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SEE HOW THEY RUN

The British Sunday Times (7.X1.82) reported:

"White farmers are abandoning the guerrilla-threatened northern areas of South Africa in such numbers that ministers of Pieter Botha's government are considering whether to bring in a law compelling owners to keep at least one white person on every farm bordering on Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique ...

"Hendrick Schoeman, a former agriculture minister recently startled MPs with a warning that because of the exodus of farmers 'a terrorist can walk from the Limpopo River right through to Pietersburg without having to set foot on a farm occupied by whites'....

"On the Botswana border 43 per cent of farms are lying idle, on the Zimbabwe border 39 per cent and on the Mozambique border 14 per cent."

As well as considering a law compelling at least one white person to be on each farm in these areas, the regime is also planning to spend money to attract more whites and industries to towns in border areas, eventually integrating them in a defensive network with the farms. Many abandoned farms have been taken over as weekend retreats by wealthy Johannesburg businessmen who hold weekend game shoots but leave the properties in the hands

of African caretakers during the week. What has happened? Why this exodus? Why this panic?

We have always insisted that — to quote the Freedom Charter — our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities.

This exodus is a reflection of the unfulfilled demands of the Freedom Charter. In any case Umkhonto we Sizwe had long anticipated this situation in their song: Siza Kubadubula ngembayi-mbayi: Baza Kubaleka Dubula, Ngembayi-mbayi (We shall shoot them with heavy weapons; And they are going to run away).

This dream of the founding fathers of Umkhonto we Sizwe is coming true; we are witnessing history in the making!



O.R. TAMBO:



**«The demand for
mobilisation stands
at its highest»**

Statement of the President of the African National Congress, Oliver R. Tambo, to the UN General Assembly on the Question of Apartheid New York. 9th November 1982.

Four days ago, in commemorating the 20th anniversary of its singularly important decision calling on all member-states to break cultural, diplomatic, economic and military relations with South Africa, this august body honoured certain personalities for their outstanding role in pursuit of the world campaign in support of the struggle for the eradication of Apartheid.

In paying the well-deserved tribute to certain governments, non-governmental organisations and individuals who have been in the forefront in the implementation of this decision and of the mobilisation of world public opinion in that direction, speakers eloquently recalled the reasons that led to what was an unprecedented development in the history of the United Nations.

The international community had come to the conclusion that the countless appeals repeatedly addressed to the South African racist regime since the inception of this world body had not only fallen on deaf ears but had also met with the persistent buttressing of the Apartheid system. This action oriented consensus involving the overwhelming majority of mankind was also predicated on the determination that Apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security. It was an historic decision welcomed by the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa as a response to the appeal made by their National Liberation Movement, the African National Congress, in 1958, and was seen by them as the first step toward comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

The conclusions arrived at by the Security Council Group of Experts in 1964 that sanctions against South Africa

were imperative and feasible, further heightened expectations for concerted international action. The total isolation of the Pretoria regime would certainly weaken it and complement the efforts of the struggling people in South Africa.

As we take the floor on behalf of the African National Congress and in the name of the majority in South Africa, we draw strength firstly, Mr. President, from the commitment of your country, Hungary, to the principles of freedom, justice and peace, as well as your own uncompromising opposition to the Apartheid system. We are confident that the deliberations of this august assembly in the 20th year of the issue of sanctions will serve to advance our common cause.

Secondly, we read in the Secretary-General's report a timely warning that the future of the United Nations, to the strengthening of which the overwhelming majority of the member-states are committed, depends on the collective implementation of decisions democratically adopted by this world body.

Thirdly, we take the floor after a vehement condemnation of Apartheid and a scathing indictment of the Pretoria regime's collaborators by the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, His Excellency, Ambassador Alhaji Yusuf Maitama-Sule. The statement he presented today enters the records of the General Assembly as one of the great landmarks of its 37th session.

We take this opportunity to renew our sincere appreciation and gratitude for the highly commendable work done by the Special Committee under his illustrious leadership. His country, Nigeria, and his government and people have been and continue to be a powerful source of strength in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

Mr. President, the situation prevailing in South Africa today continues to provoke world-wide revulsion and condemnation. As in previous years, the year 1982 has been

marked by a series of murders of patriots, numerous arrests, sadistic torture of thousands of opponents of the regime and countless other crimes committed by the regime against our people in a bid to stamp out the revolutionary movement fighting for the overthrow of the apartheid system.

The need for a powerful international demand for the release of political prisoners and detainees is heightened with each passing year, as patriots like 73 year-old Oscar Mpetha, 70 year-old Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, James Mange, Thandi Modise, Ahmed Kathrada and hundreds of others continue, with Nelson Mandela, to languish in jail. Six of them, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, David Moise, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung and Simon Mogoerane have been sentenced to death and their fate hangs on the weight of international opinion. We have even reached the extraordinary situation where the police have the power to prohibit public funerals, alternatively to tell the bereaved what hymns to sing at the graveside; what sermons to read, what to include and what to exclude in a funeral oration.

Despite this enemy offensive even because of it, the struggle for the emancipation of our country is moving apace with irrepressible determination.

