

Sechaba



Official Organ
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SOUTH AFRICA WOMEN'S DAY

AUGUST 9 · SPECIAL ISSUE

Cover: Lilian Ngoyi, ANC women's leader, greeting women at one of her hundreds of meetings. She is wearing the black, green and gold uniform of the ANC Women's League. A short biography appears on this page.

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LILIAN NGOYI

A skilled garment-worker, Lilian Ngoyi had no political background or experience when she attended several African National Congress meetings during the Defiance Campaign of 1952. But the speeches she heard made sense and within days she was taking an active part in Congress work.

Her flair for public speaking was soon discovered and Lilian rapidly became a feature on Congress platforms in and around the Johannesburg area. This, coupled with her talent as an organiser, was later to be rewarded with the presidential seat of the S.A. Women's Federation, making her one of the apartheid regime's prime targets.


In the relative salad days of the 1950s — days when there were still loopholes in the laws of the police state which could be exploited — Lilian, as a women's leader and a member of the Peace Council in South Africa, was selected as a member of the two-woman delegation to an international conference. By then she was so well-known as an opponent of racism that she had to be smuggled out of the country.

While abroad she visited the sites of the nazi extermination camps and returned with a renewed fervour for freedom for all in South Africa. The tour abroad had left a lasting impression on Lilian. There was much she had seen and heard and she wanted to shout it from the rooftops. She wanted to tell the people of the townships all about it. And she did, holding huge audiences spellbound for upwards of two or three hours at a time.

She was known throughout the country and her moving oratory rallied thousands to the Congress banner. But her zeal made her a ready target for the white supremacists, and in 1956 she was arrested and charged in the mammoth South African Treason Trial. Four years later, when the trial eventually fizzled out with the final acquittals, Lilian, along with Helen Joseph, was the only women trialist left.

The trial did not dampen her ardour and when a State of Emergency was proclaimed in 1960, Lilian was back in jail. She emerged only to be further harrassed by banning orders and by the police.

A widow with two children and the sole support of her ageing mother, she was finally restricted to Orlando township. Unable to work because of her bans, she does dressmaking at home to make ends meet. The apartheid regime has tried to obliterate the memory of Lilian Ngoyi from the minds of the many who heard, saw and respected her, but the memory of that gallant women's leader can never be wiped out.



A CALL TO WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

by Magdeline Resha

On behalf of the women of South Africa I convey warm and fraternal greetings to women all over the world on the occasion of South Africa Women's Day — August 9. In doing so I place on record our heartfelt appreciation of the support, both moral and material, that has been forthcoming from women in many parts of the world.

Friends! It is true that our respective countries and peoples are divided by wide oceans, different racial groups, nationalities and different languages as well as different political systems and religious creeds. Yet there is a factor which transcends all these apparent differences and binds us together. This is our common desire and concern for the security, health and happiness of our children and the well-being of our families. It is therefore not surprising that in all the countries where there has been a struggle for national liberation, social justice and freedom, women have fought shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk.

ABHORRENT, HATEFUL, REPUGNANT

Perhaps ten years ago the world did not fully appreciate the explosive nature of the South African situation. In recent years however the international community has been waking up to the alarming fact that the monstrous policies of apartheid constitute a serious threat to world peace. In one single UN debate in 1963, apartheid was described by Britain as 'abhorrent', by the United States as 'toxic', by the Soviet Union as 'shameful', by India as 'hateful', by Belgium as 'thoroughly repugnant', by Guinea as 'inhuman', by Canada as 'degrading', by Japan as 'fundamentally immoral', by Algeria as 'cancer', by Tanganyika as 'a catalyst of violence', by Bolivia as 'the negation of all social purpose', and by Nigeria as 'slavery'.

Despite such universal condemnation, the South African regime, fanatically wedded to the insane belief that the black man is inherently inferior and is forever to remain a "hewer of wood and drawer of water," stubbornly pursues the obnoxious policies of apartheid.

But behind this tenacity is the feverish panic which is characterised by the frantic arms build-up, militarization of the entire White population, a hate campaign preached from the pulpits, from the classrooms and from political platforms, as well as wholesale repression, terror and intimidation of the non-whites.

SELFLESS ACTIVISTS

The result is that scores of our illustrious leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Bram Fischer are today languishing in prison where they are serving life terms. In addition,

thousands of courageous and selfless activists are serving long-term sentences, and some have been executed.

The women have not been spared. A good number of them are either in prison, detained or house-arrested. In some cases both husband and wife have been detained or sent to prison, leaving their children in utter distress. Gallant leaders like Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph that dauntless fighter, Florence Matomela and many others are today in the clutches of the South African fascists, either in jail, under house arrest or banned.

The oppressed people of South Africa are faced with murderous weapons. But their cause will surely triumph, for they are armed with only one invincible weapon, and that is the will to liberate themselves and the motherland. Women are also fully engaged in the mobilisation of the African people in readiness to meet repressive violence with revolutionary violence.

WE CALL ON WOMEN . . .

We have no illusions as to what the future holds for us, we know our struggle is going to be long, grim and bloody. It is for these reasons that we make this clarion call to the women of the world to step up the support they have given us in the past.

The women of South Africa have shed infinite tears of grief to see life which we have so proudly brought to earth being doomed to premature death. The anxiety of the barbarous disruption of the peace of our homes, and the splitting of our families, have made us indignant and hateful of apartheid. That is why we cannot sit idle when our menfolk are being massacred by the neo-nazi fascists.

In keeping with our glorious struggle in the past, we will fight side by side with our sons and husbands until our country is rid of this apartheid monster.

We call on all women, wherever they are, to bring pressure to bear on their respective Governments to immediately stop supplying South Africa with arms. Today there can be no doubt that all the weapons sold to the South African regime are for the extermination of the African people including women and children.

We call on the women to intensify the campaign to boycott all South African products. Do not feed your families and your children with food produced with the blood and sweat of our starvation-wage, badly housed and exploited non-white workers.

Finally, we call upon the women of the world to adopt the thousands of helpless apartheid orphans whose parents are languishing in South African prisons, by collecting clothing and setting up special funds. And this assistance should be channeled through the African National Congress in their office in Tanzania.

Amandla!

(African National Congress address: P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.)

MAGDELINE RESHA,

leader of the African National Congress Women's League, national executive member of the Federation of South African Women, founder-member of the Federation of South African Nurses Association, and at present member of the Algerian office of the ANC.





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1898-1967

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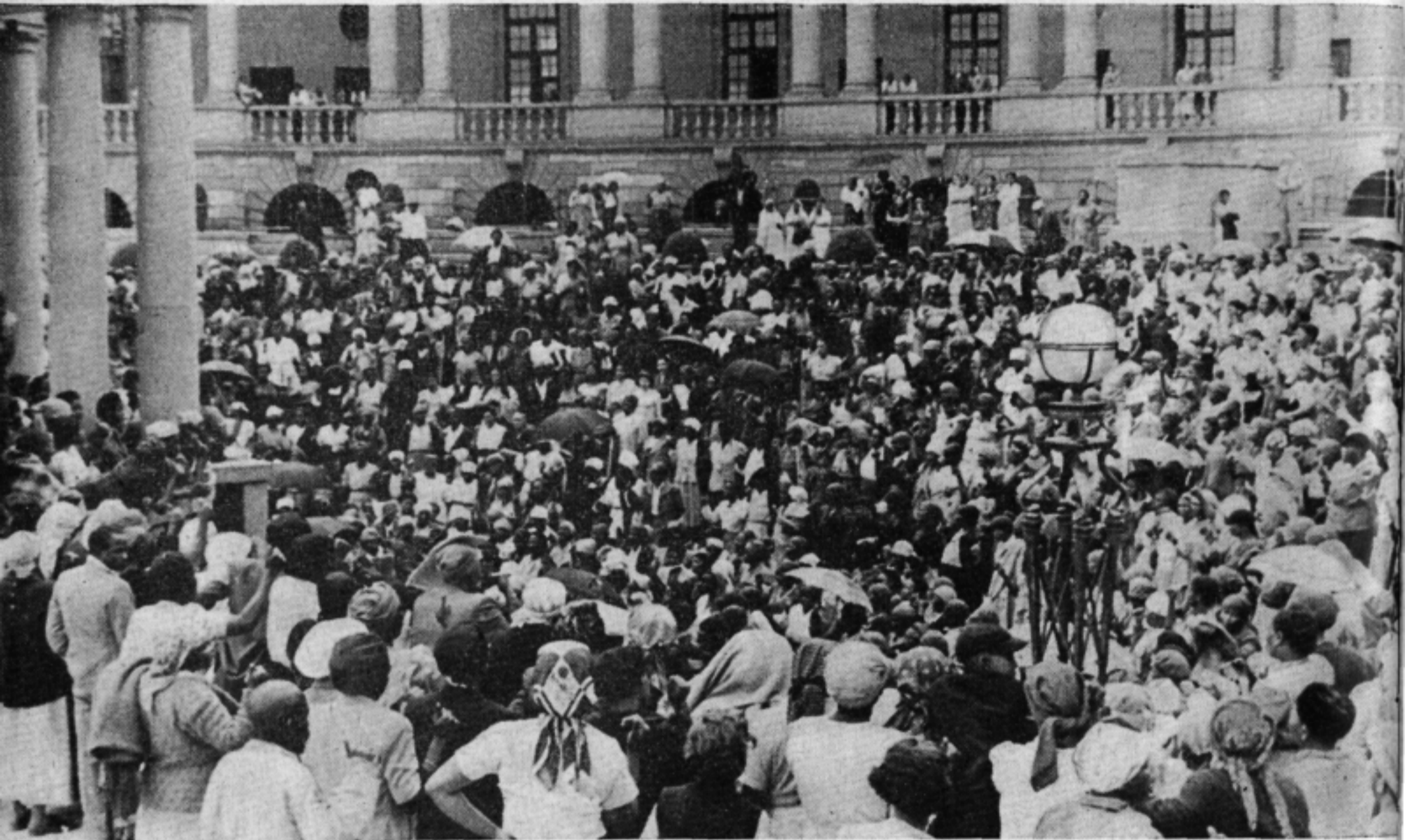
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UKHUVETHE LWAMAKHOSIKAZI!

THE DEFIANT WOMEN!



A section of the 20,000 women who demonstrated outside the Union Buildings in protest against passes for women.

"The Government preaches and practises cruel discrimination, it can pass the most cruel and barbaric laws, but it will never stop the women of Africa in their forward march to freedom in our lifetime!"

These words, expressing the dauntless spirit of South Africa's women Freedom Fighters, were spoken by Lilian Ngoyi, President of the Federation of South African Women, after this organization had staged the most dynamic political demonstration in the history of South Africa's women's movement. It was in 1956 that Prime Minister Strijdom announced that African women, like their men, must carry passes — the hated 'badges of slavery' which deny freedom of movement to the African people. This gave the newly-formed Federation of South African Women (which incorporated the ANC Women's League and a number of other women's organizations) the opportunity to mobilise. As Lilian Ngoyi, herself the mother of three children, declared: "Men are born into the system, and it has become a life tradition that they carry

passes. We as women have seen the treatment that our men have — when they leave home in the morning you are not sure they will come back. We are taking it very seriously. If the husband is to be arrested *and* the mother, what about the child?"

WOMEN INTO ACTION

In August 1956, all over South Africa, women made arrangements for the care of their children, gave final instructions to their husbands about household duties, and packed their suitcases. Their destination was Pretoria. In Port Elizabeth, militant centre of ANC activity, they raised £800 for fares and filled two coaches in a train; in Durban, they set off in a fleet of cars, singing as they travelled through the night to the Transvaal.

On the morning of August 9th, they were seen in the streets of Pretoria. Processions had been banned so they walked in

1898 - 1967

Chief Albert John Lutuli, the beloved President-General of the African National Congress (S. A.); one of Africa's greatest political figures of our times; the undisputed leader of and respected spokesman for South Africa's 14 million oppressed, exploited and humiliated inhabitants, passed from the scene of active struggle for political rights and national liberation.

Chief Lutuli's death is a heavy blow to all freedom fighters, oppressed, exploited and humiliated people of South Africa. Indeed, the whole of Africa, our organisation, the liberation movement and progressive mankind are today the poorer through his death.

