

AFRIKA KENAKO

90 YEARS OF
STRUGGLE



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A HISTORY OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
1912–2002



The African National Congress was founded 90 years ago to unite the African people in struggle against white minority rule and to act collectively for the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. From its inception, the ANC saw this task as a part of what the organisation's founders called the "regeneration of Africa".

Over nine decades the ANC has forged and led a powerful national liberation movement which has united millions of South Africans in a hard-fought struggle for freedom. Through years of hardship, amid numerous setbacks, but thanks to the sacrifices of countless patriots, we have together defeated the forces of racial oppression and ushered in a new era of peace, democracy and reconstruction.

We have much to celebrate. But we also have much to do. As we recall our past, as we honour our heroes, as we commemorate our achievements, we need to remember that the historic mission for which the ANC was formed is not yet complete.

As we continue the struggle to free South Africa's people from all forms of oppression – alongside our efforts to achieve the regeneration of the entire African continent – we need to draw lessons, strength and inspiration from 90 years of struggle. This is the remarkable story of that struggle.

A HISTORY OF RESISTANCE

1652-1906

South Africa was conquered by force, and for much of the last century has been ruled by force.

White settlers first came to South Africa in 1652, initially from the Netherlands, Germany and France, and later from Britain. These settlers defeated the Khoisan people who inhabited the Cape Peninsula, robbing them of their land, their livestock and frequently their lives. The settlers gradually penetrated the interior, invading first areas inhabited by Xhosa and then areas inhabited by other African peoples.

Many wars were waged over land and cattle. Although the African kingdoms lost land and cattle they were still independent some 200 years after the arrival of the first settlers.

The arrival of the British military forces in South Africa at the beginning of the 19th century marked a qualitative and quantitative change in the anti-colonial resistance struggle, immensely strengthening the forces of colonisation and oppression. The Xhosa who had fought nine wars of resistance against the colonisers over more than 100 years, were finally defeated in 1878.

Led by King Cetshwayo, the Zulu inflicted a crushing defeat on the invading British army at Isandhlwana in 1879, but were finally defeated at Ulundi by British



◀ Zulu king Cetshwayo, whose soldiers defeated the British at the battle of Isandhlwana in 1879.



▲ The European settlers who followed the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 clashed with the Khoisan people of the Cape peninsula, robbing them of their land and livestock.

◀ Chief Bambatha (right) led a rebellion in Natal in 1906 against the imposition of a poll tax.



reinforcements. Soon afterwards the British attacked and defeated the baPedi who had defended their independence over many decades despite Boer aggression.

Kings like Sekhukhune and Cetshwayo were captured and imprisoned. Others like Sandile were killed in battle. The wars of resistance ended with the defeat of the baVenda, under the leadership of Makhado, by Paul Kruger's Boer Republic in 1898. By 1900 the power of the African kingdoms had been broken and they had been brought under the control of the colonial government.

Africans had to find new ways to fight for their land and their freedom. A rebellion against the Poll Tax, led by Chief Bambatha in 1906, was brutally suppressed by the Natal colonial authorities.

THE ANC IS FORMED

1910-1920

With the African kingdoms militarily defeated, and the Boer republics after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 incorporated into a larger British colony, the white inhabitants of South Africa forged a political union which would consolidate their control over the land to the exclusion of the black majority - Africans, Coloureds and Indians. The Union of South Africa was established on 31 May 1910, entrenching the loss to Africans of freedom, land and dignity which had begun in previous decades.

The descendants of the Khoisan, and of the slaves imported from the east, and the most recent group of immigrants from India all were denied citizenship rights, to be ruled as colonial subjects like the Africans.

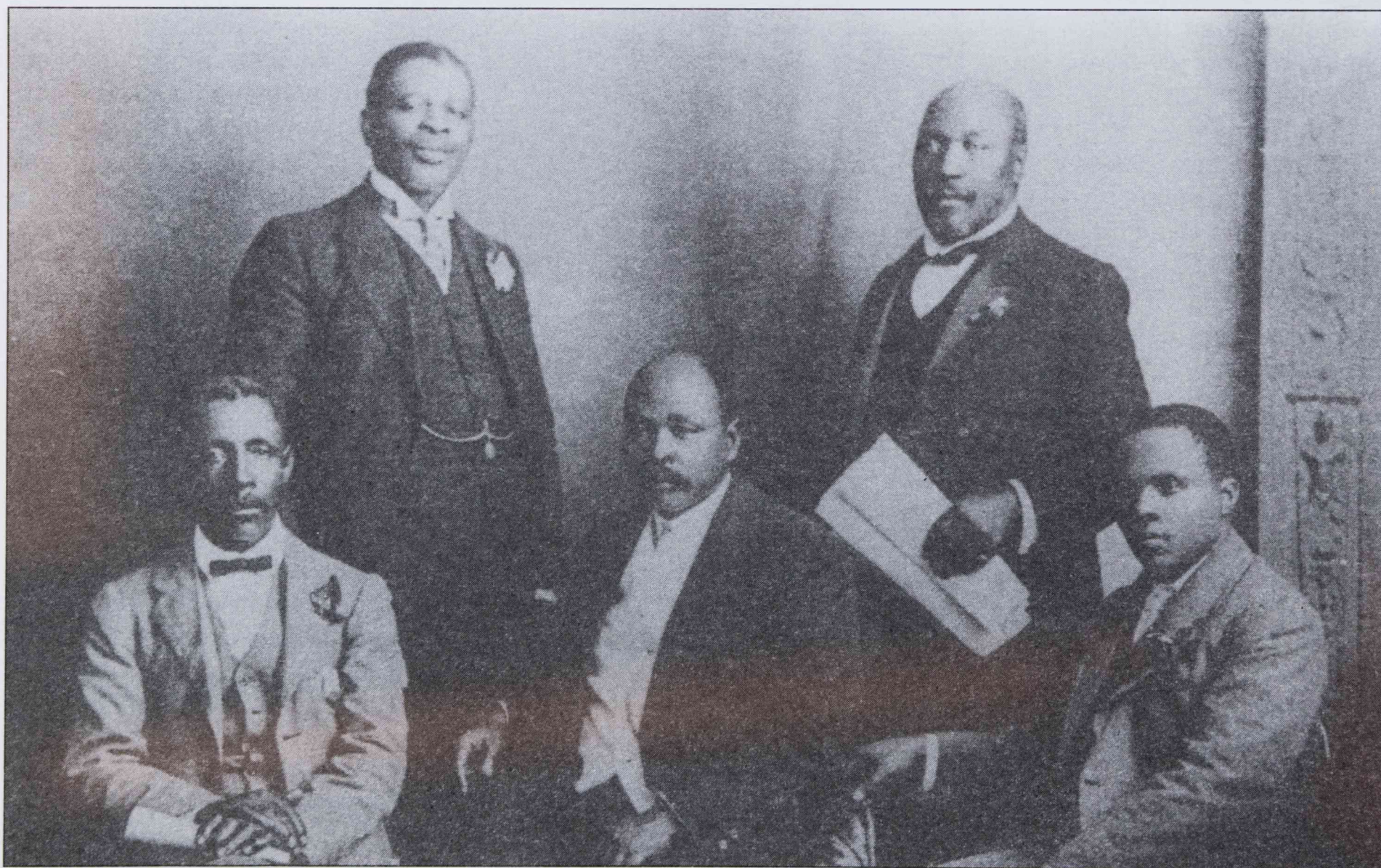
Following a decade of organisation among Africans, coloureds and Indians in different parts of the country, there was a growing desire for a single movement to champion the interests of South Africa's majority. In 1911, Pixley ka Isaka Seme called on Africans to forget the differences of the past and unite together in one national organisation. He said: "We are one people. These divisions, these

jealousies, are the cause of all our woes today."

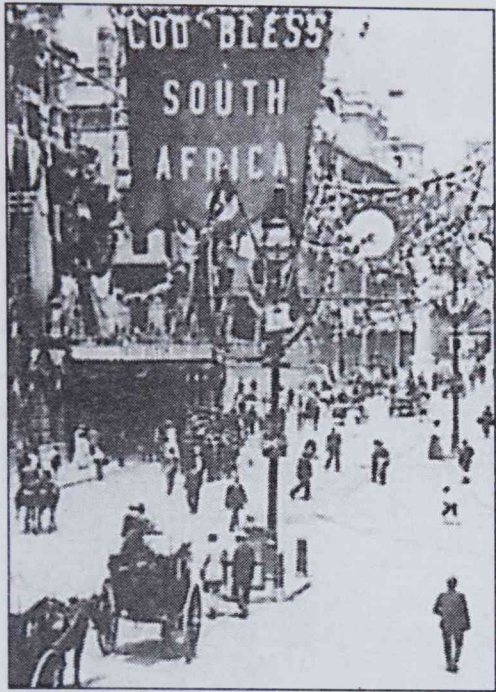
On 8 January 1912, representatives of people's organisations, religious bodies, prominent individuals, clergymen and chiefs gathered at Mangaung in Bloemfontein and formed the South African Native National Congress. Its aim was to bring together all Africans as one people to defend their rights and to fight for freedom. Rev John Dube was elected presi-



▲ The ANC's first President, Rev John Dube (left), and the first Secretary General, Sol Plaatje (right).



▲ The SA Native National Congress delegation to Britain, 1914. From left to right: Thomas Mapikela, Rev Walter Rubusana, Rev John Dube, Saul Msane, Sol Plaatje.



dent and Sol Plaatje became secretary. In 1923 the organisation changed its name to the African National Congress (ANC).

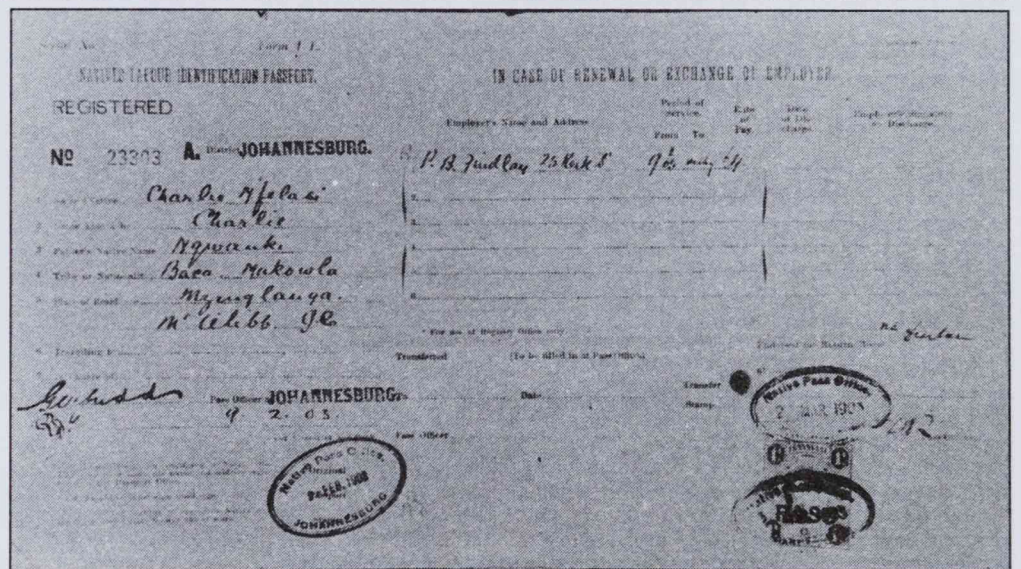
The ANC was formed at a time when South Africa was undergoing rapid change. Diamonds had been discovered in 1867 and gold in 1883. Mine bosses wanted large numbers of people to work for them in the mines. Laws and taxes were designed to force people to leave their land.

The most severe law was the 1913 Land Act, which barred Africans from buying, renting or using land, except in certain parts of the country set aside for African occupation. Many communities and families immediately lost their land because of the Land Act. For millions of other black people it became very difficult to live off the land. The Land Act was deliberately designed to cause overcrowding, land hunger and poverty.

In 1912 the white government had set up the Land Bank, in anticipation of the Land Act, to make loans available to whites at low rates of interest so they could buy up the land taken away from the African people.

