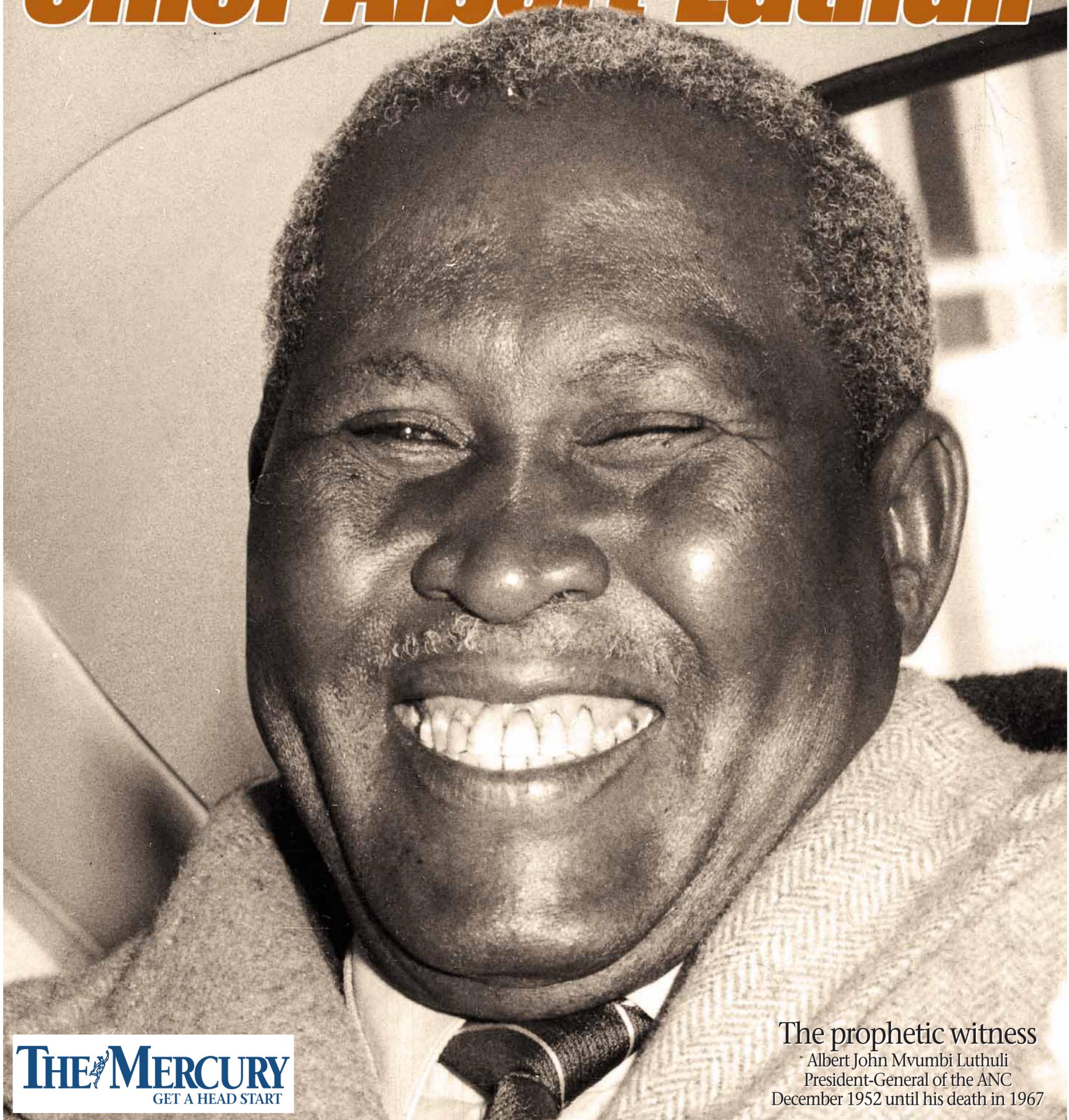


A Giant and a Foot Soldier

Chief Albert Luthuli



THE MERCURY
GET A HEAD START

The prophetic witness
Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli
President-General of the ANC
December 1952 until his death in 1967



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

**We salute Chief Albert Luthuli
our Great Leader**



BUILDING A BETTER FUTURE TOGETHER



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

Chief Albert Luthuli

THE MERCURY
GET A HEAD START

“What we need is the courage that rises with danger. – Luthuli, in his Nobel Peace Prize lecture, December 1961”

A leader and a man of the people



THE white berries on the Assegai tree outside Parliament have just finished flowering. Beautiful, some have turned pink, some red. Soon, they will attract loeries and doves, bats, even monkeys – drawn into the strong branches that even Cape Town’s most vicious southeaster can barely bend.

It’s a powerful evergreen that will still live for at least another 20 years, planted five years after the first elections to mark the distinguished life of Chief Albert Luthuli.

If it was climbing to its full height in a forest, in a different time, its trunk and branches would have been cut to make the shafts of real assegais.

It’s the right tree, an indigenous tree, to symbolise a great man and it’s in the right position – outside the buildings whose doors Luthuli so longed to see opened.

The Assegai was planted in 1999, about 100 years after Luthuli was born near Bulawayo in then-Rhodesia. His humble, God-fearing parents had travelled far across the colonial borders as ardent Seventh Day Adventist missionaries and he was their third son – given the name Albert John by his father, John Bunyan Luthuli, and the name Mvumbi by his mother, Mtonya. It is legendary that he always preferred his evocative Zulu name, meaning “continuous rain”, yet all his life he used “Albert”.

It would have been impossible to predict the extent to which the righteous young man, born oppressed into the late 19th-Century world of Western empires, would influence a nation. But with his broad smile, towering drive, warmth and constantly flowering zeal, Luthuli would not stand back for anyone against injustice. Although his father died when he was a baby, he carried a fearless morality which would be the making of him. It would, almost certainly, result in his cruel death in July 1967 when his body was found on railway tracks.

A 69-year-old Luthuli, who was still the President-General of the African National Congress, had apparently been out walking near his home in Grootville when he was hit by a train. Grief-stricken, few believed the official explanation and so the tragedy remains a mystery that has yet to be solved.

While Luthuli always paid admiring tribute to the exceptional men of the African National Congress who went before him – the John Dubes and the Pixley kaSemes – he accomplished some of the most moving achievements in the history of the country. Despite savage laws and State-sponsored violence, the masses were drawn under his leadership from 1952 into significant acts of power.

Luthuli was not young, at nearly 50, when he first took up his national role in the ANC, but he had a mighty political career:

- Born in 1898 near Bulawayo in a Seventh Day Adventist mission
- In 1908, his mother sends him to the family’s traditional home at Umvoti Mission Reserve, Grootville, Natal
- In 1920, he gets a State bursary to train as a teacher at Adams College
- He joins the education college staff where he teaches and lectures
- In 1935, he accepts the chieftaincy of Grootville reserve
- He goes home to become an administrator of tribal affairs for the next 17 years
- In 1938, he travels to India for a missionary conference

The massive Defiance Campaign, the drafting and adoption of the Freedom Charter; the formation of the non-racial Congress Alliance, the women’s Anti-Pass March on the Union Buildings and heightened political activity throughout the cities and country towns of South Africa all took place while Luthuli earned the praise of the working poor and international leaders.

In marking the centenary of his birth at a celebration in kwaDukuza in 1998, then-

TIMELINE

- In 1946, ANC leader John L Dube dies, and Luthuli begins his political career out of winning a by-election
- In 1948, he spends nine months touring the United States for the church
- In 1951, he becomes Natal provincial president of the ANC
- In 1952, the Defiance Campaign sets him on a path of direct conflict with the apartheid State
- In November 1952, the government dismisses him from his position as Chief
- In 1959, he is banned to the Lower Tugela district for five years
- In March 1960, as the Sharpeville massacre is unfolding, he is testifying in court for the remaining trialists
- The apartheid government bans the ANC and other liberation organisations
- Luthuli publicly burns his Pass in Pretoria, and is detained until August
- In 1961, a year after he was named as the Nobel Peace Prize winner, he travels to Oslo to receive his award
- On July 21, 1967, while walking near his Grootville village home, Luthuli died after being said to have been hit by a train

President Nelson Mandela described Luthuli as “a colossus and yet a foot soldier of our people”. The two titans were in court together, alongside Luthuli’s successor Oliver Tambo, in the first Rivonia Trial of 1956. And although there was a fracturing in their relationship when Mandela launched the people’s army, Umkhonto we Sizwe – apparently against Luthuli’s avowed non-violent principles – the other Nobel Peace Prize winner always

claimed Luthuli as a master and mentor.

“His memory will last forever to us who worked with him and followed in his footsteps,” said Mandela. “This giant chose persecution, including the fact of being deposed as an elected chief by a regime that despised everything African and democratic. In doing so he taught us the lesson that real leaders must be ready to sacrifice all for the freedom of their people.”

Mandela said that the words

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Luthuli had spoken after the Rivonia trialists were sentenced in 1964 (see this page) had held them rapt “through the prison years. “He evoked the vision of a peaceful, united and just society which sustained our people through the long years of struggle.”

Luthuli studied his lifelong Christian values from his parents and then his uncle Martin – who was chief of the Umvoti Mission Reserve in Grootville, where Luthuli grew up – and became a Methodist lay

preacher and teacher at a young age.

