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ednesday, March 8,

By Jack Anderson

and Dale Van Ana

WASHINGTON - Winnie

Mandela's image as a heroine

for South African blacks has

been on a downward slide for

the past two years, and an

American businessman may

have given her a push.

Mandela's current problem

is the death of a teenage boy,

allegedly at the hands of her

bodyguards. But her taste for

the finer things in life and her

dealings with American public

relations ace Robert Brown

began to draw negative atten-

tion months ago.

Once hailed as "the mother

of the nation," Mandela lost

the respect of some of her im-

poverished "children" when

she built a lavish house, com-

plete with swimming pool, and

allegedly tried to cash in on

her famous name. Brown was

involved in both fiascos.

Brown runs B&C Associates

Inc., a North Carolina public

relations firm, and represents

corporate clients with busi-

ness interests in South Africa.

His success is built on making

all the right connections -

like the one he made last year

when he hired Stedman Gra-

ham, the fiance of wealthy

talk-show host Oprah Winfrey,

and the one he made when he

cozied up to Winnie Mandela,

wife of imprisoned black na-

tionalist Nelson Mandela.

Brown's attempts to court

the Mandelas brought trouble.

JACK ANDERSON and DALE VAN

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Last summer, he went to South

Africa where he met with the

couple in prison. After the

meeting, Brown announced

that he had been given author-

ity to protect the use of the

Mandela name. Nelson Man-

deia's supporters interpreted

this as authority to exploit the

family name. While Winnie

Mandela seemed eager to

work with Brown, Nelson

Mandela renounced Brown's

claim, saying the exiled Afri-

can National Congress was his

only agent.

When Winnie Mandela need-

ed money to build a lavish

home - a sore thumb in the

poor Soweto township -

Brown came through. His

spokesman, Armstrong Wil-

liams, told our associate Scott

Sleek that Brown gathered up to \$100,000 in donations from wealthy Americans for the house. The neighbors in their shacks put up such a pretest that she never moved in.

Brown spends \$65,000 a year to support the Mandelas' oldest daughter and her family livih; in Boston.

Brown was a former aide to President Richard Nixon. In

1986 Ronald Reagan wanted to name Brown the U.S. ambassador to South Africa.

But he withdrew his name from consideration after his firm was accused of union busting" in North Carolina.

Labor leaders complained that making Brown; ambassador would send the wrong message ATTA

to South African unions

The State Department was also nervous about Brown's appointment because of his business dealings with a corrupt Nigerian government before it was overthrown in 1983. Brown says his dealings with the government were entirely above board.

Brown holds an unpopular view among some blacks, that economic sanctions should not be used to force the South African government to abandon apartheid. In 1987, he was one of the founders of the Coalition on Southern Africa, a group made up mostly of black American religious leaders who oppose sanctions.

We recently reported that the coalition got about \$1.2 million in contributions from American companies with South African holdings.

Brown's Spokesman told us that the coalition only sought corporate money to get started, and that it wanted alternate funds so it wouldn't be perceived as a puppet for corporations wanting to stay in South Africa."

Brown is now resigning from the coalition because other members are unhappy with him. Sources told us the dissent involves Brown's relationship with Winnie Mandela. While he may have been trying to help her, serious questions were raised about her judgment.

The skepticism turned to

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rage last month when her bodyguards were accused of

abducting four teenage boys from a Methodist church and killing one of them. Anti-apartheid leaders have written her off as a result.

TOWER POLITICS - Top campaign advisers for George Bush expected to run the White House after the election? and were angry when John Sununu got the job. Insiders tell us that some of those diegruntled advisers are maneuvering to get rid of Sununu. The aides, who didn't approve of Bush's choice for secretary of defense either, went so far as to leak unfavorable stories about Sen. John Tower to sabotage his nomination. Their strategy was to hurt Tower and to make Sununu look ineffective, and it may have worked. Bush took over from Sununu the campaign to promote Tower.

MINI-EDITORIAL - As he promised, new drug czar William Bennett has kicked the smoking habit. We congratulate him for a difficult job well done and hope that he can stick to it. Now he has a more difficult job, to get Americans to kick the drug habit. His sincere gesture in conquering his own addiction will no doubt boost his stock with those who have even more debilitating addictions. .
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TALKING POINTS ON COSA

We have serious concerns about the extent to which board members of COSA speak for their churches, given that in many cases the positions of their churches are opposed to those they take regarding sanctions and corporate disinvestment.

We too are concerned about individual suffering. We understand that the apartheid system is the greatest single cause of suffering in South Africa today, and are therefore committed to working to end apartheid. How does COSA breathe life into apartheid? (Constructive engagement has been tried for 20 years and proved bankrupt.) What will be the role of COSA during the coming legislative debates on sanctions?

NOTE: COSA IS CHARTERED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AS A NON-PROFIT 501 (C) 3 ORGANIZATION, ACCORDING TO ITS SEPT. 10, 1987 PRESS RELEASE. CAN IT LEGALLY LOBBY LEGISLATORS (e.g. its distribution of Bishop Fisher's letter on COSA stationery to all members of Congress, dated Oct. 14, 1987) .

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What relationships exist between COSA and:

The Industry Support Group

The "Secretariat" of corporations committed to remaining in SA

The U.S. Corporate Council

Individual corporations--particularly the oil companies

Pagan International

Are these relationships informal or do they entail agreements and financial and/or other kinds of support?

