

NEWS

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FOCUS

DAVIS URGES ACTION TO STOP VIOLENCE

*Congressional Testimony
Defends Apartheid's Victims*

Prompted by the deteriorating situation in South Africa, the U.S. Senate unanimously passed a resolution condemning the violence in South Africa and urging the government to take effective action to end the killings. Through the Stop Apartheid's Violence campaign, The Africa Fund has been educating Americans about the need for action to stop the violence. The Fund organized a number of briefings on the Hill on this issue and provided background materials used in drawing up the resolution.

The Congressional action, which was co-sponsored by 30 Senators, followed two of the most publicized massacres in South Africa's recent history — Boipatong in June and Ciskei in September — and came despite extensive lobbying against the resolution from the South African Ambassador in Washington and the U.S. State Department.

On September 23, 1992, Senator Paul Simon's Africa Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on the current situation in South Africa and heard evidence regarding the resolution on the violence, SR 301. Among those who testified was Africa Fund Executive Director Jennifer Davis.

Davis spoke to the Senators about the strategy of violence to destabilize the democratic struggle, gave a comprehensive account of the current crisis in northern Natal province (home of Gatsha Buthelezi's Kwazulu homeland), and urged U.S. consular personnel stationed in South Africa to visit vulnerable areas and show support for the victims.

In an unusual departure from protocol at such hearings, Senator Paul Sarbanes used excerpts from Davis's testimony to ask Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen how the ANC

can be expected to negotiate while its members are being slaughtered and the government is taking no action to stop the violence? Unsatisfied with Cohen's response, Sarbanes concluded his remarks: "What is irrational is apparently an expectation on your part that there can be pervasive violence, and those upon whom the violence is being perpetrated are simply going to go on about the negotiations when the government is perceived as, well, in part, perpetrating the violence."

Rick Reinhardt/Impact Visuals



Africa Fund Executive Director Jennifer Davis

What follows are excerpts from Davis' testimony on September 23.

Mr. Chairman, members of this committee I want to thank you for inviting me to testify today, and for providing me with an opportunity to present our views.

I feel a special urgency in testifying today because of the terrible violence in South Africa which threatens to spiral out of control and imperil all progress towards freedom and majority rule.

Three years ago President de Klerk assumed power with promises to initiate a new, apartheid free South Africa.

Within weeks he did indeed begin a process which led to the release of many political prisoners, the unbanning of political organizations and the beginning of negotiations. His actions also led to the rapid unraveling of the long sustained international pressures, which had played so vital a role in bringing him to these other actions.

Now, three years later we are still confronted by a situation in which all real power remains in white hands. Nelson Mandela can negotiate, but cannot vote. Attention has been diverted from the basic tenet, so long accepted, that the end of apartheid will only be real when color no longer determines the right to exercise power.

I stress what may seem simplistic because I believe the violence now bedeviling South Africa is no accident. It is of a piece with the fundamental objectives of the leaders of the National Party — to move towards incorporating the Black majority only so far as is absolutely necessary, to retain as great a hold on white political and economic power as is at all feasible, and to use whatever tactics are available to achieve these ends.

It would be naive to forget that we are witnessing no voluntary, generous abdication of power, but a continuing contest, *in which the terrain of struggle is by no means even*. One side, the white minority population, still wields the power of the state, and will continue to use that as long as it is able. The other side, the Black majority, has justice and the weight of its numbers, but is still only a supplicant for formal access to power.

In this context, when official Washington exercises a seemingly evenhanded policy embracing all parties, it fails to press firmly for a rapid

(continued on page 2)

completion of the process of democratization. It appears to stand neutral in the face of injustice. It does not effectively use the range of pressures available to impact on such critical issues as the continuation of state sponsored or condoned violence.

IN SEARCH OF A POLICY

The U.S. appears to have defined negotiations as the end goal in South Africa rather than full democracy based on majority rule. While it is the South African people who must ultimately determine the shape of the democracy in their country, this administration's attempts at impartiality seem to ignore the reality that as a nation we have chosen sides in South Africa — we are against apartheid, and against white minority rule. That ought not to mean that there is no debate or discussion with them. But it ought to mean looking at their proposals about the future with some memory of their past.

