

Content:

Why do we remember Sharpeville?

A pull out pamphlet explaining where, when and how Sharpeville happened.

The struggle in South Africa

A pull out pamphlet explaining why people in South Africa are suffering

Badge of Slavery

Explains the Pass Laws.

The Struggle against Passes

A brief history of Pass protests.

Day of Blood in the Townships

Events at Sharpeville and Langa, March 1960.

Why is Sharpeville important for us today?

Discussing the 27 years since Sharpeville.

Resources

List of Videos and reading material on Sharpeville and passes.

Glossary

Explains difficult words

WHY DO WE REMEMBER SHARPEVILLE?
 WHERE IS SHARPEVILLE?
 WHEN WAS
 SHARPEVILLE?
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 m WHY IS
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 r-g Tad SHARPEVILLE
 WHAT HAPPENED
 AT SHARPEVILLE?
 VH5,
 law's
 ended in violence when police shot at
 and killed 69 people. The pass laws are
 one of the most hated aspects of
 apartheid and every day cause much
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 Suffering and bitterness among black , ; t: ' . "3dr?" z .7 '13..
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 r: ' an :w . ' t x%&/
 Sharpeville marked a turning point in our hi tory. Straight N/ .
 after Sharpeville the government declared a Sate Of hhii
 Emergency and banned the ANC and the PAC. The AHJ' &
 decided that peaceful protest alone could not bring about
 change. Some of the leaders formed Umkhonto We Sizwe M
 which launched an armed struggle against the apartheid
 government.

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

We do not need to look very deeply into South African Most South Africans do not even have society to see how unjust it is. I Mix the right to vote for who rules their country. The rulers are educated, wealthy and mostly white. They make the laws that control the majority who are mostly uneducated, poor and black.

la. .1' 3'. e

People spend a vast amount of their time at work, but they have very little control over where they work, what work they do and how much ' they get paid. These decisions are made by the bosses who make huge -' profits out of them.

mas. nAs _ a

The urban areas are overcrowded. The government does not build enough houses and many people simply do not have a place to live.

Because there is so much often it is far from their_ unemployment employers keep place of work. Transport is their workers in very bad inadequate and CXPCHSIVC. conditions and pay them a very small wage. Many workers are migrants who are in the urban areas on contract. If they strike or protest about their conditions they can be dismissed and sent back to the poor homelands.

F p

The government uses the TDAOO LAWS to decide where black people live and work, what kind of work they do and who they live with.

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BUYING LOYALTY OR BRI'3ERY

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BASIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS. THEY HAVE ONE WEAPON THEY 7-3me
USE TO CHANGE THEIR LIVES - THEIR UNITE!) ACTION. '

. "These passes are chains,
they are the very enchainings of all our
rights. These passes are the
chains chaining us in our
employers' yards, so that
we cannot go about and see
what we can do for
ourselves... It is the very
same with a dog. If you
take your dog and chain it
to a tree, I am sure the
dog will only move as far
as the Chain allows it. And
if you want to starve that
dog, can it go and look for
food? Never, it will die at
the same place where it is
chained. Comrades, I want
to tell you it is the same
with us here in South
Africa."

The pass laws came in 1817, and they were made harsher as time went by. At
first every African man had to carry a pass book. A pass book had the following
information in it:

1. the name and address of the person, as well as his father's name and his
Chiefdom.

2. the name of the district where the pass owner was allowed to work.
3. the date on which the pass was issued.

4. the names and addresses of all the employers of the pass owner, past and
present, as well as their signatures.

5. details of the pass owner's employment: how long he had worked for each one;
what kind of work he had done; what the employer had thought of him and how
much he had been paid for each job.

The Pass books were part of the Pass Laws. The pass books were used to enforce
the restrictions that the Pass Laws made, for eg: Black people were only allowed
to come to the towns to look for a job for 6 days. After that they had to go and
look for a job in another town or another area. The stamps in the pass book could
tell the policeman when the pass owner had left his home to look for a job. If he
had been in the town for more than 6 days or his stamps were not in order, he
could be arrested.

Anyone who had the wrong
pass or who had just left
their pass at home, could
be handcuffed, arrested
and/or beaten up by the
pass police.

Often the farmers would
come to the jails and use
the pass-prisoners as slave
labour.

- - ' - ' " d "black

Then in 1913 the Land Act divided South Africa into "white areas and
areas". The "white areas" consisted of 87% of the country. The "black areas" only
13%. These black areas were called the 'reserves'.
By the stroke of a pen thousands of families were left landless and homeless. The
reserves were hopelessly overcrowded and there was no work there. Hence, 1:11.52:
young men to the mines and the towns to look for work, so that they all
would not starve.

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BANTUSTANS

When Verwoerd became Prime Minister, the reserves became the official
bantustans. More and more young men moved to the towns.

With more and more people looking for jobs in the towns, the government made
the pass laws stricter. You could only leave the bantustans if you had the right
pass. So the bantustans became like a jail, and the pass was like a key which
could get you out of the bantustans to earn money to keep your family alive.

Between 1910 and 1985, 17 million people were arrested under the pass laws! No
wonder the people called the pass the badge of slavery.

The pass laws and the bantustans allowed the Nationalist government to control
how often and for how long black people came to the towns to look for work, the
government could also indirectly control where black people lived; who they lived
with; where they worked and what kind of work they did. The government made
sure that black people were in the cities to work for the bosses and for no other
reason. Only those whom the bosses needed as workers were given the right
stamp in their passes.

The pass laws were the
most hated laws of all. Not
only did they control
people's lives, but they
were also humiliating and
caused much suffering. Pass
raids were usually done in
the middle of the night.

The police would invade
people's houses and force
the people out of bed.

Those who had no passes or
whose passes were not in
order would be hand-cuffed
and kicked into waiting
pick-up vans. The pass
police treated people like
animals.

Burning passes, 19503

In 1913, 1919, 1920, 1929,
1930 and 1931 there were
mass protests against the
passes all over the country.
In 1944 an anti-pass
conference was held in
Johannesburg. 20 000 people
marched through the City.
It was led by the ANC and
the Communist Party. Their
slogan was "Makaphele
Amapasi!" ("Away with
passes")

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At the launch of the
Congress of South African
Trade Unions in Durban in
November 1985, the
COSATU president, Elijah
Barayi gave the government
a deadline. He demanded
that passes be scrapped
within 6 months.

Ljah ray,COS. ru lauch

In 1986 the government said that passes were finished. No one had to carry passes
and instead all South African Citizens would have the same identity document.

Some people thought that the government had listened to Barayi,

BUT

the new identity documents are no different from the old pass books. They still
make African people slaves in their own land but they do it in a slightly different
way:

With the new laws workers from the Bantustans have to carry passports. They are
not free to move and live and work where they want to.

Black people who have the right to live in the rest of South Africa can live and
work where they want to but many other laws say they can't squatt, trespass or
live in unhealthy conditions.

This means that the government still has complete control over who comes to the
towns, where they live and thus where they work.