Chief Lutuli was a profound thinker, a man of powerful logic with a keen sense of justice; a man of lofty principles, a bold and courageous fighter and a statesman. He was a true African nationalist and an unflinching patriot. Although he grew up under tribal conditions and surroundings, he was uncompromising against racialism, tribalism and all forms of racial and sectional exclusiveness. He believed in and fought for full political, economic and social opportunities for the oppressed people of South Africa regardless of colour, creed, nationality or racial origin. A staunch anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, he fought and obtained the co-operation of all anti-apartheid, anti-imperialist progressive movements and organisations in South Africa.

As a practising Christian, Chief Lutuli genuinely and sincerely believed in the well-being, happiness and dignity of all human beings. Because of his convictions, he sacrificed all prospects of personal gains and comforts and dedicated his life to the cause and service of his fellowmen.

Chief Lutuli was born in 1898, away from Groutville but returned as a child to his ancestral home. He was educated in Mission Schools and at Adam's College in Natal where he later taught until 1936. In answer to repeated calls and requests from the elders of his tribe to come home and lead them, he left teaching that year to become chief of the tribe. He was not a hereditary chief as his tribe had a democratic system of electing its chiefs. So Albert Lutuli was elected to the chieftainship of his tribe in 1936.

As far as the Africans were concerned, 1936 was a year of political disturbances, economic plunder and uncertainty in South Africa. That year, the country was faced with the notorious Hertzog Bills. One of the Bills is now known as the "Representation of Natives Act" which rendered the then African vote in the Cape Province valueless. Under it the Natives Representative Council was established. The other, the "Natives Land and Trust Bill" sought to limit the land to be owned or occupied by the African population of 12 million to 12.5 per cent, while reserving the remaining 87.5 per cent for a population of less than 3 million Whites.

* Isitwalandwe - The wearer of the feather of the rare and legendary bird - "Indwe". This right was traditionally granted only to the greatest warriors.

groups of three. Dressed in the green blouses with gold cuffs and lapels and black skirts of the ANC, many of them carrying babies on their backs, they headed for the Union Buildings, where they intended to tell Strijdom what they felt about the pass laws. Civil servants looked on incredulously as 20,000 women assembled and with quiet dignity sat down on the terraced lawns below the Union Buildings.

'STRIJDOM, YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK'

Lilian Ngoyi and her Secretary-General, Helen Joseph, knocked on the Prime Minister's door. They had notified him well in advance of their visit, but a harassed secretary opened the door a fraction — and reported that the Prime Minister was out.

A number of women stepped forward and handed him bundle after bundle of protest forms. "You can go now," he almost pleaded. Lilian Ngoyi turned to the assembly. The women rose. They stood with their thumbs raised in the Africa salute for thirty minutes of silent protest. Then they burst into song: the warrior song of the women — "Strijdom you have struck a rock, once you have touched a woman." Then they sang their national anthem 'Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika' and dispersed.

That was not the end of the anti-pass protests. In 1959, Natal seethed with unrest as the women's resistance burst into violence. Women with babies on their backs were baton charged by the police and rioting resulted. In the countryside, the women destroyed three-quarters of the Government dipping-tanks which they were forced to maintain by unpaid labour.

Hundreds of women were jailed. In one village, a jail built for 115 persons held 482. Police trying to disperse a crowd of women found them kneeling and praying and promptly arrested them.

At a specially convened ANC congress in Durban, many of the delegates were peasant women, an achievement of one of the new women's leaders, the young and beautiful Dr. Margaret Mncadi. The Conference opened under the huge banner 'MAKABONGWE AMAKOSIKAZI' — 'We thank the women'.

A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

The militant resistance that flowered so splendidly in the Anti-Pass Campaign had its roots deep in the history of the African people. In the tribal struggles against Boer and British invaders, the women gave the warrior men their vital and active support.

When the British defeated the Zulu army in 1879, a tribal elder, Mkabi, called her people together and said that she, who had seen the glory of the Zulus, could not bear that their king Cetewayo should become a hunted fugitive, and therefore she would take her life. In front of all her people, she severed her throat.

The Zulu chronicles relate how a young maiden of the time killed an enemy soldier and thus won for herself a praise name and a warrior's insignia.

African women are not fragile flowers. Their fire and spirit, their courage and endurance survive intolerable conditions. And the conditions created by the Nationalist rulers of South Africa are indeed intolerable. Mothers and housewives particularly suffer from the grinding difficulty of raising a family in terrible poverty in the land of apartheid.

The infant mortality rate for Whites is 27 per 1,000 live births, for Africans it is 200 per 1,000. Education expenditure by the Government per White child is £65, while it is



HELEN JOSEPH

An English woman, Helen Joseph began her career as a teacher rather unconventionally, in a school for girls of the Muslim ruling class in Hyderabad. Later she taught in Durban and, after the second world war had given her experience in the services in speaking and organising, she began welfare work among the Cape Coloureds.

She moved towards politics when she began working for the Medical Aid Society of the non-racial Garment Workers' Union, and in her own time helped organise dramatic protests by South African women of all races against the Government's apartheid measures.

She was involved, and eventually acquitted, in the great Treason Trial of 1956—61. During the course of it she was appointed by the ANC to serve on a Welfare Committee dealing with the political exiles.

As a result of her tour to visit them, she is now serving a term of 5 years' house-arrest imposed in 1962, not by a court of law but arbitrarily by the Minister of Justice.

Still in South Africa, Helen Joseph now works in a bookstore in Johannesburg.

LIZZIE ABRAHAMS

Lizzie, outstanding Coloured trade union leader, originally joined the Food and Canning Workers' Union in Paarl. Her dedicated work resulted in her rise to the position of General Secretary. She negotiated agreements, settled factory disputes, and organised deputations not only for the F.C.W.U. but also for the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), thus helping thousands of other workers. Constantly persecuted, interrogated and arrested by the Special Branch, she was in 1964 served with a vicious banning order which confined her to the Paarl district, prevented her from working in any factory or shop, and prohibited her from taking part in any trade union activity.

From the inception of his new calling, Chief Lutuli was brought face to face with ruthless African political, social and economic realities - those of rightlessness and landlessness of his people. The futility and limited nature of tribal affairs and politics made him look for a higher and broader form of organisation and struggle which was national in character.

JOINED A. N. C.

With this background, Chief Lutuli openly and boldly joined the struggle for the right of Africans to full and unfettered development. He thus joined the African National Congress in 1945. In 1946, he entered the then Native Representative Council. At that stage, however, the Council had for all intents and purposes come to its end. It was a useless and frustrating talking shop that had been brought to a standstill by the protest of members who questioned the brutal and savage methods employed by the police in dealing with the African miners' strike on the Witwatersrand in August 1946. It had also called upon the Government to abolish all discriminatory laws and demanded for a new policy towards the African population. It never met again and was eventually abolished by the Government.

Chief Lutuli was elected Provincial President of the African National Congress in Natal in 1951. From that time he threw himself body and soul into the struggle. As a chief he was not allowed to take part in politics. But he defied his ban. When he was called upon by the Government to choose between his Chieftainship and the African National Congress, he elected the African National Congress. He was deposed in 1952 and elected President-General of the African National Congress by his people the same year.

Chief Lutuli was a determined and courageous fighter, shaped and steeled in the various political and economic struggles that took place throughout the country. There were many bold and imaginative political and economic campaigns for demands envisaged both in the 1949 Programme of Action and in the Freedom Charter. Some of the campaigns were violent, bitter and grim. These usually took the form of national industrial stoppages of work and numerous stays-at-home.

MILITANT FIGHTER

There is a wrong and unfortunate impression that Chief Lutuli was a pacifist, or some kind of an apostle of non-violence. This impression is incorrect and misleading. The policy of non-violence was formulated and adopted by national conferences of the African National Congress before he was elected President-General of the organisation. The policy was adopted in 1951 specially for the conduct of the "National Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws" in 1952. What is correct, however, is that as a man of principle and as a leader of unquestionable integrity, Chief Lutuli defended the policy entrusted to him by his organisation and saw to it that it was implemented. When that policy was officially and constitutionally changed, he did not falter.

only £7 per annum for the African child. While many African children die of malnutrition, the Government runs a school feeding scheme only for Whites. The pressures of township life, described in another article in this issue, compel African women to action or despair — and they do not choose despair!

WOMEN IN THE COURTS

In 1963—64, according to Vorster (then Minister of Justice), 23 women were arrested and charged under the Sabotage Act, 72 under the Suppression of Communism Act, and 21 under

days, 3 were women. Two women were pregnant during their detention and one of them, Mrs Lettie Sibeko, gave birth two weeks after being released. Of the five reported cases of detainees escaping from custody, one was a woman, Mrs Eleanor Kasrils.

When Walter Sisulu disappeared underground, his wife Albertina and his son Max were promptly arrested and held as hostages. Two other Rivonia trialists' wives, Caroline Matsoaledi and Esme Goldberg, were arrested as a measure to try and make their husbands talk.

Many women reacted by going on hunger-strike. Mrs Pixie Benjamin, mother of three young children, went on a hunger strike lasting 48 days and forced the police to release her.



the Unlawful Organizations Act. In the original 'Fischer' trial, six of the accused sentenced to terms of imprisonment were women.

When 40-year-old housewife Esther Barsel was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and her husband was discharged, she leant over the dock rail and kissed him. "At least now there is some-one to look after the children," she whispered. Another accused, university student Sylvia Neame, who writes of her prison experiences in this issue, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and promptly whisked off to the Eastern Cape to face a further trial.

In the Eastern Cape in the past few years, hundreds of men, women and youths have been charged with ANC membership and have received vicious sentences. As a result of these mass trials it is estimated that in Port Elizabeth alone more than 500 families are in dreadful straits — at least 1,500 children have become 'political orphans'.

In cases in which their men have been concerned, the women have shown a wonderful spirit. At the Rivonia Trial, hundreds of women thronged the streets outside Pretoria's Supreme Court. They carried banners — 'We are proud of our leaders' and 'You shall not serve these sentences as long as we live'.

In another trial, a woman shouted out from the back of the court, after her husband Michael Ngubani had been sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for sabotage: "I'm proud of you my husband. Twelve years — it's nothing!"

SOLITARY TORTURE

Under the '90-day' detention act, the women suffered with their men as never before. A large proportion of over 1,000 detained were women. Of 8 detainees held for more than 180

At a time when her life was in danger her husband said: "I support my wife's stand. Her will to eat or starve is her only weapon against this monstrous injustice."

Cape Town physiotherapist Stephanie Kemp, then 22, related her experiences under 90-day detention. She explained how her interrogator had assaulted her: "He started hitting me on both sides of my head with his hands — several blows. He then grabbed me by my hair and pulled me down to the floor while holding my hair . . . after that I don't remember what happened. I then heard somebody say 'get up'. I managed to get to my knees and I wanted to vomit."

Under the '180-day' clause which succeeded the '90-day' clause, 8 women were held in 1965 and 17 in 1966. These women were subjected to remorseless new techniques of interrogation. Some of them were forced to stand for long periods, others were kept awake for periods of from 48 to 60 hours. Two of them, Violet Weinberg and Leslie Schermbrucker (both of whose husbands are serving six-years terms) were first sentenced for refusing to give evidence against Bram Fischer, and then on further political charges.

WE ARE WITH YOU

We in the African National Congress think today of all the women who are imprisoned and restricted in South Africa for their political convictions. We have not space to mention all their names so we single out a few.

We think of the women in Kroonstad Prison in the so-called Free State: Mrs Florence Baard, the Port Elizabeth leader, a widow whose children are now parentless; Florence Matomela; Sister Z.N. Mpendu, in her fifties, now serving a sentence after having been 'detained' for over fourteen months; Hilda Tashaka; Florence Twana. We think of Dorothy

LONDON MEETING

On the following evening, August 1st, a huge Memorial Meeting, chaired by A. N. C. executive member, Robert Resha, was held at Friends House, London, at which representatives of a broad section of the British public, together with members of the Diplomatic Corps were present. Among the speakers on the impressive platform were:-

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Barbara Castle M. P., Minister of Transport.

His Excellency Mr. A. M. Simbule, High Commissioner of the Republic of Zambia.

Lord Collison, Trade Unionist and Member of the Executive Committee of the T. U. C. and I. L. O.

