

**A REPLY TO LIVINGSTONE MQOTSI AND THE ANONYMOUS "MEMBERS OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT IN ZAMBIA" BY A MEMBER OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

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In November, 1966 an anonymous group of persons, signing itself "Members of the Unity Movement in Zambia, P.O.Box 2572, Lusaka, Zambia", published a scurrilous circular against the President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, Mr. I.B. Tabata and the rest of the Executive of the Unity Movement. This was not the first time that the public of Zambia and others have been burdened with diatribes by this same group. It is time that the public is made aware who exactly these people are and what the real purpose of their sustained, unrelenting invective against the Unity Movement is. As a bona fide member of the Unity Movement, I take it upon myself to defend the Unity Movement against this anonymous group and I make no apologies for coming to the defence of the President and the Executive of the Unity Movement.

It is this same group of persons that distributed in rounded form in the streets of Lusaka, a letter of the 22nd November, 1966 from Mr L.D. Lande to Mr I.B. Tabata, regarding the expulsion of Livingstone Mqotsi and Mtutuzeli Mpehle from the Unity Movement of South Africa. What the public is not told and does not know is that, of the fourteen members of the Executive abroad, Mr Lande is the only one who has dissociated himself from the decision of the Executive of the Unity Movement to expel these two men from the Organisation; that in fact, Mr Lande himself would be shocked to learn that his letter and views on the matter have been made public property and in a most irresponsible manner.

In regard to what purports to be political charges by the group against the President and the Executive, I should simply state that they are so unprincipled, nebulous and contradictory as to merit no serious attention and I mean not to waste the readers' and my time on them.

We note that Livingstone Mqotsi first charges Mr Tabata with being a bureaucrat in that, as he says, he abuses his Presidential powers and violates the concept of collective leadership to which the Unity Movement wholly subscribes. However, to support the charge, he simply challenges the President's administrative right in appointing Miss Jane Gool, chief representative of the Unity Movement in Zambia. Thus, we witness a mountain produce a squirming mouse. After he has been expelled by the Organisation on the decision (which Mr Tabata, as President, merely effected) of an overwhelming majority of the Executive, he shifts his ground and now questions the legitimacy of Mr Tabata's Presidency of the Unity Movement and the right of some members of the Executive to be on it. On this score, it is enough to tell the public that in a letter written and signed by him dated the 20th April, 1965, Livingstone Mqotsi wrote to a member of the Executive in this strain:

"My dear Karl,

I have been instructed by the President, Mr I.B. Tabata, to deal with your correspondence of the 7th April, 1965, since he himself is at the moment quite unable to do so."

Again,

in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kenya, dated 30th July, 1965, he wrote:

"Dear Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, Mr I.B. Tabata, will be making a tour of East Africa. He is accompanied by Mr. N. Honono, President of the All-African Convention, Dr A.I. Limbada, Treasurer of the Unity Movement and Miss Jane Gool, Representative in Lusaka".

These are just two of many instances in which Livingstone Mqotsi:  
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trips himself and is compelled to volunteer a refutation of his own contention.

It is necessary to state that Mr Tabata was unanimously elected President of the Unity Movement by the extended Head Unity Committee at home at its July, 1964 meeting which I myself attended; that Mr Lande was present at that meeting and that Livingstone Mqotsi, who was then on his way to Lusaka or had just arrived there, was at the appropriate time officially informed about the election and approved of it. In fact, all the present officials of the Unity Movement were elected at that meeting. No matter how much Livingstone Mqotsi may rant and rave he cannot alter the facts.

