

A Courteous Nationalist CRITIC IS CURBED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Albert Luthuli



Cloete Breytenbach

"South Africa is large enough to accommodate all people if they have large enough hearts."
(Mr. Luthuli in a garland given him at a rally)

WHEN South Africa barred Albert Luthuli yesterday from meetings throughout the country it chose a worthy foe. His inflexible ambition is to free the African people from white rule.

This 61-year-old former teacher dominates every gathering at which he speaks, whether his audience consists of semi-illiterate Africans in the reserves or white liberals with university affiliations. Last month he told an audience in Cape-town:

"We, the nonwhites, have come to hate white rule, but not the whites themselves. The whites are grinding us down with repressive measures but they will never destroy us spiritually. The nonwhites today are fighting against slavery."

Stockily built, gray-haired and always dressed in black or dark gray, Mr. Luthuli has something of an old-world courtesy about him. He smiles readily and his frank eyes show a twinkle behind the glasses he often wears.

Many white persons mistakenly interpret his good manners as the traditional respect an African pays to a white man. Mr. Luthuli, who grew up on the Groutville Mission Station in Natal founded by American missionaries, developed an early respect for the white men who dedicated their lives to the Africans. Yet he has the same polite manner for any member of his own race.

His father was an interpreter for the Mission Society and the Luthuli family were important members of the mission community. Young Albert developed deep religious convictions which he still holds today. He neither drinks nor smokes and has campaigned for years to make the African people more aware of the sanctity of marriage.

He attended the mission school and completed his education at Adams College in Natal. After two years of teaching at a country school, he accepted a post on the college staff.

In 1935 Mr. Luthuli gave up his teaching career to become chief of the Amakholwa tribe of Zulul. This tribe chooses its leader democratically and submits its choice to the Government for approval.

He was soon seen to be more than a figurehead leader. He urged his people to save their soil and con-

serve their water resources. Under his leadership agricultural production increased, and he helped to organize farmers' associations that represented important steps forward for the Africans.

Soon afterward he became a member of the African National Congress, chiefly through his association with Dr. John Dube, first president of this African nationalist organization.

He continued also to maintain his interest in the Congregationalist Church. In 1948 he visited the United States on a lecture tour to speak on the work of the Christian Mission in Africa.

It was on his return from this trip that he began to devote much of his energy to the work of the African National Congress. After his election as president of the organization's Natal branch he was in the forefront of all the Congress' campaigns against segregation laws.

He helped organize the passive resistance campaign of 1952-53 against separate facilities for whites and nonwhites in post offices, railway stations and other public places.

The Nationalist Government came to regard him as an agitator and deposed him from his chieftainship. Two months later, in December, 1952, he was elected president general of the African National Congress.

Mr. Luthuli has never been anti-white. Cooperation with the whites has always been his basic policy, even though he has lost some support among followers by his refusal to accept a program of "Africa for the Africans."

In 1953, the Government imposed on Mr. Luthuli a twelve-month ban on travel and attendance at meetings. Then, late in 1956, he was one of 156 persons arrested on allegations of treason.

On and off for twelve months Mr. Luthuli sat among the suspects at a preliminary inquiry. When it was over he and sixty others were freed.

Mr. Luthuli is married and is the father of two sons and three daughters. He is widely regarded as a typical embodiment of moderate African nationalism. He hates domination of one race by another.

"South Africa is a multi-racial country and it is not our intention to elbow anyone out," he says. "South Africa is large enough to accommodate all people if they have large enough hearts."

National Congress' Leader Is Barred From Meetings —Travel Prohibited

Special to The New York Times.

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, May 27—Albert Luthuli, president general of the African National Congress, has been banned by Justice Minister Charles R. Swart from attending any meetings or gatherings anywhere in South Africa for five years.

The action was taken under the Suppression of Communism Act. Under the Riotous Assemblies Act, Mr. Swart also banned Mr. Luthuli from leaving his home district in Lower Tugela, Natal Province. The ban on attending meetings is effective immediately and the ban on leaving the district takes effect in seven days.

Mr. Luthuli was scheduled to be the main speaker at a mass meeting of the African National Congress in Johannesburg Saturday, which is Union Day. Thirty thousand Africans are expected to attend this rally of the African nationalist political organization, at which it was thought details would be announced of a proposed economic boycott of companies controlled by the governing Nationalist party.

It has been expected also that a fresh campaign would be launched against the laws requiring all Africans to carry identification passes at all times.

Africans Resent Term 'Boy'

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times.

LUSAKA, Northern Rhodesia, May 27—When the constitutional status of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is reviewed in London next year, the word "boy" will be on the agenda.

The use of the word in reference to African males regardless of age will be included in a list of challenges against the Government's concept of "racial partnership" to be submitted by the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia.

Ironically, one of the Federation's own officials newly assigned London to help prepare for the discussion there, has just been referred to as a "boy" on the Southern Rhodesia side of the Zambezi River at Victoria Falls.

He is Lawrence Vambe, a 42-year-old African journalist, recently appointed federal information officer in Rhodesia House, London. Mr. Vambe will leave for this post next week.

"Boy" is the traditional form of reference to African males, and not just servants, all over East Central and South Africa. It is used in either direct or indirect address, frequently by white children addressing or referring to men. Even in the Belgian Congo the word used is "boy" rather than "garçon."

Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia, confirmed yesterday that the offensive usage would be one of its major targets when the group prepared its case for the London meeting.

Conference Date Not Set

Neither the date nor details of the conference have been announced. But in view of developments throughout the Federation since late February, when nationalist agitation was intensified, it is generally accepted that African nationalists will have a direct or indirect voice.

Both the banned Congress

movement in Nyasaland and the legal Congress movement here have already announced that they favor withdrawal of their states from the five-and-a-half-year-old Federation.

Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are British protectorates. The third unit of the Federation is the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia, where the Congress movement also is proscribed.

The widespread use of "boy" is regarded by Congress leaders here as contrary to the spirit of "partnership" espoused by the Federation Government headed by Sir Roy Welensky.

In connection with its current anti-discrimination campaign, the Congress has been seeking to discover the pattern of usage. A Congress source and a white official were in accord that among those they considered the worst offenders were women shopkeepers and clerks.

The incident involving Mr. Vambe occurred Saturday when a woman attendant at a Victoria Falls ice cream parlor welcomed the African's white companions but remarked: "Your boy will have to go around the back." At the rear of the store was a "hatch" or opening in the wall for dealing with African customers.

The men with Mr. Vambe were two civil servants and a missionary. Mr. Vambe himself seems less embarrassed about the incident than they were. He noted later that at a hotel in Livingstone on the Northern Rhodesia side, the manager, a woman, came over and joined the party for a drink.

Uganda Bans African Group

KAMPALA, Uganda, May 27 (AP)—The Government of this British East African protectorate outlawed the newly formed Uganda Freedom Movement today.

"Organizers of this new movement were mostly those who had an active part in the proscribed Uganda National Movement and the stated objects of the new movement are almost identical to those of the old movement," it said.

Inside Labor

Africa Watches Bantus; Leader Is Under 'Ban'



By VICTOR RIESEL

STANGER, Natal, South Africa—In this little corner of Africa rests man's fate and the life of many an American boy. For on this piece of earth treads the "outlawed" Chief Luthuli, spokesman for nine million Bantus south of the Zambesi River. I drove through miles of sugar cane fields to find him. He is a friend of the West's on a continent where many seem eager to do a cash business with the Soviets. But he is in a special kind of exile.

He is under "ban." He has been now for a month. He will be for five years. He had not be for five years.

The "Ban" means he is in a prison without bars. He can live at home, but he must not go out of a 12-mile circle. His mail is watched. Telephone facilities are monitored.

WALKS ALONE — The "Ban," means he cannot talk to more than one person at a time. Two people would mean a meeting under the law and he is prohibited from addressing meetings, or going to one or making any political gesture—even if it means help to the West. He walks alone or talks only to one person at a time. That is the law of this nation—exile to a living silence. The ban is reserved for those who talk politics the government doesn't like. The Chief did not talk politics. He talked about freedom. I hope that is not against the law.

"I will work with all forces," the chief said. "How long do you think we will offer ourselves as slaves. I will work for a sharing of power. But if the time comes when

we have power and a left wing totalitarianism takes over, I will not work with it. I will fight it or step down."

DANGER CITED—I spoke of the danger of violence in a land where the Bantu (the word for all Africans) outnumbered the whites nine million to three million. The answer came swiftly. The voice changed from a sonorous bass—he had been talking gently to me, treating me as though I were a Dresden doll—to hard tones.

"I am here under ban," he retorted. "Leaders who replaced me have each been put under ban. There are those who agitate our people. Soon there will be no moderates to counsel our millions. Many of those in the villages will see that their leaders have been silenced. They might listen to unwise voices. They could stir in anger. Who knows what can happen. There are so many of them."

RED PROFIT—I find in this little corner of Africa, 10,000 miles from Broadway, it is difficult to believe that Main Street America knows not of Chief Luthuli. So much of Main Street's fate is tied to him. All Africa is watching his nine million Bantus, most of whom are Zulu. If they rise without his restraining hand while our friend is under ban, all Africa will be aflame below the Sahara. Out of such chaos, only the Kremlin could profit. Russia's gold bullion is more dangerous than its lead bullets. But the men who could stop this, our friend and his friends, are under "ban."

"MODERATES" LOSE A LEADER

by our Correspondent

1959

Observer?

CAPETOWN, MAY 31.

Political observers in South Africa fear that the African National Congress may adopt a more radical course of action after the five-year ban upon its president-general, Chief Albert Luthuli. Chief Luthuli has been the strongest influence within the congress movement in favour of moderation and race co-operation.

