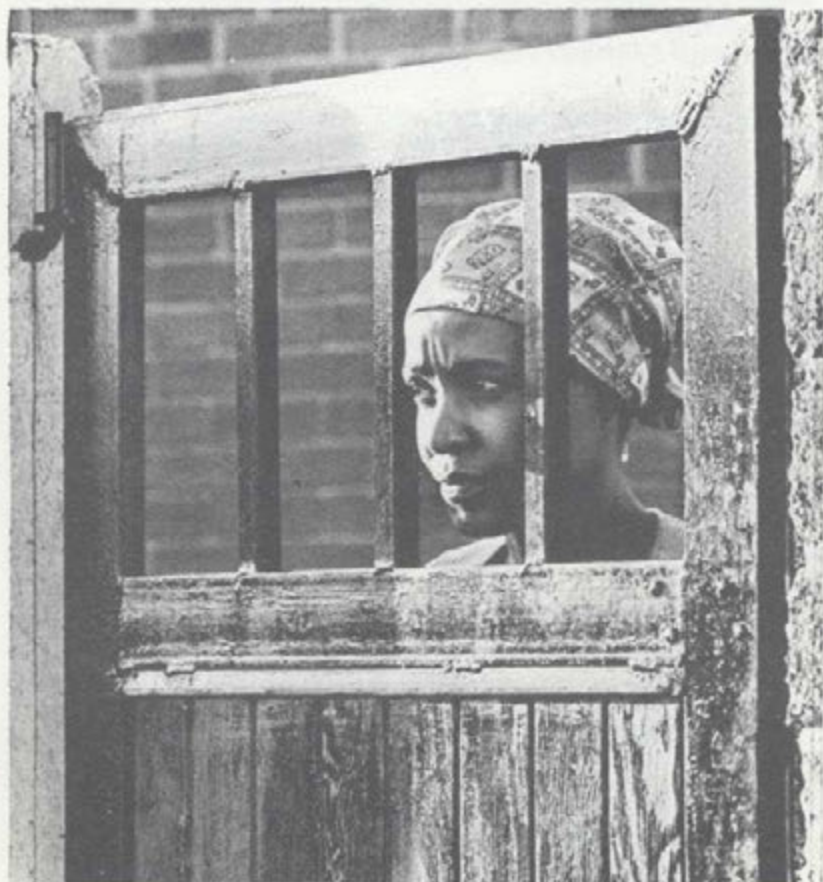


BLACK WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA



and the case of

WINNIE MANDELA

Winnie Mandela Solidarity Coalition

ABOUT THIS PAMPHLET

This pamphlet was collectively written by the Winnie Mandela Solidarity Coalition as a basic introduction to the struggle for Liberation in South Africa. We have chosen the life of Winnie Mandela to highlight her particular courage as well as that of countless named and unnamed women political prisoners in South Africa—whose only 'crime' was to advocate for political, human and economic rights under an unjust and inhuman system. We hope to inspire women in the United States and elsewhere to unite and act in solidarity and support of their sisters in South Africa who, with their people, struggle today for basic human rights.

Cover picture:

Winnie Mandela looking through the gate of her house where she is a prisoner.

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Introduction

Throughout the world women suffer and struggle against oppression and discrimination. We are given the worst paid, lowest status jobs. We are traditionally responsible for raising children and keeping house, whether we want to or not. In the United States, lack of public childcare facilities, poor social services, restrictions on publicly funded abortion, weakly enforced affirmative action, and unsafe streets keep us from effectively asserting ourselves as equal human beings.

Here Black women suffer the worst discrimination and oppression — as Black people and as women. All Black people in South Africa are oppressed by the system of apartheid that operates there, but Black South African women carry the greatest burden of oppression.

Winnie Mandela is a Black South African woman who suffers as all black South African women suffer, and she is also one of many women who have led the fight against the system which oppresses them. Like women in this country who fight the discrimination against them—like Joan Little, Angela Davis, Ella Ellison and others—she has been constantly persecuted by the government she is opposing.

We write about Winnie Mandela and women in South Africa not only because we can identify with them as women or Black people, but because the system which oppresses them is part of the system which oppresses us.

To understand the life of Winnie Mandela we have to understand the context in which she lives and struggles. Therefore, we must start with a description of apartheid.

