FALL 1993

BY JENNIFER DAVIS

In a moving speech announcing "the countdown to democracy in South Africa has begun" ANC President Nelson Mandela addressed the United Nations on September 24 calling for the lifting of all sanctions against South Africa, except the arms embargo.

Watching him speak, I felt very mixed emotions. Joy that we at The Africa Fund could share an historic moment of victory with the people of South Africa. Concern at President Mandela's warning that "we are not yet out of the woods." Tension about the urgent tasks we need to undertake to meet a totally new set of challenges. We must move swiftly to reconnect economic life lines to South Africa which we had worked so hard to cut. Now economic links will be vital to achieve the program President Mandela described as "enabling our country to take a leap forward from its dark painful and turbulent past to a glorious future... a future of democracy, peace, stability and prosperity."

Immediately following Mandela's speech, The Africa Fund released a statement supporting the lifting of sanctions and calling for socially responsible investment aimed at overcoming the legacy of apartheid, for which we had gathered endorsement from more than 40 U.S. leaders. Signatories, including Illinois Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, New York Governor Mario Cuomo, New York City Mayor David N. Dinkins, Minneapolis Mayor Donald Fraser, United Auto Workers President Owen Bieber, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Chavis, United Mine Workers President Richard Trumpka, Episcopal Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning, and TransAfrica Executive Director Randall Robinson pledged that the end of sanctions "will not bring an end to our concern for the people of South Africa... As sanctions are lifted we will urge corporations to uphold the standards set by the democratic forces in South Africa for socially responsible investment that will promote equal opportunity, workers' rights, environmental protection and community development."

Only an hour before Mandela made his call at the UN, Dumisani Kumalo and I were part of a small private meeting where Mandela briefed long time anti-apartheid leadership on his planned action. "Very good" he exclaimed as he read the statement, thanked me again and emphasized the need for states and cities to act promptly.

Although most federal sanctions against South Africa were lifted by President Bush in 1991, some 30 states and more than 120 cities and counties have maintained their own financial measures against apartheid, along with more than 150 colleges and numerous religious bodies, private institutions and individuals. "People of conscience throughout America can take great pride in the fact that we helped make this historic victory possible... We launched a successful drive to use our investment funds and our purchasing power to combat the evil of apartheid. Now we must strengthen our partnership with the people of South Africa to eradicate the legacy of apartheid and build an equitable society in which all can enjoy the fruits of democracy."

Statement issued by 40 U.S. Anti-Apartheid leaders.

As a result, over $300 billion in public and private funds have been barred from investment in U.S. companies operating in South Africa. In the wake of Mandela's announcement, state and municipal governments, colleges and religious institutions are expected to move quickly to end their investment bans.

Recognizing the need to do more than simply reinstate investment and other dollar flows which had lived comfortably, even flourished under the apartheid system for many decades, the Africa Fund has been working closely with the democratic movement in South Africa to plan for the moment when the ANC would lift sanctions. In July, Nelson Mandela wrote to us to "prepare for the lifting of sanctions by states and cities in the USA" and to "support re-investment in the South African economy in a socially responsible manner which will help address the legacy of apartheid." We circulated this letter widely to key state legislators, city officials and anti-apartheid activists. Since September 24 The Africa Fund has been even busier than usual phoning, faxing and mailing to states and cities, providing them with information they need to frame new policies.
In September I returned from South Africa convinced that my country is going through its deadlest and most exciting period. Also, that the success of the democratic process will depend on how much support we are prepared to give at this crucial time.

FIRST THE BAD NEWS

Violence is slowly chilling every aspect of life in South Africa.

- Whole cities literally shut down after dark.
- There are no public meetings, no church services, and no funeral wakes held overnight anymore.
- There’s an eerie feeling driving around Soweto at night and discovering that there are no cars or pedestrians in the streets. Three million Black residents have learned from bitter and bloody experience how to lock themselves indoors after dark.
- Restaurants, movies and entertainment clubs shut down as early as 7 or 8 pm. The Black and white business elites now meet over “power breakfasts.”

Three examples prove further that this violence is well organized and aimed directly at subverting the progress towards democracy.

- Since July when April 27 1994 was set as the date for democratic elections, nearly 1,000 Black people have been murdered in political violence.
- When the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) which is supposed to prepare for the elections, was agreed to by the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum, 21 people were killed while waiting for taxis to take them home after work.
- On the day that the South African Parliament added its support for the TEC, another 14 people were killed.

