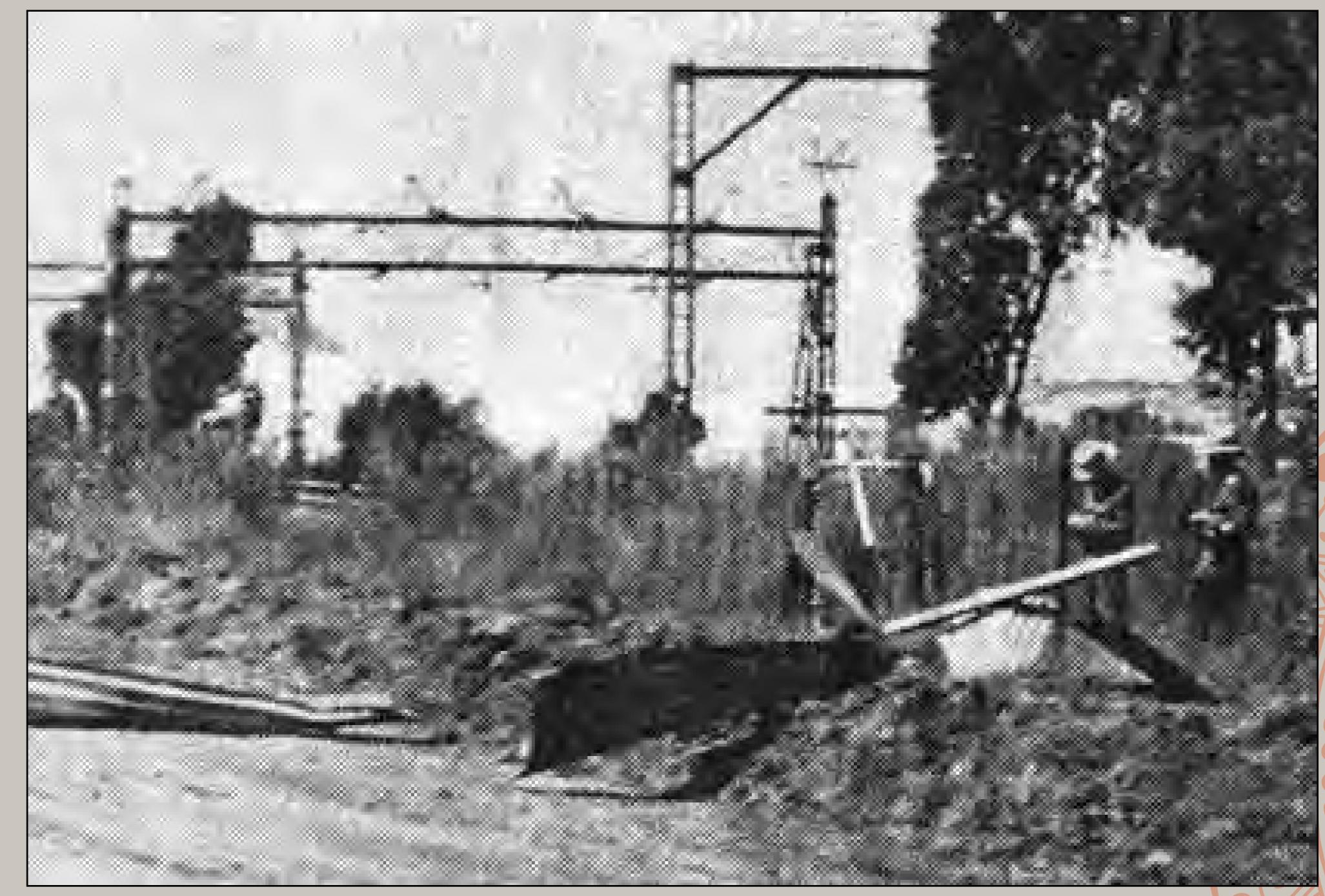
FROM PASSIVE RESISTANCE TO ARMED STRUGGLE

Ama and Roy's five children – Shanthie, Indres, Murthie, Ramnie and Prema – all joined the liberation movement, suffering persecution, detention, solitary confinement and torture.

The Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960 marked the end of peaceful resistance to apartheid. Soon after, the ANC and PAC were banned and forced underground.

Just over fifty years had passed since the first satyagraha campaigns. In 1961, after much deliberation, the ANC took a decision to resort to armed struggle. This led to the formation of uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing. The initial phase of armed struggle emphasised sabotage that would not involve loss of life.



