Bank Campaign Fights Loans to South Africa

Ten years ago, participation by several large American banks in a $40 million revolving credit to South Africa prompted ACOA to lead a campaign of protest which continued until the credit was terminated in 1969. Now, in the face of new and increasing U.S. loans to the minority regime and to large enterprises in South Africa, ACOA has once again moved to the forefront of opposition.

This time, the call for action is more urgent and is nationwide in scope: current estimates put US loans to South Africa at more than $2 billion, while participating banks have grown from a few major lenders to include a growing number of regional banks. The need to research such participation—and to oppose it where found—offer important opportunities for action at the local level.

A Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa, whose formation was initiated by ACOA with the assistance of various staff members, has announced its intention to mobilize as many groups as possible around the country to work for an end to US - South African banking connections. Action groups have already been formed in cities including Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York City, and 40,000 brochures describing the campaign have been distributed nationally.

GROUPS INVOLVED
Members of the Committee in addition to ACOA include Clergy and Laity Concerned and the American Friends Service Committee. Other organizations working with the committee include the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workers of North America, the Furniers Joint Council, and District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees AFL-CIO.

The Committee is calling on individu-
AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

by George M. Houser

Enough has happened in the first six months of the Carter administration to make it clear that important changes have taken place. US policy toward Africa no longer is dominated by one person as it was during the Kissinger era. UN Ambassador Andrew Young and Vice President Walter Mondale are playing the most visible roles, but it appears that considerable influence also is felt from behind-the-scenes liberal experts.

It is also noteworthy that the Carter administration prides itself on working out a new policy. Young told a UN conference in Maputo that “while I respect your skepticism, even your cynicism, there is in fact a change in America.”

CRITIQUE OF POLICY

There are some changes, stylistic in part, substantive in part. But perhaps the most critical element in foreign policy remains the same, and augurs ill for the future.

We in ACOA have been saying over the years that foreign business operations and investments are not a force for change in southern Africa but for strengthening the status quo. This view seems to be in opposition to that enunciated by President Carter, who said in an interview prior to the election that he saw business forces as a medium for change in South Africa, and by Andrew Young, who in two speeches in May made what seem to be four main points regarding the role of business. These included:

1. The centrality of the business community. Speaking to businessmen in Johannesburg Young said, “Out of my experiences I’ve come to think of the business community as in many respects the key to...(the hope)...for South Africans to live together as brothers and with the rest of the world as brothers.”

2. The US experience. Young referred to a lunch that he and Dr. Martin Luther King had one day in Birmingham with two corporate presidents and reported that following that meeting, policies were changed, a committee of 100 businessmen was formed, and those men negotiated “the end of apartheid in Birmingham, Alabama in spite of the fact that on the books of law it was still illegal to desegregate anything.”

3. The possibility of peaceful change with business playing a key role. Young said, “Change can come through the market place...When blacks became a part of the free market system in the South (of the US), not only did the system not explode, but blacks had very much at stake in it.”

4. The suggestion of a threat of economic action if change does not come. Young implied that trade between the West and independent Africa would be more important than trade with South Africa. He also supported the idea of economic boycotts inside southern Africa. He said, “If every black citizen of Zimbabwe did not purchase anything but food or medicine for another three or six months, it would bring an impact on the Smith regime equal to that of armed struggle.”

STRUGGLES ARE DIFFERENT

The trouble with Young’s view, and that of the Carter administration, is that it does not come to grips with the revolutionary dynamics involved in the southern African struggle. The civil rights struggle in the US was not essentially revolutionary. It was aimed against discrimination and segregation. The ownership of property, control of industry, was not basically at stake. The civil rights struggle in the US was much more akin to past eras in southern Africa such as the pre-Sharpeville era in South Africa when the ANC was allowed to exist and could carry out non-violent strategies.

The struggle in South Africa is now revolutionary. Whites rightly perceive that their privileged way of life is at stake. They see that they will not be able to control what happens when pass laws are outlawed, when trade union rights are enforced, when there is universal franchise. The same old system will not prevail. The aim and intention of the liberation movements is the overthrow of the old system.

If US policy is to be relevant to the liberation struggle in southern Africa, it cannot cling to the hope that changes will be brought about by remedial reforms in business practices which will bring the black population into the system. To still hold to this philosophy is to delude the American people, to attempt to delude the Africans, and to lead toward national strife with the US again backing up a white minority intent on preserving its position and power.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Mozambique and Angola are specifically excluded from receiving foreign aid under an appropriations bill passed by the House. The Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee will now take up the measure, using the House bill as the basis of its consideration. Write to Sen. Daniel Inouye, chairman, urging that Mozambique and Angola be included in the Senate version. Also write your individual senators, urging the two countries’ inclusion in whatever version of the bill comes before the full Senate.

