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oer these
though 0 er countries on our continent do not labour
is here in the Reo ; 'c of South Africa
problems, bu ecause it
that the race prob -
is most acute ~â\200\231-r aps in no other country
on the continent is white 5-; 4: acy asserted with greater vigour
wusness. This places the
and determination an: a sense of no
opponents .
- 0 fight white
domi. ion.

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Africaâ\200\231s Challenges and Opportunities

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

Africa is a vital subject matter in the world of today. a focal point of world interest and concern. Could it not be that history has delayed her rebirth for a purpose? The situation confronts her with inescapable challenges, but more importantly with opportunities for service to herself and mankind. She evades the challenges and neglects the opportunities to her shame. if not her doom. How she sees her destiny is a more vital and rewarding quest than bemoaning her past with its humiliations and sufferings. The address could do no more than pose some questions and leave it to the African leaders and peoples to provide satisfying answers and responses by their concern for higher values and by their noble actions that could be

. footprints on the sands of time;

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"Footprints, that perhaps another.
Sailing o'er lifeâ\200\231s solemn main.
A forlornâ\200\230and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

Still licking'the scars of past wrongs perpetrated on he
not be magnanimous and practise no revenge? Hrâ\200\234:
friendship scornfully rejected, her pleas for justice 0" i
spurned, should she not nonetheless seek to turn enmira

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Though robbed of her lands. her independence and opportunities â\200\224
this. oddly enough, often in the name of civilisation and even

Christianity, should she not see her destiny as being that of making a distinctive contribution to human progress and human relationships with a peculiar new African flavour enriched by the diversity of cultures she enjoys, thus building on the summits of present human achievement on edifice that would be one of the finest tributes to the genius of man? She should see this hour of her fulfilment as a challenge to labour on until she is purged of racial domination, and as an opportunity of reassuring the world that her national aspiration lies, not in overthrowing white domination to replace it by a black caste. but in building a non-racial democracy that shall be a monumental brotherhood, a "brotherly community" with none discriminated against on grounds of race of colour.

What of the many pressing and complex political, economic and cultural problems attendant upon the early years of a newly-independent State? These, and others which are the legacy of colonial days. will tax to the limit the statesmanship, ingenuity, altruism and steadfastness of African leadership and its unbending avowal to democratic tenets in statecraft. To us all, free or not free, the call of the hour is to redeem the name and honour of Mother Africa. In a strife-torn world, tottering on the brink of complete destruction by man-made nuclear weapons. A free and independent Africa is in the making, in answer to the injunction and challenge of history: "Arise and shine for thy light is come". 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 plough-shares" because two-thirds of mankind is hungry and illiterate; to engage human energy, human skill and human talent in the service of peace, for the alternative is unthinkable - war, destruction and desolation; and to build a world community which will stand as a lasting monument to the millions of men and women, to such devoted and distinguished world citizens and fighters for peace as the late Dag Hammarskjöld, who have given their lives that we may live in happiness and peace. Africa's qualification for this noble task is incontestable, for her own fight has never been and is not now a fight for conquest of land, for accumulation of wealth or domination of peoples, but for the recognition and preservation of the rights of man and the establishment of a truly free world for a free people.

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shown by St. Peter when he said to the rulers
we obey God or Man?â\200\230 No one can deny that
Whites are concerned in the Union of South Aime
tions that debase human personalit abound. Any
his position must fight fearlessly agiinst such debasm;
and laws. If the Government should r sort to dismisss' g -.
it may find itseII dismissing many chief or causing perksÂ»?
from their hearts chiefs who are ind; erent to the
v
peopIe through fear of dismissal by t e Governmen. Jafety w
Government cannot pIace chiefs in su h an unco fortable and
invidious position.

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WiII Remain in the Struggle for a True '

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As for myself, with a fuII sense of responsibii l? and a dear comm:-
tion, I decided to remain in the struggle for xtending democratic
rights and responsibilities to all sections of -
South African com-
munity. I have embraced the non-violent Possi . Resistance techni-
que in fighting for freedom because I a
IS the only
non-revolutionary. legitimate and human â\200\230 way
at could be used
by peopIe denied. as we are. effect: consti Mm as means to
further aspirations.
The wisdom or foolishness of this de ion

con need it

4- wands oâ\200\230

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I the AImighty.

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What the future has in store Io:
ridicuIe. imprisonment, concentratir
and even death. I only pray to

Irv uâ\200\234

_ so that none of these grim possi = 'M w.
for the sake of the good nomeoi otxv

of South Africa. to make it a
ue de~
form and spirit of 0â\200\235 the communitir
.concern at times is that of the wettom
in this regard. in a spirit of trust one

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.see it, to say â\200\235God wiII provide'.

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upport these

This is What we Stand For

The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, weâ\200\235 be satisfied
with nothing less than the fulllest democratic rights. In government
we wiII not be satisfied with anything less than direct individuai
adult suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to OH organs
of government. In economic matters we wiII be satisfied with nothing
less than equoiity of opportunity in every sphere. and the enjoyment
by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country
whid'i up to now have been appropriated on a raciaI â\200\235whites onIy"
basis. In culture we wiII be satisfied with nothing less than the
opening of OH doors of Iearning to no-segregatory institutions on
the soIe criteriOn of abiIity. In the social sphere we wiII be satisfied
with nothing less than the abolition of OH raciaI bars.

We do not demand these things for peoples of African descent
alone. We demand them for aâ\200\235 South Africans, white and bIack. On
these principles we are uncompromising. To compromise would be

an expediency that is most treacherous to democracy. for in the turn of events the sweets of economic, political and social privileges that are a monopoly of only one section of a community turn sour even in the mouths of those who eat them. Thus apartheid in practice is proving to be a monster created by Frankenstein That is the tragedy of the South African scene.

Many spurious slogans have been invented in our iouitfy m an effort to redeem uneasy roce reIations -â\200\224 â\200\235trusteeship", "separate development", "partnership".

These are efforts to side-track us from the democratic road, meon deIaying tactics that IooI no one but the unwary. No euphemism: naming wiII ever hide their hideous nature. We reject these poicies because they do great offence to man's sublime aspirations that have remained true in a sea of flux and Change down the ages, aspirations of which the United Nations Decioration of Human Rights is a culmination. This is what we stand for. This IS what we fight Ior.

"race federation" and eIsewhere

ME? ~ Omarâ\200\234 : 7h KWM

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This is What We Stand For

From the speech by Chief Alfred Lutuli, President~General of the ANC,
upon accepting the Nobel Prize for Peace in Stockholm on Dec. 11, 1961.