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If Not Feminism, Then What? Women's Work in the African National Congress in Exile

Rachel Sandwell

In 1979, South African militant Thenjiwe Mtintso told American journalist June Goodwin that “the problem is that black women are not yet politicized enough to realize that we are in a state of war. Unfortunately, the men have developed, but the women have been left behind.”¹ The late 1970s were a fraught time in South Africa, one marked by uprisings by black students, and violent repression by the government, including killings and mass arrests of protestors. By the late 1970s, organizations across the townships of South Africa were coming together to prepare what would be the United Democratic Front, the mass movement of the 1980s that played a significant role in bringing about the end of apartheid, alongside the work of the African National Congress (ANC) in exile and the international solidarity movement. Women and men would both play a role in these movements, but it was not until later in the 1980s that there would be a South African women's movement.²

Mtintso was not alone in arguing that black women's chief need was to gain political understanding of the oppression apartheid visited on them. Shortly after speaking to Goodwin, Mtintso fled the country and joined the ANC in exile. This group had been working from outside South Africa since 1960 to overthrow the apartheid state by military and political means. Mtintso's stated position on women in 1979 closely echoed that of the ANC's even before she joined them officially. Since 1943 the ANC had maintained that women and men were equal, with equal rights and responsibilities in the movement.³ But beyond the insistence upon equality, the organization took no further steps to insist upon the transformation of women's experience. In the words of ANC stalwart Ruth Mompati,

I say to women who talk to me about sexual discrimination “I understand your concern, fight it, but never in isolation from the many other issues we face in this country ... I undoubtedly favor more women's participation in the affairs of the

country. Women must take the initiative in demanding this right, and this is precisely what is happening. For me liberation is, however, total liberation. Women's liberation is only one aspect of that totality."⁴

The ANC emphasized national liberation, in which women would be included, rather than the emancipation of women. Women's duty was to become "politicized" in this national liberation war.

Women's participation in South Africa's liberation movements has been a topic of conversation for almost as long as these movements have existed, among both activists and scholars. Most discussion has centered on two main questions: whether the liberation movements relegated women's concerns to a secondary issue (or, what the place of women's liberation should be inside national liberation struggles); and whether women's participation in these movements has been essentially conservative (upholding women's domesticity and traditional gender roles, rather than challenging them).⁵ Neither of these debates is unique to the South African context, although they play out in singular ways in South Africa.

Despite this rich tradition of debate, however, only a small amount of scholarship has addressed women's roles inside the ANC in exile, largely because sources are few and have only recently become available. Sociologist Shireen Hassim has provided the most in-depth investigation of this topic, in the context of her larger study on women's autonomous organizing inside South African politics. Hassim's works focus on the institutional structures available to women inside the ANC. While acknowledging the ANC's ambitions of women's equality and the many important women inside the organization, Hassim argues that ultimately the ANC in its exile period did not enable transformative gender relations. Her findings in this regard echo the testimony of many of her interview subjects, who complained of sexism, harassment, and the maintenance of constrictive traditional roles for women in exile.⁶

In this piece, without disputing Hassim's main conclusions about the limited nature of gender transformation in exile, I use a historical approach to offer new insights into gender politics in exile. I analyze two sites of "gender conversation," formal group discussions over women's rights and roles in the ANC and initial plans for an ANC child care programme, to argue that exile both intentionally and inadvertently provided spaces for new conceptualizations of women's rights, including for challenges to ANC orthodoxy. The focus will be on the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the population of women in exile increased dramatically and women's work within the ANC gradually transformed. In recovering these events, I argue that the initial, essentially conservative, plan for women's work yielded unintended results, encouraging women's self-conscious criticism of prevailing gender norms. Women developed analyses "as women" and demanded concrete rights. At the same time, few women rejected wholesale the ANC's emphasis on national liberation as a necessary condition for women's emancipation. Women within the ANC criticized "feminism," as they saw it as inadequate for solving the problems they faced as black women in South Africa. Their objections illuminate the ways feminism from the United States and United Kingdom travelled, and how it was perceived in different (trans) national sites.

Women and exile

Exile

By the late 1970s, the ANC had been based outside South Africa for almost twenty years. The first exiles had left South Africa in 1960 expecting to be back in a matter of years, but as time dragged on, hopes of speedy victory over the apartheid regime waned. Through the long years of exile, the ANC leadership established diplomatic posts and military camps in multiple nations. Many of these ANC posts were little more than small offices with a few, largely volunteer staff, situated in a few Western countries, Eastern Bloc countries, especially the USSR and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), and sympathetic African countries.⁷ Their first military camps, established in Tanzania in the 1960s, were small and shared with other African liberation movements of the period, although ANC members also went for military training in North Africa, Ethiopia, and the USSR.⁸ In these early years, membership was probably only around 5,000.⁹ Their goal was to overthrow the apartheid state, by military and diplomatic means, but realization of this goal seemed distant.

In the 1970s, however, the fortunes of the ANC began to shift. Inside South Africa, the Soweto uprisings of 1976 saw students enter the streets in protest against apartheid education. The brutal response of the government, which killed hundreds and detained thousands of youth, many mere children, drew condemnation from around the world. International support for the ANC increased. At the same time, the instability inside the country drove thousands of young people into exile. Small ANC underground cells had continued through the quiet 1960s. In the 1970s these cells inspired youth and helped provide them with exit routes out of the country. The exile ANC membership swelled, growing by the end of the 1980s to an estimated 20,000.¹⁰ Many of these members were young, some in their teens, others in their early twenties. And many were women—or at least, many more than in previous years.

Many of these new exiles had little support beyond what the ANC could offer them. The ANC was still scattered across multiple nations, making it even more difficult to organize these new members. Headquarters were by this time in Lusaka (Zambia), but after the liberation of Mozambique and Angola in the mid-1970s, the ANC built up a substantial presence in these countries. By the end of the 1970s, most of the ANC's soldiers (members of its military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, or MK) were based in Angola, mostly in isolated jungle camps. The majority of the ANC's civilian population was sent to Tanzania, where President Julius Nyerere had long been a supporter of the ANC's work. This geographic dispersion, at a time when communication and transit networks were weak and challenged by multiple wars, underscores the transnational character of life in the ANC.

