

WOMEN IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, 1948-1960:  
AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

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The decade of the 1950s was a period of unprecedented political activity in South Africa. After its election in 1948, building on previous segregationist policies, the Nationalist Government began to implement a series of laws and constitutional reforms that were to comprise the policy of apartheid. The decade served as the construction phase for what was, by 1960, to become a totalitarian police state. Made up of a complex mixture of oppressive legislation, the fundamental quality of apartheid was that it was a governmental policy based on race, designed to create a system of "legal" discrimination against South Africa's non-white inhabitants. Members of the African, Indian, and "coloured" populations did not, however, stand by idly while the few rights they had were stripped away from underneath them; nor did the women belonging to these groups. During the 1950s, assisted by a small number of whites, South Africa's non-white inhabitants resisted the onslaught of apartheid. Throughout this decade women would play a critical role in these protest politics. Although these actions did not succeed in blocking the implementation of apartheid policies, the resistance of those who protested made the decade of the 1950s a tumultuous period in the history of South Africa.

Although there had been organized resistance against racial oppression since the founding of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912, the decade of the 1950s was a landmark because a significant number of women entered the struggle. Organized on the basis of race, women first participated in the resistance movement through women's branches of the larger, male-dominated, national liberation organizations. In 1943 the ANC adopted a new constitution which included a provision for women to become full members of the organization. Shortly thereafter the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) was founded. But it was not until more than ten years later that an organization would evolve that united women of all races on the basis of gender. With the founding of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) on April 17, 1954, a new era began in South African history, one that would see women of all races fighting together against oppression on the basis of race as well as gender.

On August 9, 1956, 20,000 women of all races marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.<sup>1</sup> Although women had played a role in the

struggle previous to this event, with this peaceful demonstration they established themselves, in the minds of South Africans and the world community, as actors in the national liberation politics of the 1950s, and FSAW became recognized as a major component of the Congress Alliance. The major issue around which women chose to rally throughout most of the decade was that of reference books (passes). Although they were unable to block the government from issuing passes altogether, South African women delayed their enforcement for over a decade. Much of the political action that took place after the march on Pretoria was carried out and/or organized by women. It is remarkable, therefore, that so little of the literature is devoted to their gender-specific struggles.

A great deal of scholarship has focused on South Africa under apartheid, and, more specifically, on the national liberation movement. It was not, however, until relatively recently that the role of women began to gain attention. Despite the recent flourishing of African women's history, when one compares it with the larger body of work on South Africa one finds a paucity of literature specifically devoted to the role of women as political actors. Although it appears to be a growing field, given the small number of monographs, the forums in which most of the published work is presented (feminist publications rather than mainstream historical journals), and the fact that much of the scholarship on this topic is in the form of unpublished theses or conference papers, I would argue that South African women's history continues to be a marginalized field.

In this paper, I will discuss the available historical literature focusing on women in protest politics in South Africa during the decade of the 1950s.<sup>2</sup> Much of the work which addresses the national liberation movement can be divided into one of four categories. Most early literature excludes women from the history altogether; when women are mentioned it is usually only in passing, and rarely are they acknowledged as political players of any significance.<sup>3</sup> The second category employs what Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Margaret Strobel call the "add women and stir approach."<sup>4</sup> These are histories that acknowledge men as the key actors, but do not neglect to include a token chapter or section on women. Biographies comprise the third category. Useful in that they allow the reader to hear the words of the people who, themselves, participated in and witnessed the events that took place, they suffer from the lack of a theoretical framework. Finally, there are the histories of women organized on the basis of gender, which give the reader the most comprehensive, in-depth look into the events of this era in South African women's history.

