

RISE AND FALL OF APARTHEID

Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life

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Apartheid is Violence. Violence is used to subjugate and to deny basic rights to black people.¹ But no matter how the policy of apartheid has been applied over the years, both black and white democrats have actively opposed it. It is in the struggle for justice that the gulf between artists, writers, and photographers and the people has been narrowed.

—Omar Badsha, *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart*, 1986

I have spent all my life in Johannesburg. School, university, studio, are all within a three-kilometer radius of where I was born. So even when my pictures are set in Paris or New York, in the end they are about Johannesburg—that is to say, a rather bewildered provincial city. These pictures are not all little morals or illustrations of apartheid life. But they are all provoked by the question of how it is that one is able to construct a more or less coherent life in a situation so full of contradiction and disruption.

—William Kentridge, in *From South Africa: New Writing, Photographs, and Art*, 1987

1989: THE BEGINNING OF THE END —AN APPOINTMENT WITH HISTORY

On February 2, 1990, a scene that took forty-two years to reach unfolded in the wood-paneled and brightly lit chambers of the South African national parliament. Inside the chambers, white legislators had gathered to preside over the dismantling of the legislative apparatus of the apartheid state, thus marking its formal end.² To lay the foundation for a possible postracial society based on the principles of universal franchise and a representative nonracial democracy, state president F. W. de Klerk, in a speech delivered on that fateful day to parliament in Cape Town and broadcast on national television, began the process of ending legalized segregation and racism through the rescinding of thousands of laws, rules, and regulations that formed the pillars of the apartheid state. Over nearly half a century, these laws had made the apartheid state and its institutions one of the most repressive and brutal antidemocratic regimes in the second half of the twentieth century. De Klerk's somber announcement was principally a declaration of the defeat of the pretenses of apartheid as law and of the legal foundation of the society to which it gave birth.

However, the end of apartheid laws could not erase the scars born of those laws. Those scars, a product of apartheid's debilitating and disabling degradation of black lives, remain visibly inscribed in the social fabric of the country today. As Omar Badsha and William Kentridge make clear in their statements above, apartheid created deep psychic fissures. In South Africa, this situation of violence and dis-

ruption is a legacy not only of apartheid but also colonialism; in this sense, apartheid is coextensive with colonialism. The laws of apartheid have a set of precedents in the legal structure that created the Union of South Africa in 1910,³ which united the British republics of the Cape and Natal provinces with the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State. Two such laws, the Mines and Works Act of 1911, which reserved jobs for whites and excluded black South Africans, and the Natives Land Act, a law of massive dispossession that allocated only 7 percent of the land to blacks even though they constituted 69 percent of the population, incontrovertibly link colonialism and apartheid.⁴

The struggle against apartheid was rooted in resistance to its laws, which began almost as soon as the apartheid government came into existence.⁵ Revolt against the harsh limits apartheid imposed on the lives of black South Africans precipitated state responses that were often violent, which in turn led to more resistance and revolt. The entire process leading to February 2, 1990, is therefore one of indefatigable resilience and courage. Mobilization in the face of the countrywide state of emergency in 1986 is crucial here.⁶ The emergency laws had been especially brutal; between June 1986 and May 1987, more than 33,000 people were arrested and detained.⁷ Meanwhile, international isolation of South Africa was narrowing the options of the apartheid state; intensified campaigns for divestment were crippling its economy. Boycotts by international organizations in sports, arts, culture, and academia made the country a global pariah.

Events in the 1980s represent a significant coming to terms with the apartheid state at every level.⁸ It is within this context that the Detainees' Hunger Strike at Diepkloof Prison in Soweto, which started on January 23, 1989, was pivotal in F. W. de Klerk's act of *rapprochement* that occurred a year later. The strike appeared to be the trigger that finally brought the apartheid government to the table for serious negotiation. Twenty prisoners detained under the 1986 state of emergency laws began a hunger strike with an unequivocal demand: the unconditional release of all political prisoners. Their action convulsed the entire apartheid penal system, which held tens of thousands of activists. By the end of March 1989, more than 1,000 detainees had joined the hunger strikers at Diepkloof in solidarity. Challenged and buffeted from all sides, the apartheid government's implacable no-negotiation approach began to weaken, thus paving the way for the eventual release of all political prisoners.⁹

While years of activist mobilization and the Detainees' Hunger Strike laid the grounds of transformation, de Klerk's surprise election on February 8, 1989, as the leader of the National Party following the incapacitation by stroke of President P. W. Botha was an important historical watershed. In his inaugural speech, de Klerk outlined his vision of "fundamental reform" and a future for South Africa in which "White domination as far as it exists, must go. My party strives for a non-racialistic country, a country free of racism, racial hatred, and negative discrimination on the basis of race. We accept as our goal a just and equitable dispensation in all fields for all South Africans."¹⁰ De Klerk's speech in parliament a year later should therefore not be seen as a surprise since he had prepared his constituents when he took over the reins of the National Party. It was a pragmatic deal; a courageous act of statesmanship made in the face of insurmountable odds against the survival of the apartheid system.

The end of apartheid came at a pivotal moment in global history, a period of the so-called end of ideology, or, as Francis Fukuyama erroneously supposed in a lengthy policy essay, the "end of history."¹¹ As the former satellite states of the Soviet Union broke away from the Warsaw Pact, Fukuyama not only saw a turning point in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism, he posited the triumph of liberal democracy and capitalism over communism and statist economic planning. Events across the world, notably the Tiananmen Square uprising in China, the further capitulation of the Soviet Union in Baltic states, the crumbling of the "Iron Curtain," the retreat of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the collapse of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, all heralded the anticipated end of apartheid.

In light of these sweeping global changes, the scene in Cape Town on that day in parliament can be properly encapsulated as an appointment with history. The announcement of the end of apartheid was part of a carefully choreographed and coordinated plan: first the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC), Pan-African Congress (PAC), South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and other political, labor, and civic organizations; the lifting of the state of emergency; and the release of all political prisoners. At the center of this plan was the unconditional release of the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, who in the months preceding his liberation had been secretly negotiating with de Klerk on the terms of the armistice between the diminished apartheid state and the anti-apartheid movement of which he was the undisputed political and moral leader.

On February 11, 1990, twenty-seven years after his confinement as a political prisoner began, Mandela walked out of Victor Verster Prison in Cape Town a free man. The last bricks of totalitarian rule in the twentieth century were crumbling. Of the ten anti-apartheid leaders sentenced to life in prison for treason in 1963 at the Rivonia Trial, Mandela was the last to be freed. Years of imprisonment and an embargo on public representations of his image had transformed him into both an enigma and an icon. The focus of the global media on his release was massive, but the scarcity of photographs left them guessing as to his current appearance. *Time* magazine's February 5 cover illustration was an uncannily close rendering of the tall, trim seventy-two-year-old in gray suit and dark blue tie who emerged from prison with his clenched right fist held aloft (figs. 2, 18). The end of apartheid on that day was as ignominious for those who had perpetuated and maintained its injustice, as it was momentous and triumphant for all those South Africans who had been limited by its strictures. The demise of the laws of apartheid represented the beginning of what could be described as the *longue durée* of the post-apartheid process.

Beyond the legislative jettisoning of apartheid,¹² the events of February 2, 1990, launched a difficult second process: a negotiated peace, which a host of forces opposed, and were intent on derailing. In fact, the negotiated peace was perceived as principally between the National Party and the African National Congress. This perception would shape the slow emergence of a new realism, one that increasingly, throughout the early 1990s, brought a vivid awareness of the challenges of democratization and the path toward multiracial democracy. The new realism included the eruption of internecine war-



FIG. 1. Unidentified Photographer, F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela during a meeting to negotiate peace in South Africa while Mandela was still in Victor Verster Prison near Paarl, Cape Province, 1990

fare between political camps; the rise of a shadow right-wing militia (the so-called Third Force); the struggle for power between ideologically misaligned African political organizations; the crisis of black-on-black violence in the townships, migrant worker hostels, and squatter camps. The intensity of the fighting and killing, especially between the supporters of the ANC and the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, created an atmosphere of civil war, and the fear that the transition to nonracial democracy might be an illusion. These often violent ideological battles brought into sharp relief the radical differences between the constituent parts of South Africa's multiracial society, a divide that further eroded the trust between liberals and radicals. Even if the anti-apartheid movement had triumphed on the basis of the principle of nonracial democracy¹³ against assorted recidivist elements—especially the militaristic right-wing and white supremacist neofascist organizations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)¹⁴—who had lost on the point of a flawed political ideology, the end of apartheid was anything but orderly. It



FIG. 2. Cover of Time, February 5, 1990

was a raucous, chaotic, violent, and deeply contested affair. The dismantling of the legal framework of apartheid and the restoration of rights denied millions of people remain a work in progress. Apartheid's corrosive mechanisms were too deeply woven into South Africa's social fabric and unraveling it will be the work of a generation, if not more.

1948: RISE AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF APARTHEID

Translated from its Dutch root, the word *apartheid* means separateness, to which the separation of races and spaces took on the most potent and literal meaning. However, in its specific application as the foundation of a political and social order, it connotes racial segregation. The word itself is a compound of two words that, when combined, literally mean separate neighborhoods. In a notorious speech, Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, perversely defined apartheid as a condition of "good neighborliness" whereby communities maintain separate existences in peace according to

each of their own cultural worldviews. According to Verwoerd, the speech was aimed at correcting the misunderstanding of the positive aspects of apartheid by its detractors. Despite this unconvincing attempt to modify negative perceptions of apartheid, in its development and deployment in South Africa, apartheid ideology represented a brutal tearing and severing of all social relationships between Africans and Europeans; between black and white identities. At its core, *apart*, meaning separate, and *heid*, which designates neighborhood, rather than joining two separate entities and ameliorating their cultural and historical differences, brought them together in a gesture of tearing apart, thus deforming any sense of shared space and common values, abrogating all protocols of mutual recognition. In a reverse gesture, from the idea of sundering, apartheid also inscribed the practice of a form of spatial politics that not only actively foregrounded the writing of separation, it also devised forms of nonrecognition that underscored the inferiority of Africans to Europeans. In this, apartheid severely limited and mutilated the citizenship of Africans, framing the belonging of black people and their political aspiration to universal franchise as incompatible with its ideology. Blackness was mutant, impure, diseased, and primitive. Whiteness, on the other hand, was pure, good, civilized, and godly.