The Land Act and other laws and taxes forced people to seek work on the mines and the cities. Africans renting land on white-owned farms either had to leave the land or become landless workers employed by white farmers. While some black people settled in cities like Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria, most African workers were migrants. They travelled to the cities to work and returned to the rural areas with part of their wages, usually once a year.

But Africans were not free to move as they pleased. Their movements were controlled by a number of passes and permits that made sure they worked either on the mines or on the farms. The pass laws also stopped Africans from changing their



▲▲ Mine labourers on the Witwatersrand.

▲ A 'Native Labour Identification Passport' from 1903, one of the mechanisms used to prevent Africans from taking up permanent residence in urban areas.

jobs or striking. In 1919 the ANC in the Transvaal led a campaign against the passes. The ANC also supported the militant strike by African mineworkers in 1920.

Some ANC leaders argued that the ANC could achieve its aims by persuasion, for example, by appealing to Britain or respectfully petitioning the white government. Delegations were sent to Britain in 1914 to protest the Land Act. Another delegation went in 1919 to ask Britain to recognise African rights. It even proceeded to the Peace Conference at Versailles. All of these petitions were ignored.

WORKERS STRUGGLE AND UNIONISATION

1920s

The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) – a general workers' union – was formed in Cape Town in 1919. It became the most active and popular organisation in urban and rural areas during the 1920s. The union won some major victories for black workers through militant action. However, the ICU could not sustain itself, and in the late 1920s it collapsed.

Socialist organisations had also begun to organise black workers in the 1920s. The International Socialist League together with other socialist organisations formed the Communist Party in 1921.

During the 1920s government policies became harsher and more racist. In 1923 the Urban Areas Act, declaring the cities and towns of South Africa the exclusive domain of whites, was passed. The law only permitted Africans to enter towns and cities if they were employed by whites. While in these areas they were to reside in specially designated 'native locations' or townships.

In 1927 the Natives Administration Act was passed. This law declared all Africans to be subjects of the Supreme Chief of the Natives, the Governor-

Workers of the World, Unite!

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper

UMSEBENZI

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKER

M. A. A. Y. I. C. B. B. U. Y. E

Organ of the Communist Party Incorporating the "International"

No. 622
Cape Town, Friday, 11 July, 1930
Price 1d.

TONJENI AT GRAAFF REINET

Agitator Comes to Country Dorp

CONDITIONS IN A TYPICAL LOCATION

"Promoting Hostility"

Dear Comrade Editor,

Kindly publish this report in "Umsebenzi" for general information.

I arrived in Graaff Reinet a few weeks ago and addressed some meetings in the location, which is inhabited both by Coloured and Native people. The location superintendent, a Euro-

pean, said that at the time of the 1920 black miners' strike, after he or she has faced severe ex-

After he or she has faced severe ex-

the Native women of Graaff Reinet

After 1/2 p.m. the carthy god

Native women are arrested if found

walking in the streets without passes.

If any woman works in a kitchen up

to 2:30 p.m., before she may leave for

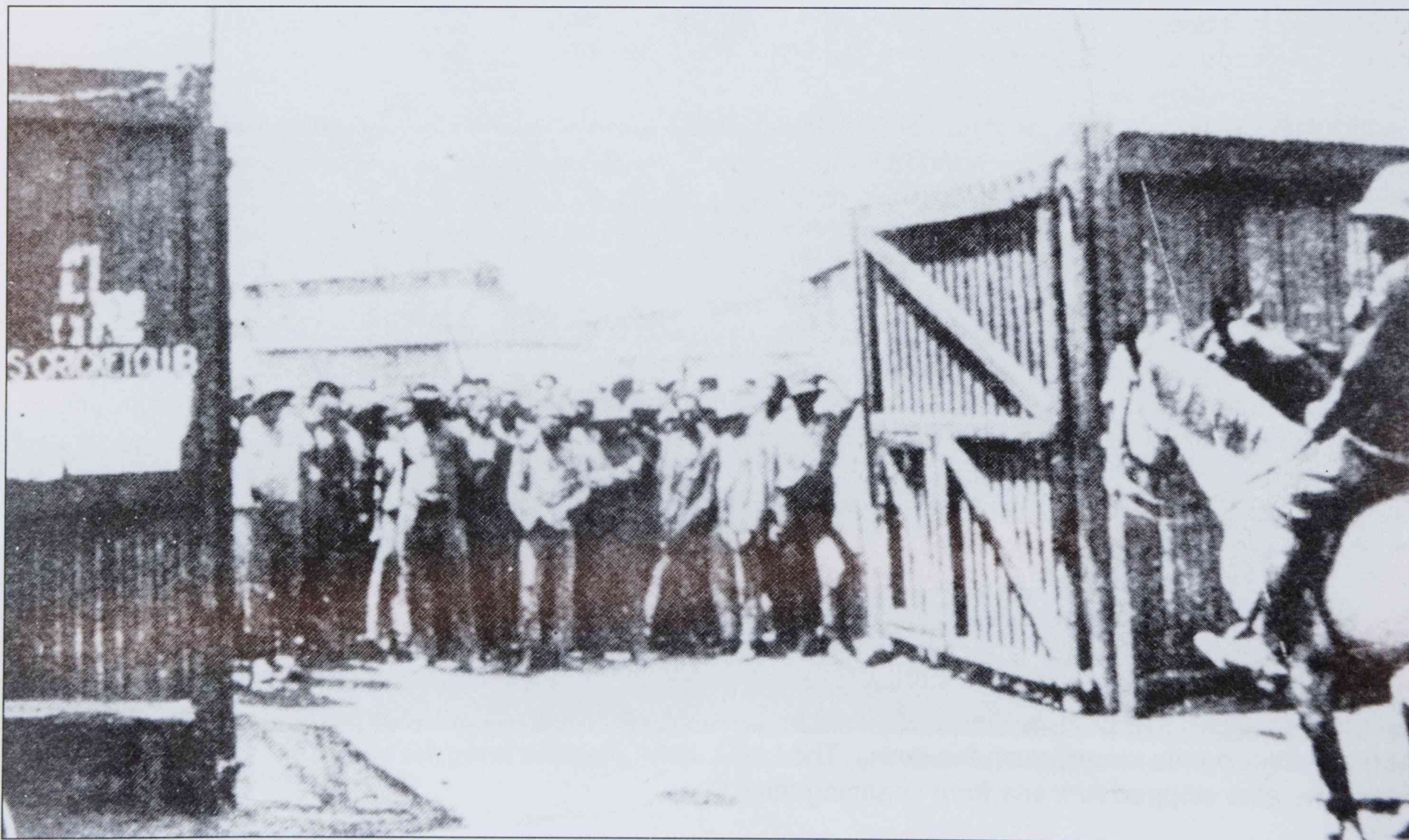
the location she must get a special pass

outside. That is the kind of civilisa-

in the form of a written note from

▲ An edition of *Umsebenzi* – 'The Worker' – the journal of the Communist Party of South Africa from 1930. The CPSA was formed in 1921 following an initiative of the International Socialist League.

▼ The 1920 black miners' strike was the biggest in the history of the Witwatersrand, with over 70,000 African workers coming out on strike.





◀ The growth of the gold mining industry resulted in the development of an urban black working class, and the emergence of worker's organisations to champion their interests.

▼ Letterhead of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, founded by Clements Kadalie, which led many of the workers' struggles of the 1920s.

General of South Africa, who in turn delegated his powers over them to various grades of "native chiefs". All Africans were designated the subject of a specific chief or headman and were required to pay allegiance to him.

A rigid colour-bar was established to stop blacks from holding skilled jobs in a number of industries. Semi-skilled work was open to blacks only when there were no whites who could perform it. Black workers were paid low wages and confined to unskilled work.

Josiah T. Gumede was elected President of the ANC in 1927. He sought to revitalise the ANC in order to fight these racist policies. Gumede had been impressed by the militant struggles led by the ICU and the Communist Party. He was persuaded that the ANC could not succeed purely by petitioning the government or seeking relief from Britain. He wanted to transform the ANC into a movement rep-

resenting the urban workers, the farm-workers, the rural people and poor.

However, in 1930, Gumede was voted out of office in a conservative backlash. Under the more cautious leadership of Seme the ANC withdrew into itself. Destructive witch-hunts ensued to rid the movement of radicals, communists and others perceived to be such. In Natal, Dube broke with the national body to form a regional ANC. Decline and division left the ANC unprepared for the offensive of the united white government of JB Hertzog and Jan Smuts.

THE FASCIST DANGER

1930s

In 1935 General Hertzog tabled a series of Bills in parliament whose purpose was to end the limited franchise of Africans in the Cape Province. Other aspects of the laws sought to exclude Africans permanently from the towns and cities and designate all of them temporary sojourners who were there purely to work for whites.

Because the ANC had become so weak it was unable to marshal resistance to these Bills. In 1936, Professor Don Davidson Tengo Jabavu (uJilli) was instrumental in calling together an All African Convention to oppose the Hertzog Bills.

That year was also the centenary of the Great Trek, when a massive population movement out of the British controlled Cape colony had been undertaken by Afrikaner farmers. The occasion was used by right-wing Afrikaners to stir up ethnic nationalism and racial hatred. Dr DF Malan, JG Strydom, Johan de Klerk and others broke away from General Hertzog to constitute a more right wing Afrikaner National Party. A group taking its inspiration from Nazism in Germany set up the Ossewa Brandwag (OB) – Sentinels of the Oxwagon – and began agitating for a Nazi-type government in South Africa. Prominent among these were John Vorster, Johan van den Bergh, Oswald Pirow and others.

To oppose the rise of fascist movements in South Africa a number of organisations came together in 1936 to form a united front. Short-sightedly, many of the whites refused to ally themselves with the ANC and other black movements.

To fill the political vacuum created by the weakness and divisions in the ANC James La Guma and John Gomas, both of whom had been expelled from the ANC after 1930, took the lead in establishing the National Liberation League. They attracted support from among younger coloured and Indian militants

such as Cissy Gool, Amina Fredericks and Dawood Seedat. The National Liberation League was also central to the formation of the Non-European United Front (NEUF) with an anti-racist and anti-fascist programme that sought to unite all blacks – Africans, coloured and Indians – in one front to fight for freedom.

In 1939 when the Second World War broke out, Hertzog and Smuts parted company. By a small majority the white parliament voted to join the war against Nazism.

► *The Guardian*, a weekly newspaper, played a key role in helping to mobilise anti-fascist opinion and support for the ANC.

▼ The ANC deputation to Cape Town to protest against the Representation of Natives Act, 1936, including Rev James Calata and Dr AB Xuma (middle seated).





THE ANC GAINS NEW LIFE

1940s

The ANC was boosted with new life and energy in the 1940s, which changed it from the relatively passive organisation of the 1930s to the mass movement it was to become in the 1950s.

Under the leadership of Dr AB Xuma, with the Reverend CR Calata as Secretary-General, ANC branches throughout the country had steadily been rebuilt after 1940. In 1943, after Winston Churchill and FD Roosevelt concluded the Atlantic Charter, setting out the war aims of the allies, Dr Xuma called together a committee of African leaders, thinkers and opinion-makers to draft a document applying the principles of the Atlantic Charter to Africa. The product was the 'African Claims', published in 1946. This document introduced the concept of 'majority rule' for the first time in South African liberation politics.

In 1944 a group of younger ANC members led by Anton Lembede and Walter Sisulu helped establish the ANC Youth League. They saw their role as that

▲ The South African Indian Congress led a passive resistance campaign against a 1946 law preventing Indians from buying land in certain areas. Within two months over 2,000 resisters, including 300 women, were sentenced for their defiance.

► The 'Africans' Claims' document, published in 1946, adapted the values of the Atlantic Charter – which set out the war aims of allies Churchill and Roosevelt – to the South African context.

Congress Series No. II.

AFRICANS' CLAIMS

IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Issued and Published by the African National Congress,
Rosenberg Arcade, 58, Market Street, Johannesburg, and
Printed by the Liberty Printers, 325, 6th Street,
Asiatic Bazaar, Pretoria.

The PASSIVE RESISTER

Registered at the G.P.O.
as a Newspaper.

