

MEMORANDUM

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Bud Day - Pasadena

To: Southern Africa Task Force & Others working on Southern
Africa, Bud Day, Niva Padilha & Gerald Lenoir

From: Michael Simmons *Michael*

Date: 10/26/77

Subject:

At the last southern Africa task force meeting it was decided that Brenda Joyner, Greg Williams, Ginny Hill and me were to develop a plan for PED work on southern Africa. Greg was unable to come, but the three of us plus Ron, met and discussed our past, present and future work on southern Africa. The enclosed is a draft based on past task force discussion and our deliberations.

Our timetable is for staff to read the proposal and make critical comments and suggestions. The task force will meet on Friday November 18 to discuss modifications. We will present the plan to the NPED, Friday evening November 19.

We recognize that many are doing various aspects of the work which we have suggested. We attempted to be both comprehensive and realistic. We hope that comments will take in consideration of both regional needs and national needs for our southern Africa work. Your comments should be shared with me no later than November 1. We trust that we will be able to move toward an action oriented program on southern Africa.

MS/va

cc: Ginny Hill
Brenda Joyner
Ron Young
Peter Molotsi
David Sogge
Harry Amana
Greg Williams
Buff Groff
Jaffery Cuyler
Webb Norman
Jim Bristol
Lou Schneider

INTRODUCTION

AFSC has been working for an end to apartheid and majority rule in southern Africa for over twenty years. Since 1974 Bill Sutherland, under the auspices of Peace Education Division and International Division, has been gaining current information regarding southern Africa and interpreting the southern Africa reality to AFSC's constituency. In 1975 the National Peace Education Division assigned Jim Bristol as full-time staff to work on southern Africa and this work expanded to include staff of eight regional AFSC offices.

At the October, 1976 Board of Directors meeting of AFSC a policy guideline for our work on southern Africa was approved. This policy reaffirmed our opposition to apartheid and support for majority rule. It also challenged U.S. economic institutions to withdraw totally from economic involvement in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. This policy statement included formal recognition of AFSC's continued commitment to these goals by the sale of its Mobil Oil company stock because of that company's policy of oil sales to Rhodesia through its affiliates in southern Africa.

In the past year the situation in southern Africa has deteriorated as the white minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa intensified their repression and continue to resist the most moderate pressure towards change. In Rhodesia the Ian Smith government refuses to entertain the Anglo-American plan for a process leading to majority rule. Indeed the Smith government refusal to make any concession to the Black majority in Rhodesia has more severely limited the option for a peaceful transition.

In its effort to maintain the system of apartheid the South African government policy appears to be retrogressing to its policies of the early 1960s. Even minimal human rights are denied blacks and whites struggling for change. Voices that speak out against the policy of the government are silenced by a network of security laws designed to maintain the system of apartheid. And the death of Steven Biko indicates, arrest in South Africa can be tantamount to a death sentence.

The positive policy initiatives of the United States government toward southern Africa continues to be more form than content. The Carter administration has attempted to challenge minority rule governments in making minimal and symbolic changes in their policy toward the Black majority. However the administration has consistently avoided the issue of economic sanctions against South Africa and still allows U.S. based companies such as Mobil Oil, Caltex and others to break the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia. The U.S. has even refused to ban participation of racially exclusive white South African sports teams from competing in this country.

The PED staff working on South Africa feels it is time to develop a unified and focused program of public education about southern Africa, and particularly the role of the United States in actually maintaining the current situation there. We see the process of education being directed toward action which leads to challenging our government and economic institutions to live up to their already stated commitment of opposition to apartheid and support for majority rule in southern Africa.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The southern Africa program will be focused on the role of the U.S. government and U.S. economic institutions in maintaining apartheid. Further our approach will be to connect the struggle against racism in southern Africa with the struggle against racism in the United States. We see this as essential for involving black and other minorities with our traditional peace movement constituencies. Our goal will be to work toward withdrawal of all U.S. political, financial and economic

institutional support for minority ruled states in southern Africa. This will be in conjunction with a developing movement toward an international boycott of South Africa and Rhodesia in areas such as sports, cultural exchange and advertising.

There are a varied range of activities that we envision that will aid us in achieving our goals. Our primary work will address the roles of U.S. banks, corporations and the United States government.

