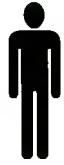


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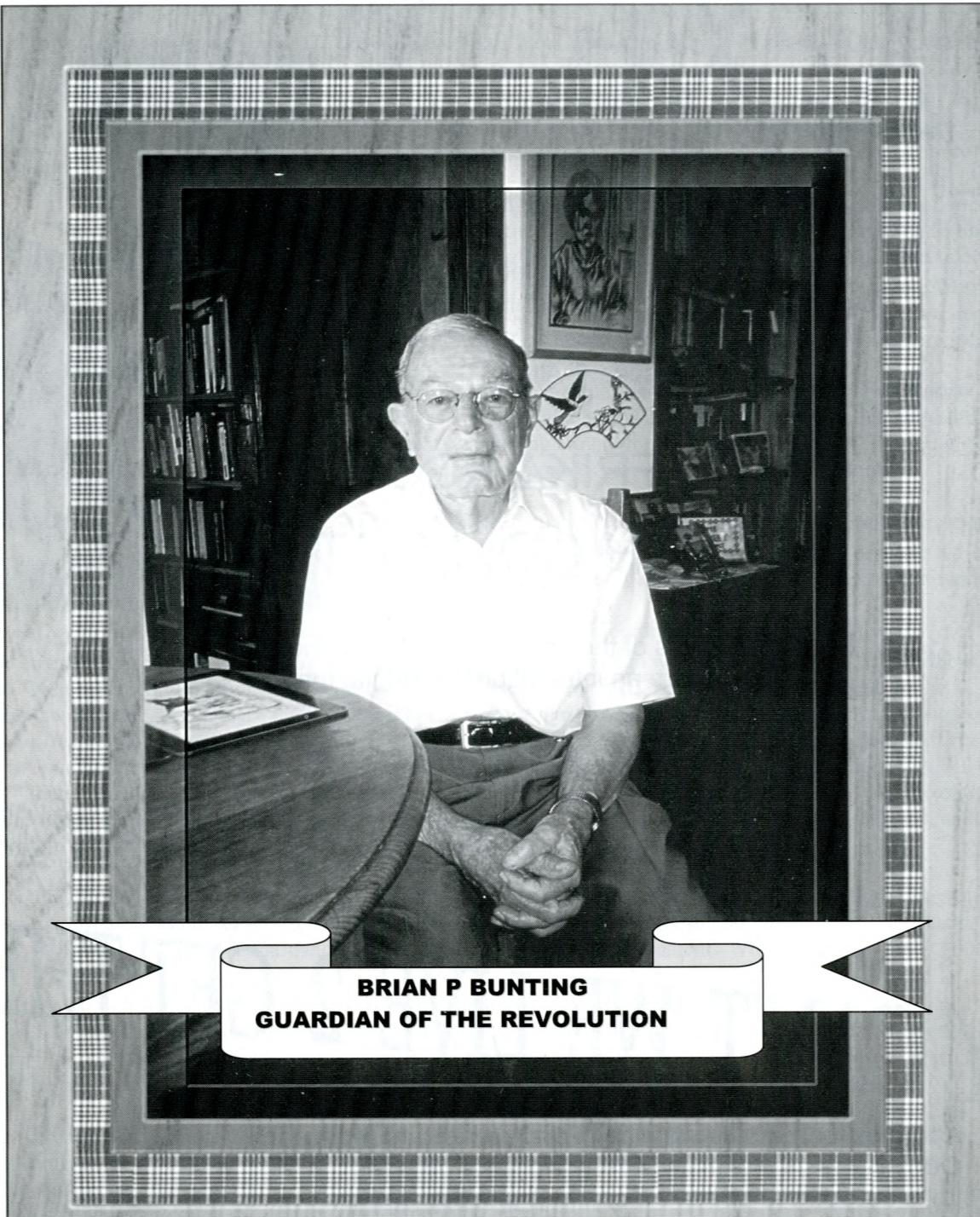
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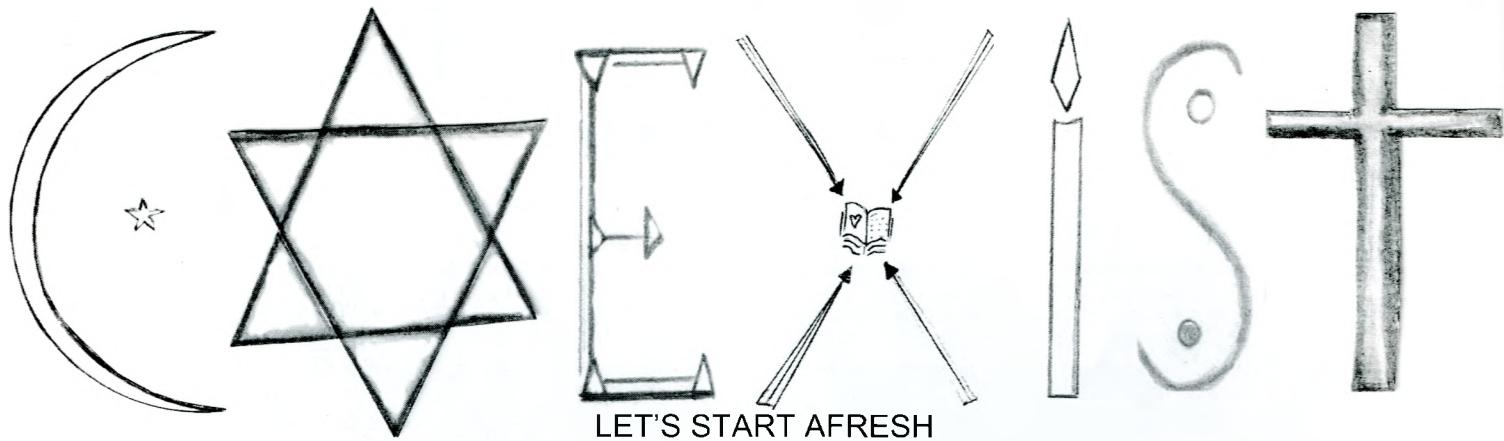
q's & a's in b & w fyc

maak kennis met marxkenner in kapsamiztad



"THE ROLE OF THE LEFT IN THE NDR"

*Nans ifomula*



Whether you are a  
Muslim, Jew, Rastafari, Buddhist, Hindu, Bahaii, Qhamatha, Christian, Khrisna

One Message 4 All - One Destiny 4 All

## ΔFRIKΔ KGOTLΔ FΔITH COLLECTIVE

Let's meet in ΔfrikΔ  
rid ourselves of the obsession with war and violence  
create an international interfaith forum

4  
everlasting  
justice  
peace      Δ  
prosperity  
love

# WHY CAN'T WE LIVE 2 GET THERE?

Apartheid barriers between faith and politics are redundant  
Our faith(s) should inform every aspect of our lives

Let's accept: We all have a contract with our Creator

Let's build new bridges and draw our strength from our *Holy Books*  
Share the spiritual power to improve conditions on this planet

Please contact ΔfrikΔ KgotlΔ @ 1<Δn ± 1 2 make a difference

## STRYD 2 ZE.

"The post-apartheid Left is a group of people whose values and visions go way beyond apartheid, in fact, go right back to the 19th century Europe, in the final analysis, and perhaps even earlier, to people like Marx and Engels and so on, to a vision of an industrial and even post-industrial world, in which human beings would live in harmony without exploitation, without oppression, and not merely without racial exploitation, in other words also without class exploitation, without gender oppression and so on." - Dr Neville Alexander, May 1997.