Under the ban Luthuli will not be permitted to leave the lower Tugela valley between Natal and Zululand. Though he may remain leader in name of the African National Congress, it is difficult to see how he will be able to control the movement.

Luthuli received a great ovation from Africans when he arrived in

Johannesburg yesterday. He was to have addressed a public rally in Sophiatown on the outskirts of Johannesburg to-day but it was banned. The African National Congress was in session throughout the week-end and a plan was announced to declare June 26 a self-denial day when meetings will be held throughout the Union and a boycott will be announced of firms owned or controlled by members of the white Nationalist party. Chief Luthuli did not attend the Congress meetings but is understood to have conferred privately with Congress leaders.

The ban on Luthuli follows sharp attacks made by Government speakers in Parliament during the Bantustan debate on the English press for giving prominence to speeches and articles by him. The fact is that Luthuli has become one of the really big figures in South Africa with prestige and influence not only among Africans but among a large number of whites. A few days ago he said: "We are working for a corporate multiracial society. We Africans do not wish to dominate because of our numerical superiority. We wish to extend the hand of friendship to white South Africans who are our brothers and sisters"

Gov.'s ban on Luthuli for five years from June 1, '59:

under Suppression of Communism Act & Riotous Assemblies Act (I assume the latter)...

Molteno, President of SA Inst. of Race Rel.:

-- apparently Minister is satisfied that Luthuli is "promoting feelings of hostility" between Ws and other sections of the population.

"Chief Luthuli's whole record as a moderate democrat, a Christian gentleman and an earnest advocate of inter-racial peace and goodwill ~~exists~~"

[After L's banning]

June '59 Race Rel. News,

Re Luthuli:

Institute of Race Relations: "The Institute has benefited greatly from Mr. Luthuli's services as a member of its Executive Committee, and from his wise, sane and responsible counsels. Mr. Luthuli is a man of Christian principle, integrity, and tolerance. Realizing that White and Black are both in South Africa to stay, his fervent desire has been that, through consultation, a modus vivendi be sought for a common society with mutual respect."

(Race Relations News, June 1959,
ff. L's banning.)

THE OBSERVER PROFILE
ALBERT LUTHULI



AMONG the unnumbered men and women now in jail in South Africa—the police have refused to give either the names or numbers since the beginning of the emergency—there are two Africans, implacably opposed, who are rivals for the leadership of their 11 million people.

The first is Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the President of the extreme nationalist Pan-Africanist Congress (P.A.C.), which, by defying the pass laws at Sharpeville, precipitated the present South African crisis.

The second is Chief Albert Luthuli, the sixty-one-year-old President of the African National Congress (A.N.C.)—the cautious, moderate organisation which for forty-eight years has been striving unsuccessfully to improve the Africans' rights. He is now ill with high blood pressure, following an alleged minor assault in jail on Wednesday.

IN the past, Luthuli has been regarded by the whites as the most dangerous enemy of their supremacy: he was the central figure in the Treason Trial arrests four years ago. But to-day, when the white population have seen their country suddenly brought close to anarchy by the bolder racial tactics of Sobukwe, they are beginning to look towards Luthuli, as a "moderate" African leader—a word which no black leader could now accept—with whom to parley.

But it is the basic tragedy of Luthuli's position that, just at the moment when he may be recognised by whites, and his warnings heeded, his following is rapidly slipping away. His natural personal leadership is great and apparent to anyone who comes close to him: but the state of the black townships is rapidly becoming one where sound leaders can quickly be ousted by demagogues.

In the seven years of his

Presidency of the African National Congress the patient and venerable figure of Luthuli has become accepted almost as a fixed part of the South African scene. For most of that time he has been confined to his own home district of Groutville in Natal, forty miles from Durban. From time to time journalists, politicians and even diplomats have made the pilgrimage to see him—a symbol of the patient, passive African resistance. Luthuli was usually to be found writing in his quiet European-style house, or working on his farm, with the help of an African labourer. He has the bearing and dignity of an African aristocrat, which he is. He has a large square head, greying hair, a broad erect frame, and a slow expressive voice with a touch of an American accent.

LUTHULI speaks with a preacher's fervour—he was once a lay preacher—about the perils of *apartheid*. He has a tolerance and compassion which can be read in his face; he screws up his eyes and frowns when he talks of suffering, but he can still laugh with a straightforward humour at the ironies. Above all, he has a large simplicity: at meetings he speaks with massive eloquence.

His home, his talk and his assurance all indicate the stable basis of his life: he has never, like so many black South Africans, found his life sliced by a fierce transition—from country to city, from tribal to Western culture. He was brought up in Groutville, a Christian reserve, where his father was a Congregational interpreter (who had helped the British in Rhodesia against the Matabele) and his uncle was the elected Chief. Albert Luthuli's early life was dominated by Christian teaching and tribal traditions. He loved them both.

HE went to Adams College, the American missionary school in Natal, first as a pupil, then as a schoolmaster. He led the choir, with a magnificent bass voice, supervised football, taught Zulu history and even founded a Zulu Society. After fifteen years of schoolmastering he was asked by his people at Groutville to become their Chief, and, after two years' hesitation, he accepted. It was a rigorous and isolated existence which he led for the next seventeen years: but the Christian ideal of service appealed to him, and he took pride in the

tribal rigmaroles which he had watched his uncle conducting as a child.

To his more fiery urban contemporaries, in the stormy years before and during the war, Luthuli appeared as the picture of the "mission boy," and Luthuli himself then believed that by patience and Christian example the Africans would in time inherit their birthright. But his hopes were steadily eaten away.

As early as 1936 he had been shocked by the abolition of the African vote. In 1946, when African mineworkers on strike were mown down by the police, he found himself more in sympathy with the younger, more militant Africans in Congress. After much thought and prayer, he felt it his duty to join his people in the struggle, and became a member of the African National Congress. Visits to India and America—both on missionary tours—strengthened his determination.

IT was in 1952, when Congress launched its "defiance campaign," that Luthuli first found himself in the thick of politics, encouraging the Zulus of Natal with his chiefly presence. Four months later he was ordered by the Government either to resign his chieftaincy or to resign from Congress. It was an agonising decision. He stayed with Congress, and was dismissed as Chief. "Who will deny," he said in a personal statement, characteristically called "The Road to Freedom is via the Cross," "that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly, at a closed and barred door?"

A month later Luthuli became President of Congress, most of whose leaders had already been banned, exiled or frightened away from politics by the new draconian Acts.

Luthuli himself was soon confined to Groutville. His task as President was a tricky one. While the Government were bombarding the Africans with new laws to maintain white supremacy, the mass of Africans remained unpolitical, preoccupied with sheer survival, and divided by tribes, districts and the quarrels which accompany inaction. Luthuli was determined that Congress should never resort to violence or racialism: but he realised that the African response to white racialism must be a growing black nationalism.

In spite of his moderate policies, Luthuli's personal following grew steadily. As a Chief,



or ex-Chief, he appealed to the ancient loyalties of the tribes, particularly the Zulus: while his sacrifice and his obvious courage appealed to the militant youth. When he was arrested for treason in December, 1956, his prestige was at a high peak.

After a preliminary hearing lasting thirteen months he was committed for trial but was not among the ninety-one indicted for treason. Temporarily unbanned, he made a triumphant tour of the Union which established him in the white Press, and among white audiences, as a major South African figure. One evening, speaking in Pretoria to a mixed group of Europeans he was assaulted by white hooligans on the platform. After they had been removed, he continued with calm dignity to speak of the importance of non-violence.

Luthuli and his Congress were determined to avoid anything which might provoke the police to shooting. Within the circumscriptions of their bans, they organised what they could—stay-at-home strikes, the bus boycott, a potato boycott, a boycott of Nationalist goods. But they never defied their bans—though Luthuli was said to have wished to do so.

Inevitably, this passive policy caused growing African discontent. The more militant Africans accused Luthuli of being held back by his white, Coloured and Indian colleagues in the sister organisations of Congress, or of being duped into selling out Congress to a bunch of white Communists. His position as the central leader of a broad united front, ranging from far left to far right, involved him in difficult compromises. As the African anger grew, so Luthuli's insistence on a multi-racial State seemed less and less attractive.

Looking back on those times, it is easy to criticise the Congress leaders for having been too open in their associations with non-Africans, taking too little account of African pride, mixing too openly with other races. They were soon to pay the price.

Two years ago, after a series of quarrels, the race-conscious sector of Congress broke away from Luthuli and formed itself into the Pan-Africanist Congress, under a soft-spoken lecturer in Bantu studies, Robert Sobukwe. In the impatient townships of the Union the doctrines of Sobukwe spread rapidly. He went back to the old cry of "Africa for the Africans." He determined that South Africa should be liberated by 1963. He equated himself with Nkrumah and Mboya. He wanted Africans to go it alone. He was prepared to defy the law himself, and to go to jail.

A FORTNIGHT ago, he did. It was the march of Sobukwe's people which set off the Sharpeville shootings and the astonishing succession of events since then. Sobukwe and his colleagues, with all the glory of martyrdom around them, were arrested and refused to accept bail, fines or defence. Luthuli and the Congress leaders found themselves, at the end of that day, outflanked by their more extreme rivals.

Eight days ago Luthuli, who by a lucky irony was in Pretoria—he had been allowed out from Groutville to give evidence in the continuing Treason Trials—made a bold counter-move. Taking advantage of the police truce (the suspension of pass arrests) he was photographed burning his pass.

His colleagues followed, and some (though not, so far, many) of his followers. It seemed for a time as if this flagrant defiance of the law had been ignored. Then last Wednesday morning, Luthuli and 200 others were arrested and a state of emergency declared.