Tanzania became the main site of the ANC's service provision, where the organization began to offer health care, education, and basic welfare support like food and shelter to its members. President Nyerere had granted a tract of land to the ANC, near the small inland town of Morogoro, about 200 kilometers from Dar es

Salaam. There in Morogoro, the ANC concentrated their population, building their school, SOMAFCO (Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College), eventually a hospital, and child care facilities. By the end of the 1980s, the ANC community in Morogoro would number around 5,000 and would include students and workers on the ANC's experimental farm and leather and woodworking factories, as well as many ANC members with health problems or young children.¹¹

Women

Women had occupied an ambiguous position in exile's early years. Black women had been at the forefront of political mobilization inside South Africa in the 1950s before the ANC left the country, organizing and participating in mass demonstrations.¹² Certain women rose to high positions inside the ANC in this period, and their seniority continued in exile. Once abroad, these women worked in ANC offices and also represented the ANC, travelling as international diplomats to conferences and meetings through Africa, Europe, and the Soviet Union. Most of these women were relatively experienced political activists when they left South Africa. However, despite these prominent figures, numbers of women in the organization as a whole remained small.

Through the 1970s and into the 1980s, this changed. As young women activists like Mtintso joined the ANC, they transformed the gender balance of the organization and women's roles within it. These younger women joining the ANC came from a very different political and social background than the earlier generation. Many of the older women in the ANC had their origins either in the trade union movement or in the educated African elite. Many were nurses or school teachers. These elite women in particular embodied a tradition of respectability.¹³ By contrast, the new recruits were steeped in a much different aesthetic and political tradition, one influenced by global youth culture of the 1960s and 1970s. Most were adherents of the Black Consciousness (BC) school of thought and practice. BC developed in South Africa in the early 1970s, taking some inspiration from the Black Power movement in the United States. It emphasized black self-determination and the overcoming of internalized racism and self-hatred inculcated by the apartheid system.¹⁴ Historian Daniel Magaziner notes that young activist BC women displayed a transgressive aesthetic, one that reflected their more confrontational political style.¹⁵ Former BC activist Deborah Matshoba reflected on women's style in the era, saying, "The hair had to be a natty fro, you know ... We had to walk rough. Not like ladies."¹⁶ They also wore high heels, Matshoba recalled. "We wore them so high, with hot pants! Bare midriffs and walked with stilettos—we called them 'dangerous weapons.' We called them dangerous weapon because if we get attacked by these cops then we are armed."¹⁷ This assertive style and personal presentation was a world apart from that of the older women in the ANC.

It is difficult to get a sense of the gender expectations these young women would have brought with them or how these would have intersected with the expectations of the senior exiled men and women. Although historical works on BC and the youth rebellions of the 1970s and 1980s abound, very little of it addresses gender directly. What emerges from accounts of the period is a lived contradiction: women in these

movements were confident and largely equal participants, protesting alongside men, and running programs alongside them. At the same time, women still struggled for respect within these groups.

BC groups emphasized consciousness-raising and political teach-ins, but they also developed community health and education projects.¹⁸ In many of these projects, women took a leading role. High-profile activist Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, for example, was the director of a rural community clinic.¹⁹ Some sources have suggested that by the 1970s and 1980s women occupied a more public role in political activities and were less constrained to the private sphere.²⁰ Speaking in interviews before entering exile, Mtintso described BC founder Steve Biko's attitudes toward women, saying, "To Steve, a woman was a woman ... There was no discrimination."²¹ Mtintso also admitted that, outside of political discussions, women tended to be relegated to more traditional roles, such as cooking and cleaning. Ramphele presented a similar image of gender relations in this period in her published memoirs. Women in the BC movement could, she recalled, come to be accepted as "honorary men"—but they had to struggle for intellectual space and to be allowed to partake in typically male activities like sharing meat.²² Matshoba describes similar recollections but states the case more aggressively, noting, "We [women] asserted ourselves in the organization. We started smoking like them ... We spoke loud!"²³ As was the case in ANC politics at this time, women's liberation took a back seat to the more immediate question of black liberation. Nevertheless, the young women of the BC movement were perhaps more prepared to resist male authority than the older generation of women in exile. At the same time, there is no evidence that their position on women's issues differed significantly from what Mtintso had expressed—that women's struggle was to achieve full political consciousness as oppressed people, not as oppressed women.

Political upgrading

Before leaving South Africa, activist Thenjiwe Mtintso had demanded that women should be educated about politics. The official position of the ANC was essentially in accord with this idea—women, the ANC maintained, needed political education to understand their place in a revolutionary war. The body charged with providing this education was the "Woman's Section." According to ANC policy, all women in exile automatically became members of their local "Women's Section," which was in turn responsible to the Women's Secretariat in Lusaka. One Women's Section member expressed their mandate well when she described their "major task of stepping up the political clarity of women so as to render them fit to function efficiently in all aspects of our struggle."²⁴ The focus was not on politicizing women with regard to their experience "as women," but rather as citizens of an eventual free South Africa. As feminist critics have observed, this approach, common across other African socialist contexts, ascribed any problems women might face to ideological challenges: women's position in society was seen as the result of their own "backward attitudes," and "mysticism," not as the result of material inequality. Consequently, proponents of this analysis believed that women's social position could be corrected by education (of women).²⁵ The ANC used

the term "upgrading," meaning that women would be "upgraded" to have the same level of political consciousness as their male counterparts.

In this section, I will demonstrate that despite their emphasis on transforming women, rather than transforming society, women's structures inside exile in fact created unexpected space for critiques of the ANC's gender politics. Paradoxically, the ANC's own insistence on women's equality enabled these critiques, underscoring the radical potential of exile as a space. With the influx of women in the 1970s, new Women's Sections were established in all regions where ANC members were present. From the start, the discussion groups, lectures, and seminars intended to provide this education became instead sites where women contested and resisted aspects of the ANC line. Although few records survive from these Women's Sections, those documents that remain reveal women members asserting different interpretations of policies, or calling for change. There was no wholesale rejection of the ANC's analysis on women—indeed, most agreed on the necessity of "upgrading"—but the varied responses of the multiple Women's Sections suggest that their meetings became sites for discussing women's issues in ways unintended by the initial ANC plan.

