

The meeting was called to order by Carolyn Long, Chairperson of the Potomac Association Task Force on Southern Africa and co-convenor of the meeting. Chairpersons and note-takers for all sessions were selected.

I. City Reports

The first order of business consisted of reports by representatives of city (and state) campaigns of their groups' activities over the last six-seven months. Each person was asked to emphasize the most and the least successful tactics used, particularly related to widening the constituencies of the campaigns. Each was to assess success in mobilizing local churches to pressure their national bodies, labor unions to do the same, and local minority communities, as well as the feasibility of mass mobilization for activities on March 21.

a. New York City - Tina Simcich

The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA), New York Chapter, has eighteen consistently active members. Each pays dues. The two elected coordinators are Tina Simcich and ~~Gene~~ ^{Bette} Klein. The group is composed of members of the Corporate Data Exchange, CMLC, and the Methodist Church and of students, mostly from Columbia University. Many are activists in other campaigns.

COBLSA's activities have included:

1. An internal teach-in to bring all members to the same level of understanding of the situation in South Africa, of the structure of banking in the U.S., and of the involvement of U.S. banks in South Africa.

2. An open teach-in which attracted 40 people and which emphasized the structure of banking and of foreign lending, red-lining by such banks as Manufacturers Hanover Trust, and the structure of other boycott campaigns such as that against the J.P. Stevens Co. The group found that this type of activity gave focus to its activities and that bringing in domestic issues was a good tool for developing interest in more people.

or forum

3. A public teach-in/which was attended by 200 people. In order to broaden the campaign's appeal it was felt that a more popular event was needed, one not technically dealing only with South Africa. The theme became how banks take money out of communities and channel it into repressive regimes. The forum was held on February 24 at Columbia University Law School.

As a lead-in to the forum, a small demonstration was held on December 1 in front of banks along Park Avenue. Banners, masks and drums were used. Two leaflets were distributed, one awarding the "Racist of the Year" award to the chairman of Hanover-Trust, and the other being a general, informational leaflet. There was good union turn-out and the total number of people participating reached 80. The group had originally planned some form of civil disobedience, but decided they needed more numbers, planning and publicity, so that was postponed.

In preparation for the forum the group wrote a funding proposal for \$3400, which it raised in three weeks. Money came from Act II (J.P. Stevens campaign), the National Council of Churches, national church boards, and ICCR. Stationery, brochures, and buttons were obtained, and programs and fact sheets printed. A red-lining report was released at the forum and a press release was issued on this report. The report emphasizes home mortgage loan practices.

Outreach for the forum involved use of a mailing list of 1000 contacts including unions, community and black organizations, food coops, churches, leftist and student groups. Each was sent a letter and a leaflet. Radio announcements proved very effective. Posters were used on streets and others heard of the event by word-of-mouth. Seventeen organizations and individuals acted as sponsors.

Attendees consisted of a broad cross-section of people, including unions, city office employees, etc. National Public Radio did a 5 minute spot on the forum, and the Village Voice carried a story.

The program ~~consisted of~~^{included} a slide show which links international and domestic issues by means of pictures and quotations from a variety of people; this drew a great response. Ben Magoane of ANC spoke as did Rep. Stephen Solarz, Ray Rogers of the J.P. Stevens boycott, Gail Cincotta of the anti-red-lining movement, Michael Moffet of IFS, Rev. Wyatt Walker, and Marsh Beinin of COB~~X~~LSA. Six-Days in Soweto was shown.

The major criticism of the forum was that outreach did not include personal visits to groups invited; rather, only letters and telephone calls were relied upon. Now that the slide show has been prepared and written material is available, it will be possible to go to such groups in order to build a base in the city. Such base-building is seen as the first priority of the campaign.

Another teach-in is planned for March 24, and a big action is in the planning stage for April 11. An attempt is being made to get student groups to work more closely with the bank campaign, so in deference to their own events in early April, a bank campaign-related event was deferred until the 11th.

4. A regional newsletter for the Northeast is being considered, but is not an immediate project.

5. No response has been received to the press release on red-lining. There have been no contacts with officials of the five banks targeted, but employees have been taking material into the banks. This has been the result of letters to employees and 6:00 a.m. leafleting of employees as they go to work.

6. General information - withdrawal has been the emphasis of COB~~X~~LSA although it has no big ones to report now. It has received positive feedback on using local issues to attract people. The group has doubled in size in the last 6 months as a result of broadening its appeal.

A transcript of the bank teach-in is available.

b. Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa - Wendy Simmons

The Coalition's campaign has been focused on the First National Bank of Boston. The group has prepared a new, up-dated version of the slide show, containing more Boston-specific information, including red-lining and new material on South Africa. An edition in Spanish has also been prepared which is presented by Spanish-speaking persons, especially at churches. This slide show is being used frequently. A new version of the leaflet is being prepared.

The FNBB stockholders meeting is March 29th, 1979. As yet, no source for a proxy had been found. However, the Coalition may combine with anti-redlining groups to gain access. Petitions will be made available for the public. An ad has been placed in student papers asking for stockholders.

Four churches in the Boston area decided to withdraw their support for a stockholder resolution. This is a disappointment and came about as the result of a misunderstanding.

A rally will be held on March 29 to coincide with the meeting. This rally will include speakers and guerrilla theatre.

The Coalition is expanding by bringing in community organizations and now has about 25 active members.

A large program in Harvard stadium in June is a possibility; this will be used to raise money for liberation groups.

A number of groups in the Boston area are working on Southern Africa issues - all are not necessarily related to BCXLSA. These include the United Church of Christ Task Force, ANC, student groups, neighborhood groups in areas such as Jamaica Plain and Roxbury, and the Winnie Mandela Support Committee started by the Third World Women's Group.

c. Rochester, New York - Alison Clark

The Rochester Coalition for Justice in Southern Africa is composed mainly of members of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). Its activities have involved shareholder and church investments, but there is also interest in the bank campaign.

