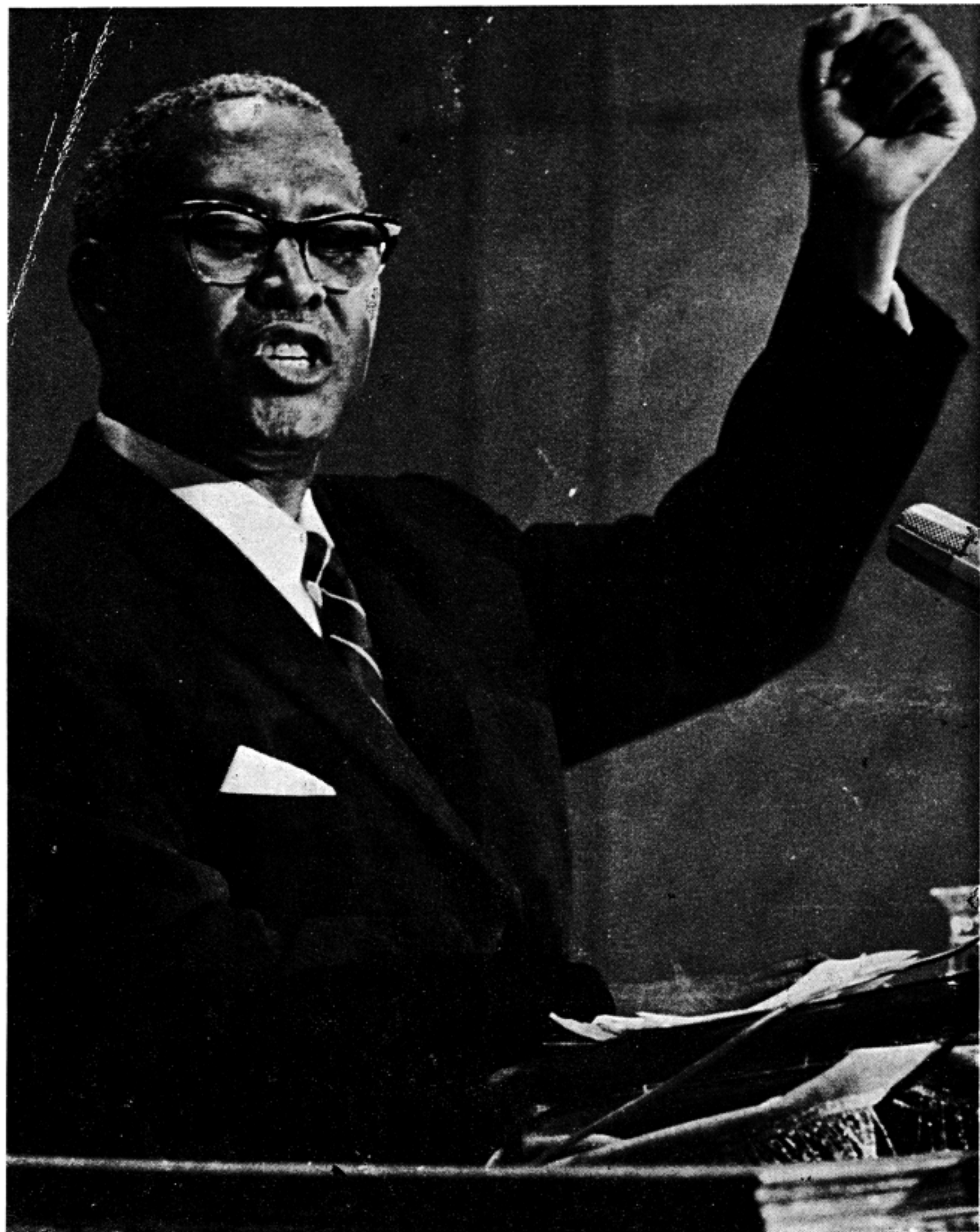


The road to Oslo... and beyond!



“ What we need is courage that rises with danger ”

“an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth.” And yet despite the admitted killing in cold blood by South African police of a total of 300 Africans in circumstances directly accountable to Government policy since 1948, the leaders of the political struggle have at no time deviated from the path of non-violence which has at all times been followed by Chief Lutuli’s predecessors in office.

The policy, however, has not infrequently been construed as moderate in the sense of being weak, mild and compromising. The African National Congress in particular has in some quarters been written off as a moderate organisation which was willing to tolerate racial persecution if the South African Whites were not willing to be talked out of it. This interpretation of the policy of non-violence seems to take no account of the numbers of people and leaders whose political activities and associations with the Liberation Movement have made them victims of Government action in the form of arrests, prosecutions, imprisonments, bannings, bannishments and killings.



*Mr. Gunnar Jahn presents the award to Chief Lutuli in the University of Oslo,
December 10, 1961*

Since 1952, various restrictions have been imposed on the holding of political meetings by the African National Congress and as early as 1954, there were threats of the organisation being declared unlawful. In 1957, while the Treason Trials in progress, the African National Congress was banned in such areas as Zeerust, Maseru and Sekukuniland, and in 1960 it was declared an unlawful organisation by the Union of South Africa. There certainly can be nothing meek and mild about a policy which has compelled the South African Government to take shelter behind an ever growing pile of war weapons. And it is not without reason that this Government has found it essential for the maintenance of White rule in South Africa to keep Chief Lutuli chained to a bush tree in Groutville.