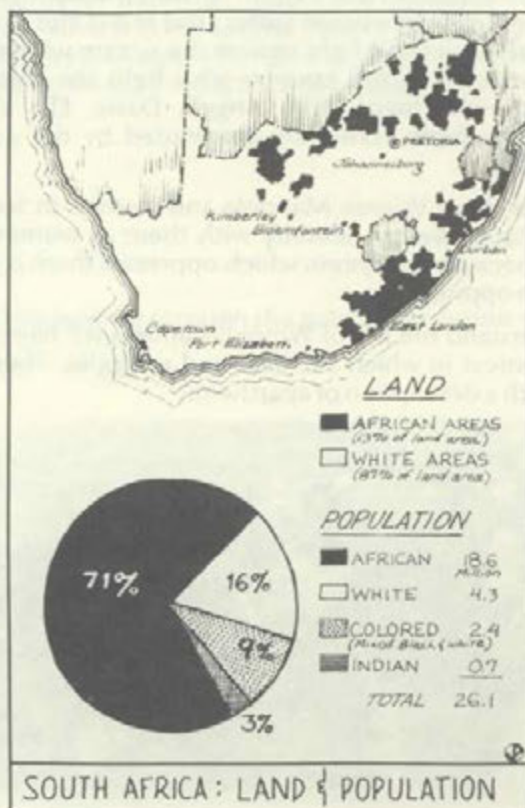


Women marched on Pretoria to protest the pass laws, 1955.

The System of Apartheid

THE LAND IS SEIZED

The land known as South Africa was originally populated by several African peoples. It was first colonized by the Dutch (now called Afrikaners) in the mid-1600's. The English soon followed and together with the Afrikaners conquered the African peoples living there. The discovery of diamonds and gold brought massive white immigration into the country. As Europeans moved inland, they seized land from the Africans, who fought back in long, bitter wars to keep their land. Because the whites had guns, the Africans were eventually defeated. In much the same way as Native Americans in this country were forced onto reservations over time, Africans have been increasingly restricted to specially created reserves. Many oppressive laws, designed to control and restrict the African majority, were passed to form the system of apartheid.



YOU SEE THAT ITS
IN YOUR BEST INTERESTS,
DON'T YOU?



LNS/cpl

WHAT IS APARTHEID?

Apartheid (pronounced 'apart-hate') means separateness. It is the system set up by the white minority government of South Africa to control and exploit the Black population. It is the way white South Africans protect their power and privilege.

South Africans are divided by law into four official 'race' categories: White, African, Asian and Coloured (people of mixed Black and white ancestry). People in each group are forced to live in separate communities. They are not allowed to enter any area designated for another race without a special permit. Although they are over 70% of the population, Africans have been allocated only 13% of the land. Like Indian reservations here, this land is intentionally the least productive: infertile, and with little industry. These scattered reserves are divided into 9 'tribal homelands', often called Bantustans. Each homeland is for people of the same ethnic group. The white government is claiming to give independence to these 'homelands', in reality depriving all Africans of citizenship in 'white' South Africa.

The African people in South Africa are not allowed to vote or to own land. They are not allowed to hold managerial or supervisory jobs either in government or in private business. About 80% of all Africans do not even earn the minimum wage necessary for subsistence. Separate and vastly inferior facilities are provided for Blacks: schools, transportation, stores, and hospitals. Africans suffer from extreme poverty, malnutrition, severely inadequate health care, and poor education. White South Africans, however, have one of the highest standards of living in the world.

REPRESSION AND IMPRISONMENT

The South African government needs strict controls backed by a brutal and powerful police force and army in order to maintain the system of apartheid. There are countless repressive laws, enacted to keep tight control over all aspects of people's lives. Black people are denied basic human rights and freedoms. They are not free to live where they choose. They cannot join recognized labor unions, and do not have the right to strike.



Int'l Defense & Aid

All Black people over 16 must carry passbooks at all times. Passbooks are special identification papers which show to what area an individual is restricted. They are the key to the maintenance of apartheid. Passbooks are used to control residence, movement, and work. Blacks cannot move, travel, or change jobs without the appropriate stamp in their passbooks. They live under constant fear of police harassment, arrest, and imprisonment. Three out of every four Black people have been arrested at least once in their lives for violations of Pass Laws.

People who try to fight the system of apartheid are imprisoned, killed, or banned. Banning is a special restriction used by the South African government. It is applied to individuals, organizations, and publications. Banned individuals are restricted to a very small area: one neighborhood or town. They cannot meet with more than two people at a time, speak in public, teach, write for publication, or be quoted by the press. Banned organizations or publications cannot legally exist in South Africa. There are over 20,000 banned publications. All newspapers, books, movies, etc., are strictly censored. All Black political parties are banned.

