

SPEECH DELIVERED AT MEMBERS' MEETING ON 16TH Oct. 1972.

L.A.T.

I am not going to attempt to review the situation in which we find ourselves abroad and in the homefront. Neither am I going to give a balance sheet of what we have accomplished or failed to achieve. I am simply going to highlight some of the problems that have come up both political and financial.

From time to time we run into difficulties which are inherent in the situation of exiles. One of the common symptoms is the atomisation of the group. This is not peculiar to us. It is common to all groups, parties and organisations in exile. The alien social conditions and the struggle for survival tend to undermine the cohesiveness of the group or party in exile. The longer we are removed from the natural soil, the stronger, the centrifugal forces become. Each one is assailed by doubts and fears and the dread of the uncertain future. Unable anymore to find the old familiar nourishment that gave us sustenance, each one tries to strike roots in some new terrain for survival. Personal relationships are the first to suffer. When these reach ugly proportions, we all galvanise ourselves and try to mend the situation and we do manage to patch up for a while because the will is there amongst all of us. If we examine closely what it is that we have achieved, we shall discover that while we have managed to make our personal relationships tolerable, we still continue to exist as separate individuals. We have not succeeded in welding ourselves into a cohesive group. We have merely got rid of the symptoms but we have not solved the basic illness which flows from a deeper cause. Consequently, the slightest pressures (and there can be and are grave pressures in the conditions of exile) bring back the old symptoms.

At home we were bound together by common ideas, a common struggle and common aspirations. We worked together amongst a vast population.
/We ^{were} went....

We were separated by long distances. And yet, our complete involvement in the work with all its dangers, together with the warm response of the masses, created a strong bond amongst us. It helped to weld the leadership into a compact force. The feelings of affection and comradeship to one another were not the cause of our coming together but a consequence of our involvement in a common cause and common ideals. If we look at the matter in this way, we must conclude that, if our personal relationships are deteriorating, the cause does not lie in the sphere of emotions or personal frictions. It lies elsewhere in something deeper than that. We are in grave danger, some more than others, of feeling the effects of being uprooted in a double sense - physically and politically.

This danger is not limited to us only in Lusaka. It is prevalent amongst all our men and women in exile. The document of the so-called UK Group reveals this sense of uprootedness and frustration in its finished form. In this regard, the most revealing part of the document, is that in which the authors bemoan our complete irrelevance to the events taking place in South Africa today. Any one with a sense of history, any member of the Unity Movement, acquainted with the situation in South Africa, especially those in the leadership, should know that the recent events in South Africa flowed directly or indirectly, from the Trials of our man. The prosecution itself, was forced against his will and against the general policy to make admissions in respect of the troubles in Pondoland and the reason for opening a torture camp in the forests there. For the first time, they associated such events with the Unity Movement. The brutal tortures and the Trial as a whole, created a climate which gave rise to a train of events - protests from the most unexpected quarters: the students' protests supported by the White students, even the protests from Afrikaner intellectuals culminating in the prosecution and conviction of a Van Niekerk, a law professor. Then followed the demonstrations at Timol's burial and the resuscitation of the memory of Emaun Harris' mysterious death in the cells. In face of all this, how can any member of the Unity Movement and especially those who claim to be in the leadership, feel so dejected as to say /.....

say that the U.M. is irrelevant to the struggle in South Africa?

I do not intend to deal with the so-called U.K. document which we now know to be the work of Scrape and Carl. But I mention it as an example of what frustration, uprootedness and loss of bearings in exile can lead to. In exile, the social pressures reinforced by isolation can bring out the worst traits of the individual. Some desert and find pastures new; others, depending on the environment, find it profitable to use the name of the organisation for their opportunistic ends. They use the prestige of the organisation for self-aggrandisement. There is one thing in common between these two groups - the deserters and the opportunists. They are compelled to destroy the organisation. The first have to wipe out the very memory of the organisation, the second find it necessary to maintain the name, while destroying the essence of what it stands for. Invariably, the latter have a compelling desire to re-write history, with the express purpose of obliterating its traditions and diluting its principles. The necessary part of this process is the demeaning of the leadership, particularly that leadership which helped to establish those traditions.

We all know that it would have been unthinkable for a Scrape and a Carl at home to have written such a diatribe against the leadership of the U.M. The question is why did they find it possible to do it abroad? Apart from the circumstances mentioned above, there is another reason which I would like to advance, namely, that they miscalculated the extent of cohesion amongst the leadership and members at Headquarters. They reckoned that Lusaka had been so atomized that they could get away with it. The blatant attempt in the document to separate the cadres who went home from the rest at H/Q's and in subsequent letters, to give gratuitous praise to the Vice-President while singling out other members as hatchet-men and devils incarnate - all this reveals their intent.

But it has now become obvious that they have become aware of their miscalculation. Both Scrape and Carl have a common complaint, namely that,
/Head quarters...

Headquarters has used the big stick; has let loose its wrath on them for daring to advance criticism. They complain of violent reaction on our part and an attempt to assassinate them politically. This kind of reaction alone reveals how completely divorced they are from the struggle that they so loudly espouse. They are concerned with their persons, their little ego's and not at all with the organisation which is the only instrument that is capable of carrying the struggle forward towards liberation.

One gets the impression that when they wrote the original document, they were so self-centred, so filled with complacency that they were not even aware of the import and the full implications of their accusations against the leadership. Is there a greater *crime* that any leadership, in politics, can be accused of than that of being counter-REVOLUTIONARY? How then did they expect us to react? It is an insult to our intelligence, to our integrity and our commitment to expect us to react less forcefully than we did.

I have said enough, at least for the time being, on the deleterious effect of life in exile, as it affects our politics. I have also touched upon another important aspect, namely, that it tends to atomize us into separate individuals.

