



AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES



ANNUAL REPORT

American Committee on Africa

June 1, 1959 to May 31, 1960

Introduction

IN RECENT YEARS the rapid pace of change in Africa has filled observers with surprise. Few could have guessed even a year ago that the Belgian Congo would be added to the list of African states becoming independent in 1960. The Congo adds a new dimension to "Africa Freedom Year 1960" as it joins Cameroun, Togo, Mali Federation, Malagasy, Somalia, British Somaliland, Nigeria, and probably additional French territories, as newly independent African states.

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the Congo independence will be the hastening of freedom of the adjacent territories: Angola, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. Portugal's territories in Africa still remain relatively unknown to the outside world. The system of contract labor with its slave-like exploitation persists. Yet an underground movement has been organized in Angola that has its base in Leopoldville. The U.N. has given increasing attention to Portuguese Africa. The claim of Portugal that it does not have non-self-governing territories in Africa will certainly be challenged again at the U.N.

Racial tension within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has increased greatly. The release of Dr. Hastings K. Banda, Kenneth Kaunda, and many of their associates from prison has only temporarily lessened tension. Opposition of Africans to the imposed Federation has become increasingly pronounced.

French atomic tests in the Sahara early in 1960 met with opposition from every one of the independent African states. France's continued war against the Algerians has increased the unity of the African states as they support F.L.N. efforts to achieve self-determination. France has reluctantly agreed to the break-up of the French Community in its present form, since almost all of its members have now signified their desire for complete independence.

In South Africa, the tragic policy of *apartheid* has been vigorously pursued by a fearful white government. "Tribal" colleges have been established as laws have been enacted to refuse non-whites the right to attend "open" universities where formerly they had been permitted. Mass protests against the hated passes,

which symbolize for Africans their total subjugation to white control, resulted in the tragic events at Sharpeville and Cape Town when thousands were shot, beaten, and arrested.

As a reaction to increased *apartheid* measures, South African non-whites themselves initiated a boycott of certain products. This spread to other countries at the suggestion of the All-African People's Conference. Since recent incidents of South African police brutality, this boycott has become even more widespread. With the U.N. Security Council action, South Africa has become an almost completely isolated government as it pursues its blind policy of *apartheid*.

Tanganyika has given hope that, in some multi-racial areas of the continent, Africans, Europeans, and Asians can form a unified and independent government. Developments in Tanganyika undoubtedly have had an effect on Kenya. Constitutional discussions held in London in early 1960 led to a recognition that the African majority in Kenya must control the destiny of that country. Although this decision is being challenged by some European settlers, the political future of Kenya seems established.

THERE ARE HOPEFUL SIGNS that the U.S. is shifting from its earlier, sterile policy of recognizing Africa only as an extension of Europe. For the first time in 1959 there was an Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and the State Department gave Bureau status to Africa. U.S. diplomatic personnel in Africa has been strengthened. The International Cooperation Administration has begun to train a special corps of employees for work in Africa. The State Department has continued to bring African leaders to the U.S.—not only heads of state such as President Sékou Touré of Guinea, but nationalist leaders such as Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika and Abubakar Mayanja of Uganda.

The U.S. Mission to the U.N. has voted less often with the colonial powers on African issues. It supported a resolution which "urged" some qualified states to ask the World Court to decide whether South Africa had violated the agreement under which it administers South West Africa. It voted to establish a special



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committee to determine, in effect, whether Portugal should transmit information to the U.N. on her African territories. It voted for the resolution against South Africa in the Security Council.

Yet U.S. policy toward Africa, at the U.N. and in Washington, needs substantial improvement. The U.S. has not imaginatively planned massive economic aid to the African continent. The U.S. still looks to its European allies—the colonial powers—in voting on some African issues at the U.N. For example, in the 14th General Assembly, the U.S. voted with France against a resolution urging the abandonment of French nuclear tests in the Sahara. It also voted with the colonial powers against proposing final target dates for the independence of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi. The U.S. abstained from voting on the resolution urging negotiations to end the Algerian war.