These are some of the laws that now do the work of the old
pass laws: 1. Group Areas Act and Land Act - stops African
people occupying or owning land outside the Bantustans and the
townships. 2. The Physical Planning Act - decides how much
land can be occupied by Africans in towns. It is always far too
little. 3. Illeguattting - people can be evicted for illegally
occupying land; illegal houses can be demolished. 4. Trespass
Act - people who enter or stay on land without the owner's
permission can be fined or put in jail. 5. Health 50t._S_lu_rns
Act- Black Local Authorities Ag- Black Comm_u_nit_y
Development Act - all say ugly or unhealthy houses must be
demolished.

ACTIVITIES

h Dramatise the extract below, taken from "Strangers in their

Discuss the play with the audience afterwards .

it Use your English classes to collect poems and extracts from books that deal With
passes. (See reading list at the end of the booklet) . .

h Interview your parents and grandparents about their experience of the Pass Laws.

h Make passes for everyone in your class. Instruct them that they 'will have to carry
their passes on them at all times. Appoint 'pass police' whose job It must be to perform
pass raids and pass Checks at any time of the day for one week.

At the end of the week. discuss the experience.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why do you think the government has used the Pass Laws to arrest 17 million people
since 1910?

2. Why do you think the government changed the Pass Laws in 1986?

Own Country"

3. What is 'influx control'? What is the purpose Of 'influx control'?

Do you think it is a good or a bad thing.

Can you think of any alternatives to 'influx control'?

The house was in darkness, and Van Den Woud ordered
one of his men to knock. The man stepped forward in the
mud and banged on the door. The whole house seemed to
shudder. All over, little squads were banging on doors and
shouting Lights were being lit where shanties had been in
darkness, and there was a babble of voices in the rain. . . .
The man banged on the door again, and Van Den Woud
shouted, "Come on, open up. Open the . r . door."

After a few moments he thrust the African policeman
aside and, stepping back a pace, raised his booted foot and
drove it at the lock. The shanty trembled and shook and
somebody started shouting inside. A light flickered on
beyond the patched window, and at the same moment the
lock burst and the door flew open.

Constable Van Den Woud lurched into the tiny, stale,
smoky room, carried forward by his own momentum, and
came to a halt, cursing. The others crowded in behind him.

A naked African stood holding a lamp in one hand, and
covering his privates with the other. He stood, a dark, posed
statue. Beyond him, in a rumpled bed, a woman's face
stared frightenedly over the blankets drawn up to her chin.

4'All right, all right," Constable Van Den Woud started
shoutingr "Where's the goddamn pass? Where's your
pass?" He was a tall man in a wet raincoat and flat cap, and
he had a heavy, pink face, the color of smoked beet. He
shouted furiously, " . . . and get your pass, you bugger."

The man put the lamp down on a table and said, in
vernacular, to the other two policemen, "Let me dress,
friends."

"What does he say?" Van Den Woud asked them.

"He wants to put on his clothes, bans," one of the
policemen said.

"Tell him to stop wasting my bloody time. Where's his
pass?"

"Your pass, man," the policeman told the naked man.

"Your permit to live in this area."

"I will get it," the man replied, sullenly. He turned
towards the bed and searched for his trousers. In the bed
the woman began to cry in a whimpering noise. The naked
man took his time finding his trousers and when he did find
them, pulled them on slowly. The woman was crying, and
he said something to her, but she did not stop crying.
The man pulled on a tattered shirt and then, stuffing its
tails into his trousers, he turned to the police and said,
sullenly: "I have no pass."

"What does he say?" Van Den Woud asked, angrily.

"He says that he has no book," the policeman who had
not said anything yet, now said.

Constable Van Den Woud looked shocked. "The blerry
bastard. Letting us stand here all night, and now he says he's
got no pass." He stared maliciously at the black man. "Cod,
you'll see, you bogger. You'll see." He turned to one of his
men. "Put the handcuffs on him and take him out I want to

search this room. Maybe they've got dagga'o or kaffir" beer here."

The policeman drew his manacles and ordering the man to hold out his wrists, locked them together. He thrust the man towards the door, and the man looked at him and shook his head, saying, "Why do you do this, brother? Why do you do this to your own people?"

Van Den Woud turned to the other policeman and said, "Look around, jong." Search the place." He himself went around sweeping things from the top of a packing case used as a dresser. He came to the bed and with the unemotional movement of a carpenter wrenching a nail, jerked the blanket from the woman's naked body. She began to weep....

Outside was a glare of headlamps of several riot vans which had penetrated the settlement and had parked in the small, cramped, muddy square. Dogs were barking furiously, and there were figures moving about in the steady down-pour. The police had collected a number of prisoners, and they stood huddled together, dripping and shivering, while they were sorted out and then ordered into the backs of the trucks.

An African man came out of his cabin to the gate of his yard to see what was going on. He was wearing an old overcoat over his pajamas. Light fell on him, and he was surrounded by police.

"Where's your reference book, kaffir?"

"It is inside, in my coat pocket."

"Where is it, man? You should have it on you."

"I will get it. It is inside."

"No pass, hey? Come, come on, come on."

"Listen, it is inside, sir."

But hands were laid on him and he was led towards where others stood waiting to be loaded into the police trucks.

There was a crowd of African and colored men and a few women, waiting in the rain to be loaded and driven away. Many had been taken for not having documents, or whose documents were not in order-the absence of a rubber stamp could change a life. Others had been found in possession of dagga, some had resisted the police search. There were also those who had been found to be selling liquor illicitly.

Me Struggle against Passe:

In 1913, the authorities in the Free State tried to force THE ORANGE FREE African women to carry passes. The women saw how passes STATE trapped their men. They were determined to resist every WOMEN STAND FIRM effort to make them victims of the pass laws.

In Bloemfontein, hundreds of women marched on the magistrate's office. This pamphlet tells what happened:

"Friday morning, the 6th June, should and will not be forgotten in South Africa. On that day the native women declared their womanhood. 600 daughters of Africa taught the arrogant whites a lesson that will not be forgotten. Headed by the bravest of them, they marched to the magistrate, hustled the police out of their way and kept shouting and cheering until his worship (the magistrate) emerged from his office and addressed them. They proceeded to the Town Hall. The women had now assumed a threatening attitude. The police tried to keep them off the steps... Sticks could be seen flourishing overhead and some came down on the heads of the police. 'We have done with pleading. We now demand', said the women."

The protest swept through the small dorps. Many women RESISTANCE SPREADS were sent to prison. In Winburg the prison was so full of women, that the police had to stop arresting them. The struggle continued on and off for the next seven years. In

1920, the neWspaper, "Abantu - Batho" reported that:

"The women are again fighting the battle for freedom. In the district of Senekal, 62 women were sentenced to pay a fine of 2 pounds each or go to jail with hard labour for one month. The women refused to pay the fine and preferred to go to jail, so they had to march 24 miles to Senekal where there is a prison."

The women's resistance was so strong that the Boers were forced to admit defeat. It was not until the 19593 that anybody dared to raise the issue of passes for women again.

about the passes that made their lives a misery.