I must now come to another aspect of our life here, that is, the way we function and maintain ourselves. Here again, we shall see the evidence of this lack of cohesion as a group functioning as a tightly knit group in which everyone consciously plays his or her part.

We all know that a few years ago, we took very grave decisions, important decisions on how we were to maintain ourselves as well as run the organisation to the best of our ability. I am not going into the details of the decisions. All I need mention is that we were to divide ourselves into two main groups. (a) those who man the offices. (b) Those who had to take up employment in order to maintain the organisation. Everyone / had to

had to make a declaration to the President revealing his income and what he or she needs for upkeep. The rest of the salary was to go to the organisation. It is clear to all of us today that, in practice, this ~~praxium~~ system does not meet the requirements of the organisation. This month we ran into one of our many financial crises and we were not able to make the usual disbursements. Yesterday I took a look at records in the stubs of our cheque books. I am not going to attempt to give a financial statement for what I do not know anything about, ~~it~~. All I was concerned with, was our monthly expenditure. In doing so, I tried roughly to separate the regular monthly expenditure from the periodic expenditure such as trips abroad.

a) Beginning with June, I found that the expenditure for that month was,

K658.69 + K46..... K 704.69

b) For July there were no cheques drawn on the AAC/UMSA A/C

c) In August the expenditure was K 931.20

d) In Sept. expenditure AAC/UMSA was K 16.40

e) In Oct. do K 316.00

Total.

K 1968.29

Now I cannot explain the great disparity in the payments from month to month, as revealed by the payments from this A/C. I have to assume that the payments for July were drawn either in June or August. Similarly for September. But what emerges is that in the five months, i.e. June-October, the running expenses amounted to K1968.29, which means an average of K393.65 per month. (*Corrected as K434.*)

I am given to understand that the maximum expected regular income (not actual income) is K283. If this is so, then the shortfall is at least K110 per month making a total of K550 for the 5 months under review. The question then is: where does this extra money come from? Where should

it come from?

Then I examined our second A/C which is not supposed to be used for our monthly local expenses. Here I found the expenses on fares and trips abroad.

a)	June.	Travellers cheques.....		K 126.40	
		Air Fares		K1445. 10	
		do		K 135.30	
				<hr/>	
			C/F	K1706.80	
				K1706.80 ..	K1706.80
b)	August	Air Fare		K 79.50 ..	K 79.50
c)	Sept.	Airfares		{ 583	K 79.50
		Travellers cheques		{ 200	
				<hr/>	
				K 783	K 783
					<hr/>
		Total Expenditure on fares...			<u>K2569.30</u>

From the same A/C we transferred K700 to our running A/C. At the same time we paid out a debt of K900. Purely from the cheques paid out from both A/C's, I conclude that our expenditure for the 5 months amounted to K5437.59 without taking into account the transfer of K700.

As I said before, this is not an attempt at giving a financial report. I have not even consulted the Treasurer on this matter, who will no doubt give a more detailed and accurate report. I am merely trying to give you a rough picture of our parlous financial position or shall I say, the complete unreality of our decisions, concerning our maintenance financially. That is to say, the disparity between the expectations flowing from our decisions and the stark realities. For a long time I've been aware of this disparity and I tried to take certain measures to enable us to fulfil certain necessary obligations over and above the maintenance of ourselves locally. I placed upon the treasurer the obligation to raise all the expenses outside local maintenance of our organization. This covered a wide field entailing a great deal of expense, expenses as the figures show, exceeding our normal monthly expenses. This is not all. These figures do not give a true picture of the

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burden I placed on his shoulders. I asked him also to raise and keep in reserve funds that would be required for transporting our men back home. Some months ago, I asked him to try and work out what we shall require for this purpose. Basing himself partly on our previous undertaking and also on the fact that it will no longer be possible to transport our men by landrover to Botswana, he arrived at the estimate costs of K12,000 for the whole undertaking. As I have said, this was a private ~~arrangement~~ arrangement between myself and the treasurer, because I was mortally afraid of having to keep trained men shut up in a camp for months on end.

With all these in mind, I instructed him not to use the funds from the external A/C for local expenditure. As you all know, we were soon going to be faced with large travelling expenses. There was the trip to the US expected in Oct-Nov. which has now fallen away, at least for the time being. There are also contemplated trips to England, Europe and Scandinavia in November and finally, the trip to the Summit Conference in Ghana, to which we should send a big delegation.

You know, we have been dipping very deeply into the forbidden A/C which as it is, was most inadequate for our requirements as stated above.

It is obvious as I have said that our income arising from our previous decision is totally inadequate and unrealistic. The question then is, what to do about it? I must mention here that we have a finance ~~fund~~ Com. which we had hoped would raise at least our monthly expenses and a little more. This has not worked.

I put it to the organisation to decide what is to be done.

- a) We may revise the original decisions if we find the fault lies with them
- b) We may tighten up on the application of the original decision if there is room for that.
- c) We may work out new and additional measures.
- d) It is possible that the fault lies with the Administration, that is, that the President has made a wrong choice of people who are allowed

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to take employment for the maintenance of the organisation.

All these matters must be gone into seriously and if criticism is necessary, this must be done without fear or favour.

Finally I want to make the following points:

- a) The organisation must function as a unit in which everyone consciously plays his or her part.
 - b) That the organisation must be made self-sufficient, at least in matters of maintenance.
 - c) All Committees as well as individuals must shoulder their responsibilities as befitting the members of the organisation.
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DISCUSSIONS:

1. Corrections: ^{Further} Expenditure for Oct. Add K184.39 for Landrover Repairs.
2. Monthly expenditure is in the region of K436.
3. Monthly income ^{is} is in the region of K235.

Debit balance per month K201.

Lusaka.

16th Oct, 1952