One would expect a certain amount of gender bias in those books composed by men, and yet it is surprising that this bias also pervades histories written by women. Out of the more than 300 pages Mary Benson devoted to recording the events of the national liberation movement, only one chapter of nine pages in her book, *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright*, addresses the role of women.<sup>5</sup> And within this chapter, although, perhaps, capturing something about the attitudes of the women that might not have been captured otherwise, certain statements struck me as patronizing. For instance, when discussing the Pretoria demonstration and, thus, a predominantly African group of women, she wrote, "In August 1956 all over South Africa they packed their suitcases and hat boxes with the care and enjoyment they always put into such big events, and set off for Pretoria."<sup>6</sup>

Tom Lodge, in both his monograph on black politics and his article on the African political organizations in Pretoria's townships devotes only a small portion of these two works to the role played by women.<sup>7</sup> Not only does he provide the reader with only a limited amount of "add-in" history but also fails to provide any kind of gendered perspective, i.e. one that takes into account the role of women. Although he does reserve a chapter of his book for women specifically, I would argue that it is disproportionate given the significant role of women in 1950s protest politics. It is only in the context of actions organized strictly by women that he mentions them to any great extent, despite the fact that they were instrumental in the organization and implementation of such activities as the Alexandra Bus Boycotts and the Congress of Democrats, to mention only two examples. He diminishes women's impact on the bus boycotts by writing only that they were prominent in the initial picketing of bus stops, when, in fact, they played a significant role in organizing and carrying out the boycott.<sup>8</sup> Since a large number of the people utilizing the buses were women, their participation was crucial to the boycott. Lodge's treatment of women in his article on the Pretoria townships is even more sketchy. He does acknowledge that the Lady Selbourne branch of the ANCWL was active in organizing women's anti-pass protests, but fails to mention altogether the clash between women and police in this township in 1959, about which Hannah Stanton wrote so extensively in her firsthand account.<sup>9</sup>

In his history of the ANC, Francis Meli devotes a section of the chapter focusing on the period 1949-1960 to the role played by women.<sup>10</sup> He acknowledges the involvement of women in politics when he writes, "The struggle of women continued throughout and found its climax in the 1950s." Yet, he never contextualizes this "struggle", and, therefore, the reader is not aware of its importance or

scale. Despite the fact that he writes that women exhibited strength and courage, Meli, like Lodge and Benson, doesn't really do justice to the women, whose activities were pivotal in the movement for national liberation, even though he does include them as part of his overview. There are several other works that treat women in a similar fashion, but the discussion is even more limited than in those histories above; therefore, I will not examine them in this paper.<sup>11</sup>

There are a number of extensive interviews and autobiographies by those who actually participated in or witnessed the events of 1950s South Africa. These can be very useful because they allow the reader to hear the voice of the participant/observer her- or himself, and they provide us with insights into how these people viewed their own situation at the time, and how they view it upon reflection as well. One of the most compelling of these autobiographies is that written by trade union activist and ANC leader Frances Baard.<sup>12</sup> Through her story, the reader can see how women were politicized during this era. Admitting that she knew little or nothing about the ANC before attending her first meeting, Baard shows the reader how she was able to work her way up from the regional, grassroots level to a leadership role in FSAW. She portrays the excitement that the women felt, as well as how they viewed their own position and potential impact when she wrote, "It was very important that the women were following us. When the people are behind you then you can do a lot of things."<sup>13</sup> She also explains how the women determinedly organized in the townships, an aspect of FSAW that is not frequently addressed in a large part of the historical literature. Her testimony corresponds with much of the literature in that she notes that in organizing, FSAW appealed to women on the basis of their roles as mothers, and yet, she goes on to make a statement that contradicts the conclusion in much of the work that this was an essentially conservative movement which was not inherently feminist when she writes, "... we demanded that women be equal with men in everything. . . ."<sup>14</sup> It is these insights that make this personal literature particularly useful. Similar insights are gleaned from the autobiographical work of Helen Joseph.

