

COMMENTS AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS AS SUBMITTED BY DEFENCE
SOLICITORS IN CASE AGAINST "GUARDIAN"

The Unity Movement of South Africa.

The kind of questions and insinuations contained in the document from the "Guardian" solicitors seem to imply that the dozen or so members as mentioned in their document, constitute the Unity Movement of South Africa or at least a substantial part of it. Because of this distorted view which is completely out of tune with the reality of the organisation, we deem it necessary to give some facts and figures and redress the balance. We regret however, that it is impossible to bring the figures up to date i.e. to the relevant period which concerns the court case.

From its inception the Unity Movement of South Africa (then known as the Non-European Unity Movement) published records of its conference deliberations as well as a list of affiliated organisations which attended its conferences. The All-African Convention, a federation mainly of African organisations, (Africans of South Africa) an affiliate of the Unity Movement, also kept and published records of its conferences. Due to the increased witchhunting and persecution, the All-African Convention decided to stop ^{publishing} or even keeping full records of its conferences.

In order to give a meaningful idea of the development of the struggle leading up to the birth of the Unity Movement, we shall give a list of organisations that at one time or another belonged to the All-African Convention between 1936 and 1958 when it became necessary to stop printing public records and full minutes of conferences. see Photostat (1)

Next we give an extract from the minutes of the Conference of the All-African Convention ~~held~~ held in December 1948. This gives an idea of how things were developing. see photostats (2)

Lastly we give figures showing the position of the Unity Movement in 1962. see photostat (3)

Fourteen years after fascist rule, the composition of the Unity Movement has changed. Many of the civic bodies which predominated in 1936 had died. The resistance of the peasants against the so-called Rehabilitation Scheme which meant the culling of their cattle and other stock, plus further robbing them of their land, gave birth to peasants organisations which grew up in the heat of the struggle and ~~became~~ ^{became} to be the biggest organisations in the country.

the purpose/...

The purpose of giving the structure of the Unity Movement, the scope of operation as well as its approximate numerical strength is to show that some of the assertions made by the defence are absurd. They could not have been made if the above facts were known. For example the following question would not have been asked: "Were you not suspended from office as President of the Unity Movement of South Africa at a meeting of members to which you had been summoned?"

The meeting referred to, I was subsequently told, consisted of 9 peasants staying at the camp, Eddie Ncalu, D. Lande and Scrape Ntshona who I was told, organised the meeting. All the ~~visitors~~^{peasants} came from the same organisation, APDU SA in Pondoland. Even supposing the whole of the organisation with a membership of thousands, had objected to me being president, they would have had no authority to "summon" me to a meeting, and much less suspend me from office. The UMSA IS A FEDERAL ORGANISATION.

This absurdity is continued in the next question (15) as follows: "Were not the affairs of the Unity Movement of South Africa after August 1974 conducted by a Committee including Eddie Ncalu as chairman, Deliza Lande as Secretary, Alma Carolissen as recording secretary and Ali Fataar's wife as Assistant Treasurer?" Where would they derive the authority to run the affairs of the Unity Movement without my knowledge? What organ of the organisation or what affiliated organisation at home has the authority to confer this right upon them and can do so without the knowledge of a constitutionally elected President?

What you are referring to is probably the ^{then} new organisation formed at the camp where the recruited peasants from Pondoland lived, with Eddie Ncalu as President, Deliza Lande as Secretary. The first I became aware of the existence of the organisation was when I received a letter from the Secretary of the Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam asking me to investigate this organisation which has applied for recognition by the O.A.U. These people you mention were conducting the affairs of their newly formed organisation which has nothing to do with the Unity Movement.

Frankly I cannot accept the proposition that I have lost the support of the membership of the Unity Movement on the basis of the evidence that a dozen or so disgruntled members have turned against me for reasons of their own.

Question 14 ".... did not the organisation of African Unity decline a request for recognition made by you on behalf of the Unity Movement of South Africa, upon the basis that the leadership was divorced from the rank and file?"

First of all it was not I but the officials and members of the Executive abroad who made a request for recognition of the Unity Movement of South ^{Africa} by the O.A.U.

Secondly/....

Secondly, the allegation that the leadership was divorced from the rank and file came about because, while the leadership was busy pleading for recognition in order to get financial assistance and other benefits from the O.A.U., these dissidents, the Eddie Ncalus and the Deliza Lande were opposing the recognition of the U.M.S.A. in the hope that some day they and their organisation would be recognised instead. This is why the Commission alluded to a divided house.

Question 2. Livingstone Mqotsi and Mtutuzeli Mpehle were notified of their expulsion from the Unity Movement in 1966.

The decision to expel them was taken at a meeting of the Executive members in Lusaka at which letters and cables were read from Executive members in different centres at home demanding the expulsion of the two men because of the harm they were causing to the organisation through the leaflets they had circularised widely even in South Africa.

After reading some of these leaflets, an official of the Zambian Government who was in charge of Liberation Movements in Zambia, summoned all the members of the Executive and informed us that his Government took a serious view of these circulars which damaged the image of liberation movements as a whole. We reported that both Mqotsi and Mpehle have just been expelled at the instance of the home-front. We produced the letters and cables. When asked if they could produce evidence in support of their claim that they had support from home for their viewpoint, Mqotsi and Mpehle had nothing to show. Thereupon the official informed them that the Government would not tolerate the publication of their scurrilous circulars any more. In so far as the Government was concerned, they were no longer members of UMSA.

Question No. 3. Did not Karrim Essack resign from the Head Unity Committee in September 1963 and Alma Carolissen leave with him?

