

FSAW Cb.1.4.1
Passes

Not published in F. Tall R
Used as basis of South Africa
and worked system for
struck a note

August 7th 1955 to August 9th 1956! Another year of South Africa's stormy history, but different from other years, for this has been the year of the women of the liberatory movement, a year of challenge and response. "We are tired of coming to meetings" cried the women of the Transvaal on August 7th 1955. "Let us go together to the Union Buildings to protest against the laws which oppress us." A simple but significant decision, which began a historic year. For even before the end of that month, Verwoerd flung down the gauntlet. "African women shall carry Passes!"

African women in Durban were the first to take up this challenge. First two hundred, then a thousand women demonstrated to the Native Administration Department, spurning the insidious "letters of privilege", forerunners of passes. "We will never carry passes under any conditions!" they cried. Meanwhile the women of the Transvaal were campaigning for the first historic Women's Protest to Pretoria. Rebuffs, refusals, withdrawal of transport, police interference, intimidation made no difference to these determined women. To Pretoria they would go - and to Pretoria they went, two thousand women of all races, to the very heart of the Union Buildings, of the Government itself. And while the Ministers sulked in their offices, the women sang to the skies, dignified, disciplined, resolute and triumphant. In November, Cape Town women were on the march through the streets of the mother city, displaying their protests against passes and deportations; and before the end of 1955, the militant women of Durban were once more pounding on the door of the Native Administration Offices, shouting that they would not carry passes. And the Native Administration Committee withdrew the proposal to issue passes to women.

1956 - The women were gathering strength, holding conferences, organising in house to house campaigns for the coming wave of demonstrations. In February, East London women were crying "Oh what a Law! We are refusing totally!", presenting a memorandum to the Commissioner. Cape Town and Durban were again protesting in March, while Germiston led off the local demonstrations in the Transvaal with three hundred women, undeterred by unprecedented police threats of mass arrests, of shooting of the women leaders. "Even if the passes are printed in real gold" said the women, "we do not want them."

Yet still the weeds grew and spread and the passes came ever nearer to the towns and the cities, to the stronghold of the women's resistance which the Government must conquer to establish the rule of the pass for African women.

1953, a crucial year. Verwoerd tried a new target; the professional African women, the nurses. New tricks and stratagems were employed, this time the Nursing Amendment Act, and the S.A. Nursing Council became an agent of Government policy by demanding identity numbers from nurses for training and for registration. And there is only one way in which an African can obtain an identity number and that is by taking out a reference book, a pass! This was a crafty move, for the nursing profession does not fall into the lap of African women; to become a qualified nurse demands years of sacrifice and struggle on the part of the parents and the children, of brothers and sisters, demands years of persistent study; would the African women risk all this, her security, her hard-won status, rather than take the pass? But this time Verwoerd failed for the nurses stood magnificently firm. "Our mothers were washerwomen," they declared, "they educated us. We shall go back to the wash tubs but we shall not carry passes!" Other women rallied behind them, sent deputations to the hospitals; Baragwanath Hospital in the Transvaal was the scene of a most amazing spectacle when the might of the police was massed to protect the hospital - from the women. Road blocks, sten guns, tear gas hidden in the hospital grounds, hundreds of armed police - for a few hundred women, exercising their democratic right to protest for their daughters. South Africa laughed and the Nursing Council announced hastily, that it had withdrawn the requirement for identity numbers for African nurses.

Where then should Verwoerd turn to find his way into the towns? Not through the nurses, for it had proved to be a false hope that these women would ignobly lead their less educated sisters along the path to passes and prison. But the passes were already at the fringe of the Reef itself and the growing industrial towns with their widespread residential areas where the white South African city dwellers live, not in true apartheid, but with their African domestic servants, thousands of them in every town, living in the servants' quarters in the back yards, African women from the country, the farms, the small reserves, women far from their homes, forbidden by trespass regulation to have their husbands or even their tiny children with them, to lead a family life, isolated and unaware, dependent upon the "Madam" for the roof over their heads and the few pounds a month of which so great a part must be sent home for parents

or children.

And it was in these unprotected unorganised women that Verwoerd found the answer, the open sesame to the towns and the cities. As the pass units moved along the East Rand, the pattern became clear - it was mainly the domestic servants who were taking the reference books. In the African townships opposition was high and women went once more in large crowds to the Native Commissioners, protesting vainly for their very arguments were being undermined by the women who were taking passes, sent or being brought to the pass unit by their employers, ~~by~~ women fearful of dismissal, destitution and homelessness if they disobeyed the "Madam".

