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Extracts.

Speech delivered by Mr. Mqotsi at meeting of HUC members,
19.4.26 - 26.4.66, Lusaka, Zambia

21.4.66

President: L.B.Tabata. Chairman: N.Honono

If you will permit me, I would now like to take the opportunity to deal with all the matters that I wish to deal with, including this one. Then we can have a rounded picture of what I think. I would like to deal with the whole situation. Mr. Chairman, that is the basic question of the authority of the President, but there are these other questions. You will have seen that since the beginning of this meeting I have been subjected to insults, insinuations and all sorts of things....

I am going to show firstly that within the Unity Movement there is a clique which from time to time finds it necessary to gang up in order to devise ways ~~and~~ of liquidating those who have been found to be an obstacle to the machinations of this clique. Secondly, the ~~x~~ vendetta against me has been sparked off by my daring to question the behaviour of this clique. Thirdly, that because, in spite of their ingenuity, their flair for verbiage and ~~rationalization~~ rationalization, they have not been able to frame even trumped-up charges of a political nature against me. They must now resort to constitutionalism, legalism and all manner of finicky details and chores, ranging from paying obeisance to the gods of the U.M. to filing newspaper cuttings. Fourthly, in the conspiracy against me there is the greatest collusion between and collaboration between Lobatsi and Lusaka. Fifthly, part of this conspiracy is to throw a smokescreen over the basic issue that I have raised from time to time in order to enable these frightened little men and women to go on as before. Sixthly, these frightened little men and women have degenerated into a bureaucracy that does not brook criticism. Their politics have been reduced to lies, gossip-mongering, smears, slander and vilification. ~~and~~ Seventhly, with this type of leadership at the helm, the U.M. together with all the organizations and bodies affiliated to it, is truly in jeopardy. Eighthly, that in fact it is these drawing-room intriguers, masquerading as revolutionaries, and not Mqotsi, who should be put in the dock. It is they who, in my view, in my opinion, have deviated from the basic tenets of the U.M., particularly the concept and practice of collective leadership.

My immediate reaction is to question the status of my accusers.... They are content with making vague generalizations and broad innuendoes.... Their aim is simply to liquidate an individual who had become an obstacle to their conferences, their machinations and ~~in~~ their drawing-room intrigues.... In view of what has been going on ~~in~~ the bedrooms and drawing-rooms of these intriguers, I have decided to go the whole hog and deal with these plotters of all shades masquerading as revolutionaries, dedicated fighters for liberty..... Who are these people? It is an agglomeration of plotters, hypocrites, frauds, ~~and~~ sycophants, egotists of the worst kind, demagogues, petty bureaucrats and moral lepers to whom politics have hardly any significance outside the ambit of self-praise, adulation, ovation, genuflection and repetition of certain rituals and incantation. This is the motley crowd with which one has to deal. Now it is not the first time that a plot to assassinate people politically has been hatched

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(The speaker cites the case of Leo, "who was manoeuvred out of his position in the U.M. and a slur cast on his political standing.....To give status to the emigres and to meet the leader-complex that peoples in Africa have, Mr. I.B.Tabata was made president by the extended executive of the U.M..... "

"Not even PAC and ANC have contrived in this way to remove the top officials; Luthuli....and Sobukwe....have not been assassinated by their colleagues. Alie Fataar, who had fallen out with another section of the conspiracy, was also down for assassination, but this did not suit the books of the gang....."

"Now I have to deal with a man whom I had grown to regard as my personal friend - Dr. Limbadz. On 10th March this year, Dr. L. and his wife, who apparently had been ~~organised~~ detailed to organize Mohammed Dore, met him at the surgery. This is the gist of what they told him:

- " a) M.Dore was warned by Dr. L., speaking in his mother tongue, Gujuratito, to be careful of Mqotsi. He is crafty, he is cunning and he uses his psychology to win people over. We can see that you and others have become his stooges....
- b) There are no political differences between Mqotsi and the old man - as he refers to T. Mqotsi is jealous of T. because of his reputation.
- c) Mqotsi's politics go counter to Movement politics. For ex. he relegates the peasantry to the background and does not believe that the peasantry must form the backbone of the Revolution in S.A. He is an ivory-tower intellectual....
- d) The Newsletter was discussed...It was too theoretical...
- e) Matters had now come to a head. Mqotsi must go. The letters he wrote to Fataar (in Bech.) are to be sent back to Mr. Tabata. In these letters Mr. Mqotsi slanders Mr. Tabata.

"Mr. M. and his wife are petit bourgeois....M. was pulled up by the old man for taking classes at College for Further Education.....