As an initial step, an advertisement signed by 44 clergy was placed in the main newspaper on the bank campaign. The group received National Council of Churches support for this ad.

Last year's Sharpeville Day activity involved visits by 100 people from differing constituencies to three banks where presentations were made to the respective bank presidents. These visits received TV coverage. On June 16 the group organized leafleting at the banks which proved a real success although it did not attract as much media coverage.

The group also ^{did} a performance of Sizwe Bansi is Dead as an educational and fund-raising event.

The Coalition's current work involves attempting to "crack" union organizations. Proxy Nesoit has met with labor leaders, stressing in particular pension issues. As a result of such activities the New York State Civil Service Employees Association is investigating its own pension

fund's involvement with banks. In Rochester the suggestion has been made that a forum on this subject be organized by the local council.

The New York State Council of Churches is undertaking a study of the distribution of wealth in the state and sees banks as an area of focus.

The Coalition is planning other meetings including teach-ins and briefings on bank demonstrations. There is a group at Cornell University working on investments and their activity may lead to a bank teach-in.

Work has been undertaken on the possibility of sending a fact-finding group to South Africa to investigate eight corporations in Rochester doing business there. This group would be made up of representatives from a number of community groups. The emphasis would be upon the Sullivan principles and the people's environment, not just at the work-place. The dangers of such an undertaking are recognized, as has been seen in the failure to date of other visiting groups to gain access to people and information. Now attention is being given to making the group strictly church-oriented and to working through Bishop Tutu and Mr. Powell of the U.S. National Council of Churches. The proposal is being re-written by the Genesee Board of Ecumenical Ministry.

The Coalition has sponsored talks by Dr. Dumbo, a Zimbabwean physician.

It has been a big step in Rochester for church groups to take a stand against Eastman Kodak. Now the Downtown United Presbyterian Church has agreed to vote its proxy at the next shareholders meeting. The entire congregation will take up the issue.

A Caterpillar proxy has been offered by an individual.

A letter has been sent by the Interfaith Chapel at the University of Rochester to the New York State United Ministries in Higher Education requesting that the latter consider withdrawal.

d. San Francisco and other California communities - Miloanne Hecathorn

Miloanne began her presentation by distributing sample packets of information supplied by her organization, Stop Banking on Apartheid. The first packet contained general information, the second emphasized alternative banking and investment possibilities, and the third was compiled for the organization's November 17 activities (see below). The group has 1800 individuals and organizations on its mailing list which are located in many cities and towns, particularly in Northern California. Stop Banking operates as a network, with the office in San Francisco acting as facilitator and catalyst for the rest of the state. The office produces materials for many different constituencies. It is financed by AFSC, volunteers, contributions and loans; finances are its greatest problem.

November 17, 1978, was chosen as a day for state-wide leafletting of bank of America branches. This bank has 1200 branches and thus required a state-wide approach. In preparation, a specific endorsement of the bank campaign was obtained from a conference of trade unions, letters were sent to trade unions asking for participation on Nov. 17, press releases were issued and radio spots obtained. A general mailing was also done, followed up by phone calls.

The result was leafletting of 400 branches of Bank of America in 115 towns and cities. Although the center in San Francisco prepared materials and picked the day, local groups organized their own activities. Many

and unions. students took part, and in the cities many black groups/ Different organizations were asked to take responsibility for particular branches. Emphasis was placed on two times of the day, noon and 4-6. The group found that a day at the beginning or end of a month would be even better.

The responses from the Bank of America included asking if a meeting was desired before the leafleting; however, once bank officials learned that the activities would not be confrontational, they no longer showed interest in a 1 on 1 meeting. The Bank sent out press releases to all branches to refute charges in the leaflets. At some branches there was lots of harassment of demonstrators, with dogs used in telling people to leave. The banks' emphases were on no trespassing and there were two arrests. A suit has been filed by Wells Fargo, the owner of one shopping mall, on behalf of Bank of America against the Peace Center for trespassing; this suit is in abeyance awaiting a decision in another case of the California Supreme Court on public access to privately owned shopping areas.

The leafleting produced a 80-90% rate of acceptance of the material offered. The day was seen as a success. A broad variety of people were involved and many novices found it a positive experience. Coordination worked via the involvement of regional and city contact people. People felt there were psychological benefits in knowing others in the state were doing the same thing.

No prior policy had been established to ask for withdrawals, but that day at least 800 withdrawals were made throughout the state. For example, where people related to the red-lining issue, at least 50 withdrawals were made.

One result has been that other banks have been volunteering information and are looking more cautiously at involvement with South Africa. A former Bank of America official has said that the leafleting had a great effect. The Bank has created a social policy committee and says there will be no more loans to South African activities.

As another result, the center in San Francisco now gets 10-15 calls a day asking for information; it has become known as a source of safe banks with regard to South Africa, red-lining, hiring and collective bargaining. Thus the movement is fitting into different peoples' agendas which is a great help. Responding to questions of where to put one's money helps to get to the local level.

Stop Banking is planning a month of activity in April. The annual meetings of both Bank of America and Wells Fargo will receive shareholders resolutions on both South Africa and Chile. There will be picketing and voting of proxies. On April 17 a Chile group is planning a "day of withdrawal".

On April 1 a day of concern for churches is being planned. Stop Banking has prepared a special church bulletin in two versions, with emphasis upon the bank campaign. These have been sent to 4000 congregations. This is the first time church organizations have been willing to cooperate. An information sheet listing ecumenical groups involved has been prepared; this also includes a statement of National Council of Churches policy. More direct telephone contact is planned, using people on the mailing list.

Stop Banking is also working with liberation support groups and unions on plans for activities during the first week in April.

The November 17 leafletting received good coverage by the black media and alternative media, but none by the major papers or TV, an exception to the latter being the CBS affiliate in San Francisco.

This year Stop Banking intends to place more emphasis on organizations rather than individuals. Alternative investments are seen as a good approach. Plans are being made for another November leafletting covering more of the state.

