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2 DISCUSSION GUIDE

_ The vital and central taSk Qf the Africanâ\200\230NatiQnQl Congress today

is the.lnten31f101t10n of the armed struggle for the overthrow of the White fascist regime and the liberation of our motherland straggle together with other forms of struggle Qthtitutes theweapons of theoppressed in our country against the oppressQrs.â\200\230

Today, armed

\$225: HQw can we intensify the revelution? What erms of organisation can ensure the maximum mobilisation of all the resources at our disposal

'â\200\234human_and material? What are the motiVQ forces of our struggle and their potential?

'What strategy and tactics are to be employed?.

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3.
QQhSideration and solution.

1 These are some of the problems and questions which require our

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4si~ Our Struggle isbeing waged in a complex and diffieult national
vgi~\201Pand international situation.

The correct solution of the problems of our"
revolution require a proper understanding of the International and National
situation.

5.~
This involves a correct assessment of the strength and'Weaknesses
of the enemy and its imperialist allies, as well as our an'strengthâ\200\230ami
weaknesses, our thential and that of the whole Antlâ\200\224Imperlallst forces.._

Our immediate enemies the white fascist regime inSQuth Africa are

6.
an imprtant and integral part of the imperialist camp.Â» International the
imperialistsâ\200\230 main preoccupation today is a desperate attempt to stem the
antiocolonialist revolution, and to regain their former positions of poliâ\200\224
tial, economic and military dominance over the peoples of the world.
achieve their objective they have embarked upon a global strategy Qf re~
aotinary and brutal counterâ\200\224attack against progressive governments and
revolutionary liberatory movements.
methods for instance:â\200\224

The imperialists resort to numerous

To

(a)

The tretation of hot beds of war all over the world including aets of
provocation, direct and indirect military interventionas in Vietnam"

and South East Asia, The Middle East, North Korea, Cuba, West HerÃ©in'
'â\200\234â\200\230 and Czechoslovakia.

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(b)

The establishment of military bases at strategic points and the

' selection of springboards in all continents from which they laâ\200\230i-â\201zh
'their acts Of aggression and subversion.

In thegMiddleâ\200\230East'Israel5â\200\2357

is the launching pad, in Asia, Japan, in Africa fascist South Africa '

is the main bulwark and fortress of reaction and imperialism._

It is

of vital economic and strategic value in the whole global strategy 0

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3 Of theimperialists.

(Q)HF The subversion of anti~imperialist Governments.

Military Qoups in

' Latin America and the past three years in Africa have been systemati~

cally engineered.

(d)" The hindering of progress towards economic independence in developing
Countries through NeQâ\200\224Colonialist machinations, carefully manipulated
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-"Aidâ\200\235 and loans, the lowering of prices of raw materials, unequal

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"trad *agreements, the export of both private and state capital.

All

these are designed to keep independent and developing countries scone;
mioally dependent on the Colonialists.

South African fascism itself

~Whasreeohed the stage where it is offering state financial "Aidâ\200\235 to
And is already implementing the theme

African independent states.

in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi.

These are all part of a sinister pth to blackmail States not to support
liberation struggles as Banda of Malawi and Jonathan Leboa of Lesotho have
already done.

(e)

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Increased support and reinforcement of raotionary regimes, militarily,

economiQally/...2

against imperialism is invaluable.

34.
states, Communist Parties and even National Liberation Movements.

This discord has had the effect of dividing newly independent

35.
The imperialists are striking and are engaging in the most reckless adventures in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and one of the factors which spurs them in their criminal acts is the knowledge of the discord and disagreement which exists among the anti-imperialist forces.

