STUDENT ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT NEWSLETTER

December 1980
American Committee on Africa
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Student Anti-Apartheid Movement Rebuilds Forces

This fall has been a time of reassessment and reeducation in the student anti-apartheid movement. Of course every fall a similar process occurs, but this year it has been particularly striking for several reasons:

First of all, the intensified liberation struggle in South Africa itself has made it vital for activists to reeducate themselves, and to integrate new information into campaigns focusing on their schools' investments. Secondly, campus groups have had to reassess their strategies in light of the resurgence of overt racism and militarism in this country which has underscored the importance of linking anti-apartheid work to other issues. Finally, the movement has had to deal with its own limitations namely: 1) the recurring problem of student turnover and 2) Trustee refusals to divest.

How successful has the rebuilding process been on the campuses this fall? Many groups that have been inactive last spring have successfully reestablished a presence and support at their schools. As the bulk of this newsletter indicates, there has been a great deal of activity most of it focused on basic education. In addition, at campuses such as Williams, Dartmouth, Western Michigan Univ and SUNY/Binghampton (among others) this education has been combined with direct protests against current investment policy.

Most significantly, the movement has continued to develop politically. There has been more direct involvement of divestment committees in struggles against racism, and on many campus this has increased unity between and Black and white activists. Threatening letters and KKK-inspired incidents have been an immediate impetus, but the struggle against institutional racism is generally the long-term focus.

At some campuses such as Dartmouth anti-apartheid work has also been linked to struggles against nuclear power and militarism (the draft and arms race). In November a conference of 400 students at Kent State formed a "Progressive Students Network", a decentralized formation mostly concerned with nuclear power, militarism and sexism. There is a great potential for anti-apartheid linkage into this Network, and preliminary contact with conference organizers indicates that there is interest in coordinating efforts and information.

Besides linking up with other campus movements, divestment activists have become more conscious of relating to community anti-apartheid (and general community) activity. The gap between campus and community is often hard to bridge, but in some places (Boston, Chicago, Nashville, Lawrenceville KS) real coordination is beginning. Instead of conceiving of ourselves as simply part of a "student" movement, we've begun to see our work as part of a broader anti-apartheid movement. Common efforts with the community-based section of the movement have benefits for both sides, and can help overcome the isolation of many campus groups.

In looking at the student movement as a whole: it is true that the level of protest activity is not as high as several years ago, when divestment was virtually the sole movement on campus. However, 4-5 years of organizing efforts have made a wide-range of students conscious of Southern African issues and activists can build on that consciousness. In fact, many groups that have concentrated on general education this semester plan to focus on mass mobilization against their Trustees in the spring.
Several speaking tours this fall have helped revitalize campus consciousness. One tour organized by ACOA featured Tozamile Botha, an exiled Black South African who was a key community leader in Port Elizabeth and led a major strike against the Ford Motor Company. In the past two months, Tozamile has spoken to numerous union and community groups, as well as at over 20 U.S. campuses (mostly in the East and Midwest). Tozamile's firsthand account of current protest activity in South Africa and denunciation of the Sullivan Principles has been quite useful to campus activists, and refocused attention on divestment.

(Among the schools where Tozamile appeared were: Princeton, Cornell, Rochester, SUNY/Binghampton, SUNY/New Paltz, Suffolk Univ, Howard, Williams, Boston Univ, Harvard, Univ of Virginia, Columbia, Swarthmore, Dartmouth, Vassar, City College, Univ of Texas, Northwestern, Western Michigan Univ, UMASS/Amherst, Univ of Illinois and Washington State University).

Another major speaking tour was by Dumisani Kumalo (exiled Black South African journalist and field rep of ACOA) who visited 13 schools and many community groups in various parts of the Midwest, South and West (including Hawaii). During the tour Dumisani was able to reach many people at schools where South Africa has not been a major issue and media coverage was excellent.

A third tour that has complemented the other two was organized nationwide by SWAPO and SAMRAF (the South African military deserter group). The tour featured Ellen Musialela (asst director of SWAPO's Women's Commission) and Mike Morgan a member of SAMRAF. They appeared on a good many campuses and also built strong community support--at a critical time in Namibia's struggle.

During a time of little formal regional structure in the student movement these tours have been an important cohesive force and have also fostered closer work between campus and community groups.

Like last year, the major purpose of this newsletter is to encourage activity and help break down the isolation often felt by campus groups. Knowledge that one is not alone in the struggle and concrete examples of strategy can be of real assistance to campus committees. Thus, the bulk of the newsletter is a summary of recent student activity:

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Section II: Summary of Student Activity (4-17)
Section III: Community Anti-Apartheid Work (18-20)

I hope all is going well with you and please send me newsclops and summaries of the work you've been doing. This will facilitate preparation of the next newsletter. Write me at ACOA 198 Bway NYC 10038, #212-962-1210

In solidarity and friendship,

Joshua Nessen
Joshua Nessen, Student Coordinator
American Committee on Africa
Section I: U.S. Business in South Africa

a) U.S. Companies Begin To Reconsider South African Investments: Disinvestment Increases

The October issue of Business Week had two articles that indicate that U.S. companies are starting to have doubts about their investments in South Africa. The major factor has been the growing strength of the liberation movement and in particular worker militancy, notably at Ford and other foreign auto plants. In addition, businessmen have cited the domestic "hassle factor" caused by anti-apartheid activities in the USA.

What has exacerbated the companies' problems lately is the clear emptiness of Pretoria's so-called reforms. This has created a public relations problem abroad—even Business Week admits that "liberalization" is moving "very slowly"—as well as fueling protest in South Africa. In the absence of any genuine reform, Sullivan's unPrincipled approach has become much harder to justify and frankly businessmen are worried about the security of their investments.

