

Albert Luthuli and the African National Congress: A Bio-



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Source: *History in Africa*, Vol. 13, (1986), pp. 345-362

Published by: African Studies Association

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171551>

Accessed: 17/08/2008 14:53

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ALBERT LUTHULI AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:
A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dorothy C. Woodson
SUNY-Buffalo

Seek ye the political kingdom and all
shall be yours.'

No minority tyranny in history ever
survived the opposition of the majority.
Nor will it survive in South Africa. The
end of white tyranny is near.²

In their *Portraits of Nobel Laureates in Peace*, Wintterle and Cramer wrote that "the odds against the baby born at the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission near Bulawayo in Rhodesia in 1898 becoming a Nobel Prize winner were so astronomical as to defy calculation. He was the son of a proud people, the descendant of Zulu chieftains and warriors. But pride of birth is no substitute for status rendered inferior by force of circumstance, and in Luthuli's early years, the native African was definitely considered inferior by the white man. If his skin was black, that could be considered conclusive proof that he would never achieve anything; white men would see to that. However, in Luthuli's case they made a profound mistake--they allowed him to have an education.¹⁰

If there is an extra-royal gentry in Zulu society, then it was into this class that Albert John Luthuli was born. Among the Zulus, chieftainship is hereditary only for the Paramount Chief; all regional chiefs are elected. The Luthuli family though, at least through the 1950s, monopolized the chieftainship of the Abasemakholweni (literally "converts") tribe for nearly a century. Luthuli's grandfather Ntaba, was the first in the family to head the tribe and around 1900, his uncle Martin Luthuli took over. Luthuli himself was elected Chief in 1936 and remained so until deposed by the South African government in 1952.

Luthuli was born in 1898 in Rhodesia, where his father John had settled. His mother, Mtonya Gumede, was born into the royal household of the Zulu King, Ceshwayo. Both parents were brought

up as Christians and at the time of Luthuli's birth, his father was employed as an evangelist and an interpreter at the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission near Bulawayo. Several years after the death of John Luthuli, the family returned to Natal, where Albert attended school and lived with the family of his uncle Martin, then Chief. On graduating from local schools he taught at a middle-level elementary school in Blaauwbosch in the highlands of Natal

Within a few years he was awarded a two-year teacher training scholarship at Adams College. Turning down a scholarship to attend the University College of Fort Hare, the pre-eminent nonwhite university at the time, and choosing instead to remain at Adams as a teacher, Luthuli became one of only two African teachers at the school, along with Z.K. Matthews. After each had left Adams, they worked closely together in the African National Congress, and together stood trial during the protracted Treason Trials of the late 1950s.

Between 1922 and 1936 Luthuli was completely immersed in the scholastic, social, and political life at Adams, as well as with affairs outside the College. He became Secretary, and later President, of the African Teachers Association, and also founded the Zulu Language and Cultural Society. Activities in both these organizations eventually brought him into contact with the South African authorities.

While at Adams, Luthuli married Nokukhanya Bhengu, who set up residence in Groutville, while he stayed on at Adams. Eventually they had seven children, and of them, and the South African condition, he wrote in 1960:

In the days when Professor Matthews and I were young teachers at Adams the world seemed to be opening out for Africans. We were, of course, aware of the existence of colour prejudice, but we did not dream that it would endure and intensify as it has. There seemed point, in my youth, in striving after wholeness and fulfillment. Since then we have watched the steady degeneration of South African affairs, and we have seen this degeneration quickened in the last ten yearsBut our children have been born, with the whole of their generation, into the midst of the triumph of prejudice. Young Africans know from infancy upwards--and the point here is that they know nothing else--that their striving after civilized values will not, in the present order, ever earn for them recognition as sane and responsible civilized beings.⁴