Yebo, I'm an avid reader of ze b&w kΔn̄ti. Is nca info for ze masses. Ewe, highly recommended... So ja. Salaam. Shalom. Siyabulela. Shiwawa. Siqhubekha! Shukran.



kΔn̄ti = 'yet' e.g. 'You ANC nothing *yet*', 'It's not *yet* Uhuru', 'The best is *yet* to come'. In Tamil the word 'kAnti' means 'brilliance'. Dit het met ons masala-kultuur ook in Afrikaans inslag gevind. Bekende volksdigters soos Patrick Petersen en Wopko Jensma het al met hierdie woord in hul gedigte gesmokkel, en nie om dowe neute nie. Soek maar die woord oppie Net, en kyk waar kom jy yt.

uMongameli uthi: "The masses are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society." The President used the word 'masses'\* 13 times in his pre-election State of the Nation address. He quotes the AIDS 'dissident', Rian Malan, kΔn̄ti, the word 'AIDS' appears only once in his speech. We have a secret Aids Council, being paid with taxpayers' money to encourage dissident opinions on AIDS strategy. Ons People's Poet sê: "Ignorance breeds ignorance."

\*After 10 years there are still no mass media that serve these 'masses'. They are regarded as a peripheral media product, born to suffer in the dumps like rats and cockroaches, scurrying around for the crumbs that fall off the neo-elite's table. Most advertising companies serve the interests of the minority.

After 10 years the structural violence is still firmly entrenched. Economic freedom is not discussed in the corridors of power. We negotiate peace in Africa, kΔn̄ti, the arms deal costs the taxpayer an arm and a leg. Transparent misappropriation.

The 'non-racist' ANC still plays the race card. We are still being classified according to appearance into five (5) 'race' groups, kΔn̄ti, there are no moral or legal justification for such racist action. 10 years ago we were informed that all apartheid laws would be scrapped. Even our liberation prophet, Madiba, continues to refer to 'Whites', 'Blacks', 'Coloureds' and 'Indians'. He does not even mention the fifth category 'Other'. God's biggest law is that we must love one another – this means 'treat people in the way you want to be treated'. Don't call me Gam, Umlungu, White, Boer, Coolly, Kwerekwere, Hotnot, Coloured, Kaffir, Lawu, Bushy – where is the love? Ignorance is the biggest factor here, and children learn this 'race'-speak at an early age. The Bill of Rights is also at fault - there can never be discrimination on the basis of race, since there is only one race. Precious resources are being wasted on this illegal travesty. Only two categories – historical beneficiaries and historical victims - are required, with a clear time frame, to indicate our government's progress in the leveling of the playing fields in terms of AA and EE.

Love one another, by creating jobs, by supporting those who struggle, by being accountable to the people you are supposed to serve, by being transparent as the people's government, by consulting with the people at community level. How can a liberation organization get in bed with a former apartheid spy, and say it is strategically convenient? Who is fooling who?

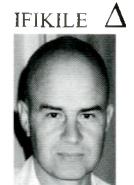
This is not really the first issue of kΔn̄ti. The first kapsamizdat highlighted Mr Mbeki's '*I am an African*' speech of 1996. The first q & a was with Dr Neville Alexander, on '*What's left of The Left?*' An interview with Archbishop Mpilo Tutu followed: '*Tutu tetha die Taal*', and then we visited Dr Russell Kaschula, the praise poetry researcher at UCT, with an imvumi from Langa. Siyabonga uThixo! Senzeni Somandla, siyacela, Qhamatha!

Min van ons ken nog ware Kommuniste. Ons is werklik bevoorreg om deeglik kennis te maak met Kameraad Bunting. Die Bunting-familie, soos die Kahns, Andrews, Firsts en die Sachse, is mense wat vas geglo het in wat hulle doen. Ou boet SP en sy Rebecca was voorstryders, onafhanklike denkers. Let's see what we can learn from this family's history. We close with two quotations. Abantu yase-Utopia, masiye...

"It is impossible to build a socialist paradise as an oasis amid the inferno of world capitalism"  
– Leon Trotsky, Critique of the Programme of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International, 1928.

"Let us (socialists and believers) stop concentrating exclusively on the debate about whether or not there is a paradise in heaven. Let us work together to build a paradise on earth. As for myself, if I eventually find a paradise in heaven, I will regard it as a bonus." – Joe Slovo

VUKANI  
BANTU ---  
IXHESHA



Thembu

Faasen Δ

# BRIAN PERCY BUNTING - FREEDOM FIGHTER, AFRICAN COMMUNIST

1920 Born 09-04-1920

1921 His parents were founding members of the CPSA  
Brian grew up in a Communist family

1931 Jeppe High

1936 – 1940 Wits University – History of Music, Hons in English

1940 start as sub-editor at *Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Times*

1942 military service in Air Force – information officer in North Africa and Italy

1945 back to SA. Edited the Springbok Legion's journal, *Fighting Talk*. Succeeded by Ruth First.

1946 assistant editor *The Guardian* (Betty Radford was editor)

1946 married to Sonia Beryl Isaacman. One daughter, two sons.

1948 became editor of *The Guardian*.

Editor of all its successive mutations.

1948 Member of Central Committee of CPSA

1950 CPSA dissolves

1952 elected to Parliament as the representative of Africans in the Western Cape

1953 Central Committee member since first congress of SACP

1953 Expelled from Parliament under the Suppression of Communism Act

1960 Brian and Sonia held during State of Emergency

Awarded prize by International Organization of

Journalists for his outstanding journalistic work and his valiant struggle against racial discrimination and for the liberation of the African nations from colonial rule

1962 under house arrest

1963 Bunting and all other *The Guardian* journalists forbidden to produce any material for publication under the Suppression of Communism Act

1963 into exile with family

1972 – 1990 Editor of *African Communist* in London

1991 returns to SA

1994 returns to Parliament as ANC MP after first democratic elections

2001 received the Moses Kotane award from the SACP

2002 On election committee for ANC conference in Stellenbosch.

Still active in ANC and SACP.

Bunting is the longest serving SACP Central Committee Member.

Hobbies: Music, theatre, swimming, walking.

## PUBLICATIONS

The rise of the South African Reich, Penguin 1964, revised 1969.

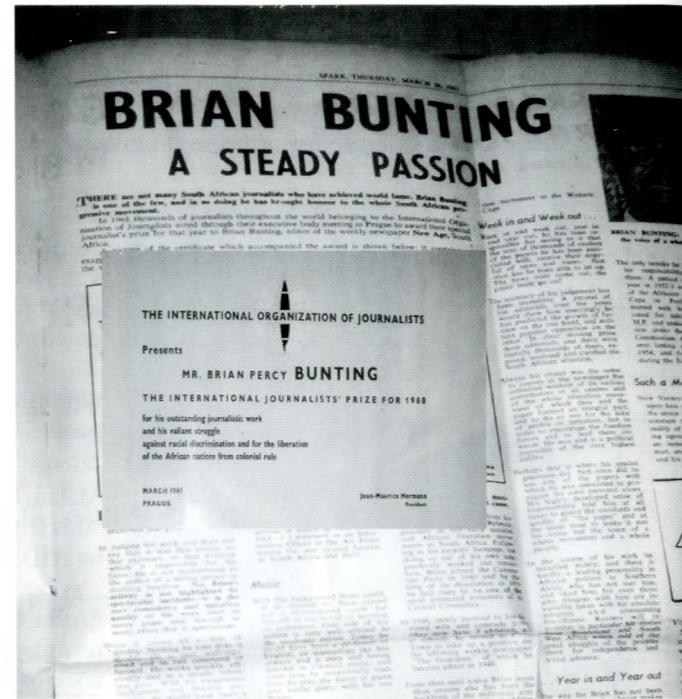
Moses Kotane – South African Revolutionary, Inkululeko Publications, London, 1975

Edited : Letters to Rebecca, Mayibuye Books, 1996 (collection of letters from his father to his mother)

:A volume of SACP documents SA Communists speak, 1915 – 1980' Inkululeko Publications, 1981.

:A new edition of his father's biography by Edward Roux, SP Bunting – a political biography .  
Mayibuye Books, 1993.