His life would take an irrevocable political switch in 1935, when the elders of the Abase-Makolweni Tribe asked him to accept the Grootville chieftaincy. Luthuli remained true to the precious rigours of that position – “a servant of (my) people.. the voice of (my) people.. part and parcel of the tribe, and not an agent of the government” – for the next 17 years until the apartheid State dismissed him in 1952.

Luthuli had become dangerous to it. A year before, he had become the Natal provincial leader of the ANC – which was still a legal organisation at that time. But it had been six years of increasingly exuberant political influence that had turned Luthuli into a target for the National Party. Since 1946, when the esteemed ANC leader Dube died, Luthuli had been drawn deeper and deeper into nascent revolutionary politics.

By 1952, he would be elected ANC president-general, the majority of those who elected him affected by his Christian charisma, and his down-to-earth understanding of traditional leadership.

In 1967, the raising of the ANC’s black, green and gold flag in public, in front of the apartheid police, was almost unknown. The raising of the right thumb, the ANC salute, was a gesture for the underground. The wearing of khaki uniforms at a funeral for a

fallen hero would have been almost taboo. The open singing of Nkosi sikelel’ iAfrika would have been an anthem for danger.

Yet under clear skies on a July morning, when Luthuli was buried, it was with the ANC flag hoisted in many of the 10 000 hands of those at his funeral in the Grootville African Reserve. His coffin was surrounded by solemn men and women wearing the black berets and green blouses of the liberation movement. There were thumbs raised. Those people who had been herded into the section of the church designated for Natives, audaciously sang Enoch Sontonga’s old church hymn.

All around them were the police. All white. All waiting. There wasn’t much they could do at that moment. There were too many Western diplomats among the crowd and in the church. But no-one there would not say their farewells appropriately.

Chief Albert Luthuli was the ANC leader; a man of the people, and his words would resonate: “(Our) policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity.”

And his prescience, delivered out of his own commitment to the ordinary South Africans of all races, surely echoes: “Without leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come.”



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

We salute Chief Albert Luthuli the Farmer



Chief Albert Luthuli



"Indeed we do need in this world of ours at the present moment peace and friendship. These are becoming very rare commodities in the world. – Luthuli, in his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, December 1961"

Statement by Chief Albert Luthuli on the conclusion of the Rivonia Trial

JUNE 12 1964

SENTENCES of life imprisonment have been pronounced on Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni in the Rivonia Trial

in Pretoria.

Over the long years, these leaders advocated a policy of racial co-operation, of goodwill, and of peaceful struggle that made the South African liberation movement one of the most ethical and responsible of our time. In the face of the most bitter racial persecution, they resolutely set themselves against racialism. In the face of continued provocation, they consistently chose the path of reason. The African National Congress, with allied

organisations representing all racial sections, sought every possible means of redress for intolerable conditions, and held consistently to a policy of using militant, non-violent means of struggle. Their common aim was to create a South Africa in which all South Africans would live and work together as fellow-citizens, enjoying equal rights without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed.

To this end, they used every accepted method: propaganda, public meetings and rallies, petitions, stay-at-home-strikes, appeals, boycotts. So carefully did they educate the people that in the four-year-long Treason

Trial, one police witness after another voluntarily testified to this emphasis on non-violent methods of struggle in all aspects of their activities.

But finally all avenues of resistance were closed. The ANC and other organisations were made illegal; their leaders jailed, exiled or forced underground. The government sharpened its oppression of the peoples of South Africa, using its all-white Parliament as the vehicle for making repression legal, and utilising every weapon of this highly industrialised and modern state to enforce that "legality".

The stage was even reached where a white spokesman for

the disenfranchised Africans was regarded by the Government as a traitor. In addition, sporadic acts of uncontrolled violence were increasing throughout the country. At first in one place, then in another; there were spontaneous eruptions against intolerable conditions; many of these acts increasingly assumed a racial character.

The ANC never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people.

However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other

oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage – freedom – no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.

For this, they are sentenced to be shut away for long years in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes for racial co-operation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife.

They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South

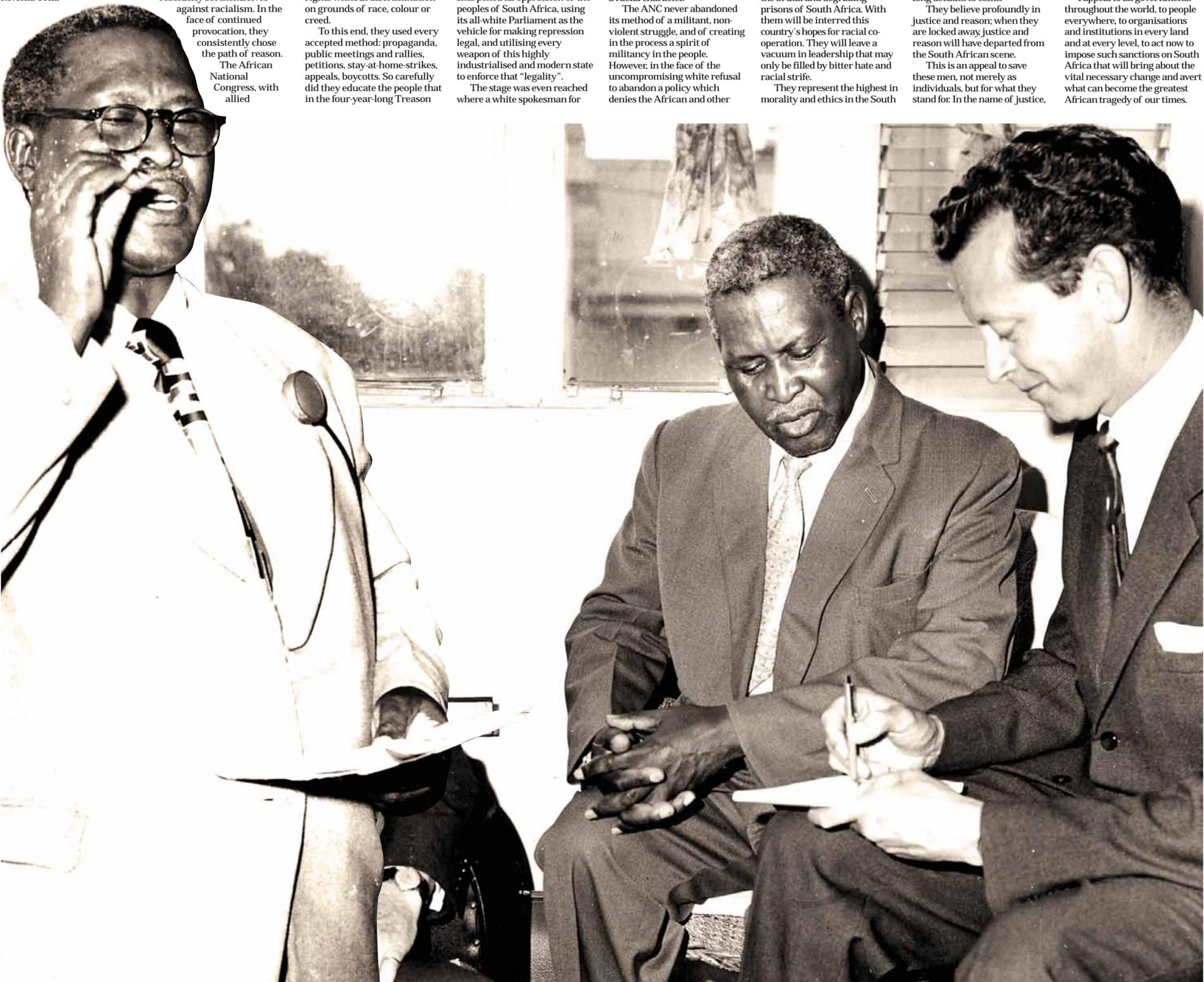
African political struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may never survive. Their policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come.

They believe profoundly in justice and reason; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene.

This is an appeal to save these men, not merely as individuals, but for what they stand for. In the name of justice,

of hope, of truth and of peace, I appeal to South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America. In the name of what we have come to believe Britain and America stand for, I appeal to those two powerful countries to take decisive action for full-scale action for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of apartheid.

I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to organisations and institutions in every land and at every level, to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times.

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

Sikwethulela isigqoko Madlanduna





PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

Chief Albert Luthuli

THE MERCURY
GET A HEAD START



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

**We salute Chief Albert Luthuli
the Educator**





Chief Albert Luthuli

THE MERCURY
GET A HEAD START

“It is important to stress the fact that he continued with his method of non-violence to his death. – Dr Kenneth Kaunda, in the second Chief Albert Luthuli memorial speech, October 2005, University of KwaZulu-Natal”

Chief Albert Luthuli’s Nobel lecture

NOBEL Peace Prize laureate Chief Albert Luthuli delivered his Nobel lecture in the auditorium of the University of Oslo.

The occasion saw some firsts in Nobel ceremonies. Luthuli was asked to bring his wife Nokukhanya to the platform, which was something that had never been done before done, and after much applause at the end of his lecture, Luthuli sang in Zulu the anthem, Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika, joined by other Africans who were at the ceremony.