Reluctantly, Luthuli left Adams College in 1936, after being elected Chief of the Umvoti Mission Reserve, returning to his family in Groutville. As chief he presided over the daily affairs of the African residents of the area around Groutville and Stanger, having criminal jurisdiction in civil affairs and, as is common among chiefs, finding himself judge, police chief, counselor, and ombudsman, all in one. He plunged into organizational

work, actively participating in numerous local and national groups. During this time he also made speaking trips to India and the United States on behalf of the Christian missions. These trips were critical in his philosophical development, providing at that time a rare opportunity for a nonwhite South African to observe nonwhites in societies without apartheid. Not only was this exposure critical to his intellectual development, but it helped him make important contacts outside South Africa. If things appeared to be "opening out" for Africans in the early 1930s, the passage of the Hertzog Bills in 1936 clearly altered this notion. These bills presaged the drastic legislative changes which were to be formalized with the full-scale implementation of apartheid in 1948. The Hertzog Bills included the Representation of Natives Bill which, among other things, stripped those remaining Africans who had the vote of their franchise, as well as the Native Trust and Land Bill which prohibited Africans from owning land except in the tribal reserves.⁵

These bills brought a considerable number of radical thinking nonwhites into activism and stirred many--Luthuli among them--into politics. Nonwhite groups--political, religious, and social--convened the All-Africa Convention at Bloemfontein in 1935 to denounce the impending passage of the two bills. As with many large groups, there was dissension in the ranks and the younger, more radical, and vocal members withdrew and joined the African National Congress (ANC). When the ANC subsequently broke away, the All-Africa Convention became known as the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM).⁵

In 1936, as a consequence of removing the franchise (limited through it was), the government established as part of the Representation of Natives Bill, the Native Representative Council (NRC), to be made up of government officials as well as appointed and elected nonwhites. Although the NRC was generally regarded as spurious, it became a forum for some lively exchanges, with its members at opposite poles philosophically. In 1946 Luthuli was elected to replace J.L. Dube on the NRC. By the summer of 1946 a violent miners' strike was sweeping the country and Luthuli, commenting on his first Council meeting, said that he had arrived to find the house on fire and would do all within his power to add fuel to it.⁷ Obviously he succeeded, for at this meeting the NRC voted to adjourn indefinitely. Two years later with the election of D.S. Malan as Prime Minister, the Council was formally abolished.

A year before being elected to the NRC, Luthuli officially joined the ANC as a member of the Natal provincial chapter. His vast political experience though, as a chief and as an active follower of Congress affairs, belied his junior status in the ANC. Dube, President of the Natal chapter, died in 1946 and A.W.G. Champion rose to the provincial presidency. Luthuli shortly found himself on the ANC-Natal Executive Committee and immediately became an imposing force. With the ascendancy of Champion, their chapter began to look in earnest toward the national office of the ANC and its President, A.B. Xuma for leadership and unity.

Champion and Luthuli did much outreach work, and in a short

time had impressively increased the Natal membership. The other provincial chapters performed similarly and with this great growth came consolidation and strength. A Congress Youth League was formed and its charter membership list for 1944 became a Who's Who for the 1950s, 1960s, and later. Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Joe Matthews (the son of Z.K. Matthews), Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, and others helped enormously to shape and define Congress policy and activities, as well as to increase membership. These same men were later instrumental in deposing Xuma as ANC President.

As Congress was being pushed toward militancy by its bold and brilliant Youth League on the one hand, and repressive legislation on the other, it became evident that the prudent Xuma was no longer the right man for the job. In 1949 James Moroka, moderate but only slightly more militant, ascended to the Presidency and began to develop the Programme of Action. Stressing nonviolent mass protest, the Programme was of inestimable historical significance, for it abandoned peaceful small-scale protest in favor of huge, organized, country-wide demonstrations. The Programme called for strikes, and soon Indians and Coloureds joined in. 26 June 1950 was declared a National Day of Protest, and according to Walter Sisulu, who had moved with alacrity from the Youth League to the position of Secretary-General of the ANC, it was an enormous success.⁸ The Programme gave rise to the 1952 Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. On 26 June 1952 volunteers around the country engaged in civil disobedience of one sort or another and by the end of the year over 8,000 people had been arrested. Experts agree that these years marked a turning point in the nonwhite resistance movement, demonstrating finally to the government the true resolve and discipline of the nonwhites, and in particular the ANC. Membership in the ANC soared from several thousand to over 100,000.

