

cially now. It raises a number of problems which we have to admit are there. However I cannot agree with his recommendations of working within and making use of the Platform provided by BANTUSTANS, for these reasons;

- a) We still have people at home who are committed ANC people and who see the BantuStans for what they are. If we now say to them stop and goin when they see lives being distroyed, they may become disilusioned especially because we are not even there to explain our strategy. We cannot afford to distry these people for a thing we ourselves are against for expidiency.
- b) We still have a number of Mischievous people who will do any thing to smear us. When they do, we will be forced to spend a lot of our energies in difence and explanations, a time we have not got. At the moment it is the other fake movements who are faced with that. We spent too long a time explaining the Allia-
nce. We no longer have to do that now. But if we take Georges suggestions, we will have to go back to that period.
- c) There are African Leaders like Nyerere, Kaunda and others, People who have been informed by us about South Africa who from then on have been on our side even though now a number of other opportunists who are selling out on the question of dialogue. By accepting Georges suggestions we shall have placed those who stood by us into a very embarrassing position and have help-
ed those who are selling out. This will make the World lose faith in us.
- d) We will never be able to justify the contradiction of carryi-
ng out the war as we are doing and support of entry into Bantu Stan.

Having said all this I however think George is correct in suggesting a change of strategy on the Matanzimas. I have no doubt that the changed face of Matanzimas is further proof of their opportunism and the effect of

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REPORT.

THE BLACK AMERICANS.

They are a well meaning but confused people. Most of them would like to be truly seen and regarded as Africans, but the Africa they want to be identified with is not the Africa as Africa is, but an Africa which exist only in their imagination. Not only this, but they would also think Africa is a place that they could dominate inhabited by people who are still backward or lacking in leadership. This is where they see themselves as coming in to provide that needed Leadership. For some it is just a Utopia that they find affinity with, but do not know how they could relate to this affinity because they are not certain that they will be acceptable to it or that they are prepared to forego the type of amenities they have here for a place that has none. They are caught between being Americans which they would like not to be, and being Africans through encesty-a price of which is too high. So in feeling they end up being neither African nor American.

The main problem of the Blacks is that they have no National Movement and this is because they do not realise their own real difficulties. They moan too much and criticise every thing and every body. They still believe a great deal on charismatic people and look for such people so much so that if that leader dies the group dies with him. They have the following Organization; Black Panthers, Black Moslems, Pan Africanists, Civil Rights Movement and, NACCP. As I said, none of them is National.

The Black Panthers in out look but not in support some what National. It has more braches in different States than any other group, but these Branches could hardly be called Branches in South Africa. They are more of Offices than Branches. They have of late suffered much from internal disunity. Some want to turn the party into something Communist others hate Communism. Those who wish to become Communists are also divided between the Maoists and the Moscow group. As a result they have been behaving like PAC expelling each other like mad. The Young Fellows in the group have been so

our own attacks on them. However, now that they are seeing the light for whatever reason, we should now stop criticizing individuals but restrict our attack on the BantuStans only. In this way they, The Matanzimas would continue to feel threatened in the eyes of the public and as ambitious people they will increase their demands hoping to win the esteem of the people. This inturn is going to cause a break between them and their Bosses, thus all their Bosses will be left with would be to remove them and put others in their place there-by exposing the farce of BantuStan even on the eyes of a fool.

Chief Gatsha was here, but at the wrong time for me and J.C. It was the time of examinations. But I did meet Njisane who had had a day with him Njisane was left convinced that Gatsha has not changed, and that he may have been responsible for the so called change in the Matanzimas. While he was here he spoke to a number of industrialists who have invested in South Africa informing them that their investments could only be meaningful if they were in the BantuStans. Gatsha knows that the South African Government will not allow this, but it may show the industrialists that the attack on them is not only justified but also inevitable. About ANC, he is still a strong supporter.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

We have succeeded in having a South African Scholarship passed by the Senate this year in January so that it is now law not just a promise by some one who had no authority over the funds. There are two to be given each year for a period of two years each. I am hoping to fix Cap with one and I have written to Our Men in Swaziland but have heard nothing from them yet. The London Group is aware of them. The only snag with them is that they are for graduate studies only. May be through the Lutuli Foundation we will be able to raise some that will cater for all levels. We regard this as our target.

Ired Dube

conclusions. ANC is made up of people who can make mistakes and these mistakes should not be taken as ANC mistake but mistakes of that individual or individuals. One person who comes high on the list is Raymond. My interest in discussing these were not to look at whether they are all valid but I was interested in drawing the line between people and the Organization. It is my belief that these problems can be solved and we can make ANC a strong body here inspite of our numbers and being dispersed, but we have a problem Mxolisi. I think Ben has already written to you about him, but I feel I must also add something in this matter.

On Saturday the twelfth we and Ben on a special apoint ment met him in New York on the 12th June. The reason was these papers I have enclosed, and a full inventory on THE LUTULI FOUNDATION he ran. On the Lutuli, he promised to hand over all the files to us. On the question of these papers enclosed he dennied the responsibility. What however shocked me was on the question of money that he gets as Honourorium. He said he pockets it to pay the debts he incurred at the time of the Foundation. Since I had not seen the Lutuli files I only expressed my shock at this and asked him if he had informed anybody about this in the Leadership? He said no and his reason was that once he did this and was informed that the Organization does not pay any one for services by Moses Kotane.