Thus, according to Business Week: "Growing numbers of U.S. and foreign companies are exploiting loopholes in South Africa's stringent foreign exchange controls to withdraw capital from the country." Two current examples are ITT and ASEA, a Swedish electrical and mechanical equipment manufacturer. Earlier, in late 1979, General Tire and Rubber sold its 5.4 million rand interest (about $8 million) in South Africa—though it took a loss due to currency controls. ITT is currently seeking to repatriate $50.5 million by selling off its remaining 33% interest in its affiliate, Allied Technologies. Such a move will hardly help Pretoria's public image and could eventually mean a loss of valuable "know-how" (through technology transfer from highly advanced ITT).

While general manufacturing figures do show that new U.S. and overall foreign investment has been increasing, they also indicate that disinvestment has been occurring at virtually the same rate. Since January 1979 new direct foreign investment in manufacturing totalled 319.3 million rands, but disinvestment in the same sector was 315.7 million rands. In the same time span U.S. groups invested 53 million rands, while major U.S. withdrawals came to 43.4 million rands.

b) U.S. Companies: Key Points in South Africa's Defense System

South Africa's "Key Points" industrial security program has taken a new and embarrassing turn for US multinational corporations operating in South Africa. The white minority regime has ordered strategically important industries, including Ford and General Motors, to organize and arm all-white military units to defend their plants against Blacks struggling to end apartheid. Failure to comply with the new laws is punishable by fines of up to $25,000 and/or imprisonment for up to five years.

US businesses have always been willing participants in South Africa's defense strategy. Security documents released in 1978 revealed details of General Motors' contingency plans to cooperate with the South African Defense Force (SADF) in order to quell internal unrest. But whereas previous plans called for US business to come under SADF protection, the new regulations shift a significant burden onto the corporations themselves, including the stockpiling of arms on company premises.

Major-General Denis Earp, chairman of the official key points committee underlined the shift in security policy saying, "security should not be seen as the function of SADF. Private enterprise, and industry in particular, has a major role to play in this field... that includes taking the required countermeasures against sabotage, espionage and subversion.

In a society where "total mobilization" against the "total onslaught" has become a cliche, corporations are likely to have a choice between complying or leaving. As one US oil company executive noted, "The government has certain concerns and we have to take these into consideration."
Section II: Summary of Student Activity

1) Williams College (Williamstown, Mass)

This small New England school has remained one of the most active spots in the campus movement.

In September, the Williams Anti-Apartheid Coalition organized a demonstration at the Senior Class convocation. While a group of students picketed and leafleted outside, about half the senior class wore white armbands in memory of the children killed this summer in South Africa. Following that action activists arranged for a slide show on "Women Under Apartheid" that was attended by 50 students. The slide show was presented by Barbara Brown (of the Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa) whom Williams' students contacted at an organizing conference this past April in NYC.

In October the Williams Coalition initiated a petition drive focusing on divestment from Newmont Mining Company, which has huge operations in Namibia. In response to student pressure, an investment advisory committee recommended divestiture of Newmont Mining stock, and there are signs that divestment of other stocks might be called for. At the same time, students have been after the Trustees to remove short-term deposits in banks lending to South Africa—a concession won after last spring's hunger strike. A well-attended event featuring Tozamile Botha in late October gave further impetus to the movement, particularly because it involved participation by the Black Student Union. In his talk Tozamile stressed the need for greater unity and coordination between activist groups, and his message was driven home several days later.

On the night of November 1 several "hooded and robed" people burned a cross outside a building where the Black Student Union was holding a party. Later several threatening letters were received by Black students. In response, the Black Student Union with the help of the Anti-Apartheid Coalition organized a rally which drew 1000-1500 people out of a student body of 1600. The next day a moratorium of classes was called and after an initial mass rally, alternative classes were organized dealing with racism on campus as well as divestment.

Throughout the aftermath of the incident, a high level of solidarity was shown between the Black Student Union and the Anti-Apartheid Coalition. The Black Student Union presented four demands that called for: 1) More Black tenured faculty; 2) An expanded Afro-American Studies program; 3) More Third World students; and also 4) Divestment of stocks linked to South Africa. In addition, at the major rally two speakers dealt with the Williams/South African connection—one of them from a pro-divestment faculty group. From the outset the Anti-Apartheid Coalition played an important role in mobilizing the overwhelmingly white student body, and is planning an event specifically on the links between institutionalized racism at home and in South Africa.

The course of the struggle at Williams illustrates how important it is for anti-apartheid activists to deal directly with racism on their campuses. Such involvement will help build the united front necessary to seriously challenge institutionalized racism on campus: exemplified by inequitable policies towards Third World students and investments linked to apartheid.
Dartmouth College (Hanover, New Hampshire)

The ability to build community/campus alliances and to link related issues has been the hallmark of the Upper Valley Committee for a Free Southern Africa (UVCFSA).

Recent political developments in the Upper Valley have heightened the ability to make those links. The main development was a decision by local anti-nuclear affinity groups to regroup as general political action groups with an initial focus on democratic control of investments. This control is seen as a way of cutting off funds to nuclear and military corporations and redirecting investment toward community-controlled enterprises and soft-energy paths. The targets are state and local public funds and quasi-public funds like Dartmouth's endowment. Continuing US-South African nuclear links, and Dartmouth's investments in South Africa have naturally led campus and community activists to strengthen their alliance.

During the summer, a local organizer and a Dartmouth student made an unannounced appearance at a Trustee Board meeting and extracted from the flabbergasted trustees a commitment for an open meeting on South Africa. Before the Fall term the Upper Valley Committee also did a lot of work in the community around the attempted (and recently failed) repeal of the Clark Amendment which restricts covert CIA operations in Angola. As the leaves turned and the Trustees stalled on their "open meeting" commitment, the Committee built an educational campaign that culminated in a rally on November 8.

