



uphold that principle — a principle of “liberty and democracy” — at the price of deep economic depression, one of the worst in the history of industrial Sheffield.

“That this tradition of humanitarian internationalism is still very much a living part of Sheffield is attested by the Sheffield Metropolitan District Council Declaration on South Africa and Namibia adopted on 7 October, 1981”.

A number of papers were delivered in Sheffield. Roger Murray delivered a paper on TNC's in Namibia and Tom Sibley, former research officer of AUEW-TASS spoke on the Engineering Industry in South Africa. Robert Hughes, M.P. and Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement spoke on International Policy Options while the topic on the Implications of Sanctions Against South Africa for the Mining and Related Industries in Britain was handled by Steve Bundred, the research officer of the National Union of Mine Mineworkers. Ray Bush, Lionel Cliffe and Peter Sketchley of the University of Leeds

dealt with SteelThe South African Connection and the paper prepared by John Gaetsewe, Secretary-General of SACTU dealt with Black workers and the Apartheid System. Chris Child of the Anti-Apartheid Movement wrote a paper on The Emigration of Skilled Personnel to South Africa and Vella Pillay, an executive member of the AAM dealt with Transnational Corporations: Allies or Instruments of the Apartheid System.

The representative of the ANC at this symposium stated that foreign investments started with the discovery of gold and diamonds in the last century and were confined to the manufacturing industry. Now they have entered the military-industrial complex via the selling of licences for local production of arms. These foreign companies fuel and buttress the apartheid system; they actively participate in the deliberate exclusion of Blacks from skilled jobs; they maintain the vast and growing average wage differentials between black and white workers; they deny

trade union rights to Blacks; involve themselves in race classification; the enforcement of pass laws and prevent the free movement of Africans in the land of their birth — in short they strengthen racism and deliberately exclude Blacks from skilled jobs which are filled by white immigrants.

The interests of foreign investors, huge transnational or multinational corporations, and those of the ruling racists in South Africa coincide. The profit rates (20 to 25 per cent) are not only a result of the richness of the country, but a result of apartheid which offers foreign investors a wealth of a special kind namely cheap black labour.

The TNC's have devised new tactics to gain respectability and acceptance — the codes of conduct. The main aim of the codes of conduct is to improve the image of corporations involved in the exploitation of our people. These codes of conduct are also aimed at defusing the mounting pressure for mandatory sanctions against the racist regime. The TNC's have tried — unsuccessfully — to prove that they are committed to breaking job barriers by sending Blacks on courses or by the promotion of token Blacks into jobs in which Whites are no longer interested. They pay lip service to the right of African workers to organise while making it impossible for them to do so in practice.

The truth of the matter is that TNC's invest in South Africa — not despite, but precisely because of apartheid. Because they are allies of apartheid South Africa, TNC's cannot be instruments of real change. The codes of conduct are not an action against apartheid but a reaction in the interests of the TNC's. Because these codes of conduct restrict themselves to reform in the workplace and therefore raise no fundamental objection to the apartheid system, they are therefore invented as a device to defeat the intensifying demand for disinvestment.

On a positive note the ANC speaker called for an intensification of pressures

and the enforcement of the international mandatory economic sanctions and other boycotts which will impose not only serious constraints on the domestic capital accumulation but will also weaken the incentives for continued inflow of direct foreign investment. Added to these measures is the all important question of the development of the liberation struggle inside the country and the revolutionary changes that are taking place in the whole Southern African region. There is a direct interconnection between the struggle of our people for national liberation and actions by the international community.

His Excellency Mr. Gbeho, Ghanaian Ambassador to the U.N. summarised the spirit of the deliberations when he said:

“Looked at from the South African point of view, the racist regime's trade with the west is more crucial to it than the other way round. Foreign trade constitutes a very high percentage of South Africa's gross domestic product and should therefore be the leverage for pressurising the racist regime to abandon the system of apartheid. Failure to use this advantage is significant and African countries had better re-examine their economic relations with those who shamelessly aid and abet the exploitation of the black majority in South Africa”.

One of the moving moments at this symposium was when all delegates and participants adjourned to another ceremony: the naming of one of the buildings of a polytechnic school into a Nelson Mandela building. This was in the spirit of the Sheffield Declaration of October 1981 which declared Sheffield an apartheid-free zone.