The City of Davis City Council has voted to pull out of offending banks and will be dealing with the question of alternatives. In April the citizens of Berkeley were to have voted on the issue of withdrawal of city funds; however, after learning via a poll that the issue would pass easily, the conservative members of the council decided to pass such an ordinance themselves in order to prevent its appearing on the ballot. Also, a campaign statement on the ballot defines indirect support of South Africa and calls for non-involvement in indirect financing.

The cost of Stop Banking's state-wide campaign was \$5000. A decision was made not to go to foundations for support; however, working with others on the issue of alternative investment may require going to foundations. The possibility exists of setting up a South Africa media center together with other groups. The South Africa Information Ministry has targeted California; evidence of this is found in a attempt to buy a San Francisco TV station and in the purchase of the Sacramento Union by John McGoff of Michigan. Therefore control of the media is a significant issue.

The emphasis upon reinvestment has been good in showing people that withdrawal is not as difficult as they think. The poll in Berkeley showed that people are interested and that city councils can be made to see that withdrawal is in their own interests. Emphasis upon positive aspects, i.e. reinvestment possibilities, together with stress upon local concerns is a good approach and a good tool for working with others.

Canada - Patricia Hurde

Patricia came to the meeting representing Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) and the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa. CUSO is composed of persons who have served as volunteers overseas; it now includes emphasis upon Canadian activities and works via a network across the country. Via its Department of Development, CUSO is linked to various liberation support groups. The CUSO Board has taken a stand against apartheid and has withdrawn its funds from offending banks.

Recently there have been several organizational withdrawals, including ones by the two largest Canadian unions, the Canadian Union of Public Employees and the Canadian Labor Congress. Also, some community colleges have taken this step, as have Ox-Fam Canada and the National Union of Students. Since June, 1978, there has been a lull in such activities and CUSO is now attempting to re-start this work via its network of organizations.

An exception to the lull was the active role taken by a task force of church organizations at the December, 1978, shareholders meetings of various banks. The Canadian Bank Act includes a provision concerning client confidentiality which is used to avoid publicizing involvement with South Africa. A church-sponsored task force of which both CUSO and the Toronto Committee are members is now attempting to have the Act amended. Certain members of Parliament have been receptive.

Both groups are now participating in meetings with Canadian government officials concerning economic relations with South Africa.

T&COLSAC organized a demonstration at the shareholders meeting of the Toronto Dominion Bank which is now saying it has made no recent loans to South Africa. There was also a demonstration at the shareholders meeting of the Bank of Nova Scotia.

CUSO's main activity now is a series of tours across Canada during which information on local activity will be collected. The three tours are being made by 1) Ox-Fam, (2) representatives of the Patriotic Front, and (3) returned CUSO volunteers. Part of the purpose of the tours is an attempt to counteract fears of "terrorism" by the Patriotic Front which have caused churches to back off from support.

T&COLSAC is preparing and CUSO is funding material on bank activities and structures.

Minneapolis - Karen Lehman

Minneapolis CALC is laying the ground work for activities for this spring and next ^{school} year. A bill has been introduced into the state legislature to prevent funds of the State Investment Board (pensions) from being deposited in banks involved in South Africa. CALC is trying to build a campaign around this issue.

In Minneapolis a resolution has been introduced in the city council calling for withdrawal, and it is hoped that this can be linked to other activities this spring.

One successful activity was a visit by 15 individuals with officials of one bank which has been involved in South African loans. The purpose was to learn the effect of the bank campaign. Bank officials stated that they had made no loans in the past year although there had been three opportunities to do so. The delegation included persons not previously involved in the campaign (representatives of the Urban League and the Episcopal Church), and these individuals expressed interest in continuing their involvement.

Members of CALC have done a lot of speaking in preparation for activities in June. They have worked more closely with other groups such as students.

The University of Minnesota voted not to divest, although certain regents changed their votes this time around. CALC will be working with

students planning actions this spring. Carleton College has voted for timed divestment.

Milwaukee - Jan Carroll via Carolyn Long

In Milwaukee the city council has a resolution before it calling for disinvestment; the resolution has union support. Work is being done on disinvestment at Marquette University, especially involving Kimberly Clark. Threats have been made against faculty members at the university.

Chicago - Ron Freund via Carolyn Long

A resolution calling for bank withdrawals was introduced in the City Council and referred to the finance committee. An all-day meeting of this committee was held. A black alderman spoke against withdrawal, and the resolution was tabled.

Oregon - Marian Barnes

The bank campaign is new in the Northwest, having started as a result of the Corporate Data study. A regional meeting was held in January of this year which was attended by local AFSC representatives, CALC members and liberation support committees.

In Seattle AFSC is targeting Seaburst Bank; this activity is tied in with union organizing and red-lining. As a result of studies done by two AFSC people, it was found that this bank was getting accounts without competitive bidding.

In Portland a campaign is in the beginning stages. Bill Sutherland, AFSC representative for Southern Africa, has met with bank officials. Some media coverage has been obtained. Planners are interested in tying the loan issue into redlining.

In Salem the campaign is being handled mostly by students based at Willamette University. The target is the U.S. National Bank which is used by the university and which votes the university's proxies. The students are trying to get an independent proxy. More information is also needed on New York banks which have branches in the west.

A Eugene group is producing a brochure for use in all cities, one which is based on the CALC brochure. A labor leaflet is also being readied; it will be updated periodically as new statements from labor groups are received.

Planned spring actions will represent the first visible actions of the Oregon groups.

Mike Young in Seattle is preparing a list of unionized banks in the U.S. These total about 25 out of 14,000.

National concerns - Chris Root

In October Congress passed a total ban on Export-Import Bank involvement with the financing of exports to the South African government and para-statal institutions. The Act also stipulates that there is to be no Ex-Im Bank involvement with private industries which do not accept the Sullivan principles. Regulations implementing this legislation have not yet been written by the Bank. The State Department, which is to certify the status of private companies, appears to plan to use the Sullivan approach with its emphasis upon progressive commerce in South Africa. The Sullivan questionnaire will be used as the basis for determinations. A three year limit has been placed upon repayment by private borrowers, thus limiting the possible size of loans.

