Dear Friends in the Coalition,

The Steering Committee of the Coalition held a two-day meeting in Chicago over the Memorial Day weekend, the notes of which we are sending you here. Many of us were excited with the sense that we are beginning to put some meat on the bones of the coalition.

We discussed two main issues. The first was how to build the coalition to include more groups. We formulated a proposal to build the coalition which needs the active involvement of all coalition members. The full proposal is on pages 4 and 5 of the minutes. As you can see, we are counting on coalition members to suggest groups to invite to join the coalition by June 25. Your suggestions (with address of group and contact person) should be sent to:

Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and South African Imports
3808 Hamilton St.
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Please make this a top priority. And, when Philadelphia has sent out invitations to new groups to join the coalition, we hope that coalition members will talk with these groups in their area so they can get a personal sense of what the coalition is trying to do.

Our second focus at the meeting was on what new work on southern Africa the coalition would undertake. The steering committee discussed how we can develop a national mass action campaign on some southern African issue (see page 6 of the minutes). We recognize that a national mass action campaign is not something to be decided on or acted on lightly, so we want to consider it carefully, and with input from all coalition members and other groups and coalitions which also might become involved. You can expect to receive, by July 1, a packet with several documents on a possible campaign focusing on U.S. imports from Namibia. We very much hope you will study this packet, discuss it in your groups, and write to the subgroup which will be working on it with suggestions.

In addition to the above issues, it would help if you could follow up on the following items now (they are marked in red in the minutes):

--- return the ballot on the steering committee expansion and admission of Bay Area Namibia Action Group to the Washington Office on Africa (see pages 5 & 6)
--- if you have not done so already, pay $15 dues (make checks payable to the Washington Office on Africa) (See page 3)
--- add the Southern Africa Liberation Committee of Ann Arbor to your list of coalition members (see page 3).

Between now and the fall steering committee meeting, you can expect to receive from various members of the coalition the following:

--- mass action proposal packet, by July 1
--- design of telephone tree for news hot-line (see page 3)
--- questionnaire on your access to films and slide shows (see page 7)
--- monthly letter from internal co-ordinator on the progress of coalition work (see page 7)

I hope these notes are a clear and understandable report on the discussion and decisions at the May steering committee meeting. If you have any questions or corrections, please let me know.

A Luta Continua!
MINUTES OF THE MAY 30, 1976 STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COALITION FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, IN CHICAGO

Present: Philadelphia Coalition (Phil) - Rosa Seawright
Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (CCLAMG) - Washington Office on Africa (WOA) - Ted Lockwood
Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAMUSA) - Kevin Clark
Southern Africa Liberation Committee, East Lansing (SALC) - Jerry Bennett
Freedom Information Service (FIS) - Ken Lawrence
American Committee on Africa and Africa Fund (ACOA) - Paul Irish
Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA) - Allan Cooper
United Methodist Women's Division (UMC) - Melba Smith
Committee on Southern Africa Liberation, Syracuse (Syracuse) - Diana Ellis

Bay Area Namibia Action Group (BANAG) - Marti Roach

Jerry Silberman attended as an observer of the Philadelphia coalition and Mike McMurray as an observer from FIS. Chris Root from WOA attended as interim Executive Sec'y.

Groups not represented: Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa (ECSA)

I. Discussion of the Agenda
We accepted the agenda drafted by SALC, as follows: progress reports from groups; reports from actions taken since last steering committee meeting; proposals which require discussion (mass action proposals, centralized administration); new business. We added a discussion of the relationship between this coalition and the new national co-ordinating mechanism for support of the People's Republic of Angola, since many representatives had just attended a meeting on this subject in Chicago held on this same weekend.