The Brian Bunting Collection in the Mayibuye Centre, UWC, is an archival collection of newspapers, political newscuttings and diverse political material. Valuable information was accessed there. Siyabulela, Mayibuye. Δ



A tribute to Bunting in the last issue of *Spark*



Brian Bunting, 1942.

## IT'S IN THE GENES: JOURNALIST GRANDFATHER, COMMUNIST PARENTS. CAMAGU !



SP Bunting and his wife, Rebecca.

### **BRIAN PERCY BUNTING**

(1836 – 1911) Brian Bunting's grandfather, Sir Percy Bunting was the grandson of Rev. Dr. Jabez Bunting. Sir Bunting, M.A., was the editor of *Methodist Times*, 1902 to 1907.

### **SIDNEY PERCIVAL BUNTING**

(1873 – 1936) Brian Bunting's father, Sidney Percival, came to South Africa as a Lieutenant in the SA War 1899 -1902. After leaving the service, he became a lawyer in Egoli and entered radical politics. He worked in the labour movement.

Bunting believed that only solidarity amongst SA workers would win in the struggle against capitalism. He was an ardent opponent of racism and tribalism, and became a pamphleteer. His leaflets, in seSotho, English and isiZulu, were widely circulated in workers' hostels, at mining sites and during rallies.

He and his wife (picture) were co-founders of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).

In 1921 Bunting brought the International Socialist League and several other groups together to found the CPSA. It was the only non-racial political movement.

In 1928 the Communist International ordered the CPSA to espouse an independent black republic.

Many Communists were members of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). Clements Kadalie, the ICU leader, moved to drive out the CPSA members. AWG Champion, executive member of the ANC (1927 – 1930), also played an important role in the expulsion of union leaders who refused to resign from the CPSA.

Activists like Jimmy la Guma accused the CPSA's leadership of not doing enough to promote the emergence of black leaders within the movement. All of this caused international dissension and schisms within the Party. In 1931 SP Bunting was expelled. At that time the CPSA had about 3 000 active members.

# q's & a's in b&w fyc

Monday, February 23, 2004  
Rondebosch.

## **Δ How did your father become a Communist?**

It's a long story... He came out to fight in the Boer War (1899 -1902) on the side of the British. He had the rank of Lt. He was in the Motorised Brigade. They rode around on motorbikes – I am not quite sure what they did. He came from a non-conformist family, Wesleyans, they were mostly Methodist. I suppose it was that streak in his upbringing that came out in South Africa.

Prior to the War he qualified as a lawyer in London. After the War he started to work as a solicitor in Johannesburg. He had to write an examination to qualify in Roman Dutch Law.

Eventually he saw the contradiction in South African society between the lives of the blacks and the lives of the whites, and the contrast between the two. He first joined the South African Labour Party. As a member of the Labour Party he was elected to the Provincial Council in the Transvaal.

In 1914, at the outbreak of the War, the Labour Party split. The Labour Party had been bound by a resolution passed by the Second International, that in the event of a war breaking out, the Labour Party would oppose the war and would fight for peace.

And the SA Labour Party split on that issue and most of the members of the Labour Party supported the government in the War against the Germans. My father and a number of the other Left-leaning members of the Labour Party decided to form a War-on-War League to oppose the war and to fight for peace and the brotherhood of men and women throughout the world.

In 1915 he helped found the ISL. When they resigned from the Labour Party over this issue, they formed the International Socialist League. The ISL were partly influenced by the writings of Marx and Engels, partly it sprang from the Labour Party background.

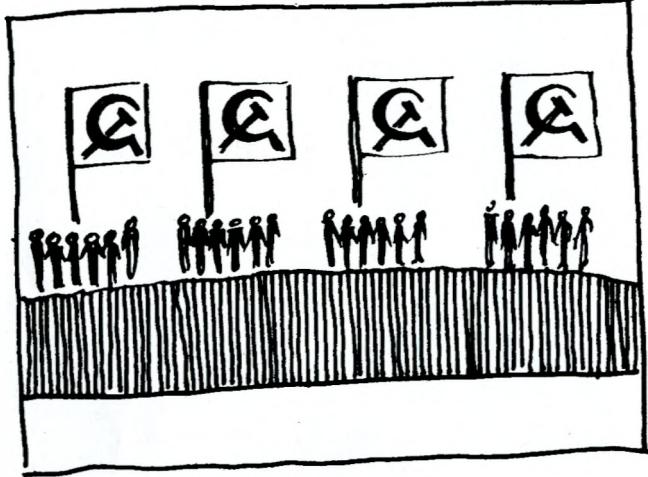
There were many members of the ISL who had been workers and trade unionists. Their aim was to work for the unity of the workers of the world. They knew that they first had to unite the black and white workers in South Africa. This caused some controversy in the ranks of the ISL, because the labour movement up to that point has been largely white-organized. The trade union movement was largely in the hands of the white workers. Black workers had only just started coming into towns on an industrial basis. They hadn't yet formed any trade unions, they hadn't had an effective political presence since the founding of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912.



**SP Bunting**

Many of the members of the ISL still looked on the white workers as the source of the revolutionary force that would overcome the opposition of the government and the capitalist class.

The early years of the century saw conflict between the white workers and the government and the capitalist class. This was sometimes violent. There were times when the workers were shot down in the streets by the government, by the police and the military, much in the same way as we later in the century became used to the idea of black workers being shot down by the army and the police.



Many white workers of the ISL regarded the white workers as being the main spring of the revolutionary force in South Africa. A minority of the members of the ISL committee believed that they had to start organizing black workers, regarding them obviously as a majority of the population, and that is where the main force of the revolution would come from.

My father and my mother were members of the ISL. The ISL produced a weekly newspaper, initially known as *The War-on-War Gazette*. It was later renamed as *The International*.

#### Δ How did the rest of your family view the decision of your father to become a Communist?

On the whole they opposed what he had decided – they were obviously not Communists and they weren't sympathetic. They opposed my parents on political grounds. They regarded my father as a sort of renegade from the family tradition.

#### Δ And the fact that he married a Jewish woman?

Bill Andrews

Yes, that also affected the situation.

#### Δ Did your father also take part in the Rand Workers' strike?

He didn't take part in the strike as a member of the strike committee. However, he was arrested during the strike because of his writings in *The International* on the strike. He was in jail for a period during the strike.

Previously he had been arrested during the Bucket Strike in Johannesburg. The sanitation of that time was largely in the form of buckets which were collected in the middle of the night by African workers. They came out on strike against the working conditions and their low wages. My father and the other left-leaning members of the ISL supported the strike of the bucket workers. He was arrested during that period and charged with a number of offences, but he was never convicted.

#### Δ Did he also become a member of the ANC?

No. At the beginning they regarded the ANC as a moderate organization with no real political power. It didn't take up much space on the ground because they organized in a different way. They organized with petitions and delegations to the British government authorities and did not take part in active political activity of that kind. He regarded the ANC as an ineffective organization. So he didn't join the ANC.



During the 1920's he was much more interested in the ICU. In its early years the ICU was really a broadbased mass movement which had a 100 000 members. It conducted a successful strike in Cape Town, and they saw the possibility of organizing the African workers through the ICU. This plan fell through later, because the ICU disintegrated. The beginning of its downfall was when they expelled the Communists from its ranks.

### △ Your father was later expelled from the Communist party?

Yes, that's correct. It arose from a resolution that was adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) in 1928, where the so-called 'Native Republic Resolution' was passed. The resolution called that the South African working class should work for a Native Republic as a stage towards a workers and peasants' government in South Africa.

The majority of the Communist Party Committee opposed that resolution. My father and mother went to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern to speak against the Resolution. They argued that this would cause conflict in the ranks of the working class of South Africa, because it would bring about a split between the black and the white workers, because the white workers wouldn't accept it. They were still influenced by the thought that the organized trade union movement was still largely in the hands of the white workers. It was only towards the end of the 1920's that the black trade unions were formed, largely by members of the Communist Party.