Meanwhile, State President F.W. de Klerk remains unwilling to combat the violence. His lame attempt to blame the violence on the rivalry between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party is misleading because people are murdered at random and without any regard to their political affiliations. Yet it is well known that the Third Force army has been highly involved in the killings. So far, none of this information has moved Mr. de Klerk into doing anything about the violence. And I doubt that his undeserved share of the Nobel Peace Prize will induce Mr. de Klerk to act differently.

NOW THE GOOD NEWS

Yet one cannot visit South Africa and not be caught up in the mood about changes that are eagerly anticipated. There are at least two reasons for this optimism.

- South Africans of all races are now convinced that fundamental change in their country can only be brought by a new democratic government.
- Although Mr. de Klerk remains the figurehead ruler, everyone knows that Nelson Mandela is the de facto ruler of South Africa.

This makes next year’s elections pivotal for the kind of change people expect. Election experts within the democratic movement admit that there are serious roadblocks on the road to the polls. For example, Inkatha’s Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and a coalition of right-wingers are determined to use violence to obstruct the process unless they are guaranteed power sharing before the elections are held. Even Mr. de Klerk is having second thoughts now that his apartheid system is about to disappear forever. So, if there was ever a time to stay involved in the South Africa struggle, it is now.

For more information on elections in South Africa, write D.S. Kumalo, Projects Director, Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.
CHISSANO SPEAKS OF PEACE


Welcoming President Chissano, his delegation and guests, whose presence made for a room full of history, AFRICA FUND Executive Director Jennifer Davis recalled the long Mozambican struggle for freedom launched on September 25, 1964 with the beginning of armed struggle. Now nearly thirty years later Mozambique seems at last to be moving toward peace, but there is still much work to do. Pointing to many in the room such as Peter and Cora Weiss, Prexy Nesbitt, former U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique Melissa Wells, New York Theological Seminary President Reverend M. William Howard, and Mia Adjali, Erich Mathias and Dan Hoffman of the churches, all crucial to work on Mozambique, she urged President Chissano to give his guests their marching orders to help achieve this peace.

President Chissano emphasized the need for Americans to understand what problems Mozambique was facing. He recounted Mozambique's struggle toward liberation and the history of the FRELIMO and RENAMO dispute leading up to the present day cease fire.

Chissano laid out some of the remaining dangers in the current period before elections, scheduled for October 1994. "Even RENAMO fighters want peace. The problem is the RENAMO politicians and their outside advisors... They are now making a whole other set of demands... We are discussing democracy, but they are thinking only about the transfer of power to themselves. It is a dangerous situation. RENAMO is still in the bush, with their weapons, making their demands and delaying the peace accord."

But Chissano is still optimistic. He stressed that Mozambique is an important country in southern Africa. President Chissano highlighted its great potential and ability to form a strong partnership with the U.S. He urged old friends to assure the U.S. government that cooperation with Mozambique is in their best interest. He also asked us to participate in the national reconstruction program. Working in conjunction with the Mozambican government, Mozambique's U.S. friends should study the situation and help raise support for emergency assistance. As peace seems more permanent, refugees are gradually coming back home and have pressing needs.

Sponsors of this event included Mia Adjali, Barbara Barnes, George Bollag, Judy Hatcher, The Joint Ministry in Africa Office of the Disciples of Christ/United Church of Christ, Lutheran World Federation, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, Maryknoll Sisters, Susan and Colin McCord, and Peter and Cora Weiss. Without their generosity, this event would not have been possible.

SOLIDARITY STRIKES AGAIN

Promoting worker-to-worker solidarity between U.S. and South African unions, and supporting South African labor's voter education campaign were the main concerns of the Labor Desk during the summer of '93.

In July Labor Desk Coordinator Mike Fleshman visited South Africa at the invitation of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) to attend NUMSA's national convention and consult with labor leaders about next year's democratic elections. Over the course of the three-week trip Fleshman met with a broad spectrum of labor leaders and rank-and-file activists and consolidated links with the young but influential public service unions, including the municipal, hospital and teachers unions.

Government-sponsored violence continues to inflict a terrible toll on union organizers and shop stewards. In Natal province, security forces under the control of KwaZulu bantustan Chief Gatsha Buthelezi have killed hundreds of ANC and union members. Regional labor leaders told Fleshman that attacks on unionists were escalating as Buthelezi sought to block next year's democratic elections.

