ST CRISPIN
DIVESTITURE and THE CHURCHES

25 October 1980

The American Lutheran Church's biennial convention has voted to disinvest totally from US corporations doing business in South Africa. Delegates of the 2.3 million-strong church, meeting in Minneapolis 1-7 October, strongly supported the resolution - yes, 331 - no. The pertinent clauses state:

'Resolved, That The ALC declare its judgment that at this moment in history in South Africa, divestiture is the most legitimate strategy in opposing apartheid and the most effective consequence of a declaration of 'status confessionis'; and be it further:

'Resolved, That The ALC acknowledge with gratitude the difficult and diligent work of the Board of Trustees and its investment committee, and request them to totally divest from all corporations doing business in South Africa, and that this disinvestment take place in a prudent manner that is consistent with legal requirements, and does not place undue risks upon The ALC investment portfolio.'

The issue was decided after intense discussion among ALC congregations in a year-long campaign coordinated by the Lutheran Coalition on Southern Africa. Early on, opposition to apartheid was established as a matter of faith, status confessionis. The vote in Minneapolis ran counter to the position taken by the ALC's presiding bishop and high officials who argued that the church should stay in the companies and press for changes in South Africa's system. A June convention of the sister Lutheran Church in America, where a similar resolution failed by only 15 votes, decided instead to 'request the Executive Council...to allow as an option, divestment as well as shareholder action'. Also in June, the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, with theological and ecclesiastical ties to the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, voted to divest its stocks and interests in all companies doing business in South Africa. Synod determined to 'encourage' corporations to withdraw from South Africa, and if after a 'reasonable period of time', any refuses, the 'Reformed Church in America will begin a prudent divestiture'.

America's religious, academic, trade union and various other communities have been seized with the issue of what to do about their holdings in corporations and financial institutions trading with, invested in and lending money to South Africa for over a decade. Religious bodies have persisted in presenting shareholder resolutions at corporate annual general meetings, causing management no end of annoyance and bringing the apartheid regime to public attention, and of course being outvoted. Corporate executives have adjusted to dealing with perennial dissidents. Dialogue has become a feature of the scene. Management has come up with the Sullivan principles - named after the Rev. Leon Sullivan, who has been incorporated into the board of directors of General Motors Corporation, a heavy in South African investment - a device created to persuade US firms to better the working conditions of black South Africans in apartheid-land, a scheme which was vetted by the Pretoria regime before being launched. The US government swears by the Sullivan code. Black South African workers disdain it. Change for the better for them is not happening, despite pronouncements of the American government and multinationals, neither of which has any intention of severing ties with Pretoria. The name of the game is stall, drag out discussions on involvement in South Africa, in the manner of the interminable 'delicate negotiations' on Namibia. The American Lutheran Church, as has the American Friends Service Committee and a number of groups, has cut to the heart of the matter. Only public stands like theirs can make any impact on corporate and governmental America.
The United Nations team to engage in the latest discussion with South African officials over the future of the International Territory of Namibia has now got back to New York after a week in Pretoria. The world organization is awaiting a formal report from Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to the Security Council, which body has already had several closed-door sessions. The UN task force was headed by Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs Brian Urquhart and included UN Special Representative and Commissioner for Namibia Martti Ahtisaari (the man slotted to lead a United Nations Transitional Assistance Group should UN-monitored elections eventuate); Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions Abdurahim A. Farah; Lt Gen Prem Chand, the officer selected to lead UNTAG's 7500-person military contingent; and several other persons assigned to the Special Representative's office.

UN officials are particularly tight-lipped. Press reports vary from glum to the modestly hopeful for Pretoria having agreed to a tentative beginning to the process of implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 which two years ago set out the plan for a ceasefire in the 14-year-old war between the occupying South African Defence Force and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, the military wing of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization, which is struggling for the freedom of its country and an ensuing UN-monitored election leading to the launching of an independent Namibia. Representatives of the five Western powers who concocted the 'initiative' aimed to settle the Namibian issue three-and-a-half years ago are at the end of their tether. The great scheme has run aground the rock of Pretoria; the hard place is the utter exasperation of African states, and indeed most of the nations of the world, over Pretoria's everlasting stalling. Western diplomats are trying to put a cheery face on the chances of progress. A South African official press release of 27 October is instructive: 'The UN team flew back to New York with a 'clear message' for Dr Kurt Waldheim - that continuation of the UN's peace initiative in Namibia is impossible unless the UN decisively established its impartiality and assured equality of all parties concerned... Mr Botha (the South African foreign minister) said he believed although no substantive progress had been made in the talks in the sense that the implementation of the settlement plan was any closer - he nevertheless felt there could be some progress towards United Nations meeting some of South Africa's demands regarding UN impartiality.'

