



Religious Leaders in an Open Letter to Congress

Call for Sanctions

Against South Africa

"Constructive engagement has given a bad name to democracy. Constructive engagement is an abomination, an unmitigated disaster."

*Bishop Desmond Tutu, 1984 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate,
speaking on US policy toward South Africa*

February 25, 1985

Nations, as well as individuals, face moral challenges. When an individual or a nation fails to meet such a challenge, there is a weakening of moral fiber and a loss in the capacity to exercise moral leadership. Slavery posed such a challenge in the 19th century, colonialism and Nazism in our own. These are moral challenges so clear that there is little room for "reasonable people" to differ. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. saw such a challenge in the '60's when he said, "We are in a struggle to save America's soul." We write to you, our elected representatives, because our nation faces such a clear moral challenge today in the matter of our government's policy toward the Republic of South Africa.

South Africa is the only country in the world that constitutionally enshrines white supremacy and racial oppression. Under apartheid, officially implemented as South African government policy in 1948, the Black majority is denied freedom of speech, assembly and travel, access to a fair trial, and the right to choose where they live or work. Blacks are forced by law to carry a pass-book which states where they are born, where they work and where they presently live in order to control their movement. All effective political and economic power is in the hands of a white minority. Describing the systematic violence of apartheid, Bishop Desmond Tutu, 1984 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, said, "The primary and

provocative violence is the violence of a deliberately inferior educational system . . . of hunger and malnutrition . . . of forced population removals of Blacks uprooted from their home and dumped in the poverty stricken bantustans . . . of the migratory labor system which forces men to live an unnatural existence in single-sex hostels with deleterious consequences for Black family life, the legalized violence of detention without trial . . . as well as the violence that kills non-violent opponents."

During the last half of 1984, we witnessed the intensification of mass violence and repression against the Black majority of South Africa by that country's white minority regime. Nearly 200 people were killed, mostly at the hands of the police, and over 1,000 were injured. More than 3,000 opponents of apartheid were arrested, many under laws that permit indefinite and incommunicado detention. There have been numerous reports of torture. Many of those arrested were children under the age of 18. Some detainees have been released, others charged with "subversion" and "high treason," while others still languish in prison without charge. The apartheid government has escalated its crackdown on the young independent trade union movement. 6,500 workers at one state-controlled company were summarily dismissed and sent back to the bantustans in retaliation for their participation in the November general strike. In December, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a report



condemning police atrocities during the recent unrest. Archbishop Denis Hurley, Chairman of the Bishops' Conference, said that, "A kind of state of war is developing between the police and the people."

The South African government also seeks to silence religious leaders and organizations which are critical of apartheid. Archbishop Hurley is facing charges under the Police Act because of statements he has made regarding South African military atrocities against the people of Namibia, a country South Africa continues to occupy illegally. The government has also threatened to charge Reverend Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, for criticizing the police. The South African Council of Churches has been continually harassed and intimidated.

The current wave of repression is only the latest excess of a system of institutional racism that affects the daily lives of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. Despite this harsh reality, the Reagan Administration has followed a policy of what it calls "constructive engagement" toward South Africa for four years, in the belief that "quiet diplomacy" and "friendly persuasion" will convince the white minority regime to abandon apartheid. Given the increased violence and repression to which we have alluded, such a policy is immoral on its face, temporizing as it does with evil. Constructive engagement has not only been disastrous from a moral point of view, but for practical and political reasons as well. The situation has not gotten better, but worse. Blacks continue to die and suffer in virtual slavery. South Africa has been emboldened to step up military aggression against neighboring states and has been able to stall the process of independence for Namibia. This policy has permitted our country to become identified by Black South Africans and independent African states as a supporter of apartheid. In the words of Bishop Tutu, constructive engagement has only "assisted in making the South African government more intransigent." It is past time to recognize this policy as a failure and adopt a new one.

The dramatic growth of the Free South Africa Movement in the United States should send a signal to Congress that the American people are

looking to their elected officials to forge a fresh approach to South Africa. Your leadership can help in restoring our nation to a position of moral leadership in the world while promoting long term political and economic stability in the region and furthering the ends of justice and democracy. Such a policy must address the reality that the system of apartheid is strengthened by investments, loans and other assistance, including nuclear cooperation, coming from the United States. Total US investment in South Africa is now \$14.6 billion; the US is South Africa's #1 trading partner.

We urge you to co-sponsor and actively support:

- Legislation calling for disinvestment of US corporations from South Africa and an end to US bank loans to that country;
- Legislation ending coal, uranium and steel imports from South Africa into the US as well as the prohibition of the sale of the Krugerrand, the South African gold coin, in the US;
- Legislation ending all military-related and nuclear exports to South Africa including all sales to the South African police; and
- A resolution calling on the Administration to support the independence of Namibia without pre-conditions and to use its voice and vote in the United Nations to oppose apartheid and South African intervention in neighboring countries.