JOHANNESBURG,
MONDAY, 18th NOVEMBER, 1946.

Volume 1, No. 21.
Price 2d.

DOCTOR NAICKER'S RELEASE

DR. G. M. NAICKER, the President of the Natal Indian Congress is back with his people. His release is a happy event for the quarter million Indian people of South Africa. This national leader of the Indian people led the first batch of resisters on the historic June 13th when the South African Indian people declared war on the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. He was charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and was sentenced by the Durban Magistrate to an imprisonment of six months and seven days' hard labour. At first the authorities detained him at the Durban Central Jail but later he was removed to Newcastle where he served the greater part of his sentence.

HIS LIFE

Dr. Naicker was born in Durban on 30th September, 1910. He studied in Durban at the Marine College and then proceeded to study Medicine at the Edinburgh University. At the University he was elected a member of the Students' Representative Council. In 1932 he became a member of the Edinburgh Indian Association's Committee of Management and was the Editor of the Association's handbook from 1932 to 1934.

After qualifying as a medical practitioner he returned to South Africa to work among his oppressed people. He set up a flourishing practice but at all times he remained much concerned with the conditions under which Indian people were compelled to live in the land of their adoption and birth. He identified himself with Indian Welfare Organisations and rendered them outstanding services.

CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF PROGRESSIVES

In the Indian National organisations he championed the cause of the progressives. He did not hesitate to expose the opportunistic line the reactionary leaders were pursuing. When the Nationalist Bloc was formed Dr. Naicker was one of its leading members and gave it valuable guidance.

He worked hard to bring about unity between the Natal Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress and when unity was achieved he with others worked unceasingly for a more progressive policy.

The old leadership of the Congress, however, failed to realise the tremendous support that was being gained by those who stood with Dr. Naicker, in order to combat the policy of dishonourable compromise suggested by the "Old Guard", the Natal Anti-Segregation Council was formed with Dr. Naicker as its President.

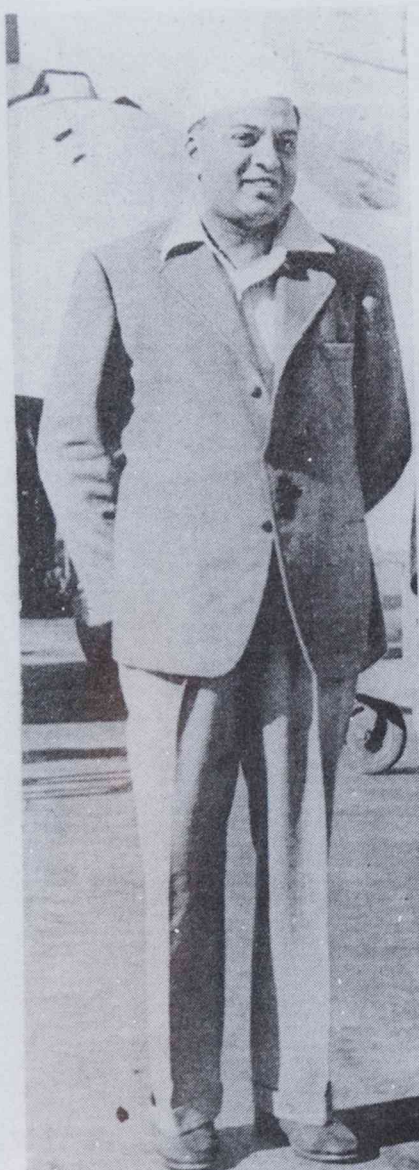
A GREAT LEADER

The Anti-Segregation Council was voicing the feelings of the vast majority of Natal Indians. As the Congress elections began to draw nearer it became abundantly clear that this policy would carry the day. Despite the attempts of the Old Guard to retain leadership against the wishes of the Indian people, the Congress was compelled to hold the elections resulting in a complete victory for the Anti-Segregation Council. Dr. Naicker was elected President of the Natal Indian Congress.

Dr. Naicker is a great leader of his people. His courageous action has inspired the Indian people throughout South Africa to follow the path of resistance. On June 13th he led the first batch of resisters. To-day on his release he finds that well over 1,000 resisters have been sentenced to imprisonment for defying the Ghetto Act.

WELCOME

The best welcome the Indian people can give this great leader is to pledge that they will continue this great resistance movement with even greater determination until the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act is repealed.



▲ Walter Sisulu (left) and Anton Lembede (right) were among the young activists who established the ANC Youth League.

proposed to set up a Coloured Affairs Council, with a view to eventually removing coloured voters from the electoral roll, agitation was immediate. An Anti-Coloured Affairs Council was convened to oppose the scheme. John Gomas, James La Guma, Cissy Gool and others were once again in the fore.

The demand for more workers as industries developed meant that many more people moved to the cities during the 1940s. They began to form their own community organisations – such as the Squatter's Movement – and trade unions. In 1941 black trade unionists constituted the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) to coordinate workers' struggles. In 1945 JB Marks, a member of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) and a veteran communist, was elected its president.

The militant ideas quickly found support among the new population of the cities. A group of radical Indian leaders, led by Drs Yusuf Dadoo and GM Naicker, displaced the cautious leadership of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses. Strikes, boycotts and other mass struggles during the war years culminated in the strike by African mineworkers in 1946.

In the rural areas of today's Northern Province and the eastern Free State peasants rose in revolt against the impositions of the white government and oppressive chiefs in their pay.

In 1946 when the Smuts government passed laws to prohibit Indians from acquiring land in certain parts of the city, its action was met with a passive resistance campaign led by the South African Indian Congress. Volunteers pitched tents on land reserved for whites. Within two months over 2,000 resisters, including 300 women, were sentenced for



◀▲ Drs Yusuf Dadoo (left) and GM Naicker (above) were central figures in the adoption of a more radical programme by the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

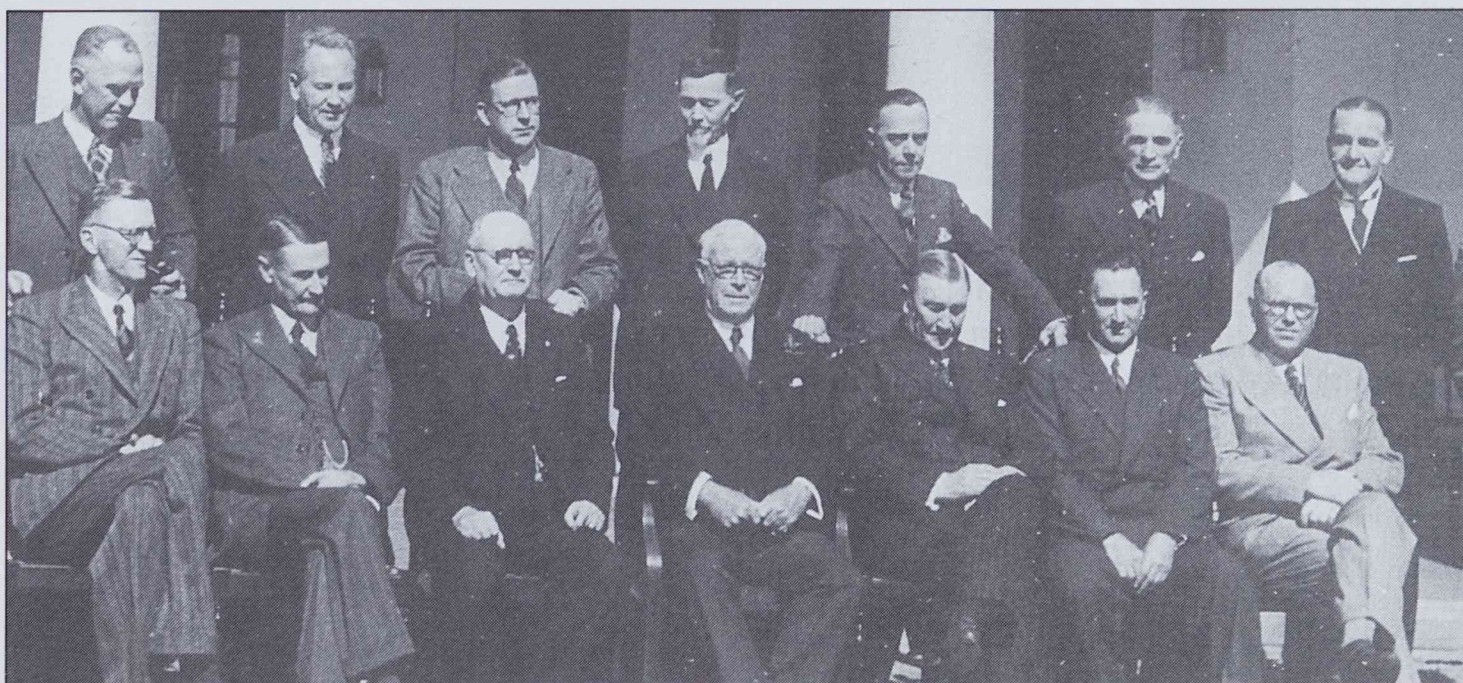
of an active caucus that would appeal mainly to younger members whose role would be to transform the ANC into a militant nationalist organisation fighting for the overthrow of white domination and the achievement of freedom and independence for all of Africa. They believed Africans would be freed only by their own efforts. The Youth League aimed to involve the masses of people in militant struggles.

The Second World War breathed new life into liberation politics. The ANC and other black leaders saw the aims proclaimed by the allies – government by the consent of the people; racial equality; freedom of conscience; equality before the law – as a vindication of the struggle in South Africa and their own aims. Thus in 1943 when Smuts' government



▲ Successive attempts to remove coloured voters from the electoral role met with opposition and mass mobilisation.

► In 1948 the National Party, led by DF Malan, came to power. The NP government moved quickly to establish the system of apartheid, a comprehensive system of racial discrimination and oppression.



their defiance. Drs Dadoo and Naicker were sentenced to six months hard labour.

Increased attacks on the rights of black people and the rise of extreme Afrikaner nationalism evoked a more militant response from the ANC. Greater co-operation among the organisations of Africans, coloureds and Indians begun before the war was stepped up. In 1947, the ANC and the Indian Congresses signed a pact pledging mutual support for one another's campaigns.

In 1947 India became an independent state after more than 200 years of colonial rule. Soon after this the government of India placed the issue of racial domination on the agenda of the newly founded

United Nations Organisation. At the same time, Paul Robeson, the most famous African-American singer and actor of the time, founded the Council of African Affairs in the United States to agitate for African independence and to mobilise solidarity with the people of South Africa. This was the beginning of an international movement in solidarity with the people of South Africa

The Youth League drew up a Programme of Action calling for strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience. It was adopted by the ANC in 1949, the year after the National Party came to power. The Programme of Action led to the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s.

A MASS MOVEMENT IS BORN

1950s



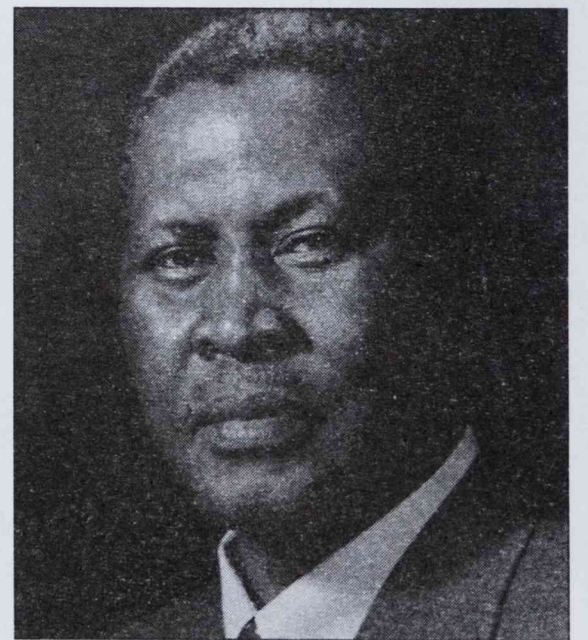
The mass movement of resistance to apartheid gathered momentum in 1950 when a general strike was called on May Day. At Alexandra Township the police opened fire on demonstrators killing six unarmed people. In 1951 the National Party government of DF Malan moved to do what Smuts had begun in 1943 – removing coloureds from the common electoral roll. In response the ANC, the African People's Organisation (APO) and an ad-hoc Franchise Action Council called for a strike.

