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the Western Cape. Focusing on all aspects of oppression, resistance, social life and culture

in South Africa, its aim is to help recover the rich heritage of all South Africans and to

encourage cultural expression and creativity. The Moyibuye History and Literature Series  
is part of this project.

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Q?) MAYIBUYE CENTRE (PHOTOGRAPHS)

C\$ AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (TEXT)

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MZABALAZO

A PicToriol HiSTory of The  
African NoTionol Congress

Moyibuye HiSTory & LiTeroTure Series No. 48

IT goes back To The days when The African  
people fought spear in hand against The  
British and Boer colonisers.  
The ANC has kept This spirit of resistance alive!  
Over The last 80 years The ANC has brought  
Together millions in The struggle for liberation.  
Together we have fought for our land, against  
low wages, high rents and The oppressors. We have  
fought against apartheid education, and for The  
right To vote for a government of our choice.  
This picture history is about our struggle for free-  
dom and justice. IT Tells The story of The ANC.  
Our struggle for freedom has a long history.

## 'I. THE AFRICAN KINGDOMS

ARE DEFEATED 1860 - 1900

WHITE settlers from Holland first came to South Africa in 1652. Many bitter struggles were fought over land and cattle. Although the African kingdoms lost land and cattle they were still independent some 200 years later.

But in the 1860's, Britain brought large armies with horses, modern rifles and cannons, to take control of South Africa. The Xhosa who had fought the wars of resistance against the colonisers, were finally defeated in 1878, after more than 100 years of warfare.

Led by King Cetshwayo, the Zulu brought a crushing defeat on the British army at Isandlwana in 1878, but were finally defeated at Ulundi by British reinforcements. Soon afterwards the British attacked and defeated the Pedi who had also remained independent for many years.

Leaders like Sekhukhune, Mafikeng and Cetshwayo were captured and imprisoned or killed. By 1900 Britain had broken the power of the African kingdoms and they fell under the control of the colonial government. In 1910, Britain handed over this control to

the Boers and British settlers themselves, when it gave them independence. The union of South Africa was formed with a government that recognised only the rights of white people and denied rights to blacks.

712 pages

see also: 3 " 1" wk

Chief BambaTa and his warriors. BambaTa led the last armed resistance by Africans, in 1906. His people took up arms against the British, to resist their law that every man pay a hut tax. BambaTa's army was mowed down by machine guns and his head was cut off to serve as a lesson to other chiefs.

## 2. THE ANC IS FORMED 1912

THE wars of resistance ended with the defeat of Born  
boTo's rebellion. Africans had to find new ways to fight  
for their land and their freedom. In 1911, Pixley ka Isoko  
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 January 8th 1912, chiefs, representatives of peoples  
and church organisations, and other prominent individuals  
gathered in Bloemfontein and formed the African National  
Congress. The ANC declared its aim to bring all Africans  
together as one people to defend their rights and free-  
doms.

The ANC was formed at a time when South Africa was  
changing very fast. Diamonds had been discovered in  
1867 and gold in 1886. 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 prevented  
Africans from buying, renting or using land, except in the  
reserves.

Many communities or 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  
caused overcrowding, land hunger, poverty and starvation.

In 1970, by the Act of  
Union, white domination  
was consolidated in  
South Africa

Forming community in Eastern Cape circa 1970

/n 1974 the ANC sent a delegation to Britain to protest against the Land Act. The delegation consisted of (H) Thomas Mapheko, Rev. W. Rubusono, Rev. John Dube, Soul Msone and 80/ Poojje

### 3. WORKING FOR A WAGE

THE Land ACT and other laws and Taxes forced people to seek work on the mines and on the white farms. While some black people settled in cities like Johannesburg, most workers were migrants. They travelled to the mines to work and returned home to the rural areas with part of their wages, usually once a year. BUT Africans were not free to move as they pleased. Passes controlled their movements and made sure they worked either on the mines or on the farms. The pass laws also stopped Africans from leaving their jobs or striking. In 1919 the ANC in the Transvaal led a campaign against the pass laws. The ANC also supported the militant strike by African mine workers, surrounded by mounted police, protesting against the pass laws. In 1920 part of an ANC campaign in Johannesburg, 1919, However, some ANC leaders disagreed with militant tactics such as strikes and protests. They argued that the ANC should achieve its aims by persuasion, for example, by appealing to British rule. BUT the appeals of delegates who visited Britain in 1914 to protest against the Land ACT and again in 1919 to ask Britain to recognise African rights, were ignored. This careful approach meant that the ANC was not very active in the 1920's. The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) - a general union formed in 1919 - was the most active and popular organisation in rural and urban areas, at this time. The union won some major victories for its workers through militant tactics. However, the ICU could not sustain itself, and in the late 1920's it collapsed. Low wages and poor living conditions led African workers to form their own trade unions



