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A REPORT ON THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SESSION HELD ON THE 15 - 24TH
JULY 1977

The recent ten-day session of the National Executive Committee considered many vital questions which face the entire revolutionary movement in our country at this historic turning point of the struggle of our people.

A few leading members of our organisation who have recently left South Africa where they were actively involved with the work of our underground organisation, were invited to attend the session.

The main issue before the National Executive Committee was the consideration of the internal situation in the light of developments that are currently taking place. What are the main features of the situation?

The economic crisis currently hitting South Africa and which has been aggravated by the intensified struggle for National Liberation has sharpened the economic plight facing our people. Reports which were placed before the NEC indicated that unemployment is rising sharply whilst there is no improvement in the wage packets of the Black workers.

The economic crisis has however spread its iron grip to certain sections of the white labour force. It has, for instance been reported that in Durban alone 60% of this force was unemployed during the year which ended on the 31st March 1977. This means that economic boom which enabled the capitalist class to buy off and bribe the white working class are over and gradually this section of the working class will realise that its best interests are intricately bound up with those of their Black counterpart.

The National Executive Committee underlined the fact that the people have continued to maintain a high state of militancy and organisation and are hitting back at the enemy despite the mounting brutality of the fascist regime. Anti-rent increase movements have sprung up in Soweto and the Southern Transvaal. As a result of militant opposition, the enemy was forced to back down on the issue of rent increases in Soweto. Peoples resistance has also brought about the disruption of the Urban Bantu Councils in Soweto and there can be no doubt that other areas are bound to follow.

Before and during the 1st Anniversary of JUNE 16, a wide movement of resistance sprung up in many areas such as Uitenhage thereby drawing

into the arena of struggle wider sections of the oppressed population. Thousands of Blacks took part in strikes that were widely successful in many parts of our country following a call made by the African National Congress and the militant student movement. It was further noted that the solidarity of genuinely patriotic forces of the oppressed people is growing also as a counter measure to the intensifying repression directed against the people. A vivid demonstration of this important trend was the resolution adopted by a recent students conference expressing solidarity with our 12 comrades who are presently appearing in a trial at the Pretoria Synagogue. Some of the comrades involved in the trial are known leaders of the African National Congress.

This expression of solidarity was in sharp contrast to the activities of the expelled counter-revolutionary "gang of eight" renegades, who, obviously at the service of our enemy, are said to have brought leaflets to the Synagogue, where the 12 (twelve comrades) are appearing, attacking the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party from their already well known anti-communist positions. Those leaflets are now being used by the enemy as evidence of the "dangerous conspiracy" which the accused comrades were allegedly hatching against the reactionary apartheid state.

The National Executive Committee has decided to pay attention to the activities of this subversive group of 8 whose main task is obviously to support the enemy's onslaught against the revolutionary struggle of our people and its vanguard, the African National Congress.

UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

From reports received from the various sub-committees of our Revolutionary Council, the National Executive Committee noted that the work of the underground African National Congress is spreading inside the country. This was clearly evident from the increased activities of the underground combat groups of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE during the period of the 1st Anniversary of JUNE 16. It is known that successful sabotage actions were undertaken on railway lines in Johannesburg, Durban and other areas. The armed teeth of Umkhonto we Sizwe were felt in other actions during this period.

The National Executive Committee paid a warm tribute to all the brave combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe and other revolutionary fighters whose heroic actions lent strenght and teeth to the militant mass political movement involving large sections of the oppressed population. It further underlined the conviction that an important pre-requisite for the

Rapid development of our revolutionary struggle is to strengthen the combination of the illegal with the legal forms of confrontation. This was demonstrated in practice during the events surrounding the 1st Anniversary of JUNE 16.

The National Executive Committee learnt of further efforts to increase the combat strength of our underground organisation, including efforts to arm the people against the ferocious enemy.

It is natural that the growing revolutionary activities of our organisation have had a great psychological and political impact on the masses of the oppressed population. This is a development of tremendous significance.

