

T H E A F R I C A F U N D NEWS

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FOCUS

REACHING OUT TO LOCAL ACTIVISTS

As Africa is becoming less of a priority for U.S. policy makers, the Africa Fund has been seeking out new ways to build a constituency for Africa here at home.

In South Africa news, the last three years' headlines have quoted President de Klerk's claims of the death of apartheid. Yet activists know there is still much work to be done. Likewise in Mozambique, Angola and Zaire the current transitions require a higher level of understanding than most can gain through the mainstream press.

It has been difficult to decipher how, in these changing times, to continue to support democracy both in South and southern Africa.

Recognizing that South Africa's transition has impacted on the U.S. solidarity community, The Africa Fund set out to consult with people across the country — seeing old friends and meeting new. Long time activist Prexy Nesbitt came on board to help organize six regional conferences in as many months.

The conferences were held in cities with active southern Africa networks,

which also tap a regional component.

In **Kansas City** the Greater Kansas Committee Against Apartheid and Racism brought thirty community, student, and legislative activists for a day-long series of consultations.

Seattle's Council of Churches and the African Studies Association collaborated with the Africa Fund on a lively meeting of regional southern Africa activists, attended by Fund Executive Director Jennifer Davis.

Activists from all over Texas and New Mexico came together in **Dallas** to assess current work and plan for the future.

Africa Fund Projects Director Dumisani Kumalo joined Prexy Nesbitt in **Los Angeles** to address a crowd of sixty, gath-



Africa Fund Projects Director Dumisani Kumalo (left) and Regional Coordinator Prexy Nesbitt.

ered to observe the third anniversary of Nelson Mandela's release and to strategize for the coming period.

Conferences were also held in **Chicago** and **Atlanta**.

STOP THE VIOLENCE

A DELUGE OF PETITIONS URGE PRESIDENT CLINTON TO STOP APARTHEID'S VIOLENCE

Thousands of Americans participated in the Africa Fund's **STOP Apartheid's Violence Week** commemorating the third anniversary of the release of Nelson Mandela from 27 years in South Africa's jails on February 11, 1990. During the week of February 7-14, hundreds of petitions were collected calling on President Clinton to publicly condemn apartheid's vio-

lence which has claimed over 10,000 lives since Mandela was freed.

The petitions came from churches, colleges, mosques, synagogues, and union halls in more than 20 states. Many communities and groups held teach-ins on apartheid's violence, some held vigils in public places.

Several mayors and city councils is-

sued proclamations noting the week of action. Perhaps the most moving statement came from Governor Mike Lowry of Washington State: "whereas we remain concerned about stopping the killing in our own communities fed by the dominant culture of violence; whereas we encouraged the new administration in Washington D.C. to

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Rick Reinhardt/Impact Visuals



This year, the American Committee on Africa, founder of the Africa Fund, will mark its 40th year of activity on behalf of African self-determination, of campaigning for an engaged and just U.S. policy toward Africa, of building a nation-wide grassroots constituency for Africa.

When news from Africa seems bleak, as wars ravage the continent, affecting more people and threatening more lives than all the fighting in the rest of the world, it is important to take the long view, recalling what we've achieved.

Africa was still colonial property when ACOA opened its doors. There were only four independent

countries...today the decolonization agenda has been completed, at least in political terms; 51 member states belong to the Organization of African Unity, and it's more than a dream to look to the birth of a free South Africa in the very near future.

And yet our role seems far from over. The inequalities of the world economic system, the decline in commodity prices and continuing rise in the cost of industrial goods have been particularly hard on Africa. As Salim Salim, OAU Secretary General describes it: "Our people work harder today, produce more but get less for what they produce."

Not all the problems of African states are imported, or attributable only to the legacy of colonialism. Autocratic and corrupt leadership, the slow growth of any empowering grass-roots democracy, misdirection of economic resources and the continuing impact of ancient rivalries, have all played their part. But Western and U.S. policy makers also have much to answer for.

In the long years when policy was dominated by Cold War considerations, dictators were armed, as in Somalia and Zaire, white supremacists were con-

doned, as in South Africa, contra forces were built, as in Angola, all in the name of combatting communism.