Under the Internal Security Act and the Terrorism Act, people can be held for indefinite periods of time, without a charge, for

interrogation. All the security laws are so vague that almost any activity can be considered a crime and any person arrested and imprisoned. Steven Biko, a non-violent Black leader like Martin Luther King, was arrested under the Internal Security Act. He died as a result of police brutality and torture on September 12, 1977.

MIGRANT LABOR

Although all Africans are assigned to a 'homeland', only about half of them actually live in the rural reserves since white South Africa needs their labor. Black people are regarded as no more than a plentiful supply of cheap labor which is necessary to keep white South Africa one of the richest nations in the world. This system also provides huge profits for U.S. and other multinational corporations doing business in South Africa.

All Africans are migrant workers, staying in white areas only as long as they are needed in the workforce. Like temporary workers who come here from Mexico and elsewhere, once their work is done they are no longer welcome. Children, the old, the sick, and the unemployed (regarded by whites as 'useless appendages') are forcibly removed to rural reserves, even if their families have lived in the same place for two or three generations. This system of forced removals destroys family life by preventing husbands, wives, and children from living together.



Woman waits for transportation. She has been forced to move because her land is wanted for some other purpose.

The Life of Black Women

IN THE RESERVES

"Widowhood—a life of void and loneliness; a period of tension, unbalance, and strenuous adjustment. And what can it be to those thousands of African women—those adolescent girls married before they reach womanhood, thrown into a life of responsibility before they have completely passed from childhood to adulthood; those young women in the prime of early womanhood left to face life alone, burdened with the task of building a home and rearing a family; those young women doomed to nurse alone their sick babies, weep alone for their dead babies, dress and bury alone their corpses? What can it mean to those young brides whose purpose has been snatched away, overnight, leaving them bewildered and lost, leaving them with a thirst and hunger that cannot be stilled?

And yet this is the daily lot of tens of thousands of African women whose husbands are torn away from them to go and work in the cities, mines, and farms—husbands who because of the migratory labor system cannot take their wives with them and because of the starvation wages they receive, are forced to remain in the work centers for long periods—strangers in a strange land—but equally strangers at home to their wives and children."

Phyllis Ntantala, *"The Oppression of Women in South Africa."*



Woman watching her baby.

In the reserves, those who can, get passes for work and leave to take jobs in industry, in the mines, or on white-owned farms. The worker is generally a man, who leaves his wife and children in the reserve—not because he wants to, but because the apartheid law does not allow ‘useless appendages’ to live in ‘white’ South Africa. Thus, both South African employers and multinational corporations can keep wages down and profits high by separating families, paying men a wage only just sufficient for their own upkeep, and forcing the rest of the family to rely on meager farming in the reserves. With the family in the reserve, an ‘independent’ country, the South African government can shrug off the responsibility of providing basic social, health, education, and sanitation services.

The burden of survival and of raising the next generation of workers falls on the women. Separated from their men, they have to scratch out a living from the poor land—if they are lucky enough to have land. They must also care for the old and the sick—those who have no legal place in South African society. In this situation, women become isolated and lonely. They are uncertain about family members who become caught up in the struggle for survival in town—a struggle that can lead to alcoholism, prostitution, and the breakup of families. Often these women in the reserves suffer severe emotional anguish.

IN THE URBAN AREAS

Faced with this situation, some women will go to town to find their husbands or other loved ones who are on labor contracts. Often, women are traveling illegally because the government will not allow such visits, or will allow only extremely restricted visits. For example, more than 20,000 wives and children of men on 11 month contracts left their ‘tribal homelands’ to settle in a squatter camp called Crossroads. They wanted to be near their husbands who worked in Capetown. In September, 1978, the police arrived at night to try to bulldoze the camp. When the squatters resisted, one man was killed. Women, including pregnant women, were beaten, and 300 people were arrested.

Women also go to ‘white’ towns to look for work. They are forced to leave their children behind, often in the care of another woman, who may be too old or overburdened to cope. Most working women find jobs as servants living in tiny quarters in their ‘madam’s’ backyard. They typically work 60-hour weeks and are not allowed to have overnight visitors, even if the visitor is their husband or child. For such work, African women receive around \$50 a month.



Women cooking outside their houses in Soweto.