United in their action, clear in their definition of both the enemy and the objectives of their struggle, the workers, particularly the black workers, the youth, the women, the masses in the rural areas, students, professors and the religious community are engaged in actions not only to block the implementation of racial policies both in general and in the detail, but also to bring down the Apartheid system itself.

The role and participation of an increasing number of white patriots in the liberation struggle constitutes the foundations of the new non-racial democratic South Africa which is the objective of our struggle.

The heroic role of Umkhonto we Sizwe in contributing to the development of this powerful movement of the people of South Africa against an inhuman system, cannot be over-stated. Under the inspiration of the world solidarity movement and the increasing might of the international forces ranged against racism, Apartheid, fascism, colonialism and imperialism, our people and their army Umkhonto we Sizwe, are marching on single-mindedly towards the conquest of power and the liberation of our country.

The rejection by our people of the so-called reforms must be seen in this context. In this sense, any manoeuvres the Pretoria regime has resorted to, like its repressive measures and aggressive acts, serve only to deepen the determination of the people and heighten the intensity of the liberation struggle. At best the efforts of Botha and his friends in the outside world to present the regime as an agent of progressive reform are a cynical ploy to deceive the gullible. The most persistent feature of the present day South African political landscape is the steadily worsening crisis of the racist regime. Sandbagged police stations and military outposts, intermittent para-military roadblocks outside Black townships brutal and oppressive raids on Black people's homes and areas are all symptomatic of a regime in the grip of fear and engulfed by a sea of hostility from the citizens of its own country.

Mr President, the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa is coming to an end. But the demand for mobilisation stands at its highest.

The African National Congress, together with the majority of the people of South Africa, deeply appreciate the efforts deployed by the United Nations Organisation and the international community to put maximum pressure on the Apartheid regime in support of our liberation struggle.

Certainly, Mr. President, the past

twenty years has witnessed a growing isolation of the Apartheid regime. To that extent, the international community, through its consistent pursuit of the purposes clearly spelt out in the General Assembly's sanctions resolution of November 6th, 1962, has succeeded in weakening the Pretoria regime.

But we have to face up to the reality that over this period of the struggle for mandatory sanctions, the regime has succeeded in defying world opinion on a whole series of issues.

Faced with the determined resistance of the oppressed and exploited inside South Africa, the regime has externalised the conflict through a strategy of overt and covert aggression, including a campaign of destabilisation, against the neighbouring states. These crimes against African independent states have the direct and indirect encouragement from various quarters in the West. In this regard special mention must be made of the role of the incumbent U.S. administration, which has declared itself an ally of the racist regime. Emboldened by the assurance of the United States support, the racists aborted the Geneva Conference on Namibia, unleashed a wave of atrocities against the Namibian people, invaded the People's Republic of Angola and continue brazenly to occupy portions of its territory; they are openly training, equipping, financing and arming counter-revolutionary gangs to spread terror and mayhem in various countries in Southern Africa and they are still deeply enmeshed in conspiracies to stage a mercenary coup in the Seychelles. No country in Southern Africa is secure against the Pretoria regime's harassment and aggression. As a matter of stark reality, Pretoria has turned our whole region into a war zone.

There is another important dimension to the declared alliance between Washington and Apartheid Pretoria, Mr. President. We refer to the insistence by both on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola as a precondi-

tion for the independence of Namibia. It is however heartening to note that this demand has been disowned by France and other members of the western Contact Group. But, Mr. President, the United Nations keeps silent on this issue at the risk of being seen to condone conduct which amounts to the Namibian people being held by Pretoria as hostages whose release to self-determination and independence is conditional upon the conclusion of a bilateral agreement between two sovereign states on terms dictated or approved by racist Pretoria and its ally.

The parallels between the Middle East and Southern Africa are as clear as they are sinister. The onslaught on the Lebanon, the massive massacre of Lebanese and Palestinians, the attempt to liquidate the PLO and the Palestinian people, all of which were enacted with impunity by Israel have been followed minutely and with unconcealed interest and glee by the Pretoria racist regime which has designs for perpetrating the same kind of crime in Southern Africa in the expectation that, like Israel, it will be enabled by its allies to get away with murder.

It would seem obvious, Mr. President, that we must make a more determined and united effort to persuade and compel those countries who continue in their support encouragement and defence of the Apartheid system to terminate their ignoble relations with the Apartheid regime.

In the first instance we must give maximum encouragement to the Anti-Apartheid Movements in these countries as well as to other organisations and groups that have joined in the struggle to rid the world of racism.

Secondly, this movement of solidarity within these countries should be encouraged and, where possible, assisted to expand their activities to reach out to the broad masses of the people who, through their organisations and in the greatest possible numbers, can themselves begin to impose sanctions against South Africa.

Many important initiatives have already been taken in this regard, including consumer boycotts, the withdrawal of investments and accounts from companies and banks that have dealings with South Africa. The heroic resistance of the people of New Zealand to the racist rugby tour of their country earlier this year gave a powerful impetus to the struggle for the sporting and cultural isolation of the Apartheid regime. In Australia, workers have refused to handle South African imports and exports, ships or aircraft. The expansion and intensification of these forms of popular pressure will force reluctant and collaborationist governments to act in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

The overwhelming majority of oil-producing countries have imposed an oil embargo against Apartheid South Africa, and yet, thanks to the activities of the oil companies, this commodity continues to reach South Africa. We cannot overemphasize the need for effective measures to ensure that UN member-states, committed to the struggle to end apartheid, do not continue to oil the machinery of Apartheid.