He was then branded as a white right-wing deviationist. There was a heated dispute in the Party on that issue. The dispute that broke out became very bitter. I think it was in 1931, he and Bill Andrews [initially a Labour Party MP, later ISL and CPSA chairperson], Solly Sachs [Judge Albie Sachs' father] and others were expelled.

It is rather strange actually that this should have happened, because my father had spent all his time in the Communist Party working with the Africans, trying to organize the Africans. I think he did more to bring the Africans into the Communist Party than anybody else during that period. He certainly was not a white supremacist or anything like that.

The irony of the situation is that people like Edward Roux and Solly Sachs, as members of the Young Communist League in the 1920 to 1924 period, worked to concentrate all the attention of the Party on the black worker. Eddie Roux was eventually elected to the Communist Party Committee, my father was chairman of the Committee. They were the ones putting forward a policy of bringing the African workers into the sphere of organized political activity, as the most important task of the Party.

And yet they were eventually expelled from the Party, on the grounds that they were a white right danger. Eddie Roux actually supported the expulsion of my father, something which he later regretted, I think. He went along with it out of a sense of loyalty to the Comintern. He later wrote the biography of my father because he felt he made a mistake and he tried to correct it by writing the biography, which is, on the whole, sympathetic towards my father.

### △ Was there not an opportunity at a later stage, for the SACP to correct it?

I think they did ultimately come to that point. They couldn't reinstate my father, because he died in 1936. My mother was brought back into the Party, Bill Andrews was brought back and became chairman of the Party after 1939. So on the whole one would say that the people who had been expelled, could all have been reinstated into the Party.



Unfairly expelled from CPSA

Δ Why are so many struggle comrades just completely forgotten, left in isolation. When they die, then the tributes pour in, only then they receive the praise...I don't know whether any young people would still remember Brian Bunting, Ray Mhlaba, Oscar Mpetha. I think the liberation movement actually neglects the veterans.

It's a natural phenomenon. When people are no longer active, other people no longer see them, they don't know about them, they don't know what they did. I wouldn't say that they've been ignored.

You mention my name, for instance, I've been given Communist Party awards in the last period, in the recent period. Oscar Mpetha is certainly recognized now as an icon of the movement because of all that he endured.

Raymond Mhlaba is still going, he's still alive, he's 83 years old now. Although he recently had a stroke, he's still in touch with the political movement and he's an important figure in the Eastern Cape.

So I don't know whether it's true to say that they were neglected. I mean, some are forgotten because they're not seen. If people drop out of politics, although they've been active in an earlier period, they will be forgotten, because people who are active, don't see them, don't know about them. It's not that they are marginalized deliberately. It's just that the younger generation grows up and don't know about them.

#### Δ I read about the Bunting Band... ♫

It was just a family trio that we had. My brother played the cello, I played the violin and my father played the piano. He could also play the violin and the viola. We played in the house. It was just a family affair – no public performances – but it was great fun.



#### Δ What does one have to do/know to be a good Communist?

That's a very complicated question. Well, the situation has changed in that respect, to a certain extent in South Africa, because Communists are now recognized and part of the Alliance which runs the country.

You've got Communist Party members in the government, so that the sort of basic prejudice against Communism has been largely diminished. It has not disappeared entirely, because international Communism is still regarded by the capitalist world as an enemy. But in South Africa that prejudice has been largely diminished and Communists are much more accepted as part of the ordinary political scene than they would have been, say 40, 50 years ago.

New recruits in the Party have to have training in the theory of the Party. They have to be introduced to the writings of Marx and Engels, Lenin and so on. They have to understand what Communism is all about. We have educational classes for new members. They have to prove themselves, not only by studying the theory of the Party, but by doing actual practical political work on the ground.



Who remembers Comrade Oscar of the Struggle Academy?

Of course, not all new recruits last the course. A lot of them drop out. But we have several thousand party members – about 20 000 Party members at the moment. I think the Party is popular - not as well-founded as it might be, more work should be done, and is being done, and we should occupy a more prominent position than we do, which is largely a fault of our own making.



But that is the process that people have to go through. They have to engage in study and they have to engage in political activity. And we've developed a lot of new young people in the Party over the recent period.

Don't forget that most people who've joined the Party, did so since the ban was lifted in 1990. Before that it was only a select number of people who were members of the Party, and security was a very important consideration in the underground. In 1990 the first meeting that we held, after the ban was lifted in Johannesburg, the FNB stadium was totally packed. We had a very good reception. All sorts of people joined the Party out of sympathy for what the Party was aiming to do and out of sympathy for what the Party had done in bringing about the changes in SA at the time, and making its contribution towards the ultimate victory of the Alliance at the polls in 1994.

#### △ Don't you think the SACP should actually operate on its own?

We are a part of an Alliance with the ANC and COSATU, because we believe that the process of transforming SA into a truly democratic state has not yet been completed.

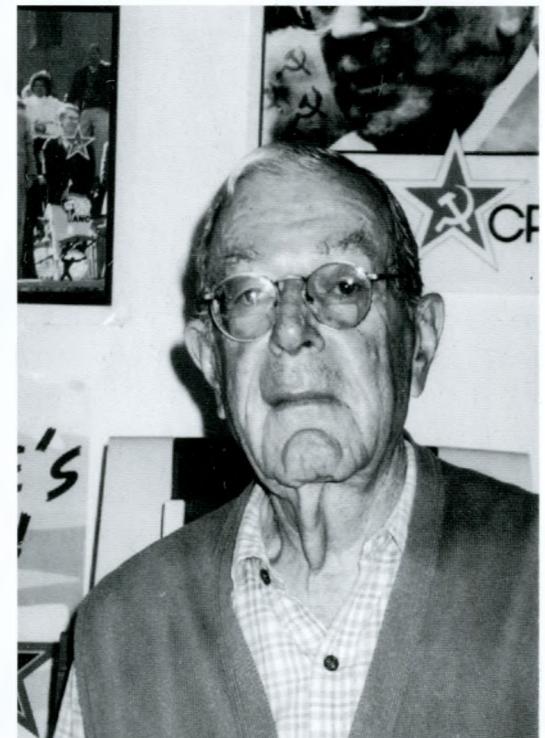
The Alliance which brought about the victory in 1994 was able to mobilize the majority of people in South Africa to support it.

Our feeling is that the Alliance must still continue as the only practical vehicle for bringing about the transformation that we have to bring about in the economic sphere particularly. The gap between the rich and the poor in this country is still far too wide – one can't just accept that as a natural thing. Especially the majority of the dispossessed, the deprived, the oppressed are still black and the whites are still the majority of the well established, wealthy section of the population. And that transformation is something that we still have to work on – it's much more complicated than the political revolution that we brought about in 1994.

The government, however well-meaning it may be, has had to confront the opposition of both the national capital and the international capital, which constrained them in many ways, restricted them from bringing about the changes that they wanted to see.

#### △ The NDR: it's always mentioned in the ANC's literature, but it's never spoken about in public, openly. What exactly is the NDR, and what are its ultimate objectives?

Well, the National Democratic Revolution has been spoken about openly, it's been written about, it's had books published about it. It is the basic program of the African National Congress. The ANC is not a socialist organization – it's got socialists in it, it's got Communists in it, but it's also got capitalist-minded people in it, it's a broad church, if you like.