Pretoria has been harping on the issue of 'impartiality' for months, an effort to deny SWAPO its UN-granted diplomatic status as 'sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia'. The other side of the coin is Pretoria's accelerated promotion of its hand-picked Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which is installed as a quasi-government in Windhoek. DTA has recently retained attorneys to represent it in Washington, DC, and caused to be set up a US-South West Africa/Namibia Trade and Cultural Council in the nation's capital. 'Impartiality' is the watchword of a campaign to browbeat the UN into wavering in its position as the lawful authority over Namibia.

Another theme has come forcefully to the fore. Pretoria and its friends are pushing the idea of an all-parties conference on Namibia. The purpose is to obtain 'equality' for the thoroughly unrepresentative DTA chieftains - and to denounce SWAPO. Such a conference has another aim: to work out a binding constitution for the future Namibian state in order to entrench white minority and South African and other Western business, industrial and mining interests. This is what happened last year at Lancaster House in relation to Zimbabwe. A fixed constitution would straight-jacket the Namibian nation before it is born. It is a method devised by Pretoria and its friends who know full well that SWAPO's support among the Namibian people is growing ever stronger despite increased repression by the South African Defence Force, the South African Police and Pretoria's administrative apparatus in the International Territory.

A constitutional conference is directly counter to the United Nations plan which calls for UN-supervised and controlled elections, after which the people of Namibia would work out their own form of government.
DEATH IN NAMIBIA

27 October 1980

A Namibian man, Mr Markus Kateka, has been sentenced to death under terms of South Africa's Terrorism Act by a South African court sitting in the International Territory of Namibia. Permission to appeal has been denied.

Mr Kateka is a farm laborer. He was found guilty in Windhoek Supreme Court on 13 October - because he did not inform his employer of the presence of armed men on the property. Another worker, Mr Hendrik Kariseb, received a 10-year prison sentence. Both men are illiterate. They are two of the hundreds of thousands of Africans living in peonage in both South Africa and Namibia - the repressed hidden away from the world.

The attack which ensued on the farm owner's house, during which no member of the family was injured, occurred 17 February in the Grootfontein district in northern Namibia - another incident in the ongoing war in which Namibians are trying to free their country from foreign rule. The final witness called by the State prosecutor in Windhoek was a South African Police major from the security branch. He was allowed to recount the chronicle of insurgent attacks on farms in the Territory, starting back in December 1975, none of which had any relation to the defendants. THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER reports on Judge J.J. Strydom's sentencing statement: 'It was axiomatic to expect farm workers not to associate with insurgents. Farmers were also entitled, he said, to such protection as the Courts could provide in the form of a deterrent.' Markus Kateka's imminent hanging is meant to serve as a warning to Namibians to abase themselves completely to the occupying power in their country.

South Africa occupies Namibia in defiance of the lawful authority, the United Nations. South African 'law' in Namibia is illegal. Pretoria continues to repress, make war upon, torture, and kill Namibians - all the while stringing out 'negotiations' with the UN for a settlement of Namibia's future.

URGE PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER TO DEMAND PRETORIA REVOKE THE DEATH SENTENCE ON MARKUS KATEKA.

URGE PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER TO CONDEMN PRETORIA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA.

URGE PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER TO DEMAND PRETORIA RELEASE ALL NAMIBIAN PRISONERS & DETAINNEES.

THIS IS A CLEAR-CUT OCCASION WHEN HE CAN PUT INTO PRACTICE HIS HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

Room 1005 • 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003 • Phone: (212) 477-0066

—For A Free Southern Africa—
HUMAN RIGHTS IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights on 25 August 1980 sent an urgent message to the South African foreign affairs minister concerning specific violations of human rights violations by the South African regime in South Africa and the International Territory of Namibia which South Africa illegally occupies. The message came during the midst of hearings held in London and Luanda by an Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts which called for immediate attention to South African brutality:

'(a) that the South African authorities are now carrying out with particular relentlessness acts of repression of extreme seriousness against the people of South Africa and Namibia, sparing neither the aged, women nor children, and it is feared that this will continue;

(b) that children, often of a very young age - eight to 10 years old - are being imprisoned at Robben Island after trials which are subject to particular criticism due to lack of respect for the rights of the defendants. The conviction and sentencing of minors violates the most elementary principles of penal responsibility which have their bases in international human rights instruments;

(c) that a large number of Namibian prisoners, which may be as high as 120, are being held in inhumane conditions at the detention camp at Hardap Dam, near Mariental, south of Windhoek, Namibia. These persons were taken prisoners by the South African army at Cassinga during raids into Angola carried out in May 1978. They have been ill-treated and tortured and some have been mutilated. Many are in a critical physical and moral state.'

