

Pull 11/23/85
43 King Henry's Rd.
London.N.W.3.
May 31 1973.

Dear Alan.

Very many thanks for your two letters of May 1 and 24. I appreciate very much your willingness to make those little factual alterations and only hope it has not delayed or inconvenienced you. The official of the JBD was more against the formation of a new party than against the ~~proposed~~ conference on Regional Planning. He was only against that because he thought it would be used as a step towards the formation of a new party which at that period, just after the war, he believed would be disastrous in that it would divide the opposition to the Nats. In the event the Nats won and it is useless to speculate now whether they would have won if Smuts had been prepared to espouse a more dynamic ~~liberal~~ policy of planned economic development. If the churches when they had the influence had been more positive more far seeing they could have done a lot to mobilise opinion in support of a more progressive Afrikanerdom but I fear Afrikaner nationalism ^{was} on a strong incoming tide and it would have needed stronger leadership than Judge ~~Kruse~~ who headed the Campaign and Andre Bruwer and Robertson of Libertas who were the brains behind regional planning. Andre Bruwer, I came to suspect, had a streak of anti semitism which may have accounted for ~~the~~ ^{some} of the suspicion of him ^{when} he was ^{an} adviser to the Industrial Development Corporation. Looking back one can see so many things that could and should have been done not only to avert the onset of a tyranny but to set a course towards a more expansive future but you are the one to write about that and more importantly what can be done now. I will ask that you be sent some particulars of what is being attempted at this end but if you are going to be here you may be able to meet the people involved in some research on the subject.

I have thought hard and long about your question in the May 1st letter. First I have tried to recall the circumstances in which the remark about 'once a priest always a priest' ^{was} said but the result I fear has only been to request you not to refer to it as I can't be absolutely certain it was Clayton who said it, and, without being able to assure you on that, it would be best not to attribute it to him. There are two other people it could have been said by but I can't enquire as they have both died. Second point. You have been very generous to me. As a South African ^{yourself} much that I said and did must have been rather irritating at the time (and ^{many} still ~~is~~ !) but you have that capacity

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For getting under the skin of others. I am only too conscious of the missed opportunities that existed then for the Anglican and other Christian churches - a factor yet to be appraised in the light of the future of institutional Christianity. But at that time the Church's prophetic role was interpreted too negatively even by such strong brave characters as Talbot Bishop of Pretoria, Karnie of Johannesburg, Paget of S Rhodesia and Bloemfontein whose name I forget and even in their more conventional ways Archbishop Carter and Darbyshire. But none of them were South Africans and that was a vital weakness of the Anglican Church. Apart from your renowned self as a laymen there were among the hierarchy Archdeacon Rouse and Dean Palmer but on the whole the leadership and initiatives were from outside whose innermost feelings were unable to embrace all the people of S Africa including the Afrikaners.

Geoffrey Clayton had an internal fight of his own to contend with and this affected his vision and perspective and, unconsciously or even against his will, sometimes his judgments. But after thinking more about it since I referred to this I feel that the time for measuring this aspect of his life and character is not yet. I fear that in the present climate of opinion to enter into this would be a hindrance to an understanding of the great qualities you have so excellently portrayed. First let what you have established become known and understood then in the long run and by future generations the measure of these qualities will be not diminished but rather enhanced by reference to the internal struggle which in any case others are more knowledgeable about and better able to put in their true perspective than I. What you have written is so important and so relevant to the problems which remain unresolved that nothing should delay publication any longer. You will be writing other books and if there is anything you feel you would like to discuss please be sure to get in touch. I do wish you well in all you are doing for all who look to the future and are not obsessed with the past.

Yours ever,

Michael