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1970 saw reaction take the offensive. South Africa and Rhodesia welcomed a friendlier atmosphere in the West as governmental changes first in the United States and then in Great Britain began to bear fruit. The British Conservatives had barely taken office when they announced the policy of arms for South Africa and of renewing negotiations with Rhodesia as that regime moved toward apartheid. The Nixon Administration revealed change slowly. It cast the first U.S. veto in United Nations history in March 1970 against a resolution to extend sanctions on Rhodesia to include postal and telecommunications which, the U.S. said, also implied the use of force. In fall 1970 two policy changes were announced: to license the sale of light aircraft to South Africa and to permit the import of Rhodesian chrome purchased before sanctions were imposed. The Administration reiterates opposition to a violent resolution of the southern Africa situation, ignoring the wars that have spread in the Portuguese colonies since 1961 while the U.S. has maintained a military alliance with Portugal. Portugal, proclaiming more autonomy for the African colonies, has undertaken a great military offensive in Mozambique and engineered an abortive coup and invasion of Guinea-Conakry to relieve her beleaguered forces in neighboring, still colonial, Guinea-Bissau. South Africa sends troops and copters to Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) as well as to occupied Namibia (South West Africa), while she offers trade and non-aggression treaties to independent black Africa.

THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

In 1970 ACOA moved to heighten emphasis on its support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Opportunities for consultation, conferences in Washington, and speaking engagements were offered by visits of delegations from various liberation movements to the United States. Amilcar Cabral of PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), Guinea-Bissau, came in February and support meetings were held in New York and Washington. Excellent publicity was secured, and Cabral testified before the House Subcommittee on Africa. Robert Resha and others from the African National Congress of South Africa came to the U.S. several times. Mozambican FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) delegates were here twice, in addition to the permanent representative, Sharfudine Khan. A large Namibian delegation representing the South West African Peoples Organization arrived for the fall U.N. session. Also there were visits by representatives of the South West African National Union, the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

ACOA participated in demonstrations and meetings to mark the various national liberation days.

To commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, a benefit for the Africa Defense and Aid Fund

was held at Town Hall with outstanding entertainers including Miriam Makeba and Letta Mbulu, and a full house.

NAMIBIA. The Security Council at its fall 1970 session decided to raise the question of the status of Namibia (the former League of Nations Mandate, South West Africa) with the International Court of Justice by asking for an advisory opinion on the question: What are the legal consequences for member states of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia? ACOA submitted a 50-page brief to the Court concerning South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia and action which should be taken by U.N. member states in the light of this.

PROGRAM AND PROJECTS

GULF. In line with the 1970 emphasis on Portugal — ending the U.S. military alliance, and supporting the liberation movements — a campaign against the Gulf Oil Company was adopted in cooperation with other concerned organizations. Gulf discovered oil in Cabinda in 1966; it became the largest U.S. investor in Angola and contributes greatly to the ability of Portugal to continue the war there. A large demonstration was mounted at the April stockholders' meeting in Pittsburgh, including statements by dissident stockholders and the symbolic nomination of liberation movement leaders for the Gulf Board of Directors. A printed leaflet, "Why We Protest Gulf Oil," and other informational material and press releases were issued. University groups joined the effort with protests against recruiting by Gulf and investments in the company. The call was made for discontinuance of the use of Gulf products and the return of Gulf credit cards. A secondary campaign developed when Gulf threatened legal action against the Ohio Conference of the United Church of Christ for its support of the boycott; information was supplied and support rallied for the Conference.

CORPORATIONS. Other stockholders' campaigns continued, stressing appearances at annual meetings of stockholders. These included General Motors, Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals, Inc., and ESSO, all because of South African interests; the protest at the ESSO annual meeting was organized by the Chicago office. ACOA provided essential information to University of Michigan contacts which resulted in a ban by the Office of Student Services Policy Board on recruiters from U.S. companies that function in South Africa, an unprecedented action on an American university campus.

SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS. ACOA has protested SAA operations here as a violation of anti-discrimination legislation (in addition to our protest on support for South Africa and violation of United Nations resolutions). The New York State Commission for Human Rights case was lost, since the state Supreme Court accepted an artificial separation between SAA and the South African Government of which it is part. Other appeals are pending, as is action in Congress. The campaign has had indirect suc-

cess, however, with some media refusing to accept SAA advertising. It has influenced a similar target, Holiday Inn, which has stated that it will not publicize its new South African facilities in the United States.

SUGAR. Ending the sugar quota and subsidy given to South Africa this year is a priority in ACOA's work with Congress, although efforts to end other government aid such as the space program will continue.

SPORTS AND CULTURE. British success in stopping a proposed South African cricket tour was the international sports highlight of the year, and the boycott of South Africa spread to additional international sports federations. Tennis remained a key issue as Arthur Ashe was refused a visa to play in South Africa and appeared to testify both at the United Nations and before the House Subcommittee on Africa. South Africa was barred from Davis Cup competition this year but is still a member of the International Lawn Tennis Federation.

One of the visas South Africa did issue was to the soul singer Percy Sledge, and ACOA secured publicity protesting this break in the cultural boycott.

