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21m Hasbrouok Apartments,

Ithaca, New York, 14850.

2nd October, 1971.

Dear Chief,

Thank you for your last letter. I am sorry however to have taken

so long to reply. There are two main reasons for this. 1) It has not been easy to compile an easy list on Mxolisi. There have been too many people who have had one thing or another about him and his general behavior. On the money side, most have been suspicious but with nothing concrete. 2)

As a student, I have been trying to chase the syllabusl'while at the same time trying to get Cap and Mandla's admission this side. There are few of us at the moment trying all.

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Here are some of the easy to point things about Mxolisi. Others may come from Ben and others may be duplicated.

a) He addressed a meeting just after I wrote you a letter. The meeting was at Wisconsin. I am reliably told he was paid for this even though I do not know how much. In this meeting as usual he had taken liquor. He attacked ANC's Leaders for wishing to kick him out. But said they dare not do this because he has raised thousands of \$3 for the movement. He made a number of contradictory statements, and when he was challenged by a Fellow from Kenya after the meeting, he punched this man.

b) He has refused to COOperate with us by handing over to us or to The Foundation The files of his Lutuli Foundation. To me he said straight he would not cooperate because we reported him to you without asking him. I told him that we have no power to force him to COOperate with us, but he should know that we are the servants of the Organization where private personal friendship comes last. He then said he will COOperate with me but not with Ben. He has not done so. The Foundation's Head Office has asked him to pass on the files, but he has not done so. My fear is that he has destroyed them, because they are incriminating. I am told he has bought a farm.

0) He has started a Jordan Foundation. To me he denied that he was the founder but he admitted that he was one of the Trustees. When I asked him why he accepted a position in a body that will be a rival to his own, he could not come clean. But to another question about his failure to consult with his ANC Comrades on the matter, he said he said he was under no obligation to do so. There is no doubt in my mind that he started it so he could speak in the name of South Africans in order to get money for his private use.

d) When we asked histabout the Foundation (Lutuli) he had started and its financial position, he said the Foundation does not owe anybody, it has no idebts. When we asked him about the money he has been receeing as Houneraruim he said he was using this money to pay the debts he inoured while running the Foundation.'If you Can find sense here Chief, you are welcome'.

e) In every meeting, including academic meetings, he has been boxing peOple to donate money for the suffering Africans of South Africa. This cheapens us and makes us peOple who look for sympathy instead of bemng serious. Ben pointed this out to him, but it made no impression because he has done it again just recently, I was told this by a Black American who is our strong supporter but who does not approve of this for the same reason for which Ben objected.

f) Some of the complains have been on childish exaggerations which makes his
â\200\230listeners to wonder whether it is not South African to tell lies. People in
general do not want to feel they are being decieved.

I now wish to turn to the other point you wished me to elaborate on. Chief,
as you know, America is not favourably disposed towards ANC. The FBI even for
the local Blacks, 3tâ\200\231luses other Blacks as Agents, invariably they are of goodâ
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education and well trained for their job. Theygreatest thing here to day is
African Identity and Pan Africanism. There is more emotional rhetoric than
ever. An inexperienced representative, or an impressionable person can be a

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 ;,not our target. This has a.pSyChOngicel effect Which brings uncertainty abOut
 jour aims about them and our capabilities; doubts which unsettles shy men. For
 Hone~thing they know ANC has been abroad for years and have many friends and
 the khow~how of the World outside South Africa. Apart from this, whatever
 Aillusions they have hî-\201aiï-\201 about the Bantustans are now clear, except to the
 others in this Subâ\200\224group who are stupid in any case; For the Matanzimes we
 must have a psychological wer.fare playing the-elubs but never an Ace. One way
 .ler another they ere~boundfto blunder as a result of fear or as a result of
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self assession, in both ways we are=still the winers;.We cannot afford to allow them to go Without seeing.us.â\200\230With them, we should not be discrete while

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we have to be in the caSe of*thezButhelzisÂ¢45..

