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Human Rights Day
December 10, 1969

CHIEF ALBERT J. LUTULI

STATEMENTS AND ADDRESSES

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Acknowledgement, together with a copy of the publication containing the reprint, would be appreciated.

INTRODUCTION

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights last year, the United Nations awarded six prizes for outstanding contributions to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms since the adoption of the Declaration on 10 December 1948. One of the six prizes was awarded to the late Chief Lutuli of South Africa.

Chief Albert John Mvumbi Lutuli - teacher, chief and leader of the South African people - was born in 1898 near Bulawayo in Rhodesia where his father had gone as an evangelist.

After completing the higher teacher's training course, he taught at the Training College for Teachers at the Adams College from 1921 to 1935. During this period, he became secretary of the Natal African Teachers' Association and the non-racial South African Football Association, and founded the Zulu Language and Cultural Society.

In 1935 he accepted the chieftainship of the Umvoti Mission Reserve in Grcutville following repeated appeals by the elders of the tribe. Soon he was elected chairman of the Natal and Zululand Association and the Mission Reserve Association. He became a member of the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and the Institute of Race Relations. He was elected to the executive of the South African Christian Council and, in 1938, he attended the International Missionary Conference in Madras.

His initiation into the political field may be traced to 1945 when he joined the Natal African National Congress. Elected to the Native Representative Council in 1946, he joined the other African members in moving indefinite adjournment of the Council in protest against discriminatory laws.

He was drawn into active participation in the struggle against apartheid in 1951 when he was elected President of the Natal African National Congress. When he led Natal in the Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws in 1952, the Government gave him an ultimatum to resign from the African National Congress or from the Chieftainship. He refused to resign from either and the Government deposed him in November 1962. Next month, he was elected President-General of the African National Congress, a position he held until his tragic death on July 21, 1967.

During the fifteen years as President-General, Chief Lutuli led many peaceful and non-violent campaigns by the African people. He endeavoured to unite all opponents of apartheid - Africans, Indians, Coloured and Europeans - in a common struggle for a non-racial democratic society.

The Government, however, subjected him to constant bans and arrests. In 1963, when he undertook a tour of the country as the new President-General, he was banned for a year from all large cities and from attending gatherings. In mid-1954 when he went to Johannesburg to lead a protest against the forcible removal of 75,000 Africans from Sophiatown and other African townships, he was served with more severe orders confining him to Groutville area for two years. On December 5, 1956, he was arrested with over 150 other opponents of apartheid on the charge of high treason.

Acquitted by the court, he undertook a tour of South Africa, speaking to many white audiences to promote a peaceful solution. The Government again served banning orders in 1959, confining him to Groutville for five years. Detained during the State of Emergency in 1960 for five months, he returned to confinement in Groutville. In 1964, the Government served more stringent banning orders for a further five years. Under these banning orders, no writings or statements of Chief Lutuli could be published in South Africa.

The Government, however, could not undermine the influence of Chief Lutuli in South Africa nor silence him. Moreover, his appeals to the world were instrumental in promoting the movement for the boycott of South African goods, and for South Africa's exit from the Commonwealth.

He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960 and chosen in 1964 for the award of the Society for the Family of Man in New York. He was elected Rector of the University of Glasgow.

The selected statements and addresses reproduced here cover the period between 1952, when he dedicated his life fully to the leadership of the struggle against apartheid and 1964, when some of his closest colleagues were sentenced to life imprisonment in the "Rivonia trial" for leading the underground movement against apartheid after the banning of the African National Congress. They underline his uncompromising opposition to racialism and his vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

In his statement on being deposed from chieftainship, he recalled that "thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door". He decided to remain in the struggle "for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South African community."

After the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, and the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, the movement was obliged to act underground and it gave up its strict adherence to non-violent means. In his last public statement, on the conclusion of the "Rivonia trial", he said:

"The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organized force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony."

He appealed to the world to take decisive action to help end the hateful system of apartheid.

The United Nations, which has considered the problem of apartheid since the Defiance Campaign of 1952, has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for a non-racial society and has encouraged international support to them in their struggle.

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THE ROAD TO FREEDOM IS VIA THE CROSS

(Text of a public statement by Chief Lutuli in November 1952 when the Government dismissed him from his position as Chief for refusing to resign from the African National Congress).

I have been dismissed from the Chieftainship of the Abase-Makolweni Tribe in the Groutville Mission Reserve. I presume that this has been done by the Governor-General in his capacity as Supreme Chief of the "Native" people of the Union of South Africa save those of the Cape Province. I was democratically elected to this position in 1935 by the people of Groutville Mission Reserve and was duly approved and appointed by the Governor-General.

Thirty years of knocking in vain

Previous to being a chief I was a school teacher for about seventeen years. In these past thirty years or so I have striven with tremendous zeal and patience to work for the progress and welfare of my people and for their harmonious relations with other sections of our multi-racial society in the Union of South Africa. In this effort I always pursued what liberal-minded people rightly regarded as the path of moderation. Over this great length of time I have, year after year, gladly spent hours of my time with such organizations of the Church and its various agencies such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and the now defunct Native Representative Council.

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

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

New spirit of the people

It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress (Natal), I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner. Because of my association with the African National Congress in this new spirit which has found an effective and legitimate way of expression in the non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign, I was given a two-week limit ultimatum by the Secretary for

Native Affairs calling upon me to choose between the African National Congress and the chieftainship of the Groutville Mission Reserve. He alleged that my association with Congress in its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign was an act of disloyalty to the State. I did not, and do not, agree with this view. Viewing non-violent Passive Resistance as a non-revolutionary and, therefore, a most legitimate and humane political pressure technique for a people denied all effective forms of constitutional striving, I saw no real conflict in my dual leadership of my people: leader of this tribe as chief and political leader in Congress.

I saw no cause to resign from either. This stand of mine which resulted in my being sacked from the chieftainship might seem foolish and disappointing to some liberal and moderate Europeans and non-Europeans with whom I have worked these many years and with whom I still hope to work. This is no parting of the ways but "a launching farther into the deep." I invite them to join us in our unequivocal pronouncement of all legitimate African aspirations and in our firm stand against injustice and oppression.

Servant of the people

I do not wish to challenge my dismissal, but I would like to suggest that in the interest of the institution of chieftainship in these modern times of democracy, the Government should define more precisely and make more widely known the status, functions and privileges of chiefs.

My view has been, and still is, that a chief is primarily a servant of his people. He is the voice of his people. He is the voice of his people in local affairs. Unlike a Native Commissioner, he is part and parcel of the Tribe, and not a local agent of the Government. Within the bounds of loyalty it is conceivable that he may vote and press the claims of his people even if they should be unpalatable to the Government of the day. He may use all legitimate modern techniques to get these demands satisfied. It is inconceivable how chiefs could effectively serve the wider and common interest of their own tribe without co-operating with other leaders of the people, both the natural leaders (chiefs) and leaders elected democratically by the people themselves.

It was to allow for these wider associations intended to promote the common national interests of the people as against purely local interests that the Government in making rules governing chiefs did not debar them from joining political associations so long as those associations had not been declared "by the Minister to be subversive of or prejudicial to constituted Government." The African National Congress, its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign, may be of nuisance value to the Government but it is not subversive since it does not seek to overthrow the form and machinery of the State but only urges for the inclusion of all sections of the community in a partnership in the Government of the country on the basis of equality.

Spirit of defiance

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

personality abound. Any chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws. If the Government should resort to dismissing such chiefs, it may find itself dismissing many chiefs or causing people to dismiss from their hearts chiefs who are indifferent to the needs of the people through fear of dismissal by the Government. Surely the Government cannot place chiefs in such an uncomfortable and invidious position.