U.N. Program

ACOA was again active as a Non-Governmental Organization accredited to the U.N. during the 14th General Assembly and the special Security Council session devoted to South Africa. In October, ACOA sponsored a series of public "U.N. Briefing Sessions" on four African issues: Algeria, South West Africa, Central African Federation, and Portuguese Africa. Also, special work was undertaken in each of these areas. ACOA was instrumental in obtaining two statements on Algerian independence, one signed by 16 U.S. Congressmen in August and another signed by 46 prominent Americans on the eve of the U.N. debate on Algeria. ACOA maintained a close relationship with four petitioners representing South West Africa: Mburumba Kerina, Hans Beukes, Jariretundu Kozonguizi, and Michael Scott. The office served as headquarters for several of these petitioners and ACOA issued and widely distributed a special pamphlet on South West Africa. ACOA was instrumental in providing contact between a representative of the nationalist movement in Angola and U.N. diplomats. As a result, Portuguese Africa was discussed more than at previous U.N. sessions.

Speaking Tours

ACOA sponsored extensive American speaking tours for four African leaders: Kanyama Chiume, Publicity Secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress (now the Malawi Congress Party); Joshua Nkomo, President of the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia; Dr. Hastings K. Banda, President of the Malawi Congress Party; and Kenneth Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia. All went on extensive lecture tours and spoke before university, labor, civic, and other groups. The tours received wide publicity in *Time*, *Life*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and other media. In addition, ACOA arranged for speakers on Africa, including Board and staff members, to address various groups in many states, in some cases for single appearances, in others for seminars and conferences.

Africa Freedom Day

ACOA sponsored the second annual observance in the U.S. of Africa Freedom Day on April 13 in Town Hall, New York City. Honorary chairmen were Eleanor Roosevelt, Martin Luther King, Jr., George Meany, A. Philip Randolph, Walter Reuther, Jackie Robinson, and Harry Belafonte. Speakers included Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda, and Thurgood Marshall. Proceeds went through the Africa Defense and Aid Fund to help the Sharpeville survivors and other victims of *apartheid*.

South Africa Emergency Campaign

Because of the crises occurring early this year in South Africa, ACOA convened representatives from a number of national organizations to discuss coordination of citizen action in the U.S. against *apartheid* in South Africa. As a result, an Emergency Action Conference on South Africa was held in New York City on May 31 and June 1, sponsored by ACOA and eight other organizations, with Jackie Robinson as chairman. A broad program of action was recommended by the 300 persons in attendance. To implement this program, a South Africa Emergency Campaign is being launched by ACOA in cooperation with other organizations and individuals. ACOA also sent funds to South Africa and as a Non-Governmental Organization played its part during the Security Council meetings on South Africa.

Special Events

In November ACOA and the N.A.A.C.P. sponsored a dinner honoring President Sékou Touré of Guinea. ACOA sponsored other public events for Archbishop Joost de Blank of South Africa, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Dr. Banda of Nyasaland, Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia, and Garfield Todd of Southern Rhodesia. In addition there were private receptions for Fenner Brockway of London, Michael Scott and other South West Africa petitioners (in cooperation with the International League for the Rights of Man), Abubakar Mayanja of Uganda, Kanyama Chiume, and Joshua Nkomo. Together with the African-American Institute and the American Society of African Culture, ACOA sponsored a reception honoring the independence of Togo.

All-African People's Conference

ACOA was represented again at this important gathering, in 1960 at Tunis, by the executive director and Board members Peter Weiss and John Murra. A statement of greetings to the Conference was released by ACOA signed by almost 100 prominent Americans.



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Staff Travel

The executive director in January and February toured Africa, visiting Tunisia, U.A.R., the Sudan, Ethiopia, Tanganyika, Belgian Congo, Nigeria, and Ghana. He conferred with participants of the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London and attended the All-African People's Conference. In December the associate director visited Brussels, interviewing Congolese leaders there and attending the I.C.F.T.U. conference. He also met with leaders of various African organizations in London. The staff visited Washington frequently, often to introduce African leaders to members of Congress, State Department officials, and leaders of national organizations.

