

## **Re-thinking Women's Histories in Nationalist Struggles**

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This paper seeks to capture the lost gendered voices and histories of women in South Africa's road to democracy. Official accounts of nationalist history are often explained in the context of men, religion, community or events. Hence, their analysis is often simplistic, one dimensional and fails to incorporate the marginalised voices of women. This paper provides short biographical profiles of three women who played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle in South Africa: Lilian Ngoyi, Dr Goonam and Sam Moodley. The narratives captured in this article are rich, layered in multiples experiences and highlights how women's status and experiences are socially constructed and culturally determined. They show how individual memories converge to highlight the complexities of gendered experiences. A feminist perspective not only challenges the meta-narratives of the liberation histories but also illuminates the heterogeneous experiences of women in the struggle in the context of race, class, gender and ethnicity. It decolonises gendered experiences within an Africanist perspective and offers an alternative and new ways of documenting the gendered aspects of the liberation struggle in Africa.

### **Introduction**

In post-apartheid South Africa, there has been no shortage of information on the history of the liberation struggle. This is most noticeable in the genre of publications for popular readership: autobiographies, biographies, illustrated and general accounts. However, in most instances, they reflect masculine narratives of the liberation struggle. They are 'elite' perspectives rather than histories from below—Elaine Unterhalter underscores the 'heroic masculinity' in South African liberation historiography. She states, it,

`maintains a notion of women's invisibility or homogeneity. In the discourse of heroic masculinity women may be ungendered equal comrades, they may be

heroines who inspire, but somehow do not live the struggle. They may be the wounded, or the innocent, or the supportive relatives. In all of these guises they have no autonomy, no different political interests, and no struggle. Their views are always expressed or interpreted by men.’<sup>1</sup>

This paper provides short biographical narratives of three women political activists in South Africa’s liberation struggle. While the laws that applied to the oppressed groups -Africans, Coloureds and Indians -were often different, their aim was the same: to preserve and maintain the privileges of the white minority. And the effect of the laws was the same: poverty, violence, humiliation and racism. Through the biographical profiles, this paper highlights the complexities of gendered experiences in the liberation struggle. Race, class and gender were not only significant factors in shaping and defining their political consciousness but also illuminates the heterogeneous experiences of women in the struggle. It decolonises gendered experiences within an Africanist perspective and offers an alternative and new ways of documenting the gendered aspects of the liberation struggle in Africa.

### **Short Biographical Profiles**

#### **Lilian Masediba Ngoyi**

Lilian Ngoyi was one of South Africa’s well-known political activists and affectionately called Ma-Ngoyi. She was born in Pretoria in 1911. She attended primary school, later trained as a nurse for three years and also was a seamstress. She married John Ngoyi who tragically died in an accident. In 1945 Ngoyi began working in a garment factory and joined the Garment Workers’ Union of the Transvaal. Her union activism not only developed her political consciousness but also provided a platform for her to engage with women from other racial groups. She was a ‘staunch member’ of her Church. During the 1952 Defiance Campaign she was inspired when young men supported the struggle, ‘I saw boys hop into police vans volunteering to go to jail to fight against unjust laws. I was moved by the spectacle and by the dedication of these youngsters’.<sup>2</sup> Ngoyi was ‘so moved’ she decided to join the ANC Women’s Laegue (ANCWL) at Orlando, Johannesburg and with others, she defied at the local Post Office. Ngoyi was actively involved in the African National Congress (ANC) and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). In her capacity as President of the FEDSAW and the

ANCWL she, together with Rahima Moosa, Helen Joseph, and Sophia Williams, led a historic march of approximately 20,000 women of all races in the 1956 anti-pass campaign in Pretoria. In the 1950s she visited the headquarters of the Women's International Democratic Federation based at the German Democratic Republic. She was a delegate at the Congress of the Federation of World Mothers in Switzerland.

