

"BLACK DWARF" TALKS WHITE TRASH.

In its issue of 26 November, 1969 "Black Dwarf" used up two full pages of space in a vicious, slanderous and non-political attack on the African National Congress of South Africa. The attack was in the form of a statement by deserters from the ANC, which received wide publicity in the white press and police literature within South Africa itself, quite some months ago. It should be said that "Black Dwarf" neither bothered to check the validity of the allegations contained in the document they have published with the ANC office in London nor with the guerrillas who have participated in the actual fighting in Zimbabwe. Some of these heroic fighters are available and can be interviewed. The material is now published by "Black Dwarf" as representing their own view of the Southern Africa situation. It is not surprising that "Black Dwarf" should have acted in this manner. Over and over again people who take up ultra-left "revolutionary" positions eventually find themselves taking up right-wing and reactionary attitudes which were their real home in the first place. So it is with "Black Dwarf". They have now become the platform for right-wing, reactionary police propaganda sponsored by the South African regime and they expect to be regarded as "revolutionaries".

Eversince the ZAPU-ANC forces jointly launched guerrilla struggle against the Ian Smith and Vorster regimes of white supremacy, there has been a steadily mounting propaganda campaign against these movements by the enemy. The spearhead of the campaign has been Radio South Africa whose broadcasts now reach all parts of the world. But in addition to Radio South Africa there has been a spate of material in the white press in South Africa and in the imperialist newspapers in Britain and elsewhere. The object of this greatly intensified campaign has been to produce maximum disunity both within and between movements; to denigrate the movement; to halt the steady growth of the guerrilla movement in Southern Africa; to win African independent states to the viewpoint of the white supremacists.

At first the campaign took the form of interviews and statements by leading figures in the security police and the South African government. Such people as Major Verster(head of the Security Police), Muller(the Minister of Police) and others gave the Radio and Press information allegedly obtained by their intelligence services and this was splashed. Later correspondents such as Aida Parker, J.H. Serfontein, Vermaak(reporters for the South African white press) and others wrote "exposures" of the troubles faced by the liberation movements. Some of these have appeared in lengthy articles in the British press, especially this year.

It soon became clear that the people could hardly be expected to give any credence to propaganda put out by the white press, Radio South Africa, and the organs of the imperialist press overseas. It is then that efforts were made to try and get people from within the movements to "desert" and then get them to denounce the revolutionary struggle. Money and scholarships were offered to inexperienced and young members of the liberation movements by a

Church organisation with CIA links. All deserters were encouraged to proceed to Nairobi where they were promised a monthly salary, free food and accomodation whilst they waited for scholarships to be arranged. The fact that deserters were urged to make for Nairobi is, of course, no accident.

As always happens in these cases the imperialists were not going to pay salaries or arrange scholarships until "deserters" had been squeezed dry of propaganda potential. Suddenly a series of statements hostile to liberation movements streamed out of Nairobi. Invariably each statement from some turncoat in Nairobi was promptly confirmed by Major Verster of the South African police as being "true" .

It is one such statement that has now appeared rather belatedly in the columns of "Black Dwarf" .

The statement first appeared in the Johannesburg Sunday Times of 6/7/1969 as a report by the notorious J.H. Serfontein who made his usual check with the security police who as usual "confirmed" the "truth" of the allegations. Subsequently other enemy newspapers, including the S.A.R.P. magazine, which is the official organ of the South African police, published the story. Some imperialist newspapers who would normally love to publish anything hostile to the ANC refrained from taking up this story because it was obviously a crude and lying document that they feared it would blow up in their faces.

The authors of the document, who are four in number and not two as stated in "Black Dwarf" signed their names and these appeared in the story as published in the Sunday Times (Johannesburg) and other newspapers. In the circumstances the reticence of "Black Dwarf" to publish the names that appear on the statement itself is very peculiar to say the least. In fact we suspect that "Black Dwarf" deliberately omitted to publish the names of the authors of the document because everybody would have immediately recognised that these are renegades and cowardly deserters who had long fled to the safety of Nairobi and were nowhere near the battlefield.

We have already stated that the document is non-political, that is, there is not a single criticism directed at the programme, ideology, military concepts or foreign policy of the ANC. The "criticism" takes the form of a series of lies and allegations of a slanderous, personalised, and more often than not, of a sweeping variety.