The fact, however, that the white supremacists have been driven into defensive positions by methods which show greater regard for peace and human life than is to be deduced from the trigger-happier record of Dr. Verwoerd and his comrade-in-arms, does not mean that we are any nearer our proclaimed political objectives nor does it represent any weakening of the repressive forces of apartheid and white domination. In his Oslo speech which is printed elsewhere in this booklet, Chief Lutuli discussed the South African situation in the context of Africa's freedom. The world acclaimed Mr. Eric Louw, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs condemned it. Someone's conscience is running out.

WHY WE HONOUR HIM

Extracts from the speech by Mr. Gunnar Jahn, President of the Nobel Institute, on the occasion of the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize in the Oslo University, December 10, 1961,

“The forces that induced Albert John Lutuli to abandon his tranquil work as an educator and enter politics were unleashed by the increasing pressure which the dominant white race exerted on members of other races in South Africa. In 1944 he became a member of the African National Congress, an organisation founded in 1912. In 1952 he was elected President of this body, a position he held until the Congress was banned in 1960. It is first and foremost for the work he carried out during these years — from the 1940's and right up to last year — that we honour him today.”

“It was during these years, when a transition took place, resulting in increased activity based on boycott, disobedience campaigns, and strikes, that Lutuli came to influence so profoundly the work of the African National Congress.”

“As a result of his participation in the more active struggle of the African National Congress the government presented him with an ultimatum : he must either renounce his position as a chief or give up his seat in Congress. He refused to comply with either of these alternatives, and was immediately deposed, whereupon he published a declaration entitled ‘The Road to Freedom is via the Cross.’

“Albert John Lutuli's struggle has been waged within the borders of his own country yet the issues raised are of far wider import, he brings a message for all to work and strive to establish respect for human rights within the various nations of the world and also between nations.”

AN HONOUR TO AFRICA

Text of Chief Albert Lutuli's acceptance speech on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize

This year as in the years before it, mankind has paid for the maintenance of peace the price of many lives. It was in the course of his endeavours in the interests of peace that the late Dag Hammarskjold lost his life. Of his work a great deal has been said and written, but I wish to take this opportunity to say how much I regret that he is not with us to receive acknowledgement of the service he has rendered to mankind. It is significant that it was in Africa, my home continent, that he gave his life. How many times his decisions helped to avert world catastrophies will never be known, but there can be no doubt that he steered the United Nations through some of the most difficult phases in its history. His absence from our midst today should be an enduring lesson for all peace-lovers and a challenge to the nations of the world to eliminate those conditions in Africa which brought about the tragic and untimely end to his life.

As you may have heard, when the South African Minister of the Interior announced that subject to a number of rather unusual conditions, I would be permitted to come to Oslo for this occasion, he expressed the view that I did not deserve the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960. Such is the magic of the peace prize that it has even managed to produce an issue on which I agree with the Government of South Africa, although on different premises. It is the greatest honour in the life of any man to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and no one who appreciates its profound significance can escape a feeling of inadequacy when selected to receive it. In this instance, the feeling is the deeper, not only because the selections are made by a committee of the most eminent citizens of this country, but also because I find it hard to believe that in this distressed and heavy-laden world, I could be counted among those whose efforts have amounted to a noticeable contribution to the welfare of mankind.

I recognise, however, that in my country, South Africa, the spirit of peace is subject to some of the severest tensions known to man. For that reason South Africa has been and continues to be in the focus of world attention. I therefore regard this award as a recognition of the sacrifices by my people of all races, particularly the African people, who have endured and suffered so much for so long. It can only be on behalf of the people of South Africa, especially the freedom-loving people, that I accept this award. I accept it also as an honour, not only to South Africa, but to the whole continent of Africa, to all its peoples whatever their race, colour or creed. It is an honour to the peace-loving people of the entire world, and an encouragement to us all to re-double our efforts in the struggle for peace and friendship.

For my own part, I am deeply conscious of the added responsibility which the award entails. I have the feeling that I have been made answerable for the future of the people of South Africa, for if there is no peace for the majority of them, there is no peace for any.

I can only pray that the Almighty will give me strength to make my humble contribution to the peaceful solution of South Africa's and indeed the world's problems.

Happily I am but one among millions who have dedicated their lives to the service of mankind: who have given in time, property and life to ensure that all men all live in peace and happiness.

It is appropriate at this point to mention the late Alfred Nobel, to whom we owe our presence here, and who, by establishing the Nobel Institute placed responsibility for the maintenance of peace on the individual so making peace, no less than war, the concern of every man and woman on earth — whether they be in London or Berlin, in Washington or the shanty towns of South Africa.

It is in this catholic quality in the late Nobel's ideals which has won for the NOBEL PEACE PRIZE the importance and universal recognition which it deserves. In an age when the outbreak of war would wipe out the entire face of the earth, the ideals of Nobel should not merely be accepted or even admired: they should be lived. Scientific inventions at all conceivable levels should enrich human life, not threaten its existence. Science should be the greatest ally, not the worst enemy of mankind. Only so can the world not only respond to the worthy efforts of Nobel, but also insure itself against self-destruction.

In Africa, as our contribution to peace, we are resolved to end such evils as oppression, white supremacy and racial discrimination, all of which are incompatible with world peace and security. We are encouraged to know, by the very nature of the award made for 1960, that in our efforts, we are serving our fellowmen the world over. May the day come soon, when the peoples of the world will rouse themselves, and together effectively stamp out any threat to peace, in whatever quarter of the world it may be found. When that day comes, there shall be peace on earth and goodwill between men.