Some of the strength and energy of the anti-imperialist movement

36.
is being tragically wasted on internal disputes whilst the enemy continues to strike with ever growing audacity. Solidarity, that powerful weapon of the anti-imperialist forces is being corroded. methods have been resorted to in a bid to win support. which maintain their independence and which refuse to yield to pressure become the objects of vilification and abuse. and political careerists whose reputation cannot stand examination by day light are being frantically recruited and exalted as revolutionaries and the true representatives of the people, despite the fact that the contrary is well known. organisations which were merely factions or cliques. This is a serious situation, so long as it exists, so long will the imperialists bolster their courage and engage in bolder and more aggressive acts against the people.

there have also been attempts to establish anti-imperialist

On the other hand Charlatans

In some instances corrupt

Those organisations

Imperialists military intervention and aggression in Vietnam, the

.37.
Dominican Republic and the Congo, the numerous counter revolutionary coups and all forms of subversion to restore the domination of the colonialists have succeeded particularly because of the discord which exists in the anti-imperialist forces. not platforms for ideological and inter-state disputes but are an anvil where all anti-imperialists should try to forge their common weapon to fight against imperialism. bers of the anti-imperialist movement but these must never be made to appear more important than the historic and common duty of destroying the monster of colonialism in all its forms.

The forums of the anti-imperialist organisation are

Difficulties there might well be between mem-

The anti-imperialist forces have scored numerous victories and

38.
their potential in unity and concerted action is boundless. therefore, the solemn duty of all genuine anti-imperialists to strengthen the unity of this mighty force, and to make it as invincible as it should be. Those who continue to sow discord and confusion are consciously or unconsciously trying to divert the movement from its objectives and are assisting the imperialists and undermining the revolutionary struggle.

It is

For reasons which we will show later the African National Congress

39.
is deeply interested in the unity of the anti-imperialist movement.
success of the struggle in South Africa, its duration and cost in human
life depends to a great extent upon the solidarity, strength and unity of
the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

The

40.
The establishment of the Tri-Continental conference is a historical
event of the greatest importance in strengthening the anti-imperialist camp.
The solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa will be
cemented into a powerful instrument against the imperialists.
should be done to divert it from its historic mission and revolutionary
ideals against colonialism and neo-colonialism contained in its resolutions.

Nothing

As we have stated before imperialism and Fascism are using South

41.
Africa as their base and springboard for launching a counter-revolutionary
offensive in Africa.
The aggressive nature of these forces constitutes a
direct threat to peace and independence not only in Africa but also in the
rest of the world.

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42.
In this situation, and as an internationalist duty, it is crucial
in the present that all progressive forces the world over should realise
that they constitute one of the main motive forces in wiping out imperialism
and fascism in South Africa.

That realisation must be translated in
adequate/....7

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adequate concrete action in support of the national liberation movement in South Africa, as led by the A.Q.N.C.

The duty of the anti-imperialist forces that stand against Vorster

43.

Fascism is no less today than the duty that faced the progressive forces against Hitler Nazism during the Second World War.

From the progressive point of view, there must be a fundamental

44.

change of attitude and outlook towards the struggle against fascism in South Africa.

The anti-imperialist movement has tremendous potential.

The

45.

urgent and immediate need is to cement its Unity, to ensure that it has its own global strategy to counter the imperialist, to examine the activities of its numerous components to ensure greater coordination and avoid duplication.

bold assault by the anti-imperialist forces along every front.

Above all aggressive imperialist counter attack requires a

fiendish and wolfish plots of plunder, greed, exploitation, aggression and atrocities which they perpetrate against the people of the world.

~3â\200\224

As the capitalist world begins to shrink, the rivalry between the

12.
imperialists for markets and dominance increases, and so do their differences and conflicts.

Military and economic organisations like Nato, Cento, SEATO, the O.A.Sa and the Common Market which were set up to protect shaky imperialist interests. economically and militarily become insecure and are in a constant state of crisis.

U.S. is being challengedâ\200\235

leader the United States is dwindling.

of their complete disregard for human rights and their support for fascist and racist regimes like South Africa, Portugal, and West Germany is mounting and becoming more caustic.

ting their position at home and abroad.

The prestige of the imperialists and their

Economic crisis is seriously aggravaâ\200\224

The domination of her partners by the

Throughout the world criticism of

The imperialists appear strong, formidable and sometimes even

13.
invincible but in fact they are growing weaker and weaker as the Socialist Community grows stronger and the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America struggle more fiercely for the independence of their people. Apart from inherent causes leading to division amongst the imperialists like their rivalry, one major factor which has contributed to the crisis. in which imperialism has found itself is the growing might of the Antiâ\200\224 imperialist movement.