Normally we would not bother even to deal with the sewerage oozing out of the pens of cowardly deserters. But we will examine some of the main allegations made by these traitors merely for the sake of readers of "Black Dwarf" who sincerely wish to know the viewpoint of the African National Congress.

The statement claims that "many of the 'leaders' have quite consciously betrayed this struggle. For them the liberation armies composed of African freedom fighters have become an industry that produces money for their private coffers".

Absolutely no fact is produced to support this allegation which is made because it is easy to allege misuse of funds against any movement and its leadership.

According to the statement guerrillas "opposed to the ANC leaders" were sent to Zimbabwe where they were ambushed by the fascist militia and were killed or "surrendered". The statement explains that the guerrillas were armed with weapons for "conventional warfare i.e. big arms instead of light arms which are suitable for guerrilla warfare". It is said that they were sent "amongst a people whose languages they had not been taught to speak" and so on and so forth. All this is absolute nonsense which "Black Dwarf" did not even need to verify. If they claim to be well-informed on Southern Africa they should have known all that really happened two years ago when the Wankie campaigns occurred and not from statements issued by cowardly deserters who not only have not been involved in any fighting in their lives, but were in Nairobi at critical points in these events. We can only assume that "Black Dwarf" wants to believe anything it is told whose effect is hostility to the ANC and ZAPU.

The facts are that the Wankie campaigns are the ones that resulted in the heaviest casualties suffered by the white settlers in Southern Africa since 1896. In the October, 1969 issue of the American quarterly "Foreign Affairs" Russell Warren Howe writes:

"Field reports show that Rhodesian losses are higher than those of the guerrillas - although the Smith regime helps to conceal this fact by conducting military funerals at night, by cordoning off roads when mortuary convoys pass and by the orthodox lies of war".

Ian Smith and his tottering regime appealed for help to South Africa which readily intervened with thousands of troops and planes. The campaigns covered many guerrilla engagements which went on for months. Some leading comrades in our movements fell in these campaigns but many continue to fight to this day; many among those who fought are with us and participated in the recent cultural festival in Algeria and this includes commanders of the campaign.

The remarks in the statement about the equipment carried by the guerrillas are meaningless. What is meant by "big arms"? Have weapons no names anymore? If the authors were anywhere near the front they would know what these weapons were. Or can anybody seriously suggest that the guerrillas were having strapped over their shoulders such weapons as howitzers, heavy mortars, heavy machine guns? Those are the big weapons. If "Black Dwarf" knew anything about guerrilla warfare they would have seen through this lie. During the Wankie operations, for instance, some of the guerrillas marched all the way into South Africa. Could they have done so if they were carrying

heavy weapons ? After the fierce fighting which raged over a large part of Zimbabwe after August, 1967, the imperialist press both in this country and in South Africa were compelled to admit that the fighting in Zimbabwe was no mere window-dressing or "fiasco" . Here we shall merely quote a few of these statements from newspapers which are, to say the least, hostile to the armed revolutionary struggle of our people led by the ANC.

1) London Sunday Telegraph of the 28/7/1968:

"They(guerrillas) are well-armed with such weapons as the highly efficient Chinese Kalashnikov A.K. 47 automatic rifle. They carry modern grenades and land mines, and are equipped with powerful radios ... "

2) Rand Daily Mail of the 18/11/1969:

"The Russian anti-tank gun is one of the most powerful weapons captured The gun can be carried by one man and is capable of penetrating eight inches of steel".

3) Johannesburg Sunday Times of the 28/8/1967:

"They(guerrillas) carried the best equipment and showed the greatest fighting ability of any terrorists who have crossed the border".

It is true that most of the authors of the document do not speak the African languages spoken in Zimbabwe or any African language for that matter. But we can assure the editors of "Black Dwarf" that the majority of Africans in South Africa do not need to be taught the languages spoken in the terrain of the Wankie campaigns. THEY ALREADY KNOW THEM. If "Black Dwarf" knew anything about the situation in Southern Africa, they would have known that the language spoken in this area/"Sindebele" which is directly related to the Nguni language-groups of South Africa, such as Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Shangane etc. As everybody knows something like ninety per cent of the Africans in the urban areas of South Africa speak Zulu.