East Africa (Dar es Salaam and Morogoro, Tanzania)

The experience of the Women's Section of East Africa, which was the largest and most active ANC Women's Section, elucidates both the initial intentions behind political education and its limitations in practice. In April 1978, approximately fifty women met in Dar es Salaam to reactivate the ANC Women's Section there.²⁶ This Section had become defunct in 1973, as there were not enough women actively attending meetings.²⁷ The reactivation, and the large number of women at the meeting, pointed to the revitalization that the post-Soweto arrivals were providing to the ANC in Dar es Salaam. But older women, most of whom were long established in exile, dominated the meeting. Kate Molale was unanimously elected chair of the meeting, while Mittah Seperepere gave the main address. Both women had entered exile in the 1960s after extensive involvement in ANC work in the 1950s.

These older women seem to have shaped the agenda of the meeting. Seperepere's address detailed the history of women's contribution to the national liberation movement inside South Africa in the 1950s and can be read as an effort at educating the young women of the Soweto generation about previous women's struggles. The minutes record, "We want the young women to understand what the struggle means. The young women must be serious and not play around. The older women will not tolerate their frivolous attitude."²⁸ These comments point to already-existing generational tensions between the older women and new activists at the same time as they assert the purpose of the Women's Sections: to educate young women about "the struggle," namely, the struggle to liberate South Africa. As we shall see, however, the new arrivals would challenge the older generation's focus on struggle history in the years to come.

As more young people were sent to the ANC's growing community in Morogoro, the Women's Section there grew correspondingly. The East Africa Women's Section corresponded frequently with the Lusaka Secretariat and undertook a great deal of

administrative work, including child care. In this busy context, political education, the Women's Section's original mandate, became less central to their work. In a 1981 Report to Lusaka, the East Africa Women's Section advised the Secretariat that they had suspended political education meetings. The job of the Political Education Coordinator, established in 1979, had been frustrating and challenging, as the time-consuming work was "not appreciated by many." In the face of lack of interest in political education, the Section had concluded thus:

The majority of our women were more practically than intellectually oriented. Although we are involved in the fight against the fascist regime, we do not necessarily have to approach it from the same angle. Our women here have many daily problems in exile. These often lead to confusion and frustration. This is partly why they cannot be forced into political discussion when they are faced with concrete problems like food and clothing for themselves and their children.²⁹

Given the everyday challenges women were dealing with, political education felt abstract and "intellectual." The leadership in the Women's Section had come to conclude that they were being unrealistic. The Report explained, "We have to be practical and make them feel involved and not lectured to."³⁰ In this framing, women's quotidian needs took precedence over political discussion. Inclusion of the women in a meaningful way was more important than "upgrading" them to a party line. This report may also signal resistance if read between the lines—the young women had other concerns and didn't appreciate being lectured about history.

The Section's decision to discontinue political education, however, doesn't seem to have reflected a lack of interest in analyzing women's roles in the ANC. Instead the same report also complained about the absence of women's representatives in other governing bodies in East Africa, namely, those to do with the SOMAFSCO school. The report argued:

In all of these it is not enough to have women members. Women members can be part of any organ as cadres of the movement. There are times when it is necessary to have a woman for the express purpose of representing women's interests, and the Women's Section should decide who should represent them.³¹

Here, distinct from the ANC line of upgrading women to appropriate political consciousness, the Women's Section insisted on the importance of women's representation *as women*. It is possible to speculate that the heavy involvement of these women with child care and other issues particular to women was contributing to a growing analysis of women's specific needs within a self-described revolutionary society.

The Section's work was intended to "upgrade" women to enable them to better understand their place as (gender-neutral) comrades in the ANC's struggle. In practice though, these ANC women dismissed the political education as unnecessary. They instead used the Section to make demands on leadership for greater rights and representation as women, not as gender-neutral beings.

Luanda, Angola

On the other side of the continent, ANC women based in Luanda, Angola, lived in very different circumstances. Angola was unstable throughout the period of the ANC's presence there. Its capital, Luanda, was battered by ongoing civil war and scarred by the recent pillaging of the departing Portuguese colonists. It is perhaps the words of novelist and ANC member Mongane Wally Serote that best capture the fractured and unstable city of this period, and the consequent uncertainty of ANC life there. Serote writes:

There was great unease. The city, made noise. Its steep and stony road, torn and dirty. The old battered cars and trucks, roaring up steepes and down slopes on the right side of the road, are very dangerous ... The people, who walked the streets, looked after themselves. They walked in the middle of the road, and ran onto what resembled pavements, at the sound of the coming cars and trucks.³²

Unlike the large and busy Women's Section in East Africa, women in the ANC's Luanda office were few in number, isolated, and in fairly immediate physical danger. Records from the ANC's Angolan offices are very sparse, reflecting the challenges of record-keeping in a context of war.³³

Nevertheless, women there formed a Women's Section. Fragments of their correspondence survive and testify to their political endeavors. In 1980 the Women's Section in Luanda sent a series of monthly reports to the head office, the Women's Secretariat in Lusaka. These Reports reveal a strict adherence to the party line—to the extent of rejecting a suggestion from the Secretariat that women could be disadvantaged within the ANC. Describing their meeting's response to a discussion document sent by the Secretariat, Jessica Monare, the Secretary there, wrote:

There's a part [in the discussion document] that says Women especially in MK [the ANC military] are not given enough scope after finishing their course, and most women are typists. We totally disagree with that because—(a) there is nobody so far from MK has gone for typing course then come back and worked as a typist; (b) After finishing our course, we work under different departments, we are having the example of the ordinance department where most people in that department are women ... So we rule out this question. We are given enough scope.³⁴

The Secretariat, it seems, was trying to incite discussion around women's disempowerment within the movement, but these women in Luanda rejected the assertion. Although small in number—the Section was composed of only ten women, they reported—they were confident in their work. They insisted that women in ANC, including the military, played multiple roles.

In further reports Monare went on to detail, with optimism, the excellent morale of the group and the progress they had made in discussing the ANC's "Strategy and Tactics" document, a key piece describing the ANC's military philosophy and

approach. They planned to next study the Freedom Charter, a key document defining ANC policy.³⁵ This study, Monare explained, was having concrete benefits:

Our comrades are more self-confident and bold. They do not only participate fully during our political discussions, but also contribute in general meetings and discussions. We now raise our views and opinions on political issues freely. This is one of the greatest achievements of our Unit.³⁶

The Luanda Women's Section unit felt itself to be making progress in increasing women's efficacy as ANC members. At the same time, they rejected any imputation of women's disadvantage.