Thanks to the support of western countries, racist South Africa continues to enjoy membership of various international bodies and specialised agencies, among them the International Monetary Fund. Accordingly, South Africa still benefits from such membership, as the recent case of the IMF loan demonstrates. The decision by the IMF to grant Pretoria a loan of 1.07 billion dollars, in defiance of a resolution of the General Assembly, sharpens the need for the expulsion of the racist regime from the IMF.

In our struggle, Mr. President, we seek to liberate not only ourselves but we are also thereby contributing to the worldwide struggle for independence, democracy, social progress and peace. In the coming period we shall require even more support from this Organisation, from its member-states and from the millions of people

throughout the world who are an important second front in our continuing offensive.

We cannot close, Mr. President, without addressing a special word of support and solidarity to SWAPO and the people of Namibia, the PLO and the Palestinian people, the Polisario Front and the people of the Sahroui Arab Democratic Republic, to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the people of El Salvador, and to FRETILIN and the people of East Timor, as well as all other peoples struggling for their national liberation. We affirm our solidarity with the Frontline and other independent states in Southern Africa.

Our common experience with these sister peoples and our common commitment to the cause of liberation, independence, social progress and peace must inevitably mean that we suffer together. But equally a victory on one front reinforces the struggle and ensures victory on other fronts. Nothing can break the solidarity that unites us.

During this coming period, perhaps more than ever in the past, we shall, Mr. President, depend on your support and encouragement, as well as the support and encouragement of His Excellency, the Secretary-General; His Excellency, the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid and all the other officials of this Organisation.

Together we have the ability to defeat those who subvert the United Nations, its Charter and its decisions. The Apartheid regime stands out among such subversive forces. We have a joint responsibility to work for its eradication.

Our common victory is certain.

Thank you Mr. President.

December 16th: Our Heroes Day

On December 16, we remember our heroes, those on Robben Island and other prisons, those who are fighting and struggling under the most difficult conditions inside the country engaging the enemy on all fronts and those who have fallen in the course of struggle against the fascist and racist regime. The young generation – the generation of Soweto, Langa, Gugulethu needs special recognition. They have in the real sense of the word taken the bull by its horns. We cannot mention them all but some of the most outstanding need to be remembered. They are:

Wilfred Nzamela Madela

Born on May 13, 1954 in Johannesburg Nzamela worked as a clerk for Barclays Bank in 1975 – his father had passed away and his mother was a primary school teacher. In 1977 he worked as a clerk at Baragwanath Hospital until he left the country.

Comrade Nzamela was exemplary and very well disciplined; his morale was always very high and he was a very humorous person. He was chosen for special tasks which needed men of his calibre and discipline. His conduct record was remarkable.

He was a commander of the group which was to operate in the Pretoria area until circumstances forced them into the memorable SILVERTON BANK SIEGE where they died as heroes.

Humphrey Thamsanqa Makhubo

Born on October 11, 1954 in Johannesburg Humphrey was a son of a businessman who owns a laundry and tents for hire – his mother is an assistant in the business. He and Nzamela Madela were inseparable friends having attended the same school. Comrade Thamsanqa was part of the Madela group, underwent the same training and brought to the front together.

Comrade Makhubo was highly disciplined and hard working. Mateu, as he was called in our ranks, will be remembered fondly for his unfledging morale. He had a wonderful voice and loved to sing. There was never a moment for brooding when he was around.

Zindile Ramokoa (alias Stephen Mafoko)

He was born in Johannesburg on April 27, 1954. His mother was unemployed. He learnt of the ANC from a friend and he used to listen to Radio Freedom whilst still in the country. He was arrested in



Wilfred Nzamela Madela



Comrade Leon Tume



Comrade Petros Linda Jabane

1977 for incitement and released without charge.

Zindile left home with four other comrades most of whom have rendered invaluable service to the movement. Basically a quiet man, Zindile was forced into

the armed struggle by what he saw around him during the Soweto uprisings and after.

He received a hero's funeral in Soweto after having been involved in the SILVERTON BANK SIEGE.

Robert Mokwena (alias George Sello)

Mokwena was born on April 4, 1952. He trained and worked as a mechanic until September, 1976. At the end of 1975 he met his relative and discussed with him the political situation at home. From school he was dissatisfied with the situation. He left towards the end of 1976.

Already during training he showed remarkable leadership qualities. Because of his outstanding qualities as a gallant combatant, popular and respected leader in his group he was made a unit commander.

On several occasions he led his unit into action displaying the determination and calm of a seasoned fighter in out-maneuvring the enemy. It was after such a daring mission in the Eastern Transvaal that the comrade was spotted by a police-

man, who called for reinforcements to capture him alive. Left with only a hand grenade after heavy fighting Comrade Robert decided that he would rather die than offer himself to the butchers.

Patiently and calmly he allowed the police to come nearer to him. Then he undid his hand grenade which killed him and a policeman and injured several others. Indeed only a soldier of the calibre of Robert Mokwena could do that. That was on May 10, 1981.

For us Comrade Robert will be remembered fondly for his undying spirit of NO-SURRENDER.

