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and Gandhi, will not be as effective in that country as it was for Black Americans in the 19503 and 60s. The nonviolent resistance which worked in the United States has proven ineffectual and even suicidal in the South African situation, where hundreds of Black peaceful demonstrators have been shot down by policemen. South Africaâ\200\231s whites, who are vastly outnumbered by Blacks, have a much greater stake in apartheid today than southern whites in the United States had in Jim Crow. This situation, coupled with the fact that South Africa has no tradition of universal natural rights, has made the repression of South Africaâ\200\231s Blacks even more brutal.@eyers Naude and Desmond Tutu are saying with increasingly loud voices that planned boycotts, strikes, and acts of civil disobedience, sanctions, and divestment are â\200\234the last nonviolent means left to break the evil of apartheid.â\200\23576 If these tactics do not force â\200\230\,a transition toward non˜racial democratic rule in South Africa, then Blacks cannot reasonably be expected to limit themselves to an absolute principle of non-violenoe South Africa is already on the verge of a classic revolutionary situation, and Black South African leaders like Oliver R. Tambo and Nelson Mandela may be right in asserting that violence is the only option left. It is not simply a matter of whether violence is less moral and practical than nonviolenceâ\200\224it is also a matter of what will bring the quickest and most successful results.77

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- Martin King insisted that South Africa, like the United States, cannot continue to survive half slave and half free, and nor can it continue_to exist and prosper as long as there are divisions along racial lines. He felt that the best solution to the problem of racism in South Africa and the United States is a totally transformed and regenerated society characterized by love and justice. In short, the beloved community must be the way of the future:

Majority government must come to South Africa because under no other system can the rights of the majority of the population be

guaranteed. It is not a matter of driving the minority into the sea. The rational thing for them to do is to accept the ending of their political monopoly, and address themselves to building a new, non-racial society. That is the way of the future, in’South Africa as well as in the United States.73

Martin Kingâ\200\231s dream for South Africa has not been realized after almost twenty long and cruel years. It is doubtful that he expected to,see the dream fulfilled in this time frame. He knew that any worthwhile struggle for the beloved community ideal required a radical personal commitment to Jesus Christ and a radical corporate commitment to overcoming all barriers to human community. Kingâ\200\231s prophetic vision of freedom and community still challenges Americans in the fight to end apartheidgThe words he spoke in 1962-63 still ring with piercing urgency today. â\200\234The time has come when more than fine declarations are needed, more than good faith is needed. We want action! Action to end apartheid.â\200\23579

NOTES

. Martin King shared this distinction with Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young, Malcolm X, and a host of other Black American leaders. See The New York Amsterdam News (April 16, 1960), p. 20; Resolutions of the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (November 2325, 1962), p. 1; A Letter signed by the members of the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (November, 1961-62), p. 1; Martin Luther King, Jr., â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africaâ\200\235 (July 12, 1963), pp. 16; George Brutman, Ed.; Any Means Necessary: Speeches, Interviews and a Letter by Malcolm X (New York: Pathï¬\201nder Press, Inc., 1970), pp. 7, 19, 122 and 169; and George Breitman, ed., Malcolm X Speaks (New York: Grove Press, 1965), p. 54. The unpublished speeches and letters of King cited in these notes can be found at Boston Universityâ\200\231s Mugar Memorial Library and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center in Atlanta, Georgia.

. Martin Luther King, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community? (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 167; and Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, Jr., Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking ofMartin Luther King, Jr. (Valley Forge, PA.: Judson Press, 1974), Chapter 6.

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. Martin Luther King, .111, â\200\234The Negro Looks at Africaâ\200\235 (December 8, 1962), pp. 1-5; and King, â\200\234Speech at the South Africa Beneï¬\201t of the American Committee on Africa Protest Rallyâ\200\235 (December 10, 1965), pp. 1-6.

. Kingâ\200\231s speeches, letters, and sermons, in which references to South Africa can be found, are housed at Boston University and the King Center in Atlanta. For an understanding of King’s relationship to Luthuli, see George W. Shepherd, Jr., â\200\234Who Killed Martin Luther Kingâ\200\231s Dream?: An Afro-American Tragedy,â\200\235 Africa Today (May 22, 1968), p. 2; and William R. Duggan, â\200\235Three Men of Peace,â\200\235 Crisis, LXXXI (December, 1974), pp. 331-334.

. Martin Luther King, Jr., â\200\234Conversation in Ghana," The Christian Century, LXXIV, No. 15 (April

10, 1957), p. 447.

. A Letter from Martin Luther King, Jr. to Enoch Dumas (January 11, 1960).

The. Western Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1986

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7. Shepherd, â\200\234Who Killed Martin Luther Kingâ\200\231s Dream?,â\200\235 p. 2; and Martin Luther King, Jr., â\200\234Out
of Segregationâ\200\231s Long Night: An Interpretation of a Racial Crisis,â\200\235 The Churchman (February,
1958), pp. 7-8. Kingâ\200\231s characterization of apartheid and racism generally as evil is synonymous
with that set forth in Allan Boesak, ed., Black and Reformed: Apartheid, Liberation and the Calvinist
Tradition (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1984).

8. King, â\200\234Speech at the South Africa Beneï¬\201t,â\200\235 pp. 1-6; Resolutions ofthe American Negro Leader-
ship Conference on Africa (September 24-27, 1964), p. 4; and Martin Luther King, Jr., â\200\234Address
Regarding South African Independenceâ\200\235 (December, 1964), pp. 1-2.

9. King, â\200\234Address Regarding South African Independence,â\200\235 p. 1.
10. A Letter from Martin Luther King, Jr. to Enoch Dumas; King, â\200\234A Speech before the American
Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200\235 p. l; and King, â\200\234Address Regarding South African
Independence,â\200\235 p. 1.