On the question of the Working Committee, which has been taken up by this group, stood on its head and mangled out of all recognition, the matter of its reconstitution was on the agenda of the January, 1964 Meeting of the Head Unity Committee at home, which Livingstone Mqotsi characteristically did not attend, although he was in a position to do so. After its reconstitution had been accepted in principle, the matter was held over until such a time as Mr Tabata, Mr Honono and Miss Gool had finally decided on their country of sojourn in Africa. The matter came again at the July, 1964 Meeting of the Extended Executive, to which I have already made reference, where it was decided that since Lusaka was to be the Headquarters abroad of the Unity Movement of South Africa, the Working Committee should be established there. Thus the highest organ of the Unity Movement, in which alone is vested the authority to take decisions on behalf of Conference and the organisation as a whole, pronounced on the matter and authorised the constitution of the Working Committee in Lusaka.

It is this decision of the highest and functioning organ of the Unity Movement at home that Livingstone Mqotsi and his anonymous crowd are challenging and seek to render null and void. In doing this, they not only place themselves ABOVE the Organisation, but OUTSIDE of it. Here, as elsewhere, we see naked and undisguised, Livingstone Mqotsi's built-in bureaucratic tendencies and disposition to violate the very concept of collective leadership which he pretends to uphold and defend. This explains his unilateral issuing of circulars as "General Secretary of APDUSA". In his calculating selfishness he brazenly gives the impression that Mr Leo Linda Sihlali, ex-President of the Unity Movement now on Robben Island, supports him in his spiteful tirades against the Unity Movement. This shows in what wretched esteem he holds his fellowmen. He does not scruple to prostitute the name of a man whom he knows is not in a position to make a public denunciation of his views. Indeed, in his vain attempt to justify and lend dignity to his false position, Livingstone Mqotsi will sink to any depth. Livingstone Mqotsi knows full well that the last Conference of the Unity Movement held in December, 1961 and January, 1962 had decided that in the conditions prevailing in South Africa, Conference would not be able to meet again and that, because the work of the Movement had to be done at all costs, the extended Executive SHOULD meet in lieu of Conference and take decisions on its behalf. What then prompts him and his motley crowd to say, "We members of the Unity Movement know of no Unity Movement Conference that elected I.B. Tabata to be President of our movement" (our emphasis). In fact, Livingstone Mqotsi himself says on page 9 of his 9th August, 1966 circular: ". . . it is impossible, under present fascist conditions in South Africa, to hold a Conference of the Unity Movement." The man is possessed.

The public ought to be told that both Mr I.B. Tabata and Miss Gool are some of the foundation members of the Unity Movement from its very inception and have an impeccable political record. Mr Tabata in particular has made and continues to make his invaluable contribution to the Unity Movement on all levels. That is why both these persons were the

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the pivot of the Working Committee at home. Their experience is an asset to the Unity Movement. It was, inter alia, for these reasons that Mr Tabata, who enjoys the comradely loyalty of all the members of the Executive at home and abroad, as also the trust and esteem of the membership of the Organisation, was elected President of the Unity Movement at the July, 1964 meeting of the Extended Executive. This is more than can be said of any of the members of the Executive. It certainly could not be said of Livingstone Mqotsi. It was not on the basis of "the cult of the personality" - a shibboleth, the precise meaning of which has not been given - that Mr Tabata's comrades and colleagues did this, as Livingstone Mqotsi and his anonymous friends seek to establish, but in recognition of Mr Tabata's peerless, original contribution to the Unity Movement and the struggle of the oppressed in South Africa.

In all his unprincipled polemics against Mr Tabata and the Unity Movement, Livingstone Mqotsi is impelled by his phenomenal narcissism and consuming jealousy. And yet, like a dog that bites the hand that feeds it, he continues to have recourse to and draw sustenance from the works of Mr Tabata and the publications of the Unity Movement. He is like a parasite that hates its host, but knows that it cannot even exist independently of it. Most of what Livingstone Mqotsi writes and has written either is naked plagiarism or clever, though not often accurate, paraphrase of what Mr Tabata has previously written, or culled from the rich legacy of theoretical exposition of U.M. and A.A.C. documents without acknowledging his sources. For the information of the public, in the April issue of the APDUSA NEWSLETTER, 1965, Livingstone Mqotsi in his article, "Towards a United Democratic Movement of Africa" lifts a whole passage from the pamphlet "THE PAC Adventure in Perspective" (p.7) beginning with the words: "Throughout..." Likewise the Unity Newsletter published by Livingstone Mqotsi and his anonymous crowd contains a sub-editorial on the Protectorates which is a naked paraphrase of Mr I.B. Tabata's editorial in APDUSA NEWSLETTER entitled "The Meaning of Verwoerd's Bantustans and the Protectorates", (both of November, 1966)