Under current Treasury Department regulations, subsidiaries of US firms in South Africa are not obliged to abide by sanctions forbidding trade with Rhodesia if such subsidiaries employ no US citizens, if the transaction doesn’t involve a Rhodesian subsidiary of a US firm, and if no goods of US origin are involved. Substantial evidence indicates that this loophole has permitted oil to flow to Rhodesia from South African subsidiaries of large US oil firms.

Sen. Dick Clark is considering holding hearings on the oil companies’ actions. Such hearings would offer an opportunity to discuss the need for legislation to close the loophole. Write to Sen. Clark to urge the hearings. Also write to the President and to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance emphasizing the need for legislation to make sanctions binding on all US corporations and subsidiaries wherever they operate—in South Africa or elsewhere.
### Krugerrand Sales Opposed

By now you’ve probably seen at least one of them in your local newspaper or on television: clever ads with catchy phrases like “An ounce of pure love” which proclaim the joys of owning or giving a South African Krugerrand. Such ads are part of a major campaign undertaken by the gold marketing wing of the South African Chamber of Mines to spur sales of the Krugerrand, a specially minted coin containing one troy ounce of South African gold. Such sales provide much-needed foreign exchange to the white minority regime. One example of what can be done to protest Krugerrand sales at the local level occurred several months ago in Brooklyn, N.Y. Abraham & Strauss, a department store, agreed to stop advertising Krugerrand jewelry and to halt further purchases following a leafleting action by groups including ACOA. Also assisting in the campaign was WLJB, a black radio station, which urged listeners not to buy the coins. Other victories won by Krugerrand sale opponents to date include the passage of resolutions by city councils in Denver, San Antonio, and Dayton urging citizens not to purchase the coins. In Chicago, black-owned Seaway National Bank stopped selling Krugerrands.

Krugerrand sales offer many opportunities for direct action on the local level. Such actions promise a fair chance of success, since locally-owned stores and banks tend to be more responsive to public opinion than are large national companies. They also serve to educate the public about apartheid by presenting the problem at the local level. Additional information on the Krugerrand campaign and suggestions for speakers and resources are available by contacting Paul Irish, ACOA executive associate.

### Poster Ads

Some 375 posters were entered in a nationwide anti-apartheid poster competition sponsored recently by ACOA. The competition was spurred by a statement of Nigerian Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman, chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, that there is a severe lack of graphic art to dramatize the South African situation. Herb Yavel, an ACOA volunteer from Brooklyn, N.Y., conceived the idea of a contest.

The posters were judged on April 27, following which cash awards made possible by a $1,300 grant from the Africa Office of the National Council of Churches were made in five categories: college, high school, grade school, open category, and best-in-show. The top winner was Bob Ziering, a professional artist from New York. Subsequently, a showing of all 375 posters was held at the Church Center of the UN and a smaller number of posters was exhibited in the main lobby of the UN visitors' center.

Interested groups can apply for a poster showing by contacting Raphael Gould, ACOA director of special projects. We ask that such groups agree to pay all transportation costs (approximately $25.00 for 10 to 20 posters) and take responsibility for the posters' care and safe return. It is hoped that these groups will also make a contribution, determined on ability to pay, to help defray expenses.

A twelve-poster 14 x 19" anti-apartheid 1978 calendar will be available in September at $4.00. Proceeds will go to the Africa Fund to support its work in behalf of victims of apartheid and to assist projects in Africa supporting liberation movements. Orders are now being accepted by ACOA.

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**Letter from Detention**

A sympathetic American recently passed on to ACOA the following letter from a Zimbabwean detainee. The letter, which is typical of many letters ACOA receives each year, not only explains something of the conditions under which Zimbabweans live, but also makes clear how great is the need to aid those involved in the liberation struggle. Contributions for this purpose may be made to ACOA or to the Africa Fund, the tax exempt associate of ACOA.

**May 1977**

Dear Madam,

I beg to introduce myself to you. My name is J., under detention from 1975. My detention number is _____, I am married with six kids.

I am a farmer. I own a farm _____ miles from Umtali, Rhodesia, two miles from the Mozambique border along the operation area.