Alma never resigned from the Head Unity Committee nor was she ever expelled. Karrim Essack left a letter of resignation from the Movement in my office on the morning of the day when the others, including members of the Head Unity Committee were leaving for training. He was supposed to have left with them. In the letter gave no reason for resigning. I subsequently visited him at his home to ask him for his reasons for deserting the Movement. He refused to answer the question. He promised however that he would never say or do anything against the interests of the Unity Movement.

Question 4. Ronnie Britten was to be suspended for failing to go for training if and when he was ordered to do so.

The decision that all persons in the leadership below the age of 60 years should receive training was taken not by me but by the members of the Executive i.e.

the H.^{abroad}.U.C. Because of unavoidable circumstances no order was given to Ronnie or

any/.....

(4)

any of the members in the U.K. to go for training. The idea of a suspension fell away.

The misunderstanding had come about because on hearing of the decision, Ronnie had indicated that he would not be in a position to go for training. He did not inform us that he was ill and he needed treatment. Ronnie remained a faithful, loyal and hard-working member of the Executive.

Question 6. " Did not Ali Fataar resign as Joint-Secretary in September, 1973? "

Ali Fataar came to me one day carrying two letters. The one announced his resignation ~~xxxxxx~~ from the secretaryship of the organisation. He explained rather excitedly that he had been told, I think, by the Minister, or at least by some official in the Ministry of Education that the Department could not continue to employ him as a teacher if he continued to hold the position of Secretary of the Unity Movement.

The second letter purported to have come from me confirming his resignation as Secretary of the UMISA. He wanted me to append my signature to it, so that he could show it, if necessary to the Minister or the Department. I signed the letter on the understanding that this was a mere formality and that Ali would continue to do his work for the organisation as before. Indeed he did not return the files of the organisation and our relations were cordial. It was at subsequent meetings that relations began to sour and finally Ali behaved like an enemy.

The members of the Executive did not accept the report that the Minister who was very friendly and helpful to the organisation could victimize Ali Fataar for being the secretary of the UMISA. In fact it was with the help of the Minister that we had Ali transferred from the Copperbelt to Lusaka in order that he could perform his secretarial duties to the Movement. The Treasurer had approached the Minister in this regard. Members at the meeting accused Ali of behaving like a TEPA-ite (a member of a quisling Coloured teacher's organisation). They argued that no members of the Teachers League of South Africa or the Cape Teachers Association, both affiliates of the UMISA ever resigned their positions at home for fear of being victimised. He was accused of planning to desert the Movement because he was making preparations to strike roots in a country that had recently achieved its independence. This is what brought about the vicious enmity that Ali feels towards me as head of the organisation.

Ali will not come and give evidence in this case because, if he did, he would be forced to acknowledge first of all that he is the author of the scurrilous unsigned leaflet against me. Then he would be hard put to answer or prove some of the accusations against me.

Question 5.

He was suspended because his wife connected the UMSA with Swanepoel, considered the most vicious of the Special Branch. We did not know then that his friend Gordon Winter, the author of 'Inside Boss' was a Boss agent working under cover of journalism in London.

I remember being approached long ago by a man I do not remember now, who ~~complained~~ complained to me that Scrape was in the habit of bringing a White friend of his whom many believed to be a spy to all the parties given by various movements in London. He used to introduce him to people present as Gordon Winter.

I paid no attention to the report, remembering the habit of freedom-fighters of calling one another spies when they fall out. Years afterwards, Gordon Winter declared in his book that he was in fact, a Boss agent. Had we known this at the time we would have probably have expelled Scrape for consorting with a Boss agent.

Question 6. Already answered.

Question 7.

Eddie Ncalu was suspended by a decision of the meeting of Executive members in Lusaka during the Secretaryship of Alie Fataar, and this suspension was endorsed by members in England.

Question 8. "Did you not state, at a meeting on September, 9th 1974 that Scrape Ntshona, Carl Brecker, Deliza Lande and Alie Fataar were the muck of Lusaka and must be got rid of?"

I did not say any such thing. First of all I am not in the habit of using such vulgar language at meetings about members of the Executive.

Secondly Scrape Ntshona and Karl Brecker did not belong to Lusaka.

Question 9 : It is not correct that I "had lost the support of all the members of the Head Unity Committee as at October, 1966, except for Tsotsi, Limbada, Honono and (my) wife Jane Gool".

Members of the Head Unity Committee were to be found in England, Europe, not to mention those at home in South Africa.

Even if I had lost the support of most of those in exile, it does not follow that the fault was mine. Thousands of people all over the world desert their organisations in exile because life in exile is very difficult and some have not got the strength and stamina to hold on to the principles of the organisation in exile.

Question 10. "I did not, in 1969, plan an operation to bring members of the Unity Movement out of South Africa for training".

The planning was done by the members of the H.U.C. in Lusaka.

Question 11. "Were you not assisted by David Ngeleni in planning the operation?"

I have already pointed out I did not plan any such operation and therefore could not have been assisted by Ngeleni. Neither were the members of the HUC assisted by him.

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Question 12. I have already pointed out that the plan to bring men out of South Africa for training was decided upon by the members of the H.U .C. and the decision to send men down to South Africa was taken by the same authority. Fourteen members of the UMSA appeared in court in South Africa charged with offences arising from the visit to South Africa by our men.

Question 13. Yes thirteen of the fourteen accused were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment after Nqeleni and many others had given evidence against them. If by this question the idea is to try and link me with the treachery of Nqeleni, then I can only say, whoever suggested such a thing is unworthy of being a member of the Unity Movement of South Africa. I may call your attention to the fact that I was reported in the ^{press} ~~changes~~ as a co-conspirator in that trial. (See Report of Rand Daily Mail 10.3.72) *See Doc*

Finally please note that the above is written from memory. It is possible that I may be wrong in the sequence of events. However all this can be checked against the facts in the documents which are in the possession of the solicitors.

23 July, 1984.

Harare.

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