This sick and sterile dilettante is a long way from learning that one earns the right to leadership by one's tireless and selfless service to the cause of the oppressed and exploited masses; that this is the only way in which one attains to priority and recognition. In all the years that he has been one of the two Joint-Secretaries of the Unity Movement, the General Secretary of APDUSA and Assistant Secretary of the All-African Convention, Livingstone Mqotsi did not issue a single Secretarial (as distinct from personal) circular or instruction to the affiliated bodies or organs of the Unity Movement and their branches. When it comes to building the organisation Livingstone Mqotsi becomes paralysed by physical and mental inertia and his body and mind immobilised, like the face of a man blind from birth. He has not made a single original contribution theoretically, ~~politically~~ or politically and organisationally to the Unity Movement and the struggle of the oppressed millions in South Africa. In attacking Mr. Tabata he frets at his own bankruptcy and impotence and thus attains an inverted triumph. The point is, if Livingstone Mqotsi cannot be famous, he must at least be notorious. There is no room for self-seekers in the Unity Movement.

Apart from his duplicity and deception as also his contempt for his readers, one other distinctive characteristic of Livingstone Mqotsi is his ill-concealed basic racialism which stubbornly keeps on betraying itself. In listing the members of the Executive abroad whom he considers HIS PERSONAL enemies, but who in fact stand in principled fundamental disagreement with him, he deliberately picks on those with Non-African names and makes it appear as if they preponderate over those with African names in an indecent attempt to arouse the most politically primitive impulses and emotions in what HE considers and regards as

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a politically backward and racialistic audience. On p.5 of ~~the~~ circular under consideration, he deliberately leaves out the names of Mr N. Honono, Mr Edward Ncalu and Mr Ambrose Pahle, all of whom he knows perfectly well to be uncompromisingly opposed to his standpoint. In fact, on page 2 of the 9th August, 1966 Circular, he travels even further and lists exclusively those members with Non-African names as the supporters of Mr. Tabata. It is these African men and women with Non-African names whom he refers to when he raves about "an aspiring comprador class". He does this in a vain attempt to cover up his track. He must coat his racialism with a semblance of political genuineness. Adolf Hitler's spirit must truly be jubilant to learn that it has such a zealous disciple and advocate in the person of Livingstone Mqotsi. Indeed, the Nazis can now justifiably say, after all Hitler's teachings were not in vain.

It has long been this chauvinist's sole political function and occupation either to denigrate or repudiate the leadership of the Unity Movement. <sup>The</sup> document, "The Wreckers of Unity", in respect of which the organisation is not in the least apologetic and to which he refers in the immediately above-mentioned circular and which he and his nameless band give prominence to in their circular dated September, 1966, was issued NOT by Mr Tabata but by the Executive of the All-African Convention early in 1959 and Livingstone Mqotsi who was a member of that Executive was a party to its publication. The document was published in reply to Livingstone Mqotsi's forerunners, his kindred spirits and brothers in renegacy - Hosea Jaffe, Ben Kies, Mqwene Kobus, to name only a few - who, for their own ends, were wrenching the Anti-CAD from the Unity Movement and principled politics.