How will COSA select candidate for future scholarships? Will they limit to those allegedly disadvantaged by corporate withdrawal?

How does COSA respond to the criticism that its positions and policies (including lobbying against sanctions) directly reflect those advocated in the South African government? (while the direction of COSA's positions contradicts that of the South African Council of Churches and the S.A. Catholic Bishops' Conference)

Who is Mr. Delonne? What is his background?

Who are the members of COSA's board now? Who has left and why?

In its discussions of "Est-aggeid" South Africa, has COSA attempted to engage leaders of the liberation struggle? Who does COSA consider the legitimate participants in planning "post-apartheid South Africa"? Are these people at risk in doing so?

Bishop Fisher stated that "funds for the Coalition will be raised from educational institutions, corporations, foundations and private individuals who share the Coalition's objectives. "

Who are these to date?

September 3, 1987

NEWS ADVISORY

CONTACT: Dr. Clyde Williams

202-872-1516

A group of prominent clergy and educators will hold a news conference at 10 a.m. September 10 in the Edward R. Murrow Room of the National Press Club to announce the formation of an interracial and interdenominational organization focusing on conditions in South Africa and the resolution of problems posed by apartheid. The clergy involved represent a constituency in excess of seven million members. The National Press Club is located on the 13th Floor of the National Buldng, 529 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

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COALITION ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA
FOR RELEASE AT: 10AM EDT CONTACT: W5
THURSDAY, SEPT. 10, 1987 2021&3%E\$EHKF
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Washington, Sept. 10--Formation of the Coalition on
Southern Africa (COSA) was announced today by'a group of
prominent black and other religiogg and educational leaders.
The Coalition's purpose is to provide an independent base of
private support for South Africa's majority population and to
help foster a democratic, non-racial post-apartheid society.
Bishop Richard L. Fisher, President of the Coalition and
presiding Bishop of the 11th Episcopal District, African
Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, said, "The plight of the Black
South African worker has been disregarded in public debate about
what to do to end apartheid. While that fight to end Apartheid
must continue we must not lose sight of our concern for the
victims. The struggle against apartheid will continue and it
will succeed but we must not be complacent about lives damaged
in the process."
"The Coalition is not a replacement for the Sullivan
Principles," Fisher emphasized, "but rather an lanti-apartheid
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mechanism which recognizes the inevitability of change.'"

"When this Coalition was in the formative stage, we envisioned supporting Reverend Sullivan's efforts in South Africa. There can be no denial that he personally fostered tremendous improvements in the opportunities for Black South Africans and for dramatic changes in health, housing, and education for the majority population," Fisher said.

Fisher said the members of that Coalition represent religious constituencies numbering more than seven million.

The Reverend Dr. W. Clyde Williams, former president of Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama and executive secretary of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, is on loan to the Coalition where he will serve as General Secretary. Williams said he envisaged COSA as a pivotal point around which groups ' having immediate concern for the majority population in South Africa could coalesce. He sees the Coalition as a vehicle whereby genuinely concerned Americans can direct their efforts not simply at demonstrations but also by preparing Black South Africans for the time when they will have to exercise the tasks of political and economic leadership.

Williams said that as a participant in a recent fact-finding team of black college presidents who visited South
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Africa under the auspices of the State Department, "we believe, as a group, that more must be done, that greater opportunities for management experience and training must be provided for Black South Africans if they are to be prepared for their responsibility in the post-apartheid era."

Williams said, "after extensive meetings and discussions with Black South Africans, we committed ourselves to seeing that we would not be just one more fact-finding group which went to South Africa and returned to the yrs. to deliver rhetoric. We committed ourselves to take action, and this Coalition is a result of that commitment."

In a recent meeting with the Coalition, Bishop Harold Senatle; presiding Bishop of the 18th Episcopal District of the African Methodist Church in South Africa and a member of the Coalition's initial Board of Directors, said, "This is the first time someone asked us, the people who suffer under apartheid, what it is 3E would like institutions, such as churches, foundations, corporations or universities, to 29 in South Africa. .It is easy to say that Black South Africans would rather suffer when you are 12,000 miles away than when you are on the spot."

According to Bishop Fisher, funds for the Coalition will be raised from educational institutions, corporations, -morej

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foundations and private individuals who share the Coalition's objectives.

"As part of its work," Fisher added, "the Coalition will try to influence the policies of the South African government to end apartheid and to encourage companies, churches and foundations working in South Africa to do the same."

The Coalition has been chartered as a non-profit 501 (c) 3 organization in the District of Columbia and is empowered to accept funds from virtually any source to pursue its aims.

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NOTE TO EDITORS: A complete list of the founding directors of COSA is attached.

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COSA BOARD MEMBERS

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mALXTION ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA

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The Coalition on Southern Africa

At the call of prominent Black churchmen, leaders across a broad spectrum of constituencies have come together to form the Coalition on Southern Africa.

The Coalition's purpose is to provide an independent base of support for private and public efforts to maximize development opportunities for South Africa's majority population, and to help foster a democratic, non-racial postapartheid society.

The Coalition on Southern Africa joins all those who are committed to the absolute abolition of the apartheid system. It is especially concerned about current conditions and what will be required for the majority in South Africa to obtain its full rights and responsibilities.