If women can't find other kinds of work, they desperately try to make ends meet by doing white people's laundry (without the help of any machines) or by brewing and selling traditional beer, which is illegal. A small percentage of women find slightly better paying jobs in industry, hospitals, or as clerical workers. As Africans they face legal and enforced wage and job discrimination; as African women, they also receive the lowest wages.

Many women, like men, are forced to live in single-sex hostels for the period of their contracts. These 'hostels' are like concentration camps — bleak, cramped, cold, guarded, and isolated from outside contact. Even the few women who are allowed to live with their families in the Black townships have a very insecure position. A woman has no right to rent a house in her own name. If her husband dies, she is likely to get evicted — even if she is working and can pay rent. Only if she has a son, she may escape eviction by registering the house in his name.

Thus apartheid means not only inequality and separation of Black from white, but also separation of Black men and women workers from each other and their families.

Black Resistance to Apartheid

Black resistance began with the earliest attempts of whites to take over the country. The African peoples tried to defend their land and cattle, but their weapons could not match the power of European guns. In 1912 the African National Congress (ANC) was established to unite all Africans to resist the power of the white settler state. At first the ANC organized peaceful protest and resistance, but as repression increased, they realized the need for more militant mass action. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was formed in 1959. Both organizations were banned in 1960 following the Sharpeville Massacre, when police fired on a peaceful demonstration against the pass laws. The Sharpeville Massacre was a turning point in the history of the resistance movement. No longer able to operate legally inside South Africa, Liberation Movements took up armed struggle from neighboring Black-ruled countries.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) developed during the late 1960's and early 70's. The BCM has created a new defiant mood and heightened militancy. Under the umbrella of the Black People's Convention (BPC), which has since been banned, church, worker, parent and student groups organized protest and resistance. In Soweto in 1976 students took to the streets to protest the imposition of Afrikaans as the language of study. The uprisings soon spread to other Black townships. These uprisings encompassed African, Indian and Coloured communities; they crossed tribal and urban/rural lines. Led by students, they also involved workers.

ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Black women in South Africa are faced with the double oppression of being Black and female. One Black woman, active in the political struggle in South Africa, has commented on the relationship between national liberation and women's struggle for dignity and equality:

"In different parts of the world today women are demanding equal recognition with men in all walks of life and rejecting a home-shackled existence. But we are behind everyone else in the world—where other women are rejecting the home-centered life, our women are denied even that..."

But what have our men done to reduce the impact of this double load of oppression on their women? Admittedly, in many spheres of social life they are powerless to please us and give us our rights. They cannot, for in-



Women at a demonstration against pass laws in Soweto.

stance, give us a better quality education; they could not save us from crime and violence; they could not give us greater justice and greater dignity, better homes and better social institutions; they are powerless and they could not give us decision-making positions; they themselves have none. Were our women to launch a frontal attack on men and join hands with all the women of the world at this stage, would they attain their liberation? If they did, would it not be the same oppression as that of their men? Do our women really want to share the dismal position of their men—do we want to be equal to such abysmal humiliation? Certainly not. We are then left with one option only, and that is to fight side by side with our men for our National Liberation. This all-encompassing oppression of the white man has got to go first; the dignity of our men has got to be regained; our national heritage and our self-determination has got to be restored to us. Our right to choose who is to govern us and what social system to create is paramount. Therefore, our first struggle for liberation is our National Liberation."

*Woman's Conference on Women in South Africa,
Botswana, 1976*

In Vietnam, Mozambique, and Angola and throughout the world, women have played a major role in the struggles for national liberation. In South Africa throughout the history of resistance to apartheid Black women have also been very active in the struggle.

In 1913 women successfully resisted having to carry passes.

In 1943 women took part in a boycott of buses. For 9 days in midwinter Black workers from a Black township outside Johannesburg walked 18 miles to and from work to protest an increase in bus fares.

In 1949 there was a spectacular national work stoppage, in which women were active, to protest the system of apartheid.



Women took part in the bus boycott and walked to work.

THE PASS LAW CAMPAIGN

In 1955 African women were told that they would have to carry passes. By law men had already been forced to carry passes which restricted and controlled their movements. Knowing what the pass laws involved for men, women refused to be subjected to them. The Pass Law Campaign was led by the ANC. Through the ANC's Women's League as well as the Federation of South African Women, African women across the country organized and protested against passes. The first major demonstration occurred in 1955 when 20,000 women marched to the Prime Minister, Strijdom, in Pretoria, the capital. They said, "Strijdom, you have struck a rock when you have touched a woman."

