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Dated 1951 23:44  
Joint statement signed  
by Norka

our objectives and programme. In this connection I must specially mention the most active and effective co-operation between us and the South African Indian Congress.

My deepest appreciation and thanks go to my colleagues for their helpful and loyal support.

I must now pass on from the very necessary and pleasant duty of expressing appreciation and thanks and address myself to some aspects of Congress activities, views and observations.

1. SOME SIGNIFICANT TRENDS IN OUR SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION.

We, who are vitally concerned with the emancipation of Africans in their land, should keep a keen observant eye on events and trends in our homeland, that manifest themselves from time to time in our country since prudence demands that our programme of action should take account of these trends and events. I shall refer to a few of these trends and events. Within the compass of one address and having regard for the need for brevity I can do no more than briefly touch upon a few illustrative instances.

DETERIORATION  
IN HEALTHY HUMAN RELATIONS:

Since Union legislation discriminating most disastrously against non-Whites, especially Africans, has increased in volume and severity. This has been due mainly to the ascendancy of conservative and reactionary forces among whites. These forces at whose vanguard must be placed the Nationalist party of Dr. Malan became more aggressive and virulent with the coming into power of the Nationalist party of Dr. Malan in 1948.

Since this year we have witnessed an accelerated crescendo in the singing and acting of the Apartheid song. All this has brought about suspicion, severe strains and tensions within and between the White groups themselves, but even more so, between White and Black. With Apartheid as the dominant note in the Union of South Africa how could it be otherwise? From the utterances of the Nationalist leaders themselves apartheid is intended to maintain White supremacy, which, conversely, means the permanent subjugation and domination of Non-Whites by Whites.

Apartheid laws are being enacted in great haste and impatience and being implemented in the same tempo and ruthlessness with studied utter disregard for human feelings and sufferings of the people affected, who happen to be the voteless and, therefore, voiceless and defenceless non-Whites. It is precisely because the vote is the key to the security of an individual in a state that the African National Congress unequivocally demands full democratic rights...../



rights Now during our lifetime and not in infinity.

I shall now refer specially to a few apartheid laws to show how by their objects and nature they must arouse the anger and disgust of the people affected by them .

#### THE GROUP AREAS ACT.

The basic wickedness of this Act is that it unashamedly robs people without compensation by the state of their property, often acquired at much sacrifice of hard-earned savings or by instalment , which is in fact a form of mortgaging one's future for that property.

We are told that the act is meant to create better and healthier relations between the races. Even if this were true, which is not the case, what a price to pay ! But the tragedy is that this argument is based on a fallacy that in separation of races is automatic evidence and contentedness. History & general human experience have many examples that prove the contrary, to be more in accordance with facts. How could non-Europeans in the Western Areas in Johannesburg, Charlestown in Natal and other areas affected by the act be expected to be happy?

#### INDUSTRIAL LAWS.

The influx control measures deny Africans the fundamental human right to sell one's labour in the most remunerative market, according to his ability and tastes. Taken together with other industrial laws of the country these laws with their colour-bar practice create conditions most inimical to the interests of the African workers and make a mockery of the Union in the civilised world.

It becomes difficult to see how a country claiming to be civilised and to be Christian could allow such discrimination to go on and how could it give white farmers permission to build private goals to ensure cheap labour.

#### THE SEPARATE AMENITIES ACT.

This Act removes from apartheid measures any sugar-coating which may have deceived some people to accept apartheid as a fair policy . The Act merely legalises the evil that was being practised . It removed the fig leaf which concealed the nakedness of the unjust policy of Apartheid , and has showed up most convincingly the Nationalist conception of separation or apartheid. It revealed it as basically " Separate and Unequal" and not "Separate but Equal". In the African National Congress we stand for equality hence we find ourselves so violently opposed to apartheid.

It is for that reason , basically, that we shall continue to oppose by all legitimate means , apartheid acts like the Bantu Education...../



Education Act. To add insult to injury to embrace without protest all apartheid laws because it is alleged that they are made for our protection and convenience. In the African National Congress we shall continue to protest most vehemently against discrimination.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA BECOMING A FASCIST STATE.