11. King, â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200\235 p. 2.
12. Ibid.,pp. 16; King, â\200\234Speech Regarding South African Independence,â\200\235 p. 1; and King, â\200\234Conver-
sation in Ghana,â\200\235 p. 447. King argued that segregation in America, apartheid in South Africa,
and colonialism throughout the continent ofAfrica â\200\234are based on the same set ofcomplex politico-
economic forces.â\200\235 One economist has contended that King was being rather cavalier in labeling
the apartheid system as similar to the southern United States at any point during this century.
â\200\234Indeed, much of the distinction is not in social laws,â\200\235 he argues, â\200\234but rather in economic ones.
Regardless of what King says, South Africa is very uncapitalist, with restrictions on African, Asian
and colored business activities to an astounding degree. The result has been a much slower rise
of a non-white educated and, especially, entrepreneurial class in South Africa than in the southern
US. The South African ruling class like to claim that it is merely 2-3 decades behind the United
States in an otherwise analogous situationâ\200\224but thatâ\200\231s a distortion of reality.â\200\234 A Letter from Charlie
Becker to Lewis V. Baldwin (February 21, 1986).

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13. King, â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200\235 p. 1.
14. King, â\200\234Speech at the South Africa Beneï¬\201t,â\200\235 p. 2. Kingâ\200\231s comments are similar to those in Des-
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16. A Letter from Martin Luther King, Jr. to Enoch Dumas.
17. King, â\200\234Speech at the South Africa Beneï¬\201t,â\200\235 p. 2; â\200\234Jackson Tours Europe and Joins Marches
Against South Africa,â\200\235 Jet (June 3, 1985), pp. 32-33; and Urban League Conference Raps south
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18. King, â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200\235 p. 2.
19. Martin Luther King, Jr. quoted in Jet (January 20, 1986), p. 40.
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26. â\200\234Foe of Apartheid: Albert John Luthuli,â\200\235 The New York Times (October 24, 1961), pp. 1
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28. A Letter from Martin Luther King, Jr. to Chief Albert Luthuli.
29. A Letter from C. McLeod Bryan to Martin Luther King, Jr. (October 10, 1959).
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58. King, â\200\234A Knock at Midnight,â\200\235 pp. 78. Kingâ\200\231s attack on the Dutch Reformed Church has been
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For example see C. F. Beyers Naude and Dorothee Sollc, Hopefor Faith: A Conversation (Grand
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It is in this situation, with the great mass of South Africans denied their humanity, their dignity, denied opportunity, denied all human rights; it is in this situation, with many of the bravest and best South Africans serving long years in prison, with some already executed. In this situation we in America and Britain have a unique responsibility. For it is we, through our investments, through our governmentsâ\200\231 failure to act decisively, who are guilty of bolstering up the South African tyranny. Our responsibility presents us with a unique opportunity. We can join in the one form of nonviolent action. that could bring freedom and justice to South Africa; the action which African leaders have appealed for; in a massive movement for economic sanctions. In a world living under the appalling shadow of nuclear weapons, do we not recognize the need to perfect the use of economic pressures? Why is trade regarded by all nations and s all ideologies as sacred? Why does our government, and your government in Britain, refuse to intervene effectively now, as if only when there is a bloodbath in South Africaâ\200\224or a Korea, or a Vietnamâ\200\224 will they recognize the crisis? If the UK. and the US. decided tomorrow morning not to buy South African goods, not to buy South African gold, to put an embargo on oil; if our investors and capitalists would withdraw their support for that racial tyranny, then apartheid would be brought to an end. Then the majority of South Africans of all races could at last build the shared society they desire.70

and the United States cannot continue to look on in benign neglect, or to oppose strong sanctions on the weak argument that they will increase the suffering of Black South Africans. Great Britain is already under attack from her commonwealth of nations, and an increasing number of Black and white governmental and church leaders in America are reminding Ronald Reagan that his constructive engagement approach is not working.73 Martin Kingâ\200\231s dream of an international coalition against apartheid may become a reality in the near future.

King was confronted in the early 19605 by several persons in the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa who proposed that South Africa be excluded from membership in the United Nations as a way of enforcing her compliance with the U.N.â\200\231s resolutions against apartheid. King refused.to categorically state his support for this proposal, declaring that:

Economic sanctions could be most effective, according to King, when all the major nations of the world united in employing nonviolence through a massive boycott:

Have we the power to be more than peevish with South Africa, but yet refrain from acts of war? To list the extensive economic relations of the great powers with South Africa is to suggest a potent nonviolent path. The international potential of nonviolence has never been employed. Nonviolence has been practiced Within the national borders in India, the U.S., and in regions of Africa with spectacular success. The time has come fully to utilize nonviolence through a massive international boycott which would involve the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, the U.S., Germany and Japan. Millions of people canâ\200\230 personally give expression to their abhorrenee of the worldâ\200\231s worst racism through such a far ï¬\202ung boycott. No nation professing a concern for manâ\200\231s dignity could avoid assuming its obligations if people of all states and races adopted a ï¬\201rm stand. The time has come for an international alliance of peoples of all nations again racism.â\200\234

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The relevance of Kingâ\200\231s proposal is

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apparent when one considers that many leaders across
the world have called for nonviolent international sanc-
tions against South Africa in the 19805. In the sum-
mer of 1981, Bishop Desmond Tutu called for â\200\234inter-
national community aidâ\200\235 against apartheid in the form
of political, diplomatic, and economic pressure, noting
that â\200\234freedom and world peace are at stake in the
liberation struggle in Southern Africa.â\200\23572 Tutu, Allan
Boesak, Beyers Naude, and other South African ac-
tivists today are increasingly advocating international
pressure in the form of sanctions as possibly the only
viable peaceful option. A growing number of world
leaders are agreeing with this position, and countries
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like Canada, France, Australia, India, Zambia, and Zim-
’Wliâ\200\230h babwe are supporting the idea of strong, sanctions
against South Africa. Amidst this rising tide of inter-
[Knatioiia pressure for punitive sanctions, Great Britain

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The Western Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1986