Bishop Abrose Reeves (Former Bishop of Johannesburg)

Mr. James Cameron (writer and author)

Miss Mary Benson (author)

Mr. Yusuf Dadoo (International Representative of the South African Indian Congress)

Mr. Kenneth Harris, who read a message on behalf of David Astor, member of the Board of the Times.

Dr. Leon Szur, who read a message on behalf of Lord Fenner Brockway, (Pres. M. C. F.)

TANZANIA MEETING

All offices of the African National Congress were closed for a period of one week. On Sunday, 30th July, a memorial service was held at the Arnautoglo Hall, Dar-es-Salaam, conducted by the Bishop of Masai, the Rt. Reverend Trevor Huddleston which was attended by Government and T. A. N. U. officials, members of the Diplomatic Corps, leaders and members of liberation movements, and hundreds of Tanzanian citizens. The service was followed by a meeting which was addressed by Mr. A. Masha, a member of the Executive Committee of the Tanganyika African National Union, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) who spoke on behalf of all the liberation movements based in Dar es Salaam, and Mr. Moses Kotane, the Treasurer-General of the A. N. C. Memorial services were also held in mosques, synagogues, and churches throughout Africa, and in many parts of the world.

MESSAGES RECEIVED

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanzania:

"Chief Lutuli may not have been an internationally recognised Head of State; he was a leader of all Africa and mankind. We are the poorer by his death.

"His principles were those of humanity, human dignity, and equality. Always he spoke out with courageous dignity, and every day of his life he showed that an African is a MAN in the highest sense of the word. By so doing in the racial tyranny of South Africa, he restored to black people everywhere the self-respect which colonialists and racialists have worked so hard to destroy."

Modibo Keita, President of Mali:

"Having learnt with profound emotion of the death of Albert Lutuli, a great figure of the liberation movement, the people of Mali and Sudanese Union Party are convinced that with their unshakeable will-power the South African patriots will continue to struggle against apartheid and racial domination. Assure you firm and fraternal support against white South Africa."

Nyembe, for so long active in Natal, who eluded the police net to work in the countryside but was eventually tracked down and is now serving a 4-year sentence.

We think of the Coloured women serving long sentences in Worcester Prison: Dorothy Alexander; Dulcie September; Doris van der Heyden; Elizabeth van der Heyden. We think of the White women in Barberton Prison in the Transvaal: Jean Middleton; Esther Barsel; Mollie Doyle; Anne Nicholson; Violet Weinberg; Leslie Schermbrucker.

We also think of the women banned and restricted to small 'districts', prohibited from taking part in any political activities: our great leader Lilian Ngoyi; Albertina, wife of Walter Sisulu; Winnie Mandela, now facing a charge; Mrs Mabel Balfour (whose husband is in prison) banned and confined to Roodepoort; Sarah Carneson (whose husband is also imprisoned) banned and confined to Cape Town; Sadie Foreman, widow of Lionel Foreman, banned and confined in the Cape.

We think of Helen Joseph who has completed five years under house arrest in Johannesburg.

Our thoughts are with them: but we refuse to mourn. For the spirit of these women forbids us to do so. In South Africa today, 27,000 White women belong to pistol clubs and White schoolgirls are taught to handle weapons. Many arm themselves with aerosols that squirt teargas, and gun experts have designed 'bra holsters' and 'thigh holsters' for their guns.

But our women have far stronger weapons than these. They are armed not by fear and a greedy determination to maintain the privileges of an oppressor, but by an unshakeable will to attain the freedom which is their inalienable right. They will conquer, and play their full part in the coming new society which they will have done so much to make possible.

Women freedom-fighters of South Africa, we salute you.

Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla ke Arona! Power to the People!

I GAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI MALIBONGWE!

LET THE STRUGGLE OF THE WOMEN TRIUMPH!

Dorothy Nyembe, Natal women's leader, now serving five years' imprisonment for belonging to the banned ANC.



MARY MOODLEY

"Auntie Mary" to thousands of men, women and children in Benoni's squalid Wattville township, she is a mother to all the persecuted and lonely people of the area: a woman with a heart as big as her outsize dresses. This is Mary Moodley. The superlatives accorded her work and her personality are legion.

Living in Wattville with its continual group-areas shufflings, its pot-holed streets and hungry children, Mary over the years plunged deeper and deeper into work to alleviate the suffering around her. A solid supporter of the Congress Movement, she took the fight for a better South Africa to every part of apartheid officialdom in Benoni. But these battles, which incurred the wrath of the regime and eventually led to her imprisonment, banning and restriction, are remembered by the township residents second only to her personal warm-heartedness. "Auntie Mary" has a large family. Just how large no-one seems sure as it is continually growing as more waifs drift to the shelter of her roof and are "adopted."

And such adoptions are costing Mary dear. She suffers from a heart complaint and doctors have warned her that she should turn to a new — and costly — diet. Her reply to warnings about her diet is typical: "How can I sit and eat expensive meat while the children eat porridge? I eat what they do."

Mary's activities, as an active member of the Women's Federation, of numerous local committees, and as an East Rand trade union organiser, finally led to her being jailed during the 1960 Emergency. On her release she returned to her home in what has been described as "a triumphal procession", and plunged once more into her work.

More arrests, raids and bannings followed as the police attempted to break the spirit of Auntie Mary. Today she is banned and restricted and continually harrassed by police, but the spirit blazes just as brightly as ever and for Mary Moodley the fight goes on.

The Right Honourable Barbara Castle, M. P. Minister of Transport:

"To avoid a world holocaust we must uphold the principle typified by Chief Lutuli, the belief in the value of every man . . . Let us make it clear that the British people will never be a party to the creation of another South Africa in Rhodesia. . ."

Mohamed Faek, United Arab Republic:

"I would ask you to please accept on behalf of myself and the UAR Government the most profound sympathies and heartfelt condolences on the grievous loss of your leader, Chief Albert Lutuli. His unflinching fight for freedom will ever remain the beacon to those who struggle for their rights and combat against colonialism."

Mr. A. Timoschenko, USSR Ambassador in Tanzania:

"Albert Lutuli will always be remembered by progressive mankind as a hero of the struggle of the African people of South Africa for their national liberation, democracy and social justice."

Dr. Lessing, Consul-General of the German Democratic Republic:

"I wish to express to you on behalf of the German Democratic Republic our deepest condolences on the great loss which has befallen the people of South Africa."

Mr. Soji Williams, Nigerian High Commissioner:

"The inestimable loss, not only to our brother Africans in South Africa but to the entire African continent and freedom-loving people of the world of a man whose life had been so demonstratively dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom, will bring untold sadness to us all."

Indian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom:

"I do not need to tell you that the late Chief Lutuli was held in the greatest regard in India, and all of us would wish to pay our humble tribute to his great memory. He was an inspiration, far beyond his own country, and his loss is not only yours but of all mankind."

The Charge d'Affaires - Royal Norwegian Embassy, London:

"I am sure you will be interested to know that the Norwegian Government is sending a wreath to Chief Lutuli's funeral and will be represented at the funeral by their Consul in Durban. The Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee also sends a wreath to the funeral."

Charge d'Affaires - Lebanese Embassy, London:

"I would like to express my deep appreciation and admiration of all that Chief Albert Lutuli has represented and achieved, towards closer understanding, and a better world, and I regret very much that I am unable to be present at either of the ceremonies owing to previous engagements."

The African Liberation Committee of the O. A. U. :

"His dedication to the cause of liberating South Africa and the rest of Africa is monumental to all sons and daughters of Africa."

National Liberation Front (Algeria):

"FLN sends sincere condolences and reaffirms total support of Algerian people in your struggle for the freedom of South Africa."



WE ARE THE WOMEN OF THE TOWNSHIPS

LIFE IN A SOUTH AFRICAN GHETTO

Photo Captions. Left: Woman arrested on petty charge is marched off by policeman. Right top: A class of 50 squat on the floor for lack of desks and benches. Near right: There is not always food to feed the children. Far right: The results of malnutrition — kwashiorkor. This is one of thousands of children who are hospitalized yearly. There are thousands more who will not get into hospitals.

For 25 cents (which is half-a-crown) you can spend a morning sight-seeing in a luxury bus in the ghettos outside Johannesburg. The tour is said to be one of the sights of the Southern Hemisphere, and visiting VIPs and guests of the South African Foundation are taken to view the houses, the schools and the beer-halls of Soweto. Soweto — where we, the black people who work in Johannesburg, must live. From the window of the bus you will look out at places called Moroka, Dube, Phefeni, Jabavu, Nzimkulu, Naledi, Chiawelo, and many more — 22 in all, the townships of Soweto, the homes of, officially, half a million people. Unofficial estimates say there are nearly a million. Sprawling across the gentle, swelling plains of the highveld, the houses are like little boxes, row upon row upon row, over the hills and far away, a never-ending dormitory of hutments.

The guided tourist, dazed by the extent of these treeless, characterless wastes, will have no chance to meet us, the women of the townships. Our houses have no street names, only numbers among thousands of other numbers. Our streets except for a few main routes are not tarred or lighted. They are dusty tracks among hundreds, places where children play by day but which are empty and silent at night. It is dangerous to walk the township streets at night.

A THOUSAND MURDERS

One thousand people are murdered every year in Soweto — five times as many as in the whole of Britain with its population of fifty million. On a weekend, as many as 20 people are shot, stabbed or battered to death. There are no figures for the maimed,

but Baragwanath Hospital is famed for its work among paraplegics: South Africa has the highest rate in the world. Every doctor at this huge hospital for Africans knows the thick blood-smear near the base of a man's spine as the mark of the *ntshumentshu*, a needle-sharp steel spoke, which is plunged through the spinal cord, leaving the victim paralysed. Soweto is full of gangsters and hoodlums and all the nameless victims of apartheid laws whose only way of life now is to batten off their own people.

NO AMENITIES, NO TIME

Even without the gangsters we of Soweto would not be likely to go out at night. There are no theatres, no clubs, no cafes, no centres of life and activity in Soweto: in the whole great complex there is only one proper cinema. There

Mr. A. Masha, TANU Official:

"Chief Lutuli was a great leader, a great inspirer, and a great man; a leader that remained sincere to his people under the most trying circumstances."

Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO):

"His death and the death of all our liberation and revolutionary martyrs must be paid for with high price."

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU):

"The sudden death of Chief Albert Lutuli is a great loss not only to the people of South Africa but to all of us who come from Southern Africa. It was during his term of office that an impetus was given to the African Nationalist Movements in Southern Africa. His murderers will be dismayed by the immortality of his noble ideas."

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA):

"The death of Chief Albert Lutuli is a loss to the struggle of the oppressed people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. He was in the fore-front of the struggle of his people and will remain a shining beacon in the protracted struggle which will end in certain victory for the oppressed people."

South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO):

"Chief Albert Lutuli was a leader . . . in the full sense of the word. His unshakable faith in the need to reaffirm and strengthen the rights inherent in the dignity of mankind, his fight to do away with prejudice, discrimination and racial inequality won him the support and love of millions of people still suffering injustice."

National Liberation Movement of Comoro (Molinaco):

"Chief Lutuli will always be remembered by all freedom-fighters as a father of African heroes . . ."

South African Communist Party:

"... It is a tragedy for our people that he did not live to occupy the position for which he was so eminently qualified as the first Head of State of free South Africa."

International Union of Students:

"Learnt with great emotion of tragic death of Chief Albert Lutuli, president African National Congress, relentless fighter against racial segregation and symbol of fight against sinister Vorster Government."

World Assembly of Youth:

"Learnt with great sorrow and shock untimely death Albert Lutuli whose undaunted courage and determined leadership provided direction to South African freedom struggle."

Women's International Democratic Federation:

"Shocked and saddened untimely death of outstanding leader of your people."

American Committee on Africa:

"Deeply shocked Lutuli's fatal accident. We grieve with you."

U. S. S. R. Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee:

"Nobel Prize Winner, Albert Lutuli all his life was devoted to struggle for noble ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood of peoples, for the rights of man and against colonialism and imperialism."

are few shops and no real shopping centres. And people must rise so early that there is, in any case, little energy left at night for social life.

We women of the townships may or may not work in Johannesburg, but in any case our husbands are up before dawn. Breakfast for the whole family, including the baby, is simply black tea, heavily laced with sugar. In bad times, hot water must fill the gap. Our families eat one meal a day, usually in the evening.