Will remain in the struggle for a true democracy

As for myself, with a full sense of responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South African community. I have embraced the non-violent Passive Resistance technique in fighting for freedom because I am convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and humane way that could be used by people denied, as we are, effective constitutional means to further aspirations.

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

What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union in form and spirit of all the communities in the land.

My only painful concern at times is that of the welfare of my family but I try even in this regard, in a spirit of trust and surrender to God's will as I see it, to say: "God will provide."

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

MAYIBUYE!

AFRICA! AFRICA! AFRICA!

OUR VISION IS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

(Speech at a public meeting organized by the South African Congress of Democrats in Johannesburg in 1958 to hear the President-General of the African National Congress. Chief Lutuli was served with banning orders soon after this speech.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, someone has said a man really has only one speech to make. He may clothe it in different words, but in essence it is the same speech. Those of us who are in the freedom struggle in this country have really only one gospel. We may possibly shade it in different ways, but it is a gospel of democracy and freedom.

If we are true to South Africa that must be our vision, a vision of South Africa as a fully democratic country. It cannot in honesty be claimed that she is yet really democratic, when only about a third of her people enjoy democratic rights, and the rest - notwithstanding the fact that they constitute the majority - are still subjected to apartheid rule. I emphasize the words are still, because I do believe firmly that it is not a state that can be perpetuated. Apartheid rule is the antithesis of democracy. Apartheid - in theory and in practice - is an effort, to make Africans march back to tribalism.

A Deceitful Concept

Sometimes very nice and pretty phrases are used to justify this diversion from the democratic road. The one that comes to my mind is the suggestion that we Africans will "develop along our own lines". I do not know of any people who really have "developed along their own lines". My fellow white South Africans, enjoying what is called 'Western civilization', should be the first to agree that this civilization is indebted to previous civilizations, from the East, from Greece, Rome and so on. For its heritage, Western civilization is really indebted to very many sources, both ancient and modern.

There is really no possibility of anyone developing "along his own lines", as is often suggested. But in practice "developing along your own lines" turns out not to be development along your own lines at all, but development along the lines designed by the Government through the Native Affairs Department. Even in determining the laws that govern us and our development, there is no attempt to consult those who are affected. There is no contact between the governor and the governed at the present moment. "Developing along our own lines", has come to mean "developing along their lines - the Government's lines".

The essence of development along your own lines is that you must have the right to develop, and the right to determine how to develop.

Its essence is freedom and - beyond freedom - self-determination. This is the vision we hold for our future and our development.

Freedom is the Apex

One might ask, "Is this vision of a democratic society in South Africa a realizable vision? Or is it merely a mirage?" I say, it is a realizable vision. For it is in the nature of man, to yearn and struggle for freedom. The germ of freedom is in every individual, in anyone who is a human being. In fact, the history of mankind is the history of man struggling and striving for freedom. Indeed, the very apex of human achievement is FREEDOM and not slavery. Every human being struggles to reach that apex.

It is sometimes suggested that people are "incited" to struggle for freedom. One wonders what that means. I admit that circumstances from time to time make it necessary to remind people of what lies at the apex. Naturally if I find a man in the mud, it is my duty to uplift him and remind him "You are not of the mud." If there be human beings who, for some reason or other, have forgotten their rights and wallow in the mud, it is the duty of all who see, to say to them "Don't wallow in mud. Try to reach up to the apex." And the apex of human achievement and striving, as I have said, is freedom.

Let Us Share Responsibility

It is often said that the non-European people merely strive for the good fruits of South African citizenship and not for its obligations. But that is not the aspiration of Black South Africa. We would like to share in the privileges and rights that go with democracy. But at the same time we are ready to carry all the obligations which flow from being part of a democratic country.

I hasten to say that we do not approve of the state of affairs which obtains now, when on the basis of apartheid, it is said: "Where social services are directed to you or for you, you alone should bear the expense." That we do not agree to. We feel that we should enjoy the rights which are enjoyed by all South Africans, and equally bear the obligations. But that is far different from saying to the poorest section of the community: "If you wish to enjoy any social services in South Africa, pay for it yourself." That policy at present being carried out in so far as non-Europeans - particularly Africans - are concerned, is a policy of denying us the privileges of freedom, while saddling us with more than our share of responsibility.

Emergent Africa

The yearning for freedom is not peculiar to South Africa. The whole of Africa is emerging into freedom. We live in the midst of what has rightly been described as "Emergent Africa". Why should it be thought that Africans in this part of southern Africa are different from Africans in Ghana? Africans

in Ghana have received full democracy. In Nigeria they are about to receive full democracy. How can it be suggested that the Africans in the Union of South Africa will not yearn, like their brothers in the North, for freedom. The very fact that Africa is emerging to freedom should be a sign to all of us that our vision of democracy is coming and will be realized.

The African isn't the only one who has struggled for full participation in a South African democracy. Our people have been much impressed by the struggle of the Afrikaner in this country. He too struggled - in fact, in affairs less justified than ours, for he did enjoy a certain amount of freedom while we enjoy none. But he felt he did not enjoy it fully. It should be unnecessary to remind Afrikaner South Africans, that nothing could stop their struggle until they got a full share in democracy for themselves. Should they not realize that this same truth applies now to the struggling Africans, who cannot be denied the privileges of democracy for ever?

We are a Multi-racial Community

I believe that our vision of democracy in South Africa will be realized, because there is a growing number of people who are coming to accept the fact that in South Africa we are a multi-racial community - whether we like it or not. I am not prepared to concern myself with such questions as: "Where have you come from?", "Do you come from the North?" or "Did you come from Europe?" It is not important.

What is important for our situation is that we are all here. That we cannot change! We are all here, and no one desires to change it or should desire to change it. And since we are all here, we must seek a way whereby we can realize democracy, so that we can live in peace and harmony in this land of ours. More and more people are coming to accept that and to work for it.

Sometimes it would seem that the more apartheid is intensified, the more freedom lovers come together to oppose it. It is an encouraging feature, demonstrated by the fact that there exists today not only the Congress of Democrats under whose auspices you are meeting here, but also the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, the Black Sash, and many Church leaders who have seen and followed their duty to their fellow men.

Cherish Human Values

Man must participate in all the aspects of life, political, social and religious. A man is not whole if he is deprived of participating in some aspects of life; he will grow to be a lopsided man. It is not our aim to produce among Africans lopsided citizens of South Africa. It is my firm belief that more and more South Africans, regardless of colour, will come to see the justice of our cause, because it is not just our cause. It is a human cause and, I would say, a divine cause to try and build a climate in South Africa where human values will be respected.

We often hear the cry that if we extend democratic freedom to non-Whites we shall be surrendering our heritage. But I would like to suggest that you cannot preserve your heritage by isolating yourself, or by isolating other people; you can only preserve human values by propagating them and creating a climate where these values will flourish. Apartheid does not furnish that kind of climate; for the values which we cherish, can only develop to the full in a climate of peace and equality, where brotherhood is respected. In such a climate as that, these values will grow.

We must deliberately propagate these values if we wish to maintain them. That is the only way of saving white civilization! Propagate it! Don't hoard it! For if you hoard it, it is going to shrivel with you. But if you propagate it, more people will develop these values, preserve them, and prevent their dying out. We are interested in the preservation of those values, for they are eternal values. Man throughout the ages, has striven for these values. Why should it be thought that we in South Africa, we blacks in South Africa, strive less?