In the meantime, in the leaderless black townships, the clash between Luthuli and Sobukwe goes on. It may be that Luthuli, by his defiant burning, has recovered some of his dwindled following. The greatest danger at present is that Africans will follow neither Sobukwe nor Luthuli, but their own mob leaders. It is a sign of the desperate speed of the last fortnight's events that the best that any whites could now hope for is that Africans would follow Luthuli—if he was let out.

African Leader's Role Limited As Union's Racial Crisis Grows

Special to The New York Times.

1960

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, March 31—Chief Albert Luthuli is president of an organization that is an important force in the opposition to the Government's racial policies.

But since last May he has been compelled to limit his activities largely to issuing statements from his home in the province of Natal, in the eastern part of the Union of South Africa, where he is confined.

Less than a month after the Government confined him to an area within a radius of twelve miles of his home, he called for an economic boycott by Africans of goods produced by Afrikaner nationalist manufacturers and farmers. Included were cigarettes and potatoes.

In late June, July and August the boycott against potatoes particularly was effective, and bags of them piled up in the markets and on the farms because the Africans refused to buy them.

Potatoes were chosen as a target of protest against the alleged "slave labor" of Africans on farms at low wages and under conditions of rigid discipline as a penalty after convictions for minor offenses.

After the boycott to protest "the tyranny of nationalist oppression," Chief Luthuli next was heard from in August when he denied that the African National Congress, the organization he leads, was responsible for demonstrations by African women in Natal. He issued one of his many statements advising Africans strongly against violence.

In July Chief Luthuli was visited at Stanger, Natal, near his home by Philip K. Crowe, the United States Ambassador to South Africa. The two men chatted on a park bench. The meeting was considered without precedent in South Africa and caused some comment.

Despite his banishment, Chief Luthuli has kept up with affairs of the African National Congress.

"I keep closely in touch with it by correspondence," he said. "I am advised of what is happening and my opinion is sought in drafting plans for campaigns."

In February, Chief Luthuli warned in a newspaper interview that resentment among Africans was building up. He appealed to the Nationalist party Government to "start talking to us and start moving in the right direction."

He also said in expressing hope that the Africans could



The New York Times

Chief Albert Luthuli

achieve their aims without violence: "I do not care about it so much for the Europeans, they have asked for it, but I do not want to see my own people commit national suicide."

Later in February the ban on Chief Luthuli was relaxed to permit him to testify in Pretoria at the trial for treason of opponents of the Government. In his testimony he said that the aims of the African National Congress were to remove racial prejudice, realize franchise rights for all people and accord to all people unlimited civil rights.

"One could give endless illustrations of how because we are voteless no consideration is given at all to our needs," he declared. "That is true of all the non-European peoples. It is political rights that open the door to all opportunities."

Although the African National Congress and the much younger Pan-Africanist Congress, which started as a militant offshoot of the African National Congress last year, are rival organizations, Chief Luthuli led African National Congress members in joining Pan-Africanist anti-pass demonstrations that started last week.

He burned his pass, the document that all Africans must carry to travel legally from place to place, last Saturday after the Government had announced the suspension of arrests for failure by Africans to carry the pass. After he was arrested yesterday in a roundup of Government opponents, he complained that he had been assaulted by a prison guard.

Luthuli not happy over Dag's visit

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From Our Correspondent

Durban, Friday.

EX-CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI said today that "people are expressing disappointment" because Mr. Hammarskjöld "met tribal chiefs and others who are not representative of the African people."

Mr. Luthuli, former president of the banned African National Congress, said that if Mr. Hammarskjöld found it impossible to meet elected Native leaders, it might have been better in the interests of the United Nations' prestige—and to avoid misunderstandings—if he had not met any non-White groups.

Asked whether he thought Mr. Hammarskjöld's visit had been of any value, Mr. Luthuli said: "From the point of view of creating confidence among the people, I fear not."

"On the contrary, until Mr. Hammarskjöld makes a public statement, his visit will remain under a cloud."

This shadow might "tend to make non-Europeans here suspicious, not only of his role as Secretary-General but of the Security Council and the United Nations itself."

RESPECT

Luthuli said he would hate to see a situation created which would give rise to distrust of the United Nations.

He appreciated that Mr. Hammarskjöld had come primarily to meet the South African Government.

"But it did seem to some of us that that would not debar him from seeing African leaders. He has failed to do that."

"But it is unfortunate that he did meet chiefs. I have the highest respect for the chiefs, but they are not necessarily leaders of the people."

NOT LEADERS

In modern times "chiefs are more administrative officers. They are not leaders in the sense of voicing the aspirations of the people. People must be given the opportunity of speaking through their elected leaders."

Referring to the three Natives who met Mr. Hammarskjöld before he left Pretoria yesterday, Mr. Luthuli said Mr. K. T. Mase-mola might be a "prominent businessman" but this was a minority world as far as the Natives were concerned.

Dr. A. R. Xuma and Dr. W. M. Nkomo "were at one time active leaders of the people, but at present I do not know whom they represent."

Mr. Luthuli said Mr. Hammarskjöld had moved "in circles against which the people feel they are battling. He met the Government, Government-appointed chiefs, and commerce and industry against whom we are fighting for ages."



Mr. Albert Luthuli—photographed at his home near Stanger today.

Hammar-skjöld sends him a telegram

DURBAN, Friday.

MR. HAMMARSKJÖLD has sent a telegram to Mr. Luthuli saying:

"Thanks cable. You will already have seen that newspaper story to which you refer completely distorted."

"My stand as stated in Umtata explanation to that effect was published in today's Press."

"That I stand firmly on human rights basis seems to me too well known and obvious to call for any statement from me to that effect. I also made that very clear in Umtata."

The telegram was delivered to Stanger Post Office a few miles from Mr. Luthuli's home at Groutville to which he is confined by Government order.

Luthuli Gets Nobel Peace Prize at Oslo Ceremony



Associated Press Radiophoto

Albert John Luthuli accepting the 1960 Peace Prize yesterday from Gunnar Jahn, chairman of Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, during the ceremonies in Oslo.

Special to The New York Times.

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Dec. 10—Albert John Luthuli of South Africa received the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo today and said he was accepting the prize as an honor to the "freedom-loving

people" both of his country and the entire African continent. Other Nobel awards were presented in a ceremony in Stockholm. Mr. Luthuli, a former Zulu chief, said the "ideals enshrined" in all the Nobel Prizes should not only

be admired but "they should be lived." "Any situation where man must struggle for his rights is a threat to peace," he said, and added that he could only pray to God to give him strength to continue making his "humble contribution" toward removing the threat.

Mr. Luthuli also expressed concern over the potential destructive powers of science. He said that "science should be the greatest ally, not worst enemy, of mankind." He received the prize in recognition of his use of peaceful methods in the campaign he led in South Africa against the policy of apartheid, or racial segregation.

Since no peace prize was made last year, there was a double award this year. The 1961 prize posthumously honored the work of Dag Hammarskjold as Secretary General of the United Nations.

In the ceremony here, Prof. Arne Tiselius, head of the Nobel Foundation, also expressed apprehension about the future of science. He called for the adoption of "an international moral code covering the use of scientific results." This must be done in the near future, he said, "if life is to be still worth living or if we are to survive at all."

Professor Tiselius referred to the possibility that medical discoveries could "lead to methods of tampering with life, of creating new diseases, of controlling the psyche, of influencing heredity." He said these could amount to a "still more dan-

gerous way of abusing the results of research than are implied in the instruments of mass destruction."

Professor Tiselius spoke at a glittering ceremony in which King Gustav Adolf VI presented Nobel awards in physics, chemistry, physiology and literature.

The two peace prizes were presented in Oslo in the presence of King Olav V of Norway by Gunnar Jahn, chairman of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament.

The committee selects the re-

1961.

ipients of the awards under the terms of the will of Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite.

The ceremony was held at the University of Oslo in an assembly hall unadorned with the flowers and flags that are customary at the Stockholm presentations.

Mr. Jahn made it clear that the award to Mr. Hammarskjold was in recognition of his attempts to bring peace to the Congo. Mr. Hammarskjold died in a plane crash in Northern Rhodesia on Sept. 18.

The Hammarskjold award, which carries prize money of about \$48,300, was accepted on behalf of Sweden by Rolf Edberg, the Swedish Ambassador to Norway.

In Stockholm, a flourish of trumpets preceded each presentation at the concert hall.

The two scientists who shared this year's physics prize were the first of the laureates to step before King Gustav to receive their medals, diplomas and certificates.

The king made the first presentation to Prof. Robert Hofstadter of Stanford University. The co-winner of the physics prize was Dr. Rudolf L. Moessbauer of West Germany, who is now attached to the California Institute of Technology. Prof. Melvin Calvin of the University of California at Berkeley received the chemistry prize.

Dr. Georg von Bekesy of the Psycho-Acoustics Laboratory at Harvard received the prize in medicine or physiology. The final Nobel laureate was the literature winner Ivo Andric of Yugoslavia, who received the literature award.

Church Editor Lands Award

An editor who was among the first to propose Mr. Luthuli for the Nobel Peace Prize said here recently that the award was a "terrific thing" for the cause of Africans.

The editor, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Vance McCracken of the United Church Herald, remarked, "People in South Africa, and even here, just can't believe a black man is worthy of this award."

Mr. Luthuli's Prize

Albert John Luthuli of South Africa accepted the Nobel Prize at Oslo as an honor to the "freedom-loving people" of his own country and of all Africa.

