

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

AS 1975 BEGINS, hope and despair are linked as we consider Africa and America. Events in the former Portuguese territories are certainly most encouraging: 15 million people are achieving independence after a decade-long struggle. Pressure is being put upon the colonial presence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Clearly, strong currents of change are in motion.

Yet, our own country is lagging in its appreciation of the needs for change. New State Department appointments to the Africa-Bureau and to key Ambassadorships indicate a false emphasis upon immediate stability rather than upon securing freedom, without which stability cannot be long maintained.

There is much for ACOA to do in terms of educating the American people, pressuring our government, and asserting leadership. Two principal thrusts of our 1975 campaigns will be (1) to restore U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia and (2) press for corporate disengagement from South Africa.

Our budget for 1975 is as follows:

Current Campaigns and Projects	\$44,843
Emergency Assistance	2,655
Research, Education and Literature	200*
Direction and Coordination	23,150
New Membership Building	28,705
	\$99,553

*The major portion of research and literature distribution will now be provided by The Africa Fund which has a 1975 budget of \$150,000; \$39,000 of which is for this item.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

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ACOA 1975



1974 was a momentous year in southern Africa. The decade-long struggle for independence in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, was a prime factor in the overthrow of the authoritarian Portuguese government. As the liberation movements grew in strength, expanding their control and providing services for the people, Portugal found that the colonial system no longer paid. Fifty percent of Portugal's budget and thousands of young men were spent in these disastrous wars.

Finally, a group of young army officers rebelled, overthrew the Caetano government, and entered into negotiations with the African liberation movements. The independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was recognized by Portugal in September, 1974; a transitional government was installed in Mozambique under FRELIMO leadership, with independence to be secured in June, 1975; and a provisional government has been established in Angola.

The imminent independence of Mozambique and Angola has spurred other changes in southern Africa. The Rhodesian regime is now negotiating with the Zimbabwe liberation movements, united under the African National Council. South Africa, while not changing the policy of apartheid, is feeling international pressure and stepping up public relations efforts in the United States.

YEAR END REVIEW

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau

Guinea-Bissau became a member of the United Nations and was recognized by the U.S. The campaign for recognition of Guinea-Bissau, led by the ad hoc Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, in cooperation with ACOA, came to a fitting conclusion at a celebration marking the first anniversary of the proclamation of the new republic on September 24, 1974. Speakers at the celebration included Gil Fernandes, now Ambassador to the U.S. from the Republic of Guinea-Bissau; Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr., Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa; and Dramane Ouattara, Ambassador of the Organization of African Unity in the U.S.

Secret Loans to South Africa

ACOA, in conjunction with the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, helped to organize a major campaign against those American, Canadian, European, and Japanese banks which loaned more than \$210 million to the South African government. Church, university, and community groups in Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, Philadelphia, Maryland, California and North Carolina have been successful in obtaining either complete divestiture of loans to South Africa or assurances that such loans would no longer be made by the banks involved. ACOA published a fact sheet entitled, "Stop Banking on Apartheid" to aid these groups. ACOA staff also participated in meetings with the top management of the Maryland National Bank, United Virginia Bank, First Pennsylvania Bank and European American Banking Corporations to discuss the impact of these loans on the people of South Africa.

Restoring Sanctions

The boycott of Rhodesian imports at the docks was an important adjunct to the continuing effort in Washington to repeal the Byrd Amendment allowing such imports in violation of U.N. sanctions. ACOA staff member Henry Lieberg assisted groups, including dockworkers supporting the boycott, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and New Orleans. ACOA provided background material on the U.S. companies involved in sanctions-breaking, and aid in arranging for speakers. There has also been support for the boycott expressed by the International Longshoremen's Association. Because of the boycotts thousands of tons of cargo from Rhodesia have been delayed, diverted, and in one case, not unloaded at all, remaining on the ship headed back to Africa.

ACOA staff and Attorney Joel Carlson joined church shareholder representatives, including ACOA board member Donald Wilson, in questioning Union Carbide Corporation at its annual meeting in April. Union Carbide is one of the main sanctions breakers. ACOA also

publically protested and widely circulated information on U.S. tourist agencies sending tourists to Rhodesia in defiance of sanctions.

Cultural and Sports Protests

Two plays, *Sizwe Banzi Is Dead* and *The Island*, strongly critical of South African racism and political repression, opened on Broadway in the fall of 1974 to critical acclaim. Thousands of ACOA friends in the New York area received a mailing encouraging them to see the plays and an informational leaflet was distributed to theatergoers.

South Africa invites American athletes to participate in sporting events there and sends teams abroad in order to spread the false impression that apartheid is changing significantly. Non-racial sports groups in South Africa reject this. India's refusal to play South Africa's all-white Davis cup tennis team firmly demonstrated support for South Africa's black majority. ACOA has continued the campaign to boycott these events, attempting to dissuade figures such as Arthur Ashe and Mohammed Ali from lending credibility to the South African government. ACOA's activities in this area have received excellent coverage in the *New York Times* and other media.