Reluctant to apply real pressure on the South African government to end the violence and move the negotiations process forward, the administration exercises an even-handed approach always blaming the oppressed as well as the oppressor. For instance, in the immediate aftermath of the recent massacre in Ciskei, a State Department spokesman first condemned the

"excessive and unjustified use of lethal force against peaceful demonstrators" and acknowledged the South African government's responsibility for the actions in the homelands. He then continued, "But it's also clear that those who prompted the demonstration should carefully reconsider future actions that distract from the primary issues at hand — and that is negotiations — and actions that expose innocent supporters to violence.... We call on all parties to avoid further provocative actions...." As of last Thursday, September 17, this was the only public statement issued by the State Department on the Ciskei massacre.

This statement leaves the impression in the public mind that the U.S. government is in the business of blaming those who, denied the vote, are exercising what we would see as a fundamental right to peaceful assembly.

If Americans like Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy had believed marching in the face of hostility was a provocative act they would have stayed inside the Church on 16th St in Bull Connor's Birmingham on Good Friday in 1963. James Meredith would not have walked up the steps of a white university in Mississippi and the shape of American history would have been determined by the politics of George Wallace.

Surely, as Americans we must

defend, and defend strongly, the right of peaceful protest, of making a demand by physical presence. There is no evidence of ANC marchers in the Ciskei using guns. There is considerable evidence that none of the people killed were from outside the Ciskei.

Mr. Chairman, as I conclude, I would like to discuss briefly some specific issues concerning the situation in South Africa and U.S. policy toward the region. First, I want to raise the serious case of U.S. arms and ammunition being sent to South Africa. Second, I would like to urge that Embassy personnel be encouraged to play a more active and public role in visiting areas of South Africa that have experienced serious violence.

For a complete copy of the testimony, send \$3.50 to 9/23 Testimony c/o The Africa Fund.

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ARMS EMBARGO

SECRET DOCUMENTS REVEAL SHOTGUN SHIPMENTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Africa Fund Sues Commerce Department

Africa Fund charges that the U.S. government is continuing to license exports of firearms to South Africa, despite the Africa Fund's two year investigation of illegal shotgun shipments sent to Cape Town, received extensive press coverage in September 1992. A Research Department search of shipping manifests revealed 23 separate shipments of firearms to Cape Town in the period between March 7, 1991 and May 27, 1992.

The Africa Fund first alerted the U.S. Departments of State and Commerce to a series of suspicious shotguns shipments in November 1990 following an initial investigation conducted with the American Friends Service Committee. On the face of it U.S. licenses were issued for buyers in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, but the guns were shipped via South Africa making their diversion pos-

sible. After persistent stonewalling from the government, the Center for Constitutional Rights filed a Freedom of Information Act request on Africa Fund's behalf seeking to obtain details of these shipments. The Commerce Department has acknowledged the existence of some 1100 documents related to this case, but has refused to release the information.

Confidential State Department cables obtained by The Africa Fund and released to the press in mid-September reveal that for over a year the government has had proof that the initial accusation that shotguns were being diverted to South Africa was correct. In a cable dated July 1991, then Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger writes that 13 different licenses to export granted to one company "ALL APPEAR TO BE FRAUDULENT."

Based on this evidence, Executive Director Jennifer Davis charged in recent testimony in the Senate that "We have

been forced to the conclusion that this administration cannot be trusted to reveal the truth about these arms shipments, much less put an end to them."

The Africa Fund suggested in September that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee subpoena all of the documents related to these shipments as part of a larger effort to ensure that the Commerce and State Departments enforce the law and end illegal arms shipments to South Africa. Senator Paul Simon's office is following up with the State and Commerce Departments.

Jennifer Davis's testimony, the FOIA lawsuit and the release of the confidential State Department documents were the focus of major articles in The New York Times, the Washington Post and more than 15 other newspapers. After additional submissions of evidence from both the Africa Fund and from the Commerce Department, the Federal judge is scheduled to rule early in 1993.