Near the small town of Zeerust, the struggle was intense. Women refused to accept passbooks, or, if forced to, burned them. In reprisal, the police raided their homes, burned their property,

beat, shot and arrested them. It was a prolonged struggle but women were eventually forced to accept the passes because without them they could not travel, work, or register the birth of their children.

The militancy of African women has continued to the present. During the Soweto uprising young women along with young men organized, protested and were jailed. Older women were active in forming the Black Parents Association to show solidarity with Black youth and act as an umbrella for other Black organizations focused on education and community affairs. The number of women being imprisoned and leaving to join military training programs of the liberation movements shows that the level of their participation in the current struggles of South Africa is high.

WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Women have not escaped arrest, interrogation, solitary confinement, or torture. Dependents of arrested women are often left stranded, or in the care of those too young or old to cope.

"In one home, the young woman was arrested last year; her small children, aged 2, 3, and 4, remained in the custody of their grandmother. The old woman had to care for her own five children and three grandchildren. Then the worst happened. The old woman was arrested. All her children and the three grandchildren were stranded; the 17-year old daughter had to take charge of the family without money..."

South African newspaper, in *For Their Triumphs and Their Tears*.

The list of over 300 women, detained without trial, banned, exiled, held under house arrest, imprisoned and otherwise detained or charged with political offenses is too long to include here.

We highlight the life of Winnie Mandela as an example of the contribution of women toward the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

The Life of Winnie Mandela



Winnie Mandela with her daughter Zindzi.

Winnie Mandela is a leading light among South African women activists. Her life stands as an example both of the ruthless persecution that the South African regime brings down on people who refuse to bow to its tyranny and of the undaunted spirit that continues to oppose that regime. Winnie Mandela has been imprisoned and her movements have been restricted time and again, although she has never been convicted of any crime except for technical violations of her banning orders. Her moments of liberty have been very brief, but they have shown her to be steadfast in her conviction.

Nomzamo Winnie Mandela was born in 1934 and grew up in a rural area. Moving to Johannesburg, she earned a diploma in social science and became a social worker.

In 1958 she married Nelson Mandela, a leader of the ANC. Later that year she participated along with hundreds of other African women in a demonstration against passbooks. Although pregnant at the time, Mrs. Mandela was arrested and had to spend two weeks in jail.

In 1960 the ANC was banned and Nelson Mandela went underground. He was arrested a year later and has remained in prison ever since. He is serving a life sentence at the infamous Robben Island Prison.

BANNED

On January 28, 1963, Winnie Mandela was served with a two-year banning order. This meant that she could not leave the Johannesburg area, attend meetings, or communicate with other banned persons. Special permission was required for her to visit her husband.

Two years later, a stricter five-year banning order was issued. Now Winnie Mandela could not leave the Orlando area of Soweto. She was not allowed to enter any school or publishing house. She lost her job as a social worker.

In 1966 Mrs. Mandela was granted permission to visit her husband on Robben Island with the condition that she travel by train to Cape Town. Finding the train full, she took a plane instead so that she could reach her husband before the permit expired. As a result, she was charged with violating her banning order and sentenced to 14 months imprisonment, all but 4 days suspended. This is just one example of the arbitrary and inhuman rules imposed by the apartheid regime.

POLITICAL PRISONERS TORTURED

In May 1969, Winnie Mandela was arrested along with 40 others under the Internal Security Act. She spent the next 491 days in detention, most of it in solitary confinement, although she was not charged with any crime. Two of the detainees, a Moslem leader and a trade union leader, died during interrogation in prison.

In October, 1969, Winnie Mandela and 21 other African detainees were charged with furthering the activities of the ANC. Mrs. Mandela stated that she had been cruelly interrogated for five days and five nights despite a heart condition. Other detainees testified that they had been tortured.

The court acquitted all the accused in February, 1970. However, they were immediately re-detained under the Terrorism Act, which empowers the police to hold people indefinitely. Nationwide protests greeted this act. In June of that year, Winnie Mandela and 19 others were charged under the Terrorism Act. They were acquitted once again in September.

Only two weeks later, Mrs. Mandela was again banned for 5 years and placed under house arrest from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. on weekdays and from 2 p.m. to 6 a.m. on weekends and holidays. She was

arrested three times in the next few years and convicted of violating her banning orders with charges such as receiving visits from one of her sisters who came to help her when she was sick.

