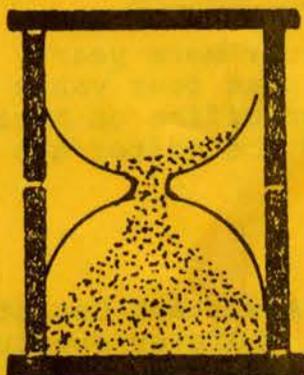


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TIME RUNNING OUT

Editor, Richard S. Gilbert

Fall 1984

A Quarterly Newsletter linking the people of the U.S. and South Africa,
published by the Rochester Committee for Justice in Southern Africa

TUTU WINS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

Bishop Desmond Tutu has been named recipient of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. He has also been named Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg. The following excerpts are from a press conference given in February, and were reprinted in the October 22, 1984, issue of Africa News.

I ask Chester Crocker [U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa], "Would you have collaborated with Hitler? With Stalin? If not, what has happened to the moral condition of the United States that you cooperate with a system as evil and as vicious as apartheid?"

Your president gets real hot under the collar when things happen to Solidarity in Poland, and they apply sanctions against those Polish chaps. The same thing happens to black trade unionists in South Africa, and you ask them, "What is your reaction?" And you know, they have the temerity to say, "Sanctions don't work!"

And then they come and tell you, "Isn't the underground that operated in World War II tremendous. Who is one of the greatest modern saints? Dietrich Bonhoeffer!" But Bonhoeffer was involved in a plot to assassinate the head of his state.

When it has to do with *black* liberation, the whole of the Western world has become pacifist. It is incredible the contortions that they have to go through in order to justify their pacifism when it comes to black liberation.

Too many people when they talk about violence in South Africa are saying violence is something that is going to be introduced from outside by those who are called "terrorists." I have to say the South African situation is violent now. And the

primary violence is the violence of apartheid, the violence of forced population removals, the violence of the migratory labor system, the violence of cheap labor, the violence of an inferior education for blacks.

Here I am, a bishop. I suppose that you would say that on the whole Bishop Tutu is probably a reasonably responsible chap. I am riding 53 years of age. I don't have a vote in the land of my birth. A child of 18 can vote just because he or she is white. That is violence.

Humanly speaking, we are going to have a bloodbath in South Africa. But I am a Christian, and I believe all Christians must be prisoners of hope. The death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ says "Yes." Nothing could have been more hopeless than that young man strung up on a cross on Good Friday with a darkness surrounding the whole of the land and his disciples having dashed away, skulking, with their tails between their legs. And then Easter happens. And no Christian can ever be anything but an optimist.

We don't walk about on tiptoes, apprehensive all the time, sort of looking over our shoulders. We do what we believe that we have a mandate to do from our Lord Jesus Christ. It is his business to look after us. And you know that once God clutches you by the scruff of your neck, you've had it. There is no question at all about bravery. It is not that Tutu is being brave, he can't help it. ■

All I know is what has been called 'constructive engagement' has been an unmitigated disaster.

Desmond Tutu,
10/17/84



This is our last chance for change because if this doesn't happen, we are for the birds. The bloodbath will be inevitable.

Desmond Tutu
10/17/84

"CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT:" THE REAGAN RECORD

Since Ronald Reagan has been elected for four more years, it is perhaps a good time to assess the record of the past four years and look to what we might expect now. The Washington Office on Africa has provided a summary of actions through 1983 which the editor has supplemented to bring the record up to date.