I must say we did all this without any authority but as concerned ANC members. What was more perturbing to me is that he denies everything by taking an offensive line of defence especially on addressing meetings on our behalf while he is drunk. People from Canada I have met have complained of the same thing. He does this inspite of my telling him that I have no objection to his drinking so long as it is not done where it can jeopardise our Organization. We informed him that we have no authority of stoping him from addressing meetings but we have the right as members of stoping him from using the Organization for his own pocket and that we will inform you of all that we discussed with him. He is very disappointing because he has talents

They are divided essentially into three groups, a large number of the disillusioned PAC, PAC and ANC. The disenchanted PAC sometimes work as a group sometimes as individuals. They seem to be gearing themselves to finding a new Organization but they all have no imagination, so my aim has been to break them through befriending them and exposing their lack of imagination while I added to their disenchantment with PAC. Those I have met I have had no difficulty with them in that they live on hearsay which they have been treating as fact e.g. that there is ideological difference between ANC and PAC. If they are asked to spell this out, they tell you of ANC and its deviation from ANC policy. When asked which policy, they talk of Youth League and your task is then made easy because you have to tell them that the Youth League was a limb of ANC but not the mother body. Another misconception they have is that we are anti Pan Africanism. Since this is not true, breaking it leaves them with nothing. I have pushed some to a point where they, if given half a chance would destroy PAC which they now see as a Leballo thing.

The PAC group does not exist in Cornell and it does not go to things that bring the other Africans together at list in the State of New York. We Mbata and myself are however working on their destruction by simply stating a fact when ever the question about them arises that, PAC does not exist anywhere, what does exist are fragments of what used to be. No fragment has a right to be a whole, so no part of PAC is PAC since they are all at each others throats. A mistake was created here by a ZANU small Chap and David Sibeko was scheduled to give a talk. He never did because the talk had to be cancelled at the last meeting because of misrepresentation. Sibeko represent a pregment not PAC.

ANC PEOPLE HERE.

On the main they are ill-informed having only little knowledge about the Organization. They are few in numbers and they suffer from isolation. Some have valid criticisms of the Organization based however on mistaken

disillusioned that they do not know whether they are coming or going. As a force, they are a spent force.

The Black Moslems have a very big following but their following is in two States rather than National. In many ways they are crazy. They are in some dubious ways political in that they have Black Consciousness. They are the South African Dutch Reform in reverse colour. They believe that the Whites were the product of the devil a Black Angel who wanted to compete with God by making his own person, result of which was a Whiteman. They have however done some positive things. They have their own Radio Station with the type of News you cannot get from the American Stations. They have their own Black Schools, their own Super Market and have a very big Farm and their own cattle and dairy and over a thousand Sheep. Economically, they can correctly claim to be economically emancipated.

The civil rights movement and NACCP are both an integrationist group. NACCP has offices in all big Cities and their main task is to challenge not only discriminatory legislation but anything that discriminates against the Blacks. Their politics end their or in financing cases of poor Blacks. The Civil Rights Movement is a protest group which link their work with the NACCP. It is sporadic with no membership apart from Office Bearers.

The Pan Africanist have also no membership. They are mainly an Intellectual Group that idolises Nkuruma. They read every book by him as a Bible. They remind you of the NEUM at home. They exaggerate everything Black to the extent that can make you think you have to be Black to be good and all Black is good. They are paranoid in their racism but only by Day. At night they sleep white as it is said here. They are a group that you can manipulate if you are African and are tolerant of their paranoia. This is a group I think we can use for our own purposes and because they are intellectuals, they are also aware of their shortcomings and therefore do cooperate with somebody they respect. Mbata and myself have got them here at Cornell in our pockets.

THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

Which could be of great use to our Organization, but not at the cost of making it cheap.

I have also enclosed a paper which I have been following in my Talks to small groups around here. I have not been lucky on the question of Honourariums. I spoke to a group in New York that promised me \$500.00 but up to now it has not paid. The other group raised \$1,000.00 dollars but unfortunately it was money for all Liberation Movements in Southern African excluding the fake ones. We also arranged one meeting for Zami and we were promised \$1,000.00 and are certain to get this one.

Regarding a representative here I have to say, U.S.A is a confused place needing a matured person politically. An immature person could do more harm than good unless you appoint a Committee of people resident here who are old ANC people to assist that person appointed by you. Unfortunately I have no one in mind since those I could have recommended are already in the Lutuli Committee and I do not think it will be a good thing to have people serving in the other Committee to serve also in this I am suggesting. This Committee would also be useful since we still have this problem of papers for our permanent representative. They could keep the work going without having to run the Office. I hope you would act on this soon, we cannot afford the absence of our presence here both money wise and influence wise.

On the LUTULI FOUNDATION we have not done anything so far, the reason being that we want to get the files from Mxolisi so as to begin on a clean slate. We would like to face people when we have all the information rather than say, well we do not know about that. We are scheduled to meet Mxolisi again in July as the only period convenient to him. So until then we cannot start. I have here also enclosed the agreement reached between Zami and Tulani. Since I am sure he has given the report on this I will not burden you with it.

GEORGES PAPER.

I think it was a very useful paper and it does need discussion espe-