Today these gallant fighters of yesteryear are genuflecting before the forces of barbarism in South Africa. Hosea Jaffe, their ideological head and inspirer, sought and found asylum from the real struggle in England. It is this procession of fugitives from the Unity Movement and the real struggle against the Herrenvolk and Imperialism that Livingstone Mqotsi now joins and it is they who blazed the trail for him. One notes with amusement and disgust that Livingstone Mqotsi refers to these men in relation to Mr Tabata as "his enemies." Nothing demonstrates more than this, the detachment - the lack of political involvement of this man - his poverty of the soul. He reduces the bitter struggle by the Unity Movement against a band of political thugs to the level of personal enmity and antagonism. And this is the same Livingstone Mqotsi who stood up at the 1958 Conference of the A.A.C. to reply to Dudley, one of the leading spokesmen of this group. What duplicity is this? My main point here about this document is that if Livingstone Mqotsi truly believed in collective leadership he would not find it unpalatable to accept collective responsibility as well. But this is to expect too much of the poor man! He cannot eat his cake and have it. Also it has never been a matter of concern in the Unity Movement who frames what resolution and who drafts what document. But what has always been relevant is, what organ or body issues it. What then is Livingstone Mqotsi's aim and purpose in saying that this document was "written by I.B. Tabata"? In whose interest and for whose benefit is he saying this? Certainly not that of the public of Zambia nor that of all genuine fighters for freedom and human dignity the world over.

But there are people who are interested in this type of information. They are the CIA of America, the M.I.5 and SIS of England and the PIDE of Portugal as well as the S.B. and M.I. of South Africa and Rhodesia. It is they who are vitally concerned to know who is who in any particular organisation, country or state. It is highly reprehensible of Livingstone Mqotsi to indulge in this oblique, sophisticated informing under the guise of conducting a polemic. This is even more so at a time when assassination of leaders, statesmen and all genuine fighters for freedom and justice by imperialist agents is on the order

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of the day, particularly in Africa today.

In point of fact Livingstone Mqotsi must be immensely pleased with himself. As a result of his clever informing Mr W.M. Tsotsi, the Vice-President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, was deported to South Africa by the Government of Lesotho. Fortunately, but much to the dismay and chagrin of John Vorster and Livingstone Mqotsi, he escaped from the claws of the South African Police and made his way back to Lesotho. A pause and an explanation are in place here.

The Working Committee, which consists only of the members of the Executive, assessed the direction of political developments in the then Protectorates. On the basis of this assessment it decided that the Vice-President of the Unity Movement should come to Head-Quarters abroad in Lusaka. It expected however, that he would have to spend some time in Bechuanaland, whilst arrangements were being made for him to cross into Zambia. — In his circular of the 9th August, 1966, which he zealously distributed all over the world and which, inevitably came into the hands of the South African Police and other enemies of the liberatory struggle and people engaged in espionage, Livingstone Mqotsi divulged this confidential decision of the Working Committee. In consequence of this, Mr Tsotsi's wife and children, who hitherto had the right to do so, were debarred from entering South Africa and Mr Tsotsi himself declared a prohibited immigrant in Botswana (Bechuanaland), and notification of this was sent him by registered post in Lesotho. — He was now tied hand and foot and hopelessly land-locked in Lesotho — a consequence which Livingstone Mqotsi fervently desired. He knew that his circular must fall into the hands of the South African police. It was for Mr Tsotsi a case of no place to hide. The Government of Lesotho could now strike at its helpless victim at will. At the opportune moment they did throw him out of Lesotho into the jaws of Vorster's blood-hounds. Livingstone Mqotsi and his fellow-herrenvolk hirelings must have revelled and danced all night when the news of Mr Tsotsi's deportation burst over the air on the 30th December, 1966.

