

# Excerpts From Nobel Lecture by Luthuli in Oslo

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

The Nobel Peace award that has brought me here has for me a threefold significance. On the one hand it is a tribute to my humble contribution to efforts by democrats on both sides of the color line to find a peaceful solution to the race problem. This contribution is not in any way unique.

To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually criticized God for having created men of color was the sort of thing I could not, as a Christian, tolerate.

On the other hand the award is a democratic declaration of solidarity with those who fight to widen the area of liberty in my part of the world. As such, it is the sort of gesture which gives me and millions who think as I do tremendous encouragement.

There are still people in the world today who regard South Africa's race problem as a simple clash between black and white.

Our government has carefully projected this image of the problem before the eyes of the world. This has had two effects.

It has confused the real issues at stake in the race crisis. It has given some form of force to the Government's contention that the race problem is a domestic matter for South Africa.

This, in turn, has tended to narrow down the area over which our case could be better understood in the world.

From yet another angle, it is a welcome recognition of the role played by the African people during the last fifty years to establish, peacefully, a society in which merit and not race would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation.

**Award Seen for All Africa**  
This award could not be for me alone, nor for just South Africa, but for Africa as a whole.

Africa presently is most deeply torn with strife and most bitterly stricken with racial conflict.

Ours is a contingent 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. In these times there has been no peace. There could be no brotherhood between men.

But now, the revolutionary stirrings of our continent are setting the past aside. Our people everywhere from north to south of the continent are reclaiming their land, their right to participate in government, their dignity as men, their nationhood.

Thus, in the turmoil of revolution, the basis for peace and brotherhood in Africa is being restored by the resurrection of national sovereignty and independence, of equality and the dignity of man.

It should not be difficult for you here in Europe to appreciate this. Your age of revolution, stretching across all the years from the eighteenth century to our own, encompassed some of the bloodiest civil wars in all history.

By comparison, the African revolution has swept across three-quarters of the continent in less than a decade, its final completion is within sight of our own generation.

Again, by comparison with Europe, our African revolution to our credit is proving to be orderly, quick and comparatively bloodless.

Our goal is a united Africa in which the standards of life and liberty are constantly expanding, in which the ancient legacy of illiteracy and disease is swept aside, in which the dignity of man is rescued from beneath the heels of colonialism which have trampled it.

**Goal Held Way to Peace**

This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means of



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

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

**South Africa Assailed**

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa. It is a museum piece in our time, a hangover from the dark past of mankind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying.

Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is worshiped like a god. The ghost of slavery lingers on to this day in the form of forced labor that goes on in what are called farm prisons.

It is fair to say that even in present day conditions, Christian missions have been in the vanguard in initiating social services provided for us. Our progress in this field has been in spite of, and not mainly because of, the Government. In this the Church in South Africa—though belatedly—seems to be awakening to a broader mission of the Church, in its ministry among us.

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

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

This terrible dream is not held on to by a crack-pot group on the fringe of society. It is the deliberate policy of a Government, supported actively by a large part of the white population, and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white majority, but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white minority who have thrown in their lot with nonwhites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development.

**Effects Are Traced**

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

Education is being reduced to an instrument of subtle indoctrination. Slanted and biased reporting in the organs of public information, a creeping censorship, book-banning and black-listing, all these spread their shadows over the land.

But beneath the surface there is a spirit of defiance.

The people of South Africa have never been a docile lot.

least of all the African people. We have a long tradition of struggle for our national rights, reaching back to the very beginning of white settlement and conquest 300 years ago.

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

The bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighters' grasp. All too often, the protests and demonstrations of our people have been beaten back by force, but they have never been silenced.

Through all this cruel treatment in the name of law and order, our people, with few exceptions, have remained nonviolent.

Nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the Government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance. It is for this, I believe, that this award is given.

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

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.

**Equal Opportunity Demanded**

In economic matters we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial "whites only" basis.

In culture we will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning in non-segregatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability.

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

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

Let me invite Africa to cast her eyes beyond the past and, to some extent, the present with their woes and tribulations, trials and failures, and some successes, and see herself an emerging continent, bursting to freedom through the shell of centuries of serfdom.

This is Africa's age—the dawn of her fulfillment, yes, the moment when she must grapple with destiny to reach the summits of sublimity saying, ours was a fight for noble

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

**African Destiny Envisioned**

Though robbed of her lands, her independence and opportunities to become—this, oddly enough, often in the name of civilization and even Christianity—should she not see her destiny as being that of making a distinctive contribution to human progress and human relationships with a peculiar new Africa flavor enriched by the diversity of cultures she enjoys, thus building on the summits of present human achievement an edifice that would be one of the finest tributes to genius of man?

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

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

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

Africa's qualification for this noble task is incontestable, for her own fight has never been and is not now a fight for conquest of land, for accumulation of wealth or domination of peoples, but for the recognition and preservation of the rights of man and the establishment of a truly free world.

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

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

Give  
up  
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