WORLD-WIDE RECOGNITION

“In a world echoing with loud and angry slogans, threats, recriminations, words of racial or national or ideological hatred and mistrust, it is invigorating to hear the still, small voices of humanity in Chief Lutuli's speech given last night in Oslo as a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. He has a right to anger if any man has. But he stands nobly by his faith in non-racial democracy and non-violence. As he says, the reason why the peace prize has been 'given to South Africa through a Black man' is that 'nothing has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance.’”

—THE GUARDIAN (London)
12th December, 1961

“Whether the country of apartheid likes it or not, ex-Chief Albert Lutuli is now the most famous living South African. That is one immediate result of the award to him of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960. Another and more important result is that it has directed attention to the problem of South Africa in a new way.”

—RAND DAILY MAIL
28th November, 1961



Mr. Gunnar Jahn, President of the Nobel Institute, introduces prominent members of the audience to Chief Lutuli on the occasion of the Nobel Peace Prize award. Earlier, Chief had had the rare experience of being congratulated by King Olav V of Norway.

AFRICA AND FREEDOM

*Text of the Nobel Lecture delivered by Chief Albert Lutuli in the Oslo University,
on December 11, 1961*

In years gone by, some of the greatest men of our century have stood here to receive this Award, men whose names and deeds have enriched the pages of human history, men whom future generations will regard as having shaped the world of our time. No one could be left unmoved at being plucked from the village of Tutuville, a name many of you have never heard before and which does not even figure on many maps — plucked from banishment in a rural backwater, plucked out of the narrow confines of South Africa's internal politics and placed in the shadow of these great figures. It is a great honour to me to stand on this rostrum where many of the great men of our times have stood before.

The Nobel Peace Award that has brought me here has for me a threefold significance. On the one hand it is a tribute to my humble contribution to efforts by democrats on both sides of the colour line to find a peaceful solution to the South African problem. This contribution is not in any way unique. I did not initiate the struggle to extend the area of human freedom in South Africa, other African patriots and devoted men — did so before me! I also, as a Christian and patriot, could not look on while systematic attempts were made, almost in every department of government, to debase the God-factor in Man or to set a limit beyond which the human being in his black form might not strive to serve his Creator to the best of his ability. To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually deified God for having created men of colour was the sort of thing I could not, as a Christian, tolerate.

On the other hand the Award is a democratic declaration of solidarity with all who fight to widen the area of liberty in my part of the world. As such, it is a sort of gesture which gives me and millions who think as I do, tremendous encouragement. There are still people in the world today who regard South Africa's problem as a simple clash between Black and White. Our government has fully projected this image of the problem before the eyes of the world. This has had two effects. It has confused the real issues at stake in the race crisis. It has given some form of force to the government's contention that the race problem is a domestic matter for South Africa. This, in turn, has tended to narrow down the area over which our case could be better understood in the world.

From yet another angle, it is a welcome recognition of the role played by the African people during the last fifty years to establish, peacefully, a society in which merit and not race, would fix the position of the individual in the life of the state.

This Award could not be for me alone, nor for just South Africa, but for Africa as a whole. Africa presently is most deeply torn with strife and is just bitterly beset with racial conflict. How strange then it is that a man of Africa should be able to receive an Award given for service to the cause of peace and brotherhood between men. There has been little peace in Africa in our time. From the remotest end of our continent, where war has raged for seven years, to the centre of the continent to the south there are battles being fought out, some with arms, some without. In my own country, in the year 1960 for which this Award is given, there was a state

of emergency for many months. At Sharpeville, a small village, in a single afternoon 69 people were shot dead and 180 wounded by small arms fire ; and in parts like the Transkei, a state of emergency is still continuing. Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bedfellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown.

Our continent has been carved up by the great powers ; alien governments have been forced upon the African people by military conquest and by economic domination ; strivings for nationhood and national dignity have been beaten down by force ; traditional economics and ancient customs have been disrupted, and human skills and energy have been harnessed for the advantage of our conquerors. In these times there has been no peace ; there could be no brotherhood between men.

But now, the revolutionary stirrings of our continent are setting the past aside. Our people everywhere from north to south of the continent are reclaiming their land, their right to participate in government, their dignity as men, their nationhood. Thus, in the turmoil of revolution, the basis for peace and brotherhood in Africa is being restored by the resurrection of national sovereignty and independence, of equality and the dignity of man.

It should not be difficult for you here in Europe to appreciate this. Your continent passed through a longer series of revolutionary upheavals, in which your age of feudal backwardness gave way to the new age of industrialisation, true nationhood, democracy and rising living standards — the golden age for which men have striven for generations. Your age of revolution, stretching across all the years from the 18th Century to our own, encompassed some of the bloodiest civil wars in all history. By comparison, the African revolution has swept across three quarters of the continent in less than a decade ; its final completion is within sight of our own generation. Again, by comparison with Europe, our African revolution — to our credit, is proving to be orderly, quick and comparatively bloodless.

This fact of the relative peacefulness of our African revolution is attested to by other observers of eminence. Professor C. W. de Kiewiet, President of the Rochester University, U.S.A., in a Hoernle Memorial Lecture for 1960, has this to say : “ There has, it is true, been almost no serious violence in the achievement of political self-rule. In that sense there is no revolution in Africa — only reform . . . ”

BROTHERHOOD BANNED

Professor D. V. Cowen, then Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, in a Hoernle Memorial Lecture for 1961, throws light on the nature of our struggle in the following words : “ They (the Whites in South Africa) are, again, fortunate in the very high moral calibre of the non-White inhabitants of South Africa, who compare favourably with any on the whole continent.” Let this never be forgotten by those who so eagerly point a finger of scorn at Africa.