Petrus Linda Jabane (alias Gordon Dineko)

Born on January 6, 1957 in Johannesburg his father was a working pensioner and his mother unemployed. He was active during the June 16 uprisings. He took part in the burning down of Hlubi's house — Hlubi was the arch-policeman/informer who was later killed by the people. Jabane left home on June 6, 1977 with others.

Comrade Jabane was a hard-working, disciplined and intelligent young man. He was small almost inconspicuous. He was consequently chosen for a task which needed such a man. He disliked that. He insisted he wanted to join an urban assault unit. He acquitted himself well in several



Humphrey Thamsanqa Makhubo



Comrade Robert Mokwena

operations and rose to be commissar of the unit during his work with it inside the country.

He died in Chiawelo from his own hand grenade when he would not surrender to the battallion of policemen who surrounded his hide out. He had run out of ammunition which he used to keep the fascist hordes at bay.

Leon Tume (alias Norman Nkosi)

Born in Kimberly on April 10, 1957 Leon came from a working class family — his mother was employed in a garment factory. After deserting from his job as a Railway Policeman he went to Johannesburg around October 1976. Later he and his comrades joined the ANC.

Comrade Leon was one of the most remarkable young men from the June 16 crop. Tall, quiet and unassuming, he earned the respect of all comrades who knew and worked with him. After his specialised training he became one of the most loved commanding officers at the camp. He was an asset everywhere and it was with reluctance that he was relieved of his duty at the camp for the front.

Within his brief spell with his unit (of which Jabane was part) he had already established himself as a tireless and dedicated comrade. He earned himself the

name "Likomanisi" — he is a communist — in the unit through his zealous, unselfish and first-to-volunteer attitude towards work.

Comrade Knox — as he was sometimes called in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe — while he and Jabane were on reconnaissance duty were spotted by two white mine security guards in a van. Leon was armed with a pistol and Jabane with a defensive hand grenade which he could not use given the situation. Leon neutralised the first white man immediately and in the ensuing gun battle with the other he was hit three times before the man sped off himself with multiple gun wounds.

Jabane helped carry the staggering Leon to a house in a nearby village and asked the people to help him while he went to seek for help. By this time Leon was losing blood profusely from the wounds sustained in battle. He went out of his hiding place and by then the area was teaming with policemen who were alerted by the escaped security guard. He fought a determined battle with the scores of policemen before he was killed in this spirit of NO-SURRENDER. He died a soldier at his post on 13 June 1980.

To them all and many more we say your lives have not been sacrificed in vain.

OUTSTANDING PEOPLE'S LEADERS:



PART 2: NELSON MANDELA

An equally great impact on the development of public thinking in South Africa has been made by another prominent politician, Nelson Mandela, whose influence on the minds of his compatriots remains just as strong today, although the South African authorities have sentenced him to life imprisonment. In 1980, on the 18th year of his imprisonment which should have fully isolated him from the South African public according to his jailers' designs, the Johannesburg-based Sunday Post reported: "One of the realities which we have to face is that Nelson Mandela enjoys an incredibly high prestige". (25)

The fact that the Africans, who rightfully see Mandela as a national hero and leader, demand his release can hardly evoke any surprise. What is important is that many Whites regard him as a serious political figure, too. An opinion survey carried out in March 1980 showed that 54 per cent of the white residents of Johannesburg deemed it necessary to release Mandela. So, there is no exaggeration in the words of one of his associates, S.R. 'Mac' Maharaj: "The name of Nelson Mandela lives on in the hearts and minds of his people and of all democrats throughout the world ... Within his lifetime Nelson has become a living legend" (26).

The Path of a Fighter

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in 1918 in the town of Umtata (Transkei) in the family of a chief of the Tembu. He received his primary education in a Methodist mission school. Fate seemed to have guaranteed him a trouble-free life among the traditional tribal elite. But he broke off with this environment to which he belonged by origin and chose the path of a fighter against the racist regime.

Mandela's initiation to political activities happened during his university years. Participation in a student strike led to his dismissal from Fort-Hare College. He had to continue his studies by correspondence at the University of the Witwaters-

