

Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld - Leaders and Visionaries

Symposia in commemoration of the award of the
Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Albert Luthuli
and Dag Hammarskjöld

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Preface

Special symposia commemorating the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld were held at the castle in Uppsala on 8 November and at the Nobel Peace Centre in Oslo on 11 November 2011. These events were co-organised by the Nordic Africa Institute and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in partnership with the Luthuli Museum and, in the case of the Oslo symposium, with the Dag Hammarskjöld Programme at Voksenåsen. We are grateful to all the institutions and individuals who so willingly contributed to these august events in honour of the legacy of two great men who devoted their lives to peace and human rights.

Fifty years after the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to them, the symposia recalled the lasting legacy of the two laureates and their contribution to the emancipation of humanity at a time when the winds of change were blowing across Africa. Presenters and participants alike celebrated the achievements and philosophies of these two outstanding global leaders and their enduring contribution to fundamental human rights for all.

The Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1960 was awarded to Albert Luthuli, the first African to be so honoured. He was only able to receive the prize in 1961, since the Nobel Prize committee had originally made no decision for 1960. In the same year that Chief Luthuli received his prize, the prize for 1961 was posthumously awarded to Dag Hammarskjöld. Chief Luthuli represented the desire of the (South) African people for dignity and freedom, a desire Dag Hammarskjöld always recognised and supported. The two Nobel Peace Prize laureates for 1960/1961 therefore symbolised and represented the global alliance in support of the place Africa and her people deserve in the world.

The two symposia addressed the lasting legacy of the two laureates in the context of the current policy challenges we face. This document comprises abridged versions of the presentations made by the panellists in Uppsala and Oslo. We are grateful to Tor Sellström for his skilful editing of the papers. We would also like to thank our colleagues Susanne Linderos and Karin Andersson Schiebe as well as Mattias Lasson for their support in the planning and organisation of the events. We thank Brian Xaba, director of the Luthuli Museum for the coordination and organising of the South African delegation to the symposia. Finally, we owe thanks to John Y. Jones, who assisted with the preparations for the symposium in Oslo.



It is our hope that this short account of the proceedings will allow others unable to attend to share in the spirit and atmosphere of the commemorations.

Uppsala, April 2012

Carin Norberg
Director
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Executive Director
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Welcoming address in Uppsala

Carin Norberg – Uppsala, 8 November 2011

On behalf of the organisers, the Nordic Africa Institute, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the Luthuli Museum in Durban, I have the pleasure and honour to introduce this symposium in commemoration of Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld, appropriately held in Uppsala Castle, where Hammarskjöld grew up.

Fifty years ago, Dag Hammarskjöld died in an air crash in Ndola, Zambia. The same year he was posthumously awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Chief Luthuli was awarded the same prize for the year 1960, but it was only conferred in December 1961. Hammarskjöld and Luthuli were two exceptional leaders, two visionaries, forever linked to the history of the world and to the history of Africa.

“We inherit our history but we shape our future”, said South African Deputy President Motlanthe in his lecture to students in Uppsala a couple of weeks ago. Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld were men who devoted their time and energy to the task of shaping the future of our world so that it would become a better place to live in – for all people.

We now know that Chief Luthuli’s fight for the national liberation of his people and for a democratic South Africa was crowned with success in 1994. In other parts of Africa, peace is still an objective to be achieved. The role of the United Nations in Africa is presently under debate. It is my hope that we can use this symposium to reflect and remember, and to learn from the past.

When at the beginning of the year we started to talk about this event, we realised that it might be difficult to gather the people who were directly involved. But we encountered great enthusiasm. We are very pleased to welcome Dr Albertinah Luthuli, the daughter of Albert Luthuli, as our keynote speaker. Dr Luthuli is a member of the African National Congress (ANC), a former member of the South African parliament and is currently a member of the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature.

It is our special pleasure to welcome Billy Modise, former ANC chief representative in Sweden and former chief of state protocol of South Africa. He and his wife Yolisa spent many years in Uppsala, and I am happy to see both of them here again. Ambassador Modise will moderate the panel presentations and the discussion. As one of those who was present at the Nobel ceremony in Oslo in 1961, he may also share his impressions with us.

As usual when you make plans, the unexpected happens. I am sorry to inform you that Professor Raymond Suttner, former South African ambassador to Sweden, will not be able to join us. He is currently part of a panel working on Chief Albert Luthuli's biography. John Jones, director of the Dag Hammarskjöld programme at Voksenaasen in Norway, will take his place.

I also extend a warm welcome to Mr. Jabulani Sithole, researcher and lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. We are extremely happy to have Evert Svensson, former Social Democratic member of the Swedish parliament, on the panel. He was instrumental in submitting Luthuli's candidature for the Nobel Peace Prize. Sharing the space, we have Tor Sellström, a researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute who has written extensively on the national liberation movements of Southern Africa, on Luthuli and on Hammarskjöld.

After the panel presentations, questions and comments, there will be a book presentation by Sinothi Thabethe, curator of the Luthuli Museum. The book is entitled "In the Shadow of Chief Albert Luthuli: Reflections of Goolam Suleman" written by Logan Naido. It is a Luthuli Museum publication based on the memoirs of Goolam Suleman, a friend of Chief Albert Luthuli. It will be followed by a brief presentation by the Luthuli Foundation. We welcome several representatives of the foundation. The presentation will be made by Mr. Nkululeko Luthuli, grandson of Chief Albert Luthuli.

Allow me, finally, to also welcome the South African ambassadors to Norway and to Sweden, Ms Beryl Rose Sisulu and Mrs. Mandisa Dona Marasha.

After the closing remarks by my colleague, Dr Henning Melber, director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, you are warmly welcomed to visit the House of Peace.

Reflections on Africa in the light of the legacies of Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli

Albertinah Luthuli and Ayanda Ntsaluba

Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli would have been pleased at the theme we have chosen for our discussions. The condition and the future of Africa preoccupied these two Nobel laureates. Dag Hammarskjöld died on African soil, while Albert Luthuli spent his life fighting a system of racism that he understood was rooted in the broader colonial experience of Africa. Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli both had deep spiritual roots and faith. They believed in the inherent goodness of mankind and it is this trait, among others, which saw them bewildered at the motives and the actions of those who sought to colonise and subjugate others.

Hammarskjöld said that colonisation “reflected a basic approach which may have been well-founded in certain limited respects, but which often mirrored false claims, particularly when it touched on spiritual development”.

I am reflecting on the above in order to also make the point that Hammarskjöld and Luthuli lived and saw an Africa that was very different from today. It was ravaged by wars of independence, many countries were still colonies and, as in South Africa of the time, there was still resistance in some quarters to the idea that Africans were equal and deserved the same rights, social justice and dignity that was accorded to peoples from other parts of the world.