Thus describes the fundamental political and spatial character of apartheid as a practice of separation; of apartness. However, as discussed above, apartheid had its precedents in colonialism, first with the arrival of the Dutch East India Company, led by Jan van Riebeeck and his traders, on the Cape in 1652, then with the British takeover of the Cape colonies in the early nineteenth century. One of van Riebeeck's orders (a proto-apartheid legacy) was the planting of a hedge of wild almonds that served as a barrier between the Dutch settlement and those of the indigenous Khoi people of the Cape. A remnant of that original hedge survives to this day in Cape Town's Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens. The Dutch settlement's hedge of wild almonds was a literal representation of the tearing apart of spaces between Europeans and Africans at the moment of contact. The history of apartheid in South Africa begins with that early gesture. The result was the development and maintenance of apartheid as ideology and socio-political-economic-cultural system. At the moment of its crystallization in the mid-twentieth century, apartheid created a political system and social structure expressly designed as a project of white supremacy and minority power. It provided a legal and constitutional shield in which racism was institutionalized so as to serve the interests of Afrikaner

nationalism, an ideological stance that hinged on a biblical understanding of Africa as the ancestral homeland of Afrikaners. But ultimately, apartheid was about white European hegemony.

Afrikaner nationalism emerged victorious in South Africa's legislative elections of May 26, 1948, in which a coalition of the small Afrikaner Party and the National Party, led by Afrikaner nationalist D. F. Malan, ousted the United Party of General Jan Smuts.¹⁵ The National Party quickly consolidated its power and marginalized its opponents in a paroxysm of legislative activity that, in less than a decade, had put in place some of the most restrictive and hostile rules against African political and social subjectivity ever created.

Between 1949 and 1950, the National Party introduced several draconian laws that warned of things to come. These initial laws cemented the foundation of the apartheid state and were chiefly based on prohibitions of contact between whites and nonwhites. The 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 criminalized marriage between whites and nonwhites and was followed by a quick succession of laws that limited or outlawed different kinds of conduct, social relations, and spatial relations. The first of these was the Immorality Amendment Act No. 21, which extended the 1927 prohibition on sexual relations between whites and blacks to now include whites and Coloureds. The Population Registration Act No. 30 mandated registration of the entire South African population by racial classification and consolidated the notorious pass laws, which regulated and restricted the movement of Africans in cities and other parts of the country. The Group Areas Act No. 41 divided urban areas into racially segregated zones. Finally, the Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 banned the Community Party of South Africa.

BETWEEN NORM AND LAW

By the end of the 1950s, through this frenzy of lawmaking, South Africa had moved from segregation as norm to its enshrinement in the apparatus of law. In this harshly partitioned society, white Europeans occupied the top tier, with political rights and economic resources allocated accordingly; black Africans were demoted to the lowest rungs of society, with minimal rights, and resources withdrawn or reduced to substandard levels. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49, like Jim Crow laws in the U.S. South, segregated common public services and social spaces, including ambulances and hospitals, buses and trains, cafés and restaurants, cinemas and theaters, schools and universities. Under the guise of restoring African education to Afri-

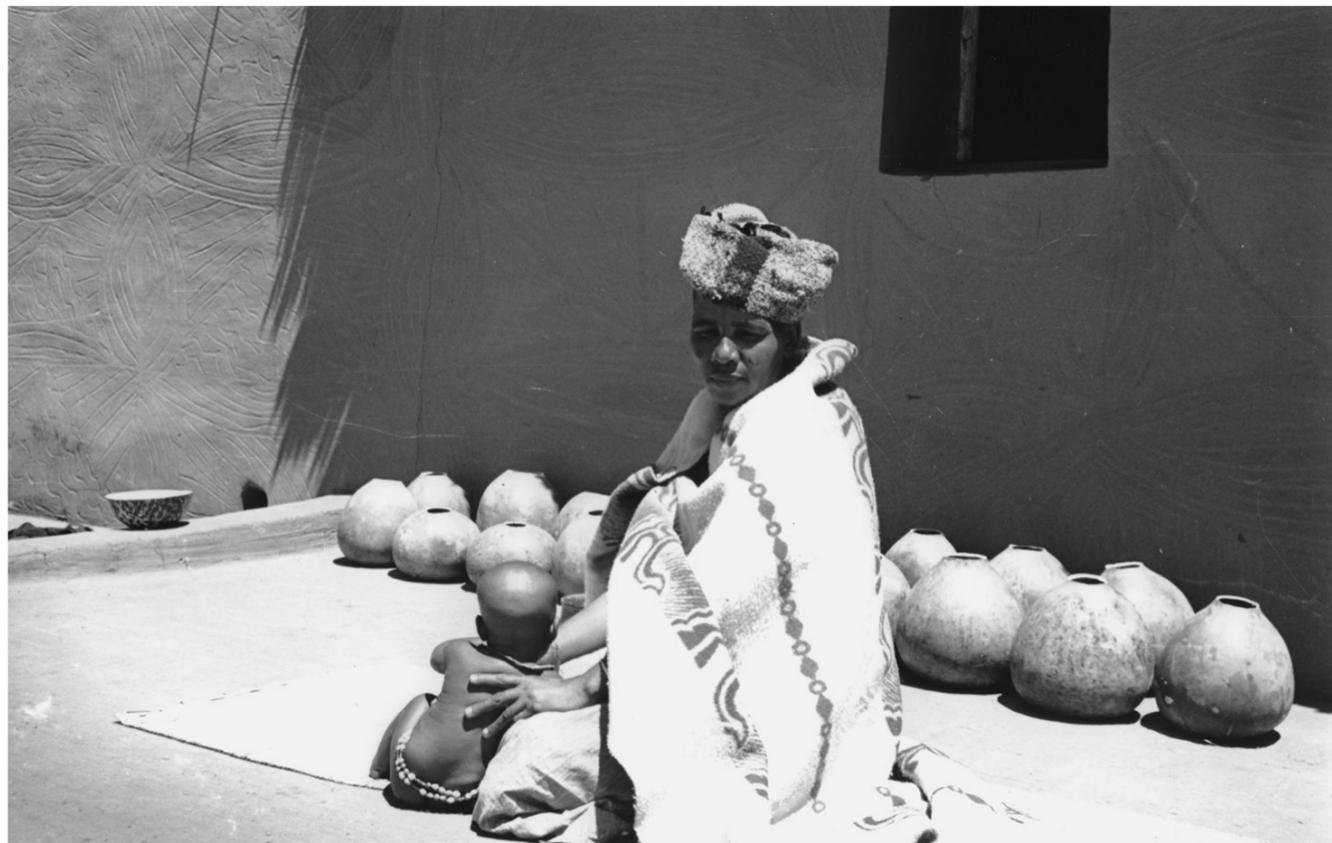


FIG. 3. Leon Levson, *Basutoland: woman with child and clay pots, sitting in front of her house*, n.d.

cans, the Bantu Education Act codified an inferior curriculum that would channel blacks into forms of labor appropriate to their rank in a segregated society. These laws, both enacted in 1953, further worsened the prospects of shared citizenship between whites and blacks.

Apartheid, then, represented a shift from *de facto* to *de jure* segregation (an enforced apartness), held together by the flimsiest threads of unjust and vigorously contested laws. But it was also an aesthetic act, one based on both the representation and construction of a qualitative difference in the standards of living that delineated the visible dimension of racial apartness. The exultation of whiteness and concomitant diminution of blackness were written into the codes of civility and citizenship envisioned by apartheid's architects. This scriptural transaction of racialized ideology, however, was haunted by the paradoxical social insecurity of whites, which required that the law make continuously visible, in truly ostentatious and exaggerated forms, the superiority of the living standards of whites in relation to everyone else. Within this framework, the living standards of Afrikaners (the most socially insecure of all white groups) were paramount. In

the economy and in education, the hegemonic Afrikaner political class—based on membership in the secretive all-male Broederbond—created a preferential affirmative action policy that all but guaranteed the social and economic mobility they had never enjoyed before. Thus, the policy of segregation was not only designed as an expression of political ideology, it was also a hierarchical cultural positioning meant to uplift Afrikaners. This goal was attained through social connections and ethnic bonding, but principally through a network of legislative programs that, in successive years, became more onerous and ruthless, systematically stripping blacks and other nonwhite communities of civil rights.

Thus apartheid not only mutilated the modern political meaning of citizenship, it invented a wholly new society in both fact and law. The result was a systematic reorganization of civic, economic, and political structures that extended into every area of life. Apartheid at its heart was a bureaucratic order. It transformed and maintained institutions for the sole purpose of denying and depriving Africans, Coloureds, and Asians of rights and access to quality housing, travel, employment, schooling, and the franchise. But the viability of

such a system required more than the instruments of law, political cooption, or extreme repression and violence to keep its opponents in line. It necessitated a continuous process of socialization and institutionalization until it acquired a sensibility of normalcy, as part of the reality of everyday life. The melding of apartheid as law (a *de jure* order) and norm (a *de facto* system) thus came to construct what could be understood as the experience of normative social relations.

This melding of law and norm is crucial to understanding how apartheid was sustained. Making laws is one thing, diffusing them through the societal bloodstream is quite a different matter. To think about the shift from norm to law is to understand how power functions, and the political force law offers the deployment and determined use of power. Apartheid laws were conceived and operated as *negations* of rights with negative impacts on subjects. But Michel Foucault argues that we must also understand the function of power through the *positivization* of law, by the way law illuminates internal conceptual and philosophical rules, namely power's coherence as a productive instrument of social reality. "We must cease once and for all," he writes, "to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes,' it 'represses,' it 'censors,' it 'abstracts,' it 'masks,' it 'conceals.' In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production."¹⁶

This is an important insight. Apartheid's social reality was not only the regime of law, but the construction of the necessary context in which the inferior status of Africans was established. This context defined the domains—figurative and literal—of objects and subjects, and the rituals of truth that bind them. It is by understanding the rituals of truth of apartheid (white entitlement and superiority, for instance), and how those rituals were translated by those who benefited most from the rules, that apartheid law's normative value was transformed back into social reality. The everyday workings of *petit apartheid* and the signage accompanying the segregation of spaces and amenities represent one way of making visible the rituals of control and segregation mandated by the law. The images of *petit apartheid*, photographed so precisely by Ernest Cole and others (see pages 196–205), not only expose the absurdity of apartheid's spatial rules, they also reinforce the underlying ideological codes they support. For example, the visible and aesthetic aspect of this would be that whites lived in manicured, well-tended, and organized neighborhoods and houses with modern amenities, sat in first class, swam in exclusive (presumably less polluted)

areas of the beach, ate in different and better restaurants, etc., and on the other hand, Africans lived in substandard, crowded, squalid townships with deficits in modern amenities, traveled in the second-class cabin, swam in a different part of the beach, and ate in different restaurants.