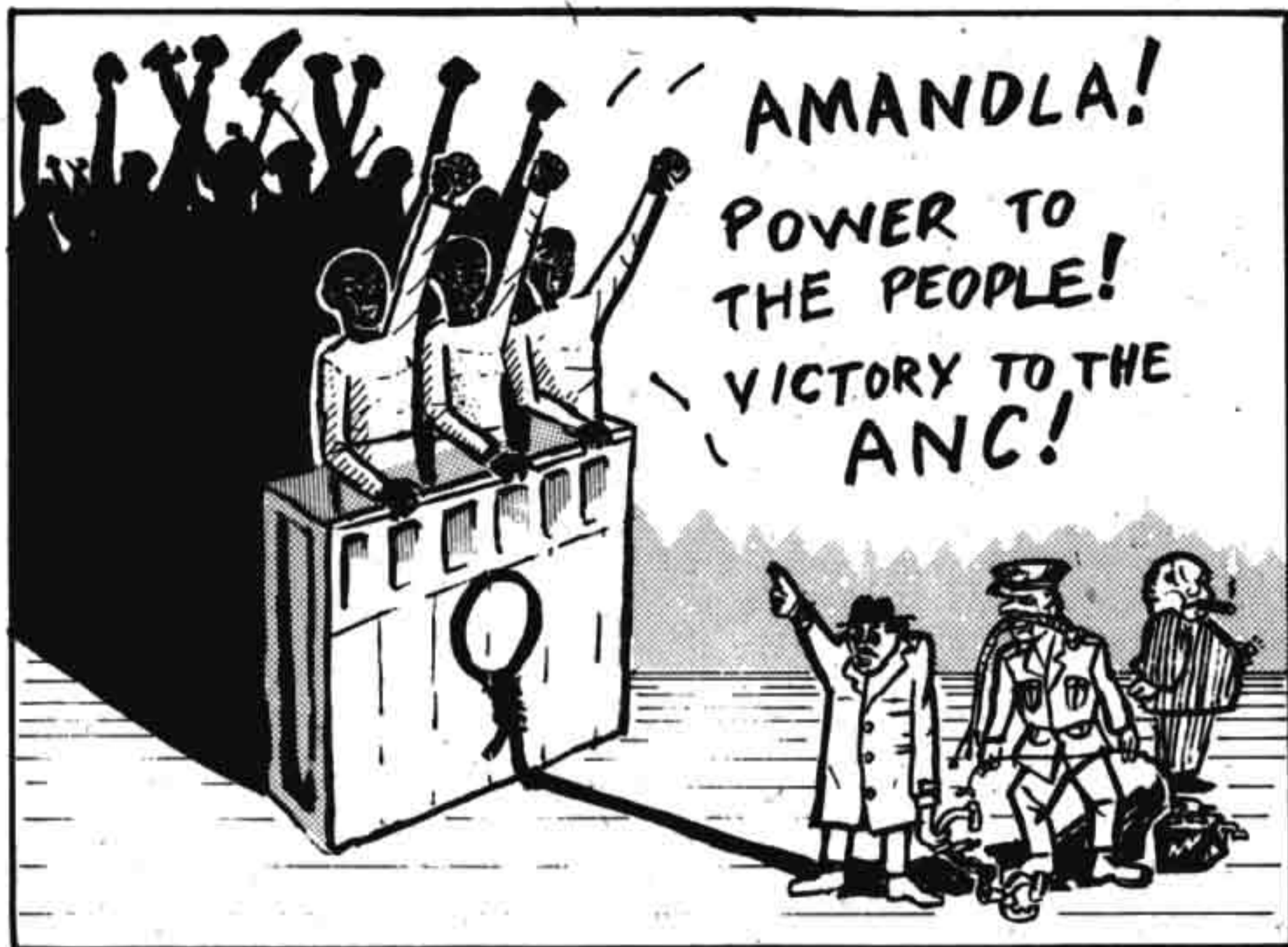
rand, and yet he managed to get a degree of a Bachelor of Arts and of a Bachelor of Law as well.

Mandela's interest in law was not accidental. In Johannesburg, he came to witness the rightless existence of urban Africans continuously harassed and persecuted by the racist authorities. "Nelson with his emotional and sensitive character could not stand humiliation and a patronising attitude, this evoked a sense of bitterness in him and a desire to retaliate for the offence" (27). It was probably these circumstances that prompted Mandela to master the method of legal defence. He was also advised by his newly acquired friend, Walter Sisulu, who advised him to study law.

Shortly afterwards, a dilapidated building opposite the city court came to sport a brass plaque reading "Mandela and Tambo". Here, the two like-minded young men who were to become close associates in the future struggle worked as practising lawyers for several years, acting as defence counsels for their black compatriots.

In 1944 Mandela plunged into political activities body and soul. He joined the African National Congress and founded the ANC Youth League in cooperation with W. Sisulu, O. Tambo and A. Lembede, whose emergence on the political scene marked the beginning of a new stage in the liberation struggle in South Africa. The main thing that distinguished the Youth League and which later became the principal aspect about all ANC activities was the urge to invigorate the liberation struggle and to impart a more militant and resolute nature to it.

The Youth League Manifesto (1944) and the document of its Executive called the Basic Policy Document (1948), both of which were drawn up with Nelson Mandela's active participation, outlined the fundamental goals of this group of African nationalists who represented the revolutionary youth. In the main, the Manifesto set forth an ideological and political platform on which African



Nationalism developed in the subsequent years in South Africa. Four years later, in 1948, the ANC Youth League outlined the basic principles of Nationalism as the ideology of the South African patriots fighting for national liberation. "African Nationalism is a dynamic National liberatory creed of the oppressed African people. Its fundamental aim is: —

- (1) the creation of a united nation out of the heterogeneous tribes;
- (2) the freeing of Africa from foreign domination and foreign leadership;
- (3) the creation of conditions which can enable Africa to make her own contribution to human progress and happiness" (28).