Presently before Congress is a Bank Disclosure bill. It is narrowly drawn despite its stated purpose in that it involves loans to governments and government-related institutions where aid has been cut off because of human rights violations. Thus it does not now cover South Africa. An attempt is being made to broaden the language so that the types of loans being made to South Africa can come within its provisions. The bill is seen as an attempt to control banks, as witness a speech by Senator Moynihan who said he opposes the bill because he "represents banks from New York". Letters to Senator Kennedy calling for broadening the bill are appropriate.

A conference attended by representatives from Southern schools was held at Duke University. The participants showed more willingness to deal with Zimbabwe issues; there was no bank campaign focus at the first meeting.

Washington, D.C. - Helen Hopps and Carolyn Long and Lynn Shapiro

The D.C. City Council is presently looking into the loan practices of local banks as part of its plans to deposit funds received from the U.S. Government in banks rather than leaving them with the U.S. Treasury.

Until recently it had been difficult to organize a bank campaign in Washington because no bank target had been located. However, as a result of research undertaken by a group concerned about loans to Chile, it has been learned that Riggs National Bank has a roll-over account with the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa. The Chile group (NICH), the UCC Task Force on Southern Africa, and the Washington Office on Africa have sent a letter to Riggs saying that their policy is known and asking for a meeting. The bank has not denied the facts given in the letter. However, as yet no written documentation of its South African involvement has been obtained. A red-lining study on Riggs has been done which shows that the bank has four branches in predominantly black parts of the city which held \$60 million in deposits but which made only 67 home loans in 1977.

UCC

Local churches have been attempting to pressure national offices of their denomination on the withdrawal issue. In 1976 the Synod of the UCC voted in favor of withdrawal but leadership of certain national boards disagree, a position which can be sustained because of the independent nature of those boards.

The South Africa News Collective has been doing a great deal of work this winter in sending medical supplies to refugees in Mozambiquean camps. A radiothon was held which permitted educational activities in connection with the drive for medical supplies.

During Ian Smith's visit pickets followed him everywhere. There was considerable media coverage of the demonstrations.

United Nations and National Organizations in New York - George Houser

Chemical Bank has the only branch at UN Headquarters. A forum is being planned for April at which statements will be made by Ambassador Harriman, chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, and others. It is hoped that later demonstrations calling for withdrawal will be held.

The Special Committee is holding hearings on March 26 on bank loans. ACOA will present a memorandum. Concentration will be placed on Chemical Bank. It is hoped that Corporate Data will release its study on foreign bank involvement in South Africa at the hearing.

the United Church of Christ, the National Council of Churches, the United Methodist Church, and the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. are involved in negotiations with Chemical Bank with regard to using that bank for their day to day activities. These negotiations are based on the premise that Citibank is the worst offender as far as loans to South Africa are concerned. ACOA sees Amalgamated Bank as a possible alternative. A letter has been sent to the four organizations urging postponement of arrangements with Chemical Bank especially given UN action vis a vis Chemical.

Following these city reports, Carolyn Long summarized the morning by saying that there seems to have been real movement and development of workable strategies since the last meeting. At that meeting the group said that educational goals could be realized and this seems to be happening. There has been an uneven effect on banks themselves; in California the campaign has been successful in this regard. Especially effective has been the establishing of ties with local issues such as red-lining. Such ties have served to enlarge the movement's constituency basis. As a result it seems unions are getting more involved. Remaining questions are how to involve minority and student communities.

Anne Weissenborn

Minutes, Afternoon session, COBLSA Meeting, March 2, 1979

Chris Reot of the Washington Office on Africa discussed the upcoming battle on Rhodesian sanctions and the Congressional resolutions to send observers to the April election. Mobilization, publicity and educational work at the grassroots level is important. The relevance of the sanctions problem for the bank campaign was stated--if this battle is lost, work on other issues will be even more difficult. A Southern Africa Working Group, representing 35 to 40 groups in Washington, has been formed to collectively strategize and coordinate efforts.

Caroline Long reviewed the goals of the campaign and the discussions held at the last national meeting in Chicago in August, at which four goals had been targetted and weaknesses identified. The campaign strives to (1) force banks to stop lending; (2) make public announcements of their lending policies; and it (3) wants to end Export-Import Bank exposure in South Africa; and (4) stop financing of U.S. corporations that invest and operate in South Africa. Work with churches, unions, black communities, and students should increase, and more attention to public funds, city council actions, etc. is needed. Public education and increasing consciousness is a task of the Campaign; it is important to demystify finance capital and intensify relation to local issues--to forge links with the community and its concerns. The efficacy of withdrawal as a tactic, the national dimension of the campaign and the need for a steering committee was discussed.

Proposal from CALC and ACOA regarding national coordination

George Heuser introduced the subject pointing out ACOA involvement in pressing for economic disengagement since the 60's and why the bank campaign is an important instrument. After laying out the history and present situation of the campaign, George stated that the present question is whether it is possible to find a person to be an organizer, a coordinator, and to raise a budget. The Human Rights Task Force of CALC had sent a memo to ACOA, and the two groups had decided to join forces and raise a budget to hire someone.

A proposed structure, calling for an administrative committee and an action committee, was presented. Since there presently is no money in either the CALC or the ACOA budget, funds will have to be raised. Both organizations felt it was important to meet with the campaign representatives in Washington to exchange views.

From the point of view of a CALC Task Force member and a grassroots organizer, Marian expressed her feeling that a national coordinator can make a significant quantitative difference at both the national and local level. Local people do know what they are doing, but knowing what is going on nationally is an advantage in local work.

On the issue of sponsorship, the two groups that submitted the memo are open to other organizations if they contribute financially, e.g., assign a staff person or offer facilities or raise money, provide printing or travel expenses. At this point ACOA has the space, the telephones, and proximity to the CALC office. The group was asked for potential sponsors and candidates.