Coalition members believe the eradication of apartheid must not be accomplished at the expense of Black South Africans. Black developmental needs must be met if South Africa's future economic and social conditions are to be viable.

The Coalition favors actions and programs which enhance Black economic opportunity, educational improvement and managerial development. Such essential programs are a necessary moral complement to actions pressuring the South African government to change its policies.

The Coalition on Southern Africa will develop positive strategies for fundamental change and socioeconomic betterment.

The Coalition seeks the support of churches, private voluntary

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organizations, civil rights organizations, unions, and businesses for these developmental and supportive strategies.

0 It will inventory and provide a clearinghouse function for programs of this nature already in existence in order that there not be a duplication of effort.

0 It will examine the evaluation system of the Sullivan Program and establish its own criteria for evaluating non-industry programs.

0 The Coalition will be a vigorous public advocate for programs aimed at educating and developing post-apartheid leaders.

0 It will develop joint-ventur5% and co-ventures between small and minority-owned businesses in the U.S. and Black-owned businesses in South Africa.

0 The Coalition will provide a constant and credible communications link with churches, ecumenical agencies, foundations, private voluntary organizations, ethical institutions and the business community around South Africa-related issues and initiatives.

The Coalition's leadership has previously demonstrated an ability to promote political and social justice at home and abroad. These persons are recognized and elected leaders of churches, educational institutions, civil rights organizations, voluntary organizations and businesses. Many have lived and worked for years in Southern Africa and are intimately familiar with that region's needs and problems.

September 10, 1987

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In his letter to individual members of Congress Fisher went on to say ". . . we agree with the recent statement of Secretary of State Shultz that 'American companies have been in the forefront in the business community in promoting equal opportunities for their employees and in developing managerial skills of blacks.' I recently wrote President Reagan a letter in support of the continued good works of American firms in South Africa. The Coalition would reject as counterproductive any attempt by Congress to require disinvestment by American corporations."

"Congress must encourage the Reagan Administration to follow through on its pledge to work hard for apartheid's demise. Nelson Mandela must be freed, legitimate political parties and organizations must be unbanned, and negotiations must begin soon if another cycle of violence is to be avoided." Fisher concluded.

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NOTE TO EDITORS: A copy of Bishop Fisher's letter to Members of Congress is attached.

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SOUTHERN AFRICA
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A STATEMENT BY
BISHOP RICHARD L. FISHER
PRESIDENT OF THE COALITION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA
PRESIDING BISHOP, ELEVENTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT, A.M.E. ZION CHURCH
More Than One Moral Means

Ending apartheid in South Africa is cast by virtually all
the interested parties as a moral issue. In any moral issue
there are at least three essential components: intention, means,
and consequences. In the case of South Africa everyone with a
conscience wants to see apartheid abolished and an equitable,
non-racial society established. That is the intention, the goal
if you will.

The burden in this moral dilemma is to determine the most
efficient and least harmful means to attain that goal. The
choice of means is critical. Once you have chosen means, you
must also consider the probable consequences in order to not to
utilize means that would invalidate your goal as a moral
solution.

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The debate in this country among legislators, church people, educators, union members, and other people of conscience is not about intentions and goals; it is a debate about means. It has appeared for some time that the day belonged to those who have advocated the use of various forms of punitive economic measures to persuade or force the South African government to end apartheid and establish a representative government. For at least eighteen months we have heard a drumbeat of steady support for trade and monetary sanctions, the divestment of stocks in companies doing business in South Africa and pooled stockholder resolutions aimed at forcing companies to withdraw from South Africa. There have even been attempts at organizing consumer boycott campaigns in order to persuade companies to end their business ties with South Africa. The reasoning given by church leaders, political figures and others for this particular form of persuasion is that it is the only non-violent means left to oppose and dismantle the apartheid regime. The article of faith has been that if Pretoria suffers sufficiently economically, it will have to change in order to survive.

In the desire to do something concrete to bring apartheid to an end and to avoid violent alternatives, many U.S. institutions and the Congress have supported sanctions and disinvestment. At the same time, too little attention has been paid to evaluating the consequences. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that South Africa has the best developed and most stable economy in Sub-Sahara Africa. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that its neighboring countries are inextricably dependent upon the health and efficient functioning not only of the South African economy but upon its infrastructure as well. Too little attention is paid to the ripple effect in the entire region of either economic dislocations or increased unemployment in South Africa. Too little attention has been paid to the collapse of social and educational programs for blacks where enlightened companies sell out and leave. Too little attention has been paid to the role of business as an ameliorating force and as an instrument of change within the South African society. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that the businesses have nurtured the trade union movement in South Africa and have protected its leaders. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that this trade union movement is the most organized and potent political tool the majority population possesses. Too little attention has been paid to the grassroots leadership and its articulation of the actual needs.

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Perhaps it should also be said that too little attention has been paid to the fact that policies advocating sanctions and disinvestment have failed. Instead they have served mostly to make the Pretoria regime more insecure and thus more intransigent--hardly the intended purpose.

The proponents of sanctions and disinvestment have often expressed the view that their actions are meant among other things to show their solidarity with the majority population. No one doubts the sincerity of those who feel this way but is it appropriate to doubt the wisdom of the chosen course of action. There are too many negative consequences of the chosen means to ignore or to fail to question the means employed.