If we work in town, like our husbands, we must walk about a mile to the station; fight for places in an overcrowded coach; fight our way out of the non-Whites' side entrance (the beautiful new concourse of Johannesburg station is for whites only); and queue for a bus to our place of work.

If our men have money for sandwiches, they will be served through the side-window of a café. At night they come home late and exhausted from the nightly fight to board the over-crowded trains.

BELOW THE LINE

Our husbands are unskilled workers in Johannesburg factories, or cleaners, messengers or other unskilled workers in the big shops and offices. (Apartheid laws prevent Africans from working in higher grades.)

Fare money takes a great slice out of the weekly wage. Rent, food and tax are the essentials. Everything else — clothes, furniture, toilet articles, household goods, books, recreation, beer, tobacco — is a luxury. Some of these



the family will have sometimes, many of them rarely, or never at any time. Our clothes are bought at jumble sales in the White suburbs.

Most African families in Soweto live below the *poverty datum line* — the term used for the very minimum income required for rent, fares and proper food. Many are forever in debt. There are many families who are reasonably wellclothed and fed: there are many more who are not.

Down the street live the Nhlapos: father is ill with TB and cannot work. All four children have contracted the disease from him; the eldest is in hospital; the three younger ones lie huddled on the floor under a thin blanket. The family 'lives' on £1½ a month TB allowance, together with the few shillings that Mrs Nhlapo makes selling fruit at the roadside.

Everything — sugar, tea, candles, tinned milk, mealie meal — costs more in the small township shops. We feed our families on foods that are cheap and filling, such as mealie-pap. Even bread is a luxury. Of three, four, six or more children, at least two die in infancy, perhaps of gastro-enteritis which claims so many little ones when summer comes. One may be in hospital with kwashiokor. Most of the children will suffer the effects of under-nourishment and many will be called 'slow' and 'lazy' by Whites — who in their turn suffer from physical complaints brought on by too much rich food.

SCHOOLING

The children play in the streets every day until they are eight years old when, if they are lucky enough to find a place, they will be admitted into the lower primary school. More than 30% of

Soweto children never go to school at all.

The school-going children will only attend school for 3 hours a day, either in the morning or else in the afternoon, because the school has to have double (sometimes even triple) sessions to accommodate the children. Even so, the



classes are huge — at least 50 at each session. There may be as many as a hundred. So it is not surprising that the teacher, who is poorly trained and badly payed, can do little more than keep the class in order. There are not enough benches and tables. Children share slates and books, and squat on the floor to use a bench as a desk. They will not, in any case, have to suffer these conditions for very long, because most of them will never go beyond the first two or three years of primary school.

We sacrifice to keep our children in school, even for a few years. Our husbands pay a compulsory levy towards the costs of school buildings, and we have to find money for school uniforms, pencils and books. If our children man-



All India Peace Council & Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity:

"In Dr. Lutuli's death we have lost a valiant fighter for justice, racial equality and world peace. We pledge to carry forward his mission to complete eradication of racial tyranny in southern Africa and other parts of the world."

Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Ceylon:

"Albert Lutuli's political and spiritual leadership of your people was a shining example for all humanity."

Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic:

"In deep mourning we learn of tragic death of your comrade, Albert Lutuli, president of ANC and heroic patriot of people of South Africa fighting for its freedom."

Jack Jones, Assistant Executive Secretary, Transport & General Workers Union:

"With some people a sense of personal dignity becomes a means of doing nothing to disturb the status quo; for Chief Luthuli it was a weapon to achieve personal dignity for all, for extending human rights to everyone. His contribution transcended even the great work he did in his own country. At this troubled time throughout the world, his tragic death is a severe blow, not only to those who strive for peace and racial equality, but for everyone who seeks a better way of living for all."

Betty Sinclair - Secretary Belfast & District Trades' Union Council:

"Chief Lutuli will be mourned the world over by all sincere men and women who love their country and their people . . . Chief Lutuli's body has gone - but his spirit will ever live in his people."

Conor Cruise O'Brien, Chairman, The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Ireland:

"To those of us who knew 'Chief' in South Africa, his death comes as a deep personal loss, but to all of us it comes as a tragic blow. Long may his memory live on to inspire us in the struggle."

Canon L. John Collins, President, Defence & Aid Fund:

"Chief Lutuli knew that in South Africa there could never be any real freedom or justice for the victims of apartheid without a political struggle: he knew that to undertake humanitarian activities that had no political significance would be of little avail in a situation that demanded a political revolution.

Now that he is dead White South Africa must face the tragedy of its own making. If the liberation movement now turns to violent methods to achieve its end, if violence by the Government is now met with violence by the oppressed, the blame must be squarely laid upon the shoulders of all outside as well as inside South Africa who rejected this loving man of peace."

David M. S. Steel, M. A., LL. B., M. P., President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Great Britain:

"His whole life was an inspiration to those who believe in the fundamental equality of man and the creation of a tolerant society. Our best tribute to him will be to continue in our own small ways his great work."

STOP PRESS

We have just received copies of a leaflet headed:

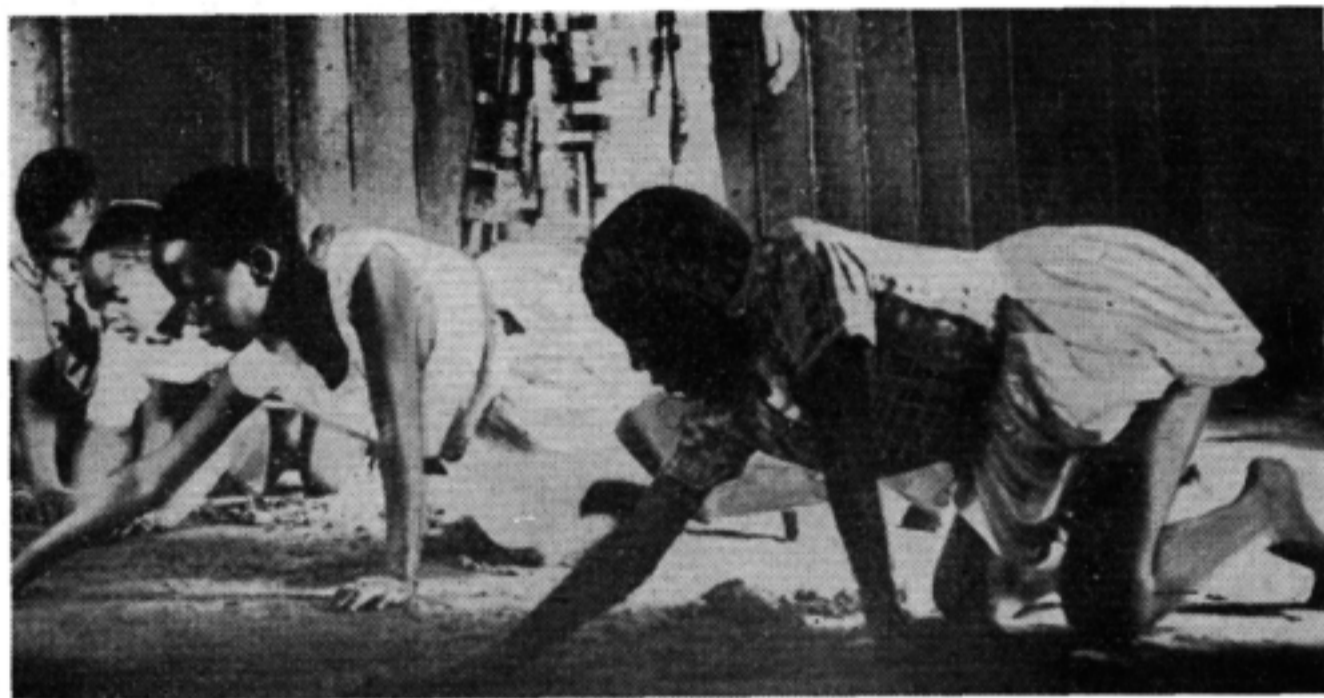
"The African National Congress Calls You To Action"

which was widely distributed throughout South Africa on the eve of Chief Lutuli's funeral. The full text of this well-printed leaflet will be published in our next (September) issue.

Our October issue will contain a full official report on the distribution itself from the underground movement in South Africa.

age to reach high school there will be school fees to pay, and more money needed for text-books.

Somehow, we hope, our children will get educated. All around us we see the way in which the young grow up with the education of the streets. In Senoane township the 4 Bhengu children, for example, live alone in a dilapidated house; their father died three years ago; their mother is a domestic servant earning £7 a month, and comes to visit them once a week on Saturdays. Barefoot and dressed in rags, all they know is learned on the streets.



Learning subservience — scrubbing school rooms is part of the curriculum.

700,000 ARRESTS

Our sons perhaps may never work — they may never get permits to work — and may join gangs who find their own way to live. Our daughters will probably have children before they are married.

If anything happens to her husband, a woman may lose her right to live in Soweto. If her husband does not come home at night a woman fears he has been stabbed or else has fallen victim to the pass laws. With 700,000 pass arrests every year, and the figure rising, the chances are that sooner or later a man will be enmeshed. Even if his pass is in order he may have lost it, or had it stolen, or left it at home, or perhaps there is the wrong rubber stamp on the tax receipt.

Even if a woman and her husband were both born in Johannesburg, they now have no *right* to live there, except, as the Government has informed us, as 'temporary sojourners', while working for the profit and ease of the Whites. Last year, 50,000 people were endorsed out of the Witwatersrand alone — compelled to leave, to go and work on White farms or live in the distant reserves. (See 'South Africa's Concentration Camps' in this issue — Editor Sechaba.) 25,000 more were arrested for

being in urban areas for more than 72 hours without permission. Our whole family is held together with such slender threads.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN TOO

Not only do we women fear for our husbands. Since 1963, we too may be arrested at any time under the pass laws and taken off to jail, our children left alone. We took part in the long fight against passes for women. (See article 'The Defiant Women' — Editor.) We went to jail for resisting passes; but the time came when we were forced to

take pass books, and now a woman dare not move out of her house without making sure the book is in her bag or her pocket.

When our sons and daughters are 16, they too will have to apply for passes, and those children who were sent to live with grandparents in the country when they were very small will not be given passes, but will be ordered to leave their own parents and go back to the countryside — even if the old folks are now dead.

NIGHT RAIDS

Not only are we liable to be arrested on the streets, but even our own homes are not inviolate: there are often night raids. Sometimes there are mass raids like an army operation, when tens of thousands (in one raid 200,000) homes are searched. More often they are localised — first one area, then another. We wake at night, seeing the flash of headlights down our streets, hearing the banging on doors, the rough voices shouting orders.

There is always uncertainty and fear, even if all the passes and permits are in order. Who knows what word or unintentional act will trigger off these taut police tempers and lead to assault

or arrest? So with protective impassivity we speed to let the police into our homes, stand aside as they tear off bedclothes and turn over furniture, and try to quiet our frightened children. Hold back, say nothing. Only when they have gone, only when the flash of torches and banging of doors has diminished down the dark streets, does suppressed anger and hate flood through every vein, destroying any return to the peace of sleep.

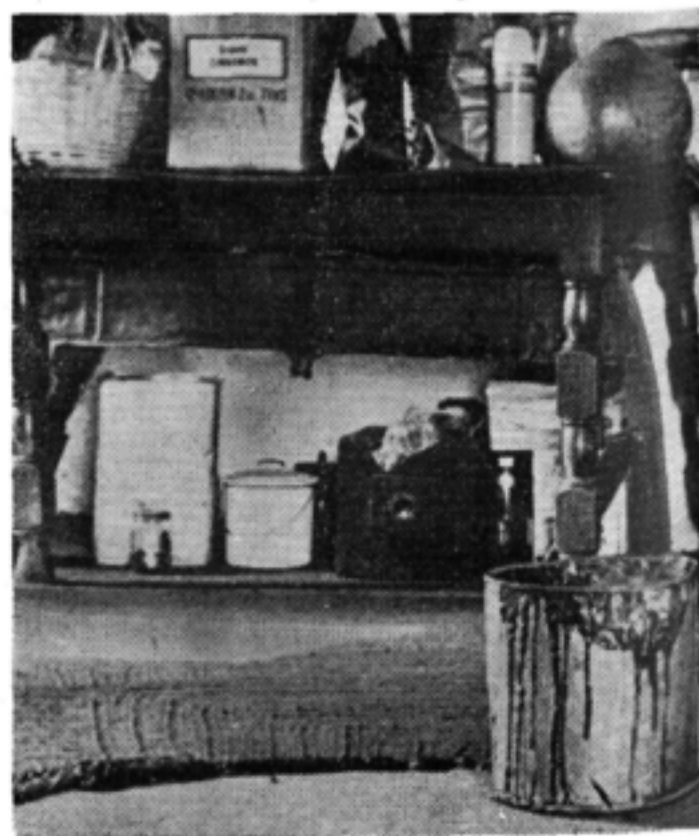
THE PHONEY TOUR

The South African Government is fond of telling the world that "its" African people are better-housed, better-educated, better-paid than other peoples of Africa. They take Whites on conducted tours of Soweto to show them "how much we have done" for African workers, and how much more they possess now than ever before under tribal existence.