Marian pointed out the difference between the original CALC memo and the present submission that proposes a dual committee system. Concern was expressed about the staff person being accountable to an action committee made up of local organizers and the relationship between sponsors and staffer. The two-tier committee system was analyzed, and the B-1 coalition presented as a model.

The bank campaign should be responsible to the people who do the work. Dividing the functions could be unwieldy and arbitrary; administrative strength should be based on the amount of input from the local groups. Establishing a two-fold structure where one part has the money and the other does the work, builds in an exacerbation of tensions.

Prexy pointed out the international dimension of bank lending. National coordination is clearly needed, but the 400+ banks in Europe to be revealed in the next CDE report raise the issue of international cooperation.

George enlarged upon the mechanism he had in mind, mentioning the setting up of a separate bank account. The candidate must be someone who relates well to the community and the sponsoring groups. He was asked what other organizations have been approached. Rick answered that the only other group consulted to date has been AFSC. A job description and a funding proposal are already done. George stated his intention to move ahead and find a person and then fund-raise.

Miloannasked if the person would have to raise funds for her/himself, which would greatly increase the area of responsibility. She added that the telephone is an important budget item, as is a newsletter. Fundraising would be part of the responsibility of the person selected to be a coordinator, according to George, who said this is a task built into the kind of work we do. The feasibility of adding this chore to the job description was discussed. No matter the system adopted, George stated that it is necessary to have mutual trust and hit it off right. Chrissaddressed the overall question of how to define a structure and accountability.

Tina carried a message from the New York committee expressing its sentiment that Gene Jones should work on a daily basis with the proposed administrator or coordinator. The New York committee recommends strongly that Gene be a member of whatever administrative committee is finally set up. There were no objections from the group. The group was also informally polled, and no one raised objections to having a campaign coordinator sponsored by ACOA and CALC.

George's definition of sponsor is a rigorous one. He is looking for a higher level of commitment; Caroline had recalled for the group that there exists a list of sponsors--people who have endorsed the campaign. She suggested that a small committee that could take on decision-making be decided upon. Geographically different constituencies would be important components. Who to include in the decision was discussed, and Prexy reminded everyone that the campaign has evolved around working groups in about 12 cities. Geographical isolation and the need for interim contact by mail or phone was stressed. Allison voiced her concern that membership on a steering-type committee be based on active participation, and Marian underlined her feeling that someone on the coordinating committee must be responsible to local groups--someone who would flag them when policy decisions were being made. The discussion of structure continued, and questions such as whether or not the fundraising proposal would have to be circulated to a committee were raised. Regarding the role of the staff person, Tina stated that the first job should be to get the rusty wheels of communication going. The New York committee feels strongly about the lack of national coordination. Prexy underscored this point and said it was unrealistic to expect one person to do travelling, speaking, correspondence, research, reading, and fundraising.

In response to a question about having a particular interest in the coordinator doing a lot of travelling, George replied that the job will depend on the person. It is difficult to define the role in advance.

FOR THE RECORD: The assembled group wants the committee to consider the discussion of the job description very seriously and to deal realistically with what can be expected from anyone who is hired.

After George's departure, discussion of the administrative subcommittee and the general structure resumed. Chris stated that the group was searching for a structure that will breed trust, and Marian emphasized that the structure must be one that allows for growth. It was mentioned by Rick that ICCR has been approached. Concern over who sends out fundraising proposals and the separate identity of the Campaign was expressed. The concern of the group regarding collective national work and a structure reflective of national participation is to be communicated to George.

The separate bank account and overhead was discussed; procedure on these matters must be clear. Administrative and political functions cannot be separated in an absolute way, and trust must be promoted through the structure. (The preliminary organizational chart is attached.) The importance of collective national work was reemphasized; individual groups have in the past been destroyed, and risk continues.

Suggestions for membership on the implementation sub-committee were entertained. CALC, ACOA, Gene Jones were nominated, as well as positions for representation from Canada, the West Coast, Boston, and D.C. Fundraising in order to bring people from the West Coast to implementation sub-committee meetings, building links, and closer coordination were stressed. Mileann, who was nominated, will consider the time commitment involved. People were asked to read the job description.

March 2, 1979

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There was an evaluation of the meeting and accord that the group had met with the issues and reached an understanding of the complexity of matters to be dealt with. CALC Task Force efforts were acknowledged, as was the attendance and active participation of women in the Campaign. Appreciation of George Houser's long involvement was expressed. The Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa is now a real entity; commitment to it and a workable structure must be welded.

(Helen Hopps)

Proposed Structure

CAMPAIGN TO OPPOSE BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Coordinating Committee

Regional
Racial representation
Organizational

Functions

Strategy
Tactics
Timeline
Budget
Outreach
Plan conf.
Meet 2-4 times
a year

Implementation Sub-committee

Sponsoring organizations
Grassroots liaison person(s)
Personnel
Finance/Fundraising
Implementation

Staff

Communication

A. Coordinating Committee

COBLSA needs to specify and approach other sponsors in order to broaden the political base & provide more financial support (some in range of \$250 - 500). Suggestions included: PUSH, United Methodist Church Women's Division, Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Union, and the Maryknoll Sisters/ Coalition for Responsible Investment.

IPS has a policy of not joining coalitions, but Letelier-Moffitt Fund might be approached as sponsor. NY COBLSA should approach possible sponsors in New York.