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The issue is complicated, and I will not presume to give my opinion

on it, for I am no specialist on international relations. I should merely like to say that I understand fully the reasons behind the drive to expel South Africa from the UN. The reasons for opposing such expulsion, however, are not as clear. If, for example, the governments . of the United States and Great Britain were serious about opposing apartheid, might we not expect them to show good faith by cutting off all trade and diplomatic relations with South Africa? Under such conditions, one might see some value to their argument that South Africa should be kept in the United Nationsâ\200\224for this place would then provide the last link to make discussions of the issues possible. In other words, I see two alternatives: either those powers which are South Africaâ\200\231s heaviest trading partners agree to restrict severely ’or end their transactions with her, or South Africaâ\200\231s voting privileges in the United Nations are withdrawn until such time as she comâ\200\224 plies with U.N. resolutions calling for an end to apartheid.74

The issue of the relevance of Martin Kingâ\200\231s thought for the struggle against apartheid is being seriously raised today by major South African anti-apartheid acâ\200\224 tivists. Beyers Naude, Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, and others have all echoed Kingâ\200\231s message with respect to the need for fundamental nonviolent change in their country, but they are increasingly losing faith in the possibility of such a transition. Naude recently put the question in these terms:

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Given the support of major Western powers for apartheid, and the lacking unity of peace-loving forces, the crucial question for leaders and ordinary people in South Africa who admire Martin Luther King, Jr. and his philosophy of nonviolence, is what relevance does that philosophy have for their situation? Is it possible to use nonviolence or is counterviolence the only option left?â\200\235

These questions cannot be answered without some consideration of the historical and cultural context’of South Africa. Violence is implicit in the very nature of the South African apartheid system(and however much the supporters of nonviolence detest violence, they must face the possibility that nonviolence, as defined by King

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new and more forceful approach toward South Africa. The leaders suggested that Congress cosponsor and support legislation urging the government to end all military-related and nuclear exports to South Africa, and to withdraw its facilities which promote the ï¬\202ow of capital or credit in that country.59 Jesse Jackson, in the spirit of King, recently encouraged European churches and synagogues to increase pressure against their governments to out off commercial dealings with South Africa.62_/Â§lack South Africans such as Bishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church and Allan Boesak of the Reformed Church, have been working to create structures for dialogue and cooperation in ecclesiastical organizations like the South African Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the World Council of Churches. The apartheid issue is increasingly claiming a place on the agenda of the ecumenical movement. The Kairos Document, released by South African theologians of various religious persuasions on September 25, 1985, is illustrative of this trend in South Africa. This document not only comments on the present political crisis in South Africa from a biblical and theological standpoint, it also critiques â\200\234the current theological modelsâ\200\235 that make it possible for many Christians to follow a policy of non-action in reference to apartheid.61 Beyers Naude, who stands tall among white South Africans as a critic of apartheid, has constantly attacked the Dutch Reformed Protestant Church for its support of apartheid on biblical grounds.62 Such developments in recent times attest to the fact that Kingâ\200\231s hope for solidarity among religious groups in the battle to wipe out racism is being fulfilled.

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The tragic side of the stOry is that too many white soâ\200\224called evangelical Christians in America â\200\234have shied away from open-hearted support for justice for Black South Africans, preferring instead such comfortable non-solutions as the Reagan administrationâ\200\231s â\200\230constructive engagementâ\200\231 policy.â\200\23563 Christian evangelicals like Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority have openly embraced P. W. Botha, rejected any notion of punitive sanctions against the Botha government, and â\200\234have discounted the intense Christian involvement in the African movement-and convinced themselves that these are not real Christians but rather quasi-Marxist disciples of the World Council of Churches.â\200\23564 In the 19605 Martin King constantly reminded white evangelicals that it is impossible to be truly committed to the gospel aâ\200\231nd to a vital personal relationship with Jesus Christ wâ\200\230hile silently accepting racism and segregation. This was a major theme in his â\200\234Letter from the Birmingham City Jail,â\200\235 which was issued in response to the criticisms of eight Alabama white clergymen in April, 1963. The point King made

then is also relevant today. It is time for Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Jimmy Swaggert, and other evangelicals, who are enjoying tremendous growth and notoriety, to realize that it is theological heresy for any devoted Christian to stand idly by while Black men, women, and children continue to die on the streets of South Africa.â\200\234 King made it clear in 1968, just prior to his death, that as a Christian and minister of the gospel, he could never be silent or non-committal on the apartheid issue:

Iâ\200\231m convinced that if I had lived in South Africa I would have joined Chief Luthuli, the late Chief Luthuli, as he had his campaigns, openly to disobey those laws, and to refuse to comply with the pass system, where people had to have passes and all that stuff to walk the streets.â\200\2345 (â\200\234â\200\234121 suggesting solutions to the apartheid problem, Martin King was quite specific on the question of what role the nations of the world should play. He felt that America, as the so-called moral leader of the free world, should take the lead among nations in’the effort to up-root apartheid and to bring democratic rule to South Africa. In a speech before the American Negro Leader-ship Conference on Africa in 1963, King outlined specific steps that the United States should take in achieving this goal. As a first step, he proposed that â\200\234the government of the United States should declare an immediate embargo on all further sales of arms to South Africa.â\200\235 â\200\234To place arms in the hands of the white supremacists of South Africa,â\200\235 he continued, â\200\234is to implicate oneself in the destruction of the African populationâ\200\224nothing less than that.â\200\23557 King com˜ mented further:

A second step would be to harmonize its policies with those called for by the UN. General Assembly resolution on economic and diplomatic boycotts of the Republic. If our government is serious about protecting the approximately 700 million dollars invested by U.S. companies and persons in South Africa, it would understand that it is not under apartheid that these will be safeguarded. On the contrary, in a general civil war, many capital goods will surely be destroyed. Only if the regime is brought to its knees from outside can a relatively peaceful transfer of power take place.68

As a third step, Martin King joined Chief Lï¬\201thuli in suggesting that the nations of the world unite to bring international pressure on South Africa by either restricting severely or ending their trading with her. In 1962 he expressed great disappointment with Great Britain and the United States for refusing to support economic sanctions in the United Nations against South Africa.69 Two years later King observed that the United States and Great Britain had a golden opportunity to shake the foundations of â\200\234the white-ruled police stateâ\200\235 through â\200\234a massive movement for economic sanc-tions,â\200\235 an approach widely advocated today by Black leaders in South Africa and the United States:

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Naude and Selle, Hope and Faith, pp. 5 ff.