In her book, *Tomorrow's Sun: A Smuggled Journal From South Africa*, Helen Joseph provides the reader with a personal, firsthand account of the events of the 1950s from someone intimately involved in the leadership of FSAW.<sup>15</sup> Once again, like Baard's book, Joseph's traces the evolution of her involvement in protest politics. Although her background was substantially different from that of Baard, she also experienced a political awakening, one which plunged her into the politics of the national liberation movement of the 1950s. As is evident from the book, this was quite an

extraordinary choice for a privileged white woman of her background. Her book, combined with an interview in Diana Russell's collection, provides the reader with an in-depth look into the lives of the women participating in this struggle.<sup>16</sup> Again, her memories reinforce the notion that FSAW was set up along feminist as well as nationalistic lines when she writes:

... we had a fantastic women's rights charter. But we didn't actually work to implement it. It didn't get as much attention as it should have, because the organizations that were affiliated to the federation were basically national liberation organizations, and we were so involved in the general struggle that women's rights got pushed aside to a great extent. But we firmly believed that when we got our freedom it would be universal freedom.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the fact that these aims got lost within the national liberation movement, Joseph clearly demonstrated that the leadership of FSAW, in drawing up this charter, displayed some kind of feminist consciousness.

Also included in Russell's collection is an interview with Ruth Mompoti, in which she further explores this idea of feminist aims being overshadowed by nationalistic aims.<sup>18</sup> This is clear when she writes, "We feel that in order to get independence as women, the prerequisite is for us to be part of the war for national liberation. When we are free as a nation, we will have created the foundation for the emancipation of women."<sup>19</sup> She goes on to explain that what happens to women after liberation depends on how much women are part of the liberation itself. One notable quality about these autobiographies is that they only seem to represent the leaders in the movement. Despite the fact that Beard and Mompoti came from modest backgrounds and worked their way up to leadership positions because of their ability to do so, it is clear that they were atypical. These autobiographies tend to exist only for those who were extraordinary, and not for common women. Perhaps this is due to the high illiteracy rate among African women. Regardless, because of the lack of literature written by those who had less-privileged roles within the women's movement, one witnesses only the lives of leaders. Although these autobiographies can provide the reader with great insights into the lives of the women involved, they ultimately suffer from a lack of theoretical framework. They are valuable as historical sources, but without this framework they are unable to drive the historical debate forward. In this vein of literature containing firsthand accounts, there are several books by missionaries that make up a useful component of the study of South African women in the 1950s.

Charles Hooper and Hannah Stanton were both white missionaries, working in South Africa during the 1950s.<sup>20</sup> Both were firsthand witnesses to clashes between African protestors and the government. Although neither author focuses on women solely, both devote a great deal of the discussion to women's activities. Hooper's book is an important piece of evidence in documenting the activities surrounding the protest in Zeerust. There is very little literature exploring past protests by women outside of urban areas. Despite the fact that the leadership of both the nationalist and women's organizations was centered in urban areas, there was, as is illustrated by the protest in Zeerust, potential for activism in the rural areas. Zeerust is one of the more frequently researched rural protests, no doubt, because of the existence of Hooper's thorough account of the events that took place in the late 1950s. Likewise, Stanton, through her writings, revealed a great deal about what was going on in and around Pretoria. Again, these works lack a theoretical framework, and despite their value in establishing a chronology and giving the reader a clear idea of what happened in a specific place and time, their contribution is limited.

In the late 1970s, several works organized on the basis of gender began to parallel already published studies on the national liberation movement. For the first time, women were seen as important contributors to the national liberation movement of the 1950s, and yet their own unique position within society was recognized in the context of their actions. With the publication of two monographs, Hilda Bernstein's *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears* and Nancy van Vuuren's *Women Against Apartheid*, the idea that would pervade later works, that women in South Africa suffer under a triple oppression based on race, gender, and class, began to seep into the literature.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, Bernstein admits that the national liberation struggle took precedence when she writes:

On the whole, women have participated in the general struggle for liberation together with the men, and in tracing women's political activities it is not possible to separate these from the aims of struggles for national liberation as a whole, nor from the innumerable campaigns in which women and men participated together.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the fact that this work focuses on women, there is still a degree of patriarchy displayed throughout, as is illustrated by the above statement.