This is more than a demonstration of a rule. The law also functions in a way that inscribes its mechanisms and effects into the normative. *Separate Amenities Act*, *Influx Control Act*, and *Group Areas Act*, three important laws that promoted segregation as well as delimited the boundaries of access into the city by Africans, not only functioned as textbook cases of the law demonstrably enforced through the pass law, the denial of citizenship, and the sequestering of African populations in mandated townships and native reserves, they were also constituted as intrinsically visual mechanisms. A park bench that has inscribed on it "for whites only" defines a structure. But it is also a picture that reproduces the conditions that secure the image of a norm. In this scenario, whites expect a manifest aesthetic distinction between the quality of their lives and those of blacks. Segregated train entrances, taxi ranks, bus stops, neighborhoods all made visible through highly legible typographic signs brings apartheid into view through the production of signs of division and segregation. Over time, such an expectation becomes internalized as norm, as the reality of the difference between whiteness and blackness. This is one way to read the subtle amelioration of law into the normative conditions of apartheid society. While the state might make laws, it must also produce an *effect* of their reality that will be clearly understood by a fair number of those for whom those laws are applicable. To be African is to know that your access to the city will be severely policed, and that the slightest violation of the rules of segregation will result in dramatic measures of police harassment. The pass laws functioned in essentially this way.¹⁷ No one understood the intrinsic relationship between the visual codes and mechanisms of apartheid more and exploited their pictorial values better than Ernest Cole (see pages 206–13). His book *House of Bondage* is an essay not only on the conditions of apartheid, but on how apartheid's unambiguous pictorial values were demonstrably placed before the public at large. Cole's images also demonstrate the central position that photography would play in documenting, as well as undoing, apartheid. To understand why, it will be necessary to examine the history of photography in South Africa before the onset of apartheid and after.

APARTHEID AND PHOTOGRAPHIC CULTURE

On the basis of existing evidence, it is reasonable to suggest that what we know today as South African photography emerged in 1948. But this does not mean there was no photography in South Africa before the advent of apartheid. In fact, it dates back to the country's very beginnings.¹⁸ As Peter Metelerkamp writes,

The history of photography in South Africa is almost as old as the medium itself. Sir John Herschel, son of Sir William Herschel the discoverer of Uranus, and himself a famous astronomer, was the discoverer of the action of hyposulfates on silver. He spent several years in Cape Town in the 1830's and coined the term "photography" after his return to Europe in 1838. He had a camera obscura installed in Cape Town and made several sketches from its images.¹⁹

That photographic and proto-photographic techniques had been available in South Africa only underlines the fact of its various uses prior to the period before 1948. For more than one hundred years, the practice of photography in South Africa passed through a series of discourses ranging from mimetic representations of colonial life, street scenes, landscape, and studio photography to ethnographic and genre scenes developed under the rubric of Native Studies.²⁰ Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin, an Irish-born mine security guard turned photographer, arrived in South Africa in 1897 to work in the Kimberley mines and would produce perhaps the most elaborate and exhaustive anthropological and photographic work on South African ethnic groups. His sprawling, eleven-volume *Bantu Tribes of South Africa*, published over a period of twenty-seven years beginning in 1928, remains unrivaled in the ethnographic genre of Native Studies. His work followed, but departed from, the earlier nineteenth-century *carte-de-visite* pictorial constructions of natives in South Africa. Other photographers, such as Constance Stuart Larrabee and Leon Levson,²¹ like Duggan-Cronin before them, saw in the image of the rural African, on the one hand, and the urbanized "native," on the other, a modern duality that foregrounded a certain formulation of the ethnographic turn in the intersection of tribalism and modernity.

The photographs of Stuart Larrabee, Levson's more overtly political documentary pictures (figs. 3, 4), and to some extent Anne Fischer's studies of white poverty and Jansje Wissema's documentations of the life of the Coloured community in District Six in Cape Town, mark a transitional point of photo-



FIG. 4. Leon Levson, *Johannesburg photographer, Ferreirastown, 1940s*



FIG. 5. Margaret Bourke-White, [Costumed wife of Minister of Justice C. R. Swart (left) and another Boer couple dressed like early settlers during a celebration in honor of the Voortrekkers], 1949

graphic contact between the Other and the camera in the wake of apartheid.²² The work of Fischer especially seems to have been influenced by the Steinbeckian vision of rural poverty made famous in the U.S. Farm Security Administration work of Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, and Margaret Bourke-White.

In 1949, Bourke-White, on assignment for *Life*, arrived in South Africa in the wake of the National Party election victory to photograph the changing situation in the country. Among the photographs she made, published in the January 16, 1950, issue of the magazine, four stand out. The first is an image of South Africa's minister of justice C. R. Swart and his wife in the company of another couple during a celebration commemorating the Voortrekkers, Boer pioneers of the nineteenth century (fig. 5). While the men wear contemporary three-piece suits and hats, the women's attire harks back to the dress style of the Voortrekkers. This depiction of modernity and tradition, a pre-1948 Afrikaner ideal of feminine virtue and a post-1948 vision of masculinist modern nation builders, captures a central tenet of Afrikaner nationalism. The three other pictures by Bourke-White are more firmly anchored in the space of political and pictorial transition that marks the post-1948 radicalization of blacks, the inauguration of the anti-apartheid struggle that would define the issues surrounding the negotiation between citizen and subject. The process of bringing that relationship to photographic visibility required a change in the representational language of African subjectivity.

Consider the photographs made by Bourke-White that straddle the divide between the Voortreker celebration and the burgeoning black resistance. The first shows a young white man dressed in a suit and standing next to the base of



FIG. 6. Margaret Bourke-White, [Young man standing next to statue with chalked protest message outside Johannesburg City Hall], 1950

a stone wall in front of Johannesburg City Hall (fig. 6). The wall bears the fresh marks of a graffiti text written in chalk, which proclaims: "God Is Black." The contrast between the written sign, a mark of unfettered speech, and the *Life* caption accompanying the picture is striking: "A black protest is chalked on wall outside Johannesburg City Hall by resentful native." The third and fourth photographs were taken during a protest meeting in Johannesburg. In one, a man in a windowpane tweed jacket addresses a group of workers (fig. 7). What draws our attention is not so much the man's animated, upturned face, but the piece of white paper attached to the lapel of his jacket bearing the forthright message: "We Don't Want Passes." The last photograph shows a group of men dressed in suits, ties, and soft-brimmed fedora hats (fig. 8). It too communicates the central idea of the gathering: in the midst of the men, all of whom brandish the same piece of paper on their lapels, stands a large white banner hand-painted with the three-word demand: "Stop Police Terror." In the wake of apartheid, protest signs, accompanied by speech acts by Africans demanding their rights, became unmistakable modalities for communicating the subjectivity and signifying presence of the erstwhile "native" and therefore offer a dialectical approach to the negotiation of images of Native Studies and black modern political movements.

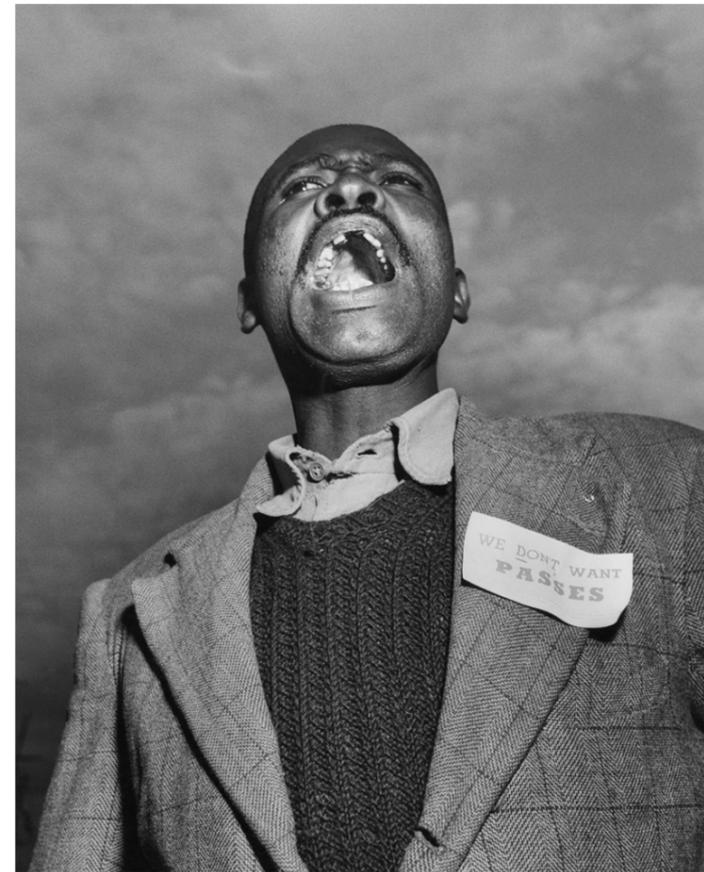


FIG. 7. Margaret Bourke-White, [Carpenter Phillip Mbhele wearing "We Don't Want Passes" tag], 1950

The duality of tribal and modern was ruptured in 1948. The election of the Afrikaner-led National Party, which turned on the crucial question of citizenship, was therefore a watershed event for South African photography. The pictorial imagination of the camera not only became squarely focused on the depiction of the emergent modern society, it did so in the context of political engagement and active struggle for modern franchise. Rather than exploiting and perpetuating the ethnographic fascination with modernity-versus-tribality, photographic intervention into the newly constituted apartheid state defined its program around the question of citizen and subject.²³ Moreover, the struggle against apartheid spawned an industry dedicated exclusively to photographing it and publishing its images. That industry in turn nurtured a photographic culture comparable in scope, sophistication, and complexity to American Civil Rights photography. Publications flourished. Notable is the collaboration between Alan Paton, the writer and Liberal Party stalwart, and the young American photographer Dan Weiner in 1956.²⁴ Other books followed, chief among them: Ernest Cole's seminal *House of*



FIG. 8. Margaret Bourke-White, [Second Communist meeting], 1950

Bondage (1967); David Goldblatt's *On the Mines* (1973), in collaboration with Nadine Gordimer, and his controversial *Some Afrikaners Photographed* (1975); Peter Magubane's *Soweto* (1978), in collaboration with Marshall Lee; and Omar Badsha's *Letter to Farzanah* (1979).²⁵ Eli Weinberg's posthumously published *Portrait of a People* (1981) represents perhaps the central visual record of the immediate post-1948 period. The images published in this volume comprise some of the earliest documentary photographs of the 1950s and forcefully displace any lingering notions that African subjectivity lay in the docile images of natives captured in tranquil villages remote from civilization.

Equally important, after 1948 African photographers became visible protagonists in shaping the image of their world. *Drum* magazine, initially published as *The African Drum* in 1951, was both the catalyst and principal outlet for the work of African photographers.²⁶ Designed in the mold of *Life* and *Picture Post*, the magazine jettisoned the rural "native" in favor of the urban black, chronicling the so-called cultural renaissance of 1950s black life,²⁷ with the occasional piece of investigative journalism. With its mixture of dramatic documentary photography and camp imagery of popular culture and township life (figs. 10, 11), it is perhaps ironic that *Drum* should come to exemplify the golden age of political awareness. Still, it was in the pages of *Drum* that the new South African photography made its debut (see pages 150–69). The exuberant, documentary-style work of Peter Magubane, Bob Gosani, Gopal Naransamy, G. R. Naidoo, German expatriate Jurgen Schadeberg, Ranjith Kally, Alf Kumalo, and others was diametrically opposed to that of the ethnographic and conservative Native Studies of Stuart Larrabee and Levson.