"..... It is true that I, unlike Dr. L. and others, do not make a fetish of the peasantry. I do not have to be nice to the peasantry.....

"On the basic question of differences between me and the president. There are basic differences between me and the President. These revolve around mainly the question of WHO is the ultimate authority in the organization. Who is the real authority in the organization. Now here I must refer to meetings held in Dec.1964, and also in Jan.,1966,(in the absence of Mr. Tabata)"where certain decisions were taken.....

" One related to the important question of a representative in the office.... Among the suggestions we made was that Ed. Ncalu would be a suitable representative.But then he had to go to Ghana...It was suggested he could come back again when certain matters were sorted out....^{When} Mr. T. took him and others to Ghana, on his return he challenged the very status of the meeting we had held. (in Jan.1965) ~~xxxxxxx~~

"He, Mqotsi, personally, agreed that constitutionally these meetings could not properly be referred to as meetings of the HUC. But those in Lusaka were called upon to discuss matters relating to the organization and must come to some decisions. Mr. T. took the view that it was merely a working committee, which, at home, simply advised the President and the HUC. The final word must come from him..... This I disputed...This places us in same position as the other puppet bodies we have rejected as being members of the U.M.

" Then he said the question of representatives was merely an administrative matterWe had no right to appoint our representatives....This came to a head before he left for East Africa (1965)...He proceeded to tell me he had appointed Miss Gool as the representative of the U.M. in Lusaka and this we just had to accept.

"Then he said to me:'I'm afraid,Livie, I sympathize with you, but you just have to accept my dictates in this matter until you fellows have set up proper machinery at home which would be able to run the affairs of the organization.'

What does this mean in actual practice?....The President of the U.M. has the sole right to run the U.M. and this is what I object to...It is completely foreign to the U.M....It is sometimes said that Mqotsi,L., and Miss. C. cannot represent the Movement in Lusaka because they are working...But Ncalu was suggested....

Now I have to quote this example although I hesitate to do so.

"In S.A. we know that when the Native ~~Affairs~~ Department Commissioner wants to fence in a certain area and cull the stock of the people, he calls upon the

"headmen to organize a meeting of the people...The people protest and express their views. They have been called upon to express their views. He goes away and they vote against it...But he has already made up his mind that this is going to be done. The fact that the people voted against it makes no difference...Then the people say: 'Let us go to a lawyer.' And the lawyer takes the matter up with the N.C. who turns round and says: 'Look here, you are interfering with my administrative duties. You must be careful.'.... Now this state of affairs must not be allowed to creep into our organization....Now there is another matter of disagreement between me and Mr. T. It is a question of this office. When he goes away - and he has been away several times - on principle he does not write to the Secretary. He writes to Miss Gool and she has to read out excerpts from the letter that deal with matters of a political nature. Now in my view this is absolutely improper... ..And when I say there should be proper machinery for running the affairs of the organization, the explanation is... 'I want to entrench myself in Lusaka.'"

... "They (who accuse ^{him} me) are the revolutionaries. I am petty bourgeois....

For ~~xxxxx~~ an accusation to come like this from Dr. L. and his wife!I am literally sick and tired of these petty bourgeois intellectuals, drawing room intriguers, dogmatic demagogues and pathological egotists who masquerade as revolutionaries...Another point is: 'Mqotsi wants to leave the Movement'.

Then another is: 'Mqotsi wants recognition.' Then 'he wants to murder Miss Gool politically.'... Then Miss Gool says:.....

I was the first one to suggest that her articles on education should be printed... When Mr. T. went away, Miss Gool spoke to Dr. L. and praised the way Mqotsi was doing his work. This I got from Dr. L.....At one time Mr. T. himself spoke highly of Mqotsi's work to Mr. Honono. The fact that he was teaching did not interfere with his work. But now things have changed...!His work is below standard'....

I ask: Who runs the Newsletter?

"As to the APDUSA Branch here. It has become unpopular. Members, it is alleged, show no respect for their seniors. Leaders are infallible. Criticism of their conduct is sacrosanct. Their revolting attitudes and patterns of behaviour are fixed and unchanging..They must be emulated as the best models...The Branch (of APDUSA) must be disbanded in the interests of the U.M., i.e. the leaders of the U.M. The basic thing is the disagreement between me and Mr. T. on the question of who controls the Movement. In the absence of Conference, it is the HUC. But now the HUC cannot meet. And Mr. T. claims that he ~~xxxxx~~ is the only constitutional authority...If we claim the right to participate in the decision, (he argues) there is nothing to prevent Lobatsi, Ghana or Basutoland from claiming the same right. Constitutionally he may be on strong grounds, but these are political matters and this is a political organization that has its own traditions, one of them being this one of collective leadership."