. Paul R. Spickardâ\200\231s Review ofAllan Boesakâ\200\231s Black and Reformed: Apartheid, Liberation and the
Calvinist Tradition, featured in Christian Scholars Review (February 28, 1986), pp. 55-56; â\200\234Falwell
Raises A Stir by Opposing Sanctions Against South Africa,â\200\235 Christianity Today (October 4, 1985),
pp. 52-54; and â\200\235Where 15 Jerry Falwell Headed in 1986,â\200\235 Christianity Today(Fchruary 21, 1986),
pp. 39-40.
Spickardâ\200\231s Review of Allan Boesakâ\200\231s Black and Reformed, p. 55.
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King, â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200\235 pp. 3-5.

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Ibid., p. 5; King, â\200\234Speech at the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, â\200\235 p. 1; and
King, â\200\234Statement Regarding South African Independence,â\200\235 p. 2.
King, â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200\235 p. 1; â\200\234King
Accuses U.S.A. and Britain of Bolstering Racial Segregation,â\200\235 pp. 1 ff.; and David L. Lewis, King:
A Critical Biography (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 259.
King, â\200\234Speech at the South Africa Benefit,â\200\235 p. 4.

. Quoted in Up-Date 0n the Black Church: National Convocation ofthe Christian Church (Sum-

,

mer, 1981), p. l.
The Tennessean (June 19, 1986), pp. 1 and 2A; and Report to Presbyterians from. Washington,
pp. 1-4.
King, â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200\235 pp. 4-5.
Quoted in The Vanderbilt Register (January 24, 1986), p. 1.
Ibid., and George Frederickson, â\200\234The Political Foundations of White Supremacy in the South
and South Africa,â\200\235 a speech given in connection with the Martin Luther King, Jr. Lecture Series
at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee (January 20, 1986).
Alex La Cuma, ed., Apartheid:A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans
(New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 17. Some Blacks in South Africa are currently ad-
vocating violent revolution based on the Bible, while others are contending that Blacks are out-
side of all signiï¬\201cant power in South Africa and cannot win through armed struggle. For a good
treatment of this debate, see Richard J. Neuhaus, Dispensations: The Future of South Afri

ca as
South Africans See It (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Ecrdmans Publishing Company, 1986)
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especially Chapter XI.
King, â\200\234A Speech before the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa,â\200
\235 p. 4-.
Ibid; and Smith and Zepp, Search for the Beloved Community, pp. 119-120 and 139-140.

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with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights before
it moved into a state of continuous violence and
bloodshed:

... the whites have overwhelmingly rejected all thoughts of liberty
and equality for all. They will not bend, so they must break. In the
United States, the movement for equality grows on a tree with fun-
damentally peaceful roots. Our society can be made to change without
uprooting the tree. The rulers of South Africa, on the other hand,
are preparing even now to turn their country into a wasteland rather
than lose their personal power, for as each day passes, they become
more rigid, more bloodthirsty, more fearfully panicked.18

Martin King charged that much of the responsibil-
ity for South Africaâ\200\231s legalized public policy of apart-
heid rested with the United States, Great Britain, and
other Western nations â\200\230_â\200\230.whic,h profess to be the moral -
bastions of our Western world."19 His claim is being
echoed in contemporary times by Congressman Ronald
Dellums, Congressman William Gray, Jesse Jackson,
Benjamin Hooks, Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, and
a host of other Black leaders in both the United States
and South Africa. In December, 1964, King accused
the United States and Great Britain of â\200\234bolstering
racial segregation in South â\200\234Afrieaâ\200\235 by providing
economic support for that regime.20 One year later he
reiterated this point more emphatically, reminding us
that:

When it is realized that Great Britain, France and other democratic
powers also prop up the economy of South Africa, and when to all
of this is added the fact that the U.S.S.R. has indicated its willingness
to participate in a boycott, it is proper to wonder how South Africa
can so conï¬\201dently defy the civilized world. The conclusion is in-
escapable that it is less sure of its own power, but more sure that
the great nations will not sacrifice trade and profit to effectively op-
pose them.â\200\234

King found Americaâ\200\231s involvement in South Africa

most difficult to accept because of its inconsistency â\200\234with our own democratic posture,â\200\235 and because of the threat it posed to our claim as a moral leader in the free world. In November, 1962, at the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa in New York, King observed that:

It is tragic that our foreign policy on Africa is so ambivalent; for example, on the one hand, we decry in some mild manner the apartheid policy of the Union of South Africa but economically we continue â\200\235business-as-usualâ\200\235 in spite of the stringent racist policies being enforced and intensified.22

Concerning the sheer hypocrisy and general laxity which characterized US. policy toward South Africa, King elaborated further:

With respect to South Africa, however, our protest is so muted and peripheral it merely mildly disturbs the sensibilities of the segregationists, while our trade and investments substantially stimulate their

economy to greater heights. We pat them on the wrist in permitting racially mixed receptions in our Embassy, and by exhibiting ï¬\201lms depicting Negro artists. But we give them massive support through American investments in motor and rubber industries, by extending some forty million dollars in loans through our most aistinguished banking and ï¬\201nancial institutions, by purchasing gold and other minerals mined by Black slave labor, by giving them a sugar quota, by maintaining three tracking stations there and by providing them with the prestige of a nuclear reactor built with our technical cooperation and fueled with refined uranium supplied by us.23