With the exception of the few riots which had spontaneously broken out around the country, this passive resistance movement was surprisingly well organized--a rather unsettling thought to the government. Attempting to quell the unrest and legitimize their morals, the government passed, among other laws, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act. These measures made it illegal then, to protest, either passively or otherwise.

For many of the same reasons that Xuma had been replaced by Moroka at the national level, the Youth League of Natal was calling for a successor to Champion and in mid-1951 Luthuli became President of the Natal chapter. During the remainder of the year and throughout the next he actively participated in the Defiance Campaign. Actually he had a lot of catching up to do for, although the Natal chapter had made great strides in integrating with the other provincial chapters at the national level, it had still been kept in the dark on many matters.

Because of his active involvement and the success in general of this "unity in action," Luthuli was approached by the South African authorities late in 1952 and told that he must either resign as President of the Natal-ANC or as Chief of his district.

He refused to choose and the government deposed him as Chief and therein began Luthuli's rise to international distinction. In November 1952, on the occasion of his deposition, he put forth this public statement, entitled "The Road to Freedom is Via the Cross:"

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? 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. 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 revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and nonviolent manner. . .⁹

Within a month Luthuli was elected to succeed Moroka as President-General of the ANC, and several months later he received his first banning order. Relative to his later bans, this one was rather bland; it called for him to stay away from the larger cities and prohibited him from attending public gatherings. Other ANC leaders were also banned.

A plethora of political groups and parties came into existence during this period. Some, such as the Liberal Party, although composed mainly of prominent whites, was open to, and actively encouraged, non-racialism. Others, such as the South African Coloured People's Organization and the South African Congress of Democrats (white), while certainly not racist, were more narrow in their objectives, although the latter in particular was extremely supportive of the ANC. In the late 1950s the extremist Pan African Congress (PAC) under Robert Sobukwe was formed.

In speech after speech Luthuli repeated his familiar theme --that the ANC was not opposed to whites per se but rather to their system:

South Africa does not belong to any one race or tribe; it belongs to all who live in it, black and white and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."

Apartheid, so far, has revealed itself as an attempt by white South Africa to shunt the African off the tried and civilized road by getting him to glorify his tribal past.¹¹

While white nationalism had the intent of creating factionalism in the nonwhite ranks, and white laws made it difficult

for "unity in action" to function, in its own way narrow Africanist nationalism had the effect of creating factionalism among non-whites as well. With the demise of the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in the early 1950s, the ANC continued to protest against a large number of newly-imposed laws (such as the Bantu Education Act, the Pass Laws, the Separate Amenities Act, several Anti-trade union acts, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Public Safety Act, and especially the Native Consolidation Act and the Resettlement Act). Among other things these called for the "removal" of large numbers of nonwhites from the townships where they resided to other larger, more "consolidated" townships. Over 50,000 persons were removed from Sophiatown Township alone. Luthuli organized a massive campaign, calling for 50,000 volunteers to protest with the ANC in Sophiatown. Sophiatown is no longer on the map, but the protest was tremendously impressive in that it showed yet again the might and resolve of the nonwhites. One of the nightmares of apartheid politically during those years was the chronic conundrum it created. Restrictive legislation begat civil disobedience, which in turn begat stricter legislation, bringing about larger protests, and so on. The violence at Sharpeville in 1960 seemingly brought a sobering end to this cycle.