Highlighting the challenges of long-distance administration, however, the Luanda Women's Section admitted that they were unable to contact women in the ANC's other Angolan camps and had no idea what work they were doing. In April of 1980, Monare advised the Secretariat, "We have not heard anything from the comrades in the camps about how they have organized themselves. There is absolutely no contact whatsoever."³⁷ This total communication failure underscores the discontinuities of the ANC exile experience and reminds us that there was no one representative "woman's experience" across these diverse and poorly connected sites.

Hassim points out, "Ironically and unwittingly—and despite the resistance of the military leadership—MK provided an important arena within the movement in which to raise issues of gender equality."³⁸ These women in Luanda felt MK was a space where they could participate in debate and move forward. Less occupied with material tasks than the women in East Africa, the ANC women in Luanda were more easily able to carve out time for more abstract political discussions, and in them, found relevance.

Maputo, Mozambique

Contrary to the besieged environment in Angola, ANC life in the Mozambican capital was for some years quite stable. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, ANC operated openly and with the support of the new revolutionary government. Conditions for women in Mozambique were particularly good. As historian Kathleen Sheldon has detailed, in the early years of the FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) government, in liberated Mozambique, the new state made providing child care for working women a cornerstone of their social programs, to encourage women to enter the workforce.³⁹ Children and child care in general were important focal points for government intervention, efforts championed by the Organization of Mozambican Women and by Josina Machel, the wife of the first president, Samora Machel, and an important political figure in her own right.⁴⁰ Women's rights were placed at the forefront of the Mozambican revolution.

Perhaps inspired by this context, young ANC women based in Maputo provided the most vocal challenges to the ANC's policies and practice around women. Unfortunately, no records seem to survive from the Maputo Women's Section. However, records of the active Youth Section are available, and it is clear that many of its members were women.⁴¹

Writing in preparation for a Youth Conference to be held in Morogoro in 1982, the ANC Youth of Maputo raised women's rights as a specific issue. Their Report began by commending the ANC's gender politics, observing (inaccurately), "Since the formation of our Movement 70 years ago, the ANC's policy has always been that of treating and regarding all members as equals."⁴² The report celebrated the many historic accomplishments of women in the ANC, making the usual invocation of heroic women. The authors, apparently women, expressed great gratitude to the ANC:

We want to put on the record our heartfelt gratitude to the Movement and the comrades who have made it possible for us to see our selves [*sic*] as part of a new unfolding world in which we have as much say and role to play as our male comrades.⁴³

The Report then turned to a complaint—specifically about the failure to deploy women in MK, and about male chauvinism. Pointing out that only one woman had apparently been sent into active combat in South Africa, the Report stated, "It is important for us, as it is for the people who select cadres for the front to know why so many women are not fit to work on the ground at home."⁴⁴ In addition, they questioned the tendency to focus solely on women's education. Although women were told they were equal, not enough was done, they argued, to ensure women's equal participation:

Although females are being told they need to participate, very little if any at all is being done to see to it that these young women who yesterday knew their roles to be that of subservient and docile beings, who understood their main function in life to be only bearers and rear children, that their whole life should revolve around the bedroom, kitchen, and nursery, are taught now that they have a role to play and that the ANC is fighting to have all this corrected.⁴⁵

Again, these women agreed with providing education to new recruits, whom they pose as "domestic" and insufficiently politicized. But the Report leveled specific accusations against men in the organization. Citing male chauvinism as a problem still "alive" among men, they suggested "that yet another effort should be made to liberate our males of male chauvinism." Rather than settling for education to emancipate women from their misconceptions, they made a novel suggestion: "We therefore stress that male education is as necessary as the education for the female in our ranks."⁴⁶ This is a rare moment in the ANC archives, where women explicitly condemned male behavior.

This small sampling of moments from a variety of ANC sites in the early 1980s suggests the ANC policy of "political upgrading" played out in a variety of unexpected ways. Women in some sites affirmed all aspects of ANC policy, while women elsewhere raised complaints and questions and freely modified policy in practice on the ground. The picture that emerges is of a negotiated process—negotiated between the Secretariat and multiple regions—that put into practice an abstract plan to uplift women. Analyzing the same period, Hassim has concluded, "Not surprisingly, given MK's extremely hierarchical and authoritarian structures, it was also within MK that the limits of the rhetoric of equality were experienced."⁴⁷ I want to highlight the importance of what she labels "rhetoric." The rhetoric of women's equality, evoked

so explicitly by women in these Sections, could be used to demand change publicly from ANC leadership. What these women strove for, then, was the full granting of the promised right of equality.

Welfare work

As the ANC welcomed more members, many without external support of any kind, the organization found itself taking on a much greater role of welfare provision. Women, critics have pointed out, played a disproportionately large role in this welfare work. In particular, members of the large and active Women's Section of East Africa involved themselves in the management of the growing ANC community around them. Scholars have highlighted women activists' own complaints about this, noting that women felt relegated to caretaker roles. Hassim notes that "young militants later criticized the 'apolitical, social work' role of the Women's Section."⁴⁸ Here, I will explore the founding ideas and practices of one ANC program, their effort at comprehensive day care provision for their members, which commenced in the late 1970s in Morogoro. The effort to launch a full "national" day care program to provide care to all "ANC children," I will argue, was more radical than critics have noted, and as such, points to a more progressive consciousness within the organization than has otherwise been acknowledged. The point is not to congratulate the ANC, but to argue that, in focusing on the flawed outcomes of this day care program, scholars have underestimated the radical hopes that inspired it.

Beginning in the late 1970s, senior ANC women based in Tanzania began to write to the ANC leadership about the growing number of pregnancies in the area. It's unclear precisely how many children there were in the region—the best estimate that the Women's Section was able to provide in 1978 was a total of thirty-five infants born to ANC mothers. Yet they indicated that this number was incomplete and that there were many more.⁴⁹ While these numbers were not huge, they did provide a logistical problem. New recruits to the ANC who arrived in Dar es Salaam were accommodated initially in ANC-owned or rented safe houses in the city. One new exile, Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, described her experience of living in one of these houses in a suburb of Dar in relatively positive terms. It was, she noted, "good to be in a house in which we lived like a large family of about twenty people. There were separate bedrooms for females and males and everybody took turns to cook breakfast and dinner, guided by a roster, and to clean shared spaces."⁵⁰ These houses seem to have varied in size and degree of crowding, as some former exiles' accounts describe them as less comfortable or salubrious.⁵¹ Certainly the early letters from the Women's Section there to the Secretariat emphasized overcrowding as a serious problem, particularly in early 1979. It is also reasonable to assume they were intended for relatively mobile and self-sufficient people—women who were pregnant or had newborn infants had a different set of needs.

