

university and finish with academic courses."

The ANC wants vocational centres within schools — and for those who have completed their schooling. Selibi says schoolgoers should learn computer technology, carpentry and building.

"That must be done now. We already have proposals in that regard and are studying them to make that kind of education available. I think the majority of our people are against technical training because of Verwoerdian ideology, but when faced with the reality of no work and bad results, there is little option for them."

Sisulu believes teacher training is a priority. "The majority of black teachers are not qualified and there is a surplus of white teachers without jobs or whose jobs are on

the line. We need to rationalise education away from apartheid."

According to Khanyile, education in a future SA will not be the same sort of "elitist education whites now have." He does not see a downgrading of education, rather a change in emphases. ANC education committee members and NECC members admit — though this is a hard pill to swallow — that it is unlikely education will be free in a future SA.

Molobi notes: "If we allow every child into school free, that will affect the economy in a massive way." Khanyile believes the principle should be that all should have access to education, but "it is simplistic to interpret the Freedom Charter as free education from Grade 1 to PhD. Not everyone can go to university."

"We can't do what Zimbabwe did and produce lots of matriculants with university exemption but no life skills. There needs to be a complete overhaul of the education system, so that even if people stay in school for six or seven years they come out with tools to live."

So there will have to be tax increases — or, more probably, a re-allocation of tax expenditure — to meet educational needs. Molobi says: "We need education for production, not just for a BA degree."

Managing the transition will be very difficult — many children's lives have been wasted from the educational standpoint. It is not a problem that can be solved by the ANC alone; but without ANC and broader community involvement, it cannot be solved at all. ■

● The Reds in the bed

Since it was part and parcel of apartheid to deny blacks the opportunity of becoming property owners, socialism found fertile ground in SA. Adapting Marxist analysis to local conditions, "race" became a term interchangeable with "class," and "the struggle" was interpreted as one between haves and have-nots as much as between blacks and whites.

This way of thinking was particularly influential in the Fifties and Sixties — and has far from disappeared. It can be found in various departments at all our universities.

Not surprisingly, slogans calling for worker control of the means of production and for the overthrow of capitalist exploitation strongly appealed to the dispossessed.

And this was amply reinforced by government's virulent opposition to communism in general and the SA Communist Party (SACP) in particular. Communism, to many, became synonymous with liberation, as Nelson Mandela himself observed at the Rivonia Trial in 1964.

"Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage," he told the judge. "What is more, for many decades communists were the only political group in SA 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 ..."

"It is not only in internal politics that we count communists as amongst those who support our cause. In the international field, communist countries have always come to our aid."

"Though there is a universal condemna-

Working underground gave the SACP an allure for many and a long shelf-life for ideas defeated by events elsewhere in the world



Winnie Mandela and Joe Slovo ... just the first phase?

tion of apartheid, the communist bloc speaks out against it with a louder voice than most of the white world. In these circumstances, it would take a brash young politician, such as I was in 1949, to proclaim that the communists are our enemies."

Indeed, as a young lion of the ANC Youth League, Mandela tried in 1944 to

get communists expelled from the ANC — later accepting he was wrong to do so. He had feared that communists would water down the African nationalist struggle.

While communists sought to emphasise class distinctions, Mandela explained at Tloome, "the ANC seeks to harmonise them. This is a vital distinction." He said further that their close co-operation "is merely proof of a common goal — in this case the removal of white supremacy — and is not proof of a complete community of interests."

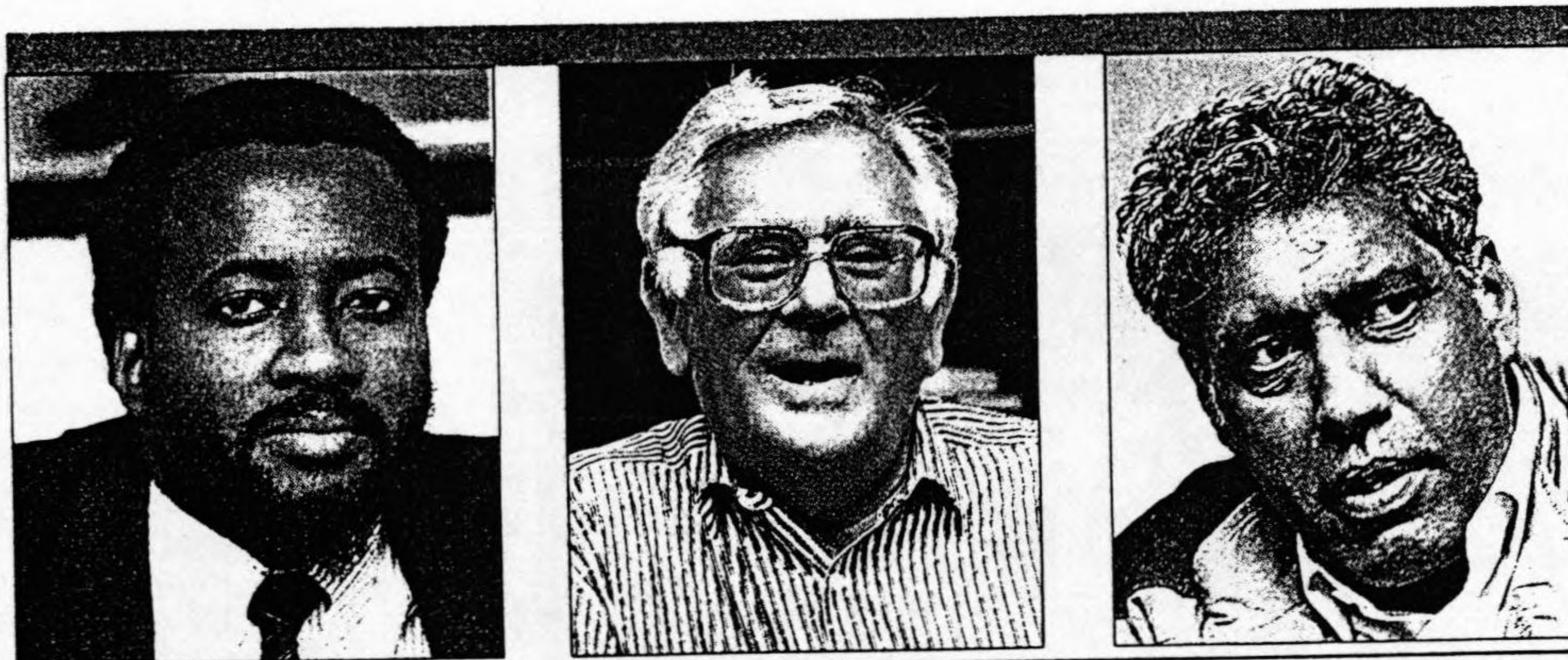
In a letter to former President P W Botha in July 1989, Mandela rejected the charge that the ANC is dominated by the SACP. This was one of two obstacles to his release at the time; the other was the armed struggle which Botha wanted him to renounce.