Instead of giving space to ill-informed slanders about the Wankie operations, "Black Dwarf" ought to have given space to those who actually fought in the stirring battles in Zimbabwe to describe what happened. If you meet the men who fought in these battles - and there are quite a few battle-seasoned who have survived so that they can fight again - you are absolutely impressed by their high morale and the determination to go back to the front. In an interview in the "Guardian" of the 16/7/1968 an unidentified ANC guerrilla who had been involved in the fighting recalls:

"Morale is very high in my platoon. We have seen that white soldiers are desperate men".

The authors of this document claim that "the entire leadership of the ANC is itself not prepared to get back to Southern Africa and be amongst the fighting masses"

* The whole world knows that some of the very top leaders of the African National Congress came out for military training and went back to South Africa. There is Nelson Mandela who, in the Rivonia trial, stated that he had undergone military training. He went back and is now on Robben Island. There is Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Joe Gqabi, Andrew Mlangeni and many others who trained outside South Africa, went back and worked among the masses. Unfortunately most of these were later arrested and now serving long-term sentences on Robben Island.

During the Wankie campaign some of the top military commanders of ZAPU and ANC actually participated in the fighting. The Wankie campaign guerrilla detachment was led by John Dube of ZAPU who is a member of the military headquarters of ZAPU guerrillas. John Dube was chosen to lead the group because he was born and brought up in the area of the Wankie operations. From the ANC side, the Chief of Staff of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC military wing), Mngarwana Njojo fought in these operations.

In the Eastern Front of our guerrilla operations in Zimbabwe, we regret to say that one of our top leaders, Comrade Patrick Molao, popularly known as Pat, who was the President of the ANC Youth League, died heroically in action.

According to the statement, the ANC received both material and financial aid the world over. This is indeed news to the ANC. The truth of the matter is that in the whole universe there are less than a dozen countries giving money and material aid to the growing struggle in Southern Africa. Like all guerrilla movements, ZAPU and ANC are struggling under very difficult conditions to conduct a fight against highly armed and equipped governments with vast resources. If "Black Dwarf" and those who wrote this statement know of countries or organisations which have given aid to the ANC they are at liberty to name them. We do not know of any that gave aid as a result of the Wankie campaigns.

The post of "Vice-President" does not exist in the ANC and therefore it is not clear who was televised in some country in Europe skiing and addressing student rallies.

The next series of allegations relate^{to} "assaults, maiming, murders and rapes" practised by the ANC leadership against guerrillas. It is not clear what the purpose of all this would be for any movement endeavouring to organise a revolutionary struggle. One after another the allegations follow without a tittle of evidence being produced in support. For instance, the statement talks of a "strong-arm group" composed of Lumumba Institute graduates who are to "break others spiritually, mentally and physically". There are less than half-a-dozen graduates of Lumumba Institute among the guerrillas and these have never met or seen any of the authors of this document. How this handful could ill-treat regiments of trained guerrillas is beyond comprehension.

In any event the effect of these allegations would be that the

ANC guerrillas consist of battalions of starved, raped, physically, and mentally wrecked men and women! The remainder are those who have been murdered! Are the authors of this document and those who publish it as representing the truth really serious? We would state categorically that the ANC guerrillas are among the most highly trained and the toughest fighters you can get anywhere. This has been proved on the field. And it is as well to correct one other statement by the authors of this document. No ANC guerrilla has ever surrendered to the white soldiers! Some have been captured after their ammunition ran out, during battle.

This slanderous document refers to relatives of "leaders" among the guerrillas one of whom has been identified as the son of the Treasurer-General of the ANC. We are not surprised that for once the authors gave us some means of identifying the subject of their allegations. The truth is that this happens to be the only relative of a top leader of the ANC who was a member of the guerrillas. It is therefore not understood who the nieces, nephews, sons and daughters referred to are?

Quite rightly the document speaks of the children of some of the leaders who are generally below the age of twelve and can hardly be found in universities all over the world. There is a limit to the number of children whom even leaders can have. Why does the document identify one relative and then make a sweeping allegation suggesting widespread nepotism? It can only be malice.