Quite quickly, however, the senior women concerned with this problem began to make demands beyond merely additional housing or supervision for the mothers and their babies. Women and men in the area, both within the Women's Section and in the

ANC unit responsible for managing the community at Morogoro, began to propose a more ambitious child care plan.

Two women played a particularly prominent role in this visioning, Florence Mophosho and Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile. The two represented the two different generations of ANC membership coexisting in the region. Mophosho had been active in the ANC and unions in the 1950s, and had entered exile early in the 1960s, whereas Mbete-Kgositsile had been a part of the BC movement before entering exile in the early 1970s. Despite these differences, both women had one thing in common: both had left children behind in South Africa. Early in her exile career Mophosho wrote frequently to her friends about her efforts to get her daughter to join her. Unsuccessful, she conceded in 1968 that she and her daughter would have to wait and be "reunited in a free South Africa."⁵² But Mophosho died before seeing that free South Africa or her daughter. The choice to leave her children was similarly painful for Mbete-Kgositsile. In a moving article in the ANC publication *Voice of Women*, she described the sadness of choosing to leave her own children behind in order to fight for a better future, as she saw it, for all South African children. She wrote, "I hope my son will grow up to understand that it was because of love that I cannot begin to explain that he had to be motherless at that tender age."⁵³

It's hard to know what role their grief played in inspiring their efforts at developing a child care program. What is clear, however, is the senior women's voluntary childlessness in exile ceased to be the norm by the late 1970s. Rather than leaving children behind, women either brought them or had children in exile. Indeed, Mbete-Kgositsile would go on to have three children while outside South Africa.⁵⁴ As more and younger women joined the organization, fewer of them saw the need to postpone forming families. In part, these women and their partners may have recognized that their stay outside the country would be much longer than originally planned. They would not be returning to South Africa with an AK-47 to "liberate the country the Castro way," as a popular song had it. Instead, they would spend years waiting and building lives in exile.

Mophosho began to write letters to the Secretariat, and to potential funders, including UNESCO and a Canadian women's organization, detailing the ANC's ambitious plans for a child care program for all members. In 1978, she wrote to UNESCO's Dar es Salaam office, requesting funds and explaining that the ANC needed "a properly run childcare center, to enable young mothers to pursue their careers, and give the innocent children more security by improving their conditions as the future generation of our country."⁵⁵

In this request, Mophosho emphasized both the need to provide care for the children and also the desire to liberate mothers from their children in order for them to be able to return to full-time work for the ANC. The liberation of women from the duties of motherhood formed an ideological backbone for the early arguments about providing large-scale ANC child care, as an undated report on the child care center indicates:

Many of the mothers are themselves young, who have hardly had time to develop their own identities and role in the struggle. Even those who are married and have

planned the child do not necessarily want to forego further work for the movement, even if only for a few years. This is a neglect of woman power and there is a simple solution that would be of benefit to all.⁵⁶

The simple solution this report and others proposed was residential child care: Women from all over the African ANC regions would be sent to a child care center to give birth. After delivery, the mothers were to reside in the center with their baby. After this period of time, initially proposed to be one year, the women would leave their children behind at the center and return to work for the ANC, usually in another ANC region such as Lusaka or Angola. Once the children were old enough, they would enter the ANC primary school and stay in the school accommodations. These facilities were considered to be particularly useful for women based in the Angolan military camps; these "MK mothers" needed a residential facility for their children, as they could not bring the children with them to the camps. In her funding request to UNESCO, Mophosho highlighted that even ANC women working full-time in Lusaka should be able to leave their babies in the child care center, so that they would be able to "contribute [to ANC work] with no hindrance, convinced their children are under good care."⁵⁷ Additionally, women based in Morogoro, including students at the ANC school SOMAFCO, would leave their babies in the center and go back to reside in the school hostels after the requisite length of time. Planners at the time noted that the centers in some respects would resemble orphanages, because the children would stay there for so long under the supervision of full-time child care professionals.⁵⁸ One salutary report from early in 1979 suggested that these centers would "completely free [the ANC's] female cadres for the fulfillment of their revolutionary role."⁵⁹ Women would be emancipated from motherhood to do their jobs.

The provision of what was effectively "national" child care was a fusion between Soviet-influenced old guard thought and community-minded Black Consciousness within the ANC. Some of the preparatory documents for the child care centers refer directly to practices in the Soviet Union and also criticize the failures of the "capitalist West," pointing particularly to the isolation of mothers in Western society. Spencer Hodgson, a South African Communist Party member who worked closely with the ANC and played a large role in the administration of Morogoro, wrote the following on preparing child care centers:

In the West crèches are comparatively unknown. The rich employ a child minder or nanny. Working class women must also resign themselves to several years of confinement, often in high-rise buildings. The loss of women's earnings coupled with her lonely existence and often the chauvinistic attitude of her partner result in unhappiness and often social problems, such as child battery, shoplifting, etc.⁶⁰

Records also refer to a visit by "East German comrades," who provided their reflections on their own experience with child care programs, and early documents note that the Soviet Women's Committee in Moscow would contribute funds to the centers.⁶¹ At the same time, the theory and practice of Black Consciousness (BC) also may have

informed the day cares, given the involvement of the younger generation of women in planning them. Recent scholarship has emphasized the practical orientation of much BC work, highlighting activists' eager participation in popular education and the establishment of social services, including health care centers.⁶² Crèches, or day cares, were extensions of such community practice. Thus, child care planning was a unique site of sharing of ideas and putting theory into practice within the ANC. The program was certainly a radical break from prior practice in South Africa, where child care in the townships was provided by an inconsistent patchwork of small crèches in private homes and charity organizations like the YWCA.⁶³

Although the ANC day cares were beset by problems over the years, and never functioned as these early ambitious planners hoped, their later practical weaknesses should not erase from the historical record the transformative hopes that inspired them.⁶⁴ What then accounts for the comparative historiographical silence around these day cares? One possible explanation may be the very attitudes of the young women leaving South Africa, who quickly registered their resistance to working in the centers.