World Opinion

Encouragement for those whose vision is a democratic South Africa, lies in the fact that today there is self-questioning within the apartheid camp. When people begin to question their own policies, there is some hope. A sinner who does not realize that he is a sinner, is not very far from damnation; the hope for man is greater when he begins to question. Now I say their questions may not amount to much, but certainly it is a hopeful sign that they now begin to question and wonder at the efficacy of apartheid. There is hope there, just as there is hope to be drawn from world opinion being in favour of democracy.

However badly our country fails to live up to democracy, world opinion is in favour of democracy. The whole world stands up and says: "We stand for this cause." I don't think that we ourselves really believe that South Africa can remain isolated from the world. Otherwise we will find ourselves a colony of slaves, isolated and cut off from the rest of the world - slaves of our own making.

To me democracy is such a lovely thing, that one can hardly hope to keep it away from other people. Could anyone really successfully shield off beauty? We don't live in Parktown, but we appreciate the beauties of Parktown. We do. And as we move round Parktown from the townships we pause and admire the beauty. I do. I am not a Johannesburg man, but I pause to see the fine gardens, the beautiful houses and the surroundings. I stop and admire beauty. Can you ever-lastingly cut off a human being from beauty? And as you move about in some of these palatial places, and the scent of the flowers comes to you, can you really stop another from smelling that scent? Can you ward others off? Can you really successfully do it? I suggest that democracy, being the fine thing it is, the apex of human achievement, cannot be successfully kept from the attainment of other men. I say not.

Yes there are difficulties on the road, and various blocks. But the biggest block is "apartheid", making it difficult for us to realize the vision glorious of a multi-racial democratic South Africa. But despite the blocks let us strive to develop this democracy.

A New Pattern of Democracy

It is often suggested, quite rightly, that democracy was developed in homogeneous communities - in Europe, possibly in Asia to an extent - in communities that were homogeneous in colour. Here in South Africa we are not a homogeneous community, not as far as race and colour are concerned nor possibly even in culture. It is suggested that people in homogeneous communities can very well speak of democracy being shared; but in a community like ours, diverse in very many respects, you can't hope to share democracy. But I personally believe that here in South Africa, with all our diversities of colour and race, we will show the world a new pattern for democracy.

I think there is a challenge to us in South Africa to set a new example for the world. Let us not side-step that task. What is important is that we can build a homogeneous South Africa on the basis not of colour but of human values.

After all, we all admire our colour. I often say my black colour is proof of sunshine and is due to heat. I admire my black colour - I should. But in trying to build a new homogeneous democratic South Africa, colour and race should not come into the scene. It should not come into the scene in any part of the world; for men should be bound together by certain values which they cherish.

I may have more in common with you here than, possibly, with the less fortunate of my African brothers who are still in the Reserves, who have not had the privileges of civilization which I have had. I don't know whether you like that - I don't want to annoy you - but to me that is a pointer to the fact that we can build a new type of homogeneous society - new in South Africa and in any part of the world.

The main thing is that man is my brother not by blood, but because we cherish the same values, stand for the same standards. I believe personally that, notwithstanding the fact that our cultures are diverse, we come to live together and in the process of our coming together, I will come to admire certain aspects of your culture, others I will reject. But I think also you will find that there will be aspects of our culture which are good. And so can develop a true South African culture, built up of the best of all our cultures.

Our Guarantees

White people often ask us: "What guarantee have we that you will not swamp us by your numbers?" I think that in a sense I have already replied to that by saying that some of us are not interested in numbers. I think that very stress on numbers is harmful. The criterion should rather be: "Do we wish for democracy?" To this question Africans have already given an answer. What more proof do you want that Africans long for democracy, when in fact they are already making sacrifices for it. They are willing to preach and struggle for democracy to the extent that sometimes they become the guests of Her Majesty. But I would like to take you further back. When they first came into contact with Europeans, our forebearers saw there some values which they liked.

Even in the wars between the English and my people I don't remember that missionaries, or even traders - excepting those who were found to be traitors - were ever molested. So I suggest that our people have given sufficient proof that they yearn for democracy; the question of numbers doesn't count, particularly if we set them on the right road. What the apartheid rulers have said does not lead people on the right road. If the Africans don't seem to be getting to democracy it is not their fault; go and blame apartheid! If you should feel you are in danger, it isn't because we seek to endanger you, but because we are not given the opportunity of developing fully along the democratic road.

How can you truly expect that democracy at its best can flourish in slums? How can you expect that democracy shall flourish in insecurity, when people do not have the wherewithal to live? Where Africans work in towns, it is admitted, that their wages are low. In Reserves from where they come, the holdings are so small that people can hardly make a civilized living. Now Prof. Tomlinson assures me that, having worked fairly hard in the reserve I can expect to get £66 per year from my holding. And he says: "Now if you work your holdings scientifically I promise you £120, or £150." He promises me that. In seriousness can anybody raise a family, on this basis, at the civilized standards we should aspire to? - Can you raise a family on that basis?

Bantustan - a Negation of Democracy

Can you really develop a democratic people upon the lines of the so-called "Bantu Authorities" - where we will not participate in the ordinary machinery of Government, but will revert to a perverted form of tribalism? For "Bantu Authority" is the exact antithesis of democracy; it is a rule by some kind of council appointed even without consultation with the people, by the sole decision of the Chief and the Native Affairs Department - a Council in which the people have no say at all and which they can never change even if they wish to.

Such a system can not lead to democracy; it does not even respect Bantu custom. For while we may not have been democratic in your sense, yet in past times, our tribal authority was not autocratic. I dispute the theory that African chiefs were autocratic. As in all communities, you occasionally get a dictator, like my own Chaka who was undoubtedly a dictator but not typical even of the Zulu chiefs. I don't think that you would suggest that Napoleon was a sample of the best in Europe. Incidentally he and Chaka were contemporaries; it seems that it was an age when dictators were produced.

But in Bantu practice, the King or Chief sat with his Council and debated an issue; and all of the leading men in the tribe had a say in decisions. And therefore all this talk of earlier African chiefs being dictators - as is said by the Department of Native Affairs to make present chiefs into dictators - is contrary to our traditions. But it is in line with the "Bantu Authorities Act".

Our chiefs are being made minor dictators - I needn't mention who is the senior dictator - contrary to their traditions and contrary to democracy. Our development is thus being sidetracked into new autocratic institutions that are now being imposed not only on the African but also on white people. As long as my people are forced to follow this road of Bantu Authorities - they will not learn democracy.

Go Forward in Faith.

How can you breed a democratic people along such lines? This is a challenge to all of us who are here. I will not concern myself with your political views whether you are United Party, Congress of Democrats or Liberal. All I see here is white South Africa and black South Africa. I see people who are interested in the welfare of South Africa. And if you are interested in South Africa as a whole you should do your best to work for the realization of this POSSIBLE vision. It is possible, this vision of a multi-racial democracy in South Africa. The difficulties may be great, but nothing has beaten man if he has striven.

Man is striving to go to the moon. If he can do this, can anyone suggest that man cannot evolve a system in South Africa that will make our society a democratic, multi-racial group? There is a challenge which you and I must meet. We cannot dodge it.

We often say that what we are doing, we do for posterity. It is a very dangerous claim to make because posterity may think quite differently from us; we may find posterity spitting on our grave. Let us not claim the authority of posterity for our failures to strike out on the road of democracy. I think it is Jan Hofmeyer who said: "Having planted go in faith".

Don't be worrying about other things. Go in faith and believe in the sanity of posterity. There is in the bible a verse which says that all those who are cowards, all those who grow apathetic because of the difficulties before them and run away from the struggle, - that they shall not be able to reach that Glorious place. It also says that the cowards will be together with all evil doers.