Careful study of the Basic Policy Document enables one to repudiate the claims of the narrow nationalist organisation Pan

Africanist Congress (PAC) that PAC and nobody else is the real successor to the ideology of African Nationalism in the shape it was formulated by the ANC Youth League. Section 5 of that document reads: "it must be noted that there are two streams of African Nationalism. One centres round Marcus Garvey's slogan — "Africa for the Africans". It is based on the "Quit Africa" slogan and on the cry "Hurl the White man into the sea". This brand of African Nationalism is extreme and ultra-revolutionary. There is another stream of African Nationalism which is moderate, and which the Congress Youth League professes". (29)

It is noted further in the Document that the "Youth League takes account of the concrete situation in South Africa and realizes that the various racial population groups living in the country have come to stay". That is why it is essential to strive for interracial peace and progress through

the abandonment of White domination. "Our goal is the winning of National freedom for African people, and the inauguration of a people's free society where racial oppression and persecution will be outlawed". (30)

These provisions were fully in harmony with Mandela's political convictions and he never abandoned them, which is reflected in his speech at the Rivonia trial in 1964. "The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African Nationalism", he said. "It is not the concept of African Nationalism expressed in the cry, 'Drive the White man into the sea'. The African Nationalism for which the ANC stands is the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own land". (31)

The role of Mandela in shaping and developing social conscience is not confined to the fact that he is an outstanding thinker, far-sighted politician and true patriot of his own people. The main point is that he is a vigorous fighter for the implementation of his ideals and convictions. The Africans in South Africa see him as a man who not only expresses their ideas and aspirations, but who fights for their consummation, too. Nelson Mandela's outlooks are distinguished by a combination of implacable anti-racialism and revolutionary nationalism. This combination is logical since Mandela's anti-racialism is the negation of racialism altogether. "I am no racialist", he wrote, "and I detest racialism, because I regard it as a barbaric thing, whether it comes from a black man or from a white man". (32) The essence of the African Nationalism professed by the ANC was exactly the recunciation of black racialism.

Being of the opinion that there are quite a few honest democrats among the white population of South Africa, who maintain a courageous stand for equality and for the eradication of racialism, and working for the formation of a united multiracial front against the apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela has always had a

realistic view of the state of affairs in South Africa. Racial oppression by the white minority is a sad fact of South African life, so most Africans have always had and maintain a fairly definite attitude towards the white man. But this is not black racialism, because it is not caused by hatred towards the white man motivated by the fact that he belongs to a certain race. This is a natural feeling of the oppressed towards the oppressor. "All the good things of life are reserved for the white folk and we Blacks are expected to be content to nourish our bodies with such pieces of food as drop from the tables of men with white skins. Whatever he himself (the White man - V.G.) may say in his defence, the white man's moral standards in this country must be judged by the extent to which he has condemned the vast majority of its inhabitants to serfdom and inferiority. Through bitter experience, we have learnt to regard the white man as a harsh and merciless type of human being whose contempt for our rights, and whose utter indifference to the promotion of our welfare, makes his assurances to us absolutely meaningless and hypocritical". (33)

Into the Arena of Mass Struggle

After the reshuffles in its leadership in 1949 consisting in the inclusion of the most prominent Youth League leaders with Nelson Mandela among them, the ANC turned into a genuine vanguard of the liberation struggle in South Africa. In the 50's, this struggle acquired a particular fierce character and wide scope. The South African patriots staged a series of powerful political campaigns against the racist regime with the participation of the broadest masses of people. The campaign culminated in the holding of the Congress of the People in 1955 which adopted the Freedom Charter - a policy document of the revolutionary forces engaged in the liberation struggle. The Charter reflected many aspects of Mandela's philosophic and political outlooks

and, particularly, his anti-racialism and his aspiration for a democratic non-racial society in South Africa. The Charter's opening words "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" express its main underlying principle.

The problems of the national liberation movement and of the struggle against racism and apartheid as well as the problems of interracial relations and of the formation of, first, a united front of struggle and, then, a democratic society of free people were all the focus of Nelson Mandela's attention. He assigned them primary importance in his articles and speeches. The social issues featured less prominently in his work. However, some of Mandela's ideas characterize his attitude towards social problems and, notably, to the problems of a class society. He often spoke in favour of a classless society. "I think", he said in 1960, "many troubles stem from the existence of classes where one class exploits another" (34). In another speech in 1962 he made a more detailed interpretation of his viewpoint: "The structure and organisation of early African societies in this country fascinated me very much and greatly influenced the evolution of my political outlook. The land, then the main means of production, belonged to the whole tribe, and there was no individual ownership whatsoever. There were no classes, no rich or poor and no exploitation of man by man. All men were free and equal and this was the foundation of government ... There was much in such a society that was primitive and insecure and it certainly could never measure up to the demands of the present epoch. But in such a society are contained the seeds of revolutionary democracy in which none will be held in slavery or servitude, and in which poverty, want, and insecurity shall be no more. This is the inspiration which, even today, inspires me and my colleagues in our political struggle." (35) This reference to the past and to the traditional African society can be explained mostly by his rejection of capitalist society

with its exploitation and class oppression. "I cannot associate myself with any other system but socialism", said Mandela at the Rivonia trial. (36)

Mandela also spoke of the influence which the Marxist ideas had on him and of the benefits he derived from his knowledge of Marxist literature. (37) In his final statement at the Rivonia trial where the Counsel for the prosecution insisted on a death sentence, Nelson Mandela clearly and unequivocally defined his attitude to Communists and to the South African Communist Party. "For many decades", he said, "Communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with us, and work with us. They were the only political group which was prepared to work with the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism". (38)

Nelson Mandela highly valued the experience of cooperation between Communists and non-Communists in the national liberation movement of South Africa, stressing that this cooperation was based on the common aspiration to eradicate race discrimination and to win democratic rights on the basis of the principles sealed in the Freedom Charter.

