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serious

but align

themselves

cooperation

with Whites in any form
us â\200\234treasori'. There is a growing feeling
among them that

with

Wlâ\200\230dtes is senseless. and that their luv
in themselves. They do not

TUNE?

primarily think in teims of 'Brown Po~

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wei'

'riamWhites' who suffer from 'White
suppression. '. . ., Since his return from

the United States last year. Mr. Small

previously an advocate of White-non-

White contact-hos been a strong sup~

parter of a Black Power Coloured m0Â»

vement,â\200\230 in close cooperation with the

Blacks. He has now rejected any focm

of co-operation with Whites. and be

lieves that the Coloured people must

their own

attain their goals

steam.

this

Black Power movement is that it is di-
rected primarily against the Afrikaner.

who symbolises the Government and

its apartheid policies. Among the Co

ioured elite groups the use of

Atriâ\200\224

kaans is no longer tolerated. People

who have grown up with Afrikaans as

their mother tongue are now using

English and sending their childien to

English sdwools~otherwise they will be

completely

their own

friends."

This report goes on to say that. "this

zopidly~growing movement among the

Coloureds could have important poli-

tical repercussions. There is no doubt

that the leadership of both the Natioâ\200\224

nalist and United Parties are compe-

letely unaware of its extent. Their pre-

sent outdated Coloured policies clear-

ly reflect the shallowness of their po-

litical

Coloured

community. Furthermore, this develop~

ment is bound to have a profound

effect on the Coloured political parties
themselves.â\200\235

knowledge

ostracised

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ANC ' PROGRAMME ,

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it is not possible to judge this attitude
among Coloured. African and Indian
people without considering the back-
ground of increased arrogance on the
part of the White racists. the wide
spread social and economic calamityâ\200\224
ties caused by apartheid
its
forms. the "helplessness" (as a SASO
leader put it) of any White opponents
of the system. as well as the difficulties
of working effectively faced by the
illegal underground Congress move-
ment with their far more positive re-
volutionary programme.
The trend of
Consciousnessâ\200\234
fills a temporary vacuum left by the
the militant organisa-
outlawing
tions. but what it claims to
involve
is a state of pessimism as well. It views
South Africa only in terms of Blacks
versus Whites in the
No-
1 where in the utterance of the 1976-77
Bladt Con-

Republic.

"Black

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liberation

consciousness does one find (my view of 3
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movement in
the nationhood
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terms of worldwide considerations, as
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an element of the world revolutionary

process which must inevitably
 contribute to the situation in South Africa.
 As the programme of the ANC says:
 "The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system, of the breakdown of the colonial system as the result of the national liberation and Socialist revolutions. and the tight for social and economic progress people of the whole world.

"While the national character of our struggle dominates our approach, it is a national struggle which is taking place in a different era and in a different context from those which characterised the early struggles against colonialism. it is happening in a new kind of world a world which is no longer monopolised by the imperialist system and a significant sector of newly liberated areas has altered the balance of forces.

Thus our nationalism must not be confused with the narrow nationalism or chauvinism of a previous epoch.

"We face what is by and large a united and confident enemy which acts in alliance with. and is strengthened by world imperialism. All sections of the White political movement are in broad agreement on the liberation question of defeating our struggle. This concentration on the lines of colour - at least in the early stages of the conflict - is not of our choosing; it is of the enemy's making.

Nevertheless says the ANC programme. "Nor must we ever be slow to take advantages of differences and divisions which our successes will inevitably spark off vociferous. the most uncompromising reactionary elements and the amongst the Whites. Our policy must continually stress in the future (as it has in the past) that there is room in South Africa for all who live in it but , only on the basis of absolute democracy."

But. "the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed. To blunt it in the interests of abstract concepts of internationalism is. in the long run. doing neither a service to the revolution nor to internationalism. last resort it is only the success of the which.

national democratic revolution
by destroying the existing social and
bring
economic
with it a correction of the historical in-
justices perpetrated against the indi-
oppressed
genous majority" and all
people in South Africa.

relationships.

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According to the writer
from Cape Town "The use
the
term 'Black' to describe Coloured and
Indians is by no means general yet.
but until a few years ago it was al-
most unheard of, for either of these
two population groups voluntarily
to
label themselves as 'Black'. The use
of the common term 'Black'
implies
they are all in the same boat." Ac-
cording
the same commentator,
"The philosophy of 'Black Consciousness'
is that contact and co-operation
with Whites, any Whites.
the
edge of the black struggle. One mani-
festation of Black Consciousness was
the formation of the
People's
Convention in Natal. It will 'operate
outside the white Government created
systems,
structures and institutions
and preach. popularise and imple-
ment the philosophy of
Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity."
Another writer says. "Clearly a simi-
lar process of self-realisation is at pre-
sent at work in the African. Coloured
and Indian communities in South Af-
rica."
"What we care about". said the poet

blunts

Black

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philosopher Adam Small,
leading
coloured intellectual in Cape Town,
"is understanding ourselves and in the
course of this task helping Whites to
understand themselves."
The Johannesburg Sunday Times sta-
ted in April:
"The emergence of the Black Power
movement among the Coloured people
is threatening to destroy the inter-
racial academic movement started
the
Grabouw conference last October by
leading Afrikaner and Coloured busi-
nessmen
What is even more significant
is that the Coloureds who part-
icipated in the original Grabouw ven-
ture have been forced to reconsider
their own position in

this Afrikanerâ\200\224

Coloured dialogue movement. At the
Grabouw conference most of them diÂ»
sturbed many of the Afrikaners pre-
sent with their bitterness. outspoken-
ness,
attitude and
deep suspicion about the motives of
the Nationalist Government and its
policies. Nonetheless, in spite of their
militant attitude. they have been bran-
ded by the majority of the Coloured
eiite in academic circles, the profes-
sions and in business as 'seH-outs' to
the Whites- These
regard

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Coloured

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Black Awareness

From an article, "Coloured People in Renewed Rejection of Apartheid"
published in Sechaba (ANC), VI, 10, Oct. 1972.