In their daily lives, they devoted themselves to peace. Dag Hammarskjöld used the mechanism of the United Nations. As we all recall, he was appointed Secretary General of the United Nations on 7 April 1953. He is described as being both a man of vision and principle, yet pragmatic and creative. He was a strong believer in the possibilities of the UN to be a force for good, but also understood that for it to rise to this challenge and retain its relevance it had to adapt constantly to new challenges. Thus, he also understood that the relevance of the UN was not ordained. It had to be won and earned in the crucible of struggle for a better world.

Hammarskjöld wanted the UN to be seen by people, especially the poor and oppressed, as an important agency for peace and development. Indeed, he transformed the organisation and made it more dynamic and proactive. He would thus be encouraged by the efforts of those who continue to work for the strengthening of the UN, the improvement of its working methods and the general search for ways of enhancing its legitimacy. He refused to accept that the role of the international community was to stop wars only after they had already

started, thereby introducing into the peacemaking lexicon the idea of preventive diplomacy. While the concept in some quarters has been viewed with suspicion, there is no doubt that it was a ground-breaking approach. With preventive diplomacy, Hammarskjöld brought into the world a concept that is not difficult to fathom – the idea that prevention is better than cure.

Chief Albert Luthuli, on the other hand, stood as a towering giant among a distinguished array of African leaders leading Africa's decolonisation struggle, determined to assert the equal humanity of African people. He was a man of peace and firmness of principle. For this, he will always be remembered as the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of the long non-violent struggle in South Africa that he led. In a real sense, the awarding of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize to the chief gave great momentum to the African liberation struggle, and through his personality, Luthuli conveyed the enormous dignity of African leadership in the face of extreme brutality.

In accepting the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1961, Chief Luthuli saw the award as an honour "to the peace-loving people of the entire world, and an encouragement to us all to redouble our efforts in the struggle for peace and friendship". Thus, even as he himself lived under a system that denied him his own rights on account of his race, he knew that in many other parts of the world people were suffering. He identified with the global movement that sought to bring peace, freedom and development to the world. Luthuli wanted to make his own contribution to the solution of the problems that afflicted not just his own country, South Africa, but the world at large.

This is yet another similarity between Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli – they were internationalists who possessed and projected a world view. And it is not difficult to understand the reason. They knew that injustices perpetrated against people anywhere in the world were an affront to the conscience of all humanity.

It was in this context that Albert Luthuli declared that racial discrimination and white supremacy were incompatible with world peace and security. Both men knew that Europe and South Africa could never find peace in isolation from the rest of the world. Both of them advocated for equality and for the world to embrace universal values of human rights and social justice.

Albert Luthuli understood that the task of building a humane society was to be a process, not an event. In a sense, therefore, true leadership was not only about what one could do, but rather about the task of inspiring others to buy into a compelling vision of social change. One of his greatest legacies lay in his inspiring a generation of leaders in South Africa, who in their own right rose to earn the status of icons of the struggle for national liberation. Above all, these are individuals who followed in his footsteps of correctly locating the South African decolonisation and democratic project within the broader global struggle for peace, development and the protection and promotion of human rights. I refer here, particularly, to two names well known to you all, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

A reflection on Africa today is therefore, of necessity, also an examination of the question: To what extent have the ideas of these two eminent world statesmen, Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld, influenced the development of our continent in the past six decades? Today they would notice that their aspiration for peace in Africa has become part of the lore. Peace not just as an absence of war, but peace as a condition for the development of societies.

The current United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, reported that in July 2010 there were four countries in Africa that were at war, compared to about a dozen ten years earlier. The Secretary-General was making the point to affirm the progress that had been made on the continent. The dawn of peace in so many parts of Africa is a result of efforts and hard work of many men and women inspired by the ideals that Hammarskjöld and Luthuli stood for. These men and women know that making peace is not easy. They know that even when peace has been achieved, it still takes a lot more effort to sustain it and ensure that societies do not revert back to violence.

Many of these brave men and women have paid the supreme sacrifice. As we salute them, we also pay tribute to those in whose footsteps they followed.

Albert Luthuli called democracy a “fine thing” that was at the apex of human achievement and which could not be successfully kept from other people. The so-called Arab Spring perhaps testifies to the correctness of this observation. Some of the courage and brutality we have witnessed as people all over the world clamour for freedom confirm the observations that Luthuli made in his acceptance speech when he said “what we need is the courage that rises with danger” and when he also observed that “the bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighter’s grasp”.

Today, there is a general acceptance in Africa of the idea of democracy. In the past two years alone we have witnessed elections in many countries, most of which were conducted under conditions considered free and fair. These elections are held as a result of the observation and realisation that only when we institute governments of the people by the people will African countries prosper. Democracy in Africa has also been critical for instilling social cohesion in countries that have historically been ravaged by internal divisions. It has become the best insurance for social harmony. Democracy has also become a system that empowers people. Where the people before were mere spectators in regard to the governance of their countries, they have now become actors in shaping governance and, therefore, their destiny.

The peoples of Africa have also learnt from the experience of people in other parts of the world, such as Europe, that regional integration can be central to the development of our continent. Indeed, there is a concerted effort to strengthen the African Union as well as the various constituent sub-regional organisations. I submit that this has been a conscious effort. We learn from Europe that

countries that are bound together through regional integration also embrace values that are anathema to violence and instability.

This is therefore also the wish that African leaders are expressing when they work to strengthen the African Union. In this regard, in one of their recent summit meetings, African heads of state and government discussed the issue of values, seeking to answer the question of what are the common grounds on which the further integration of the African continent should be based. There is consensus that these should include democracy, human rights, social justice and good governance, among others. Even earlier, the African Union had already taken the important decision to ban from its midst those leaders who take power through unconstitutional means. This was not just a symbolic step, but a testament to the resolve to change.

Democracy cannot be enough on its own without the accompanying commitment to good governance. It is for this reason that we should applaud the fact that 32 African countries are participants in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). Through the APRM, countries are reviewed by their peers on important indicators of good governance. I dare say that the APRM has so far made an important contribution to the improvement of governance on our continent and I hope that one day all African countries will see reason to join this mechanism. Of importance as well is the active involvement of civil society in the work of the APRM. A few decades ago it would have been unthinkable for civil society to be given such a prominent place in the governance of African countries.