The popularity of *Drum* and the pictures it painted of African modernity, of deeply creative lives being lived in the midst of political repression, did not go unnoticed by the apartheid state. Perhaps it was the success of *Drum* in shaping the image of African modernity that spurred the apartheid government's Department of Information to create *South African Panorama*. A propaganda tool more than anything else, the magazine, though similar in format, lacked *Drum's* pictorial bravura. For a brief spell in the late 1950s, *Panorama* employed Ian Berry, a British photographer who also contributed to *Drum*. The assignments that Berry undertook for *Panorama*—hackneyed depictions of “natives,” Zulu weddings, and African exotica, sandwiched between fantasies of white civility featuring “eminent” white South Africans—were sharply at odds with his work for *Drum*, the most important of which was his record of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 (see pages 176–81). This dichotomy, writ large in two magazines of such opposed agendas, embodies the two pictorial constructions that dominate the history of photography in the early apartheid period.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF PHOTOGRAPHY: DOCUMENTARY, REPORTAGE, AND THE PHOTO ESSAY

A defining feature of the anti-apartheid struggle is the paradigmatic role played by social and documentary photography, reportage, and the photo essay in documenting, recording, transmitting, and shaping a broad and complex understanding of the law, bureaucracy, institutions, and everyday life under apartheid. The National Party that introduced apartheid transformed the bureaucratic and institutional apparatus in ways that irreversibly altered the social, political, economic, and civic life of all South Africans. The radical shift to a repressive and overtly racist politics changed the pictorial perception of the country from a relatively benign colonial space based on racial segregation to a highly contested space in which the majority population struggled for equality, democratic representation, and civil rights. Almost instantaneously alert to this change in a visceral, direct, and social way, photography was transformed from a purely anthropological tool into a social instrument.



FIG. 9. Eli Weinberg, *Wealth Shall Be Shared by the People*, 1950s

The consequent outpouring of photographic production and the sophisticated network of publishing, distribution, and dissemination that was firmly established by the 1980s, a period in which radical political activism emboldened photographers to search for new kinds of imagery, marked a potent consolidation of the visual language of photography. At least two competing visions of photographic practice emerged in this period. The first was argued from the point of view of social documentary rather than photojournalism. Social documentary was the founding ethos of the Afrapix collective, a disparate group of photographers—Paul Weinberg, Omar Badsha, Juda Ngwenya, Jimmy Matthews, Cedric Nunn, Lesley Lawson, Bidy Partridge, Mxolise Moyo, Guy Tillim, Santu Mofokeng, Paul Alberts, Chris Ledochowski, Jeeva Rajgopaul, and other loosely affiliated members—whose ideas about the role of photography in the struggle against apartheid were predicated on an analytical notion of the photographic image (see pages 372–409).²⁸ Photojournalism, on the other hand, embodied a kind of frontline approach to image making. The photograph is not an analytical object but a conveyor of information, and the more direct its emotional content the more vivid its narrative becomes. A statement signed collectively by the twenty photographers featured in the book *Beyond the Barricades* expressed the large ambitions of documentary photography in the struggle against apartheid:

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. This collective document and accompanying exhibition represent an approach to *documentary photography* among a growing number of both black and white South African photographers. Since the early 1980s, these photographers have been coming together to share their skills, ideas, and work as part of a commitment to documentary photography and *nonracialism*.²⁹ (italics mine)

Photography here is not merely an individualized approach to recording images, but a collective product aimed at the annihilation of inequality. Not all photographers, however, shared this ideal of an overtly political and transparently partisan photographic practice. The question of which side the photographer was on came to a head at a now infamous conference organized by the ANC in Gaborone, Botswana, as part of the Culture and Resistance Festival. There, Peter

McKenzie baldly stated that “No photographer can lay claim to an individual artistic merit in an oppressed society.”³⁰ David Goldblatt, for one, strongly disagreed. Already a target of critique for failing to clearly align his work with the goals of “struggle photography,” he stood his ground, even though politically he was deeply opposed to apartheid and a staunch supporter of most of the photographers at the conference. He later explained:

In 1981 the ANC organised a conference in Botswana on liberation and the arts (at the time the ANC's connection with this event could not be announced publicly since the movement [sic] was banned). A day was devoted to each art. On the day devoted to photography, my colleagues rose, one after another, to support the notion that photographers should use their cameras as weapons in the liberation struggle. Peter Magubane was criticised because work he had exhibited in Sweden showed black people as being oppressed rather than as strong in resistance. It was ironic that Peter, who had risked so much to expose conditions under apartheid, should now be told to be a better propagandist. I said the camera was not a machine-gun and that photographers shouldn't confuse their response to politics of the country with their role as photographers. The latter demanded a degree of dispassion. They should not deliberately seek to be positive or negative, but should attempt to convey the reality of things, with all its attendant complexity, as well as they could.³¹

These critical debates formed a rich terrain for the production of some of the most incisive photography during the 1980s in South Africa. By mid-decade, a group of young, brash, risk-taking practitioners in their twenties embodying a radically different attitude had arrived on the scene. Collectively known as the Bang Bang Club, Greg Marinovich, Ken Oosterbroek, Kevin Carter, and João Silva were hired guns in the midst of the mediatization of conflict and the orgy of gore and blood that accompanied its depiction (see pages 484–99).³² The approach of the Bang Bang Club was full-on frontality. Rather than a nuanced, composed framing of resistance, Marinovich et al. depict struggle as a scene of chaotic, entropic space: violent conflict between warring factions steeped in action and saturated colors. Their aim was straight reportage of the civil war in South Africa, not an interpretation or translation of its effects. It was photography as raw, uned-

ited footage. However, the Bang Bang fraternity did not own a monopoly on this type of visual production. In fact, the events of the Soweto Uprising of June 16, 1976, marked an important breakthrough in the role of the camera at the frontlines. Pictures of the uprising by Sam Nzima, Magubane, and Kumalo are as riveting as any made by the Bang Bang Club, and Nzima's photograph of Hector Pieterse's lifeless body in the arms of Mbuyisa Makhubo remains the iconic image of the entire anti-apartheid era (see pages 264–81).

Each of these photographic strategies, from documentary to reportage, social documentary to the photo essay, was adopted to examine the effects and after-effects of apartheid. Because of the dramatic events that apartheid produced, photographic literalness fueled a perception that image production in South Africa tended to eschew nuance in favor of, as Njabulo Ndebele has argued, the photograph-ready spectacle.³³ This perception has merit. But it is not the entire story. There are numerous instances, both by intent and happenstance, of discrete, slightly withdrawn photographic production that yet remained on the frontlines, such as the work of George Hallett, Joe Alfers, and Roger Ballen. The pictorial records of apartheid—whether quiet pictures probing the seemingly mundane or the brash images of frontline photography³⁴—are not merely vehicles for presenting facts. They are above all ways of seeing and knowing, and, as argued by the photographers themselves, oftentimes a form of politics dedicated to exposing the underbelly of apartheid and its social conditions.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SCARRING: PHOTOGRAPHING APART/HEID

Beyond social documentary and photojournalism, beyond the analytical and collective, the artistic and the political, the interpretive and frontal, there is yet another photographic strategy that seems entirely identified with the work of David Goldblatt. Picture this: an innocuous black-and-white photograph that parsimoniously describes a sliver of cobblestone path curving into a dense clump of bush as it is today preserved in the Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens in Cape Town. With its rigorous compositional density, grayscale frozenness, and thus temporal detachment from the present, Goldblatt's photograph does nothing to alert the general viewer to the deeper meaning it records. This is registered in the accompanying caption: *Remnant of a hedge planted in 1660 to keep the indigenous Khoikhoi out of first European settlement* (fig. 12). The hedge in Goldblatt's photograph is both an object of colonial boundary-making and a structure

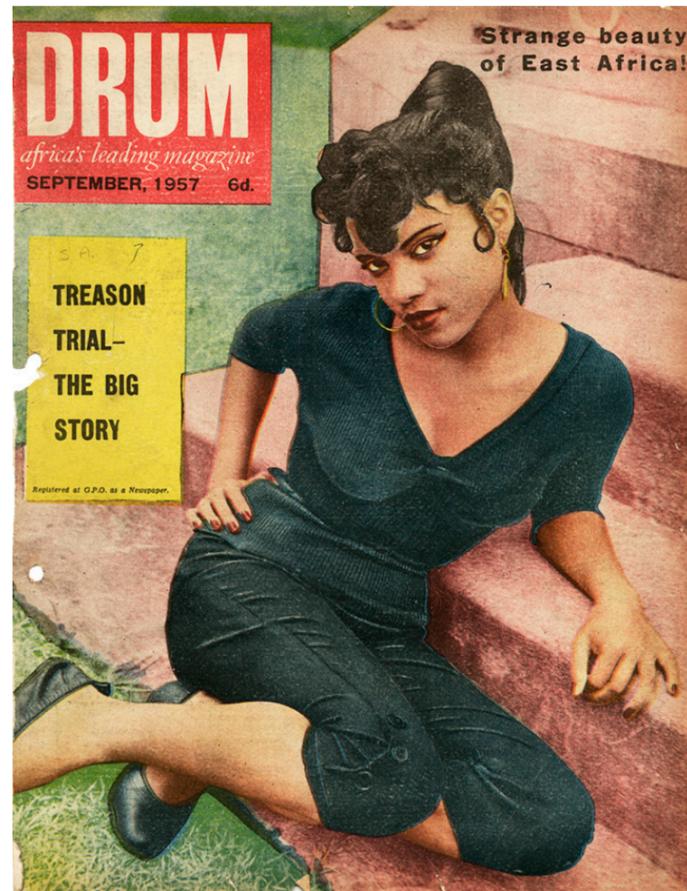


FIG. 10. Cover of *Drum*, September 1957

of estrangement. It is a frozen image of antipathy, a representation of a historical barricade whose enduring features and legacy continue to haunt the subjective relationship between and among all South Africans. The lineaments of the hedge, and Goldblatt's reindexing of its portents in representation, are counter-picturesque, in contrast to the colonial proclivity for representing the African landscape as an idyllic *terra nullis*. In fact, the intentionality of the cultivated hedge conveys a physical and cognitive, psychic and structural, cultural and ideological demarcation line between the seventeenth-century European settlers in the Cape and the indigenous Khoikhoi, who were eventually driven from the land.