The end of the Cold War brought a further retreat from concern. Now policy seems devoid of any overarching design, is characterized by neglect and occasionally driven to acts of crisis intervention when the pictures on television awaken the conscience of the public.

Writing in *Foreign Affairs* recently, *Time* Nairobi Bureau chief Marguerite Michaels reports on "A Retreat from
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HUMAN RIGHTS

DELEGATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Wyatt Tee Walker, Chair of the Religious Action Network (a project of Africa Fund's Associate organization, the American Committee on Africa) and Aleah Bacquie, RAN Coordinator and Africa Fund Human Rights Coordinator, led a delegation to South Africa to attend the African National Congress' first-ever International Solidarity Conference on South African soil in February. Bacquie's report follows.

The major human rights issue stressed at the conference was that of political violence which killed some 3,500 people in 1992 and tragically renders free political activity in South Africa a dream deferred. In fact, almost every ANC official who made a presentation mentioned the threat to free and fair elections posed by violence and intimidation.

After the conference I traveled to communities victimized by violence in the Johannesburg area. I learned how the dark cloud of political violence still plagues Boipatong township. Survivors and relatives of the victims of the Boipatong Massacre of June 1992 met with us in the local church to describe police involvement — how they prepared the way for attackers and disregarded the community's calls for help. Hours

Aleah Bacquie



Religious Action Network Chair Wyatt Tee Walker with Sister Bernard Ncube at the February ANC Conference in Johannesburg, South Africa.

after the police had ordered the clearing of protective road blocks set up by the community, a large group of men entered the quiet area — some on foot and others in vehicles. Armed with pangas, tomahawks, and AK47's, their orders were to spend "three minutes per house". Thus, shack dwellers had the highest death toll, their fragile structures easily broken into, the inhabitants defenseless.

Matsule Miriam Muli, severely wounded in the attack herself, told me how her husband was killed and her child

paralyzed. "We are still in pain, suffering, grieving in Boipatong," she said. "We live with constant threats from the people of Kwa Madala Hostel. Some have run-away from our own houses and sleep in churches for safety....our plea to you is to help...Do not forget us."

Days later when I met with Justice Goldstone who heads the Goldstone Commission on Public Violence and Intimidation I recounted those stories from the people of Boipatong. Goldstone's agenda seems directed not principally toward uncovering the truth about the causes of violence in South Africa, but to ensuring that the negotiations process continues on track. He told me that he sees "no point" in finding or reporting on the initial causes of the violence.

Goldstone has uncovered secret and illegal government intelligence "dirty-tricks" projects aimed at destabilizing the ANC. This revelation led to De Klerk's termination of several senior intelligence officers in December 1992. However, the people of Boipatong expressed "no confidence in the Goldstone Commission itself." I will soon go to South Africa for a year to join the South African Council of Churches where my investigation of South Africa's violence will continue.

WOMEN

WORKING FOR EQUALITY IN TOMORROW'S SOUTH AFRICA

An Africa Fund letter in support of the South African Women's Charter Campaign signed by American women representing over 25 women's, religious, union and anti-apartheid organizations was delivered to women leaders in South Africa during Women's History Month. Signatories to the letter included NOW President Patricia Ireland, Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, National Council of Negro Women President Dorothy Height, Rev. Dr. Joan B. Campbell, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, Bella Abzug, Chair of the NYC Commission on the Status of Women, and the National Council of Jewish Women. This letter represents the first action of the Africa Fund Women's Project, created in response to the struggle of women in southern Africa.

Women's Project Coordinator Rachael Kagan went to South Africa and Zimbabwe in the Fall of 1992 to make initial contacts with women organizers there. In South Africa, she learned of women's determination to see that their rights are recognized and protected by a new government.

"We need to unite as women to ensure the new South Africa is new for us too. We need to cross the line into the new era together. The advantages some women have had under apartheid have been superficial. After apartheid these will be gone. It will be the men's club." Modiegi Kumalo, of the South African Women's National Coalition, told Kagan.

Women in South Africa are building a movement from the ground up. Faced (continued on page 5)



Africa Fund Women's Project Coordinator Rachael Kagan (left) with Xoliswa Tom of the Border Council of Churches outside her office in South Africa, October 1992. Tom was one of the organizers of the September march which resulted in the Bisho massacre.

