REPORT ON
October 20 1979
STUDENT ANTI-APARTHEID STRATEGY SESSION

Joshua Nessen
Student Coordinator/
American Committee
On Africa (ACOA)
198 Bway NYC 10038
212-962-1211

*Check Appendices (pi12-4) for list of student and
Bank Campaign (COBSA) contacts*
OUTLINE OF REPORT ON OCTOBER 20 STUDENT MOVEMENT STRATEGY SESSION

INTRODUCTION ................................................... pg 1

PART I: GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE MOVEMENT

A) Dynamics of Divestment ........................................... 2-4

- Political Meaning
- Problems
- Responses:
  1) Focus first on divestment of student funds
  2) Linking with anti-nuke mvt (nuclear stocks)
  3) Stress Reinvestment Issue (educational)
  4) Dynamizing Groups for each sector of campus
  5) Internal Political Education
  6) Perpetuating Campus Committees
  7) More emphasis on cultural events

B) Community Outreach .............................................. 5

  1) Work on Bank Campaign (import of labor outreach)
  2) Lobbying Packages for State Legislatures
  3) Link to Community Anti-racist struggles (bank redlining)
  4) Work with community anti-apartheid groups

C) Anti-Racist Struggles and Working With Black Students ........ 6-7

- Overview (reasons for problems)
- Suggested Approaches:
  1) Endorse and Support Black Student Demands
  2) Need for Black-led Workshops on Racism
  3) Joint Planning of Events and Actions
  4) Individual commitment to self-education and communication with Black students

PART II: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND FUTURE PROJECTS

A) Recent Developments ............................................ 8-9

  1) Shift in Corporate/Trustee Strategy
     - From Sullivan Code to S.African "labor reforms"
  2) Real Character of "labor reforms" (leave out 70% of Black wkrs)
  3) Corporate-inspired Conferences on Southern Africa
  4) Corporate-sponsored Tours (of Helen Suzman & Lucy Mvubelo)

B) Future Projects .................................................. 9-10

  1) Greater Coordination with Bank Campaign (COBLSA)
     - Natl Bank Action Weeks (Nov 11-16 and March 16-21)
     - Dumasani Kumalo Tour in February (Black History Month)
     - For Info: Dumasani Kumalo c/o COBLSA 198 Bway NYC 10038
  3) Student Movement Newsletter
     - Send Addresses and phone #s of all contacts (home and school) plus info on past and planned actions to: Josh Nessen c/o ACOA 198 Bway NYC 10038 212-962-1211(work) 255-4244(home)

For Info Call Paul Irish at ACOA 212-962-1443

2) Material Aid Campaigns
   - Send money & medicines not clothes-Contact lib mvt's on projects

3) Material Aid Campaigns
   - Send money & medicines not clothes-Contact lib mvt's on projects

For Info Call Paul Irish at ACOA 212-962-1443
Dear Friends,

The student divestment is beginning to regain momentum, after a lull in activity following the April 4-11 National Week of Action. A major source of optimism is the two days of meetings that many of us took part in on October 18-19. The first day was a session of the UN Center Against Apartheid, at which nearly 20 student representatives (including one each from Canada and the United Kingdom) gave reports on their activities. The second day consisted of a strategy session at the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) in which we discussed the state of the movement and outlined some future directions.

The purpose of this letter is to present the main points covered in this very valuable strategy session. Following this letter, we will also send you a summary of the UN Testimony and an update on recent student anti-apartheid activities. Hopefully, this letter and the upcoming summary of the UN session will be useful resources for your work.

The strategy meeting was attended by activists from the following schools: Amherst College, Dartmouth, Cornell, Brown, Williams, Oberlin, Univ of Minnesota, Univ of Tennessee, Haverford, Univ of Oregon, Berkeley and the Toronto Committee For the Liberation of Southern Africa.