In addressing the question of how to dismantle the apartheid system in South Africa, Martin King refused to advocate a single methodological approach. Whenever he was asked about solutions to the apartheid problem, he always prefaced his statements by emphasizing that â\200\234I am not an expert on the situation in South Africa, I have never been to South Africa, but I, along with millions of others, do know a few things , about white supremacy and the behavior of those who uphold it.â\200\23524 Because of the very nature of the oppressive situation in South Africa, King was convinced that people of color there had to take primary responsibility for liberating themselves. This would necessarily involve developing effective organizations, leadership, and methods for the oppressed. King recognized in Albert John Luthuli, a chief by Zulu tradition, the embodiment of the kind of organization, leadership, and methods needed to turn South Africa from â\200\234the nights mare of racial segregation and oppressionâ\200\235 into an oasis of brotherhood and community.25 As early as the 19403 Luthuli had been a staunch critic of apartheid, and in 1952, three years before the Montgomery bus boycott started, he led nonviolent demonstrations against South Africaâ\200\231s segregation laws, urging thousands of Africans to invade libraries and railway seats reserved â\200\234for Europeans only.â\200\235 In time’he achieved fame as a nonviolent activist, as President General of the African National Congress, and as a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.26 According to George W. Shepherd, Jr., Martin King â\200\234frequently acknowledgecithe debt he had for the development of his nonviolent methods to the freedom movementâ\200\235 to Luthuli and â\200\234the South Africans who back in the early 19505 began their ï¬\201rst passive resistance campaigns.â\200\23527 This seems to be borne out by a letter King wrote to Luthuli, dated December 8, 1959, in which he said:

May I say that I too have admired you tremendously from a distance. I only regret that circumstances and spacial divisions have made it

impossible for us to meet. But I admire your great witness and your dedication to the cause of freedom and human dignity. You have stood amid persecution, abuse, and oppression with a dignity and calmness of spirit seldom paralleled in human history. One day all of Africa will be proud of your achievements.28

Luthuli was also influenced and inspired by Martin King. When G. McLeod Bryan, a friend of King in East Nigeria, visited Luthuli in September, 1959, Luthuli

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titled, â\200\234Appeal for Action Against Apartheid.â\200\235 More than a hundred world figures joined us in calling for demonstrations of solidarity with the victims of racial oppression on Human Rights Day, 1962, as well as for a boycott of trade with and investment in the Republic.â\200\2340 The example King set through his involvement in the struggle against apartheid gained respectability and admiration for himself, Black Americans, Blacks in South Africa, and throughout Africa generally. It is reported that in July, 1966, more than a thousand records of Kingâ\200\231s â\200\234I Have a Dreamâ\200\235 Speech were passed out to South Africans by Bode Wegerif, an executive in a Johannesburg publishing company, and Dale White, an Anglican priest and Director of the Wilgespruit Christian Fellowship and Conference Center near Johannesburg.â\200\234 The white-ruled government of South Africa, recognizing Kingâ\200\231s great influence there, banned the recording and rejected Kingâ\200\231s application for a visa to visit South Africa.42 When King was assassinated, churches throughout South Africa and other parts of Africa paid tributes. J. Lowrie Anderson, a fraternal worker under the United Presbyterian Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations in Nairobi, Kenya, observed that the grief experienced by Africans over Kingâ\200\231s death was most intense because â\200\234Africans identified with the civil rights movement in America, and with Dr. King,â\200\235 and â\200\234they felt that in his fight for equality for the disinherited in America he was fighting for black men everywhere.â\200\23543 According to George W. Shepherd, Jr., â\200\234The loss to Africa of Martin Luther King ,is second only to the loss to America. Not only was this Black American a represenv tative of the finest blending of African and American culture, but also he was an inspirational leader to many Africans as well as Americans.â\200\23544

At times Martin King suggested a kind of messianic role for Black Americans in the struggle to free people: of color in South Africa and across the world from racism, poverty, and militarism. This idea should not be casually dismissed as arrogant triumphantism on *. his part. Due to the enormously high levels of poverty, illiteracy, and the subversive impact of neo-colonialism throughout Africa and the non-white world generally, King felt that Black Americans, as possibly the most well-educated and materially affluent among the worldâ\200\231s people of color, were in a better position to be the vanguard in a movement for the total liberation of people of color. Thus, he wrote in 1967:
The hard cold facts today indicate that the hope of the people of color in the world may well rest on the American Negro and his ability to reform the structure of racist imperialism from within and thereby turn the technology and wealth of the West to the task ofliberating the world from want.â\200\234

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The extent to which Black Americans could possibly
fulfill this messianic vocation depended, in Kingâ\200\231s es-

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timation, on’two things. First, the consciousness of Black Americans regarding the non-white world had â\200\231to be raised significantly. King knew that his people in America, due to centuries of oppression and miseducation, had absorbed many undesirable stereotypes and falsehoods concerning people of color, particularly Africans. He believed that only through education and consoiousness-raising could Blacks successfully meet the challenge of giving moral leadership to Africans and the non-white world collectively. Second, King felt that Black Americans had to remain true to the principles of love and nonviolence as practiced in and through the Black church. This is why he enthusiastical-1y threw the weight of S.C.L.C., which he regarded as the social action arm of the Black church, behind the . anti-apartheiclcrusade}6 Finally, it is not possible to understand Kingâ\200\231s view of the messianic role of Black Americans without some consideration of the fact that he believed that Blacks in America had much to learn from the wisdom and the struggles of non-white South Africans and other people of color. This is why King placed himself and his fellow American Blacks permanently in debt to Mohandas K. Gandhi and Chief Albert Luthuli,.men whose names have been indelibly etched in the annals of the struggle for human equality and social justice in South Africa and the world.47

Martin King clearly anticipated the convictions and actions of American Blacks who are currently being arrested in the continuing demonstrations outside the South African Embassy in Washington, DC, among whom are US. Representatives William H. Cray of Pennsylvania and Walter Fauntroy of Washington, DC, congressional Black Caucus Chairman Mickey Leland of Texas, President John E. Jacob of the National Urban League, Benjamin Hooks of the N.A.A.C.P., Trans-Africaâ\200\231s Randall Robinson, Black artists Stevie Wonder and Harry Belafonte, Jesse L. Jackson of People United to Save Humanity (P.U.S.H.), Atlanta, Georgiaâ\200\231s Mayor Andrew Young, and Joseph Lowery of S.C.L.C.â\200\230l8 All of these persons have been inspired by the spirit and example of King, and many were his close friends and associates in the movement.

The Reverend T. J. Jemison, a friend and confidant of King, and the current President of the NationalBaptist convention, U.S.A., Inc., the largest Black church organization in the world, has pledged the resoiirces of his organization of seven million members in support of the Black South African struggle.49 This is consistent with Kingâ\200\231s vision of the role the Black church should play in fighting racism, poverty, and militarism not only in South Africa, but thfoughout the globe. Of equal significance is the work b\eing done through the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia. Not only has Mrs.

