

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE U.M.S.A. ABROAD

There are animals that devour their own young, some with rather unsavoury and insanitary connotations. It would therefore be inelegant, though politically apposite, to say that during the past decade or so the "President" of the Unity Movement of South Africa abroad has been devouring and destroying his own U.M.S.A. "children". When animals do it we may say it is done to restore the balance of Nature; but when I.B. Tabata does it, do we say it is the nature of political check and balance or unbalance?

To-day Tabata stands deserted and virtually alone in exile, and it becomes necessary to ask why and to trace the degrees by which he did descend. For the I.B. Tabata ("Tabby" to most) we knew at home before 1961, and before he assumed the title of "President" of the Unity Movement of South Africa abroad, is not the Tabata we have had to put up with in exile. He has been nothing but arrogant, dictatorial, vindictive, petty, treacherous and inhuman. Power-hungry, he has been intoxicated by the mantle of "President of UMSA" abroad and conveniently jettisoned the concept of a leadership which he and the rest of us were so zealous to guard and respect at home. When a Rev. Mahabane, Prof. Jabavu, Eric Viljoen or Leo Sihlali was a President or Vice-President at home, then we had a "leadership" as opposed to a single "leader". But ever since I.B. Tabata assumed the position of "President" of the U.M.S.A. abroad, we have been saddled with a leader, who has power of life and death over all members abroad and can make and unmake decisions ad lib. Tabata has virtually and effectively killed the leadership concept in the coup in which he scuttled the "ship" from "leadership".

Alternatively, he has in the process retained sole leadership by scuttling almost all who originally constituted the leadership. The irony of it is that at the 1961 National Conference of the Unity Movement at Maritzburg, Natal - the last such conference of the Movement - Tabata was not elected to any official position, though he was present. Leo Sihlali was elected President and he is still President despite having been banned, house-arrested, area-restricted and subsequently (1965) gaoled for 4 years on Robben Island and again banned on his release. Alie Fataar banned just before the December 1961 Conference, was reelected Joint-Secretary even though he could not attend the Conference. The other Joint-Secretary elected by Conference was Livy Mqotsi, subsequently banned and area-restricted to East London. He eventually joined the leadership in exile in Lusaka but is now teaching in England. A.I. Limbada was elected treasurer and after his banning Karrim Essack was appointed Acting Treasurer by the Executive. When he was also banned, Alma Carolissen was appointed Acting Treasurer by the Executive. When these three persons came to Zambia in 1964/65, A.I. Limbada resumed his position of Treasurer.

It was during 1964, after Tabata had been abroad for just over a year and had made contact with certain groups and government representatives, that he practically instructed the Executive at home to "appoint" him as President for "external purposes" since the groups and governments preferred to deal with the Head of the organisation. At the same time, he requested a change of name from "Non-European Unity Movement" to the "Unity Movement of South Africa", also allegedly for "external purposes". The Executive at home agreed to these "arrangements of convenience". In effect, then Tabata became the Acting President of the UMSA abroad for the specific "external purposes" (foreign relations) that he had pleaded for, but Mr. Leo L. Sihlali remained the Conference elected President at home.

Now instead of using this bestowed position for the purpose he had requested, Tabata soon started to abuse the position. Instead of approaching the governments and groups as a dedicated worker in the organisation and welding the Unity Movement members abroad into a combatant force, he assumed an arrogant and almost gilbertian pose: ~~everyone~~ **everyone** was expected to defer to him as "Mr. President" and observe "protocol" as though he were already the President of a free Republic of South Africa. He expected abject obeisance from "the boys" (some nearly 50 years old) and all his one-time peers at home who were now abroad. He took personal control of all correspondence, files, funds and fund-raising, travel abroad and

attendance at conferences and meetings. He appointed his wife, Jane Gool, as the Lusaka Representative of the UMSA despite the fact that she did not enjoy the confidence of the majority of the members, who had in fact decided on a different nominee.