There were basically two parts to the meeting: I) General Assessment of the Movement II) Recent Developments and Future Projects. A summary begins on the next page.
PART I: GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE MOVEMENT

In our general discussion we dealt with three main areas:
A) Dynamics of Divestment  B) Community Outreach  C) Anti-racist struggles and working with Black students.

A) Dynamics of Divestment

Political Import/ The key political point made about divestment was that it was not an end-in-itself, but a rallying-point around which to stress university complicity in apartheid—building opposition to corporate presence in South Africa and support for liberation struggles. Certainly the attainment of stock divestment has been important, and such victories have encouraged students to intensify their activity. Yet given the corporate characters on Trustee Boards, total stock divestment cannot be hoped for in most cases. Rather than be discouraged, we should see "educating students and building mass support" as victories themselves and not get caught up on trustee responses.

Problems/ Even defining our success in those terms, several activists pointed to the decrease in the movement's tempo. A representative from the Univ of Minnesota, pointed to a "peaking" of mass support in February and a decline in active participation during the Spring. One reason for this decline at many campuses has been "frustration" when Trustees refuse to sell school stocks. Though organizers might not define success solely in terms of stock sales, many student sympathizers do.

Part of the problem has also been a lack of internal political education—and clarity about goals within committees. Too heavy a focus on "convincing trustees" has often led to fruitless expenditure of energy in Investment Responsibility Committees. Though one must go through the process of meeting trustees to gain campus legitimacy, such dealings are secondary to mobilizing students. Beyond that, it was generally recognized that heavy student turnover and the attractiveness of the anti-nuke movement to new students were, also factors in the lessened tempo of the movement.
A) Dynamics of Divestment (Cont.)

Out of this assessment came discussion of ways to deal with these problems:

1) The importance of gaining visible successes was addressed by activists from Berkeley and Oregon. One suggestion (particularly applicable to state schools) was to begin by pushing reinvestment of student-controlled funds linked to South Africa. This was done in California.

- Another area of possible "early" victory is around bank holdings which are particularly difficult to justify given direct loan link to SA Govt (numerous schools have divested Bank stock)

At Dartmouth College several promising strategies and tactics have been tried:

- The anti-nuke and anti-apartheid issues have been explicitly linked. This involves calling for divestment of both nuclear and apartheid linked stocks (many of which are the same). Rather than detract from each other the two movements should be mutually supportive.

- The Dartmouth Committee has linked divestment of stocks to reinvestment in community groups--working on energy and other issues. It was felt that this linkage serves an important educational purpose.

- Dynamizing groups have been formed to cover different sectors of the campus. These groups organize petitions, door-to-door canvassing and dorm meetings.

5) The importance of internal political education and self-reliance was stressed by activists from the University of Tennessee.

- Unlike most campus committees, at U of T the struggle was initiated and led by Black students. The group began on the basis of supporting African Liberation Struggles, and initially spent a lot of time defining itself politically. The call for divestment emerged only after this initial stage and was always seen as just one aspect of the struggle. The U of T group saw the support of African Liberation as part of a struggle against capitalism. For the victory of the Liberation Movements would be a blow against the center of the system—the USA. Harboring no illusions about their Trustees and seeing their work in this broad perspective, activists have avoided getting burned out. University repression has strengthened their solidarity (i.e. arrests)
Dynamics of Divestment (Cont)

Responses—cont/

4) An additional suggestion was that we must take steps to perpetuate campus committees—even as key activists graduate. This involves:
   a) Giving newer activists responsibilities
   b) Maintaining contact and meeting through the summer
   c) Doing more than "political work" together—creating a supportive community.

7) Related to this should be greater emphasis on cultural events as part of our organizing—getting the play "Homelands" on campus as well as poets and musicians.