II. Reports on activities of groups
ACOA: Africa Fund projects include leaflet called "Zimbabwe: Battleground for Freedom" with models for material support projects; working on new literature: chronology on Zimbabwe, meaning of Turnhalle conference in Namibia (with ECSA), pamphlet on Angola. Syracuse: mostly informational work, esp. with radio shows; committee needs reorg.
WOA: just finished newsletter on Kissinger's Africa trip; working on tools for election year: Congressional voting record (completed) & positions of Presidential candidates on southern Africa; worked on sale of GE nuclear reactor and fuel to South Africa.
FIS: working on ZANU pamphlet; participated in April 1 conference in south with presentation on Zimbabwe; opposing black business contract to sell cosmetics in South Africa & possible journalism school exchange program with U. of Miss. & a coloured Univ. Phil: mostly doing international educational work, studying liberation movements in southern Africa. Tried unsuccessfully to arrange Phil forum for Mozambican Ambassador.
SALC: pushing selective purchasing resolution in East Lansing City Council (hoping for hearings to focus also on Michigan corps, including auto companies); trying to oppose exchange w/ South Africa by College or Urban Development. Participated in Congressional round table with Rep. Carr on southern Africa.
MACSA: Regular lecture series on southern Africa and radio news show on southern Africa every week. Finished bibliography on Namibia (very complete) and film listing on southern Africa; working on City Council resolution informing all corporations with South African investments that city will seek alternative suppliers of their products. BANAG: informational work on Namibia; some speaking (esp. church groups); beginning work with an anti-Del Monte coalition & worked with Angola Solidarity Coalition which is changing to southern Africa focus. Still working on revising a packet on Namibia.
CCLAMG: Participated in US Out of Angola Coalition (some members of which are joining CCLAMG); reprinted Organization of Angolan Women booklet and button; work on May 28 Chicago Angola Support Conference; internal study on future directions (esp. re. Zimbabwe) and on the questions of why, how and in what kind of group to best do support work on southern Africa.
III. Policy on Observers at steering committee meetings
This discussion covered the status of: 1) more than one representative from a group on the steering committee; 2) a representative of a group which is a member of the coalition but not part of the steering committee; 3) representative of a group not part of the coalition.

1) This question arose primarily because we were meeting following a larger conference (on Angola) which more than one person from several groups in the coalition attended. We decided that more than one representative could attend the steering committee meeting, with one person being designated as the representative (who would have a vote) and other person(s) as observers with voice but no vote. If, during the meeting, the size of the group was hindering our work, the observers' status could be changed to listening only.

2) We decided by a vote of 8 to 1 (with one abstention) that steering committee meetings are open to coalition members which are not on the steering committee as observers, with voice but no vote.

3) This question arose because the ZANU Support Committee of Chicago, which is not a member of the coalition, had asked to sit in on the coalition steering committee meeting. There were two positions expressed on this issue: a) We already have a procedure established for groups to join the coalition upon agreement with the basis of unity, following which they can request to serve on the steering committee. Representation of a new group on the steering committee requires a vote by the coalition. This procedure should be used in all cases, and should not be circumvented to allow groups to observe steering committee meetings if they have not yet decided to join the coalition, since the steering committee is simply the administrative arm of the coalition. b) In the spirit of trying to build the coalition and bring in new groups, steering committee meetings should be open to groups which might want to become involved with the coalition. By a vote of 5 to 4 it was decided that the ZANU Support Committee of Chicago would not be permitted to observe the steering committee meeting. This decision represents a general policy of not permitting persons or groups who are not members of the coalition to observe steering committee meetings, except upon the special invitation of the steering committee for a particular purpose such as to make a presentative or to provide information to further the committee's work. A proposal to invite a particular person or group should be sent to the group which is preparing the agenda for the upcoming meeting to be distributed for comment with the agenda.

IV. Reports on projects assigned at the February steering committee meeting
A. Zimbabwe Bibliography- Report from Africa Fund. The Africa Fund did produce and distribute this bibliography during this past week. A response from ZANU is still anticipated and will be sent to coalition members when it is received. We agree that we should send the bibliography to those groups which helped to compile it. We reaffirmed the decision taken in February that it is an internal coalition document not to be shared with other individuals and groups because, if it got into the wrong hands, it could be used to demonstrate or try to create divisions within the liberation support movement in this country.

B. Angola Work Review- Report from CCLAMG. Syracuse, ACOA and CCLAMG distributed a sheet analyzing their work in coalitions on Angola. These documents should be distributed to coalition members not represented on the steering committee if this has not already been done. Several people expressed disappointment that only three groups wrote up an analysis and hoped that groups would write up on decisions better in the future.
CCLAMG suggested that they might have encouraged groups to respond by sending out a list of questions to respond to in the analysis.

C. Telephone Hot-Line- Report from PIS and WOA. PIS has still not distributed the phone network to member groups, although it may already be completed. The hot-line was used once in May on the issue of a possible U.S. veto of Angola's membership at the United Nations. Three suggestions for the phone-tree were made based on this experience: 1) Several groups never received a call. The tree should be designed so that the people at the end call back someone at the beginning so we know when everyone has been contacted. 2) The message should include a clear statement of how groups should respond to the information being distributed. 3) PIS should mail out the phone list as soon as possible so there will be a greater chance that all groups will be contacted the next time the network is activated.