BUILDING THE NEW SOCIETY

The residents of the Tamboville squatter camp near Johannesburg have also been targets for pro-government death squads. Late last year, five local leaders of the community organization, or civic, were shot and killed in their homes. No one has been arrested for any of these attacks.

Undeterred by these attacks, the people of this area are not waiting for a political settlement to begin to build a new South Africa. Tamboville, named for veteran ANC leader Oliver Tambo, is an area of what was formally called "white" South Africa that Black community residents invaded two years ago to set up new houses. After taking over the land, the community people began to build houses and demanded the white authorities built proper roads, electricity and sewage facilities. The people of Tamboville are determined not just to carry on, but to build for the future. The Africa Fund is working with high school students in North Carolina to raise \$10,000 to help them begin construction on a school and community center. Other local and national groups are also beginning to raise support.



Jennifer Davis (R) presents a check to Abie Nyalunga for the Tamboville Civic.

THE AFRICA FUND: AIDING APARTHEID'S VICTIMS

When 55 people were shot and stabbed to death in Boipatong by the police and pro-government vigilantes, The Africa Fund received an urgent appeal for help to support the families of these victims. We rushed the ANC Women's Department thousands of dollars to help care for the survivors. Our contribution helped provide emergency shelter, blankets, clothing and even food for people who had nowhere else to turn.

The South African hospital workers union called The Africa Fund because thousands of their members were being arrested for peaceful picketing during a strike. The cost of posting bail threatened to bankrupt the fledgling union. We

raised over \$13,000 to help get striking hospital workers out of jail.

In the Natal area para-military style hit squads have targeted local labor, religious and community leaders, shooting the leaders, burning down their homes, and killing their families. The Africa Fund provided a small grant to a union relief fund in Natal so that local leaders under immediate threat can at least temporarily be moved to safe houses when the danger is greatest.

And when organizers in one local civic in Natal could no longer work out of their township office, The Africa Fund provided a laptop computer to help keep them functioning.

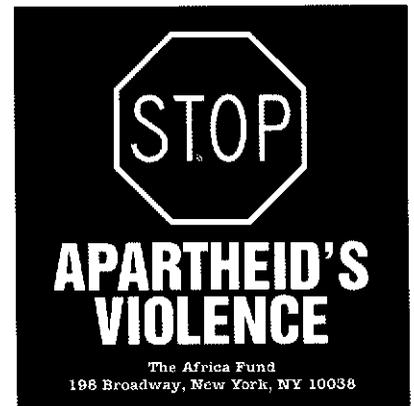
Through our support of these vital projects, The Africa Fund is helping the people of South Africa build for freedom. This, like all our work, is made possible by the thousands of people throughout the country who have contributed to The Africa Fund.

JOIN THE "STOP APARTHEID'S VIOLENCE" CAMPAIGN

Since Nelson Mandela was released there have been fifty massacres in South Africa in which ten or more people have been killed. An average of eight people die every day in apartheid's violence. This continuing violence threatens the negotiations to end apartheid and establish democracy.

To counter the killing, The Africa Fund has initiated the STOP Apartheid's Violence campaign. The Fund is urging churches, unions and anti-apartheid organizations to hold memorial services for

all the victims of apartheid's violence on *Human Rights Day, December 10*. The Fund also urges everyone to become involved in *STOP Apartheid's Violence Week, February 7-14, 1993*. Organize teach-ins, demonstrations or meetings during this week to demand that South African President de Klerk stop the killings. To order resources for this campaign, including an organizers packet, video and sticker, see the Resources section. For more information contact Dumisani Kumalo (212) 962-1210.



GENDER COORDINATOR TOUR

As Africa Fund News went to press, The Africa Fund Labor Desk completed an 11-day U.S. tour of South African trade unionist Dorothy Mokgalo, recently appointed Gender Coordinator for the anti-apartheid Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). A former metal worker, Ms. Mokgalo is responsible for developing women's empowerment and training programs within the union movement.



Dorothy Mokgalo (R) with Africa Fund's Annie King.