B) COMMUNITY OUTREACH (on next page)
B) COMMUNITY OUTREACH

A number of suggestions came up concerning community outreach which is critical though often difficult to put into practice:

1) Activists from the Univ of Oregon discussed their around the Bank Campaign. 
   Students contacted different community groups and focused on the US National Bank which had links to a consortium (PEFCO) lending to South Africa. From the start labor outreach was seen as a priority. However, students began by going straight to Eugene's Central Labor Council, where they were met by a thundering silence. Realizing their overeagerness, they went back to individual locals and were able to gain significant support—in terms of picketers and account withdrawals. Motto: Though difficult labor outreach is worth it.

2) At the Univ of Minnesota students have been putting together a lobbying package for the state legislature.
   The aim is to get legislation prohibiting investment of state funds in South Africa-linked institutions. In this effort students have been working closely with MINN PIRG (Public Interest Research Group) and are seeking out other community support. In part these efforts are a response to the fall-off in active student support of divestment—and have helped the group reeducate itself.

3) Another point made by the U of T representative was the possibility of linking up with anti-racist struggles in the community.
   A focus on bank redlining and loans to South Africa has been one entry-point in several cities. In Knoxville, Tenn a successful effort has also been made on getting the support of ministers for anti-apartheid work.

4) In Canada student groups have benefited from the existence of long-standing community anti-apartheid groups.
   Though not every US student group has such resources there are groups such as ACOA, COBLSA (see appendix B), the Boston Coalition and Patriotic Front (ZANU or ZAPU) support committees that can be of great help.
C) ANTI-RACIST STRUGGLES AND WORKING WITH BLACK STUDENTS

This past spring the attack on Third World programs intensified on numerous campuses. At schools such as Amherst College, Haverford, and Harvard, anti-apartheid activists became engaged in combattng these attacks in conjunction with Blacks and other Third World students. At the same time efforts to involve Black students in the anti-apartheid fight continued to be a priority. In these efforts there has been progress as well as problems.

At most schools, Black organizations have endorsed demands for divestment, yet have not made divestment a focus of their organizing. The focus of these organizations tends to be cultural rather than political, a fact that seemed to explain their relative lack of involvement to many white activists. On the other hand, with some exceptions largely white anti-apartheid groups have not put a major effort into anti-racist work on campuses. In seeking to explain the reasons for this situation a number of points were made:

1) The reason Black organizations tend to be "cultural" rather than political, is that once they get explicitly political, funds are often cut off.

2) Unlike most whites, Black students do not have the resources to depend on if they take political stands. One reason perhaps why it is easier for white students to be "out front" in the divestment struggle. (African students for obvious reasons are an exception).

3) Blacks and other Third world students have more immediate struggles against systemic racism at their schools.

4) White anti-apartheid activists are largely unaware of the problems faced by Black students, and have not seen supporting their demands as a major priority. Reinforcing this is a lack of discussion of racism within mostly white anti-apartheid groups.

5) As a result such groups often approach Black students with the attitude that they should "naturally take up the anti-apartheid battle".
In seeking to grapple with these problems a number of approaches were put forward during the meeting:

1) Anti-apartheid groups need to endorse and organizationally support demands of the Black student community.

   At Harvard a coalition, including anti-apartheid forces, fought against the abolition of the Black Studies Department and put out a booklet on Racism at Harvard.

2) There should be workshops on racism led by Black students for the benefit of anti-apartheid groups and the campus at large.

   At Amherst College such forums have been quite successful and had a good impact on anti-apartheid activists. In turn activists need to discuss racism within their committees.

3) There is also a need for more joint planning of educational/cultural/political events.

   Rather than simply inviting Black groups to already planned events, they should have input from the start. Last April such joint planning went into a highly successful march in W. Massachusetts honoring Martin Luther King and supporting the liberation struggles.

4) Of course, a commitment by individual white activists to educate themselves and communicate with Black students is essential.