Another important idea that was championed by Dag Hammarskjöld and which the African Union has embraced is preventive diplomacy. Without doubt, the most important legacy offered by preventive diplomacy is the higher quality of life and assurance of international peace and security. The African Union has seen fit to build its own early warning mechanisms to anticipate and proactively deal with conflicts. This is even more pertinent today when we are witnessing new potential drivers of conflict, such as climate change, water scarcity, desertification and other ecological factors. Preventive diplomacy and mediation, borrowed from the Hammarskjöld toolkit for peacemaking, has thus been used effectively to address some of the conflict situations in Africa.

Both Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli knew that democracy and peace were not ends in themselves. The ultimate goal is development of our peoples, countries and societies. Thus, they would be affronted to find that at a time when the world is endowed with so many resources, there are still many millions of people who live in poverty. (...) They would be dismayed at the irresponsible display of greed that has exacerbated the vulnerability of the poorest among us. They would be concerned that the process of globalisation has so far failed to be the rising tide that lifts all boats. Even more worrying for them would be that fact that the beloved continent of Africa still lags behind in most of the development indicators.

However, they would be encouraged by the hopeful signs on the development of Africa, most aptly captured in a 2010 McKinsey report.

The McKinsey consultancy recently issued a report entitled “Lions on the Move”. This comprehensive document points to many positive developments that are happening in Africa. It notes that many African countries are registering positive rates of economic growth. This is as a result of economic reforms that have been put into place by African governments. Africa is attracting investments at rates that are much higher than a few decades before. The investments in Africa are no longer confined to just the resource sectors, such as mining and oil extraction. Today investments in Africa span financial services, telecommunications, construction, retail and others. This shows that the economies in Africa are diversifying. Most importantly, the McKinsey report makes the point that Africa will be central to the revival and future growth of the world economy.

The progress of African economies is also a result of the work undertaken under the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), which was an important paradigm shift in terms of which African countries decided on their own agenda for development. It conveyed an unequivocal message of Africans taking their destiny into their own hands. (...)

As we witness the march of time, so too are we witnessing the renaissance of Africa. It has been a long road and there remain ahead many more hills to climb. We are blessed to have the inspiration of Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli to act as our lodestars. Dag had to shed his blood on African soil if only to cement the bonds of friendship between his European roots and the Africa he served. The blood and tears they and many other heroes and heroines shed have only served to nurture the tree of freedom.

In particular, how pleased the two would be to see that the Congo, in connection with which Hammarskjöld met his fate, today stands as one of the shining examples of democratic South Africa’s commitment to the advancement of the African agenda. It was, after all, the new democratic South Africa that, in spite of a myriad of its own internal challenges, saw it as appropriate to devote substantial resources to promote peace and encourage the democratisation process in the Congo and the broader Great Lakes region.

Of course, it will also not be lost on them that not only is this an act of solidarity by the country that gave birth to Chief Albert Luthuli, but that it is the organisation he led – the African National Congress – which as the governing party is now ensuring that his country of birth remains true to his prophetic words delivered at the Great Hall of the University of Oslo on that historic 11 December 1961. He thus envisioned the continent of Africa as being united by a common vision and purpose.

Photos from the Symposia

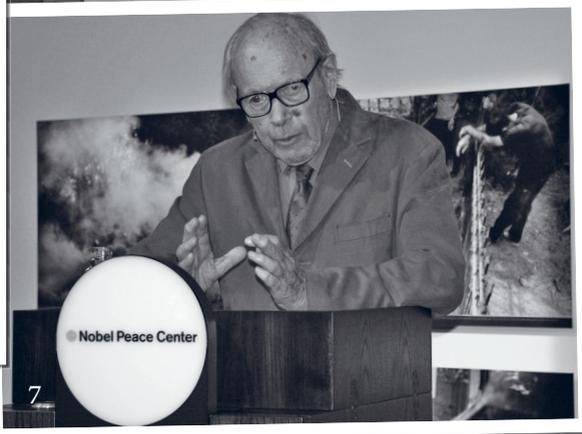
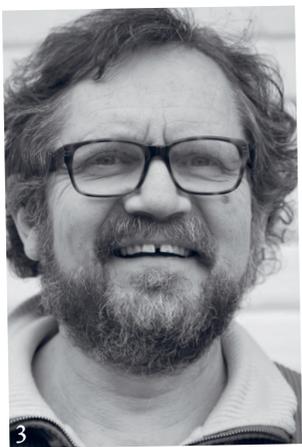


Photo number 4 by Tor Sellström.
All other photos by Sing Ashish Kumar.



1. Albertinah Luthuli
2. Nkululeko Luthuli
3. John Y. Jones
4. Billy Modise, Albertinah Luthuli, Carin Norberg
5. Ingrid Fiskaa
6. Jabulani Sithole
7. Gunnar Garbo
8. Beryl Rose Sisulu and Thandeka Luthuli-Gcabashe
9. Sinothi Thabethe
10. Nordic Black Theatre
11. Billy Modise
12. Oslo symposium
11 October 2011
13. Ingrid Fiskaa and Tor Sellström
14. Henning Melber



Chief Albert Luthuli and the struggle for national liberation in South Africa

Jabulani Sithole

Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli was an educator, a leader within his church, a democratically elected traditional leader, a president of the ANC and the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his outstanding contributions and efforts for the cause of human freedom, human dignity, non-racialism, democracy and peace in South Africa, Africa and the world. He remains one of the major figures in African liberation politics, and enjoyed enormous popularity and respect among the oppressed people of South Africa from his election as the ANC president in 1952 to his tragic death on 21 July 1967.

Albert Luthuli remained a progressive chief until the apartheid state deposed him in 1952. He had refused to resign either from the chieftainship or the presidency of the Natal provincial branch of the ANC, arguing that he had been democratically elected to both positions. In his famous speech “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross”, he revealed deep commitment and courage that rose with danger. He said that “with a full responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for extending the democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South Africa community”.

There are at least five important values that shaped and informed Albert Luthuli’s political philosophy:

Firstly, there was his firm belief in a life of service to humanity. This came at a huge personal cost not only to him, but to his family. Luthuli forfeited any decent income when he agreed to serve his people as a chief. He resigned from a position as lecturer and accepted instead the position of chieftainship, which he regarded as a “calling” to serve his people. The responsibility of making ends meet fell heavily on his wife, Nokukhanya Luthuli (*uMaBhengu*). However, this too complicated matters because she had lost her position as a school teacher when they got married in 1927. At the time, the South African segregationist state did not allow women teachers to remain in its employ once they got married.

