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## immediate release

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ALBERT LUTHULI  
Banned South African Leader Awarded Nobel Peace Prize

By RONALD SEGAL



### NOBEL PRIZE WINNER BARRED

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN, Oct. 29

Ten special (political) branch policemen with notebooks and a tape recorder attended a meeting at Stanger, Natal, yesterday which had been called to pay tribute to former Chief Albert Luthuli on the award of the Nobel peace prize. The meeting hall was filled to capacity with more than 1,000 whites, Asians, and Africans.

Mr. Luthuli, who is forbidden to attend meetings and confined to his home district by a Government order under the Suppression of Communism Act, had been refused permission to attend yesterday's gathering, and when the telegram from the Minister of Justice refusing permission was read out there were cries of "Shame" and "Dictator" from the audience.—THE TIMES, OCT. 30, 1961

**Note:-** Albert Luthuli, former head of the banned African National Congress of South Africa has just been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The advocates of apartheid in South Africa, who have banished ex-Chief Luthuli to a village outside of Durban, cannot understand the world fame attained by the African leader who is an apostle of non-violence in a very tense and trying situation. On the occasion of the Nobel Prize award we are sending you a revised version of our profile of Chief Luthuli. -Ed.

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The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Albert John Luthuli was greeted with approval almost everywhere in the world, but in his own South Africa the advocates of apartheid were quite astonished that he should be so honoured - an indication of his growing fame, and the extent to which the Nationalist Government and its supporters are out of touch with world opinion.

The pace of change has been rapid. When Chief Luthuli, former President-General of the banned African National Congress, was banished to his home village for two years under the "Suppression of Communism Act", the white press of South Africa extended a little finger and dabbed the news onto a bottom corner of a middle page. Two years later, when Chief was served with a further notice, banning him from all gatherings for two years, the same papers gave the story the space that they usually devote to the mail-boat arrival of a British Major-General (rtd.). In 1959 the Chief was paid another visit by the political police, who served him with a notice from the Minister of Justice banishing him to his village and banning him from all gatherings for a period of five years. Then the white press exploded into banner headlines and editorials.

#### DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

This was partly due to a change in the white image of the A.N.C. at that time. Since 1952, the Congress had staged a Defiance Campaign that made even the whites in the political gallery edge forward a little in their seats, organized a number of "Stay-at-homes" that had brought large sectors of industry to a stop, and reaped the reward of the successful bus boycott of '56-'57, when more than 60,000 Africans on the Reef walked twenty miles each day rather than meet a penny per journey increase in their bus fares and so forced the Government to meet their increased transport costs out of its own pocket.

Above all, the Treason Trial arrests of December '56 had emphasized the swiftly growing strength of organized non-white political opinion. White South Africa was feeling much less sure of itself in 1959 than it felt in '52 or '54. With the arteries of apartheid hardening daily, white supremacy was clearly in for a coronary, and the mass movement of the non-white peoples was as a result more and more taking on the guise and prestige of an official opposition.

#### GROWTH OF CHARACTER

Yet there was more to the banner headlines in the white press than just this. The character of Chief himself had slowly grown in the consciousness of white South Africa, quietly yet resolutely, to the point where banishment and banning seemed the act of a frightened tyranny against moderation, the banishment and banning of the whole culture of democracy. For the distinction of the Chief's personality had leaped over the colour bar. And when the Chief spoke in Cape Town for the first time two years ago, the sleepy whites of the Peninsula roused themselves to pack his meetings and cheer his speeches. It was a new Christianity and a new Africa that they heard in his voice. In a meeting held after the Nobel Prize award, he was hailed as "the next Prime Minister of South Africa".

The Chief was born to the Christianity he images. His tribe, one of the scattered remnants of the once invincible Zulu empire, had adopted Christianity from the Congregationalist mission established in its midst; and Luthuli, nephew of the reigning chief, received from childhood the training that would fit him for his tribal responsibilities. From the local mission



school, he went to Adams College, the American Mission Secondary School, where he graduated to become a schoolteacher himself.

#### MAKES HIS CHOICE

Staying on at Adams to teach Zulu history and literature, he was firmly settled in his academic amble when, fifteen years after his appointment, he was petitioned by the elders of his tribe to fill the vacant chieftaincy. It must have seemed at the time the abdication of all wordly ambition - suffocation in the cramped tribal world of petty litigation, Sunday preaching and the hopeless interminable struggle for the fruits of an exhausted earth. For two years he hesitated, and then he chose. Both his religion and the allegiance he owed his people persuaded him to accept.

For seventeen years he governed in Groutville, presiding at the councils and beer-drinks and patiently succouring the spirit of the shattered tribe. And all the while, the political surge of the African people was drawing closer, till it engulfed even the tiny tribal world of Groutville. After a few years of service on race relations committees, the Chief joined the African National Congress in 1946, rising soon to the presidency of the Natal Provincial Division. It was a decision governed by his Christianity and racial allegiance alike.

#### TYRANNY OF APARTHEID

In 1952, the A. N. C. launched the Defiance Campaign, an organized breaking of discriminatory laws in protest at the rioting tyranny of apartheid. The Chief did not himself go to jail, but he gave his unequivocal support to the campaign and those who actively participated in it. As a Christian, he felt that he could not obey laws which affronted his essential dignity; as an African, he never for a moment believed that he could exist outside of his people, separate from their sufferings and struggles. Like Gandhi, whose early career in Natal had left the footsteps of satyagraha behind it, Luthuli believes in non-violent resistance, not only as a tactic of political opposition, but even more as a spiritual force in itself.

#### DEPOSED

The Government was not long in responding. By making disobedience to any law by way of protest a very serious crime, punishable by several years imprisonment, heavy fines and even flogging, it broke the back of the Defiance Campaign. And in October, four months after the Campaign had begun, it summoned Luthuli to Pretoria and ordered him to resign immediately from Congress or abdicate his chieftancy. The Chief did neither, and in the middle of November, the Government quietly announced to his tribe that Albert John Luthuli had been deposed.

In reply, the Chief wrote:

"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 moderation? 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. It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress, 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.



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".

Soon afterwards, he was elected President-General of the African National Congress, a post he retained until the Congress was banned.

Chief with his unassuming grey-haired dignity, his quiet determination, his broad vigorous Christianity, represents the elders, rurally and hierarchically rooted, slow but formidable in their anger. If Chief's thick-shouldered moderation, his almost stolid statesmanship, reassures the African middleclass, the clergy, the traders and the clerks, and the conservative farming communities, the masses who are behind him, the millions who work in the factories and fill the shops, speak the language of industrial revolution and street demonstrations.

#### FROM ANGUISH TO ASPIRATION

Yet each of the parties has borrowed from and blended into the other. Chief Luthuli's dignity and traditional strength have made him a national leader, and he will be the emotional focus of any mass movement that develops under the present tyranny reigning in South Africa. Chief himself, by suffering together with his people in their boycotts and stay-at-homes, by ban and by banishment, has grown towards political struggle from pronouncements and petitions, from anguish to aspiration. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize will give heart and hope to the millions behind him.

RONALD SEGAL

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