

collaboration with Whites in any form as 'treason'. There is a growing feeling among them that co-operation with Whites is senseless, and that their future lies in themselves. They do not primarily think in terms of 'Brown Power' but align themselves with all 'non-Whites' who suffer from 'White suppression'. ... Since his return from the United States last year, Mr. Small previously an advocate of White-non-White contact has been a strong supporter of a 'Black Power Coloured movement,' in close co-operation with the Blacks. He has now rejected any form of co-operation with Whites, and believes that the Coloured people must attain their goals under their own steam. The serious aspect of this Black Power movement is that it is directed primarily against the Afrikaner, who symbolises the Government and its apartheid policies. Among the Coloured elite groups the use of Afrikaans is no longer tolerated. People who have grown up with Afrikaans as their mother tongue are now using English and sending their children to English schools - otherwise they will be completely ostracised by their own friends."

This report goes on to say that, "this rapidly-growing movement among the Coloureds could have important political repercussions. There is no doubt that the leadership of both the Nationalist and United Parties are completely unaware of its extent. Their present outdated Coloured policies clearly reflect the shallowness of their political knowledge of the Coloured community. Furthermore, this development is bound to have a profound effect on the Coloured political parties themselves."

ANC PROGRAMME

It is not possible to judge this attitude among Coloured, African and Indian people without considering the background of increased arrogance on the part of the White racists, the widespread social and economic calamities caused by apartheid in all 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 movement with their far more positive revolutionary programme.

The trend of "Black Consciousness" fills a temporary vacuum left by the outlawing of the militant organisations, but what it claims to involve smacks of pessimism as well. It views South Africa only in terms of Blacks versus Whites in the Republic. Nowhere in the utterances of Black Con-

sciousness does one find any view of the national liberation movement in terms of world-wide considerations, as 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 fight for social and economic progress by the 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 significant sections of the White political movement are in broad agreement on the question of defeating our liberation struggle. This confrontation 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 to isolate the most vociferous, the most uncompromising and the most reactionary elements 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. In the last resort it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which, by destroying the existing social and economic relationships, will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous majority" and all oppressed people in South Africa.

According to a commentator writing from Cape Town: "The use of the term 'Black' to describe Coloured and Indians is by no means general yet, but until a few years ago it was almost 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." According to the same commentator, "The philosophy of 'Black Consciousness' is that contact and co-operation with Whites, any Whites, blunts the edge of the black struggle. One manifestation of Black Consciousness was the formation of the Black People's Convention in Natal. It will 'operate outside the white Government-created systems, structures and institutions' and 'preach, popularise and implement the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity.'"

Another writer says, "Clearly a similar process of self-realisation is at present at work in the African, Coloured and Indian communities in South Africa."

"What we care about", said the poet-

philosopher Adam Small, a 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 stated in April:

"The emergence of the Black Power movement among the Coloured people is threatening to destroy the inter-race academic movement started at the Grabouw conference last October by leading Afrikaner and Coloured businessmen ... What is even more significant is that the Coloureds who participated in the original Grabouw venture have been forced to reconsider their own position in this Afrikaner-Coloured dialogue movement. At the Grabouw conference most of them disturbed many of the Afrikaners present with their bitterness, outspokenness, uncompromising attitude and deep suspicion about the motives of the Nationalist Government and its policies. Nonetheless, in spite of their militant attitude, they have been branded by the majority of the Coloured elite in academic circles, the professions and in business as 'sell-outs' to the Whites. These Coloured regard

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Black Awareness

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