During his period abroad Tabata has made and unmade men and women either in or out of the UMSA according to his personal dictates, fears, whims and arrogance. The means did not matter, the UMSA Constitution did not matter, the suffering and hardship of members abroad did not matter; all that mattered was that Tabata had to have his way and his personal satisfaction and glory as a power in exile, a "president" who could exercise his "prerogatives" abroad in the safe air of "free Africa". At home Tabata was never in evidence as THE LEADER, for there were Verwoerd and Vorster to contend with.

Let's list some of the members whom Tabata has literally booted out of UMSA, some completely and others partially; and let's start at home during the period 1961-62 to show the "continuity" of the pattern of this behaviour.

Neville Alexander and Kenny Abrahams, two promising young men who had known no other life than that of young men who had grown up in the Movement's various youth organs: the Society of Young Africa and the Cape Peninsula Students' Union. These two men (and their many youthful supporters, naturally) were unceremoniously trundled out of the Movement by Tabata's "young pioneers", and as a result they found their own militant movement preparing for armed struggle in South Africa. They were caught by the Vorster Special Branch police and after a long trial sent to gaol for from 5 to 10 years each on Robben Island - a total of 8 men and 3 women sentenced to over 80 years imprisonment. But this did not deter Tabata from using Alexander's name and his fate and the fate of the other ten for the collection of funds in America under the guise of the "Alexandre Defence Fund", years after the eleven had already been found guilty and sent to Robben Island! Where the funds went is anybody's guess, but the morality of it all - the political morality - has given concern to many both at home and abroad.

Once abroad, Tabata continued to be even more ruthless: Livy Mqotsi, the Joint-Secretary, was hounded out together with Jess and Les Martin during 1965-66. Also to go were Mtutu Mpehle and his wife Joy, who had been victimised by being flung back across Kazungula into Botswana with her two young sons. When Bandile and Goolam Hassim came from Botswana to Zambia in 1967 they were so disgusted that they refused to have anything to do with the UMSA leadership of "Tabata and Co." although they had remained loyal UMSA members while in Botswana. Goolam is to-day just driftwood in Zambia, living off the charitable handouts of UNHCR and friends.

Then there were Karrim Essack and Alma Carolissen to be dealt with next, largely because they did not contribute (from Alma's earnings as a teacher) "enough" towards the Tabata-Limbada kitty and also because Karrim was "imagining himself to be a theoretician" - a rival to the theoretician, Tabata. There was no room in the Movement for two such rare species (as there wasn't in the Neville Alexander and the Livy Mqotsi cases earlier). Karrim was eventually hounded out of Zambia because he "refused to go for military training". But both Limbada and Tabata were due to go for military training at the same time. Both "refused", but they are still in Zambia. Tabata did go, but just to visit "the boys" and handle a gun for a day or so. Equally elderly Choocha Honono went and stayed the pace with "the boys".

Then there were the four "boys" in Lusaka: L. Nikani, E. Jama, E. Ncalu and D. Lande who were sent home to fetch men for training. At that time relationship between Tabata and Jane Gool on the one hand and these four men on the other was at the very worst. Tabata had proved incapable of giving these men a positive lead and direction as freedom fighters. A solution to this "problem" was to send them on the mission to get the men out for training. The "Mission Impossible" was so hurriedly and clumsily

arranged that a super-spy in the person of Dave Ngqeleni was part of the planning machinery - thanks to Tabata. Although it was known that Ngqeleni would reach home during the operation of the four men and that he had written abusive letters to Tabata and Co. from Botswana promising to expose the plan to the South African police, Tabata went ahead. By some miracle and luck the mission was accomplished in part and the four men escaped the South African police network. The success of the four men must have disconcerted Tabata, for now part of the "problem" was with him again, compounded by 9 men for training. Two of the four men reached Europe eventually, L. Nikani and E. Jama. Both these were stridently condemned by Tabata. It is no wonder that when E. Jama reached Europe he unleashed the most vituperative abuse on Tabata in a letter which very few in Lusaka have seen or read because it was regarded as Tabata's personal property, as so much else had become in the Movement. Tabata passed on bits of gossip about and around these two men, but nothing official has ever been tabled from or about them.