It is either Livingstone Mqotsi suffers from amnesia or his memory is exceedingly feeble. When I was taking this turncoat and rank renegade out of South Africa as late as June, 1964, he said of Mr Tabata, whom he was contrasting to another member of the Executive whom he hates personally: "But he, unlike this bureaucrat is humane". This was Livingstone Mqotsi in one of his rare moments of lucidity and sanity and in his finest hour. Today the same Mr Tabata "is guilty of inhumanity". At that time he was on his way to Algeria in rather delayed compliance with the decision of the Head Unity Committee at home that he should proceed there and place the organisation on the map. When he arrived in Zambia, he found his freedom and from the safety and comfort of his respectable job he snipes at the Unity Movement. He can wriggle and writhe as he pleases, but that does not absolve him from his duty. The fact is that at the time he came out of South Africa, the political climate in Algeria was extremely favourable to us. Our contacts were closest to Ben Bella and that meant a hell of a lot. We see <sup>him</sup> now in his true and full stature, naked as at birth, the great revolutionary, Livingstone Mqotsi. If he had any feelings for the oppressed masses in South Africa he would be where he was told to go and doing what they had asked him to do. He has failed without trying. What is more, he has chosen to be not only a scrimshank but a stumbling block to the most ardent wishes of the oppressed millions in South Africa. This then is Livingstone Mqotsi the man who strains at gnats whilst swallowing camels. His place in the future, as now, is in the dustbin of history where his forerunners in renegacy, now are. It is now for him to make his exit and for us to say the requiem.

As for the rest of the anonymous crowd, with whom we propose to deal with one by one, the mind boggles at their temerity and arrogance. Their politics consist solely in pitting themselves against the Unity Movement and its Executive and in acting as attorneys for Livingstone Mqotsi's views for lack of views of their own.

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Leslie Martin strayed into the Unity Movement by stumbling on the Progressive Forum and the Society of Young Africa in Johannesburg. After a well-earned rest, he made a fitful appearance at the 1958 Conference of the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement. There Sexton Vutela, then a Soyah from Johannesburg pungently remarked to one of the delegates from Johannesburg concerning Leslie Martin: "'Where did you resuscitate this corpse?" When APDUSA was formed in 1961, this activist of today was quietly sipping his beer in the "Coloureds Only" bars of Johannesburg in retirement from politics. In 1963 he consummated his flight from the Unity Movement and deserted the revolutionary masses in South Africa about whose struggle and travail he now feels strongly from the distant plains of Central Africa. One should remind this damp squib that whilst he expended his energies on King Kong and the Union Artists in Johannesburg, the very people on whom he now vents his spleen were consistently engaged in building the Unity Movement and the Nation in South Africa. It was from this duty that he and Gesse Martin be-took themselves in 1963 in quest of personal freedom and independence in Zambia. Today he has travelled the whole hog and is dealing blows at the very oppressed masses from which he issued forth, but to whom he never really belonged.

Gesse Martin, chest out, struts the streets of Lusaka and with feline grace and phenomenal verve goes in and out of the offices of the Nationalist Liberatory Movements at the Liberation Centre. There, in a frantic attempt to sell the freedom fighters hers and her crowd's ill-begotten and opportunistic idea of a United Front of Southern Africa, she imposes herself on the freedom fighters and shamelessly and brazenly practises the "infiltration tactics" and "entrism" of the politically discredited Communist Party of South Africa. It is amazing how one can erroneously but quite easily convince oneself that one is done with the "herrenvolk mentality". Let it be understood that South Africa is divided into irreconcilable camps: the hellish ghetto in which those who are not White live and the heavenly paradise in which all the Whites live. Gesse Martin comes from the latter and, in a very real sense, still belongs to it. Gesse Martin has never really broken with her past. Her whole arrogant behaviour points to this fact. Her anarchical, undisciplined demands on the Unity Movement are like those of the Herrenvolk on the majority of the population in South Africa. She may protest, fulminate and heave and even scream "racialist!", but that will not alter the fact. It is not of my making, anyway. The Unity Movement, poised as it is for a confrontation with the Herrenvolk in South Africa, is more than a thorn in her flesh. She instinctively, but quite quite logically, seeks to destroy it. Whose instinct motivates her? That of the oppressed? The fact of the matter is that it is the world of her kith and kin, her real ideological home that the Unity Movement menaces. It is this that drives Gesse Martin into eclampsia. When she left Johannesburg in 1963, we had not seen her for a year. She had drifted away from the organisation and was pre-occupied with personal problems. She scampered away from South Africa for personal reasons and not for the purpose of advancing the struggle in our land. It is this philistine elf that today serves herself up to the world as the crystallisation of revolutionary premises, traditions and morality of the unity Movement and the oppressed masses in South Africa. We, in turn, serve her up to the world as she really is and that is enough.