One major event was a talk by Tozamile Botha that was sponsored by a coalition of 10 different campus organizations. Tozamile dealt with the "Rising Conflict in South Africa" and received excellent local media coverage.

In preparation for the November 8 rally organizers held an event that dealt with the US/South Africa nuclear connection and Dartmouth's military, nuclear and apartheid-linked investments. One important part of the program also dealt with "After Divestment: Funding Education at Dartmouth Through Reinvestment in Soft Energy Paths".

The rally itself called for divestment of military, nuclear and apartheid-linked investments, and had equal participation from the campus and community. While approximately 60 people demonstrated outside the Dartmouth Trustee Board meeting, a delegation of 9 activists attempted to gain access to the meeting. They were stopped by the police, but the demonstrators confronted the Trustee Chairman after the meeting and got a tape-recorded pledge for an open meeting in February.

The Upper Valley Committee feels its work has been successful this semester, and will continue stressing a multi-issue approach while building for the February meeting. In addition, the Committee will work closely with a coalition of progressive campus groups against the well-financed (from alumni sources) Right at Dartmouth which plans to bring Richard Nixon to campus. (Perhaps our comrades at Dartmouth would appreciate a few bus-loads of "outside agitators" for that solemn occasion).
3) Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo, Michigan)

In early September, 10 students and faculty members arrested for a Fall 1979 sit-in were all acquitted. The trial itself helped expose the University's apartheid links to a wider audience, and activists have used the September victory as a springboard for action on campus and in the community.

This fall a rally was held while the Trustees met on campus, and activists attempted to get a hearing at the meeting. The Trustees refused to deal with the South Africa issue, and in the wake of their "stonewalling" students met to reconsider their strategy. Rather than tone down the struggle, it was decided to continue with mass mobilization for divestment while also deepening educational work. At the same time the Committee has concentrated on building faculty support, and a divestment resolution in the faculty senate is expected to pass.

In terms of educational work, Jerry Herman of the American Friends Service Committee gave a talk on U.S./South African bank links and dealt particularly with CITIBANK's new $250 million loan. Following this talk a dozen Western Michigan activists went to neighboring Kalamazoo College where a representative from CITIBANK was conducting interviews. They picketed outside the meeting, and convinced 5 out of 15 students to cancel their interviews. The divestment committee has also conducted educational sessions with local community groups, and brought the issue to a local high school.

The latest efforts at WMU involved a 25-person picket of a Trustee finance meeting, and a well-attended talk by Tozamle Botha. His message about the importance of worker-student-community solidarity in South Africa was not lost on WMU activists.

4) UCLA STUDENTS DIVEST

Several years of hard organizing recently paid off in a significant victory for the divestment movement. The Board of Control of the Associated Students of UCLA voted in July to transfer more than $25 million in student funds from banks with operations or investment in South Africa. The affected banks are the Bank of America and the Security Pacific Bank. All six student members of the ten-member board voted for the divestiture motion, while the four non-students voted against the measure (which will cost the student fund $40,000).

Campus-wide organizing by anti-apartheid forces tilted the composition of the board and ensured the victory.

According to the student members of the board, "the passage of the resolution established the priority of social responsibility over monetary gain. (We) perceive of this action as part of a statewide and ultimately worldwide campaign to break United States links with South Africa."
5) Washington State University (Pullman, Washington)

This university was also the site of a victory for the divestment movement. This semester, the Associated Students of Washington State Univ. pulled out the entire student fund account at the Seattle First National Bank (SeaFirst) which has participated in loans to South Africa. Approximately $300,000 in student funds went through the account per year. Campus awareness of SeaFirst's apartheid bankrolling is quite high and two fraternities have also pulled their money out of the bank.

These withdrawals are only part of a broader campaign that students and community people have been waging against SeaFirst Bank. Student activists have been coordinating their work with the United Food and Commercial Workers Union which has been getting after SeaFirst for its violations of National Labor Relations Board regulations. Part of this coordination has involved pickets of local SeaFirst branches, at which individuals are urged to withdraw their accounts.

Meanwhile on campus, guests at a black tie reception for SeaFirst President C.M. Berry were met with a chorus of "SeaFirst Out" as they arrived. Music was provided by 25 members of the Committee to Support South African Freedom who were there to welcome the Presidents Associates, a group of major private donors attending a campus speech by Berry.

For an encore, the Committee has orchestrated a South Africa Support Week from Dec 8-11. The week will feature daily films on apartheid, a major address by Tozamile Botha, and a day-long teach-in dealing with US involvement in South Africa and the divestment movement.

6) SUNY/Binghampton (Binghampton, New York)

The Committee on Southern Africa has clearly demonstrated the importance of combining educational and protest activities. Weekly showings of "Last Grave at Dimbaza" enabled the Committee to establish a regular presence on campus this semester, and helped build support for a talk by Tozamile Botha attended by 125 students. Besides building campus awareness Tozamile appeared on two TV stations for interviews that were broadcast during the regular evening news programs. During his visit Tozamile strongly supported divestment and stressed: "That as long as the economy is controled by other countries we will not be liberated".

His presence on campus helped lead to a protest less than two weeks later:

The occasion was a dinner address by State Chancellor Wharton to the State Student Association on November 7. During the dinner 30 sign-carrying protesters arrived, and demanded that Chancellor take a stand for divestment. (The State University system has approximately $10 million invested in corporations linked to South Africa). The Chancellor claimed that he was not in a position to influence state investment policy, and refused to bring the matter to the State Regents.