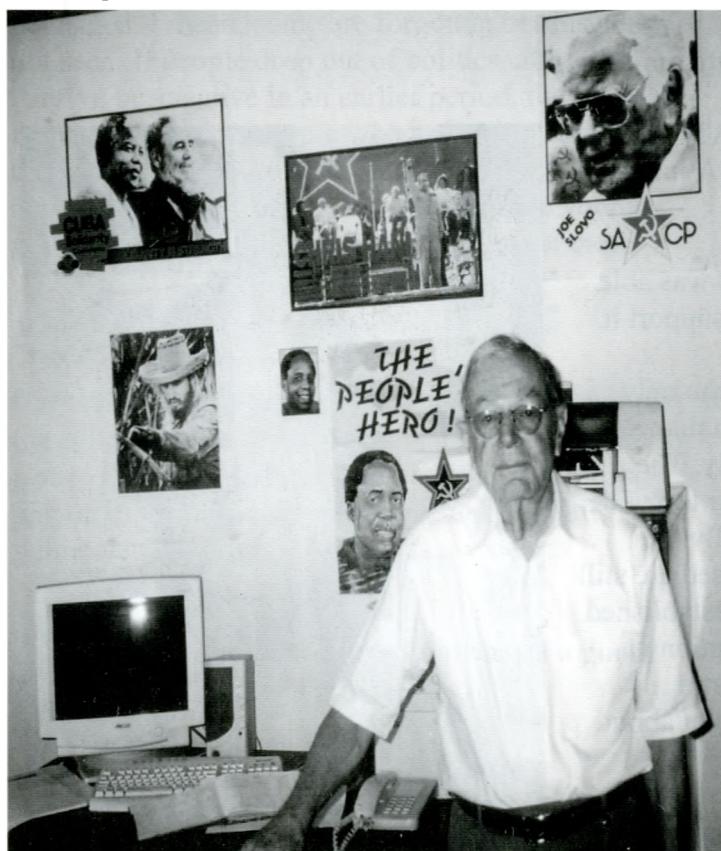


**"We are constrained by capital"**

And the NDR is the program of the ANC and of the Alliance, as a whole. The aim of bridging the gap between the various sections of the population, and the bringing about of reforms, ameliorating the condition of the unemployed and the poor, falls short of socialism, and it falls short of Communism, but that's because we uphold these beliefs in the Communist Party.

The ANC does not believe in Communism, it does not believe in socialism, it's not a socialist or Communist organization. Although, there's a lot of support in the ANC for the beliefs of the Communist Party; particularly in COSATU, a lot of people in COSATU support the policy of the Communist Party. But the National Democratic Revolution is really a broader phase of revolution, bringing about social change on the lines that we want to see. And the Party's attitude is that the NDR is a process that we have to go through.

My personal belief is that in actual fact we won't achieve what we understand by the NDR until such time that we've established a socialist system in this country. In other words, improving the conditions of the mass of the people, bringing about the sort of massive change in social relations that we want to see, won't be possible until such time that we've got a socialist government. So, in working for the NDR, we believe we're working at the same time for socialism.



"The end of the Alliance will bring chaos."

**Δ Isn't the existence of the Alliance then actually counterproductive?**

Why?

**Δ One could much easier work for a socialist system if you have the SACP and COSATU on its own, working separate from the ANC. The ANC is increasingly becoming more capitalist...**

No, it's not. Look at the recent Budget. It's the most progressive Budget we've had since 1994. And it's shown a greater belief in the necessity to strengthen the state and the operation of the state in bringing about the changes that we want to see than previous budgets.

In the last issue of Mail and Guardian Ferial Haffajee, the new editor of M&G, brings out this point on the Budget, which I'm trying to make, as being a sort of retreat from the policy of GEAR - introduced at the beginning of the government's rule - and a greater understanding for the state to take the initiative in bringing about the changes that we want to see.

The point about forming SACP and COSATU as a separate entity, if you then destroy the Alliance, if you destroy the Alliance in this country, it will bring about chaos, it won't bring about stability. The Alliance has been the basis of the stability that we've seen in South Africa since 1994. I mean, here we are moving peacefully forward, maybe slowly, but we are moving peacefully forward, we are not being afflicted by the sort of divisions that lead to open warfare in so many other countries in Africa and other parts of the world.



**"WE WARNED THEM":** Mrs. Annie Silinga, ex-treason defendant and anti-pass leader, has been arrested five times, but still refuses pass. Won a case against order deporting her from Cape. "We warned women about passes, but they accepted. Now they suffer."

South Africa has been peaceful, because of the strength of the Alliance on the ground. Everybody recognizes that we do represent the majority of the people of the country. And they respect that. I mean Tony Leon, for instance, does not say 'Elect me to the government', he says, 'Elect me as a Leader of the Opposition.'

And if you were to take away the Communist Party to stand on its own feet and COSATU were to follow, you'd break the Alliance, you'd break the basis of stability. In my conviction, you'd bring about chaos in South Africa. I don't know what would happen to the ANC, because every Party member is a member of the ANC. We have considerable influence in formulating the policies of the ANC.

△ **But now, within the context of the NDR, you see more and more of the senior ANC members getting involved, openly now, like Smuts Ngonyama being involved with this cell-phone deal, that's so embarrassing.**

There are certain conflicts. No question about that. The ANC is contested territory. The capitalist element and the socialist element, they do have divisions. We have to go through this in the ranks of the ANC. Yet all three entities, the ANC, COSATU and the Party, at their recent conferences, have reaffirmed their support for the Alliance and the continuation of the Alliance as the only means for bringing about the changes they want to see in South Africa.



**Sonia Bunting was one of the speakers at the Congress of the People at Kliptown on 26 June 1955.**

I think that if the Communist Party would break away, there won't be any possibility that the Communist Party would be elected into government. I think we'll find ourselves in much the same sort of situation as Tony Leon, saying we'd like to be leaders of the Opposition.

Maybe the time will come when there has to be a break in the Alliance, but it's not now. The Alliance is still moving forward now, it's still the only potential for bringing about changes on the sort of lines that we want to see. If you break the Alliance now, in my belief, you'll bring chaos to South Africa.

△ **If I understand you correctly, the ultimate objectives of the NDR is not a socialist republic?**

No, no. I mean, that's our belief. We support the NDR, but that's my personal belief, I don't think the Party has expressed it in precisely those terms, but I think that's the general belief of most members of the Party. In fighting to achieve the objectives of the NDR, they're also fighting to achieve the objectives of the Party.

The achievement of the objectives of the NDR will probably only come about, will only become a reality when we have introduced socialism in South Africa.

△ **In August 2000 Pres. Thabo Mbeki declared that he's a capitalist. Between 2000 and 2003 he launched scathing attacks on the so-called 'Ultra-Left', without being very specific. Who is regarded as the 'Ultra-Left'?**

Well, the Ultra-Left consists largely of people who want the Party and left-inclined people to stand on their own feet, and propagate their own policies. They want to, in our view, constitute themselves as a vocal minority, which might have pure theories, but not much practical action possible for them.

I don't think Thabo Mbeki ever declared himself a capitalist. What he said, is that the ANC is not a socialist organization. He didn't say he was a capitalist, not in so many words. And in fact, in many respects, he's been very friendly towards the Communist Party, of which he used to be a member of the Political Bureau.

This is a struggle which is going to go on for quite some time. The Ultra-Left consists of organizations who want to break the Alliance. They want to go forward under their own power, like the Landless People's Movement and the Anti-Privatization Forum, which are led by little groups who have got no real conception, in our view, of the reality of the political scene, who really obstruct the unity that we're trying to establish behind the Alliance, to bring about the sort of changes that we want to see.

**Δ I don't understand the role of the SACP and COSATU anymore. Not much is done for the workers.**

Why do you say that? The government under pressure partly from SACP and COSATU, as well as in implementation of its own beliefs about what's needed, has done a great deal since 1994. When you regard the number of homes that have been built, the number of people that had water laid on, who've had electricity laid on, who've telephone lines laid on, the pensions increased, etcetera. A great deal has been done to ameliorate the conditions of the deprived people in South Africa.

You can't say nothing has been done. A great deal has

been done. And the people who want us to stand on our own legs and think that we'd do much better, we won't do much better – we won't have any power, we won't have any influence.

And we'll be confronted by the force of both national and international capital – we've seen it happen in other countries, like Mozambique and Angola, just after the revolutions that they had. They went in for a policy of mass nationalization, and so on, they drove out all the existing Portuguese merchants and so on, and they produced economic chaos.