LABOR DESK

STRENGTHENING UNION-TO-UNION TIES

J.J. Johnson



In the wake of the long and bloody 1992 South African hospital workers strike, the Labor Desk has continued efforts to strengthen links between the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) and their counterpart unions in the United States.

In February Labor Desk coordinator Mike Fleshman worked closely with NEHAWU and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) to coordinate the visit to South Africa of Diane Sosne, SEIU vice president and head of the union's nursing division. The visit resulted from contacts made during the Labor Desk's 1992 tour of the United States by NEHAWU nurses Thami Skenjana and Khumbu Mtinjana. Sosne met with NEHAWU Deputy General Secretary Neil Thobejane, addressed a national conference of South African nurses

In December South African trade unionist Willies Mchunu visited DC 1707 AFSCME leadership in New York. (left to right) Africa Fund Labor Desk Coordinator Mike Fleshman, DC1707 Political Action Director Susan Wilson, DC1707 President Bettye Roberts, Mchunu, DC 1707 Executive Director Robert McEnroe, DC 1707 Political Action Committee Chair Bill Young.

on the role of U.S. unions in nursing, and attended the ANC's mid-February international conference in Johannesburg.

The Labor Desk also hosted Willies Mchunu, unionist and ANC leader in violence-racked Natal Province, during a U.S. visit in mid-December. Mchunu briefed United Steel Workers of America International Director Jerry Fernandez on the escalating political violence in the province, and met local labor leaders in New York.

Fleshman and visiting South African unionist Bobby Maree addressed the Political Action Committee of AFSCME District Council 1707 in New York in

February as part of the union's Black History Month program. Participants viewed The Africa Fund's "Stop Apartheid's Violence" video, and discussed ways to support South Africa's Black union movement during the difficult transition from apartheid to democracy.

As AFRICA FUND NEWS goes to press, the Labor Desk is preparing to assume primary responsibility for coordinating the activities of the New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid, the oldest locally based anti-apartheid labor coalition in the country. Fleshman is slated to become co-coordinator of the committee this Spring.

CITIES OPPOSE VIOLENCE

address the problems of poverty, lack of economic and educational opportunity that are the root causes of violence, and to overturn policies that have dominated both our domestic and foreign policies in the past, resulting in disproportionate death rate among both African Americans and Southern Africans; I Mike Lowry urge all citizens to join in the fight against apartheid and injustice in any form."

The petitions will be delivered to the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, by a delegation of church, civil rights, and labor leaders in April.

Among the cities where actions took place were:

Albany: The Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism organized a number of teach-ins on violence at home and abroad.

Atlanta: The American Friends Service Committee and the Georgia Coalition on Southern Africa toured a speaker on South Africa and held a statewide meeting on February 20 in Atlanta.

Boston: The Mobilization for Survival collected hundreds of petitions and held teach-ins on apartheid's violence.

Baltimore: The Baltimore City Council issued a proclamation declaring February 7-14 STOP Apartheid's Violence Week. The American Friends Service

Committee collected petitions for President Clinton.

Chicago: On February 11, the third anniversary of Mandela's release, Southern Africa Network of Churches held a vigil outside the South African Consulate and a teach-in on the violence.

Cleveland: The North East Coalition Against Apartheid, TransAfrica and American Friends Service Committee collected petitions and held meetings in several churches in the area.

Detroit: The Detroit City Council adopted a resolution declaring February 7-14, STOP Apartheid's Violence Week and both the Michigan Coalition for Human Rights and SOSAD (Save our Sons and Daughters) held a noon time vigil outside the Detroit County Building on February 11.

Kansas City: The Greater Kansas Coali-

tion Against Apartheid held meetings on violence at home and abroad.

Los Angeles: The Religious Task Force on Southern Africa organized a celebration of the third anniversary of Nelson Mandela's release from jail held at the historic Holman United Methodist Church on February 11.

New York: Many churches collected petitions for President Clinton and Mayor Dinkins issued a proclamation declaring February 7-14, STOP Apartheid's Violence Week.

Portland, OR: Portlanders Against Apartheid conducted teach-ins on apartheid's violence in the public schools and showed the STOP Apartheid's Violence video to many classes.