SociolIst organIscITions also  
 began To organise block  
 workers in The 1920's. The In-  
 TemoTionol SociolIst League  
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 Communist PorTy in 1921.  
 The Communist PorTy be-  
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 block workers were paid  
 lower wages for unskilled  
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#### 4. THE ANC GAINS NEW LIFE

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In 1946, 75,000 African mineworkers came out on strike for higher wages. Troops were called in to drive the miners back to the mines of bayonet point. Many Trade unions were suppressed including JB Marks, President of the African Mineworkers Union, seen (below left) marching in Johannesburg with leaders of the South African Indian Congress and The African Peoples Organisation. ANC members taking part in the Programme of Action which called for non-cooperation with the government.

## 5. A MASS MOVEMENT IS BORN

19503

THE Defiance Campaign was The beginning of a mass movement of resistance to apartheid. Apartheid aimed to separate the different race groups completely through laws like The Population Registration ACT, Group Areas ACT and Bantu Education ACT, and through stricter pass laws and forced removals.

"Townships-Europeans" walked through "Europeans Only" entrances and demanded service from "Whites Only" counters of post offices. Africans broke the pass laws and Indian, Coloured and White volunteers entered African Townships without permission.

The success of the Defiance Campaign encouraged further campaigns against apartheid laws, like the Group Areas ACT and the Bantu Education ACT.

The government tried to stop the Defiance Campaign by banning its leaders and passing new laws to prevent public disobedience. BUT the campaign had already made huge gains. It brought closer co-operation between the ANC and the South African Congress, swelled their membership and also led to the formation of new organizations: The South African People's Organisation (SAP) and the Congress of Democrats (COD), the organization of white democrats.

These organizations, together with the SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) formed the Congress Alliance.

### NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST

MONDAY 26TH JUNE. 1950

Begins here all on struggle (or Freedom. Dr. J. S. Moroka, President-General of the AMCANCAN National Congress, supported by Leaders of the South African Indian Congress, and African Peoples' Organisation call; upon a "South Africans to REFRAIN FROM GOING TO WORK ON THIS DAY.

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On The 26 June 1952  
The ANC and the  
South African Indian  
Congress launched,  
at Fordsburg, Johannes-  
burg, The Defiance  
of Unjust Laws  
Campaign

SophiaTown residents hold a meeting To protest against The destruction of Their homes under The Group Areas ACT and The Threat of removal To Soweto, 1953. Sophia-Town was one of The few areas In Johannesburg where Africans could own land. The Township was eventually destroyed and its people removed by 2000 Troops with 80 Trucks

SACTU officials address factory workers.

SACTU was a non-racial Trade union federation established in 1955. The slogan of SACTU was Organise or Starve and The union strove To organise workers. It also took part in Their political struggles and was a partner with The Congress Alliance

Women emerge from prison after being jailed for defying unjust laws. Volunteers gave themselves up peacefully for arrest. Over 8,000 people were arrested. They refused To pay bail or fines. Prisons were filled To capacity as some people served sentences of Two or Three months

Teachers and pupils at The ANC school in Germiston, which was set up To defy The Bantu Education ACT of 1953. The Bantu Education Campaign called for a boycott of state schools in protest against The new education policy. However, The ANC was unable To establish alternative schools as They were shut down as soon as They were set up

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 dom ChorTer which was odopTed oT The Congress of The  
 People oT KTipTown on The QoTh June T955.  
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 The governmehT in 1950, so They orresTed ANC ond Con-  
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 were charged w/Th Treason. The  
 Trial began In 7956 and ended in  
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 Their support for The accused