African Students

ACOA acts as a reference agency for African students desiring education in the U.S. It has also helped find summer jobs for African students already studying here. ACOA cooperated with the African-American Student's Foundation in a two-day orientation program for 81 students from East Africa on their arrival in New York in September.

Literature

The requests to ACOA for free and low-cost literature have multiplied. Two new pamphlets were published: *South West Africa—The U.N.'s Step-Child* and *The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, by Channing B. Richardson and others. Demand for other *Africa Today* Pamphlets continues. A low-cost *Africa Packet* has been well received. ACOA maintains for resale probably the largest stock in America of pamphlets on Africa published in the U.S. and abroad.

Africa Today

Beginning in March 1960, *Africa Today* became a monthly and was issued in enlarged format. The *Africa-U.N. Bulletin* has been merged with the magazine. About 5,000 copies are sent to a growing list of subscribers in the U.S. and abroad.

Staff & Office

George M. Houser continued in his fourth year as executive director, with Homer A. Jack beginning as associate director in July. Staff associates include Dale Harrison, Ann Morrissett, and Catharine Raymond. Mrs. Emma Thomas continues as bookkeeper and new employees include Mrs. Ethel Mingo, Barbara Grizzuti, and Mary Robinson. The office moved to larger quarters at 801 Second Avenue, near 43rd St., only one block from the U.N. With more space, the periodical library has been reorganized and is more frequently consulted.

Officers & Committees

George Edmund Haynes, ACOA's treasurer since its establishment, died in January. Donald Harrington continued as chairman with Peter Weiss and Hope

Stevens as vice-chairmen, and Frank Montero has been added as vice-chairman. Nelson Bengston has been elected acting treasurer. New Executive Committee members include Rev. James Robinson, minister, Church of the Master, New York City; Maxwell Harway; Harold Isaacs, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Cleveland Robinson, Secretary Treasurer of District 65, Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Workers Union. Other members are Sophia Yarnal Jacobs, Edward Gray, Joseph Jablow, Stanley D. Levison, John Murra, Bayard Rustin, William X. Scheinman, Adelaide Schulkind, and Hugh H. Smythe. Continuing in office are John Gunther, honorary chairman; Bishop James A. Pike, honorary vice-chairman; and Elizabeth S. Landis, secretary, with Robert Delson, general counsel. New members of the National Committee include Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

Public Relations

The work of ACOA has been put before the American public more than in any previous year through newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV. European and African publications have also carried news about ACOA and its activities. Two large advertisements were placed in *The New York Times*, one on April 4, urging contributions for the survivors of the Sharpeville massacre, and the other on May 31, calling for a boycott of South African goods. ACOA published two brochures explaining its work: *Africa's Decade: America's Decisions* and *Bridge Between Two Continents*, the latter on the Africa Defense and Aid Fund. Lists of available literature have also been issued.

Finances

Income of ACOA for the calendar year 1959 included \$50,523 from contributions, \$18,704 from meetings and conferences, \$10,463 from visiting speakers, \$3,575 from subscriptions to *Africa Today*, and \$2,485 from the sale of literature. The total income was \$86,476.15. Expenses for this same period included \$34,683.63 for administration, \$28,594.59 for program, and \$9,400.43 for overhead. With other costs, the total expenses were \$82,796.24. On December 31, 1959, ACOA had a balance in the bank of \$6,536.83, with outstanding debts of \$7,346.89. An audited copy of ACOA's 1959 balance sheet is available to members for examination.

The Future

Organizationally, this year represents an important step forward for ACOA. For the first time since its establishment in 1953, the Committee has an enlarged permanent staff. Our mailing list has grown and our new membership categories will enable contributors to maintain closer and more regular contact with ACOA's program. But contributions to the work of ACOA must increase and new contributors be found to meet the commitments which have been undertaken.