The Non-Violent Defiance Campaign against unjust laws has helped to show up most convincingly that the Union of South Africa under the Nationalist regime is fast becoming a dictatorship. The Nationalist government of Dr. Malan will go down in history, not only as a government that has made the most tyrannical laws with sweeping dictatorial powers such as we find in the Suppression of Communism Act, The Public Safety Act, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, but as a most ruthless government in dealing with opposition to it. In and out of parliament it has shown the tendency to crush anyone opposing it. On the pretext of fighting Communism and the Non-violent Defiance campaign it has banned many leaders of political and trade union organisations. It has deposed chiefs who have tried to oppose government measures. On behalf of the African National Congress I would like to express our sympathy to all who in any way have become victims of the ruthlessness of the Malan government in suppressing free speech, free association, due to a guilty conscience of the public wrongs it has committed against those who have sought the welfare of the Union of South Africa in ways different from their own.

As President-General of the largest political organisation in the Union, I call upon all freedom loving people to regard no sacrifice too great in opposing the fascist government of Dr. Malan before it is too late.

RISE TO POWER OF THE AFRIKANER UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

Some of us are violently opposed to the Nationalist party led by Dr. Malan. Our opposition arises from the fact that we regard as undemocratic and Un-South African most of their political theories and practices, such as their master-race theory, their idea of regarding civilisation as the white man's prerogative or exclusive possession, their claim to exclusive white supremacy etc. But we must not be blinded by our opposition to them, to admire them for the way they worked hard and sacrificed much to attain the position they in.

Their success was due, inter alia, to some of these qualities if my observation is correct: loyalty to an idea or ideal and a singleness of purpose in working for the realisation of that idea or ideal. The ideal was the founding of an AFRIKANER NATION, and so Afrikaner Nationalism became their focal point of rallying their people.

We are now in a position in Union politics when we have



organised and jointly launched in 1952 by the leading national organisations among the non-Whites : The African National Congress , The South African Indian Congress and the Franchise Action Council, will rank as one of the most outstanding events in the political history of the Union of South Africa. Whether it is admitted or not, its effects have been profound and far-reaching. Many events have followed precipitously in its train. It accounts for the notorious short session of the Union Parliament which produced the twin anti-Defiance Acts : the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act.

It brought about the hurried formation of the Liberal Party of South Africa.

In Church circles and liberal circles it has brought about talks on the need to hold a union-wide National Conference, to discuss Non-European affairs, with the Dutch Reformed Church seeming to take a lead in the matter. The Christian Council of South Africa and the Institute of Race Relations have spoken about the matter too.

The campaign has so sharpened the political issues in the country as to leave no room for middle-of-the-road individuals or groups. Hence the dissension in the great Smuts party, the United Party and in the Labour Party of S.A; Hence also the silence of some leading people in our own communities. One has to accept the justice of the claim of the Non-Whites for freedom and work unreservedly and openly for its realisation or be guilty of directly or indirectly assisting the Nationalist party in its relentless and unmitigated oppression and suppression of the Non-White peoples in their claim for free democratic rights.

In a word, the Non-Violence Defiance Campaign has caused much heart searching among some people and much ire and violent reaction with others in all communities. Much to the discomfort of the present rulers of the Union the searchlight of the world has been focussed on the Union of South Africa, more than ever before by the campaign. Racial discrimination has become an international issue, and no amount of talk about domestic jurisdiction will deceive the world regarding its true nature and effect.

#### WHAT ABOUT ITS EFFECT ON THE NON-WHITES AS A WHOLE?

It is no exxageration to say that the effect of the campaign on the non-White peoples as a whole , especially those who took an active part in the campaign, has been profound and beneficial.

It accelerated greatly the political conciousness of the people. It gave them a new feeling of courage and confidence in themselves as a people. But even more profound it forcefully brought them a new awareness of the potency of UNITED and GO-OPERATIVE ACTION among all oppressed people irrespective of colour or Class.

The...../



estimate for such a vast national undertaking. Suffice it to say that a full scale campaign will require thousands of pounds. Conscious of this essential requirement, we recommend with some confidence that if the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress undertake to launch a 1 Million Shilling Drive it can sustain the campaign. The Drive should be conducted under the slogan : "1 Million Shillings for Freedom by the end of March 1952"

15.

National Pledge.

The Council is strongly of the opinion that an inspired National Pledge should be issued which could be read out at public, factory and group meetings and repeated by all those present. A special day - e.g. April 6th should be set aside so that special meetings are called everywhere, in towns, villages and hamlets, in factories and locations, and special church services be held on this day, where the National Pledge could be publicly read out. This day or any other day which the Conference of the African National Congress sets aside for the purpose should be called "The National Day of Pledge and Prayer".

(sgd) J.S. MOROKA

(Chairman)

Y.M. DADOC  
Y. CACHALIA

J.B. MARKS  
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(Representatives of the  
South African Indian  
Congress).

(Representatives of the  
African National Congress)

Thaba 'Nchu  
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