In 1955 The government announced That women must carry passes. A huge campaign was mounted by women, countrywide. Women also led a militia campaign against municipal beerhalls. According To The law it was illegal for women To brew Traditional beer. Police raided homes and destroyed home brewed liquor so That men would use municipal beerhalls. in response, women attacked The beerhalls and destroyed equipment and buildings. The women also organised a highly successful boycott of The beerhalls. ANC Women's League leaders (I-r) Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Am/ha Cachalia and Sophie Williams with The petitions protesting against passes for women, Pretoria, 9th August 1956

The highlight of The women's campaign against passes was The march on The Union Buildings in Pretoria by 20,000 women. Their message was clear: Wafhinfabafazi, wafhinfimbokodo. Uzokufa! (You have struck the women, You have struck a rock. You will be crushed!) Police attack women demonstrating at Cato Manor, Natal, 1956. The previous night women attacked beerhalls and drove out The men

There were many other community struggles in the 1950's. 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 gave the white government the power to remove chiefs they considered troublesome and replace them with those who would collaborate with the racist system. The collaboration of chiefs with government officials was one of the causes of the Pondoland Revolt, a major event in the resistance by rural people. The Pondo also demanded representation in parliament, lower taxes and an end to Bantu Education. Chief Albert Lutulu, ANC President and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, leads ANC supporters in a freedom song of meeting in Cape Town, 1950. A march in a Township near Johannesburg to protest against a ban on political meetings in parts of the Morija district, Transvaal, June 1958.



Alexandra residents walk to work during the 1957 bus boycott organised by the ANC. The boycott was called when the government increased bus fares by a penny for three months. The residents sang 'Azikwelwa! (We will not ride!)' and walked the ten miles to work. When fares were lowered again, boycotts were also staged in Pretoria, East London and Port Elizabeth. Their grievances to government officials. The Pondoland rebels were driven from the mountains, and the police killed by force. The 'peasants' revolt' was finally crushed after the government sent troops to deal with the rebellion. Pondoland residents were forced to leave their homes. Collaborators and commandos tried to organise their resistance but failed to end the rebellion. The government declared a state of emergency in 1960. The rural people

The struggles of the 1950's brought blacks and whites together on a much greater scale in the fight for justice and democracy. The Congress of the People was an expression of the ANC's policy of non-racism. This was expressed in the Freedom Charter which declared that South Africa belongs to all who live in it.

But not everyone in the ANC agreed with the policy of non-racism, and a small minority of members who called themselves 'Apartheidists', opposed the Freedom Charter. They objected to the ANC's growing co-operation with the whites and Indians, who they described as foreigners. They were also suspicious of communists who, they felt, brought a foreign ideology into the struggle. The PAC's campaign in anti-apartheid

The differences between the Apartheidists and those in the ANC who supported non-racism, could not be overcome. In 1959 the Apartheidists broke away from the ANC and formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Anti-apartheid campaigns were taken up by both the ANC and the PAC in 1960.

The PAC campaign began on the 1st of May. People were asked to leave their homes and gather at police stations to be arrested. People gathered in large numbers at Sharpeville in the Vaal and at Nyongolo and Tonge near Cape Town. At Sharpeville the police opened fire on the unarmed and peaceful crowd, killing 29 and wounding 186. The massacre of peaceful protesters at Sharpeville brought an end to the decade of peaceful protest to an end. The government declared the ANC and the PAC. They declared a state of emergency and arrested thousands of Congress and PAC activists. People burn then M 153 books Not)

Dead and dying lie in the streets of #79 Shorpeville shootings, March 2 1960  
Mass burial of Shorpeville victims, March 1960

## 6. THE ARMED STRUGGLE BEGINS

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and our freedom."

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Some ANC leaders - among them Oliver Tombo and Joe Slovo avoided arrest and left the country. Other ANC members went to undergo military training. After the Rivonia Trial, the underground structures of the ANC in the country were all but destroyed. The ANC was faced with the question of how to bring trained soldiers back into the country to continue the struggle. However, South Africa was surrounded by countries that were very hostile to the ANC. Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique were all controlled by colonial governments that supported the regime. MK would first have to make its way through those countries before it could reach home ground.

In 1967, MK began a joint campaign with Zapu, 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 Wonkie Game Reserve, and crossing the Limpopo River into South Africa. While the Wonkie Campaign gave MK cadres important experience in combat, it was clear that MK would have to find other ways of getting into the country. The ANC consultative conference at Morogoro, Tanzania in 1969 looked for solutions to this problem.