1981

- * Nominated pro-South Africa Ernest Lefever for Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Lefever eventually withdrew because of public and Congressional opposition.
- * Asked Congress to repeal Clark Amendment which prohibits covert military aid to Angolan rebels. Congress rebuffed Reagan and kept the Clark Amendment.
- * Vetoed resolution in UN Security Council to impose sanctions on South Africa because of its intransigence on reaching a Namibia settlement.
- * Met South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha in White House. Leaked State Department documents from meeting revealed administration's desire to end Pretoria's "poolecat status" in world community.
- * Trained South African Coast Guard
- * Increased number of South African honorary consulates in US.
- * Issued visas to South African Springboks rugby team.
- * Rejected French-initiated diplomatic protest of South Africa's bulldozing of squatter camps near Cape Town.
- * Declared US "neutral" on South African invasion of Angola; vetoed UN Security Council resolution condemning invasion.
- * Met with South African-backed UNITA head, Jonas Savimbi, in Washington.

1982

- * Rescinded controls on "non-lethal" exports to South African military and police
- * Appointed Herman Nickel, advocate of corporate investments in South Africa, as US ambassador to Pretoria.
- * Allowed several nuclear sales to South Africa and facilitated the sale of enriched uranium from Europe to South Africa.
- * Voted for a \$1.1 billion IMF loan to South Africa.
- * Attempted to deport South African poet and activist Dennis Brutus from US. Brutus eventually won his case after a long, national campaign to let him stay.
- * Conditioned Namibian independence on agreement for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.
- * Allowed the export of 2,500 electric shock batons to South Africa.

1983

- * Granted license for US companies to service South African Koeberg nuclear power reactor.
- * Established office in Johannesburg to promote trade between US and South Africa.
- * Allowed export of military computer to South Africa.
- * Cut in half promised US aid to Zimbabwe.

1984 (according to "Time Running Out")

- * Praised the non-aggression pacts South Africa negotiated with Mozambique and negotiations with Angola.
- * Established a US liason office in Windhoek, Namibia, in a move regarded by some as a violation of the UN Security Council resolution.
- * Increased sales of strategic materials like aircraft, computers and communications equipment through licensing procedures to private companies.
- * Gave warm support to the government "reforms" which include Indian and coloreds in government, but leave out blacks.
- * Voted against a UN Security Council resolution condemning South Africa, which had been urged by Bishop Desmond Tutu.



Dan Wasserman, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

REAGAN'S SOUTH AFRICA POLICY IS A FAILURE
by Sanford Unger, N. Y. Times 9/17/84

The latest South African violence, coming just as the white rulers were implementing a new Constitution, is an acute embarrassment for Pretoria. It is also evidence that America's policy toward South Africa, known as "constructive engagement," has failed.

For nearly four years, the Administration has softened official criticism of apartheid and made key concessions to the regime, maintaining that only through dialogue and cooperation could America be a constructive force in South Africa and its region.

When P. W. Botha, then Prime Minister and now State President, unveiled his new constitutional structure last year, offering separate and unequal chambers of Parliament to the 850,000 Indians and 2.7 million mixed-race "coloreds" -- but still no participation in the central Government for the black majority of more than 23.3 million -- the State Department praised it as a step in the right direction. American officials virtually joined the campaign for its approval in a referendum limited to the 4.7 million whites.

Similarly, the Reagan Administration has emerged as a sponsor-- in some instances, a broker -- of pacts South Africa has signed with neighboring black-ruled states. One of Pretoria's goals was to halt terrorist attacks by denying havens to the African National Congress and others fighting to overthrow the system.

But judged on the record so far, "constructive engagement" has hardly fulfilled its promises. Things are getting worse, not better, in South Africa, and despite some encouraging signs the region remains a tinderbox....

America is "constructively engaged" with only a small, privileged stratum of South African society. Rather, it should promote genuine participation in government by all South Africans. (Unger is senior associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)

SOUTH AFRICA SANCTIONS BILL KILLED IN CONGRESS:ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT STANDS UP AND IS COUNTED

The Export Administration Act was killed by Senate Republicans and the Reagan Administration on October 12, 1984, and with it died the first U.S. Congressional attempt to impose economic and political sanctions on the racist regime of South Africa. While the death of the Export Administration Act is disappointing, we have successfully built a strong foundation to impose sanctions in the next Congress. It was the strength of the anti-apartheid movement that forced the administration and Senate Republicans to stop the bill altogether. Our extensive lobbying made it impossible for the administration to extract the sanctions from the bill.