It was fitting that this honor should go to him for his peaceful campaign to improve the condition of his race in South Africa. It was fitting also that even in this time of great trouble in some parts of Africa it should be an African of one of the old tribal strains who received it. It was suitable and poignant, too, that a posthumous Nobel Prize award went to a man who died in the service of peace and justice in Africa, the late Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld of the United Nations.

Mr. Luthuli joined with Prof. Arne Tiselius, director of the Nobel Foundation, in an appeal for the use of science to help mankind and not

to subjugate it. We like to think that the future of science in Africa will be to heal and enrich the lives of the native African people and that their successful leaders will be cast in the mold of Albert John Luthuli, a man of peace and goodwill.

LUTHULI RETURNS HOME

Nobel Peace Prize Winner Is
Acclaimed by Africans

DURBAN, South Africa, Dec. 15 (Reuters)—Albert Luthuli—winner of the Nobel Peace Prize—arrived home tonight from Oslo, Norway. The former Zulu chief received a rousing welcome from about 1,000 Africans.

After he stepped out of the plane with his wife policemen spoke to him for several minutes. Then he walked silently to his car amid roars from the crowd and singing and dancing from the Africans, many of whom wore tribal dress.

Earlier, Mr. Luthuli, who is head of the banned African National Congress, was kept isolated by authorities for an hour at the Johannesburg airport, where he changed planes for Durban.

Luthuli is a man of peace

Sir, — Never in the history of the South African Native liberation struggle has the Native liberation movement had a leader of ex-chief Albert Luthuli's political calibre.

All sound-minded South Africans, irrespective of colour, are convinced that only through his humanitarian policies can the racial fire in our country be extinguished.

He is a man of peace.

WILSON B. NGCAYIYA.
Orlando West Extension.

Luthuli speaks as he

THE way in which Albert Luthuli grasped every opportunity of besmirching South Africa in the eyes of the world is shocking. Fortunately these events have two sides. On the one hand it is true that South Africa has suffered tremendous damage. But many people, particularly here in South Africa, could see him as he is. In the past the impression was created of the wonderfully peace-loving and moderate Black man whose co-operation could have been obtained so easily if only the Government would treat him differently. —
(From a leading article in the "Volksblad.")



LUTHULI

1961-62

The Star

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1961.

Between Louw and Luthuli

IT is as unfortunate as it was inevitable that Mr. Luthuli's visit to Scandinavia should have ended as it began: with a flurry of recriminations between him and the Government.

Unfortunate, because the fracas obscures the distinction that the Nobel award has brought to the whole country—a distinction founded on the fact that even the leader of one of our rival nationalistic factions can be acclaimed by the world as a man of peace.

Inevitable, because Mr. Luthuli, whether at home or abroad, speaks for "Congress" South Africa just as Mr. Eric Louw speaks for Afrikaner Nationalist South Africa.

Mr. Luthuli demands a universal franchise, which is just as silly as restricting the vote to people of one colour, and he asks the world to apply sanctions to his own country, which is as reckless and damaging as has been another nationalist leader's impetuous withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

The two nationalistic factions that these men represent are rivals, though one is a good deal more broadly based than the other. They must be expected to quarrel.

Neither has yet learned to speak for the authentic South Africa—the South Africa in which men of all races have worked together for a long time and want nothing more than to go on doing so, the South Africa whose tolerance and co-operation are the foundation of our strength and the main-spring of our security.

LOUW ATTACKS LUTHULI

5
Dec 13 '61

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Mr. Louw, said today that the utterances of former Chief Albert Luthuli in Norway proved that the Government had been fully justified in restricting his movements in South Africa. The Minister was addressing the Pretoria Rapportryers.

The Minister said: "Luthuli's conduct in Norway—his harsh expressions, accusations and scoldings, directed not only against the Government but also at the Whites in South Africa, must have

convinced even his Norwegian hosts that he is no 'man of peace' and, as Mr. de Klerk said at the time, that the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to such a person—reduced it to mockery."

Every right-minded South African, he said would agree with the decision to refuse Mr. Luthuli permission also to visit Sweden.

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

"We have enough difficulty with the acrimonious and despicable attacks of the African States in the United Nations and with the anti-South African campaign in newspapers in the United States and Britain without allowing Luthuli further opportunity to carry on with his propaganda and incitement in Europe."

The Minister said Mr. Luthuli is demanding "one man, one vote" and the abolition of every form of discrimination.—Sapa.

2 Warned for Visiting Luthuli

DURBAN, South Africa, March 29 (AP)—An American student and a South African journalist were released with a warning today after they were arrested for having entered a restricted African reservation without a permit to visit Albert Luthuli, winner of a Nobel Peace Prize. They were Peter de Lissovoy, 19 years old, a Harvard student from Chicago, and Jolyan Nuttall, 27.

Wants "authentic South Africa" defined

Sir,—I protest at the language used in the leading article, "Between Louw and Luthuli," in The Star on December 15.

What does the writer mean by "the authentic South Africa" for whom Mr. Luthuli fails to speak? Perhaps he means the everyday White person, who, while not meaning any harm to anybody, succeeds in doing lots of harm to everybody by clinging desperately to the shreds of his privilege and tacitly or outspokenly supporting the enormities of the present system.

No doubt Mr. Luthuli does not speak for them but if there is one man in this country who is not nationalistic and who could command the affectionate support of the majority of our countrymen and of all sections today it is ex-Chief Luthuli.

Of course he asks for sanctions against South Africa. What other weapons have been left in the hands of those who seek redress and long for freedom? The hypocrisy of those who line themselves up behind the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. Hertzog, in bleating "unpatriotic" to those who strive to rescue their land from tyranny and ruin is sickening.

... the South Africa whose tolerance and co-operation are the foundation of our strength and security." The bitter irony of that closing flatulence defies comment. Now we know why we are so strong and secure.

E. V. STONE.

Luthuli in poll today

500000
500000/62

From Our Correspondent

EDINBURGH, Monday.—Voting in the election of a Lord Rector of Glasgow University, in which Mr. Albert Luthuli is a candidate, took place today. The result is expected late this afternoon.

A university official said that 6,716 of the students were entitled to vote. Lord Halisham, the Earl of Rosebery, Dr. Robert McIntyre (president of the Scottish Nationalist Party) and Mr. Edward Heath are the other candidates.

The poll exceeds 40 per cent., and as some 500 overseas and non-White students at the university were likely to show more interest than the Scots students in the election, Mr. Luthuli's chances were enhanced.

The rectorship is purely an honorary position and should Mr. Luthuli be elected he would be chairman of the University Court, the chief executive body of the university, which meets monthly. Important people, for instance, Cabinet Ministers, are not expected to attend any meetings.

Do the Bantu want Apartheid?

By FIELD-MARSHAL MONTGOMERY

THE SUNDAY TIMES MARCH 18, 1962

Lord Montgomery reports on his recent talks with native chiefs in South Africa, and their challenge to Albert Luthuli, the Nobel Peace Prizewinner, as the leader of all the Bantu in the Republic.

EARLY this year I paid my third visit to South Africa because I wanted to examine in greater detail the working of the Nationalist Government's policy of apartheid. It happened that while I was on my way there the plan was announced for the first self-governing region under that policy—in the Transkei. As I had already arranged to tour the region, my visit could not have been more opportune.

I must emphasise that I did not visit South Africa at the invitation of Dr Verwoerd and his Government, or of anybody else. The visit was entirely my own wish, and with no authority except my own. I paid my own expenses throughout. I wanted to learn, and you cannot learn unless you go and see for yourself—and spend time over it.

Handing over

The South African plan, as the Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd, told me in an interview on my arrival, is to create within the Republic a number of self-governing areas for the Bantu, in which Europeans will have no political rights. The central Government will hand over to the Transkeian Government the departments of education, health, agriculture, justice including police, roads (and such other ministries as may be considered advisable), as and when the Transkei is ready to accept these responsibilities. The central Government will remain responsible for foreign affairs, defence, and the overall economic development of the Republic.

The Transkeian Government will be given financial aid; as a

start, one million pounds will be provided, and a total of £27 million will be provided during the next five years. Help will also be given to enable the Transkeian Government to raise loans overseas and in South Africa.

My visit to the Transkei lasted three days, and began at Umtata, the capital, to which I flew from Capetown on January 27.

The Transkei is in the south-eastern part of the Republic, a large tract of country between the Great Kei river in the south and the Natal border to the north-east, and separated from Basutoland by the Drakensberg mountains. The total area is some 16,000 square miles—twice the size of Wales. The four main areas are the Transkei proper, Tembuland, Pondoland and Griqualand East.

Together with the Ciskei (3,200 square miles, and south of the Kei river), the Transkei is the national homeland of the Xhosa-speaking people, who number over three million, comprising 30 per cent. of South Africa's Bantu population. (The Zulus come second with 25 per cent.) Some two million of the Xhosa people live in the Transkei; about 150,000 men of the Transkei are migrant workers elsewhere. It is possible that the Transkei and the Ciskei may one day merge into one State.

The Transkei, and particularly Pondoland, is undoubtedly the most beautiful and picturesque part of the Republic, and in addition is most fertile and provides excellent pastoral country. This belies suggestions that the Nationalist Government of South Africa intends to hand over the worst areas to the Bantu, and keep the best for itself.

I was anxious to see something

of the life of the Xhosa people; to visit them in their kraals; to see their farms, and herds of cattle, and system of agriculture; to see their children; to visit hospitals and learn about health and medical care. All this I did, and learned incidentally of some interesting tribal customs.

Motoring through the countryside near Umtata, I noticed a Xhosa farmer working outside his kraal. I stopped the car and went over to talk with him, ask-

ing if he would show me his home—which he was proud to do. He had built it himself, a round one-room hut of mud and bricks. The roof was thatched (generally an expert is hired to do the thatching, at a cost of about £3).