BANKS

Since 1977 AFSC has been a member of the National Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA). While we have had difficulty getting focused on this issue we, along with other organizations, have generated momentum in various regions. Fannie Rushing, former staff of the Chicago AFSC, coordinated a conference which addressed this issue and worked with other Chicago organizations on demonstrations and attending stockholders meetings. In San Francisco Niva Padilha has been working on the Bank of America and has developed a pamphlet on the issue. In Philadelphia Jim Bristol and Michael Simmons have and are working with others on this issue.

In New York the Furriers Joint Council withdrew \$10 million from Manufactures Hanover Trust. Mass demonstrations in Chicago and Boston have begun to create a context for encouraging withdrawals from banks who refuse to discontinue business with South Africa. Religious organizations such as the New York Conference of the United Methodist Church and the National Council of Churches are presently preparing to withdraw accounts from banks participating in loans to South Africa. However, given the fact that over \$770 million was loaned to South Africa in 1976 alone, there is much more work to be done.

IMPLEMENTATION

- 1) The COBLSA has developed information on:
 - a) Many of the banks making loans to South Africa.
 - b) How to research your local bank.
 - c) Groups and organizations working on the campaign.
 - d) General information on banks.
- 2) We should concentrate our energies on the following constituencies:
 - Religious - Move toward getting local institutions to withdrawing their accounts from banks. They should also be encouraged to work with their national bodies to do the same.
 - Trade Unions - Trade union committee could be formed of both leaders and rank and file to focus on withdrawal from appropriate banks.
 - Community Groups - Information should be developed that explains to local groups the relationship of bank policy towards South Africa and bank policy in their community regarding redlining, affirmative action, loans for schools, social and health services.
 - University - Students could be mobilized to investigate where their institutions bank, and demand withdrawal when appropriate. As with all of these sectors withdrawal should be accompanied by a public statement informing the public on the reasons for withdrawal.

- 3) Resources - The COBLSA has a continual flow of information about the campaign. We now have the slide show "Banking on Apartheid" and a slide show developed by Bud Day and Fannie Rushing of the Chicago AFSC staff. ICCR has a slide show presentation on bank loans to South Africa, also the World Council of Churches has a booklet entitled "The UCC and Bank Loans To Apartheid." Soon there will be available an "ABC's of U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa: A Primer."
- 4) Needs -
 - a) One of the crucial things lacking is information about redlining and other domestic issues involving banks. The national office staff should make the compiling and dissemination of this information priority.
 - b) Information must be gathered on banks that do not have direct relationship to South Africa but do have relationship with other banks doing business in South Africa.
 - c) We should develop a "how to" flyer laying down steps on how to start a campaign. Much of this information has been researched but is not compiled in any concise document.

CORPORATIONS

Attention to the relationship of U.S. corporations and South Africa is developing in several areas but has yet to reach a level of national coordination. The ICCR has researched corporations doing business in South Africa and there are institutions, including AFSC, which have begun to challenge corporations on their policies in this regard. Students at the University of Massachusetts, along with other groups, were successful in getting the University to sell its stock of companies doing business in South Africa. Furthermore the longshoremen local in Oakland and the United Electrical Workers have passed resolutions opposing companies that invest in South Africa.

There is growing momentum to institute a boycott of Mobil Oil due to its sales of oil directly to South Africa and indirectly to Rhodesia. Jim Bristol's memo of 9/15/77 gives some background on these issues.

Recently Bernard Rivers, a British economist who has done important research on this issue, proposed to the Subcommittee on Africa in the House of Representatives that:

- 1) The U.S. should urge the Security Council to order UN member states to take all necessary measures to insure that oil sold by the South African subsidiaries of their oil companies does not find its way to Rhodesia.
- 2) The U.S. should urge the Security Council to impose an embargo on the supply of oil to South Africa until the South African government provides effective and reliable guarantees that no oil is being sent to Rhodesia.

As we begin to focus on this issue we would expand the above formulation to state that no oil should be sold to South Africa as well as Rhodesia.

IMPLEMENTATION

- 1) We would encourage religious institutions, unions, and universities to examine their portfolios and divest themselves of stocks of companies doing business with South Africa.
- 2) Develop model resolutions for trade unions regarding South Africa. This would be based upon the current initiatives in some unions.

- 3) Get municipal and state authorities to start passing resolutions against using tax money to do business with particular corporations involved in South Africa. In considering what corporations to include, an examination of their domestic policies, including their affirmative action plans should be done.
- 4) Get corporations to make statements against investing in South Africa.