On the 31 March 1919, several thousands of workers marched to the pass office in Johannesburg, demanding to discuss their grievances with the officials. 10 of the leaders were allowed into the offices but the officials would not listen to them. They left and led the crowd to an open space behind the pass office, where they held a mass meeting. One of the speakers said:

A BO !

NFIRE OF PASSES Meanwhile in the Transvaal, the men were equally angry %
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"Our voice is not heard and will never be heard so long as the present conditions exist. We count for nothing in parliament, although we are the majority of the population in the country. We are increasing every day, and we have a right to be heard and we will be heard."

The meeting decided that everyone should refuse to carry passes. All through the day, organisers marched through the town, collecting passes and throwing them onto huge bonfires.

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The lead: . e -

over theegsaatljere arrested. but the pass burning continued 31' even some. r in. places like Springs, Benoni, Boksburg and ura areas. Within a few weeks, over seven hundred people were . . .

ple were . . r . .

down. In jdl1. Eventually the resistance died

Back in the reserves people were starving. The crops were poor and the cattle were thin. This drove more men to the towns where they had to live in locations and were always harassed by the police. By 1930 people in the towns had had enough of the constant pass raids, assaults and arrests. Leaders all over the country called for a great pass burning demonstration on 'Dingaan's Day' - 16 December:

"Whether educated or uneducated, rich or poor, we are all subject to these badges of slavery. We are slaves as long as we think we can only beg and pray to this cruel government."

"Freedom or Death, let us go forward in the spirit of Dingaan, Makana and Moshesh to free our country."

On Dingaan's day passes were burned in Johannesburg, Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Durban. In Durban the demonstration was led by Johannes Nkosi.

"The meeting started at 11 am very peacefully, and went on for a long time. Towards 4 pm the crowd was tremendous. As they were putting their passes into bags, the Native police charged, making towards the table on which the leaders were standing. I saw Nkosi struck down from the table. The police used knobkerries; while the crowd picked up stones. When the crowd was dispersed I saw them pack the wounded onto a lorry. There was a trail of blood dripping from the lorry. The lorry waited outside the police station for an hour or more. Then they were removed to the hospital. Nkosi died the following day."

3 others were killed and 32 Africans were arrested. Although it was obvious from the dead bodies that they had been shot and some badly beaten up, the police were never found guilty of killing Nkosi and his comrades.

In 1944 the Communist Party and the INCA formed an Anti-Pass Committee to plan a huge anti-pass campaign. Leaders addressed meetings all over the country and collected signatures for an anti-pass petition. They hoped to collect 1 million signatures and then present the petition to Parliament.

On May 20 an Anti-Pass Conference was held in Johannesburg. After the Conference all the delegates marched to the market square where a large crowd was waiting. After the speeches Moses Kotane led a march of 15 000 people through the streets of Jo'burg. One of the marchers remembers the grand day:

"The demonstration was a magnificent and impressive sight. It was headed by a great Congress float. People carried hundreds of banners demanding the repeal of the Pass Laws. They were accompanied by 2 brass bands and sang national songs as they marched through the streets of the city."

Other meetings were held in different parts of the country. In June the leaders of the campaign took the petition to DINGAAN'S DAY, 1930

Johannes Nkosi

A MILLION SIGNATURES

A DECADE OF MASS
ACTION

II We knew that you
would be carrying a
child, or have your
child on your back,
and the police will be
coming behind you
wanting your pass and
you won't be able to
run away and jump
over that fence there
and that will be the
time the police will
get you, or else your
child will fall and get
hurt because you are
trying to run away
from the police. And
then who is going to
look after the children
when they take you to
jail because you
haven't got your pass?"

10

Parliament. The officials refused to see them but the
campaign had made people feel stronger and proved that
mass action was important.

The 1950s was the decade before Sharpeville. It was an
exciting time because people were unified and organised.
This made militant mass action possible. People came
together during the Defiance Campaign and in the Congress
Alliance to struggle against apartheid.

The pass laws were still a burning issue. The battle against
the passes was taken up by the women again when the
apartheid government decided it would do what all previous
governments had feared to do - extend passes to women.

Zeerust woman at pass protest.

From the start the women were determined not to suffer
the injustice that their menfolk suffered. Their campaigns
were supported by the ANC. The ANC leaders said:

"We who know the suffering that the pass laws have
brought to us over the decades will not tolerate the
extension of this hated system to our womenfolk. We
warn the government: making women carry passes will
be like tramping on the tail of a puffadder."

Chief Lutuli praised the women in their struggle against the
passes:

"When the women begin to take an active part in the
struggle as they are doing now, no power on earth
can stop us from achieving freedom in our lifetime."

In 1955, African women in Durban organised the first
demonstration against these laws. First 200, then 1 000 women
demonstrated to the Native Administration Department. "We
will never carry passes under any conditions!" they said.

Then, in October 1955 the women of the Transvaal went to Pretoria - 2 000 women of all races, to the very heart of the government, the Union Buildings, where they left petitions at the door of the Minister of Native Affairs. After this demonstration protest spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. Frances Baard describes how more and more women took up the fight against the passes:

I'When we started fighting against these passes, of course on the other side the government was fighting that the women should have them. The government was very clever. They started giving the passes to the women in the country and in the small towns where they were not organised and so they did not know how to resist these things. They tried to give the passes to the women in the country and in the little places like Walmer and Despatch. As soon as we hear they are doing this, then we in Port Elizabeth quickly go to that place and talk to the women so that they will not take the passes... In the towns they gave them to the domestic workers first because they were not well organised because they were alone - one, one, one in the white people's houses... many of those women burnt their passes. Some of them were arrested because that was against the law, but it didn't stop us because we knew that those passes were bad things and we must not take them."

Protests spreads further - to Winburg, Klerksdorp, Brakpan, Bethlehem, Orlando, Alexandria, Queenstown, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley, Cape Town, Cradock, East London, Grahamstown - everywhere the cry was the same: "We shall not rest until the pass laws, permits and all laws restricting our freedom have been abolished."

When 500 women from Venterspost handed in 10 000 signed protest forms, the police demanded to know the leaders' names. Altogether the crowd roared: 'Afrika is my name!'"

In Klerksdorp the police tried to stop the women from marching to see the Native Commissioner, but the women would not be stopped. They sat in the road and demanded that the Native Commissioner come to them. He came.

"If you force us to carry passes, we shall burn them!"

In 1956 the women again decided that they must go to Pretoria and tell the Prime Minister, Strijdom, that they would never accept passes. This time it was not only women from the Transvaal; women travelled from all over South Africa to make their voices heard.

THOUSANDS TAKE UP

THE FIGHT

That jail is a good school. When we went in we knew nothing. Now we have been able to talk all day to people from

Johannesburg and other women. We got organized in jail. We agree about these books. We now know what they are for and we agree not to use them. The jail has given us a better education than these Bantu Education schools."