Undeterred, Binghampton activists took a three-hour trip and protested several days later at an Albany meeting of the State Regents. As part to its organizing efforts, the SUNY/Binghampton committee is contacting other campuses in the State University system to confront the Regents with a broader united front.

7) SUNY/New Paltz (New Paltz, New York)

One campus that could play a major role in any state-wide effort is SUNY/New Paltz. Last year a class on South Africa sparked initial interest, and an appearance by Tozamile Botha showed how great the potential for action is. Tozamile visited with several classes and at the main evening event drew the largest audience of his tour—over 500 people.
8) Saint Olaf and Carleton Colleges (Northfield, Minnesota)

This fall Ian Smith has been on a speaking tour in the USA and Canada, and some school Administrations have laid out honoraria of $3000 for this "distinguished" statesman.

One place Ian Smith was booked to speak this November was Saint Olaf College, a nearly lily-white school of 3000 whites and 21 "minority" students. What follows is a participant's account of what took place the night Ian Smith came to town:

A group of African students at Olaf organized an Ad Hoc Committee to protest Smith...A student who is a friend of mine and a friend of other Carleton (College) students invited us to come and protest with them. We set out to make picket signs, some of them read:

'SMITH IS GUILTY OF GENOCIDE', 'BEWARE OF A RACIST IN SMITH'S CLOTHING', '20,000 DEAD IS NOT A DELICATE TRANSITION'

(His speech was titled: 'From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, A Delicate Transition)

We took up our signs and set out to Saint Olaf Chapel where the speech was to be held. When we got there, we were not allowed inside with our signs. There was about fifteen minutes spent on trying to convince the dean to let us in. Finally, with the help of other organizations who also came to protest (some were of whites), we were able to able to enter the chapel.

We all stood against the walls and awaited Smith. He, along with three bodyguards came in. Immediately there came hisses and boos from the protesters. Someone began shouting, "Racist Smith, you can't hide, we charge you for genocide". All this time, Smith was sitting in the pulpit tapping one of his feet and grinning. We continued to shout. After what seemed like a long time he and his bodyguards got up and left. We continued to shout and protest for about two hours, until someone came out and announced that he would not speak.

We all cheered and rejoiced in our success.
9) University of Rochester (Rochester, NY)

Rochester students organizing for divestment have also been targeting their school's other links to the U.S. corporate/military establishment.

In October there was a protest when a representative from Lockheed came to interview students. This militant action—combining picketing and leafletting—received extensive coverage in the local media.

Perhaps believing the myth about "apathetic, apolitical students", the Administration then permitted the CIA to openly recruit on campus. To the chagrin of campus administrators, 150 students marched en masse into the building where the CIA was interviewing and forced the Agency to beat a hasty retreat. The protest was featured on the evening news and the message was clear: Radical student activism is still with us even if the Sixties aren't.

Fittingly, that same day Tozamile Botha gave a rousing talk on the struggle in South Africa, before appearing at Cornell University before 150 students. A LUTA CONTINUA...

10) Princeton University (Princeton, New Jersey)

The People's Front for the Liberation of Southern Africa has continued to be a vibrant force in the anti-apartheid movement.

The early part of the semester focused on basic education, and one event was a speech by Tozamile Botha. This helped build towards the Front's Third annual "Run For Liberation" which was held in early November. 45 participants ran or jogged up to 22 miles each (the distance from Soweto to Johannesburg) and students pledged money on them, according to how far each went. All told, the Run raised $3300.

Following this event, the Front staged a demonstration outside a local coin shop that markets the Kruggerrand, and next semester will give their Trustees their usual "warm" welcome.

11) New Jersey Coalition of Black Students

This coalition covers about a dozen schools in New Jersey (including Princeton) and was formed last year. The major priority of the coalition has been to deal with Black oppression at home and relate it to the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa.

In August the Coalition held a demonstration and march against Black oppression in Trenton, the state capital. The 125 marchers, both students and community residents, made stops outside the State Capitol, the Board of Education, as well as at the Trentonian, a local newspaper which advertises the Kruggerrand. During the action, two speakers from Princeton University's People's Front addressed US-South African links and there were also presentations on the state and local housing crisis.

In the last few months, campuses within the Coalition have been the site of numerous racist incidents—including cross burnings at Jersey State and Rider Colleges. The Coalition has thus been concentrating its energies on the immediate situation on the campuses, and began working with the National Black United Front (chaired by Rev. Herbert Daughtry).
12) University of Kansas (Lawrenceville, Kansas)

This fall a campus-wide debate was scheduled between exiled South African poet/activist Dennis Brutus and a representative from the South African Govt Consulate. Rather than defend the indefensible, the South African Govt representative cancelled at the last minute. However, Dennis Brutus still spoke and gave a poetry reading before an audience of 200. The organizers of this successful event were the KU-Y Committee for a Free Southern Africa which has been engaged in a broad range of activities this fall.

In October the Committee hosted a speaker from SWAPO, Ellen Musialelo, whose talk was held in conjunction with an African cultural night and dinner. The event was part of the nationwide SWAPO-SAMRAF tour and was the first event co-sponsored by the KU-Y Committee and the African Students Association. A rally earlier in the day underscored the progress of coalition-building at this school. 100 students turned out for the rally which was sponsored by the KU-Y Committee and other anti-imperialist groups on campus among them: The Latin American Students Organization and the Iranian Students Association. The event's general focus was the role of US foreign policy in the Third World.

In addition to university organizing, activists have been working with the "People's Network" which consists of over a dozen campus and community groups. The Network regularly publishes a newsletter, and is a formation where activists have been able to exchange ideas and mobilize mutual support.

13) Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.)

The South Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC) has been able to sustain consistent activity over the past four years. The key to SASC's success has been coalition building and a wide-range of educational techniques.