I cannot believe that all of us who are here will fail South Africa because we are cowards and apathetic. I believe we all will do our best - whatever the difficulties are - for the realization of this glorious democratic South Africa we dream of.

AFRICA AND FREEDOM

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

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

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

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

Continent in revolution against oppression

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.

This Award could not be for me alone, nor for just South Africa, but for Africa as a whole. Africa presently is most deeply torn with strife and most bitterly stricken with racial conflict. How strange then it is that a man of Africa should be here to receive an Award given for service to the cause of peace and brotherhood

between men. There has been little peace in Africa in our time. From the northernmost end of our continent, where war has raged for seven years, to the centre and to the south there are battles being fought out, some with arms, some without. In my own country, in the year 1960 for which this Award is given, there was a state of emergency for many months. At Sharpeville, a small village, in a single afternoon 69 people were shot dead and 180 wounded by small arms fire; and in parts like the Transkei, a state of emergency is still continuing. Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bedfellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown.

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

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

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

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

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

Perhaps by your standards, our surge to revolutionary reforms is late. If it is so -- if we are late in joining the modern age of social enlightenment, late in gaining self-rule, independence and democracy, it is because in the past the pace

has not been set by us. Europe set the pattern for the 19th and 20th Century development of Africa. Only now is our continent coming into its own and recapturing its own fate from foreign rule.

United Africa the goal

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

Brotherhood of man banned

There is a paradox in the fact that Africa qualifies for such an Award in its age of turmoil and revolution. How great is the paradox and how much greater the honour that an Award in support of peace and the brotherhood of man should come to one who is a citizen of a country where the brotherhood of man is an illegal doctrine, outlawed, banned, censured, proscribed and prohibited; where to work, talk or campaign for the 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 thousands of my countrymen, have in the course of the struggle for these ideals, been harassed, and imprisoned, but we are not deterred in our quest for a new age in which we shall live in peace and in brotherhood.

Cult of race superiority and of white supremacy

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa; its social system, its politics, its economics and its laws have forced themselves on the attention of the world. It is a museum piece in our time, a hangover from the dark past of mankind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying. Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is worshipped like a god. Few white people escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men are unquestionably superior, efficient, clever, industrious and capable;

that black men are, equally unquestionably, inferior, slothful, stupid, evil and clumsy. On the basis of the mythology that "the lowest amongst them is higher than the highest amongst us," it is claimed that white men build everything that is worthwhile in the country; its cities, its industries, its mines and its agriculture, and that they alone are thus fitted and entitled as of right to own and control these things, whilst black men are only temporary sojourners in these cities, fitted only for menial labour, and unfit to share political power. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Bantu Affairs, when explaining his government's policy on African education had this to say: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

There is little new in this mythology. Every part of Africa which has been subject to white conquest has, at one time or another, and in one guise or another, suffered from it, even in its virulent form of the slavery that obtained in Africa up to the 19th Century.

Mission of the church

The mitigating feature in the gloom of those far-off days was the shaft of light sunk by Christian missions, a shaft of light to which we owe our initial enlightenment. With successive governments of the time doing little or nothing to ameliorate the harrowing suffering of the black man at the hands of slave-drivers, men like Dr. David Livingstone and Dr. John Philip and other illustrious men of God stood for social justice in the face of overwhelming odds. It is worth noting that the names I have referred to are still anathema to some South Africans. Hence the ghost of slavery lingers on to this day in the form of forced labour that goes on in what are called farm prisons. But the tradition of Livingstone and Philip lives on, perpetuated by a few of their line. It is fair to say that even in present day conditions, Christian missions have been in the vanguard of initiating social services provided for us. Our progress in this field has been in spite of, and not mainly because of the government. In this the Church in South Africa -- though belatedly, seems to be awakening to a broader mission of the Church, in its ministry among us. It is beginning to take seriously the words of its Founder who said "I came that they might have life and have it more abundantly."

This is a call to the Church in South Africa to help in the all-round development of MAN in the present, and not only in the hereafter. In this regard, the people of South Africa, especially those who claim to be Christians, would be well advised to take heed of the Conference decisions of the World Council of Churches held at Cottesloe, Johannesburg, in 1960, which gave a clear lead on the mission of the Church in our day. It left no room for doubt about the relevancy of the Christian message in the present issues that confront mankind. I note with gratitude this broader outlook of the World Council of Churches. It has a great meaning and significance for us in Africa.

Reality of conditions in South Africa

There is nothing new in South Africa's apartheid ideas, but South Africa is unique in this: the ideas not only survive in our modern age, but are stubbornly defended, extended and bolstered up by legislation at the time when in the major part of the world they are now largely historical and are either being

shamefacedly hidden behind concealing formulations, or are being steadily scrapped. These ideas survive in South Africa because those who sponsor them profit from them. They provide moral whitewash for the conditions which exist in the country: for the fact that the country is ruled exclusively by a white government elected by an exclusively white electorate which is a privileged minority; for the fact that 87 per cent of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market and railways is reserved for white ownership and occupation and now through the recent Group Areas legislation non-Whites are losing more land to white greed; for the fact that all skilled and highly-paid jobs are for whites only; for the fact that all universities of any academic merit are an exclusive preserve of whites; for the fact that the education of every white child costs about £64 p.a. whilst that of an African child costs about £9 p.a. and that of an Indian child or Coloured child costs about £20 p.a.; for the fact that white education is universal and compulsory up to the age of 16, whilst education for the non-white children is scarce and inadequate, and for the fact that almost one million Africans a year are arrested and gaoled or fined for breaches of innumerable pass and permit laws which do not apply to whites.

I could carry on in this strain, and talk on every facet of South African life from the cradle to the grave. But these facts today are becoming known to all the world. A fierce spotlight of world attention has been thrown on them. Try as our government and its apologists will, with honeyed words about "separate development" and eventual "independence" in so-called "Bantu homelands," nothing can conceal the reality of South African conditions.

I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable. It seems utterly indifferent to the suffering of individual persons, who lose their land, their homes, their jobs, in the pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in the world. This terrible dream is not held on to by a crackpot group on the fringe of society, or by Ku-Klux Klansmen, of whom we have a sprinkling. It is the deliberate policy of a government, supported actively by a large part of the white population, and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white majority, but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white minority who have thrown their lot with non-whites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development.

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

In the wake of that decline and retrogression, bitterness between men grows to alarming heights; the economy declines as confidence ebbs away; unemployment rises; government becomes increasingly dictatorial and intolerant of constitutional and legal procedures, increasingly violent and suppressive; there is a constant drive for more policemen, more soldiers, more armaments, banishments without trial and penal whippings. All the trappings of medieval backwardness and cruelty come to the fore. Education is 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. This is South Africa today, in the age of Africa's greatness.

Long tradition of struggle

But beneath the surface there is a spirit of defiance. The people of South Africa have never been a docile lot, least of all the African people. We have a long tradition of struggle for our national rights, reaching back to the very beginnings of white settlement and conquest 300 years ago.

Our history is one of opposition to domination, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny. Consider some of our great names; the great warrior and nation-builder Shaka, who welded tribes together into the Zulu nation from which I spring; Moshoeshoe, the statesman and nation-builder who fathered the Basuto nation and placed Basutoland beyond the reach of the claws of the South African whites; Hintsa of the Xhosas who chose death rather than surrender his territory to white invaders. All these and other royal names, as well as other great chieftains, resisted manfully white intrusion.