Meanwhile in Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, the same thing was happening - pass units were boldly operating and women in thousands were taking out passes. From every town came the same despairing cry, "The domestic servants have taken the passes!" But Government propaganda was everywhere and residential permits, employment permits, Old Age Pensions, Railway tickets, the whole administrative machinery which controls the daily life of the urban African was being made dependent on the production of reference books by African women. All but the hard core of resistance, the women in the townships who followed the lead of the African National Congress, were accepting the passes, not willingly, not with enthusiasm as the Government so falsely claimed, but in desperation because life itself was being tied to the pass. Women who had taken the passes either hid them and denied the taking or displayed them with defiant arrogance. It seemed as though the momentum of the passes could not be halted; disturbing figures appeared in the Press, until the million mark was reached before the end of 1958. And the eyes of the African people were on Johannesburg - would it, could it be a Stalingrad to halt the advance of the invader?

On October 15th 1958, the pass unit began to operate at the pass office in Johannesburg; the officials had learnt the lesson of the domestic servants for the approach was made directly to the housewives, not even to the domestic servants themselves. Mayfair, the Nationalist stronghold, was the first suburb to receive the letters from the Native Commissioners, delivered by policemen into the letter boxes, the shrewdly worded, deliberately deceptive letter, which to all but the suspicious or the well informed was none other than a clear official instruction, calling for compliance and not to be ignored. It ran thus; it is a document to be preserved in South African history as an outstanding example of trickery:-

"The registration of Native Females in terms of Act No. 67 of 1952 in the District of Johannesburg will commence during 1958.

Will you kindly send your Native female servant/s to the office of the Native Commissioner at the corner of Market and Bezuidenhout Streets, Johannesburg, in order that she may be registered for the Native Population Register and issued with a reference book?

Your servant should bring with her the reference book of her husband and if she is not married, that of her parent or guardian in order that Part "D" of the reference book can be completed. If the reference book of her husband is not available or cannot be obtained this does not mean that your female servant should not be registered. PART D of the reference book can then be completed at a later date.

Your co-operation in this matter will be appreciated.

Your servant should report as early as possible on the morning of..... "

It is small wonder that the Johannesburg housewives obeyed the "instruction". Protests from the servants were over-ruled. "You take a pass or else... It is the law.....". And the strangest part of all this was that it was NOT the law that every African woman must take out a pass at that time, for no compulsory date had been set by which it would be an offence for an African woman not to be in possession of a pass.

But the housewives were not aware of this and they rushed their servants off to get their passes. The shocking news spread that Johannesburg women were taking passes and then followed the most unexpected and breathtaking campaign in the whole history of South Africa.

Within a few days the call had gone out to women to begin the bitter struggle against passes, to defeat the passes as their mothers had defeated the passes before them. On Tuesday October 21st hundreds of women set out from Sophiatown, four miles from the centre of Johannesburg to demonstrate at the Pass Office itself, to show the domestic servants that Johannesburg women were united against passes. But on the way as they marched through the streets of Brixton, the police confronted them and called upon them to disperse; within a few minutes 249 women were arrested, thrust into police vans and carried off to Newlands police station. As they climbed into the lorries the women sang the "Freedom" songs, their spirits high. At the police station all the women were held in custody except eighty who had little children on their backs. The news of the

arrests spread throughout the city and 300 African women marched in protest to the police station, demanding to be arrested, but the South African police, true to form, beat them off with batons.

Yet another 335 had reached the pass office in the city and were arrested for creating an obstruction and disturbing the peace. Many had their children on their backs and these were crammed into the cells with their mothers. In one day 594 women had been arrested; over 500 were in the cells, waiting to be charged. Conditions were chaotic on that first night; there were not enough blankets and the women slept on the stone floors; there was not enough food and the women ate only because their supporters brought food and insisted that it be given to them. Police officials tried wearily and ineffectively to compile lists of the accused until late into the night; and this was only the first day.