Secondly, Luthuli genuinely believed in gender equality. In this regard he did not only talk admirably of his wife, but he actively campaigned for the right of women to participate as equals in public life and in the liberation struggle. He began to encourage women’s participation in community activities within his chieftdom during the 1930s and 1940s. At the time, all “tribal” councils were male dominated and women had no say in their deliberations. Luthuli invited women not only to sit and listen to the proceedings, but to take an active part in resolving the disputes that came before the “tribal” council. He was also the first to propose the inclusion of women on the Zulu Royal Advisory Council that was being planned during the early 1940s.

Luthuli encouraged women's participation in the struggle when he became the Natal president of the ANC in 1951. He adopted the same positive attitude when he became its national president in 1952. It is therefore no coincidence that the ANC Women's League gained prominence during his presidency.

Thirdly, Chief Luthuli was deeply committed to the creation of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society in South Africa that would uphold basic human rights such as equality before the law, freedom of association and speech, social justice and human dignity. For him, liberation included, among other things, liberating the country's white population from the ignorance that made them feel comfortable with a political system that denied more than 80 per cent of their fellow men and women their basic democratic rights to human dignity and freedom. He held the view that "the very apex of human achievement is freedom and not slavery". He campaigned for the imposition of sanctions against the apartheid state as he believed that economic and cultural isolation of South Africa would go a long way towards forcing it to reconsider its domestic policies that dehumanised the vast majority of its population.

He maintained that there could be no peace without freedom and justice for all people of South Africa, Africa and the world. This was precisely why he dedicated the Nobel Peace Prize to the people of South Africa and Africa, who at the time were fiercely engaged in struggles against colonial and imperial domination and oppression.

Fourthly, although Chief Luthuli held views and philosophical beliefs not always in accord with those of the Communists, he was always convinced of the need to rally all freedom-loving people in the fight against apartheid. He consequently defended the ANC's decision to forge a progressive anti-apartheid alliance, the Congress Alliance, with the Congress of Democrats, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Organised around the slogan "unity in action and unity of purpose", this alliance embarked on a series of campaigns, including the defiance campaign, the anti-pass campaign, the Congress of the People campaign and against forced removals and land dispossessions throughout South Africa. Luthuli defended the participation of Communists in these campaigns. He is therefore fondly remembered as the father of non-racialism and alliance politics.

Finally, Luthuli believed in a people-centred programme of action in the struggle against apartheid. His election as the president of the ANC in Natal in 1951 transformed it into a movement of activists who took up issues that were affecting people on a daily basis. He led members of his provincial leadership on a door-to-door campaign during which they learned about the issues affecting the ordinary people and used them as a basis for the people-centred provincial programme of action. They held meetings to revive ANC structures in the Durban townships and informal settlements. It was this activism that convinced the ANC membership that Chief Albert Luthuli was the appropriate replacement of Dr J.S. Moroka as the national president of the ANC at its conference in December 1952. He held this position with distinction until his tragic death under questionable circumstances.

Hammar skjöld and apartheid South Africa: mission unaccomplished

Tor Sellström

Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli never met. Had they done so, they would probably have shared views on apartheid South Africa and prospects for the independent African states, but also views on the Nordic countries. While Hammarskjöld took an active interest in African affairs, Chief Luthuli did the same with regard to Sweden. In December 1961, just before he received the Nobel Peace Prize, in an article entitled “If I were Prime Minister”, Chief Luthuli wrote that “a system such as is found in [...] Sweden”, for example, might be the answer to the inequalities of South Africa.

Under normal circumstances, the two future Nobel Peace laureates could have held this discussion in South Africa.

In response to the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960, on 1 April the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 134 (1960). It established that “the situation in South Africa has led to international friction and, if continued, might endanger peace and security”, and requested the UN Secretary-General “in consultation with the government of the Union of South Africa, to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the [UN] Charter”.

Over the following days – while the situation rapidly deteriorated in South Africa, culminating on 8 April in the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress – Hammarskjöld made contact with Pretoria, proposing talks between the parties. In mid-May 1960, the South African government reluctantly agreed to the proposal. Due to the subsequent crisis in the Congo, the visit was, however, rescheduled.

Eventually, Hammarskjöld visited South Africa from 6 to 12 January 1961 as a formal guest of the Pretoria government. During his short stay, he held six meetings with Prime Minister Verwoerd and made stop-overs in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Umtata (Eastern Cape) and Cape Town. Originally, he planned to stay two more days, but due to yet another Security Council meeting over developments in the Congo, he had to cut the visit short.

This was the first-ever visit by a UN Secretary-General to South Africa. It created great expectations within the anti-apartheid opposition movement. Before and during the visit, the ANC-led Congress Alliance made submissions to the Secretary-General. It also set up a Dag Hammarskjöld Welcoming Committee,

which urged that “in order to have a true view of the situation in the country, he should meet African leaders”, foremost among them Chief Albert Luthuli.

Little information has emerged from Hammarskjöld’s off-the-record meetings with Verwoerd, or, in general, from his talks with the South African authorities. Reporting to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Stockholm, Eyvind Bratt, the Swedish envoy to the country, noted in a dispirited letter two weeks after his departure that “[i]n case the ministry has expected particular information from this legation regarding the visit [...], I must at the outset confess that I am incapable of producing anything of the sort”, adding that no foreign diplomat had been invited by the Pretoria government to meet the UN representative.

Relying on indirect, but trusted sources, Bratt nevertheless noted that “Hammarskjöld, during his first encounter with Verwoerd very firmly made it clear that since the apartheid [policy] was completely unacceptable to the United Nations, any exchange of ideas in this regard was pointless”. Having recently declared that his government would be “as unyielding as walls of granite” in applying apartheid, not surprisingly Verwoerd was equally firm in closing the door to any UN-initiated arrangement. Hammarskjöld and Verwoerd thus agreed to disagree on the very question that had brought the UN Secretary-General to South Africa.

Before the visit, it had been agreed that “consultation throughout would be with the Union government”. Any meeting that Hammarskjöld might request was subject to Pretoria’s approval and his movements were severely circumscribed. That said, he did see Dr A.B. Xuma, former president-general of the ANC, and Dr W.F. Nkomo, a former leader of the ANC Youth League.

Selected as African spokespersons by the government, the two medical doctors had long since outlived their roles as leading representatives of the anti-apartheid movement. This notwithstanding, the South African officials must have been dismayed when Xuma and Nkomo told Hammarskjöld that men such as Chief Luthuli and the jailed PAC President Robert Sobukwe were regarded by the people as “the real leadership”.

On the day before Hammarskjöld’s departure, the authorities lowered their guard, for the first and only time allowing the Secretary-General to get into contact with the stark realities of the apartheid country. This took place in Johannesburg, in the African townships of Alexandra and Meadowlands, where Hammarskjöld surprised the government escort by leaving his car and moving among the people. He also visited the African township of Atteridgeville in Pretoria.