Consider also the sturdiness of the stock that nurtured the foregoing great names. I refer to our forbears, who in the trekking from the north to the southernmost tip of Africa centuries ago braved rivers that are perennially swollen; hacked their way through treacherous jungle and forest; survived the plagues of the then untamed lethal diseases of a multifarious nature that abounded in Equatorial Africa and wrested themselves from the gaping mouths of the beasts of prey. They endured it all. They settled in these parts of Africa to build a future worth while for us their offspring.

Whilst the social and political conditions have changed and the problems we face are different, we too, their progeny, find ourselves facing a situation where we have to struggle for our very survival as human beings. Although methods of struggle may differ from time to time, the universal human strivings for liberty remain unchanged. We in our situation have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition. Along this path we have organised many heroic campaigns. All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength has been given to the pursuance of this method, in an attempt to avert disaster in the interests of South Africa, and have bravely paid the penalties for it.

Unconquerable spirit of mankind

It may well be that South Africa's social system is a monument to racialism and race oppression, but its people are the living testimony to the unconquerable spirit of mankind. Down the years, against seemingly overwhelming odds, they have sought the goal of fuller life and liberty, striving with incredible determination and fortitude for the right to live as men -- free men.

In this, our country is not unique. Your recent and inspiring history, when the Axis Powers over-ran most European States, is testimony of this unconquerable spirit of mankind. People of Europe formed Resistance Movements that finally helped to break the power of the combination of Nazism and Fascism with their creed of race arrogance and herrenvolk mentality.

Every people have, at one time or another in their history, been plunged into such struggle. But generally the passing of time has seen the barriers to freedom going down, one by one. Not so in South Africa. Here the barriers do not go down. Each step we take forward, every achievement we chalk up, is cancelled out by the

raising of new and higher barriers to our advance. The colour bars do not get weaker; they get stronger. The bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighter's grasp. All too often, the protests and demonstrations of our people have been beaten back by force; but they have never been silenced.

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

Vision of non-racial democratic South Africa

How easy it would have been in South Africa for the natural feelings of resentment at white domination to have been turned into feelings of hatred and a desire for revenge against the white community. Here, where every day in every aspect of life, every non-white comes up against the ubiquitous sign, "Europeans Only," and the equally ubiquitous policeman to enforce it -- here it could well be expected that a racialism equal to that of their oppressors would flourish to counter the white arrogance towards blacks. That it has not done so is no accident. It is because, deliberately and advisedly, African leadership for the past 50 years, with the inspiration of the African National Congress which I had the honour to lead for the last decade or so until it was banned, had set itself steadfastly against racial vain-gloriousness.

We knew that in so doing we passed up opportunities for easy demagogic appeal to the natural passions of a people denied freedom and liberty; we discarded the chance of an easy and expedient emotional appeal. Our vision has always been that of a non-racial democratic South Africa which upholds the rights of all who live in our country to remain there as full citizens with equal rights and responsibilities with all others. For the consummation of this ideal we have laboured unflinchingly. We shall continue to labour unflinchingly.

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

This is what we stand for

The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, will be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest democratic rights. In government we will not be satisfied with anything less than direct individual adult suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to all organs of government. In economic matters we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial "whites only" basis. In culture

we will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning to non-segregatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability. In the social sphere we will be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of all racial bars.

We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africas, white and black. On these principles we are uncompromising. To compromise would be an expediency that is most treacherous to democracy, for in the turn of events the sweets of economic, political and social privileges that are a monopoly of only one section of a community turn sour even in the mouths of those who eat them. Thus apartheid in practice is proving to be a monster created by Frankenstein. That is the tragedy of the South African scene.

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

Support throughout the world

In their fight for lasting values, there are many things that have sustained the spirit of the freedom-loving people of South Africa and those in the yet unredeemed parts of Africa where the whiteman claims resolutely proprietary rights over democracy -- a universal heritage. High amongst them -- the things that have sustained us, stand the magnificent support of the progressive people and governments throughout the world, amongst whom number the people and government of the country of which I am today guest; our brothers in Africa; especially in the Independent African States; organizations who share the outlook we embrace in countries scattered right across the face of the globe; the United Nations Organization jointly and some of its member-nations singly. In their defence of peace in the world through actively upholding the quality of man all these groups have reinforced our undying faith in the unassailable rightness and justness of our cause.

To all of them I say: Alone we would have been weak. Our heartfelt appreciation of your acts of support of us, we cannot adequately express, nor can we ever forget; now or in the future when victory is behind us, and South Africa's freedom rests in the hands of all her people.

Courage that rises with danger

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

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

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

Africa's 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;
"Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

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

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

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

In a strife-torn world, tottering on the brink of complete destruction by man-made nuclear weapons, a free and independent Africa is, in the making, in answer to the injunction and challenge of history: "Arise and shine for thy light is come." 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 Hammarskjold, 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.

WHAT I WOULD DO IF I WERE PRIME MINISTER

(Extracts from an exclusive article published in Ebony, Chicago, February 1962. Reproduced with permission.)

... The solution to the South African problem will call for radical reforms, some of them of a really revolutionary nature. The basic reform will be in the form of the government. At present, there is a government by whites only. This should be replaced by a government which is truly a government of all the people, for the people, and by the people. This can only be so in a state where all adults - regardless of race, colour or belief - are voters. Nothing but such a democratic form of government, based on the parliamentary system, will satisfy.

Land reform

There is much inequality at the present moment. The whites being a quarter of the population, possess 87 per cent of the country's land in freehold. On the other hand, Africans, who form three quarters of the population, were allocated by legislation only 13 per cent of the land - some of it poor land. Of this land, 99 per cent is trust land (government land); only about 1 per cent or less is held by Africans in freehold. In trust land, Africans are Virtually state tenants. This is the land that the government of South Africa speaks of as the "homeland for Africans", and we are supposed to be satisfied with these so-called "homelands" forever. It is in these areas where we are promised a sham self-government which does not link us in any way with Parliament, but leaves us directly under the government to follow an unwanted course - apartheid.

All Union legislation on land, in so far as non-whites are concerned, has been in the direction of depriving them of democratic land rights, depriving them of some of the land they hold, or drastically reducing it. This is the effect of the Group Areas Act and the Native Resettlement Act, only to mention a few of the recent land acts designed for this purpose.

Government policy and practice deprive Africans of land rights completely in urban areas. They live in townships as tenants in municipal houses. A few are allowed to build their own houses on rented municipal land for a period of only 30 years, subject to good behaviour. Africans are regarded as mere sojourners in urban areas.

A good number of Africans, nearly as many as those in reserves, are labour tenants on white farms, where generally they are allotted a small garden plot and a right to graze a few head of cattle.

The law provides that the labour tenant gives service to the master for nine months with no wages, this being in lieu of the plot of land, and limited grazing rights. Most farmers on their own pay these workers between £1 and £2 a month. It is not legally obligatory for farmers to pay cash wages. In times of pressure of work, as in reaping time, the farmer generally calls upon the whole family to work for no pay.

The vast majority of Africans are poor. Seventy per cent of them, according to statistics, live below the bread line...

To meet this man-made inequality will demand what will appear to whites in South Africa to be revolutionary changes. Some form of a system such as is found in Great Britain and Sweden might meet the case. The land will be re-distributed and allocated to those who have to live and make their living on the land. Land will be held in freehold by individual farmers and peasants. This will not preclude some land being held by the state for renting to individuals, and for state experimental farms.

There will be no indiscriminate purchase of land from individual to individual without the sanction of the government. This will largely be done to stop speculation on land, which is the basic heritage of the people.

