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Robben Island Gaol,  
Robben Island.

7th August, 1965.

Mr Benjamin Pogrand,  
213 Diamond Exchange Building,  
De Villiers Street,  
Johannesburg.

My dear Benjie,

In my letter of the 30th June I promised to continue the discussion I had begun in it, a discussion centring primarily on the international situation. Your letter of the 20th July has possibly brought me to realize how small our world is and how blurred the line is between international and domestic problems.

I had intended in this letter to examine the Afro-Asian-Latin American complex; to ask: What is its basis? Do the Latin-American States form part of this bloc? Will they in future? Is such a solidarity necessary? desirable? inevitable? Are regional-geographical loyalties and commitments destined to overshadow and

replace biological - cultural associations? That is, for instance, are Australia and New Zealand to find their destiny and historical involvement in Asia <sup>rather</sup> than in the Commonwealth? Is Canada willy nilly to be embraced by the U.S.A. or will she continue to seek her fulfilment in a Commonwealth to which she is attached by bonds of affinity and advantage? The same goes for the African and Asian members of the Commonwealth. Can Pan-Africanism permit the existence and continuance of "former French colonies" and "former British colonies" ~~being~~ attached to France and Britain respectively? But I think I must deal <sup>first</sup> with the problem you pose in your letter concerning "the dialogue between the deaf". You know, (this is by way of digression) one reason why I have a profound love and respect for the prophets of Judah is that they could look at contemporary history with eyes of ruthless and pitiless truth, even when it was most painful for them to do so. They also expressed the corruption of their times in words of rare poetry. BUT, and here lies their greatness, because they knew that besides the historical order there is what

Paul Tillich, an American theologian, calls the divine order, undergirding and supporting the historical, they were able, in spite of prophesying the destruction of the temple and the Holy City and the mass exile of the Jews, to sing out in triumph:

"Oh them that bringest good tidings to Zion, get thee up into the high mountains:

Oh them that bringest good tidings to Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid. Say unto the cities of Judah, "Behold your God."

With similar unclouded vision let us examine the few instances you quote in illustration of Mr. Gardner's thesis. Briefly, this is how I see the position. America and South Africa represent diametrically opposed, irreconcilable attitudes to the colour or "race" problem. If the apologists of apartheid are correct then wherever Negro Americans meet European Americans (incidentally, Negroes now term themselves

Afro-Americans!) on terms of equality there must be friction. The only news that can please them, therefore, is news of

"racial clashes" in the U.S.A. as this will "prove" the correctness of their thesis. President Johnson, however, is implementing his policy of complete equality determinedly and sincerely; so successfully, in fact, that the African states, despite Afro-African solidarity, and despite their conviction that Johnson's Vietnam policy is wrong, will not condemn America because they appreciate Johnson's honesty in his domestic policy.

(2) The above analysis leads to an interesting point. The color or race issue is not, as such, a political issue. It is not confined within the political boundaries of a State. Whether they know it or not, Johnson and Verwood now serve as symbols of a divided conscience that spills over their territorial borders. All White Supremacists, all over the world, are extremely happy whenever the Verwood government takes a step that indicates a firm determination to "keep the Kaffir in his place". When he says he'll have no Niggers working side by side with European scientists in flying jets, besides protecting his home crowd from shattering disillusionment regarding the inferiority of "black" men, he also rejects the heart of

Members in the U.S.A. who are happy to know that the Nigger who is beginning to "give himself airs" in the U.S.A. has been put in his place by the S.A. govt. Johnson, on the other hand, is the hope of all who stand for non-racialism. His successes are there and they endorse his utterances on bigotry.

Both countries have to maintain a consistent, unbending attitude on matters of colour both for the sake of their domestic supporters and the international ~~consensus~~ attitude they each represent. As a result, at U.N.C. and elsewhere, the U.S.A. has had to take an uncompromising stand against Apartheid.

South Africa i.e. the government, has of late turned almost gratefully to France as the one country that is sympathetic. At the same time de Gaulle's France is extremely anti-Anglo-Saxon, touching a historical chord in the African's breast de Gaulle has been excelling at cocking a snook at the U.S.A. of late and, in fact, almost everybody has been of late. Verwood is not alone! The liberal in this country is in the

P.S. A logical exposition will require 20-30 pages: have to truncate my argument: but

same position as the White Supremacist in the U.S.A. in so far as the political climate is concerned.

I am not being original when I say that the race problem is to this century what the slave problem was to the last century. And it will be solved, because it has to. And to believe that the problem can be accommodated is to be naive. The government cannot but hit up the pace. Where the appeal is to emotion it has to be reduced to the lowest common denominator. Knocking down solves nothing. For our own self-respect, we who oppose White Supremacy have to stand up to the forces representing it. I would rather die on my feet, Binjie, than live to a hundred crawling on my belly. And that is the only compromise possible!

If my argument does not hang together well, please excuse me. I do find that my concentration leaves a lot to be desired.

I'll continue the argument later. Incidentally haven't received this week's "Sunday Times" & "Express"!

Yours Sincerely,  
Gort.

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