Next, Tabata turned to members in Europe. First it was Victor (Scrape) Ntshona, whom Tabata had earlier raised to the heights as a great organiser and spokesman for the Movement in Europe after his lone wanderings away from home, who had to be dropped like a hot potato (or was it a rotten apple?). In turn, soon after, it was to be Carl Brecker and Sybil Vinden (Mrs Brecker), and reams and reams of polemics-cum-vituperation in both directions effectively held up any political work, for Tabata was desperately defending, not the UMSA, but his honour and glory as "Mr. President" and getting as many loyalists to do likewise on his behalf and passing motions of confidence in him from Lusaka to London.

Then it spilled over to Amby Phahle, also a member of the Executive like Carl Brecker, in the U.K. Though apparently "in" still, Amby has been lined up for the whip-lash of Tabata and has been much maligned by the "inner family circle". Whilst Amby's wife Margaret was not regarded as a member of UMSA (which she clearly was all along since the days before her marriage, as Margaret Kara in East London), Tabata pushed the acceptance of the English wife (or is it American?) of Bernard Berman into the Movement as a member, against the wishes of Executive and other UMSA members in London. Much earlier, Tabata had had Dora Taylor "accepted" as an Executive member of UMSA. These two, Bernard and Dora, who played no real committed (or could play no real committed) role in the Movement at home allegedly because of their skins, were now the two main props of Tabata in the UK and for that matter abroad. One other person, an almost idolatrous admirer of Tabata's at home, Ronnie Britten, has apparently turned his back on Tabata, for nothing is ever heard of or from him in the UK, where he went when he could not go for the training Tabata had asked him to come out for from home. Of course Tabata will say he "refused" to go for training eventually when Britten was holding a teaching job in England, which he had to do in order to live.

And now comes the nadir of this descent into the mire of the corruption of our forces abroad when Tabata turns ferociously upon the very 9 men he had had four men go down to South Africa to fetch. The four men went at great personal risk to themselves (see earlier about the spy Ngqeleni) and two returned in equally great peril with the 9 recruits for training. That was four years ago, and Tabata has been saddled with this "problem" of "the men", for during this time he has been unable to get the men trained. The men had to be fed and clothed, etc. and this was a drain on the kitty. The men made certain legitimate demands, which were almost always resisted. As a result, frustration mounted on both sides. Despite his inability to get the men trained and to seriously consider alternative proposals for their training - what he had sent them for and not to grow maize and other crops at "the Centre" to make them self-sufficient - he expected the usual deference and obsequious obeisance from these mere "peasants". When he sensed that they had reached the end of their patience and made what he called "blackmail" demands and even refused to conduct what they regarded as futile meetings with him, he turned upon them by characterising them as disloyal to him as "President". He regarded

them as undisciplined and felt they should be punished. And the punishment? Starvation! And more. Like a mediaeval potentate, a manorial baron (or is it a Boer?) or perhaps a chief in the pay of Vorster at home, he had the electrical current disconnected so that the men had no water at the Centre - only the pump had been electrified a short while before. He also withheld the K140-00 the men were to receive for rations from the Treasurer (the UMSA that is) at the end of April. Since then the men have had to walk for miles to beg for water and make do on the dry mealies they had raised. Needless to say, the men have been desperate and their health has deteriorated. And so has their morale and, understandably, their confidence in Tabata and perhaps even their loyalty to the UMSA. The mind boggles at the thought of what these men will say, and do, once they get back home.