The present so-called African reserves, which are very much depressed areas, mainly as a result of the policies of past governments, will need special attention as all other special depressed areas. In those reserves, not only is the land eroded through over-crowding, and so unproductive, but the people themselves have become much depressed and poor. The burden of the government would be to rehabilitate both the land and the people...

Commerce, Industry and Mines

People not engaged in farming will be encouraged to carry on private enterprises, commerce and industry. These enterprises will be under government control as now, and probably stricter. Supertax on all high incomes will be levied on a higher percentage than now to meet the needs of uplifting the oppressed of former days.

It is inevitable that nationalization and control - even on a larger scale than now - would be carried out by the government of the day after freedom, if justice is to be done to all, and the state enabled to carry out effectively its uplift work. Already in South Africa there are state-controlled undertakings such as the post office and allied services; telephones; telegrams, radio, the railways and transport generally.

There are presently other undertakings that might be described as joint state and private endeavours. Examples of these are the reserve bank, electricity supply commission, iron and steel production, oil, and organizations such as the industrial corporation, the council for scientific and industrial research.

State control will be extended to cover the nationalization of some sectors of what at present is private enterprise. It will embrace specifically monopoly industries, the mines and banks, but excluding such institutions as building societies.

I would not like to close all private enterprise, just as I attack monopoly industries, and not all industries...

In the context of South Africa, these would be radical reforms and will require to be explained and the electorate given time to think on them and give its endorsement or otherwise. The aim will be to build this welfare state in a spirit of cooperation. The human rights as declared by the United Nations will be entrenched in the state constitution.

Trade Union Rights

The bulk of the people will naturally be workers in state-owned undertakings and in private enterprise. They will enjoy unqualified trade union rights with a charter for workers laying down minimum wages and conditions of service.

Needless to say, in this non-racial state, there will be no discrimination on grounds of colour or race. Merit will be the qualifying factor. Obviously, such legislation as job reservation (in which non-whites are discriminated against and denied the right to be in more lucrative forms of occupation), and all discriminatory laws, will fall by the wayside.

Justice demands that at the beginning, until parity is reached, greater assistance will have to be given to non-whites if they are to qualify for higher occupations. This must be done without unduly reducing standards...

Workers shall have the right to strike, for even if strikes might be costly and wasteful, it gives the individual a greater security if he knows he has the right, and it makes him feel a partner in the undertaking.

Generally, there will be planned social and economic development to increase employment and raise standards of living all round. This is the best guarantee against fears and prejudices arising from a sense of economic insecurity.

Measures like influx control will go. This is a part of the pass system in South Africa, which is used to regulate labour into any industrial area in so far as Africans are concerned. No African may go to work or remain in any urban or industrial area without the permission of both the state and municipal officers concerned under this law. Freedom of movement within and without the country for legitimate reasons will not be interfered with as at present. Immigration will not be limited to whites from outside the country as is the case now.

Greater latitude will be allowed to immigrants - both black and white - from other parts of Africa.

Non-racial democratic government

In the context of our South African situation, only a Republican form of government will meet the broad needs of the majority. I would like to see it as part of a larger unit, the Commonwealth of Nations, a child of the British colonial empire. This will not preclude the Union from forming other alliances or unities in Africa or outside. It is reasonable to expect that there will be regional groupings formed in Africa, and maybe in some period, these would form a Federation of African States.

Franchise rights will be extended to all adults. All citizens will be known as "South Africans", and in that broad context will be "Africans". To me, the expression, "Africa for Africans" is valid in a non-racial democracy, only if it covers all, regardless of colour or race, who qualify as citizens of some country in Africa.

The government, mainly through education - directly and indirectly - will discourage the attitude of thinking and acting in racial categories, as racialism, and all forms of discrimination shall be outlawed. The question of reserving rights for minorities in a non-racial democracy should not arise. It will be sufficient if human rights for all are entrenched in the constitution.

The main thing is that the government and the people should be democratic to the core. It is relatively unimportant who is in the government. I am not opposed to the present government because it is white. I am only opposed to it because it is undemocratic and repressive. I do not cherish such expressions as "the all-black government", "the African majority". I like to speak about "a democratic majority", which should be a non-racial majority, and so could be multi-racial or not.

My idea is a non-racial government consisting of the best men - merit rather than colour counting. The political parties in the country should also reflect the multi-racial nature of the country. Parties, basically, should arise from a community of interests, rather than from a similarity of colour. If the electorate puts on a one-colour government that should be accidental, and not purposeful. Appeals to racialism at elections will be an offence in law.

In the development that has taken place in countries that have become free, such as India, Nigeria and others, the people have put into the government their tried man of stature, and there has been no question of lowering standards of government, and so the question of "swamping" the whites in South Africa does not arise. It is merely a bogey, or an excuse by certain whites to perpetuate their domination over us.

An elector does not have to know the intricacies of a modern state. All he is called upon to do is to judge broadly the best man for the needs of the state at a particular period.

The position in South Africa is such that a white hobo in the street and an 18-year-old youth is equated politically - if not in all respects - as being above a non-white educated person. What a ridiculous disparity!

I stress that the question of "colour" and "swamping" will not be relevant in the South Africa I think of - a South Africa that is a non-racial democracy. No doubt, initially, as a result of the unfortunate historical developments which stressed divisions into colour and with the state having previously legislated racially, people have become colour conscious. This might not be wiped off in one day. People should not be blamed in the beginning for thinking in racial categories, but this will be discouraged by law and by a process of re-education in all spheres and avenues of life. State policies and practices should not take account of those who persist to think and act on the basis of racialism.

I stress, all discriminatory laws will be removed from the statute book and civil liberties extended to all without qualification. As stated earlier, fundamental human rights will be guaranteed by the constitution. Individual freedom will be fully respected, and will be basic.

Within the orbit of my state, the individual will remain cardinal, for "the state exists for the individual", and not "the individual for the state". I realize that a state such as I visualize - a democratic social welfare state - cannot be born in one day. But it will be the paramount task of the government to bring it about and advance it without crippling industry, commerce, farming and education.

Housing

In any nation and community in modern times, housing has become an important concern of the state. Speculation and exploitation on housing as well as on land will not be tolerated. Individuals will be assisted and encouraged by loans to have their own houses on their freehold sites or on rented municipal sites. Municipal housing schemes with liberal aid from the central government will be encouraged for those who do not wish to establish their own houses. Rents will definitely be strictly controlled. The practice of individuals building houses to rent out will be frowned upon. Renting will be gradually eliminated and, in the interim, strictly controlled.

Education

Education for the needs of the people and the state has ever been the concern of man in whatever state of development he might be. Even the primitive man had an education which fitted him for the society of his day. In a state, all people should have the same education according to their talent. This should be more so in modern states, when requirements of life are complex, and the struggle for living very intense. Education provides a common language, creates common attitudes and norms for citizens. It is an important unifying factor in building national consciousness and pride - a healthy community spirit.

An education not meeting these demands of society is not worth the name. It is clear that in the South Africa I visualize - a non-racial democratic South Africa - there can be no question of a different system of education for the different racial groups in the country. It would only be in the lower classes - say up to fourth year of school - and never beyond the eighth year of school, where mother tongue instruction will predominate. From the sixth year of school, instruction should begin to be in both, in the vernacular and English, assuming it has been agreed that English is the lingua franca of the country.

The position of non-whites in education under Nationalist rule is tragic. It is based on differentiation of colour and race. Non-white education - especially Bantu education - has become poor in content and finance. This monstrosity of Bantu education and Indian education will have to go. In fact, the aim of Bantu education as stated by Dr. (Prime Minister Hendrik) Verwoerd, is to give the African "an education to fit him for his station in life". This means an inferior education for the African, for apartheid assigns him an inferior status in the country. The lowering of standards in Bantu education will be seen in the fact that it is the aim of the government that instruction in African schools should be in the vernacular at least up to matriculation.