van Vuuren introduces her work by saying, ". . . the role of women is so vital to the anti-apartheid movement that without them the

movement would have been but a shell."<sup>23</sup> Like Bernstein, she explores the role that these women played, specifically focusing on the ANCWL and FSAW and their role in the anti-pass movement. By focusing on women as political actors, these works filled a void that existed in the late 1970s in the body of South African historical studies, but I would argue that although these studies provide us with a useful chronology, they are not as comprehensive as those works that follow because of the authors' use of sources. Neither author utilized oral sources to any extent. Therefore, the reader is unable to hear the voice of the women who participated in the movement themselves. Like the autobiographies discussed above, these works also lack any kind of theoretical framework.

Throughout the 1980s, a number of articles were published that trace the role of women in national liberation movements in South Africa over time. The decade of the 1950s appears prominently in these works, most of which focus on women's resistance to passes. One of the articles, Judy Kimble and Elaine Unterhalter's "We Opened the Road for You, You Must Go Forward': ANC Women's Struggles, 1912-1982," looks at the women's organizations "within the context of a discussion of the relationship between women's emancipation and national liberation."<sup>24</sup> In this article, the authors discuss the relationship between Western feminism and the national liberation struggle in South Africa, and the stated aim of the paper is to deepen Western understanding of the movements involving women in South Africa. In this article, Kimble and Unterhalter employ a feminist theoretical framework, which causes the reader approach the protests carried out by women in the 1950s in an entirely different way. The authors argue that despite the fact that the women viewed themselves as mothers and wives, the act of their joining together illustrated a kind of feminist consciousness. The authors imply that by organizing on the basis of gender women were using a tactic of "combative motherhood" when they write, "But the appeal to the common experience of South African women of all races in the FSAW was itself a revolutionary stand under the conditions of apartheid."<sup>25</sup> A number of other works examine the ANCWL and FSAW and the role of women in the pass protests, but this is one of the most thorough and well-developed of these articles.<sup>26</sup> Kimble and Unterhalter, by recognizing the commonalities, and differences, of Western feminism to the women's movement in 1950s South Africa, employ a unique and thus enlightening approach.

In exploring women's resistance in South Africa in the 1950s, Annette Greissel, while still focussing on women's anti-pass protest activities, examines events outside of the Johannesburg/Pretoria area, an approach rarely taken in the literature.<sup>27</sup> CATAPAW (Cape Association

to Abolish Passes for African Women) was meant to be one of many "broad anti-pass committees" established throughout the country however, the Cape Town committee was one of the few ever actually formed. This article is valuable because it examines liberal women's organizations outside of the Congress Alliance. For a brief period of time, the National Council of Women (NCW), Black Sash, Anglican and Quaker women's organizations, the South African Institute of Race Relations, and the Civil Rights League joined the ANCWL and FSAW under the umbrella of CATAPAW. In addition to gleaning insights into non-Congress Alliance liberal women's organizations, Greissel illustrates the tenuous relations between these groups and how, despite a constant tension, they were successful in broadening the anti-pass campaign.

The early 1980s were important years to South African women's history because of the publication of two works, Julia Wells' thesis on the anti-pass campaigns and Cheryl Walker's book, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, both of which explore the history of women's involvement in resistance in twentieth century South Africa.<sup>28</sup> Based on a number of interviews and, in the case of Walker, newly discovered unpublished source material, these authors were able to compile comprehensive records of women in the struggle. Although Wells' history is quite thorough, I would argue that Walker, because of her use of source material, goes further in advancing the debate on this subject. However, the one element of Wells' history I found particularly interesting was her discussion of the dialogue that took place between FSAW and the ANC surrounding the arrests of thousands of women anti-pass protestors from the Johannesburg area in 1958.