Seattle: The Greater Seattle Council of Churches held special programs at three different churches and many others in-

cluded copies of the petition in their Sunday program. Both Mayor Norman Rice and Governor Mike Lowry issued proclamations about the week of action.

Washington DC: John Ray, Chairman Pro Tem of the Washington DC City Council proposed a resolution on the week of action which was passed unanimously. Meanwhile, churches in the area collected petitions for President Clinton.

Lisa Staehlin



This young boy was a victim of police brutality during the Sept., 1992 Bisho massacre, when 28 people were killed and hundreds wounded as government troops opened fire on 80,000 peaceful anti-apartheid demonstrators.

... DAVIS (continued from page 2)

Africa. In the last six months the State Department's bureau of African Affairs has lost 70 posts...consulates in Kenya, Cameroon and Nigeria are to be closed —bodies and budgets are needed in Eastern Europe." The Africa desk for the U.S. Agency for International Development has lost 40 of 130 staffers in recent years.

This pattern of minimal resource application is carried over into the United Nations, which has only 15% of its military and peacekeeping personnel posted to Africa, and less than 12% of its current

\$2.8 billion peacekeeping budget allocated for African operations, despite the overwhelming needs generated by war, drought and millions of refugees.

When asked about Africa during the Presidential campaign, Bill Clinton made statements on the need for democracy, support against apartheid, etc. But one had to search hard to find these policy statements; Africa has clearly been relegated to the back burner.

Such lack of pro-active concern immediately threatens the democratic pro-

cess in South Africa —where the de Klerk government is being allowed to drag its feet and manipulate constitutional legalisms without challenge.

It also underscores the importance of your ongoing engagement with the work of the Africa Fund and the American Committee on Africa. Together we need to address the task of keeping Africa on the U.S. policy agenda and ensuring that whatever the policy, it addresses African problems in a manner sensitive to African needs.

AFTER SANCTIONS: BUILDING A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

As the ANC enters new multi-party negotiations for a democratic government, the movement has raised hopes that sanctions will soon be ended, and another task begun... building a new society. But they are demanding more than a promise of good conduct from the F.W. de Klerk government before calling for an end to isolation.

In the same vein the Africa Fund is working with state and local legislators, trade unions, religious groups and community activists in the United States to ensure U.S. corporations help address the legacy of apartheid once the ANC calls for the lifting of sanctions.

In February, the ANC National Executive set out conditions which would have to be met before sanctions would be lifted. These include the announcement of an agreed date for elections, the passage of legislation laying down agreed upon procedures for a transition to full democracy and the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council that includes the ANC and other parties.

LEGACY OF APARTHEID

Even democratic elections will not solve the brutal problems of economic poverty put in place by centuries of segregation and apartheid. Thus the ANC and its allies in the unions and churches have called on their supporters to begin planning now to help South Africa address the structural racial inequalities in land ownership, education, employment and housing.

As a step in this process, the trade union federation COSATU and the ANC issued a joint statement in November calling on corporations planning reinvestment in South Africa to respect basic prin-

ciples of social responsibility. Outlined in a "Platform of Guiding Principles for Foreign Investors," these include **collective bargaining, equal opportunity, empowerment of black business and environmental protection.**

Looking toward a post-apartheid South Africa, the Africa Fund has spent two years on groundwork to ensure that when U.S. companies begin to reinvest they will help build a new structure of economic justice, so all South Africans benefit from the fruits of democracy.

Staff members Richard Knight and Dumisani Kumalo made several trips to South Africa to consult with ANC, labor and religious leadership and worked with the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National Conference of State Legislators to achieve passage of resolutions endorsing this commitment. As the year opened the Africa Fund sent the new

The State of Washington



Proclamation

WHEREAS, while February 11, 1993 marks the third anniversary of the release of Nelson Mandela from 27 years in South Africa's jails, he still cannot vote; and

WHEREAS, every day at least ten people die in South Africa from political violence aimed at those who are struggling for democracy; and

WHEREAS, the apartheid regime has refused to stop military and police involvement in the murder of thousands of innocent people; and

WHEREAS, direct resistance to apartheid by the nonracial democratic forces in South Africa, together with international pressure, have forced the apartheid regime to make some changes; and