We, born to the towns and not to the tribe, know the futility and irrelevance of such arguments. We are not women of the reserves; we are not women who come from the deep bush of undeveloped Africa; we are not surrounded by a backward and primitive country. We are members of an advanced and industrialised society and we work and move among a section of people with the highest living standards of any group in the world.

We are familiar with homes equipped with every electrical appliance, and work in kitchens where food is bought in big quantities: oranges and potatoes in 38 lb. bags; meat packaged and stored in home freezers. We prepare elaborate meals and set elaborate tables and coax food down the throats of White toddlers

For the majority, everything above food, re



whose mothers cannot make them eat enough.

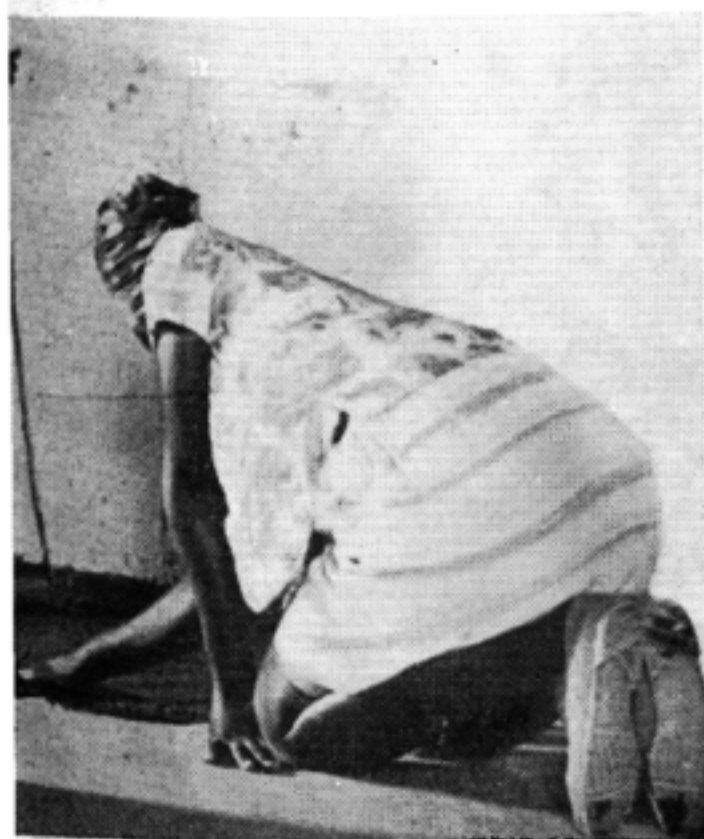
FOR ALL CHILDREN

A woman's heart can be loaded with worry about her own children as she washes napkins while a little White child is bound, warm and comfortable, on her back. We feel envy at the waste of food, the children's clothes and luxuries and toys. But we can't take it out on them. Women love all children, and with the White children we look after we are patient and tender.

In the evenings, or at weekends, we return to our homes in the townships, buy 6d worth of tea 3d worth of sugar at the store, light a candle in the early dark — and sometimes go without a helping of the once-a-week tough and gristly meat, so that our families may have more.

Although our life is a long lesson in deprivation: although our husbands are called 'boys' and humiliated and our children robbed of their right to an education: although the streets where we live are traps for our children and our own sons may so easily become gangsters: although the force of law has silenced and removed so many of our leaders and robbed us of the right to belong openly to our organizations: yet we know that we must do more than survive. We need courage as well as pride — and we manage to preserve both these. We have had patience, but it is not the dull, dead patience that lasts forever. We are awaiting the day we know will come. The day when we shall claim for ourselves and our children all our rights, which the Whites will be able to withhold from us no longer.

and tax is a luxury.



FRANCES BAARD

One of the outstanding ANC women's leaders in the Eastern Cape, Frances Baard was active in the trade union movement, took a prominent part in the Defiance Campaign, organised the ANC Women's League with Florence Matomela, and helped to form the Federation of S.A. Women in Port Elizabeth. She led numerous campaigns in the Eastern Cape. In 1956 she was arrested and charged with Treason, and was detained during the State of Emergency in 1960. Detained again in 1963 and 1964, she was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for belonging to the ANC. In February 1966, aged 65 and ill, she faced further similar charges. She is now in Kroonstad Prison.

MOLLIE DOYLE

Mollie, a niece of Bram Fischer's, is in her early thirties. She interrupted an English Honours course at Natal University because she felt called on to take an active part in politics. She went to Johannesburg where she was active in the Congress of Democrats. In 1962 she was arrested for helping to distribute an ANC pamphlet. She, Pixie Benjamin, Mary Turok and Eve Hall were sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment with one year suspended. After serving six months and despite the suspended sentence hanging over her head she continued with political work. In 1964 she was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. In April 1965 she was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and six months of her suspended sentence came into operation. She is in Barberton Prison, and is due to be released in October.

DORA TAMANA

Mrs Tamana was born at the beginning of the century in the Transkei. She remembers the Bulhoek Massacre of May 1921. In the shooting, ordered by Jan Smuts, her father and two uncles were killed. In the hungry thirties she came to Cape Town with her husband, and was soon attending meetings and protests on the Grand Parade. She became an active organiser among the African and Coloured people in the Blauwvlei area, and was a keen member of the ANC Women's League and a foundation member of the



Mrs Frances Baard

Federation of S.A. Women. In 1955, she received a banning order prohibiting her from taking part in any form of political activity. She was detained in 1960 for 4½ months, lying on a concrete floor with one grass mat. In 1963, she was again arrested — for failing to report a change of address — and was sentenced to twelve months, eleven of which were suspended.

IDA MTWANA

Ida Mtwana was one of the earlier generation of freedom-fighters and although she is now dead she is remembered by many, especially those who lived in the teeming, sprawling slums that used to lie to the west of Johannesburg before the creation of the new fenced-in apartheid townships.

Ida was a woman of outstanding courage and possessed a beautiful voice. Those who know her still relate instances of that voice pouring out freedom songs as police smashed up meetings. Her songs were a rallying point: they restored calm and renewed people's determination to oppose the apartheid regime and its police. It was a voice that gave hope to thousands, and the spirit behind it lives on today: the memory of Ida Mtwana has provided hope and determination for those who have and are still fighting for a free and democratic South Africa.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

NO BOOM FOR NON-WHITES

Non-white workers in the commercial distributive trade have not shared in South Africa's seven-year boom, stated W.J. Meyer in his presidential address to the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers in Cape Town earlier this year. Their minimum weekly wage of £4 2/6d, he stated, should be doubled.

Although some employers were paying more, stated Mr Meyer, "it is pitiful to think of a family existing on that." Mr Meyer said that when negotiations on the revision of wages in the distributive trade were completed, the union would turn its attention to minimum wages in the catering trade, where conditions were "even more scandalous," he stated.

STIFLING THE PRESS

The President of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr Miles Brokensha, said in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the society recently, that journalists were becoming encased in a straitjacket of legislation which was stifling their true vocation as vendors of news.

"It is also with regret that I have to record that censorship still continues in Rhodesia," stated Mr Brokensha. "We have pledged our support to our Rhodesian colleagues in their gallant stand against this authoritarian rule and our pledge still stands.

"But I sometimes wonder whether our northern colleagues are in some respects not luckier than we who practise journalism in South Africa. At least they know where they stand. Each year our basic democratic rights become more and more circumscribed."

He added: "What is more disturbing is that we as journalists are becoming the natural scapegoats for any evil which befalls our country or social life merely because we record it as truthfully as is in our ability. I need only refer to the recent Jewish-German disturbances in

Johannesburg. The full blame was laid at the door of the press."

He would welcome a full enquiry and was sure that journalists would be fully exonerated. He could not think of any other occupation so beset with restricting legislation in South Africa as journalism.

Speaking of Bob Hitchcock, the Johannesburg reporter now in prison, Mr Brokensha said: "I have asked Council to see that Mr Hitchcock's family will suffer in no way for his imprisonment and have pledged them on your behalf the full resources of the Society."

TRADERS EVICTED

In a "desperate final attempt" to have their eviction from shops postponed, 20 Indian traders of Martindale, Johannesburg, have appealed to the authorities to give them time to find alternative trading premises.

Some have to move out within days but have not found alternative shops. The businesses are all that remain of old Sophiatown, which has been declared a 'White area'. The traders say they are "panic-stricken" by the threatened "loss of their livelihood."

LAND-STARVED

Land-starved Indians — forced to move out of their homes in Durban by the Group Areas Act — have rushed in their hundreds to buy plots in a new privately-owned township at La Mercy, 17 miles from Durban. In ten days they have paid more than £250,000 for land. In an interview with the Press, the township developers said: "Some Indians come to us with expropriation notices in their hands, wanting permission to erect anything they can just to have a place to live. One man had seven days in which to move out of his present home."

MRS JOSEPH SELLING BOOKS

Helen Joseph, the first woman in South Africa to be placed under 12-hour house-arrest, is now working at a leading Johannesburg book-shop. The ban against her forbids her to help the Press publish stories about her.

The manager of the shop told reporters "We have been visited by the Security Branch a number of times, but I know they would have told us if they objected to her working here."

QUOTE

South Africans lived in a world where "white civilisation" was the "black sheep" of international politics in the power struggle between East and West, said the South African Minister of Justice and Prisons, Mr Pelser, at Klerksdorp recently.

But people who wanted to bring White Civilization to an end would have to "reckon with a Defence Force which is fully integrated with our people," he stated. "As with other nations, we have won our territory through the blood of our forefathers."



Turned out of their homes under Group Areas, an Indian family exists in a tent.

SWAPO FIGHTS BACK

AS GOVERNMENT INTRODUCES NEW LEGISLATION TO TERRORISE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS

The Johannesburg Sunday Times carried a story recently which demonstrates the extent of the fight for freedom in South West Africa, conducted by the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO).

The Sunday Times reported that the introduction of the sweeping Terrorism Bill in the South African Parliament in June this year focused attention sharply on the silent struggle being waged between police and 'infiltrators' in Ovamboland in the north of South West Africa. This struggle, which began in September 1965, has gradually become more serious. Infiltrators continue to slip across the border despite warnings by the South African Government that they are being sent to "certain death." The Minister of Justice, Mr Piet Pelser, said in the Assembly that more "terrorism" should be expected. "I want to tell you, without creating panic, that there is every reason to believe that we have not seen the last of terrorism," Mr Pelser said. The country was now seeing the return of Africans who had gone to African and communist countries for sabotage and guerilla training, he said. The "terrorists" who had been detained already were merely the vanguard of others still to come.

A statement made earlier in the parliamentary session by the Deputy Minister of Police, Mr Lourens Muller, admitted that about 900 "trainee terrorists" — Africans under the age of 30 — had left South West Africa during recent years, ostensibly for education. They left in small groups of two to five. According to Mr Muller, they were organized by SWAPO — the South West Africa People's Organization.

FIRST GROUP

The first group, armed with submachine guns and automatic pistols, returned in

September 1965, entering Ovamboland and establishing an underground hide-out in the dense forest there. They began recruiting and training local Ovambos in guerilla warfare.

This camp was discovered only 11 months later, in August 1966. In the ensuing skirmish with the police two "terrorists" were killed, one wounded, and seven arrested. A few escaped.