"The people's patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices – submit or fight." 1961 MK Manifesto

Indres Naidoo was one of MK's early recruits. The grandson of the founding father of the satyagraha movement had also run out of patience. On 17 April 1963, he was caught with Reggie Vandeyar and Shirish Nanabhai as they were blowing up a railway signal box in the veld just outside Johannesburg. Indres was shot, and taken bleeding to Rockey Street. The three men were detained, severely tortured and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

Scene of the blast at New Canada Station, Langlaagte carried out by Indres, Shirish Nanabhai and Reggie Vandeyar's MK unit. Photo: The Star



Mac Maharaj and Indres in the Morning Star newspaper building in London in 1977. Photo: Nelson Mandela Foundation

"My family had always believed in a peaceful resolution to our struggle in this country. But in 1961 I decided to take up arms against the regime. It was necessary. It was our form of struggle to bring about peace." Indres Naidoo, TRC hearing

Indres hugging his mother, Ama, after his release from Robben Island on 13 May 1973, with Murthie and his daughter Zoya alongside. *Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Liliesleaf*



WE SHALL OVERCOME

"Let us not pray to be sheltered from dangers but to be fearless when facing them." Rabindranath Tagore

The satyagraha notion of 'truth force' was deeply ingrained in Thambi Naidoo's descendants. In 1969, Ama and Roy's eldest daughter, Shanthie, was detained without charge under the Terrorism Act. She was held in solitary confinement



and tortured for refusing to testify against her friends and comrades, Winnie Mandela and Joyce Sikhakhane. She told the judge that she would not be able to live with her conscience if she did testify.

"I was forced to stand for five days and nights, while they fired questions at me.
I lost all sense of time.
I began to lose hold on reality. I had terrifying hallucinations, like
nightmares, in which the questions became mixed
up with broken dreams."

Shanthie Naidoo

After 371 days in prison, most of it in solitary confinement, Shanthie was released. Despite the extreme trauma she had to endure, she remained faithful

Winnie Mandela and Mrs Pillay at the trial of Nelson Mandela in 1962. Photo: Mayibuye Archives



to the liberation movement – and true to herself.

In September 1972, Shanthie was finally given permission by the apartheid government to leave South Africa on an exit permit. A big crowd went to the airport to bid her farewell, and sang "We shall overcome".

Shanthie worked at the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) in London and later at the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in Mazimbu , Tanzania.

Ama bidding farewell to her daughter, Shanthie, at the time of her departure for London in 1972, with Kamala, Prema's wife, and their son, Kuben, looking on. *Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Liliesleaf*



Shanthie at a demonstration in London, flanked by Fred Carneson on the left and Hugh Lewin on the right. *Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Liliesleaf*

Apartheid is enough to turn any civilized human being into a political prisoner

A DREAM OF A GLORIOUS RETURN

"Exile is a dream of a glorious return. It is an endless paradox: looking forward by always looking back." Salman Rushdie



Between 1960 and 1990, when the ANC, PAC and SACP were banned, thousands of South Africans left the country to escape persecution, receive military and political training, and continue the activities of the ANC in exile.

Ramnie was the first of Ama and Roy's children to leave South Africa. Her husband, Issy Dinat, an underground activist for the banned SACP, had been detained in 1966 and called to give evidence at the trial of Bram Fischer. Issy spent four months in detention and escaped from South Africa soon after his release.

In February 1967 Ramnie decided to leave South Africa with her two small children, Natalya and Sean, to join Issy in London, but their passports were withdrawn two days before they were due to depart. They hastily applied for exit permits, which were granted – but it meant that they were unable to return to South Africa.

"I remember sitting in the bathtub in a damp Finchley flat, watching Ramnie reading a letter from Ama about Shanthie's arrest, and weeping. I was about five years old and I didn't know

Ramnie and Issy, with Shanthie and Ama, at their Walmington Fold home in London in the 1980s. Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Liliesleaf





what to do." Natalya Dinat

Ramnie (centre) at a demonstration in London outside South Africa House in the 1970s, with Dulcie September on the left. Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Liliesleaf

In London, the Dinats immersed themselves in political activity. They frequently participated in marches and demonstrations. Besides campaigns against apartheid there were many international issues on the agenda in the 1960s, such as the Vietnam war, Palestine and Chile.

Ramnie (centre), with her children Natalya and Sean, shortly before their departure for London, with Ama (left) and Prema and Shanthie (right). *Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Liliesleaf*



MOBILISING PEOPLE

Released from Robben Island in 1973, Indres left South Africa in 1977 to work for the ANC in Mozambique, and later in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Now Ama only had Murthie and Prema in the country – and their political activism, much of it underground, meant that family life was still severely disrupted, and under constant threat.