Perhaps by your standards, our surge to revolutionary reforms is late. If it is so — if we are late in joining the modern age of social enlightenment, late in gaining self-rule, independence and democracy, it is because in the past the pace has not been set by us. Europe set the pattern for the 19th and 20th Century develop-

nt of Africa. Only now is our continent coming into its own and recapturing its
a fate from foreign rule.

Though I speak of Africa as a single entity, it is divided in many ways — by
e, language, history and custom; by political, economic and ethnic frontiers.
in truth, despite these multiple divisions, Africa has a single common purpose
a single goal — the achievement of its own independence. All Africa, both
ls which have won their political victories, but have still to overcome the legacy
economic backwardness, and lands like my own whose political battles have still
be waged to their conclusion — all Africa has this single aim: our goal is a
ed Africa in which the standards of life and liberty are constantly expanding;
which the ancient legacy of illiteracy and disease is swept aside, in which the
ity of man is rescued from beneath the heels of colonialism which have trampled
This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means
ooks, representations, demonstrations, and in some places armed force provoked
he adamancy of White rule, carries the only real promise of peace in Africa.
tever means have been used, the efforts have gone to end alien rule and race
ession.

There is a paradox in the fact that Africa qualifies for such an Award in
ge of turmoil and revolution. How great is the paradox and how much greater
onour that an Award in support of peace and the brotherhood of man should
; to one who is a citizen of a country where the brotherhood of man is an
l doctrine, outlawed, banned, censured, proscribed and prohibited; where to
, talk or campaign for the realisation in fact and deed of the brotherhood of
is hazardous, punished with banishment, or confinement without trial, or
sonment; where effective democratic channels to peaceful settlement of the
problem have never existed these 300 years; and where white minority power
on the most heavily armed and equipped military machine in Africa. This is
t Africa.

Even here, where white rule seems determined not to change its mind for
etter, the spirit of Africa's militant struggle for liberty, equality and independence
s itself. I, together with thousands of my countrymen have in the course of
uggle for these ideals, been harassed, and imprisoned, but we are not deterred
quest for a new age in which we shall live in peace and in brotherhood.

USEUM PIECE

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa; its social
n, its politics, its economics and its laws have forced themselves on the attention
: world. It is a museum piece in our time, a hangover from the dark past of
nd, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying. Here the cult
e superiority and of white supremacy is worshipped like a god. Few white
escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men
questionably superior, efficient, clever, industrious and capable; that black men
ually unquestionably, inferior, slothful, stupid, evil and clumsy. On the basis
mythology that "the lowest amongst them is higher than the highest amongst
is claimed that white men build everything that is worthwhile in the country;
es, its industries, its mines and its agriculture, and that they alone are thus
nd entitled as of right to own and control these things, whilst black men are

only temporary sojourners in these cities, fitted only for menial labour, and unfit to share political power. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Bantu Affairs, when explaining his government's policy on African education had this to say: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

There is little new in this mythology. Every part of Africa which has been subject to white conquest has, at one time or another, and in one guise or another, suffered from it, even in its virulent form of the slavery that obtained in Africa up to the 19th Century. The mitigating feature in the gloom of those far-off days was the shaft of light sunk by Christian missions, a shaft of light to which we owe our initial enlightenment. With successive governments of the time doing little or nothing to ameliorate the harrowing suffering of the black man at the hands of slave-drivers, men like Dr. David Livingstone and Dr. John Philip and other illustrious men of God stood for social justice in the face of overwhelming odds. It is worth noting that the names I have referred to are still anathema to some South Africans. Hence the ghost of slavery lingers on to this day in the form of forced labour that goes on in what are called farm prisons. But the tradition of Livingstone and Philip lives on, perpetuated by a few of their line. It is fair to say that even in present day conditions, Christian missions have been in the vanguard of initiating social services provided for us. Our progress in this field has been in spite of, and not mainly because of the government. In this the Church in South Africa — though belatedly, seems to be awakening to a broader mission of the Church, in its ministry among us. It is beginning to take seriously the words of its Founder who said "I came that they might have life and have it more abundantly." This is a call to the Church in South Africa to help in the all-round development of MAN in the present, and not only in the hereafter. In this regard, the people of South Africa, especially those who claim to be Christians, would be well advised to take heed of the Conference decisions of the World Council of Churches held at Cottesloe, Johannesburg, in 1960, which gave a clear lead on the mission of the Church in our day. It left no room for doubt about the relevancy of the Christian message in the present issues that confront mankind. I note with gratitude this broader outlook of the World Council of Churches. It has a great meaning and significance for us in Africa.

There is nothing new in South Africa's apartheid ideas, but South Africa is unique in this: the ideas not only survive in our modern age, but are stubbornly defended, extended and bolstered up by legislation at the time when in the major part of the world they are now largely historical and are either being shamefacedly hidden behind concealing formulations, or are being steadily scrapped. These ideas survive in South Africa because those who sponsor them profit from them. They provide moral whitewash for the conditions which exist in the country: for the fact that the country is ruled exclusively by a white government elected by an exclusively white electorate which is a privileged minority; for the fact that 87% of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market and railways is reserved for white ownership and occupation and now through the recent Group Areas legislation non-Whites are losing more land to white greed; for the fact that all skilled and highly-paid jobs are for whites only; for the fact that all universities of any academic merit are an exclusive preserve of whites; for the fact that the education of every white child costs about £64 p.a. whilst that of an African child costs about £9 p.a. and that of an Indian child or Coloured child costs about £20 p.a. ;

the fact that white education is universal and compulsory up to the age of 16, that education for the non-white children is scarce and inadequate, and for the fact that almost one million Africans a year are arrested and gaoled or fined for breaches of innumerable pass and permit laws which do not apply to whites.

