1971 ended with the fulfillment of its worst promise. Nixon unilaterally (without telling the Senate) signed a pact giving Portugal $435 million in loans and credits in return for a five-year lease of Azores air and naval bases. This culminated increasing assistance to Portugal, hardpressed by colonial wars; it included, during the year, export permits for Boeing troop carriers. The British Conservative Party shamefully reneged on NIMBAR—no independence before majority rule—in reaching agreement with Ian Smith’s rebel Rhodesian regime, and Congress helped by voting down the chrome embargo. Africans organized to deliver a resounding “no” despite the state of emergency and police terrorism. South Africa rounded up the last of the liberal opposition and waged a campaign of terror in peasant areas while parading Bantustans before the world as “black self-government.” In Namibia Ovambo organized a general strike against the contract-labor system and its master, South Africa.

NAMIBIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

On June 21, 1971, the Court stated that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal and that member states of the United Nations are obliged to recognize this; ACOA had submitted a brief to the Court. A lawyers’ committee then prepared a statement for ACOA on obligations of the United States under the Court opinion. (For example, the Bureau of Internal Revenue should not give tax credit to U.S. corporations which pay taxes to support the illegal South African regime.) A delegation headed by ACOA President Peter Weiss presented this to U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. George Bush; its other members included Judge William Booth, Hope Stevens, Joel Carlson, Michael Davis, and George M. Houser.

PROGRAM AND PROJECTS

CORPORATE CAMPAIGN. A major campaign continues to be that of attempting to end the steady economic support that goes from the United States to the colonial and racist rulers of southern Africa. Corporations are strategically significant and involve millions of Americans through stock-holding agencies such as universities, churches, and pension funds, and as consumers. ACOA is part of a group of concerned agencies and organizations planning corporate action. George Houser attended a National Industrial Mission Conference in Wisconsin in June, along with the Project on Corporate Responsibility, the Industrial Areas Foundation, the Council of Corporate Review, the Episcopal Church Social Criteria Committee, and the Presbyterian Task Force on Southern Africa. Dick Leonard attended a July conference called by a Dayton, Ohio group which is coordinating the Gulf Boycott campaign. Janet Hooper and Jennifer Davis joined Computer People for Peace in a protest at the May Joint Computer Conference in Atlantic City.
GULF. Three ACOA representatives attended the April Gulf stockholders meeting in Atlanta, where the Presbyterian Task Force on Southern Africa had succeeded in placing four resolutions on the proxy ballot. The resolutions were supported by 20 Congressmen. Students at Indiana U., Cornell, Oberlin, Emory, U. of Illinois at Chicago, Michigan State, and U. of Pennsylvania called on their institutions to support the resolutions. Rallies were held at Emory and Atlanta universities in connection with the meeting.

POLAROID. Opposition to Polaroid's business in South Africa, led by Polaroid workers, continued. Two of them testified before the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid in March. George Houser wrote a widely circulated article in Christian Century, "The Polaroid Approach to South Africa."

GENERAL MOTORS. ACOA was also represented at the GM stockholders' meeting in May, where the Episcopal Church had placed one withdrawal resolution on the ballot with the support of GM director the Rev. Leon Sullivan.

GENERAL ELECTRIC. A campaign led by ACOA persuaded GE to withdraw its request for Export-Import Bank financing and the sale of transformers worth $55 million for use in building the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. The campaign against the dam, a major Portuguese project to attract white immigrants, is international in scope.

IBM. ACOA published a fact sheet on IBM in South Africa as the initial step in the campaign for IBM withdrawal. Other corporations that have been selected for action include: Ford, Mobil, Firestone, First National City Bank, Holiday Inn, and Tsumeb Corporation.

RELATED DISENGAGEMENT CAMPAIGNS. ACOA has been protesting and seeking legal advice on the question of South African advertising in U.S. media, much of which is in violation of Fair Employment Practices legislation. In New York ACOA is in consultation with City and State Human Rights Commissions on the subject.

SPORTS. Arthur Ashe was again denied a visa to play tennis in South Africa, while Lee Elder received one to play golf. The contradiction emphasizes arbitrary political interference in sport in South Africa. The Boston NAACP led in demanding an end to South African participation in sports here, endorsed by the national organization. ACOA joined its protest at Forest Hills tennis matches, and issued an Open Letter as well as joining in picketing a Gary Player exhibition golf match in New Jersey.

SCIENCE. ACOA has continuously called for an end to U.S. aid in the development of South African science, especially the space program and nuclear research. In September, 1971, 71 U.S. astronomers called for discontinuation of scientific exchanges and support for joint research projects in South Africa until its racial policies are changed. ACOA supported their action.

RESEARCH, LITERATURE, AND PUBLICATIONS

ACOA answers several hundred mail requests for infor-
mation and literature a month, many from students. It stocks and distributes not only its own literature but that of the United Nations, the International Defense and Aid Fund, the liberation movements, and various support movements. It also distributes films about the struggle in southern Africa.

ACOA literature issued in 1971 includes fact sheets: NATO and Southern Africa—The Growth of a Military Bloc; Power to the Portuguese Empire from General Electric; testimony to Congress and the U.N. reported elsewhere; An Analysis of American Obligations vis-à-vis Namibia in the Light of the International Court’s Opinion; and statements on the plebiscite proposal for Namibia; Congressional violation of the embargo on Rhodesian chrome; sale of aircraft to Portugal and South Africa, and the lease of the Azores’ base. In preparation are a new fact sheet on Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and a study of the Namibian economy. A staff publication, ACOA Notes, is issued periodically. An ACOA leaflet, "Would You Give South Africa Nuclear Power?" was banned in South Africa. In addition to appearances before the United Nations, the research director has testified before the House Subcommittee on Africa on the flow of strategic equipment to South Africa and Portugal and has presented a paper to the African Studies Association on a similar theme.