POLAROID. Late in the year a new dimension was added to the disengagement campaign when workers of the Polaroid Corporation in Cambridge demanded that that company sever its connections with South Africa and approached ACOA for assistance. ACOA issued a leaflet and statement supporting the workers' demand, joined in demonstrations, and had its Washington Director appear as an expert witness before a special Polaroid investigating committee. Polaroid stopped selling equipment for apartheid passbook photos, but remains in South Africa.

RESEARCH AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

The major research project of the year, carried on in cooperation with The Africa Fund, was the writing and publication of two special issues of the periodical, *Africa Today: Allies in Empire; The U.S. and Portugal in Africa*, and *Apartheid and Imperialism; A Study of U.S. Corporate Involvement in South Africa*. A considerable amount of time (but not yet enough) including some by volunteers has been spent in organizing the vast amount of material amassed by ACOA into accessible form through a new filing system, and in acquiring and classifying current material to bring and keep information up to-date.

In addition, ACOA answers several hundred mail requests for information a month, and has a considerable sale and distribution of literature — our own, U.N., the International Defense and Aid Fund, and other sources. A literature and film list is available on request.

ORGANIZATION

BLACK COMMUNITY. Rising interest in Africa and in African issues in the black community has made possible the development of a new emphasis on activity there and local groups are appearing, with local initiative on African issues. Work on the writing of popular literature

for mass distribution is under way. A radio and other media campaign has been projected, and it is hoped that special funds can be raised to make this possible. In this connection, a director of public communications has recently joined the staff. Additional field workers would be an important asset.

CHICAGO OFFICE. Public education through speaking engagements and literature distribution has been a major concern of the Chicago Office in 1970. The Chicago Director, Prexy Nesbitt, has filled eight to ten speaking engagements a month and has arranged others for liberation movement speakers including Dennis Brutus, Sharfudine Khan, Robert Resha, and Thami Mhlambiso. In addition to Chicago work, the Director has filled speaking engagements in southern Illinois and Wisconsin and has toured as far west as Colorado and California. Local activities have included a one-day seminar for high school social studies teachers; a summer liberation school; demonstrations against U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa and Portuguese policy; programs commemorating Sharpeville and September 25; and Polaroid leafleting. Several neighborhood groups are developing.

OTHER FIELD WORK. A special grant in spring, 1970, made field work possible in New Jersey for a short time. It was concentrated on work with students and trade unionists, and focused on the Engelhard interests, although the Cambodia-Kent inspired student strike made a planned major demonstration impossible. In New York, field work has centered on building a communications network and on filling speaking engagements.

WASHINGTON OFFICE. The Washington Office plays a key role in the various disengagement campaigns such as the sugar quota and SAA which involve governmental support to the southern Africa regimes and in other issues which become questions of national policy. In 1970 this included the campaign to secure entrance to the United States for Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois. The Executive Director testified against retention of the U.S. consulate in Salisbury, Rhodesia. The Washington Director, Charles Hightower, testified against appointing Texas oil millionaire John G. Hurd as U.S. Ambassador to South Africa.

AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND

The Defense and Aid Fund has raised and spent \$10,871.37 in 1970, mainly in support of the liberation movements and for particular needs of movement people in Africa or the United States, especially in connection with trips to petition the U.N. or to appear there.

THE AFRICA FUND

The Africa Fund is an independent agency with its own board of trustees which qualifies with the Internal Revenue Service for tax benefits to donors. The major contribution of The Africa Fund continues to be to the work of the Mozambique Institute. It has also been able to give a

substantial amount for medical work in Guinea-Bissau for the first time this year, and a lesser amount for Angola. The Africa Fund aids political prisoners, refugees, and exiles and their families, and similar causes. During the summer The Africa Fund's Executive Secretary toured the areas of its particular concern in Africa including Conakry, Kinshasa, Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Mtwara, Bagamoyo, Nairobi, and Addis Ababa. He visited educational and medical institutions which the Fund helps to support and met with aid recipients.

FINANCE

The national recession has hit ACOA hard and the expansion reported in each of the past few years has been replaced by contraction and forced economy. About \$27,000 less was raised than had been budgeted for the year, with consequent loss in program effectiveness. The preliminary unaudited figures for 1970 income and expenses prepared on a cash basis are summarized below:

	Membership	Education & Information	Program & Projects	Administration	Total
Income	\$94,352	\$24,929	\$43,932	\$ 1,544	\$164,757
Incurred Expenses	\$35,533	\$33,923	\$88,405	\$14,630	\$172,491

IN CONCLUSION

1971 must be viewed both optimistically and pessimistically. On the plus side, both interest in Africa and over-all concern about U.S. foreign policy and military commitments are growing. ACOA has had some success in disengagement policies and will have more, especially with growing numbers of allies in the black community, the churches, and among young people. In Africa, the increasing stability of the free areas under control of liberation movements and the refusal of underground movements to die despite repression promise certainty of success in the long run. But on the debit side, the Western world appears determined to increase its involvement with the colonial and racist past, still hanging on in Africa. And ACOA must face the challenge of reaction with dwindling financial support and threatened curtailment of activities that should, instead, expand. The challenge, thus, is really to ACOA supporters for action commensurate with the need.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

164 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

_____ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

_____ Please send literature list.

_____ Put me on the action list. I'll write to Congress, join local actions, etc.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____