Education will be free and compulsory for all to the primary stage at first, and later up to matriculation. Substantial aid will be given to universities with a generous system for bursaries and loans to students. No child of ability would be denied higher education because of lack of finance on his part. In technical and trade schools education will be free. These will be state schools. At the discretion of the government, trade and technical schools, subject to government control and supervision, may be established as private schools. State schools of higher education will be established to supplement independent schools...

Only multi-racial schools of all stages will be entertained. What differentiation there might be, would be in lower classes where mother tongue instruction would predominate up to the fourth year, but certainly not beyond the sixth year. Multi-racial schools will be demanded by the need to develop common patriotism and national solidarity. Religious schools, which must be on a multi-racial pattern, will not be disallowed, but on the secular academic plane must follow the state syllabi and be subject to government inspection.

A word more about Bantu education to show up its evil intent. According to the Nationalist party government, Bantu education is a direct burden on the African community, and thus, the poorest section of the South African community. State aid to Bantu education is pegged indefinitely to £6 1/2 million per year, Africans being expected, by direct and indirect taxation and by other means of raising money, to meet the heavier burden of their education. This is the most crippling way of financing education, a fast expanding service, more so with the African community who are not only the poorest section, but are overwhelmingly illiterate. Of those who enter school, hardly three per cent remain beyond the eighth year of school. This is so for black children, when for white children education is free up to the age of about 16.

The difficulty of financing Bantu education may be seen in a dilemma which African parents were forced to face some two or three years ago. Previous to the Nationalist government taking full control of African education, African children enjoyed a school feeding scheme in common with children of other races, although the scheme in African schools received a lower subsidization. When African education came under Nationalist government control, attempts were made to abolish the school feeding scheme in African schools. African parents then found themselves, at the suggestion of the government, faced with the choice of either continuing with school feeding, which was pitifully small in any case, or having more schools.

The government suggested that the money for school feeding should help in building more schools. The choice was between hungry stomachs and more schools. The parents overwhelmingly decided on children going hungry, but getting some education. What a cruel choice! They reckoned it more important that a child should have something in the head rather than in its stomach. This ended school feeding in Bantu schools, but white children still enjoy a liberal feeding scheme...

The tragic position is that Africans suffer more carrying the burden of an education they do not want. They groan under the heavy burden of financing it. When the history of my people comes to be written, surely this will be recorded as one of the most memorable examples of self-sacrifice for self-help. Consider: A white child fed for 6d. per day. An African child previously fed for 3d. a day and now nothing. What a cruel disparity!

Work for peace and friendship in the world

The world is now a neighbourhood, although, unfortunately, people are not sufficiently neighbourly. We suffer at the present time from an over stress of nationalism. Each such ultra-nationalist group seeks domination over others. I would like to see a South Africa that takes a serious interest in establishing peace and friendship in the world and not merely paying lip service to these important needs of man.

My South Africa will encourage the harnessing of science and technology to every day uses of man, rather than for his destruction. It will seek to play a prominent part in bringing about the banning of nuclear warfare and in working for some degree of disarmament. The present is a most unsafe world for small nations such as South Africa. But the combined influence of all small nations can make the big nations see the futility of spending their money on armaments. Nations that engage in the armaments race should be boycotted - if at all possible. The world must not just be made safe for democracy; it must be made safe for human beings. The human being at present lives in constant terror. He is virtually being raised for cannon fodder.

To encourage a healthy relationship between nations and people, I would like to see a South Africa that develops itself to the highest level and shares for the benefit of mankind as a whole apart from its neighbours in Africa and in the world any special knowledge and skills it acquires. I would vigorously guard against bringing about an isolated and selfish South Africa, for this would result in a dwarfed South Africa. To secure efficient and wider cooperation, I would encourage regional groupings in Africa. This might bring about a United States of Africa.

In the world scene, my South Africa will support the United Nations and its agencies fully, and will encourage foreign investment, subject to her own interests of course. World investors will be told where they stand, so that they can invest freely, with the full knowledge of the limits set for private enterprise and the relevant methods of control.

NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

(An appeal sent to the people of the United Kingdom
in May 1963 through the Anti-Apartheid Movement)

I greet all lovers of freedom, wherever they may be. From my village in South Africa, where I have been confined for years by the Nationalist Party Government, I send greetings on behalf of the oppressed people of my country to all our friends throughout the world.

I am happy to think that there are many millions all over the world who are concerned with the unhappy plight of South Africa. I speak to you at a time when there is much reason for sadness in South Africa. But also at a time when there is reason for rising hope and renewed courage.

On the one hand we have the tragic spectacle of the South African white minority Government armed to the hilt to crush the legitimate aspirations of the people; on the other we have the heartening sight of the overwhelming majority of the civilized world uniting in a resolution which condemns in the most absolute terms the tyranny under which South Africa groans.

The forces of oppression and racial discrimination which have pressed heavily on us for so long are increasing in their viciousness, in their ruthless disregard for human values, in the ferocity of their attacks on a patient and reasonable people who have been, and even at this late stage still are, prepared to work out in calmness a just settlement of the conflicts in our land. And, in spite of the increasing burden of oppression, it cheers me to know that the people as a whole continue to struggle for justice with fortitude and unabated patience.

Terrible destructive forces

Yet it is necessary to calculate as exactly as possible the terrible destructive forces which are being built up in our country. They can be measured in the flood of repressive laws, destructive of human rights and human dignity, which pour out from the legislative machine; in the assaults on human rights in the form of banishments, confinements, house arrests, gaggings and police persecution. They can be measured in the wholesale removals of people ruthlessly torn up from homes they have built up at great sacrifice from their meagre earnings; in the unceasing treadmill of arrests for statutory offences, principally under the pass laws, when people are unable to establish their right to be in the land of their birth; in the Group Areas Acts, job reservation and attacks on the press and freedom of speech; in the ruthless carving up of our country into racial kraals for whites and non-whites; in the dismembering of the land into Bantustans -- only thirteen per cent of the land for us Africans, comprising seventy-five per cent of the population and in the obscurantist retreat into a tribal past for both white and non-white.

Most terrible of all, we measure the coming tide of destruction in terms of the massive build-up of military power against an unarmed people whose sole crime is their demand for the most elementary forms of human justice.

All this preparation for what? For a further series of Sharpevilles? Is it any wonder that among the people of our country suffering from intense oppression - deprivation of home and family, of livelihood and of hope, there are some who, goaded beyond human endurance to the point of desperation, see no way out but to engage in desperate forms of reckless violence? Nor is it, humanly speaking, to be wondered at that there are those who are embarking on calculated acts of violence because they have been forced to abandon all hope of reaching a just solution by consultation and negotiation.

But the Government has insanely committed itself to rule by the machine gun and armoured car; has elected to go down in a messy welter of blood and destruction rather than work out a clean and honourable solution. The police vote of 1962 soared to 40 million rand (\$56 million); the prisons vote to 10.5 million rand (\$14.7 million); the defence vote - greater than that in wartime - to 120 million rand (\$168 million).

Helicopters, paratroopers, white women's pistol clubs, armoured cars, strafing planes, automatic weapons, the integration of the police force ("one of the largest police forces ...") with the Army - the whole ferocious panoply of war is being marshalled - in peace time and with frank avowal that it is not for any outside enemy but to put down the people of the land. This is the pitiful state of my country today.