The Human Rights Commission called for the halt of police brutality and all acts of repression; release of children detained in South African and Namibian prisons; and the release of the prisoners held at Hardap Dam, and pending their release, the application of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war. The Pretoria foreign minister rejected the Human Rights Commission message as a 'series of untruths' and the pursuit of 'a vendetta against my country'.

The Human Rights Commission was especially concerned about the Hardap Dam prisoners and suggested recourse to the United Nations Security Council. ECSA wrote President Carter urging him to do just that without delay, and to call on Pretoria to accord the imprisoned Namibians treatment consistent with the Geneva Convention. Our letter was - as they all are - bucked down to the State Department which averred that while involved in negotiations with Pretoria on the UN plan for a settlement in Namibia, 'we have also been making representations to South Africa with respect to political prisoners held in Namibia and we have reason to believe that our representations have been effective'. State implied credit for persuading Pretoria to allow International Red Cross representatives to visit Hardap Dam in June. 'In these circumstances we believe the most effective role for the U.S. is continued support for the efforts of the Red Cross. The Red Cross will not divulge its report on the Hardap Dam prisoners.

With international attention and pressure fended off, Pretoria continues unabated in an accelerated campaign to crush Namibian independence. Even during the late October dialogue with UN officials in Pretoria, the South African Defence Force struck again at Namibian and Angolan people and installations in southern Angola. Inside Namibia, repeated efforts to open the SWAPO office in Windhoek are thwarted by the instant arrest of SWAPO leaders - those not already detained, placed under tight restriction at home or forced into exile. One of SWAPO's branch chairpersons, Ms Ida Jimmy, has just been sentenced to 7 years in prison for 'inciting or encouraging people to harbour or aid terrorists', the consequence of her speech at a rally. Word has come in of the murder of a Lutheran evangelist in northern Namibia by the South African army. Soldiers came to his mission station, tried to plant explosives on him so to accuse him of aiding guerrillas, then took him off into the bush. His mutilated body was discovered several days later. And, there is the death sentence pronounced on Markus Kateka.
FREEDOM FOR SOUTH AFRICAN AND NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE FREE, UNCONDITIONAL RETURN OF EXILES

The campaign, originating within South Africa, for the release of all political prisoners and the free, unconditional return of exiles, has gained increasing support from around the world, at the United Nations, from churches, trade unions, political and academic persons. Inside South Africa itself, 75,000 people - at some risk - signed petitions. Focussed on Nelson Mandela, a leading figure of the African National Congress of South Africa, the campaign reaches out to take in political opponents to and dissidents from the Pretoria regime - imprisoned, banned, banished, detained.

What is missing is the voice of national leaders in those Western countries which are Pretoria's close associates and trading partners.

President Jimmy Carter, with his oft-repeated human rights concerns, is one who obviously should be forthright in speaking out about a course of action which is both humanitarian and politically wise. You will read in adjacent pages the kind of response from the Carter government to ECSCA's direct call for presidential leadership - a rambling spiel about arms embargos (what about the US-produced 155mm cannon and its shells provided to Pretoria?); travel of military personnel (what of intelligence agents and cooperation?); the thoroughly discredited Sullivan principles. As for directing US diplomacy toward all of South Africa's people - what of the very leaders of both South Africa and Namibia now in prison or under restriction or in exile?

Please contact Jimmy Carter and your legislators.

25 March 1980

President Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Carter:

We call on you to support publicly the campaign for the release of South African political prisoners and for the free return of South Africans in exile.

This campaign originates from within South Africa and has got wide endorsement from people of all kinds in that country. It is a natural consequence of the overwhelming people's victory in the elections in Zimbabwe. The South African Council of Churches national executive has stressed the role of Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress and noted the calls from many quarters in South Africa for the recognition of 'our natural leaders'. A great many of these are in prison, in exile or suffering from harsh banning orders, banishment or detention without trial. The Council of Churches points out that the participation of these leaders is necessary in the peaceful reformation of South Africa to avoid needless suffering and bloodshed.

We urge you to speak out for a general amnesty in South Africa for all those penalized for political dissidence - including those from the International Territory of Namibia, illegally held by the South African regime.