During Freshman orientation, the Committee organized film showings on South Africa and distributed material on divestment. SASC has sustained this educational effort throughout the semester, in part by reproducing newsclippings on Southern Africa and posting them in every dining room and residency hall. Activists have also kept the protest juices flowing with pickets of recruiters from major banks such as Morgan Guaranty, Manufacturers Hanover, and CITIBANK. About 25-30 students have participated in each picket and leaflets detailing the banks' pro-apartheid credentials have been widely circulated.

This fall, SASC has also been working as part of a coalition with Third World and progressive groups. One consistent focus of the coalition has been the battle for a Third World Center, which has been closely linked with efforts to deal with a series of racist and anti-semitic incidents on campus. SASC has also been working with the Native American campus organization and the Mobilization for Survival, and they will hold a joint event on coal gasification and uranium mining.

Most recently, through the Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, SASC arranged for a talk by Tozamile Botha and on December 15 will meet with other Boston-area campuses to begin coordinating activities.
14) Tufts College (Medford, Mass)

At Tufts there have been a broad range of programs dealing with Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

In the early part of the semester, the Tufts Committee concentrated on Zimbabwe with several showings of a slide show that was put together by the Boston Coalition. Then in October, the SWAPO-SAMRAF tour came to campus and appeared in several classes as well as at a larger evening program.

The Tufts anti-apartheid committee has also been working with Third World groups and co-sponsored an event on the links between the US role in South Africa and the Carribean. In addition activists have put on several showings of "Generations of Resistance"--a film on the liberation struggle in South Africa--and jointly sponsored a film about Malcolm X with Black student groups.

15) Wellesley College (Wellesley, Mass)

Like their comrades at Tufts and Harvard, activists at this school have been working to draw the connections between racism at home and US support of it abroad.

The semester was kicked off with a panel discussion on the liberation movement in South Africa and its consequences for the worldwide struggle for Black liberation. Two of the panelists were Black South Africans who are studying at Harvard--and activists at the two schools have since maintained close links. The Anti-Apartheid Coalition at Wellesley also has projected "Six Days of Soweto" and "Controlling Interest", a film dealing with multinational dominance of Third World economies and its implication for workers in this country. In addition to educational work among students, campus organizers have been in regular contact with community groups and sympathetic faculty and staff.

The revival of Southern Africa work at Wellesley has been intertwined with a general rise in anti-racist organizing on campus in which the Black Studies Department has played a major role. On December 7 Wellesley hosted a conference of Northeast Black student groups that focused on building solidarity to combat the rise of the KKK and Nazi party as well as more subtle institutional racism. Wellesley students who helped organize the conference have been playing pivotal roles in the anti-apartheid effort. One such activist, Esther Green, feels that this Fall's educational work has laid a solid basis for confronting the Trustees over divestment next fall.

As she put it: "As long as people get consciousness, they will develop energy for the struggle."
16) Wesleyan University (Middletown, Conn)

After a period of dormancy last spring, anti-apartheid activity has been reviving strongly at Wesleyan.

Several events were concerned with Zimbabwe, including a film and a talk by a Zimbabwean woman. These "appreciations of liberation" were followed up by a South African cultural evening, featuring the Soweto Drummers and exiled poet Duma Ndluva. Activists then hosted a talk by TRANSAFRICA on US policy towards Southern Africa and recently screened Banking on South Africa, a slide show on US financial support of apartheid.

In December Wesleyan Committee presented a film, "Crossroads, S. Africa" which documents the successful resistance by an "illegal" Black community to efforts by the Government to forcefully evict them. On the heels of this event, there was a Week of Activity on South Africa that included an evening of African drumming and dance, as well as events dealing with US-South African ties.

Like other "liberal" campuses, Wesleyan has been the site of increased "overt" racism. An anonymous letter containing racial slurs--against Blacks and Jews--was sent to the Black residency dorm this fall. In addition, a Black woman active in Wesleyan's affirmative program received a series of calls that threatened her with rape. In response to these incidents, a moratorium of classes was called in November and forums dealing with racism were held.

The Wesleyan anti-apartheid committee has since strengthened its links to Black groups on Campus, and in the Spring plans to deal with stock investments directly as well as campus racism.

17) University of Tennessee (Nashville, Tenn)

At UTENN there is no liberal mask hiding the hostility of the Administration to the liberation support and anti-racist struggles.

Last spring 17 students were arrested by riot-equipped police for occupying the Black Cultural Center--after the Administration had sacked all its progressive administrators. This fall, the efforts of activists have been diverted into preparing for the upcoming trial which will take place on January 19. This "diversion" of resources was of course part of the Administration's strategy when it cracked down last spring. The other part of the strategy has been to cut off all student funds to the liberation support committee.

Despite these efforts, the Committee has been going through a successful process of rebuilding and educating the Nashville campus on Southern Africa. "Last Grave At Dimbaza" has been shown regularly, and there have been two talks on Zimbabwe. Moreover, there has been progress towards coalition building with other progressive groups, and in pressuring the University to set up agricultural and educational exchange programs with Zimbabwe.

UTENN organizers have also been reaching out to the community which was an important pillar of support last year. Films have been shown at a local prison as well as in churches and housing developments. Dennie Littlejohn--a key organizer--also hosts 2 radio talk shows that have been forums for broadening consciousness on the South African and domestic struggle. In November UTENN activists also met with the Black Caucus of the state legislature and confronted the Governor (who chairs the UTENN Board) with the issue of UTENN's apartheid investments and the upcoming student trial January 19.
18) **Berea College (Berea, Kentucky)**

Last year Students United Against Apartheid (SUAA) quite effectively educated the Berea campus on US/South African Links. This year the SUAA has expanded its activities to deal with domestic oppression and resistance.