J.T. GUMEDE



**«I have
been
to the
new Jerusalem»**

Responding to a question posed by the Africa Report editor Anthony J. Hughes on the ANC's traditional links with the South African Communist Party and the ANC's relations with the socialist countries, President O.R. Tambo replied:

"The South African Communist Party supports and actively fights for the realisation of the demands contained in the (Freedom) Charter. It accepts the leadership of the ANC and therefore cannot but be an ally of the ANC as would be any other organisation that adopts the same position.

20 "Official contact between the ANC and the Soviet Union goes back as far as

1927, when a delegation of the ANC, led by its president, Josiah Gumede, visited the Soviet Union and came back convinced of the support that our struggle enjoys from the Soviet government and people. Practical experience has shown our people and the ANC that President Gumede was not wrong in his assessment of 55 years ago. We stood together with the Soviet Union and the allied forces in fighting nazism during the Second World War. True to those positions, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries stand with us to this day fighting the apartheid system, itself and its leaders pawns of nazi ideology and practice".
(Africa Report, September - October, 1981)

It is for this reason that we shall attempt to trace the life, activities and ideas of Josiah Tshangana Gumede. (For one reason or another Mary Benson and Edward Roux call him James T. Gumede).

It is 55 years since Gumede went to the Soviet Union. This was not only a brave deed those days, it was a pioneering act. His work was not in vain. Today there are millions fighting for his ideals. They have taken up the banner that slipped from his hands.

There is another reason for assessing the life and times of Gumede namely to explain the whole policy of the ANC on unity in action — unity of African nationalists, Black nationalists, Hindus, Christians, Moslems, atheists and communists. A brief biography of Gumede will help to understand — to quote a phrase from Mandela's Rivonia speech — "why experienced African politicians so readily accept communists as their friends".

Early Life

Gumede's early life is little known. Born in Natal in the mid-19th century Gumede attended school in Grahamstown (Cape) and taught for some time at Somerset East in the Cape before going to Natal where he became advisor to Natal and Orange Free State chiefs.

It was in 1899 that Gumede and Saul Msane met Harriette Colenso to discuss the formation of an African political organisation and in 1900 together with Martin Lutuli and Saul Msane he became a co-founder of the Natal Native Congress and was for several years its general secretary.

In 1906 Gumede was a member of a delegation to Britain over the land laws of the Orange Free State. He acted as the agent of the Sotho people who had bought land in the Orange Free State. For leaving Natal without a pass (for which he had applied but which had not been granted) he was arrested and fined £10 or 3 months on his return. This was regarded as a "piece of insubordination".

With Z.M. Mazuku he co-signed the constitution of *Iliso Lesizwe Esimnyama* — The Eye of the Black Nation — an organisation of Wesleyan Methodist converts and chiefs formed in the Dundee and Newcastle area of Natal in 1907.

Surely Gumede belongs to that generation of the founding fathers of the ANC. He was a member of the ANC delegation which went to petition the British Government in 1919. His name appears and reappears in the petitions of the time.

African nationalism and socialism

African nationalism — in the modern form — and socialism emerged almost simultaneously. They ran parallel to each other but were facing a common enemy and therefore there was a basis for cooperation. The socialist movement emphasis on internationalism in South Africa at this early period was of great significance not only for the anti war propaganda (anti-militarism) — something very topical today in South Africa — but for the orientation of the white labour movement towards the plight of the emergent, racially discriminated and nationally oppressed black workers. It should be remembered that one of the greatest fears of the regime of the time was a united action of militant white workers/socialists and Africans.

There were joint actions of the ANC and the socialists. The socialists organised African trade unions. When the Communist Party of South Africa was formed in 1921 a firm basis for the elaboration of the relations with the ANC was laid. But the problem was that within the Communist Party at this time events seemed to outstrip theory.

The CP recruited Africans; black communists established ICU branches and therefore strengthened that organisation and they were elected to the National Executive of that body. There emerged the first generation of African communists such as Albert Nzula, Johannes Nkosi, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Edwin 21

Mofutsanyana, Gana Makabeni and many others.

Such was the situation in the 1920's. Things were not running as smoothly as we describe them today. There were problems. Many problems. All the same this background gives us a picture of what the situation was when history thrust Gumede into the forefront. He was not only a product of history but he influenced the course of events.

Gumede travels Abroad

In the late 20's important developments took place within the ANC. The ANC attended the inaugural Congress of the League against Imperialism which took place in Brussels from the 10th to the 15th of February 1927. At this congress at the Palais Egmont there were 174 anti-colonial fighters from all over the world. For the first time in history, representatives of the progressive labour movement of the capitalist countries were united with delegates from the labour movements and national liberation movements of the peoples still under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism on all continents. The aim of the participants was to take up the struggle for the independence of those countries and against imperialism on a wide front.