I could carry on in this strain, and talk on every facet of South African life from the cradle to the grave. But these facts today are becoming known to all the world. A fierce spotlight of world attention has been thrown on them. Try as the government and its apologists will, with honeyed words about "separate development" and eventual "independence" in so-called "Bantu homelands," nothing can conceal the reality of South African conditions. I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable. It seems utterly indifferent to the suffering of individual persons, who lose their land, their homes, their jobs, in the pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in the world. This terrible dream is not held on to by a crack-brain group on the fringe of society, or by Ku-Klux Klansmen, of whom we have a fair share. It is the deliberate policy of a government, supported actively by a large majority of the white population, and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white minority, but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white minority who have taken their lot with non-whites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development.

Thus it is that the golden age of Africa's independence is also the dark age of South Africa's decline and retrogression, brought about by men who, when revolutionary changes that entrenched fundamental human rights were taking place elsewhere, were closed in on the tip of South Africa — and so missed the wind of massive change.

In the wake of that decline and retrogression, bitterness between men grows mounting heights; the economy declines as confidence ebbs away; unemployment rises; government becomes increasingly dictatorial and intolerant of constitutional and legal procedures, increasingly violent and suppressive; there is a constant drive for more policemen, more soldiers, more armaments, banishments without trial and penal sentences. All the trappings of medieval backwardness and cruelty come to the fore. Education is reduced to an instrument of subtle indoctrination, slanted and biased propaganda in the organs of public information, a creeping censorship, book-banning and black-listing—all these spread their shadows over the land. This is South Africa in the age of Africa's greatness. ...

AFRICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST TYRANNY

But beneath the surface there is a spirit of defiance. The people of South Africa have never been a docile lot, least of all the African people. We have a long history of struggle for our national rights, reaching back to the very beginnings of European settlement and conquest 300 years ago. Our history is one of opposition to tyranny, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny. Consider some of our great heroes: the great warrior and nation-builder Shaka, who welded tribes together to form the Zulu nation from which I spring; Moshoeshe, the statesman and nation-builder who fathered the Basuto nation and placed Basuto-land beyond the reach of the claws of the South African whites; Hintsa of the Xhosas who chose death

rather than surrender his territory to white invaders. All these and other royal names, as well as other great chieftains, resisted manfully white intrusion. Consider also the sturdiness of the stock that nurtured the foregoing great names. I refer to our forbears, who in the trekking from the north to the southernmost tip of Africa centuries ago braved rivers that are perennially swollen; hacked their way through treacherous jungle and forest; survived the plagues of the then-untamed lethal diseases of a multifarious nature that abounded in Equatorial Africa and wrested themselves from the gaping mouths of the beasts of prey. They endured it all. They settled in these parts of Africa to build a future worth while for us their offspring. Whilst the social and political conditions have changed and the problems we face are different, we too, their progeny, find ourselves facing a situation where we have to struggle for our very survival as human beings. Although methods of struggle may differ from time to time, the universal human strivings for liberty remain unchanged. We, in our situation have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition. Along this path we have organised many heroic campaigns. All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength has been given to the pursuance of this method, in an attempt to avert disaster in the interests of South Africa, and have bravely paid the penalties for it.

It may well be that South Africa's social system is a monument to racialism and race oppression, but its people are the living testimony to the unconquerable spirit of mankind. Down the years, against seemingly overwhelming odds, they have sought the goal of fuller life and liberty, striving with incredible determination and fortitude for the right to live as men — free men. In this, our country is not unique. Your recent and inspiring history, when the Axis Powers over-ran most European States, is testimony of this unconquerable spirit of mankind. People of Europe formed Resistance Movements that finally helped to break the power of the combination of Nazism and Fascism with their creed of race arrogance and herrenvolk mentality.

Every people have, at one time or another in their history, been plunged into such struggle. But generally the passing of time has seen the barriers to freedom going down, one by one. Not so in South Africa. Here the barriers do not go down. Each step we take forward, every achievement we chalk up, is cancelled out by the raising of new and higher barriers to our advance. The colour bars do not get weaker; they get stronger. The bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighter's grasp. All too often, the protests and demonstrations of our people have been beaten back by force; but they have never been silenced.

Through all this cruel treatment in the name of law and order, our people, with a few exceptions, have remained non-violent. If today this peace Award is given to South Africa through a black man; it is not because we in South Africa have won our fight for peace and human brotherhood. Far from it. Perhaps we stand farther from victory than any other people in Africa. But nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance. It is for this, I believe, that this Award is given.

How easy it would have been in South Africa for the natural feelings of resentment at white domination to have been turned into feelings of hatred and a desire for revenge against the white community. Here, where every day in every

ect of life, every non-white comes up against the ubiquitous sign, "Europeans only," and the equally ubiquitous policeman to enforce it — here it could well be expected that a racialism equal to that of their oppressors would flourish to counter white arrogance towards blacks. That it has not done so is no accident. It is because, deliberately and advisedly, African leadership for the past 50 years, with the inspiration of the African National Congress, which I had the honour to lead for the last decade or so until it was banned, had set itself steadfastly against racial segregation. We knew that in so doing we passed up opportunities for an easy demagogic appeal to the natural passions of a people denied freedom and equality; we discarded the chance of an easy and expedient emotional appeal. Our vision has always been that of a non-racial democratic South Africa which upholds the rights of all who live in our country to remain there as full citizens with equal rights and responsibilities with all others." For the consummation of this ideal we have laboured unflinchingly. We shall continue to labour unflinchingly.