RESOURCES

NARMIC has produced a list of corporations doing business in South Africa. Also the ICCR has a book called, Church Investments Corporations & Southern Africa which has extensive information about the largest U.S. investors in South Africa. Moreover the experiences of the University of Massachusetts, UE and others will give us a handle on how to approach these issues to our respective constituencies.

NEEDS

- 1) The primary need is a further breakdown on companies doing business in South Africa so that we can set priorities. In this regard we will continue to explore a focus on Mobil because of the significance that forces struggling for change in southern Africa put on the oil issue*.
- 2) We need to develop a "how to flyer" similar to the one proposed around banks to give people a concise handle on how to address the issue of corporations in South Africa.

III Federal Government

The federal government has a role in the first two priorities as well as a separate role in southern Africa support work. Our overall focus on the role of the U.S. government is summarized best by the following quotes from AFSC policy guideline on southern Africa.

"In light of the U.S. record of strong relationships with South Africa, it is necessary to ask: will the U.S. government now match its practice to its recent expressions of concern for human freedom and majority rule? Will it throw its weight into supporting a nonviolent process for the majority population to achieve self-government, civil rights, human dignity and a full share in the wealth and power of the country? In the balance is the question of whether the current U.S. policies express the genuine commitment of our government or are essentially hypocritical.

"For some years we have called upon our government to dissociate itself from the repressive racism of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, as well as to eliminate it in our own society. The need becomes ever more urgent. So long as U.S. corporate and governmental policies help undergird institutionalized racism in southern Africa, the prospects for violence of catastrophic dimensions in the region grow stronger, while the prospects for nonviolent change diminish."

IMPLEMENTATION

- 1) The gap between word and deed should be one of the areas in which the work should be focused. We may adopt a list of policy initiatives including

* We could develop a national focus linking this issue to the domestic need for oil and the "energy crisis."

legislative goals to educate our constituency concretely on the decisive role of the U.S. in South Africa. This could include the following:

- a) Denial of tax credit to U.S. based corporations in South Africa.
- b) Sanctions on arms shipment, direct and indirect.
- c) Emergency refugee aid to frontline states.
- d) Enforcement of laws prohibiting American citizens from military involvement.

This list is only some suggestions. We could use such a list to compare the content of current policy with our suggestions. Also a similar strategy can be used linking such issues as political prisoners in this country with political prisoners in South Africa. This area will constantly be one where we should be able to link the struggle against racism in this country with the same struggle in southern Africa.

- 2) Resources - We need to consolidate our contacts in Washington, such as Washington Office on Africa, Co. For a New Foreign and Military Policy, The Congressional Black Caucus and others. There are many other organizations that monitor government policy which we should establish relationships.
- 3) Needs - The primary need is investigation of international laws that the U.S. can utilize to control U.S. corporations. We also must strengthen the relationship between QUNO and the Southern Africa program. A pamphlet could be developed that has a model U.S. foreign policy on southern Africa.

SPEAKERS

One of the most dynamic aspects of our current southern Africa work has been the participation of Bill Sutherland. In January we will also have Sipo Buthelezi speaking in many AFSC regions. These two resources give us a tremendous opportunity to bring direct, first hand information about the southern Africa reality.

The proposed program affords us with the opportunity to use these and other speakers as an organizing and mobilizing tool. This is important as we move away from only education to a combination of education and action.

MEDIA

The effective use of the media will be important both for general education and getting people involved with action oriented activity. Cathy Harrington of Information Services has written an excellent memo (8/8/77) to the participants on the recent study tour, which all regional PED staff received. While some of the information was geared to that particular experience, most of the content continues to be applicable to our work.

COMMEMORATING SIGNIFICANT DAYS

Most Americans are ignorant of the long history of struggle in South Africa. We should include in our program a focus on significant dates on which we make a public presence. Clearly Sharpeville (March 21) and Soweto (June 16) should be included. But there are many dates such as Steven Biko's death and the events of 10/19/77 which can be included in our list. These commemorations would also give us an organic content to link the struggle against racism in South Africa with struggles in the country. One good example is to tie in the issues of political prisoners in South Africa with political prisoners in this country. These events also give

us a context to make new contacts with third world churches, high schools, universities, and other institutions in the minority communities.

CONCLUSION

This proposed program highlights the need for continual study of the southern Africa situation, and the U.S. response. While there is much research to be done, there are many sources doing research on the issue which we can use.

We recognize that the above proposal is ambitious. Clearly we will learn by doing. When we look at the southern Africa reality and internationalize it, one could conversely call our program minimal. At least we can all agree that it is necessary.