

DC16/5/2/5/6 P.O. Box 71,  
Hilton, 3245.

1ST February, 75.

Dear Wolf, I have no intention of starting off the New Year in a small-minded way by trying to show you that I can write a letter even longer than that A4 of yours. Just a modest letter-card, my boy.

As a matter of fact the only reason your'e even getting this modest response so soon is that I was eaten alive by ticks while doing my good deed for the year last week, and am now in bed with tick-bite fever. Don't worry, I'm recovering, so theres no need to step up your rate of firing off letters, in expectation of my early death.

You're right about my expectations of what Vll will do. Not much. Undoubtedly he will twist "good old Smithy" s arm as far as he can to get a settlement there, then try to buy time working out a deal over SWA/Namibia, but sooner or later he's going to start having to do big things right here if he's going to keep real trouble off his own doorstep. Half of his six months has gone and what is there to show for it? Not a thing of any real substance. He had meetings with Bantustan leaders and Coloured and Indian Council people lasy week -- all on different days, naturally - but what came most clearly out of that is that what all three really want is what he doesn't want to give; representation in Parliament. The meeting with the Bantustan people was obviously tough, the only Colouredswho went were the ones most friendly to him, and the Indians are a pretty poor lot. Since then what has happened is that the Nico Malan Theatre in Cape Town has announced that it has dropped its colour bar (but whether for Africans nobody yet knows). I think there will be a few more such "gestures" to the Coloured people, apart from anything else because they are due to have an election next month and the anti-Nat Labour Party has asked people to vote for them as an expression of a complete rejection of separate representation and a demand for direct representation in Parliament. The government's friends will try to use bonsellas like Nico Malan to back-up their argument that its only by dealingwith the government that you'll ever get anywhere. The Labour Party will be handicapped by the fact that masses of Coloured people whose views are close to its own have refused to register to vote at all, neither can it offer any bonsellas.

I suppose the next Parliamentary session, starting on Monday will be the time for us to be told what Vll intends doing to remove discrimination and open up a new utopia before the six months he gave himself is over. Half of its gone already; and, say what he may, about misquoting and misunderstanding, t e fact of the matter is that both the world and people here are expecting to see him do something spectacular, at least by the middle of the year. And they are thinking of something much closer to home than a Rhodesion settlement. I can't see it happening. He could announce plans for Bantustan consolidation which would give these places a superficial respectability, but he has tied himself so firmly to the 1936 allocation that I can't see himself wriggling out of that knot in six months. And even if he were to persuade the Nats that this was an essential to their survival all the Bantustan leaders except Matanzima have said that thye are not interested in independence until they are able to share in the total wealth of the

country and until rights are assured for their people who won't be living in the homelands. VII is now starting to mutter about leasehold rights for African in urban areas, and the removal of trading restrictions, and we have just heard that widows and deserted wives aren't going to be ejected from municipal houses anymore, but this kind of grudging climb up from the bottom of the pit of urban

Violence, you ask about? Where does it start? I wouldn't classify sticking an illegal poster on a lamp-post as violence. I would say it starts where there is danger of injury or death, and this would include violence to property which inevitably in my view involves just these risks. And if Ireland is any criterion does it not seem that, once we have embarked upon a course of violence, the level of what is acceptable in the name of the cause rises all the time, until the most obscene depravities become 'good'?

On which high note I leave you to 1975.

rightlessness isn't going to win him many friends in a hurry. He should be going to do all the things we said years ago -- redistributing land, sitting down talking (and listening) to Blacks about how to give them real rights in "white" SA and I think, inside him, he may even know that one day this is going to happen, and he may even be able to grit his teeth and face the prospect -- trouble is when you've nurtured your flock on the fane of racial incompatibility its not so easy to convert them to lets-all-get-togetherness. We'll have to wait and see what he does, Hamm.