The text of his lecture is taken from Les Prix Nobel en 1961. But it is a recording of it which reveals Luthuli’s marvellous delivery including an informal, quite amusing opening paragraph which is not in the prepared text.

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 Grootville, a name many of you have never heard before and which does not even feature on many maps – to be plucked from banishment in a rural backwater; to be lifted out of the narrow confines of South Africa’s internal politics and placed here 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 race 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 – 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 life, 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 criticised 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 those who fight to widen the area of liberty in my part of the world. As such, it is the 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 race problem as a simple clash between black and white. Our government has carefully 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 welcome recognition of the role played by the African people during the last 50 years to establish, peacefully, a society in which merit and not race would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation.

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 most bitterly stricken with racial conflict. How strange then it is that a man of Africa should be here 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 northernmost end of our continent, where war has raged for seven years, to the centre and to the south there are battles being

“Though I speak of Africa as a single entity, it is divided in many ways by race, language, history and custom; by political, economic and ethnic frontiers. But in truth, despite these multiple divisions, Africa has a single common purpose and a single goal – the achievement of its own independence.”

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 CW de Kiewiet, president of the University of Rochester, United States, in a Hoernlé 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.”

Professor DV Cowen, then professor of comparative law at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, in a Hoernlé 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 favorably 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 development of Africa. Only now is our continent coming into its own and recapturing its own fate from foreign rule.

Though I speak of Africa as a single entity, it is divided in many ways by race, language, history and custom; by political, economic and ethnic frontiers. But in truth, despite these multiple divisions, Africa has a single common purpose and a single goal – the achievement of its own independence.

All Africa, both lands which have won their political victories but have still to overcome the legacy of economic

backwardness, and lands like my own whose political battles have still to be waged to their conclusion – all Africa has this single aim: our goal is a united Africa in which the standards of life and liberty are constantly expanding, in which the ancient legacy of illiteracy and disease is swept aside, in which the dignity of man is rescued from beneath the heels of colonialism which have trampled it.

This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means of books, representations, demonstrations and in some places armed force provoked by the adamancy of white rule, carries the only real promise of peace in Africa. Whatever means have been used, the efforts have gone to end alien rule and race oppression.

There is a paradox in the fact that Africa qualifies for such an award in its age of turmoil and revolution. How great is the paradox and how much greater the honour that an award in support of peace and the brotherhood of man should come to one who is a citizen of a country where the brotherhood of man is an illegal doctrine – outlawed, banned, censured, proscribed and prohibited. Where to work, talk or campaign for the realisation in fact and deed of the brotherhood of man is hazardous, punished with banishment or confinement without trial or imprisonment. Where effective democratic channels to peaceful settlement of the race problem have never existed these 300 years and where white minority power rests on the most heavily armed and equipped military machine in Africa.

This is South Africa. Even here, where white rule seems determined not to change its mind for the better, the spirit of Africa’s militant struggle for liberty, equality and independence asserts itself.

I,

together with thousands of my countrymen, have in the course of the struggle for these ideals, been harassed and imprisoned, but we are not deterred in our quest for a new age in which we shall live in peace and in brotherhood.

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa. Its social system, its politics, its economics and its laws have forced themselves on the attention of the world. It is a museum piece in our time, a hangover from the dark past of mankind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying.

Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is worshipped like a god. Few white people escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men are unquestionably superior; efficient, clever, industrious and capable; that black men are, equally unquestionably, inferior; slothful, stupid, evil and clumsy. On the basis of the mythology that “the lowest amongst them is higher than the highest amongst us”, it is claimed that white men build everything that is worthwhile in the country – its cities, its industries, its mines, and its agriculture and that they

alone are thus fitted and entitled as of right to own and control these things, while black men are only temporary sojourners in these cities, fitted only for menial labor, 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 thrown 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



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

**We salute Chief Albert Luthuli
the Traditional Leader**



Chief Albert Luthuli



“The ideals of Nobel should not merely be accepted or even admired, they should be lived, with a stress on, they should be lived! – Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, December 1961”

Chief Albert Luthuli's Nobel lecture continued...

*“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”*

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 percent of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market and railways are 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 exclusively preserves of whites. For the fact that the education of every white child costs about £64 per year while that of an African child costs about £9 per year and that of an Indian child or coloured child costs about £20 per year. For the fact that white education is universal and compulsory up to the age of 16, while education for the non-white children is scarce and inadequate. And for the fact that almost one million Africans a year are arrested and jailed 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 our 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 crackpot group on the fringe of society or by Ku Klux Klansmen, of whom we have a sprinkling. It is the deliberate policy of a government, supported actively by a large part of the white population and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white majority; but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white

minority who have thrown 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 in Europe, were closed in on the tip of South Africa – and so missed the wind of progressive change.

In the wake of that decline and retrogression, bitterness between men grows to alarming 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 whippings.

All the trappings of medieval backwardness and cruelty come to the fore. Education is being reduced to an instrument of subtle indoctrination; slanted and biased reporting in the organs of public information, a creeping censorship, book banning and blacklisting – all these spread their shadows over the land.

This is South Africa today, in the age of Africa's greatness.

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 tradition of struggle for our national rights, reaching back to the very beginnings of white settlement and conquest 300 years ago. Our history is one of opposition to domination, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny.

Consider some of our great names: the great warrior and nation builder Shaka, who welded tribes together into the Zulu nation from which I spring; Moshoeshe, the statesman and nation-builder who fathered the Basotho nation and placed Basotholand 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 forebears who, in 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 worthwhile for us, their offspring. While 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, have been given to the

pursuance of this method, in an attempt to avert disaster in the interests of South Africa, and [we] 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 overran 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 has, at one time or another in its 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 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 aspect 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 the white arrogance toward 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 vaingloriousness.

We know that in so doing we passed up opportunities for an easy demagogic appeal to the natural passions of a people denied freedom and liberty; 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 ANC to invite members of other racial groups who believe with us in the brotherhood of man and in the freedom of all people to join with us

in establishing a non-racial, democratic South Africa. Thus the ANC 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 ideas.

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 those 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 in non-segregated 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.

On these principles we are uncompromising. To compromise would be an expediency that 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 a community turn sour even in the mouths of those who eat them.

Thus apartheid in 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 redeem uneasy race relations – "trusteeship", "separate development", "race federation" and elsewhere, "partnership". These are efforts to sidetrack 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 that mankind has

striven for throughout the ages. They do great offence to man's sublime aspirations that have remained true in a 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.

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 white man claims resolutely proprietary rights over democracy – a universal heritage. High among them – the things that have sustained us – stand: the magnificent support of the progressive people and governments throughout the world, among 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; organisations who share the outlook we embrace in countries scattered right across the face of the globe; the UN 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 fulfillment. 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.

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 sees her destiny is a more vital and rewarding quest than bemoaning her past, with its humiliations and sufferings.

The address could do no more than pose some questions and lead it to the African leaders and peoples to provide satisfying answers and responses by their concern 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 (from A Psalm of Life by Longfellow)*

Still licking the scars of past wrongs perpetrated on her, could she not be magnanimous and practice no revenge? Her hand of friendship scornfully rejected, her pleas for justice and fair play spurned, should she not nonetheless seek to turn enmity into amity? Though robbed of her lands, her independence and opportunities – this, 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 Africa flavour enriched by the diversity of cultures she enjoys, thus building on the summits of present human achievement an edifice that would be one of the finest tributes to the genius of man?

She should see this hour of her fulfillment as a challenge to her to labour on 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 monumental 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 others which are the legacy of colonial days, will tax to the limit the statesmanship, ingenuity, altruism and steadfastness of African leadership and its unbending avowal to 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" (Isaiah). 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 the swords into ploughshares" (Isaiah) because two-thirds of mankind is hungry and illiterate.

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 happiness 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.

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PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

We salute Chief Albert Luthuli the Preacher





Chief Albert Luthuli



*“He taught us the lesson that real leaders must be ready to sacrifice all for the freedom of their people.
– Nelson Mandela at the Chief Albert Luthuli centenary celebration, KwaDukuza, April 1998”*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM IS VIA THE CROSS

Statement by Luthuli, issued after the announcement on November 12, 1952, of his dismissal as chief



ALBERT Luthuli was dismissed from his position as chief of his people in November 1952. He was a danger to the new apartheid state, and it had to try and silence him by all means. His response was to write one of the most profound speeches ever told: *The Road to Freedom is Via the Cross*. It was a statement of belief – in non-racialism,

non-violence and the quest after justice. A month later, Luthuli succeeded then-ANC President James Moroka, and he would be confirmed in the position two more times, surviving the banning of the organisation in 1960, his own bannings and the brutality of a government that would stop at nothing to promote white supremacy.

I HAVE been dismissed from the chieftainship of the Abase-Makolweni Tribe in the Grootville Mission Reserve. I presume that this has been done by the Governor-General in his capacity as Supreme Chief of the “Native” people of the Union of South Africa, save those of the Cape Province. I was democratically elected to this position in 1935 by the people of Grootville Mission Reserve and was duly approved and appointed by the Governor-General. Previous to being a Chief, I was a school teacher for about 17 years. In these past 30 years or so, I have striven with tremendous zeal and patience to work for the progress and welfare of my people and for their harmonious

relations with other sections of our multi-racial society in the Union of South Africa.