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is still being discussed and implemented at some levels in both America and South Africa, but certainly not to the degree that King desired. The growing polarizaâ\200\224tion between Blacks and other people of color in South Africa, and between the increasing ethnic populations in the central cities of Americaâ\200\231s metrOpolitan areas, poses a threat to any hope of a multiracial movement against apartheid, as well as to the possibility of the realization of Kingâ\200\231s beloved community ideal.55 Yet, there are hopeful signs. Whites like Andrew Parang are quite active in the Anti-Apartheid United Democratic Front in South Africa. An increasing number of whites in America, in politics and in other areas of life, are uniting with concerned Black Americans in denouncing apartheid and calling for punitive measures against the white government’of South Africa.56

When Martin King envisioned the possibility of multi-racial coalitions to fight apartheid in South Africa, he naturally extendedâ\200\230the idea to. religious groups. On occasionstin his own movement in America he had been impressed and’ deeply touched by the heterogeneity, yet, the obvious solidarity of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Implicit in Kingâ\200\231s beloved communityidea was the notion that movements for human equality and social justice are most effective and strong morally when religious groups unite and cooperate to achieve noble ends. Driven by this idea, King called upon various churches and synagogues to form â\200\234a coalition of conscienceâ\200\235 and to push nonviolently for aâ\200\230 more equitable society in South Africa. He found it unconscionable that â\200\234the church is guilty of backing apartheid policies in Africa.â\200\23557 He specifically attacked the Dutch Reformed Protestant Church, which has used its traditional theology to reinforce and sanction apartheid. Concerning the Dutch Reformed Protestant Churchâ\200\231s role in segregating millions of Black South Africans, and in requiring them â\200\234to have passes to walk the streets,â\200\235 King said the following:

. . these vicious, inhuman apartheid practices are sanctioned, and . to a large extent set up by the Dutch Reformed Protestant Church. Over and over again Chief Luthuli, that great black leading Christian, has knocked on the door of the church in South Africa . . ., but always the response has been, â\200\234Get away from this door. We don’t have time to bother with you. Weâ\200\231re busy reciting our creeds. . . ."53

Kingâ\200\231s challenge to religious groups to unite in the anti-apartheid cause has been met in certain religious circles. In 1972 the World Council of Churches agreed to sell its holdings in corporations doing business in South Africa, to withdraw depOsits’ from banks active in South Africa, and to urge all national churches to do likewise. Early in 1985 over 300 national and regional religious leaders of various faiths sent an open letter to Congress attacking President Ronald Reaganâ\200\231s â\200\234constructive engagementâ\200\235 policy and advocating a

Coretta Scott King, Martin Kingâ\200\231s widow and the president of the center, and other members of the King family been arrested protesting at the South African Embassy, they have also sought to heighten awareness concerning South Africa through activities at the King Center/ln the fall of 1985, Mrs. King joined Mrs. Desmond Tutu at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Dr. Kingâ\200\231s

alma mater, in an anti-apartheid event.50 In January, 1986, the King Center played host to an international conference against apartheid. This conference, which was attended by South African activist Bishop Desmond Tutu, developed as a part of a range of activities in connection with the fir t national celebration of Martin Kingâ\200\231s birthday.51j

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However, Black Americans must do much more before they meet the basic challenge of Martin King in the area of their responsibility in the liberation of people of color, and particularly Black South Africans, from racism and poverty. More Blacks in America must lift their voices and donate their resources in support- of groups like the African National Congress (A.N.C.) and the Pan African Congress (P.A.C.), which are working to restore the freedom and the heritage of black "South Africans. Black churches as a corporate body throughout America must inform their clergy and lay persons about what is happening in South Africa, and they must also reawaken within their consecrated walls what King called â\200\234prophetic zeal,â\200\235 that quality which served quite well as a political and moral force during the civil rights movement.52 Finally, more Blacks in politics and in other positions of inï¬\202uence in America must display the concern and boldness of Representative Ronald Dellums of California, who spearheaded the effort which resulted in the House of Representativesâ\200\231
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withdrawal of US. business investment in South Africa and a total trade embargo, â\200\234the harshest sanctions yet proposed against the Pretoria government.â\200\23553

of legislation

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Despite his frequently expressed views about the need for American Blacks to work with non-white South Africans to overcome apartheid, Martin King knew that victory would not ultimately be won until people of all ethnic and racial backgrounds, including white people of good will, found a place in the struggle. This was the truth of the beloved community vision which he embraced and projected. It was his conviction that:

The powerful unity of Negro with Negro and white with Negro is stronger than the most potent and entrenched racism. The whole human race will beneï¬\201t when it ends the abomination that has diminished the stature of’man for too long. This is the task to which we are called by the suffering in South Africa, and our response should be swift and unstinting. Out of this struggle will come the glorious reality of the family of man.â\200\234

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Kingâ\200\231s idea of forming coalitions between Blacks, other ethnic minorities, and whites to fight apartheid

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told him of his great respect and admiration for King. Bryan later wrote King to inform him about what Luthuli had said about him:

. he told me that the greatest inspiration to him was your Stride Toward Freedom. (that Bishop Reeves had put into his hands). Luthuli had been reading it in his cane fields the very day I visited him. He wished for copies to put into the hands of his African National Congress leaders. I told him I would put the request to you, believ- ing that you would contribute this much and more to South African freedom. His eyes were the brightest when I referred to him as the â\200\234Kingâ\200\235 of South Africa. His odds are so much greater, but he is a profound Christian sharing your views.â\200\235

While visiting South Africa in January, 1964, James W. King, a minister at the First Baptist Church in Dayton, Ohio, â\200\234asked Chief Luthuli what he would want Americans to know.â\200\235 Luthuli replied: â\200\234Give my highest regards to Martin Luther. It is not often that we see clergymen taking a stand on social issues. It means a lot to us here. Martin Luther King is my hero.â\200\23530