In pictorial terms, this picture represents one of the most trenchant distillations of the ideological foundation of apartheid in South Africa, capturing the essence of its genesis much more effectively than any other photograph I know. It exudes the disinterested banality common to this kind of landscape photography. Closer inspection confirms that it was precisely the banality of the picture's subject that Goldblatt wanted to emblemize, that is, the featureless nonspecificity

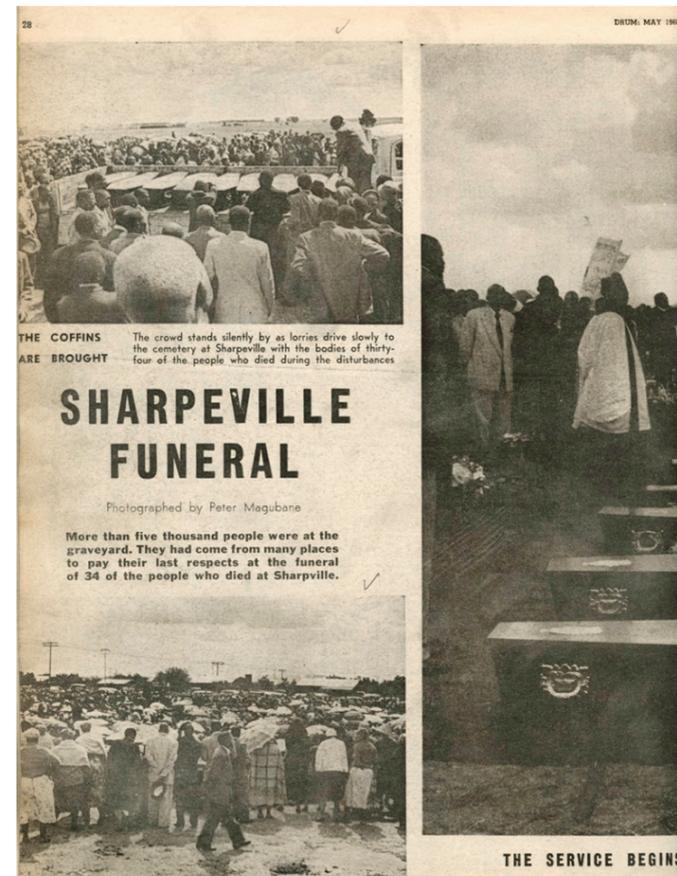


FIG. 11. Page from *Drum*, May 1960, documenting the Sharpeville funeral

of the generic landscape image. The hedge marks the land and the law (what Foucault describes as the shift from norm to law), not merely the incidental apartness of two spaces. It underlines and signifies the literalness of the apartheid condition. The architecture of the hedge represents what could be called the founding story of modern South Africa. It is the image of the country's creation myth, the pure separation between civility and barbarism.

Of all the images that trace the history of apartheid, this photograph by Goldblatt is perhaps least likely to attract a second look. But its abstracted banality has a lot to teach us about the varied mechanisms that define the representations and politics of apartheid. On this fact alone—a hedge—the landscape of South Africa was shaped, and, by extension, the history and politics of separation, segregation, colonialism: in short, *apart/heid*, which radically deconstructed and eroded all social, cultural, political, and economic relations, was based on a principle of racial apartness that is today lost in the well-tended greenery of the hedge. The architecture of this apartness, whether literal or juridical, has for genera-

tions of South African artists and writers served as a mnemonic and iconographic burden. Speaking about his film *Felix in Exile*, William Kentridge articulates the relationship between memory and landscape:

In *Felix in Exile*, which was made in 1994 at the time of the first election, there was a lot of political violence in South Africa. One of the questions in the film is the way in which the landscape absorbs its history: where there's been a battle, where there's been a disaster, where there's been a massacre. And the landscape itself, after a certain length of time, kind of hides those traces. . . . In the film, I was interested in thinking about the way in which the landscape forgets its history, as a metaphor for the way we forget our history.³⁵

The landscape in apartheid South Africa, as in all colonial situations, is freighted with both spatial and temporal disjunctions. Representations of what photographer Paul Alberts calls "Borderlands of Apartheid"—between the townships and bantustans—have chipped away at this landscape, tracing its liminal vectors, excavating its raw anatomy, and inscribing through pictorial analysis a descriptive vision of the land and the burden that the juridical framework of apartheid imposed on the navigation and negotiation of territory. *Apart/heid* in this way would form the foundation upon which one of the most abhorred political systems was erected. Goldblatt's photograph demonstrates how the archive of apartheid, much like the perfect crime, hides in plain sight, often making itself normal, innocuous, unremarkable, and largely unremarked. As the photograph shows, the genesis of the apartheid system is encrusted in the thin layer of its natural environment. Its survival today, as a manicured, incessantly preserved memory in the Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens in Cape Town, gives us a strange but familiar image, and a structure.³⁶

ENGAGED AND STRUGGLE PHOTOGRAPHY: DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE

I have suggested two important features of South African photography. The first is the idea that a truly South African photography emerged with the formation and consolidation of the apartheid state, with strategies developed in direct response to it. And secondly, how photography came to occupy a central discursive space in the documentation of apartheid. Here, photography was at the scene of the crime. The Defi-



FIG. 12. David Goldblatt, *Remnant of a hedge planted in 1660 to keep the indigenous Khoikhoi out of first European settlement*, 1993

ance Campaign of 1952, organized by the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, and other political organizations, and documented by photographers such as Eli Weinberg and Jürgen Schadeberg (see pages 84–107), was an early instance of the use of photography to document the anti-apartheid resistance. Like Cornell Capa's idea of "concerned photography,"³⁷ one might designate the strategies of post-1948 photographic production in South Africa as *engaged photography*.³⁸ Subtending this designation is the more widely used appellation *struggle photography*,³⁹ a term that would crystallize in the wake of the student uprising of June 16, 1976.⁴⁰ Images of the Soweto protests by luminaries such as Magubane, Nzima, and Kumalo represent a turning point in the frontline status of struggle photography.

Magubane is an exemplary case of the photographer as opponent of the regime. By the time of the events of June

16, he had worked for two decades on the frontlines of the struggle. From his early days with *Drum*, he suffered relentless government harassment. His Soweto images appeared a year after the apartheid regime had lifted a five-year ban on his work as a photographer. Before the ban, he had been imprisoned and placed in solitary confinement for some 500 days. For his Soweto work, he was beaten and jailed again. His one major regret: a failure to produce any usable images of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre,⁴¹ in which the police opened fire on unarmed protesters, killing sixty-nine and wounding scores more. However, his photograph of the mass funeral of the victims marks a seminal moment in the transformation of the struggle from nonviolent protests to armed resistance (see page 182). The event convinced activists that a negotiated settlement with the apartheid state was impossible, and marked a radical break with the resistance move-



FIG. 13. David Goldblatt, *The destruction of District Six under the Group Areas Act*, Cape Town, 1982

ment's strategy of nonviolence.⁴² In fact, by 1960 it was clear that the goal of the apartheid government was to completely destroy the movement, through brutal repression, harassment, imprisonment, and ultimately exile of the leadership. It was in the shadow of Sharpeville that Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's armed wing, formed in 1961. Protest had shifted to radicalism, a shift reflected in photographic output. The riveting and powerful images Magubane produced during and in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising ushered in a new era of struggle photography.⁴³

In its explicit frontline relationship to documenting apartheid and resistance to it, struggle photography has a corollary in contemporaneous artistic practice that came to be known as "resistance art."⁴⁴ But a distinction should be made between struggle photography, resistance art, and engaged photography, if only to sharpen our understanding of

the forms of criticality deployed in post-1948 photography. It would be too simplistic to label every type of visual production that was overtly critical of apartheid as either struggle photography or resistance art. It is in this regard that I have introduced the notion of engaged photography,⁴⁵ that is to say, a photography operating with a critical awareness of apartheid that seeks to represent and understand it, against the idiom of struggle photography, whose explicit mission is to delegitimize apartheid.⁴⁶ Yet, the distinction is not a straightforward one, since many photographers straddled both modes. Ernest Cole's *House of Bondage*, for example, is one such hybrid species of anti-apartheid photography. Even in the case of David Goldblatt, who insists on making that distinction apparent in his work by refusing the use of his photographs for political purposes,⁴⁷ the distinction is essentially rhetorical.

READING APARTHEID IN THE PHOTOGRAPH: SIGNS TAKEN AS RESISTANCE

In the heading of this section of the essay, I have deliberately conflated two important features of the relationship that images of anti-apartheid struggle have to its representation. This is in the interplay between the photograph as text and the image as an instrument of signification. To represent an event is crucially different from what its image signifies. And I am particularly intrigued with the possible readings one can bring to images of the struggle against apartheid. What interests me most is the reading of the photograph as a graphic and scripted image, in other words, the relationship between the document as text and the image as index. I am thinking here of Carol Armstrong's important analysis of early photography and how images initially circulated in the form of the page, in an album: a book of photographs. Armstrong's quest, she wrote, was to perform a critical exegesis, "a kind of photographic *explication de texte* that involves an oscillation between close looking and equally close reading . . ."⁴⁸

Photographs of the anti-apartheid struggle blossomed in the context of their relentless textualization as documents that laid down truth claims, as evidence for the prosecution of apartheid ideology. Armstrong's suggestion of close looking and reading in the context of the circulation of photographs of struggle through a global network of syndication and distribution presents us with the potential of the photograph less as a document of veracity but as a sign, whose naturalization occurs in the domain of the gaze which unites the reading and looking. The task of the photograph therefore is not only to convey the truth, but to qualify the truth embedded in the transmission of images. For instance, the rhetoric of Black Power would have rejected any projection of the weakness of black activists in the face of massive repression. What would constitute the truth of anti-apartheid struggle—a man weeping over a dead comrade or a clenched fist punching the air in defiance? This question, among others, is pertinent to understanding the complex representational and signifying structures of struggle and engaged photography.

THE PRINTED PHOTOGRAPH

Between 1967, when Cole's book *House of Bondage* was first published, and the end of the 1980s, there emerged a strong publishing culture in South Africa devoted to the critical analysis of the apartheid condition. Small-scale literary journals—*Contrast*, edited by Jack Cope; *The Classic*,⁴⁹ founded by Nat Nakasa; and *Staffrider*, edited by Andries Oliphant⁵⁰—and

a number of photographic books would solidify the essential discursive vision of image making in South Africa.⁵¹ *Drum* magazine was one of the first publications to make photography on the page a significant component of the discursive environment. The printed page with the photograph reproduced on it had become just as important as the camera. The page put images in circulation and constructed modes of spectatorship.

A number of the books that appeared between the early 1970s and the end of the 1980s were modeled along the lines of the photo essay. Goldblatt's *On the Mines* (1973), *Some Afrikaners Photographed* (1975), *In Boksburg* (1982), *Lifetimes: Under Apartheid* (1986), and *The Transported of KwaNdebele* (1989); Omar Badsha's *Imijondolo* (1985); Paul Alberts' *The Borders of Apartheid* (1983); and Roger Ballen's *Dorps* (1986) represent the essence of documentary studies of apartheid that came to the fore after Cole's pioneering book.⁵² The 1980s were especially crucial in the development of South African photography along the lines of publications. Of the many from that period, two anthologies stand out.

The first, *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart*, was in many ways the signature argument presented to solidify the social documentary philosophy of the Afrapix collective. Edited by Omar Badsha, a co-founder of the collective, and featuring the work of twenty photographers, *The Cordoned Heart* emerged as part of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa conducted in 1984. Remarkable for its overt anti-apartheid content, the images in *The Cordoned Heart* were starkly different from those produced for the First Carnegie Inquiry, published in 1932. The first commission focused on white poverty, the second on poverty in black rural areas and urban townships. The photographic inquiry of *The Cordoned Heart* and the accompanying exhibition discarded the social analysis of race and difference in South Africa and aimed instead at the logic of contextualizing apartheid through photographs.

The second anthology, *Beyond the Barricades: Popular Resistance in South Africa*, largely extended the strategy of *The Cordoned Heart*. However, its imagery drew more from the state of emergency that was implemented in 1986 than from the problem of poverty.

NOTES ON GESTURE

The career of the opposition to apartheid can perhaps be read through the contrast between two gestures. Let us consider the gesture of the thumbs-up sign, as a signal of support, solidarity, community, commitment, and commiseration



FIG. 14. Unidentified Photographer, *Supporters of the Treason Trial defendants give the thumbs-up sign, Johannesburg, December 1956*



FIG. 15. Alf Kumalo, *South Africa Goes on Trial: Winnie Mandela outside the Palace of Justice, Pretoria, during the Rivonia Trial, December 1963*

between and among activists and their supporters. When we examine the photographs of mass actions of the 1950s such as the Defiance Campaign (1952) and the Treason Trial (1955–61), we find the ubiquitous demonstration of this sign. Throughout the 1950s, when anti-apartheid struggle was still conceived in relation to the Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence, the use of the thumbs-up sign signaled the belief that actions of persuasion—boycotts, stay-at-homes, strikes, civil disobedience—were viable strategies in the struggle to overturn apartheid. Demonstrations had an almost festive air: groups gathered in song; protesters gave the thumbs-up sign as encouragement and solidarity to detained activists; especially during important campaigns, activists posed for the camera, smiling, smoking, enthusiastic in the rightness of their cause (fig. 14). The thumbs-up captured perfectly the idea that the ideologues of apartheid could be convinced to negotiate through a show of nonviolent mass action.

The commitment to nonviolence came to an effective end on March 21, 1960. The crystallizing event was the Sharpeville Massacre, in which sixty-nine protesters defying the pass laws were shot dead by the police.⁵³ With the abandonment of peaceful, nonviolent action came a more militant, uncompromising gesture—the clenched fist.

This gesture signaled not only that many members of the movement had lost patience with negotiation and passive resistance; 1960 was a crucial turning point in the apartheid state's response to resistance. At the mass burial of the Sharpeville victims, photographed by Peter Magubane (see page 182), the serried row of coffins laid out before the graves brought home to all black South Africans the changed state of politics, and with it the commitment of the resistance to armed opposition. The government declared the first state of emergency that year; repression intensified and a fierce assault against the movement and its leadership sought to destroy all avenues of challenge to the supremacy of white rule. As a consequence, in 1961, the ANC and its allies formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the organization. From then on, the battle was joined. Massive show trials led to the conviction and imprisonment of the most senior and radical leaders of the ANC and the Communist Party, the exile of other prominent leaders, and an exodus of young people, who left the country to join the armed resistance.

In the 1960s, the raised clenched fist became a symbol of international Black Power, a sign of defiance against oppression. In South Africa, the gesture appeared organically among radical activists who wanted to defend themselves

against the brutality of the emerging security state. It was already the sign of differentiation between Black Power radicals and liberals within the membership of the ANC. Out of the dispute about strategy and black nationalist ideology within the movement, and particularly the antipathy of the radical Black Power bloc toward collaboration with Indians and white activists, emerged the more confrontational Pan-African Congress (PAC). This breakaway faction saw no purpose in compromise or in adopting a nonviolent stance in the face of state brutality and violence.⁵⁴

In a telling image, Robert Sobukwe, founder and intellectual leader of PAC, marches to the police station in Orlando on March 21, 1960 (the same day as the shooting in Sharpeville), during an antipass protest with members of his group. As they walk past a group of African police officers, instead of a fist, they raise their hands in an open palm, perhaps a gesture of nonconfrontation. In a photograph by Alf Kumalo, a primly dressed Winnie Mandela, standing outside the courthouse in Johannesburg, where her husband Nelson Mandela has just been sentenced to life in prison at the end of the Rivonia Trial, raises a clenched fist in defiance (fig. 15). From the thumbs-up sign to the clenched fist, from the open palm to the V for Victory, these gestures can be read both as exercises in signification with their own communicative meanings and as resistance to apartheid through the years in numerous photographs of mass mobilization. The shift from one gesture to another produces in that very elementary signification a new image of the resistance to apartheid, thus shifting from nonviolence to revolt. Nevertheless, it is necessary to underscore the potent iconographical discourse of the image of the fist, as it travels from gesture to representation, from symbol to sign, from signifier to signification. The image of the raised clenched fist, thrust upward in defiance, has been a ubiquitous one in the history of modern radical struggles. It is not only a symbol of power, it signifies self-affirmation, subjecthood, and subjectivity.

CONSTRUCTING THE MULTITUDE: FUNERALS, PUBLIC MOURNING, AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF MASS POLITICS

Beyond the gesture, the communicative value, or rather, the legibility of the photograph as a sign in the reading of the discursive potential of images of the struggle appears through other image typologies. If Sharpeville bore witness to the transformation of the gesture, the events of that day also produced the picture of the funeral as one of the central iconographic emblems of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Magubane's photographs of the burial of the Sharpeville dead mark a moment from which funerals became not just occasions for mourning but a ritualized space of mass mobilization. Because apartheid was a potent killing machine, the upsurge of funerals, especially in the 1980s, created a new forum of politics, and a frontier of radical opposition in the struggle. Funerals galvanized community outrage and resistance, a fact potently registered in their unceasing recurrence in the work of photographers, from the funerals of Hector Pieterse to Steve Biko, to the mass gathering that turned out for the burial of the Cradock Four (Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto, and Sicelo Mhlauti), activists who were abducted and murdered by the security police in Eastern Cape. The photographs of funerals by a host of photographers, ranging from gille de vlieg, Guy Tillim, Cedric Nunn, Omar Badsha, Gideon Mendel, among others, provide another discursive layer in the reading of images of anti-apartheid resistance. Funerals became universalizing emblems of the people's structures of feeling and identification. They combined mourning and pageantry to become instruments for constructing the idea of community, belonging, and identity.

SIGNIFYING SPEECH: PROTEST SIGNS AND THE RHETORIC OF RESISTANCE

If funerals provided the arena for the political production of the multitude, protests, strikes, and marches, often accompanied by a form of almost joyful, raucous, ritualized dancing, followed by vigorous singing, synchronized stomping, and swaying of the body called *toyi-toyi* (fig. 16), were platforms on which the visibility of mass politics was enacted. Beyond the images of protests themselves, however, a significant aspect of anti-apartheid visibility is the protest *sign*. Protest signs traditionally are written as demands or as expressions of specific subject positions in response to an addressee, usually conveyed through a surrogate voice. Within the context of the struggle against apartheid, the written signs displayed at funerals, strikes, marches, and protests, as well as being frames of discursivity, were fundamentally forms of signifying speech that created meaning in response to apartheid. Photographs document the prolific production of signs as forms of speech and their pervasive and relentless distribution through multiple channels and frameworks around which the resistance to apartheid took place. As a minor literary form, protest signs served not only as vigilant testimonies against oppression and the demand for rights, the specificity of their signifying speech enunciated the



FIG. 16. Catherine Ross, *Protesters march and toyi-toyi around the Hillbrow Hospital, Johannesburg, July 15, 1992*

boundary between presence and absence, visibility and invisibility. To speak, therefore, through the proliferation of signs was a mark of subjectivity, of becoming a subject. Speech acts in this form denoted citizenship (see pages 286–307).

THE BLACK SASH, PERFORMATIVITY, AND BEARING WITNESS AGAINST APARTHEID

In 1955, a group of English-speaking white liberal women formed the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, commonly known as the Black Sash. Their principal goal was to mobilize against apartheid policies, using their privileged status as Europeans to challenge the regime and bear witness to the injustice it perpetrated. The group's initial action was a protest against the purging of Coloured voters in the Cape from the voter rolls. Soon their actions expanded to encompass confrontations with the entire apartheid system and its flouting of laws protecting civil liberties. In the course of their dramatic, disciplined, choreographed, and highly performative demonstrations and silent protests, the group developed a distinctive visual iconography involving coordinated gestures and poses by the members. The most prominent iconography, from which the popular name of the

group derived, was a black sash worn across the right shoulder and under the left arm, then draped and tied to the left hip in a knot. In each of their wordless protests, the women stood either in long columns with their hands behind their backs or holding signs printed on symmetrically sized vertical white boards on which demands and declamations, written as if by a copywriter, announced their denunciations of the apartheid system (see pages 142–49).

The protest as a sign of contestation or as an act of bearing witness has long been used in oppositional politics, in civil disobedience actions, boycotts, and strikes. The marches organized by Martin Luther King Jr. and other leaders of the American Civil Rights movement are contemporaneous with those occurring in South Africa from the early 1950s onward. Comparative analysis of the iconography of the Civil Rights and anti-apartheid movements, along with their visual record, reveals a striking similarity in strategies developed in each political context. What makes the protests of the Black Sash uniquely iconographic was the signifying ideal they put forward in a camera-ready fashion. First, Black Sash protests were designed not only to be visible in the public sphere, but more importantly, almost as photographic events. In other words, they were both physical presentations and indexical



FIG. 17. Unidentified Photographer, *Wits students demonstration against banning*, 1970s

cal productions. Through the use of silent vigils in which each member stood facing the opposition, the Black Sash transformed every protest into an act of witnessing and mourning. This form of visualization was developed alongside strategies of public decorum, as well as tactics of passive but militant resistance. As the protests evolved into marches, it seemed as if they were orchestrated by a theater director and scripted by a dramaturge.