The Morogoro Conference called for both 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 building ANC underground structures within the country. A fourth aspect of the all-round struggle was the campaign for international support and assistance from the rest of the world. These four aspects were often called the four pillars of struggle. The horizontal character of the ANC was further consolidated by the opening up of ANC membership to non-Africans.

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Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres prepare for the Wonkie Campaign. The Wonkie Campaign did not achieve its aim to reach South Africa. MK and ZAPU were involved in combat with the joint Rhodesian-SADF forces

## 7. WORKERS AND STUDENTS FIGHT BACK

1970 s

URING The 1960's, as o  
result of The banning of  
The IibereTiOh movemehT,  
There were few signs of resis-  
TOhce. The oporTheid sys-  
Tem grew sTrOhger Ohd  
exTehded iTs conTrol over all  
QspeCTs of people's lives.  
BUT, despiTe The lull, people  
were hoT prepared To OC-  
cept The hardships and op-  
pression of oporTheid. In The  
1970's workers Ohd sTudehTs  
foughT book ogoihST The sys-  
Tem. Their sTruggles  
changed The face of SouTh  
Africa.

From about 1970 prices be-  
goh To rise sharply, making iT  
even more difficult for work-  
ers To survive on low wages.  
SpOhToheous sTrikes re-  
suITed: workers walked off  
The job demanding wage  
increases. The sTrike began  
in Durban in 1973 end loTer  
spread TO oTher porTs of The  
counTry.

The Durban strikes were sponfoneous. Workers had no Trade  
unions and very lifT/e orgon/soT/on, However, They sTi/l won small  
increases which proved The power of co/leCT/ve ocTion. The  
sTr/kes led To The formoT/on of new, mdepehdent Trade unions  
for b/ock workers

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bonTu eduooTiOh exploded in June T976.  
Tens of Thousands of high school sTudehTs  
Took To The sTreeTs To proTest ogoihsT oporT-  
heid ond The compulsory use of Afrikoohs oT  
schools. Police opened fire on morohihg  
sTudehTs, killing ThirTeeh yeor old HeoTor  
PeTerson ond oT Ieost Three oThers. This  
began on uprising ThoT spread To oTher porTs  
of The oounTry Ieovihg over T ,000 deod, most  
of whom were killed by police.  
Mony SoweTo sTudehT Ieoders were influ-  
enced by The ideos of block conciousness.  
The SouTh Africon STudehTs MovemehT  
(SASM), one of The firstT orgonisoTions of block  
high school sTudehTs, ployed on importonT  
role in The 1976 uprising. There were also  
small groups of sTudehT ocTivists who were  
linked To old ANC members and The ANC  
underground. ANC underground sTruoTures  
issued pomphlets collihg on The oommUhiTy  
To support sTudehTs ond linking The sTudehT  
sTruggle To The sTruggle for hoTiOhol libero-  
Tion.  
A youTh carries The body of HecTor PeTerson,  
The firstT cosuo/Ty in The 7976 uprising  
Police and soldiers killed hundreds of young peo-  
ple and wounded Thousands of oThers  
The funeral of STEve B/ko, 7977. Biko, The most  
prominehf block oonciousness leader, died while  
In police deTehT/on

## 8. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

1980s

In the 1980's, 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. Thousands of youths flooded the ranks of MK after the 1976 uprising. The violence used by the security forces to quell the uprising made the youth determined to come back and fight. The 1976 uprising also led the regime to change its strategy. For the first time reforms were introduced to apartheid. These aimed to win some support from the black community, but without making substantial changes. At the same time the military was greatly strengthened. They could use greater force and repression against people and organisations who were considered revolutionary through the State Security Council and other structures, the military also 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. PW Botho and Magnus Malan took the so-called 0T 0 military posture in Pretoria, November 1980. MK attacked on 8050, June 1980, the first attacks carried out by the 1976 generation of MK were designed to show the people of South Africa that MK was still alive and thriving and that the people had the power to tight dock this strategy was called armed propaganda. MK attacked the regime even in the most highly guarded places - such as Voorlouw and Koeberg.