Although Luthuli is best remembered for his philosophy of non-violence and moderation (and he was criticized by many--most notably Sobukwe--of being too passive), a re-evaluation of his writings and speeches indicates his increasing impatience with the government. In 1953 he called upon "all freedom loving people to reard no sacrifice too great in opposing the fascist government."² Although non-violent, Luthuli was militant. With regard to the removal scheme, he felt that Congress should expect nothing less than a fight to the death in the defense of Sophiatown. In calling for participation Luthuli stated that "throughout history, no freedom has come to any people without blood and tears."¹³

A profoundly pious man, Luthuli based his opposition to violence on a rigorous Christian upbringing. In *Radical Resistance to Minority Rule in South Africa: 1906-1965*, A.J. Daniel suggests two other factors which contributed to Luthuli's dedication to non-violence: internationalism, and Gandhism." Gandhi's labor-related protests in South Africa were among the earliest and most successful radical activities in the history of the country. That these campaigns of civil disobedience were for the most part non-violent--yet successful--helps to explain Luthuli's unflinching opposition to violence even after it became evident that his tactics were fundamentally unproductive. Daniel also points out that an "influential. . .[yet]. . .extraneous" factor in pursuing nonviolence in the late 1940s, was "an enormous faith in the efficacy of the United Nations. The attainment of independence by India [for example], was regarded as proof positive that nonviolence could work."¹⁵

In late 1954, Luthuli received a second and harsher ban, this one restricting him to the town of Stanger for two years. He was allowed to receive visitors, so could meet with his Execu

tive Committee at his home on occasion. Throughout the years, many have accused Luthuli of being out of touch with Congress activities, and there is much truth to this. As ANC President, there was no question that he was also its spiritual leader, and while his imprimatur was required for major decisions and activities, he nevertheless did miss out on most day-to-day planning since he was geographically so remote from headquarters."

To the extent he could, Luthuli, further hampered by a stroke, planned for the Congress of the People, which brought together thousands of members of all the racial and political congresses across South Africa (with the exception however of the NEUM). Held in 1955 at Kliptown, on the now symbolic date of 26 June, and lasting for two days, a manifesto of the liberation struggle, the *Freedom Charter*, was unanimously approved. This document* received enormous press coverage, and was unquestionably the high point of the non-violent liberation movement thus far. Its major theme was that South Africa belonged to all who lived in it. From the Government's point of view, the situation was further exacerbated by this enthusiastic participation on the part of so many and by such diverse groups, leading Luthuli to observe that "if the white vassal objected on this scale, it must [have been] a good thing."¹ Speaking much later, Luthuli summarized the posture of the ANC and the Congress of the People, as well as his own philosophy, by saying:

The African people do not want crumbs. They demand what is their rightful heritage in the land of their birth--Africa. Our demand is, and always will be--
'back from tribalism; forward to a nonracial democracy .

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Later in the year, the government reacted to the Congress of the People by electing the reactionary, J.G. Strijdom as Prime Minister.

In December of 1956 156 persons from all walks of life were arrested on charges of high treason and transported to Johannesburg and Pretoria for arraignment. The charge was that the ANC had been infiltrated by communists and was planning a violent overthrow of the state. Included among those arrested was almost the entire leadership of the ANC, as well as the hierarchies of the Congress Alliance organizations. The primary document in the indictment was the *Freedom Charter*, but by the time the Treason Trials drew to a close--four years later--the evidence filled no fewer than twenty-eight reels of microfilm.

During the trials Luthuli gained impressive stature as one of the leaders of this vast group and an irony of the trials was not lost on him when he commented:

It is extraordinarily difficult in so large a country as South Africa for resistance leaders to meet together, especially since many of us do not belong to the ruling

classes. Yet here we all were; met together and with
time on our hands. What distance, other occupations,

lack of funds, and police interference had made difficult--frequent meetings--the Government had now insisted on. We could at last confer 'sine die' at any level we liked. Delegates from the remotest areas were never farther than one cell away."

In his classic work *Time Longer Than Rope*, Edward Roux stated that the "Treason Trials, by bringing together leftist leaders from all over the country and keeping them in close association for years, helped to consolidate the movement. Feelings of political solidarity were reinforced by friendship and common suffering .,20

The Trials dragged on for four years (the accused had been let out on bail raised from donations), with everyone eventually being acquitted when the State could find no treason evidence against them.