In his report back to the Security Council, Hammarskjöld explained that “so far no mutually acceptable arrangement has been found”. He was of the opinion, however, that “the exchange of views in general has served a most useful purpose”

and that the “lack of agreement is not conclusive”. Wishing “to give the matter his further consideration”, the Secretary-General stated that “he looks forward to [the] continuation [of the consultations] at an appropriate time, with a view to further efforts from his side to find an adequate solution”.

The ANC-led Dag Hammarskjöld Welcoming Committee also produced a report on the visit. It was considerably less positive, in particular criticising the UN Secretary-General for failing to “make any effort to meet the leaders of [the] opposition political organizations”. Due to the restrictive conditions imposed, it is, however, difficult to see how he could have met with leading ANC representatives such as Chief Albert Luthuli, Walter Sisulu or Nelson Mandela. At the time, the ANC was outlawed, the Treason Trial was still in progress and Luthuli, Sisulu and Mandela were all respectively banished, banned or underground.

Hammarskjöld’s intended return to South Africa did not materialise. In New York, he was seized with the escalating conflict in the Congo, the issue that led to his tragic loss of life eight months later. In the meantime, the Pretoria government under Prime Minister Verwoerd proceeded to consolidate apartheid, breaking away from the Commonwealth and proclaiming the white Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961.

Regrettably, therefore, Hammarskjöld and Luthuli never met and the UN Secretary-General’s visit to South Africa became a mission unaccomplished.

Chief Luthuli's unofficial visit to Sweden

Evert Svensson

I would have liked to have Gunnar Helander with me in this moment, but he is no longer among us. It was he who inspired me to rally 34 members of different parties of the Swedish parliament around a proposal to the Norwegian Nobel Committee in favour of Albert Luthuli. It was half a year after the Sharpeville massacre, which made people in Sweden very upset.

I remember how time was passing quickly in January 1961. It was the period for motions in the *Riksdag*, and we were writing proposals on many issues, as well as the proposal to the Nobel Committee in Oslo. I was in a hurry and working very late. We were not sure if the proposal would reach the Nobel Committee on time, so I sent a telegram late in the evening of 31 January, which was the deadline for submissions.

Gunnar Helander had been a missionary in South Africa and was banned from going there in 1956. I myself made a long journey to Africa and my intention was to also visit Luthuli at his home, where he was banished. I asked for permission from the South African legation in Stockholm and they told me that it would not be a problem at all. "You can get it in a few days." But that was a lie. During my journey to various capitals in Africa, we asked Pretoria if the application had been approved, but there was no answer. On my way home, I got a "No" in Addis Ababa.

Gunnar Helander and I were not the only persons who were denied entry into South Africa. I have recently read Per Wästberg's memoirs. It was the same for him. South Africa was closed to us.

Anyway, Gunnar Helander asked me to send a proposal to Oslo. At the time, I was the chairman of an international committee inside *Broderskapsrörelsen*, the Christian branch of the Social Democratic Party. I had read Gunnar Helander's articles in *Handelstidningen* about the apartheid policy in South Africa so I had some information. There were also others, especially in the churches, who informed the Swedish people. And, of course, Herbert Tingsten in *Dagens Nyheter* and the author Per Wästberg.

I had my own reasons. In South Africa, there was, as I saw it, in reality a dictatorship. Many millions of black people had no right to vote. In fact, they were not citizens of their own country. South Africa at that time carried out most of the capital punishments in the whole world. I saw an emerging civil war and considered it necessary to strengthen opinion against apartheid. It was a system which not could be reformed. It had to go in order to avoid conflict. Albert Luthuli and the African National Congress also supported a non-violent struggle.

I, and, of course, all the persons who had signed the proposal were very happy when the Norwegian Nobel Committee in late autumn of 1961 announced that Luthuli had received the Peace Prize, the first African to get it. It was awarded for 1960, since there was no prize granted that year, thus leaving room for Luthuli together with Dag Hammarskjöld, our great man at the United Nations. We were also happy about his prize.

Luthuli was under house arrest, but eventually the South African government gave him permission to go to Oslo for eight days – but only to Oslo – to receive the prize.

I want to tell you a story about Mr. and Mrs. Luthuli, the South African government and Sweden.

We in the Christian Social Democrats wanted to invite Chief Luthuli as a guest for a lecture in Stockholm during his time in Oslo. We wrote to the government in Pretoria for permission so that he could travel to Stockholm. But: “No! No!” Åke Zetterberg, the chairman of our organisation at the time, and I asked our foreign minister, Östen Undén, and he sent a request to his counterpart in Pretoria. But the South Africans still said “No”. So what to do?

The university students’ organisation found out the number of the Luthuli family’s flight, the day and hour. He had to go via Copenhagen, and the airplane also had to stop over at Torslanda in Gothenburg before reaching Oslo. We worked together, the students and those of us in the Christian Social Democratic movement.

I asked the chief of the airport, Mr. Andersson, who I had met previously, if it was possible for Luthuli to step out of the airplane for a while. He was very kind and made it possible. But Luthuli could not to go through the passport control. So we gathered between the plane and the passenger arrival area. Such a meeting had never happened before and probably not later either.

Through the pilot, we asked the passengers to use one of the two doors and leave the other for Luthuli and his wife. I think that we were about 500 people outside the aircraft. The university orchestra was playing, a group was singing and I delivered a little speech of welcome to Sweden. Others also made speeches. And Luthuli said some words of thanks. Mr. and Mrs. Luthuli were very surprised to see all the people. After the ceremony I went with them to Oslo.

So Albert Luthuli came to Sweden after all, but he was not officially in the country!

What would Chief Albert Luthuli say about South Africa, Africa and the world today?

Jabulani Sithole

Surely, Chief Luthuli would have mixed feelings about what we are doing. He would appreciate, as many people across the world have appreciated, that his countrymen and women were able to achieve an important stage of democracy and freedom in South Africa by sitting down at the negotiating table as freedom fighters and oppressors and thrash out a political settlement that buried the scourge of apartheid and created a society based on ideals of equality, non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy. These were ideals which his generation and its predecessors had fought for, sometimes to the point of making the supreme sacrifice of laying down their lives for future generations.

He would undoubtedly be proud of the achievements that South Africa has made domestically and internationally. Key among these achievements has been the role that our country has played in encouraging dialogue in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to end the conflict that Dag Hammarskjöld died in trying to resolve in 1961. He would be proud that today South Africa has contributed to finding political solutions not only in the DRC, but in Burundi, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire and elsewhere on the continent. Luthuli would be proud of the efforts not only of his countrymen and women in this regard, but of the leading role of his movement, the ANC.