(continued on page 5)
AFRICA FUND OPENS DOORS

Following Nelson Mandela's speech lifting sanctions, The Africa Fund hosted a series of meetings to enable the ANC to explain key constituencies and investors its post-sanctions policy towards foreign investment.

Trevor Manuel, head of the ANC Department of Economic Planning, opened a consultation with senior state and city officials on October 4 by thanking them for the important role they played in supporting the freedom struggle. He emphasized the importance of getting the economy growing again so that all South Africans can benefit from a new society.

Distributing copies of a new ANC position paper outlining priority areas for investment, he indicated that the ANC will encourage investment in companies which have demonstrated a high level of social responsibility, and in portfolio investment vehicles (such as bonds) which fund infrastructure development in deprived communities, including water supply, electrification and housing.

Jay Naidoo, Secretary General of Cosatu, South Africa's largest trade union federation, explained that the unions wanted to encourage investment that would fall within a national reconstruction program being developed. Legislators and officials at the meeting included State Assembliesmen Al Vann (NY), William Dyson (CT), and Joseph Newsome (RI), Jersey City Councilmember Jaime Vazquez, Philadelphia City Councilmember Joan Spector and New York City Budget Director Carol O' Cleereacain.

Responding to several questions about a code of conduct for U.S. companies that do business in South Africa, Manuel stressed that the ANC needed to put out the welcome mat to foreign investors and not want U.S. states and cities to mandate compliance with any code. Rather, it would be the responsibility of the new democratic government to protect worker rights and the environment by appropriate legislation in South Africa.

To introduce some of the socially responsible investment vehicles being developed in terms of the new ANC guidelines for foreign indirect investment, the Africa Fund organized a briefing in cooperation with the New York Metro Chapter of the Social Investment Forum. This was attended by investment managers and representatives of socially responsible mutual funds including Calvert. Manuel again outlined the need for investment in portfolios aimed at social reconstruction. Several South African speakers described new investment vehicles being developed to meet these needs. South Africa's first socially responsible mutual fund, the Community Growth Fund, established by seven South African unions, was described by two of its directors, Tommy Oliphant, General Secretary, and Vincent Young of the South Africa Federation of Mineworkers. Other presentations reported on the planned Community Income Fund, which will focus on bonds for social reconstruction, on the Community Banking Project, which will provide bank services in the townships, and on the Land Investment Trust, dedicated to providing housing to disadvantaged communities.

The Africa Fund also set up meetings for the delegation with U.S. religious investors, with the New York City Comptroller's office and with a group of experts in U.S. low cost housing financing. The Port Authority of NY & NJ, which has initiated a training program, hosted a lunch discussion of future directions.

RAN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Aleah Bacque, Coordinator of ACOA's Religious Action Network, has been seconded to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) for a period of one year to work as International Press Officer. Based in Johannesburg, she is responsible for communicating with the SACC's Global Partners. She has also been active in the SACC's peace keeping efforts to help stem the violence in the East Rand townships which has claimed over 1,000 lives since the election date was announced in July.

STATE AND LOCAL ACTION

The Africa Fund Projects Director Dumisani Kumalo participated in the National Conference of State and Local Legislators Annual Meeting in San Diego in July. There he discussed with local elected officials strategies for continuing to support the South African democracy movement after the lifting of sanctions.

DEMOCRACY WALK-A-THON

The Africa Fund's Jennifer Davis joined with hundreds to "Walk the last mile to freedom with the ANC" on Saturday October 23. The walk was organized by the Coalition for Democracy in South Africa and the Immobilize Apartheid Coalition, and endorsed by The Africa Fund's associate organization, the American Committee on Africa. It stretched from the UN to the Harlem State Office Building, raising over $10,000 for the ANC elections campaign.

NEW NATION'S SCHOOL

The Africa Fund Executive Director Jennifer Davis is a member of the Advisory Board of the Fund for the University of Namibia, established after Namibian independence. At the first full meeting of the Board in October, Vice-Chancellor Peter Katjavivi was enthusiastic about progress made in its first full academic year, as the University set out to meet Namibia's needs as a tool for nation-building and economic development.