In 1958, the government's mobile pass issuing units finally descended on Johannesburg. The FSAW had planned for women to go in small groups to the places where passes were being issued in an effort to try to convince women not to accept the passes.<sup>29</sup> As Wells wrote, "It was to be a campaign of gentle persuasion. . . . But the women were in no gentle mood."<sup>30</sup> Thousands of women marched on pass offices in and around Johannesburg, and, as a result, thousands of women were, in turn, arrested throughout this one-week period. The FSAW had had no intention for women to be arrested, but, excited by the momentum this generated, they wanted to follow through on this course of action and, as in the Defiance Campaign of 1952, refused to pay bail. It was over this issue that, according to Wells, a major battle arose between ANC and FSAW, a battle which the ANC eventually won through bailing the women out of jail. The interesting thing about Wells' account is that despite the fact that protests continued through the time of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, this is the point at which she

implies that FSAW ceased to be an effective organization. Based on the fact that she goes on to state that the police crackdown after Sharpeville was the breaking point for FSAW this may not have been her intention. But given the impotence of the women's subsequent protests, and the fact that from this point their activities were tied up with those of the Congress Alliance as a whole, this dissension between the ANC and FSAW in 1958 is perceived by the reader to be the "beginning of the end" for FSAW. With this reading, Walker's book could also suggest the same conclusion.

In her book, Cheryl Walker examines the role women played in protest politics South Africa, and their triple oppression on the basis of race, class, and gender. Through using life history, Walker allows the reader to hear the voices of the actual women involved. As a result, the reader is able to gain a great deal of insight into not only the activities in which these women were involved, but how they perceived their involvement. Unfortunately, for the most part, Walker tends to use these interviews to support pre-conceived theories. I would argue that the value of Walker's book is in the interviews themselves, as they can serve to drive the discussion on this period in South African history forward. This idea is reinforced by Belinda Bozzoli when she writes, "The life history which is merely conjured up to 'illustrate' some externally derived theory is of no use at all. . . . It is the life histories themselves that contain the pointers to the ways in which they may themselves be explained."<sup>31</sup> In addition to the vast amount of factual information in Walker's book, it is these life histories that will be valuable for future research, as they point to the themes future historians on this subject might want to explore.

Despite the thoroughness of both Wells' and Walker's works, the countryside still remains basically overlooked. Due to the fact that women's organizations were based in the cities, most of the historical studies seem to focus on these areas. However, outside of Johannesburg/Pretoria, a number of urban centers are neglected by the literature as well. Although the protests in Zeerust and those which spread from Cato Manor have been addressed to some extent, they merit more thorough attention. These protests illustrate that there was a great deal of discontent in the rural areas, and, as in urban centers, women were capable of organizing protests, often without the support of any kind of male-dominated party machinery. Like the history of women in the countryside generally, the involvement of rural women in political protest in the 1950s is an area which leaves much room for exploration.

In the introduction of the second edition of her book, Walker addresses several of the areas which she sees as requiring future research. One of these is the lines upon which FSAW was organized.

Walker explains that much of the literature is fairly conservative claiming that women organized on the basis of wives and mothers. I agree with Walker that further research needs to be made into the "family." As in the literature on the Women of the Plaza in Chile, the "Veiled Revolution" in Cairo, or The Mothers of East L.A. in the United States, through such studies, the argument that women displayed a feminist consciousness when organizing themselves into FSAW could be more well-developed.<sup>32</sup> As Walker writes:

... the assumption that what was at stake for women in the anti-pass campaign was a simple defence of the implicitly Western and explicitly patriarchal family needs to be rejected. We cannot presume that in organizing as mothers (or potential and future mothers) women were simply endorsing the gender relations of the patriarchal family.<sup>33</sup>

Many feminist theorists in the United States argue that the definition of family should be expanded, separating the notion of family from household.<sup>34</sup> This approach seems applicable in the South African context as well, for if, through an exploration of "family", one is able to unearth the uniquely South African perception of this institution, one would have a much better idea of why women organized on the basis of gender. It is possible that by organizing on the basis of gender, they were using a kind of "combative motherhood," and thus manipulating their "traditional" roles to strive for less "traditional" goals. Also important in this analysis would be the role of race as well as class, aspects of South African history that have been well explored in the past, although infrequently tied, by historians, to the construct of gender.