J.T. Gumede represented the ANC and the communist and ANC leader J.A. La Guma was there as well as D. Colrairie of the South African Trade Union Congress. This Brussels Congress was attended by communists, anticolonial freedom fighters from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean, bourgeois humanists and social democrats. Despite the heterogeneous nature of its composition and the difference in ideological and political conviction the necessity and the will to unite was an overriding factor.

Gumede spoke twice in Brussels. According to Otto Schnudel from Switzerland who was at this Brussels Congress and later became a friend of

Gumede: "His speeches made a deep impression on the assembly". (Basle, 19th December 1977).

Gumede analysed the plight of our people, their living conditions and resistance and on an optimistic note, he stated:

"I am happy to say that there are communists in South Africa. I myself am not one, but it is my experience that the Communist Party is the only Party that stands behind us and from which we can expect something. We know there are now two powers at work: imperialism and the workers' republic in Russia. We hear little about the latter, although we would like to know more about it. But we take an interest and will soon find out who we have to ally ourselves with".

Gumede was not making a "diplomatic" statement - he was sincere in what he was saying and this sincerity did not stem from some moral and value judgements but from what he himself experienced. Gumede repeated this theme - or message - in his Presidential report to the annual conference of the ANC in June 1927:

"Of all political parties the Communist Party is the only one that honestly and sincerely fights for the oppressed people".

It is interesting to remember that Gumede, this sincere nationalist and devout catholic had strongly opposed "Bolshevism" in 1917.

Back to the Brussels Congress. It is important to note that in Brussels, Gumede, La Guma and Colrairie drafted a joint resolution and signed it adding "South African delegates" before it was adopted by Congress. This unity of South African revolutionaries, though it took place outside the country, was significant. The resolution demanded: the right to self determination through complete overthrow of the capitalist and imperialist rule. Surely this was a step forward and Jack and Ray Simons are of the view that this resolution introduced an impetus and a new dimension in our view of the struggle; a concept which was



Comrade Gumede in Tbilisi

later incorporated in the slogan of the "Black Republic".

After the Congress Gumede and La Guma travelled to Germany where they addressed large crowds in rallies organised by the Communist Party of Germany. Otto Schnudel has some interesting things to say about Gumede in Berlin:

"Following the Congress there was in Berlin an informal meeting of the delegates who had come to the German capital, among them our friend Gumede. Berlin was to be the seat of the League Against Imperialism formed in Brussels.

"I was present at that meeting, since for the next three years I was to work on the International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism and for National

Independence. Josiah Tshangana Gumede and I were standing side by side. He towered over most of those present with his tall, powerful figure. Most of the whites he had met until then had treated him with contempt, and that was why this Berlin meeting was so infinitely important. For the first time he stood as an equal among people of all races, all colours and various beliefs, united in brotherhood with the purpose of putting an end to the contemptible system of colonialism. Josiah Tshangana Gumede was so overwhelmed by this experience that his eyes were filled with tears. "I am so happy!" he stammered. Then he drew himself up and added: "I am going to fight!"

Gumede and La Guma proceeded to. 23

the Soviet Union. They returned to Moscow at the end of the year to attend the celebrations and commemoration of the October Revolution. They also participated at the Congress of the Friends of the USSR. Gumede then made a trip through the Soviet Union. He chose to go to Georgia. A photograph of Gumede in Russian winter clothes with Georgian peasants shows how cheerful a man he was. Fifty years later his former interpreter, A.F. Plate, then a student now professor of chemistry at the Moscow state University, told SECHABA:

"Gumede considered as one of the greatest achievements of our country that the Socialist Revolution managed to united people of different nationalities in their struggle for common ideals. He emphasised the significance of this experience for all nations struggling for their independence and considered that success in this struggle would highly depend on the unity of action of all forces fighting against racism and colonialism".

Back in South Africa

Gumede never forgot this experience. Back in South Africa he told large crowds:

"I have seen the world to come, where it has already begun. I have been to the new Jerusalem".

Gumede called for a united front in the form of unity of action between communists and non-communists. He crossed the borders of South Africa into Basutoland (now Lesotho) where he addressed meetings of Lekhotla la Bafo (Common Man's League) which was led by Maputseng Lefela. He was preaching the new gospel. The masses responded to his message: he was elected President-General and E.J. Khaile (a known communist) was elected Secretary-General of the ANC.