   Taking courses in the Black studies Department is one important step. Not only is this educational for both White and Black students, but it adds legitimacy to Black Studies Departments which are consistently attacked on the grounds of "low enrollment". Activists from Williams pointed to the importance of such individual efforts.
PART II: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND FUTURE PROJECTS

A) Recent Developments

Before dealing with specific projects, we had the benefit of hearing from three exiled South African Activists: Dennis Brutus, Johnnie Makatini (ANC representative) and Dumasani Kumalo (Coordinator of COHLSA). They made several general points of interest to student activists:

1) There is now occurring a shift in strategy among corporate apologists and the South African government.

   The strength of the anti-apartheid movement has largely undermined the Sullivan Code as a "sellable" shield for investment. Now apologists are stressing the Wiehan Commission and major "labor reforms" in South Africa as evidence of the progressive US corporate role.

2) These "reforms" besides their PR value, involve an elaboration and retrenchment of apartheid not its abolition.

   In fact the new trade union laws do not apply to mine workers, domestic servants or agricultural laborers—-in other words 70% of all Black workers. In addition, the SA Minister of Labor can deem "unions" legal or illegal as he sees fit, and these "reforms" have been accompanied by rising "deaths in detention" and SA bombings throughout Southern Africa.

3) Part of Trustee and corporate strategy involves sponsoring well-publicized conferences on Southern Africa with prominent white academics.

   One such conference occurred at Oberlin this Fall and was marked by the absence of any liberation movement speakers. In response students at Oberlin sponsored a counter-conference—sounds like a good strategy.

4) Another part of corporate/trustee strategy is to sponsor tours and bestow honors upon well-known foes of divestment.

   Perhaps the most effective such speaker is South African parliamentarian Helen Suzman who is now on a national tour. She uses her reputation as a "critic" of apartheid as a platform for pro-investment positions. You might point out that her Progressive Party is funded largely by Harry Oppenheimer—S. Africa's most powerful industrialist—so she has a stake in "business stability". Given the critical role of US corps in sustaining the apartheid regime, and minimal role as an employer on-balance investment is hard to justify even by her. Above all don't be polite to Suzman cut in when necessary, when cornered she becomes quite arrogant and her racism comes through.

   (Tours cont. next page)
4) Corporate Tours (cont.)

Another person on a national tour is a Black trade union puppet named Lucy Myvubelo. Her tour is being sponsored by a business organization known as the South African Foundation. The South Africans are aware of the largely white composition of the student movement, and are putting forth such Black "spokespersons." Don't be intimidated. Put her on the defensive by pointing out that a Business organization is sponsoring her tour—one that sees attracting foreign investment as a major priority.

5) Johnnie Makatini stressed the importance of the reevaluative process we were engaged in, and pointed out how the ANC often had gone through similar processes during its long history.

B) FUTURE PROJECTS

Having benefited from this discussion, we focused in on three main areas: 1)The Bank Campaign 2)Material Aid 3)A student movement newsletter.

1) Greater Coordination With the Bank Campaign (COBLSA)

There are several reasons why linking up with COBLSA and generally focusing on Banks could be beneficial. First of all, COBLSA as a community-based organization in ten cities is a a stable resource that could aid constantly changing student groups. Secondly, the redlining practices of banks, make attacks on their SA loans a way of linking up to community struggles. While the major New York banks can withstand some bad publicity, smaller banks are extremely sensitive to their "image" and have quickly curtailed SA loans after protests. Thirdly, it is quite difficult for Trustees to justify either stock holdings or school deposits in Banks lending to South Africa. Victories are possible.

Dumasani Kumelo pointed out several specific focuses of the Bank Campaign and ways of linking up with students:

1) On November 11-16 there will be a National Bank Action Week, and students should contact local COBLSA chapters about planning events (see enclosed contact list appendix B). On March 16-21 there will be another such week.

2) Dumasani himself will be on a National Tour in February during Black History Month—Have him speak at your campus.

