

6 Naledi Street,
Galeshewe Village,
Kimberley.
13th July, 1972.

Mrs Nell Marquard,
Windrush,
Draper Street,
CLAREMONT.
CAPE.

My dear Nell,

Thank you for your letter and for the books that preceded it. Veronica has enjoyed the one on the experiences of a nurse immensely.

So much has happened during the past few weeks: the Storm-troopers in action at St George's Cathedral and at the Wits and the Murray tribe gathering under the biggest vine in the world. "Thou Graaffheinet art not the smallest of the cities of ----?"

Incidentally, about the quotation from the Scriptures, it was a deliberate misquotation. A friend of mine, in the days of our wine, used to say that the oppressor could not afford to sleep lest the oppressed wake up while he was asleep. Hence the adaptation to "the ungodly shall neither slumber nor sleep."

In my previous letter I perhaps did not express myself well regarding the political instability of the liberal. The point I was trying to make -made earlier by no other than Hitler - is that the intellectual is the most unreliable person because he is open to conviction. The Communist and the Fascist argue, like Jehovah's witnesses, within a prescribed framework. They do not permit argument to range outside this framework.

The intellectual - which Liberals generally are - delights in exploring new fields and is ready to admit the cogency of an argument. He is thus able to say "In the circumstances, given that promise, the argument is unchallengeable". Now in politics Nell, the Vulgus wants clean cut answers, a yea or a nay. And if Alan Paton, in all sincerity, is to be heard to say that there might be some good in apartheid - which there probably might be, to the oppressed he has ranged himself on the side of the oppressor. The Communist and the Fascist will give a resounding No and Yes respectively to Apartheid - no

qualifications. But the Liberal must be intellectually honest and must above all not be dogmatic, we believe. We call it independence of mind. But it can be very dangerous in politics.

I'll anticipate your retort and agree that the Liberal himself has some basic tenets of faith against which he measures all ideologies and policies. But then these are ideals. If he can be persuaded that things are moving in that direction and that he must not be in a hurry, the steam is taken out of him. For by definition, he is incapable of indignation. He abhors violence and in seeking to avoid it, finds it his duty and task to persuade the indignant to "cool it". That, as you know, is already the advice the Liberals are giving to students. All peacemakers find it easier to persuade the weak to bear his burden than to persuade the strong and aggressive to refrain from their aggression. It is easier to persuade Poland to yield to Hitler's demands than to persuade Hitler to desist from making such demands.

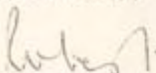
As for Kaunda, he is a kind-hearted, good and honest man. But he does not understand power politics. He reacts to a national situation as though he were faced with an individual. That is why he so often acts out of character. His attitude seems to be: "you think because I am a humanist I am a fool. I'll show you." And he blunders, politically. In fact I am convinced now that Africa - the whole of it - will never have a really "good" government until I assume the Presidency of a United States of Africa. It isn't that I am power-hungry. In fact I don't care for the position. I would be happier as a farmer or a teacher. But I can no longer resist the demand of events and history that I should assume the leadership of the continent! So speaks a megalomaniac: in all sincerity.

I have written a lot already but have not touched on all the points I should have liked to touch.

But I would like to end by saying that the lot of the Liberal, whatever his colour or class is most unenviable. By his group or class he is regarded as a renegade, a traitor to the best interests of the group or class. By the oppressed he is viewed with suspicion as the expert salesman of the policies of the oppressor. He needs to be absolutely convinced of the justice of his cause, to persevere.

God bless, and love to Leo.

Affectionately,



ROBERT...

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