The State versus Mandela

Starting from 1944, when Mandela joined the ANC, to 1962, when he was arrested and given a five-year prison term which was changed to life imprisonment after the Rivonia trial, he was in the forefront of political and organisational activities in the South African national liberation movement. Those 18 years of his political activities were extremely hard: police persecution and repressions never stopped for a moment, from 1956 to 1960 he and more than 100 other patriots were on trial under charges of "high treason", in 1960 he was arrested

once again during a state of emergency in South Africa; in 1961-1962, right until his last arrest, he worked underground; the same years were marked by intensive and complicated work involving the establishment and commanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) – the military organisation of the ANC. It was practically impossible to work on theoretical concepts in a calm and unhurried manner under the circumstances.

One can judge Mandela's political and philosophic views by his articles in the progressive press, and by his statements and speeches at ANC rallies and congresses. His statements at the 1962 and 1964 trials are of particular interest. The first of these was published under the title "Black Man in a White Court", and the second – "I am prepared to Die". These were not so much statements in his own defence as political and policy statements. The defendant used the trial to bring the ANC programme to the public knowledge in South Africa and elsewhere, to spell out the objectives, methods and instruments of national liberation struggle, and to set forth his own views and convictions. These statements, and particularly that at the Rivonia trial, gained widespread international acclaim.

The role and prestige of Nelson Mandela in the public and political life of the South African people grow with every passing year, and people are increasingly pegging their hopes on the racist state's convict no. 1. As noted by the prominent public figure, the Chairman of the South African Council of Churches Bishop Desmond Tutu in the course of a large-scale campaign for the release of Mandela in 1980, "It is my well-considered opinion that we are going to have a Black Prime Minister in South Africa within the next 5 to 10 years. We need Nelson Mandela because he is exactly the person who will almost certainly be the first Black Prime Minister". (39)

Nelson Mandela and Albert Lutuli are outstanding public figures and politicians, leaders of the ANC and of the

whole South African national liberation movement, true patriots of their land and dedicated fighters against racism and apartheid. There is much in common between their outlooks and socio-political stands and between their fates and roads in life. Both came from the privileged traditional elite. However, the traditionalism which had dominated at the start of their life did not lead them to tribalism or narrow nationalism. Both advanced in the direction of revolutionary nationalism, non-racial cooperation and genuine patriotism. Both received an adequate education and had good opportunities to win a high position in contemporary capitalist society even under the terms of white supremacy. Nevertheless, both chose the path of self-sacrifice and struggle waged by up-to-date means and methods.

The evolution of the philosophic and political outlooks of Albert Lutuli and Nelson Mandela happened under the impact of the liberation struggle and under the influence of its inner logic. In both cases this evolution was directed towards progressive views and more resolute forms of struggle, which was fully in line with the development of the revolutionary process in South Africa.

25. Sunday Post (Johannesburg). 9/3/80
26. Mandela, *The Struggle is My Life*. London, 1978, p.180
27. Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, p. 30
28. Mandela. *Op.Cit.*, p. 20-21
29. *Ibid.*, p.26
30. *Ibid.*, p.26
31. *Ibid.*, p.167
32. *Ibid.*, p.125
33. *Ibid.*, p.130
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, p.141
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.* p.169
39. The Sunday Tribune, 4/5/80

SHEFFIELD - City of political & civic courage

A United Nations Symposium on the role of Transnational Corporations (TNC's) in South Africa and Namibia was organised in cooperation with the Sheffield City Council on the theme Sheffield and Southern Africa on November 1-2, 1982.

Speaking at this symposium in the British Midlands, Emeka Anyaoku, Deputy Commonwealth Secretary-General, reminded the audience about the history of Sheffield:

"In 1792, the citizens of Sheffield sent a petition to the Government demanding the abolition of the African slave trade. Two years later, they followed this up with a second petition. For us today, looking back on these events from the vantage position of the twentieth century, they may appear trivial. At the time they were not. As you will remember, the two year period between 1792 and 1794 was the height of the Jacobin scare in England. So deep-seated was this obsession with Jacobinism (the 18th century equivalent of our Red scare today) that a Bill for the prevention of cruelty to animals was considered an

unwarranted interference by the State with the liberty of the individual and was denounced in the House of Commons by Coleridge as the "strongest instance of legislative Jacobinism".

".... the anti-slavery campaign which had only just begun to make an impact, suffered a major reverse and the slave trade obtained a new lease on life, all in the name of liberty! But the city of Sheffield, to its eternal credit, had taken its stand, a stand once humanitarian and internationalist and requiring at the time unusual civic and political courage ...

"We are told by the standard history of Sheffield that in November 1792 the inhabitants of the city 'celebrated with jubilation the victories of the French revolutionary armies' even though those same victories had robbed Sheffield, depending then as now on its steel exports for a living, 'of one market after another' on the continent of Europe. What was at stake was a principle greater than material self-interest and the citizens of Sheffield elected to



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

SHIEFFIELD DECLARATION

**By Sheffield Metropolitan District Council
7th October 1981**

**In Solidarity with the Courageous Struggle of Nelson Mandela
And the African National Congress of South Africa**

Sheffield Metropolitan District Council declares its abhorrence of the apartheid regime of South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia. We believe that the racialist system of South Africa is an affront to human dignity and a threat to world peace.