3) You can write or call local bank chapters for flyers and the COBLSA newsletter or contact Dumasani at 195 Eway NY NY 10038 (212-962-1211)
2) Material Aid Campaigns

Material aid was discussed in the context of supporting the liberation movements which we all agreed was a top priority. Some general suggestions were made by those with experience:

a) It is best to contact liberation movements beforehand and have them suggest specific projects to earmark aid to.

b) The best sort of aid is money or medicines, especially antibiotics, once again find out the needs of the movements (though money is a safe bet). One good way of raising money is through concerts and cultural events. The money is already needed to ship out already-collected materials.

c) Clothing is not very useful.

d) Combine material aid drives with speakers from the liberation movements, especially from Zimbabwe. It's best to contact both wings of the Patriotic Front and ask them to choose who will appear.

e) Contact the American Committee on Africa (Paul Irish) for information on shipping and any other questions concerning such campaigns. ACOA can coordinate shipments.

ACOA
198 Bway NY, NY 10038 (212-962-1211)

3) Student Movement Newsletter

It is essential for the movement's progress to rebuild our campus communication network. In this regard a proposal was approved for a student movement newsletter:

a) The newsletter will be put together at ACOA by two student interns on the basis of reports sent in by campus groups.

**b) Each group should send in the names of all its contacts—Including both their home and school addresses and phone numbers.

c) All Info on recent actions (including leaflets as well as short summaries of events with attendance etc) should be sent immediately along with a calendar of future plans.

d) All material should be sent to:

Josh Nessen
c/o ACOA
198 Bway Rm 402 NY NY 10038
Call once a month at 212-962-1211 (work)
or 212-255-4244 (home)
Well, it's been a long letter. One final suggestion: don't wait for anti-nuke groups to make divestment demand, make nuclear stocks an issue yourselves (they're basically the same companies) and invite input and advice from anti-nuke group. Anyway Good luck and I look forward to hearing from you.

In solidarity and friendship,

Joshua Nissen
APPENDICES

A) STUDENT CONTACTS (P. 12-3)

B) BANK CAMPAIGN CONTACTS (P. 14)
APPENDIX A: Addresses and #s of Student Contacts

Lisimu Tafirenyika  Univ. of Tenn  Black Cultural Center (615-974-6861)
812 Volunteer Blvd Knoxville, Tn 37916

Dennie Littlejohn  SAME AS ABOVE

Pat Baker  Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa
721 Avenue Rd. Toronto, Ontario (416-967-5562)

Gibb Surette  Box 1730 Amherst College
Amherst, Mass 01002 (413-542-2088)

Karen Lopilato  UC Berkeley  2424 Haste #F33
Berkeley CA (415-548-8687)

Alan Berolzheimer  Upper Valley Comm for a Free Southern Africa (Dartmouth)
PO Box 172 Hanover NH 03755 (603-643-9978)

Maggie Kaiser  Univ of Minnesota
3012 Aldrich Ave South (Apt.2)
Minneapolis, Mn 55408
(612-822-7765)

Terri-Ann Lowenthal  Cornell  232 Linden Ave., apt. 7 Ithaca, NY 14850
(607-277-2988)

Bruce Bowers  Univ of Oregon  PSAF 1414 Kincaid Eugene, Oregon 97403

Stuart Massad  Williams College S.U. Box 1322 Williams College
Williamstown, MA 01267
(413-597-6860)

Michael Italie  Box 1212 Oberlin College Oberlin, Ohio 44074
216-775-0996

Nakusha M'gabe  Oberlin College OCMR 2646 Oberlin, Ohio 44074
(216-775-5408)

Seth Frazier  Haverford College Haverford, PA 19041 (215-645-5511)

Sam Roth  Haverford College Haverford, PA 19041 (215-649-5127)

Anita Brooks  Williams College S.U. Box 2688 Williamstown, MA 01267
413-597-6022

Dennis Brutus  Northwestern Univ (SASC)  312-492-7294 (office)
312-328-9154 (home)