Family and friends of Winnie Mandela have been harassed in connection with visits made to her or for refusing to speak against her. Her sister, Nomyamisa Madikizela, was held in solitary confinement and threatened with 10 years in prison if she refused to testify against her.

BLACK PRIDE AND UNITY

Winnie Mandela was free from September, 1975 to August, 1976—her one period of liberty since 1962. She spoke out courageously for South African liberation at that time. After the Soweto revolt of June, 1976, she was active in founding and leading the Black Parents Association (BPA). In a speech at the founding of the BPA Winnie Mandela called for black pride and black unity against the oppressors.

"It is only when all black groups join hands and speak with one voice that we shall be a bargaining force which will decide its own destiny. This is the only way in which we shall maintain our oneness. We know what we want, our aspirations are dear to us. We are not asking for majority rule; it is our right, we shall have it at any cost. We are aware that the road before us is uphill, but we shall fight to the bitter end for justice..."



Young women take part in Soweto uprisings.

Let us leave this meeting with the spirit of rebirth, of purification from the humiliation of domination. If you are to free yourselves, you must break the chains of oppression yourselves. Only then can we express our dignity; only when we have liberated ourselves can we cooperate with other groups. Any acceptance of humiliation, indignity, or insult is acceptance of inferiority. We have to think of ourselves as men and women. As one quotation goes, 'Once the mind is free, the body will soon be free.'"

BANISHED TO BRANDFORT

Winnie Mandela was arrested again in August, 1936, under the preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act, used by the government to stifle unrest by removing the leadership. She remained in prison for four months but was never charged. After her release in December, she was served with a five-year banning order.

Justice Minister Kruger then decided that 'it was better to have her out of Soweto at the present time.' She believes she was chosen as a scapegoat for the Soweto uprising. In May, 1977, she was arrested and driven 200 miles to the small town of Brandfort. She lives there with her teenage daughter, Zindzi, the youngest of her 4 children, far from friends and relatives, restricted to meeting with no more than one person at a time. The people of the town are afraid to talk to her. She is unable to find work and has to live on a small pension. She is constantly watched by the police.

While in Brandfort, in 1977, Winnie Mandela was charged with the 'crime' of having taken part in a conversation about a chicken in the presence of two other people, and with unlawfully receiving visitors — who came to see her daughter. The courtroom overflowed with supporters at her trial. She received international attention and support as well. She was given a six months' suspended sentence. Police had to disperse a spontaneous demonstration of support on the day the sentence was pronounced.

STAY AND FIGHT

The South African government has stated that it would not stop Winnie Mandela from leaving for exile. However, she is dedicated to remaining in her country and fighting for change. As she said, 'If anyone should leave, it is not me, it's the settler government.'

Apartheid and the United States

WHAT DOES WINNIE MANDELA HAVE TO DO WITH US?

We in the United States are connected in very real ways to the lives and struggles of Winnie Mandela and other women in South Africa. Corporations benefit from racism in the United States and South Africa alike. Employers encourage and use racism and sexism to divide workers and keep wages low. Blacks and women in the United States are denied equal access to education and jobs. South Africa mirrors a more extreme version of many of the same injustices found in our own country.



Discrimination/UC Berkeley/Depression/Jan 1977

CAPITALIST NATIONS PROP UP SOUTH AFRICA

We live in a country which (along with other nations such as Great Britain, France, West Germany, Israel, Canada, and Japan) makes it possible for the South African white regime to survive. These nations provide South Africa with support that is essential for the maintenance of apartheid. They provide markets for South African mineral wealth — gold, diamonds, and uranium. They supply technological know-how, military aid, and nuclear technology. For example, computers provided by IBM and photographic equipment from Polaroid enable the South African government to implement its system of pass laws. Military vehicles manufactured by General Motors are used to put down Black resistance within South Africa. Banks give direct loans to the South African government and to companies operating in South Africa. The United States, United Kingdom, France and other powerful Western nations allow South Africa to survive politically and economically by routinely vetoing United Nations resolutions calling for an economic boycott of South Africa.