Surely Gumede's trip to Brussels was a turning point in his life. He met anti-colonial revolutionaries from Asia (including Nehru), Latin America, Caribbean and Africa some of whom were "blacker than myself, speaking languages I could not

understand". (He was surely referring to French). In the Soviet Union Gumede learnt a lot and his former interpreter, Plate, remembers:

"In Tbilisi Gumede was given a good reception and had various conversations with Georgian leaders and Georgian peasants. One of these meetings was held in the "house of the Peasant" - a place where peasants coming to town could have a place to shop.

Gumede asked the peasants about their lives in detail ... We visited a number of Georgian villages and returning to the hotel everytime Gumede compared the way of life of the Georgian peasants with the mode of life and labour (conditions) in his motherland".

I stand in astonishment

The growing influence of the Soviet Union seems to have had an impact on many genuine black leaders of the time. Dr Du Bois himself confessed in 1926:

"I stand in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be partially deceived and half-informed. But if what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my ears in Russia is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik".

And the 4th Congress of the Pan African movement in 1927 stated:

"We thank the Soviet Government for its liberal attitude toward the coloured races and for the help which it has extended to them from time to time".

These statements by leading black radicals demonstrate that Gumede's reactions were not an exception to the rule; the ANC was moving with the times and reflecting the dynamism characteristic of a revolutionary organisation. The very existence of the Soviet Union; the fact that in the Soviet Union racism has been completely eradicated and that the Soviet leaders treat any manifestation of racial chauvinism with great severity and the fact that the Soviet people show great sympathy - and actually render assistance



In Tbilisi, December 1, 1927 with Georgian peasants

to — the oppressed colonial people: these are factors which impressed Gumede and many black radicals.

The Tsar was 'a great man'

There were other forces at work within the ANC. The conservative wing could not — and did not — remain neutral to the remarks and development of Gumede. One chief warned:

"The Tsar was a great man in his country, of royal blood like us chiefs and where is he now? ... If the ANC continues to fraternise with them (the communists) we chiefs cannot continue to belong to it".

And another chief (not without regret and a sense of fear for a future social revolution) said:

"It will be a sad day for me when I am ruled by the man who milks my cow and ploughs my field".

These forces succeeded in forcing Gumede to leave the position of presidency of the ANC in 1930.

But Gumede remained president of the League of African Rights on whose committee sat Modiakgotla, Bunting, Baker, Thibedi, Kotane and Kotu — communists and non-communists.

ANC - CP relations

We have already stated that the resolution of the Brussels Congress introduced a new dimension in our concept of the struggle in South Africa. This was elaborated, enriched and developed in the discussions

La Guma held with Bucharin and other Comintern leaders. These leaders viewed our struggle from a somewhat different angle and perspective. Whereas up to then the Communist Party of South Africa regarded the struggle in our country as a working class struggle for socialism, the Comintern saw the importance of a national struggle uniting all oppressed people and classes against white domination and imperialism and for national liberation. The Comintern suggested the adoption of the slogan: An independent Native Republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full, equal rights for all races.

For the CP which had up to then advocated working class unity as the only way to socialism and equality of black and white, this new call for the support of the liberation struggle led by the ANC which was then regarded as reformist was indeed a new departure. The CP had reservations about the ANC; the communists were ready to unite with the ANC on specific campaigns and issues but the ANC was basically reformist — they argued. The question of communists working to build and strengthen the ANC was never raised partly because the ANC was said to be serving the interests of the "African bourgeoisie" — and some of these people called "bourgeoisie" were very poor indeed!

Speaking about this period and these attitudes, Lionel Forman remarks:

"The Party believed it was necessary to rally the masses on national slogans but under its own banner. Experience had still to teach the vital lesson that it was not in spite of, but in alliance with Congress that the Party would lead the struggle against national oppression".

In other words, the Black Republic slogan was a theoretical and practical-political framework which set in proper perspective the relationship between African nationalism and socialism by stating that the concept of class struggle in South Africa must of necessity incorporate the

principle of national self-determination for the Africans and other nationally oppressed Blacks. Gumede contributed tremendously to this realisation.

Gumede was instrumental in the leftward development of the ANC in the late 20's — though this was short-lived. He played a leading role in the move by the ANC to affiliate to the League Against Imperialism and by this act the ANC identified itself with the world-wide anti imperialist forces.