The tour, co-sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) brought Ms. Mokgalo into contact with a broad spectrum of feminist and labor ac-

tivists. The objective was to bring Mokgalo together with American women struggling around issues facing South African union women. Over the course of her stay, Mokgalo was able to learn how U.S. women address such urgent concerns as child care, occupational safety and health, rape crisis intervention and sexual harassment, women's leadership training and empowerment, and organizing in the American south.

The New York program included a half day program at St. Lukes Roosevelt Hospital's rape crisis and intervention center, an evening reception with the District Council 37 AFSCME Women's Committee and New York City CLUW.

From New York, Mokgalo and Labor Desk Coordinator Mike Fleshman flew to Boston to meet with the union-based Women's Institute for Leadership Development and conduct a daylong program at the University of Massachusetts occupational safety and health training institute. She then addressed the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO convention.

That evening Mokgalo and Fleshman departed for North Carolina to spend the weekend with the grassroots Black Workers For Justice, a key group in the campaign to organize the American South. Mokgalo ended her tour with an

overnight program with the Bay Area Free South African Labor Committee, returning to South Africa on October 14.

"We think this tour has broken new ground in both South Africa and the United States," said Fleshman, "making new links between working women on both sides of the Atlantic, and laying the foundation for mutual support and ongoing contact and exchange."

PUBLIC WORKERS ARRESTED FOR STRIKING

This Summer and early Fall the Labor Desk also coordinated a national campaign in support of South African hospital workers in their strike against starvation wages and institutionalized racism in the public hospital system. In response to a July Labor Desk alert, American hospital unions, including Local 1199 and AFSCME Local 420 in New York, SEIU Local 1199NW in Seattle, and the national Coalition of Black Trade Unions joined the Africa Fund in providing emergency funds to the union to cover emergency assistance and court costs for the strikers.

In late September the government finally agreed to rehire the dismissed workers and improve wages and working conditions in the public hospitals.

RESOURCES

Please indicate the quantity desired on the line before each title. Please add 15% postage and handling on all orders.

____ APARTHEID REGIME — HANDS OFF LABOR (22x26 inches) (Africa Fund, 1992) This three color poster by San Francisco artist Sarah Hodgson expresses solidarity with South African unions. \$6.00 each. Over ten, \$4.00 each.



____ AFRICA'S DROUGHT AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE by Carol Thompson (Africa Fund, 1992) 4pp. Southern Africa is in the midst of its worst drought in history with millions of lives threatened. However, policies imposed on African countries by the U.S. and other donor nations have made it more difficult for African nations to respond. 30¢ each. Over twenty, 15¢ each.

____ RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA — TESTIMONY OF JENNIFER DAVIS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE AFRICA FUND, BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS

COMMITTEE, September 23, 1992. (Africa Fund, 1992) 14 pp. typescript. An analysis of the violence in South Africa and U.S. policy. \$3.00.

____ OUR POLITICAL ECONOMY — UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS by The Trade Union Research Project, The Economic Trends Group and COSATU. (COSATU, 1992) 76pp. An economics handbook for COSATU shop stewards to educate union members, this book provides an excellent overview of South Africa's economy. \$12.00.

STOP APARTHEID'S VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN MATERIALS



____ STOP APARTHEID'S VIOLENCE VINYL DECAL (5 inches square) (Africa Fund, 1992) This bumper sticker decal expresses support for the STOP Apartheid's Violence campaign. Black, red & white. \$1.00 each. Ten through forty-nine, 75¢ each. Fifty and above, 45¢ each.

____ STOP APARTHEID'S VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN ORGANIZER'S PACKET (Africa Fund, 1992). Basic material for organizing the campaign. \$5.00.

____ STOP THE VIOLENCE VIDEO (South Africa Now, 1992) — 14 minutes. This documentary exposes the role of the South African police and hit squads in apartheid violence and government funding for pro-government vigilante groups. Contains graphic footage of violence in South Africa. \$20.00.

Enclosed is \$_____ for literature, including 15% postage and handling.

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send payment to **The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038**