King felt that unity between Africans, Black South Africans, and Blacks in the diaspora was equally essen- tial in the crusade against racism in South Africa, the United States, Great Britain, and other parts of the world. Under the pressure and influence of the Black power movement of the late 19603, King came to see that coalitions between Blacks and whites could be authentic and productive only to the extent that Black unity existed, a point that King scholars have been reluctant to stress.31 Believing that the descendants of Africans everywhere are related in a special way by blood and condition, and that their destinies are in- ’ tertwined, King deemed it imperative that they strug- gle together to destroy racism and colonialism. Thus, his interest in the problems of Black South Africans must be viewed within the context of his broader con- cern for peOple of African descent everywhere. This concern was consistent with, and not antithetical to, his concern for the poor and oppressed of all races and ethnic backgrounds, and it was also in line with his vi- sion of the beloved community.32

In both words and deeds, Martin King showed that Black Americans had a role to play in the movement against apartheid, and so did Black South Africans1n the struggle against racism in America. 33 He refused to separate the Black American movement from that in South Africa, charging on one occasion that â\200\234It was the realization of this common link which drew me to join ina’ worldwide Declaration of Conscience concernâ\200\224 ing apartheid,a e ampaign organized by the American Committee on Africa in
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â\200\234Declaration of Conscience,â\200\235 which came out of this united effort, stated that â\200\234We and free peoples everywhere support the overwhelming majority of the

1957.â\200\23534 1111:

South African people, 11011-white and white, in their struggle for equality.â\200\235 All who were devoted to the prin- ciples embodied in the Declaration of Human Rights were encouraged by King and other signatories to sup- port â\200\234this Declaration of Conscienceâ\200\235 by â\200\234proclaim- ing December 10,1957,Human Rights Day, a clay of protest against the organized inhumanity of the South African Government and its apartheid policies.â\200\23535 From that point, King remained in the forefront of ef-

forts and activities sponsored and supported by groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.), the National Urban League (N.U.L.), the National Council of Negro Women (N.C.N.W.), the American Committee on Africa (A.C.A.), and the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (A. N. L. C.A.) on behalf of the crusade against apartheid. When Chief Albert Luthuli and 155 other men and women were charged with treason and arrested for their anti-apartheid agitation in 1956, King joined the American Committee on Africa in setting up a South Africa Defense Fund which sent $50,000 for aid in the extensive legal costs and family hardships of the accused.36 In January, 1961, Angler Biddle Duke, the Acting Chairman of the Africa League, a group of â\200\234businessmen and professionals concerned with a new and more effective American foreign policy towards Africa,â\200\235 called upon King to â\200\234use your influence and lend your assistance in whatever way seems most practicable t0 the furtherance of specific policy objectivesâ\200\235 with regard to South Africa and Africa as a whole, a request to which King responded affirmatively.37

The year 1962 witnessed an increase in the scope of Kings activities against South African apartheid. In November of that year he’joined James Farmer, Dorothy 1. Height, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney M. Young, and other members of the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa in putting forth a resolution condemningâ\200\230 â\200\230apartheid as a system to exploit the African, Asian and Colored majority in South Africa by white supremacists, and endorsing the campaign of Appeal for Action Against Apartheid.â\200\231 â\200\23138 The resolution continued as follows:

We deplore our governmentâ\200\231s oppOsition to the United Nations resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa. We urge the United States to support such action by the United Nations against South Africa and to seek its implementation through effective policing of the modes of entry.â\200\235

Also in 1962, Martin King reported:

Ijoined Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa in another world-wide appeal organization by the American Committee on Africa, this one

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28 May 1990

Lewis V. Baldwin, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
Dept. of Religious Studies
VAHDERBILT UNIVERSITY
Nashville

Tennessee

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Dear Dr Lewis Baldwin

I have received your letter of April 2Â¢th, and am happy
to agree to my letter of the 18th November, 1957 being
incorporated in the "Toward the Beloved Community:
Martin Luther King. Jr. and South African Apariheidâ\200\235.

I shall look forward to the first publication of
the work, when I trust I shall have a copy.

Yours faithfully

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January, 1960, King stated in a letter to Enoch Dumas of Drum Publications that â\200\234I have done a' considerable amount of reading on the whole of Africa and I have taken particular interest in the problems in South Africa because of the similarities between the situation there and our situation in the United States.â\200\2356

It is impossible to fully grasp Martin Kingsâ\200\231 percepâ\200\224

tion of the South African apartheid system without 4 some understanding of how he understood evil. Based primarily on. his reading of the Bible, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Walter Rauschenbusch, King understood evil as an intruder into the universe, a force of darkness that is always at war with truth and righteousness. For him, apartheid constituted an evil of the highest order because it was aimed at degrading human personality by denying the image of God in Black humanity.7 In Kingâ\200\231s view this evil of apartheid found its most blatant expression in its policy of economic exploitation, in its legal separation of whites from peOples of color, and in its persistent efforts to silence all dissent and anti-apartheid agitation with violence and intimidation. In a speech on South Africa at Hunter College in' New York in December, 1965, King declared that â\200\234we read of tortures in jails with electric devices, suicides among prisoners, forced confessions, while inâ\200\230the outside community ruthless persecution of editors, religious leaders, and political opponents suppresses free speech and a free press.â\200\2358 King was especially concerned about â\200\234great leadersâ\200\235 such as Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, who â\200\234are among the many hundreds wasting away in Robben Island Prison.â\200\2359 Such sentiments are particularly interesting today, twenty years later, when people of good will across the world are still calling for the release of Mandela.