The following morning at the magistrate's courts strange scenes were enacted. No court could be found large enough to accommodate 335 women and a special court was held in the cells below; the women sat on the floor, nursing their babies or rocking them gently on their backs. Bail was fixed at £1 and the women remanded until October 30th. At Newlands Court, 249 women were also released on bail. But while these remands were taking place, another 250 women had marched to the pass office, massing outside in militant protest and refusing to leave. Police troopcarriers, the "kwela-kwelas", politely provided with step ladders to help the women up, awaited them and singing gaily the women climbed in, giving the Afrika salute as they were driven off to Marshall Square Police Station, superb in their defiance.

By this time it had been agreed that there should be no further bail; the first 500 had been taken unawares, had not been prepared for a stay in gaol, but those who followed came ready for arrest and undeterred by the possibility. A further hundred women were arrested during the next two days, bringing the total arrests to 934 by the end of the week, with 350 women held at the Fort. Many of those women who had been released were pressing to surrender their bail and join the women at the Fort. Food committees had sprung up and the Congress office had become a food depot. Twice a day a large black car made its way to the Fort, high up on the hill overlooking Johannesburg, carrying great baskets of bread and jam, bags of oranges and cans of milk for the babies. Harassed Fort officials met the food parties almost with a welcome, for the gaol resources were inadequate to provide even prison food for the women.

This was only the first week of the protest but already the police and the Government officials were screaming "Communist agitation", refusing as always to admit that every African, man or woman, loathes the pass and all it stands for, denying the evidence before their eyes, that within four days almost one thousand women had accepted arrest with all its hardships to show to Johannesburg, to South Africa, their determination to oppose passes, no matter what the cost. The unexpected nature of the demonstrations, the demonstrators themselves and their inadequate preparation belied the charge of agitation for this courageous defiance could only spring from the deep anger of the women at the threat of the pass.

The second week opened with dramatic developments. On Monday 27th October, the third anniversary of the day when the women first protested against passes at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, several bus loads of women arrived from Alexandra Township, determined to carry on the protest started the week before. At the city bus terminus a force of nearly one hundred armed policemen awaited them and as the women set off together for the pass office, they were arrested for being in an illegal procession and failing to disperse. The kwela-kwelas drove up, while the women waited and danced on the pavement, singing defiantly. As each police lorry drove off with its load, the women cheered, while other women arrived on later buses and were also arrested. One hundred and fifty women defied armed policemen at the central pass office for three hours until in desperation and exasperation the order was given for their arrest. That day saw more than 900 arrests, almost the total of the week before. Women with babies on their backs and with small children refused to be released on their own recognisances and went cheerfully to the cells with the other women.

The conditions in the cells were indescribable. At Marshall Square, the women were herded thirty and forty in each cell with their children, every inch of floor space was crowded with huddled bodies; some sat all night with their backs against the wall, others lay restlessly on the stone floor, using the back of another woman for a pillow to ease the weary head. Prison food was stiff mealie pap served on an upturned dustbin lid pushed into the centre of the cell. The babies cried fretfully throughout the long night from hunger and discomfort. Food was brought in from outside, little packets of bread and jam and cans of milk, but it was pitifully inadequate for there now nearly two thousand women ~~had~~ ^{were} to be fed. The full story of the heroism of these women cannot ever be told nor can those who were outside ever really know what they suffered. There were

pregnant women in those cells, women near to their time of delivery, more than one was taken away in labour; there were old women, ~~sick~~, sick women, babies, children there because their mothers could not leave them at home alone; there were schoolchildren who said "We shall not go to school tomorrow for we too will not carry passes."

On the next day the court sat until after ten o'clock at night dealing with the remands. Bail of £2 was offered but the majority of the women refused, despite anxious husbands and fathers waiting outside, willing to pay. And the walls of the magistrate's court echoed with the cries of the babies as the day dragged on.

On Thursday, October 30th some 800 women appeared for the first day of their trial and once again the court was held below in the cells, while anxious relatives and friends waited outside, crowding the pavements around the Magistrate's court. The police had assured the public that "they would not allow themselves to be frightened off the task of preventing lawlessness and disorder". It was on this day that they displayed their vaunted courage. Shortly after noon, the first batch of 335 women were freed when the charges of disturbing the public peace were withdrawn. The crowd outside surged forward to welcome the women, the police bawled a dispersal order which no one heard and some charged the crowd lashing out with batons and canes while others flung tear gas bombs among the scattering people. And the Rand Daily Mail published the photograph of a young police constable lashing a fleeing African woman with his cane, with a laughing jubilant spectator in the background.