Recruitment of cadres to staff the centers provided an immediate, and telling, problem. Mbete-Kgositsile, who played a more immediate daily role in child care provision than did Mophosho, soon began to write to the Secretariat complaining of the difficulty of finding staff for the child care centers. In November 1978, as the first plans for the centers were being formulated, Mbete-Kgositsile wrote to the Secretariat in Lusaka expressing her worries about staffing:

During its discussion of the question of looking after ANC children, our committee found that the training of people for this task remains a problem. What makes a problem of it is that it seems there are no people, in our communities, who are willing to go and train in this field ... [W]e have to find a way to resolve this.⁶⁵

She even went so far as to suggest that the ANC try to recruit directly "at home" in South Africa for people who would enter exile specifically to train as child care providers, writing:

Unless the situation changes, maybe the movement should recruit directly from home for this purpose. Thousands of young people are unemployed and miserable at home. Some of them could be useful in this respect.⁶⁶

Writing again to the Secretariat a week later, Mbete-Kgositsile raised the same issue, and indicated that the Women's Section had been debating the question at length. Again she suggested the idea of recruiting directly for young people (she did not specify women) to become child care workers. This time she particularly noted that this field was "looked down on":

In further discussion of the reluctance, among our cadres, to study childcare, we felt that this is indicative of some of the sicknesses we have to fight against. Because of background our cadres tend to look down upon certain fields in which the movement needs manpower and flock to areas in which there are already many qualified cadres.⁶⁷

What are we to make of this reluctance of the young recruits to take up a career in child care? In part, this can be attributed to the bias in favor of military work among the new ANC members. These young people were fleeing a situation of increasing tension and outright violence inside South Africa. Many of them would have been detained without trial and tortured; many would have seen their friends and family killed or disappeared into the apartheid prison system, which allowed for lengthy incommunicado detention without trial. They left the country inspired by the ANC's Radio Freedom broadcasts, which began with the iconic sound of machine gun fire.⁶⁸ They expected to train and quickly return home to fight. This expectation led to much disappointment and frustration among the new recruits as their time in exile lagged on and prospects for active struggle dimmed. It also made them less inclined to pursue more prosaic careers like child care.

An additional interpretation is possible. Many of these young people would have seen their own mothers in domestic service to white people. It was very common in South Africa that black women would leave their own children and families to work as nannies and housekeepers for white families. This servitude, and the power structures it represented, was something youthful activists, frustrated with their parents' apparent compliance, rejected.⁶⁹ This attitude could be what Mbete-Kgositsile meant when she wrote, "Because of background our cadres tend to look down upon certain fields in which the movement needs manpower."

By extension, this same attitude could also explain some of the scholarly disregard toward this ANC program. Focusing on the fact that women disproportionately worked in this program, existing scholarship has underplayed the ambitions behind it. Hassim, who has written most extensively on women in exile, does note that women's work in welfare programs was critical for the movement's larger success. She also notes that "welfarist work pushed them towards progressive positions: in favor of sex education, condom provision, legalizing abortion."⁷⁰ While correct, this analysis neglects the fact that the welfare provision itself was radical.

Scholars writing on women's participation in South Africa's antiapartheid struggle both inside the country and in exile have pointed to the ways in which the figure of the woman as mother has frequently taken center stage. Daniel Magaziner observes that "the association of black femininity with motherhood and not with women's liberation is a long-standing trope in South African nationalism."⁷¹ Much work on black women's political participation emphasizes the symbolic elevation of "motherhood" in their activism.⁷² These works vary in the extent to which they take such a role as being a betrayal of feminism as such, or an indication that black women failed to find real emancipation. More recently, South African feminist scholars have taken issue with such analyses. Nomboniso Gasa, for example, has compellingly argued that defending the home, in the context of an apartheid state that sought actively to destroy it, was a radical act for black women activists.⁷³

It is clear that a language of "motherhood" pervaded the ANC's publicity around women. In one of the earliest interviews given after returning to South Africa, Mtintso, who had occupied positions of significant power in MK in exile, spoke to a journalist about the problems of the ongoing perception of women as merely mothers. Reflecting on the place of feminism in the movement, Mtintso told her interviewer: "There is

still talk of 'we as mothers and wives.' To me this is indicative of a problem."⁷⁴ At the symbolic level, the ANC maintained a maternal focus. But in practice, women and men within the movement in exile made concrete and dramatic efforts to limit the effect maternity would have on women's work. In developing day cares to "liberate" women from the demands of their own children, the ANC aimed to facilitate women's participation in the movement not "as mothers" but as cadres, soldiers, and workers. The scholarly focus on a "maternal" emphasis in ANC propaganda has perhaps obscured the radical "de-mothering" efforts enacted in practice across exile locations.

Conclusions

I have pointed to ways to reread women's experience in exile. I argue that the ANC enabled, at times against its own intentions, critical thought and transformative action. Women within the organization took on more active roles, rose within its hierarchies, challenged its practices, and sought to shape a new social order, in which women would be equal in the home and workplace. That these policies did not always work in practice should not be reason to forget that efforts were made. The fact of these efforts tells us a great deal—it reminds us that the ANC had an initial vision of gender transformation, however far the party mainstream has moved from that vision today.⁷⁵

Yet women in the ANC continued to object to what they saw as Western feminism. Understanding feminism as merely solidarity among women, the youthful had argued forcefully against such unity. In 1979 Mtintso told June Goodwin,

Just because we are women doesn't mean we have anything in common. Your child and my child are poles apart. I worry because my son may become a *tsotsi* [gangster]. My child is being influenced by the environment in Soweto. Do you have these problems? You don't. So what are we going to talk about? Recipes? A la king? I don't have enough money to make a la king. I'm going home tonight and cook pap and *vleis* [corn meal and meat]. Your maid is going to be cooking for you, so what are we going to talk about? Nothing.⁷⁶

In the years after exile, Mtintso was more reflective. To journalist Devan Pillay, in 1992, Mtintso complained of failures inside the ANC with regard to feminism, noting, "There is no understanding that there are various trends in feminism ... There is still no uniform understanding ... of feminism and the content of women's liberation."⁷⁷ But Mtintso hadn't abandoned her critiques of any easy assumption of solidarity among women.

In her long and compelling speech on the opening of the hearings of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1997, Mtintso, then head of the Gender Commission, made the case for the specificity of women's suffering under apartheid. She articulated the particular suffering black women faced, describing her own experiences of being harassed and tortured by the police. Mtintso also spoke of the violence white women had enacted under apartheid. She said:

I don't see the signs of women who I thought would have been here today. Because there is this tendency to project women as this [*sic*] passive observers, helpless under these violations ... Today as other violators and perpetrators loudly refuse to come forward, there is a deafening silence on the part of those women who were perpetrators. We know there were women perpetrators. We know the sisterhood that we are talking about today. Some of it is artificial. As we go to women's conferences and hug and kiss, we are kissing with some of the perpetrators. It is okay that we kiss, but it is not okay that they do not come forward and talk about the role they played.⁷⁸

Mtintso here echoes her younger self's assertion of the uneven experience of women in the conditions of racist domination that constituted apartheid South Africa. In such a context, Mtintso argued, solidarity among women could never, on its own, be enough.

The space of exile failed women in many ways. However, the discontinuous world of exile, in which the ANC spoke a language of women's equality that faltered many times in practice, gave women a space to articulate demands. Told to "gain political consciousness," women could use the movement's support of their politicization to make demands on the movement, including radical demands for child care.

Notes

- 1 June Goodwin, *Cry Amandla!: South African Women and the Question of Power* (New York: Africana pub., 1984), 22.
- 2 There is still much work to be done on the organizations constituted by women of color and their allies in the mid- to late-1980s. See, for example, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, "What Price for Freedom? Testimony and the Natal Organization of Women," *Agenda* 13, 34 (1997): 62–70.
- 3 Frene Ginwala, "Women and the African National Congress 1912–1943," *Agenda* 8 (1990).
- 4 Quoted in Charles Villa-Vicencio, *The Spirit of Freedom: South African Leaders on Religion and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 207.
- 5 Key texts include Jo Beall, Shireen Hassim, and Alison Todes, "'A Bit on the Side?': Gender Struggles in the Politics of Transformation in South Africa," *Feminist Review*, 33 (1989): 30–56, doi:10.2307/1395213; Nomboniso Gasa, *Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007); Shireen Hassim, *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); Cherryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Onyx Press, 1982); Julia Wells, *We Now Demand! The History of Women's Resistance to Pass Laws in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1993).
- 6 Jacklyn Cock, *Women and War in South Africa* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1993); Thandi Modise and Robyn Curnow, "Thandi Modise, a Woman in War," *Agenda* 43 (2000): 36–40; Hassim, *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa*.
- 7 For overviews of exile, see Stephen Ellis, *External Mission* (South Africa: Jonathan Ball, 2012); Arianna Lissoni, "The South African Liberation Movements in Exile, c.1945–1970," PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of

- London, 2008; Hugh Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia, 1963 to 1994* (Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2013).
- 8 See Christian A. Williams, "Living in Exile: Daily Life and International Relations at SWAPO's Kongwa Camp," *Kronos* 37, 1 (2011): 60–86, for discussion of the ANC's first shared camp.
 - 9 Steve Davis, "The ANC: From Freedom Radio to Radio Freedom," in *Southern African Liberation Struggles: New Local, Regional and Global Perspectives*, ed. Hilary Sapire and Chris Saunders (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2013), 117–41.
 - 10 Carla Tsampiras, "Sex in a Time of Exile: An Examination of Sexual Health, AIDS, Gender, and the ANC, 1980–1990," *South African Historical Journal* 64, 3 (2012): 637–63. Note that numbers are necessarily inexact. Both the ANC and the apartheid government had good reason to exaggerate numbers in exile during the 1960s to 1980s.
 - 11 See Sean Morrow, Brown Maaba, and Loyiso Pulumani, *Education in Exile: SOMAFSCO, the African National Congress School in Tanzania, 1978–1992* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2005).
 - 12 See Pamela E. Brooks, *Boycotts, Buses, And Passes: Black Women's Resistance in the U.S. South and South Africa* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008); Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*.
 - 13 Natasha Erlank, "Gender and Masculinity in South African Nationalist Discourse, 1912–1950," *Feminist Studies* 29, 3 (2003): 653–71; David Goodhew, *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004).
 - 14 For a history of the movement, see Daniel R. Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977*, New African Histories (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010). Essays on the philosophy of the movement include notably N. Barney Pitso, *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko & Black Consciousness* (Cape Town; London; Atlantic Highlands, NJ: D. Philip; Zed Books, 1991).
 - 15 Daniel R. Magaziner, "Pieces of a (Wo)man: Feminism, Gender and Adulthood in Black Consciousness, 1968–1977," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37, 1 (2011): 55. See also L. Hadfield, "Challenging The Status Quo: Young Women and Men in Black Consciousness Community Work, 1970s South Africa," *The Journal of African History* 54, 2 (2013): 247–67.
 - 16 Amanda Alexander and Andile Mngxitama, "Interview with Deborah Matshoba," in *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*, ed. Andile Mngxitama, Amanda Alexander, and Nigel C. Gibson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 275.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, 280.
 - 18 Julian Brown, "An Experiment in Confrontation: The Pro-Frelimo Rallies of 1974," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38, 1 (2012): 55–71; Leslie Hadfield, "Biko, Black Consciousness, and 'the System' eZinyoka: Oral History and Black Consciousness in Practice in a Rural Ciskei Village," *South African Historical Journal* 62, 1 (2010): 78–99.
 - 19 See Mamphela Ramphele, *Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1996); Mamphela Ramphele, "The Dynamics of Gender within Black Consciousness Organization," in *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko & Black Consciousness*, ed. N. Barney Pitso (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991).
 - 20 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998, Vol. 4, Ch. 10.
 - 21 Goodwin, *Cry Amandla!*, 21.
 - 22 Ramphele, "The Dynamics of Gender within Black Consciousness Organization."

