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March, 1972.

CURRENT TRENDS WITHIN THE ORGANISATION (ANC).

(Report by a group of comrades.)

It is our belief that the situation inside our organisation calls for the immediate attention of the Party. There is a concerted effort launched by a group of people like Matlou, Resha and the like to undermine the organisation from within. Their efforts are calculated to bring something like a crisis within the organisation. They are at pains trying to prove that the National Executive and the Revolutionary Council are not discharging their functions efficiently and properly.

This is the development of the situation that arose from the changes brought about by the Morogoro conference and these people are trying their utmost to show that the changes were ill-conceived. The NEC and the RC are regarded with derision and contempt.

To bring about their desired changes in these high bodies of the organisation, they have launched a big campaign. In our considered opinion this campaign is launched at three levels:

1. Internationally:

We feel that people like Kunene, Tennyson and others are trying to cast aspersions on the organisation in the eyes of our supporters abroad.

2. Locally:

They are trying particularly in Tanzania, and we think in Zambia, to get and convince certain influential personalities in the administration that the organisation is doing nothing serious to intensify the struggle of our people for liberation. The aim is to persuade these people to force the organisation into doing certain things which will serve this group's ends.

3. Internally:

Among the general membership of the movement people like Matlou and Ambrose are bold enough to utter racial statements in which they challenge the participation of people like Slovo and Dadoo in the RC. In so doing they go about telling the MK cadres that the RC has failed to take back home. And they want to enlist the support of the MK cadres.

All these activities, as we have stated here, are aimed at bringing about a crisis from within and from without. These actions are in our opinion motivated by nothing else but struggle for power. And we think it is the duty of all members of the Party to try to do everything in their power to consolidate the changes of the Morogoro conference and this, in our view, could be done in the following way:

- (a) By helping in every possible way those sincere members holding positions to discharge their duties and functions in the proper way and efficiently, particularly the weaker ones.

- (b) To expose and fight against all the anti-communist hysteria which is being whipped up in a very subtle manner - couched in sweet-sounding words - because these people claim not to be anti-communist.
- (c) We should also try and defend the policy of the organisation and the decisions of the NEC and the RC which are being challenged with impunity, and to make people like Nzo who are rather soft when handling burning issues to take a positive stand.

We are glad to state that MK members are taking an encouraging stand in fighting the counter-revolutionary activities of this group - particularly in fighting anti-communism. They also tell people like Matlou that in the seven years when he was in the NEC he used to see nothing wrong in the Committee; now that he is out he thinks he can do something good. What is interesting is that this group is not ashamed to say that they are not being told what the RC is doing on the home front.

Generally-speaking, the MK comrades are still having great confidence in the RC. People like Slovo and Dadoo who are under constant attack from this group command high respect among the comrades. The comrades are still very hopeful.

In view of all this, we would like to suggest the following:

1. The Party should try to strengthen the NEC so that its authority could be felt. It is evident that the absence of Uncle and Malome is felt. We feel that those members of the Party who are in this committee and those who are near it should tirelessly try to enhance the political understanding of the politically weaker ones. They must also try and bring about the spirit of oneness in the NEC so that the members of the Committee speak with one voice. It is discouraging to the comrades to find that members of the NEC have diametrically opposite answers to the same question when confronted by MK members. It would be a good thing if the NEC could be strengthened by including people from SACTU, MK and Women's Section, but we feel that this question must be handled very carefully and articulately.
2. That one of the members of the RC should visit the MK camps in East Africa to come and give something that they deserve in the form of information. We believe that the comrades will be very happy. It must be a report like the one Slovo gave in the Crimea - it should be straight-forward and not evasive or somehow dubious.
3. Kunene, Tennyson, Resha, AK and others - their movement abroad should be under surveillance. We very much suspect the actions of these people.

Mzwai's actions do not become those of a member of the NEC. Recently he led a delegation to the Fifth Conference of AAPS. Before, he had participated in the writing of a congratulatory letter to the Secretary General of the Bangla Desh Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee after the Indo-Pakistani War. When asked about the letter at the Conference by people like Resha, he denied knowledge of the letter and could not defend the letter. As a result he allowed the delegation to take the "narrow path of self-interest" when the question of Bangla Desh came up, instead of taking the position of the organisation. We feel that the NEC must view the matter seriously. The

members of the Party must try and frustrate his efforts of trying to stab the NEC in the back.

There is also another project which is said to be under Mzwai (by his admission). Mzwai appointed Ambrose to be in charge of it, accountable to him. This project - Vocational Training for MK cadres - was announced in Dar and Morogoro camps by Ambrose. In Dar the Chief Representative was told nothing about it. Mzwai was out of East Africa at the time of the announcements. Forms were given to comrades to fill in and the majority refused. Kunene and Ambrose took a certain white woman by the name of Jane Hurrie to Magadu where two goats were slaughtered for the comrades without the knowledge of the effice. During that "party", Ambrose, by way of introducing that woman said: "this white woman is good because she is coming to help us. She is not like other white people in our organisation who want to lead us."

When Mzwai came, he went to address the Morogoro camp without telling the members of the office. He started by apologising to the comrades instead of giving an explanation on the project. His apologies were not accepted and the comrades were demanding the suspension of the project. They demanded that the whole thing should be discussed by the NEC and be brought down through the right channels. He could not tell the comrades the name of the organisation to which Jane Hurrie belonged.

We strongly suspect that this project is being used by the disgruntled elements already mentioned in their endeavour to undermine the organisation for their own ends. We also feel that comrade Mzwai is aligning himself with this group. This group is promising MK comrades 180/- a month if they undertake these "vocational courses."

Membership. (Inner Party questions.):

We feel that the Party should make a drive to draw membership from the ordinary MK members - those who deserve it even if their standard of education is low. In this case it should be the duty of the literate ones to help these unfortunate ones. In our next report, we shall make recommendations in this direction.

The Party literature too must be written in such a way that it will be comprehensible to the average ones.

We also suggest that efforts should be made by members to translate important works into the vernacular.

Furthermore, members of the Party who are in the RC should try by all means to strengthen the underground Party machinery at home so that when the armed struggle starts at home, the Party should be in a strong position in the ranks of those who will take an active part. This will help in two ways:

(a) it will help in frustrating the efforts of the rabid nationalists who will want to give the revolution a different direction;

(b) to develop the revolution into a socialist revolution.

The activities of the present group are a warning to the future that they should not be underestimated.

The present effort by the OAU Liberation Committee to force the

organisation into a United Front would also be viewed seriously by the Party. So far MK men are rejecting the whole idea. We feel that some of the members of this group are collaborating with Magombe on this issue. It is also part of the plan to bring about changes in the RC. This group would rather see the ANC in a United Front with the PAC than to have the present RC doing the planning.

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