So there we are! after three months these men are still without food and water (officially, that is, as far as Tabata is concerned). It does not so much matter that Tabata is acting on his own, since no members' meeting has endorsed this inhuman action; but the money he has been withholding from the men for food etc. is not his own. It is funds of the Movement obtained by various means and from various sources, even from America and Europe. What right has Tabata to arrogate to himself the power to withhold food and water and public funds from men whom he (or was it the UMSA?) had sent for from home to come to a strange land, to languish there for four long and fruitless years and then virtually to be thrown into the road to starve or find their own way home somehow? For, to crown it all, he also had his Treasurer, money-bag Limbada, remove the landrover from the Centre so that the men could have no means of contact with the town and with other possible means of assistance. Some of the men (the older ones) are sickly and need medical attention. How were they to get treatment out there in the bush without any means of conveyance? This act, too, was punitive, inhuman, vindictive and downright disgraceful, apart from being arbitrary and undemocratic in that it was the wish of Tabata and his money-bags Treasurer who regarded the landrover and the electrically installed water pump as his personal property, which they certainly are not. He had earlier refused to have it licensed or even properly maintained, for reasons best known to him and Tabata.

It does not matter that whenever Tabata's own "personal" car (and he lives right in town) has the slightest pink it gets immediate attention; and there is a ponk or a punk, the fault is not corrected with a new part; oh no, a brand new car is bought so that "Mr. President" may ride in style from his home to his grand office up Cairo Road, a distance of two miles or so, on the rather rare occasions that he does go to his white-elephant office which costs the Movement K50. per month plus, plus. The car is never used to go to the Liberation Centre, where Tabata is supposed to be but never deigns to go; that is a place for "the boys", not "Mr. President".

The mentioning of some of the people who have been "dealt with" by Tabata is no indication that they are all innocents abroad, and there is no intention of white-washing any act of omission on the part of any of them. We don't know all the facts; but the list is by no means complete as there are others in Botswana, in Zambia, in the UK, in Europe, and scores at home who have become utterly disillusioned by and even disgusted with Tabata and his "leadership".

What should cause concern, and in fact has already caused deep concern, is that the "President" of the UMSA abroad has had so many casualties and alleged defections in the ranks of the external army he was supposed to lead; that he has been unable to weld all the members abroad, or at least the large majority of them, into fighting and co-ordinated cadres. The big question is, why? Surely it cannot be accepted that all virtue resides in I.B. Tabata and all fault in the large majority?

For who are with Tabata to-day, apart from his wife (Jane Gool); his sister (Blanche Tsotsi), even if reluctantly because of the eternal

love lost between her and Jane Gool and the generally disagreeable attitude of Jane Gool towards so many in the Movement; and his brother-in-law (W.M. Tsotsi)? There are, of course, A.I. Limbada his Treasurer and money-bags; Bernard Berman and Dora Taylor mentioned earlier. Then there is also Norman Traub in Lusaka: a sycophantic follower and loyalist of "Mr. President". He too was pathologically afeared of being in any way openly or half-openly aligned with the Unity Movement at home though he believed he gave "theoretical "support", largely because he is part of the money-bags retinue abroad and has connections with his monied family at home.

Tabata has been thoroughly corrupted by the money of Limbada and others abroad, despite the taking of a so-called leadership code (sic!) way back in 1968 by all members abroad. Allowed to open a surgery by the Zambian Government in order to assist the Movement financially, Limbada has become more financially involved than many a citizen of Zambia - surgeries (no one knows how many, or how many other doctors and staff are employed by him), a farm with a large house, guest house and out-buildings, a maize farm, a poultry farm (allegedly run by wife Bibi), an orchard, other farms acquired, the "Centre" of the men plus adjoining land, a lakeside resort complete with boat which is regularly rented out too, large share (if not wholly owned) in K15,000 City Centre Restaurant, large or main share in Lunch Box Cafeteria near one of his surgeries, a block of newly erected flats near the University, and the latest story is his investment in "clinics" and "surgeries" and property in the UK.