For a moment it seemed that the document would begin, at least, to discuss politics when referring to the so-called "Moscow Line". It was not to be. This has also been pulled in to find some means to attack and discredit the leadership. The authors also hope opportunistically, like many others, to exploit the difficulties that have arisen in the anti-imperialist movement as a result of differences between China and the Soviet Union. The African National Congress is a national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa having within its ranks people of differing ideological stands. The ANC has had long links with China and many of the guerrillas and their leading cadres were trained in China. The allegation of discrimination against comrades trained in China is a blatant lie. But the purpose is plain. It is to try and gain the support for this document of those who support the viewpoint of the Chinese in the so-called Sino-Soviet dispute. Is this not perhaps the trap into which "Black Dwarf" fell in so readily accepting the role of platform for this document? Why should the leadership send any of its supporters for training to China and then discriminate against them when they return? The thing just does not make sense.

As far as the imperialist are concerned their propaganda for at least twenty years has been that the ANC is a "tool of Moscow". Many of our people have suffered imprisonment on the basis of this allegation. In the current propaganda campaign against the ANC

1 this hoary old wives tale is being utilised a great deal. Now it is being dragged out by deserters and traitors to the movement on the orders of their masters in the West.

The document speaks of tribalism and the authors pretend they know something about this subject. What they have produced is nothing but a story aimed against the leadership. There are few movements who have fought tribalism as hard as the ANC and we do not need lessons from anyone. No doubt this is the problem that faces and is going to face our movements and countries for a long time. The enemy has realised the potency of encouraging tribalism as a means of breaking down unity among the oppressed people. The record of the ANC in this particular issue is a matter of pride in our country.

In their "story" the authors of this document obviously are confused about the state of affairs but then for them it does not matter whether the facts are correct. The main thing is to get some allegation in. The majority of the people in the camp the authors speak of were never from the Cape Province. It is interesting that the only names mentioned in the document of leaders allegedly responsible for the numerous allegations are not from the Cape Province either. We are not going to conduct a tribal count for the benefit of the enemies. But one thing is clear. Someone who is certainly non-African must have tried to tell the authors of this document something about tribalism in the ANC and they have just taken it over parrot-fashion, for purposes of slanderous allegations.

The authors of this document left Nairobi on Belgian travel documents and proceeded to Brussels. There they drafted this document with the help of certain groups. One of them arrived in London and made straight for the house of a well-known journalist with anti-ANC views. The journalist concerned suggested that the document be duplicated in large numbers and distributed but was not prepared to use it for his newspaper! The idea was that this document was useful only in that it threw a lot of mud against the ANC and some of it would stick, especially in the minds of those who for some reason disliked the liberation movement in South Africa.

At the Morogoro conference of the ANC in April this year, many of the problems and difficulties confronting the liberation movement in Southern Africa were discussed seriously and with responsibility. Many of the participants were men who had fought at Wankie in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Others were veterans of the struggle in South Africa for the last forty years and whom suddenly the authors of this document want to cover with dirt and slander. The conference analysed and summed up the tasks facing the movement in the era of armed revolution and laid the basis for the intensification of the armed struggle. The African National Congress, like any serious revolutionary organisation, has problems but these are tackled in a responsible, serious and honest manner. This was the practice when the movement operated legally in South Africa and continues to be the case even when we face the serious problem of operating underground.

The African National Congress and its leadership has been truly tried and tested in the struggle. Our organisation has an unimpeachable record of struggle of over 5 decades against the racist tyranny and oppression of our people by successive South African white governments. Our organisation fearlessly wielded all possible weapons of peaceful struggle and forged unity among the African people as well as other revolutionaries belonging to the national minorities.

And when the time arrived to meet brute force of the present South African police state, our organisation neither hesitated nor shacked its duty. Some of our best cadres have already sacrificed their lives in the course of the struggle. We are truly proud of the heroic exploits of our young guerrilla army.

In the tough, hard and titanic armed revolution we have embarked upon, we know that the enemy is pledged to use the foulest of tactics against our movement. In his arsenal of psychological warfare, the enemy scrapes the bottom of the barrel to hurl filth, slander and lies at us.

The aim of the capitalist and imperialist newspapers such as the Johannesburg Sunday Times and scores of others in publishing all manner of slander against the African National Congress is obvious - they seek to sabotage our revolution.

By publishing the testimony of cowardly deserters "Black Dwarf" cast itself in a miserable role of being a fading carbon copy of the propaganda tracts of the enemy. They can only win the doubtful honour of being a small, junior and dwarfish partner in a counter-revolutionary conspiracy that is doomed to failure.

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