One other of this unscrupulous band of charlatans and agent provocateurs is Arnold Salamon. This bird of many passages and arch mischief-maker came into APDUSA in 1962, after he had spent a few sterile years in the moribund "Swart Group" in Johannesburg. The impact of APDUSA on the political scene in South Africa shook Arnold Salamon out of his political stupor and sent him flying into the organisation. As soon as he was in it, pandemonium arose in Johannesburg. He egged on some members of the Johannesburg Executive of APDUSA, of which I was chairman, to charge Mtutuzeli Mpehle with being a spy and to have him expelled from the Unity Movement without a fair trial. I alone on the Johannesburg Executive defended Mtutuzeli Mpehle's inalienable right to be given

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an opportunity to challenge the evidence against him and to advance his defence. This is our tradition. When the Head Unity Committee found in January, 1964 that there was not sufficient evidence to substantiate the charge, but that "on the available evidence it could at best be said that he was a security risk", Arnold Salamon resigned from the Branch of APDUSA and scuttled away to England. To justify his desertion, he charged the HUC with having acted "undemocratically" and "bureaucratically" in countermanding the recommendation of the Johannesburg Branch of APDUSA, if you please! To Arnold Salamon, a Branch takes precedence over the National Executive and its recommendations, right or wrong, must be accepted. What is even more blatant is that Arnold Salamon regards himself as above both. Whatever Arnold Salamon wishes, MUST BE. This is a Herrenvolk attitude of mind. Is it a fortuitous circumstance, therefore, that when Livingstone Mqotsi begins to pour his venom on the Unity Movement, Arnold Salamon drops into Zambia and immediately joins issue against the Unity Movement? Mind you, he is NOT a member of the organisation. We HAVE his letter of resignation. Again, today he fights tooth and nail against the expulsion of the same Mtutuzeli Mphele whom only yesterday he wanted to see crucified. Let this agent provocateur and Herrenvolk hireling beware. He can bluff no one.

Dot Keet is a Rhodesian girl who received her education at the University of Cape Town. Like Gesse Martin she comes from the camp of the privileged group in that country. Before she came into APDUSA she was a member of the Congress of Democrats in Cape Town. The C.O.D., a component part of the Congress Alliance of South Africa, is a reformist organisation to which belong ALL the White neo-liberal and leftist elements in South Africa. On joining APDUSA, she was always on the periphery of the Organisation. She is basically opposed to the Unity Movement for the same reasons that Gesse Martin is - the fact that she has never really broken with her past. This reveals itself in the fact that she has never shown the slightest interest in the struggles of the oppressed in Rhodesia, her homeland. There is no contradiction in her conduct on this score, for she knows that if she can do her damnest to DELAY the day when the oppressed in South Africa shall present their account to the Herrenvolk, it is all the better for the "Whites Only" paradise that is Rhodesia. All her bohemian behaviour and anarchist activities are directed to this end. She calculates that if the struggle in South Africa and the whole of Southern Africa suffers reverses, Dot Keet has nothing to lose. This is the hub of the matter. She, like Gesse Martin, is distinguished from her only by a greater sophistry and an inordinate personal ambition. Her essential Herrenvolk attitude prompts her to dare attack the Unity Movement leadership and project herself as THE guardian of the traditions of the Unity Movement, an Organisation she has not built or helped to build. No one else but a person steeped in Herrenvolk thought processes would presume to do this.