In this effort I always pursued what liberal-minded people rightly regarded as the path of moderation. Over this great length of time I have, year after year, gladly spent hours of my time with such organisations as the church and its various agencies such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and the now defunct Native Representative Council.

In so far as gaining citizenship rights and opportunities for the unfettered development of the African people, who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door?

What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress – until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all: no adequate land for our occupation, our only asset, cattle dwindling, no security of homes, no decent and remunerative

employment, more restrictions to freedom of movement through passes, curfew regulations, influx control measures.

In short we have witnessed in these years an intensification of our subjection to ensure and protect white supremacy.

It is with this background, and with a full sense

of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress (Natal), I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner.

Because of my association with the ANC in this new spirit which has found an effective and legitimate way of expression in the non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign, I was given a two-

week limit ultimatum by the Secretary for Native Affairs calling upon me to choose between the ANC and the chieftainship of the Grootville Mission Reserve.

He alleged that my association with Congress in its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign was an act of disloyalty to the State. I did not, and do not, agree with this view. Viewing Non-Violent Passive

Resistance as a non-revolutionary and, therefore, a most legitimate and humane political pressure technique for a people denied all effective forms of

constitutional striving, I saw no real conflict in my dual

leadership of my people: leader of the tribe as

Chief and political leader in Congress.

I saw no cause to resign from either: This stand of mine which

resulted in my being sacked from the chieftainship might seem foolish and disappointing to

some liberal and moderate Europeans and non-Europeans with whom I have worked these

many years and with whom I still hope to work. This is no parting of the ways but “a launching further

into the deep”. I invite them to join us in our unequivocal pronouncement of all legitimate African aspirations and in our firm stand against injustice and

oppression.

I do not wish to challenge my dismissal but I would like to suggest that in the interest of the institution of chieftainship in these modern times of democracy, the

government should define more precisely and make more widely known the status, functions and privileges of Chiefs.

My view has been, and still is, that a Chief is primarily a servant of his people. He is the voice of his people. He is the voice of his people in local affairs. Unlike a

Native Commissioner, he is part and parcel of the tribe, and not a local agent of the government. Within the bounds of loyalty it is conceivable that he may voice and

press the claims of his people even if they should be unpalatable to the government of the day.

He may use all legitimate modern techniques to get these demands satisfied. It is inconceivable how Chiefs could

effectively serve the wider and common interest of their own tribe without co-operating with other leaders of the people, both the natural leaders (Chiefs) and

leaders elected democratically by the people themselves.

It was to allow for these wider associations intended to promote the common national interests of the people as

against purely local interests that the government, in making rules governing

Chiefs, did not debar them from joining political associations so long as these

associations had not been declared “by the Minister to be subversive of or prejudicial to constituted Government.”

The ANC – its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign – may be of no value to the government, but it is not subversive since it does not seek to overthrow the form and machinery of the State but only urges for the inclusion of all sections of the community in a partnership in the government of the country on the basis of equality.

Laws and conditions that tend to debase human personality – a God-given force – be they brought about by the State or other individuals, must be relentlessly opposed in the spirit of defiance shown by St Peter when he said to the rulers of his day: “Shall we obey God or man?”

No one can deny that in so far as non-whites are concerned in the Union of South Africa, laws and conditions that debase

human personality abound. Any Chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws.

If the government should resort to dismissing such Chiefs, it may find itself

dismissing many Chiefs or causing people to dismiss from their hearts chiefs who are

indifferent to the needs of the people through fear of dismissal by the government. Surely the government cannot place Chiefs in such an

uncomfortable and invidious position.

As for myself, with a full sense of responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for

extending democratic rights and re-sponsibilities to all sections of the South African community I have embraced the

non-violent Passive Resistance technique in fighting for freedom because I am

convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and humane way that could be

used by people denied, as we are, effective constitutional means to further

aspirations.

The wisdom or foolishness of this decision I place in the hands of the Almighty.

What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only

pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim

possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true

union in form and spirit of all the communities in the land.

My only painful concern at times is that of the welfare of my family but I try even in this regard, in a spirit of trust and

surrender to God’s will as I see it, to say: “God will provide.”

It is inevitable that in working for freedom, some individuals and some families must take the lead and suffer: the Road to Freedom is Via the Cross.

Mayibuye! Afrika! Afrika! Afrika!



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

**We salute Chief Albert Luthuli
the Father**



Chief Albert Luthuli's acceptance speech

On the occasion of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, December 10 1961. The prize was reserved in 1960 and distributed in 1961

YOUR Majesty, Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, here present! On an occasion like this words fail one. This is the most important occasion not only in my life, but in that of my dear wife, Nokukhanya, who shares with me this honour. For, friends, her encouragement, not just mere encouragement but active support, made me at times fear that she herself might end in jail one day. She richly shares with me this honour. I will now, Mr President, humbly present my speech of acceptance of this great honour. A significant honour which I feel I least deserve, Sir. I have committed into writing what I have to say, I will proceed to read that. This year, as in the years

Hammarskjöld lost his life. Of his work a great deal has been written, but I wish to take this opportunity to say how much I regret that he is not with us to receive the encouragement of this service he has rendered mankind.

I might here pause and interject, friends, to say as I was thinking of this unfortunate occasion that brought about the passing of Dag Hammarskjöld. I remember that many lives have been lost in Africa, starting with Livingstone of old to this day. Lives worthily lost to redeem Africa. It is significant that it was in Africa, my home continent, that he gave his life.

How many times his decisions helped to avert a world catastrophe will never be known. But

there are many of such occasions, I am sure. But there can be no doubt that he steered the United Nations through one 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, nay, anywhere, which brought about the tragic and untimely end to his life. This, the devoted Chief Executive of the world.

As you may have heard, when the South African Minister of Interior announced that, subject to a number of rather unusual conditions, I would be permitted to come to Oslo for this occasion, conditions, Mr President, made me literally to continue a bad man in the free Europe. He expressed the view that I did not deserve the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960. Such is the magic of a peace prize, that it has even managed to produce an issue on which I agree with the Government of South Africa. I don't think there are very many issues on which we agree. Although for different reasons.

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, and I do so very deeply, when selected to receive it.

In this instance, the feeling is the deeper, not only because these elections 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 heavily-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 men. Yes, it is idle to speak of our country as being in peace, because there can be no peace in any part of the world where there are people oppressed. For that reason South Africa has been, and continues to be, the focus of world attention. I therefore regard this award as a recognition of the sacrifice made by many 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, all the people of South Africa, especially the freedom-loving people, that I accept this award, that I acknowledge this honour. I accept it also as an honour not only to South Africa, but for the whole continent of Africa, to this continent, Mother Africa!

To all its people, whatever their race, colour or creed might be, and indeed, friends, I like to say, quite long ago my forefathers extended a hand of friendship to people of Europe when they came to that continent. What has happened to the extension of that hand only history can say, and it is not time to speak about that here, but I would like to say, as I receive this prize of peace, that the hand

of Africa was extended. It was a hand of friendship, if you read history.

It is an honour for the peace-loving people of the entire world and an encouragement for us all to redouble our efforts in this struggle for peace and friendship, for indeed we do need in this world of ours at the present moment peace and friendship. These are becoming very rare commodities in the world. For my part, I am deeply conscious of the added responsibility which this 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 one.

As I said it is idle to speak of peace anywhere where there are people still suffering under oppression. I can only pray, friends, that the almighty will give me the strength to make my humble contribution to the peaceful solution of South Africa's and indeed, the world's problems, for it is not just South Africa or Africa there are other parts of the world where there are tensions, and those places are sorely in need of peace, as we are in my own continent, as we are in my own area of South Africa.

Happily, I am only one among millions who have dedicated their lives to the service of mankind, who have given time, property and life to ensure that all men shall live in peace and happiness, and I like to here say, that there are many in my country who are doing so.

I have already said I have noticed this award on behalf of all freedom-loving peoples who work day and night to make South Africa what it ought to be. It is appropriate, Your Majesty, Mr President, at this point, to mention the late Alfred Nobel to whom we owe our presence here and who, by establishing the Nobel Foundation, placed responsibility for the maintenance of peace on the individual.

It is so easy sometimes to hide under groups when you do very little for a cause. Here the stress is on the individual, so making peace, no less than war, is the concern of every man and woman on earth, whether they be in Senegal or Berlin, in

Washington or in the shattered towns of South Africa. However humble the place, it can make its contribution also, it is expected to make its contribution to peace.

It is this call for quality in the late Nobel's ideals which have won for the Nobel Peace Prize the importance and universal recognition which it enjoys. For indeed it enjoys deservedly this universal recognition. 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, with a stress on, they should be lived!

It is so easy to admire a person, to admire what he or she stood for or stands for, and yet shrink from cutting off the mission of the present. The challenge, friends, is for us to live the ideals that Nobel tried to uphold in the world as enshrined in the Nobel Peace Prize and other prizes which he bequeathed to mankind.

Scientific inventions, at all conceivable levels should enrich human life, not threaten 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 ensure itself against self-destruction. Indeed the challenge is for us to ensure the world from self-destruction.

In our contribution to peace we are resolved to end such evils as oppression, white supremacy and race discrimination, all of which are incompatible with world peace and security. There is indeed a threat to peace.

In some quarters it is often doubted whether the situation in South

Africa is a threat to peace, it is no doubt that any situation where men have to struggle for their rights is a threat to peace. We are encouraged to know, by the very nature of the award made for 1960 that in our efforts we are serving our fellow men in the world over.

May the day come soon, when the people 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 amongst men", as was announced by the angels when that great messenger of peace, Our Lord came to earth.

* From Les Prix Nobel en 1960, edited by Göran Liljestrand (Nobel Foundation) Stockholm, 1961



A LOVE AFFAIR FOR LIFE: Chief Albert Luthuli and his wife Nokukhanya, who fell in love in the 1920s



Presentation Speech by Gunnar Jahn, Chairman of the Nobel Committee

THIS year the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament has awarded two Peace Prizes. The prize for 1960 goes to Albert John Luthuli, and the prize for 1961 is awarded posthumously to Dag Hammarskjöld.

In many respects these two recipients differ widely. Albert John Luthuli's life and work have been molded by the pattern of the African tribal community and by the influence of Christianity, while Dag Hammarskjöld's were a product of Western culture. Luthuli's activities have been, and are, confined to his own country, while Dag Hammarskjöld worked in the international sphere. Yet despite these differences, they had one thing in common: both fought to implant the idea of justice in the individual, in the nation, and among the nations; or we might put it like this: they fought for the ideals expressed in the declaration of human rights embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

Albert John Luthuli was born in 1898. He comes from a long line of Zulu chiefs, but he was influenced by Christianity in his school days and in his later education, first in the American mission school he attended and afterwards during his training as a teacher. After passing his examination at Adams College in Natal, he became a faculty member of the college, where he taught, among other subjects, the history of the Zulu people. During his seventeen years as a teacher, he took no part in the political life of South Africa.

In 1935 a great change took place in Luthuli's life when he was called to assume the functions of tribal chief. The choice of a chief must be approved by the state, which pays his salary. It was on the basis of this authority that the government was able to remove him in 1952. His seventeen years as a chief brought him daily contact with the individual members of the tribal community, as well as an active part in the work of the Christian church in South Africa, in India, and in the United States.

Both as a teacher and later as a chief, Luthuli did outstanding work. He took his duties as chief very seriously and in doing so won the affection of his tribe. He endeavored to blend its ancient culture with the precepts of Christianity and to promote its economic welfare in various ways—for example, by introducing new methods of sugar production.

Describing this period of his life, he tells us: "Previous to being a chief I was a school teacher for about seventeen years. In these past thirty years or so, I have striven with tremendous zeal and patience to work for the progress and welfare of my people and for their harmonious relations with other sections of our multiracial society in the Union of South Africa. In this effort I always pursued the path of moderation. Over this great length of time I have, year after year, gladly spent hours of my time with such organizations as the church and its various agencies, such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, and the now defunct Native Representative Council."

But it was neither as a teacher, nor as a chief, nor as an active member of various Christian organizations that he took a focal position in what was to be his great effort in the post war years.

The forces that induced Albert John Luthuli to abandon his tranquil educational activities and enter politics were unleashed by the increasing pressure which the ruling white race exerted on members of other races in South Africa. In 1944 he became a member of the African National Congress, an organization founded in 1912. In 1952 he was elected its president, an office he held until the Congress was banned in 1960. It is first and foremost for the work he carried on during these years—from the 1940s to the present—that we honor him today.

To get some idea of Luthuli's achievements, we must know something of the society in which he worked. The white population of South Africa settled there in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The first settlers were French Huguenots, followed later by Dutch farmers. They cleared the land, and their descendants—the Boers—have lived there ever since. They look upon the country as their fatherland; they have no other. The English settlers, who arrived on the scene at the end of the eighteenth century, maintained close contact with their mother country.

The first natives whom the Dutch pioneers met were Hottentots and Bushmen. The Hottentots have now virtually disappeared as a separate racial entity; but through intermarriage with European and other races they have contributed in large measure to the racial characteristics of those so-called "the colored people".

When the Boers moved into the interior, they encountered other native tribes, among them the Zulus, whom they fought and conquered. These tribes constitute the largest part of the population of South Africa today. In the course of time other racial elements were added: the Dutch imported a number of Malays from the East Indies as slaves, while the British introduced Indian labor to the sugar plantations. In the nineteenth century two communities took shape: the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and the British colony of South Africa, both ruled by whites. At the turn of the century these two communities fought the Boer War of 1899-1902, from which Britain finally emerged victorious. The ultimate result was that the Union of South Africa was set up as an independent British Dominion in 1901. At that time the outside world heard little about relations between whites and nonwhites.

During the fifty years that have since elapsed, South Africa, in common with so many other countries, has developed from an agricultural community into one in which mining, industry, trade, and other such operations now predominate. As in other such countries, the urban population has increased rapidly.

The present-day population of South Africa is some 14.7 million, of whom only some 3.3 million are white. Of the

Mr. Jahn delivered this speech on December 10, 1961, in the auditorium of the University of Oslo. At its conclusion he presented the Peace Prize for 1960 (reserved in that year) to Mr. Luthuli, who accepted in a brief speech. The English translation of Mr Jahn's speech is, with certain editorial changes and emendations, made after collation with the Norwegian text, that is carried in Les Prix Nobel en 1960, which also includes the original Norwegian text.

remainder, 9.6 million are Africans, some 0.4 million Asian (mainly Indians) and 1.4 million of mixed race (the so-called colored people). Of the 9.6 million Africans, some 3.3 million live in the agricultural districts of the whites, a large proportion of them as agricultural workers on white farms; 3.7 million live in the African reservations; and 2.6 million live in the towns.

Although some of these figures are only approximate, they still present a picture of a community whose economy and therefore future are dependent on cooperation between all races. The figures testify to the fact that people of all races have helped to build this community. The whites could never have done it alone. This is an incontestable fact. But what is the position of the nonwhite population?

In this community, nonwhites are denied all right to participate in the government of the state. They are discriminated against legally, economically, and socially. And this discrimination between whites and nonwhites has grown steadily during the postwar years. The aim of those now ruling the country is to draw a line between the two communities—between whites and nonwhites—despite the fact that the march of events has clearly shown that the whole community has been developed by the efforts of all races. I cannot here go into the network of laws and regulations passed in order to maintain the barrier between whites and nonwhites. The purpose of these laws is to restrict and regulate every facet of the life of the nonwhite. He has no vote, he has no part in determining his own status; under the pass system, he is deprived not only of the right to live where he likes but also of the right to choose his employer; he has virtually no redress against police tyranny; he is not entitled to the same schooling or education as the white; and any sexual relation between white and nonwhite entails punishment for both parties. An African Christian is frequently not allowed to worship God under the same roof as a white Christian. In short, nonwhites are treated as a subject race.

It is surprising then that the nonwhites have protested



Natal Section in 1945 and in 1951 became president of the

Natal Section. In December, 1952, he was elected president of the entire African National Congress, a position he retained until the organization was banned by the government in 1960.

It was during these transitional years of adopting stronger action, based on boycotts, defiance campaigns, and strikes, that Luthuli came to influence so profoundly the African National Congress. He says himself that the Congress never passed any specific resolution to the effect that its struggle was to be pursued by nonviolent means. Actually, however, it has been waged with peaceful means, a policy at all times supported by the Congress administration. Luthuli himself has always been categorically opposed to the use of violence. Within the organization he has had to overcome opposition from two different quarters: from the older members, who supported the more passive approach, and from those members—mainly the younger ones—who wanted to make South Africa an entirely nonwhite state.

As a result of Luthuli's 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 the Congress. He refused to comply with either of these alternatives and was immediately deposed as chief, whereupon he issued his significant declaration entitled "The Chief Speaks", which concludes with the words: "The Road to Freedom is via the Cross." In his declaration, he says:

"What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of Laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all: no adequate land for our occupation, our only asset, cattle, dwindling, no security of homes, no decent and remunerative employment, more restrictions to freedom of movement through passes, curfew regulations, influx control measures; in short, we have witnessed in these years an intensification of our subjection to ensure and protect white supremacy.

It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress (Natal), I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and nonviolent manner...

The African National Congress, its nonviolent Passive Resistance Campaign, may be of nuisance value to the Government, but it is not subversive since it does not seek to overthrow the form and machinery of the State but only urges for the inclusion of all sections of the community in a partnership in the Government of the country on the basis of equality.

Laws and conditions that tend to debase human personality—a God-given force—be they brought about by the State or other individuals, must be relentlessly opposed in the spirit of defiance shown by St. Peter when he said to the rulers of his day: Shall we obey God or man? No one can deny that

insofar as nonwhites are concerned in the Union of South Africa, laws and conditions that debase human personality abound. Any chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws...

It is inevitable that in working for Freedom some individuals and some families must take the lead and suffer: the Road to Freedom is via the Cross."

In 1952, after he had been dismissed from his position as chief and had been elected president of the African National Congress, he was forbidden to leave his home district for two years. In 1954 he went to Johannesburg to address a meeting which had been called to protest the forced evacuation of colored people from Sophiatown to Meadowlands. He was refused permission to speak and was banned for another period of two years from leaving his home district.

In 1956, together with 155 other persons, he was arrested and charged with high treason. In 1957 the charge against him and sixty-four others was withdrawn; the rest were all acquitted in 1961. In 1959 Luthuli took part in several mass meetings, but was again subjected to a travel ban, this time for a period of five years. In 1960 there was a large mass demonstration against the pass regulations which led to the events in Sharpeville, where police fired on the crowd, killing and wounding many. A state of emergency was declared and wholesale arrests were made. Luthuli, who had been summoned as a witness in the treason trial, which had dragged on ever since 1956, was among those arrested but was allowed to give evidence in the trial.

During the last year, he has lived at home, debarred from leaving his village and from taking part in any meetings. Moreover, he is now no longer president of the African National Congress, for this organization—as already mentioned—was dissolved by order of the government in April, 1960.

He now lives in his village, deprived of freedom of movement and of the right to speak in open debate, but he still maintains his avowed policy expressing his views in articles published in the newspaper Post. Just before the travel ban was imposed on him in December, 1919—the year before the Union of South Africa was to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation—he wrote a long article entitled "Fifty Years of Union—A Political Review," which he sent to the South Africa Institute of Race Relations. This presents, as far as I know, the clearest and the most complete statement of his position concerning the policy pursued by the government of South Africa.

In this article, his attack on the policies of the South African government is stronger and more detailed than before. This discussion and attack on the policy of apartheid and its plan that the nonwhite community should develop along its own lines is new. He asks: Who has drawn the lines? The answer is: Not those who are to follow them, the nonwhites, but the whites in power. The nonwhites have no

rights. There is therefore no reason, he says, for them to rejoice or to participate in the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration. The only thing for the nonwhites to do is to work, each and everyone, with courage and patience, to achieve freedom and democracy for all.

Since he wrote this, South Africa has become a republic and is no longer a member of the British Commonwealth. But this has not improved relations between whites and nonwhites, nor has it altered Luthuli's attitude in any way. He gives a most concise expression of the view he has always maintained in a letter to Prime Minister Stridom, in which he says: "We believe in a community where the white and the nonwhite in South Africa can live in harmony and work for our common fatherland, sharing equally the good things of life which our country can give us in abundance.

We believe in the brotherhood of peoples and in respect for the value of the individual. My congress has never given expression to hatred for any race in South Africa."

Time and again he has reiterated this, right up to the very present.

His activity has been characterized by a firm and unswerving approach. Never has he succumbed to the temptation to use violent means in the struggle for his people. Nothing has shaken him from this firm resolve, so firmly rooted is his conviction that violence and terror must not be employed. Nor has he ever felt or incited hatred of the white man.

Albert John Luthuli's fight has been waged within the borders of his own country; but the issues raised go far beyond them. He brings a message to all who work and strive to establish respect for human rights both within nations and between nations.

Well might we ask: will the nonwhites of South Africa, by their suffering, their humiliation, and their patience, show the other nations of the world that human rights can be won without violence, by following a road to which we Europeans are committed both intellectually and emotionally, but which we have all too often abandoned?

If the nonwhite people of South Africa ever lift themselves from their humiliation without resorting to violence and terror; then it will be above all because of the work of Luthuli, their fearless and incorruptible leader who, thanks to his own high ethical standards, has rallied his people in support of this policy, and who throughout his adult life has staked everything and suffered everything without bitterness and without allowing hatred and aggression to replace his abiding love of his fellowmen.

But if the day should come when the struggle of the nonwhites in South Africa to win their freedom degenerates into bloody slaughter, then Luthuli's voice will be heard no more. But let us remember him then and never forget that his way was unwavering and clear. He would not have had it so.

Let us all rise in silent and respectful tribute to Albert John Luthuli.



A lecture by Dr Kenneth Kaunda

Luthulu Memorial Lecture by the First President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, on October 21, 2005, at the Westville Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

It is a great honour and privilege for me to participate in the Luthuli Memorial Lecture here in Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. For it was in this region that young Albert Luthuli spent his formative years as a youth. The years that were crucial for the role he played in his adulthood in the liberation struggle of South Africa and the rest of the continent.

Today we are meeting to celebrate the life of a great man. A great son of Africa and indeed a world statesman... raised by parents with very strong Christian convictions.

This Christian upbringing had a lasting influence on him as he regarded people irrespective of their nationality, ethnicity or religious background as being equal. His deep conviction about the equality of all people can be summed up in one of his pronouncements and I quote: "We express our deep resentments at the claim by South Africa to determine and shape our destiny without consulting our wishes and arrogantly to assign us a position of permanent inferiority in our land, contrary to the plan and purpose of God our Creator, who created all men equal, and into us too, not to whites only, he breathed the divine spirit of human dignity".

...This reminds me of another world statesman and civil rights campaigner who led the campaign against racial discrimination in the United States of America. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr, who in his... I Have a Dream speech, appealed to all Americans for racial harmony and understanding. He envisaged his country where little children of all races would play together in peace and harmony. He envisaged a country where the colour of a person's skin did not determine his place in society.

...Chief Albert Luthuli was a man who deeply held the belief that domination of one race over another was wrong and against Christian principles. He strongly believed in the dignity of man irrespective of race. And growing up in a country where the whites discriminated against people of colour he had a calling to join the freedom struggle in South Africa.

...The role of Luthuli in the freedom struggle was instrumental in raising the level of awareness among the oppressed people that they were not inferior to the white people. He led a sustained campaign of defiance of the apartheid system through strikes and bus boycotts among other forms of civil disobedience. In all his years of struggle against apartheid, he employed the method of non-violence.

Like Mahatma Gandhi, Chief Luthuli preached a message of love, peace and harmony among all the people of the world. In my view, he was a true

servant of the people. As he himself remarked when he ascended to the throne as Chief at Groutville, I quote: "My view has been, and still is, that a

chief is primarily a servant of his people. His is a voice of his people."

Honest words from a sincere man, who always exhibited a deep sense of humility and unflinching courtesy towards others.

...It is also necessary to mention that although Chief Luthuli's preferred method of struggle was through non-violence, he understood fully well the daunting challenges his people were facing under the successive apartheid regimes. He knew that even peaceful demonstrations were quite often responded to with brutal force. He therefore did not criticise those who advocated for other means of struggle.

On this issue, he made the following observation, and I quote: "In the face of uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies heritage and freedom - no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods, nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order ultimately to establish peace and racial harmony."

Given his deep belief in non-violence, it can rightly be assumed that he clearly understood that in their journey to attain justice, freedom and nationhood, different tactical options may be preferred by various wings of the same struggle. It is important however, to stress the fact that, in spite of this pronouncement, he continued with his method of non-violence



MEETING OF MINDS: Chief Albert Luthuli, pictured with Yusuf Cachalia of the South African Indian Congress in the 1950s

to his death.

Director of Ceremonies, I am 81 years old now. I am an old freedom fighter and I remember that it was not easy to wage a peaceful campaign against the apartheid regime in South Africa. The leadership of Chief Albert Luthuli therefore, gave inspiration to many of us who joined the freedom struggle in our respective territories throughout Africa

Ladies and Gentlemen, as an old freedom fighter, this occasion evokes fond memories of the many other heroes who led their people to independence in their respective countries. Many of the people I used to call my heroes and friends are no more. To some, they were terrorists and troublemakers. But to many, they were heroes, liberators and leaders. Some of these are Patrice Lumumba, Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Seko Ture, Eduardo Mondlane, Jomo Kenyatta, Ben Bella, Amicar Calbral, Samora Machel, Abdul Nasser, Nnandi Azikiwe, Oliver Tambo and Chief Albert Luthuli, to mention but a few.

...The vision for Africa of these men was that following political independence, our succeeding generations would, in larger freedom, be able to move Africa to economic prosperity. Africa now has 53 independent nations. We must remember that our continent will not be developed by people from outside but by us, as Africans taking the lead to liberate ourselves.



Durban artist Vernon Vadivelu presented former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, right, with a portrait of Albert Luthuli (picture) at the Albert Luthuli Memorial



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI

We salute Chief Albert Luthuli the Musician





Message from the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal, Dr Zweli Mkhize

THIS year marks 50 years of the first-ever Nobel Peace Award to a person from the African continent, Inkosi Albert Mvumbi Luthuli - an outstanding leader of our people.

As the people of KwaZulu-Natal, we are celebrating his great contribution towards the creation of a prosperous country based on non-racialism, non-sexism, unity and equality.

The ushering in of democracy in our country and the advent of peace in our region is the best tribute in gratitude for his dedication to the cause of our freedom.

As we celebrate Inkosi Albert Luthuli's achievements, we need to remind ourselves that having a democratic government is a privilege we should never take for granted.

The people of KwaZulu-Natal salute Madlanduna.

Members of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Executive Council together here are (from left, seated): Mrs Lydia Johnson - Agriculture, Environmental Affairs and Rural Development; Ms Nomusa Dube - Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs; Premier Dr Zweli Mkhize; Ms Magesvari Govender - Human Settlements and Public Works; Mrs Weziwe Thusi - Arts and Culture, Sport and Recreation; (standing): Dr Meshack Radebe - Social Development; Dr Sibongiseni Dhlomo - Health; Mr Senzo Mchunu - Education; Mrs Ina Cronje - Finance; Mr Willies Mchunu - Transport, Community Safety & Liaison; Mr Michael Mabuyakhulu - Economic Development & Tourism.

Inaugural Albert Luthuli Memorial Lecture by the then President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the Westville Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal on March 20, 2004

IN the postscript to his book, *Let My People Go* (Fontana Books, 1962), Albert Luthuli writes about the momentous events of the late 1950s and early 1960s, and about the atrocious conditions under which Africans worked in the then Eastern Transvaal where every year, Africans who had been arrested as Pass offenders, were carted out of jail and forced to harvest potatoes with their bare hands under the regular whip lashes of both the white farmers and their "baasboys" and made to live in filthy hovels.

AJ Luthuli says their diet "is unmentionable, a good deal worse than prison fare for Africans - why keep them alive when there are more where they came from?" "Inspection" amounts to a call on the white farmer, and a little chat over coffee on the stoep. Murders, the result of prolonged beatings and semi-starvation, or of sudden fits of anger, are committed".

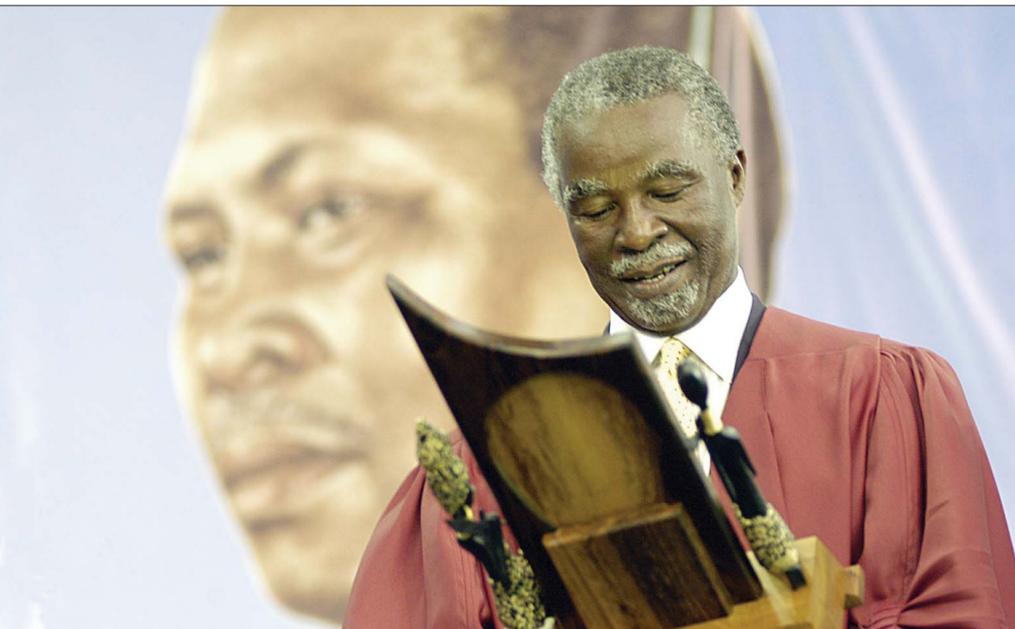
In the face of the criminal alliance between the apartheid state, the police and farmers, that led to these terrible conditions, the ANC initiated the Potato Boycott, which served as a stimulus for other mass actions against a whole range of oppressive measures and mobilising the mass of the

people of this country from Pondoland to Sekhukhuleni, from Zeerust to Alexandra Township and here in KwaZulu-Natal.

This momentum continued into 1960 and beyond, when resistance and defiance defined the lives of our people throughout our country.

Having observed the determination and fortitude of his people in the face of brutal force, and having realised that the struggle for freedom had gathered the necessary speed, Albert Luthuli entitled his article commenting on these events, "The Tempo Quickens!"

I have therefore given this lecture the same title, to pay tribute to this great African leader on the occasion of the posthumous conferral of an honorary Doctorate of Laws. We wish to take advantage of this solemn moment to report to him and other heroes and heroines, that after 10 years of the final defeat of colonialism and white minority domination on our continent, we are determined to quicken the tempo as we work to eradicate the legacy of the defeated double-headed monster, colonialism and apartheid, transforming this land of Albert Luthuli into a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society.



Framed by a gigantic picture of former ANC president Dr Albert Luthuli, the then President, Thabo Mbeki, pays tribute to the Nobel Peace Prize laureate at a ceremony held at the University of KwaZulu-Natal on March 20, 2004. PICTURE: S'BU MFEKA

I am therefore honoured to deliver this inaugural Albert Luthuli Lecture about an outstanding patriot whose life and principled commitment to the struggle for liberation should serve as an example to all of us as we engage the difficult and challenging task of translating his vision for his people and continent into reality.

By the end of the 19th century, when Albert Luthuli was born, the whole of Africa, with the exception of Ethiopia

and Liberia, was under different European colonial powers, despite the heroic struggles of Africans everywhere to defend their independence, fighting against the superior arms of the colonial invaders.

...During the colonial wars in our country, one war-obsessed English adventurer, Stephen Lakeman, gave his services to the British colonial rulers in the Cape. The historian Noel Mostert explains one of the grisly activities of Lakeman and the British imperial army, quoting from an account recorded during those years: "One of his (Lakeman's men) carried under his jacket a broken reaping-hook to cut the throats of the women and children we had been taken prisoner on our night expeditions. Lakeman, who carried a small copper vat with him for his 'Matutinal tubbing', found on one occasion that it had been commandeered by the surgeon of the 60th, the Royal American Regiment, who, for scientific interest, was boiling about two dozen Xhosa heads, which had been collected by Lakeman's own men."

Lakeman commented that: "(The colonial army) turned my vat into a cauldron for the removal of superfluous flesh. And there these men sat,

gravely smoking their pipes during the live-long night, and stirring round and round the heads in that seething boiler; as though they were cooking black-apple dumplings." (Frontiers, Jonathan Cape, 1992).

Undoubtedly, in the course of our long struggle for freedom here at home, in Africa and elsewhere, we have seen how those who engage in such indecent acts become, themselves, debased; and those who condone and justify inhuman behaviour also become debauched, ending up as demented souls.

By always remembering this rich history of our people, we would, like Luthuli, be further motivated to persist in our efforts as we face the many and varied challenges that confront us. Indeed, like Luthuli, we should do our work driven by the spirit of defiance, which says that however intractable the challenges may be, we come from those who have never been a docile lot.

We are descendants of those who see a setback and not a defeat, and accordingly use such reverses as an opportunity to learn, to go back to the planning room and rectify mistakes and shortcomings, emerging stronger.



Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Lecture

Delivered by His Excellency President Jacob Zuma at the Inkosi Albert Luthuli International Convention Centre, Durban

MEMBERS of the Luthuli Family Honourable Premier, Dr Zweli Mkhize Hon Minister of Arts and Culture Mr Paul Mashatile His Majesty King Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, isilo Samabandla Judge President of the province, Justice Qeda Msimang His Worship Mayor Obed Mlaba Honourable leader of the IFP, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi Fellow South Africans Sanibonani, Dumelang, Namaste!

We have come together on this special evening to celebrate the service to humanity of a man who left an indelible mark in our lives and our history, Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli.

This memorial lecture affords us the opportunity to celebrate the life and teachings of Chief Luthuli not only as an ANC leader, but also as a leader beyond the confines of the congress movement.

He made himself available to serve in many community structures, in various capacities. He is known as a traditional leader, lay preacher, devoted Christian, teacher, college choir-master, sports and cultural activist.

The fact that he was also a sugar cane farmer and led the Sugar Cane Growers Association proves his belief that you cannot divorce political emancipation from economic emancipation.

Given his outstanding leadership qualities, it is not surprising that the ANC awarded him the prestigious Isithwalandwe award, together with Father Trevor Huddleston and Dr Yusuf Dadoo at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, in 1955.

It was at this historic gathering of South Africans from all formations and walks of life that the Freedom Charter was adopted.

Compatriots, Of significance this year in 2010, is also the fact that we are marking 50 years of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Luthuli, on 10 December 1961.

He received the award with great humility and dedicated it to oppressed South Africans, Africans and all other downtrodden masses in the entire world.

He stated in his acceptance speech: "This Award could not be for me alone, nor for just South Africa, but for Africa as a whole".

That historic award was one of the most significant milestones in the history of our country and our continent. It was no small achievement for a nation that was still in bondage.

It confirmed that Chief Luthuli was the right leader at the right time for the ANC and our country. The Award added much needed energy and renewed focus on the international campaign against apartheid.

Compatriots, It is also truly befitting that in the year that we celebrate 50 years of the first Nobel Peace Prize to Africa, we also proved to the world that Africa is capable of taking up any challenge that comes her way.

We successfully hosted the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup tournament just a few months ago. Therefore, 2010 is a truly special year for our country and our continent.

The Nobel Peace Prize was not the only contribution of Chief Luthuli to the international pillar of our struggle.

He was actually the first South African to call for sanctions against this country, starting a movement that was to gather untold momentum in



President Jacob Zuma pass by University of KwaZulu-Natal vice chancellor Prof. Malegapuru Makgoba and KwaZulu-Natal premier and University of KwaZulu-Natal vice chancellor Dr. Zweli Mkhize after president delivered his lecture at the 4th chief Albert Luthuli memorial lecture held at Inkosi Albert Luthuli international convention centre. PHOTO: SIYABONGA MOSUNKUTU

later years of the struggle. For sustainable sanctions, the support of the international community was of the essence.

In a joint statement to the United Nations with Dr Martin Luther King Junior, entitled Chief Luthuli's Appeal for Action against Apartheid, in 1962, they stated, "Economic boycott is one way in which the world at large can bring home to the South African authorities that they must either mend their ways or suffer from them."

Chief Luthuli constantly emphasised the importance of international solidarity to end apartheid, and also the fact that South Africa's destiny was intertwined with that of Africa.

He believed that South Africa itself could not be free until all the oppressed peoples of the world were free.

Therefore his service to humanity was not confined to South Africa only.

Ladies and gentlemen, What is it about Chief Luthuli that made him stand out as a leader and statesman?

Like a true leader, he did not believe in words without effect, in action without results. He was an active agent of change.

We learn that at his first teaching post in Blaauwbosch, he emphasised the importance of intellectual development.

He would not let children suffer what oppressors had designed for them – to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.

As a chief of the abase-Makhohweni people in Grootville, he engrossed himself wholeheartedly in the problems and circumstances of his people far beyond the call of duty.

As a Christian, he demonstrated the practical relevance of his religion through his devotion to mankind and fighting tirelessly for the liberation of his people. Most importantly, Chief Luthuli was a born democrat. He believed in democracy. He practiced it, and made it his task to fight for democracy for this country. Addressing the South African Congress of Democrats meeting in Johannesburg in 1958, he stated, "To me democracy is such a lovely thing, that one can hardly hope to keep it away from other people. We don't live in Parktown, but we appreciate the beauties of Parktown. Can you ever lastingly cut off a human being from beauty? I suggest that democracy, being the fine thing it is, the apex of human achievement, cannot be successfully kept from the attainment of other men. I say not".

He was also known for his humility, which was the source

of his strength. For example, when he was approached for leadership of the ANC as Natal President, he was very reluctant, as he felt there were others more deserving. He stated once: "My ambitions are modest – they scarcely go beyond the desire to serve God and my neighbour, both at full stretch".

Disciplined and consultative, he asked comrades to determine if indeed it was the general feeling that he becomes a leader. Once he was satisfied of the process, he became the provincial President of the ANC.

He was later elected ANC President-General in 1952, having joined the organisation only in 1945.

The character of the ANC as an all-inclusive, non-racial broad church that was accommodative to all ideological persuasions was a defining feature of his presidency of the ANC.

It was during this period for example, that the relationship between communists and nationalists thrived within the congress movement, as he promoted tolerance and co-existence. Under his leadership, nobody felt out of place.

Compatriots, In celebrating the service to humanity of this illustrious son of Africa, we must highlight his commitment to a non-racial, democratic society.

We speak of unity in diversity, and that is what Chief Luthuli preached and practiced.

The Freedom Charter assertion that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, found true meaning in his leadership.

Again addressing the conference of the South African Congress of Democrats in 1958, he said, "I am not prepared to concern myself with such questions as: "Where have you come from?", "Do you come from the North?" or "Did you come from Europe?" It is not important. What is important for our situation is that we are all here.

"That, we cannot change. We are all here, and no one desires to change it or should desire to change it. And since we are all here, we must seek a way whereby we can realize democracy, so that we can live in peace and harmony in this land of ours."

Whatever we do, we must not fail his vision of a truly non-racial democratic society.

This is quite relevant on this special year, when we mark 150 years of the arrival of Indian indentured labourers in South Africa.

Chief Luthuli actively promoted relations between the ANC and the Natal Indian

Congress.

He worked to ensure sound relations between the two communities in Natal, sometimes under difficult conditions, given the apartheid divisions.

This was truly, a remarkable leader of all the people of South Africa, not just members of the African National Congress. He was ahead of his time.

The co-chair of the American Committee on Africa, Dr Martin Luther King Junior, could have referred to Chief Luthuli in the book "Strength to Love" published in 1963 when he said, "The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy".

This statement rings true when one thinks of the turbulent period of the 1950s into the 60s. The intensification of apartheid brutality ignited growing impatience with the apartheid government, and the need to intensify the struggle in different ways.

The period called for decisive leadership by Chief Luthuli and the ANC. Some of the critical campaigns and events which reflected the atmosphere of anger and impatience, and which led to a highly charged atmosphere in the country included the following:

The defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws in 1952

The 1957 Peasant Uprising in Lehurutse, Zeerust in the North West province

The Peasant Revolt in Sekhukhune, now known as "Motshabo" in the present day Limpopo

The Cato Manor march in Durban where rioting broke out in 1959 in protest against the city's beerhalls or eMatsheni, and the destruction of dipping tanks by women

The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960, in which 69 people were killed and scores were injured

Another protest march on 30 March 1960 by about 30 000 people from the townships of Langa and Nyanga in Cape Town

The Pondoland revolt in 1960 at Ngquzu Hill.

The ANC as a leader of society had to appropriately channel people's anger.

It had two choices – to take leadership or allow the situation to deteriorate leading to some adventurists taking over and leading the country to anarchy. Leading from the front, President-General Luthuli articulated the letter and spirit of MK, using an isiZulu analogy that uma isitha sikulandela size sifike emzini wakho, kufanele wenze njani

uma uyindoda? Uyasukuma uhoshe umkhonto uzilwele.

(If an enemy follows you to your home, what do you do as a man? You stand up, take your spear and fight back).

This is the analogy that Chief Luthuli made to name Umkhonto Wesizwe, the Spear of the Nation.

The situation led to the decision taken by the structures of the ANC clandestinely, to take up arms as an additional pillar of struggle, without abandoning peaceful protests and other forms of resistance.

Umkhonto Wesizwe was born.

This was to ensure that the struggle is led responsibly with leadership. We could not have a situation where the leadership tailed behind the masses and did not lead. The armed struggle was a well-thought out programme. This is why from the onset, the movement decided that in the course of MK operations, there must be an avoidance of loss of life, choosing sabotage and targeting of strategic installations.

It is important to note that Chief Luthuli was never meant to become the face of MK. Comrade Nelson Mandela was then appointed to lead MK as its first Commander-in-Chief.

As the commander of MK he had a duty to report to the leadership, and among these was the President-General. Thus, he was arrested in Howick having gone to report to the President-General.

Those who argue that Chief Luthuli may have not supported armed action need to appreciate the policies, practices and general traditions of the ANC, especially the quest for consensus.

Any member or leader of the ANC has a right to any view. However once a decision has been taken and agreed to by consensus, after

much debate and argument, it becomes a collective decision of the ANC.

Chief Luthuli states as much in an interview with Drum magazine conducted on 1 May 1953: "Accepting the presidency of congress, one should do so because he believes in the objectives of congress. Any man worthy of being president by his ability and prestige should make his influence felt in the organisation, so that what he says is given due consideration by his colleagues.

"But the final decision in any matter is the collective will of the executive or the national conference, as the case may be".

Compatriots and friends, This statement indicates his belief in the discipline of the collective, and the need to take responsibility for decisions that are taken in any organisation or institution.

From Chief Luthuli, we have learned the importance of humility, commitment, compassion and willingness to listen to others.

We have learned the importance of discipline, consistency and steadfastness in leadership.

We have also been reminded that the democracy and freedom we enjoy today came at great cost to many.

Therefore, we should guard our gains jealously, and commit ourselves to continuously promote and consolidate our hard won freedom and democracy. In only 16 years, we have the type of democracy and systems of governance that have been able to withstand many tests.

We sail through smoothly simply because our democracy is based on very sound and solid foundations. It is based on the teachings of our leaders such as Chief Albert Luthuli, from whom we learned that South Africa and its people should come first in everything we do.

In his honour, as South Africans, we must serve with dignity and to the best of our abilities wherever we are stationed, in the service of our people.

The deep-seated commitment to the attainment of freedom demonstrated by Chief Luthuli, Comrades Mandela, Sisulu, Dadoo and all our leaders should propel us forward always to ensure that we achieve what they fought for – a better life for all.

In closing, let us draw

inspiration from Chief Luthuli's statement in the famous speech, The Road to Freedom is via the Cross, when he said: "What the future has in store for me, I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. "I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union in form and spirit of all the communities in the land".

Compatriots, indeed, nothing can be bigger and more important than service to our nation, to the downtrodden and to humanity in general.

As Chief Luthuli did, he served his people in education, business, sports, as a traditional leader, as a preacher and as a political leader. Throughout his life, he rendered service with distinction, recognised by the people of South Africa as Isithwalandwe, and by the world, through awarding him the Nobel Peace Prize.

We salute him for his contribution to our nation and to humanity in general.

OkaMadlanduna wayibeka induku ebandla!
I thank you.

Source: The Presidency Issued by: The Presidency 24 Nov 2010



President Jacob Zuma received chief Albert Luthuli framed photo from daughter of Chief Luthuli Thandeka Luthuli-Gcabashe during the 4th chief Albert Luthuli memorial lecture held at Inkosi Albert Luthuli international convention centre. PHOTO: SIYABONGA MOSUNKUTU