D. Tour by representative of People's Republic of Angola (PRA) - Report from ACOA. It has been very difficult to try to organize this, since it is something which depends on the decision of the PRA and which the coalition does not control. Several groups in the coalition and out have urged the PRA to make someone available for a North American speaking tour, but such a decision has not yet been made. We can only stand ready to participate in a tour if and when it is decided on. Syracuse suggested that if people in New York could conduct an audio taped interview with PRA representatives, coalition groups would be able to use it for radio work.

E. Finances- Report from WOA. Many coalition groups have still not paid the $15 dues for administrative expenses of the coalition. Checks should be made payable to the Washington Office on Africa, with a note that it is for the coalition. The Executive Secretary will send a notice to groups which have not yet paid.

F. Problem of equalizing transportation costs for attending steering committee meetings. We considered a proposal to equalize costs by having all groups pay an equal amount of transportation costs. But we found it difficult to include factors of different distances to get to meetings, different means of transportation used, and different access to financial resources. We therefore left it that we would try to equalize costs by meeting in different cities.

V. Proposals that require discussion

A. Bringing new groups into the coalition: Report from WOA and discussion.

1) Since the February steering committee meeting, one group has joined the coalition:
   Southern Africa Liberation Committee, Ann Arbor
   204 South Fourth St.
   Ann Arbor, MI 48108

The following groups had been suggested to be invited to join the coalition since the February meeting: Patrice Lumumba Coalition, Philadelphia Coalition for Justice in Angola, the Carthaginians (of the United Electrical Workers), ALSC of Baltimore, Unitarian-Universalist Church of Berks County, Pa., National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, ALSC of New York, International Affairs Task Force of National Conference of Black Lawyers, Yale-New Haven Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition, ALSC of New Hampshire-Vermont; U.S.-Out-of-Angola Committee of Chicago, MPLA Solidarity Committee, Communist Labor Party, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and CASA.

According to the decision made in February, only those with a specific focus on southern Africa or with some committee or task force focusing on southern Africa could be approached to join the coalition. Only some of these groups were contacted, however, because of delays in getting suggestions to WOA and time constraints faced by WOA. Of those groups which have been approached, none has decided to join the coalition.
Why did we not succeed in bringing in new groups? In addition to the problems stated above, the Executive Secretary did not circulate a list of those groups which had been suggested (as had been decided in February) because of the few names suggested early. Therefore, groups did not know what progress was (or was not) being made in building the coalition.

2) We proceeded to discuss how to build the coalition now. We first tried to clarify our goals, and then went on to the question of implementation. In February we decided to focus only on adding two groups to the steering committee to increase its race and class diversity; we did not at the time consider how, in general, to add to the coalition groups which were not present at the Madison conference where the coalition was formed. This seemed too narrow a way to approach building the coalition, as the few groups suggested to be invited to join the coalition indicated.

We discussed the relative weight to be given to two goals: 1) increasing the participation of black and working class groups in the coalition and the steering committee, and 2) building the coalition to include as many groups as possible which agree with the basis of unity and are working for the liberation of southern Africa.

FIS said we should be trying to add as many groups as possible to coalition. UMC and Syracuse agreed. AAMUSA said we should recognize that petty-bourgeois or middle class people also have value in our work, and they should not be excluded. ACOA said we are not excluding middle class groups, but that does not mean that we should go out of our way to attract those groups. WOA said groups would not find out about the coalition if they were not approached, so we can't take passive position toward groups we hope will join.

We resolved out of this discussion that we do have two goals. Our first priority is bringing into the coalition black and working class groups. Our second priority is broadening and building the coalition to include as many groups as possible which are working for the liberation in southern Africa and agree with basis of unity.

We then discussed how to implement these two goals. WOA, Phili and AAMUSA said that if we continue to invite participation only from those groups which have their primary focus on southern Africa work we will not attract working class black groups. Because of the conditions in the United States, blacks and workers are generally organized around broader issues including domestic concerns, yet they do important work on southern Africa. Groups that are more likely to build a specific organization around southern African issues are those composed of middle class people. Yet the coalition as now constituted can approach only these latter groups, which will perpetuate the predominately white, middle class composition of the coalition. We therefore decided that the criterion for membership should be active work for the liberation of southern Africa, rather than a single or primary focus on that work.