LEGAL CHALLENGES

During the past year ACOA has been involved in several legal cases on southern African issues with the active cooperation of prominent attorneys and organizations: former ACOA President Peter Weiss of the Center for Constitutional Rights; Douglas Wachholz of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Mrs. Goler Butcher, former Staff Chief of the House Subcommittee on Africa; Leonard Meeker of the Center for Law and Social Policy; and exiled South African attorneys Joel Carlson and Michael Davis.

New York Times Case

In June, the New York City Human Rights Commission ordered the *New York Times* to stop carrying advertisements for employment in South Africa in the case brought by ACOA, the African Heritage Studies Association, One Hundred Black Men and Judge William Booth.

The complainants gave evidence that the job offers were racially discriminatory because of the laws of apartheid and, therefore, in violation of city statutes. Subsequently, the *Times* successfully appealed the Commission's ruling. The Human Rights Commission and the complainants are now appealing the court's adverse ruling.

South African Airways in U.S.

The challenge by ACOA to South African Airways' application to the Civil Aeronautics Board for a new route was revived in 1974 by an appeal of the agency's ruling last year in favor of the airline. ACOA, in cooperation with the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, has shown that South African Airways is a legal instrumentality of the South African government and, therefore, linked to its policies of racial discrimination in employment and tourism. The appeal contends that the CAB did not properly consider the original suit.

South African Coal Imports

The importation of South African coal by The Southern Company, a combine of electric utilities headquartered in Atlanta, led to legal action in Washington and protests by both miners and dockworkers in Alabama, where the coal arrives. With the cooperation of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Mrs. Goler Butcher, representing the United Mineworkers Union and the State of Alabama before the Federal Customs Commissioner, sought to stop imports because they were produced under conditions of forced labor. ACOA helped provide background material on the issue for the legal case and for protesting groups in Georgia and Alabama.

Henry Lieberg of ACOA and Tapson Mawere, representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union, traveled to Birmingham and Mobile. Mr. Mawere addressed a rally of hundreds of longshoremen, who then honored a mineworkers picket of the coal at the docks. The picketing was ended and the coal unloaded only after the company obtained a court order.

PROVIDING SERVICES

In Washington

ACOA joins national boards of the United Methodist Church, the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church, the Episcopal Church, the Christian Church (Disciples), and the Church of the Brethren in supporting the Washington Office on Africa. ACOA board member Edgar Lockwood and Christine Root staff the office. In 1974, the main focus for the Washington Office on Africa continued to be the repeal of the Byrd Amendment. The effort to bring repeal legislation through the Congress proved to be a frustrating one, with numerous delays. ACOA prepared a full-page advertisement which ran in black newsweeklies and other publications encouraging readers to "Say No to Chrome" and encourage their congressional representatives to vote to repeal the Byrd Amendment. The Washington Office and ACOA also circulated two helpful pamphlets "Rhodesia and U.S. Interests" and "A Call to Congress to Restore Sanctions" and issued periodic "action alerts" to local activists. Although it passed in the Senate, the bill to restore U.S. compliance with U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia was not brought to a vote before the House adjourned in December.

The Washington Office also covered a range of other issues in 1974, including the sugar quota for South Africa and the Pentagon's plans for expanding the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean. ACOA issued a fact sheet entitled "U.S. Quota for South Africa's Sugar - A Bittersweet Connection" to help the campaign to stop South African sugar imports. The Washington Office and ACOA led protests against the "private" visit to Washington of South African Defense Chief Hugo Biermann and against Navy head James Johnson, whose visit was then cancelled.

Research Director Jennifer Davis was twice invited to present testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa on different aspects of U.S. policy towards Portugal's former African colonies in 1974. In May, ACOA and Washington Office staff met with

Donald Easum, then Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, to call for U.S. recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and a new policy on southern Africa in the wake of the coup in Portugal. ACOA issued an "Open Letter" to Mr. Easum in September protesting the visit from South Africa of C.P. Grobler, General Secretary of the South African Confederation of Labor, which supports the government's racist labor legislation.

ACOA was the first organization to publicly protest and circulate news of the nomination of Nathaniel Davis to replace Mr. Easum. Mr. Davis was U.S. Ambassador to Chile when the CIA was active in "destabilizing" the government of President Allende.

Research and Information

Dramatic events in Portugal and its former colonies have for the first time produced substantial interest in southern Africa by the press and media, much of which is ill-informed and overly optimistic. This has made it more important than ever for ACOA to reach out with a realistic interpretation of developments.

ACOA has increased its contact with black press, T.V., radio networks and programs. Staff members have written articles for a variety of newspapers and magazines including the *New York Voice*, *Event Magazine*, *The Guardian*, *Christianity and Crisis* and *Issue*. An important 1974 publication was *U.S. Policy Towards Southern Africa*, by George Houser. This 36 page analysis provided a comprehensive review of recent U.S. policy and assumptions with suggestions for new options to support the cause of African freedom from colonial and apartheid rule. A second pamphlet, *The Republic of Guinea-Bissau: Triumph Over Colonialism*, by Jennifer Davis, examined the new nation, its institutions, and its struggle.