_~ At home oursirategy I think must Pemain'under ground as it has been. Over enthUSiasm and panic over theâ\200\230leadership of the people will not help us, we must learn to trust our_pe0ple and know that they know theirleeders.*Whehâ\200\230 the time comes, our leaders are better equiped and they cannot be outWitted â\200\230,by Kaiser, nor can the_people at home. OUP people are still the most SOphip' ' sticated in the Continent;TSe_We need not be in'competition~with people who just cannot cbmpete with our leaders on the same-ground. Our peeple know this . and so we shOuld not do what at the end will make our people loose confidence â\200\230in-our leaders. One thing that shakes them, is to have a fully trained person ~

arrested. They tend te-bleme the leaders-than.the;individualsiln_short I advocate mechangevih our pdliey at home5fe9m0difi0ation of Ouerolicy abroad â\200\230 with discretion. No Change_in O r Oppesltioh to Bantustans but be realistic , about our short comings causedby the fact that unlike in the past where were;' :WEPQ calling the tunegftegday we, WÂ»;Ã©[w, ". _

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liability to the Movement than an asset. What I mean, is that we need here a person who is cool rather than an enthusiastic, unemotional than emotional, who must know that people are not Angels. On the Exiled African front, we need a true ANC maturity. There are Boys who use to be PAC because they were under spells of illusions or deceit. To them ANC is all that which in fact it never was, but there is no point in dismissing them off hand as cranks because they are not all cranks but as Nelson once said at Robben Island, some are lost children of ANC. I am not here advocating the waste of time by trying to go fishing and arguing with the disillusioned PACs. But I mean, at Robben Island we met people you may not remember but who would say, if ever there was a man who made me see light was Oliver Tambo. You may not even remember what you did to them, but they do not forget 'gou and what you did. You treated them like people, even though they had been saying all sort of things about you personally and about your Organization, things they believed to be true when they were no truth. What we need is a complete destruction of PAC every where and the best agents are the former PAC who can say, look I was a member of that rubbish. There are people in ANC

who will not be, it doesn't matter how well intentioned they may be. corrupting society. I have been a Year now here, and I can say I do understand a little of it. It is a Society of climbers and conspicuous consumption, it is easy to fall prey to it. Mxolisi is a typical example of this.

-0 will be suitable for this task and there are Some
This is a

Coming now to my Study. It is still possible for me to change and do what
to predict the future from this. Such predictions are not always accurate

is purely Social Psychology. But having looked into the curriculums of most of the Universities here on the field of Social Psychology, I have not found one that even indirectly deals with our problem. So to meet our problem, I have tried to combine two things, neuro-psychology and Cognitive Psychology. In my Cognitive side the emphasis is on Memory Thinking and Attention. I felt I need the Neurological side to understand the Biological end of how biologically we as people encode the information we receive through our sense organs. So for my minor courses I do have Social Psychology with three courses already in it and will have neuro-psychology as another. I needed only one, but for our purpose I need two. So in fact I have not left out our basic problem, but I have changed the approach to it. My main misgiving about Social Psychology performed and

per se is that it deals with fate accompli, behavior already
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it's a hit or miss affair. I am not saying the approach I have chosen is 100% but if we know how information is encoded, it will be easier for us to devise ways of decoding them or obliterating it by encoding new ones which will become primary and thereby suppress the other.

I will now come to the good papers by Our Office in Lusaka and the one by MB, on the Bantustans and the so called leaders at home. I will not like to repeat most of the things which have been correctly pointed out by the two documents. But I would like to point this out. I think we must not only see the Bantustans as a fact but we must also act in recognition of this. More than this, we should recognise that there are two main divisions among the so called leaders and that in the two divisions there are also two subdivisions. Firstly, there are Opportunists who have accepted Bantustans for personal gains while on the other side there are people who have accepted because they felt it is better for the honest people to take it than have the Opportunists. This is the first division. In both divisions there are the bright fellows and the unbright. To characterise the groups, there are the Kaisers and the Mangosuthu. Each of the two have their sub-groupings as I have pointed above. Matanzima is a fox and will use any Opportunity for self. Buthelezi is our man and will do what he thinks is for ANC. To lump them together is incorrect and unwise in my Opinion. We can trust Buthelezi but we cannot trust Matanzima. In isolation Buthelezi can make mistakes like any of us, but on most things he remains on the ball. People at home may be Oppressed but they are not fools nor can they be taken in. They have not rejected Bantustans as ANC have taught them to, but they have been realistic being on the melting pot. They have seen a man who talks their language, the language they have been taught by ANC and