The National Executive Committee also examined organisational weaknesses which were very graphically pointed out by comrades working underground, some of whom are appearing in the current political trials. It was admitted that some of these weaknesses have directly contributed to the serious setbacks suffered by our underground machineries and the revolutionary organisation as a whole.

A serious spotlight was focussed on this aspect of the reports and appropriate decisions have been taken drawing attention to these errors and the need for redoubled efforts to correct them. These decisions will be transmitted to appropriate organs of our underground organisation.

It was resolved to strengthen and tighten our organisational machinery both inside and outside the country. In this respect, the membership of the National Executive Council itself has been increased by an additional 5 (Five) Comrades, all of whom have recently completed their terms of imprisonment on Robben Island. These are Comrades Steven Dlamini, John Nkadimeng, Henry Gordon Makgoti, Jacob Zuma and Robert Manci. Comrade Andrew Masondo had been co-opted to the National Executive Committee during its March 1977 session.

The July session of the National Executive Committee further unanimously resolved to recommend to all the units of our movement the confirmation of Comrade Oliver Tambo as PRESIDENT of the African National Congress.

Special attention was directed towards the need to raise the level of political understanding and consciousness of the membership of the African National Congress. Towards this end it has been directed that all units of our movement must rejuvenate their political life through constant discussions of topical issues both in relation to the situation in our country and on the international scene.

A group of suitably qualified and experienced comrades has been appointed to conduct political lectures to assist the political developments of the young comrades who have recently joined our movement since the beginning of the current political upsurge in our country. This should benefit both those who have recently joined MK and those who are waiting to proceed to centres of learning abroad.

THE ENEMY COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

The fascist regime of Johannes Vorster, despite its loud claims of invincible strength has been unable either to smother or control the revolutionary upsurge of the masses of our people.

Faced with this situation it has intensified its two-pronged attack against the revolutionary movement aimed at winning the minds of the people and at the same time intimidating them away from the course of revolutionary struggle.

In the past year thousands of patriots of all age groups have been detained and subjected to indiscriminate methods of torture. Many of our comrades have perished in torture chambers of the fascist regime, including well known leaders of the African National Congress who had previously fought tirelessly to re-build the fighting capacity of our organisation and its revolutionary ally, (the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)).

Scores of our comrades are today appearing in Court trials in some of which, we have reason to believe, death sentences will be passed by the regimes' judiciary. Those who were appearing in the Petermaritzburg trial until recently have received long terms of imprisonment. A few of them have been imprisoned for life and these are comrades:-

THEMBA HARRY GWALA, ANTUN FAND XABA, JOHN VUSUMUZI NENE,
ZAKHILE ELPHAS MDLALOSE, MATHEWS MEYIWA.

Four other comrades received prison sentences ranging from seven to fifteen years. They are:- VUSUMUZI TRUMAN MAGUBANE (15 years) AZARIA NDEBELE (7 Years); JOSEPH NTULISWE NDULI (18 years); and CLEOPAS MELAYIBONE NDLOVU (15 years).

The killings of young patriots participating in the current uprising still go on adding to the hundreds who have already been murdered by the regime from JUNE 16 last year. On the other hand, the regime is vigorously pursuing its counter-revolutionary Bantustan programme. The Transkei was declared "independent" last year, the Boputhatswana Bantustan is due to follow soon and so the chain will continue.

It has already become evident that part of the regime's main

strategy against the revolutionary liberation movement is to build mini tribal armies whose main task will be to re-inforce as main common fodder the aggressive military and para-military police force against the revolutionary onslaught of the people. This is also part of the plan to construct a safe belt stretching along the borders using the Bantustan so-called independent states to insulate the regime against infiltration by military cadres trained abroad.

The National Executive Council felt that our organisation should work out a broad strategy to mobilise the people specifically on the question of destroying the Bantustan policies and their creations. Towards this end a special machinery is to be set up to closely study the developments within the Bantustans and even in so-called independent tribal enclaves.