- 23 Alexander and Mngxitama, "Interview with Deborah Matshoba," 280.
- 24 "Women's Section Report—Reorganization of Women's Section in April 1978," September 2, 1978, MCH01- Box 4 Folder 1, Mayibuye Archive, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa (hereafter, Mayibuye).
- 25 Beall, Hassim, and Todes, "A Bit on the Side?," 48.
- 26 "Meeting of ANC Women in East Africa on Occasion of Revival of ANC Women's Section East Africa," April 23, 1978, MCH01-Box 4, Folder 1, Mayibuye.
- 27 General Report of the ANC Women's Secretariat, For the Period 1972/1973, MCH01-Box 1, Folder 3, Mayibuye.
- 28 "Meeting of ANC Women in East Africa on Occasion of Revival of ANC Women's Section East Africa," April 23, 1978, MCH01-Box 4, Folder 1, Mayibuye.
- 29 "ANC SA Women's Section East Africa Report," July 1981, MCH01, Box 6, Folder 4, Mayibuye.
- 30 "ANC SA Women's Section East Africa Report," July 1981, MCH01, Box 6, Folder 4, Mayibuye.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Mongane Wally Serote, *Scatter the Ashes and Go* (Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan, 2002), 130. Grammar as in original.
- 33 Given that much ANC activity in Angola was military, it is possible that more records exist but have not been released by the ANC.
- 34 "Report from Luanda," March 1980, MCH01-5.1, Mayibuye. (The discussion document is not preserved, unfortunately.)
- 35 "Report from Luanda," April 1980, MCH01-5.1, Mayibuye.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Hassim, *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa*, 97.
- 39 Kathleen Sheldon, "Creches, Titias, and Mothers: Working Women and Childcare in Mozambique," in *African Encounters with Domesticity*, ed. Karen Tranberg Hansen (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 296. See also Nadja Manghezi, *The Maputo Connection: The ANC in the World of Frelimo* (Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana, 2009).
- 40 Sheldon, "Crèches, Titias, and Mothers: Working Women and Childcare in Mozambique," 297.
- 41 "Youth Sections" were intended to function just like "Women's Sections," only with youth rather than women as their constituency—to guide, politicize, and mobilize. In practice, of course, someone could be both a woman and a youth.
- 42 "Paper by ANC Delegation from Mozambique: Young Women in the Liberation Struggle," October 1982, MCH01-8.2, Mayibuye.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Hassim, *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa*, 99.
- 48 Ibid., 88.
- 49 See Arianna Lissoni and Maria Suriano, "Married to the ANC: Tanzanian Women's Entanglement in South Africa's Liberation Struggle," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, 1 (2014): 129–50.
- 50 Baleka Mbete, "In for the Long Haul," in *Prodigal Daughters: Stories of South African Women in Exile*, ed. Lauretta Ngcobo (Durban: University of Kwazulu Natal Press,

- 2012), 78. Several exiles' accounts describe arriving in Tanzania and provide a sense of the type of accommodation available. See accounts in Ngcobo, *Prodigal Daughters*. Also Mwezi Twala's critical account provides rich detail of the relative chaos of ANC accommodation at this time. See M. Twala with E. Benard, *Mbokodo: Inside MK: Mwezi Twala: A Soldier's Story* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994).
- 51 See also L. Schuster, *A Burning Hunger: One Family's Struggle Against Apartheid* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006).
 - 52 Florence Mophosho to Ray Simons, June 13, 1968 and August 21, 1968, Jack and Ray Simons Collection, BC1081-P34.3, University of Cape Town Historical Manuscripts, Cape Town, South Africa.
 - 53 *Voice of Women*, 1978, issue 3, p. 6.
 - 54 Mbete, "In for the Long Haul."
 - 55 "Florence Mophosho to UNESCO, Dar es Salaam," December 5, 1978, MCH01-4.1, Mayibuye.
 - 56 "Project—the Programme for Child and Baby Care," No date, MCH01-2.4, Mayibuye.
 - 57 "Letter from F Mophosho to Women's Section East Africa," November 2, 1978, MCH02-4.1, Mayibuye.
 - 58 "Spencer Hodgson's Report on Crèche," 1979, MCH01-4.1, Mayibuye.
 - 59 Ibid.
 - 60 Ibid.
 - 61 "Minutes of Meeting of Committee of Women's Section, EA, Held at Morogoro," January 1979, MCH01-4.1, Mayibuye.
 - 62 Leslie Hadfield, "Challenging The Status Quo"; Hadfield, "Biko, Black Consciousness, and 'the System' eZinyoka."
 - 63 Work on this topic is very limited. Community activist Ellen Kuzwayo provides discussion in her memoir. Ellen Kuzwayo, *Call Me Woman* (London: Women's Press, 1985).
 - 64 For a more complete discussion of the ways these day cares played out in practice, see Rachel Sandwell, "'Love I Cannot Begin to Explain': The Politics of Reproduction in the ANC in Exile, 1976–1990," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41, 1 (2015): 63–81.
 - 65 "Letter from B. Kgositsile, Regional Secretary, Women's Section, E Africa, to Secretariat, Lusaka," November 7, 1978, MCH01-4.1, Mayibuye.
 - 66 Ibid.
 - 67 "Letter from B. Kgositsile, Regional Secretary, Women's Section, E Africa, to Secretariat, Lusaka," November 14, 1978, MCH01-4.1, Mayibuye.
 - 68 Davis, "The ANC: From Freedom Radio to Radio Freedom."
 - 69 See discussion in Jacklyn Cock, *Maids & Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980).
 - 70 Hassim, *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa*, 92.
 - 71 Magaziner, "Pieces of a (Wo)man," 57.
 - 72 Ibid.; Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family," *Feminist Review* 44, 1 (1993): 61–80; Kim Miller, "Moms with Guns: Women's Political Agency in Anti-Apartheid Visual Culture," *African Arts* 42, 2 (2009): 68–75; Julia Wells, "Maternal Politics in Organizing Black South African Women: The Historical Lesson," in *Sisterhood, Feminisms, and Power: From Africa to the Diaspora*, ed. Obioma Nnaemeka (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998), 251–63; Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*; Cherryl Walker, "Conceptualizing Motherhood in Twentieth Century South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, 3 (1995): 417–37.

- 73 Gasa, *Women in South African History*.
- 74 Devan Pillay, "Women in MK," *Work in Progress*, 80 (1992): 18.
- 75 For a detailed critique of current ANC thought on women, see Shireen Hassim, "Democracy's Shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma," *African Studies* 68, 1 (2009): 57–77; and Pumla Dineo Gqola, "'The Difficult Task of Normalizing Freedom': Spectacular Masculinities, Ndebele's Literary/Cultural Commentary and Post-Apartheid Life," *English in Africa* 36, 1 (2009): 61–76.
- 76 Goodwin, *Cry Amandla!*, 124.
- 77 Pillay, "Women in MK," 19.
- 78 Thenjiwe Mtintso, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Human Rights Violation – Women's Hearing* (Johannesburg, 1997), 10–11, <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/special/women/masote.htm>.