WHEREAS, continued pressure needs to be kept on the apartheid regime in order for apartheid to end in fact as well as in word; and

WHEREAS, the African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions and their allies are urging those companies wishing to do business in a post-apartheid South Africa to adopt a Code of Conduct incorporating principles of workers' rights, affirmative action, equality of opportunity, training and education, environmental protection, and development of black-owned business to be implemented both in South Africa and in the United States; and

WHEREAS, we remain concerned about stopping the killing in our own communities fed by the dominant culture of violence; and

WHEREAS, we encourage the new administration in Washington, D.C. to address the problems of poverty, lack of economic and educational opportunity that are the root causes of violence, and to overturn policies that have dominated both our domestic and foreign policies in the past, resulting in the disproportionate death rate among both African Americans and Southern Africans;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Mike Lowry, Governor of the State of Washington, do hereby proclaim February 7 - 14, 1993, as

Stop Apartheid Violence Week

in the State of Washington, and I urge all citizens to join the fight against apartheid and injustice in any form.



Signed, this 6th day of February, 1993,
Mike Lowry
 Governor Mike Lowry

Washington State's proclamation, passed in February, supported the Guiding Principles for Foreign Investors.

Principles and background material to one thousand state and local legislators and their aides.

U.S. cities and states played a key role in imposing the sanctions which helped pressure de Klerk to begin negotiating the end of apartheid. Now that energy needs to be directed towards overcoming apartheid's bitter legacy.

... WOMEN (continued from page 3)

with the oncoming political changes and promises of a "non-racial, non-sexist South Africa" from liberation leaders, women are asking just who will ensure women's equality in a new dispensation.

One response to this question was the formation of the Women's National Coalition (WNC) in April 1992. The aim of the WNC is to create a Women's Charter to be included in the new South African constitution.

Pregs Govender, WNC Project Manager, explained the need for women to organize on their own behalf. "While we

as women most need to see a transformation in South Africa, we have had little or no participation in all the constitutional and negotiations processes thus far. From CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) to the Peace Process to the National Economic Forum, the people involved in decision making and policy, in determining the future shape of our country, are men" she said.

Progressive South African women have long provided the foundation for the freedom struggle. Not only have they contributed greatly to the trade unions,

churches, civic and political organizations, but they have also supported the men in these movements, raised the families and tended the land in the rural areas.

When the transition to a democratic South Africa is finally complete, women will deserve much of the credit for accomplishing change. The question remains, will their rights be recognized and protected by a new government? Will they benefit from enhanced status and opportunity in a post-apartheid South Africa?

RESOURCES

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

____ **BITTER INHERITANCE: OVERCOMING THE LEGACY OF APARTHEID** by Michael Fleshman (Africa Fund, 1993), 6pp. A review of the legacy of white domination and Black disenfranchisement ranging from distribution of land, wealth, housing, health care and education. **35¢** each. Over twenty, **20¢** each.

____ **ACTION AFTER SANCTIONS — BUILDING A NEW SOUTH AFRICA** by Jennifer Davis (Africa Fund, 1992) 4pp. A briefing paper on socially responsible investment in South Africa post-sanctions. Single copy **free** on request.

____ **OUR POLITICAL ECONOMY - UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS** by The Trade Union Research Project, the Economic Trends Group and COSATU (COSATU, 1992), 76pp. A handbook designed for COSATU shop stewards, this book provides an excellent overview of South Africa's economy. **\$12.00**.

____ **MOZAMBIQUE — PROSPECTS FOR PEACE** by Sister Janice McLaughlin. (Africa Fund, 1992), 4pp. After years of destabilization and war, a United Nations-brokered cease-fire may bring peace to Mozambique, but the RENAMO rebels may still try to undermine the accord. **35¢** each, over twenty, **20¢** each.

____ **BEWARE THE HAND THAT FEEDS YOU — U.S. AID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA** by Carol B. Thompson. (Africa Fund, 1992), 4pp. U.S. famine relief has saved thousands of lives in southern Africa. But policies promoted by the U.S. Agency for International Development have often added to the burden of natural disasters. **30¢** each. Over twenty, **15¢** each.

____ **STOP THE VIOLENCE** (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. **\$20.00**.



printed on recycled paper

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



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