Discussion of coordinating committee followed:

- it should include organizations that are active participants in the bank campaign, included cities and organizations that weren't present at this meeting. The primary criteria for membership is active participation in the bank
- ability to contribute financially is not a criteria for coordinating campaign. committee membership
- local campaign groups, not the individuals at the meeting, should be designated as the current members of the committee
- specific names should be put down, and the local organizations must designate a representative for each committee meeting
- the question of the largely white composition of the group should be looked at. The two largest black organizations, NAACP and Urban League, are not real possibilities for active bank campaign participation. Prioritize outreach to black community, but don't assume it. It will come with activity.
- a six-month review of the role of the implementation subcommittee should be scheduled for coordinating committee meetings.
- active cities not present at meeting: Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, North Carolina, European and English groups. Carolyn Long will prepare a master mailing list and labels (as was done at Jan 1978 meeting) from lists of groups at the three national meetings.
- Washington Office on Africa should be on the coordinating committee; Maryknolls, FLM and UE should be approached.
- we should consider holding an annual conference to involve other groups in various regions to help set policy and selecting coordinating committee. Local groups should use their discretion as to who to ask to be on the coordinating committee; then entire coordinating committee can evaluate their possibilities as sponsors.
- organizations that are willing to raise money only for their own bank campaign work are eligible for coordinating committee, not for sponsorship.

B. Implementation Subcommittee

The staff person will be employed by the Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa. Organizations not involved in active campaign work but contributing money will be termed contributors.

Role of the Implementation Subcommittee:

1. Personnel

a. hiring; salary

b. staff support: communication with staff person regarding the consistency of interim policy decisions with bank campaign goals as stated by the coordinating committee

2. Fundraising/review of fundraising proposals

3. Financial oversight of COBLSA account

4. Regular and often communication with the coordinating committee by phone

C. Job Description: see job description completed by coordinating committee on March 4

Tina Simich

Notes Implementation Subcommittee consists of:

ACOA - George Houser

CAAC - Barbara Lupo

NY COBLSA - Gene Jones

DC campaign - Carolyn Long

California campaign - Milo Anne Hecathorn

March 4, 1979

JOB OPENING

Position: Staff Person, CAMPAIGN TO OPPOSE BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Location: New York City

Starting Date: As soon as possible

Organization: The Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa is a national effort composed of dozens of local committees across the U.S. It functions through a national coordinating committee and an implementation subcommittee. Initiated by the American Committee on Africa and Clergy and Laity Concerned in 1976, the Campaign is dedicated to ending all bank loans to South Africa. This goal has been endorsed by trade unions, religious organizations, community groups, city councils, and prominent individuals. Among other actions, the Campaign promotes the withdrawal of individual and institutional accounts from banks involved in loans to South Africa. It also enlarges public awareness of U.S. financial support for apartheid and the connection between financing of repression abroad and the impoverishment of communities at home.

Job Description: Staff support for the national campaign

1. Coordinating communication between bank campaign groups by telephone, correspondence and occasional travel.
2. Collection, interpretation and dissemination of information concerning various aspects of the bank campaign, e.g., actions at the local level, resources, issues both international and domestic, tactics, current state of withdrawals, and pension funds.
3. Facilitate the coordinating committee's planning for regular meetings to map future strategy, coordinate demonstration dates, etc.
4. Liaison with international bank campaign groups, particularly in Canada and Europe.
5. Prepare fundraising materials.

The staff person is ultimately accountable to the coordinating committee and immediately accountable to the implementation subcommittee. The implementation subcommittee is responsible for staff support and financial overview.

Qualifications: (APPLICANT SHOULD HAVE MOST OF THE FOLLOWING)

- Conversant with the issues of Southern Africa and the banking system. Able to work with unions, religious organizations and other key constituencies.

Qualifications (cont'd.)

- organizing experience
- research skills
- office experience: typing, mailing, etc.
- ability to work with little supervision
- willingness to travel and attend week-end meetings
- support for goals of the Campaign
- *WRITING ABILITY*

Salary range: ~~\$10-12,000~~ per year *ACCORDING TO NEED*

How to apply: Contact - George Houser
American Committee on Africa
(212) 962-1210

or

Barbara Lupo
Clergy and Laity Concerned
(212) 964-6730

both located at 198 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10038

Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans - National Meeting

Minutes 4 March 1978 (afternoon)

- 1) California travel - There was unanimous feeling to help Milo Ann with her travel costs for coming to Washington and a concern that this not be the burden of one person or one group alone in the future. If planning were done for this travel ahead of time, more advantage could be taken of cheaper air fares, etc. also. The concept of a travel pool was discussed, in which all those attending the future meetings average their cost of travel and each group, whether it was the local sponsoring group or the people travelling, would pay that amount as an attendance fee. (It was hoped that as part of fundraising for the campaign and the new staff person, travel funds would also be a priority.) Everyone agreed with the concept of a travel pool as vital in order to strengthen a national campaign, and it will be used at the next meeting.
- 2) Carol Collins's paper - This paper was summarized briefly. A proposal in the paper was for 3 regional mass mobilizations for Sharpevill Day, but because the meeting could not be called in November or December to plan for it, it was no longer feasible. There was encouragement to decide on a name and visual symbol and to adopt a central core of unified slogans. She encouraged press release co-ordination of announcements of local activities to make a greater impact on the media. She stressed the need for more communication, more work in the areas of student and minority involvement and more relation to other Southern Africa work.
- 3) Local activities for March, April and beyond:
 - Minneapolis: Press Conference on March 21st
April 7th there will be a "run" on the bank, from the one bank to its holding company down the street with placards and tee shirt, and rally at the end.
In May, there will be a teach-in on the bank.
Both activities will lead up to a day of withdrawal June 15th and City Council activities in June around the same time.
 - Canada: There is no national co-ordination for activity March 21st or June 16th but local groups are continuing to work on their bank campaigns. CUSO hopes to help with co-ordinating a Patriotic Front tour this spring around the country.
 - California: April 1st will be a Day of Concern for churches in California. Stop Banking on Apartheid has sent copies of possible programs to 4000 churches in the state.
April 7th there will be an Anti-Nuke rally where Southern Africa groups will speak.
April 17th is the Berkeley Initiative which will be a city vote on withdrawal of funds from South Africa-related institutions. The first two weeks of April will be to organize pressure on two banks, the Bank of America and Wells Fargo for their shareholder's meetings on the 17th and 21st. At that time, there will be a press release and activities shared with local groups working on Chile.
After April, the focus of work will be on fundraising and organizing for women, unions and other interest groups. Literature specifically directed at their concerns will be produced.