The "correct information," he wrote in that document, which proposes a negotiated political settlement, is that "co-operation between the ANC and the SACP goes back to the early Twenties and has always been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society."

"At no time has the organisation ever adopted or co-operated with communism itself. Apart from the question of co-operation between the two organisations, members of the SACP have always been free to join the ANC. But once they do so, they become fully bound by the policy of the organisation as set out in the Freedom Charter."

"As members of the ANC engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle, their Marxist ideology is not directly relevant. The SACP has throughout the years accepted the leading role of the ANC, a position which is respected by the SACP members who join the ANC."

Today derided as the world's last communist party, the SACP was the first organisation to be banned in SA. That was in 1950 — 10 years before the ANC was out-



Jordan

Slovo

Pahad

lawed. The party sees it as a tribute to the strength of its "revolutionary alliance" with the ANC that the government failed to unban the ANC without also legalising the communists.

On July 29 this year, the SACP emerged from a somewhat murky 40 years underground to launch itself as a mass legal party at a 48 000-strong rally held at the First

branch, regional and national level; this revelation is promised at its first internal national conference in July 1991. For the moment, it claims it would be "unwise to disclose our entire underground membership (because) the democratisation process in SA has hardly begun."

According to central committee member Essop Pahad, the party has received 10 000 applications to join since the launch.

Together with the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the SACP forms part of a strategic "tripartite alliance" led by the ANC.

There are nine SACP men on the 37-member National Executive Committee of the ANC: Dan Tloome (73), the party chairman and ANC auditor-general; Joe Slovo (64), party secretary-general; Chris Hani (48), chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe; Ronnie Kasrils (53), former head of ANC military intelligence; Mac Maharaj (55); Govan Mbeki (80); John Nkadimeng (63), secretary of the former Sactut; Reg September (70), former ANC head of political education; and Sizakele Sigxashe (52).

In a fit of glasnost, the party at its rally named the 22 comrades who would make up its Interim Leadership Group. This was the first time it had ever disclosed the membership of any party structure.

It includes: Tloome, Slovo, Hani, Maharaj, Nkadimeng, Sigxashe (all on the politburo and central committee); Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Kasrils, September, Raymond Mhlaba (chairman of the interim group); Essop Pahad, Billy Nair, Ray Alexander, Brian Bunting, Jeremy Cronin, Harry Gwala (on the party's central committee); and Cheryl Carolus, Chris Dlamini, John Gomomo, Sydney Mafumadi and Moses Mayekiso.

The party says that its first task is the building of the ANC, whose

LEADING THE MOVEMENT

Members of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress

Oliver Reginald Tambo President	Simon Makana Envoy in the USSR
Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela Deputy President	Robert Manci
Alfred Nzo Secretary General	Govan Mbeki
Thomas Nkobi Treasurer General	Francis Meli Former editor Sechaba
Walter Sisulu Chairman, Internal Leadership Committee	Sindiso Mfenyana Administrator, Secretary-General & Office
Dan Tloome Auditor General	Timothy Mkwana Commissar Umkonto we Sizwe
Henry Makogothi Assistant Secretary-General	Jacqueline Molefe Member of Military HQ
Joe Slovo General Secretary of the SACP	Ruth Mompoti
Gertrude Shope Head, Women's Section	Anthony Mongalo Administrator, President's Office
Jackie Selebi Head, Youth Section	Joe Nhlanhla Former Head of Security
Thabo Mbeki Department of Internal Affairs	John Nkadimeng Secretary, SACTU
Pallo Jordan Dep Information/Publicity	Aziz Pahad
Joe Modise Commander, Umkhonto we Sizwe	Mzwai Piliso Head of Manpower Dep
Chris Hani Chief of Staff, Umkhonto we Sizwe	Reg September Former Head of Political Education
Stephen Dlamini	Sizakele Sigxashe
Josiah Jele Sec. Political Military Council	James Stuart
Ronnie Kasrils Former Head Military Intelligence	Steve Tshwete National Organiser
Stanley Mabizela Deputy, International Affairs	Jacob Zuma Head of Intelligence
Mac Maharaj	MEMBERS OF THE SACP