A situation as complex as that in South Africa is not susceptible to a single solution. Thoughtful people must agree that a multidimensional strategy for ending apartheid and equipping the majority population for previously denied responsibilities is not only desirable but absolutely necessary. The Coalition on Southern Africa was recently formed by a group of concerned clergy and educators in order to reassess the developmental needs of the majority population and to find the resources to address those needs. Coalition members, most of

them black Americans, are not content with means to end apartheid which will only cause greater suffering among South African blacks, increase tensions, fail to provide for the economic development of South African blacks and leave an economy and a society so badly damaged that it cannot be of benefit to anyone. The Coalition is acutely aware of the interdependency of the Southern African region and is unwilling to give its approval to any measure which will increase the suffering and poverty of the region.

It is the strong conviction of the Coalition that the moral means to ending apartheid lies in education, economic development, and the encouragement of the majority population. They see no easy or quick solution to the problem and propose to use the time until apartheid is finally ended to the greatest advantage. They know that there is much to be done if the majority population is to be prepared to take controlling responsibility in government, industry, business and in education.. They know that we cannot wait until apartheid is totally done away to develop those from whom opportunity has been withheld.

This is not a popular position to take in the current atmosphere. The Coalition believes that it is a deeply moral and caring stand and they are willing to suffer misunderstanding and mistrust in order to do what they see is right.

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COALITION ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA
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Remarks of
Bishop Richard L. Fisher
the 11th Episcopal District, AME Zion Church
3 Presiding Bishop of
The National Press Club
Washington, D.C.
a September 10, 1987
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We are here today to announce the formation of the Coalition
on Southern Africa. The Coalition is a group of religious leaders
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We are deeply concerned that South Africa will never know the nightmare of a reconstruction period as experienced by the American . Blackman at the close of the Civil War. There is a moral imperative that confronts us which demands that if we are to assist the majority population of South Africa we must assist them through the medium of education and training for the day when they can move into leadership and managerial rolesf?..We face the question of this day; 'if not us, who? If not now, when?'

I will now turn the podium over to Dr. Clyde Williams, who will serve as General Secretary of the Coalition on Southern Africa.

BISHOP REUBERT EDWARDS STOKES

Bishop Rembert Edwards Stokes is the Presiding Bishop of the Tenth Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church which is comprised of the State of Texas. Before coming to Texas, Bishop Stokes served as Presiding Bishop of the Eighteenth Episcopal District of the A.M.E. Church with responsibility for churches in Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique, and South Africa from 1980-1984. Before that, he served on the west coast of Africa for four years as Presiding Bishop of Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria and Ghana.

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Bishop Stokes was President of Wilberforce University in Ohio for twenty years prior to his election to the episcopacy, and was Dean of the Payne Seminary at Wilberforce before becoming President of the University. Bishop Stokes received his undergraduate degree from Wilberforce and a Bachelor of Sacred Theology and a Doctor of Theology degree from Boston University. Boston University chose Bishop Stokes for its Alumni Award for Distinguished Public Service in 1966, and he has received honorary doctorates from Northeastern University and from Central State University. He is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Paul Quinn College in Texas.

Bishop Stokes' memberships include the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Council of Churches, the Board of Directors of the United Negro College Fund, the Advisory Committee on Education of the National Urban League, the Commission on Institutional Affairs of the Association of American Colleges, Alpha Phi Alpha and Sigma Pi Phi Fraternities.

FR. OLIVER F. WILLIAMS, C.S.C.

Fr. Williams, Roman Catholic Priest, faculty member, and Associate Provost of Notre Dame University, holds a Ph.D. in theology from Vanderbilt University in Nashville, and has studied business administration at Stanford University. Fr. Williams has followed the situation in South Africa for over a decade, and has sponsored numerous symposia on the subject at Notre Dame. In addition, he has written many books and articles on the subject. He spent five weeks in South Africa in 1985 researching his book, *The Apartheid Crisis* (Harper & Row). He is also co-editor of *The Judeo-Christian Vision and the Modern Corporation* (University of Notre Dame), co-author of *Full Value: Cases in Christian Business Ethics* (Harper & Row), and co-editor of *Catholic Social Teaching and the U. S. Economy: Working Papers for a Bishops' Pastoral* (University Press of America).

BISHOP RICHARD LRYMON FISHER

The Right Reverend Richard Laymon Fisher is Presiding Bishop of the Eleventh Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and provides episcopal leadership to churches in Arkansas, Florida, Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona and South Carolina. Prior to his election as Bishop in 1984, Bishop Fisher served churches in Indianapolis, Chicago and St. Louis.

Bishop Fisher earned his undergraduate degree from Boston University and his theology degree from the Boston Vhiversity School of Theology. Subsequently, he has had conferred upon him Doctor of Divinity degrees from Livingstone College in North Carolina and Clinton College in South Carolina.

Bishop Fisher was Chairman of the Board of the St. Louis Urban League for a number of years, and has recently been elected to a second term as a member of the Board of Trustees of the National Urban League. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of Livingstone College and Chairman of the Board of Clinton College. He serves on the Council of Churches in each state over which he presides and on the World Council of Churches. He is a member of the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches. He has also served a term as a Curator of the University of Missouri.

While in his last pastorate in St. Louis, Bishop Fisher'provided leadership for the erection of over 800 units of market rate housing in the midst of an urban renewal area surrounding his church. -

He is a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United Way of St. Louis and Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity.