Saddening as this is, there are other features of the situation which increase our sadness. Those who are providing the Government with these terrifying weapons of destruction are countries which allegedly care for human freedom. Certainly, some of them have a proud record in the defence of human liberties. Almost all of them have known the travail of war, of conflict against ruthless oppression; have known the bitterness of race hatred and the wounds of armed conflict. Yet these countries today, and Britain foremost among them, are guilty of arming the savage Nationalist Party regime. The Saracens built in Britain have already left an indelible blot on the history of my country: now it seems that your Buccaneers and your tanks must leave their foul imprint.

Honour the United Nations resolutions

Happily, the vast majority of civilized countries have shown their detestation of this foul regime. The most spectacular demonstration of this was the vote in support of the resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations which called for sanctions against South Africa.

I would remind you that the resolution called on all States to break off diplomatic relations, or refrain from establishing them; close their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag and enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports; boycott all South African goods; refrain from exporting goods, including arms and ammunition, to South Africa, and refuse landing facilities to South African aircraft.

On behalf of all the oppressed people and all freedom lovers in South Africa, I wish to make it clear that we welcome this resolution most joyfully; that we look forward to, and entreat, its most stringent implementation, and that we would encourage the most vigorous forms of action in protest against the apartheid policies which blight our country.

At the same time I would urge citizens in all countries to be vigilant in ensuring that these resolutions are honoured in words as well as action, and to campaign energetically for their fullest implementation by their governments and by all private enterprises and individuals.

I must remind you, too, that the same resolution drew the attention of the world to, and expressed regret at, the fact that some Member States indirectly provide encouragement to the South African Government to perpetuate segregation. This is a matter of grave concern to all of us and calls for demonstration by all of us of our abhorrence of it, particularly by those who are still free to speak and act, and who have not been crippled, as many of us have been, by the strangling restrictions of a virtual police state.

I would ask you to unite in demanding that your governments should honour the resolutions taken at the United Nations. I would urge that you and your government be not deterred from any action by the excuse - often advanced by our oppressors - that boycotts and sanctions will bring to us, blacks, more suffering than the whites. We have been victims of suffering long before our boycott and sanctions call to nations of the world. We are committed to suffering that will lead us to freedom - as it has been the lot of all oppressed people before us from time immemorial. What we are determined not to do, cost what it may, is to acquiesce in a status quo that makes us semi-slaves in our country.

No Arms For South Africa

I would ask you in particular to unite in protesting, vociferously and unremittingly, against the shipment of arms to South Africa. On this issue let your voice be clear and untiring: No Arms For South Africa.

When you contemplate the mass of cruelly repressive legislation, when you observe the horrifying pitiful take of human suffering and indignity, and when you see the way this fair country is blasted by the racially insane, let your cry be: No Arms For South Africa.

And when you visualize the terrible havoc which may be wreaked on South Africa, havoc of which Sharpeville was the merest minor portent, by the most deadly and destructive military weapons known to modern man, let your cry be: No Arms For South Africa.

If you have any doubts, if you think this is a gross and hysterical exaggeration, let me give you a single example of the callous disregard for human life which permeates those who rule South Africa. Speaking at the current session of the all-white South African Parliament, a Cabinet Minister referred to Sharpeville as "an ordinary police action." An ordinary police action in which sixty-seven unarmed, defenceless men, women and children were shot dead and 180 wounded! This is an "ordinary police action." What of the extraordinary actions of the future for which the Government is now frantically preparing?

When you contemplate this grim and bloody prospect, surely it is your duty as an individual, and the duty of all, to ensure that no such foul assault on human beings should be perpetrated. Surely you must join in the great united cry: No Arms For South Africa.

I direct a special appeal to all the workers of the world who share with us, not only the common brotherhood of labour, but who in many instances have shared with us a common suffering and hardship. I appeal to them to make their voices heard and to show their unity with us not only in words but in actions. To those working in the factories where these deadly weapons are manufactured I say, make sure that your labour is not used to produce the weapons which will deal death to the people of my country. And to those having any part in the transaction - the dockworkers, the sailors, the airport workers and all others, I say: let your opposition be shown, not only in your cry "No Arms For South Africa," but also in your resolute refusal to lend your labour for this foul purpose.

Perhaps it is futile to appeal to those who put profits before justice and human lives. Nevertheless, in all sincerity I appeal to them to pause and re-think their sense of values which puts material values before human lives. For this is the meaning of their making available their murderous wares to the South African Government.

Hasten the day of freedom

The time must surely come when South Africa must emerge from the dark night of racial fanaticism to take its place among the free nations of the world. You all - people and governments - can, to your honour, hasten this day.

The Nationalist juggernaut, top heavy with its crushing weight of military might, is crumbling and rotten at the base. Its present show of strength is a facade to hide its hastening decay and doom. The duty of all who find the regime repugnant to mankind is to hasten this day. A regime that flouts world opinion cannot last. Nor will such a regime endure when many of its own citizens are resolute and pledged to work for that end even at the cost of limitless sacrifice. For we are steeled by oppression, and the daily sight of human values being ground underfoot only makes us cherish even more those values.

The test is action

To the nations and governments of the world, particularly those directly or indirectly giving aid and encouragement to this contemptible Nationalist regime, I say: Cast aside your hypocrisy and deceit; declare yourself on the side of oppression if that is your secret design. Do not think we will be deceived by your pious protestations as long as you are prepared to condone, assist and actively support the tyranny in our land.

The test is your stand on the principle: No Arms For South Africa. No expressions of concern, no platitudes about injustice will content us. The test is action - action against oppression.

We look forward to the day when we shall be with all the free peoples of the world, brothers, brothers-in-arms against injustice, anywhere, and at any time. But our immediate task is the freeing of our land; a task in which we look for support to lovers of freedom in the world. All lovers of freedom can help. All can do something to make the resolution for sanctions a reality. Whoever you are, whatever you may be, it is possible for you to assist. In your church, in your educational, or political, or labour, or cultural, or sporting organization, it is possible for you to assist in exerting the pressures which will isolate this political pariah and lead to its extermination. All may play their part in ending this oppression, and all may - and must - join in the resolute declaration: No Arms For South Africa.

ON THE RIVONIA TRIAL

(The following statement was issued by Chief Lutuli on June 12, 1964, when Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and six other leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment in the "Rivonia trial". It was read at the Security Council meeting on the same day by the representative of Morocco).

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

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

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

To this end, they used every accepted method: propaganda, public meetings and rallies, petitions, stay-at-home-strikes, appeals, boycotts. So carefully did they educate the people that in the four-year-long Treason Trial, one police witness after another voluntarily testified to this emphasis on non-violent methods of struggle in all aspects of their activities.

But finally all avenues of resistance were closed. The African National Congress and other organizations were made illegal; their leaders jailed, exiled or forced underground. The government sharpened its oppression of the peoples of South Africa, using its all-white Parliament as the vehicle for making repression legal, and utilizing every weapon of this highly industrialized and modern state to enforce that "legality". The stage was even reached where a white spokesman for the disenfranchised Africans was regarded by the Government as a traitor. In addition, sporadic acts of uncontrolled violence were increasing throughout the country. At first in one place, then in another, there were spontaneous eruptions against intolerable conditions; many of these acts increasingly assumed a racial character.

The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organized force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.

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

They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African political struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may never survive. Their policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come. They believe profoundly in justice and reason; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene.

This is an appeal to save these men, not merely as individuals, but for what they stand for. In the name of justice, of hope, of truth and of peace, I appeal to South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America. In the name of what we have come to believe Britain and America stand for, I appeal to those two powerful countries to take decisive action for full-scale action for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of apartheid.

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