Chief Luthuli would be proud of the efforts that have been made to improve the lives of the people of South Africa for the better in the last decade and a half. However, he would be critical of the slow pace of economic transformation. He would have regarded it as a very threat to our young democracy. He would have reminded us that political freedom means very little without improving the lives of the poorest of the poor. He would urge us to speed up land reform, especially because our political conquest and subsequent oppression and exploitation assumed concrete form through land dispossession and forced removals. He would remind us that robbing the African people of their land was tantamount to robbing them of their soul. He would have appreciated that the cause of transformation is fraught with hazardous challenges that threaten the very reconciliation, nation-building and social cohesion upon which democratic South Africa is based. However, he would encourage the country to soldier on, because the "Statue of Freedom" is so important that no risks, dangers and threats to it should be insurmountable.

Luthuli would be critical of social inequalities between the poor and the rich that continue to grow unabated within South Africa, Africa and the world. He would find it unacceptable that a country that is endowed with an abundance of natural resources, such as South Africa, has been unable to decisively address problems of unemployment, poverty and disease. He would find it unforgivable that the country which remains the biggest economy on the African continent should witness the deaths of innocent children (...). He would have condemned a system which creates extreme opulence for a few, while condemning the vast majority to conditions of extreme poverty. He would have asked what has happened to good neighbourliness and *ubuntu*.

Chief Albert Luthuli would have condemned xenophobic attacks and threats to fellow Africans who have fled to South Africa because of warfare, dire economic situations and other threats in their own countries. He would have reminded us that these are the very people who extended a hand of friendship during our hour of need in the dark days of apartheid tyranny and dictatorship. He would have called upon us to dig deep and ask why we treat immigrants of darker pigmentation with hostility and suspicion. He would have demanded that we examine why we have suddenly suffered an amnesia that has made us easily forget the selfless sacrifices that the people of the Africa and the world made in order for us to regain our freedom and human dignity. He would have expressed joy at efforts we are making to uproot the abuse of women and children in our society. However, he would find it unacceptable that we still talk of 16 days of activism and demand a permanent programme of action, operating 24 hours a day and 365 days a year, to ensure that we abolish the abuse of one person by another.

Chief Luthuli would have condemned the dictatorial regimes in various parts of the African continent. He would have condemned the dictatorships, because they are tantamount to the denial of human freedom and dignity to thousands of people who deserve better. However, he would undoubtedly have condemned the violent methods that have been used to effect regime change in places like Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan, not only because these foreign interventions represent the revival of Western imperialism and domination, but also because of the high number of human lives that have been lost.

As a committed anti-imperialist, Luthuli would condemn the replacement of one form of dictatorship by another. He would find it unacceptable that human beings should be reduced to statistics and that we are told that more than 40,000 people died before the resolution of the Libyan conflict could be realised. He would have unequivocally condemned the callous murder of more than 100,000 Iraqis at the hands of the United States-led armed forces within the first 18 months of their occupation of Iraq from 2003. He would have said that as much as those women, men and children deserved protection from political tyrants, they had the same right to life, freedom and human dignity as anyone else in the world. He would find it sickening that this new United States-led global

imperialism, like its British predecessor, conquers and oppresses people on the pretext of extending liberty.

Chief Albert Luthuli would most certainly commend South Africa and the African continent for their achievements. But he would equally express constructive criticism where we have faltered so as to urge us to improve our act and live up to expectations of the masses of the people who yearn for freedom, human dignity and justice. A young American film-maker who attended Luthuli's funeral in 1967 said during his recent visit to a free South Africa: "Luthuli's legacy looms large". In conclusion, I should like to ask a pertinent question: Should we not share this sentiment and ensure that indeed Luthuli's legacy looms large forever, not only in South Africa, but in Africa and the world?

Hammar skjöld and Luthuli showed the way

Gunnar Garbo

In 1945, the peoples of the United Nations adopted a Charter that seemed to save them from further wars. The two fundamental duties member states undertook to respect when signing the Charter were never to attack another nation and to solve all disputes with one another by peaceful means. These were more than mild hopes. The duties were expressions of binding international law. But as early as 1950, the General Assembly of the UN observed that violations of the Charter caused a continuation of international tensions. Right they were. If member states had respected the Charter, we would today be living in a world with peace between nations.

While President Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor made an historic contribution through their work for the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the US military and political leadership was at the same time working to establish a global preponderance of power, ensuring that the US could take care of its perceived interests by military means anywhere in the world. Looking at a world map today, it is difficult to spot any area without a US military base. The United States was not alone in militarising, but its enormous weight made a difference.

The UN system was simply seen as a hindrance to US preponderance. Therefore it had to be starved of means. Crucial parts of its agenda had to be expropriated by bodies where dollars counted more than votes. The World Bank and NATO are examples. So is even the tendency by the UN Security Council, which is more easily dominated through the veto powers, to seize crucial functions the Charter gives to the General Assembly.

Dag Hammar skjöld understood the need for an international civil service dedicated to nothing but serving the whole of mankind. He defended vigorously the integrity of his staff and set himself up as an example by sticking to his own duties regardless of pressures from the United States or the Soviet Union. His task was, as he stated, to promote the efforts of the small and poor nations that first and foremost needed the UN. He knew that his civil courage might cost him dearly, but as he himself said, “in our world the road to holiness passes through the world of actions”. And he acted.

One of his finest acts was when Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal Company and Britain and France, in collusion with Israel, attacked Egypt. Hammar skjöld tried in vain to prevent the attack. When it happened, he contributed to a ceasefire. And within 24 hours he was able to fashion a new instrument suited to the world organisation: the Blue Helmets. They were not there to fight, but might

defend themselves while preventing others from fighting. Since Hammarskjöld's tragic death, the Blue Helmets have saved the peace on numerous occasions around the world.

Albert Luthuli did not work in the international field, but in the apartheid state, where the great majority of the inhabitants were suffering under cruel racist policies. The civil resistance which Luthuli exemplified necessarily had wide international implications. It gives me special pleasure to quote from the presentation speech by the Nobel Committee's chairman, Gunnar Jahn, 50 years ago.

Jahn referred to some words by Luthuli: "We believe in the brotherhood of peoples and in the respect for the individual. My Congress has never given expression to hatred for any race of South Africa." To which Jahn added: "Time and again he has reiterated this, right up to the very present. His activity has been characterised by a firm and unswerving approach. Never has he succumbed to the temptation to use violent means in the struggle for his people. Nothing has shaken him from his firm resolve, so firmly rooted in his conviction, that violence and terror must not be employed. Nor has he ever felt or incited hatred of the white man."