Based on these discussions, a proposal for building the coalition was drafted and accepted unanimously the following morning, as follows:

"In order for the coalition to most effectively work for the liberation of southern Africa, we have two goals concerning adding new groups:

1. All groups which are working for the liberation of southern Africa and agree with the basis of unity are encouraged to join the coalition. (This represents a conscious change in our originally limiting the coalition only to groups with a primary emphasis on southern Africa, based on the realization that many working class and black groups are organized along broader lines.)

2. Our priority is to bring into the coalition and onto the steering committee predominately black groups, working class groups, and organizations representing other
national or racial minorities.

"To implement these goals we will do the following:

1. Coalition members will suggest to the Philadelphia Coalition groups to invite to join the coalition, and, among those, which should be top priority to encourage to join. We will compile a list of groups which have already or are now suggested.

2. This list will be circulated to all current coalition members by June 25. Any additional groups should be suggested at this time.

3. The Philadelphia Coalition will send letters of invitation to join the coalition to those groups, including all necessary information about the background and nature of the coalition.

4. Coalition member groups in the vicinity of groups which are asked to join or which have worked with these groups should make every effort to meet with them to discuss the coalition. This should be applied especially in the case of black and working class groups to encourage them to join.

5. Groups which wish to join the coalition should indicate that they agree with the basis of unity, and briefly describe the work they are doing in support of southern African liberation, and indicate whether they wish to serve on the steering committee.

6. The coalition will then decide by vote which new groups to add to the steering committee.

We discussed how to describe which groups working on southern Africa we wanted to join the coalition. It was suggested that groups should have a local community base, but this was not meant to exclude those national organizations which would really strengthen our work. CCLAMG raised the question of whether the coalition should include groups which are organized to support one liberation movement, when all coalition members do not have unity around this position, but we did not reach a decision on this question. We decided that there really was no way to describe those groups which we should approach - we will have to depend on the experience and judgement of groups which make up the coalition to recommend those groups which they think will strengthen our work.

3) BANAG raised the question at the end of the meeting of their wanting to join the steering committee, giving the following reasons: BANAG is only coalition member on the west coast and they hope to bring in other groups if they can be actively involved with coalition; BANAG will be working on mass action subgroup (see V.B. below) and will therefore be attending the next steering committee meeting anyway; it is frustrating to participate as an observer but not have a vote. UMC suggested that BANAG be continued as an observer, but with a vote. WOA moved two motions to respond to the situation: Motion 1: That the steering committee submit to the existing membership of the coalition the recommendation that the steering committee be expanded to 15. Motion 2: That the steering committee recommend to the coalition that BANAG be added as a member of the steering committee.

There were two positions expressed on this issue: 1) BANAG will be doing work useful to the coalition, desires to join the steering committee and should be added. 2) We hope that all members of the coalition will work on the projects of the coalition, but this does not suggest that all members should join the steering committee. Adding a group to the steering committee which is neither black nor working class when we have said that our priority is to expand working class and black participation on the steering committee looks hypocritical, even if we also expand the committee to 15 (and especially if we do not expand it).
Motion 1 was defeated by 1 to 5 with 3 absentions. Motion 2 was accepted by 5 to 3
with one abstention. When it was explained that the result of this action was to
leave only one seat open to fulfill our priority of expanding black and working
class participation, Motion 1 was reconsidered and passed by 6 to 0 with 3 abstentions.

Both of these recommendations will therefore be submitted to the coalition for a vote.
(See enclosed ballot)

B. Mass action proposal
At the February meeting, coalition member groups were asked to prepare a detailed
proposal for some mass action on southern Africa. Phili was to prepare guidelines for
developing such proposals. These guidelines were distributed to the steering
committee at the May meeting, which accepted them as a basis for creating proposals.
Other coalition members will get them in the mail soon.

Allan Cooper of MACSA presented a description of his research on U.S. corporate
involvement in the fishing industry in Namibia and the role of the U.S. government
in promoting exports from Namibia to the U.S. by subsidizing shipping routes which
would otherwise be unprofitable. (An article on Allan's research will be in the
August Southern Africa magazine.) BANAG has also begun to work with a coalition in
the Bay Area against Del Monte which fishes off Namibia's coast. Allies in this
fight could include American farmworkers who Del Monte hires in Texas Fields,
workers in the Bay area, and food groups which attack Del Monte's rip-off of
consumers.