Conclusion

We have dealt at length with this question of the historic roots and genesis of relationship between African nationalism and socialism in South Africa. It is necessary. There are reasons for this. We shall mention a few:

1. Our enemy — whatever form and colour it takes — has always at different times deliberately distorted the relationship between the ANC and the CP. The ANC is portrayed either as a brainless organisation, without independent thought or initiative "controlled by communists who are white." The aim of and reasoning behind this distortion is clear. They are trying to tell our people that whether you are in or outside the ANC it is the same: "white control" is everywhere. They are trying to demoralise our people, disarming them and instilling a sense of hopelessness and preventing them from joining the ranks of the freedom fighters;

2. The second reason why we deal with this topic at this length is that we want to make it abundantly clear that the ANC made its impact and contribution to the realisation of the urgent need for a solution of the national question. If perhaps the ANC was not articulate enough in bringing this point home, its very existence spoke louder than words. This contribution of the

ANC was made independently. But this does not mean that the ANC was immune or incapsulated from the liberatory ideas of other organisations. But there is a difference between influence and control.

3. Thirdly, and this is a fundamental, if not vital, issue – the question of relations between the ANC and CP was not only a theoretical question. This is a bread and butter issue. The two organisations emerged separately and independent of each other, fought separately and on different premises. At times they ran parallel to each other but were united by the struggle against the common enemy. As the struggle developed the two organisations came closer to each other and began to discover each other. As it happens in such cases the great teacher was our common experience and school was the practical political struggle. At times the fees were high – our sacrifices were great but we are sure to graduate at this school as comrades, friends, equals and countrymen.

President Lutuli expressed himself on the question of relationship between the ANC and the C.P. He expressed - his

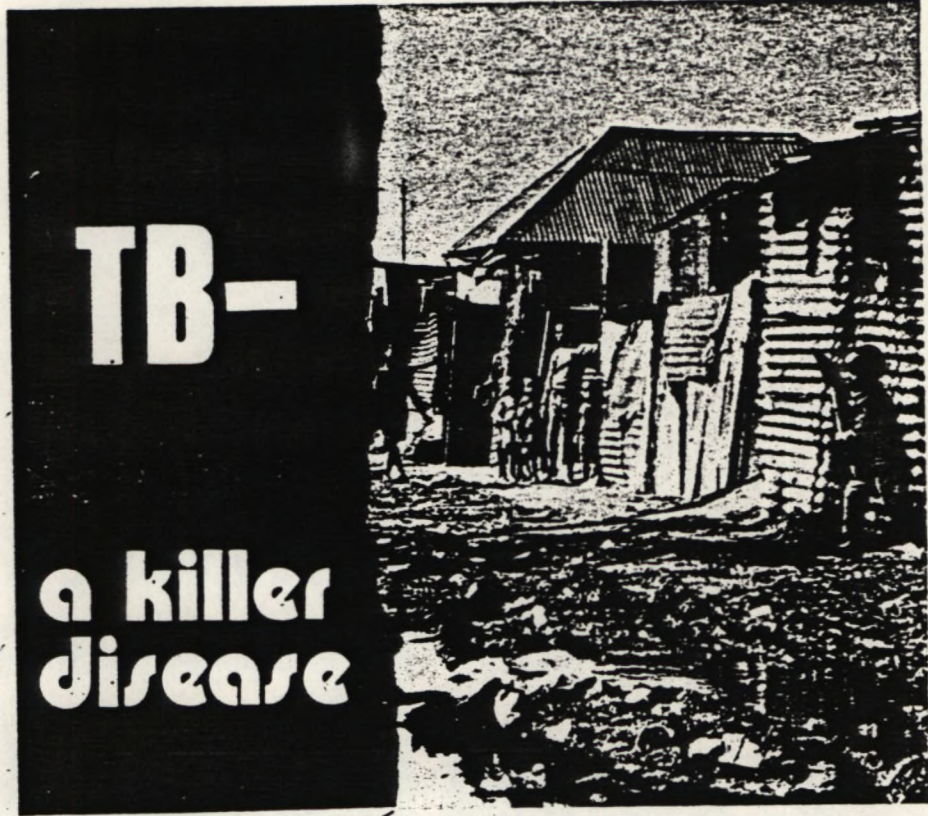
differences, as a christian, with communism but went further to say:

"Let me make it clear at once that I do not feel in the least defensive or apologetic about the position as it actually is – it is often misrepresented. For myself I am not a communist ... In religion I am a christian ... There are communists in the South African resistance and I cooperate with them ... The Congress stand is this: our primary concern is liberation, and we are not going to be side tracked by ideological clashes and witch hunts. Nobody in Congress may use the organisation to further any aims but those of Congress ... Even in the days when the Communist Party was in its infancy, Congress did not debar them...