THE WOMEN MARCH

9 AUGUST 1956

n ' 2 On 9 Au ust 20 000 women made their way to the Union
lil never forget the Buildings.g It took two and a half hours for the women to
song we sang them It file through the gardens and into the amphitheatre-
was a song especially
written for that
occasion. It was
written by a woman
from the Free State.
It went: 'Wena
Strijdom,
wa'thinthabafazi,
wa'thint'embokotho
uzokufa!' That means:
'You Strijdom, now
you have touched the
women, you have
struck against rock,
you will die.' 'Of
course he did die, not
long af er that."

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Buildings

Lilian Ngoyi, Rahima Moosa, Sophie Williams and I,
Helen Joseph, together with four women from more
distant areas, had led the women up to the topmost
terrace and into the amphitheatrejZJ could see nothing
but women following us, thousands of women
marching, carrying defiant letters of defiant protest
against unjust laws, against the hated pass system,
against passes for African women.

We took those letters of protest into the Union
Buildings, to the offices of the Prime Minister,
Johannes Strijdom. He was not there. We flooded his
office with them and returned to the thousands of
women waiting for us, packed so tightly together,
overflowing the amphitheatre. We stood looking down
on the women again, and Lilian Ngoyi called on them
HI will never carry a

pass. I: to stand in silent protest for thirty minutes. As she
raised her right arm in the Congress salute, 20 000
arms went up and stayed up for those endless

Helen Joseph, minutes. We knew that all over South Africa, women
Dora Tamana in other cities and towns were also gathered in
_ . protest. We were not just 20 000 women, but many
Annie Silmgä thousands more."

Still the government refused to listen and they began to PASSES FOR ALL force pass books onto women one by one. Domestic workers were some of the first to be co-opted. Employers were threatened with fines unless their domestic workers were registered, so they began to take the women themselves to be registered. Pensioners were threatened that their pensions would be withdrawn. Many women were frightened that they would lose their jobs and went to get their passes themselves.

"The trucks came into the townships to give the women their passes more easily so they didn't have to go to town to get them. We would see the trucks standing in the townships giving the passes to the women. Then we would go and stand next to the truck and talk to the women. We would tell them what it would be like if we take these things, and how the government wants us to take these things so that they can control us more easily, and tell us where to live and where to work, and that we can't do this and this."

But, through bullying and blackmail, the government slowly forced women to carry passes, until by December 1960 all African women were expected to have a reference book and could be arrested if they did not.

A woman gets arrested and taken away for not having a pass.

25 years later, women still say no to passes

ACTIVITIES .

it Examine the Freedom Charter. See which of the demands the Pass Laws act against.

it Watch the video, "You Have Struck a Rock". It is a history Of the women's struggle against the Pass Laws. .

it Act out the women's march to Pretoria. Use the song, "Wathint' Abafazi..." In your play.

it Read the biographies of Frances Baard and Helen Joseph. see reading list on page 31

What do they say about the women's struggle against P335337

1QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Throughout our history the Pass Law campaigns have mobilised mass support. Why do you think this is so?

Can you think of other issues that would appeal to so many people?

2. Many women refused to carry passes and as a result, faced heavy fines or the hardships of jail. What issues affect you deeply enough to make the same kind of sacrifices?

3. How did the government succeed in extending passes to women? . .

Try and think of other times and situations where the government has used similar tactics.

11The Demand Of the Women of We the women of South Africa. have come here today. We represent

South Africa for the Withdrawal and we speak on behalf of hundreds of thousands of women who could not

be with us. But all over the country. at this moment. women are watching

and thinking of us. Their hearts are with us.

of the P355 LawSa,, We are women from every part of South Africa. We are women of every

race. we come from the cities and the towns, from the reserves and the

villages. We come as women united in our purpose to save the African

women from the degradation of passes.

For hundreds of years the African people have suffered under the most

hitter law of all the pass law which has brought untold suffering to every

African family.

Raid arrests. loss of pay. long hours at the pass office, weeks in the cells

awaiting trial. forced farm labour this is what the pass laws have brought

to African men. Punishment and misery - not for a crime. but for the lack of

a pass.

We African women know too well the effect of this law upon our homes.

our children. We. who are not African women, know how our sisters

stiffen

Your Government proclaims aloud at home and abroad that the pass

laws have been abolished. but all know this is not true, for our

husbands. our brothers. our sons are still being arrested. thousands every

day. under these very pass laws. It is only the name that has changed. The

Reference book and the pass are one.

In March 1952. your Minister of Native Affairs denied in Parliament that

a law would be introduced which would force African women to carry

passes. But in 1956 your Government is attempting to force passes upon

the African women. and we are here today to protest against this insult to

all women. For to us an insult to African women is an insult to all women.

We want to tell you what the pass would mean to an African woman. and

we want you to know that whether you call it a reference book. an identity

book or by any other disguising name. to us it is the PASS. And it means just

this:

of Passes for Women and the Repeal

0 That homes will be broken up when women are arrested under

pass laws

That children will be left uncared for. helpless. and mothers will be

torn from their babies for failure to produce a pass

That women and young girls will be exposed to humiliation and

degradation at the hands of pass-searching policemen

That women will lose their right to move freely from one place to

another.

In the name of women of South Africa. we say to you. each one of us.

African. European. Indian. Coloured. that we are opposed to the pass

system.

We voters and voteless. call upon your Government not to issue passes

to African women.

We shall not rest until ALL pass laws and all forms of permits restricting

our freedom have been abolished.

We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental

rights of freedom. justice. and security.

Day of Blood 17: Me Iownslu'ps

In 1959 people again called for a "bonfire of passes". In PASS CAMPAIGNS December the ANC announced a campaign against the pass laws. The campaign involved protests throughout the following year. All the important dates in the history of the struggle were chosen as points around which massive anti-pass law protests would be held. The ANC called for the campaign to start on March 31 1960 with people burning their passes. The PACf(a-splinter group that had broken away from the ANC in 1959 - see glossary) were also organising a pass campaign. They called for people to burn their passes on March 21.

The Bishop of Johannesburg described the scene in Sharpeville, a large township near Vereeniging: The crowd waves as saracens arrive at the. police station.

"Early on the morning of March 21, members of the PAC proceeded through the streets of Sharpeville knocking on doors and waking up the occupants of all the houses. Many Africans joined in the procession willingly, but others felt compelled to leave their houses and go along with the PAC... Gradually the news spread through the township that a statement concerning passes was to be made by some important person during the day at the police station, and from about 8am in the morning Africans started to gather around it. They waited patiently for the expected announcement and gradually the crowd grew to about 5 000 people...

...Very few Africans had gone to work, and an idle, holiday atmosphere pervaded the town...No-one seemed to be waiting very purposefully and although the crowd was making a cheerful amount of noise, shouting to one another and singing, no-one was carrying weapons or stones. After all, they had not gone to fight with the police but to protest against the pass books."

A man gives the 'thumbs up' sign, outside the Sharpeville

Thus the morning continued. Police reinforcements arrived police station a few hours before

and two leaders were arrested. the ShOOTll'lg. 15

STEIN GUNS AND

SARACENS

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Qatlnwt Email

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NH: (39 people were, killml.