BISHOP CECIL BISHOP

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Bishop Cecil Bishop, born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and educated at Knoxville College, Howard University School of Religion, and Wesley Theological Seminary where he earned a Masters degree in Sacred Theology. He is Presiding Bishop of the Tenth Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. He has been the pastor of a number of A.M.E. Zion churches in the mid-Atlantic region of the 0.5. Bishop Bishop has served on the North Carolina State Advisory Committee of the 0.3. Commission on Civil Rights, and has been the Chairman of the Greensboro (N.C.) Housing VAuthority. g:

TERRY H. GILES; ESQ.

Mr. Giles, attorney, and entrepreneur, has a professional background in small business development. He is a native of St. Louis, and holds a J.D. degree from Pepperdine University School of Law. Currently, Mr. Giles is chairman of the board of one of the largest automobile dealerships in the U.S., located in Garden Grove, California. He is a partner in Energy Equity Partners, which helps under-valued, publicly-owned oil companies to finance oil and gas exploration. Mr. Giles established a law firm in 1975 in Southern California, and also established Giles Enterprises as a holding company for oil and real estate investments. Previously, he was chairman of the board of Pacific National Bank in California. He has received the American Jurisprudence Award in Criminal Law, and has had an honors scholarship at Pepperdine named for him.

BISHOP FREDERICK CALHOUN JAMES

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Bishop Frederick James is the Presiding Bishop of the Seventh Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which covers the State of South Carolina. He is a native of South Carolina, and holds degrees from Allen University, (B.A., 1943) and Howard University's School of Religion, (M.Div., 1947).

' Bishop James began his career as pastor of several A.M.E. churches throughout South Carolina. During the early 1950s, he was Dean of Dickerson Theological Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina. constituents through a variety of board positions. He was Chairman of the Commission on Missions of the A.M.E. Church, a member of the World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva, a member of the National Council of Churches of Christ, and Secretary of the A.M.E. Council of Bishops.

. In addition, Bishop James was President and life member of the Sumter branch of the NAACP, and a board member of the Sumter Chamber of Commerce, the Urban League of Greater Little Rock, and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE).

From 1972 to 1976, Bishop James served in Southern Africa as the Presiding Bishop for Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa. He took an active role in the region's development, building an A.M.E. community center and church in Lesotho, an A.M.E. printing and publishing house in Mozambique, and a self-help cattle ranch and school in Swaziland. He also organized the A.M.E. Network of Education in Mozambique.

Following his tenure in Southern Africa, he was named the Honorary Consul-General representing Lesotho in Arkansas and Oklahoma. Since returning, he has been responsible for the building of a Human Resources Center at Shorter College in Arkansas, and a home for the elderly and handicapped, in Arkansas.

WILLIE L. LEFTWICH, ESQ.

-Mr. Leftwich, an attorney, and Co-Chairman of the Washington Committee of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, is from Washington, D.C. He received his undergraduate degree in engineering from Howard University, and a J.D. and LL.M. degree from the George Washington University School of Law. Mr. Leftwich is a senior partner in the law firm of Leftwich, Moore, and Douglas. Prior to his work in law, Mr. Leftwich worked as a research engineer for the Naval Air Systems Command in electro-optics, and conducted research in aero-instrumentation engineering at NASA. Mr. Leftwich is former director of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation which is responsible for the rejuvenation of downtown Washington. He is on the Board of the National Institute of Trial Advocacy.

BISHOP DONALD GEORGE K. MING

Born in Bermuda, Bishop Ming is Presiding Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church's 8th Episcopal District in Louisiana and Mississippi. He is a graduate of Wilberforce University and Payne Theological Seminary, and holds numerous honorary masters and doctoral degrees.

In 1976, Bishop Ming was assigned to a district encompassing the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. There he oversaw the building of 45 new churches in just a four year period. He also instituted an insurance and pension program for clergy, and a motivation program of "somebodiness" for children and young adults.

After leaving South Africa, Bishop Ming served as Presiding Bishop of the 16th Episcopal District which encompasses the Caribbean, parts of South America, and London. In this capacity, he was instrumental in building a health complex, schools, and missionary living quarters in Haiti.

Bishop Ming is Chairman of the Commission on Missions of the Connectional Church, President of the Bishop's Council, and a member of the World Methodist Council's Executive Board. He has been Vice Chairman of District 29 School Board in New York City, and Program Chairman of the Jamaica (N.Y.) Service Center for the Elderly. Ming also served on the boards of the Queens Children Shelter and the Protestant Welfare Organization.

DR. BARBARA ANN KINARD PHILLIPS

Dr. Phillips is a native of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and has held a variety of administrative positions in education and human development programming. She earned a Doctor of Education degree at the University of North Carolina. She is president of the Agenda Institute 1J1 Winston-Salem, a non-profit organization which addresses issues of critical importance to minorities, such as housing and education. Dr. Phillips was the National President of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority from 1972-1982, and is a former member of the board of directors of: the United Negro College Fund, the National Urban League, the Howard University Foundation, Big Brothers-Big Sisters, Inc., the Emancipation Association, Girl Scouts of America, and the National Council of Negro Women. In addition she is responsible for the incorporation of the National Operation Big Vote Foundation. -

Rev. Albert R. Sampson

Rev. Sampson is the Pastor of the Fernwood United Methodist Church in Chicago, Illinois. He serves as the President of the Illinois Council of Black Churches and as Vice President of the "Black Methodists for Church Renewal." Rev. Sampson served as the National Housing Director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and was the only person ordained by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. during the course of the Civil Rights Movement. He has served in the Ministry for thirty-one years. Sampson is a graduate of Shaw University and has masters degrees in Cultural Studies and Divinity.