Resistance movements cannot afford the luxury of Mc Carthyism, nor can they allow themselves to be divided up into innumerable little homogeneous groups. We are not playing at politics, we are bent on liberation".

President Lutuli was talking the language of President Gumede which is the language of President Tambo; the language of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.





TB-

a killer disease

The type of living conditions that cause massive exposure to T.B.

It is estimated that there are 7,000,000 infectious cases of tuberculosis in the world at any one time, and 3 - 5 new cases are added every year. By far the majority of these cases occur in the impoverished parts of the globe. About 1 million people die from tuberculosis annually - four new cases and one death each minute. South Africa, in the midst of plenty, is one of the world's black spots for tuberculosis. In South Africa, tuberculosis is a killer disease, particularly among the black majority.

For those people who like to believe that the people of Africa are racially more susceptible to tuberculosis than Europeans, it is useful to remember that it was a killer

disease in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. At the height of the Industrial Revolution the disease had reached a peak death rate of 400 - 500 per 100,000 in Britain (1). By 1882, the year in which Robert Koch discovered the tubercle bacillus (*Mycobacterium tuberculosis*), the death rate in England and Wales had already dropped to 200 per 100,000, following improvements in social conditions. By 1940, just before the introduction of the new wonder drugs (Streptomycin, PAS, Isoniazid) the death rate of the disease in Britain had dropped to 50 per 100,000, without treatment. Today, it is 5 per 100,000 in Britain.

Death rates in South Africa

By comparison, Dr. S.R. Benatar (2) estimates the death rate for all races combined in South Africa, as 50 per 100,000 (1981), the same as the death rate in Britain before treatment was available. This figure grossly underestimates the death rate in Africans, who seldom have the benefit of treatment. Tuberculosis is not longer the death sentence it used to be in South African Indians and Coloureds, most of whom are urban dwellers, and are now treated, even cured, if they contract the disease (3).

Not so the Africans. There are simply no data made available upon which to compare the response of African people to treatment. There is no information nationwide as to how many Africans are receiving treatment, nor any publicised figures revealing the death rate. There is a deliberate policy to obscure the true picture, even in official journals, which is tragic in the extreme.

Incidence of tuberculosis

The incidence (number of new cases per 100,000 population per year) of tuberculosis in Swaziland was recorded as 500 per 100,000 in 1980; and 200 per 100,000 in South Africa (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda) in the same year (4). Benatar estimates the incidence of tuberculosis in South African Coloured and African people as 300 per 100,000, compared with 200 in Indians, and only 20 in Whites. (5)

About 50,000 new notifications of tuberculosis are recorded each year in South Africa, and there are at least 150,000 active cases at any one time(6). Accurate statistics are again not available for the African population, as the following Table shows:

'White' Areas

Cape Province	16,306
Natal	3,761
OFS	2,728
Transvaal	14,930
Total	37,725

Bantustans

Ciskei	2,277
Gazankulu	207
Kwazulu	2,836
Lebowa	1,148
Qwa Qwa	0
Ka Ngwane	702
Total	7,170

Not only does this table obscure the high incidence in the Coloured population of the Cape Province and Africans in the Transvaal, but it also underestimates the incidence in the reserves, where cases are seldom reported. Official statistics in South Africa deliberately fail to reflect the true picture of disease and death.

A prevalence (total number of cases in the population at any one time) survey carried out by the South African Institute of Medical Research in 1972 showed that out of every 100 randomly selected adults over 15 years of age in the Transkei Bantustan, 6% had positive sputum i.e. were suffering from infectious tuberculosis. A further survey of the same area, in 1977, revealed that 7.5% of persons X-rayed had active tuberculosis. No wonder the Transkei's figures are omitted from South Africa's statistics! It is clear from these surveys that about 2/3 of all cases with tuberculosis in South African rural reserves and Bantustans are not notified.

Once diagnosed, what happens then?

Workers diagnosed as tuberculous are usually discharged immediately from their jobs; many are endorsed out of the cities, to rot, untreated, in rural areas. An increasing number of elderly, sick, unemployed, women and children, are treated as 'foreigners' in the land of their birth, and 'resettled' in rural ghettos, there to eke out the last few months of their lives in starving, unsheltered conditions, without medical care. Once exported to the Bantustans these people conveniently cease to be included in the disease statistics for South Africa.

Treatment, even if available, is often sporadic and unsupervised, thus leading to a growing pool of treatment-resistant tuberculosis bacteria (17.5% of sputum cultured was resistant to Isoniazid, and 15.8% to streptomycin, in 1975 (7)). This means that not only are people exposed to tuberculosis, but they are exposed to tuberculosis which has become resistant to drugs.