The theme of the Congress was 'No More War'. As a mother she abhorred war and its associated horrors, 'I visited the Buchenwald concentration camp it was there where I saw how man can sink to the lowest depths, and at the same time rise to the noblest heights. First I was shown the horrible gas chambers. I was shown a lampshade made out of human skin by the wife of the commandant in charge of the camp. I just could not believe it.'<sup>3</sup> After her trip abroad, she was arrested for high treason together with 155 other men and women in 1956. Ngoyi recalls her arrest, 'I was among the last group to be discharged. Although the trial took long and we were worried about the outcome, I made many dear and lasting friendships.'<sup>4</sup>

In the 1960s the apartheid government sought to quell anti-apartheid activity. There were massive arrests. Ngoyi was detained for five months, 'Funnily enough I didn't feel like a prisoner. I always felt that I had done nothing morally wrong and that in the end right would prevail. It did, though, it took five horrible months'.<sup>5</sup> Her worst experience however, was when she was detained under the 90 Days Act. She was placed in solitary confinement for 71 days. According to Ngoyi, it was an experience she will never forget, 'While detained my health deteriorated so much that one day I fainted. I just collapsed. For a moment I thought the end had come but somehow I pulled through'.<sup>6</sup>

She was also subject to banning and restricted to her home in Orlando West in Johannesburg.<sup>7</sup> In 1973 when her banning orders were lifted -after 11 years- she was overjoyed. When she was informed by the police that 'You are free. You can go wherever you like' was the 'sweetest music to her ears'.<sup>8</sup> Banning orders put a strain on her livelihood, 'I had to give up my trade union job and do dressmaking at home but the SB (Special Branch) scared my customers away. They would come in at all times and start asking for passes and asking a lot of questions. So, many people decided to keep away from my place. I must say I have had a tough time, but my spirits have not been dampened'.<sup>9</sup> Ngoyi never wavered in her dream of a free and democratic

South Africa, 'I am looking forward to the day when my children will share in the wealth of our lovely South Africa.'<sup>10</sup> Lilian Ngoyi died in 1980.

### **DR KASAVAELOO GOONRUTHNUM**

Dr Kasavaeloo Goonruthnum Naidoo, popularly known as Dr Goonam, was born on February 24, 1906, in Durban. She was the second daughter of Kasaval and Archie Naidoo of Umgeni in Durban. Goonam came from a large family of three sisters: Dhanam, Meenachie and Logambal and three brothers, Peter, Bobby and Gopal. Her father migrated from India and her mother from Mauritius. They settled in Natal and entered into a partnership with A Pillay and formed RKA Pillay and Company. They imported goods from India, namely Indian groceries and ceremonial goods. Her mother also joined the business and was mostly responsible for "taking charge of the accounting."<sup>11</sup> Goonam attributes much of her feisty spirit and success to her mother's influence.<sup>12</sup>

Goonam with the help of private tutors completed her high schooling and in 1928 boarded the ship *Edinburgh Castle* and travelled to Scotland to study medicine. But medicine was not the first choice she wanted to become a lawyer.<sup>13</sup> Travelling abroad, a single 22-year-old unmarried female was undoubtedly not the norm in Indian society. Goonam was challenging the conventional roles assigned to women. Goonam's political consciousness stemmed both from her experience abroad and at home in Natal. Her stay in Scotland concretised her on issues such as human rights, equality and freedom of mobility. In an interview in 1990, she stated,

'In Scotland, where I studied, I thoroughly enjoyed the freedom of being able to move or stay wherever I wanted to. And when I came back and looked around at the traumatic hardships Indian, Africans and Coloured were subjected to; I realised that it was important for me as a victim of the system to engage in the struggle as well.'<sup>14</sup>

On her return to Durban, she was confronted with both racial and gender prejudices. As a female Indian doctor, she experienced discrimination based on her race. She also has a difficult time practising medicine because of her gender. She states, 'I remember the door being shut in my face when they saw I was a woman.'<sup>15</sup> During one of her employment interviews at a local

hospital, Goonam explained to the matron she was a medical practitioner. The matron replied, 'You do what?'. Goonam responded, 'I am a doctor.' The astounded matron laughed and said, 'A witch doctor?' to which Dr Goonam snapped, 'They don't teach witchcraft in Scotland.'<sup>16</sup>

Goonam's lifestyle also drew sharp criticism from conservative members of society. She embraced a western style of dress, her 'outrageous habit of smoking in public' and drinking alcohol was considered taboo for Indian women.<sup>17</sup> Goonam's political will was initially shaped by her own family's experiences of racial discrimination. It left her with bitter memories and strengthened her resolve to challenge the unjust system. During the outbreak of the Second World War, the Durban City Council informed her family of their intention to expropriate their home which was situated in Umgeni Hill, a suburb north of Durban, to make way for White housing. Goonam's mother made several pleas to the Council to no avail. Reverend Satchell of the St Aiden's Mission called a protest meeting against the expropriations. It was during this meeting that Goonam took to the platform and made her maiden speech. After that, she joined the neighbourhood in a protest march from Grey Street to the city hall. The family home was eventually bulldozed, and Goonam was devastated.<sup>18</sup>