Police reports and newspapers

gave conflicting figures

16

Shortly afterwards the police opened fire:

"Volley after volley of 303 bullets and sten gun bursts

tore into the crowd. The hordes began to waver as

scores of people fell before the bullets.. ...They fled

so quickly that hundreds of shoes, trousers, jackets

and even chairs were left behind. The police came out

from behind the wire in front of the police station.

Bodies lay scattered about. The wounded fled into

backyards and side streets. Bodies lay in grotesque

positions on the pavement. Then came ambulances -

11 of them. Two truckloads of bodies were taken to

the mortuary.'I

69 people were killed including 8 women and 10 children.

180 people were wounded.

Shurpeville residents look on in misery and disgust.

In Cape Town large crowds also gathered on the morning of the 21st and many workers did not report for their jobs. At two big meetings on the previous day leaders had urged people to present themselves for arrest without their passes, but to avoid violence of any kind.

At dawn a large crowd marched from Langa to Philippi police station and about 1 500 men gave themselves up for arrest. At Langa a large crowd gathered. Police ordered them to disperse and then launched a baton charge. Rioting started and two demonstrators and a driver employed by the Cape Times were killed. All over the country and especially in Cape Town the next three weeks were tense and violent. People were angered by the police brutality.

The ANC called for a Day of Mourning on 28 March. In Cape Town workers downed tools and factories came to a halt. The harbour came to a standstill as workers walked off the ships. 50 000 people jammed the townships to bury the people killed in Langa and police broke up a meeting of 2 000 people on the Grand Parade with teargas and baton charges. In Johannesburg police also attacked people protesting the events at Sharpeville.

By the end of March the call for a stay-at-home had mass support. Businesses and industries especially in Cape Town came to a near-total standstill.

Newspaper headlines report on the stay-away

Part of the large crowd outside

the Philippi police station.

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t'YvMW": :13! Wing? Tm"???

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White hands do the work or a

Change 17

THE SHARPEVILLE
SHOOTINGS - PHOTOS
TELL THE STORY

There are many women and
Children in the crowd.
Shooting begins outside
Sharpeville police station. People
start running.

The police open up on the
fleeing people. One policeman
shoots with a sten gun.(see
insert)

The Rev. Maja gives water to
one of the dying.

A pile of scattered clothing
collected by the police after the
shooting. Survivors said the
police kicked at injured people
and told them to move off.

Below left:

Coffins line up at the graveside
of the victims after the
Sharpeville massacre.

Below right:

This woman was shot in the
back about 150 yards from the
fence

THE GOVERNMENT Then on 30 March the government struck back. They STRIKES BACK declared a State of Emergency which lasted for over 6 months. By the end of the emergency over 11 000 people were held in jails under the emergency laws while another 18 000 were arrested for demonstrating against the passes or for refusing to carry them.

The Emergency gave the government the power to arrest and detain indefinitely any person suspected of "anti-government activity."

30 000 MARCH TO On the same morning of 30 March police beat up striking CALEDON SQUARE workers and arrested known ANC and PAC leaders in Langa and Nyanga. As word of the arrests and beatings spread, people began to gather. By mid morning a column of 30 000 people were marching from Langa to Caledon Square police station to protest against the detention of their leaders. The sudden massing of such a large crowd of Africans in the centre of a "white" city had never happened before. With 30 000 people behind him Philip Kgosane, a 23 year old UCT student, negotiated with the police on behalf of the people. Kgosane asked for the release of the arrested leaders, an interview with the Minister of Justice and an assurance that the police would stop using force to break the stay-at-home. Kgosane was told that the last two demands would be met if he asked the crowd to disperse. The marchers returned home but when Kgosane returned for the interview he was arrested.

Philip Kgosane leaves his supporters on De Waal Drive above Roeland Street on his way to Caledon Square police station. The scene -in Parliament Street, Cape Town on 30 March.

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TO' ' I _.. e eary 8 ages
of the march _ along Klipfontein
Road.
BOTTOM PICTURE: Taking a
short cut across Rnndebosch golf
On 3 April the police and army surrounded Langa. After coursa
stopping anyone from leaving Langa and all food from
entering the township for two days they moved in and LANGA SURROUNDED
arrested many people in house to house searches.
Headlines in the rgus.
On 8 April the ANC and the PAC were banned. The events
immediately before and after the 21 March marked a turning
point in our country's history. The liberation movement was
split between the ANC and the PAC. Both were stung by
the bannings and restrictions after Sharpeville and struggled
to survive against the police onslaught. It was difficult to
engage in united action, and old methods of organisation -
public meetings, rallies, conferences and electing leaders
publicly were impossible. There was now a need for "iron
disci line, absolute secrecy and extreme caution regardin -
P _ _ . g SOIdlers stop a man for
government lnformers".The llberatlion movement had to look questionong at the entrance to
for different ways of opposing the government. Langa.
21

ACTIVITIES .

it Read the additional material below and then hold an inquest into the Sharpeville shootings.

t Draw a large map of Cape Town. Show where the 30 000 people marched. Mark on the map the townships of Cape Town; De Waal Drive; Caledon Square; The Houses of Parliament. What else do you think should be on the map?

t Interview people in your community who took part in the march to Caledon Square.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Read the police and newspaper reports of what happened at Sharpeville and then read the extracts from the Inquiry into the Sharpeville shootings. What are the contradictions or differences between the two? _

Can you think of other situations where the official and unofficial reports have differed so greatly? .

2. What kind of response did the Day of Mourning Stay-away get from African people? - and from white people? .

Think of other situations where boycotts or stay-aways have been effective.

3. How did the government respond to the mass stay-away?

Soon after the shooting in Sharpeville, the South African High Commissioner in London said:

"According to factual information now available, the disturbances at Sharpeville on Monday resulted from a planned demonstration of about 20 000 natives in which demonstrators attacked the police with assorted weapons including fire-arms. The demonstrators shot first, and the police were forced to fire in self-defence and avoid even Day of Blood

more tragic results. The United Nations Afro-Asian group . T said that the demonstrators were unarmed and peaceful. 111 VVO This is completely untrue." Af .

mean

EXTRACTS FROM EVIDENCE BEFORE THE ENQUIRY LOCATIONS

At Sharpeville. . Colonel Plepaar. in command of the police there, had to force his way through a crowd of about 20.000 Bantu who had surrounded the police station. He was in a car and accompanied by a Saracen armoured car. The vehicles were attacked with klerles. Attempts were made to get at the men. T

STONES BARRAGE

They succeeded in reaching the police station. Colonel Spengler tried to arrest someone at the gate. Stones rained on the police and the mob advanced on them. Colonel Pienaur then gave orders for the police to load. At that moment three shots were fired at the police from within the Bantu crowd.

The shouting crowd advanced and the police fired a volley with Sten guns and .3035 without an order having been given. The crowd immediately fell back and fled. Some knives. chop-pers, axes and other weapons were collected. A reporter who tried to reach the police station in a car had been attacked with sticks and had been fired on from the crowd.

Immediately the crowd fell back and ran. the police stopped Hrmg. Forty-three people were killed and 156 were injured. If the police had not tired they

would have been overwhelmed
by the crowd. Three policemen
were injured.