One major event was a slideshow dealing with the "Pontiac Brothers" case. This case arose out of a 1978 prison rebellion in Pontiac, Illinois against inhuman living conditions. Three white guards were killed at that time and the 17 Black prisoners on trial face the electric chair if convicted. The slideshow deals with the oppression of Third World people both outside and within the prison system, and also examines the parallels between the development of racist justice in the USA and South Africa.

Following this screening, the SUAA showed "Sharing Global Resources", a slideshow revealing the way Multinationals control Third World resources. The SUAA also sponsored a 4-day campus visit by James Boggs, an activist who has written extensively on the connections between Black Liberation and socialist revolution in the USA.

Next semester anti-apartheid activists and the African Students Assoc will co-sponsor a visit by Dennis Brutus and there are plans for a series of slideshows dealing with: South Africa, Namibia, Nicaragua and the general role of U.S. corporate and military power.

19) **Mount Holyoke College (South Hadley, Mass)**

At Mt Holyoke there has been a consistent group of students and faculty educating the campus on the crisis in South Africa.

From the beginning of the Fall there has been a film series which has featured: "Last Grave at Dimbaza", Free Namibia, Rising Tide (documentary on post-Soweto activism) and Namibia: A Case Study. Approximately 50 students usually attend the showings. At the same time there have been several lectures including one by Jerry Herman of the American Friends Service Committee who recently returned from Southern Africa.

Activists have also been mobilizing support for divestment, and 17 (of 18) contacted campus groups have come out in favor of it. In response to student pressure, a Committee on Social Responsibility is expected to recommend divestiture of GM stocks and holdings in the First National Bank of Boston.

20) **Howard University (Washington DC)**

Over the summer students at Howard took part in a June 16 commemoration of the Soweto Rebellion, and have since brought back their concern to campus.

The first event took place September 12—the Third Anniversary of Steven Biko's death—and featured a film and a dynamic panel discussion. The focus of the panel was the links between the struggle in South Africa and the USA and it included speakers from: the Black Consciousness Movement, the DC Bank Campaign (which has been dealing with apartheid loans and redlining), the New Independent Black Political Party, and the Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. Another program featured Elizabeth Schmidt who recently published a book on the Sullivan Principles, *Decoding Corporate Camouflage: U.S. Business Support for Apartheid*.

These events have set the stage for divestment protest next spring, as did a presentation by Tozamile Botha in October.
21) Swarthmore College (Swarthmore, Penn)

Last spring the main focus of activity was on the draft, but now many of the same activists have returned to consistent Southern Africa work. This phenomenon seems due to the unchanging character of Swarthmore's investments as well as the escalation of the liberation struggle and repression in South Africa.

Early in the semester the Swarthmore Committee hosted the SWAPO-SAMRAF tour which fit in well with their push for divestment of Newmont Mining Corp—one of the major exploiters of Namibia's resources. From there the SWAPO tour went to neighboring Lincoln University where 200 students turned out.

Following the SWAPO event, Swarthmore activists ran a series of articles on South Africa in preparation for an appearance of Tozamile Botha. His talk was sponsored by a broad-range of campus groups and attracted over 200 people.

22) Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois)

In the dark lanes of Soweto
amid the slush, the mud, the squalor
and among the rusting tin sheets of the shacks
the lust for freedom stubbornly survives
like a smouldering defiant flame---
and the spirit of Steve Biko moves easily.

This poem was read by Dennis Brutus at a "Steve Biko Memorial Meeting" held at Northwestern University this November. The event was a potent mixture of politics and culture that included the film "The Rising Tide", music of South Africa and Zimbabwe, as well as a tribute to Walter Rodney (Recently slain Guyanese activist and author of, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa").

The memorial highlighted a semester of educational events that also included a lecture by Tozamile Botha.

23) University of Illinois (Urbana Illinois)

In mid-November the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid held a major forum on U.S. Responsibility in South Africa. The two-day event was co-sponsored by the Department of African Studies and was designed to educate the public and to develop strategies for divestment work.

Over 100 people attended and keynote speakers included Dick Clark (former Congressman who recently returned from South Africa), Barbara Masakele from the ANC and a representative of the PAC. There was also a panel focusing on U.S. involvement in South Africa, as well as one on the divestment movement with activists from Chicago and Madison.

Organizers of the event feel it was successful, and that it will foster greater coordination in the Midwest.
24) **Oregon State University (Corvallis, Oregon)**

Organizers at this school have been making a broad effort to inform the campus and surrounding community about South Africa and the need to break ties with the apartheid regime.

Dr. Dube, deputy UN representative of the ANC was featured on one program and the next week the SWAPO/SAMRAF tour appeared on campus. The play "Sizwe Bansi is Dead"--which deals with life under apartheid--was also staged at the University and was able to draw in folks from the community. Besides these activities there have been two debates on the issue of maintaining relations with South Africa and Chile. Both attracted standing-room only audiences which bodes well for future political activity on campus.

25) **University of Virginia (Charlottesville, VA)**

During the past few years there has not been much activity at UVA, but activists have recently been making up for lost time.

A fall-long petitioning drive for divestment has been netting hundreds of signatures while fertilizing campus consciousness for a spring-time blooming. The process of mobilizing a broad base was furthered by Tozamile Botha who spoke before 150 people. Activists followed up on this with a week-long program on South Africa which featured regular film showings and a teach-in.

26) **Colby College (Waterville, Maine)**

Late last spring the New World Coalition at Colby organized a pro-divestment march of 80-85 students that culminated in a temporary occupation of the President's office.

This fall the Coalition continued pressuring the Board of Trustees particularly on the College's links to CITIBANK--recent participant in a $250 million loan to the South African Government. Besides focusing on Colby's investments organizers have been doing basic educational work on South Africa through regular tabling, and are building towards another militant action in the Spring.
27) **Black American Law Students Association (BALSA)**

This national organization, through its task force on Southern Africa has engaged in a wide-range of liberation support activities this fall.