It is this vision which prompted the African National Congress to invite members of other racial groups who believe with us in the brotherhood of man and the freedom of all people to join with us in establishing a non-racial democratic South Africa. Thus the African National Congress in its day brought about the Congress Alliance and welcomed the emergence of the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party, who to an encouraging measure support these ideals.

The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, will be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest democratic rights. In government we will not be satisfied with anything less than direct individual adult suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to all organs of government. In economic matters we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all of the heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial "whites only" basis. In culture we will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning to non-segregatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability. In the social sphere we will be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of all racial bars. We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black. These principles we are uncompromising. To compromise would be an expediency which is most treacherous to democracy, for in the turn of events the sweets of economic, political and social privileges that are a monopoly of only one section of the community turn sour even in the mouths of those who eat them. Thus apartheid practice is proving to be a monster created by Frankenstein. That is the tragedy of the South African scene.

Many spurious slogans have been invented in our country in an effort to deem uneasy race relations — "trusteeship," "separate development," "race differentiation" and elsewhere "partnership." These are efforts to side-track us from the democratic road, mean delaying tactics that fool no one but the unwary. No euphemistic naming will ever hide their hideous nature. We reject these policies because they do not measure up to the best mankind has striven for throughout the ages. They do great offence to man's sublime aspirations that have remained true in the sea of flux and change down the ages, aspirations of which the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights is a culmination. This is what we stand for. This is what we fight for.

THE WORLD IS OUR ALLY

In their fight for lasting values, there are many things that have sustained the spirit of the freedom-loving people of South Africa and those in the yet unredeemed parts of Africa where the whiteman claims resolutely proprietary rights over democracy — a universal heritage. High amongst them — the things that have sustained us, stand the magnificent support of the progressive people and governments throughout the world, amongst whom number the people and government of the country of which I am today guest; our brothers in Africa; especially in the Independent African States; organizations who share the outlook we embrace in countries scattered right across the face of the globe; the United Nations Organization jointly and some of its member-nations singly. In their defence of peace in the world through actively upholding the quality of man all these groups have reinforced our undying faith in the unassailable rightness and justness of our cause. To all of them I say: Alone we would have been weak. Our heartfelt appreciation of your acts of support of us, we cannot adequately express, nor can we ever forget; now or in the future when victory is behind us, and South Africa's freedom rests in the hands of all her people.

We South Africans, however, equally understand that much as others might do for us, our freedom cannot come to us as a gift from abroad. Our freedom we must make ourselves. All honest freedom-loving people have dedicated themselves to that task. What we need is the courage that rises with danger.

Whatever may be the future of our freedom efforts, our cause is the cause of the liberation of people who are denied freedom. Only on this basis can the peace of Africa and the world be firmly founded. Our cause is the cause of equality between nations and peoples. Only thus can the brotherhood of man be firmly established. It is encouraging and elating to remind you that despite her humiliation and torment at the hands of white rule, the spirit of Africa in quest for freedom has been, generally, for peaceful means to the utmost.

If I have dwelt at length on my country's race problem, it is not as though other countries on our continent do not labour under these problems, but because it is here in the Republic of South Africa that the race problem is most acute. Perhaps in no other country on the continent is white supremacy asserted with greater vigour and determination and a sense of righteousness. This places the opponents of apartheid in the front rank of those who fight white domination.

In bringing my address to a close, let me invite Africa to cast her eyes beyond the past and to some extent the present with their woes and tribulations, trials and failures, and some successes, and see herself an emerging continent, bursting to freedom through the shell of centuries of serfdom. This is Africa's age — the dawn of her fulfilment, yes, the moment when she must grapple with destiny to reach the summits of sublimity saying — ours was a fight for noble values and worthy ends, and not for lands and the enslavement of man.

INESCAPABLE CHALLENGES

Africa is a vital subject matter in the world of today, a focal point of world interest and concern. Could it not be that history has delayed her rebirth for a purpose? The situation confronts her with inescapable challenges, but more

importantly with opportunities for service to herself and mankind. She evades the challenges and neglects the opportunities to her shame, if not her doom. How she fulfills her destiny is a more vital and rewarding quest than bemoaning her past with humiliations and sufferings.

The address could do no more than pose some questions and leave it to African leaders and peoples to provide satisfying answers and responses by their search for higher values and by their noble actions that could be

“ . . . footprints on the sands of time ;
“ Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.”

Still licking the scars of past wrongs perpetrated on her, could she not be magnanimous and practise no revenge? Her hand of friendship scornfully rejected, pleas for justice and fair-play spurned, should she not nonetheless seek to turn adversity into amity? Though robbed of her lands, her independence and opportunities, and, oddly enough, often in the name of civilization and even Christianity, should she not see her destiny as being that of making a distinctive contribution to human progress and human relationships with a peculiar new African flavour enriched by the diversity of cultures she enjoys, thus building on the summits of present human achievement a monument an edifice that would be one of the finest tributes to the genius of man?

She should see this hour of her fulfilment as a challenge to her to labour until she is purged of racial domination, and as an opportunity of reassuring the world that her national aspiration lies, not in overthrowing white domination to replace it by a black caste, but in building a non-racial democracy that shall be a universal brotherhood, a “ brotherly community ” with none discriminated against on grounds of race or colour.

What of the many pressing and complex political, economic and cultural problems attendant upon the early years of a newly-independent State? These, and the demands which are the legacy of colonial days, will tax to the limit the statesmanship, integrity, altruism and steadfastness of African leadership and its unbending avowal of democratic tenets in statecraft. To us all, free or not free, the call of the hour is to redeem the name and honour of Mother Africa.