Finally, we wish to emphasize that we speak not only as citizens but primarily as religious leaders. While there is great diversity of faith and doctrine in the religious communities from which we come, there has emerged in the past century a growing religious consensus that every human being is a child of God and therefore sacred. This fundamental religious/ethical principle has profound implications for human and political rights. What makes the case of South Africa so grave is the fact that the principle of the sanctity of human life is denied to the vast majority of its citizens and that this denial is sanctioned by the state, supported by social and some religious institutions, and enforced by a growing police and military apparatus. To temporize with such a system is to be infected by it and to endanger the soul of our nation.

This is a partial list of signers. Organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches

Rev. Dr. Will L. Herzfeld
Presiding Bishop

Elwyn Ewald
Executive Secretary

American Lutheran Church

Bishop David A. Wolber
Southeastern District

Bishop Clifford R. Lunde
North Pacific District

Bishop Lowell O. Erdahl
Minnesota District

Lutheran Church in America

Bishop Ralph A. Kempksi
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Bishop Herman W. Cauble
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Bishop Thomas L. Blevins
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Bishop Stanley E. Olson
Pacific Southwest Synod

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Rev. Massie L. Kennard
Director for Minority Concerns

Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod

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Past Pres., Baltimore Urban Ministry Coalition

Episcopal Church

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Rt. Rev. Harold B. Robinson
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Western New York

Rt. Rev. James R. Moody
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Ohio

Rt. Rev. Edward W. Jones
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Indianapolis

Rt. Rev. Matthew Bigliardi
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Oregon

Rt. Rev. William A. Jones, Jr.
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Missouri

Rt. Rev. Francisco Reus-Froylan
Bishop, Puerto Rican Episcopal Church

Rt. Rev. Harold A. Hopkins, Jr.
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of North Dakota

Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota

Rt. Rev. A. Theodore Eastman
Bishop Coadjutor, Episcopal Diocese of Maryland

Rt. Rev. C. Charles Vache
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia

Rt. Rev. Richard F. Grein
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Rt. Rev. Wesley Frensdorff
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Nevada

Rt. Rev. David B. Reed
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Kentucky

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Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania

Rt. Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut

Rt. Rev. William G. Burrill
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Rochester

Rt. Rev. A. Heath Light
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia

Rt. Rev. Philip A. Smith
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of New Hampshire

Rt. Rev. Jackson E. Gilliam
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Montana

Rt. Rev. Lyman C. Ogilby
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania

Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Michigan

Rt. Rev. Arthur A. Vogel
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of West Missouri

Rt. Rev. George N. Hunt
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island

Rt. Rev. Richard M. Trelease, Jr.
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of the Rio Grande

Rt. Rev. C. Edward Crowther
Deported Bishop of Kimberley, South Africa

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Executive Secretary

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Rev. Dr. Gardner Taylor
Senior Pastor, Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn

Rev. William A. Jones
Pastor, Bethany Baptist Church, Brooklyn

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Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta

National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.

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General Secretary

American Baptist Churches USA

Dr. Robert C. Campbell
General Secretary

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Executive Minister, Metropolitan New York

Rev. John A. Sundquist
Executive Minister, Ohio Baptist Convention

Rev. Telfer L. Epp
Executive Minister, Iowa and Minnesota

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- Rev. William M. Boteler, M.M.**
Superior Gen., Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers
- Sr. Luise Ahrens, M.M.**
President, Maryknoll Sisters
- Sr. Madonna Sweet, SSJ**
President, Congregation of Sisters of St Joseph
- Rev. Jerome Ernst**
Dir., National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

United Church of Christ

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President
- Rev. Dr. Yvonne V. Delk**
Executive Dir., Office for Church in Society
- Rev. Dr. Charles E. Cobb**
Executive Dir., Commission for Racial Justice
- Rev. Dr. Charles Shelby Rooks**
Executive Vice President, United Church Bd for Homeland Ministries
- Rev. James R. Smucker**
Conference Minister, New York Conference
- Rev. Donald C. Armstrong**
Conference Minister, Buffalo and Minister, Metropolitan Mission
- Rev. Carole Carlson**
Conference Minister, New Hampshire Conference
- Rev. Jacob Wagner**
Executive Minister, Western Reserve Assn.
- Rev. Clyde H. Miller, Jr.**
Conference Minister, Rocky Mountains Conference
- Rev. David J. Severson**
Conference Minister, Central Pacific Conference
- Rev. Curtis R. Claire**
Conference Minister, Central Atlantic Conference
- Rev. James Tomasek**
Conference Minister, South Central Conference
- Rev. H. Dachler Hayes**
Conference Minister, Rhode Island Conference
- Rev. Thomas E. Dipko**
Conference Minister and Executive, Ohio Conference
- Rev. Otto Sommer**
Conference Minister, Maine Conference
- Rev. Donald J. Severson**
Conference Minister, Central Pacific Conference
- Rev. Horace S. Sills**
President, Penn. Central Conference
- Rev. Murdalek C. Leysath**
Conference Minister, Minnesota Conference

Presbyterian Church USA

- Rev. Oscar McCloud**
Gen. Director, Program Agency
- Rev. Gary Skinner**
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Chicago
- Rev. Herbert D. Valentine**
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Baltimore
- Rev. Robert B. Moore**
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Newcastle
- Rev. Carroll D. Jenkins**
Executive, Synod of Piedmont Presbytery
- Rev. Suzanne Goodrich**
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Homestead, Lincoln, Neb.