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A STATEMENT BY

BISHOP RICHARD L. FISHER

PRESIDENT OF THE COALITION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

PRESIDING BISHOP, ELEVENTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT, A.M.E. ZION CHURCH

More Than One Moral Means

Ending apartheid in South Africa is cast by virtually all the interested parties as a moral issue. In any moral issue there are at least three essential components: intention, means, and consequences. In the case of South Africa everyone with a conscience wants to see apartheid abolished and an equitable, non-racial society established. That is the intention, the goal if you will.

The burden in this moral dilemma is to determine the most efficient and least harmful means to attain that goal. The choice of means is critical. Once you have chosen means, you must also consider the probable consequences in order to not to utilize means that would invalidate your goal as a moral solution.

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The debate in this country among legislators, church people, educators, union members, and other people of conscience is not about intentions and goals; it is a debate about means. It has appeared for some time that the day belonged to those who have advocated the use of various forms of punitive economic measures to persuade or force the South African government to end apartheid and establish a representative government. For at least eighteen months we have heard a drumbeat of steady support for tradatand monetary sanctions, the divestment of stocks in companies doing business in South Africa and pooled stockholder resolutions aimed at forcing companies to withdraw from South Africa. There have even been attempts at organizing consumer boycott campaigns in order to persuade companies to end their business ties with South Africa. The reasoning given by church leaders, political figures and others for this particular form of persuasion is that it is the only non-violent means left to oppose and dismantle the apartheid regime. The article of faith has been that if Pretoria suffers sufficiently economically, it will have to change in order to survive.

In the desire to do something concrete to bring apartheid to an end and to avoid violent alternatives, many U.S. institutions and the Congress have supported sanctions and disinvestment. At the same time, too little attention has been paid to evaluating the consequences. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that South Africa has the best developed and most stable economy in Sub-Saharan Africa. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that its neighboring countries are inextricably dependent upon the health and efficient functioning not only of the South African economy but upon its infrastructure as well. Too little attention is paid to the ripple effect in the entire region of either economic dislocations or increased unemployment in South Africa. Too little attention has been paid to the collapse of social and educational programs for blacks where enlightened companies sell out and leave. Too little attention has been paid to the role of business as an ameliorating force and as an instrument of change within the South African society. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that the businesses have nurtured the trade union movement in South Africa and have protected its leaders. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that this trade union movement is the most organized and potent political tool the majority population possesses. Too little attention has been paid to the grassroots leadership and its articulation of the actual needs.

Perhaps it should also be said that too little attention has been paid to the fact that policies advocating sanctions and disinvestment have failed. Instead they have served mostly to make the Pretoria regime more insecure and thus more intransigent--hardly the intended purpose.

The proponents of sanctions and disinvestment have often expressed the view that their actions are meant among other things to show their solidarity with the majority population. No one doubts the sincerity of those who feel this way but is it appropriate to doubt the wisdom of the chosen course of action. There are too many negative consequences of the chosen means to ignore or to fail to question the means employed.

A situation as complex as that in South Africa is not susceptible to a single solution. Thoughtful people must agree that a multidimensional strategy for ending apartheid and equipping the majority population for previously denied responsibilities is not only desirable but absolutely necessary. The Coalition on Southern Africa was recently formed by a group of concerned clergy and educators in order to reassess the developmental needs of the majority population and to find the resources to address those needs. Coalition members, most of

them black Americans, are not content with means to end apartheid which will only cause greater suffering among South African blacks, increase tensions, fail to provide for the economic development of South African blacks and leave an economy and a society so badly damaged that it cannot be of benefit to anyone. The Coalition is acutely aware of the interdependency of the Southern African region and is unwilling to give its approval to any measure which will increase the suffering and poverty of the region.

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It is the strong conviction of the Coalition that the moral means to ending apartheid lies in education, economic development, and the encouragement of the majority population. They see no easy or quick solution to the problem and propose to use the time until apartheid is finally ended to the greatest advantage. They know that there is much to be done if the majority population is to be prepared to take controlling responsibility in government, industry, business and in education. They know that we cannot wait until apartheid is totally done away to develop those from whom opportunity has been withheld.

This is not a popular position to take in the current atmosphere. The Coalition believes that it is a deeply moral and caring stand and they are willing to suffer misunderstanding and mistrust in order to do what they see is right.

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COALITION ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA

1B-G1-87

FOR RELEASE AT: 11 AM EDT CONTACT: LEE DE LORME
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1987 (202) 659-5753

THE COALITION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA CALLS FOR A
MULTIDIMENSIONAL STRATEGY FOR ENDING APARTHEID

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.Washington, October 22 -- Bishop Richard L. Fisher,
President of the Coalition on Southern Africa, in a statement to
the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs,
called upon the Congress to recognize that the pelicies
advocating sanctions and disvestment have failed. He states "
that the moral means to ending apartheid lies in education,
economic development, and the encouragement of the majority
population."