It's not just a simple matter of saying that you want to do something. You've got to have the practical possibility to do something. And if we had a Communist government in power now, we'd still find ourselves restricted in all sorts of ways by the power of international capital, to restrict us, and to restrain us, to take away their investments, etc.

And these realities have to be taken into account when you consider practical policies. You can't ignore them. Our government has been very much confined by the force of national and international capital, and has been able to go along only very slowly, because of the opposition from these sections.



Front page of The Guardian

People's Hero

You say, all right, nationalize everything- The result would be catastrophe, economic catastrophe, because we are not ready for it right at this moment. We are not ready for a Communist policy to be introduced right at this moment. The people are not ready for it.

**△ Which cabinet members are still members of SACP?**

Charles Nqakula is chairperson, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Alec Erwin, Jeff Radebe, Ronnie Kasrils. We still have people in there. Some of them may no longer be active in the sense that they are members of Party branches or anything like that, but they're still sympathetic to the Party, even those who are not active, I mean you mention Jeff Radebe and Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi. Well, they're no longer members of the Central Committee of the Party, but they've still not separated themselves from the Party.



**△ Do you think Chris Hani would have taken other options than the SACP is taking now?**

No, I think he'd have taken the same route.

**△ Isn't there something about his death, isn't there a grouping or some elements behind Walusz and Derby-Lewis, that actually....**

Undoubtedly. That's one of the reasons why they were refused amnesty. They didn't disclose everything about their operation.

**△ All the other cases are so quickly followed up, the best detectives hired to get the job done, why don't they get this job done?**



**Chris Hani kwaLanga**

You must ask the police this. I don't know, I don't know. It's like the trial of Basson. He got acquitted eventually. He said, 'Well, look, I'm not responsible for the things that were done, other people were responsible for that. I did things in the laboratory.'

And it's been like that all along the line. The people who were responsible for all the crimes committed during that period, the people who instructed De Kock, they got away with it, didn't they?

**△ I'd love to see PW coming to trial.**

Absolutely, absolutely. All these people should be tried. They were the ones in whose name all these things had been done.

I mean, they're going for Milosevic in Yugoslavia. How are they different? He's got the same excuse. I don't think he's going to get away with it, but our people have got away with it so far. The people who were responsible for everything that was done during the apartheid years, have escaped.

**△ Is this then done in the name of reconciliation?**

Well, that was the TRC. The TRC was held to give the people an opportunity to tell the truth, and to get amnesty for what they had done.

Not everybody came before the TRC. Not everybody applied for amnesty, they weren't prepared to tell the truth, and many of those who did apply for amnesty, did not tell the whole truth. That's why Walusz and Derby-Lewis are still sitting in prison. That's why De Kock is still sitting in prison, because he didn't tell the whole truth.

Δ You've worked on a wide range of publications. Are there any others as well?

Well, all those you've mentioned are more or less the same paper. *The Guardian*, *Clarion*, *People's World*, *Advance*, *New Age* and *Spark* – they were all the same paper – they just had their names changed, because they had been banned. For all practical purposes, it was still the same paper that came out week after week, in spite of the ban.

We kept going after the Party was banned, and although we had been openly supporting the Party, we weren't a Communist Party paper legally. We had a separate legal existence. So, when the Party was banned, we weren't banned, we carried on publishing.

I don't know if you remember Sam Kahn. *The Guardian* was banned in 1952, he was banned from Parliament in 1952. [Sam Kahn inserted the Communist Manifesto into Hansard. Expelled in 1952 under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was the first MP in South Africa's history to be expelled from Parliament for purely political reasons.]

Kahn sold the first copy of *The Clarion* to Botha. It was quite an amusing scene. Just at the gates of Parliament that Sam Kahn came up to him and said 'Would you buy a copy of this paper? A new paper...' And he did, he bought his copy of *The Clarion*, and treated it all as a joke. But it wasn't a joke.

We were the first paper to have been banned in South Africa, since *The Star* was banned in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and since Lord Charles Somerset banned the paper in his time [*Commercial Advertiser*].

Δ Was *The Guardian* banned in 1952?  
'52, yes.

Δ Which publication did you find the most rewarding to work for?

*The Guardian*, no question about that. I think that it played a very central role in the liberation movement. There were lots of things that were done which couldn't have been done without *The Guardian*.



Inhuman Plan For Western Areas

*The Guardian* wasn't just a newspaper, it was also an organizer and people knew from week to week, by reading *The Guardian*, what was on the agenda practically.

I don't think the Defiance Campaign would have been half as effective as it was without *The Guardian*, and the Congress of the People wouldn't have been held without *The Guardian*.

**Δ How many staff members were you?**

We had four offices. Our head office was in Cape Town (2½, one was not full-time) we had an office in Johannesburg, an office in Durban, one in PE, all with one full-time staff member. Although they had to combine what they did journalistically with practical work - to promote the paper in one way or another, to see to the sales, and so on.

**Δ Where did you get your money from?**

We got our money from the people. We didn't get our money from Moscow. No, we got no money from abroad. Except there was a committee of Communists and sympathizers in London which raised money, and

for instance, do you know who that is? [points to photo on the wall]

Paul Robeson



**Δ No.**

That's Paul Robeson. A singer, he was also, in my opinion, one of the greatest Americans ever to have lived. He was an extraordinary individual. He was a Communist, he was an athlete, he was a lawyer, a film star, a wonderful singer, he excelled in all spheres. He sang at a concert in London, especially to raise funds for *The Guardian*. You can see – [points to handwriting] - it was then called *New Age* at the time: 'Best Wishes to *New Age* – Paul Robeson.'

And that's the way we raised money. We went to sympathizers throughout South Africa. Many, many times I went to Natal to collect money, particularly from the Indian community. All sorts of people supported the policies that we stood for, anti-racialism being the predominant one that everybody understood, anti-apartheid. So we got support from the Indian community, from sections of the Jewish community, from other sections of the population. We had sponsors particularly in Cape Town, whenever the paper was in financial difficulties, to come forward and help us out. We collected our money from sympathizers in South Africa.

**Δ I've seen that a certain Mr Wolton was a candidate for Cape Western in 1929.** [SACP leader, who later fled SA. Wolton led the residents of Ndabeni location in June 1929 to demand reforms from CCC. Got only 93 votes in 1929 election and lost his deposit]

Δ Which constitution did your father represent at the time?

He did not represent them. He was not elected. But he campaigned in the old Transkei. He was nominated there. He received 289 votes.

Δ During your early MP years, which constituency did you represent?

## Cape Western.

## Δ Only the Xhosa-speaking people?

Only the Africans. There were 3 constituencies for the African people: one for Transkei, one for Ciskei and one for the Western Cape.

Δ Do you also know Langa quite well?

Langa township? Yes, I know Langa township quite well. I had lots of friends there, used to visit them quite often, people like Johnson Ngwevela, Annie Silinga and well, Dora Tamana, she did not live in Langa, she lived in Blouvlei. These people were my friends, my comrades.

## Δ Windermere was still there?

I wasn't there at the time they were removed. I'm not quite sure when it was.

I left South Africa in 1963 after *Spark* came to an end. *Spark* was not banned, actually. In 1963 they prohibited all the people working on *Spark*. I had a notice served on me, Ruth First had a notice served on her, all the people in all our offices, Govan Mbeki in PE and MP Naicker in Durban.

Everybody who worked for the paper was served with a notice – prohibiting them from playing any part in the production of any material for any publication, for being on the premises where a publication is produced.