The police arrested not only infiltrators but also locally trained Africans and SWAPO politicians.

FURTHER RESISTANCE

The Sunday Times article goes on to list further incidents of the people's resistance. These include: —

February 1966: Freedom-fighters attacked two Portuguese trading stores in Angola on the Angola-SWA border, shooting the shop-owners and taking £300 and various articles. This was used to equip the underground camp in Ovamboland.

September 1966: Bantu Administration (Government Dept.) offices in Ovamboland were attacked and three buildings and a vehicle burnt out. One person was wounded.

November 1966: Two Ovambo headmen (Government-paid puppets) were attacked and robbed of the arms which they had legally in their possession.

December 1966: The tribal offices of a senior headman were attacked. One person was shot dead and two others wounded by the attackers.

December 1966: Seven "overseas-trained terrorists" infiltrated the northern part of Ovamboland near Marulaboom, Grootfontein, attacking a White farmer's house and wounding him. The police pursued the group through dense forest, capturing five and a submachine gun and automatic pistol with ammunition.

March 1967: Another group infiltrated the western Caprivi en route to South West Africa. They ambushed a police patrol but were repulsed. Two semi-automatic rifles were recovered, and "nearly the whole group has been arrested."

It is not known exactly how many freedom-fighters are being held in custody, but the Sunday Times article puts the figure at between two and three dozen. They can all be charged now under the Terrorism Bill, which is retrospective to June 1962.

SWEEPING CLAUSES

Even the official Whites-only Opposition in the South African Parliament feels that this Bill is unnecessarily sweeping, reports the Sunday Times. Two provisions in particular are regarded as being too far-reaching.

One provides for a minimum penalty of five years' imprisonment for "terrorism." The maximum penalty is death. The other provision (Clause Six) empowers any police officer of or above the rank of lieutenant-colonel to detain any suspected terrorist or any person suspected of having information about terrorism, *for any length of time anywhere in South Africa*, in solitary confinement if necessary, and to interrogate the person until he has answered all questions "satisfactorily."

No court may order the detainee's release or vary the conditions of his detention, nor may the detainee have any visitors except with the permission of the authorities.

The official Opposition voted against these two clauses in the committee stage of the Bill, but voted in favour of the principle of the Bill at the second reading, reported the Sunday Times.

The fight goes on.

B A R B E R T O N F E M A L E P R I S O N

The car drew up in front of a large building. The windows had horizontal bars. Several windows on the front side of the building were covered by large cages. I realised that this must be the political prisoner section. The South African Prison Department's Security Officer stepped out of the car together with a woman who was 'escorting' me, and I was told to get out. We walked up some steep steps, a wardress in khaki uniform unlocked a grill, and I was inside Barberton Female Prison.

Barberton is a little village in the Eastern Transvaal, 5 hours drive from Johannesburg and about 14 miles from the Swaziland border. It is very hot here in the summer as it lies in the sub-tropics, just outside the malaria belt. There are three jails outside the village — the female jail, the men's jail about a hundred yards away, and a farm jail down in the valley. Our relations have to travel at least a ten-hour drive (there and back) to see us. My brother had to travel nearly 2,000 miles.

"ULTRA MAKSIMUM"

I had been inside several South African prisons for varying periods, usually not more than a few months, but here I was to serve a six-year sentence, and evidently this was a prison with a difference: the Security Officer told me it was a Hard Labour Prison and a Maximum Security Prison, and when I received my prisoner's identification card an hour or so later I saw printed on the top of my card in large red letters in Afrikaans: 'ULTRA MAKSIMUM'.

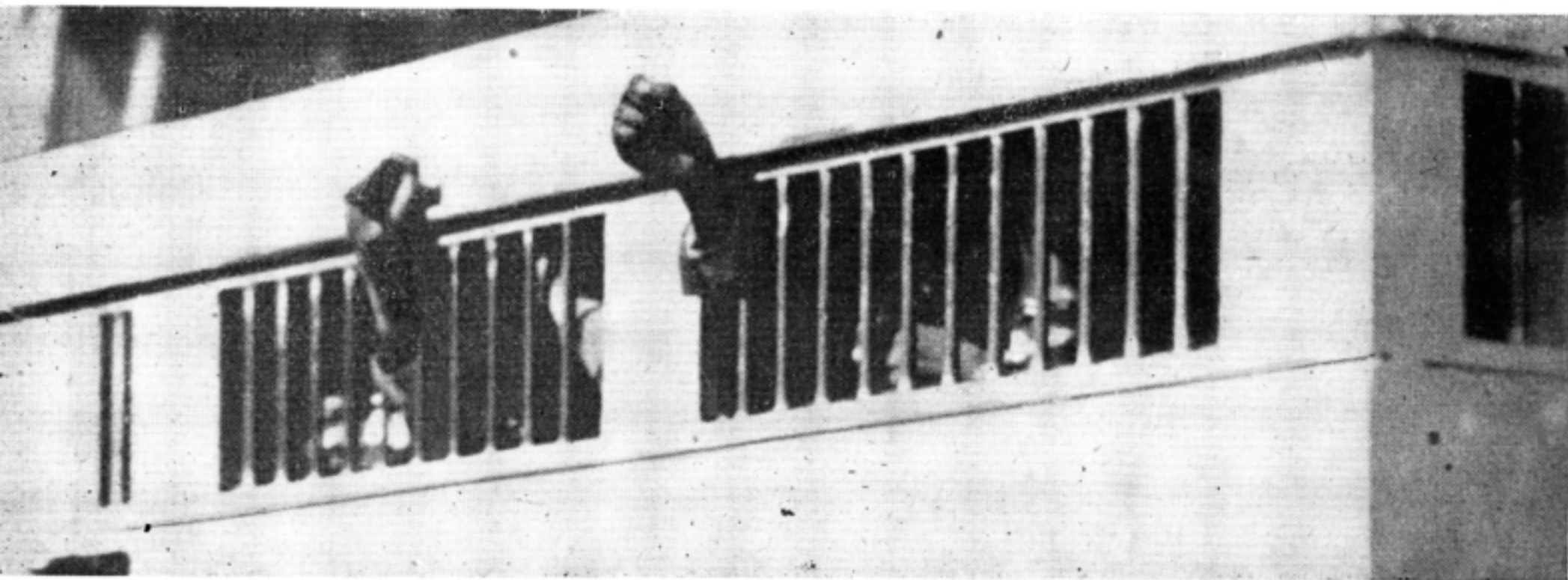
I arrived at Barberton in August 1965, about three months after my fellow trialists in the 'Suppression of Communism' Trial which took place in Jo'burg in 1964—65. I had been taken down to Port Elizabeth Jail about ten days after I had been sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in Johannesburg. I faced another trial in a small 'dorp' — Humansdorp — 58 miles outside Port Elizabeth: a fabricated trial, a farce, which managed to give me another 4 year prison sentence. The Investigation Officer in that trial told me he thought he would get me 9 years there. Many African accused had been sentenced to 9 years in that court.

But the Security Police had not reckoned with my counsel and the newspaper publicity. So when I arrived at Barberton I only had 6 years to serve, instead of the expected 11. In spite of the fact that this Eastern Cape trial had been a string of lies from beginning to end, I felt I was lucky. This was South Africa.

MATRON-IN-CHARGE

I stood around for a couple of hours in a front room of the Barberton Female Prison, shifting from one foot to the other. The jail was very silent. Never had I been in such a silent jail — silence inside and outside. I was tired and it was hot. I felt myself sagging. I heard an incredible scream and, looking up, saw another woman in khaki uniform. I learned later that she was the Matron-in-Charge of the prison. Evidently she was telling me to stand up — to attention!: "In *hierdie* tronk staan jy met jou hande agter jou rug." (In *this* jail, you stand with your hands behind your back.)

Freedom-fighters face imprisonment with greatness. Here, leaders give the ANC salute on their way to jail after Rivonia.



by Sylvia Neame
who spent two years
in Barberton jail
and came out stronger
than when she went in

Eventually I was told to 'Stap!' (March!). I was taken down a passage, a door was opened and then a grill, and I was standing inside a large 'room', if you can call it that, with a concrete floor. Five cells and a small courtyard led off this central room. The grill was locked behind me and the door was closed. In this small section I had to spend years of my life.

There was a wardress there in the usual khaki uniform. My six friends greeted me in whispers. The wardress allowed us to speak very little, but over a period of a few months I eventually built up a picture of what those first three months in Barberton had been like for them.

COVERED IN BLOOD

When they had first arrived they were not allowed to speak to each other at any time of the day or night. In fact, it was communal solitary confinement. In spite of the fact that the South African Prison Regulations (which they were not allowed to see) specified an hour a day in the open air, they were given no exercise. They approached the authorities for exercise and were given the magnificent concession of 15 minutes a week, on a Sunday; the rest of the time, from 7 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon (with a break of 1½ hours in the middle) they stood at the washbasins in this section, washing the clothes of the men prisoners — hard canvas jackets, shorts and shirts.

There was a continual stench of sweat in our sections as men prisoners had to wear these clothes for a week before being allowed to change, and were only allowed one shower a week.

There was also another strange smell — the smell of sulphur ointment which came from some of the shorts. This ointment was put on the sores of prisoners who had received whippings. On the average, about 5 pairs of shorts sent in to us per week were covered in blood and ointment.

IN CHAINS

The various wardresses with whom we came into contact over the period I was there, told us proudly that the policy of Barberton Jail — 'the best jail in the country' — was to break prisoners. They said that all the "cheekiest" African prisoners in the country, all the most dangerous, were sent there, and after one day in the appalling heat of the sisal lands and with the sisal blistering their hands, the prisoners were broken in. They never gave trouble again.

The Officer Commanding confirmed that the policy of his jail was to break prisoners so that he could re-build them. He told one of us proudly that he had a 'Bantu prisoner' in chains. He was a good psychologist, he told us often, and he was there to re-build our personalities, so that we would leave his jail good supporters of apartheid, and of the South African Government.



ANC leader Walter Sisulu (jailed for life) with his wife Albertina.

ALBERTINA SISULU

Wife of African National Congress leader and Rivonia trialist Walter Sisulu, Albertina has never taken a back seat politically. A nurse and midwife, she has been faced with the responsibility of keeping the family going while her husband has either been in court, in prison or underground, being hunted by the apartheid police.

A solid, calm woman, she shouldered the burden of her family responsibility while at the same time actively participating in the work of the Women's League of the ANC and the Women's Federation.

Subjected to terrific pressure from the police, especially when Walter was in hiding, she could still be seen travelling around Johannesburg talking, cajoling, organising.

Shortly before the arrests of Congress leaders at Rivonia, the police were searching frantically for her husband who was then underground. She was questioned, threatened, and finally, with her eldest son Max, held in solitary confinement under the 90-Day law. Constant interrogation on the part of the police failed to make her give away her husband, despite the terrible conditions to which she was subjected.

After the arrest of her husband and the other Congress leaders, she and Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson, attended the Pretoria trial as often as they could, and were there when their husbands were sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

Albertina is now back in Johannesburg's Soweto township complex, restricted and banned and still subject to continual police harassment. Her life, as a wife, mother to her five children, and as a political activist, is a living example to democratic women throughout South Africa.

And so the Barberton authorities carried out a planned psychological campaign against us. Many of the techniques had already been used and improved on when dealing with 90 Day detainees. I had been held under 90 days for two periods prior to my sentence; and here they were using psychological warfare again, but it was a warfare adapted to a situation where they were dealing with a *group* of prisoners instead of one in isolation.

PLANNED PROVOCATION

Some of the wardresses later admitted that they were given instructions to make our lives as unbearable as possible.

We very rarely saw the Matron-in-Charge, but when we did she was usually on the other side of the grill of our section screaming like a mad woman at one of us. And then she would slam the door in our faces before we had time to speak. If we accidentally broke one of our plates she would accuse us of sabotage.

The authorities played off one prisoner against another. They threatened prisoners for information about other prisoners. They promised reduction of sentence. They tried to bribe. The wardress, locked up with us and in charge of us, often tried to provoke us in a situation where to retaliate was to risk being locked up in a solitary cell with no food.