WASHINGTON

Potentialities for work in Washington have increased with the organization in Congress of a Black Caucus one of whose concerns is U.S. policy on Africa. This year the question of the sugar-quota subsidy to South Africa became a national issue. The quota was extended three years by a margin of only two votes in the Senate, while in the House the 213-163 vote showed a large anti-apartheid group. Washington Director Hightower testified before the House Subcommittee on Africa in May on U.S. business in southern Africa. Legislation under discussion included a bill to extend FEPC legislation to specifically cover U.S. corporations overseas, and a bill to penalize such corporations that did discriminate by cutting off government contracts.

Key Washington issues on which ACOA worked this year were the sale of Boeing 707s to Portugal, the breaking of the Rhodesian embargo, and the executive lease of the Azores base. License to sell the Boeings was given without qualification and ACOA learned they would be used for troop transport in Africa. A delegation went to Washington to see Congressmen and considerable interest was aroused in this extension of U.S. involvement in Portugal’s colonial wars. It was background for a significant challenge now being made to executive assumption of treaty-making powers revealed in the Azores base deal. ACOA made information available to Congress as well as sending it out publicly and calling for protests. Similar action was taken when Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia succeeded in finding an indirect way to permit importation of Rhodesian chrome at a time when that strengthened Ian Smith’s hand in negotiations with Britain.
ORGANIZATION

The budget for 1972 curtails field work although some continues in Chicago. ACOA is cooperating with other groups there in maintaining a storefront literature and resources center on the third world, with Eileen Hanson representing ACOA. Highlight of the year while Prexy Nesbitt was ACOA representative was a Midwest Conference on Imperialism and Liberation in the Seventies attended by 400; he also filled many speaking engagements.

MEETINGS. Many informational meetings with Africans or people just arriving from Africa are held during the year by ACOA. Notable ones during 1971 were for South African lawyer Joel Carlson, Board member Robert Van Lierop, Judge William Booth; I. B. Tabata, Unity Movement of South Africa; the Rt. Rev. Colin Winter, Bishop of Damaraland in Namibia; the Rt. Rev. Alpheus Zulu, Bishop of Zululand; Sam Nujoma, Moses Garoeb, and Peter Katjavivi of SWAPO, here for the U.N. Visitors of unusual interest included Janet Mondlane of the Mozambique Institute and photographer Mike Schuster who had just toured Guinea-Bissau. Here for a longer time period are FRELIMO representative Sharfudine Khan and ZAPU representative Kotsho Dube, and Gil Fernandez on tour for PAIGC.

ACOA joined Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa in protest demonstrations on behalf of the Very Rev. French Beytaugh and other imprisoned South Africans. It participated in FRELIMO’s National Day commemoration. Some staff and Board members were able to meet with OAU President Ould Daddah (President of Mauritania) and other OAU executive committee members when the OAU delegation visited New York to attend U.N. sessions on Namibia.

BOARD, OFFICERS, AND STAFF

New members added to the Board at the April annual meeting were: Judge William Booth, Gregory Harris, Dorothy Hibbert, Martin Mensch, Gail Morlan, and Roderick Willis. Officers elected were: President, Peter Weiss; Vice Presidents, Robert Browne, Elizabeth Landis, David Robinson; Secretary, Lydia Williams; Assistant Secretary, Dick Leonard; Treasurer, F.A.O. Schwarz, Jr.

FINANCE

Once again the national economy has affected ACOA and the expansion reported up until 1970 has been replaced by contraction and forced economy. About $25,000 less was raised than in 1970 with consequent loss in program effectiveness. The preliminary unaudited figures for 1971 income and expenses prepared on a cash basis are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Education &amp; Information</th>
<th>Program &amp; Projects</th>
<th>Administration</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>$115,106</td>
<td>$17,204</td>
<td>$7,311</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incurred Expenses</td>
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<td>$32,507</td>
<td>$59,472</td>
<td>$19,762</td>
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</tbody>
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AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND

The Fund's major activities and disbursements are in aid of the liberation movements. This sometimes means furnishing them with facilities and office supplies, sometimes paying for trips to the United Nations and mimeoing testimony, sometimes direct aid to the movements. Individuals are assisted both in Africa and in the United States. The Fund is affiliated with the International Defense and Aid Fund with headquarters in London. ACOA was represented at the annual meeting by Karen Whitmore.

THE AFRICA FUND

The Africa Fund is a private operating foundation which qualifies for tax benefits for donors. It is an independent agency, associated with ACOA and sharing its staff in part, but with its own Board of Trustees and an annual budget of more than $100,000. A particular interest of The Africa Fund has been the new institutions set up as the liberation movements advance. It contributes to support the Mozambique Institute and to similar agencies in Guinea-Bissau and Angola. Where possible it helps to supply legal defense for political prisoners and it aids their families. The Fund assists students, refugees, and exiles, and it supports research work into conditions in southern Africa and U.S. relations with Africa.

CONCLUSION

Although U.S. policy keeps shifting toward more open support for the white minority rulers of southern Africa, their days are numbered. Today Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Namibia are in upheaval, protesting oppression. Increased repression in South Africa only reveals the depths of the opposition, which appears even within the government's own institutions. The liberation movements have understood for years that the struggle will be long and they are geared for it. More land is freed from Portuguese rule every year. More people are literate, more children in school. Social services are introduced, production and trade restored. Southern Africans are freeing themselves. U.S. aid to the oppressors delays liberation but cannot stop it. ACOA's task is to make African policy an issue in this campaign year, to reverse present support for apartheid and colonialism, and to increase the numbers of those who support the liberation struggle.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

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Enclosed is my contribution of $.

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