UNITED STATES INVESTMENT IN APARTHEID

The United States has had investments in South Africa since long before World War II. Now the United States has \$1.8 billion worth of direct investment in South Africa. While over 400 United States firms have interests in South Africa, the 13 largest account for over three quarters of total United States direct investment there. The 13 play an important role in the United States economy, as they do in South Africa. They are Caterpillar, Chrysler, Firestone, Ford, General Electric, General Motors, Goodyear, IBM, ITT, 3M, Mobile, Texaco and Standard Oil of California and Union Carbide. United States companies also have an unknown amount of indirect investment in South Africa through European firms.

United States banks have approved at least \$3 billion in loans to South Africa in the last 6 years. At the same time, they refuse loans to city and state governments, forcing them to cut back on social services. For example, the First National Bank of Boston has admitted to \$28 million in loans to South Africa, including at least \$14 million directly to the South African government. It has also given loans to the Foxboro Corporation of Massachusetts, enabling it to supply South Africa with nuclear technology. The same banks are being reviewed by the United States Department of Labor for discrimination against women and minorities. It also provides loans to Massachusetts businesses which decide to relocate overseas where labor is cheaper and there are no unions. It denies mortgages in low income areas of Boston and Massachusetts. This is only one of many United States banks with such practices.





Bulbul © 78 LNS

Foreign companies enforce apartheid in their daily operations and benefit from the cheap labor apartheid provides. Multinational corporations have been making enormous profits from their investments in South Africa—higher than anywhere else in the world. Many corporations claim that they can change the system of apartheid from within by introducing reforms inside their plants. None of these attempts have had any impact, and Black leaders have stated that the only way for corporations to weaken the system is to withdraw completely.

UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN SOUTH AFRICA A DANGER

United States interests in South Africa provide the material basis for United States policy toward Southern Africa. Again and again, in Southeast Asia, Chile, Angola, and elsewhere in the world, we have seen that the United States will act militarily either openly or secretly to protect its business interests. United States investment in South Africa brings us dangerously close to becoming involved once again on the wrong side of a people's fight for freedom.

IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

Just as international capitalist support is crucial in maintaining the racist South African regime, international support for the liberation struggle in South Africa can make an important difference. In the words of Winnie Mandela:

"I can tell you from my own personal experience over the past 15 years, when I was confined and restricted, that I got my inspiration from the very knowledge that one is not alone. The knowledge that the struggle is an international struggle for the dignity of man and that you are part of this family of man—this alone sustains you. In our particular struggle these outside groups have a tremendous psychological effect on the masses, on us as individuals—just that knowledge alone that we belong to a family of man in a society where we have been completely rejected by a minority."

Already our campaigns in the United States and the progress of the liberation struggles are having an impact on United States investment in South Africa. United States banks and corporations, fearful of losing credibility here and of the consequences of a mass uprising in South Africa, are beginning to ease themselves out of South Africa. More and more universities and organizations, like unions, are divesting from corporations involved in South Africa. But we have to keep the pressure up, for the corporations' decisions are not based on morality, but on their profits.



What Can We Do in the United States?

Join anti-apartheid groups and support their activities:

1. The Winnie Mandela Solidarity Coalition
2. Local campaigns against bank loans to South Africa
3. Campaigns to get universities to divest stocks in companies doing business in South Africa.
4. Liberation support groups.

Have your local organizations (school, union, church, social club, etc.) pass resolutions condemning apartheid and United States corporate support of South Africa, and demanding United States withdrawal of all support for South Africa.

Write letters to your representatives and senators, urging an end to United States support for South Africa.

Be informed and inform others (see reading list at the end of this pamphlet). Rent a film or invite a speaker from a local organization on South Africa to your organization, church, or community.

Readings and Sources

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Time Longer Than Rope Edward Roux. University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. A history of the Black people's struggle for freedom in South Africa. 470 pages.

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Winnie Mandela Solidarity Coalition

The Winnie Mandela Solidarity Coalition came together in 1977 in Boston. It arose in response to interest generated by a forum on Repression in South Africa, held by the Third World Women's Organization. The goals of the Coalition are to build a campaign to free Winnie Mandela and other women political prisoners in South Africa; and to educate, organize, and involve individual women and women's organizations in support of South African liberation. The Coalition seeks a diverse and broad-based membership of women and representatives of women's organizations with local, national, and international affiliations.

Activities of the Coalition to date have included educational programs and production and dissemination of leaflets and a poster. In addition, on International Women's Day, March 8, 1978, the Coalition held a press conference at the First National Bank of Boston. This action demonstrated our solidarity with Winnie Mandela and other women political prisoners throughout the world, and our support for South African liberation, and for United States corporate withdrawal from South Africa.