With the great changes taking place in Africa, leading to independence in almost all parts of the continent, some re-thinking must be given to the future



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program of ACOA. It should not be assumed, however, that the struggle for independence and equality in Africa has come to an end. Algeria still represents a very difficult unresolved problem. Racial tension will continue in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. There has been no sign as yet that Portugal is taking a new approach to its relationship to Mozambique and Angola. Despite the critical events in South Africa during March and April, there has been no sign of any drastic change within South Africa or in its relationship to South West Africa. Therefore, the problems with which ACOA has dealt since it was organized will

continue to demand much attention.

There are, nevertheless, new areas to be explored for Committee emphasis and program. What should be ACOA's policy and program toward U.S. economic assistance to the new nations of Africa? What responsibility should the Committee assume for educational projects and work with African students? Should ACOA have a new perspective toward its task at the U.N.—and Washington—relating to educational, economic, and social developments? Increasingly, ACOA will have to direct its thinking toward such problems in the months and years ahead.

Africa Defense and Aid Fund

Origins

IN 1956 the South Africa Defense Fund was established to channel voluntary American contributions toward legal and welfare costs for the 156 defendants in the South Africa Treason Trial. More than \$50,000 was sent to South Africa through the Fund by the end of 1959, with additional funds going directly to South Africa through the efforts of the Fund. Many of the contributions were raised by Mrs. Mary-Louise Hooper, the Fund's West Coast representative.

So many appeals were received for extension of this type of aid to other parts of Africa that, late in 1959, the South Africa Defense Fund was broadened to become the Africa Defense and Aid Fund. The special funds and projects which had been handled as individual cases by the Committee in the past were thus incorporated into the new Fund.

Allocations

In the past year funds have gone to the Detainees Fund in Southern Rhodesia; to Kenya and Nyasaland for legal defense and family welfare; to Mrs. Elizabeth Mafeking, leader of protests against passes for South African women, who escaped with the youngest of her 11 children into Basutoland after banishment in South Africa; to South West African exiles and petitioners; to African petitioners stranded in New York with insufficient funds; and, primarily, to South Africa for Treason Trial costs and for legal and welfare aid since the Sharpeville massacre.

Organization

The Fund is administered through a separate account by ACOA and has a special Board of Trustees. Two members of the ACOA staff are responsible for matters related to the Fund.

Sponsors

In addition to a growing board of National sponsors,

the Fund now has the following International Advisers: Archbishop Joost de Blank of South Africa, Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia, Amino Kano of Nigeria, Gikonyo Kiano of Kenya, Prof. Z. K. Matthews of South Africa, Tom Mboya of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, and Bishop Ambrose Reeves of South Africa.

Financial Support

While regular ACOA contributors are urged to make additional gifts from time to time to the Fund, outside lists are usually solicited by mail, and special collections are frequently taken at meetings of church, college, labor, and other groups. Special events with proceeds going to the Fund have included, in this fiscal year, Africa Freedom Day and a night club entertainment program in New York, and luncheons and theater benefits on the West Coast. Some organizations and institutions make periodical grants to the Fund, although the largest part of its support comes from individual contributors throughout the country.

Finances

The following summary includes the Africa Defense and Aid Fund from its establishment in October 1959 through April 30, 1960, and its predecessors, the South Africa Defense Fund and the Special Projects Fund, both for the calendar year 1959. Total income, including contributions and gross receipts from benefits, was \$53,884.39. A total of \$30,548.18 was sent to Africa. Expenses, including administration, costs of Africa Freedom Day, and the publication of promotional and explanatory literature and launching the new Africa Defense and Aid Fund, were \$16,426.51. On April 30, 1960, there was an unexpended balance of \$7,789.77 to be sent to Africa. An audited copy of the balance sheet of the Africa Defense and Aid Fund, and its predecessors, for 1959 is available to contributors for examination.