Inside the kraal was his wife, with one small girl. I knew that a man's wealth lies in his cattle, and that he buys his wife with them. The daughter of an ordinary farmer would norma-

cost a man ten cattle; the daughter of a chief would be more, possibly fifty, or even a hundred in the case of a paramount chief.

I asked the farmer how much he had paid for his wife; he replied ten beasts, but so far he had paid only nine, and still owed one. It then emerged that until he had paid the whole ten, she was not legally his wife; if he defaulted in the payment, her father could take her back and the farmer would also lose the nine cattle he had already paid.

In this case the farmer reckoned he would be able to pay the tenth beast fairly soon. He hoped for many daughters, since he could sell each one for ten cattle and thus build up wealth. But one or two sons are necessary as herd boys, and generally to see to the cattle. Women are not allowed to have anything to do with cattle, although they work in the fields and look after the home.

At Lusikisiki I came across a tribal doctor—or, as he calls himself, a herbalist. His name is Khotso. He had ten wives and he paraded them all for me to see; they were certainly a fine looking lot, mostly young and pretty, and must have cost many cattle. I asked him, in front of them, which was No. 1 wife, much to their amusement, but he declined to say.

He is an expert in love potions, for which a young man will pay as much as £40. If things do not work out as well as his client hopes, and he then demands the return of his fee, Khotso may sometimes refuse, on the plea that the client's tactics were faulty. He is then given advice as to the proper tactics, and another bottle of love potion at

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a reduced fee of £10.

It can well be imagined that Khotso is very rich; he lives in a European-style mansion some miles outside Lusikisiki. He has a superb Cadillac car, and is reputed locally to be a millionaire.

Single-minded

I also wanted to meet the Europeans, Afrikaners and British, who worked in the Transkei; these I found to be a body of devoted men and women, working unceasingly to improve the standard of living and welfare of the Bantu, and wanting nothing for themselves; I was immensely impressed by these single-minded people. I also talked with the European traders in the area; these were men of one mind, wanting to help the Bantu without excessive profit to themselves, and who were prepared to stay on in the Transkei under a Bantu Government.

But in particular I wanted to meet the tribal chiefs. These men were going to form the basis of the Transkeian Government, and I wanted to learn from them whether they were in favour of Dr Verwoerd's plans for separate development, or whether they were followers of Albert Luthuli in his cry of "One man, one vote" throughout the whole of South Africa—leading to a central Bantu Government for the Republic, and a Bantu Prime Minister.

Those I met included Chief Victor Polo, Paramount Chief of West Pondoland; Chief Botha Sigcau, Paramount Chief of East Pondoland; and Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of Tembuland. I also met Chief Kaiser Matanzima, elected by the chiefs, as Chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority, the organisation which at present runs the internal affairs of the territory. Matanzima impressed me greatly as a man of character and high intelligence.

From my talks with these chiefs, the following conclusion emerged. When the policy of apartheid was first decreed, the Bantu were suspicious and did not like the idea; they thought their Reserves would still be governed by the white man—which they could not tolerate. Then as the proposals of the central Government gradually

opinion. They saw they would have *their own* Government, with full powers to govern and develop their territory as they wished; they then accepted the policy as being in their best interests. I was informed that the only Bantu now against the policy are certain of the urban natives who have been born and bred in the cities.

I asked whether the Luthuli school of thought had any great following among the Bantu, in the Transkei or in South Africa as a whole. I was informed that Luthuli had no following at all in the Transkei, and little elsewhere in South Africa; the chiefs reckoned that he was supported by extremists for their own purposes; they also believed that his policies were based on theoretical idealism and were not in accordance with practical realities, and would lead the Bantu into trouble.

The only chief who did not agree with these views was Sabata Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of Tembuland; he was in agreement with the aims of Luthuli and said he wanted freedom for the Bantu; his immediate objective was complete sovereign independence for the Transkei. I found it difficult to get from him a clear statement as to exactly what he meant by "freedom."

Warm-hearted

I next went to see Albert Luthuli. Since he was confined in a banned area, out of which he was not allowed to move, I had to get permission from Dr Verwoerd; he willingly agreed and I visited Luthuli in his home at Stanger, some forty miles from Durban, on January 30.

Before leaving England I had read his autobiography with interest, and I was keen to meet the man himself—for human reasons, and not only to ascertain his political views. I found him to be a most attractive personality, warm-hearted, friendly and well educated. He gave me the impression of honesty and sincerity; he is well-read and can express himself clearly.

We talked for nearly two hours, during which he explained his views on the whole racial question in South Africa. Put shortly, his view is that the policy of Dr Verwoerd and his Government is unfair to the Bantu; he is quite unable to agree with it.

He stands firm on his demand for "one man, one vote" throughout the Republic. He would accept universal franchise

a stepping stone to a common roll, irrespective of colour or education. I put it to him that his policy was unrealistic and had no relation to facts, and that national policy must be based on facts. His argument was that the white electorate must be educated—to his viewpoint, I gathered.

Enough now

He himself is a Zulu and I asked him if he spoke as the acknowledged leader of all the Bantu in South Africa. He said he did. I asked by what right he claimed their leadership; he replied that he could give no legal proof, but it was merely his opinion—based on the fact that he had been President of the African National Congress.

During our conversation the question arose as to whether the Bantu would have enough good men to be able to form an efficient Government in the Republic, should they ever be voted into power by universal franchise. Luthuli gave it as his opinion that a Bantu Government under a Bantu Prime Minister could be formed now without any difficulty. I questioned this opinion, but he stuck to his guns. He added that he would most certainly need some white men in his Government.

I left Luthuli with the feeling that here was a thoroughly honest and sincere man, one with deep conviction, who was

fighting for a cause which was completely unattainable—being based on idealistic theory without any solid foundation of fact. I remembered the opinion of the chiefs in the Transkei, that he was supported by extremists for their own purposes—and I wondered if this was true.

I asked finally if he had ever met Dr Verwoerd, and discussed with him the complex racial problems of South Africa. He said he had not; furthermore, he had never even seen him.

Zulu hopes

Luthuli made it clear to me that, while he pays homage to the Paramount Chief of Zululand, he does not agree with his views. Since Luthuli claimed to speak for the Zulus, who comprise 25 per cent. of the Bantu population of South Africa, I arranged that I should meet the Paramount Chief and hear what he had to say. So the next day I flew to Mtubatuba, and there met Cyprian Bekezulu, Paramount Chief of all the Zulus.

The flight enabled me to get a good bird's-eye view of Zululand, to see the forestry, the drift sand reclamation from the inroads of the Indian Ocean, the

Makatini Flats irrigation plans, and generally to observe how Bantu territorial development links up with European industrial development—all intensely interesting as showing the plans of the Government for the welfare of the Zulu people.

I asked Chief Cyprian whether he agreed with Dr Verwoed's policy and plans, and with what was being done in the Transkei. He said he did. He looked forward to Zululand being proclaimed a self-governing area, but considered it would be a more difficult problem than the Transkei, because the white and black areas were so very interlocked, and a great deal of sorting-out would be necessary.

✓ Better life

I asked when he had last seen Luthuli; he replied it was in 1948. Would Luthuli be welcome if he returned to Zululand? He replied that Luthuli was a person whom political trouble seemed to follow; he, Chief Cyprian, wanted to keep his people quiet and loyal to the Central Government, and he therefore would not like Luthuli to return to Zululand.

I said that Luthuli claimed to speak for all the Bantu peoples, including the Zulus, and asked if this was correct. He replied that it was not; in his opinion Luthuli had no right to speak for the Zulu people, or for the Bantu as a whole. It now seemed clear to me that Luthuli was not correct in his claim of leadership.

✓ From these and my other travels and conversations I now believe that the bulk of the Bantu welcome the policy of separate development. Insofar as they think of politics at all, they do not want a multi-racial State; they do not want to get into the white man's Parliament; they want to have their own parliaments in their own areas, and to govern themselves.

Their main preoccupation is to improve the standard of living of themselves and their children—not to vote in the white man's polling booth, but to get out of the gutter in which they have lived for centuries.

Today South Africa is peaceful, and there is security throughout the land; the country is developing fast. All this is very different from what is happening in certain other African States, where one sees unrest, turmoil and chaos—mostly whipped up by Left-wing extremists, who are to be found in every country doing their best to denigrate the work of those who are trying to lead the people towards good government, order and a better way of life.

FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1963

Xian Sci Mon

FIRST IN

South Africa: Darkening Skies

The continuing crisis in South Africa has deepened. Even the government admits it. Foreign Minister Eric Louw said a few days ago: "We live in difficult times, and the outlook is a bit darker than we think. . . . I do not wish to sound unduly pessimistic, but we are in the fullest sense involved in a cold war."

Mr. Louw's grim words were presumably prompted by the stepped-up campaign of sabotage and murder launched by the more radical African nationalists in protest against the government's policy of apartheid or strict racial segregation. A government-appointed commission of inquiry has gone so far as to warn that the purpose of the campaign is to destroy white government in South Africa by revolutionary methods.

Two rival African nationalist organizations already under official ban are reportedly behind the campaign. Sabotage is said to be the work of an underground operation run by the African National Congress (ANC), political murders the work of Poqo, a secret wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). The ANC, the less radical of the two organizations, accepts white support, including that of Communists. The PAC restricts its membership to black Africans: the word "poqo" apparently means "only" or "alone."

Ironically, the inquiry commission said that Poqo terrorism had reached a dangerous peak in the

Transkei, where the South African Government is inaugurating what it hopes will be a showpiece—the country's first self-governing Bantustan. Whites and Africans cooperating with the government there, the commission said, were "to a serious extent in a state of panic."

Thus the clouds grow ever darker over a lovely land, where the governing white minority is paying the price for having progressively dammed every channel for the legal expression of African nationalist sentiment and aspirations. Last year's General Law Amendment (Sabotage) Act finally silenced African nationalist advocates of nonviolence like Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli.

The lesson of Mau Mau in Kenya—that complete suppression of African political expression drives Africans to violence and the darkest form of tribal superstition—has not been learned by South African whites. But the blacks of Poqo apparently see the recent history of Kenya as a lesson that, given their situation, Mau Mau type insurrection pays.

On both sides of the racial frontier we are witnessing the tragedy of desperate men resorting to desperate measures. The South African security forces are at their strongest ever, yet they have not been able to prevent acts of violence. Is it too much to hope that the South African Government will yet reconsider where its policy is leading it?

Monty's book that quotes Luthuli for open market

5 Oct 17 '62
By a Staff Reporter

Viscount Montgomery's book "The Three Continents," which contains an interview with ex-Chief Luthuli, who is on the "banned list," will be freely circulated in South Africa.

A spokesman for the publishers, said today the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, had granted permission for the book to be circulated.

The book contains about four pages of opinions expressed by Mr. Luthuli who, by being on the list of persons banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, cannot be quoted for publication.

Mr. Vorster has also given the same publishers permission to continue to sell Mr. Luthuli's autobiography "Let My People Go," until existing stocks were exhausted.

Luthuli ban 5 APR 17, 1964 questions

CAPE TOWN, Friday. — The Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, will be asked in the Assembly next week if he intends to renew the banning order imposed on ex-Chief Albert Luthuli.

Mrs. Helen Suzman (P.P., Houghton) has tabled a question to the Minister asking the date when the banning order expires and the Minister's intention about renewing the order.

Mr. Luthuli received the ban in 1959 and it was issued for a period of five years.

It is believed that it expires on May 25 this year.

Luthuli acts to avert a revolt

By COLIN LEGUM
our Commonwealth Correspondent

The Observer
April 15
'62

TWO of Chief Albert Luthuli's principal lieutenants in the banned African National Congress are leaving London to-day to mobilise international action to prevent "an Algerian situation" developing in South Africa.

Mr. Oliver Tambo, Mr. Luthuli's deputy, is going to New York to demand urgent United Nations action in support of collective sanctions against South Africa, while Mr. Robert Resha is to tour African capitals to discuss methods to secure an effective two-thirds majority vote on this question at the U.N.

Efforts will also be made to force unequivocal statements from the leading non-aligned Western and Communist countries on their stand in the "liberation struggle" in South Africa.

This action follows the circulation in recent weeks in South Africa of a clandestine leaflet announcing "a radical change in outlook and methods" of the African National Congress.

Headed "War Preparation," the leaflet refers to the latest decision by the South African Government to increase the defence budget to £60 million a year and to mobilise an army of 60,000 to meet any possible invasion of her frontiers.

In an interview in London yesterday, Mr. Tambo and Mr. Resha told me that the African National Con-

gress had decided that the time has come for the African people to prepare for a new phase in their struggle.

"We do not believe that non-violence has been a complete failure, nor do we believe that violence will necessarily succeed where non-violence has failed. Given a free choice, ours would be for non-violent action; but in the growingly violent situation, one must not ignore the danger that different methods might be forced on the people.

'Black versus white'

"If a situation should develop in which the African people are deprived of any likelihood of achieving a non-violent solution, they will, of necessity, be forced back to rely on their own resources and you will have the situation which will have the character of a black-versus-white struggle.

"From now on, as our 'War Preparations' leaflet shows, we are calling on Africans to prepare for the worst.

"We know of no plans for an invasion of South Africa. It is pure invention by the Verwoerd Government."

Psychosis of fear : Comment : Page 10

RDM, May 18, 1962 - Luthuli suggests names

of War - W. Luthuli

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Luthuli ban to stay?

CAPE TOWN, May 23.—The five-year ban on ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, former President-General of the banned African National Congress, is likely to be renewed for a further period when it expires on May 31, according to the pro-Government Press today.

The ban prohibits Mr Luthuli from leaving the lower Tugela district of Natal, from attending meetings and from being quoted in the Press.

It is also predicted that Robert Resha, former leader of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, will also be banned for a further period.

South Africa Renews Ban for Luthuli '64

DURBAN, South Africa (AP)—Two members of South Africa's security police force served Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli Saturday with a banishment order which will cut off the 66-year-old African nationalist leader from contact with the outside world for the next five years.

The two policemen went to Luthuli's trading post in

the middle of an African reserve to hand him the notice.

The notice, which arrived the day before the existing five-year banishment order on Luthuli was due to expire, limits his movements and his activities even more than the old order. For the next five years Luthuli will be confined to the African reserve where he has his home, his store and his sugar cane plantation, and he will be unable to speak to anyone from outside the reserve because anyone who is not a resident of the reserve must have an official permit to visit the place.

Move to free Mr. Luthuli

Comment in "SUN," Durban.

THE gesture—for it can be no more—by African businessmen to have the ban on Chief Luthuli lifted, is prompted, no doubt, by their concern to have South Africa's elder statesman play a more effective role in the future of his people. As a gesture it is to be lauded. Beyond this there is nothing to commend it.

The group's first step presumably would be an approach to the Government. Naive as the suggestion might be, if they were to succeed they would then ask Chief Luthuli to renounce the policies of the banned A.N.C. and persuade him to stand as a candidate in the event of the establishment of a Zulustan.

This would be asking Chief Luthuli, who before his banning was implacably opposed to this Government's policies, to become a turncoat. For the policies of the Nationalist Government have remained unchanged.

We believe that much as he must pray to be free, Chief Luthuli would refuse to swallow this gall—the renunciation of his principles.

Albert Luthuli Killed by Train; Zulu Won '60 Nobel Peace Prize

Former Chief Led Nonviolent Resistance Against South Africa's Apartheid

Special to The New York Times

DURBAN, South Africa, July 21—Albert Luthuli, the former Zulu chief who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, was struck by a train near his home today and died soon afterward in a hospital.

Mr. Luthuli, who was believed to be 69 years old, suffered from deafness and failing eyesight. He was walking over a narrow railroad bridge across the Umvoti River some 40 miles from here when he was struck.

Leader of the Oppressed

Albert John Luthuli, a Zulu only two generations removed from primitivism, was the acknowledged leader of millions of oppressed black men in South Africa. He was a moderate who advocated nonviolence and passive resistance.

Although he favored cooperation with whites to achieve equal citizenship for the blacks, he was spurned and reviled by the white-supremacist leaders of South Africa, whose policy of apartheid seeks to keep blacks and whites strictly segregated.

So fearful of Mr. Luthuli wa-



Pictorial Parade
Albert Luthuli

the South African Government that since 1959 it had banished him to his 25-acre sugar farm near the Zulu village of Groutville. As an additional restriction, the Government forbade newspapers to quote his words. And it positively discouraged visits to him.

The ban on visits was grudgingly relaxed in June, 1966, when Senator and Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy were in South Africa. Shepherded by Government

officials and police, the Kennedys were flown to the ramshackle reservation for an hour's chat with the winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace. As had scores of others before him, the Senator described Mr. Luthuli as "one of the most impressive men I have met."

'The Right of Free Peoples'

Gray-haired, stockily built and immensely dignified, Mr. Luthuli uttered his political views in calm and measured phrases. Summarizing these, he once said:

"We are not content to accept apartheid, which denies us equality in an integrated society and at the same time denies us independence in our own areas. We demand the right of all free peoples, the right to self-determination and equality, the right to decide our future for ourselves. We want to end white supremacy and oppression, which are leading our country to chaos and our peoples to endless suffering

and misery."

But even in the years of his banishment, which many regarded as a living death, Mr. Luthuli declined to express hatred for the whites.

"I am no racist," he said on one occasion. "South Africa is large enough to accommodate all people if they have large enough hearts."

Mr. Luthuli's leadership of the black 4-1 majority in South Africa was exercised through the African National Congress, of which he was president. Although the movement was outlawed in 1960, it flourished underground.

Its program was chiefly economic. It (and Mr. Luthuli) favored peaceful work stoppages or "stay-at-homes," because of their immediate effect on the economy, which is dependent on cheap African labor. The Congress also urged boycotts of certain goods and services as further means of exerting economic pressure on the Government.

Firm But Courteous

In contrast to his political intransigence, Mr. Luthuli's manner was courteous. He smiled readily and his frank eyes, set in a round face, twinkled. Some Africans thought him too deferential toward whites, but his politeness seemed natural in a man with pride for his racial heritage.

He was born in Rhodesia of South African parents. "I cannot be precise about the date of my birth, but I calculate that I was born in the year 1898, and certainly before 1900," he wrote in his autobiography, "Let My People Go." His father died when he was an infant, and his mother returned with him to South Africa. He was raised in Groutville, where his uncle was a Zulu chief.

In the village he attended the Congregationalist mission school and then went on to Adam's Mission Station College, a church-run secondary school near Durban. The Congregationalist training gave Mr. Luthuli lifelong religious convictions, a respect for Western civilization and a sturdy belief in the inherent equality of all men.

Becoming fluent in English, he qualified, in 1921, as an instructor at the Adam's institution and seemed destined to lead the life of a successful "mission boy." After 15 years as a teacher, however, Mr. Luthuli was elected chief of the 5,000-member Abasemakholweni tribe, one of the few Zulu tribes to choose their leaders democratically.

A Chief for 17 Years

He was urged to reject the honor because a chief was widely regarded as little more than a Government stooge, but, proud of his traditions, he accepted and served for 17 years. Shortly after his election he

ventured into politics by joining the African National Congress, then a somnolent body of professional men.

At that period in his life Mr. Luthuli began to lose his faith in the promises of white men, a skepticism that increased after World War II, when white pledges of rights for Africans were hastily forgotten.

When African politics began to bubble in 1951, Mr. Luthuli was elected president of the Natal division of the Congress and helped organize its de-

fiance campaign. To crush it, the Government, in 1952, rounded up and jailed 8,000 Africans and Indians. Chief Luthuli was told to give up his paid chieftainship or his unpaid Congress post. He chose the Congress, and soon he was named its general president.

"I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve," he said of his choice, "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."

Early Restrictions

When Mr. Luthuli, by now a national figure, declined to bow to the Government, his tribal elders, in a gesture of support, refused to elect a new chief. At the same time, the Government prohibited him from visiting the major towns and cities in South Africa.

Not content with this ban, the Government, in 1953, restricted Mr. Luthuli to his home in Groutville for two years. Nonetheless, his messages, composed slowly in longhand, were circulated, and in 1956 he was one of 156 African freedom leaders arrested on charges of high treason. After a year's detention, he was freed of the charge and renewed his public activities.

Despite harassments, Mr. Luthuli managed to keep his sense of wry humor. "The white detectives who follow me around," he said at the time, "seem to think I am criticizing them personally. There is one very nice Afrikaner detective who appreciates the Zulu language. I always said to myself, 'When I am arrested, I would like him to arrest me.'"

Exasperated by having failed to dampen the Africans' enthusiasm for Mr. Luthuli, the Government in 1959 banished him for five years to Groutville under a Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act. Mr. Luthuli was not a Communist.

"Extreme nationalism is a Ph-



Mr. and Mrs. Albert Luthuli in the garden of their home in Groutville, South Africa

greater danger than Communism, and a more real one," he asserted.

Protest Against Pass System

In March, 1960, the Government permitted Mr. Luthuli to testify at a treason trial in Pretoria. Simultaneously the Africans started a mass protest against the "pass" system, which requires all black men to carry a special identification card. In a peaceful demonstration against the "pass" at Sharpeville, 72 Africans were killed by whites.

Mr. Luthuli burned his own pass in protest and called a national day of mourning for the massacre victims. The Government declared a state of emergency and hustled Mr. Luthuli out of sight and back to Groutville.

It was there in October, 1961, that he was notified that he had received the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960 "because in his fight against racial discrimination he had always worked for nonviolent methods."

Mr. Luthuli had been nominated for the award by the late Rev. Dr. Andrew Vance McCracken of Bronxville, N.Y., editor of Advance magazine, a Congregational Church publication. The two men had met in 1948, when Mr. Luthuli had

lectured in the United States for the American Mission Board.

'Paradox and Honor'

After an initial outburst of anger for the world honor bestowed on Mr. Luthuli, the South African regime gave him a 10-day passport to travel to Oslo to accept the prize. In an eloquent speech there he termed the award a paradox:

"How great is the paradox and how much greater the honor 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," he said.

Mr. Luthuli also voiced serene optimism in the eventual success of his struggle.

"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,'" he said.

Two years after winning the

Nobel award, Mr. Luthuli was named rector of Glasgow University, but the South African Government would not let him leave the tin-and-concrete house to which he was confined after his trip to Norway.

Although his health was failing in recent years, Mr. Luthuli's devotion to the cause of freedom for the 10 million black Africans in South Africa was undimmed.

His wife, Nokukanya, shared his banishment. The couple, who were married in 1927, had two sons and three daughters.

LUTHULI IS BURIED IN PRISON VILLAGE

7,000 Attend Funeral for
Nobel Prize Winner

GROUTVILLE, South Africa July 30 (AP)—Cries of "Uhuru!" ("Freedom!") echoed through the cane-lined valley of the Umvoti River today as thousands of Africans paid a last tribute to Albert John Luthuli.

Mr. Luthuli, a former Zulu chief who for the last seven years of his life had been banished by the South African Government to this small, dusty African town, was buried in the graveyard of the town's tumbledown Congregational church.

The 1960 Nobel Peace Prize winner, an implacable foe of South Africa's apartheid (race segregation) policy, died July 21. He had been struck down by a freight train while crossing a small bridge on the way to his humble home. He was 68 years old, half blind and deaf.

A crowd estimated to number 7,000, including a few hundred whites, was present for the funeral. Several foreign consulates in Durban, about 35 miles south of Groutville, sent funeral wreaths.

Alan Paton, the author, told the crowd: "I am not allowed by some foolish law to tell you what he said but I will tell you what he did.

"He did what other heroes did. He stood up for the people, the poor and the dispossessed. For this he had to choose between his chieftainship and what he thought was good. He chose the latter. They took away his chieftainship but he never ceased to be chief.

"They took away his freedom but he never ceased to be free. Indeed, he was more free than those who banned him."

Mr. Paton, who is president of the country's small Liberal party, added that the tragedy of Mr. Luthuli was that his great talents of oratory could not be used, "that his voice could not be heard in the service of South Africa." "History," he continued, "will say a noble voice was silenced when it would have been better for us all to hear it."

Other speakers included the United States consul general, William R. Duggan, who said Mr. Luthuli needed no monument because his monument would be in the memories of those who remembered his noble nature.

Observer Aug 31 '68

Lutuli memorial

An international foundation is to be set up in memory of the late Chief Albert Lutuli, Africa's first Nobel Peace Prize winner, who died last year, Mr Oliver Tambo, acting president of the African National Congress of South Africa, announced in Stockholm.

Albert Luthuli—martyr or tool of communism?

LUTHULI, ALBERT JOHN (23-5-64 to 31-5-69) — "May not be quoted even though dead."

The dates above relate to the last banning order imposed on him, the effect of which was to silence him into the grave and beyond it. "Whereas the statement of a listed person may be published once he is removed from the list, those of a person who has been prohibited from attending gatherings appear to be permanently proscribed," writes Professor A. S. Mathews, Dean of Law at the University of Natal.

Neither death nor the lapsing of a banning order—even if it lapses after the death of the banned person—make it either permissible or safe to quote him, Professor Mathews says in his authoritative book, "Law, Order and Liberty in South Africa."

(Asked whether The Star could quote extracts from Luthuli's Nobel Prize speech, the Under Secretary of Justice, Mr C. M. van Niekerk, said he did not know.)

TOMORROW, almost exactly five years after his death, a memorial tombstone will be unveiled to a South African who was revered by some as a martyr and condemned by others as a tool of communists — Chief Albert Luthuli.

Albert John Luthuli, politician, pacifist, champion of the oppressed and winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace, was born in Rhodesia in about 1898, and died in Zululand on July 21 1967.

Today the name Luthuli means little to many of the younger generation, mainly because almost everything he wrote and said — and much that has been written about him — is confined to the dusty vaults reserved for banned literature.

Yet at the height of his influence Luthuli stood out as a leading Black politician, as perhaps the chief foil to another nationalist who preceded him to the grave by less than a year, Dr Verwoerd.

There was little, however, in Luthuli's early life to indicate that he would become, in the words of an Anglican priest, "the embodiment of the African people and of multi-racial resistance to apartheid."

At the age of six his mother, a woman of royal Zulu lineage, brought him back to Groutville, the traditional family home in Zululand. He attended

school at Groutville and later won a scholarship to Adams College in Natal.

The first 17 years of his adult life were spent quietly as a teacher at Adams College, where he taught Zulu history and literature. After 15 years there, elders of the Amakolwa tribe asked him to take over as their chief from his uncle. Luthuli hesitated but two years later he agreed.

Tranquillity

The second period of his life as a chief responsible for the administration of tribal justice and the welfare of his people was quiet, too — except for the last few years, which marked a steady movement away from the tribal tranquillity of Groutville to the turbulence of African politics.

In 1945, after the death of his friend and first president of the African National Congress (ANC), Dr John Dube, he attended a congress meeting and was elected to the executive of the Natal branch.

At the time the ANC, the oldest African nationalist movement in South Africa, was undergoing a resurgence after a period of decline and near eclipse. It was further stimulated by the coming to power in 1948 of Afrikaner nationalism.

Together with the SA Indian Congress, the ANC formed a joint planning council to plan the defiance campaign of 1952. The campaign, conceived in the classical mould

of the 19th century, aimed at the deliberate breaking of "unjust" and racially discriminating laws.

It was launched in June 1952 and in the ensuing months some 8 000 volunteers courted imprisonment by defying pass and other apartheid laws. Luthuli was a "staff officer," one of the men who organised and co-ordinated the campaign.

His role angered the Government and he was summoned to Pretoria. He refused to give up either and in November was summarily deposed as chief.

A month later he was elected president general of the ANC, a position which he held until the movement was banned in 1960.

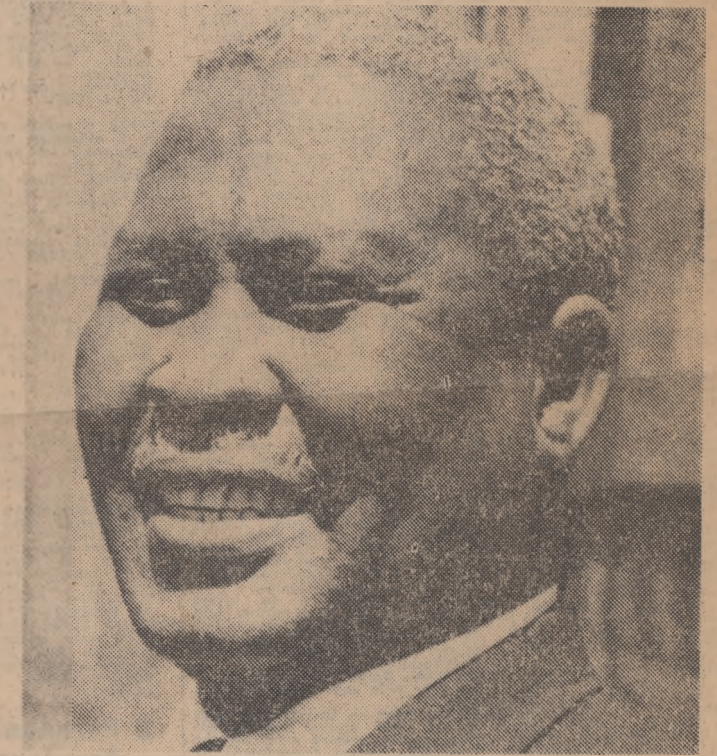
One of his first decisions was to call off the defiance campaign because of the outbreak of riots in the Eastern Cape and bloody clashes between Africans and the police.

As ANC president Luthuli faced a difficult situation; the campaign had increased ANC membership — it mushroomed from 20 000 to 100 000 — and he had to find new ways of channelling the fight against apartheid.

In particular, he faced two problems:

The necessity of directing the struggle from afar, from Groutville where he was confined under ban for most of the time.

The need to devise a strategy,



Chief Albert Luthuli . . . all his life he fought for a non-racial South Africa.

of both the mounting restrictions and harassment of ANC leaders and the clamour for action from the younger and more radical members of his movement.

Sharpeville

Throughout this period two factors weighed heavily with Luthuli: his deep moral commitment to non-violence, and his determination to maintain the non-racial nature of the struggle against apartheid — to sustain the alliance of men of all races in the search for a non-racial society.

In different ways the points where emphasised and re-emphasised in all his speeches (most of which were not delivered personally because of the bans against him).

In spite of the difficulties he faced, the years between his election as president and the Sharpeville shooting saw the unfolding of a new non-violent campaign.

There was the Alexandra bus boycott against higher fares, the potato boycott against "slave" labour in the Eastern Transvaal, a series of stay-at-home stikes, and — most important — the birth of the Congress Alliance movement.

The Congress Alliance consisted of a series of separate but interlinked congresses among the Black, Brown and White peoples of South Africa.

Luthuli was accused of allowing himself to be used by communists because of their presence in the movement. He was undeterred; he would cooperate with communists as long as they moved in his direction; he did not fear a communist take-over as Christian faith was more than a match for communist zeal.

Luthuli could not, however, prevent the breakaway of Africanists from the alliance and the establishment in 1959 of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), although he sought untiringly to bring them back into the fold.

The 1960 PAC campaign against the pass laws led to the Sharpeville and Langa shootings.

Luthuli was then under his third and most severe ban, but he broke it and held a Press

conference where he publicly burnt his pass and called for a national day of mourning for the dead.

Shortly thereafter the Government banned both the ANC and the PAC, arrested Luthuli (along with thousands of others), and later sent him back to Groutville.

For most of the remainder of his life Luthuli was cut off from events in his lonely exile at Groutville. But neither exile nor gagging could prevent the world from acclaiming him: in 1961 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace, the first African (Black or White) to be so honoured.

'Inexplicable'

The Burger described the award as "a remarkably immature, poorly considered and fundamentally un-Western decision;" the Transvaal condemned it as "an inexplicable pathological phenomenon."

But the Government, nevertheless, allowed Luthuli to travel to Oslo to collect the award — because, it said, if he did not a South African diplomat would have to.

Some six years later, Luthuli, ageing, sick and partially blind, was struck by a train while crossing a railway bridge near his home. He died shortly afterwards in hospital.

Tributes poured in from all over the world, but of all the tributes he ever received two — both from South Africans, one Black and the other White — probably got closest to the essence of the man.

● "His yes was always yes and his nay, nay" — Professor Z. K. Mathews.

● "They took away his chieftainship, but he never ceased to be a chief" — Mr Alan Paton.

African nationalism in South Africa has been the battleground for two rival forces, a broad South Africanism and a narrower Africanism. All his life Luthuli fought for a non-racial South Africanism and one day all South Africans will acclaim him as theirs.

— Patrick
Laurence

LUTHULI, IN OSLO, SCORES APARTHEID

Peace Prize Winner Terms South Africa a 'Relic'

Special to The New York Times.
OSLO, Norway, Dec. 11—Albert John Luthuli characterized South Africa today as "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 worshiped like a god," he said in his Nobel Peace Prize Lecture in Oslo.

Mr. Luthuli received the 1960 peace prize in a ceremony here yesterday. Dag Hammarskjold, the late Secretary General of the United Nations, was awarded the 1961 prize at the same ceremony.

Mr. Luthuli, 62 years old, a former Zulu chief, said it was a great honor to him "to be plucked from banishment in a rural backwater, to be lifted out of the narrow confinement of South Africa's internal politics" to be awarded the Peace Prize.

Mr. Luthuli suggested that Africa could serve as a mediator between East and West. In this connection he said:

"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."

He said that as a Christian and a patriot he could not "remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually criticized God for having created men of color" and when systematic attempts were made to "debase the God-factor in man."

Mr. Luthuli said the award was a democratic declaration of solidarity with those who fight to widen the area of liberty in South Africa. He added that the award was also a welcome recognition of the role played by the African people to establish peacefully a society where merit, not race, would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation.

Mr. Luthuli said that Africa today "is a continent in revolution against oppression." "There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown," he declared.

He called it a paradox that the Peace Prize should be given to a man from a country where the brotherhood of man is an illegal doctrine, outlawed, banned, censured, proscribed and prohibited.

"How great is the paradox and how much greater the honor 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," he said.

The African said that the policy of apartheid, or racial separation, survived in South Africa because those who sponsored it profited from it since it provided "moral whitewash" for conditions.

Mr. Luthuli said that the true patriots of South Africa would be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest democratic rights in politics, in economic matters, in culture and in the social sphere.

"We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone," he said. "We demand them for all South Africans, white and black. On these principles we are uncompromising."

14 U. N. STATES URGE ARAB TALKS

Mark Times.
N. Y., (AP)—Fourteen United Nations members have today urged Arab-Israeli talks to end the long-running conflict in the Middle East.

The resolution, which sides with the Arab position, was adopted by a 14-0 vote, with 12 abstentions.

The resolution calls for a cessation of hostilities and for a return to the status quo ante bellum.

The resolution also calls for a cessation of the military and political activities of the Israeli Government.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 14-0, with 12 abstentions.

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Excerpts From Nobel Lecture by Luthuli in Oslo

OSLO, Norway, Dec. 11 (Reuters)—Following are excerpts from a speech by Albert Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize winner for 1960, at a dinner in his honor here tonight.

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 color line to find a peaceful solution to the race problem. This contribution is not in any way unique.

To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually criticized God for having created men of color 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 a welcome recognition of the role played by the African people during the last fifty years to establish, peacefully, a society in which merit and not race would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation.

Award Seen for All Africa
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.

Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bed fellows.

There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown. Our continent has been carved up by the great powers. 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 age of revolution, stretching across all the years from the eighteenth 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.

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.

Goal Held Way to Peace

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 honor 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 realization 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



NOBEL LAUREATE DANCES WITH PRINCESS: Prof. Melvin Calvin, center, dancing with Princess Christina of Sweden on Sunday night in Stockholm. The gala followed the ceremony at which Professor Calvin received the Nobel Prize for chemistry.

thousands of my countrymen, have in the course of 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.

South Africa Assailed

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa. 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 worshiped like a god. The ghost of slavery lingers on to this day in the form of forced labor that goes on in what are called farm prisons.

It is fair to say that even in present day conditions, Christian missions have been in the vanguard in 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.

I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable.

It seems utterly indifferent to the suffering of individual persons, who lose their land, their homes, their jobs, in the pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in the world.

This terrible dream is not held on to by a crack-pot group on the fringe of society. 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 in their lot with nonwhites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development.

Effects Are Traced

Thus it is that the golden age of Africa's independence is also the dark age of South Africa's decline and retrogression.

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 black-listing, all these spread their shadows over the land.

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 beginning of white settlement and conquest 300 years ago.

We, in our situation, have chosen the path of nonviolence of our own volition. Along this path we have organized many heroic campaigns.

The bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighters' 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 few exceptions, have remained nonviolent.

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.

The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, will be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest democratic rights.

Equal Opportunity Demanded

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-segregatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability.

In the social sphere we will be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of all racial bars.

We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black.

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

ship scornfully rejected, her pleas for justice and fair play spurned, should she not nonetheless seek to turn enmity into amity?

African Destiny Envisioned

Though robbed of her lands, her independence and opportunities to become—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 flavor 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 genius of man?

In a strife-torn world, tottering on the brink of complete destruction by man-made nuclear weapons, a free and independent Africa is in the making, in answer to the injunction and challenge of history:

"Arise and shine, for thy light is come."

Acting in concert with other nations, she is man's last hope for a mediator between the East and West, and is qualified to demand of the great powers to "turn the swords into ploughshares" because two-thirds of mankind is hungry and illiterate.

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.

values and worthy ends, and not for lands and the enslavement of man.

Still licking the scars of past wrongs perpetrated on her, could she not be magnanimous and practice no revenge? Her hand of friend-

Collection Number: A3337

Collection Name: Albert Lutuli, Various papers, 1953-1982

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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