Very sincerely yours,

William Johnston
President
Plea for release of Mr Nelson Mandela

From the Archbishop of Wales and others.

Sir, Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, has now been a prisoner on Robben Island for more than 17 years. He was given a five-year sentence in November 1962, and again brought to court as one of the accused in the Rivonia trial in October, 1963. In November, 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

His continued incarceration and that of his fellow prisoners has deprived South Africa of a vital leadership which is of crucial importance at this time. In their statement delivered from the dock during the Rivonia trial Nelson Mandela said:

"Above all we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know that we are essential to the whites in this country because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy. But the fear cannot stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all."

*During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

These are sentiments with which we in Britain would wish to identify ourselves, as we do with the campaign for his release initiated by people in South Africa itself. This campaign has received the support of many different organizations within the country (who are united in this demand) as well as outside South Africa. A number of governments, organizations and individuals, and notably the United Nations Security Council, in June this year, voted unanimously for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa. In July all Commonwealth countries, in a statement issued by the secretary in London, called for Mandela's immediate and unconditional release.

The rising scale of South African Government repression and violence cannot but lead to a confrontation which will, in turn, lead to further and more widespread bloodshed.

We therefore urge all people of good will to support this campaign through all means available to them.

Yours faithfully,

*GWILYM CAMBRENSIS;
*JOSEPH CLEARY, President,
Commission for International Justice and Peace of the Catholic Episcopal Conference of England and Wales;

L. JOHN COLLINS, Chairman,
British Defence and Aid Fund;

*ALASTAIR EDENBURGEN,
Primate,
Scottish Episcopal Church;

KENNETH G. GREET, President,
Methodist Conference;

JOHN JEHANSEN-BERG,
Moderator,
General Assembly of the United Reformed Church;

W. B. JOHNSTON, Moderator,
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland;

PHILIP MORGAN,
General Secretary,
British Council of Churches;

MILDRED NEVILLE,
General Secretary,
Catholic Institute of International Relations;

B. S. RUSSELL,
General Secretary,
Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland;

*GRAHAM TRURO, Chairman,

Defence and Aid Fund Ltd,
2 Amen Court, EC4.
September 26.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CHURCH LEADERS

IN BRITAIN

SPEAK OUT.

WHAT ABOUT AMERICAN CHURCH LEADERS.

URGE THEM TO SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN.
April 30, 1980

Mr. William Johnston, President
Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa
Room 1005, 853 Broadway
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Johnston:

I am responding to your message to President Carter concerning South Africa's policy of apartheid and our reaction to it.

The U.S. Government has long opposed apartheid. This system of racial discrimination legalizes white political and economic control of the country and violates the rights of the other racial groups, which constitute 84 per cent of the population.

Within the limits of our ability to influence events in South Africa, we have encouraged South African leaders to make genuine progress toward ending racial discrimination in a number of ways. Since 1963, we have maintained an arms embargo against South Africa, which the U.N. Security Council made mandatory for all countries in 1977. U.S. Export Administration Regulation 175 of 1978 prohibits the sale of all U.S. technology and commodities (except medical supplies) destined for use by the South African military police. In 1979 we began to reduce sharply the staffs of the South African military attache in Washington, D.C. and Pretoria. Travel of South African military personnel to the United States and U.S. military personnel to South Africa remains severely curtailed.

We also support commercial restrictions against South Africa. The Evans Amendment, passed by Congress in 1979, prohibits U.S. Government loans and loan guarantees from the Export-Import (Ex-Im) Bank for sale to South African Government agencies and restricts consideration of Ex-Im Bank credits for importers in South Africa to those firms demonstrating satisfactory labor practices.

For many years we have urged all corporations operating in South Africa to engage in fair labor practices. More recently, the U.S. Government has officially endorsed the statement of principles on employment practices enun-
associated by the Reverend Leon Sullivan (known as the Sullivan principles).

Sports is another important area where we express our opposition to apartheid. The U.S. Government will not promote, sponsor, or facilitate sports exchanges which involve South African teams or individuals.

Finally, we make strenuous efforts to direct our diplomacy toward all of South Africa's people. Our diplomats in South Africa maintain ties with leaders in all segments of society. The U.S. Government sponsors training programs and scholarships for members of all racial groups, and aids in the funding of U.N. programs for South African refugees, dissidents, and their families. We have provided political asylum to South Africans and criticize specific human rights violations. We have recently submitted to the Congress a candid report on the human rights situation in South Africa.

The United States continues to oppose apartheid and human rights violations, not only in South Africa but around the world. Your interest and support in this endeavor are very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Hodding Carter III
Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs and
Department Spokesman