Amongst this anonymous crowd is Mtutuzeli Mphele, a pitiful, aimless political wanderer and rabid opportunist. He came into the Unity Movement and was lost in it. At the 1958 Conference of the All-African Convention, he was expelled from the Organisation for deviating from its policy and programme, a position he has not yet surrendered. It was Livingstone Mqotsi who moved and spoke to the resolution for the expulsion of Mtutuzeli Mphele. He rose to his full height, thin, serious of mien and with unusual energy, feeling and logic moved for the expulsion of Mtutuzeli Mphele from the SOYA and the All-African Convention.

Today they embrace each other. After having attempted to found a still-born organisation of his own with other fellow-renegades, Mtutuzeli drifted towards the African National Congress of South Africa and for some time hobnobbed with it. After a few years in the political wilderness, he came back belly-crawling in 1961 and asked to become a member of APDUSA. He was granted his request on the recommendation of the Johannesburg Branch of APDUSA, which honestly believed that he

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had learnt his lesson. Abroad he masquerades as National Organiser of the Unity Movement and yet the fact of the matter is that, after the January, 1964 Meeting of the Head Unity Committee, he was taken off from the list of National Organisers on the basis of the finding of the Executive regarding the charge of being a spy .

Now like the bird of passage, he is, he has applied for membership of the African National Congress of South Africa. This weathercock is being used as a kite by Livingstone Mqotsi and his anonymous PERSONAL following to test the political breezes in the African National Congress. There is a steely logic in this. These are the zigzags of opportunism and are pregnant with political meaning. He is, in this respect, the forerunner and pioneer of the whole caboodle of the anonymous crowd in its flight from the principled politics of the Unity Movement. The African National Congress pulled out of the All-African Convention in 1936 into the wilderness of political opportunism. True to form, Livingstone Mqotsi and his anonymous crowd are doing likewise. But the big brother, the African National Congress of South Africa, is not yet convinced about the bona fides of its younger brother in renegacy, the anonymous crowd of the "Unity Bureau". They are at present wary to accept their issue with open arms. I say to the A.N.C. and the anonymous crowd of the "Unity Bureau": you are birds of a feather and there is no harm in your embracing one another.

There is a couple on the fringe of this anonymous group; a couple whom I do not know, and do not care to know, and about whom I had never even heard of until I arrived in Zambia. I accordingly have nothing in particular to say about them. Also, there is yet another couple whom I know from South Africa, who characteristically are sitting on the fence with their ears cocked and their faces beaming towards this anonymous group.

I do not propose to deal with these as well, except to say that sitting on the fence is a very dangerous game, particularly when bullets begin flying. One might be in the line of fire. As regards Goolam Hassim and Bandile Sambu, two young students at the Nkumbi College, Zambia , I can only say that the responsibility for warping these young men's minds rests squarely on Livingstone' Mqotsi's shoulders. He has been their grand mufti and political mentor and they truly sat at his feet.

This then, is the chequered history of this band of political tatterdemalions who parade as "members of the Unity Movement in Zambia", whose fantastic claims this reply rebuts. Presuming to be the custodians of the revolutionary tradition and tenets of the Unity Movement, they dare walk where angels fear to tread. Indeed the Organisation would come to a sorry pass if even the remotest dreams of this gang of quacks were ever to come true. They forget that others more experienced and more astute in the worthless game that they are playing have again and again tried hard to destroy the Unity Movement but had themselves destroyed in the process. This is the fate of all opportunists and masqueraders, as also of this pitiful anonymous crowd.

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10th January, 1967.  
P.O.Box 1850,  
Lusaka.  
Zambia.

Leonard Makhuzo Nikani.  
Member of APDUSA and SOYA.  
affiliates of the Unity  
Movement.

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