There were no outlets for anger and frustration; no emotional outlets whatsoever. And there was a planned programme of provocation. Wardresses kept on changing their instructions: one day we could talk while marching around the courtyard; the next day we were told we had not obtained permission to talk while exercising. One day we could talk while we ate: the next day we were told we were not allowed to.

They kept on giving and then taking away. We asked on many occasions to see the Matron-in-Charge so that we could complain or settle some matter with her, but she did not appear. We were locked up there for days at a time unable to make complaints because the authorities kept out of our way.

We used to wait weeks, sometimes months, to receive cleaning materials to clean our section, although these materials were just a few yards down the passage on the other side of our grill. They treated us as if we were on the other side of the moon, and they meant to make us feel this way.

Often when we were discovered speaking to each other they accused us of plotting. They tried to confuse us by giving different and conflicting explanations of the same situation. Sometimes they tried to give us the impression that we were all going to be released before the end of our sentences; at other times they indicated that only some of us would be released early; on another occasion they would indicate that everyone had not already been released because of some 'trouble-maker'.

They gave us dates when they said we would receive something which would make us all 'so happy'. And nothing would happen. They lied continually with no embarrassment, from the Officer Commanding downwards. On many occasions they broke their own prison regulations and when it was pointed out to them, they told us they could do as they wished. To crown all, they informed us that they were trying to rehabilitate us.

POLITICALS IN QUARANTINE

We were treated like a foreign enclave within the jail. Other than we seven politicals, there were about 230 non-white women (that is, before the Amnesty, which political prisoners did not receive). We were not allowed to see them and they were not allowed to see us. We were not allowed even to catch a glimpse of another prisoner. In most jails prisoners

are to some extent integrated into the life of the jail, but we were kept in quarantine.

The authorities tried to make us feel that we were suffering from some virulent infectious disease. One of the things which kept our morale up, was that we were proud of the disease they were trying to eradicate — our opposition to racial discrimination.

Only once a week, for a few minutes, were we allowed out of our sections, when we went a few yards down a passage to an office to see the Officer Commanding. To go down this passage was a great event in our lives. Otherwise we worked, ate and slept and exercised — lived our whole lives — in the section at one end of the Female Jail.

I could cross our roofed-in section (i. e. our living section) with 22 of my small walking paces one way, and 23 paces the other way. Our self-contained courtyard, in which we were allowed for an hour a day, was 21 paces one way and 20 the other, and this was largely taken up with washing lines.

And for 15, 16, 17 hours a day, and sometimes even 20 hours a day, we were locked up in our cells, some of them 6½ feet by 9 feet: "hoender-hokkies" (hen-houses), as the Matron-in-Charge described them on one occasion.

'D' GROUP

And it must be remembered that people are living under these conditions for years of their lives. When I first complained to the Officer Commanding about our very confined space he told me sadistically: "Ah, you find the space confined, do you? Well, that's what we like. When you begin to feel those four walls closing in on you (and he brought his palms together), then we are pleased because then we know your prison sentence has really begun."

For the first six months in Barberton we were 'D Group' prisoners, the lowest grade a prisoner can be. Ordinary criminal prisoners start off as B Group with two letters and one visit a month. As Ds we were allowed one visit for half-an-hour in six months, and one letter. We had no news from the outside world, no newspapers, no magazines, no radio; our visitors were only allowed to discuss family matters.

The seven of us lived alone in this isolated, mad no-mans-land, hardly able to speak to each other. The only thing that kept us from going completely insane was that we were allowed to study during lock-up periods in our cells.



ANIMAL SCREAMS

Another prisoner joined us in October 1966. She had a twomonth sentence for helping to distribute a leaflet. After three weeks under these conditions she was hysterical. She insisted that she had to get out of there. She started screaming hysterically, falling unconscious, and one day was in such a wild state that she had to be given a dose to knock her out for a whole day.

It was only through fantastic self-discipline, and understanding of ourselves and of each other, that we were able to come through this experience without losing control. This discipline and the understanding of what the situation was likely to do to us, we built up slowly, until the authorities realised that they could not break us, and in various ways admitted as much.

We could only sense by a few indications what the rest of the jail was like: the blood on the shorts, the prisoner in chains, the wild animal screams that we heard sometimes coming from the other side of the jail, the bandage on the hand of the wardress who had just 'beaten up' a prisoner, the prisoners undergoing the 'breaking-in' process in the heat in the sisal lands, the two gun-shots we heard which killed two African prisoners instantly. But these indications helped to create the atmosphere in which we lived.

WORSE THAN CRIMINALS

My appeal against the four-year sentence I had got at Humansdorp was successful; and so I came out in April this year. Things had gradually improved at Barberton, but it was only in August 1966 that there was any real improvement, that is, 15 months after we were sentenced. In August we were re-classified to B Group — where ordinary criminal prisoners start.

The improvements were brought about by our fight inside the jail for better conditions. We fought every step of the way. We took up every issue: exercise, enough time to eat, more time out of our cells, re-classification to B Group, more and longer visits, more letters, more space to live and work in, generally more humane treatment. We took these up with every official, every visitor to the jail.

And outside Barberton Jail, the Harold Strachan case was exposing prison conditions; inside and outside South Africa individuals and groups were helping to inform the public what was going on in South African jails and demanding improvements.

The conditions of the white women political prisoners, when I left, were still worse than the conditions of ordinary criminal white women prisoners; we were still being discriminated against because we were *political* prisoners. The fight for more humane conditions must still be going on in that jail.

STRENGTH IN THE STRUGGLE

In that tiny space, in that little group, life goes on in peculiar circumstances, but life goes on with a determination to overcome and make something of a painful experience. For me it was an important personal experience. I feel I gained enormously from it, because I was determined to.

All the time I was at Barberton we all believed so firmly in the stand we had made against the South African apartheid system: in fact, if it were possible for us to feel more strongly than we did before we were sentenced, then we did so; because we saw the hypocrisy and viciousness of the South African authorities at close quarters.

We knew, too, that however bad our conditions were, the African, Indian and Coloured political prisoners on Robben Island and in other jails were having it much worse.



BLANCHE LA GUMA

Blanche La Guma was born in 1927, was educated at Trafalgar High School and then worked in a factory until she decided to become a midwife. She practised as a midwife for 15 years before coming to London in 1966 with her husband Alex and two young sons.

Active in the progressive movement since her teens, she was a member of the S.A. Coloured People's Congress and of the Federation of S.A. Women. When apartheid was introduced into the nursing profession in 1957, she was in the leadership of the Cape Nurses Vigilance Committee. She is a foundation member of the Federation of South African Nurses and Midwives.

In 1963, Blanche was arrested under the 90-Day law. She was released after 15 days of solitary confinement, but she was then banned from gatherings, confined to the magisterial district of Cape Town, and made to report weekly to the police.

FLORENCE MATOMELA



Florence Matomela was born in 1910; she has five children and is at present serving a sentence of five years for furthering the aims of the African National Congress. She has severe diabetes and is in constant need of medical attention. While in solitary confinement under the notorious 90-Day law, she sometimes was given no access to regular doses of insulin. Her husband, who shared her political activities, died in 1965, while she was serving her prison sentence. She has been in and out of jail more times than she can remember since the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

Whatever Florence does she pursues forcefully and this trait has made her one of the foremost women's leaders in the Eastern Cape. She has an ebullient personality and that supreme courage and loyalty which comes from absolute confidence in the future.

SOUTH AFRICA'S

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The following two excerpts are from letters written by Africans who have been transported from the urban areas to rural townships, after having served prison sentences for belonging to outlawed organizations.

One writes: "I am 23 years of age. I was working in a factory at ★ ★ ★, where I was born, helping my poor parents in supporting my schooling brothers and sisters, when I was arrested for being a member of a banned organization. I was sentenced to 2½ years imprisonment. On being released from prison I was endorsed out of my area to a place called ★ ★ ★. To me this has become tantamount to a second term of prison . . . There are no factories, no shops and no offices where one could find oneself a job here . . ." A second says in his appeal: "I was born in ★ ★ ★ where I grew up and worked all my life. I was arrested in 1964 and sentenced to 2½ years imprisonment for being a member of a banned organization. On my release I was informed that I had forfeited my residential rights and that I was to come and settle here . . . The conditions here have rendered it impossible for anyone to live a decent life without some assistance."

We have omitted names and places because we wish to conceal the identity of the writers of these letters, to safeguard them from further persecution by the authorities.

'TEMPORARY TRANSIT CAMPS'

We are able to say, however, that the letters were despatched from one of the 24 rural African settlements (or transit camps) (or concentrations camps — *Editor Sechaba*) established by the South African Government "to house families or individuals unable to obtain a livelihood in white areas, e. g. pensioners and families which cannot be accommodated in white areas but whose bread-

winners can be employed in such areas." (Minister of Bantu Administration and Development: House of Assembly Debates, 3 February 1967.)

In March 1965 the South African Institute of Race Relations collected information regarding the first 'transit camp' to be established at Mount Coke in the Ciskei. The Department of Bantu Administration established Mount Coke as a temporary transit camp until a permanent settlement could be built. By March 1965 there were 250 persons in the camp, living in wooden huts. The number increased rapidly as the old people took in their grandchildren and in some cases their sons and daughters. Conditions at Mount Coke drew attention to the existence of other camps, particularly one at Shiloh (generally known as Sada) near Whittlesea in the Ciskei. On 19 May 1964, the Minister disclosed that there were 19 such set-

tlements "where Africans endorsed out of urban areas or dismissed by farmers can go to live." (House of Assembly Debates, Cols. 6217—8.)

Replying to a question in Parliament on 9 August 1966, the Minister said the settlement at Shiloh was established in 1963 as a transit camp but was being converted into a township for the settlement of displaced persons and pensioners. He said the 560 families (482 men, 718 women and 1,485 children) were there voluntarily and were accommodated in prefabricated wooden, asbestos and wood-and-iron huts, with latrines, for which a rent of 14/6d per month was charged to those who could afford it. The Minister said that the men at Shiloh were employed by the Bantu Trust on irrigation schemes and the development of the township itself. (House of Assembly Debates, Cols. 414—5.)

Banished, cut off, he faces a life that may be worse than imprisonment.



THE 'TOWNSHIPS'

On 21 February 1967, the Minister laid on the Table in Parliament a full list of the 24 townships "similar to Shiloh." Totalled figures showed that these 'townships' accommodated 2,956 males under 18 years of age, 14,471 females and 31,804 children. (If the heading 'Males under the age of 18 years' as given by the Minister is correct, the adult males in the 24 townships have not been accounted for.)

THE CAMP DWELLERS

Who are the people "unable to obtain a livelihood in the white areas" (to use the Minister's words)?

As the three letters quoted above show, some are former political prisoners, men who have served their sentences and have been released from jail.

Many others are, as the Minister says, "displaced persons." They are Africans who are no longer wanted on the white farms, where they have grown old in the service of white masters, and aged Africans who are being ordered out of the urban areas. For some time the Government has been busy "endorsing out" elderly and infirm Africans, in pursuance of the policy that such persons should return to the "homelands" to live with relations or, if they have no relations in the tribal districts, to the rural townships or transit camps.

The local Bantu Affairs Commissioner stated at Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 21 May 1966, that only in special circumstances were elderly Africans who were no longer able to fend for themselves, allowed to remain in urban townships. As the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said at Sharpeville on 2 April: "*The Bantu should come to the white areas for no other reason than to convert their labour into cash.*" (Natal Witness, 3 April.)

As far as those who were born in the white areas are concerned, Dr Verwoerd laid down official policy very clearly on 9 April 1957, when he told Parliament: "Our attitude is that when the Native is employed in the white area (i. e. urban area) — even if he has been there for one or two generations — then he is there in the service of the white man whose territory it is . . . They cannot have permanent rights in Johannesburg or Cape Town or in any other white city. They are there as long as they are employed there and as long as the white community continues to accept them there."

It is in accordance with this policy that aged and infirm Africans are being expelled from the urban areas and sent to the 24 'rural townships'.