In a strife-torn world, tottering on the brink of complete destruction by man-made nuclear weapons, a free and independent Africa is in the making, in answer to the injunction and challenge of history: “ Arise and shine for thy light is come.” Acting in concert with other nations, she is man's last hope for a mediator between the East and West, and is qualified to demand of the great powers to “ turn swords into plough-shares ” because two-thirds of mankind is hungry and desperate; to engage human energy, human skill and human talent in the service of peace, for the alternative is unthinkable — war, destruction and desolation; and to build a world community which will stand as a lasting monument to the millions of men and women, to such devoted and distinguished world citizens and fighters for peace as the late Dag Hammarskjöld, who have given their lives that we may live in peace and peace.

Africa's qualification for this noble task is incontestable, for her own fight has never been and is not now a fight for conquest of land, for accumulation of wealth or domination of peoples, but for the recognition and preservation of the rights of man and the establishment of a truly free world for a free people.

* * *



Receiving the Award, Chief Lutuli said, "It can only be on behalf of South Africa, especially the freedom-loving people, that I accept this award. I accept it also as an honour, not only to South Africa, but to the whole continent of Africa, to all its peoples whatever their race, colour or creed."

CHAMPION FOR PEACE

farewell speech to Chief Albert Lutuli after his Nobel Lecture on "Africa and Freedom," University Hall, Oslo, December 11, 1961, by Dean Natvik-Pedersen, Vice-Chairman, Nobel Committee of the Storting Parliament and Principal of the University of Oslo.

My dear Albert Lutuli, it is my privilege tonight to express the gratitude of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament and this great audience for the lecture you have just delivered in the University Hall, Oslo, in return for the Award for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960.

You have expressed in a humble way as your own opinion that you regard the Nobel Peace Award as the greatest honour any man could obtain. These are big words even on an occasion like this. But let me tell you quite frankly friend Lutuli that we in the Nobel Peace Prize Committee sincerely agree with you in this conception. We openly admit that we do believe that the Nobel Peace Prize is and ought to be considered the greatest individual honour bestowed on any man in these troubled times. And we hope it will be more and more recognised in this way. The more people of the world understand and grasp the full value of the ideal for which it stands, Liberty, Friendship, Peace, as you have indicated yourself. There can be no peace without mutual understanding and recognition between individuals which means liberty and democracy. And there can be no peace without mutual understanding and recognition between nations which means friendship and co-operation. **NO MORE WAR.**

It is striking to the imagination and touching to our hearts that in the year 1960, you Albert Lutuli should come to us to receive this honour. That you should come from a country still dominated by the white man but which has not as yet acknowledged these ideals of friendship and brotherhood, of mutual understanding and recognition which are the only hope for the future of mankind.

It is indeed a historical event that today Albert Lutuli, a native of South Africa, should stand forth as representative of the millions of his struggling and suffering countrymen, and at the same time as a noble spokesman for democracy and freedom, for justice and Christianity, and one of the great **CHAMPIONS** for peace.

Consequently it should be noticed everywhere that from that day on, the Nobel Peace Prize Winner Albert Lutuli does not merely belong to South Africa or the African continent. He has entered the international arena as a champion for peace, and it will be felt in every corner of the world as a shame to the human race if this noble voice should not be allowed to speak anywhere in his own country, in his beloved Africa.

My dear Albert Lutuli.

As I am now going to give the final farewell from the Norwegian Nobel Committee and the University of Oslo, I feel that I should have to resort to the vernacular language of which you are so familiar. May God bless you and your dear family. May he give you both, the strength, wisdom, and courage that you will need in your future struggle for freedom and democracy, for justice and peace.

BURDEN TO BEAR

Professor Johan B. Hygen's speech in the Oslo Town Hall, December 12, 1961, after the students' torch procession.

Man's struggle against oppression and injustice ranks high in the scale of ethical values, and many of the noblest deeds in the history of mankind have played a part in this struggle.

It is a struggle that has demanded heavy sacrifices. The road of freedom and right leads through the tomb. But every sacrifice made in the cause of right has meant the lighting of another candle along the path of mankind.

That is why so much is demanded of those who lead the struggle against injustice and oppression, indeed of all those who take part in it. A combination is demanded of two attitudes that do not combine easily in the same personality and the same group — an untiring, courageous and persevering will to continue the struggle and at the same time a truly peaceful attitude of mind. It is because Chief Lutuli combines these two attitudes in his personality and in his deeds that he is a worthy winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.



On the Balcony of the Oslo City Hall

Chief Lutuli greets a torch procession of more than 15,000 organised by the students on December 12, 1961.

The world has understood that Lutuli is a man of peace and a champion of the cause of peace. It is a tragedy that his own government does not understand him. The man who, with the full acclaim of world opinion, has been awarded the highest distinction for his work in the service of peace, is regarded and treated as an outlaw, his freedom of movement and of speech is restricted, he is made to hear insulting words to the effect that he is undeserving of this honour, and the insults are extended to the venerable institution which has awarded the prize.

What is tragic about the situation is not only the continued sufferings of the oppressed, but the blindness with which the South African Government and its supporters appear to be afflicted. They do not understand that Lutuli's peaceful struggle is a struggle on behalf of the whole country and its people, white as well, indeed the behaviour of condemnation of their policy has taught them nothing. They have



Chief Lutuli and his wife Nokukhanya

Lutuli with his charming and friendly wife, Nokukhanya, whose gaiety won the hearts of many people.

failed to comprehend the gravity of the rejection of their policy by the World Council of Churches, and they continue to abuse the Bible in the service of injustice. They remain deaf to the unanimous demand of massive world opinion.