Internal resistance to apartheid was rapidly increasing. Unions, civic organisations and students were becoming more militant. Many Naidoo and Pillay family members got involved in civil society structures and non-government organisations, a number of which were banned, risking arrest and detention.



"We were under constant surveillance. We used to be raided regularly, at least once a month. We never kept banned literature at home. We used to be very careful, also when we talked over the telephone." Prema Naidoo

In 1980 Murthie helped set up a support group for Laudium schools participating in a national education boycott. He was arrested and spent two weeks in solitary confinement, then six months in Modderbee Prison.

Murthie and Prema were involved in setting up civic associations in Lenasia, Alexandra and Laudium, and a support committee for political prisoners. They also mobilised against the South African Indian Council (SAIC), an apartheid structure ostensibly representing Indians.

In Pretoria, the heart of the apartheid state, Mrs Pillay's children were active in civic, sports and youth organisations. Gonoseelan was one of the pioneers of non-racial sport and became well-known as a brilliant soccer player and administrator for his club, Delfos F.C and the Pretoria District Football Association. Gonoseelan was also closely associated with MK.

Campaigning for the boycott of the Tricameral Parliament in Lenasia, Transvaal in 1983. Photo: Gille de Vlieg/South Photos/Africa Media Online



Left to right: Murthie, Sagren (Mrs Pillay's son), Dhano Pillay (married to Gonoseelan Pillay, Mrs Pillay's son) and Indres in joubert Park soon after Sagren's release from prison in 1964. Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Llliesleaf

"In Lenz we organised a very successful bus boycott. We worked among the poor working class around housing and pensions. It was at that level that we could mobilise people." Murthie Naidoo

LIVES

Left to right: Murthie, Vasugee (cousin), Deenan Moodley, her husband (also detained with cousin Sagie Pillay in the 1960s), Sinda (cousin), with her husband Bobbai Naidoo and Ama Naidoo, with Murthie's son, Kreeson, at the Lenasia Soccer Stadium in 1992 commemorating the release of Walter Sisulu and others from Robben Island. Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Llliesleaf

MARSHA

PUBLIC SERVICE

Prema was detained on 27 November 1981 and interrogated for six days and nights continuously about his role in harbouring an escaped political prisoner, Stephen Lee. He spent more than a year in prison.

"There is no despair. The time is not far away when we will all be back together as one family. I believe I will live to see that day." Ama Naidoo, on Prema's incarceration



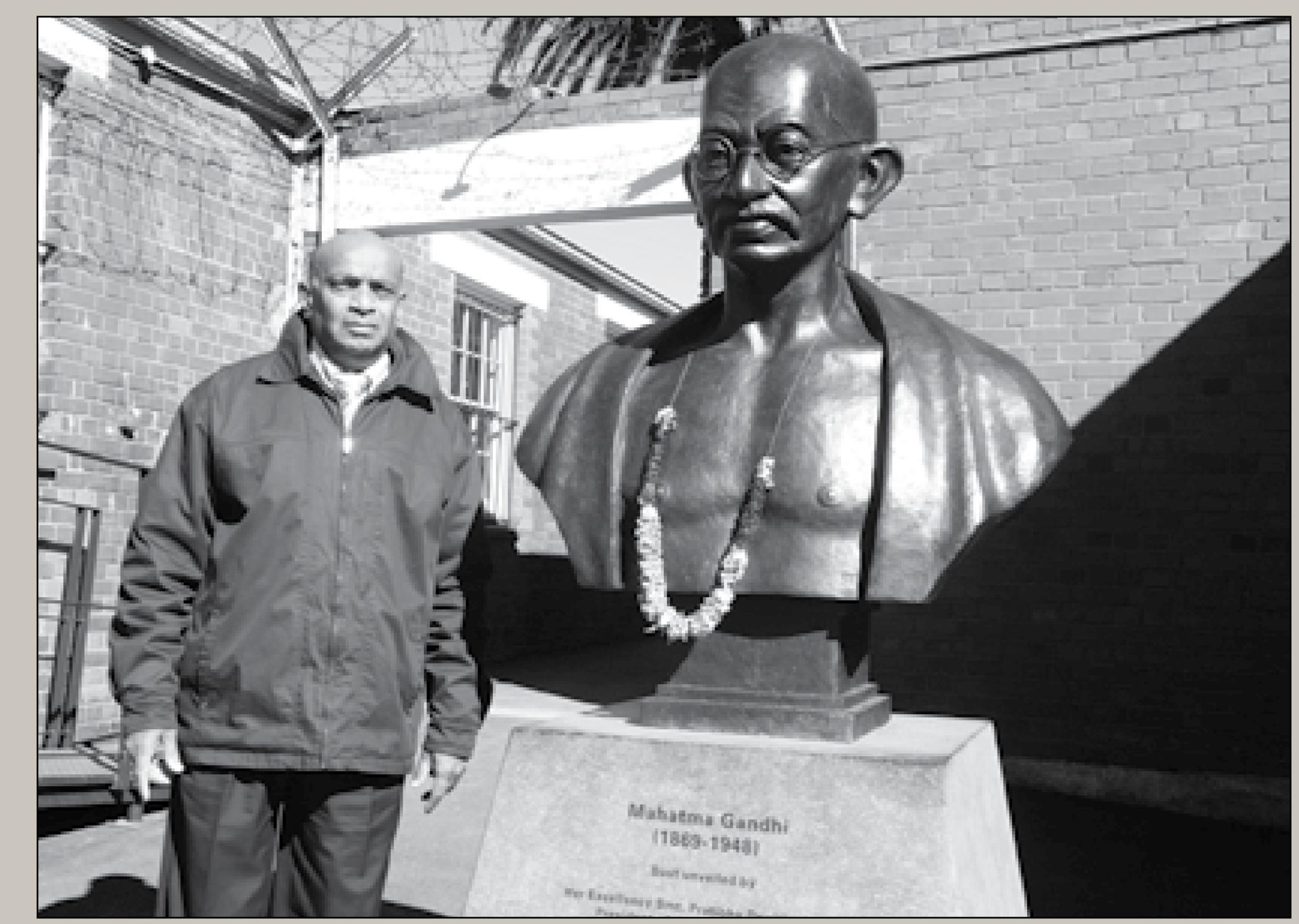
Just after his release in April 1983, Prema was elected to the executive of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC). Ama was elected vice-president. The United Democratic Front (UDF), a broad coalition of more than 600 anti-apartheid organisations, was launched in August 1983 to oppose the Tricameral Parliament. The TIC became a UDF affiliate and Prema was elected onto regional UDF structures.