Francis Board, a former President of The ANC Women '5 League, so/utes The crowd goThered To launch The Uh/Ted DemocroT/c FrOhT, Cape Town, August 7983. The UDF brought Together over 700 community and local organ/soT/Ohs in a common programme ago/hsT The so-ca/led reforms proposed by The regime. However, The reforms proposed by The government such as The Tricomeroi PorliomehT Ohd Block Local Authorities in African Townships, were ToTolly rejecTed and 0th gave rise To greoTer resistohce. In The 1980's community organisoiiions such 08 civics, sTudehTs Ohd youTh organisoTiOhs and women's sTrucTures began To spring up oil over SouTh Africa. This was 0 rebirTh of The mass Congress movemehT and led To The formoTiOh of The UhiTed DemocroTic FronT. One of The biggest orgohisoTiOhs formed 0T This Time was The Congress of SouTh African STudehTs (COSAS) with branches in Towns and CiTies Throug houT SouTh Africa. in many cases civic organisoTiOhs developed ouT of porehT - sTudehT commitTees which had been formed To support educoTiOh sTruggles. Massive hoTiOhol school boycoTTs rocked The Townships in 1980 and again in 1984/5.

Worker organisatiOn and power also Took a major leap forward with the formatiOn of COSQTU in 1986. CosoTu drew Together independenT unions That had begun To growllh The sevehTies. CosoTu commiTed iTself To advancing The sTruggles of workers bo'Th In The workplace and in The communiTyJQ87 saw The highest number of sTrikes ever, Including 0 sTrike by over 300,000 miheWorkers.

---- In-In-

I III- \_ n.-

Cosofu headquorTers is occupied for f/ve hours as police line up officials and search Their offices, April 7987. Lorer In The some year These offices were desTroyed by a massive bomb, CosoTu was banned from porT/c/poT/hg In Ol/ poliT/ce/ ocT/v/Ty in February 7988

In 1985, The ANC called on Township residents To make Townships ungovernable by destroying The Block Local Authorities. Councillors and police were called on To resign. Municipal buildings and homes of collaborators were occupied. As The administrative system broke down, people established Their own democratic structures To run The 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 began To support 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.

Muslim leader Mouton Forster Tried To stop police from removing an ANC flag draped over The coffin of an MK cadre Ashraf Krieger in Bonheuwel, July 1987

&&m&.u-u

A Duduzo Township residehT lies dead while members of a special police squad Take a smoke break Offer on all n/ghT Tc/eon-up', July 7985

As resisTohce mOUhTed, The regime become more vicious.

A sToTe of emergency was declared over many porTs of The counTry in July 1985. IT losTed for six mOhThs, end Then in June 1986 O hoTiOhol emergency was declared, ThoT IosTed unTil 1990. The sToTes of emergency were used To deTQih over 30,000 people, among Them cthreh, end To ban The UDF ond iTs offilioTes from all ocTiviTy. CosoTu was resTricTed from poliTicoI ocTiviTy.

SecreT governmehT uniTs killed ocTivistTs ond bombed Their homes. The SADF led roids ihTo neighbouring counTries To desTroy ANC bases. These raids were porT of O general sTroTegy To desTobilise neighbouring governmehTs ThoT of-fered The ANC support. The SouTh African governmehT gove exTehsive support To bondiT organisoTions like Rehomo in Mozambique and Omm in Angelo.

Members of The AnTT-oporf-he/d movemehT march in sup-port of soncTions and The Tso/oT/on of oporThe/d, London 7987, During The 7980's ihTer-noT/ono/ pressure To end oparThe/d grew sTeadT/y

Mourners OT a funeral of fourteen QueensTown res/oenfs massacred by police, November 7985

Eosfem Cape Unifed Democrof/c From leader Mofhew Gon/we of fhe funeral of a murdered yout  
h ocfov/sf,  
Grahamsfown 7985. Two months lofer, Goniwe and Three ofher UDF leaders, were assassinated  
by a securify  
force deofh squad while refuming To Crodock from Port E/izobefh  
On 30m January 798 7 South African Defence Force A prison official approaches fhe familie  
s of death  
commandos crossed info Mozambique 0nd OT- row prisoners We/l/ngfon Me/lies and Moses  
focked ANC residences of Mafo/o, killing fwe/ve Jonfj/es fo inform fhem fhof rhe two men  
had  
people been hanged earlier rhof morning, Prefor/o 7987