When Tabata was made to face some of the then known capitalistic enterprises of his treasurer, he feigned ignorance of these activities of Limbada's which many, many people knew of (and had even been reported in the local newspaper together with a large photo of Dr. A.I. Limbada and Mrs Limbada plus the Mayor of Lusaka in his official capacity at the opening of their new and plush Mont Aux Blanc Restaurant). But Tabata did not know, did not know of the breaching of his leadership code by his treasurer right there in Lusaka! Only when another newspaper picture showed Limbada handing a K2,000 cheque to a local charity (brother A.K. Limbada had been doing so for years as part of his "buying and selling" technique in Zambia) did Tabata pretend to be "upset", for it was at a time when, once again, there was little money in the kitty of UMSA and the few who earned, apart from Limbada, had been asked to throw an extra fiver into the kitty.

Who has ever heard of a liberation movement "freedom fighter" being abroad and having a portfolio of capitalistic enterprises, offices, half-a-dozen telephones, a lakeside resort and boat, farms and buildings, flats and surgeries and dozens of employees? Which liberation movement "President" has a plush office in Cairo Road, two phones, two P.O. Boxes, a new car whenever needed, holidays with wife Jane Gool, treasurer, Mrs. Treasurer, and house servant of the latter from home, on Mauritius and Reunion islands, and then present the movement with the bill on the flimsy grounds that they had met a S.A. lawyer there dealing with the appeal cases at home? After the cases had been completed and the men gaoled!

This is the "President" who has accused others of "putting down roots" abroad: Livy Mqotsi when as a teacher he was allocated a "big house" Karrim Essack and Alma Carolissen for buying a house, which Limbada in any case promptly "capitalised" on by leasing and re-renting it at a profit to himself; and others when working at one government job have been accused of "forgetting about the Movement" since they had never "had it so good at home". What of Tabata? How good did he have it at home with his one ramshackle car and little else besides? Did he, or the President of the Unity Movement, have an office in Adderley Street, two phones, new cars, holidays in the Indian Ocean etc., etc., and get £250 at a time from London paid into his private pocket (as he reported the Canon had done)? Who has, in fact, put down ~~roots~~ roots, deep roots, abroad? It looks peculiarly like the biblical case of the beam and the mote!

At the time when Choocha Honono was being starved of money and travel allowances, at Conferences in Addis and elsewhere; at a time when both the Treasurer and the "President" turned a deaf ear to Choo's request for a miserable K70. for repairs to his car - a car he had bought 6 years ago out of money he had earned as a teacher in Dar and had been using since day in, day out in the service of the Movement; at such times the "President" and his Treasurer were burning up hundreds and hundreds of kwacha flying to Europe and Indian Ocean islands.

And at the time when the 9 men are being starved, Limbada flies off again, literally drops in for a day at the Mogadishu Conference of the OAU and leaves Choocha to do the work solo: in fact he has been flying around so much lately that no one knows when he is ever earth-bound! At the same time Tabata and Jane Gool go off to Dar (allegedly to the Pan-African Conference) where all they apparently did was to hand out an "UMSA" pamphlet on the wreckers of unity that had great dubious relevance and value for the prosecution of the struggle in S.A. or in Africa. Rumour has it that he was after the K5,000 (or dollars or pounds) the Liberation Committee was to grant for the training of the 9 men, hoping to collect it on the spot personally! Meanwhile these men were starving and cold in Lusaka and did not know what was to become of them.

Had Limbada been given permission by the UMSA membership abroad specifically to acquire one additional surgery (or one other enterprise or farm) then the money so earned could easily have released all the other officials and members from having to work to earn a living and also having to put money into the kitty from their earnings. Only one such additional source of income would have been sufficient; but no, Every month these few had to dig deep into their meagre and limited earnings to keep the kitty going. If they did not, the office rent or the phone bills or the personal allowances were not paid or were delayed. Meanwhile, the Limbada empire was flourishing! And the work of the UMSA and the health and physical well-being of the UMSA membership abroad suffered, from Botswana to Lusaka to Dar to London, etc. Because they had to work, they could not devote their full energies to the task of liberation.