Goonam eager to change the living conditions of the poor in Natal, entered politics. She was very much influenced by the growing rise of militant radicalism in Indian politics. The NIC, the main political organ of the Indian community in Natal, was, by the late 1930s, primarily controlled by the Indian elite who were more representative of the mercantile class than the working class. This group had accumulated real estate and trading privileges, and their main concern was to protect those privileges. It was in this 'claustrophobic' political environment that the LSG (Liberal Study Group) was established. The Group constituted of radical students, young lawyers, doctors and trade unionists. Goonam was a member of this group. Many of its members were affiliated with the NIC but were highly critical of the leadership and were keen to reform the Congress. Indian women were in the minority in the Group, but it also included several white women activists with whom Goonam was closely associated. The former were either trade unionists or members of the Communist party. Among them were Fay King Goldie, Vera

Alberts, Sarah Rubin and Pauline Podberry. The Group met periodically and was active in organising debates on topics of contemporary interest such as capitalism and imperialism.<sup>19</sup>

Goonam played a significant role in the 1946-1948 Passive Resistance campaign. She recruited volunteers and courted imprisonment several times. In 1946 Goonam together with a group of housewives, amongst them, Kistamah Chetty, attempted to cross the border at Volksrust, into the Transvaal. She was subsequently imprisoned for six months.<sup>20</sup> In the aftermath of the resistance campaign, Goonam continued to speak out against injustices affecting the masses in South Africa. In 1952 she participated in the Defiance Campaign against apartheid instituted municipal laws.<sup>21</sup> In the 1960s following the declaration of a state of emergency, many activists went into exile. Goonam died September 21, 1998, at the age of 92.

### **SUMBOORNAM (SAM) MOODLEY**

Sumboornam (Sam) Moodley was born in Dundee on November 20, 1948. Sam schooled at Dundee State Aided Primary School and completed her secondary education at Dundee State Indian High. Her parents were Packri and Govindama Pillay. Sam came from a large family of five sisters and one brother. She was raised in a very conservative and religious environment. Sam's political beliefs to some extent, were influenced by her religious beliefs. Her family were devout Saivism followers who believed in the lived experiences of individuals and the importance of creating a better life for humanity. Moreover, her parents were also activists involved in many welfare and community upliftment projects.

On completing high school, Sam was keen on pursuing tertiary education. Her brother was allowed to enrol at Fort Hare while the female siblings were discouraged from furthering their education. Sam was astonished by this gender bias, which most Indian girls experienced in their families at the time. For Sam, it struck a deep cord, Sam rebelled and finally, her father relented. She enrolled at Salisbury Island, a tertiary institution reserved for Indians only. The higher academic needs of the Indian community at the time were achieved through the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 which created a separate university for Indians, namely the University College, Durban, located at Salisbury Island in Durban.<sup>22</sup>

She registered for a Bachelor of Arts degree and took on five courses: English, History, psychology, sociology and drama. Lectures were held at Salisbury Island, but since Sam was the only student majoring in drama, external lectures were held at Orient School in central Durban. Sam became involved in politics during her first year on campus. Her questioning spirit and the segregation of races in nearly all spheres of life had an impact on her. For example, in Dundee, her hometown, there were segregated postal services, no dressing rooms for 'non-whites' in white-owned shops and they were denied lay-by payments. However, this resentment of apartheid laws became more ingrained when it affected her close friend, Joyce Dlamini. Dundee was a cosmopolitan and multiracial community, and Joyce and Sam were childhood friends. Sam recalls this incident,

'my best friend Joyce....lived close by.... she went to an African school and later ..... she went to King Edward to do nursing. ....we still kept in touch. In 1966, we were returning home by train one Easter holiday, ...she had to go and sit in the compartment set aside for African people and I had to be pushed on to one side... then I realised for the first time, that Easter holiday.....the impact of apartheid....then her father came to pick us from the train station...and he said I am going to drop you at home, ... but you know we have moved...and they moved to a location, to an African Location ...because the area we were living in was declared an Indian area.'<sup>23</sup>

While at university, Sam began to voice her political protest by participating in drama productions. At the end of 1966, she took part in a production titled, *Black on White*, a satirical review mocking the political, economic and social conditions of persons residing in South Africa. The play ran for four years. The Avon Theatre Company hosted the production; its founder was Subash Maharaj. The play travelled throughout the province of Natal and received excellent reviews. Salisbury Island gave Sam not only access to tertiary education (albeit with its limitations) but laid the foundations of her political agency.