Apartheid was a comprehensive system of institutionalised oppression. Laws like the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, Immorality Act, Bantu Authorities Act and Bantu Education Act were designed to reduce black South Africans to rightless people. Their movements would be controlled through stricter pass laws and the state would decide where they could live and work. Where previous settlement patterns did not conform, forced removals would recast them to suit apartheid policy.

The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952 was the high point of a mass movement to resist apartheid. During the Defiance Campaign volunteers deliberately broke apartheid laws – 'Non-Europeans' walked through 'Europeans Only'

▲ The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952 firmly established the ANC as a mass movement able to mobilise the people in direct action against apartheid.

► Chief Albert Luthuli was elected ANC President in 1952. He served in this position until his death in 1967.



entrances and demanded service at 'White's Only' counters at the post offices. Africans broke the pass laws and Indian, coloured and white volunteers entered African townships without permission.

Though none of the seven unjust laws that the Defiance Campaign targeted were repealed, the campaign changed the ANC into a militant movement of dedicated freedom fighters and encouraged further campaigns against apartheid laws like the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act.

The government tried to stop the Defiance



▲ Women emerge from prison after being jailed for defying unjust laws. Over 8,000 volunteers were arrested. They refused to pay bail or fines.

► The residents of Sophiatown, one of the few areas in Johannesburg where Africans could own land, were forcibly removed under the notorious Group Areas Act.



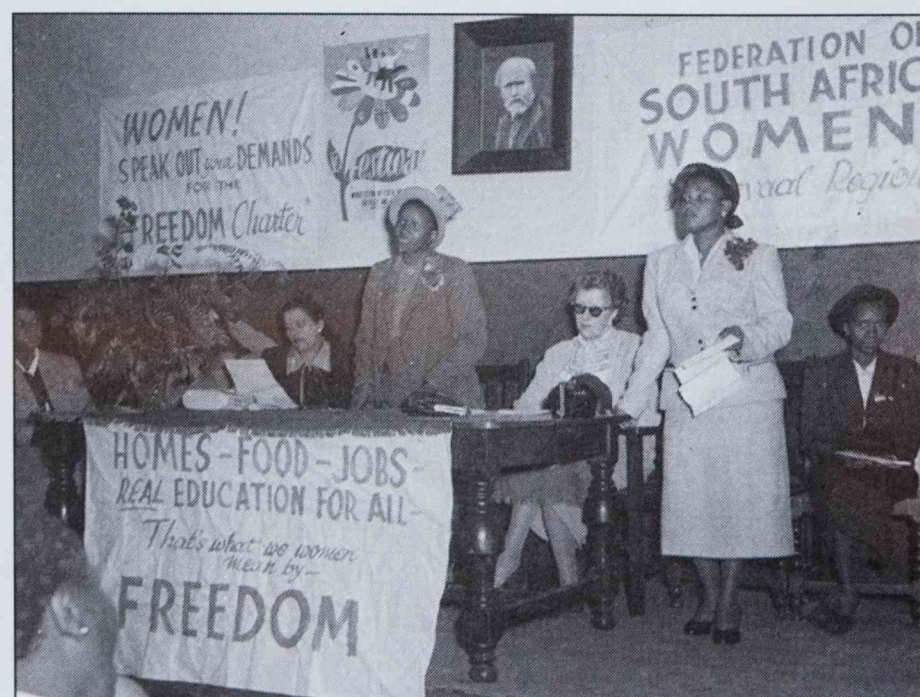
▲ The pass laws, which aimed to ensure only blacks employed in the white economy came into the cities, were among the most hated of apartheid provisions. Thousands burnt their pass books in defiance.



▲ The government's plan to extend pass laws to African women resulted in the mobilisation of women across the country, culminating on 9 August 1956 when 20,000 women marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The women declared: *Wathint abafazi, wathint imbokodo. Uzokufa!* – You have struck the women, you have struck a rock. You will be crushed!

◀ Women clash with police at Cato Manor in Durban in 1959 while protesting against municipal beerhalls.

▼ The Federation of South African Women, a multi-racial body, was established in 1954 – with the ANC Women's League as its largest component – to organise a united struggle against apartheid.





▲ During the Pondoland Revolt, a major event in the struggle of the rural people, the peasants demanded full representation in parliament, land reform, lower taxes and an end to Bantu education.

◀ Lilian Ngoyi, the first President of the ANC Women's League, was also the president of the Federation of South African Women and leader of the women's march on the Union Buildings.

Campaign by banning its leaders and passing new laws to prevent civil disobedience. But the campaign had already made huge gains. It brought closer co-operation between the ANC and the SA Indian Congress, swelled their membership and also led to the formation of new organisations – the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD), an organisation of white democrats. These organisations, together with the SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), formed the Congress Alliance.

The campaign also precipitated the breakaway of liberals from Smuts' United Party who formed the Liberal Party in 1954 led by Alan Paton.

The Congress Alliance came together to organise the Congress of the People – a conference of delegates drawn from various bodies representing the people of South Africa – where popular demands for the complete transformation of South Africa were debated and discussed. Every political organisation and party in South Africa was invited to attend. The National Party, the United Party and the Liberal Party all turned down the invitation. These demands were drawn together into the Freedom

NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST

MONDAY, 26TH JUNE, 1950

Begins the all out struggle for Freedom.

Dr. J. S. Moroka, President-General of the African National Congress, supported by Leaders of the South African Indian Congress, and African Peoples' Organisation calls upon all South Africans to **REFRAIN FROM GOING TO WORK ON THIS DAY.**

- DEFEAT THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM AND THE GROUP AREAS BILLS WHICH WILL TURN OUR COUNTRY INTO A POLICE STATE.
- DON'T ALLOW MALAN GOVERNMENT'S OPPRESSIVE FASCIST MEASURES TO CRUSH OUR LIVES & LIBERTIES!
- FIGHT FOR FREEDOM — PASS LAWS AND POLICE RAIDS MUST GO! LAND, VOTES AND DECENT WAGES FOR ALL!

'Tis better to sacrifice all in the struggle for Freedom rather than live as slaves.

Charter which was adopted at Kliptown on 26 June 1955. The Freedom Charter declared that South Africa belongs to all who live in it and that no government could claim authority unless it was based on the will of all the people.

In 1955 the government announced its intention to extend the application of the pass laws to African women. A huge campaign was mounted by women countrywide, culminating in the women's march, led by Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph and Sophie Williams,



▲▼► The Congress Alliance embarked on a campaign to collect the demands of the people of South Africa. The Freedom Charter, which was adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on 26 June 1955, reflected a vision of a free, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa which continues to guide the struggle and the programme of the ANC to this day.



on the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956.

Women in the townships also led a militant campaign against municipal beer halls. According to the law it was illegal for African women to brew traditional beer. Police raided homes and destroyed home brewed liquor so that men would use municipal beer halls. In response, women attacked the beer halls and destroyed equipment and buildings. The women also organised a highly successful boycott of the beer halls.

In 1956, the government arrested 156 leaders of the ANC and its allies and charged them with high treason using the Freedom Charter as the basis of its charge. It was alleged the ANC planned a revolutionary overthrow of the government. It took four-and-a-half years until all the accused were acquitted by the court and discharged.

There were many other community struggles in



TREASON TRIAL

The
ACCUSED

DECEMBER
1956



◀▲ In 1956, 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance were arrested and put on trial for treason. The last of the accused were finally acquitted four and a half years later.

the 1950s. Resistance in the rural areas reached new heights. In many areas campaigns were led by the ANC against passes for women, forced removals and the Bantu Authorities Act. The Bantu Authorities Act made traditional leaders agents of the white government and gave it the power to appoint and remove chiefs to suit its purposes. Chiefs whom the government considered troublesome were replaced with those who would collaborate with the racist system. Chiefs who were stripped of power were often deposed or deported to areas far from their homes. In Zeerust the rural people rose in revolt against the Bantu Authorities Act in 1956-7. In 1957 a similar revolt broke out among the ba Pedi when the racist government deposed a popular chief.

The collaboration of chiefs with apartheid laws and institutions was one of the causes of the Pondoland Revolt, a major event in the resistance by rural people. The peasants demanded full representation in parliament, equal rights, land reform, lower taxes and an end to Bantu Education.

The struggles of the 1950s brought black and white democrats together on a much greater scale in the fight for justice and democracy. The Congress Alliance was an expression of the ANC's policy of non-racialism.

A minority of ANC members, who called themselves "Africanists", opposed the Freedom Charter. They objected to the ANC's growing cooperation with whites and Indians, whom they described as foreigners. They were also suspicious of communists whom, they felt, brought a foreign ideology, Marxism, into the struggle.

The differences between the 'Africanists' and the majority of ANC members, who supported non-racialism, could not be overcome. In 1959 the



▲ Oliver Tambo (left) with ANC President Chief Albert Luthuli. Luthuli was the first South African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, in December 1961.

▼ The killing of 69 peaceful protesters at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 sent shockwaves around the country and the world. It precipitated a brutal crackdown on the liberation movement, including the banning of the ANC and PAC.

'Africanists' broke away and formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

At its national conference in Durban the same year, the ANC resolved to conduct a massive nation-wide anti-pass campaign. The PAC decided to launch its own passive resistance campaign ten days before the ANC's campaign was to begin on 31 March 1960.

The PAC campaign was designed to be a civil disobedience campaign in which Africans would leave their passes at home and court arrest en masse. On 21 March people gathered in large numbers at Sharpeville in the Vaal and at Nyanga and Langa in Cape Town. At Sharpeville the police opened fire on the unarmed and peaceful crowd, killing 69 and wounding 186. At Langa, 3 people were killed and 27 wounded.

The massacre of peaceful protestors at Sharpeville sent shockwaves around the world. Tension rose throughout the country. A general strike on 28 March brought South Africa's cities to a standstill. On 30 March the racist government banned the ANC and the PAC, declared a state of emergency, arrested and detained without trial thousands of Congress and PAC activists. Some ANC leaders – among them Oliver Tambo – were tasked to leave South Africa to set up an external mission.



THE ARMED STRUGGLE BEGINS

1960s



The massacre of peaceful protestors and the subsequent banning of the ANC made it clear that peaceful protest alone would not bring about change.

On 16 December 1961 organised acts of sabotage against government installations took place, marking the emergence of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC.

A leaflet issued by the MK High Command said Umkhonto we Sizwe would carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy, employing new methods necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organisations. It said MK supported the national liberation movement and its members placed themselves under its overall political guidance.

"The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom," the leaflet said.

During the following 18 months MK carried out 200 acts of sabotage. ANC members were sent out of the country to undergo military training. But the regime responded with even harsher methods of repression. Laws were passed to make sabotage an offence punishable by hanging and to allow police to

▲ Electricity pylons damaged in the first acts of sabotage carried out by Umkhonto we Sizwe, in December 1961.

▼ Umkhonto we Sizwe carried out 200 acts of sabotage in the first 18 months of its existence. The attacks were aimed at government buildings and property.





▲ MK cadres prepare for the Wankie Campaign of 1967, which aimed to find a route into South Africa through the then Rhodesia.

◀ Vuyisile Mini, a prominent union leader, was executed for sabotage in 1964.

◀◀ Nelson Mandela (far right) in Algeria, one of the African states he travelled to in 1962 seeking support and training for MK fighters.

detain people for 90 days without trial. In 1963, police raided MK's secret headquarters at Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia and arrested the leadership of MK. This led to the famous Rivonia Trial where the leaders of MK were charged with attempting to cause a violent revolution, and were sentenced to life imprisonment.

After the Rivonia arrests, using the most brutal and mind-breaking tortures, the security police set about to destroy the underground structures of the ANC inside the country. The ANC was faced with the challenge of bringing trained soldiers back into a country whose borders were controlled by governments hostile to the ANC. Zimbabwe - then known as Rhodesia - Angola and Mozambique were all controlled by colonial governments that supported the apartheid regime. Namibia was apartheid South Africa's colony.