By 1958 the ideological division within the ANC had developed to the point where a number of members broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Led by Robert Sobukwe, this group, more militant than the ANC, believed the time had come to resort to violence. This ideological split was based on a narrower interpretation of the "Africa for Africans" theme. While it may be extreme to call the PAC racist, they were nonetheless critical of Luthuli's plans for a non-racialist society for South Africa. The real issue was Luthuli's strict *public* adherence to non-violence. Ezekiel Mphahlele observed that "Luthuli was unable to see that nonviolence is a weapon or tactic, not a principle like passive resistance in the Gandhian sense; that situations must always dictate from time to time whether or not it should be used."²¹

During the four years of the Treason Trials, and simultaneously with the formation and strengthening of PAC, anti-apartheid activity continued. When it was announced that bus fares would be increased, the outburst on the part of the thousands of black workers dependent on public transport to carry them between the townships where they lived and the cities where they were employed, was tremendous. Tens of thousands walked to and from work before the government agreed to withdraw the increase.

During the late 1950s such radical resistance picked up throughout the country, and especially in the rural areas where farm workers in Sekhukhuniland, Pondoland, and Zeerust, (for example) held boycotts and demonstrations and generally rallied the countryside to action. Most of these disturbances--including the bus boycott--were spontaneous; that is, not initiated by the ANC, PAC, or any other political group, and many of the demonstrations were clearly organized by women, who were especially enraged by the extension of the Pass Laws to them in the mid-1950s. In the summer of 1956 nearly 20,000 women marched to Pretoria to voice their anger, but to no avail. In 1959 in Durban's Cato Manor Township 3,000 women violently protested living conditions and the police retaliated *in* kind. Following a period of shootings, burnings, and beatings Luthuli--himself in exile in Grootville--was called upon to restore calm.

The widespread, but generally disorganized and usually spon

taneous, violence temporarily came to a crashing end when police opened fire on PAC organized anti-Pass demonstrators at Sharpeville. In response to the massacre, Luthuli publicly burned his pass in Pretoria (where he was a defendant at the Treason Trials) and on behalf of the ANC called for a "stay-at-home" on 28 March. There was massive multi-racial participation in the stay-at-home and the government was forced to suspend (however briefly) the Pass Laws. But they were later reinstated even more stringently.

Within a week of Sharpeville both the ANC and the PAC were banned. Sobukwe, among others, was arrested and sent to prison on Robben Island, where he later died under suspicious circumstances. These bannings and arrests effectively broke the back of the various nationalist movements. Although the ANC and PAC continued to function in exile, they were until recently moribund at home. In the early 1960s, their underground military arm--the ANC's *Umkhonto we Sizwe* led by Nelson Mandela, and the PAC's *Pogo* led by Potlako Leballo--abandoned non-violence in favor of sabotage and guerrilla tactics. For several years after the banning of their parent organizations, these two groups were quite active. But the detention, trial, and subsequent imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and other Umkhonto organizers crippled their operations for many years.

Having received yet another ban in 1959, Luthuli's movements during these years were closely controlled and he was confined to his rural home of Groutville, where he watched one African country after another shed its colonial status. Luthuli had always been critical of Britain for signing away the rights of South Africa's nonwhites at the Act of Union in 1910. At the United Nations, Britain consistently voted in support of South Africa--even after the Treason Trials and Sharpeville. Some liberation leaders felt hopeful that Harold Macmillan's momentous speech in Cape Town in 1960, warning of the "wind of change" sweeping the continent, would be a portent of change for South Africa as well. When asked by reporters for a public comment on the Macmillan speech, Luthuli cynically responded that, although he had high praise for Macmillan and his historic visit, "nations which, by their actions external and internal, try to keep other people in subjection are a danger to peace not only in their own countries, but in the world."²² His protests against British policy however, paid off. When Britain again supported South Africa at the United Nations, world consternation was so great that at the 1961 meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, South Africa was forced to withdraw from the Commonwealth." Luthuli hoped that this action would finally lend support to his repeated advocacy of an economic boycott of South Africa. This never came to pass and today South Africa, blessed by an accident of geography with magnificent and varied resources is, as it was twenty-five years ago, the strongest country economically and militarily on the continent.