Tabata has done nothing to curb Limbada's "capitalistic" activities or to see that the lion's share of the profits were being used for the benefit of the UMSA abroad and at home, and not for the personal enrichment of one person. While his comrades were subsisting on near-starvation handouts which were often delayed, Limbada was piling in the shekels and getting, in the words of a relative who is in the know, "a half a millionaire". And what is worse is that Tabata has been unable to get his Treasurer to give a financial statement of the UMSA abroad since 1965. There have been bumper collections in and donations from America, Britain, Zambia, Collins even donated £250 to Tabata for his "personal use". A London UMSA account has been opened by Tabata and Limbada. There is a fund (or funds) in America. There are two (or three) bank accounts in Lusaka. As all these are operated and manipulated by the "President" and the Treasurer, only these two know the state and the condition of these accounts and funds. The Treasurer has been "too busy" making money (not politically) to give a financial statement to date and to account for the finances of UMSA.

Money was collected by the "President" and the Treasurer in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt for the men and the "Centre" (last verbal report spoke glowingly of over K4000.) Money had come also from U.S. and elsewhere, especially for the "Centre" and the electrification of the water pumping. It now transpires that there is money owing on the installation of the electricity and the pump. Why? What has happened to all that money collected and donated for this project? Mauritius and Reunion? Did it go the same way as the \$5,000 (dollars) from a well-wishing African source which was dished out most greedily as additional "allowances" in half an hour? Although the largest increase went to "The President", a bit of this (about K900) was "earmarked" for the "Centre" electricity project. What happened to it? Have the funds

of the UMSA become so enmeshed into the pressure high finance bookkeeping of Dr. A.I. Limbada that the UMSA Treasurer and the "President" are unable to extricate an UMSA financial statement from it? Are the many "gifts" of Mrs Bibi Limbada (new car, tyres, seat covers, holidays, etc. etc.) to Tabata and Jane Gool part of the UMSA treasurer's bookkeeping? If they are not and they are "personal gifts", does this not constitute a violation of the "leadership code", and does it not clearly constitute a not too subtle form of corruption?

It is no wonder that Jane Gool can get hot under the seat belt when Limbada's and the Treasurer's financial affairs are raised in a meeting of the UMSA Executive. According to her "Limbada has done so much for which the organisation owes him so much". What an idea from a woman who has known the Movement's policy at home, when Dr. Goolam Gool gave and gave thousands but never could claim proprietary political rights in the Movement! Such an idea was quite foreign to us at home. Because Limbada "gives" a little (5%?) rake-off in his strictly controlled skimping of "the boys" and "the men", and lavishes "gifts" on Tabata and Jane Gool, is the UMSA to be beholden to him and can he do as he pleases? Can people sink any further into the vortex of corruption and anti-UMSA and liberation principles? There was a time, at home, when Tabata and Jane Gool espoused the philosophy of "Their Morals and Ours." On which side of the equation are they now?

Now, no doubt, Tabata will gear and rear himself to his full stature for the kill, against the 9 men and any who align themselves in the Movement on the side of the men. He will rise to the occasion with the usual polemic in typical Tabataesque fashion. But what else has Tabata written since he has come abroad? He has spent millions of words and reams of paper writing polemics against members abroad. Miles of tape have also been utilised. But how has this contributed to the conduct of the struggle at home and the African revolution? He has frittered away time and resources at re-hashing some "ou kos" (warmed-up food, leftovers) from the 1940's and 1950's at home, but nothing new has appeared from "Mr. President's" pen during the decade he has been abroad. What has he done in Africa, Europe, America to put the UMSA and the South African liberation movement on the map and keep it there?

And now Tabata attacks the very 9 men for whom 13 UMSA men are sitting in gaol on Robben Island for a total of 100 years!

Who are these many men and women abroad and the nine men specifically brought out for training whom Tabata has been railing against, plotting against and throwing into an international disarray? These men and women who came out almost a decade ago and the 9 men four years ago, were all deeply, courageously and committedly involved in the liberation struggle at home for up to two decades and more. Some are still Conference-elected officials and therefore the National representatives of the oppressed people in South Africa. Others held various responsible positions in the vanguard of branches, districts and regions of the organisations constituting the Non-European Unity Movement (UMSA). Many were banned, area-restricted, harassed and hunted by the Special Branch police.