Sam describes the academic environment at Salisbury Island as stifling,

On the academic front, the professors and lecturers were recruited from Universities of Pretoria, Free State, Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch. Many of

them only had diplomas and were in the process of completing their degrees, we suffered academically and called the University a glorified high school because lecturers preferred to dictate notes to us. Critical analysis, debate or engaging opinions were curbed. There was an atmosphere of uncertainty, distrust of some lecturers who were paid over and above their salaries to become informants for the administration. Despite the outward expression of passivity, rumblings of protest, of resistance, lingered in the corridors, in the cafeteria, in cell-meetings in hostel rooms and outside of the Campus. Ever since its inception in 1961, Students formed their own independent student body, called Island Student Association (ISA) and the Students Action Committee (SAC), to work secretly on the campus making students aware of the violation of their rights, of ways in which the University College was used by the NP [Nationalist Party] government to indoctrinate students into docility and acceptance of the nationalist philosophy of servitude. These two-organisations rallied the support of the students against the formation of the Student Representative Council (S.R.C), where the Rector presided over all meetings having absolute veto rights on all issues. Students fought against hostel conditions, poorly prepared meals, transport costs, ferry boat services, not being able to form any student body whether for social, cultural or sporting purposes without the permission of the Rector or supervision by at least two members of staff, expulsion of Hostel students, lack of freedom of speech, intimidation and spying and forbidding students to join the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) in the early days and the South African Student Organisation (SASO) in the later years.<sup>24</sup>

Sam graduated with a BA degree in 1968 and later went on to enrol for a UED (University Education Diploma) which she completed in 1969. She then taught at Witteklip High School, between 1970-1972. She was dismissed from her teaching post because of her strong political views as she was highly critical of apartheid education. Sam believed in making students more socially conscious about their environment and stressed the importance of experiential teaching. She encouraged the publication of newsletters, student debates and theatrical productions at

school. One of the first dramas company formed in Chatsworth was the *Chatsworth Experimental Theatre Company*. Sam played a pivotal role in its development. She later joined the Black Community Programmes(BCP). Together with Steve Biko, who was also dismissed from the Natal Medical School because of his political activity, BCP published a journal titled *Black Review*. The primary aim of the journal was to document the history of the Black community in South Africa.

Sam's political activism led to her being served a banning order and placed under house arrest. She was always under surveillance from the Special Branch, and raids to her home became a way of life.<sup>25</sup> Sam, at the time, was married to Strini Moodley, a fellow activist. Strini was banned in March 1973. Sam was banned for five years, and her first banning order was served on August 14, 1973, a week after she gave birth to her son on August 7 1973. Sam's involvement with the Theatre Council of Natal subjected her to further harassment. The company was established on May 4, 1969. It was a home for artists of varied political thinking. In the 1970s, through Cultural activities of dance, drama, music, art Sam embraced the Black Conscious ideology. This movement had a significant impact on Sam,

In the 1990s, Sam was delighted with the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations. Upon reflection of her role in the freedom struggle in South Africa, Sam notes,

**Towards an Analysis:**

The biographical profiles of the women in this study convey the lived experiences of South African black women living under oppressive and discriminatory conditions. In many ways, they are 'struggle narratives' or voices of resistance. Each woman has a unique story to tell, their experiences layered and textured with multiple experiences. Their narratives also convey a sense of agency and highlight that women's status and experiences are socially constructed and culturally determined shaped by historical, political and socio-economic factors. Highlighting these perspectives informs our understanding of their diverse experiences and how collectively these factors shaped and defined their political consciousness, identity and modes of resistance. Hence several different threads emerged from this study in the ways we read, write and understand the role of gender, identity and ethnicity in nationalist movements.

First, several factors developed and enhanced women's political consciousness: education, links to family political histories, role models, urbanisation, women entering wage labour, personal experiences, political and civic bodies and trade unions. Some women came from *politically active families* and middle-class homes that provided an impetus for activism and the nurturing of their political identity. The home became a site for political consciousness, and this politically enabling environment supported their activism.