- Rev. Kent M. Organ**
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of the Western Reserve
- Rev. Donald S. Brown**
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Western NY
- Rev. Dr. Robert L. Lehman**
Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of the Hudson River, Pleasantville, NY
- Rev. Clarence Cave**
Associate, Racial Justice/Black Mission Development

Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)

- Asia Bennett**
Executive Sec., American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
- Samuel D. Caldwell**
Gen. Sec., Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends

Unitarian Universalist Association

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President
- Dr. Loretta J. Williams**
Director, Social Responsibility
- Robert Z. Alpern**
Director, Washington Office
- Rev. Denise Tracey**
District Executive, Central Mid-West District
- Rev. Glenn Turner**
District Minister, Northeast District

Muslim

- Imam Noah A. A. Seifullah**
American Muslim Mission
- Imam Akil K. Rahim**
President, Muslim Charities Institute of Islamic Technology, Baltimore

Church of God in Christ

- Bishop Hester D. Bordeaux**
Macedonia, Conn.

Community Church

- Rev. J. Ralph Shotwell**
Executive Dir., International Council of Community Churches

National Council of Churches

- Bishop Philip R. Cousin**
President
- Rev. Willis Logan**
Dir., Africa Office
- Rev. William Wipfler**
Dir., Human Rights Office
- Lois M. Dauway**
Ass. Gen. Sec., Commission on Justice and Liberation
- Rev. Joan Brown Campbell**
Ass. Gen. Sec., Regional and Local Ecumenism
- Rev. Donald G. Jacobs**
National Dir., Partners in Ecumenism

Other Councils

- Rev. James L. Stovall**
Executive Dir., Louisiana Interchurch Conference
- Rev. Dr. James A. Nash**
Mass. Council of Churches

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Chairman, Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches
- Rev. Richard D. Speicher**
Executive Dir., Mahoning Valley Assn. of Churches, Ohio

Other Churches and Organizations

- Rev. Jesse Jackson**
National Rainbow Coalition
- Rev. Joseph E. Lowery**
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy**
Member of Congress and Co-chair, Free South Africa Movement
- Rev. William Sloane Coffin**
Pastor, Riverside Church
- Bishop John H. Adams**
President, Congress of National Black Churches
- Bishop Smallwood E. Williams**
Presiding Bishop, Bible Way Church World Wide
- Rev. Calvin O. Butts**
Executive Minister, Abyssinian Baptist Church
- Rev. James M. Lawson, Jr./Mark Ridley-Thomas**
Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Greater Los Angeles
- Dr. Doris Anne Younger**
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- Dr. Gaylord Noyce**
Professor, Yale Divinity School (YDS)

On Human Rights Day, December 10, 1962, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and Chief Albert J. Luthuli issued an appeal for sanctions against South Africa. (Chief Luthuli, then President of the African National Congress, had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960; Dr. King received Prize in 1964.) The King-Luthuli appeal was never implemented and today, more than twenty years later, it is needed more than ever. We reproduce the appeal in full below not just as an item of historical interest but as a call for action today.

Appeal for Action Against Apartheid

"We, therefore, ask all men (*and women*) 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."

***What You can do to
Support Freedom in South Africa and
Namibia***

1) Support legislation in Congress that will implement economic sanctions against South Africa. Contact:

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Call the 24-hour anti-apartheid action hotline for up-to-date information on the legislation on (202) 546-0408.

2) Support the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) which is organizing demonstrations at the South African Embassy and consulates around the country. Contact:

FSAM Coordinator
TransAfrica
545 8th Street, SE, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20003

3) Support efforts in your state, county and city to remove public funds from corporations and banks doing business in or with South Africa. For information on the Campaign Against Investment in South Africa contact:

American Committee on Africa
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038

You can also contact the Committee for information on the Krugerrand, the South African gold coin. Boycott campaigns against the selling of these gold coins are taking place in cities across the country.

4) Boycott US athletes and entertainers who go to South Africa for "blood money." Contact:

Artists and Athletes Against Apartheid
545 8th Street, SE, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20003

Unity in Action Network
251 W. 125th Street, Suite 12
New York NY 10027

For more information (literature and films) on South Africa and Namibia contact:

American Committee on Africa
(address above)

Washington Office on Africa
(address above)

Labor Committee Against Apartheid
C/O Headwear Joint Board—ACTWU
49 W. 37th Street
New York, NY 10018

Southern Africa Support Project
PO Box 50103
Washington, DC 20004

Additional CALC resources on South Africa:

- *Forget Not Our Sisters*. A slideshow renting for \$7.00.
- *CALC Report*, April 1985 on South Africa and Namibia. 50 cents each.
- *Action on Namibia*. Free, one per person.
- *Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua* buttons. 25 cents, bulk orders available.

Clergy and Laity Concerned
198 Broadway, Room 302
New York, NY 10038

Additional copies of this brochure:

1-9, 25 cents each, including postage;
10 or more, 15 cents each, plus postage.