The second concept put forth by Walker as requiring additional attention is one of employing a feminist theoretical framework. As Susan Geiger writes when referring to oral history:

... neither is there anything inherently feminist about women's oral histories or women doing oral histories ... it can only become a feminist *methodology* if its use is systematized in a particular feminist way and if the objectives for collecting the oral data are feminist.<sup>35</sup>

Walker points out that this kind of feminist framework, although it has yet to be developed to any great extent, is appropriate for South African history.<sup>36</sup> Because it will bring women into the forefront, it is through this feminist approach that I believe the marginalization of South African

women's history will be shed. As Walker writes, feminism is essentially a political project, and "It is this political commitment that gives to the best academic feminism its intensity and topicality. . . ." <sup>37</sup> It is only through asking what are essentially feminist questions that historians are going to free women of their subordinate position in South African history. Michèle Barrett puts her faith in feminist historians when, in the introduction to her book *Women's Oppression Today*, she writes:

The questions that concern me are the how and why of women's oppression today, but I am sure that the answers to these questions cannot be deduced in strictly theoretical terms. Accordingly, I argue for an historical approach to these questions, drawing on the work of feminist historians. . . . <sup>38</sup>

In writing such a women's-centered history, I argue that it will be necessary to go beyond a structuralist analysis in addressing the more "fluid" role of gender. Perhaps through combining a structuralist with a more postmodern approach, the future for new insights into the lives of South African women who participated in political protest during the 1950s is promising.

Finally, I would argue that until the work of African women historians of color is included in the body of literature, we will have an incomplete picture of the role of women. I am, most certainly, not arguing that women of color are the only people licensed to pursue these kinds of historical studies, but simply that they will add a new, and welcome dimension to the already existing body of work. As was stated in the invitation to the 1954 Women's Conference, "The battle for democracy and liberation can only be won when women, mothers of the nation—a half of the whole population—can take their rightful place as equal partners as men." <sup>39</sup> Until this equality occurs in the history of national liberation movements in South Africa, the battle for South African Women Historians will remain to be fought.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This number differs from source to source. The "official" number as determined by FSAW is 20,000.

<sup>2</sup>Due to the interdisciplinary nature of both African Studies and Women's Studies, it is difficult to find a specifically "historical" perspective. When looking at African women's history, it is often history in an expanded sense (including sociology, anthropology, etc.). Although I attempt to deal with "pure" history in this study, I realize that for a truly comprehensive study one would have to look beyond the field of history.

<sup>3</sup>See for example Gwendolen M. Carter, *The Politics of Inequality: South Africa Since 1948* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958); Edward Feit, *African Oppression in South Africa* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1967); Leo Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1957); Edward Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope* (Madison: Wisconsin UP, 1964); Peter Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1970).

<sup>4</sup>Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Margaret Strobel, "Conceptualizing the History of Women in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East," *Journal of Women's History*, 1.1, Spring 1989, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup>Mary Benson, *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), pp. 154-188.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>7</sup>Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945* (London: Longman, 1983); "Political Organisations in Pretoria's African Townships, 1940-1963," in *Class, Community, and Conflict* ed. Belinda Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), pp. 401-417.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup>Hannah Stanton, *Go Well, Stay Well* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961), pp. 153-159.

<sup>10</sup>Francis, Meli, *South Africa Belongs to Us: A History of the ANC* (London: James Currey Ltd., 1988), pp. 129-133.

<sup>11</sup>See for example Muriel Horrell, *Action, Reaction, and Counteraction* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963); Muriel Horrell, *The "Pass Laws": A Fact Paper* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1960); Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1977).

<sup>12</sup>Frances Baard, *My Spirit is not Banned* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1986).