For Ngoyi and many working-class women, employment at factories and trade unions became an important platform that informed their political consciousness. Trade unions in the 1940s mobilised women across race and class. The formation of FCWU, the Textile Workers' Union and the Garment Workers' Union provided opportunities for women to mobilise as a collective, discussing and deliberating on common grievances such as labour, political and gender oppression. From the trade unions, many women joined the political movement, recognising that the workers battle is inseparable from the broader political struggle for liberation.

The biographical profiles also highlight the 'vulnerabilities of women as a means of political terror'.<sup>26</sup> Incarcerated women were subject to naked body searches, physical torture, verbal and sexual abuse. Women experienced both physical and psychological humiliation. But the prison, despite being a 'site of humiliation' also became a 'site of female community and resistance'<sup>27</sup> and familial bonding. In prison, new relationships and bonds were forged. There were also differences in how women from the various races were treated in prison. Robben Island became a site for black male political prisoners. Liberal white women challenging the apartheid government were held at Pretoria Central Women's Prison, while Black women were held at Kroonstad and Diepkloof.

Another underlying theme that emerges is women's social and political agency at different historical junctures. The diverse roles that women embraced as a wife, mother, sister, sister-in-law can best be described as conservative, masochistic and passive. They were expected to behave, act, and dress in a manner that was acceptable to society. Marriage and family were prioritised over education and public activity. However, the women in this study were not afraid to challenge the stereotype of what an 'Indian' or African women should be. Education, urbanisation, wage labour, and political associations provided them with other discourses of their roles within the home and society. These were discussed, deliberated, propagated and affirmed in

diverse settings. Goonam, and Sam Moodley challenged their fathers' conservative attitudes towards female education. Goonam and Sam Moodley and Phyllis Naidoo were 'radical' women, who shattered traditional norms through their dress, behaviour and mannerisms.<sup>28</sup> Goonam was chastised for her 'outrageous' public smoking, and 'western attire, wearing big earrings'. An impervious Goonam, ignored her critics, as she refused to go about 'looking like a widow'.<sup>29</sup> When Sam Moodley entered Salisbury Island, she quickly learnt that there were unwritten rules regarding female dress. Eastern wear was encouraged while western attire was restricted to long 'black straight-lined skirt, white starched frilled blouse', stockings, and 'baby louis heels'. When Sam wore a pair of shorts and walked barefooted on the Island's ground, she was 'summoned' to the hostel by the female warden on her dress code. For Sam 'This was the first assault on myself, on my body, on how I should dress', and 'on what was right for an Indian girl.' For women like Goonam, Gool and many others, challenging sexism were frustrating, wanting and yet liberating. The above examples are indicative that women's refusal to accept, blindly, culturally prescribed gender roles and that the private/domestic space became a contested site of gender identities and roles. By challenging sexism within the Indian and African communities, they were voicing feminist concerns seeking to define and shape their identities, not only from an ethnic but also from a broader woman's perspective. It provided in many ways, opportunities for them to develop their personal and political identities. Adversity created personality and identity shifts and made some women more robust determined and self-assured with new aspirations and goals. They discovered both their inner strengths and weaknesses and, in the process, developed a new sense of who they were, not only as a woman but their capabilities as a wife, mother, daughter and activist. A new female identity emerged, both personally and politically and in the process, discovered new freedom and mobility.

Ngoyi, Goonam and Sam Moodley were also sensitised to gender issues as they became more politicised. They believed firmly that women should take their rightful position in society, and gender equality was only possible through constructive dialogue, education, and visibility of women. But these feminist concerns created discord and tensions among some men and women in the liberation movements. Some held the view that by prioritising women's issues, one was sowing divisions within the movement. How could and should feminists or women rights activists position themselves in relation to the broader liberation movement? <sup>30</sup> Thus, women's

issues which were a 'distraction' was to be temporarily cast aside, as nationalistic struggles took precedence. This was rationalised on the premise that gender equality would follow post-liberation struggles. Women were aware that gender oppression was inextricably linked with political oppression, and there was a need to eradicate the apartheid system. The conjoined nature of political and gender oppression meant that women had to reposition and negotiate their demands in the movement. They embarked, therefore, on a joint struggle with the men for full civic rights, rather than fighting against the men for equality. They could still be nationalists and feminists at the same time.