It has always been Government policy

to endorse out those mine workers who develop TB to their countries of origin, without treatment. This policy has spread tuberculosis throughout the length and breadth of Southern Africa. The over-crowded conditions on the mines, which spread the disease in the first place, have led to a high incidence of exposure. Today, 0.5% (500 per 100,000) of the total workforce of 400,000 mine workers develop tuberculosis each year. And every year 2,000 previously healthy young men are repatriated to die.

Only the small (and waning) number of classified city dwellers are able to remain in the urban areas to receive treatment for tuberculosis. According to one report (8), of 2,000 cases traced in one area of the Transvaal in 1980-81, 658 were admitted to hospital. The whereabouts of the other 1,392 is not discussed. Another 3,270 were treated in outpatient clinics, or at work. It is probable that many of the 1,372 were repatriated as jobless.

Hospital beds for tuberculosis

	White	Coloured	Black	Indian	Total
State	81	779	2538	102	3500
SANTA					4442
Local authorities					773
Private					2813
					11,528

As may be seen from the Table, there are hardly any government (state) beds for tuberculosis. The majority of beds are privately run. The regime's declared policy is to treat individuals as out patients or at work, rather than as inpatients. (10) The South African National Tuberculosis Association (SANTA), a state-aided charity, with 4,442 beds, is the backbone of the tuberculosis service. Santa claims to have treated, and cured, 250,000 cases of tuberculosis over the past 25 years. (11)

It is clear from these inadequate statistics that the medical services are merely tackling the tip of the iceberg of tuberculosis amongst black people in the urban areas, and hardly caring at all for the tuberculous in the Bantustans, where there is only 1 doctor to 50,000 population, and an average earning of R20 per month. (12)

Causes and Prevention of TB

The disease tuberculosis, which is caused by inhaling the tubercle bacillus, results

from excessive exposure under overcrowded and insanitary living conditions. It is estimated that 10,000,000 people of all races in South Africa have come into contact with the disease, but only a small number actually develop the disease. This number varies with the circumstances. Most people, particularly white people, will get over their initial infection (the primary focus). If reinfection does not occur, is limited, or resistance is high, this focus will heal, leaving a spot on the lung which may flare up again should reinfection occur. If resistance is low, or massive exposure occurs (which is usual in the overcrowded conditions in which Blacks live) then the disease spreads. Spread may be to other organs (kidneys, covering of the brain, bones), the so-called miliary TB; by direct spread in the same lung, often giving rise to a fatal haemorrhage from the lung; or from one lung to the other, causing rapid progress of the disease.

If tuberculosis is diagnosed early, that is before any serious spread has occurred, then the antituberculous drugs (streptomycin, PAS, isoniazid, Rifampicin, Ethambutol etc) can be relied upon to cure the disease within six months. If the disease is due to a drug-resistant organism, then other drugs will often work. Rifampicin and ethambutol cause little resistance and are largely effective, but expensive. How disgraceful that the South African regime withdrew these latter two drugs during December 1980 to April 1981 (12) on the grounds of cost! The tuberculosis service virtually collapsed.

The only satisfactory prevention of tuberculosis is adequate housing and a low density of population. In South Africa TB is a 'non-white complaint' (13). Yet tuberculosis can be treated successfully. Even the limited treatment programme carried out in urban areas is thought to have reduced the disease rate in children (14).

It is believed by some workers, but disputed by others, that BCG vaccination

(immunisation by injecting a small quantity of tuberculin) actually prevents tuberculosis. According to Benatar, 3.5 million people are vaccinated with BCG in South Africa annually (15). As usual, there is no breakdown of the figures according to racial group. 'All newborn, new school entrants, and school leavers are immunised'. Are we to understand that this applies to Blacks? Even if all children were to be immunised with BCG, which they should certainly be, there is some evidence (16) that complete protection does not occur where exposure is high.

South Africa's present lack of an adequate policy for the diagnosis, treatment and prevention of tuberculosis is a public scandal. Similarly, official failure to produce satisfactory statistics allows the situation to continue unchecked and unmonitored in the eyes of the world. The homicidal reorganisation of black South Africans into ethnic ghettos is now leading to genocide little short of the gas chambers. When will the world wake up to the fact that the racists in South Africa are exterminating the black people in the name of apartheid.