When Chief Lutuli and his wife leave Norway shortly to return to their country and people, his figure will remain with us as reminder and an obligation — a reminder that we must never forget those who in South Africa and in many other countries, are suffering from oppression and the withholding of their rights, and an obligation never, in matters great or small, to take our place actively or passively on the side of injustice and inhumanity. In his Nobel speech Albert Lutuli laid the responsibility for peace on the shoulders of every individual man and woman. In doing this he has, in a way, given us a burden to bear, and it is far from certain that it will be an easy burden to bear. But we thank him for it, and we send our deeply sincere good wishes back with him. God bless Africa.

WORLD-WIDE RECOGNITION

“ Although he is no longer a titular chief ALBERT LUTULI is in the truest sense of the word a leader of his people in South Africa. His arrival with his wife in Britain on a flying visit before he goes on to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo will give British people a chance that they gladly take of expressing their admiration for his courage, sincerity, and restraint.”

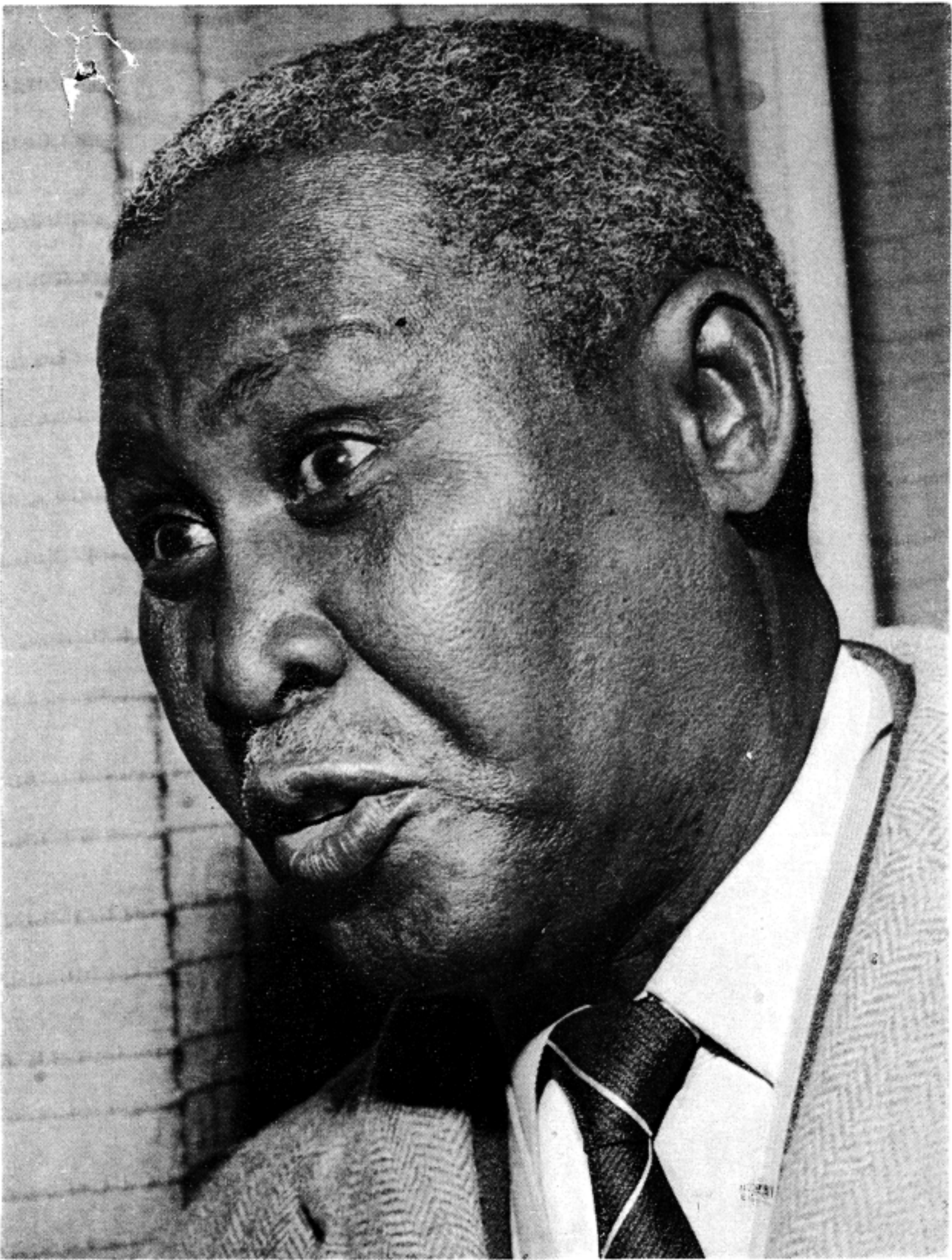
—*THE TIMES* (London)
6th December, 1961

SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS SPEAK :

At a meeting in Newclare, Johannesburg, on the 9th December, 1961, Mr. YUSUF CACHALIA, told a crowd of about 1,200 people that “ Times are moving fast in Africa. Freedom in our lifetime is out of date. We must work and mobilise as never before for freedom in Chief’s lifetime.”

On the same day at a rally of 5,000 people in Port Elizabeth, Professor Z. K. MATTHEWS said the Prize was not given to Chief Lutuli as a softening-up process and declared that “ Only mischief-makers and those who did not know him would think so. Anyone who wanted to buy Chief would not find the price.”

—*NEW AGE* (South Africa)
14th December, 1961



"We do not need cowards in our movement, people with shaky knees."