The sTruggle fer people's  
power in The 19803, shook  
The feundeTiOhs of The bone  
TusTOh sysTem. The regime  
Tried desperetely To save H by  
supporTihg vigilehTe groups  
Ohd suppressing popular  
resistehCe.

lh NeTeI, The struggle for  
people's power was meT  
with violence by InkeThe  
warlords who were opposed  
TO The grewTh Of community  
organisations. Civic and  
youTh orgehiseTiehs end  
COSOTU were Opposed To The  
undemeereTiC preCTices ef  
IhkeThe and HS Ties To The  
KweZulu governmehT. The  
COhfIiCT has led To (:1 biTTer war

in NeTel, where Thousands  
hove IosT Their lives. Todey  
There is evidence TheT The  
governmehT has given

money To lhkeTho To fight The  
ANC, end TheT The SouTh

Africeh Police end The

KWOZUIU Police have pOFTiCiv SADIL so/dIers suppress on offempfed coup by members of The  
Bophu-

peTed in This WOT, T/Iafswane army, Iebruery 1988

MT r" '

( hI'ef/hpsie Seboqodi, Bmk/aag! ( ( OIHITTLL/Tlfy/ 0(7dUI Sp( ak/ITQ efomoeT/ng To profe  
sf Their/ncorporoT/on

Info Bophufhmswam7, lobluaIy W80

' FAFRIKA

lhkorho members lead on onfi-Cosofu po-  
rode of fhe launch of Inkofho's frode union  
wing, The Uh/fed Workers Union of Soufh Africa  
(Uwuso), Durban, May Day, 7986, The rally was  
secretly organised and funded by SouTh  
African A/I/l/fary lhfe/ligence

A residehf wifh a homemade firearm stands guard de-  
fending his home and community from chock by Inkofho  
impis, lnohdo, Nofo/ 7990

Police w/fh lhkofho supporfers

Funeral for fwo UDF youfh who were abducted by lnkofha and killed while refum/ng from fhe  
funeral of a

TGWU bus driver, also killed in fhe violence, Mpophomeh/ Township, Nofa/ 7987

#### 9. THE ANC IS UNBANNED

ANC supporters march down The main street in Cape Town during The Defiance Campaign, 1959  
In spite of detentions and beatings, The mass movement took to the city streets defiantly  
with ANC and SACP flags and banners. The people proclaimed The ANC triumphed. In  
February 1990, The regime was forced to unbanned The ANC and other organisations.  
By unbanning The ANC, The regime indicated for the first time, That it might be prepared  
to try and solve South Africa's problems peacefully, Through negotiations.  
People gathered to greet The Pivonia Trio/ists, released after 26 years in prison, Cape Town  
1990



After its unbanning the ANC began to establish branch and regional structures of its members. Regional leadership was elected. At its first national conference made the country since 1959, the ANC restated its aim to unite South Africa and bring the country to free and democratic elections.

Activists chain themselves to Robben Island boats to protest against the continued imprisonment of political prisoners, 1990.

The regime refused to recognise many ANC cadres as political prisoners

Prisoners just released from Robben Island arrive at the Cape Town docks with their possessions in apple boxes, 1990

The Khoye/Tsha branch is launched, 1990

Nelson Mandela addressing Thousands of ANC supporters from The balcony of The Cape Town City Hall  
on The day of his release from prison, 1990  
At The 1991 National Conference of The ANC Nelson Mandela was elected President.  
Oliver Tambo, who served as President from 1969 To 1991 was elected National Chairman.  
Tambo died in April 1993 after serving The ANC his entire adult life.  
This proud history of struggle has brought us close To victory. The negotiations initiated by  
The ANC will result in The holding of historic elections based on one person one vote in  
April 1994. For The first Time South Africans of 18 years and over will be in a position  
To vote  
for their organisation of Their own choice.  
Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela greet each other for The first Time after Mandela's release,  
Stockholm, Sweden 1990

OW is The Time fo make your voice heard!  
Vofe for a beffer fufure! Now is The Time To  
make a decisive break from oporfheid. To  
move from violence To a secure and safe Soufh  
Africa. To move from unemployment inflafion  
and poverfy To jobs and prosperifyl  
Now is #79 Time To end racial inequa/ify and unife  
blocks and whifes To work for one counfry.  
Your vote will make a difference. Use if.  
NELSON MANDELA,  
ANC President

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m),  
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