The mass trials had begun and had taken on a sinister aspect, for the women were charged not merely with the breaking of by-laws, but with committing an offence by way of protest and thus falling under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act No. 8 of 1953, the Act which makes a serious crime of any violation of any law by way of protest, (whether or no the offence is relevant to the object of the protest) with a maximum penalty of £300 or three years imprisonment with or without a lashing. Cases were remanded from week to week and it became essential that the women be released on bail. Thousands of pounds had to be raised but within a few days all of the women had been released. More than twelve hundred women and one hundred and seventy babies had been held in the Fort, some for more than a week, in a gaol built to accommodate not even half of that number. It was small wonder that the prison authorities seemed eager to let the women go, even letting them out before the full bail amounts were paid in, on the assurance of the attorneys that bail securities would be furnished later.

For two months these mass trials dragged on and the provision of legal defence was strained to the utmost, but democratic attorneys and counsel put up a gallant fight against this sinister law. The alleged offences were petty and the arrests had been wholesale but the invoking of the Criminal Laws Amendment Act gave scope for harsh sentences. The results of the trials speak for themselves. Of 1893 women arrested, 915 were either found not guilty or discharged or the case was withdrawn, but the 926 women who were convicted were sentenced to fines totalling £7,819, with alternative imprisonment ranging from three weeks to three months. Four women were sentenced as leaders of the protests to fines of £50 or three months. (52 women were still on remand at the time of writing this article. All cases where the Criminal Laws Amendment Act was invoked have been taken to appeal.)

As the women were sentenced they were taken to the Fort until their fines were paid or until bail had been arranged pending appeal. In these cases bail was raised to the amount of the fine and it was some days before the additional money could be found. No one who saw the women being driven off in the police vans to begin serving their sentences can ever forget the sight of their gallant smiles and Congress salutes or the sound of their Freedom songs as the vans disappeared.

Meanwhile public opinion had been stirred by the courageous opposition of the African women and disgusted by the unscrupulous devices employed to trick the women into accepting passes.

Letters were published daily in the English press, many indicating sympathy with the women but there were, of course, also those from the housewife who saw no reason why her servant should not carry a pass. The Black Sash declared their opposition to the reference books for women and applied for permission for a meeting on the City Hall steps. And once again the police dictated to the Johannesburg City Council and the permission was refused. The Federation of South African Women called for a mass protest of women of all races to the Mayor of Johannesburg and this brought forth a tornado of police intimidation and threats of arrest. On November 27th, however, nearly four thousand women outwitted the police by coming to the City Hall, not in a mass or in a procession, but in groups of two or three, handing in their signed protests to the waiting leaders. Members of the Security Branch crowded the City Hall steps and uniformed police stood at every street corner while the women walked past them, completely at ease. The police fumed and Johannesburg laughed, and the next day the representatives of the

women went to the Mayor and to the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council to speak out their minds about the connivance of the Council in the issuing of reference books.

Despite the dramatic protest campaign, however, passes were being issued at the rate of over a thousand every week. In European suburbs the domestic servants were still flocking to the pass offices, although the hard core of African women in the townships had remained untouched. The battle of the passes is on and Johannesburg is, and is likely to remain, the storm centre. Government retaliation has begun; Johannesburg is to be brought to heel. 1959 has opened with the threat of the banning of all gatherings attended by Africans held outside the African townships. This threat is strung around an allegation of "mixed drinking parties" but this is clearly a sprat to catch a mackerel; the real objective is to eliminate all association of the races except in the master-servant relationship and to prevent mixed political gatherings. The women shall not go again together to the Union Buildings, to the City Hall, to protest against passes. The City Council must agree with this new edict of the Minister.... or else. New legislation shall be passed; another loophole shall be stopped. But this is not enough. The Locations in the Sky Act is to be applied to African women in the city as well as to men. The reason is clear. African women living and working in flats must be dispersed to the African townships to live with relatives or in hostels, lest they also unite against passes, but the domestic servants who took these passes, they may remain for they are in good hands.