14.

THE ANTI~IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT â\200\224 ITS STRENGTH WEAKNESSES AND POTENTIAL.

The Antiâ\200\224imperialist movement is the united struggle and effort of -

It is a broad movement composed of people with different

all anti~imperialist states, organisations and individuals throughout the entire world.

political beliefs, of different race, colour, and creed, and who are from different walks of life but who are united by their hatred of the evils of imperialism and racialism and their firm belief in national independence genuine democracy, race harmony and peace

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The pillars of the anti-imperialist movement are the Soviet Union,

15.
and Socialist states in alliance with the progressive independent states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the revolutionary liberation movements' in countries which are still under colonial or white minority rule, and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries.

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The antiâ\200\224imperialist movement is based on the fact that the

16.

destinies of all peoples struggling against imperialism are interlinked and inextricably bound together.
The joint and concerted action of all progressive forces against imperialism and the mobilisation of the vast masses of the people into a united anti-imperialist front constitutes a mighty and invincible force for the destruction of the imperialists. and action are therefore cardinal in the fulfilment of this objective.

Unity

The African National Congress and the oppressed and exploited peoples

17.
of South Africa together with all genuine democrats, are an integral part. of the anti-imperialist movement of the world.
anti-imperialist peoples of the world have common aims, and objectives and common enemies.

We share with all other

anti-imperialist

18.
'There are numerous international organisations whose basic object is the mobilisation of the people against imperialism, like the W.F.T.U., W.I.D.F., V.W.F.D.Y., the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, the Institute of Jurists, the Afro-Asian Latin American Solidarity Organisation, the Afro-Asian Writers Organisation, A.A.T.U.F., the Pan-African Youth Movement, the African Women's Conference, the Organisation of African Unity and others.
The African National Congress has and still participates as fully as it can in the activities of these bodies and in many instances serves on their Executive bodies.
This apart from the bitter struggle of their people in South Africa against the fascists and imperialists has been a significant contribution to the global anti-imperialist struggle.
of our people in South Africa from the struggle of the peoples of the world.

It is impossible if not fatal to divorce the struggle

19.

Is the4

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Certainly not.

Not only do we

The international support for the struggle

Is the participation of the African National Congress in these

19.

international bodies useless and wasteful?

join the powerful mass of mankind fighting precisely what we are fighting for, but we are able to disseminate information about our struggle thereby winning or Strengthening our allies and gaining both moral and material support for our struggle.

against the South African fascists has been mounting.

and even ignorance of the conditions in our country and the struggle are still there in the most unexpected quartersâ\200\234

fact that the enemy and its allies are busy through numerous media of powerful propaganda to distort and even lie about what is happening in our country.

It is of course correct that action inside our country is a more positive and dynamic contribution towards the strui-\201gl

But the action itself and constant international expl:nation and agitation must go hand in hands

the socalled "mau-mauâ\200\235 struggle was slandered and isolated by the British to the extent that it was not understood and not effectively supported by the international progressive world for lack of proper publicitye Marx's call "Workers of the World Unite" is equally applicable to the antiÂ» imperialists at this gmave and critical time3 â\200\235Antiwimpcrialists of the World Unite."

It is not necessary to go into the details of how

This is sometimes due to the

But misconceptions

against imperialism.

Karl

20.

THE OFFENSIVE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE ANTIâ\200\224 IMPERIALIST FORCES.

The past decade has been an era of national revolution and an upâ\200\224 surge of anti-imperialism which has resulted in the most rapid and unpre~cedented disintegration of colonialism in its old formo

The frontiers of

imperialism have been shrinking under the pounding blows of the offensive launched by the liberation movements throughout the world.

Firstly there is the fundamental change in the

Withâ\200\224in a period of less than ten years the number of the indepe-

21.

ndent African states has increased to 41.