What stood out in the public actions of the Black Sash was their concise and consistent pictorial legibility. Theatrical and performative in its presentation, what distinguished a Black Sash protest was always its stagecraft. Every protest followed a clearly articulated script. The pacing of each march, or the spacing between each member, was carefully calculated so that it took on a rhythmic regularity. Each woman wore almost identically styled conservative tailored clothing. For older members, this often included a hat and white gloves. And when not wearing a hat, the hair was always freshly cut and coiffed. The countenance of the scrubbed and made-up faces was always somber, unsmiling, expressionless; this blankness created an impenetrable mask that betrayed little

emotion. Theirs was an extremely effective exercise in sartorial and expressive *detournement*.

Thus in every public appearance the group exuded respectability, stability, and civility. They were your next-door neighbor from the well-tended suburbs, the wives of colleagues from the office, sisters of friends from college. Many could even be your grandmother. Such was the powerful symbolic signals the members sent and their use of visibility as a form of protest became perfected into a signature motif of anti-apartheid visual production. In this way, a Black Sash event, even without the sash, could be easily read in the way the members conceived and followed the program of established rules.

TOP HATS, OPERA GLOVES, GARDEN PARTIES: STAGING CIVILITY AND THE RITUALS OF POWER

So far, I have focused almost entirely on features of the anti-apartheid struggle. But surely, the apartheid state did more than just respond to the demands of millions of its opponents with violence. While state violence was extreme in its deployment, and the power to detain was an effective, if

inadequate, tool in the apartheid system's quest to muzzle the voices arrayed against it, the apartheid state understood that it needed to counteract the sophisticated messages of the anti-apartheid movement with its own counter-normative images that were more or less about style than substance.

The earliest extant recorded images of the triumphant National Party after the elections of 1948 mostly present the aged and courtly D. F. Malan among his supporters, in various state ceremonies, and in private moments (see pages 76–79). Nothing in these images deepens our understanding of the hierarchical apartheid government. Even the propaganda images churned out by the Ministry of Information have very limited intrinsic value. Perhaps some exceptions exist, but only as pictures in which the gestures of civility between master and servant are enacted between white and black politicians (see pages 252–63). Such pictures present a dehistoricized social space in which these interactions occurred. Perhaps in presenting images of ceremonies showing a parade of dignitaries and “important” personalities in suits, morning coats, white tie and tails, bowler hats, and even top hats, with the women dressed in clearly anachronistic finery (at endless garden parties and state banquets), the viewer is brought close up to the comingling of affairs of the state and performances of civility. In this pictorial discourse, the world is presented with less than convincing images of African independence through photographs of African figureheads of various bantustans (the so-called independent homelands), at parties, military parades, being sworn into office (usually by a white overseer). Depictions of Africans clad either in “native” attire (such as those with Zulu dignitaries dressed in leopard skins) or in pinstriped suits, white tie, and tails seem engineered to convey an air of apartheid's benevolence and civilizing nature. The passage from native (rural past) to modern statecraft (independent homeland) is relentlessly imagized through the ceremonial performance of military parades, the signing of bilateral agreements, the opening of factories. In a sense, what makes images of apartheid state propaganda interesting is that they offer a view not into the illusion of stability they seek to convey, but rather into a theater set that reveals the absence of photographic sophistication.

ON THE BARRICADES: TOWARD AN EPILOGUE OF ANTI-APARTHEID PHOTOGRAPHY

By way of conclusion, I want to stress a point that I have not yet addressed in this essay, namely, the relationship between

apartheid and post-apartheid societies. This project began with no illusions that apartheid means “the past.” Or that the post-apartheid present means that the ghosts of the apartheid past have been subdued and laid to rest. In fact, the contrary is the case. South Africa is beleaguered at every level by the legacies of apartheid. The massive challenge of its democracy is how to channel the energies unleashed by the legal and political triumph over apartheid into the construction of a just society, where equality means not just the entrenchment of a majority black government, but the creation of fundamental access to social and economic opportunity for millions who have no access to power. But despite the pessimism that pervades South African society today, the democratic experiment remains surprisingly resilient.

I want to end, then, by reminding us again of the specific types of photographic images that have proliferated throughout the intense periods of apartheid, the struggle against it, the defiance of its policies, the resistance to its bureaucratic order. In reviewing the photographic events of the apartheid system and the conditions of its antidemocratic norms, we are equally engaging in an analysis of certain forms and politics of the image. While the visual imagination of apartheid about the demands and desires of Africans was often simplistic, crude, and limited, revealing the visual impoverishment of the apartheid state itself, its incapacity to produce any enduring photographic legacy, that of its opponents became increasingly complex, diverse, and prolific. The intention of *Rise and Fall of Apartheid* is not only to present images of the resistance to apartheid, but to reveal the photographic eloquence and artistic legibility that accompanied that resistance. In this sense, our project is not a ground for presenting the idea of archive and counter-archive. That would have limited our critical scope, perhaps obscuring the epic historical power the photographs, artworks, and documents presented here convey.

What, therefore, can we learn from the world of these images? What can the images of the apartheid condition tell us about the history of the struggle in South Africa? To peer into the archival situation of South African photographic production between 1948 and 1994 is not simply a question of looking at events pictured at specific moments of political crisis, it is also to hold up the photographic document to scrutiny—in other words, to *read* the image, both within and against its intentions. It is to discover in the logic of the photograph clues to how the language of anti-apartheid struggle was formulated. Is photography, then, capable of addressing how bureaucratic structures stood as impediments to “normal”



FIG 18. Graeme Williams, *Nelson Mandela with Winnie Mandela as he is released from the Victor Vester Prison, 1990*

social life and active citizenship, as claimed by both engaged and struggle photographers? What I would like to inscribe in the reading of the bureaucratic order of apartheid to which photography responded are a series of narrative tendencies and discursive strategies that run across and came to define apartheid and anti-apartheid photography.

These tendencies and strategies follow the course of pictorial readability, and are to be found in a number of image typologies that have been taken up by a generation of artists who came of age in the post-apartheid era. Throughout the process of this research, what has emerged is not only the resilience and accrued visual power of the photographs that form the legacy of apartheid and anti-apartheid resistance, but also the inherent instability of the archive and the fragile state of memory. Yet, despite this instability and fragility, what shines through with vividness and sharp quiddity are how some of the most significant ideas of mid-twentieth-

century photography were produced behind the barricades of South African struggle and engaged photography. ■

1. The term *black people* in the context of the activist movement in South Africa is meant to connote all non-Europeans disenfranchised by apartheid.
2. It is necessary here to indicate that the end of apartheid as law represents only the conclusion of the political and legal framework that constituted the basis of its racial politics. However, the end of apartheid as law had limited effect on apartheid as fact and reality. Though by no means a definitive and conclusive termination of the entire apartheid system and its bureaucratic order, the interment of apartheid as state policy nevertheless signaled a new turn in the ideological struggle toward representative democracy, which on paper would define a postracial South Africa. Indeed, the entire post-apartheid era has been consumed with questions dealing with the shift from "transition" to democracy to the democratization of equality, social access, economic mobility and empowerment, and civic participation in the wider South African economy.
3. In response to the alarming exclusion of Africans from the articles of the Union, except to degrade their rights, the South African

Native National Convention was formed in 1912 in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, to unite all African peoples and defend their rights. The organization was renamed the African National Congress in 1923.

4. Mike Nicol, *A Good-Looking Corpse* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), p. 5.
5. See, for example, Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), on the formation of African nationalism as a response to apartheid. According to Gerhart, the purpose of her book was to explore structures of radicalization within the anti-apartheid struggle in organizations such as the Pan-African Congress and Black Consciousness movement, which developed along the lines of Black Power. The latter had been neglected by historians, who tended to focus on the more multiculturalist or liberal activism.
6. The first state of emergency under the government of Hendrik Verwoerd was declared in March 1960 in response to the disturbances that occurred after the Sharpeville Massacre, in which 69 protesters were shot dead by the police. The protest was part of a campaign against the pass laws organized by the nascent Pan-African Congress (PAC).
7. Two publications from 1986 and 1987 detailing the extent of the repression in South Africa and the cultural responses to it are noteworthy here: Omar Badsha, ed., *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart* (Cape Town: The Gallery Press, 1986), and David Bunn and Jane Taylor, eds., *From South Africa: New Writing, Photographs, and Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). These publications represent the distillation of the creative resources directed toward the resistance to apartheid by artists, essayists, photographers, and writers and remain seminal touchstones in the literature of the anti-apartheid struggle.
8. Even as the Tory and Republican governments of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in the U.K. and U.S. resisted complete cessation of political and economic relations with the apartheid government, behind the scenes they were already preparing for the inevitable. The minority white rule of Ian Smith had come to an end in Rhodesia and was replaced by the government of Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF in 1980, which adopted Zimbabwe as the name of the new nation. With Zimbabwe in black majority hands, the corollary in South Africa, though far removed, was no longer seen as far-fetched. A report on South Africa commissioned by an outfit called Foreign Policy Study Foundation, and conducted by a coalition of U.S. academic, labor, and civil society organizations, came to the conclusion that if there was no negotiated settlement, the consequences of violence would be so grave as to be unpredictable in how the political impasse would be settled. It needs to be said, however, that all through the 1980s there was no lack in studies on what to do about South Africa. See *South Africa: Time Running Out: The Report of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).
9. For an exploration of the events surrounding the Detainees' Hunger Strike, see Anthea Jeffery, *People's War: New Light on the Struggle for South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009). For an important source of collective and popular narration of the events of the South African anti-apartheid movement and of the Detainees' Hunger Strike, visit www.sahistory.org/article/apartheid-power-crisis.
10. Quoted in Jeffery, *People's War*, p. 204.
11. See Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).
12. Apartheid remained deeply entrenched in the country's legal structure until the final repeal of the Group Areas, Native Land, and Population Registration Acts in 1991.

13. The idea of a model constitution based on nonracial universal franchise was developed and ratified on June 25–26, 1955, at the Congress of the People held in Kliptown. The gathering brought together a coalition of civic, religious, and political organizations to draft the document that became the basis of a united nonviolent, popular anti-apartheid struggle. The Freedom Charter was the result of the democratic process of the Congress of the People. For analysis and recollections of the event and the meaning of the Freedom Charter, see Raymond Suttner and Jeremy Cronin, *30 Years of The Freedom Charter* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1986).
14. For an exploration and critique of the notion of white right-wing recidivism trapped in a segregationist past, see Johann van Rooyen, *Hard Right: The New White Power in South Africa* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994).
15. See David Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009).
16. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Knopf, 1979), p. 194.
17. The first mass mobilization against apartheid laws, the 1952 Defiance Campaign, in which a coalition of political groups came together to challenge the pass laws, was principally an attack on the normative symbol of white superiority.
18. For a history of the development of photography in South Africa, see Marjorie Bull and Joseph Denfield, *Secure the Shadow: The Story of Cape Photography from Its Beginnings to the End of 1870* (Cape Town: Terence McNally, 1970); see also A. D. Bensusan, *Silver Images: History of Photography in Africa* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1966).
19. Peter Metelerkamp, "Considering Coloniality in South African Photography," at <http://www.metelerkamp.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/colonicity-essay-for-web.pdf>, p. 5.
20. An in-depth treatment of the Native Studies genre of South African photographic production is developed in this volume by Michael Godby.
21. For a discussion of Constance Stuart Larrabee and Leon Levson's photographic output and their careers in South Africa, see Darren Newbury, *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2009), pp. 15–78.
22. See Robin Comley et al., eds., *Women by Women: 50 Years of Women's Photography in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2006). It is worth considering the possible influence of Fischer's study of white poverty on Roger Ballen's deliberately abject and staged portraits of whites existing in extreme contexts of squalor and deprivation. Several books in Ballen's repertoire have contributed to a view of his practice as a photographer of ghoulish depictions who has deliberately courted controversy. See Roger Ballen, *Platteland: Images from Rural South Africa* (London: Quartet Books, 1994); *Outland* (London: Phaidon, 2001); *Shadow Chamber* (London: Phaidon, 2005). However, it is important to underscore the phantasmic aspect of Ballen's work, which in the last decade has radically departed from his earlier classical documentary style, emblemized in the beautifully crafted images of small-town lassitude in his book *Dorps: Small Towns of South Africa* (Cape Town: Hirt & Carter, 1986).
23. A cogent examination of the idea of citizen and subject in the context of political engagement and contestation of colonialism in Africa is explored in Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
24. Alan Paton, with photographs by Dan Wiener, *South Africa in Transition* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956).

25. Ernest Cole, *House of Bondage* (New York: Random House, 1967); David Goldblatt and Nadine Gordimer, *On the Mines* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1973); David Goldblatt, *Some Afrikaners Photographed* (Cape Town: Murray Crawford, 1975); Peter Magubane, *Soweto* (Cape Town: Don Nelson, 1978); Omar Badsha, *Letter to Farzanah* (Durban: Institute for Black Research, 1979).
26. See Okwui Enwezor, "A Critical Presence: *Drum Magazine* in Context," in *In/Sight: African Photographers 1940 to the Present*, edited by Clare Bell et al. (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1996), pp. 182–90.
27. Jurgen Schadeberg, ed., *The Fifties People of South Africa: Black Life, Politics, Jazz, Sports* (Lanseria, S.A.: J. R. A. Bailey, 1987).
28. See Paul Weinberg, "Apartheid—A Vigilant Witness: A Reflection on Photography," in *Culture in Another South Africa*, edited by Willem Campschreur and Joost Divendal (London: Zed Books, 1989), pp. 60–70.
29. The Photographers, "Preface," in *Beyond the Barricades: Popular Resistance in South Africa*, edited by Iris Tillman Hill and Alex Harris (New York: Aperture, 1989), p. 7.
30. Quoted in Newbury, *Defiant Images*, p. 210. The ensuing debates were eerily reminiscent of Walter Benjamin's influential essay "The Author as Producer" and Georg Lukács' writings on similar issues in the 1930s. See Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," in *Reflections*, edited by Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1978); Georg Lukács, "Tendency or Partisanship?" in *Essays on Realism*, edited by Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980).
31. Quoted in Okwui Enwezor, "Matter and Consciousness: An Insistent Gaze from a Not Disinterested Photographer," in *David Goldblatt: Fifty-One Years* (Barcelona: Actar and Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2001), p. 29.
32. Greg Marinovich and João Silva, *The Bang Bang Club: Snapshots from a Hidden War* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
33. Njabulo S. Ndebele, *Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Essays on South African Literature and Culture* (Fordsburg: Congress of South African Writers, 1991).
34. What Paul Weinberg called *strugglism* in a recorded interview with the author.
35. Okwui Enwezor, "On the Nature of Vision and Visuality in the Landscape of South Africa: William Kentridge Speaks with Okwui Enwezor," *FYI* (San Francisco Art Institute), no. 1 (May 2005), pp. 19–20.
36. David Goldblatt references this idea of the structure, which the hedge to my mind represents, in his book *South Africa: The Structure of Things Then* (New York: Monacelli, 1998).
37. Cornell Capa, *The Concerned Photographer* (New York: Grossman, 1972).
38. In the sense that I am using this term, *engaged photography* designates a whole set of pictorial attitudes and photographic production directly devoted to documenting the emancipatory confrontation of the peoples of South Africa with apartheid's political abuses. It was also a tool for raising social awareness of the restrictive conditions imposed by apartheid. The primary objective of *engaged photography* was to show life under apartheid through the prism of active resistance to it; to present images of insubordination and disobedience, and to articulate the solidarity between activists and diverse communities in the country.
39. Paul Weinberg used the term *strugglism* to define not only the kinds of images to emerge from the struggle, but the attitudes devoted to the production of such images. For photographers dedicated to struggle photography, their images and practice were integral to, rather than a subsidiary part of, the resistance to apartheid. The role the photographer played in the struggle was explicitly political, not only artistic. One instance of the dissociation of photographic production from aesthetic practice is illuminated in the opening statement read by Peter McKenzie at the conference in Gaborone. For a thorough treatment of the themes of "struggle photography," see "An Aesthetic of Fists and Flags: Struggle Photography," in Newbury, *Defiant Images*, pp. 219–69.
40. The events that became known as the Soweto Uprising could be considered a direct consequence of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was introduced by the apartheid government to underscore the superiority of education for white students over that of black students. In 1976, in response to an order issued by the Bantu Education ministry that all black schools employ Afrikaans as well as English as the language of instruction, students revolted. See *South Africa in Travail: The Disturbances of 1976/77: Evidence Presented by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations to Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Other Places During June 1976* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978).
41. On the anguish of this failure to record the crucial moments of the Sharpeville Massacre, see Magubane's comments to Darren Newbury in *Defiant Images*, pp. 160–62.
42. A report on the massacre was published by Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, with a foreword by Chief Albert Luthuli, then president of the ANC. The book is illustrated with thirty photographs taken, as the cover states, "before, during, and after the shooting." The book also contains an appendix of the inquest, which was led by Sidney Kentridge. Photographs published in the book would become the basis for a number of images in films made by William Kentridge, Sidney's son, whose cycle of hand-drawn animated films, *10 Drawings for Projection*, have incisively excavated the relationship between apartheid and its representation in art. See Ambrose Reeves, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1960).
43. For an excellent compendium of photographs covering the uprising in Soweto on June 16 and Alexandra on June 17, see Peter Magubane, *June 16, 1976: Never, Never Again: 20th Anniversary* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1996).
44. Sue Williamson, *Resistance Art in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1989). This book, among many, was one of the first to explore the relationship between visual art and resistance to apartheid. It particularly underscores the powerful melding of political signification with aesthetic techniques.
45. In terms of the idea of engaged photography, I am also thinking along the lines of *engagement* elaborated by Jean-Paul Sartre concerning the public intellectual's role in contemporary political, social, and cultural debates.
46. The establishment of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF) is a direct result of the explicit political desire for an international resistance to apartheid. In the 1980s, IDAF, working in coordination with photographers in South Africa, employed photographic images in a widely disseminated propaganda campaign to delegitimize apartheid internationally. Today, the archive of thousands of images given or sent by photographers to IDAF in London resides in Mayibuye Archives as part of the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town.
47. See my conversation with Goldblatt, "Matter and Consciousness," in *David Goldblatt: Fifty-One Years*, pp. 13–43.
48. Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in the Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843–1875* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), p. 3.
49. Both *Contrast* and *The Classic* occasionally featured photography on their pages such as the work of Jansje Wissema and George Hallett on District Six.
50. For a review of the role of *Staffrider* in the literary culture of anti-apartheid struggle, see Andries Walter Oliphant and Ivan Vladislavic, eds., *Ten Years of Staffrider: 1978–1988* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1988). *Staffrider* also distinguished itself as a vehicle for the publication of photographic books centered around the Afrapix exhibitions. An important example is *Staffrider Magazine Presents South Africa Through the Lens: Social Documentary Photography* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983). The publication included the photographs of Peter McKenzie, Lesley Lawson, Peter Setuke, Joe Alfors, Paul Alberts, Omar Badsha, Bidy Partridge, Reiger Park, Joe Wolverstone, Morris Zwi, Ivan Giesen, Jeeva Rajgopaul, Paul Weinberg, Karl Sanson, David Goldblatt, Wendy Schwegmann, Shepard Nompunza, Tessa Colvin, Juda Ngwenya, and Mxolise Moyo.
51. After the establishment of Afrapix, which emerged in response to the highly influential conference in Gaborone, the role that art and photography would play in anti-apartheid resistance was made more stark than ever before. The *Staffrider* exhibitions were one vehicle for this. In 1988, the Centre for Documentary Photography, at the University of Cape Town, hosted the first conference on photography that largely accorded with the vision of struggle and engaged photography. The conference brought together dozens of photographers to exchange ideas and concepts of photographic practice.
52. David Goldblatt, *In Boksburg* (Cape Town: Gallery Press, 1982); Nadine Gordimer and David Goldblatt, *Lifetimes: Under Apartheid* (New York: Knopf, 1986); David Goldblatt, *The Transported of KwaNdebele: A South African Odyssey* (New York and Durham, N.C.: Aperture and Center for Documentary Studies, Duke University, 1989); Omar Badsha, *Imijondolo: A Photographic Essay on Forced Removals in the Inanda District of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Afrapix, 1985); Paul Alberts, *The Borders of Apartheid: A Chronicle of Alienation in South Africa with a Portfolio of Photographs on Bophuthatswana Today* (Cape Town: The Gallery Press, 1983); Roger Ballen, *Dorps: Small Towns of South Africa* (Cape Town: Hirt & Carter, 1986).
53. For an in-depth historical analysis of the massacre, see Tom Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
54. In her book, Gail M. Gerhart explores the complex ideological differences between members of PAC and the ANC. The differences are explored through the distinction she makes between "liberal or nonracial nationalism" and "Orthodox African nationalism (which is sometimes called 'exclusivist nationalism') [which] defines South Africa as a country belonging to Africans by right of first possession, and on the ground that they are the great majority of the population. To the orthodox nationalist, the white man is a guest in the African house and should be permitted to remain in Africa only on terms set down by his indigenous hosts. Democracy is defined as majority rule, whereas in the nonracial nationalism of the ANC, democracy has been understood in its more complex sense as representative government, or a system in which all groups in a political community have an opportunity to affect the decision-making process. Thus, where nonracial nationalism has aimed at a pluralistic sharing of power, orthodox nationalism tends towards a 'winner-take-all' view . . ." Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa*, p. 13.

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