In accordance with these views we pledge that the Council will campaign to end all links between the City of Sheffield and the apartheid regime of South Africa, utilising all social, political and economic measures that are at the disposal of the authority. In particular we will:—

1. Cease purchasing goods which originate from South Africa, and pursue this policy within the purchasing authorities in which the Council is involved.
2. Withdraw investments held by the Council in companies with South African interests.
3. Ensure that the City Council is not officially represented at any function attended by representatives of the South African government or trade missions.
4. Withhold use of recreational facilities from any sporting or cultural event involving South African participants.
5. Discourage all economic links with South Africa, promoting better relations with the developing economies of the "Third World".
6. Encourage the positive teaching of the history, culture and struggle for self-determination of the African peoples.
7. Instruct the City Libraries and schools not to make available South African government propaganda.
8. Promote public understanding of the situation in Southern Africa

In commemoration of this declaration, the Council will designate October 7th as a "Day of Solidarity with the people of Southern Africa" and will, in association with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, organise appropriate events each year to highlight the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

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.

"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 Hariette 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 unite 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 goind 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 overcrowded 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

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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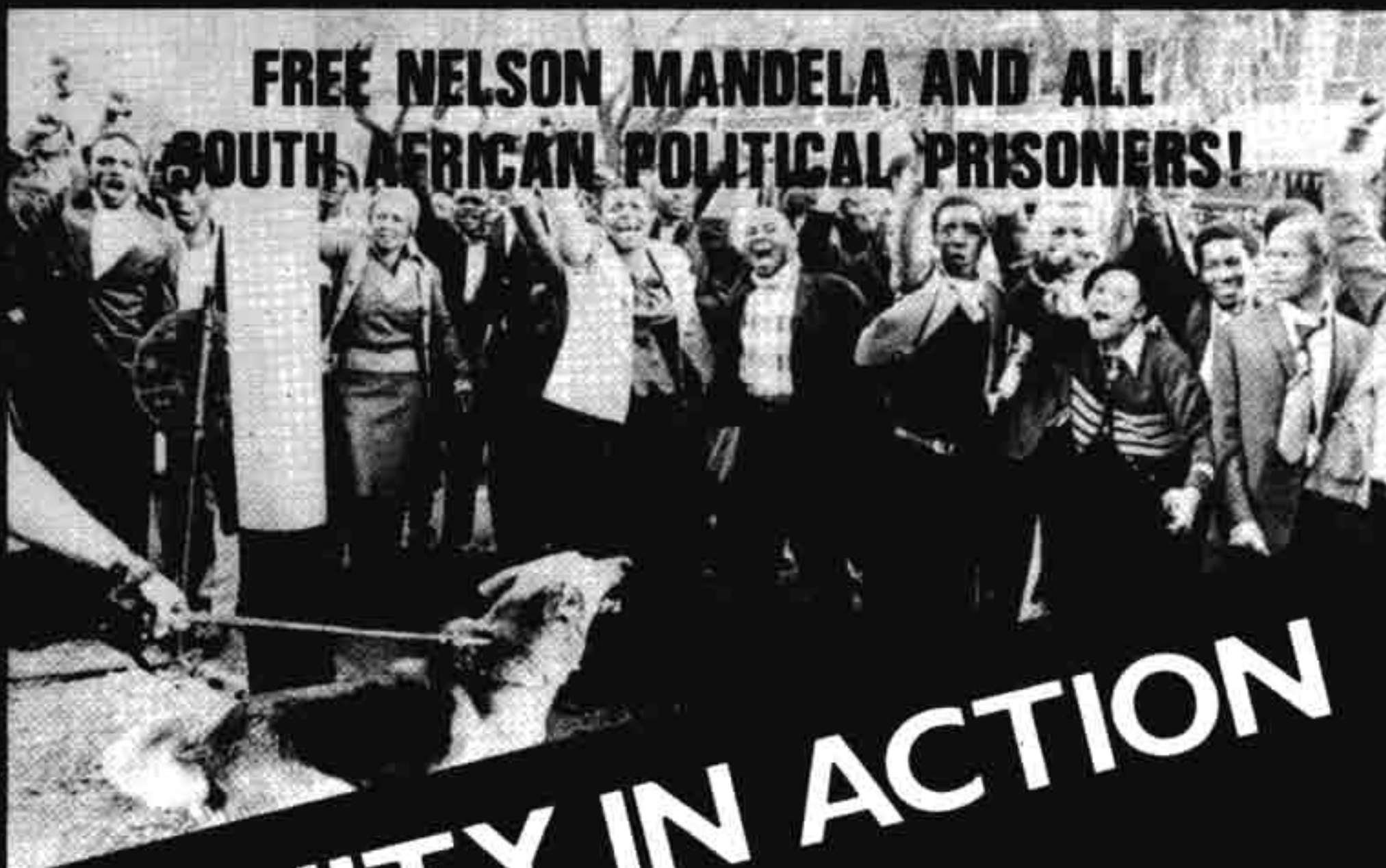
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