Martin King frequently pointed to what he regarded as close similarities between the white racist system of South Africa and that of the southern United States, suggesting that â\200\234our struggle for freedom in the United States is not fundamentally different from that going on in South Africa.â\200\23510 â\200\234Clearly there is much in Mississippi and Alabama,â\200\235 King continued, â\200\234to remind South Africans of their own countryâ\200\235:

This is why I say that it is impossible for a Negro in this country, if he is at all conscious of the world around him, not to identify with the South African non-white, though we may speak different tongues and may never look into each otherâ\200\231s eyes. We share a common destiny: to live on in poverty and rejection or to walk proudly as free men in our own nations.â\200\235

The most obvious similarities between the two systems for King were evident in their social laws and â\200\231customs as well as in their political and economic practices.12 He further contended that â\200\234the struggle against Jim Crow and apartheid has sometimes even taken similar tactical positionsâ\200\235:

When Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama became fed up with being pushed into the back of buses, they walked rather than continue in humiliation. When Africans riding on totally segregated buses to and from the shanty-town of Alexandra township on the Witwatersrand became fed up, they also decided to walk for freedom.13

King also noted how the South African government,

˜much like the opponents of the civil rights movement
in the United States, was quick to label all opposition
to its policies and practices as â\200\234communist-inspiredâ\200\235:

In South Africa today all opposition to white supremacy is condemned
as Communism, and in its name, due process is destroyed, a medieval
segregation is organized with twentieth century efï¬\201ciency and drive,
a sophisticated form of slavery is imposed by a minority upon a ma-
jority who are kept in grinding poverty, and the dignity of human
personality is defiled and world opinion is arrogantly defied.â\200\235

King also recognized that the apparatus of apart-
heid was in some ways quite different from Jim Crow
in the United States, especially, when one took into ac-
count â\200\230-â\200\230the means available to the oppressor.â\200\235 To ï¬\201x
lustrate his .point that the severity of the oppression
under apartheid was greater than that under Jim Crow,
King explained that â\200\234Half a Congress is, after all, bet-
ter than none, just as being a second-class citizen is
a small improvement over not being one at allâ\200\235:

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. even in Mississippi we can organize to register Negro voters, we
can speak to the press, we can in short organize the people in non-
violent action. But in South Africa even the mildest form of non-
violent resistance meets with years of imprisonment, and leaders over
many years have been restricted and silenced and imprisoned. We
can understand how in that situation people felt so desperate that
they turned to other methods, such as sabotage.â\200\235

â\200\234There can be no doubt of the fact,â\200\235 King further in-
sisted, â\200\234that South Africa is the most stubborn and
rugged place in the world in the area of race rela- ’
tions.â\200\23516 He went on to identify South African apart-
heid with the Nazism of Hitlerâ\200\231s Germany, a com-
parison made today by Black American leaders like
John E. Jacob and Jesse Jackson, and Black South
African leaders such as Allan Boesak and Bishop Des-
mond Tutu: â\200\234The South African government to make
the white supreme has had to reach into the past and
revive the nightmarish ideology. and practices of
Nazism. We are witnessing a recrudesce of that bar-
barism which murdered more humans than any war in
history.â\200\23517

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King saw all of the barbarism, along with the denial
of rights to organize for political-action and protest
, on theâ\200\230part o’f non-white South Africans, as resulting
from the lack of a natural rights traditiOn in South
Africa. He knew that there was no Bill of Rights or
tradition of universal natural rights even for whites in
South Africa, and this prompted him to appeal to the
Government of South Africa to bring its policies in line

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Martin Luther King, Jr.â\200\231s â\200\235Belcved Communityâ\200\235 Ideal and the

.Aparth˜eid System in South Africa
LEWIS, v. BALDWIN

Martin Luther King, Jr. was one of the most ardent opponents of the South African apartheid system in the 19505 and 605.1 His opposition to that system ï¬\202owed logically from his vision of the beloved community, by which he meant a completely integrated society of love and justice which would include all persons irrespective of race, sex, tribe, and national origin.2 In Kingâ\200\231s view, apartheid, based on the erroneous notion that people of color are inferior and cannot live on terms of equality with white people, was the antithesis of the beloved community ideal, an evil not to be tolerated by Christians.3 Considering Kingâ\200\231s many references to South Africa in sermons and interviews, his speeches on South Africa in America and abroad, his friendship with Black South African leaders like Chief Albert John Luthuli, his admiration for Black South African activists such as Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, and his activities on behalf of non-white South Africans

through organizations like the American Committee on Africa and the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, it is strange that scholars have had virtually nothing to say about his thoughts on and vision for South Africa.4 This essay will examine Kingâ\200\231s beloved community vision in terms of its relevance for the movement against South African apartheid, a topic which is extremely important and relevant at this time.

Kingâ\200\231s verbal assault on the racist policies and practices of South Africa began almost from the time of the

Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-56), when he emerged as a figure of national and-i’nternational fame. In April, 1957, he expressed deep â\200\234admiration for the bus boy-’cott outside Johannesburg, with thousands of Africans actually walking ten to fifteen miles a day. â\200\235 5 From that point, King developed an interest in South Africa and Africa generally, that increasedin intensity up to the time of his assassination in April, 1968. As early as

[EWIS V. BALDWIN is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Religious Studies at Vanderbilt University. He is presently completing a major work on Dr. Martin Luther Kingâ\200\231s roots in Black Southern culture.

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Department of Religious Studies . College of Art: (â\200\2303 Science

April 24, 1990

Mr. Oliver Tambo
C/o African National Congress
801 2nd Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Tambo:

I have just completed an edited volume of

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s papers on South Africa (speeches, personal letters, etc.), and would like to include the letter you wrote Dr. King on November 18, 1957. I have enclosed a xeroxed copy of that letter. The publisher has informed me that this letter cannot be included in my 355 page edited manuscript until I get permission from you in writing to include it.

The book we are publishing is entitled,

Toward the Beloved Community: Martin Luther King, Jr. and South African Apartheid. We are concerned primarily with the relevance and implications of Dr. King’s thought for the continuing struggle in South Africa. The central question addressed is: Was Dr. King right in thinking that tactics used by blacks in the U.S. in the 19508 and 60s can be effective in the antiâ\200\224apartheid struggle in South Africa in the 1980s and 90s? We have taken a critiâ\200\224cal approach to King’s views, while recognizing the strengths in his perspective.

I hope you don’t mind us including your letter

in this volume. If there is cost involved in Granting such permission, I am sure the M.L. King Center in Atlanta, Georgia will assist because all proceeds from the book will qo to the King Center.

Thanks for your attention and consideration,
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and I hope you will respond very soon.

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Bal

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