The way in which the UDF was constituted – a broad, non-racial, democratic front – fitted perfectly with the Naidoo and Pillay way of being in the world.

"The UDF was like Rockey Street. A home for all kinds of people." Murthie Naidoo

After 1994, when the ANC came to power, Prema was elected a Johannesburg City Councillor, and served on various mayoral committees.

Kamala and Prema, with their sons Kuben and Duggy in the 1980s. Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Llliesleaf



Prema standing alongside the donation by the Indian government of a bust of Gandhi to Constitution Hill in 2014, marking the centenary of Gandhi's departure from South Africa. *Photo: City of Johannesburg*

"For most of my life Johannesburg was a place of discrimination, misery, and terror. Since 1995 this Council has transformed the City. Before Council, I was a welder with very little formal education. Allow me to express my deepest gratitude to the ANC and this Council for having the faith, trust and confidence in making a welder a public servant."

Prema Naidoo's retirement speech, 2016

Francis Baard addressing delegates at the launch of the UDF at Mitchells Plain in Cape Town in 1983. *Photo: Paul Weinberg*



BORN INTO STRUGGLE

The 1980s saw the coming of age of many of Thambi Naidoo's great-grandchildren, a generation born in the turbulent, repressive 1960s and 1970s, and delivered into activism.

Ramnie's children, Natalya and Sean, grew up in the heart of the South African exile community in London. They were young Londoners, caught up in the trends of the time, but ultimately they chose to serve the liberation struggle and were both deployed into ANC structures.

Natalya spent six months at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in Tanzania before she was sent to Moscow to study medicine. She witnessed first hand the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, acutely aware of the impact



on the die-hard Communists in her family.

"The fall of the Soviet Union completely pulled the rug out from under people's feet. Like many people, Indres didn't know what to make of it. He had given up everything for this ideology. His world had changed." Natalya Dinat

At the age of 19, Sean volunteered to teach English at SOMAFCO and from there went for military training in the MK camps in Angola in 1984. The experience was brutal, especially seeing live combat.

"I was a brat with a north London accent. I cried every day. But I wanted to be there because I was driven by a terrible anger at the South African regime, at apartheid, at what they had done to my family. Bizarrely, today I look back to the camps with fond memories. Because I belonged to something." Sean Dinat

Natalya outside South Africa House in London in 1969, next to Silvia Neame, a South African comrade also living in exile. Photo: Courtesy of Natalya Dinat



Natalya with members of her study group outside the Lenin Museum in Moscow in 1984. Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Llliesleaf



A LUTA CONTINUA

The next generation took up the baton. Kuben, Prema's son, (holding a placard as a young boy on the title panel) was arrested for organising a student demonstration during his matric year and had to write some of his final exams in jail. Today he is deputy governor of the Reserve Bank.