Other publications included new issues of the Africa Fund's "Perspectives Series" including *Southern Africa: The U.S. Record at the U.N.*; *Prosperity for Whites Only: The Paradox of Economic Growth in South Africa*, by Jennifer Davis; *Southern Africa: Detente or Prologue to Struggle* by

George Houser; and Tad Szulc's expose of the secret 1969 Kissinger study of U.S. policy towards southern Africa: *Why are We in Johannesburg*.

The research files and periodical library continue to expand, and have been extensively used this year, both by students and by other groups seeking to develop a clearer picture of the background to the events which have occurred this past year.

ACOA continues to provide information to a growing number of congressional representatives, trade unions, churches and academics in response to specific requests for background briefings. ACOA staff and board members have frequently been invited to participate in meetings, seminars and conferences called by such groups to provide information and analysis about the southern African situation.

Liaison with Liberation Movements

An important aspect of ACOA activities over the years has been providing support for the work of the permanent representatives from the African liberation movements in the United States. Among those with whom public meetings or discussions were held in 1974 were Jose Araujo and Silvino da Luz, now members of the PAIGC, and Sharfudine Kahn, representative from FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front). From Namibia were Peter Mueshihange and John Otto of SWAPO (South West African People's Organization); Mukedzei Mudzi, Secretary General, and Noel Mukono, Foreign Secretary of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union); and George Silundika of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union); Thami Mhlambiso and Duma Nokwe of the African National Congress, South Africa; and from Angola, Saydi Mingus of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), Paul Touba of the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and S.G. Lukata of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

Other important persons included Bishops Auala and Wood of the Lutheran and Anglican Churches in Namibia, respectively; Sean

MacBride, the United Nations Commissioner of Namibia; Fatima Meer, a professor at Natal University and a leader of the Indian community in South Africa; and Hashim Mbita, head of the Organization of Africa Unity Liberation Committee.

In the fall, George Houser was invited by President Kenneth Kaunda to participate in the celebration of Zambia's tenth independence anniversary. He traveled to Zambia, Tanzania, and Zaire and met with the leaders of virtually every liberation movement in southern Africa. A detailed report concerning his findings was distributed to all ACOA members.

Africa Defense and Aid Fund

Each year ACOA is called upon to give emergency assistance to political refugees and help meet expenses for representatives of the liberation movements here in the U.S. During 1974 approximately \$10,000 was spent for these purposes. Examples of aid were: medicines for a refugee from Namibia; legal fees for a South African refugee being pressed by the Immigration and Naturalization Department (we won the case); a contribution to aid a South African student-group to hold a conference in Africa; and assistance of food and clothing to Namibian refugees in Zambia.

The Africa Fund

Through this independent, tax-exempt affiliate of ACOA, Americans have been supporting the new schools, hospitals, medical and social services of the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. Now that Guinea-Bissau's independence has been recognized, with that of Angola and Mozambique to follow shortly, The Africa Fund will continue to aid projects within these countries, but will also search out those projects which can be funded effectively within South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Jennifer Davis, Research Director of The Africa Fund, traveled to southern Africa last summer to evaluate the programs which the Fund aids, to observe the new situation existing there, and to discuss projects. She prepared a report on medical and health care services and current needs in Mozambique.

BOARD ADDITIONS

Six new members were added this year to ACOA's Executive Board: Marshall Brown, Lawrence Henderson, Ida Lewis, Leonard Jeffries, Andre Unger and Donald Wilson. All should help to strengthen ACOA's effectiveness.

Marshall Brown is Chairman of Health Education at Essex College, Newark, New Jersey. He has been active for many years in sports and civil rights.

Lawrence Henderson is Secretary for Africa and Latin America, Board for World Ministries, United Church of Christ.

Ida Lewis is editor and publisher of *Encore* magazine.

Leonard Jeffries is Chairman of the Black and Puerto Rican Studies Program at City College, New York City.

Andre Unger is Rabbi at Temple Emanu-El in Westwood, New Jersey.

Donald Wilson is Coordinator, Unit on Ministries of Health, Education and Social Justice, United Presbyterian Church.

FINANCIAL RESULTS

	INCOME	EXPENSES
Program Projects	\$9,215	\$51,190
Research, Education & Literature	\$3,973	\$1,162
Membership & Special Contributions	\$73,211	\$37,000
Administration	\$5,582	\$23,302
TOTAL	\$96,181	\$112,654

As we entered 1974, ACOA had a deficit of \$8,777. We had hoped to reduce this deficit without sacrificing programs or projects. We reduced our expenses this year by some \$12,000, however, we did not raise enough income to break even and are left with an operating deficit of \$16,473 for the year.

In 1974, our tax-exempt affiliate, The Africa Fund, assumed responsibility for the research, education and literature function. It is difficult to cut any further into our budget without eliminating vital campaigns. In these challenging times, ACOA can and must make a significant impact on the changes occurring in southern Africa in 1975.