FOOTNOTES

1. Review article on 'Tuberculosis in the 1980's, with particular reference to Southern Africa' S.A. Medical Journal 62/11, September 1982

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. South African Institute of Medical Research Survey 1980-81

6. Op. Cit. S.A. Medical Journal Sep. 82

7. Ibid.

8. Rand Daily Mail 6.4.82.

9. Sunday Express 14.2.82.

10. Dr. L.R. Tibbit MOH Cape Divisional Council, The Star 10.10.81.

11. Rand Daily Mail 14.9.82 30. Ibid., p.167 31

• **BOOK REVIEW** •

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GAME

Sport and Racism by Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon published by Zed Press, London, 1982. Price £6.95 paperback; £16.95 hardback.

The mention of sport and South Africa is always certain to create a lively debate in every country in the West. The South African Game, written by a Briton and a Frenchman, will help Westerners understand the problems confronting Black South Africans on the sports fields and why most of the world is violently opposed to South Africa's participation in international sport.

Archer and Bouillon have produced a detailed study of sport in South Africa and have documented Black sport from its early beginnings to its present socio-political stage. The history of Black sport, which has been virtually ignored by racist South Africa, receives its rightful place. The book indicates that Blacks have been playing sport from the early 1880's and earlier; and not only since a few decades ago as White South Africa wishes the world to believe.

The authors have tried to cover most aspects of South African sport. Special emphasis has been placed on rugby and cricket and a fair coverage is given to football, tennis, golf, swimming, boxing and athletics. The book also analyses the socio-economic conditions of sport in South

Africa and proves conclusively that sport "is part of society, and for this very reason an examination of the evolution and character of South African sport throws light on the character of apartheid".

It shows up the "multi-national" sports policy for what it is — old wine in a new bottle — and why international recognition is so important for the White establishment sports organisations and the racist regime.

On perusing the bibliography one realises the pain-staking research that has gone into compiling the book. The authors have researched into all aspects of life in apartheid South Africa and these aspects, as they affect sport, have been significantly reflected in the book.

Although the book has been compiled through research and interviews the book is in no way a mere academic accomplishment. The authors have been and still are actively engaged in the international campaign to isolate South African sport. Robert Archer now works for the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London and Antoine Bouillon is the secretary-general of the French Anti-Apartheid Movement and is the editor of APARTHEID NON.

Sam Ramsamy

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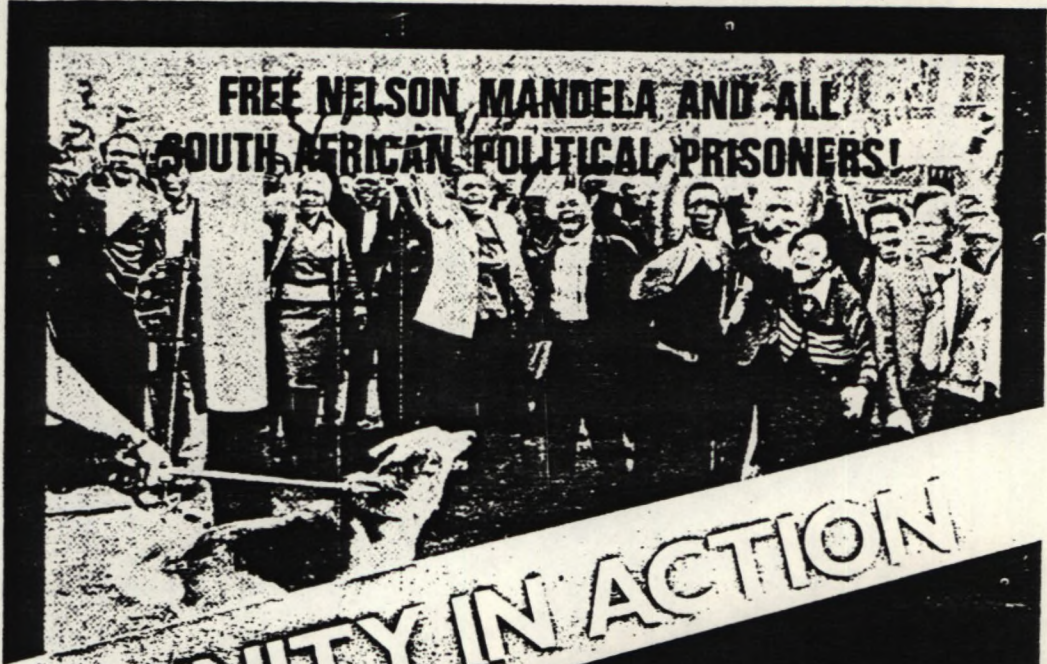
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