In 1967, MK launched a joint campaign with ZIPRA, a people's army fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe. They aimed to find a route into South

Africa by first crossing the Zambezi River from Zambia into Zimbabwe, then marching across Zimbabwe through the Wankie game reserve, and crossing the Limpopo River into South Africa. The Wankie Campaign was MK's baptism of fire. Its cadres acquired valuable experience in combat but were unable to reach South Africa. It was clear other ways of getting into the country would have to be found. The ANC consultative conference at Morogoro, Tanzania in 1969 was called to look for solutions to this problem.

The Morogoro Conference resolved that freedom called for an all-round struggle. Both armed struggle and mass political struggle had to be used to defeat the enemy. But the armed struggle and the revival of mass struggle depended on a third aspect - the re-building of ANC underground structures within the country. A fourth aspect of the all-round struggle would be an international campaign of support and assistance from the rest of the world. These would be the four pillars of struggle.

WORKERS AND STUDENTS FIGHT BACK

1970s

During the 1960s, as a result of the banning of the liberation movement, open resistance to racial oppression declined. The apartheid system seemed to grow stronger and extended its control over all aspects of people's lives. But, despite the apparent lull, people were not prepared to accept the hardships and oppression of apartheid. In the 1970s new struggles against the system began to rear their heads. These struggles changed the face of South Africa.

Foreign investors and white capitalists in South Africa took advantage of the quiet post-Rivonia period to expand their operations. The South African economy grew, drawing even more people into the urban areas and industry. The regime was compelled to relax some of its racist laws to accommodate this migration to the cities. Huge informal settlements mushroomed around the cities.

From about 1970 prices began to rise sharply, making it even more difficult for workers to survive on low wages. Spontaneous strikes resulted: workers walked off the job demanding wage increases. The strikes began in Durban in 1973 and later spread to other parts of the country. Radical students set up wage commissions to assist the emergent union movement.

In the segregated black universities a new move-



▲▲ The 1973 Durban strikes were a spontaneous response to the poor conditions of workers, and gave impetus to the re-emergence of a trade union movement in South Africa.

▲ Police and soldiers acted brutally to suppress a growing wave of protest among school students. Hundreds of students across the country were killed or injured.

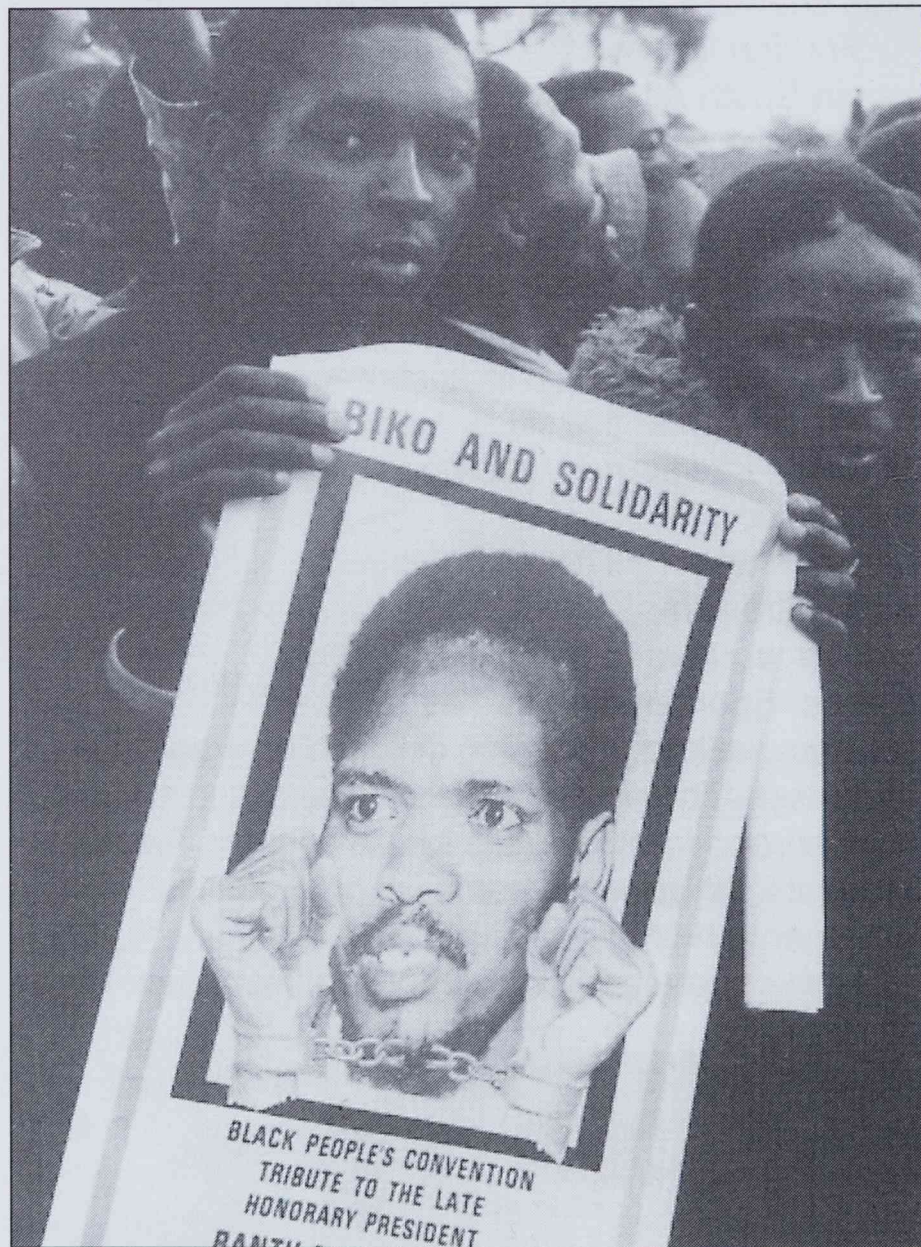
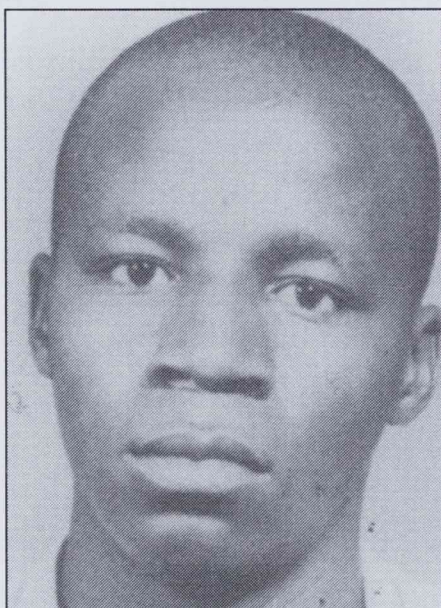
◀ Security force members chase a child in Gugulethu during the 1976 uprisings.



▲ The remains of a furniture factory in Lubango, Angola after a South African bombing attack in 1979.

► Solomon Mahlangu, an MK cadre of the 1976 generation, was executed on 6 April 1979. He was 23 years old.

►► Mourners at the funeral of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko who was killed in police detention in 1977.



ment, inspired by the militant nationalism associated with Malcolm X and the African-American movement, was developing. Strikes and class boycotts erupted at the University of the Western Cape, at Turfloop near Pietersburg and at the University of Zululand. The movement was dubbed "black consciousness" and crystallised into the South African Students Organisation (SASO).

Student anger and grievances against Bantu Education exploded in June 1976. Tens of thousands of high school students took to the streets to protest against compulsory use of Afrikaans at schools. Police opened fire on marching students, killing 13-year-old Hector Petersen and at least three others. Thus began an uprising that spread to other parts of the country leaving over 1,000 dead, most of whom were killed by the police.

Many Soweto student leaders were influenced by the black consciousness movement. The South African Students Movement (SASM), one of the leading organisations of black high school students, played an important role in the 1976 uprising. Small groups of student activists were linked to old ANC

members and the ANC underground. Underground ANC structures issued leaflets calling on the community to support students and linking the student struggle to the struggle for national liberation.

1976 was the turning point in the struggle for liberation. Thousands of young people flocked to the ANC, MK and the emerging trade union and workers movement. By 1980 a number of democratic trade unions had been formed among black workers in industry and on the mines.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

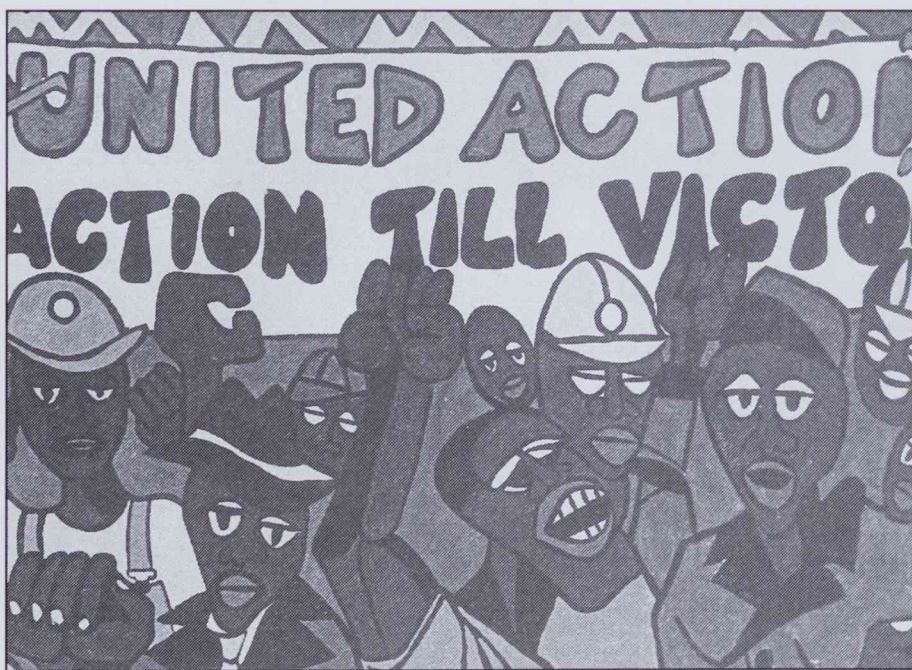
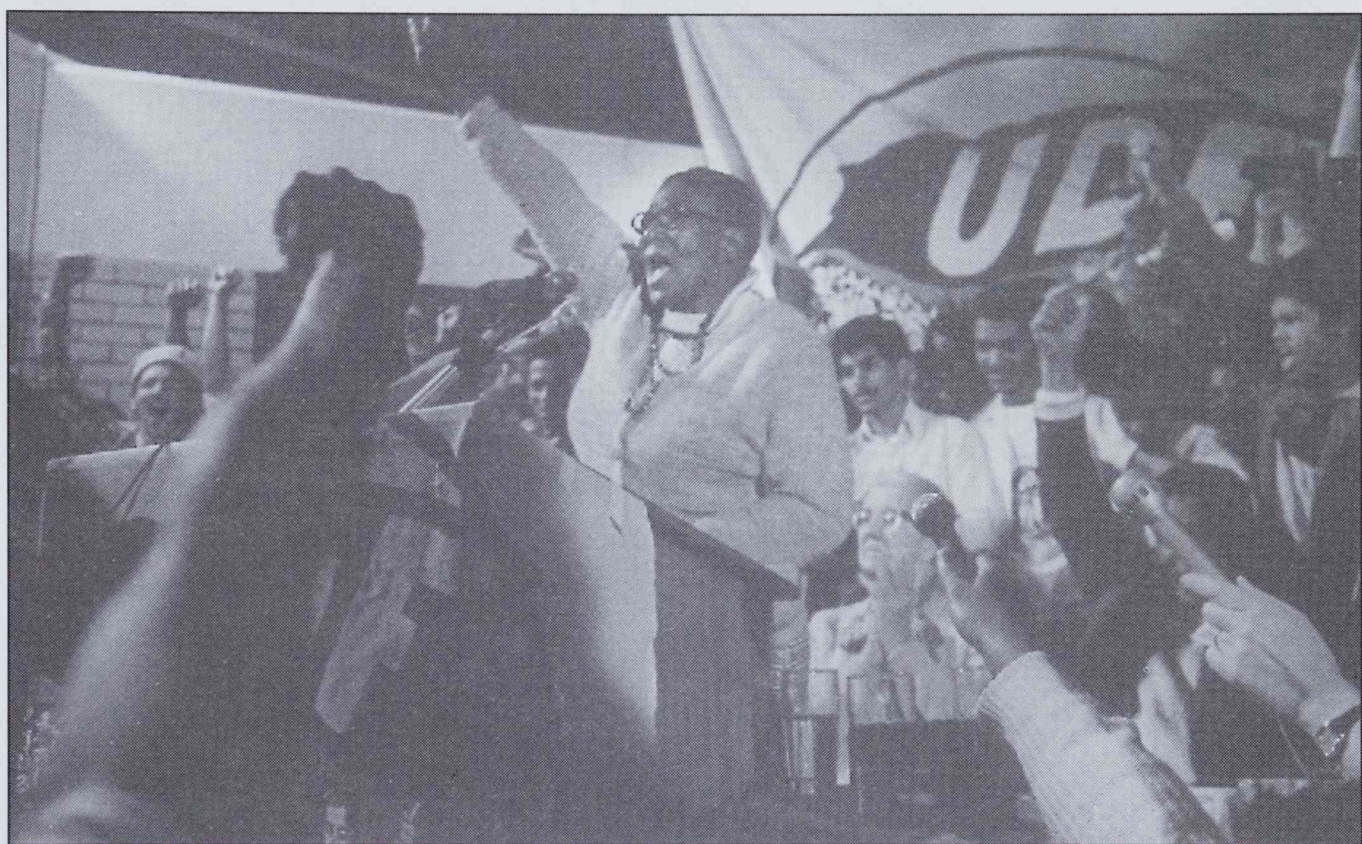
1980s