With both the ANC and PAC officially banned and its leaders suffering various bans, a serious blow was inflicted on the antiapartheid liberation movement. This signalled the end of the unswerving allegiance of the ANC to non-violence as an appropriate

method of achieving its aims. Although the ANC was still philosophically opposed to violence, these bans disrupted the cohesion and the communication necessary to hold an already demonstrably unproductive mode of operation together. Leaders such as Oliver Tambo went into exile, while others attempted to strengthen underground operations. For all intents and purposes, Luthuli's tenure as 'manager' had ended.

It was ironic then, that just as he began to question the strength and/or potential of the non-violent movement, Luthuli was informed in the autumn of 1961 that he had been awarded the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize. The response within South Africa was predictable. Prime Minister Verwoerd commented with vexation on the "spirit of enmity toward a country which has in no way harmed Norway."²⁴ However, Luthuli was now regarded by blacks and whites alike as the most influential person in South Africa, and the government reluctantly allowed him to go to Oslo where he received a tumultuous welcome. His speech, "Africa and Freedom," is a testimony to man's highest and most noble ideals, yet poignant in that, as Mphahlele has observed, Luthuli found himself "invested with a prize for a religious-political creed his organization now found irrelevant."¹⁵

Sadly, Luthuli now realized the futility of this non-violent movement. Karis and Carter point out that the turn to violence in 1961 was a logical outgrowth of repeated frustrations. Very few political groups (including white groups) were unaffected by this sense of frustration and very few of them avoided becoming involved in acts of sabotage and violence. As they aptly stated, "embarkation on a path of violence had been the outcome of disillusionment with the ineffectiveness of nonviolent tactics."²⁶

The sabotage, although constant, was ineffective. The government virtually crippled underground activity when it raided the Rivonia headquarters of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (the ANC's underground arm) and later arrested and placed on trial in July of 1963 some of its leaders, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and Dennis Goldberg. The Rivonia Sabotage Trial brought life-term sentences to its ten defendants and varying sentences to its other "co-conspirators."

It was with despair that Luthuli, commenting on the verdicts handed down at Rivonia, conceded that he understood the turn to and use of violence:

The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, nonviolent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of 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.²⁷

To whatever extent possible, Luthuli remained politically

active. In July of 1967, while crossing a railroad trestle on his farm, Luthuli, sixty-nine and nearly deaf, was killed by a passing freight train. His death, a coda to the passage of an era which ended at Rivonia, appeared to bring to an end any hopes which may have existed for a negotiated settlement to the South African conflict. And, while a re-evaluation of his ANC leadership may perhaps decide that possibly he was not the right man at the right time, the fact still remains that the ANC was never as unified, as large, or as successful as it was during Luthuli's tenure as President-General. These years from 1948 until 1964 were filled with a stellar cast of radicals and there appears little doubt now that any of these militants would have been just as circumscribed by the South African system as Luthuli. The tactics may have been wrong for the times, but without at least material and moral support, as well as menacing talk from the outside, no path would have been any more fruitful than the one chosen by Luthuli and his compatriots.