ROBERT MAJAJ questioned by Mr. Kentridge: _

K: Can you tell us what the mood of the crowd was at that time?

RM: They were happy.

K: Did the crowd seem to you to be aggressive?

RM: NO.

K: Or hostile towards the police?

RM: There was nothing indicating fighting.

K: You did not see any weapons carried by the crowd?

RM: Not a single one.

K: From where you were sitting, was it possible for you to see any part of
the crowd at the police station?

RM: Yes, I could see the crowd from there but I could not see what was
happening.

K: Could you hear singing or shouting from the crowd?

RM: May I explain it this way: These people that were there were not
controlled by anyone. You would find a few people, five or six singing;
others sing there. They were not under control that they should listen to
one saying not to do this or that.

.....

K: When you went after the shooting to these bodies, did you see any
Clothing lying about on the ground - hats or shoes?

RM: There were a number of hats and shoes.

K: Did you see any sticks lying around?

RM: None.

K: Did you render assistance to the wounded?

RM: Every corpse that was lying on the ground - I passed every one of them
and I gave them water.

K: Did you find afterwards that you knew any of the people?

RM: Some of my congregation were shot dead.

K: What sort of people were they?

RM: I remember an old man, Sepampoere; he was an old man.

i K: What sort of a man was he?

RM: A very decent man.

K: Is he the sort of man you would expect to go fighting the police?

RM: No.

K: In general I would like to ask you about this crowd as it was when you saw it. We have heard of tsotsis in this commisssion. Would you have described it as a crowd of tsotsis?

RM: No.

.gg... .

K: Have you heard anything that would explain to you why the shooting took place.

RM: The whole Sharpeville village is surprised, only to say in regard to how they feel about it - they are all surprised as to how the shooting took place; they don't know why.

K: During the course of that morning, were you at any time asked by the authorities to speak on their behalf to the people?

RM: No.

LOSHUA MOTO, Questioned by Mr. Kentridge

K: Did you see anything happen near the gate?

JM: I saw a woman who was limping and she said one of the vehicles that had entered had collided with her. There was a European who was npt dressed in uniform. He called a NoneEuropean from outside. He said, "Come here, you! Come here, you!" When the young man got close to the gate, this European opened the gate, caught hold of this young man, jerked him about, pushed him inside. When he got into the gate, he was kicked.

A Non-European man was walking on the inside of the fence. He tried to get the people to stand back, not to lean against the fence. The police said to him, "Go out!" As he was about to get out at the gate, they rushed at him. One of the policemen had some pips on his shoulder and a stick. He came out, pursued this man

K: Outside the gate?

JM: Yes. Into the crowd. The crowd opened up. The policeman then left him alone and came back. When this European came back, he was in the centre of the road, he saw a little stone. He picked it up, he threatened this man, as if to throw, but this young man ran away amongst the people towards the

JM: I fell and I lay on the ground.

K: After the shooting did anyone come to speak to you?

jM: They did not come near me.

K: I just want to ask you something about the crowd before the shooting? What was the mood of the crowd. Was it a wild crowd?

JM: The way I saw them, to me they appeared to be pleased. They said, "We have trouble with regard to the passes. We just want to hear what the Eurooeans have to say about it."

K: Did it strike you that this was a very angry crowd and wanted to attack the police?

JM: Where I was I did not see anything wrong being done such as to Indicate that the people were annoyed or that they wanted to fight or anything llke that. There was no-one who had a stick.

ELIAS LELIAI questioned by Mr. Kentridge

K: Did you notice any of the leaders speaking to the police inside the police grounds?

EL: That was Tsolo.

K: And who was he speaking to? ,

EL: He was speaking to a man, in a grey suit and with a hat on.

IQ: After the discussion did anything happen; did Tsolo come to you or say anything?

EL: He came to me and told me that the police - that is to say the man he was talking to - was complaining about the crowd leaning against the fence. He told me that I should try to keep the people off the fence.

K: Did he say anything else to you about what the plan was that the police had?

EL: Not at that time.

K: At any other time?

EL: He came and told me that "You shall have your answer at 2 o'clock", as there was a man from Pretoria who would come and address the people.

K: Did you try and keep the people off the fence?

EL: I did.

i ' V

POLICE iPASSlI/L,

About noon, thousands of

Afrivuns hogan gathering out

side the Sharpeville Lovzltion

polir-e station, asking to be

arrested hewuse they were not

carrying referem'e bcuks.

As at all other lm-utions on the Rand, they were told that the police attitude was also passive and that the Dnlice did not want to arrest them. Agitntttirs in the crowd immediately adopted a threatening attitude. and polive reinforcements (were sent to Sharpeville. During the lunoh-hour the Africans among: whom were obvioust hundreds of curious spectators. including women and r'hildren. began to converge on the police station, which is a "model" polive station, usually staffed by a' handful of African policemen.

Four Saracen armoured cars When were standing by at the municipal location 012mm, about two miles from the police station. were sent in with police reinforcements.

The Saracens were placed in strategic positions in the police-station grounds.

From early in the day tele-phone lines at Sharpeville had been cut. and when another urgent call came by radio from the beleaguered police station. Col. "Pine" Pienaar, of Witwatersrand polive headquarters. went to the Scene himself. with more reinforcements.

As he entered the police-station his car was stoned, but he got his men into the wire enclosure.

The gates were quickly barred again, but some Africans dashed up and reopened them under a hail of stones and lumps of metal.

Shots were iir-Jtl at thl; poline from the crowd.

A single :rhot was then tired by a 'poiieueman, Iuliowed seconds later by general fire which raked the mob. The Saracens; (lid not tire (I shot. I.

An otiivlai' police thtment said that in the hesicged police station 75 armed 'poncemen waited.

The policemen formed into a long line while an officer told the mob to disperse.

When one of the leaders of the mob was arrested at the gates the crowd began to rush the gate.

Shots were fired first by the uemonstrators. said the police. proving that some of the Africans were armed.

Then the mob began to stone the police.

WILD STAMPEDE

As the mob fled wildly in all directions, the police rushed from their jackul-proot wire enclosure and helped the injured, carrying them to pick-up vans, and later ambulances. wh ivh took them to the Vereeniging Hospital.

27 Years since Sharpevi/Ie

Sharpeville happened over 25 years ago. The government has spent the last 25 years developing it's methods of crushing resistance. It now uses far more brutal methods of interrogation; it has made laws that can imprison people indefinitely; it has created weapons and machinery which it uses to fight against (and often kill) the people. 25 years after Sharpeville to the day the police fired on an unarmed crowd who were on their way to a funeral in Uitenhage.

They killed 43 people.

The government needs all these sophisticated things to try and silence opposition. Yet it has not succeeded. Since 1970 the mass movement has grown and got stronger through the building of organisations and trade unions. COSATU, UDF, SAYCO and NECC are some of the umbrella organisations that are taking the struggle forward.

OUR STRUGGLE

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The launch of the United
Democratic Front in 1983

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Many things have changed since Sharpeville. The most important changes are:

1. ANC leaders realised that non-Violent protest was no longer the Only possible way to end apartheid. They started to think about using Violence against the violence of the government. In 1961 they formed Umkhonto We Sizwe to take up the armed struggle.