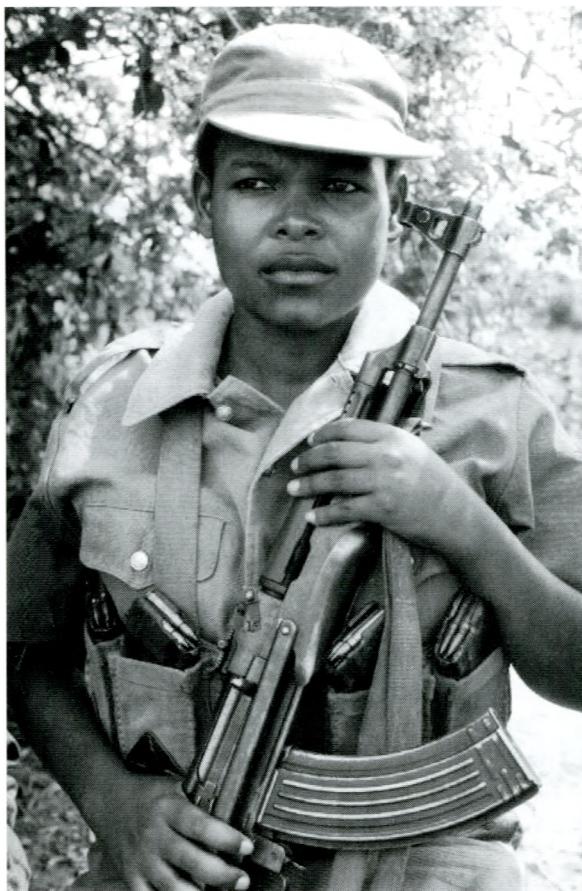
It was impossible for us to carry on with the paper. The person who printed the paper at that time was not prepared to continue on that basis. We might have found new people to take our places, but he was not prepared to work with them, because he trusted us for all those years. He respected our judgment and he was not prepared to take a chance with any newcomers that we might have offered. So the paper had to close down. It wasn't banned, but we were banned.

Δ I saw in some publication that *Spark* was described as a Trotskyite publication.

No, absolutely not. It was the same paper as *The Guardian*.



Front page of *New Age*



**Anonymous MK mama. (Pic on ANC webpage)**

**Δ When you left South Africa in '63, did you ever consider taking up arms or going for military training?**

I was not invited, no.

**Δ This is a misunderstanding. Did you ever consider taking up arms?**

If I were asked, I would have done so, but I wasn't asked, you know, we were all Party members. We did what the Party told us to do. And I was not asked.

**Δ Exactly what is left of The Left?**

I think we've got a stronger Communist Party than we've ever had. You may be disappointed, because it does not stand on its own feet, and hoist its own flag, but from the point of view that it has, and the force that it represents, it is stronger now than it's ever been.

**Δ kanti, there is a discrepancy which I can't fathom in SACP's policy...**

Well, I think you have to be involved in politics before you understand that. Once you see what you've got to deal with, once you know what the forces are at your disposal, I think

you'd come to the same conclusion. People want us to stand on our own and hoist our own banner, and think they'd get mass support, they might not get mass support. They might just be a voice crying in the wilderness.

It's because we've got the connections that we've got, because we've got the influence that we've got, that people support us at the present moment, and people have faith in us because we've achieved something positive on the ground.

**Δ Isn't it just a reality that if you'd break away from the ANC, that your funds would also dry up?**

The ANC does not finance us. By and large we have to get money from a variety of different sources, some of them internal, some of them external. We do get money from overseas from time to time.

**Δ Well, is it justifiable to fund a party that does not really exist in public?**

It does exist in public. Why do you say it does not exist in public? We have a public presence, we have public meetings, people know us as they meet us, they see us...

**Δ I've never seen a public meeting in Cape Town...**

The Party has lots of meetings, lots of rallies, all over the country.



## Δ An orthodox Communist Party country like that of Cuba is still being supported by most of the Alliance members...

Cuba is a special case, isn't it?

## Δ In what sense?

In the sense of its history, in the sense of its struggle, in the sense of its achievement, in the sense that it's 90 miles from the United States, that huffs and puffs, but can't blow it down.

The USA caused a lot of damage, it's still causing damage, and it's determined to try and destroy Cuba by economic means if it can't do it any other way. They've tried militarily at the Bay of Pigs, and they were beaten. No, Cuba is a special case. There are lots of people who support Cuba, who are not Communists. They support Cuba, because it put up a very gallant fight against imperialism.

## Δ They can't be regarded as democratic...

They are democratic in their own way. They don't have the same system of democracy that you have in this country. They don't have the same system of elections, they got a different system of elections, but it is a different form of democracy. It is not undemocratic.

Very often you might think that Castro rules with an iron fist. Well, you have to remember that they were fighting a Cold War, a very bitter Cold War with the Americans. Sometimes they had to do things that were very unpleasant in order to keep themselves going, but they're not going to give in.

They're going to fight, like they've shown at the Bay of Pigs, if they have to fight, they'll fight with every means at their disposal to keep their socialism going. They believe in their socialism.

Most of the people in Cuba are still pretty poor, yet Cuba has made tremendous advances in the social sphere. They've got a lower illiteracy rate and lower infant mortality rate than the Americans.

## Δ How did it happen that the Americans have a military base at Guantanamo Bay?

America's power.

## Δ Can't Cuba claim it back in the World Court?

I think that the territory was ceded to America years and years ago, before the present government was in operation. I don't know what the legal position would be, but physically, there's not much they can do about it. They can't attack it by force. They could be blotted out with one atomic bomb.

## Δ The other socialist countries – North Korea, China – do you regard them as model democracies?

No, they're not model democracies. They have democratic features, they have undemocratic features. China is a particularly odd example of a socialist country, which is mixing socialism with certain elements of capitalism. And what will happen in China, ultimately, one does not really know for certain. They have got



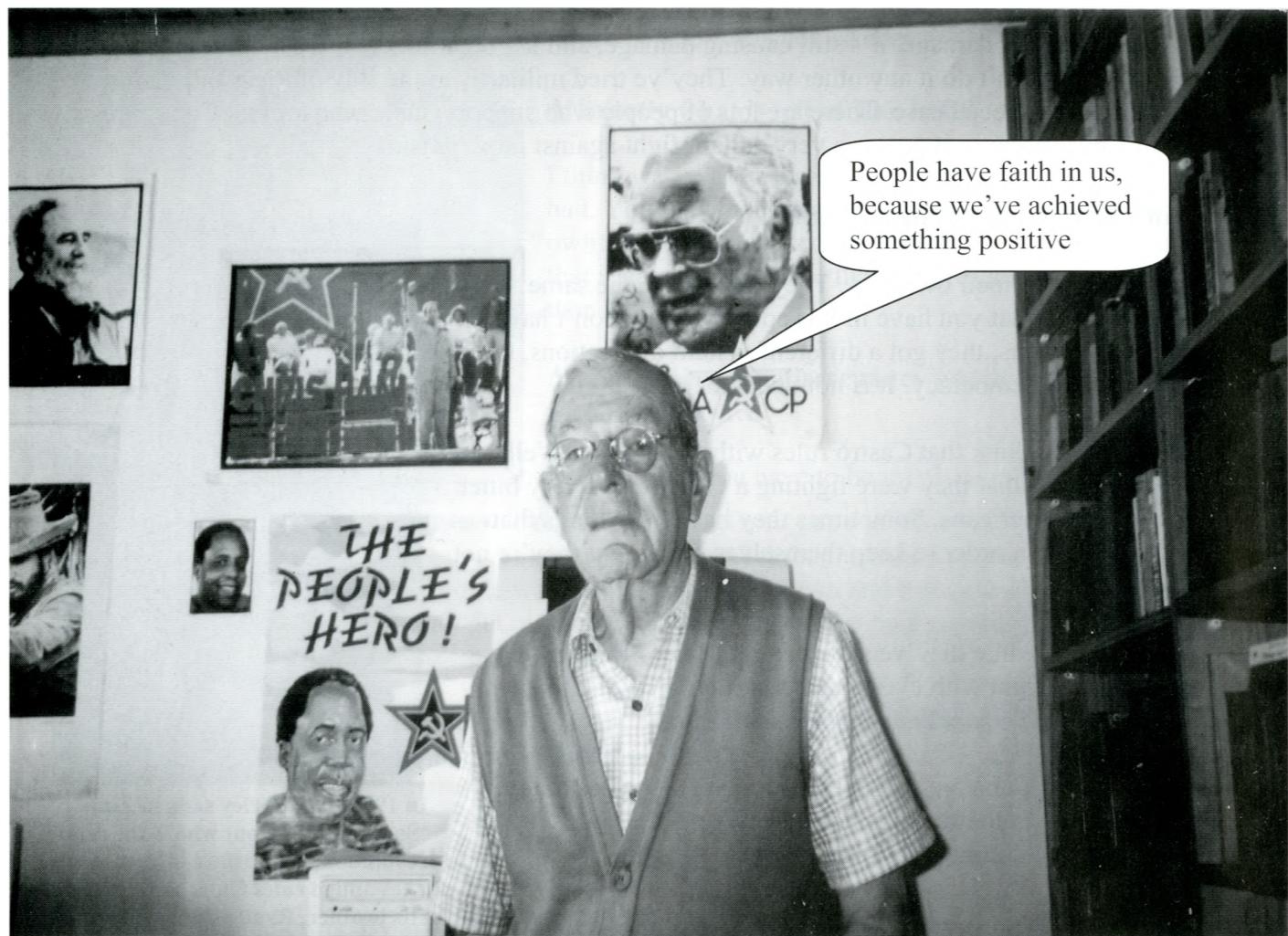
In 1978 Bob Marley sang in Zim:  
'Soon we'll find out who is the real  
revolutionary...'

