police advance on protestors outside Khotso House in Johannesburg the day before the second nationwide State of Emergency was announced. 11 June 1986

'I reiterate our call for, inter alia, the immediate ending of the State of Emergency and the freeing of all, and not only some, political prisoners. Only such a normalised situation, which allows for free political activities, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.'

NELSON MANDELA

11 February 1990, Grand Parade, Cape Town



Juda Ngwena is apprehended while covering a protest in Pretoria

The 1980s were about fighting
for freedom and today's protests
are about broken promises –
ZUBEIDA VALLIE

I saw the officer and a uniformed
colleague grab Firoz Cachalia.
I saw them beat him. I pressed
the shutter release button.
I captured that moment, a
perfect moment to a
photographer, a decisive turn for
freedom under a State of
Emergency. The photographer
and the time were linked –
ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

One had a sense that we were
working as a collective
consciousness –
CHRIS LEDOCHOWSKI

The comrades were not cowed
by the State of Emergency
arrests of their leadership as they
stamped and sang –
GILLE DE VLIEG

I was profoundly ashamed of
what I saw being done to the
Indians of Fietas in my name as
a white South African –
DAVID GOLDBLATT

I always believed that white
South Africans were deeply
affected by their own actions,
and much of my work in the late
1980s tried to convey my
understanding of this
conundrum –
LESLEY LAWSON



Sarah Leen,
Louise Gubb and
Peter Magubane
covering the
funeral of victims
of the Duncan
Village Massacre
in 1986

Photograph © TREVOR SAMSON

I have always been in awe of the great courage that many of our women displayed, day after day
– **JIMI MATTHEWS**

As the violence moved from the cemetery to the township, the occupants of a roving vehicle shot at Peter Magubane and me with rubber bullets that went over our heads. They shot at me and I shot at them –
PAUL WEINBERG

I managed to access an office a block away and shot about 10 frames, until I saw the policeman looking at me. I had the photo, hid my film and camera and walked out the building shortly before a squad of police arrived to search the building –
ERIC MILLER

As a young white South African I felt honoured to be trusted by the activists who felt comfortable with my presence and allowed me to stay close as they dodged from backyard to backyard in their dangerous combat with the police –
GIDEON MENDEL

When police threatened protesters on a whites-only beach with a low-flying helicopter, I felt a burning need to capture and show this image of bullying inhumanity to the world –
LOUISE GUBB

I recall the Casspirs there during that State of Emergency and being pulled out of Khayelitsha under armed guard - gun and man in the back of our car –
JILLIAN EDELSTEIN



Peter Magubane is manhandled outside the Johannesburg Supreme Court

Photograph © GREG MARINOVICH



NELSON MANDELA
FOUNDATION

Living the legacy

EXHIBITION

CURATOR: ROBIN COMLEY

PRINTER: LIGHTFARM AND SOUTHERN EDITIONS

DESIGNER: SAM COLYN, C3 DESIGNS

MANUFACTURER: PROGROUP

FRAMER: FRAME DEPOT

VISITORS' GUIDE: CUBE DESIGN