2. The difference between the 1960 State of Emergency and the 1986/1987 State of Emergency. The banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960 left the people without leaders. Thousands of activists were jailed, banned or forced into exile.

The 1986 Emergency has not weakened people's organisations as badly as it did in 1960. People have more experience of organising under the government's harsh conditions.

3. The Pass Laws were given a new name in 1986. However the passes and the Bantustans are still like the cement that holds the apartheid system together. The government continues to use passes to control the lives and employment of millions of South Africans.

Read the following material and discuss the above points among yourselves in more detail:

I Violence

18We often hear the ANC being called a terrorist organisation. These extracts from the report of the Eminent Person's Group explain that the ANC was not always pro-violence. The report describes the background and reasons for the turn to the armed struggle. The ANC was concerned (as early as the 1950s) that the violence of the apartheid regime would eventually drive South African people to resort to violence themselves in self-defence.

A history of non-Violence:

In 1955 the ANC helped organize a mass Congress of the People at which the Freedom Charter was adopted. The Congress was broken up and 156 leaders were charged with treason. The trial dragged on for years, and both the ANC and PAC planned nationwide peaceful demonstrations against the 'pass' laws for March 1960. The leaders of both organisations urged non-violence. In most cases the police dispersed the crowds without incident but in others the police lost control. At Sharpeville, on March 21 1960, 69 black people were shot dead.

In keeping with their non-violent stand, both the ANC and PAC called for a Day of Mourning on 28 March 1960 and many thousands of blacks stayed away from work. That same day the Government introduced laws to ban the ANC and PAC.

2 days later a State Of Emergency was declared throughout the country. This gave the the government and police wide powers to stop gatherings, search people and buildings and to resort to force. Detention without trial was introduced. It became an offence to make any statements likely to subvert the government's authority or to urge others to do so. Newspapers could be banned.

When the emergency was lifted many of the new powers became permanent laws.

By 1960 it was clear that the apartheid state was determined to put down peaceful protest of any kind by Violent means and to clamp down on any organisation which tried to mobilise black people. It is against this background of total repression, in which all avenues for legal protest and non-violent opposition were stopped that we must view the decision of the ANC and PAC to turn finally to armed resistance."

iiWncez

We questioned them (the ANC) particularly on the possibility of stopping the violence on both sides. The ANC's response was that it was important to understand the nature of the violence, how it came about, who started it and how the others reacted. The introduction of apartheid in 1948 started an era of extreme violence by the South African State. The ANC's response was to oppose Government-sponsored violence with a campaign of non-violence which was pursued throughout the 1950s, despite the use of increased violence by the South African Government to restrict the ANC and to stifle black rights. This culminated at the end of the 1950s with Sharpeville and a brutal decade of killing.

Still the ANC persisted with its policy of non-violence. It was only in 1961, when the army was used in a massive way, nationwide, to stamp out a peaceful strike organized by the ANC that they decided that it was necessary to embark on an armed struggle. Despite this, over the past twenty years or so the ANC said it had been very selective in its targets and the number of deaths resulting from ANC activity was hardly twenty. In one single incident in Soweto about a thousand children were shot at indiscriminately by the security forces.

The ANC said that violence in South Africa was the result of an apartheid system which needed guns, arrests and prisons to keep itself going; violence would stop if the system was dismantled. If apartheid was abandoned the way would be open for violence to cease on both sides. If the army and police pulled out of the townships the ANC could begin to consider suspending violence."

Students in Soweto, 1976, on their way to carry the victims of police violence.

2. Emergencies

\$\$

The State of Emergency of 1986 has been more vicious than

that of 1960.

Has it been as effective? What is different now to then? Of 1960 BM has It

This article looks at some of the similarities and some of the differences

Similarities

In 1960 and 1986 the government declared an emergency

after a period of mass resistance:

In 1960 it was after the Congress Alliance or the

Defiance Campaign

campaigns against Bantu Education and passes; for a national wage of 25% for all workers; the bus and potato boycotts as well as the

adopting of the Freedom Charter in 1955. The Congress of the People and the

26

In 1986 it was the same: After the army entered the townships in 1984, people throughout the country started turning the townships into places where the government had no control. They replaced Community Councils with their own structures controlled by the people themselves; there were large scale boycotts of Bantu and Coloured Education and massive consumer boycotts.

In 1960 the government used the Emergency to smash people's organisations. They banned the ANC and PAC and put people on trial for the next four years. The main triumph for the government came with the Rivonia Trial when they sent the leadership of Umkhonto We Sizwe to jail for life.

In 1986 the government declared an emergency when it could no longer break the people's organisations. It had tried many different tactics: treason trials, vigilantes, detention and interrogation etc. Even the partial State of Emergency in 1985 was not enough to stop people from organising and the government had to declare a nation wide State of Emergency and, a year later, reimpose it.

Difference_s

1- The...Cicyzmgqtiapgligamlan.S. .Or_S.t:at_eg_ie_s:_

In 1948, the Nationalist Party came to power with their apartheid plan. They developed many laws to put this plan into action: the Bantustans; influx control and the passes; Bantu Education; Group Areas removals etc.

The government used the emergency to smash resistance so that they could impose these apartheid laws.

However by 1986 the government does not have a clear political plan. It responds to resistance with force because it has no alternative.

Today many of the people that were part of the government are calling for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners. Although there are big differences between mass-based organisations and groups connected with the government, more people now agree that the way forward lies with the unbanning of the ANC and other people's organisations and the release of political prisoners.

Today, unlike in 1960, the government is under pressure from their friends at home and overseas.

There is a big difference between 1960 and 1986 in the strength of the mass movement. In 1960, after the emergency and the banning of the ANC and PAC, legal organisations were forced overnight to operate underground. People had little experience of this kind of work. This made it easy for the police to follow and to hit the new underground movement hard.

Today different organisations have been working underground for 27 years. Far more people are involved and activists and organisations have more experience. They were prepared for the emergency. The trade unions are better organised than they were. This puts more pressure on the government.

3. The Economic Situation: k

From the early 60s to the early 70s there was an economic boom all over the world. In South Africa the economy grew, and so people in the rest of the world did not notice South Africa's bad conditions. They thought that the government's policy must be a good one to result in such rapid growth.

In 1986, however, the world economic situation had been bad for almost 10 years. For many reasons the rest of the world is far more aware and angry about what is happening in South Africa. There is no money for the government to make far-reaching reforms which would make the rest of the world think that they are changing. The economic situation does not favour the government as it did in 1960.

South African businessmen are worried about whether they will survive and so some of them have been to Lusaka to talk to the ANC. Today they disagree (in words, if not in action) with the government a little more than they did in 1960.

5. T. he. JULQFBEQQEELSEEQQOE-

Many South Africans went into exile in 1960. They did not stop working for the struggle. They have spent the years helping to build a large anti-apartheid movement in most of the Western Countries. This limits the amount of support those countries can give to the South African government.