Many groups were excited about the work that had been done so far on research, and
on the potential for a broad-based campaign, but it was unclear what the target
was (DEl Monte? U.S. government shipping subsidies? shipping companies?) Also,
the proposal so far lacked specific proposals for what national mass actions could
be instituted to make an impact on the target.

Based on this discussion, we made two unanimous decisions:
1) By July 1, a packet will be circulated to all coalition members including the
following: a cover letter explaining the purpose of the mass action campaign and
tyling it in with building the coalition; the guidelines sheet produced by Phili, Allan's
research, a sheet on actions and complaints against Del Monte in California from BANAG;
and a request for consideration of the proposal and suggests for mass actions. The
cost of the packet will be covered from dues.

2) Three people from member groups of the coalition will be constituted as a task group
to develop this proposal further. This group will look over the research, solicit
information and views from other organizations (including the Sierra Club, La Raza
Unida, groups in Bay Area), develop thorough proposals for mass actions, taking into
account suggestions from coalition members. They should also make early approaches
to other national organizations or coalitions which might be interested.

Time frame: The packet will be sent out by the subgroup by July 1. Coalition groups
should respond by August 1. The subgroup will develop proposals and distribute them
to coalition members by September 15.

The subgroup will be Allan Cooper from MACSA, Marti Roach from BANAG and Paul Irish
from ACOA.

C. Conference
Several people felt that it is important to have a coalition conference to give new
members (and old) a sense that they are a part of something actual. Phili proposed
several criteria which should be met before we hold a conference: 1) substantial
contacts should be made with new groups before the conference,
2) a mass action proposal should be developed to a high stage to distribute before the conference, so it can be given serious discussion and perhaps be adopted at the conference. These criteria were accepted. In addition, new groups should be involved in planning the conference.

We set a target date for a conference in spring, 1977.

D. Newsletter
We discussed the importance of knowing what is happening within the coalition and what coalition members are doing. The Action News and Notes section of Southern Africa magazine provides some of this function, but has a long lead time. A major coalition newsletter was thought to be still too big a task to take on. We therefore agreed that the co-ordinator should send out a monthly progress report on the work of the coalition to all coalition members. This should help us all know what is being followed through with and what progress is being made.

E. Film Clearing House
Coalition members are concerned about pooling our resources to purchase and use films because many groups have small budgets and cannot afford to purchase films alone and cannot afford many high rental fees. We decided unanimously that the coalition should make a list of films and slide shows that coalition members have access to with information about the conditions of availability, along with information about what other film lists on southern Africa are available. Syracuse will send out a questionnaire to groups and compile the responses.

F. Relation to Angola National Co-ordinating Mechanism that was set up at Chicago conference on May 30.
Our proposal for outreach to new groups will allow us to contact many of the groups at the Angola conference about joining the coalition. In regard to the content of the work and the overlap of projects, the coalition does have a broader focus than just Angola. There are several groups involved in both bodies, so we should be able to co-ordinate actions as the work of both groups develops. Since the program of the Angola group was not decided on at the conference, we could not discuss specific co-ordination any further.

G. Next steering committee meeting
We agreed to meet in Mississippi for the next meeting, with FIS as host. We will meet from Saturday noon to Sunday noon on Columbus Day weekend, October 10-11. FIS raised possibility of holding a public meeting with participation from all or some steering committee members. It was decided that this would not be appropriate, but that we would very much like to have an informalprivate meeting with other people in Mississippi who are working on southern Africa.

H. Centralized administration of the coalition and division of responsibilities
Chris Root explained that it had been difficult to do more than maintenance functions (get out minutes, check on progress on projects) in addition to regular work at WOA. We therefore reconsidered how tasks could be better divided up. We agreed that one member should act as center for internal co-ordination, but that all other functions could be distributed to other members of the steering committee. We took the following responsibilities, in the spirit that all coalition members will take responsibility for making the coalition work:
Mass Action subgroup: ACOA, MACSA, BANAG
Agenda for next steering committee meeting: CCLAMG
Host for next steering committee meeting: FIS
Minutes of this meeting: WOA
Outreach to new groups: Phili
Internal co-ordinator and finances: WOA
Film Information co-ordinator: Syracuse

# # # # #