....the House of Representatives approved (by voice vote) on October 27, 1983, four South Africa sanctions as part of the EAA: (1) Gray provision ending new US corporate investment in South Africa; (2) Solarz provision mandating compliance with the Sullivan "fair employment" principles for all U.S. corporations operating in South Africa, prohibiting commercial bank loans to the South African government or its agencies, and banning the importation of South African gold coins, including Krugerrands; (3) Berman provision re-instating controls on exports to the South African military and police; and (4) Wolpe provision expanding nuclear nonproliferation controls to prohibit certain nuclear equipment, parts, and technology transfers to....South Africa....

(ed. note. after the Senate passed a badly gutted version of this and a conference committee failed to reach accord, the anti-apartheid forces refused to yield the essence of their bill and it was subsequently defeated. For details see "Washington Notes Update," The Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002)

CHANGE THROUGH ARMS?

....there is no chance of significant change in South Africa without an armed struggle....The problem is that there is no effective alternative to violent change. Only wishful thinking could justify the hope that South African whites will peacefully surrender the political, economic and social benefits that they derive from apartheid. The recent constitutional reforms providing for limited political representation for Indians and the people of mixed race known as coloreds are not, as claimed by the Reagan Administration, a small but encouraging step toward racial equality. Rather, as State President P. W. Botha has repeatedly indicated, such reforms are an effort to isolate the black majority in order to reinforce apartheid.

The proponents of armed struggle do not claim that the apartheid regime will be brought down by bullets alone. Armed struggle will be only one component, but it will be an indispensable one, for the whites must fear for their lives if they are to surrender the rewards of oppression. It is an arduous, bloody, distasteful road -- yet it is the only alternative to continued acceptance of the status quo.

Sweden points the way to a principled path, providing economic assistance (albeit for humanitarian purposes only) to the African National Congress. It is a limited step, but one that goes well beyond the never-ending debate over improbably international economic sanctions against Pretoria. If, as some principled Americans argue, the time has come for an unmistakable signal of America's opposition to the racist system, then is it not time at least to acknowledge the legitimacy of armed struggle against apartheid?

-- Piero Gleijeses, adjunct professor of American foreign policy at the John Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (N.Y. Times, 9/17/84)

APARTHEID IS A HERESY

THUMBNAIL BOOK REVIEW

Apartheid Is a Heresy edited by John De Gruchy and Charles Villavicencio, Grand Rapids; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983, 184 pp., \$5.95.

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) at its meeting in Ottawa in 1982 declared that apartheid is a sin, that its moral and theological justification is a travesty of the Gospel, and, in its persistent disobedience to the Word of God, is a theological heresy.

The purpose of Apartheid Is a Heresy is to substantiate those claims. (Among the authors are Allan Boesak, Chris Loff, Desmond Tutu and Simon Maimela, as well as the editors. From a review in "Christianity and Crisis," August 13, 1984).

KUDOS TO MERRILL LYNCH!!!!

Noted in a recent flyer published by Merrill Lynch: Merrill Lynch will help an investor buy gold bullion or coins. If an investor wishes to buy coins MERRILL Lynch offers a choice of the coins from Austria, Canada, or Mexico. The coin of South Africa is not mentioned.

Note: Below are names and addresses of local Senators and Representatives to write regarding the above issues:

House of Representatives

Frank Horton
2229 Rayburn Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Fred Eckert
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Senator

Daniel Moynihan
U.S. Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Jack Kemp
2252 Rayburn Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

John LaFalce
2419 Rayburn Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Senator

Alfonse D'Amato
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510



White House Opinion 202-456-7639 Capitol Opinion 202-224-3121

WHENCE HUMAN RIGHTS AID TO S.A.?