Today, the government is limited because of international political and economic pressure. This makes it harder for the government to smash the mass movement completely.

6. The Situation in Southern Africa.

The situation in Southern Africa has changed a lot since 1960.

In 1960 the Portuguese still occupied Angola and Mozambique. Rhodesia was about to become "independent" under Smith.

Today, Namibia is the only 'buffer' between South Africa and the newly independent states.

These frontline states are harassed and destabilised by South Africa. The whole world knows that South Africa supplies arms to UNITA in Angola and the MNR in Mozambique, so that they can disrupt the lives of thousands of Angolans and Mozambicans and the economies of their countries. This costs the government a lot. The occupation of Namibia alone costs South Africa R3 million a day.

This means that the South African economy and the army are weaker than they were in 1960. .

There is at least one negative change since 1960:

The South African state is today better armed and equipped than at any other time in its history. The army and police have many weapons and arms factories so that they can continue their violent repression under international sanctions.

The army has also gained many years of experience fighting in bush wars - in Zimbabwe and along South Africa's borders. Since 1976 they have also gained experience in dealing with urban uprisings inside the country."

'The SADF enters the schools in 1985

3 Passes

These are the demands that COSATU made around the Pass Laws, after they were changed in 1986. Many of them reflect the demands made in the different clauses of the Freedom Charter. COSATU'S demands are basic rights which the Pass Laws have denied to African people for so many years.

1. Our demand is for one citizenship for all in a single undivided South Africa.

We say away with homeland Citizenship, away with separate citizenship, away with division into races, away with division of our workers into "Citizens", and "aliens". Different Citizenships keep workers divided.

2. Our demand is for freedom of movement for all.

Pass Laws and passes have, for decades, prevented workers from moving freely. Workers were either channelled to the mines, or channelled to the farms, or channelled to various towns, depending on where their labour was required. Workers' movements were tightly controlled with criminal punishments if they disobeyed the controls. Pass Laws have therefore prevented workers from moving freely as human beings.

3. Our demand is for the right of all workers to live where they please WITH their families.

Because of the system of migrant and contract labour which is enforced by passes and Pass Laws, workers do not have the right to live where they please, whether it be in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Bellville, Simonstown, Kimberley, Pretoria or anywhere else. Thousands of workers have been forced, ever since unionisation, 1914 onwards, to leave their families - wives, brothers, sisters and children behind in the so-called reserves, later called the Bantustans. They then live alone on the mines or in the Cities or on the farms. They only see their families for a very short period each year, if at all. This forced removal of breadwinners from their families has caused untold suffering for the women, for the mothers, for the young Children, for the sisters and for the breadwinners themselves. It has broken up many families. It has created other social evils. Passes and Pass Laws helped to create and maintain this.

4. Our demand is for proper housing for workers and their families.

It may be argued that the demand for housing and security for all is not connected to the question of passes or Pass Laws. Up to now it has indirectly been part of it all. Over the years the state has not considered it necessary to build houses for workers. And the bosses have not considered it to be their responsibility. The local authorities have done the same. And so, over the years, because the workers were regarded as being expendable and as temporary in the towns; Cities, mines and farms, they did not

consider it necessary to provide proper houses for them. Workers, hounded and chased around from place to place by Pass Laws and passes, B.A.D. inspectors and police, who arrested them because of passes, have been forced to live in hovels, compounds and squatter camps. So the demand for proper housing must be made.

5. Our demand is for the _right to work and to Choose our emgloxment.

Passes and Pass Laws have been used to force workers to work on farms, on the mines and to work for bosses they do not neccessarily want to work for. The way passes and Pass Laws were enforced prevented workers from choosing where to work and for whom to work.

6. Our demand is for an end to racial and sex discriminatign.

Pass Laws have been used to continue and increase this discrimination. They have been used to discriminate firstly between black and white. They have been used to discriminate between African workers on the one hand and Coloured and Indian workers on the other. They have been used to discriminate between oppressed men and oppressed women.

Resource:

SOME BOOKS AND VIDEOS FOR EXTRA READING AND FOR PROGRAMMES:

BOOKS

SHOOTING AT SHARPEVILLE, by Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg - Eyewitness accounts of the events at Sharpeville.

STRIJDOM, YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK, by the Federation Of South African Women - Pamphlet to commemorate the march on 9 August 1956.

TIME LONGER THAN ROPE, by Eddie Roux - A very good history of the struggle in South Africa.

BLACK POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1945, by Tom Lodge - A general history.

FROM PROTEST TO CHALLENGE - DOCUMENTS OF AFRICAN POLITICS IN SOUTH

AFRICA, 1882-1964 in 4 volumes, by Karis, Carter and Gerhardt - Documents from all the organisations involved in the struggle.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM, chapters 1 - 4, by The UWC History Department - A very easy to understand history of the struggle in South Africa.

MY SPIRIT IS NOT BANNED, by Frances Baard - An autobiography of a leading ANC and Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) member.

SIDE BY SIDE, by Helen Joseph - Autobiography of a leading FEDSAW member.

VIDEOS

SHARPEVILLE (20 mins.) - A short introduction to the evnts on 21 March 1960.

SHARPEVILLE SPIRIT (30 mins.) - A return to Sharpevillle in 1985 to find out how the people remember the events in the township in 1960 and again in 1984/85.

WATHINT 'ABAFAZI (30 mins.) - A play by township women protesting against the Pass Laws.

YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK (30 mins.) Interviews with many of the leading FEDSAW women who participated in the 1956 march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria: Lilian Ngoyi, Dora Tamana, Helen Joseph, Amina Cachalia and others.

HISTORY OF APARTHEID, Nos. 1 and 2 (60 mins. each) - Made for an overseas audience, this long film describes the history of apartheid through a long series of interviews with different people. It shows extracts from the anti-pass campaigns and the events at Sharpeville.

WITNESS TO APARTHEID (55 mins.) - Interviews with township residents and others who describe the repression and violence in townships.

Glossary

The Communist Party? short for South African Communist Party (SACP); formed in 1921, banned in 1950 and forced underground.

ANC - African National Congress; formed in 1912, banned in 1960. The ANC is the oldest political party in Southern Africa and Africa. The ANC believes in the demands set forth in the Freedom Charter.

'Kaffir' - the names, 'kaffir', 'native', 'bantú' and others were used by the government officials and police in an insulting way. For this reason people reject all these names as being racist.

amphitheatre a sloped, semi-circular area of seats, usually used for plays and concerts.

PAC -Pan African Congress; formed in 1959, banned in 1960. The PAC was formed by a group of people who broke away from the ANC because they believed that Africa was for Africans only. They did not accept many of the clauses of the Freedom Charter.

dismantled - to break up or take apart.

Rivonia Trial

In 1963 the police raided the farm, Liliesleaf in Rivonia, near Johannesburg where they arrested the leaders of Umkhonto We Sizwe. Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathadra, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mhlangeni and Walter Sisulu were charged with high treason as a result and were sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964.

In 1987 Govan Mbeki was released.

economic boom - a period when many factories are built and bosses make huge profits.

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expendable - easily replaced

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