The phenomenal Victory by the

national liberation movements over the imperialists was made possible by the number of factors0

world situation which has been brought about by the growing strength and unity of the Socialist countries which are selflessly dedicated towards the struggle for the destruction of colonialisma

mined liberation movements have been growing in the colonial countries.

Thirdly systematic and consciencious efforts have been made by all antiâ\200\224

imperialist forces throughout the world to forge their unity and to pool their efforts against colonialism. imperialists has produced conflicts within their own ranks which have resulted in manoeuvres and counter manoeuvres amongst themselves. each imperialist country has been weakened by crises and internal problems within its own state, and the vigorous onslaught of working class and other democratic movements.

Fourthly the inherent greed of the

Secondly militant and deter-

Finally

The victories of the liberation movements particularly in Africa

22. whether they were achieved by peaceful or violent means have been a source of great inspiration to millions of oppressed people and have given impetus and momentum to their struggles?

remote dream but have become an immediate reality. continental and international anti-imperialist organisations and the numerous acts of solidarity amongst the anti-imperialist peoples have become a life belt to those who are still battling in the storm against the racist colonialists and fascists.

Freedom and independence are no longer a

The growth of regional,

One of the greatest achievements of this era has been that colonia-

23. lism as an ideology has been outlawed internationally and the people have discovered their immense strength to assault it successfully. facade of the invincibility of the racists, colonialists, imperialists have been disproved for ever.

The myth and

The victories of the national liberation movements were in most

24. cases not easy, smooth and complete. always unplanned and a complete defeat. tical, military, economic and other corrupt stratagems to extend its lease 'of life and to save as much as it could in its erstwhile colonies.

Imperialism resorted to many poli~

Nor was the retreat of the imperialists

25 In certain/...5

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In certain parts of the world like Southern Africa and Portuguese

25.
Guinea the imperialists are continuing to resist the legitimate demands of the people through ruthless repressions and police and military terrorism. This is no accident but a deliberate design by the imperialists to maintain these areas as their last frontiers, as bastions of colonialism and as a springboard for re-colonisation.

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26.

COUNTER OFFENSIVE BY THE IMPERIALISTS.

Imperialists have never approved the abolition of colonialism and when they were forced out

the oppression and exploitation of the people. of their former colonies by the strength of the people they tried to cover their retreat by making loud announcements that they were "granting the people their independence". through the courageous struggles and sacrifices of the people that they have won their freedom.

This was a despicable lie.

It is only

The disintegration and collapse of colonialism and the growth and

27. »

unity of the anti-imperialist forces have driven the imperialists to desperation which has led them to launch a sinister and vigorous counter-offensive against the newly independent states, the national liberation

"movement and anti-imperialist organisations.

This counter offensive is yielding spectacular victories for the

28. ~

imperialists and temporary but serious reverses for the African revolution as well as dangerous cracks in the unity of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. The initiative which has been so firmly held by the anti-imperialist

forces of the world is in grave danger due to this counter-offensive of the imperialists.

29. >

It is true that that initiative has not been completely lost but within a period of about two years the imperialists have done sufficient damage to independent states, liberation movements and anti-imperialist organisations to shake us out of our complacency and to call for greater vigilance and a closer study of the methods of the imperialists.

"The victories of the imperialists and the reverses of the revolu-

30.

tionary anti-imperialist forces are of course a temporary feature. That is a fundamental fact.

However, comforting as this fact may be it is no solution to the grave problems which now face us.

answer to the grim and brutal counter offensive which is causing so much suffering to millions of people.

The real solution can only be found by

an exhaustive and candid examination of the strength and weaknesses, mistakes, faults and potential of the anti-imperialist forces on the one hand and on the other the strategy and tactics of the imperialists which has enabled them to exploit these weaknesses and mistakes and to score the victories which they have now scored.

Nor is it an effective

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The bold and aggressive counter offensive of the colonialists has

31.
been timed to take place at a time when there is discord in the entire imperialist forces of the world both nationally and internationally. many instances as in the newly independent states the colonialists have cunningly created internal problems through political and economic intrigues and by bribery and subversion in order to undermine the independence of these states and to retain political and economic control over them.