Adimho Changa  Princeton  Box 139 Graduate College Princeton, NJ
(609-924-8639  08540

Ruthy Brown  Princeton  c/o Third World Center Princeton, NJ
609-452-5494

Anthony Brutus  Harvard  62 Magnolia Str. Cambridge, MA 02139
617-876-4939

Liz Dreisen  Boston Coalition  154 Auburn Str. #5 Camb. MA 02139
617-661-9250
APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

Jack McConnell Jr. Box 2551 Brown University Providence, RI 02912
401-863-6665

Lee Kokorinos 420 Riverside Drive #1a NYC 10025 (212-222-9603)
Columbia University

Doug Toomer 526 W.112 Str. Apt.5 NYC 10027 212-662-4421
Black Amer. Law Students Columbia University

Peter Fritzsche 4303 Baltimore Ave. Philadelphia, PA 19104
215-382-5107 (UPENN)

Robin Boyle Box 1304 Vassar College Poughkeepsie, NY 12601
(914-257-2079)

Mark Oppenheim Brandeis University Waltham MA 02155 (F0 Box 176)
(617-647-4452)

Ralph Deleon Brandeis University (617-894-6982)

Natalie Byfield Princeton 86 Olden Str. Princeton NJ 08540
(609-734-0749)

Dominique Colon Princeton 61 Little Hall Princeton, NJ
(609-734-7724)
APPENDIX B: Bank Campaign Contacts

Dumasani Kumalo  (COBLSA COORDINATOR)  c/o COBLSA 198 Bway NYC 10038
                                  212-962-1211

Bill Hartung  (NY Comm To Oppose Bank Loans to S.Africa-COBLSA)
                               313 W. 78th Str. NY, NY 10024 (apt 4R)
                                  212-691-8550

Tom Newhof  (Seattle COBLSA)  c/o AFSC 814 NE 40th Street
                               Seattle Wash 98105  206-632-0500

Norman Watkins  Clergy and Laity Concerned/Chicago
                         542 South Dearborn #570 Chicago, Ill 60605
                                  (312-922-8234)

Carolyn Long  D.C. Bank Campaign  2800 Woodley RD. NW Wash DC20008
                                 (202-797-7153)

Ginny Christensen  United People*s Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism
                        (UPCAR)  130 W.Queen Lane  Phila, PA 19144
                                 (215-843-1538)

Doug Tilton  Macalster Anti-apartheid Coalition
                        Macalster College 1600 Grand Avenue St. Paul MN 55104
                                 #of school 612-647-6221

William Surluga  Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) Minneapolis/St.Paul
                            686 Chippawon Ave. St. Paul, Minn 55209
                                   (612-647-6220)

Miloanne Hecathorn  Stop Banking on Apartheid
                               2160 Lake Street
                                      San Francisco, CA 94112
                                  415-752-7766(work)  415-824-1167(home)

Alison Clarke  CALC/Rochester  713 Monroe Ave. Rochester, NY 14607
                                 (716-244-7191)

Marion Malcolm  CALC/Eugene  1414 Kincaid Str. Eugene, Oregon 97401
                               (503-485-1755)

Kim Zalent  Lutheran Coalition on Southern Africa
                        202 S. State Str. (Suite 600)
                                Chicago, Ill 60604  (312-663-0703) or (312-878-1775)

*Pat Bolland  Dawson Comm Against Bank Loans to South Africa
                       1001 Sherbrooke St. East, Montreal Quebec (514-681-6664)

*Pat Baker  Toronto Comm for free S.Africa 121 Avenue Rd
                Toronto, Ontario CANADA (416-967-5562)

*David Melville  END LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA (ELTSA)
                            134 Wrottelsey Rd London, NW 10 ENGLAND
                      011-44-1-985-7454

Liz Dreisen  Boston Coalition For the Liberation of Southern Africa
                        PO Box 8791 Boston, MA 02114  her # 617-661-9250