- Washington: A group in Washington is just being started now, and there will be an attempt to launch a bank campaign during the week of April 4th to coincide with other national activities. The group will be working with local Chile groups.
- D.C.
- Boston: Boston is preparing for a shareholder's meeting of the First National Bank of Boston on March 29th. There will be a rally outside the meeting and members inside on proxy ballots to bring up the issue of loans. They will continue with educational work in the city and are negotiating with other Boston groups for a large event to commemorate June 16th.
- Rochester: Rochester has no specific plans for March 21st, but is continuing its pressure and educational activities against local banks and the Kodak Corporation.
- New York: There will be a teach-in March 24th by the New York committee, which will focus on starting to activate all the organizations and people present at the forum. April 11th there will be a demonstration against a bank (target not yet picked), dated to coincide with a NECLSA request to have activities during a time of vacation for many students. NECLSA has recently stressed its desire to work with the bank campaign more closely in its political program, partially as an offset of the affects of many sectarian groups who have managed to hamper their activities in the past, and also a logical progression in their work against South Africa. (NECLSA: New England Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa--student groups working on divestment)
- Northwest: April 4th to 11th will be the first public activity in Eugene to start off the bank campaign. There will be an informational picket with signs, poster, and encouragement to the public to withdraw their funds. A brochure is being produced for this. The play "Survival" will be in Seattle and Portland in the near future. Both of those cities are planning activities against their targets in the bank campaign on May 25th.

There will be a national press release in the name of the bank campaign to describe the activities. A copy of this release will be sent to local groups for use with their own media contacts.

Discussion on Southern Africa groups not working on the bank campaign--It was decided that the campaign at the moment does not have the resources to keep contact with other kinds of Southern Africa groups, and especially not the time to discern which ones are legitimate and which ones not. A strength of the campaign is the interest taken in it by serious, no-nonsense groups on Southern Africa and banks so it has not been inundated in the past by divisive organizations or individuals. A new staff person would hopefully be able to produce or help produce literature on the campaign to send out to other groups.

In an attempt to broaden the constituency of the campaign, it was suggested that local groups should send copies of their literature or leaflets to people organizing the following conferences which are national efforts by black organizations to convene on the subject of Southern Africa:

Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
c/o Mbatha
Church Center to the United Nations
777 U.N. Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Summit conference of Black Religious Leaders
on Apartheid--Leon Sullivan will be asked
to defend his Code

Marva Moore, Chairperson
Black American Law Students' Association
Bolt Law School
University of California-Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720

Adhimu Changa
Third World Center
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Black students association

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
no address--contact Prexy Nesbitt

They are putting together a conference on
Southern Africa

**Notices National Training and Education Center
1123 W. Washington Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois 60607
(312) 243-3035

has produced much useful
information on redlining in
the country--particularly a
bulletin on the Community
Reinvestment Act

National Chile Center
156 Fifth Avenue
New York

is the umbrella group for local committees
on Chile--they are often now becoming
interested in banking practices with
regard to the regime in Chile by U.S. banks

NEXT MEETING

July 21st and 22nd in Minneapolis -- Be there.....

Wendy Simmons

DISCUSSION PAPER

Proposals for March 21 National Action on the Bank Loan Campaign

Prepared for the March 3-4, 1979 national meeting
of the Bank Loan Campaign by Carole Collins,
Alternate Delegate, Midwest Region, BLC

Introduction

Last August in Chicago, the national Bank Loan Campaign (BLC) decided to work toward three mass regional mobilizations (in the East, Midwest and West) to be held on or around Sharpeville Day, March 21, 1979 and to be focussed in whole or in part on the BLC. Local groups were also urged to demonstrate their solidarity with the BLCs in Canada and Europe through some sort of action on a day to be selected in the fall (December 1st was finally selected).

In the following, I want to explore what progress has been made in accomplishing these tasks, where problems have developed and why, and make some immediate and longer-term suggestions for action. The following is based partly on discussions in January 1979 with Carolyn Long, Chris Root and Ted Lockwood in Washington, D. C.; I take personal responsibility, however, for the observations, analysis and proposals below. (I also criticize myself strongly for the lateness of this document, which has contributed to hindering the BLC in dealing with this topic as early as it should have.)

Progress toward regional mobilizations:

It is very difficult to assess progress on regional mobilization for a national day of action focussed on the Bank Loan Campaign at this point, primarily because of several organizational weaknesses and shortcomings:

- (a) lack of sustained communication on what chapters have been doing and how well they feel they have been doing it. This was compounded by the loss of Prexy as national coordinator in December 1978 and the lack of an immediate replacement.
- (b) inability to hold a national meeting during Nov. 1978-Jan. 1979, which represented a crucial time for any joint planning to be done for spring mobilizations. Thus, as a national organization, ^{and activity} the BLC lacks a unified approach to:
 - (1) the overall political/content of the proposed mobilizations (programmatic strategy)
 - (2) how such mobilizations could be brought about (organizational strategy)
- (c) lack of collective assessment of the success or failure of recent BLC activities (especially actions on December 1st, 1978 and the \$BOA California campaign of November 1978). This is a high priority for the next BLC meeting.

Because of the above, it does not seem realistic to assume that the BLC will play a lead role in initiating mass mobilizations for this March, though local chapters may be playing strong roles in more local mobilizations. However, several questions remain which need to be answered:

- * What can the BLC accomplish in relation to local Sharpeville Day commemorations? (or during the alternate dates of April 4-11, selected as the national week of action against Apartheid by regional student coalitions)
- * What should we be working toward in the months following March 21st? How can regional mass mobilizations be achieved in the future?