The propaganda machinery of the organisation must be fully mobilised to arouse our people against the fraudulent policies of separate development and against any reformist solutions which the enemy will be forced to advance as the intensity of our struggle sharpens.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION:

The National Executive Committee noted that in the wake of the favourable situation brought about ^{by} the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and also as a direct consequence of the intensified onslaught of our people and elsewhere in Southern Africa against the the reactionary regimes of oppression, favourable conditions have arisen for the further all round development of the international solidarity movement.

The international prestige of the African National Congress has grown tremendously. More and more African states now accept the African National Congress as the only authentic revolutionary vanguard of our struggle. Our organisation is now actively participating in the periodic meetings of the 5 "Front Line" African States which have been charged with task of assisting the revolutionary movements in Southern Africa to successfully and rapidly develop the oppressed peoples struggles against the remaining vestiges of colonial and racial oppression.

A position has been reached where the African National Congress viewpoint cannot be ignored even by the security council of the United Nations. This is consistent with the tremendous authority and respect which the President of our organisation, Comrade O.R. Tambo, generated at the United Nations General Assembly when he addressed that august body

on the 26th October, 1976. The international progressive movement, represented by numerous national and international organisations from practically all the five continents of our globe at the Lisbon International Conference in support of the peoples of Southern Africa held on the 16th to 19th June, 1977, expressed its determination to intensify support for the revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the African National Congress, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO.

This was further confirmation of the growing prestige of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa.

The National Executive Council however cautioned that we should not rest on our haunches satisfied that there is no longer any need for us to do anything further in the field of mobilising and consolidating the international solidarity movement.

The international imperialist supporters of the racist-colonial regimes of terror in Southern Africa have been actively engaged in counter revolutionary manoeuvres of seeking to blur the revolutionary goals of the fighting peoples in the whole unliberated region. Evidence of this has come out clearly in their attempts to canvas for their own brand of African majority rule which would however entrench the vast economic and political and ideological interests of international imperialism.

The National Executive Committee decided to further enhance and strengthen the impact of our international solidarity work by a combination of intensifying the internal revolutionary struggle and reaching out for more friends and supports in the international whilst at the same time consolidating the gains already won.

A campaign for the eventual exclusive recognition of our organisation as the sole representative and leader of our people by the rest of the international community will be launched and sustained by our International Department on behalf of the entire revolutionary movement. This means that the external mission of our organisation should be fully geared for this task in all respects.

How then does the National Executive Committee summarise the main and infect tasks facing our revolutionary movement today?

We must:-

- (1) Raise the level of political understanding throughout the movement and consolidate the political unity among all its members, inside and outside the country, inside and outside Umkonto we Sizwe (MK)

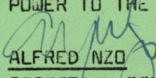
- (ii) increase our internal underground organisational strength
- (iii) increase our contact with the broad masses of our people through such an organisational machinery, through legal organisations and through propaganda.
- (iv) pay particular attention to the strengthening and consolidation of our contact and dialogue with all the genuine people's movements that have sprung up so as to make the broad front against the fascist regime of terror more effective.
- (v) consolidate the trend of rejection of the fascist regime by a growing number of white radical youth within the country who are clearly looking for a way out of the deepening crisis. To this end urgent steps must be taken to work for the enhancement of the trend in the interests of our revolutionary struggle.
- (vi) increase our combat capacity through the accumulation of war material inside the country and also by increasing the number of underground combat groups.
- (vii) take further steps to protect the movement from disruption by the enemy against whatever means and methods the enemy decides to use from one day to the next. This includes taking appropriate measures against the counter-revolutionary activities of the expelled "group of 8" renegades.
- (viii) Raise the level of our international solidarity work to new heights. The African National Congress must be accepted by all as the only authentic leader of the revolutionary struggle of our people. This will further enhance support for our heroic struggle for national liberation.

The National Executive is confident that our organisation which enjoys unprecedented popularity amongst the broad masses of our people inside the country and has won the acclaim and respect of the international democratic community will gear itself to the tasks that have been set out by its recent session.

AMANDLA NGABETHU !

MAATLA KE ARONA !

POWER TO THE PEOPLE !


ALFRED NZO

SECRETARY GENERAL (AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS)