

ALBERT JOHN LUTULI
GROUTVILLE MISSION RESERVE
NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA

Monday, August 6, 1962

Dear Friend:

Just before I went to Oslo last December to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, I wrote a letter to Americans expressing both surprise and satisfaction that men abroad have grasped our movement for what it is -- a peaceful attack on a vicious system that divides men by race and condemns the majority to a position of permanent inferiority.

In that letter, I said: "I regard the Prize as not for me alone, nor for Africans alone, but for all men everywhere who have sacrificed for the Brotherhood of Man."

Now I write again because, as each day passes, life under apartheid grows more difficult. Our every action meets the fierce repression of the South African Government. Our people, living under appalling conditions of poverty and hunger, find their protest movements banned, their leaders in jail or exile.

And now -- under the new "Sabotage" Act -- to challenge segregation is to risk the death penalty. Under such conditions, it is not too much to say that twelve million of my people look to you. For we cannot win equality without the help of the outside world.

Such help from abroad is precisely what the American Committee on Africa proposes. As indicated in the enclosed draft, the American Committee's

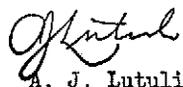
APPEAL FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID is projected to bring pressure on South Africa on an international scale -- pressure for change before it is too late... before we are caught in a bloody revolt which would necessarily polarize along racial lines and blot out all hope for justice in South Africa. Such a cataclysm would destroy our movement here; it would endanger hard-won progress everywhere, including America.

That is why Martin Luther King joins me as an initiating sponsor for this Appeal for Action.

The Appeal must not remain merely a document; it must become the base of an international campaign. Because such a campaign is costly, I ask for your generous support now.

As you write your check, I am sure you will make a sacrifice -- not for the recognition accorded by the Nobel Prize, but for the cause we share: that interracial amity shall not perish.

Thank you,


A. J. Lutuli

encs.

**OBSERVE
HUMAN RIGHTS DAY
DECEMBER 10**
by answering this
APPEAL
for
**ACTION
AGAINST
APARTHEID**

**SOUTH AFRICA CAN BE SAVED
BY THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD**

**TRANSLATED INTO
PRINCIPLED
ACTION**

APARTHEID

means:

*that the average African expects
to live till he is 36 years old
(the average white till he is 70)*

*that 65 per cent of Africans
cannot read or write
(literacy is universal among whites)*

*that one third of Africans entering
hospitals suffer from malnutrition
(South Africa is a
food-exporting nation)*

*that one African baby in three
dies before he is a year old
(infant mortality for white
South Africans is lower than
in the United States)*

*that non-whites may not
work, live, or travel where
they please . . . much less
vote or have any say
whatsoever in the
mass of legisla-
tion which con-
cerns them.*

IN SHORT:

APARTHEID
MEANS THE
POLITICAL, SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC
DOMINATION OF
NEARLY 12 MILLION
NON-WHITES BY
3 MILLION
WHITES.



IN 1957, an unprecedented Declaration of Conscience was issued by more than 100 leaders from every continent. That Declaration was an appeal to South Africa to bring its policies into line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Declaration was a good start in mobilizing world sentiment to back those in South Africa who acted for equality. The non-whites took heart in learning that they were not alone. And many white supremacists learned for the first time how isolated they were.

MEASURES OF DESPERATION

Subsequent to the Declaration, the South African Government took the following measures:

- ★ *BANNED* the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the principal protest organizations, and jailed their leaders;
- ★ *COERCED* the press into strict pro-government censorship and made it almost impossible for new, anti-apartheid publications to exist;
- ★ *ESTABLISHED* an arms industry . . . more than tripled the military budget . . . distributed small arms to the white population . . . enlarged the army . . . created an extensive white civilian militia;
- ★ *ACTIVATED* total physical race separation by establishing the first “*Bantustan*” in the Transkei—with the aid of emergency police regulations;
- ★ *LEGALLY DEFINED* protest against apartheid as an act of “sabotage”—an offense ultimately punishable by death;
- ★ *PERPETUATED* its control through terrorism and violence:
 - Human Rights Day (December 10), 1959, 12 South West Africans killed at Windhoek and 40 wounded as they fled police . . .
 - March 21, 1960, 72 Africans killed and 186 wounded at Sharpeville by police . . .
 - Before and during the two-year “emergency” in the Transkei, 15 Africans killed by police, thousands arrested and imprisoned without trial.

THE CHOICE:

The deepening tensions can lead to two possible alternatives:

Solution 1

Intensified persecution may lead to violence and armed rebellion once it is clear that peaceful adjustments are no longer possible. As the persecution has been inflicted by one racial group upon all other racial groups, large-scale violence would take the form of a racial war. This “solution” may be workable. But mass racial extermination will destroy the potential for interracial unity in South Africa and elsewhere.

Therefore, we ask for your *action* to make the following possible:

Solution 2

“Nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance,” said Chief Albert J. Lutuli at Oslo. So there exists another alternative—and the only solution which represents sanity—transition to a society based upon equality for all without regard to color.

Any solution founded on justice is unattainable until the Government of South Africa is forced by pressures, both internal and external, to come to terms with the demands of the non-white majority.

The Apartheid Republic is a reality today *only because* the peoples and governments of the World have been unwilling to place her in quarantine.

WE CAN ACT

In spite of South Africa's draconian racial laws, resistance remains strong. Boycotts, strikes and demonstrations continue. The famous Treason Trials, in which the Government attempted to convict leaders of all races of "treason" are a measure of the fear at the heart of the Government. Yet the 4-year trial ended in acquittal for *all* defendants.

The courage and determination of opposition forces in South Africa must be supported by us if they are to grow in effectiveness. Let us then: *Translate the Conscience of the World into PRINCIPLED ACTION.*

South Africa is a trading nation. Her economy is based as much on apartheid as on export. Her gold, her diamonds, her wool, her fruits and fish are largely sent overseas. Her ships come and go to the harbors of the world. Her diplomats are received with all the pomp and respect accorded to our best friends.

Let us recognize that each of us, of whatever race, from whatever nation,
makes apartheid possible as long as we fail to take action against it.

"Only the intervention of the outside world can save us from starvation, chaos and death," wrote Alan Paton shortly after the Sharpeville incident. That is why Albert Lutuli, Oliver Tambo and other African leaders have urged: ★ Individuals to boycott South African products. ★ Governments to take diplomatic and economic sanctions against S. Africa.

We therefore ask
all men of good will to take

ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

in the following manner:

- ★ Hold meetings and demonstrations on December 10, Human Rights Day
- ★ Urge your church, union, lodge, or club to observe this day as one of protest
- ★ Urge your government to support economic sanctions
- ★ Write to your Mission to the United Nations urging adoption of a resolution calling for international isolation of South Africa
- ★ Don't buy South Africa's products
- ★ Don't trade or invest in South Africa
- ★ Translate public opinion into public action by explaining facts to all peoples, to groups to which you belong, and to countries of which you are citizens until AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL QUARANTINE OF APARTHEID IS ESTABLISHED

clip and return to

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA
801 Second Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

- Yes, you can count me as a signer of the Appeal for Action Against Apartheid.
- To aid the campaign, I enclose: \$_____
- Please send me _____ copies of the Appeal for use among my friends.

(Note: It takes time for delivery. On large quantities, payment to cover packing and shipping is appreciated.)

(MR.) (MRS.) (MISS) _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

APPEAL FOR ACTION INITIAL SPONSORS

Martin Luther King
United States

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