On November 17, 1983, Congress approved \$1.5 million for aid to human rights groups in South Africa during 1984 and 1985, to be administered by US AID in blocks of up to \$10,000. Congress mandated the aid for "grants to nongovernmental organizations...promoting political, economic, social, juridical and humanitarian efforts to foster a just society...and to help victims of apartheid....To date no recipients have been named. It remains to be seen if hand-picked trade unions or groups which the US government may want to promote will be included.

--"Washington Notes on Africa,"
Winter 1984

US ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH AFRICA

US government aid to South Africa for fiscal years 1984 and 1985 will amount to nearly \$15.5 million, more than in any recent period. While no direct government-to-government aid is proposed, the programs were described as "part and parcel of constructive engagement." The aid is "intended to help (Black South Africans) gain additional bargaining power for when the time comes to make their presence known in determining the future of South Africa."

Yet, as one South African educator said in response to plans for US assistance, "We would have to presume that the Americans would not propose something that would not be acceptable to the South African government." Indeed the programs proposed do nothing to foster fundamental change in the repressive apartheid system.

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Church

RESOLUTION ON DIVESTMENT PASSED BY THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF ROCHESTER

Time Running Out (Rochester) Fall 84

WHEREAS the system of white minority rule in South Africa, called apartheid, has been widely condemned; and

WHEREAS widespread killing, mass arrests and repression have been the response of South Africa's government to nationwide demonstrations for democratic rights and an end to the apartheid system which reserves 87% of the land area and all economic and political control to the 18% of the population which is white; and

WHEREAS American investment activities in South Africa strengthen and give moral support to the apartheid system at a time when that system is under severe stress; and

WHEREAS the General Convention and Executive Council of the Episcopal Church have, on numerous occasions, condemned the apartheid system in South Africa and urged the use of social criteria in investments;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the 53rd Annual Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester support efforts to adopt legislation in New York State to reduce our economic support to apartheid South Africa by removing New York State pension funds from all corporations and banks that do business in South Africa; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Convention urge the parishes of this diocese to become informed on this matter and to support the efforts of the New York State Council of Churches to work for passage of this legislation; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to all members of the State Senate and Assembly from the eight counties within the diocese and to the governor and leaders of the Senate and Assembly.

EDITORIAL: LOSING OUR CAPACITY FOR MORAL OUTRAGE

The American people seem to be losing their capacity for moral outrage. Consider South Africa. Through its policy of "constructive engagement" the Reagan administration has given its imprimatur to the apartheid government of P. W. Botha. It has been constructive engagement with a tiny white elite.

Our administration has praised the "non-aggression" pacts Botha has negotiated with black front-line states pressured by South Africa's military and economic superiority. It has established a liaison office in Windhoek, Namibia, in violation of the U.N. resolution on the future of that unfortunate land which South Africa continues to occupy.

Our government has increased sales of strategic military equipment to the South African government despite a U.N. sanctioned arms embargo. It has paved the way for U.S. corporate investment there despite former Prime Minister John Vorster's comment that "Each trade agreement, each bank loan, each new investment is another brick in the wall of our continued existence."

Our administration has supported the "new dispensation" in which the South African government has co-opted a minority of Indians and coloreds to an inferior status in a white dominated parliament. This has only added fuel to the fire of unrest smoldering in the hearts of black South Africans, 23 million of them, who are still denied the most basic of human rights and excluded from political participation.

The civil unrest in South Africa is dramatic testimony to the failure of "constructive engagement." The plight of the vast majority of black South Africans continues to worsen, even as American companies point to improvement in the lot of a tiny few. Millions have been and continue to be herded into phantom "homelands" to eak out a living on the dregs of South Africa's land.

During all this our administration smiles benignly and continues to "get along by going along" with moral outrages that can only be compared to the Nazi period. And the American people, somnolent under the "new dispensation" of another Reagan reign, appear to be above the fray. Whatever happened to our capacity for moral outrage?