NOTES

1. Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (London, 1963), 50.
2. Albert Luthuli, "Luthuli Calls for a United Front," *New Age* (2 November 1961), 4.
3. John Wintterle and Richard S. Cramer, *Portraits of Nobel Laureates in Peace* (New York, 1971), 209.
4. Luthuli, *Let My People Go* (New York, 1962), 46.
5. One is reminded of the proverb, often mentioned in southern Africa, but adaptable to colonial situations almost everywhere and throughout history, which goes "Before the white man came, we had the land and they had the Bible; now they have the land and we have the Bible."
6. From its inception, the NEUM was a highly controversial organization. According to Luthuli, it was ironically torn by a considerable lack of unity. The NEUM in turn gave birth to the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa in 1962.
7. Luthuli, "A New Member's Views," 14 August 1946, Verbatim Report of the Native Representative Council, Pretoria, 6872, 77.
8. Walter Sisulu, "Report on the National Day of Protest, June 26, 1950" in Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, eds., *From Protest to ChazZenge* (4 vols.: Stanford, 1974), 2: 450.
9. Luthuli, "The Road to Freedom is Via the Cross," *The Albert John LuthuZi Papers, 1948-1967* (and elsewhere), 1952. Reel //2 [CRL MF-2914].
10. Luthuli, "We Don't Want Crumbs," *New Age*, (1 February 1962), 1.
11. Luthuli, "The ANC Wants a Just Society, Not Black Baaskap," *Contact* (1 November 1958), 10-11.
12. Luthuli, "Freedom in Our Lifetime," African National Congress Presidential Address, 18-20 December 1952, in Karis and Carter, *From Protest to ChazZenge*, 3:119.

13. Luthuli, "Legal Struggle to Resist Apartheid and For Charter," *New Age* (25 November 1954), 1.
14. Arthur John C. Daniel, "Radical Resistance to Minority Rule in South Africa: 1906-1965" (Ph.D., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975), 142.
15. *Ibid.*, 143.
16. Of course, one will never know to what extent he purposely chose to shield himself from certain Congress activities such as *Umkhonto* (the ANC's underground organization). While he no doubt knew of *Umkhonto* and surely endorsed many of its ideas, Karis and Carter suggest that he may have been intentionally shielded--that because of his stature it was useful to protect him from such an association. Karis and Carter, *From Protest to Challenge*, 3:650.
17. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, 159.
18. Luthuli, "We Don't Want Crumbs," 1.
19. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, 166.
20. Edward Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (2d ed.: Madison, 1964), 402-03.
21. Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Albert Luthuli; The End of Nonviolence," *Africa Today* (14 August 1967), 1.
22. Luthuli, "What I Think of Mac's Speech," *Drum*, March 1960, unpagged.
23. Karis and Carter, *From Protest to Challenge*, 3: 359-60.
24. Philip St. Laurent, "The Negro in World History," *Tuesday Magazine* (3 July 1968), 14.
25. Mphahlele, "Albert Luthuli," 2. This assessment is shared by Jordan Ngubane as well, as quoted in Karis and Carter, *From Protest to ChaZZenge*, 3: 649-50.
26. Karis and Carter, *From Protest to Challenge*, 3: 659.
27. Luthuli, "On The Rivonia Trial," Statement read before the United Nations Security Council, June 12, 1964. Reprinted in Karis and Carter, *From Protest to Challenge*, 3: 798-99.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS
BY AND ABOUT ALBERT J. LUTHULI

The following bibliography represents a fairly complete list of documents by and about Luthuli. The bibliography is most selective for coverage of his Nobel Peace Award and for his death since these events were given such extensive yet redundant coverage worldwide. The bibliography does not include citations to either his personal papers or to the majority of his speeches (for these see Woodson). All items are in English. *Drum*, a leading black South African magazine, is cited in particular, but several important newspapers and magazines by the black and liberal-view press represent a rich resource for considerable research. These include, among others, *Fighting Talk* (ICRL, IEN, CtY, NN), *Contact* (ICRL, IEN), *New Age* (DLC, MiEM), *Ilanga Lase*

Natal (DLC, CtY, IEN, NN), *Our Africa* (MBU), *Zonk* (NN), *Drum* (ICRL, etc.) All holdings are incomplete.

CtY - Yale University
 DLC - Library of Congress
 ICRL - Center for Research Libraries, Chicago
 IEN - Northwestern University
 MBU - Boston University
 MiEM - Michigan State University
 NN - New York Public Library

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