SOUTH AFRICAN LAND CRISIS

The Africa Fund and the South African Rural Development Program co-sponsored a June workshop in New York on the Rural Development Crisis in South Africa. The lively and well attended meeting included an update on the current situation in South Africa, a history of South African land issues and the development and increasing importance of the NGO sector in meeting community needs.
BRINGING WOMEN FACE TO FACE

As current events in South Africa continue to move at a dizzying pace — ongoing negotiations, coming elections, lifting sanctions, increasing violence — The Africa Fund Women’s Project has focused on raising the profile of South African women.

A new publication, “The Struggle Continues: South African Women and the Vote” was produced and distributed by the Women’s Project to a thousand women’s, labor, and southern Africa organizations and activists in September. Since then groups have used the publication to educate their constituents about the issues facing Black South African women as they prepare to vote for the first time in April’s elections.

Those organizations currently using the piece include the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, the United Church of Christ Board of World Ministries Joint Ministry in Africa, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, the United Methodist Church Board of Global Ministries and Women and Children’s Division, the Chicago Committee in Solidarity with Southern Africa, the Capitol District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism, the New York City Commission on the Status of Women, the Fund For Peace, the United Church of Canada in Toronto, Women Against Military Madness, and others.

One of the greatest concerns of South African women is how many of them will be chosen to stand for elections, what positions those chosen will take on women’s issues and how able elected women will be to carry out their tasks.

The Women’s Development Foundation of South Africa designed a series of workshops for South African women who may be running for seats in the Constituent Assembly (the body which will be elected in April to write the new constitution and serve as the Interim Government of National Unity). They asked The Africa Fund to provide an experienced political campaigner to share her expertise at these meetings. We identified Venita Vinson, former Deputy Mayor of Denver and Vice-Chair of the Colorado State Democratic Party. In October, at a series of regional meetings in South Africa, she shared her experiences as an African American woman and political candidate on what it takes to get elected and serve in public office and how to overcome the many impediments to success.

Collaborations such as this are central to the work of the Women’s Project, one of the primary goals being to expand the network of people supporting women in southern Africa. This summer Women’s Project Coordinator Rachael Kagan held briefing meetings on South African women with the staff of New York based women’s organizations Madre, Women’s Environment and Development Organization, International Women’s Tribune Center and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom’s UN Office.

The Women’s Project seeks to bring the voices and faces of South African women to the American public whenever possible. In June Kagan organized a program for Safia Sadek, National Director of South Africa’s Human Rights Commission, in which she met with a producer at 60 Minutes and briefed the staff of the UN Centre Against Apartheid.

Also in June the Africa Fund Women’s Project and the New York City Commission on the Status of Women co-hosted a briefing on the South African women’s struggle given by Elinor Sisulu and Shamim Meer, editors of Speak, South Africa’s premier women’s magazine. Over thirty representatives of foundations, trade unions, women’s organizations and southern Africa NGO’s learned how South African women are building current strategies to demand inclusion in the transition process — the negotiations, and the new government — on the foundation laid by their long history of participation in the struggle for democracy. Martha Baker, Executive Director of the Commission, underscored the importance of these plans said, “The only way women’s issues are ever addressed is if women are at the table.”

They asked The Africa Fund to educate Americans about the threat to free and fair elections posed by the violence.

In August the Labor Desk played an important role in fostering contacts between the United Mine Workers of America, engaged in a bitter strike against the British multinational Hanson PLC, and Black workers employed by Hanson’s South African affiliate. As a result of information provided by The Labor Desk, South African workers staged a week-long series of work stoppages and protest actions at Hanson South Africa in solidarity with the U.S. strikers.

In the Fall, the Labor Desk coordinated a protest campaign by American postal unions against the unfair dismissal of South African post office workers. The campaign, initiated at the request of the South African union, involved leaders of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

The international campaign seeks reinstatement for several dozen postal workers fired for striking. The workers face eviction from their company-owned homes as a result of the dismissal.
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**Voting in the Shadow of Apartheid: Questions and Answers on the South Africa Elections** by Elizabeth Landis (AFRICA FUND, 1993), 4pp. A discussion document examining the logistical and political challenges of organizing an election in a country with 18 million new voters operating in a hostile political environment. 35¢ each. Over twenty, 20¢ each.

**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.

**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.

**Southern Africa Literature List.** A complete list of publications, posters and videos available from THE AFRICA FUND. Free on request.

I enclose $____ for literature, including 15% postage and handling.

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