In his statement, Bishop Fisher points out that too
little attention has been paid to the collapse of the social,
educational, and economic programs for Blacks when enlightened
companies sell out and leave South Africa. He also notes that
population.

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PAGE 2

The Coalition recognizes that the situation in South Africa is complex and that a multidimensional strategy is absolutely necessary if apartheid is to end and the majority population equipped for the responsibilities they will assume. It is also acutely aware of the interdependency of the entire Southern Africa region and will not give its approval to any measure which increases the sufferigg and proverty of the region. The Coalition on Southern Africa was recently formed by a group of concerned clergy and educators in order to reassess the developmental needs of the majority population and to find the. resources to address those needs.

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I Assurance of political, economic support
The United States Secretary of
State, Mr George Shultz, issued a call
on September 29 for a new non-ra-
cial democratic order for South Afri-
ca and said the United States is pre-
pared to do whatever it can to
achieve this goal.

In a speech to the Business Coun-
cil for International Understanding
in New York, Mr Shultz suggested
that too much emphasis has been
placed on replacing what he called
South Africa's system of "racial
oppression".

"We want South Africans to
know clearly what we are for, as well
as what we are against." Mr Shultz
said.

He also called for a democratic
electoral system with multiparty par-
IAEA postpones SA decision
A group of Third World states led
by Nigeria backed down on Septem-
ber 24 from an immediate attempt to
suspend South Africa from the Inter-
national Atomic Energy Agency
(IAEA).

Instead, the group - comprising
African and Arab states as well as
Cuba and Iran - made a new pro-
posal at the IAEA's general confer-
ence to delay a suspension decision
for a year.

South African Press Association, Sep-
tember 25

(Comment appears on page 12)

New trade links established

The Association of Chambers of
Commerce (Assocom) signed a busi-
ness co-operation agreement with
the High Council of Chambers of
Commerce, Industry and Shipping of
Spain in Madrid on September 28.

The agreement includes a com-
mitment to promote trade relations
between Spain and South Africa and
to provide information which will
increase business opportunities be-
tween the two countries.

Assocom said it had concluded a
similar agreement in Paris with the
SA Digest Qctober 2, 1987

ticipation and universal franchise
and effective constitutional guaran-
tees of basic human rights for all
South Africans.

Mr Shultz said that as South Afri-
cans move toward meaningful nego-
tiations, the United States would be
willing to encourage that process.

"If the contending parties in
South Africa are ready to take risks
for peace, they may be assured of the
active political, diplomatic and eco-

conomic support of the United States and its allies," he said.

In discussing his democratic vision for South Africa, Mr Shultz said it is important to overcome the "debilitating pessimism" which now characterises thinking both within South Africa and K&ernationally.

.a ous leaders, said to represent sev- million church members, has urged President Reagan to keep American businesses in South Africa to help prepare Blacks for a post-apartheid era.

Just a few days before the president is due to report to the US Congress on the effectiveness of American economic sanctions, the leader told Mr Reagan that the call for disinvestment was a failed tactic.

Their stance on South Africa is a sharp contrast to that of many 'IWhere SA Digest gets its1

news 1

Articles and extracts from articles published in South African Digest are taken? ;from newspapers representing diverse? lpolitical views, magazines and journals published in South Africa, as well as; Press releases. There are also special : l items contributed by Stan' members of the i lmblication._____5__1

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"I emphatically reject the fatalistic notion that the country's future has already been written, that it is too late for accommodation," he said.

"I know that there is hope for the future," Mr Shultz added, contending that many South Africans have come to realise when they talk amongst each other that the barriers that separate them are not as high as they had feared.

While asserting that the problems of South Africa are vast. Mr Shultz said he believed that the current system can be replaced without destroying the country's society and economy.

South African Press Association, September 30

The American .Intematiana! School (above) in Kenilworth, Cape Town, provides the children of US citizens living in South Africa with an education in accordance with American syllabuses and traditions. Pupils of other nationalities have also enrolled, including children from Greece, Spain, Belgium and Holland. The type of education received by the pupils is the same as if they were living in the US. However, for the higher standards, a history of South Africa has been added to the syllabus. The school was established in 1983 and currently has four teachers The Argus

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COALITION ON

SOUTHERN AFRICA

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: Clyde Williams

Tuesday, October 16, 1987 2G2-872-1516

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Washington, October 13 -- The Coalition on Southern 1
Africa, a group of leading, predominately black religious leaders
and educators, today called upon the U.S. Congress to closely re-
examine its current posture towards South Africa and its
neighbors.

Bishop Richard L. Fisher, President of the Coalition said
"While some sanctions may be necessary in the short term, a far
more enlightened approach would be for Congress to build better
bridges to South Africa's black community. Programs which
enhance black economic opportunity, educational improvement and
managerial development are an essential complement to pressure on
Pretoria, and they are morally preferable to some punitive
strategies which leave damaged lives in their wake."

-more-

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COALITION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Bishop Richard L. Fisher

President, Coalition on Southern Africa

Presiding Bishop

11th Episcopal District, AME Zion Church

Saint Louis, Missouri

Dr. W. Clyde Williams

General Secretary. Coalition on Southern Africa

Executive Secretary

CHE Church

Atlanta, Georgia

DIRECTORS t:

Bishop Cecil Bishop

Presiding Bishop

AME Zion Church

Temple Hills, Maryland

The Rev. Gilbert Caldwell

Pastor

st. Daniel's United Methodist Church

Chester, Pennsylvania

Dr. James Costen

President

Interdenominational Theological Center

Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Paul A. Crow, Jr.