I am in trouble, Madam. Rhodesian security forces have set fire and destroyed my orchard of bananas, oranges, peaches, lemons, grapefruits, mangoes, pawpaws, and guavas, two trucks, a storehouse, and a landrover. They said guerrillas feed themselves from the orchard and declared the farm a no-go area. The farm was my only source of income. My wife is not working.

Please, madam, can you help me out? I don't know where to turn for help. I therefore am asking for your help to adopt my case and make appeals on my behalf for help. I have to smuggle this letter out; it might be weeks before you receive it.

Please, whosoever might adopt my case should address all letters to my wife. She will relay all news to me.

May God give you grace for all the days, direct your thoughts and bless them and direct your work and bless it.

I remain, yours faithfully,

J.
ACOA Responds To Corporate Declaration

US corporations with interests in South Africa are currently engaged in an effort to justify their activities there and to portray themselves as enlightened agents of change. One of the most notable corporate actions in recent months was the publication of a statement of Six Principles, endorsed initially by 12 major US firms including General Motors, IBM, and Citibank. This was presented to the public as representing an important step forward by the firms in ending segregation and promoting fair employment practices at their South African facilities.

The announcement of the Six Principles' adoption, made March 1 on behalf of the firms by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black Philadelphia clergyman who sits on the GM board, was immediately assailed by ACOA as "an exercise in triviality" in a statement which was reported in the press the following day and subsequently quoted by Jack Anderson in his column.

The statement, written by ACOA research director Jennifer Davis and later reprinted under the title "Too Little, Too Late—the US Corporation Employment Manifesto for South Africa," notes that "In the abstract the principles make unobjectionable reading." However, it points out, "The catch lies in what they exclude, rather than what they include. There is no demand for any change in the fundamental structure of apartheid, no demand for black political rights, and closer to home, no commitment to negotiating with black trade unions, or demands for their recognition by the government."

PROJECTS

Paul Irish, executive associate of ACOA, attended the UN conference to support the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, Mozambique in May and a subsequent international anti-apartheid conference in Lisbon.

While in Africa, he held numerous discussions with leaders of the liberation movements. Paul traveled to a camp in Botswana for refugees fleeing the terror of the Smith regime in Rhodesia. He reported that the camp, located in an area where scores of Zimbabweans cross the border every day, was originally intended to accommodate 250 but is now holding over 2,000 refugees on a tiny, two acre plot "The needs in every conceivable aspect—diet, sanitation, health, recreation—are desperate," he wrote. Paul brought with him $4,500 in funds recently raised on an emergency basis through ACOA to assist in the refugee and other work of the Patriotic Front.

Through Paul's trip, ACOA also received specific requests from the Patriotic Front and from SWAPO of Namibia. Items asked for included textbooks for use in teaching English to thousands of Namibian refugees in Angola, electronics to Namibians at a refugee center in Zambia and history to Zimbabweans and Namibians in Zambia.

(Continued on page 10)

A research arm of the Committee has prepared a guide on how to investigate a bank's possible involvement in South Africa loans which details steps including examination of annual reports and contacting of bank officials. It will also publish by mid-August an essay describing the process through which international bank loans are made.

Copies of the research guide and additional information on the bank campaign are available through Prexy Nesbitt, ACOA executive associate, and regional centers: Boston - Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, P.O. Box 101, Boston, Mass. 02123; Chicago - Chicago Coalition on Southern Africa, 8th Day Center, 22 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605; Northern California - ICCR, 870 Market St., #770, San Francisco, CA 94102; Southern California - c/o Thompson, 5925 Canterbury, Apt. 101, Culver City, CA.

PUBLICATIONS

ACOA, associated with The Africa Fund, regularly publishes analyses and research papers on events of major importance in Southern Africa, copies of which are available at low cost to individuals and groups for use in educational and other activities.

NO ONE CAN STOP THE RAIN: ANGOLA AND THE MPLA, by Jennifer Davis, George M. Houser, Susan Rogers and Herb Shore, AF 1976, 48 pp. $1.50. Over ten, $1.00 each.
FROM RHODESIA TO ZIMBABWE: A CHRONOLOGY 1830-1976, by George M. Houser, AF 1977, 16 pp. 50 cents. Over 10, 40 cents each.
U.S. BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA: VOICES FOR WITHDRAWAL, AF 1977, 4 pp. 10 cents. Over 10, eight cents each.
BUILDING INDEPENDENCE: A REPORT ON A RECENT VISIT TO MOZAMBIQUE, by Jennifer Davis, AF 1977, 4 pp. 10 cents. Over 10, eight cents each.

1978 SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM CALENDAR, contains 12 original pieces of art, $4.00.

Bulk rates available.