Cousins Thava and Nava Pillay, Mrs Pillay's grandsons, were part of the ANC underground in Pretoria and active in the mass mobilisation movement of the late 1980s. Their MK cells were named Thambi Naidoo and Roy Naidoo, respectively.

Other Pillay grandchildren were involved in local anti-apartheid structures, like the Laudium Inter-Primary Sports Association and the Laudium Youth Congress. Nava, Thava, Thushan, Parmesh, Shan and Thillay were all detained and interrogated. Thillay was severely beaten at a mass protest shortly before his final exams.



Mass protests and increased international pressure marked the death knell of apartheid. In February 1990, the ANC and other organisations were unbanned, and Nelson Mandela walked free. The ANC came into power in April 1994. Now a young generation of Naidoo and Pillay activists had to make a significant shift from being part of a resistance movement, to dedicating themselves to building a democratic, inclusive nation.

"Our family has always been driven by the ideals of non-racialism, nonsexism, justice and democracy, and the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden. These are the ideals for which we have fought, and which we will always serve."

The next generation of the Pillay family - Back row left to right: Subethri, Thushan, Thava, Nava, Pulen and Shan Front row left to right: Vinesh, Parmesh, Pavitray, Mrs Pillay, Thillay, Jayandrie and Rishaben. Photo: Pillay Family Collection



Nava Pillay

Many family members moved into civil service positions. Others chose to work in non-governmental and community sports organisations. Mrs Pillay's granddaughter, Subethri, Murthie's daughter, Zoya, and Prema's son, Duggy, became teachers, driven by a desire to have a positive influence on young lives in uncertain times.

As part of the Save our Democracy campaign, Thillay and his daughter Zara protest against the attack on Pravin Gordhan shortly before he was axed by President Zuma in April 2017. Photo: Courtesy of Thillay Pillay

"The one thing that it was never about was power or money. No one in the family grew up thinking that it was important to be rich." Subethri Naidoo

> The great grandchildren of the Pillay family - Top row left to right: Nilesh , Shaneil, Karishma, Yuneil, Melica, Kivashen, Ushir, Sherlinka, Liam, Braam, Arnaav, Kiyasha and Krisen Bottom row left to right: Tinishka, Saahil, Zara, Shivam, Deano, Robyn and Rani. Photo: Pillay Family Collection

STILL SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER

The family was reunited after the ANC was unbanned in 1990. Shanthie, Indres and Ramnie returned to South Africa in 1991, and for the first time since 1963, Ama had all her children with her. Natalya, Sean and Bram, Indres's son, returned while Djanine, Indres's daughter, remained in Mozambique.

"Ama died peacefully on Christmas Day 1993 at the age of eighty-six. Her



fervent wish was to see freedom in South Africa and to vote in the first democratic election. She saw freedom, but died a few months before she could vote." Indres Naidoo

It is just over 125 years since Thambi Naidoo arrived in Port Elizabeth, dreaming of a new beginning. His great great grandchildren are coming of age in a very different South Africa – a country fundamentally shaped by patriots like Thambi and Veerammal and their descendants. But while there have been decisive victories in the struggle for freedom, there is much more to be done.

"It is our concern that there is a move away from the principles and values enshrined in the Freedom Charter. We did not sacrifice so much to enrich the few. Our vision is a sustainable future for all our people." Letter from the Naidoo and Dadoo families to the ANC, April 2016

Great joy at the Naidoo family reunion in 1991. Photo: Naidoo Family Collection/Llliesleaf



The young Naidoos and Pillays have in their DNA those qualities that will help them navigate the complexity of their world today: a willingness to be of service to community and country, and a deep commitment to social justice. They have resistance in their blood.

Ama celebrating her 80th birthday with her dear friends and comrades, Helen Joseph, Mrs Pillay, Walter and Albertina Sisulu and others. Photo: Nelson Mandela Foundation

Four generations of the Naidoo and Pillay families, with close friends, at a family gathering in Johannesburg in 2015. *Photo: Courtesy of Aarti Shah*

"I am proud to be part of the Naidoo family, a family which has played an important role in shaping South Africa's history. My family has fought for human rights for generations. I have learnt that selflessness pays off, and I hope to live up to the noble example that the Naidoo and Pillay families have set." Leilah Grange, 16 – Sean's daughter



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