President

Council on Christian Unity ,

Indianapolis, Indiana

Mr. Terry Giles

Chief Executive Officer

Giles Enterprises

Santa Anna, California

Bishop F. C. James

Presiding Bishop

7th Episcopal District, AME Church

Columbia, South Carolina

October 14, 1987

Dear Members of Congress,

As President of the Coalition on Southern Africa, I am writing you out of a deep conviction that the United States Congress must closely reexamine its current posture towards South Africa and its neighbors. 1?

Congress must continue to pursue the total eradication of apartheid, but at the same time it should recognize that burning American bridges to South Africa has slowed rather than expedited the difficult transition to a democratic, non-racial post-apartheid society.

While some sanctions may be necessary in the short term, a far more enlightened approach would be for Congress to build better bridges to South Africa's black community. Programs which enhance black economic opportunity, educational improvement and managerial development are an essential complement to pressure on Pretoria, and they are morally preferable to some punitive strategies which leave damaged lives in their wake.

The Coalition on Southern Africa is composed of clergy and educators representing a constituency in excess of seven million members. The Coalition was formed to provide an independent base of support for private and public efforts to maximize development opportunities for South Africa's majority population--with a view to preparing that majority for the post-apartheid era.

Although the individual members of our Coalition may disagree as to the wisdom of certain provisions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, as a whole we believe Congress should strengthen those aspects of the law which promote dialogue within South Africa and which foster black economic development. We urge Congress to soften or eliminate measures of a punitive nature which can only damage black economic opportunity in South Africa.

Finally, we agree with the recent statement of Secretary of State Shultz that "American companies have been in the forefront in 1025 Connecticut Avenue. Suite 1114 - Washington. DC. 20036 - - (202) 872-1516

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CALTEX HOUSE. LAS COLINAS
P.O. BOX 619500, DALLAS, TEXAS 75261-9500
W.C.DUNNING October 2, 1987
Vice Premium
Mr. Richard E. Ullrich
Marianist Office of Justice and Peace
4301 Roland Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21210

Dear Mr. Ullrich:

In light of your active interest in South Africa and
your concern regarding the future of that country, we thought
that you might find the enclosed material from the Coalition on
Southern Africa useful. t

Caltex believes that our common goal should be not
merely the elimination of apartheid but should include the
construction of a democratic post-apartheid society. We agree
with the reasoning of the Coalition on Southern Africa. The
tactics employed to reach that goal are important and
disinvestment has only hurt Black South Africans and weakened
the pressures For change, rather than supporting democratic
elements in the society.

We are also sending a copy of the most recent edition
of the corporate social responsibility program of Caltex South
Africa entitled "Beyond the Refinery Gates".

Very truly yours,

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w. C. Dunning

Enclosures

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"0.5. corporations can be an effective force in assisting the majority population both now and in the preparation for the post-apartheid era. They are far more prepared in their willingness and ability to assist black South Africans than the firms that immediately replace them when they leave South Africa," Bishop Fisher said.

"I don't think anyone believes that the Japanese, the Germans or the British are going to be fully committed to the interests of black South Africans when there is little pressure for them to do so," Fisher said.

Fisher also emphasized that Reagan should call for the release of the children being held by the South African government and for the freeing of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress and all other political prisoners.

The Coalition on Southern Africa is comprised of black religious leaders, educators, former college presidents and

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business leaders. The religious leaders represent more than seven million church members. While committed to a continuing U.S. presence in South Africa it encourages American companies, churches, foundations and universities working in that country to help prepare the black South African for the post-apartheid era.

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October 14, 1987

Dear Members of Congress,

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' . h COALITION ON
5011111212" AFRICA

September 21, 1987

President Ronald w. Reagan

The White House

Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The problems nurrounding our relations with and our policies towards South Africa and Southern airica are indeed monumental. Your decisions have not been and will not be easy ones. As you prepare to report to the Congress on the impact of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, I would like you to have the perspective of our organization, the Coalition on Southern Africa, which represents more than seven million committed black church members.

We believe you must deliver a clarioh call to the Botha regime for it to release the children it is holding so unjustly _in captivity. We are convinced that you must also urge them to free Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners detained simply because they are striving for freedom.

As an organization, we are convinced that divestment by American companies has been both a failed tactic and a practical disaster; the primary losers Exam such divestment have been black South Africans. We believe that our churches must stay in South Africa and work to help the oppressed. We are convinced that American business has a necessary and strong role to play in providing the training and experience black South Africans will need to manage that country in a post-apartheid era.

0.3. corporations can be an effective force in assisting the .majorlty population both now and in the preparation.for the post-apartheid era. They are far more prepared in their willingness and ability to assist black South Africans than the firms that immediately replace them when they leave South Africa.

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of all South Africa's people. I personally would be willing to meet with you and other Congressional leaders to discuss this vital issue. I also would welcome an opportunity to testify before the relevant committees of Congress as they examine the President's report and legislation to aid South Africa and its neighbors.

Attached is a list of the Coalition's Board members. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely, , . .

Z: W ygd/MILK K(zCANeg

Richar L. Fisher, .

Presiding Bishop, A.M.E. Zion Church

11th Episcopal District

COSA President

RLF/bj