WIVES AND CHILDREN

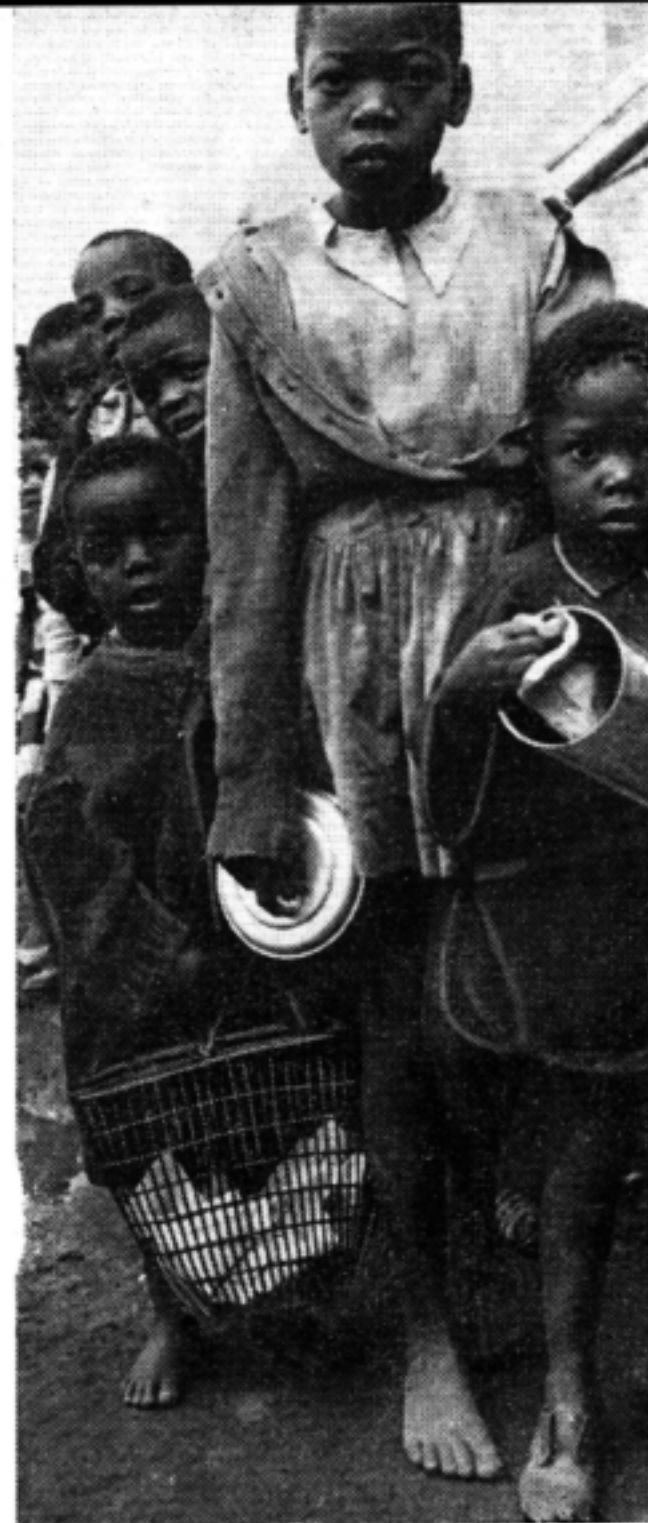
The third class of Africans deemed to be "unable to obtain a livelihood in the white areas" are the wives and children of men who are serving prison sentences for political offences. As part of the campaign of terror and intimidation against non-white opponents of the regime, the police and the Department of Bantu Administration are making full use of the stringent provisions of the Natives Urban Areas Act to inflict further punishment on those who have engaged in politics, and even their friends and relations. Many of those being endorsed out and sent to the transit camps are the dependents of jailed African politicians.

The fourth and largest category of camp dwellers in the 24 'townships' are men, women and children endorsed out of the urban areas because they have failed to meet the requirements of the Urban Areas Act or have fallen foul of its severe provisions. In terms of this law, Africans are allowed to live in an urban area only if they can prove they have resided there continuously since birth, or have worked there continuously for one employer for not less than ten years, or have lived there continuously for not less than 15 years, ". . . and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding one hundred Rand (£50) or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months."

Any African who cannot establish the required proof can be removed, together with his dependents, to a rural village or settlement in a scheduled "native area" indicated by the Secretary of Bantu Affairs.

Others who can be endorsed out are "idle or undesirable" Africans. In 1964 these categories were extensively widened. The definition of "undesirable" was extended to include Africans convicted of a variety of political offences, including membership of or furthering the aims of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other banned organizations.

It is interesting to note that the Government has ceased giving information relating to the number of Africans endorsed out. On 27 January 1967 the Minister said in Parliament that he



could no longer give the figures "as statistics in this connection are not kept." Last year, however, he did give the figures for 9 urban areas. These showed that 86,186 Africans had been endorsed out of the 9 areas during 1965.

EVERY WOMAN OUT OF CAPE TOWN

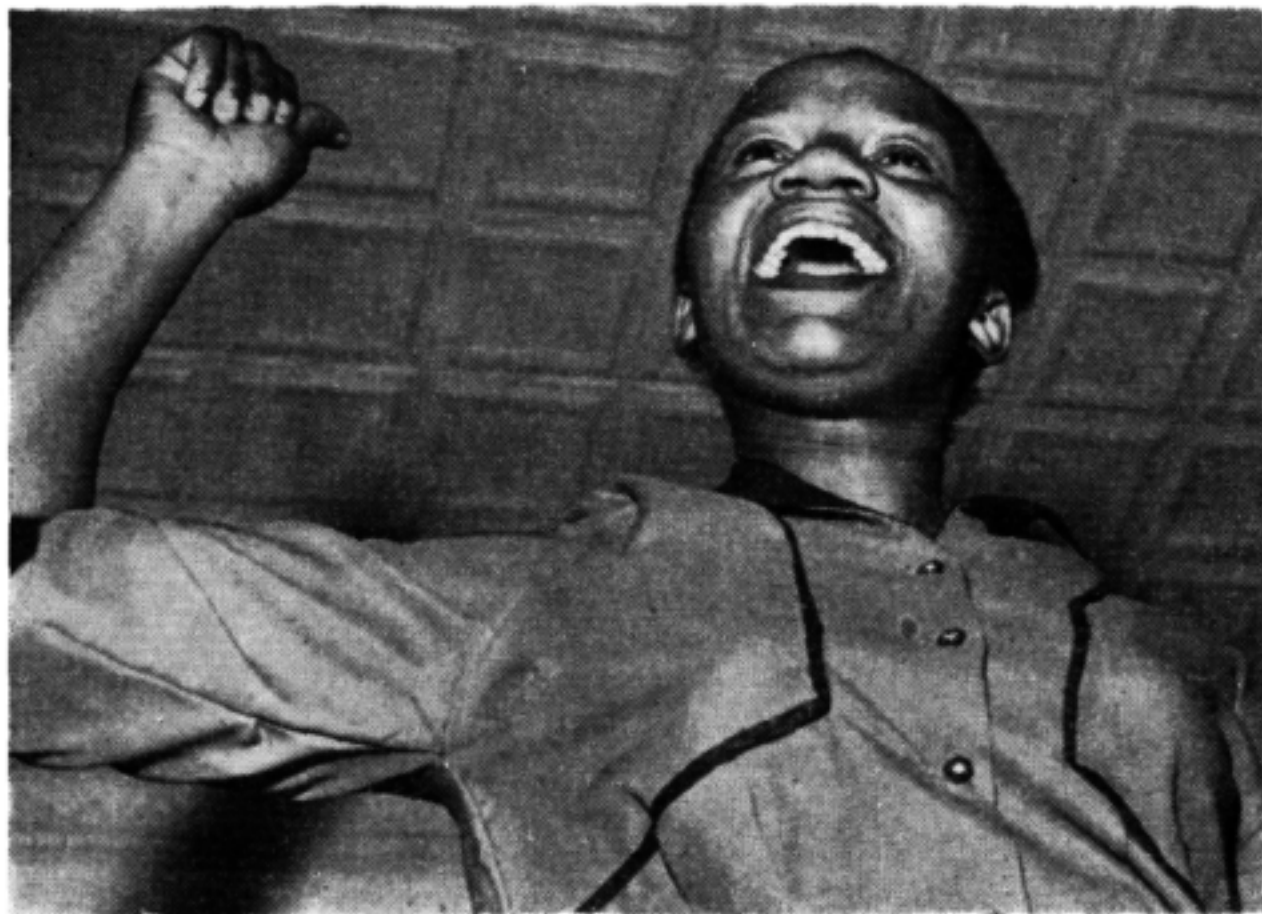
Complaining of the situation where large numbers of Africans, mainly women, have been endorsed out of Cape Town, Mrs Helen Suzman said in Parliament on 8 February 1967: ". . . This is a scandalous situation . . . African women in Cape Town particularly are going through absolute purgatory at the moment because an effort is being made to ferret out every possible woman who can be removed from Cape Town: and where are they sent? They are sent back to the Reserves to relatives who in some cases have not seen them for 10, 15 or 20 years, who themselves are struggling to make ends meet, who have not enough to keep their own families going. Or they are sent to a wretched transit camp like Sada, which is a disgrace to a civilised country. (Interjections) It is a transit camp."

BERTHA MASHABA

As a young garment-worker living in the Natalspruit township outside Germiston, Bertha became active in the Congress Movement. A good public speaker and organiser, she played a leading role in the Women's Federation and later featured as an accused in the infamous Treason Trial.

Instrumental in the formation of many new branches of the Federation, she also played an active part in trade union work both as an organiser and a member. Garment workers having been traditionally better organised than most other trades, police surveillance over the industry is even closer. But despite intimidation and raids Bertha Mashaba continued working, travelling throughout the country on organising trips for the Women's Federation.

Like most of her contemporaries and most of those before and after her, Bertha was subjected to increasing



pressure from the fascists, but she refused to give way. Banning orders ultimately followed, but Bertha continued to fight. She still had an active role to play in organising and this she did, despite the fact that by merit of government restrictions she was unable to communicate with many of her fellow workers who were also banned. To speak to them

or even write to them carried the threat of imprisonment. Nevertheless Bertha Mashaba kept on working until finally she was banned from even that.

But although she is banned and restricted and can no longer take an active part herself, the work of Bertha Mashaba goes on among the women she recruited.

The Minister intervened to deny that Sada (Shiloh) is a transit camp, but as Mrs Suzman pointed out: "Yes, I am describing it as a transit camp; if it is intended that those people should live there forever, then it is even more disgraceful . . . I have seen photographs of this place and it is a disgrace . . ."

VOLUNTARY OR FORCED?

It is difficult to understand what the Minister means when he says that the inhabitants of the transit camps are there voluntarily. The former political prisoners whose letters we quoted certainly did not volunteer to go there. Nor, we believe, did many others. In any case, it is a misrepresentation to use the word "voluntarily" when referring to the unfortunate victims of apartheid — the old, the infirm and the discarded — who are left with no alternative but to accept the meanest of shelter in their dire necessity.

Regarding the able-bodied African men and women who are sent to the 'transit' camps, it is a well-known fact that many are taken there under escort, often armed escort.

The Minister has claimed that the African men in these camps are employed "on irrigation schemes and the development of the townships." Apart from the obvious limitations of this employment, there is the complaint of the former political prisoners that "most of the people here are out of work." One applicant for help writes despairingly: "In many respects I find prison life better than life in this place."

INVESTIGATION NEEDED

Because apartheid laws and regulations prevent the free movement of people, the 24 rural townships (which the Minister says are not transit camps) (and which we say are concentration camps — *Editor Sechaba*), are out of bounds to whites and not open to inspection. It is, therefore, difficult to get the full facts regarding these resettlement areas. The Government reveals as little as possible. The people accommodated there are unable or afraid to complain publicly. The Press is excluded from the areas, and so prevented from making an independent enquiry.

Many pertinent questions arise. For example: —

- a) Which of the 24 townships are permanent and which temporary?
- b) Are there any clinics, health centres, creches or hospitals in any of the townships?
- c) Are any of the inhabitants of these townships free to leave at any time?
- d) How many adult males are there in the townships and how many of them are employed?
- e) What provision is made for the maintenance of the aged and the infirm?

In the interests of humanity the South African Government should be called upon to disclose complete information regarding these transit camps (or whatever they wish to call them) and to allow independent investigators to visit the places to discover the facts.

(This article is an abridged version of a pamphlet entitled 'Transit Camps in South Africa', published by the International Defence and Aid Fund, 2 Amen Court, London E.C. 4. Price 6d. plus postage.)