In

32.

DISCORD IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES.

One of the greatest-tragedies of our time has been the discord in

in the Socialist camp which has weakened the main shield of the peoples against imperialism.

tional anti-imperialist organisations.

Unions and even inter-continental organisations like the Afro-Asian Organisation.

This division has reflected itself in all interna~

Those of the youth, women, Trade

The potency and effectiveness of these bodies have been unfortunat

33.
nately reduced at a critical time.
certain sections in reckless and disruptive activities whereas the positive

So most precious time is spent by

' contribution by these anti-imperialist organisations in a common strategy against/.....6

technically against the liberation movements
The concerted support by the Imperialists of the

economically and
and revolution.

racist minority regimes of Vorster, Caitano, and Smith against the
ANC, ZAPU, FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO and PAIGC is now a public and wellâ\200\224
known fact.

In Latin America too, the United States in particular,
supports its puppet regimes against the revolutionary movements.

Assasination and the murder of leading members of progressive and
revolutionary organisations has now become part of the stook~in~trade
of world reactionary forces.

Pinto.

Mondlane of FRELIMO.

tardly crimes of the imperialists and their agents.

Then Comrade Sigauka of FRELIMO, now recently Comrade Eduardo
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There are no limits to the cowardly and das~

In Kenya a few years back it was Pio

Imperialist agents are busy trying to forment division, conflict and
desertions in the ranks of the liberation Movements and progressive
organisations.

the exploitation of genuine grievances and differences to naked slander,,
distortions, lies and bribery.

The agents of reaction use all methods, ranging from

Efforts to discredit the liberation movement and its leadership, both
among the people and internationally are one of the main objects of
the psychological warfare conducted through the radio, press and
whispering campaign.

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The creation and maintenance of spurious, stooge organisations is one
of the main preoccupations of the imperialists, PAC, and New Revolu-
tionary Movement in South Africa, ZANU in Zimbabwe, Coremo in Moza~
mbique, Savimbi and Roberto holdens so called organisations in Angola,
Fling in Guinea Busau.

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(g)

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Spies, informers, and traitors are lavishly bribed to inform on the
liberation movements, to enable the oppressors to wreck revolutionary
liberation movements.

The basic objective of the imperialists in their global strategy

7.

is to isolate, undermine, subvert, and wreck everything whether it be
state or organisation which is progressive and antiâ\200\224imperialist and to
consolidate and reconstruct all pro-imperialist, and reactionary institu~
tions in the world.

The anti-imperialist forces opposed to this frantic and counter

8.
offensive is the MIGHTY Anti-imperialist force and movements.
united force of popular, progressive and revolutionary States and Organi~
sations.

It is the

Politically they are weak and getting weaker

In addition the rise

They are incapable of complete unity even amongst themselves

The apparent strength of the imperialists is in their massive mili~

9.
tary and economic potential.
by the day.
because of the constant rivalry to redivide markets.
of Anti-imperialist revolution is constantly undermining the false image
of their superiority.
exposed by the humiliating defeats they are suffering from smaller and rela~
tively militarily weaker nations, and which are economically less developed.
The dilemma of the U.S. in Vietnam caused by the shattering and humiliating
blows from the heroic people of Vietnam exposed the basic weakness of the
leading and MOST AGGRESSIVE imperialist power.

Even militarily their "invincibility" is being

10.
In addition the underdeveloped countries no longer wish to associate
themselves openly with the capitalist system which to the vast masses of the
people spells ignorance, disease and poverty.
the masses of the people is steering the states of the third world to pro~
nounce their objectives as Socialist in one form or the other.

The impact of Socialism on

Mass support and even submission is shrinking in the direction of

11.
resistance and revolt both in the former colonial countries and amongst vast
sections of the populations in the former colonial countries.
Communist bogey through which the imperialists try to justify all their
reckless and brutal interference is wearing thin as a veil to hide their
fiendish/....3

â\200\234The Anti-