In the 1980s, people took the liberation struggle to new heights. In the workplace, in the community and in the schools, the people aimed to take control of their situation. All areas of life became areas of political struggle. These struggles were linked to the demand for political power.

The violence used by the security forces to quell the 1976 uprising made the youths determined to come back and fight. The uprising also led the regime to change its strategy, hoping to use reforms that could win some support from elements within the black community, but which would not amount to substantial change.

With the liberation of Mozambique and Angola in 1975, the borders of independent Africa now abutted South Africa. The ANC was able to step up the armed struggle inside South Africa dramatically after 1975. In 1979 the ANC called on the people to mark the centenary of the Battle of Isandhlwana and to draw on the traditions of the anti-colonial war of resistance to stimulate the armed resistance to apartheid oppression. Underground organisers, armed militants and propagandists of the movement helped stoke a mood of rebellion and defiance. Sensational armed operations demonstrated the vulnerability of the apartheid regime and captured the imagination of the youth.

At the same time the apartheid military machine was greatly strengthened. They could use greater force and repression against people and organisa-

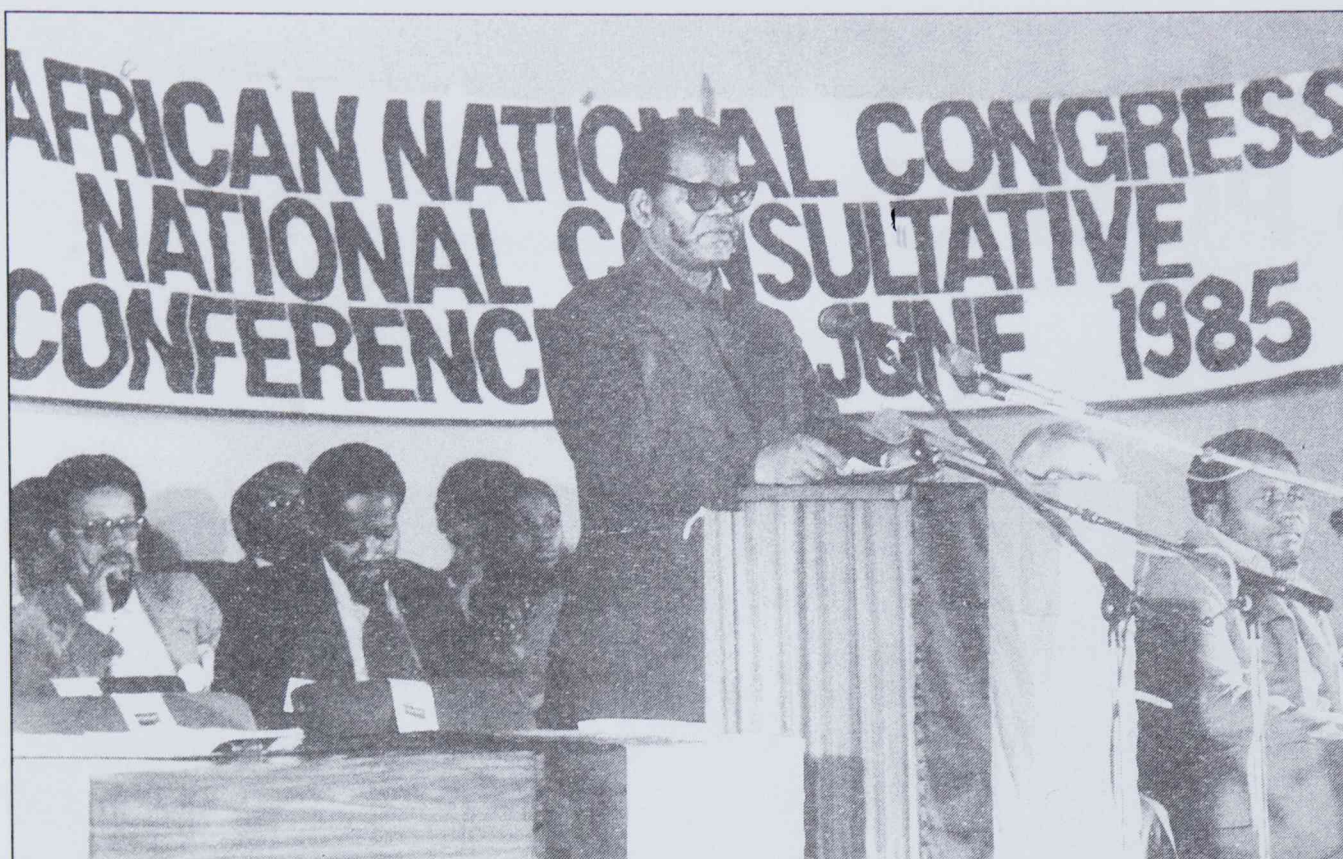


▲▲ Francis Baard addresses the launch of the United Democratic Front in Cape Town, August 1983.

▲ A mural from the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in Tanzania.

► The funeral of people killed in the Alexandra massacre, which took place in April 1986.





◀ ANC President Oliver Tambo addresses the second national consultative conference, held in Kabwe, Zambia in June 1985. Tambo, the organisation's longest-serving president, was the central figure in building the ANC into a formidable liberation movement and mobilising international support against apartheid over the 30 years of its exile.

tions who were considered revolutionary. Through the State Security Council and a network of other structures, the military gained control over the most important decisions of government. This combination of reform and repression the NP government described as "winning the hearts and minds" of black South Africans.

However, the reforms proposed by the government, such as the Tricameral Parliament and black local authorities in African townships, were totally rejected and only gave rise to greater resistance.

In the 1980s, as the organisational and agitation efforts of the ANC began to bear fruit, community organisations such as civics, women's structures, and student and youth organisations began to spring up all over South Africa. There was a rebirth of the mass movement, culminating in the formation in 1983 of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

One of the biggest organisations formed at this time was the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) with branches in towns and cities throughout South Africa. In many cases civic organisations developed out of parent-student committees which had been formed in response to education struggles. Massive national school boycotts rocked the townships in 1980s and again in 1984/5.

Worker organisation and power took a major step forward with the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in 1985. Cosatu drew together the democratic trade unions into one federation. Cosatu committed itself to advancing the struggles of workers both in the workplace and in society at large and adopted the Freedom Charter as its programme.

When the regime attempted to effect one of its "reforms", the election to a Tricameral par-

liament which would exclude the African people, this was greeted with a general strike in November 1984.

The strike wave spread rapidly across the country so that by 1985 virtually every part of South Africa was affected.

In April 1985, the ANC called on the people to make South Africa ungovernable by dismantling all the structures of apartheid. Councillors and police were called on to resign. Government buildings and the homes of collaborators were attacked. As the administrative system broke down, people established their own democratic structures to run the



▲▶ The formation of union federation, COSATU, had an impact in society beyond the struggles of workers.

▲ During successive states of emergency hundreds of children were among the thousands of people detained.



▲ The 1980s saw a marked increase in the actions of MK, including several high-profile attacks like the one on the Sasol installations (right).

► Police threaten protesters outside Khotso House in Johannesburg, May Day 1985.

▼ The political vision of the Freedom Charter was widely popularised during the community-based struggles of the 1980s.

community, including street committees and people's courts. An atmosphere of mass insurrection prevailed in many townships and rural towns across the country during 1985 and 1986. Mass struggles and the armed struggle were effectively supporting one another. Troops and police who had moved into the townships at the end of 1984 engaged in running battles with youths - armed with stones and petrol bombs - in an effort to re-establish control. Armed units sprang up within communities and sought to link up with MK.

As resistance mounted, the regime became more vicious. A state of emergency was declared over many parts of the country in July 1985. It lasted for six months, and then in June 1986 a national emergency, that lasted until 1990, was declared. The states of emergency gave the regime power to detain over 300,000 people, among them children, and to effectively ban the activities of the UDF and its affiliates. Cosatu was restricted from political activity.

Secret government units killed activists and bombed their homes. The South African Defence



Force (SADF) led raids into neighbouring countries to attack ANC members. Prominent ANC figures working in other countries became targets of assassination squads. These raids were part of a general strategy to destabilise neighbouring governments that offered the ANC support. At the same time the South African regime gave extensive support to bandit organisa-

tions like Renamo in Mozambique and Unita in Angola.

The struggle for people's power in the 1980s shook the foundations of the bantustan system. The regime tried desperately to save it by supporting vigilante groups and suppressing popular resistance.

In many parts of the country, the struggle for people's power was met with violence by warlords opposed to the growth of community organisations. The apartheid regime's strategy was to arm and train several anti-ANC groups, including criminal gangs, vigilantes, warlords and special units recruited from non-South African mercenaries, around the



country. They fuelled the conflict which led to a bitter war in Natal, where thousands lost their lives. In other parts of the country, entire communities were terrorised.

The 1980s also saw the escalation of the international campaign against apartheid, which had its roots in the call by Chief Albert Luthuli for the international isolation of apartheid South Africa. Following the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the establishment of an ANC mission in exile, a broad coalition of anti-apartheid organisations and individuals was formed across the world.

This coalition was able to secure the active participation of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of African Unity, a number of governments, and many other international organisations. A central part of this effort was the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, established by a General Assembly resolution in November 1962.

Through the work of the ANC missions in exile, the UN special committee, the various anti-apartheid organisations across the world, progressive governments and the dedication of many individuals, the world campaign against apartheid had by the 1980s achieved a level of support and prominence which was without equal.



◀ A demonstration in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 1985 to protest the refusal of Western governments to apply economic and oil sanctions against South Africa.

▲ The Nelson Mandela Freedom March, which took place in Britain in 1988, was among the several high-profile campaigns which drew international attention to the struggle for democracy in South Africa.

At the ANC World Conference in Arusha in 1987, President Oliver Tambo highlighted the achievements of the international campaign. A mandatory arms embargo was in place, and an extensive academic, cultural and sports boycott. Many countries had imposed selective or comprehensive economic sanctions, and only a few countries maintained diplomatic relations with South Africa.

This was due in large part to the successes in raising the level of international awareness about apartheid and mobilising the general public in many countries to support the campaign. High profile events like the 'Free Nelson Mandela' concert at Wembley demonstrated the mass international interest in the campaign against apartheid.

This massive international effort complemented, and was guided by, the mass struggles of South Africa's people themselves. Through internal resistance and international isolation, the apartheid government began to crumble.

THE ANC UNBANNED

1990-1993

In spite of detentions and bannings, the mass movement took to the city streets defiantly, carrying the flags and banners of the ANC and SACP. The people effectively unbanned the ANC.

During this time, the ANC recognised that the conditions were ripening for a negotiated end to apartheid. In 1989, thanks largely to the diplomatic work of the ANC, the Organisation of African Unity adopted the Harare Declaration outlining the conditions under which a negotiated settlement could be possible. In November 1989 the regime released Walter Sisulu and the other accused of the Rivonia trial, with the exception of Nelson Mandela.

In February 1990, the regime was forced to unban the ANC and SACP, and to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. By this action, the regime indicated it would be prepared to enter into negotiations to solve South Africa's problems peacefully.

After its unbanning the ANC began to recruit members openly, and establish branch and regional structures. In 1991, at its first national conference inside the country since 1959, the ANC restated its aim to unite South Africa and bring the country to free and democratic elections. The Conference elected Nelson Mandela as President. Oliver Tambo, who served as President from 1969 to 1991, was elected National Chairperson.

The negotiations process in the early 1990s became a terrain of struggle itself. In embarking on negotiations, the National Party had intended to ease international pressure and internal resistance, while achieving a constitutional settlement which maintained minority privilege. The NP planned to lock the ANC into protracted, fruitless negotiations, while the structures of the ANC on the ground would have been rendered ineffective by the ongoing state-sponsored violence.

The various strategies of the National Party failed to prevent the ANC from scoring signifi-



▲ Nelson Mandela leaves Pollsmoor Prison, together with Winnie Mandela, on 11 February 1990.

◀ The ANC, SACP and other organisations were unbanned by the NP government on 2 February 1990.

▼ ANC and NP government negotiators address the media after the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute in Cape Town, May 1990.





▲ Residents of the kwaMadala Hostel in Alexandra conducted a reign of terror against township residents. The negotiations period was accompanied by an escalation in state-sponsored terror against african communities.

▲► Negotiators Valli Moosa, ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

► Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani and Joe Slovo salute ANC supporters at a rally following the unbanning of the ANC.



cant victories in negotiations. The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) met on 20 December 1991, bringing together for the first time all political parties and organisations in South Africa. The Declaration of Intent, which was adopted at this meeting, was an important advance for the ANC. It committed the regime to be bound by the decisions of Codesa and to see to their implementation. Codesa itself would draft the texts of all legislation necessary to give effect to the agreements reached.

In the face of increased state-sponsored violence – including the massacre of 39 residents of Boipatong in June 1992 – and the intransigence of the regime, the ANC embarked on a campaign of mass action to bring about an end to the violence and break the deadlock in negotiations. As a result of

these efforts, a Record of Understanding was signed with the NP, which paved the way for the resumption of multi-party talks. The talks resulted in agreement on constitutional principles for a final democratic constitution and the adoption in 1993 of an interim constitution.

In April 1993 a conspiracy of white ultra-rightists brutally murdered Chris Hani, SACP General Secretary and former MK Chief of Staff, outside his home. They had hoped to so inflame the situation that the country would erupt in civil war. Because of its immense prestige the ANC was able to calm mass anger and avert a crisis, and push ahead for the setting of a date for non-racial elections. One week after Chris Hani's funeral, Oliver Tambo died.



▲ SACP General Secretary and former MK Chief of Staff, Chris Hani, was murdered in April 1993.

THE DEMOCRATIC BREAKTHROUGH

1994-1999

On 27 April 1994, millions of South Africans went to vote for the first time. The ANC won the country's first democratic election with a vast majority. Of the more than 22 million votes cast, the ANC received 62,6 percent.

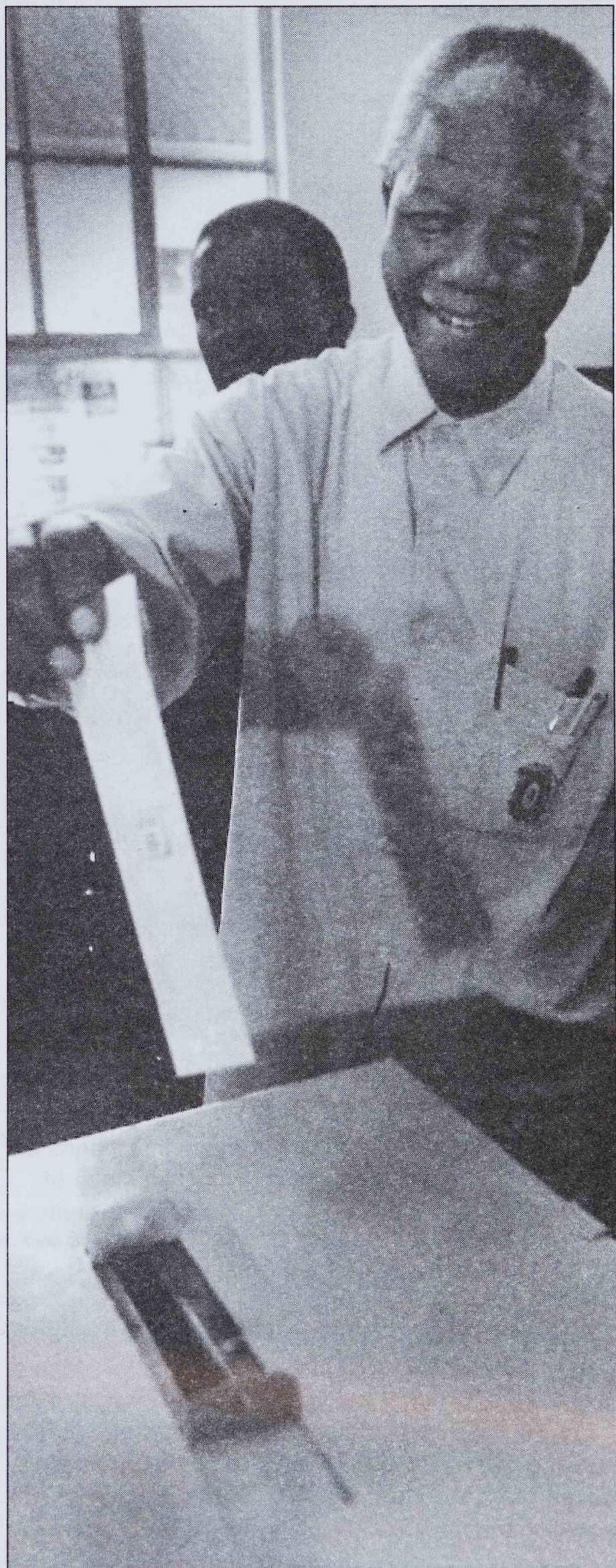
On 10 May, Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the President of South Africa, heading a Government of National Unity, which included the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Speaking at his inauguration, Mandela said: "Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another...Let freedom reign."

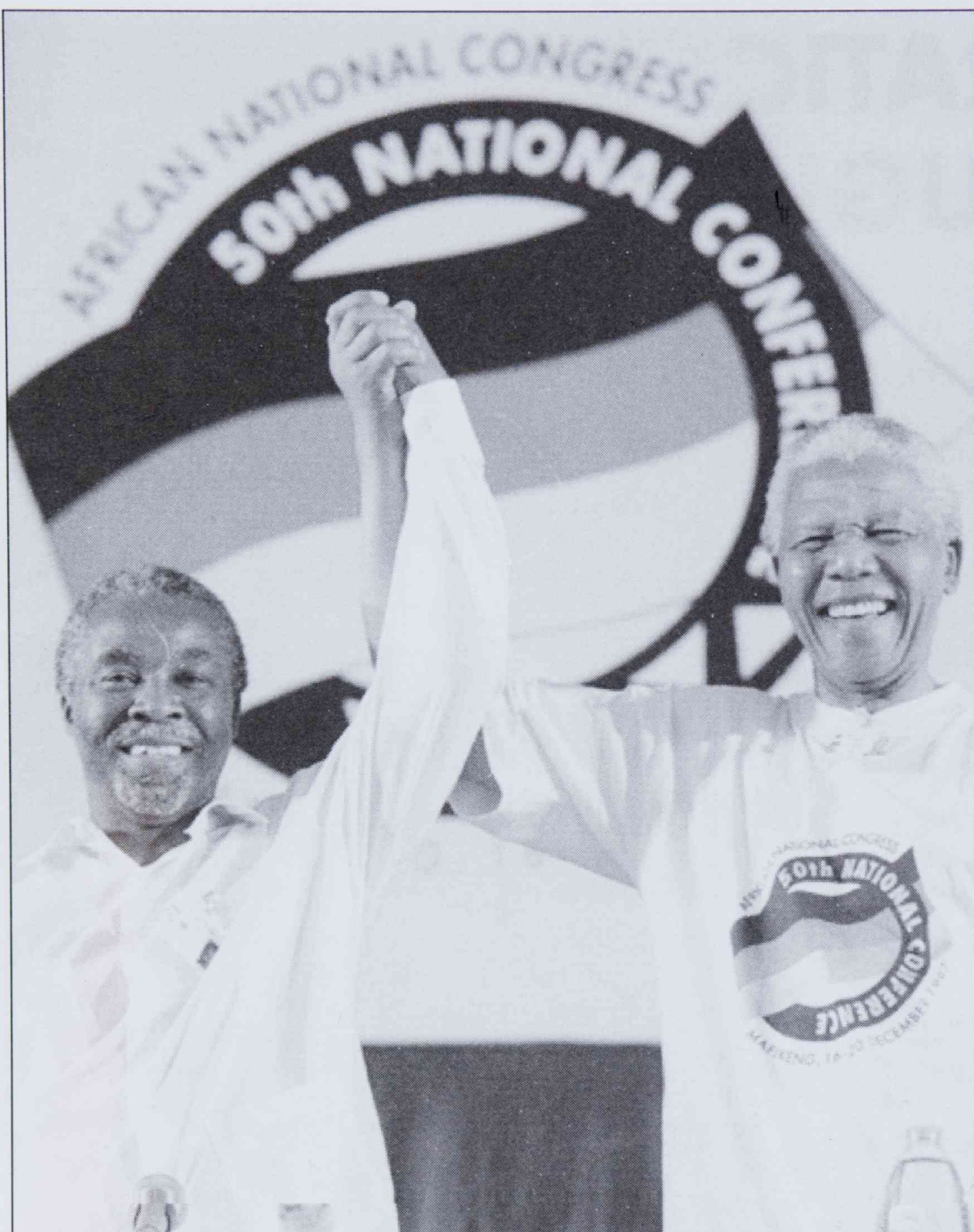
In addition to the national government, the ANC became the leading partner in all but two provincial governments – KwaZulu Natal and the Western Cape. The transition to democracy was taken a step further with the election in 1995 and 1996 of democratic local councils across the country.

Apart from the immediate tasks of governance – transforming the public service and security forces, stabilising the economy, and beginning the process of meeting basic needs – the ANC focused its attention on the task of writing a new democratic constitution.

The National Assembly and Senate elected in 1994 formed the Constitutional Assembly, tasked

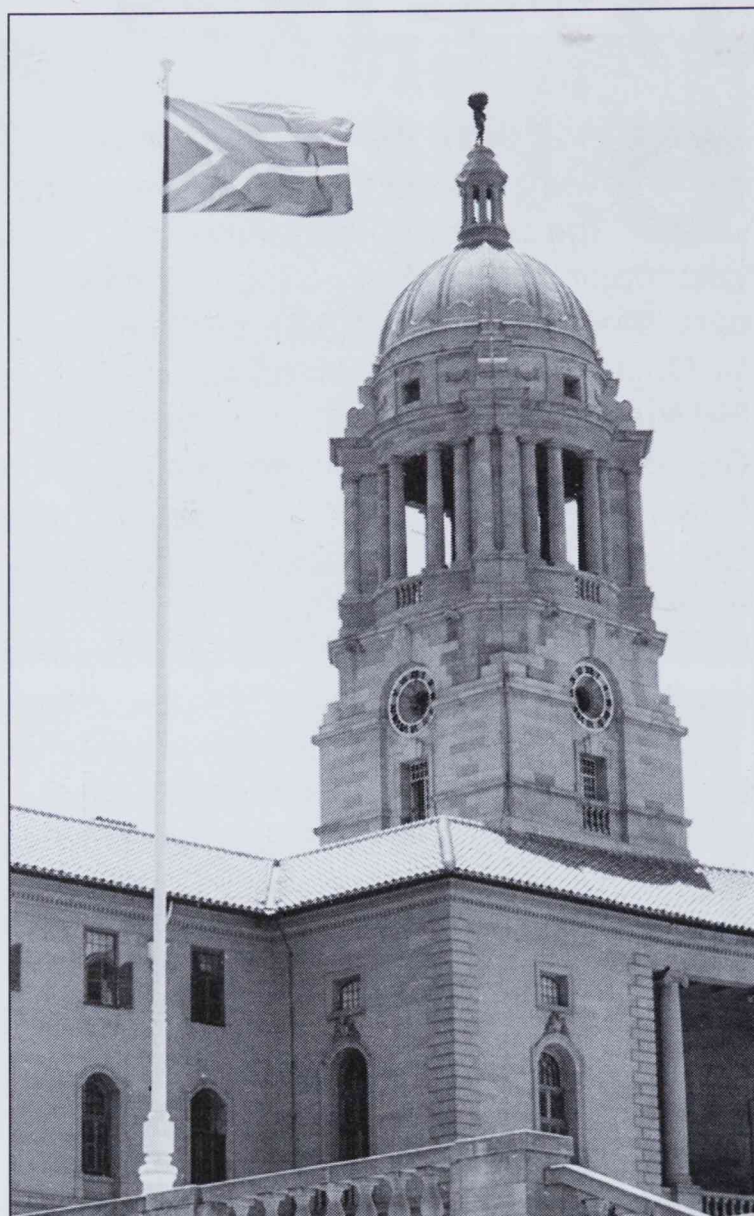
► Nelson Mandela casts his vote in South Africa's first democratic election on 27 April 1994. Mandela became the country's first democratically-elected president following the ANC's resounding victory.





▲ Outgoing ANC President Nelson Mandela congratulates his successor, Thabo Mbeki, at the 50th National Conference in Mafikeng, 1997.

► The new South African flag flies over the Union Buildings in Pretoria.



with finalising a new democratic constitution for South Africa in line with the Constitutional Principles agreed to in multi-party negotiations. The new Constitution was adopted in 1996, making provision for a united, democratic South Africa in which all enjoyed equal rights. It established institutions to support, protect and enhance democracy, such as the Human Rights Commission, Commission for Gender Equality, Public Protector, Auditor General and Electoral Commission.

The adoption of the new Constitution signalled the formal end of the country's transition process, and set in place the mechanisms and institutions of a full constitutional democracy. The institutions of political democracy have grown to occupy a central place in society.

The ANC-led government proceeded to implement the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), adopted in 1994 as the basic policy framework guiding the transformation of the country.

In the first five years of democracy, the ANC swept away racist and oppressive laws and introduced more than 100 laws each year to ensure equality and improve people's lives. It changed the

structures of the public service and began to change its racially skewed composition. It entrenched the rights of all workers, and put in place laws to improve their working conditions.

The ANC-led government brought water to an additional 3 million people, housed nearly 3 million people, connected 2 million households to electricity, improved health care for the poor, began the process of redistributing land to black communities, and established a new non-racial education system.



THE AFRICAN CENTURY

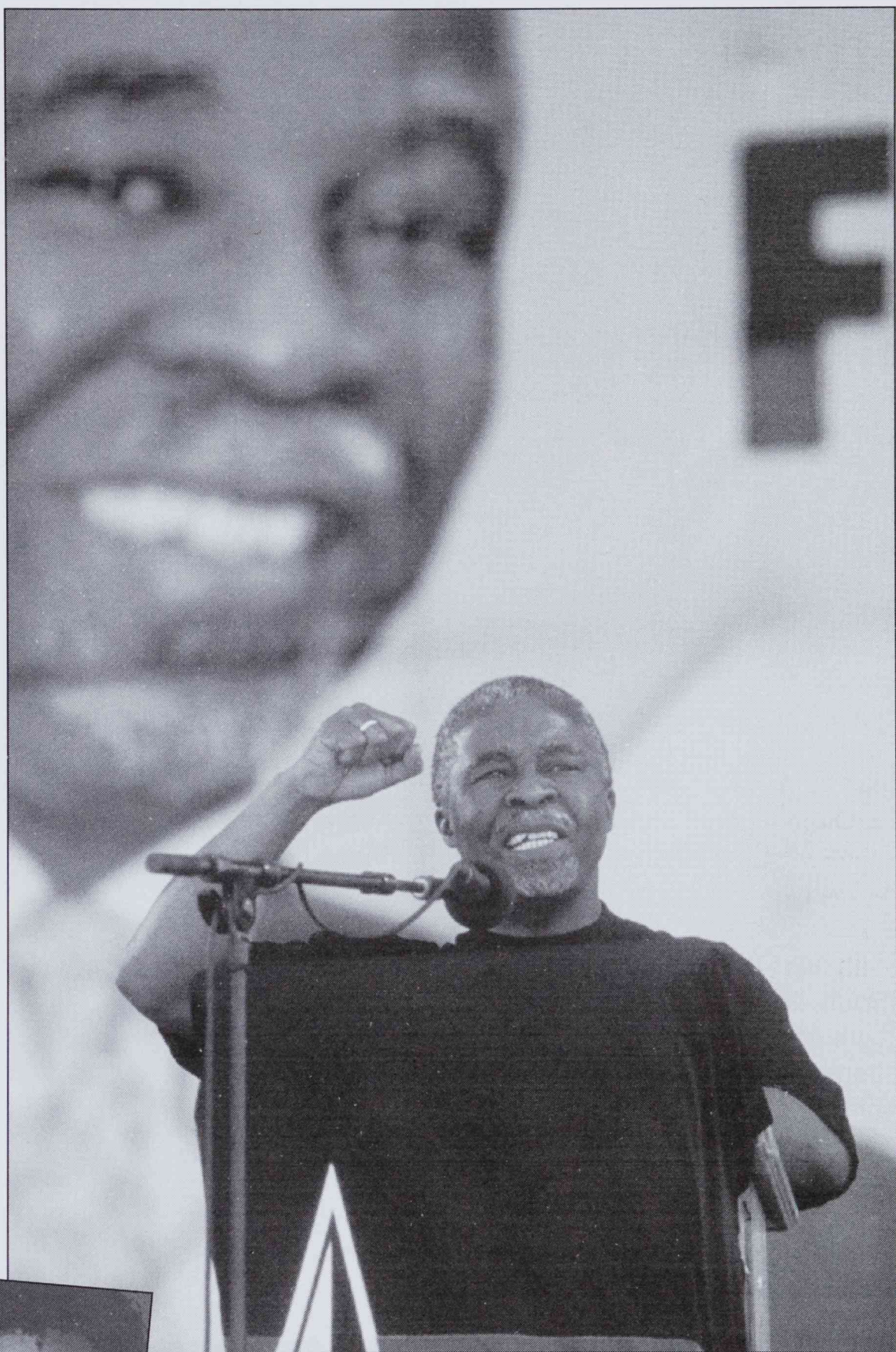
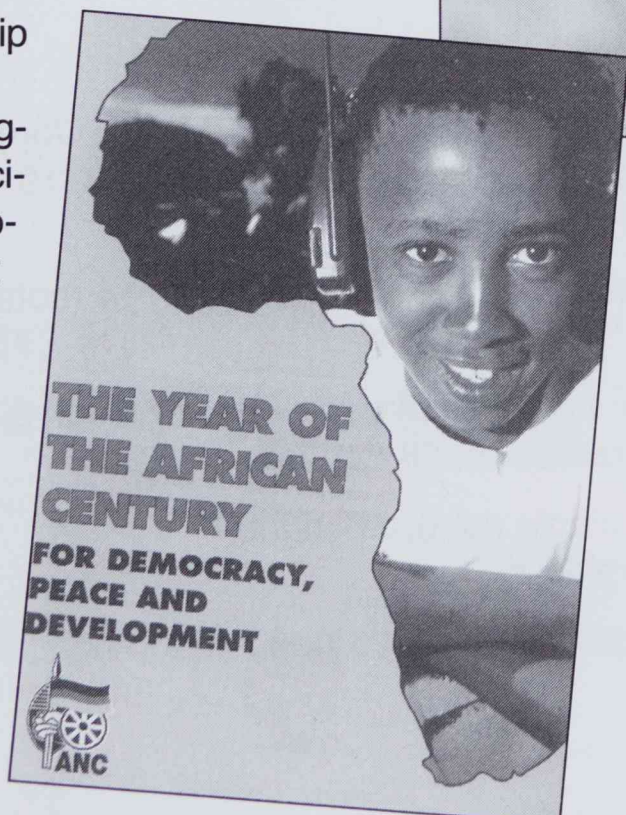
2000-2002

South Africa's second democratic election was held in 1999. Thabo Mbeki, elected ANC President at the 50th National Conference two years earlier, succeeded Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa. With an increased mandate – the ANC share of the national vote rose to 66,4 percent – the ANC-led government continued to build on the foundation established during the first five years of democratic rule.

As the world marked the beginning of a new millennium in January 2000, the ANC joined leaders and organisations across the continent in declaring the 21st century an African Century.

The ANC has therefore given substantial support to efforts by African leaders to develop a continent-wide programme for the renewal of Africa. This programme, adopted by the OAU in July 2001 and endorsed by a number of developed countries and organisations, envisages a multi-pronged strategy to eradicate poverty and place African countries on a path of sustainable growth and development.

This programme has been developed alongside the historic creation of the African Union, due to formally replace the Organisation of Africa Unity in 2002. The African Union is guided by a common vision of a united and strong Africa and the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society. It aims to promote and protect human and people's rights, consolidate democratic institutions and culture, and ensure good governance and the rule of law on the continent.



▲ ANC President Thabo Mbeki, presenting the ANC's annual January 8th Statement in Kimberley, declares 2001 the Year of the African Century. The OAU meets in July 2001 to adopt a new programme for African development and sets in motion the process towards the formation of the African Union.

From its formation, the ANC has always been a movement for the liberation of all the peoples of Africa, including South Africa. It has always seen itself as a fighter for freedom and independence, and the restoration of the human dignity of all Africans. Loyal to this human and patriotic tradition, the ANC is convinced that Africa's time has come.

Afrika ke Nako.

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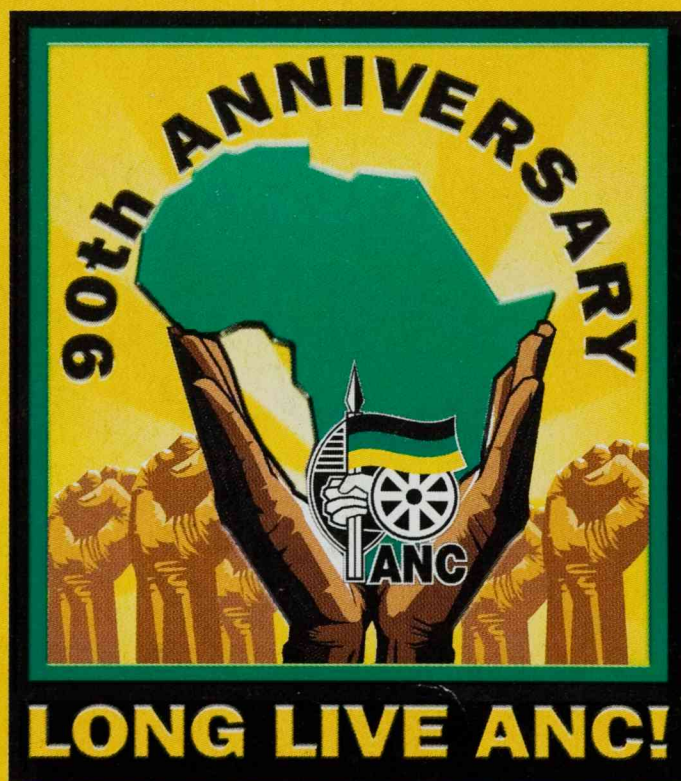
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