Luthuli was right. When Nelson Mandela, the former leader of the military wing of the ANC, was released after 29 years of imprisonment, he was able to reach a peaceful deal with De Klerk, though he had to make many economic concessions to the whites. As a matter of fact, most human disputes are solved by peaceful means, though this is seldom noticed by the mass media.

We are left with the question of how to restore the United Nations to the leading position which member states gave the world organisation when they signed the Charter and which Hammarskjöld and Luthuli exemplified so fearlessly. Over the last 20 years, Western powers have started four wars against Southern nations, namely in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, which, in different ways, were breaching the UN Charter. In all these cases, peaceful alternatives were available, but arrogantly neglected by the warriors.

We certainly need to return to the path shown by Hammarskjöld and Luthuli. To begin with, we might expose the ways by which the rhetoric of political leaders and mainstream media are fooling people. The mastery of language is power. We need to describe the cruel effects of present military politics and ventures in true and plain language

Dag Hammarskjöld stood up for the United Nations on development

John Y. Jones

In the film on Albert Luthuli introducing this symposium, we were reminded that disregarding or perverting the facts of history is an important factor in the formation of nations. The same can be said about the formation of regions and whole continents. To both Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld, the building of the African continent on the ruins of colonial empires stood at the centre of their lives.

In his last years before his untimely death in Zambia half a century ago, the UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld challenged the colonial powers' continued attempts to quell the quest for freedom that was sweeping the continent and openly criticised those who tried to make "the Congo a happy hunting ground for [their own] national interests". He expressed frustration at the "many member Nations [that] have not yet accepted the very limits put on their national ambitions by the very existence of the United Nations and by the membership of that Organization".

In the mid-1950s, Hammarskjöld saw the formation of a larger and more dangerous "policy design" with the creation of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Hammarskjöld had served at the Organisation for European Economic Development (OEED) and witnessed its transformation into the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). As head of the UN, he soon became the small countries' spokesperson and protested when the OECD sought to shape the development agenda in the former colonies through the DAC.

That oppressive, recent colonial powers, which had carved up the African continent as the spoils of the Berlin Congress only 75 years earlier and only reluctantly given in to liberation's "wind of change", should now claim to be the saviours of the Third World was bad news to Hammarskjöld. As he saw it, responsibility for the developing world belonged with the UN itself. Only the UN had the credibility to assist newly emerging countries in their development and nation-building.

For Hammarskjöld, the OECD's DAC was a threat to the UN itself. After 50 years, the record of the OECD-DAC has shown that Hammarskjöld was right. While the rest of the world has seen leaps in material accumulation, life expectancy and welfare, Africa – subject to DAC leadership, with its close proximity to the IMF and the World Bank – has seen structural adjustment policies and coordinated aid programmes that have done everything but address the root causes of poverty and underdevelopment. Rather, the OECD and DAC have ensured a development agenda that has resulted in the largest gap between rich and poor countries that history has ever witnessed. Hammarskjöld wanted considerable funds to be transferred annually to the developing world. But as

DAC and the rich nations have refused to transfer power to the UN in any significant way, Hammarskjöld would not be surprised to hear that wealth today is in the hands of the rich world to a degree unimaginable even in 1961.

Superficially, everyone shared the view that the exploitation of colonies had to come to an end with decolonisation. But Hammarskjöld also strongly demanded substantive support for developing nations that had been vandalised by years of colonial abuse and exploitation. He demanded their fair and balanced integration into the world economy. As a fellowship of all nations, the UN was to hold the reins.

Fifty years after Dag Hammarskjöld's demise, the West has failed to let the UN become the tool for development that he dreamed of. We have ignored his warnings. Hammarskjöld feared that splitting the UN into many specialised agencies would weaken the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. We have indeed weakened the UN, not only by splitting it up and under-financing it, but also by channelling attention, resources and authority away from the world organisation to the ostensibly more "effective" Bretton Woods institutions which the rich countries control. DAC countries control close to 60% of the Bank's voting power. It should come as no surprise that the Millennium Development Goals were not concocted at the UN, but by the DAC in the halls of the OECD.

Even more distressing is the fact that we have kept Africa from turning its resources into wealth, from industrialising and from progress. We have kept our expensive medicines to ourselves through high prices and patents. We have short-changed Africa by dispatching mosquito nets and microfinance from five-star hotels. In short, we have kept Africa poor, effectively blocked the Africans' efforts to get out of poverty and made them dependent on us for their own survival. Of course, not only will DAC members have to take responsibility for this, but also non-governmental organisations and private businesses.

Dag Hammarskjöld was "greatly impressed by the new generation of African leaders" of his day, and had high hopes for "the economic potentialities of Africa". Fifty years later, there are no signs of significant new developmental resources for Africa. The hope again is that a "new" generation will emancipate the continent. Freedom and prosperity must come to Africa from within. Let us pray that it will not resort to quick fixes, revenge, violence and wars that have kept it down for so many years. And that a reformed UN will, once again, start speaking for the small countries and keep the powerful ones accountable for signing the Charter, as Hammarskjöld dreamed so many years ago.

Norway will work to strengthen the UN

Ingrid Fiskaa

The United Nations was founded on a vision. It is defined in the preamble to the UN Charter of 1945, where “we, the peoples of the United Nations”, set forth our determination to promote the objectives that became the three pillars of the new world organisation: international peace and security; economic and social progress; and human rights.

Norway’s policies in and towards the UN are based on this vision and are confirmed in a long list of white papers and UN statements since 1945. The political platform of the current coalition government, adopted in 2009, further builds on that vision:

Respect for international law and universal human rights, and building up an international legal system are the basis for our international policy. A world order led by the UN is in Norway’s best interest. The Government shall therefore work to strengthen the United Nations and international law.

Through an internal project called “UN 2015”, my ministry has decided to undertake a major review of Norway’s UN policy and to present a White Paper to parliament. We will be engaging with civil society and others, seeking an open and exploratory debate on the future of the UN system as part of this process.

We have identified key areas where Norway can and will play a part in supporting the UN to adapt to a world that is changing in order to improve on its efficiency and maintain its relevance. We will give priority to reforms in areas where we have a national interest and where we make the most important contributions. At the heart of this is support to the implementation of reforms regarding gender equality and women’s rights, and in the field of human rights. Further, special attention will be paid to the opportunities for reform in the preparations for the Rio Summit on Sustainable Development in 2012, and to reforms needed in global health.

The other Nordic countries are close partners in the UN reform efforts, including peacekeeping operations, humanitarian reforms and in the UN development system.