On October 3 a team representing South Africa participated in the Eisenhower Cup Golf Tournament in North Carolina. BALSA in conjunction with other anti-apartheid groups protested the event both bodily and in the form of telegrams and letters to the White House and State Department officials. This fall, BALSA has also been involved in the Free Nelson Mandela Campaign: circulating petitions and form letters in coordination with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

Another focus of activity--particularly appropriate for law students--has been the "Mozambique Family Law Project". BALSA has made three shipments of textbooks and legal periodicals to Mozambique that recipients have found "very, very useful" in the current evaluation of family law matters taking place there. In addition BALSA has contacted attorneys from Zimbabwe and Lesotho about initiating legal aid projects.

Two major focuses in the upcoming months will be the material aid drive for Namibian refugees (in which the Africa Fund is active) and the growing state and local campaigns for divestment of public funds linked to apartheid.

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**LET US NOT FORGET THE STUDENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA!**

Student protests have mounted through 1980 and by midyear some 100,000 students were refusing to attend classes. The protest was continued after a school break in July. Most "colored" students returned to classes since some of their demand had been met. But African students announced that they would continue their boycott of classes until demands presented by parent and student committees were satisfied.

By October 1, 58,000 students were still out and 77 schools had been closed most of them in the Cape area but also including 18 in Kimberly, 3 in Bloemfontein and one in Soweto. Boycott activity also continued in the Ciskei and began to increase in some of the lower grade schools.

The Government still budgets 8 times as much for each white student as it does for each Black. So protesters are not easily mollified by promises that new schools will be constructed and that someday whites will not be the only ones to receive free education and textbooks.

As one student explained, "this is too little, too late".
Conclusions: Looking Ahead in the Student Movement

The wide-range of activities indicates that the anti-apartheid movement is still an important force on the campuses. As I stressed earlier, the future success of the movement will depend largely on its ability to link up with anti-racist work and other movements on the campus.

Partly in response to the resurgence of the right-wing, there has been an increase in "networking" between campuses in many parts of the country. The recent conference of 400 students at Kent State has pushed forward the process and hopefully progress can be made in hooking the anti-apartheid movement into this growing network. Student activists have much to learn from each other and the divestment movement--because it directly targets the connections of the University to the corporate-military establishment--can play an important catalyzing/educational role in a broader network (as it already has on many campuses).

Besides linking up with other student movements, we need to deepen our relation to the many-faceted movement in the community. In the hopes of bridging some of our communications gap, the following pages summarize some of the recent developments in community anti-apartheid work:
Section III: Community Anti-Apartheid Work

1) Campaigns for State and Local Legislative Action

a) Over the past year, there has been a burgeoning of divestment initiatives in state and local arenas. A dozen states and localities (among them Berkeley, Cambridge, Davis, Massachusetts, Michigan and Nebraska) have taken steps to divest public funds linked to South Africa, and the movement gives every sign of future growth.

b) One hopeful development is the beginnings of national coordination to focus on key states and localities. ACOA, Transafrica, AFSC and the Washington Office on Africa are among the groups involved in this effort and to find out more about it contact Gail Morlan at ACOA (212-962-1210).

c) Another good sign for the future was a major legislative victory in Michigan this fall. A bill was passed in the State Legislature that prohibits state funds from being deposited in state or federally chartered banks which do business in South Africa. According to one of the Bill's sponsors, state representative Perry Bullard: "Passage of this Bill is a major step in the right direction. I hope other states and the federal government will follow suit in the near future."

2) New CITIBANK Loan Protested

News that South Africa is borrowing $250 million from a consortium of international banks, including CITIBANK, has sparked protests from anti-apartheid activists in this country.

The National Council of Churches has telegraphed the heads of major banks urging them not to participate in the loan, which is in keeping with the Council's recent divestiture of $63 million from CITIBANK. Protest against the loan was also sparked by a September visit to NYC by Owen Horwood, South Africa's Finance Minister.

One day before he arrived in NYC, activists got word from the British anti-apartheid movement that Horwood would be talking to a group of 80 corporate and financial honchos. A picket was pulled together overnight and when Horwood and his audience arrived at the South African Consulate, they were greeted by protesters and leaflets focusing on the CITIBANK loan and its redlining practices in NYC. Several thousand leaflets were passed out at the picket, and much to CITIBANK's chagrin the protest was covered in next morning's Wall Street Journal. That's what's known as the "hassle factor"
3) Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (BCLSA)

As in years past, BCLSA has been involved a wide range of activities and acted as an important resource group for local campus committees. In September BCLSA coordinated several events for the SWAPO/SAMRAF tour in the Boston area. These events were geared specifically to the Black, labor, and student population and on all three occasions raised consciousness as well as money for the SWAPO cause. During the next month, BCLSA arranged a series of campus engagements for Tozamile Botha at BU, Harvard and Suffolk University. While he was in the Boston-area meetings were also set up with the UAW in Framingham as well as with local Black community leaders—among them Mel King. In addition, an evening program of the International Defense and Aid Fund featured Tozamile along with Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas.

BCLSA has also been supplying campuses with its slide show on Zimbabwe and is coordinating a meeting of local campus activists on December 15.

An central aspect of BCLSA's work has been involvement in local struggles against racism. One focus has been Willie Sanders—a Black man framed for a series of rapes. Through the efforts of a broad coalition he was recently acquitted and BCLSA is co-sponsoring an event on Zimbabwe to help defray legal expenses.

4) Washington DC Bank Campaign

The DC Bank Campaign through a focus on Riggs Bank has successfully linked its work (against loans) to community groups opposed to redlining. The struggle this fall has been to deny Riggs Bank (a major lender to South Africa and Chile) the right to open up a new branch in Washington DC. The challenge by the DC Bank Campaign in coalition with 10-12 community groups has been made under the Community Reinvestment Act (an anti-redlining piece of legislation). Matters came to a head on November 12 at a public hearing on the Riggs Branch application. At the hearing activists presented 2 hours of evidence on Riggs' redlining practices, and also brought up its loans to South Africa. The room was packed with 100 community people and students from local campuses and the Riggs Representative did a a poor job defending Riggs' indefensible policies. Whether the Bank will actually have its application denied is uncertain, but at the very least opposition to Riggs has catalyzed coalition-building efforts in the DC community.

5) Chicago Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa

The Coalition has been heavily involved with a national network of community groups which has been concerned in part with "Employment and Redlining". The Coalition in its local work has been linking the fiscal crisis of Chicago public schools to Bank lending to out-of-state places like South Africa and Chile. In practice, this linking-up has involved regular pickets of major bank branches, as well as participation in projects of community groups trying to combat cutbacks in jobs and services.

Though the first priority of the Coalition is to build its base in the community, Coalition activists were instrumental in arranging Tozamile Botha's engagements at Northwestern and the Circle and Urbana campus of the Univ of Illinois. While he was in the Chicago area, the Coalition also set up a meeting between Tozamile and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.
LUTHERAN CHURCH VOTES FOR DIVESTMENT... The American Lutheran Church (ALC) voted to divest more than $20 million from corporations doing business in South Africa. Voting 477-331, delegates at the October bi-annual meeting voted heavily in favor of the resolution despite opposition from the church leadership which had advocated a less stringent resolution.

In addition, the ALC called on the US government to implement economic sanctions against South Africa and for the development of new ways for its organization to "more effectively" support the Black population of South Africa.

The vote comes as the culmination of a year-long campaign by the Lutheran Coalition on Southern Africa. According to Kim Zalent, an organizer for the campaign, "The decision to divest is due to grass roots opposition to apartheid as a matter of faith, the decision of the church that had established this regional work was aided by an early decision of the church that had established opposition to apartheid as a matter of faith, or status confessionis.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONSUL MOVE PROTESTED... The Los Angeles City Council recently voted against the relocation of the South African Consulate from San Francisco to Los Angeles. This decision is a small victory for the Ad-Hoc Committee to Stop the South African Consulate. The committee, a coalition of approximately 35 groups including labor, church, civil rights and civic organizations, sees this as a small victory because the consulate has been resettled on Wilshire Boulevard in Beverly Hills (outside Los Angeles' city limits); their objective is to have the consulate moved out of the Los Angeles vicinity entirely. The committee holds a weekly vigil at the consulate and has vowed to continue doing so until the consul is moved.

One major function of the consulate, according to a committee spokesperson, is the promotion of trade. Los Angeles is an ideal location for trade promotion because of the city's importance as a center for international trade (such trade has increased 450 percent over the last decade).

But the Ad-Hoc Committee fears that the regime's presence would severely destabilize the social, economic and political life of Los Angeles residents. Corporations such as Ford, Good Year and Purex have all closed plants in Los Angeles but "continue or expand production in South Africa."

ZANU SUPPORT GROUP MEETS FUN-RAISING GOAL... The National Campaign in Solidarity with the ZANU Women's League succeeded in raising $20,000 in the past three months toward the building of the National Institute of Women in Zimbabwe. The committee travelled to thirty cities in seventeen states attracting and gaining the support of individuals and organizations across the country.

The National Campaign culminated in a regional forum on October 10, in New York City. Speaking at the forum were representatives of the Zimbabwean Mission to the UN, the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Republic of New Africa (RNA), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

The fundraising effort is the beginning of what organizers hope will be a nationwide network in support of Zimbabwe. A spokesperson for the campaign explained that this activity had "laid the basis for ongoing work to heighten political and material solidarity with the liberation struggle in southern Africa."

BRITISH PRINT UNION CALLS FOR STRIKE IF IMPORTS ARE NOT STOPPED... British trade unions have been fighting the use of imported newsprint by British newspapers, but have had to accept the need for some imports due to the high fuel costs involved in producing paper.

In September the union learned, however, that the London Daily Mail had purchased a newspaper shipment from South Africa, instead of the traditional suppliers in Canada and Scandinavia. In response, Bill Keys, general-secretary of the Society of Graphic and Allied Trades (SOGAT), instructed union members to not handle any of the South African newspaper.

Keys considered the shipment "highly provocative" and threatened to halt production of the Daily Mail if any more newsprint was bought from South Africa.

Another spokesperson for SOGAT explained, "The position of the newsprint industry in Britain is so precarious that thousands of jobs have been lost and still more are threatened. We are opposed to any new countries sending shipments here. The fact that this latest lot was from South Africa simply rubbed salt into the wound."

IAN SMITH FORCED TO CANCEL LECTURE AT MCGILL... Student protests and lack of funds cancelled plans for Ian Smith to lecture at McGill University in Montreal in late October. Smith's lecture was to have been, in essence, a "defense of his role in the war and the revolution in Zimbabwe," according to Peter MacArthur, chairperson of the debating union. The union sought Smith as a lecturer because he was "at the center of one of the major political controversies in the world" and his experience would serve to heighten the consciousness of the average student on the question of apartheid. But Barbara Jenkins of the South Africa Committee saw this choice as a move calculated to create controversy and sell tickets.

Smith did speak before a gathering of 600 corporate guests in Montreal, who received an unexpected surprise. One-hundred chanting demonstrators, organized by the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, greeted the guests as they entered the Sheraton Hotel.

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