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>14</sup>Baard, p. 44. For further discussion see Cheryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* 2nd ed. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1991);

and Julia C. Wells, "The History Of Black Women's Struggle Against Pass Laws in South Africa, 1900-1960." Diss. Columbia University, 1982.

<sup>15</sup>Helen Joseph, *Tomorrow's Sun: A Smuggled Journal from South Africa* (London: Hutchinson, 1966).

<sup>16</sup>Helen Joseph, "The National Federation of Women," in *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa*, ed. Diana Russell (New York: Basic Books, 1989), pp. 200-212.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

<sup>18</sup>Ruth Mompati, "The Most Powerful Woman in the African National Congress," in *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa*, ed. Diana Russell (New York: Basic Books, 1989), pp. 106-120.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>20</sup>Charles Hooper, *Brief Authority* (London: Collins, 1960).

<sup>21</sup>Hilda Bernstein, *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1978); Nancy van Vuuren, *Women Against Apartheid: The Fight for Freedom in South Africa, 1920-1975* (Palo Alto: R&E Research Associates Inc, 1979).

<sup>22</sup>Bernstein (1978), p. 40.

<sup>23</sup>van Vuuren, v.

<sup>24</sup>Judy Kimble and Elaine Unterhalter, "We Opened the Road for You, You Must Go Forward": ANC Women's Struggle, 1912-1982," *Feminist Review*, 12, 1982, pp. 11-35.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup>For example see Hilda Bernstein, "Growth of the Women's Struggle," *Sechaba* 23.9, (1989), pp. 17-21; Ivy Matsepe, "Women in the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa," *Southern Africa: Society, Economy, and Liberation* ed. David Wiley and Allan F. Isaacman (East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1981), pp. 235-250; Fatima Meer, "Organising Under Apartheid," *Third World—Second Sex* ed. Miranda Davies (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1983), pp. 20-29; Sally Robinson, "Our Women Are A Rock: Women and the Politics of Liberation in South Africa," *UFAHAMU*, 6.1, 1975, pp. 5-10; Elaine Unterhalter, "South Africa: Women in Struggle," *Third World Quarterly* 5.4, October 1983, pp. 886-893; Julia C. Wells, "Why Women Rebel: A Comparative Study of South African Women's Resistance in Bloemfontein (1913) and Johannesburg (1958)," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10.1, October 1983, pp. 55-70.

<sup>27</sup>Annette Greissel, "CATAPAW and the Anti-Pass Campaign in Cape Town in the Fifties," in *Selected Research Papers on Aspects of Organisation in the Western Cape*. Ed. Linda Cooper and Dave Kaplan (Cape Town: Department of Economic History, University of Cape Town, 1982), pp. 1-23.

<sup>28</sup>Wells (1982); Walker (1991).

<sup>29</sup>For a firsthand account see Beard, p. 67.

<sup>30</sup>Wells (1982), p. 339.

<sup>31</sup>Belinda Bozzoli, "Migrant Women and South African Social Change: Biographical Approaches to Social Analysis," *African Studies* 44.1, 1985, pp. 92-93.

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<sup>32</sup>See: Sahagun, Louis. "The Mothers of East L.A. Transform Themselves and their Neighborhood." *Los Angeles Times* Sunday, August 13, 1989: pp. 1 & 6.; "A Veiled Revolution."

<sup>33</sup>Walker (1991), xxi.

<sup>34</sup>For example: Anderson, Margaret. *Thinking About Women* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 141-179.

<sup>35</sup>Susan Geiger, "What's So Feminist About Women's Oral History?," *Journal of Women's History* 2.1, Spring 1990, pp. 169-170.

<sup>36</sup>Walker (1991), xxiii.

<sup>37</sup>Walker (1991), xxiii.

<sup>38</sup>Michèle Barrett, *Women's Oppression Today: The Marxist/Feminist Encounter* 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1988), pp. 5-6.

<sup>39</sup>Walker (1991), p. 279.