The United Nations represents a cornerstone of Norway’s foreign policy and international engagement. As the only body with a universal mandate and an inter-state membership, the UN is important to Norway in safeguarding its interests. Norway, like all countries, has a strong interest in peaceful and sustainable global development with respect for human rights, and we will work with our international partners to strengthen the effectiveness of the UN system and its three pillars. In so doing we also honour the legacy of Dag Hammarskjöld and Albert Luthuli.

Closing Remarks in Uppsala

Henning Melber – Uppsala, 8 November 2011

On 10 December 1961, the then Swedish ambassador to Norway, Rolf Edberg, in his acceptance speech on behalf of Dag Hammarskjöld at the award ceremony for the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, stated:

My compatriot was much concerned with the awakening and fermenting continent which was to become his destiny. He once said that the next decade must belong to Africa or to the atom bomb. He firmly believed that the new countries have an important mission to fulfil in the community of nations. He therefore invested all his strength of will and at the end more than that, to smooth their road toward the future.

Africa was to be the great test for the philosophy he wished to see brought to life through the United Nations.

Time and again he recurred to the indissoluble connection between peace and human rights. Tolerance, protection by law, equal political rights, and equal economic opportunities for all citizens – were prerequisites for a harmonious life within a nation. They also became requirements for such a life among nations.

These were goals and motivating core values defined by justice and solidarity. Chief Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld, who sadly never met in person, were both leaders of exceptional integrity and with the highest moral and ethical standards.

As we could see in the documentary film that opened this afternoon, Chief Albert Luthuli considered the Nobel Peace Prize as an award that was “an endorsement of our own struggle”, a struggle for democracy and human rights, as the late Fatima Meer emphasised in the same documentary. Democracy and human rights were also among the fundamental principles and core values Dag Hammarskjöld lived and died for.

Recalling the merits, sacrifices, commitment and legacy of these two outstanding leaders is not merely an excursion into history half a century later. It reminds us of the fundamental values and norms we continue to promote against all odds. We have since then witnessed the end of the Cold War and of direct colonialism. But hegemonic rule has survived and human dignity is still denied too many of the seven billion people on our earth, whose resources remain unequally distributed.

We owe it to those we remember with respect and pride as international role models from South Africa and Sweden to carry the torch they handed over to us.

Asimbonanga Chief Albert Luthuli

Hamba Kable Dag Hammarskjöld

Your struggle is not over. It remains ours.

Amandla ngawethu!

(*Asimbonanga* means “We have not seen ... freedom, justice and peace.” *Hamba Kable* means “Go Well.” *Amandla Ngawethu!* means “Power to the People!”)

Vote of thanks and concluding remarks in Oslo

Carin Norberg – Oslo, 11 November 2011

First of all, I would, of course, like to thank our South African guests for their contributions and for being bold enough to tackle the Nordic weather. On behalf of the organisers, I am grateful that State Secretary Ingrid Fiskaa and Ambassador Gunnar Garbo were able on short notice to take time out of their busy schedules to make important panel contributions.

I would also like to thank the South African and the Swedish ambassadors to Norway, Ms. Sisulu and Mrs. Hjelte af Trolle, for their support. John Jones, the Dag Hammarskjöld Director at Voksenaasen, has been equally supportive. I regret that he had to leave for Nairobi at the very last minute. We enjoyed his presentation in Uppsala. I would also like to extend a warm thank you to the Luthuli Museum for their partnership and support to the symposia.

The job of organising the events in Uppsala and Oslo has been undertaken by two of our colleagues, Susanne Linderos of the Nordic Africa Institute and Karin Andersson Schiebe of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. We thank them for their patience and organisational skills.

Finally, thanks to the Nobel Museum for allowing us to hold the symposium in this most appropriate place, the Nobel Peace Museum in Oslo.

The Nobel Peace Prizes to Luthuli and to Hammarskjöld had a profound, I would even say a decisive impact on the Nordic societies. Already in March 1961, the Swedish South Africa Committee had been formed by a small group of dedicated people. They travelled throughout Sweden and also visited Copenhagen, Helsinki and Oslo to inform people about the situation in South Africa. In May 1962, Oliver Tambo addressed the First of May demonstrations in Gothenburg, and with the Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress in Oslo in August of that year the foundation was laid for broad popular support of the boycott campaign from March 1963.

The untimely death of Dag Hammarskjöld in September 1961 and his last mission to Africa contributed in its own way to increased knowledge of and interest in developments on the African continent and to the ongoing decolonisation process.

The Nordic Africa Institute and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, both established in 1962, were the direct results of these concerns. Following the death

of Dag Hammarskjöld, a national campaign was organised in Sweden. On the basis of the money donated by individuals from all over the country, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation was set up. Around the same time, representatives from all the Nordic countries met to discuss developments in Africa and the liberation process in country after country. To be able to follow, learn and contribute they decided to establish a Nordic Africa Institute. Sweden took it upon itself to host the institute. Both these institutions will celebrate their 50th anniversaries in 2012.

Today we are in a different situation. The Nordic Africa Institute has developed extensive research cooperation with Nordic and African scholars and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation is actively promoting the vision of the former UN Secretary-General. The task of shedding light on the forces shaping future developments in Africa and its relations with the rest of the world is as urgent as ever. I hope that the examples of Chief Albert Luthuli and Dag Hammarskjöld will guide us in this endeavour.

Ingrid Fiskaa, State Secretary in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and member of the central committee of the Socialist Left Party.

Gunnar Garbo, former leader of the Left Party (Venstre) and Norwegian ambassador to Tanzania and Eastern and Central African countries.

John Jones, head of Networkers South-North, which aims to bring Southern voices to Nordic development discourse in the fields of peace, human rights and economic development.

Albertinah Luthuli, former ANC member of the South African National Assembly and currently member of the KwaZulu-Natal provincial parliament. She is the daughter of Albert Luthuli.

Henning Melber, Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala, Sweden.

Carin Norberg, Director of the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, Sweden.

Ayanda Ntsaluba, Executive Director of Discovery Holdings SA and former Director General (State Secretary) in the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is the co-author of the paper that Dr. Luthuli presented, but did not attend the symposia.

Tor Sellström, researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute. He has published works on Sweden and Albert Luthuli, as well as on Dag Hammarskjöld and South Africa.

Jabulani Sithole, researcher and lecturer at the history department of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Evert Svensson, former member of the Swedish parliament, representing the Social Democratic Party, and former president of the International League of Religious Socialists. In 1961, he was instrumental in submitting the candidature of Albert Luthuli for the Nobel Peace Prize.