The first passes were issued to African women in Winburg in March 1955, nearly three years ago and South Africa has seen protest after protest, but the issue of passes goes on and at the end of 1958 the Government proclaimed that 1,300,000 reference books had been taken out by women. More than a million, but this is still little more than half of the total number of African women in the country. There is still a long way to go and much may yet happen. It is the last million that counts.

years, although recently an insidious system of residential permits has since been introduced in many urban locations, permits which are the forerunners of passes, but permits upon which depend the very home, the roof over the family.

In 1952, however, the Nationalist Government amended the Urban Areas Act, giving municipalities sinister additional powers under the pass laws and proclaiming "All Natives, men women and children fall under these laws." To stifle the protest in Parliament, Verwoerd declared "I repeat that notwithstanding the fact that these provisions are applicable to Native women it is not our intention to proceed with its practical application at the moment because we do not think the time is ripe for that. Now I hope the Hon Member (referring to Mr. Sam Kahn, M.P., African representative for Cape Western) will stop his agitation of telling Native women that we are introducing a law by which we are going to force them to carry passes, because that is not true."

(Hansard P.2955. March 17, 1952.)

But this was nothing more than the usual piecrust promise of the Nationalist Government, just another in the long line of dishonest undertakings and broken pledges.

In 1955, the Minister of Native Affairs announced that from January 1956 African women would carry passes. A storm of indignation broke out in the towns and cities where women are tragically aware of what the pass laws mean.

Through the Federation of S.A. Women, women of other races united with the African National Congress Women's League to protest against this outrage to women. From the first dramatic protest of two thousand women of the Transvaal to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on October 27th, 1955, to the historic and unparalleled demonstration of twenty thousand women from all parts of the Union on August 9th, 1956, women demonstrated all over the country against passes, gathered in their thousands at the offices of Native Commissioners crying "Women don't want passes!" Harassed commissioners met the women with trite arguments. "The passes are for your protection." What words were these to use to women who had always lived in the shadow of the pass? In Pretoria, the Prime Minister remained out of sight while twenty thousand women stood in dignified silent protest at his absence. Thousands of protests were presented to Native Commissioners to be forwarded to the Minister of Native Affairs, were handed in to the very office of the Prime Minister. Months later, through evidence led at the treason trial, the women learned that these

protests had, one and all, gone no further than the Security Branch of the police. It is an insult which the women will not easily forget.

Meanwhile Verwoerd began the issuing of passes. The little town of Winburg in the Free State was the first; Winburg where forty years ago the women had defied the pass laws. Quietly, unannounced, the pass unit arrived in March 1956; soft spoken officials praised the passes and many women were deceived and accepted the reference books, stringing them around their necks. But swift awakening followed; the granddaughters of those earlier women of Winburg marched to the magistrate and when he refused to take back the passes, burnt hundreds of them in a sack outside the courthouse. The women were arrested and charged - with theft! For six months after this act of defiance, no more passes were issued, until in October 1956 Verwoerd began in real earnest with twelve small towns in the Cape Province. It is a sorry story, one of tricks and lies, of threats and intimidation, of scurrying around the countryside to every little dorp and village, of visits to women in the rural areas and reserves who are as yet unaware of the dangers of the pass system. A shrewd strategy has been evolved, of attack where women are unorganised, scattered, unaware; the initial error of Winburg with its tradition of resistance was not repeated. Pass units have travelled from place to place in the Cape Province and the Free State, avoiding the larger centres, but creeping up as closely as they dare, nibbling at Port Elizabeth through Uitenhague, there to meet a core of defiant resistance and burning of passes, skirmishing around Johannesburg and the Reef, testing these strongholds through the outlying towns of Standerton and Balfour, meeting there some resistance, some success, and falling back to the Western Transvaal.

That the Nationalist Government seeks to force the hated pass system upon women is in itself shameful enough, but the methods of intimidation and persecution to which it is driven are almost beyond description. The women of Balfour were threatened with dire consequences if they refused passes. They were told by the police that their husbands would be dismissed from their work, business licenses would be cancelled; They were told that doctors would refuse to attend the sick; even in death the pass must be carried, for they were told that the dead would not be buried. And when the women went to the Location Superintendent to protest, they were dispersed by a baton charge. Passes were issued - and accepted. Then nine hundred

marched in protest and once again passes were burnt. In Uitenhague where indignant women burnt their passes, they met with brutal violence at the hands of the police; pregnant women were batoned, the police declaring that "they had to protect themselves against these women" Two children were born in gaol as the women awaited trial, born in the cells. These mothers stood long hours in court only a few days after they had given birth to their children. Other women, near to their time of confinement, stood beside them.