Immediate proposals for BLC action around Sharpeville Day (March 21/April 4-11)

The BLC needs to develop a more visible and unified national presence, such that chapters are perceived as part of a national campaign irregardless of the type or extent or diversity of their other local activities or work within or outside Coalitions. The following are proposed as feasible accomplishments which would further BLC work and could be achieved by March 21:

- (1) development of/decision on a name and visual symbol for the BLC at the March national meeting, for use on buttons, posters, stationery.
- (2) development of a central core of unified BLC slogans/demands to distinguish the BLC in members' publicity and posters.
- (3) coordination of press releases by all member groups on/around Sharpeville Day which would include a "core content" supplemented and modified by local chapters where relevant to their local conditions; such "core content" should include what is happening in other cities. (This proposal implies, to some extent, the development of a 'phone tree' to keep chapters up to date on what is happening as Sharpeville Day approaches.)

Given lack of collective discussion on what the focus of activities should be around that day, suggestions include leafletting bank and corporate targets; picketing at local banks involved in loans to South Africa; walking tours of bank/corporate supporters of Apartheid in your city; demonstrations/"jam-ins" at local banks (coupled with withdrawals of funds where feasible); and teach-ins on the banks and the role they play domestically and internationally (such as NY-COBLISA is planning for late February).

Conditions for success of regional mass mobilizations:

The key word here is mass. To successfully mobilize substantial numbers of grassroots folks on a regional basis to support the BLC, we need to tackle the following questions:

- (1) Programmatic strategy: What do we want to accomplish with such regional mobilizations? Do we have 'facilitating' goals or ultimate goals we want to meet

with such mobilizations and which are primary or secondary?

(The goals of such mobilizations might include any of the following: involve new types or significant numbers of groups/constituencies in the mobilization; achieve a certain level of withdrawal of funds by the date of the mobilization; achieve greater publicity and indirect pressure on banks and corporations and politicians; catalyze grassroots work at the local level to achieve citizen input into bank policies or creation of investment alternatives to investing in Apartheid; focus on the bank loan campaign or on southern Africa issues generally. Which goal is defined as primary, however, will affect how such mobilizations are planned, executed and assessed.)

Two aspects of any programmatic strategy must be dealt with more coherently;

- (1) what other formulations of southern Africa issues, or focusses, do we see as compatible/incompatible with the BLC (i.e. what programmatic limits to set for these mobilizations); and
- (2) what measurable objectives can we define and assess our effectiveness against. (This is essential to measure how far we've come and how far we've still got to go. An in-depth discussion of the withdrawal tactic vs. other tactics and how they advance our overall BLC goals, as proposed in the Sept. 1978 BLC memo, would help begin this process.)

- (2) Organizational strategy: How are we going to 'mobilize the masses?' How can we broaden our racial and (esp. working) class constituency? How can we, in the process as well as content of our work, bring about broadening of our base and the southern Africa solidarity movement generally? What tactics work best in generating mass support for BLC goals?

In August, the BLC defined work with the following specific constituencies as of high priority in the coming months:

- * local churches whose national church bodies have verbally supported the BLC but not acted on that support;
- * local unions whose national or international unions have verbally supported the BLC but not withdrawn their accounts from banks investing in Apartheid;
- * student groups, via BLC participation in regional student conferences and joint targetting of a local bank for coordinated student/community action; and
- * black and other minority communities via interlinking of domestic and international issues (e.g. racism; redlining) more closely and development of materials in Spanish.

The BLC, however, needs to be clear on how national Days of Action, or mass mobilizations, will contribute to working closer with these constituencies and how any contradictions in working with organized groups within these constituencies (e.g. sectarian struggles within the student coalitions and work with national political organizations) can be handled. The BLC chapters need much more sharing of what tactics have been most useful, based on previous experience.

Implied in the above is the question of how the BLC (or any southern Africa-focused campaign) relates to other mass struggles and issues in this country: do we approach the latter as another interest group that we are lobbying, or do we position ourselves

actively in the midst of their struggles? It is questionable whether the BLC can play any strong role in initiating mass mobilizations unless it does begin to relate on an ongoing basis to other struggles against exploitation, racism, etc. (e.g. The hiring of Jerry Funk of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center as a National Security Council consultant indicates a particular union strategy being pushed as national policy by the US government and the AFL-CIO leadership-- the encouragement of "non-political" unions in South Africa as an element of US strategy. But to develop local union challenges to such 'international union' policies will demand a more sustained involvement by the BLC in local union struggles.)

The BLC's role in southern Africa work nationally:

We need to explore more systematically how the BLC could/does/should relate to other southern Africa work. Although local chapters do this in a variety of ways, the issue is whether the BLC nationally can develop a more than ad hoc strategy for doing so, thus bringing greater coordination and breadth to the movement. As a generally non-sectarian national network with a respectable track record, its experience in doing principled and effective work among the above-mentioned constituencies needs to be shared to strengthen southern Africa work generally. The question I am posing is: Can and should the BLC seek to play a unifying role in southern Africa work nationally? Would this detract from its own work and efforts or strengthen them?

Suggestions on altering agenda for March 3-4 meeting and content of reports

The following are suggested so as to tighten up the agenda and facilitate the speed with which we accomplish our tasks:

- * Reports on activities in each city should be structured along comparable lines and include the following ^{items}: activities in the last 6-7 months, including Dec. 1st actions; analysis of which were most/least successful; analysis of which tactics were most/least effective (re expanding constituencies, generating media coverage, eliciting withdrawals or bank policy changes); assessment of progress on priority areas of work decided on in August; assessment of the feasibility of a mass mobilization in your region or locality; summary of March 21 plans and any plans beyond then.
- * The discussion of goals and objectives should be as concrete as possible and we should seek to make them as measurable/specific as we can, however they are defined. Let's end this meeting with a more defined, joint 'plan of attack.'
- * A separate time should be set aside to discuss how to broaden our racial and class constituencies, going beyond the usual reiteration of good intention ('yes, we need to') to the concrete hows -- in our work process, local tactics, overall strategy.
- * A separate time (1/2 hour) for a discussion of withdrawal as a tactic (perhaps in the work shop section; it seems a separate issue from "Tactics for Local Work.")