The 9 men whom Tabata (and Jane Gool) to-day refer to in a derogatory and sneering fashion as "peasants" are still leaders/officials of various organisations at home and they were selected for training precisely because of their leadership and the confidence the people had in them. They had organised, while Tabata was confined to Cape Town, from the Transkei through Natal to the Gold Mines to Sekukuneland and the Northern Cape. They had sacrificed their few herd of cattle for train fare etc. to organise on a National scale. Some of them had been on the run from Vorster's police since the 1959/60 uprising in the Transkei. They had successfully shielded our 4 comrades who had four years ago gone to organise and recruit inside South Africa.

Tabata now sneers at these men, starves them into "submission" and will no doubt throw them to the wolves. But Tabata sits pretty, rooted in comfort, aided and abetted by members of his and Limbada's family abroad

and the acquiescence of the "theoretical" brigade of Dora Taylor, Norman Traub and Bernard Berman-cum-expatriate-UMSA-member-wife.

It does not seem to matter that in doing this, especially to these 9 men, Tabata is destroying the very base of the Unity Movement at home. The UMSA has since its inception in 1943 had its base in the rural areas, the so-called "Reserves" or present-day "Homeland": Zululand, the Transkei the Ciskei, Sekukuneland, etc. It is known and acknowledged by other movements based abroad that the UM have this base in the rural areas. And why have we got this base? Our work over the 40 years has been built on the policy of the All-African Convention and the UM - the agrarian revolution in other words - that the people must be organised for the S.A. revolution in the areas where they live as the oppressed and exploited masses in the overcrowded and impoverished "reserves". Then the workers and the town residents must be organised together with the rural population into the National Movement for liberation. This very base is being destroyed by Tabata and the very concept of a real, meaningful National liberation movement being fouled by Tabata's high-handed, anti-liberation movement action. This is the essence of counter-revolution.

For years and years it has been stressed in our Movement that the "intellectuals" without the rural population ("peasants") do not form a serious movement for liberation: they are fish in a mere pond, not in the sea of revolution. At Conferences of the OAU etc. we have referred to this our base because we have always had roots among the people in the rural areas - all population groups: African, Coloured and Indian. We had hoped for recognition by and assistance from the OAU and other agencies because of this base. By now destroying the men who are the first cadres of this base to come out for training, Tabata stands thoroughly exposed and condemned, for his actions negate the policy and practice of the UMSA.

The UMSA abroad has been decimated by Tabata in the decade the members have been abroad. There is to-day the completest disintegration and demoralisation of the UMSA abroad, and Tabata and Tabata alone must bear the blame for this. The home front must know that Tabata no longer has the confidence of the men and women who came abroad for assisting in the conduct of the struggle at home.

*Tabata has failed to weld these men and women into a unified force for the conduct of the UMSA struggle within South Africa.

*Tabata has failed miserably in placing the claims of the UMSA before the OAU and other aid agencies.

*Tabata has forfeited his right to act as President of the UMSA abroad because he has abused this position.

*Tabata has lost the confidence of many of the UMSA leadership and members at home.

*Tabata had welcomed a spy in the person of Dave Ngqeleni into the very hub of the Movement abroad at a time when the very strictest security had to be ensured before the 4 comrades left Zambia on the mission home. The spy reached home at the same time as the 4 men and alerted the police, as a result of which the arrests and the trial and gaoling of the 13 UMSA men came about.. For this he must stand condemned, as he does at home among UMSA cadres.

*Tabata has to be rejected as the Acting President of UMSA abroad and Leo L. Sihlali given the rightful recognition as President of the Unity Movement.

Issued by many of the affected members of UMSA abroad, these facts and observations are readily verifiable by individual members.

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