In Standerton, more than a thousand women were arrested for an allegedly illegal procession of protest against passes. On the first day of the trial 113 women received suspended sentences and were discharged. But the residents of Standerton had prepared to leave the town on the second day of the trial, cars were filled with petrol and all available ammunition was purchased from the shops! Then came nine hundred women in dignity and discipline to stand their trial in Court and were discharged. But in Lichtenburg when women burnt three sacksful of passes an hour after a decision taken at three o'clock in the morning at the graves of their tribal ancestors, twenty-five were arrested under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and were held on bail of £50 each. And when they were sentenced - to £100 fine or twelve months imprisonment - the bail pending appeal was raised from £50 to £100. On appeal to the Supreme Court, the bail was reduced - to £5!

The Nationalist government knows no scruples in its choice of weapons to intimidate women into accepting passes. Nor are the threats idle. The aged, the blind are amongst the victims. To the little village of Putfontein in the Western Transvaal came the Native Commissioner on March 6th to issue passes. Most of the women refused, despite threats of loss of old age pensions. And on March 18th a woman, reputed to be at least one hundred years old, received nothing and was given no reason why her pension had ceased. She was amongst those who had refused passes. Three helpless blind men received no pension; their wives and daughters had refused passes. That was six months ago and there is still no official explanation.

There seems to be no depth of persecution and intimidation to which the government will not sink in its determination to issue passes to African women, and as the months go by the passes spread over South Africa like a noxious weed growing in the countryside. In July 1957 the Government claimed (Dagbreek 28.7.57) that nearly three hundred thousand passes had already been issued to women. As a figure this appears impressive at first sight. Almost half of the passes issued

have been in the Free State where there has been little opposition save in Winburg, and of the *230,000 women over 16 years of age, 37% have already taken passes. But Bloemfontein, Bethlehem, Kroonstad, the large towns, have not been touched. Natal has been left almost undisturbed, only .4% of the women have passes. In the Cape Province and the Transvaal, the pass units have concentrated on the small towns and rural areas; more than seventy areas have been visited in these two provinces and passes have been issued to 12% of the women. Yet Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London remain unvisited, nor has any attempt been made to issue passes to the hundreds of thousands of women on the Witwatersrand.

At this rate of fifteen months to issue passes to 11% of women throughout the Union, it should take the Nationalist government some ten years to issue passes to African women - if it remains in power so long. The resistance of the women will undoubtedly continue and strengthen, for it is not isolated from the struggle of the African people against the whole pass system, on which depends the cheap labour system of South Africa, a struggle which has gone on for many years. Today it is the women who are in the forefront of that struggle and who carry it a stage further. Victory cannot be expected at every stage; the history of the past twelve months has shown that clearly. But the introduction of passes for women may yet prove a boomerang, for there is no aspect of the pass system which has aroused more bitter resentment amongst the African people, which has so moved the consciences of others, White, Coloured, Indian, to protest and denounce the pass system. In Cape Town recently, two thousand women of all races met together under the auspices of the newly formed Cape Association to Abolish Passes for African Women - women of the Black Sash, the National Council of Women, of the Anglican Church Mother's Union, the Federation of S.A. Women, the African National Congress Women's League, the Society of Friends. Women of different races, different colours, widely differing political affiliations came together to protest and to hear African women tell in their own words what passes mean to women.

It is a titanic struggle, this clash between the determination of the government to entrench the pass system by extending passes to African women and the growing opposition of the women. For it is not only in the towns where the African National Congress has organised women that resistance is to be found. It flares up unexpectedly in rural areas where women resist not only the government officials

* (1951 Census and Race Relations Handbook)

by their own chiefs who have sometimes led their wives to be the first to take the passes.

Africa is a vast country and the present somewhat sporadic nature of the opposition by women to passes is entirely due to this factor, a factor of which the government takes full advantage. In the coming years, it should be the task, not only of the Congress movement, but of all who believe in personal freedom to weld together the opposition to the pass system. For in this vast unmeasured and as yet inadequately organised potential of the resistance of women to passes lies one of the strongest weapons against the present government, against apartheid itself. And it is not too late.

Collection Number: AD1137

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN 1954-1963

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.