Zees amigo rules Cuba since 1959.  
His brother, Raul, is most likely to  
succeed him as the island's Numero  
Uno.

these zones of economic preference with tremendous developments on more or less capitalist lines. They've got a growth rate now which is bigger than the growth rate of many of the capitalist countries, 9%. They've brought in all sorts of conditions for the Chinese people, although most of them are still pretty poor.

### Δ What kind of AIDS policy do they have?

They've got an AIDS policy of trying to isolate the people who are diagnosed HIV+ to keep them away from those who are not infected. Δ



## FIGHTING TALK

### Journey to Rebel Angola

### Writers of Africa

ZEKE MPHABELE

THE SHAKY GRANITE WALL



# WE SAY GOODBYE BUT WE'LL BE BACK

Vorster Murders "SPARK"

# SPARK

New States, Vol. 1 No. 11

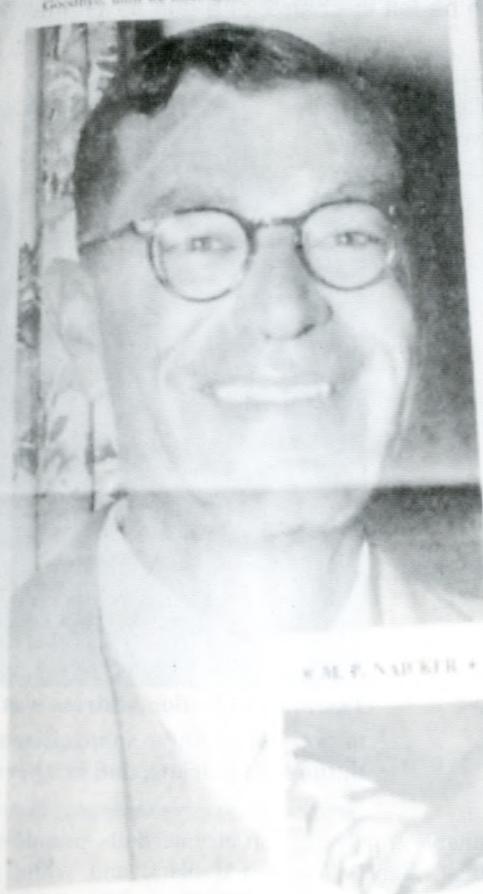
PRICE 5c

March 18, 1965

VORSTER HAS STRANGLED "SPARK" AND THIS IS THE LAST ISSUE OF "THE PAPER" AS YOU OUR READERS HAVE GOT TO KNOW IT EACH WEEK. THESE are of bannings, two of which take effect on April 1, have made it absolutely impossible for us to continue. A full statement is inside on page 2.

So now we say goodbye. We have tried everything, believe us, but this is the end of the road. We hope that others can to some extent fill the gaps and the day comes when we re-appear in a free South Africa. Then we promise to be yet bigger and brighter, and to come out not weekly, but every day.

- Thank you for your magnificent support during all this time.
- Thank you to the five great journalists who have helped us make our mark in South Africa and through the world. Goodbye, until we meet again. WELL BE BACK!



\* BRIAN BUNTING \*

\* FRED CARNESON \*



\* GOVAN MBEKI \*



\* RUTH FIRST \*



The Guardian team: Bunting, Fred Carneson, Govan Mbeki, Ruth First and MP Naicker. Mayibuye ma'Afrika!

# - *No laughing matter, Sport* -

# After an all-night meeting between Shenge and Shiwawa, eager journalists ask one of them whether the meeting was a success. 'Yes,' he replies, 'We had a real exchange of views. He came in with his views and went out with mine.'

# A clerk in the Ministry of Home Affairs is sitting around, talking to his colleague. A disguised Minister Fraser-Moleketi walks in and starts to complain about the slow service she's been getting. The clerk responds, 'Look,' he says, 'our government pretends to pay us, so I pretend to work.'

# 'We must be impatient with those in the Public Service who see themselves as pen-pushers and guardians of rubber stamps, thieves intent on self-enrichment, bureaucrats who think they have a right to ignore the vision of Batho Pele, who come to work as late as possible, work as little as possible, and knock off as early as possible.' – Pres. Thabo Mbeki, State of the Nation Address, 06-02-04

# A distinguished Cuban aesthetician, Pueblo Gonzabalaza, was answering questions on the theory of art.  
'What is expressionism?' one student asked. 'Expressionism is painting what you feel.'  
'What is impressionism?' 'Impressionism is painting what you see.'  
'And what is socialist realism?' 'Socialist realism is painting what you hear.'

# Rev. Kenneth Meshoe was walking down a street in Belfast when he felt the barrel of a gun thrust into his back.  
'Protestant or Catholic?' a voice demanded.  
Kenneth had to think fast. 'I am Jewish,' he said.  
'Then I must be the luckiest Palestine in Belfast...'

## IN THE NEXT ISSUE:

- Δ THE HISTORY OF OUR WHITE HOUSE –  
LET'S REPLACE MAKHULU VIC WITH QUEEN KROTOA
- Δ LAASTE LAG DIE LEKKERSTE:  
THE SERIOUS SIDE OF LIO –  
SOCIALIST SATIRIZES CAPITALISTOGRAPHY
- Δ AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE I.T., ADVERTISING AND  
ESTATE AGENCY INDUSTRIES – IF ANY...
- Δ WHY WE HAVE TO BE CLASSIFIED INTO 5 DIFFERENT RACES (BLACK, WHITE,  
COLOURED, INDIAN, OTHER) - OFFICIAL EXCUSE
- Δ A SHORT HISTORY OF ISIFO, AKA AIDS
- Δ SEND YOUR JOKES – 5000 ZIM DOLLARS FOR EACH JOKE  
PUBLISHED, SERIOUSLY = EAZI CHING

Please look up the  
word 'Faranani'



The State of Nation address was not clear to everyone. kΔn†i, some citizens are Batho Pele patriots, and are keen to learn.

We would like to find out which advertisers will deem it strategically suitable to advertise in an interfaith, pseudo-satirical, politically correct, socialist, multi-lingual, anti-racist, interactive, populist, Cape Town-based black and white political magazine. Please contact us if you are interested, because you will reach an unusually receptive section of the market. People who believe in these aforementioned principles are open-minded, flexible and progressive. They have a clear perception of society's requirements and what has to be done to fulfill these.

Δ Δ Δ