Another significant theme that permeates the narratives is identity, how it was constructed, re-constructed, evolved, and negotiated at various historical junctures. The narratives of Sam Moodley and Goonam reveals that place of birth, histories and life experiences shaped and defined their positioning as Indian women. Also, notions of 'Indianness' was nurtured and reinforced by both colonial and apartheid ideologies which aimed at keeping racial groups 'separate but equal'. Women at the turn of the century who arrived as immigrants embraced the Indian identity, with strong ties to India. Their descendants, born and raised in South Africa, were less accommodating of the 'Indian' tag. The politics of citizenship evolved, by the 1950s and led to a rethinking of the 'Indian' identity and how they were to position themselves as a community within the larger liberation struggle. By the 1970s many Indians identified as 'Indian' to embrace a broader African, Black, South African identity..

Another significant theme that emerges from this study is the inter-racial and intra-racial sisterhood at different historical periods. Colonial and apartheid history created differential oppressions, differential resistances and imposed material differences among racial groupings. While the laws that applied to the Africans, Coloureds and Indians were often different, their aim was the same: to preserve and maintain the privileges of the white minority. And the effect of the laws was the same: poverty, violence, humiliation and racism. Inter-racial solidarity can be discerned as early as 1913 during the anti-pass campaign in the Orange Free State. *Indian Opinion*, in a front-page headline, titled, 'Native Women's Brave Stand' expressed solidarity with African women. African, Coloureds and liberal whites also expressed similar expressions of solidarity during the predominantly Indian resistance campaign of the 1940s. From the 1930s Indian women embraced non-racialism through trade unions and organisations amongst them:

Liberal Studies Group, Women's Liberal Group, Non-European United Front, South African Communist Party, and the Federation of South African Women. It enabled them to work closely with other oppressed groups towards a democratic South Africa.

The role and contributions of women to South Africa's road to democracy is just one chapter in the broader histories of the country's liberation narratives. Stories of men and women from diverse communities and groups, of resistance, displacement, and oppression and how they worked towards non-racialism is a narrative yet to be told both from micro and comparative perspectives. They will add to the holistic stories of liberation struggles not only in South Africa but on the African continent.

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<sup>1</sup> Elaine, Unterhalter, "The work of the nation: Heroic masculinity in South African autobiographical writing of the anti-apartheid struggle" *The European Journal of Development Research* 12 (2), 2000, p.174.

<sup>2</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 27

<sup>7</sup> *Sechaba* June 1980

<sup>8</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> *Sechaba*, October/November/ December 1973, p. 27

<sup>11</sup> *Indian Opinion*, 28 February 1936; Goonam, *Coolie Doctor*, p.12.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. K. Goonam, 1991. *Coolie Doctor, An Autobiography by Dr Goonam*. Durban: Madiba Publishers.

Goonam, p.12; *The Asian*, 23 September 1997.

<sup>13</sup> *Natal Mercury*, 22 February 1992.

<sup>14</sup> *The Leader*, 15 March 1990.

<sup>15</sup> *Natal Mercury*, 22 February 1992.

<sup>16</sup> *Natal Mercury*, 22 February 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Goonam, *Coolie Doctor*, p.58.

<sup>18</sup> Goonam, *Coolie Doctor*, p.70.

<sup>19</sup> *The Passive Resister*, 28 October 1946.

<sup>20</sup> *The Leader*, 15 March 1990.

<sup>21</sup> *The Graphic* 30 April 1971.

<sup>22</sup> *Fiat Lux*, 1 May 1966; Interview, Sam Moodley, 15 December 2010, Newlands West, Durban, Kwazulu/Natal, 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Interview, Sam Moodley, 15 December 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Moodley and Pather, (eds), *Reflections Salisbury Island 1961-1971*, 27-28; Cited in Kalpana Hiralal, “Gendered Narratives of Salisbury Island”, *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 31(1) 2013, 124-127.

<sup>25</sup> Interview, Sam Moodley, 15 December 2010.

<sup>26</sup> Anne McClintock, “No Longer in a Future Heaven”: Women and Nationalism in South Africa, *Transition*, 51, 1991, p. 116.

<sup>27</sup> Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert, *Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen Faces and Unheard Voices, 1930-42* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), Foreword, p. 12; p. 25.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Icon and Iconoclast’, [http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/articles/icon\\_and\\_iconoclast.htm](http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/articles/icon_and_iconoclast.htm)

<sup>29</sup> Goonam, *Coolie Doctor*, p.57.

<sup>30</sup> Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre (GLDC), WC, UKZN, Interview, Judge Navaneetham Pillay, 11 August 2002, “Voices of Resistance Project.